

WILLIAM HENRY FREY

CURRENT POSITIONS:

Research Professor
Population Studies Center
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
426 Thompson Street
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1248

Senior Fellow
The Brookings Institution
Metropolitan Policy Program
1775 Massachusetts Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20036

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND:

Ph.D. Sociology, 1974, Brown University
M.A. Sociology, 1971, Brown University
B.S. Mathematics, 1969, Ursinus College

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION:

Demography, US Census
Migration, Immigration, Urban Demography
Race-Ethnic Demographics, Demography of Aging
American Political Demographics

PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES:

American Sociological Association
International Union for the Scientific Study of Population
Population Association of America

POSITION HISTORY:

Visiting Fellow, Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, Metropolitan Policy Program, Washington DC, 2003- present

Faculty, University of Michigan, 1981-1998; 2000-present

Population Studies Center, Institute for Social Research, 1981-1998; 2000-present

Promotions from Assistant Research Scientist to Research Professor

Associate Director for Training, 1990-1995

Department of Sociology, 1984-1998; 2000-present

Assistant Professor, 1984-90, Adjunct (full) Professor, 1990-1998; 2000-present

Courses taught: Social and Demographic Change in America; Urban Sociology, Research Methods, Migration and Urbanization, Graduate Dissertation Seminar

Professor of Sociology (*with tenure*) and Senior Demographer, Center for Social and Demographic Analysis, State University of New York at Albany, 1999-2000

Visiting Scholar, Hewlett Foundation Scholars in Washington Program, Child Trends, Inc., Washington, D.C., Summer 1995.

Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Scholar, Population Reference Bureau, Washington, DC, 1988

Project Director and Associate, Center for Demography and Ecology, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin - Madison, 1975-81

Visiting Research Scholar, Human Settlements Area, International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA), Laxenburg, Austria, 1980-81.

Research Associate, Center for Studies in Demography and Ecology, Department of Sociology, University of Washington - Seattle, 1974-75

Consultant, Rhode Island Survey, Brown University Population Research Laboratory, Providence, Rhode Island, 1974

Lecturer, Department of Sociology, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1973-74

Teaching Assistant, Department of Sociology, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, 1972, 1973

Intern, Internal Revenue Service, Washington, DC, Summer 1969

Computer Programmer, Western Electric Co Inc, Allentown, Pennsylvania, Summer 1968

CONTENTS OF REMAINING SECTIONS:

Selected Research Grants: (pp. 3-4)

Selected Support for Demographic Media and Curriculum Development: (pp. 4-5)

Publications: (pp. 5-27)

Professional Activities: (pp. 27-28)

Cooperation with Media: (p. 29)

Speaking Engagements and Interviews: (pp. 29-41)

SELECTED RESEARCH GRANTS:

William H. Frey and Karl Taeuber, Principal Investigators. Center for Population Research, NICHD, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Award No. HD 10666; renewed as No. HD 16581, "Migration and Redistribution: SMSA Determinants," (period February 1, 1979—August 31, 1983).

William H. Frey and Alden Speare, Principal Investigators. Awarded by the Russell Sage Foundation in association with the National Committee for Research on the 1980 Census, "Regional and Metropolitan Growth and Decline in the United States," (period June 1, 1983—September 30, 1985).

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. Center for Population Research, NICHD, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Award No. HD17168, "Metropolitan Migration in Europe and North America," (period January 1, 1983—December 31, 1987).

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. University of Michigan Office of Vice President for Research Award, "A Tool for Research on the Spatial Aspects of Social and Demographic Change in Michigan," (\$11,669 for period September 1, 1990—February 28, 1992).

William H. Frey and Alden Speare, Co-Principal Investigators. Awarded by U.S. Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, "Metropolitan Concepts and Statistics Project," (period April 1, 1991—December 30, 1991).

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. Russell Sage Foundation Award. "Geographic Distribution in the US," (period June 1, 1992—December 30, 1993).

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator, with Yu Xie and Kao-Lee Liaw, Co-Principal Investigators. Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin-Madison Grant Award, "Inter-state Migration of the U.S. Poverty Population, 1985-90: Immigration 'Pushes' and Welfare Magnet 'Pulls,'" (for period June 1, 1991—May 31, 1995).

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. The National Institutes of Aging Grant Award, “Migration and Redistribution of the US Elderly,” (period August 1, 1994—July 31, 2000).

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. NICHD Grant Award, “The Changing Structure of U.S. Metropolitan Migration,” (period September 1, 1994—August 31, 2000).

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator with Kao-Lee Liaw, Co-Principal Investigator. Awarded by Public Policy Institute of California, “Alternative Futures for California’s Elderly: Immigration, Migration and Aging-In-Place Dynamics,” (period August, 1997—July, 1999).

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. Contract with the Fannie Mae Foundation, “Race and Space in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Findings from the 2000 Census” (period May, 2001—September 2002).

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. Contract with the Haynes Foundation through the University of Southern California, “New Contours of Racial Diversity in Los Angeles” (period of August, 2001—December, 2001).

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator, Award from Research Institute for Housing America, “America’s Regional Demographics in the ’00s Decade: The Role of Seniors, Boomers, and New Minorities” (period 2005-06)

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator, Award from National Science Foundation, “Minority Suburban Migration” (period September, 2003—August, 2007)

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator, NICHD grant award, “US Minority Migration and Metropolitan Change” (Sept. 2004— August, 2008)

William H. Frey, “Assessing the State of Urban America” and “Demographic Research with the Brookings Institution” Brookings Institution, (Sept. 2007-Aug.2017, To be renewed through Aug. 2018)

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator, Center for American Progress, “Political Demographic Studies with the Center for American Progress (July 2014-February 2017)

SELECTED SUPPORT FOR DEMOGRAPHIC MEDIA AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT:

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. University of Michigan Undergraduate Initiatives Award, “Investigating Social and Demographic Change in America,” (period September 1, 1987—August 31, 1989)

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. Sloan Foundation Award, “Curricula materials for Investigating Social and Demographic Change in America,” (period September 1, 1989—December 30, 1991)

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. U.S. Department of Education FIPSE (Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education) Grant Award, “Making Data Analysis Relevant in a ‘Networked’ Social Science Laboratory,” (period September 1, 1994—August 31, 1997)

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. NICHD/STTR Grant Award, “Development of Interactive Curriculum Materials based on US Census and CPS Data,” (period Sept., 1995—August, 1997)

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. National Science Foundation Grant Award, “A ‘Networked’ Social Science Laboratory: In-person and Virtual Workshops,” (period January 1, 1996—December 31, 2001)

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. Contract from U.S. Bureau of the Census, “Access and Analysis of the American Community Survey,” (period April—September, 1998)

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. NICHD/STTR Grant Award, “Interactive Curriculum Materials based on US Census, Phase II,” (period April 1, 1998—March 31, 2000)

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. Contract from Population Reference Bureau “US Population and Census Issues: Audiences, Access, Website Development,” (period June 1998—2002)

William H. Frey, Consultant to US Census Bureau, “User Guide for American Factfinder,” (period January, 1999—August, 2000)

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. Awarded by the Annie E. Casey Foundation, “Kids Count In the Classroom: Creating Curricular Tools for a Network of Teachers,” (period December, 2001—December, 2002)

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator. National Science Foundation Award., “Collaborative Project: Integrating U.S. Census Data Analysis Into the Curriculum,” (period from May, 2001—March, 2007)

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator., “Using Data Ferrett Products to Enhance ACS Education” US Census Bureau (period 7/08 though 7/09)

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator, “Democratizing Access to the American Community Survey” Alfred P. Sloan Foundation (period 5/09 through 3/13)

George Alter, PI and William H. Frey, Co-PI, “Quantitative Social Science Digital Library Pathway (QSSDL)” National Science Foundation, National Science Digital Library Project (period 11/08 through 10/13)

William H. Frey PI and George Alter, Co-PI. , “Infusing Quantitative Literacy throughout the Social Science Curriculum” National Science Foundation, Course Curriculum and Laboratory Improvement Project (period 9/08 thru 8/14),

William H. Frey, Principal Investigator, “Using the ACS to Introduce Demographic Approaches in Undergraduate Courses” NICHD, US Department of HHS. (period 5/14 thru 3/19),

PUBLICATIONS:

Books

Alden Speare, Sidney Goldstein and William H. Frey. 1975. *Residential Mobility, Migration and Metropolitan Change*. Cambridge, Mass: Ballinger Publishing Co. 316 pp.

- William H. Frey and Alden Spence, Jr. 1988. *Regional and Metropolitan Growth and Decline in the United States*. New York: The Russell Sage Foundation. 586 pp.
- William H. Frey, Bill Abresch and Jonathan Yeasting. 2001. *America By The Numbers: A Field Guide to the U.S. Population*. New York: The New Press. 222 pp.
- William H. Frey, Amy Beth Anspach and John Paul DeWitt. 2008 *The Allyn and Bacon Social Atlas of America*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 176 pp.
- William H. Frey, 2015 *Diversity Explosion: How New Racial Demographics are Remaking America*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press 301 pp (a 2015 *Choice* Outstanding Academic Title)
- William H. Frey, Ruy Teixeira and Robert Griffin, 2016 *America's Electoral Future: How Changing Demographics Could Impact Presidential Elections 2016 to 2032* (e book) Washington DC: American Enterprise Institute. 71pp.

Monographs and Edited Journal

- Larry H. Long and William H. Frey. 1982. *Migration and Settlement: The United States*. Laxenburg, Austria: International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis. 125 pp.
- William H. Frey. 1990. *Metropolitan America: Beyond the Transition*. Population Bulletin, Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau. 52 pp.
- William H. Frey and Ross C. De Vol. 2000. *America's Demography in the New Century: Aging Baby Boomers and New Immigrants as Major Players*. Santa Monica, CA: Milken Institute. 52 pp.
- William H. Frey, 2006. *America's Regional Demography in the '00s Decade: The Role of Seniors, Boomers and New Minorities*. Washington DC: Research Institute for Housing America and The Brookings Institution. 98 pp.
- William H. Frey and Audrey Singer 2010 (Guest Editors) Special Issue on Demographic Dynamics and Natural Disasters: Learning from Katrina and on Katrina and Rita, *Population and Environment*. Vol 31, Numbers 1-3. (January)
- Ruy Teixeira, William H. Frey and Robert Griffin, 2015. *States of Change: The Demographic Evolution of the American Electorate, 1974-2060*. Washington DC: American Enterprise Institute and Center for American Progress, 2015. 150 pp.
- Robert Griffin, William H. Frey, and Ruy Teixeira, 2017 [*States of Change: Demographic Change, Representation Gaps, and Challenges to Democracy 1980-2080*](#), Washington DC: Bipartisan Policy Center, Brookings Institution and Center for American Progress, 55 pp.

Textbooks

- William H. Frey. 1997. *Investigating Change in American Society: Exploring Social Trends with US Census Data*. (bundled with data diskette). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co. 234 pp.

William H. Frey. 2003. *Investigating Change in American Society: Exploring Social Trends with US Census Data*. (Second Edition with 2000 Census data). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co. 215pp.

William H. Frey. 2012. *Investigating Change: Web-based Analyses of US Census and American Community Survey*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning. 217 p

Websites

Websites created in conjunction with the demographic media and curriculum development projects directed by Dr. Frey with the Social Science Data Analysis Network:

www.ssdan.net

www.CensusScope.org

www.frey-demographer.org

Articles /Other Publications

William H. Frey. 1975. The Effects of Social Subareas in Urban Residential Movement: An Analysis of Residence Histories. In *Proceedings of the Social Statistics Section: 1974*. Washington, DC: American Statistical Association. pp 292-297

William H. Frey. 1978. Mover's Life-Cycle Stage and Choice of Destination Neighborhood: Implications for Urban Social Structure. In *The Analysis of Population Mobility and Residential Change*, edited by W. A. V. Clark and E. G. Moore. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

William H. Frey. 1978. Black Movement to the Suburbs: Potentials and Prospects of Metropolitan-wide Integration. In *The Demography of Racial and Ethnic Groups*, edited by Frank D. Bean and W. Parker Frisbie, New York: Academic Press. pp. 79-117

William H. Frey. 1978. "Population Movement and City-Suburb Redistribution: An Analytic Framework." *Demography* 15:4: 571-588.

William H. Frey. 1979. "White Flight and Central City Loss: Application of an Analytic Migration Framework." *Environment and Planning-A* 11: 129-147.

William H. Frey. 1979. "The Changing Impact of White Migration on the Population Compositions of Origin and Destination Metropolitan Areas." *Demography* 16:2: 219-238.

William H. Frey. 1979. "Central City White Flight: Racial and Non-Racial Causes." *American Sociological Review* 44:3: 425-448.

William H. Frey. 1980. "Status Selective White Flight and Central City Population Change." *Journal of Regional Science* 20:1: 71-89.

William H. Frey. 1980. "Discussion" (of Katherine L. Bradbury, Anthony Downs, and Kenneth A. Small, "Some Dynamics of Central City-Suburban Interactions"). *American Economic Review* 70:2: 421-22.

William H. Frey. 1980. "Black In-Migration, White Flight and the Changing Economic Base of the Central City." *American Journal of Sociology* 85:6, May: 1396-1417.

- William H. Frey and Frances E. Kobrin. 1982. "Changing Families and Changing Mobility: Their Impact on the Central City." *Demography* 19:3: 261-277.
- William H. Frey and Mark L. Langberg. 1983. "Alternative Projections of SMSA City-Suburb Redistribution by Race Based on Adjusted and Unadjusted Census Migration Data." pp. 433-437 in *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association 1982*, Social Statistics Section. Washington, DC: American Statistical Association.
- William H. Frey. 1983. "A Multiregional Population Projection Framework that Incorporates Both Migration and Residential Mobility Streams." *Environment and Planning-A*, 15: 1613-1632.
- William H. Frey. 1984. "Lifecourse Migration of Metropolitan Whites and Blacks and the Structure of Demographic Change in Large Central Cities." *American Sociological Review*, 49(December): 803-827.
- William H. Frey. 1985. "Mover Destination Selectivity and the Changing Suburbanization of Metropolitan Whites and Blacks," *Demography* 22:2: 223-243.
- William H. Frey. 1986. "Lifecourse Migration and Redistribution of the Elderly across U.S. Regions and Metropolitan Areas," *Economic Outlook U.S.A.* 13:2: 10-16.
- William H. Frey. 1987. "Migration and Depopulation of the Metropolis: Regional Restructuring or Rural Renaissance?" *American Sociological Review* 52 (April): 240-257. Reprinted in Spanish as: "Migración y despoblamiento de las metrópolis: ¿reestructuración regional o renacimiento rural?" *Estudios Territoriales* 28 (Septiembre-Diciembre) 1988, pp. 15-38.
- William H. Frey. 1988. "The Re-emergence of Core-Region Growth: A Return to the Metropolis?" *International Regional Science Review* 11:3 (December): 261-268.
- William H. Frey. 1988. "Migration and Metropolitan Decline in Developed Countries: A Comparative Study," *Population and Development Review* 14:4 (December): 595-678.
- William H. Frey. 1989. Review of *Migration and Residential Mobility in the United States* by Larry Long (New York: Russell Sage, 1988) in *Population Today* 17 (November): 11.
- William H. Frey. 1989. "Counterurbanization and Metropolitan Depopulation in the United States." In *Counterurbanization: The Changing Pace and Nature of Population Deconcentration*, Edited by A. G. Champion. London: Edward Arnold Publishers. pp. 34-61.
- William H. Frey. 1989. "Michigan Metropolitan Migration Project Part I: Overview and Illustrative Data." *Research Report No. 89-152*. Ann Arbor, MI: Population Studies Center, The University of Michigan, July.
- William H. Frey. 1989. "Michigan Metropolitan Migration Project Part II: Definitions of Metropolitan Areas and Regions." *Research Report No. 89-153*. Ann Arbor, MI: Population Studies Center, The University of Michigan, July.
- William H. Frey. 1991. "Are Two Americas Emerging?" *Population Today* 19 (October): 6-8.

- William H. Frey and Alden Speare, Jr. 1991. "Metropolitan Areas of the Future: Issues and Definitions" *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association*. Social Statistics Section 1990. Alexandria, VA: American Statistical Association.
- William H. Frey. 1992. "Boomer Magnets." *American Demographics*, March.
- William H. Frey. 1992. "Metropolitan Migration in Developed Countries: A Cross-national Data Base." In *Migration, Population Structure and Redistribution Policies*, edited by Calvin Goldscheider. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. pp. 1-31.
- William H. Frey and Alden Speare, Jr. 1992. "The Revival of Metropolitan Population Growth in the United States: An Assessment of 1990 Census Findings." *Population and Development Review* 18:1, March: 109-146.
- William H. Frey. 1992. "Metropolitan Redistribution of the U.S. Elderly: 1960-70, 1970-80, 1980-90." In *Elderly Migration and Population Redistribution: A Comparative Perspective*, edited by Andrei Rogers. London: Belhaven. pp. 123-142.
- William P. O'Hare and William H. Frey. 1992. "Booming, Suburban and Black," *American Demographics* (September): 30-38.
- William H. Frey. 1993. "People in Places: Demographic Trends in Urban America." In *Rediscovering Urban America: Perspectives on the 1980s*. Washington, DC: US Department of HUD. Chapter 3.
- William H. Frey. 1993. "Perspectives on Recent Population Change in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan America." In *Population Change and the Future of Rural America*, edited by David L. Brown and Linda Swanson. Washington DC: Economic Research Service, USDA. pp. 42-59.
- Diane Crispell and William H. Frey. 1993. "American Maturity." *American Demographics*, (March): 31-42.
- William H. Frey. 1993. "US Elderly Population Becoming More Concentrated." *Population Today*, (April): 6-9.
- William H. Frey and William P. O'Hare. 1993. "Latino Suburbanization in the 1980s." *American Demographics*, (April): 30-37.
- William H. Frey. 1993. "The New Urban Revival in the United States." *Urban Studies* 30:4/5, (May): 741-774.
- William H. Frey. 1993. "New High Tech Research Tool Makes 1990 Census Instantly Available for Professional—and Personal—Purposes." *Applied Demography* 8(2): 4-5.
- William H. Frey. 1994. "Race, Class and Poverty Polarization of US Metro Areas and States: Findings from the 1990 Census." In *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association 1993, Social Statistics Section*. Alexandria, VA: American Statistical Association. pp. 203-213.
- William H. Frey. 1994. "Minority Suburbanization and Continued 'White Flight' in US Metropolitan Areas: Assessing Findings from the 1990 Census." In *Research in Community Sociology*. JAI Press 4. pp. 15-42.

- Reynolds Farley and William H. Frey. 1994. "Changes in the Segregation of Whites from Blacks during the 1980s: Small Steps Toward a Racially Integrated Society." *American Sociological Review*, (February): 23-45.
- William H. Frey. 1994. "Black College Grads, Those in Poverty Take Different Migration Paths." *Population Today*, (February): 1-2.
- William H. Frey. 1994. "The New White Flight," *American Demographics*.
- William H. Frey. 1994. "Access to Census Data over the Internet with 'Explore.'" *Human Dimensions Quarterly* 1 (Winter): 7.
- William H. Frey. 1994. "Global Aging," *Human Dimensions Quarterly* 1 (Winter): 13-18.
- William P. O'Hare, William H. Frey and Dan Fost. 1994. "Asians in the Suburbs." *American Demographics*, (May).
- William H. Frey. 1995. "The New Geography of Population Shifts: Trends Toward Balkanization." In *The State of the Union, Vol. II Social Trends*, edited by Reynolds Farley. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. pp. 271-336.
- William H. Frey. 1995. "Poverty Migration for US States: Impacts by Race, Class and Immigration Status." *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association, 1994, Social Statistics Association*, Alexandria, Virginia: American Statistical Association.
- William H. Frey. 1995. "Immigration and Internal Migration 'Flight': A California Case Study." *Population and Environment* 16(4): 353-375.
- William H. Frey. 1995. "Immigration and Internal Migration 'Flight' from US Metro Areas: Toward New Demographic Balkanization." *Urban Studies* 32(4-5): 333-357.
- William H. Frey and Elaine L. Fielding. 1995. "Changing Urban Populations: Regional Restructuring, Racial Polarization and Poverty Concentration." *Cityscape* 1(2), June: 1-66.
- William H. Frey and Jonathan Tilove. 1995. "Immigrants In—Native Whites Out." *The New York Times Magazine*, (August 20): 44-45.
- William H. Frey. 1995. "Immigration Impacts on Internal Migration of the Poor: 1990 Census Evidence for US States." *International Journal of Population Geography*, (September): 51-67.
- William H. Frey and Alden Speare, Jr. 1995. "Metropolitan Areas as Functional Communities." In *Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas: New Approaches to Geographic Definition*, edited by Donald Dahmann and James Fitzsimmons. Washington, DC: Population Division, US Bureau of the Census.
- William H. Frey. 1995. "Elderly Demographic Profiles of US States: 'New Elderly Births,' Migration and Immigration Impacts." *The Gerontologist* 35(6): 761-770.
- William H. Frey and Reynolds Farley. 1996. "Latino, Asian and Black Segregation in Multi-ethnic Metro Areas: Are Multiethnic Metros Different?" *Demography* 33(1), (February): 35-50.

- William H. Frey and Elaine L. Fielding. 1996. "The New Dynamics of Urban-Suburban Change: Immigration, Restructuring and Racial Separation." In *Demographic and Structural Change: Effects of the 1980s on American Society*, edited by Dennis L. Peck and J. Selwyn Hollingsworth. Greenwood Press. pp. 18-62.
- William H. Frey, Lao-Lee Liaw, Yu Xie, and Marcia J. Carlson. 1996. "Interstate Migration of the US Poverty Population: Immigration 'Pushes' and Welfare Magnet 'Pulls.'" *Population and Environment* 17(16): 511-536.
- William H. Frey. 1996. "Immigrant and Native Magnets." *American Demographics*, November.
- Kao-Lee Law and William H. Frey. 1996. "Interstate Migration of Young American Adults in 1985-90: An Explanation Using a Nested Logit Model." *Geographical Systems* 3: 301-334.
- William H. Frey and Cheryl L. First. 1996. "Bringing Census Data into the Classroom: World Wide Web Access and Teacher Networking." *IASSIST Quarterly*, (Spring): 4-7.
- William H. Frey. 1996. "Immigration, Domestic Migration and Demographic Balkanization in America." *Population and Development Review* 22(4): 741-763.
- William H. Frey. 1996-97. "Immigration and the Changing Geography of Poverty." *Focus* 18(2): 24-28.
- William H. Frey. 1997. "Immigration, Welfare Magnets and the Geography of Child Poverty in US States." *Population and Environment* 19(1): 53-85.
- William H. Frey. 1998. "Black Migration to the South Reaches Record Highs in the 1990s." *Population Today* 26(2), (February): 1-3.
- William H. Frey. 1998. "New Suburbs, New Alignments." Op-Ed page, *The New York Times*, March 24.
- William H. Frey and Kao-Lee Liaw. 1998. "Immigrant Concentration and Domestic Migrant Dispersal: Is Movement to Nonmetro Areas 'White Flight?'" *The Professional Geographer* 50(2): 215-232.
- Kao-Lee Liaw and William H. Frey. 1998. "Destination Choices of 1985-90 Young Immigrants to the United States: Importance of Race, Education Attainment, and Labor Force." *International Journal of Population Geography* 4: 49-61.
- William H. Frey. 1998. "The Diversity Myth." *American Demographics* (June): 38-43.
- William H. Frey and Douglas Geverdt. 1998. "Changing Suburban Demographics: Beyond the 'Black-White Suburb' Typology." *Research Report* No. 98-422, Ann Arbor, MI: Population Studies Center, The University of Michigan, July.
- William H. Frey. 1998. "New Demographic Divide in the US: Immigrant and Domestic Migration 'Migration Magnets.'" *The Public Perspective* 9(4): 25-30.
- William H. Frey and Kenneth M. Johnson. 1998. "Concentrated Immigration, Restructuring, and the 'Selective' Deconcentration of the US Population." In *Migration into Rural Areas: Theories and Issues*, edited by Paul J. Boyle and Keith H. Halfacree. London: Wiley.

- William H. Frey, Kao-Lee Liaw and Yasuko Hayase. 1998. "South-North Immigrants' Settlement and Opportunity Structures in the Destination Country: The US Experience," *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 7(1): 93-125.
- Liaw, Kao-Lee, Ji-Ping Lin and William H. Frey. 1998. "Impacts of Low-skilled Immigration on the Internal Migration of US-born Low-skilled Workers: An Assessment in a Multivariate Context." *Journal of Population Studies* (Japan) 23: 5-24.
- William H. Frey. 1999. "The New Immigration and Demographic Balkanization: Toward One America or Two?" In *America's Changing Demographic Tapestry*, edited by James W. Hughes. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University. pp. 78-97.
- William H. Frey and Kao-Lee Liaw. 1999. "Internal Migration of Foreign-born Latinos and Asians: Are They Assimilating Geographically?" In *Geographic Perspectives on US Migration: The Role of Population Movements in the Economic and Demographic Restructuring of a Society*, edited by Kavita Pandit and Suzanne Davies Withers. pp. 212-230.
- William H. Frey. 1999. "United States Population: Where the New Immigrants Are." *US Society and Values* 42 (June).
- William H. Frey. 1999. "New Black Migration Patterns in America: Are they Affected by Recent Immigration?" In *Immigration and Opportunity*, edited by Frank D. Bean. New York: Russell Sage.
- William H. Frey. 1999. "New Sun Belt Metros and Suburbs are Magnets for Retirees. *Population Today* 27(9), October.
- William H. Frey. 1999. "Melting Pot Moves to the Suburbs." *Op-Ed, Newsday*. (August): A37.
- William H. Frey. 1999. "Beyond Social Security: The Local Aspects of an Aging America." *Discussion Paper* 99-4. The Brookings Institution, Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy (June). (Excerpted in *Controller's Quarterly*, Sacramento, CA: California State Controller. Fall, 2001, pp.21-27)
- William H. Frey, Kao-Lee Liaw and Ge Lin. 2000. "State Magnets for Different Elderly Migrant Types in the United States. *International Journal of Population Geography* 6(1): 21-44.
- William H. Frey. 2000. "Multiple Melting Pots." In *The World and I*. pp 36-41.
- William H. Frey. 2000. "The New Urban Demographics: Race, Space and Boomer Aging." *Brookings Review* 18(3): 20-23.
- William H. Frey. 2000. "On the Baby Boomers: Where They Retire Will Make a Big Difference." *The Milken Institute Review*, Second Quarter 2000: 85-91.
- William H. Frey. 2000. "America's Demography in the New Century." *Urban Land Magazine*, January.
- William H. Frey. 2000. "The New, Regional U.S. Politics." *Population Today* 28(7): 1-3. (Excerpt of PSC *Research Report 00-459*, "Regional Shifts in America's Voting Aged Population. What do they mean for National Politics?" November, 2000)

- William H. Frey and Zachary Zimmer. 2001. "Defining the City and Urbanization." In *Handbook of Urban Studies*, edited by R. Paddison and W. F. Lever. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- William H. Frey. 2001. "A Closer Look At the Melting Pot Myth" Op-Ed, *Newsday*, 19 March.
- William H. Frey. 2001. "Migration to the South Brings Blacks Full Circle" *Population Today*, May/June (excerpt of PSC Research Report, "Census 2000 Shows Large Black Return to the South, Reinforcing the Region's 'White-Black' Demographic Profile." April, 2001)
- William H. Frey. 2001. "On the New Sunbelt: Suburbia Becomes More Complicated" *The Milken Institute Review* 3(2): 88-95. May.
- William H. Frey. 2001. "Micro-Melting Pots" *American Demographics*, June pp. 20-23.
- William H. Frey. 2001. "Melting Pot Suburbs: A Census 2000 Study of Suburban Diversity" *Census 2000 Series, Center on Urban and Metropolitan Studies*, Washington D.C." The Brookings Institution. pp 17.
- William H. Frey. 2001. "The Baby Boom Tsunami" *Milken Institute Review 2001*. Third Quarter, pp. 4-7
- William H. Frey. 2001. "Boomer Havens and Young Adult Magnets" *American Demographics*, September pp 22-24.
- William H. Frey. 2001. "Blacks Head South" *Milken Institute Review*. Fourth Quarter, pp. 4-7.
- William H. Frey. 2001. "Seniors In Suburbia" *American Demographics*, November pp 18-21.
- William H. Frey. 2002. "City Family, Suburb Singles" *Census 2000 Series, Center on Urban and Metropolitan Studies*, Washington DC: The Brookings Institution, (February).
- William H. Frey. 2002. "Metro Magnets for Minorities and Whites: Melting Pots, the New Sunbelt and the Heartland" *Research Report* No. 02-496, Ann Arbor, MI: Population Studies Center, The University of Michigan, February.
- William H. Frey. 2002. "Bilingual America" *Milken Institute Review*. First Quarter, pp. 5-7.
- William H. Frey. 2002. "Migration Swings" *American Demographics*. February, pp. 18-21.
- William H. Frey. 2002. "The New Suburbanization" *The American Enterprise* April/May, pp. 43.
- William H. Frey and Bill Abresch. 2002. "New Demographic Divisions Across States" *Book of the States*. Washington DC: Council of State Governments.
- William H. Frey. 2002 "Lifestyle Cities." *Milken Institute Review Second Quarter*, pp. 5-7.
- William H. Frey. 2002. "Census 2000" *Urban Land*. May.
- William H. Frey. 2002 "Brains and Brawn" 2002. *Milken Institute Review*. Third Quarter, pp. 4-6.

- William H. Frey.2002. "US Census Shows Different Paths for Domestic, Foreign Born Migrants" *Population Today* 30(6): 1-5. August/September. (Excerpt of PSC *Research Report 02-520*, "Census 2000 Reveals New Native-born and Foreign-born Shifts Across US." August, 2002.)
- Kao-Lee Liaw, William H. Frey, and J. P. Lin, 2002. "Location of Adult Children as an Attraction for Black and White Elderly *Primary Migrants* in the United States" *Environment and Planning-A*. pp. 34. 191-216.
- William H. Frey and Bill Abresch, 2002. "New Demographic Divisions Revealed by Census 2000" *Book of the States*. Washington DC: Council of State Governments. pp. 319-326.
- William H. Frey. 2002. "The New White Flight" *American Demographics*, June.
- William H. Frey and Dowell Myers, 2002. "Neighborhood Segregation in Single Race and Multi-Race America: A Census 2000 Study of Cities and Metropolitan Areas" *The Fannie Mae Foundation*, Washington DC.
- Alan Berube and William H. Frey. 2002. "A Decade of Mixed Blessings: Urban and Suburban Poverty in Census 2000" *Census 2000 Series, Center on Urban and Metropolitan Studies*, Washington DC: The Brookings Institution, August.
- William H. Frey.2002. "A Recent History of Urban Development in the US" In H.S. Geyer (editor) *International Handbook of Urban Systems: Studies of Urbanization and Migration in Advanced and Developing Countries*, Glouster, England: Edward Elgar. pp. 365-390.
- William H. Frey.2002. "Three Americas: The Rising Significance of Regions" *Journal of the American Planning Association*. Vol 68. No. 4. Fall.
- William H. Frey.2003. "The Color of Money" *Milken Institute Review* First Quarter.
- William H. Frey.2002, "Boomers and Seniors in The Suburbs: Ageing Patterns in Census 2000" *Census 2000 Series, Center on Urban and Metropolitan Studies*, Washington DC: The Brookings Institution, January.
- William H. Frey 2003. "Married With Children" *American Demographics*, March.
- William H. Frey. 2003. "Internal Migration" in Paul Demeny and Geoffrey McNicoll (editors) *International Encyclopedia of Population*. New York: Macmillan.
- William H. Frey 2003. "Commuter Blues" *Milken Institute Review*. First Quarter.
- Kao-Lee Liaw and William H. Frey, 2003. "Location of Adult Children as an Attraction for Black and White Elderly *Return and Onward Migrants* in the United States: Application of a Three-Level Nested Logit Model in the United States" *Mathematical Population Studies*. 10 pp. 75-98.
- William H. Frey.2003. "Revival: The Black Middle Class" *American Demographics*, October
- William H. Frey.2003, "Metropolitan Magnets for International and Domestic Migrants" *Living Cities Census Survey*, Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, October

- William H. Frey.2003.. “Rainbow Nation: Mixed Race Marriages among States” Charticle *Milken Institute Review*, Third Quarter
- William H. Frey. 2003. “Leaving LaLa Land: Outmigration from California” Charticle *Milken Institute Review*. Fourth Quarter,
- William H. Frey, 2003. “The New Migration Equation” (Op-Ed) *Orlando Sentinel* Nov 9.
- William H. Frey.2003. “The Demographic Dilemmas” (Op-Ed) *The New York Sun* (with Joel Kotkin) Dec 4.
- William H. Frey.2004. “The Fading of City/Suburb and Metro/Nonmetro Distinctions in the United States” in Tony Champion and Graeme Hugo (editors) *New Forms of Urbanization: Beyond the Urban—Rural Dichotomy*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishers, pp.67-88.
- William H. Frey.2004. “Where Immigrants Matter Most: Assessing New Migration Dynamics in America” *The Book of the States, 2004*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Government.
- William H. Frey. 2004. “The “New Great Migration: Black Americans Return to the South, 1965-2000” *Living Cities Census Survey*. Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, May. 4.
- William H. Frey.2004. “Generational Pull” *American Demographics*, May.
- William H. Frey. 2004. “Small is Interesting: Micropolitan America” Charticle *Milken Institute Review*. Second Quarter.
- William H. Frey.2004. “Brain Gains, Brain Drains,” *American Demographics*, June.
- William H. Frey.2004. “Zooming In on Diversity” *American Demographics*, July/August..
- William H. Frey.2004.“In Praise of Small Lives Well Lived in Small Places” *The American Enterprise* July/August.
- William H. Frey.2004. “Elusive Minority Voting Blocks” *Milken Institute Review*, Third Quarter.
- William H. Frey 2004.. “Battling Battlegrounds” *American Demographics*, September.
- William H. Frey. 2004. “Minority Myths Vs. Reality” *American Demographics*, October.
- William H. Frey.2004. “Older White Vote Still Powerhouse in White House Contest” (Op-Ed), *Orlando Sentinel*, October 24.
- William H. Frey 2004. . “The Democrats Must Woo New Demographic” (Op-Ed), *Financial Times*, pp.19, November 4.
- Joel Kotkin and William H Frey. 2004.. “Up from Ultimate Urban Dystopia” (Op-Ed). *Los Angeles Times* November 11, (with Joel Kotkin)
- William H. Frey.2004. “The Parent Trap” *The New Republic Online*, December 2. (with Joel Kotkin)
- William H. Frey.2005. “Beyond Red Versus Blue” *Milken Institute Review*, First Quarter.

- William H. Frey.2005. “Second Generation Rising” *Milken Institute Review* Second Quarter.
- William H. Frey and Kao-Lee Liaw, 2005. “Migration Within the United States: Role of Race Ethnicity” in Gary Burtless and Janet Rothenberg Pack (editors) *Brookings Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs* 2005. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press. pp. 206-262.
- William H. Frey. 2005 “Metropolitan Magnets for Internal and Domestic Migrants” pp. 13-40;
William H. Frey. “The New Great Migration: Black American’s Return to the South” pp. 87-110;
Alan Berube and William H. Frey. “A Decade of Mixed Blessings: Urban and Suburban Poverty in Census 2000” pp. 111-136. in Alan Berube, Bruce Katz and Robert Lang (editors) *Redefining Urban and Suburban America II*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press. 2005
- William H. Frey. 2005. “The Electoral College Moves to the Sunbelt” *Research Brief*. The Brookings Institute, April.
- William H. Frey and Dowell Myers. 2005. “Racial Segregation in US Metropolitan Areas and Cities, 1990-2000: Patterns, Trends and Explanations” *Research Report 05-573*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Population Studies Center. May.
- William H. Frey and Kao-Lee Liaw.2005. “Inter-state Migration of Hispanics, Asians and Blacks: Cultural Constraints and Middle Class Flight) *Research Report 05-575*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Population Studies Center. May.
- William H. Frey.2005. “Immigration and Domestic Migration in US Metropolitan Areas: 2000 and 1990 Census Findings by Education and Race” *Research Report –05-572*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Population Studies Center. May.
- William H. Frey.2005. “Electoral Edge” (Op-Ed). *Orlando Sentinel*. June 5.
- William H. Frey.2005. “Migrant Policy Could Fracture America” (Op-Ed). *Financial Times*. June 9.
- William H. Frey.2005. “Metropolitan America in the New Century: Metropolitan and Central City Demographic Shifts Since 2000” *Living Cities Census Survey*. Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program, September.
- William H. Frey.2005. “The Younging and Aging of America” *Milken Institute Review*. Third Quarter.
- William H. Frey.2005. “New Orleans Reluctant Migrants” *Milken Institute Review*. Fourth Quarter.
- William H. Frey.2005. “City Can Lure Back Its Reluctant Migrants (New Orleans)” (Op-Ed). *The Times-Picayune*. November 30.
- William H. Frey, Jill H. Wilson, Alan Berube, and Audrey Singer.2006. “Tracking Metropolitan Trends Into the Twenty-First Century: A Field Guide to the New Metropolitan and Micropolitan Definitions” pp. 191-234 in Alan Berube, Bruce Katz, and Robert E. Lang (editors) *Redefining Urban and Suburban America Volume III*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Joel Kotkin and William H. Frey.2006. “Altered State: The Third California” (Op-Ed). *Los Angeles Times*. , January 29, 2006.

- William H. Frey. 2006. "Diversity Spreads Out: Metropolitan Shifts in Hispanic, Asian and Black Populations Since 2000" *Living Cities Census Survey*. Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program, March
- William H. Frey and Audrey Singer. 2006. "Katrina and Rita Impacts on Gulf Coast Populations: First Census Findings" Washington DC: Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program, June.
- William H. Frey. 2006. "Metropolitan America in the New Century" *Urban Land*. Vol 65. No. 6. June.
- William H. Frey. 2006. "Immigrants are Everywhere" Milken Institute Review. Second Quarter.
- William H. Frey 2006.. "Housing Crunch: America's Gated Regions" Milken Institute Review. Third Quarter.
- William H. Frey. 2006. "The Silence Behind the US's Immigration Impasse" (Op-Ed). *Financial Times*. May 2,
- William H. Frey. 2006. "A Country of Newcomers" (Op-Ed) *Los Angeles Times*, October 8.
- Alan Berube, Audrey Singer, Jill H. Wilson and William H. Frey. 2006. "Finding Exurbia: America's Fast Growing Communities at the Metropolitan Fringe" Washington DC: Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program, October.
- William H. Frey. 2007. "*Immigration in America: The Divided States*" (Op-Ed). *Editor's World*, January.
- William H. Frey. 2007. "300 Million Americans" *Milken Institute Review*, First Quarter.
- Joel Kotkin and William H. Frey. 2007. "The Third California: The Golden State's New Frontier" Washington DC: Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program,
- William H. Frey. 2007. "Boomer Seniors" *Milken Institute Review*, Second Quarter.
- William H. Frey. 2007. "America Should Be More Economically Strategic About Her Future" (Op-Ed). *St Louis Post-Dispatch*. May 31.
- William H. Frey. 2007. "Mapping the Growth of Older America: Seniors and Boomers in the Early 21st Century" Washington DC: Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program, June.
- William H. Frey. 2007 "The Three America's: Reflections on America's Americans in Regional Context" in Philip Davies and Ewan Morgan (editors). *America's Americans: Population Issues in US Society and Politics*. (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas) pp. 3-14
- William H. Frey. 2007 "The New Race-Ethnic Dispersion of America's Population: Trends Since 2000" *The Book of the States, 2007*. (Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments.) p 427-439
- Kao-Lee Liaw and William H. Frey. 2008 "Explaining the Destination Choices of Newly Arrived Immigrants: A New Trend?" *Population, Space and Place* (New York: John Wiley). Vol 13, pp 377-399

William H. Frey 2008, "The Geography of America's Aging Population", *Public Policy and Aging Report* National Academy on Aging Society Vol 18, No. 1, pp 1-31

William H. Frey and Ruy Teixeira 2008. "The Political Geography of Pennsylvania: Not Another Rustbelt State" Brookings Policy Brief. April. Pp 1-27

William H. Frey, 2008 "Of Many Tongues" *Milken Institute Review*. First Quarter

Kao-Lee Liaw and William H. Frey 2008, "Choices of Metropolitan Destinations for New Immigrants Born in Mexico and India" *Research Report*, Center for Economic Studies, US Census Bureau.

William H. Frey, 2008 "Older Cities Hold Onto More People, Census Shows" Web Ed Brookings Institution, July 10, 2008

William H. Frey, 2008 "Census Projects Minority Surge" Web-Ed, Brookings Institution, August 18, 2008

William H. Frey, 2008 "Race, Immigration, and America's Changing Electorate" in Ruy Teixeira (ed) *Red, Blue and Purple America: The Future of Election Demographics*, Washington DC Brookings Press. pp 79-108.

William H. Frey and Ruy Teixeira, 2008 "The Political Geography of the Intermountain West: The New Swing Region", (Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona) Washington, DC: Brookings Policy Brief. August 2008. (60pp)

Ruy Teixeira and William H. Frey, 2008. "The Political Geography of Ohio, Michigan, and Missouri: Battlegrounds in the Heartland", Washington, DC: Brookings Policy Brief. October 2008. (60 pp)

William H. Frey and Ruy Teixeira, 2008. "The Political Geography of Virginia and Florida: Bookends of the New South.", Washington, DC: Brookings Policy Brief. April 2008. (28pp)

William H. Frey and Mark Muro, 2008 "Painting the Mountain States Blue", *The Boston Globe*, August 25, 2008. (Op Ed)

A Compass for Understanding and Using the American Community Survey: What the Media Need to Know. US Census Bureau. 2008 Drafted by William H. Frey, Brad Edmonson, and John P. DeWitt.

William H. Frey "Growing Pains: Migration Meltdown" *Milken Institute Review*, Fourth Quarter, 2008

William H. Frey and Ruy Teixeira. 2008 "A Demographic Breakthrough for Democrats" Brookings Institution. November 07, 2008 (web-ed)

William H. Frey 2008. "Growing Pains: Migration Meltdown" *Milken Institute Review*, Fourth Quarter, 2008

William H. Frey, 2008 "Migration to Hot Housing Markets Cool off" *Web-Ed*, Brookings Institution, December 24, 2008.

William H. Frey, 2009. "Obama's America" *Milken Institute Review*, First Quarter, 2009 (discusses US projections by race)

William H. Frey, 2009. "Bursting "Migration Bubble" Favors Coastal Metros, Urban Cores" *Web-Ed*, Brookings Institution, March 20, 2009

William H. Frey, 2009. "Mixed Race Marriages" *Milken Institute Review*, Second Quarter, 2009

William H. Frey, 2009. "Migration Freefall" *Milken Institute Review*, Third Quarter, 2009

William H. Frey. Alan Berube, Audrey Singer and Jill H. Wilson. 2009. "Getting Current: Recent Demographic Trends in Metropolitan America" *Research Report* Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program, March. (24pp)

William H. Frey 2009 "How did Race affect the 2008 Presidential Election?" *Research Report* 09-688 University of Michigan Population Studies Center, June

William H. Frey, 2009. "Migration Freefall" *Milken Institute Review*, Third Quarter

William H. Frey, 2009 "Big City Populations Survive the Housing Crunch" Brookings Web-Ed, July 1,

William H. Frey, 2009 "Survey Says: No Need to Wait for the Census" *The New Republic*, The Avenue online Sept 22,

William H. Frey, 2009 "Brain Gains" Charticle, *Milken Institute Review Fourth Quarter*, pp 8-9

William H. Frey .2009 "The Great American Migration Slowdown: Regional and Metropolitan Dimensions" Brookings *Research Report*, December

William H. Frey, 2009 "Immigration and the Coming Majority Minority" Brookings Web-Ed. Dec 18,

William H. Frey, 2009 "A Roller Coaster Decade for Migration" Brookings Web-Ed, Dec 29,

William H. Frey, 2010 "Its in Our Blood" in *New York Times*, Room for Debate blog, A Nation of Hunkered Down Homebodies. Jan. 10

William H. Frey, "Five Myths about the 2010 and the US Population" *The Washington Post*, Feb 14, 2010

William H. Frey, 2010 "A Demographic Lull at Census Time" Brookings Web-Ed, March 26

William H. Frey, 2010 "People Power and the Census" Charticle, *Milken Institute Review First Quarter* pp 6-7

William H. Frey, 2010 "Will Arizona Be America's Future?" Brookings Web-Ed. April 28

William H. Frey. 2010 "*Race and Ethnicity*" in *State of Metropolitan America*, Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program. pp 50 -63.

William H. Frey. 2010 "*Age*" in *State of Metropolitan America*, Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program. pp 76-89

William H. Frey. 2010 "*Households and Families*" in *State of Metropolitan America*, Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program. pp 90-103.

William H. Frey 2010 "Mapping the Growth in Older America" in Stuart Greenbaum (ed) *Longevity Rules: How to Age Well into the Future*" Carmichael, CA: Eskaton pp 196-202

William H. Frey, 2010 "Texas Gains, Suburbs Lose in 2010 Census Preview" Brookings Web-Ed. June 25

William H. Frey, 2010 "Baby Boomers and the New Demographics of America's Seniors" in Richard Adler, guest editor, *Generations Vol 34. No. 4 pp.30-37*

William H. Frey, 2010 "Cultural Generation Gap" Charticle, *Milken Institute Review Fourth Quarter, 2010*

William H. Frey 2010 "Migration Slowdown in America: Trends and Impacts" *Book of the States, 2010*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2010.Edition, Vol 42. pp 447-464.

William H Frey and Julie Park. 2010. "Migration and Dispersal of Hispanic and Asian Groups: An Analysis of the 2006-2008 Multiyear American Community Survey." *Research Report No. 10-722* University of Michigan Population Studies Center. December 2010. 68pp

William H Frey 2010 Census Data: Blacks and Hispanics Take Different Segregation Paths
Brookings Web Ed December 16

William H Frey 2010 The Findings from the First Release of 2010 Census Data
Brookings Up Front Blog December 22

William H. Frey, 2011 "The 2010 Census: How is America Changing?" *Urban Land* January/February pp.34-36

William H Frey 2011 Population Migration Declines Further: Stalling Brain Gains and Ambitions
Brookings Web-Ed January 12

William H Frey, 2011 Growth in School-Age Minority Population Signals Demographic Tipping Point
Brookings Web-Ed February 07

William H. Frey, 2011 "Boomers become Seniors" Charticle, *Milken Institute Review Second Quarter*

William H Frey 2011 A Pivotal Decade for America's White and Minority Populations *Brookings Web Ed* March 25

William H. Frey. 2011 America's *Diverse Future: Initial Glimpses of the US Child Population and the 2010 Census* Washington DC: Brookings Institution April

William H Frey 2011 Census Shows Challenge of America's Children Brookings Web-Ed, *TheAvenue, The New Republic* April 08

William H. Frey. 2011 *Melting Pot Cities and Suburbs: Racial and Ethnic Change in Metro America in the 2000s* Washington DC: Brookings Institution May

William H. Frey 2011 "Black Migration in Reverse" Charticle, *Milken Institute Review Third Quarter*

William H. Frey 2011 "The Uneven Aging and "Younging" in America: State and Metropolitan Trends in the 2010 Census" Washington DC: Brookings Institution June

William H. Frey, 2011 "Increasing Share of Minority Births in United States Signals New Demographic Tipping Point" Brookings Web Ed. August 26

William H. Frey 2011 "The New Metro Minority Map: Regional Shifts in Hispanics, Asians and Blacks from Census 2010". Washington DC: Brookings Institution August

William H. Frey 2011 "Rainbow Suburbs" Charticle *Milken Institute Review* Fourth Quarter,

William H. Frey 2011 "Young Adults Choose "Cool Cities" During Recession" Brookings WebEd October 28

William H. Frey 2011 "Americans Still Stuck at Home" Brookings Web Ed. November 17

William H. Frey 2011 "Counting Consequences (2010 Census)" pp 14-16 in *State Legislatures Magazine*, November

William H. Frey, 2011 "Racial Demographics and the 2008 Presidential Election in the United States" Chapter 10 in Jack A. Goldstone et al (eds) *Political Demography: How Population Changes are Reshaping International Security and National Politics*. Boulder, Co: *Paradigm Publishers*

William H. Frey, Alan Berube, Audrey Singer, and Jill Wilson, 2011 "Five Things the Census Revealed about America in 2011" Brookings Web Ed December 20

William H. Frey, 2011 "2011 Put the Breaks on Population Growth in the United States" Brookings Web Ed December 2

William H. Frey 2012 Response to "Have American's Lost the Economic Incentive to Move?" NPR's *Planet Money* (blog) January 23,

William H. Frey 2012 "The US Census of 2010: Foreshadowing a Century of Change" Special Report pp 180-183 in *Encyclopedia Britannica 2012 Book of the Year*, Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica

William H. Frey and Ruy Teixeira 2012 "America's New Swing Region: The Political Demography and Geography of the Mountain West" in Ruy Teixeira (ed) *America's New Swing Region*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.

William H. Frey 2012 "Hispanics, Race and the Changing Political Landscape of the United States and the Mountain West" Chapter 3 in Ruy Texeira (ed) *America's New Swing Region*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press

William H. Frey 2012 "Population Growth in Metro America since 1980: Putting the Volatile 2000s in Perspective" Washington DC: Brookings Institution March

William H. Frey, 2012 "The Demographic Lull Continues, Especially in Exurbia" Brookings Web Ed April 6

William H Frey 2012 "Why Minorities Will Decide the 2012 Election" Brookings Web Ed May 1st

William H Frey, 2012, "The 2010 Census: America on the Cusp" *Milken Institute Review*, Second Quarter, pp 47-58

William H. Frey, 2012 "Baby Boomers Had Better Embrace Change" Op Ed *The Washington Post*, June 8

William H. Frey, 2012 "Will 2012 Be the Last Hurrah for Whites?" Next America, *The National Journal*

William H. Frey 2012, "Demographic Reversal: Cities Thrive, Suburbs Sputter" Brookings Web Ed. June 29

Ruy Teixeira and William H. Frey 2012 "New Data on Obama's Massive Demographic Advantage" *The New Republic*, *The Plank*, July 9

William H. Frey and Ruy Teixeira 2012, "Why Obama Shouldn't Take the Black Vote for Granted" *The New Republic*, *The Plank*, July 12

William H Frey 2012, "On Election Day: A New American Mainstream" Brookings Web Ed, November 8

William H Frey 2012, "Census Projects New Minority Majority Tipping Points" Brookings Web Ed December 13

William H Frey 2012, "A Modest Population Bounce Back for the Sun Belt and the Nation" December 21

William H. Frey 2013, "Economic Improvement Nudges US Migration to Normal", Brookings Web Ed. March 15

William H. Frey 2013 "Graying and Browning" *The Milken Institute Review*, Second Quarter.

William H Frey 2013, "Minority Turnout Determined the 2012 Election" Brookings Web Ed May 10

William H Frey 2013, "Resurgent Migration" *Milken Institute Review*, Third Quarter

William H Frey 2013, "A Big City Growth Revival?" Brookings Web Ed, May 28.

William H. Frey 2013, "Shift to a Majority-Minority Population is Happening Faster than Expected" Brookings Web-Ed, June 19

William H. Frey 2013. "Diversity is America's Future" Web-Ed. All-In Nation, August 7.

William H. Frey 2013. "Resurgent Migration". *Milken Institute Review*, Third Quarter.

William H Frey 2013. "Millennial and Senior Migrants Follow Different Post-Recession Paths" Brookings Web-Ed, November 15

William H. Frey 2014 "Babies and What Demographics Portend" *National Journal*, *The Next America*, Perspective. January 8

William H. Frey 2014, "Population Growth and Migration Sputter, Yet Again" Brookings Web-Ed, January 24

William H Frey 2014, "Been Down So Long". *Milken Institute Review*, First Quarter.

William H Frey 2014, "A Population Slowdown for Small Town America" Brookings Web-Ed, March 31,

William H. Frey 2014, "Multilingual and Proud" *Milken Institute Review*, Second Quarter

William H. Frey 2014, "Will This Be the Decade of Big City Growth?" Brookings Web-Ed, May 23

William H. Frey 2014, "Population and Migration Slowdowns Continue to Impact States" in *The Book of States, 2014 Edition*. Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments

William H. Frey, 2014 "Enjoy It While It Lasts! The GOP Base is Still White and Aging" *Salon* November 5,

William H. Frey, 2014 "10 Maps that will explain the Next Election" *Politico Magazine*, November 18

William H. Frey, 2014 "Five Charts that show why a Post-White America is Already Here" *The New Republic*, November 21,

William H. Frey, 2014 "The Suburbs: Not Just for White People Anymore" *The New Republic*, November 24

William H. Frey, 2014, "Glimpses of a Ghetto-Free Future" *The New Republic*, November 26

William H. Frey, 2014 "The Major Demographic Shift That's Upending How We Think about Race" *The New Republic*, November 28

William H. Frey, 2014 "Ferguson, "Amnesty" and America's New Racial Make-Up" Brookings Web-Ed, December 2,

William H. Frey, 2014, "America's Getting Less White and that save it" *Newsweek* December, 6

William H. Frey, 2014 "New Projections Point to a Majority Minority Nation in 2044" Brookings Web-Ed, December 12

William H. Frey, 2014 "Karl Rove and Fox News" Worst Nightmare: White Males, The Changing South and the Truth about Demographics and Democrats" *Salon* December 13

William H. Frey 2014 "Sunbelt Migration Revives as Florida Overtakes New York" Brookings Web-Ed, December 30,.

William H Frey 2015, "Millennial Metro Magnets" (Charticle) *Milken Institute Review*, First Quarter, pp 5-7

William H. Frey, 2015 "State of the Union Positions Our Next Diverse Generation as a Domestic Policy Priority" Brookings Web-Ed, January 21

William H. Frey, 2015 “No Need to Fear a No-Majority America” *Los Angeles Times*, March 8, p.A-26

William H. Frey, 2015 “Migration to the Suburbs and Sun Belt Picks Up” Brookings Web-Ed, April 8,

William H. Frey, 2015 “Hillary Clinton, Marco Rubio and America’s Cultural Generation Gap” Brookings Web-Ed April 14,

William H. Frey, 2015 “New Census Data: Selective City Slowdowns and the City-Suburb Growth Gap” Brookings Web-Ed May 21

William H. Frey 2015 “White Aging Means Post-Millennial America is Becoming More Diverse Everywhere” Brookings Web-Ed, June 30.

William H. Frey, 2015 “Stop Laughing at Donald Trump” Outlook Section, *Washington Post* July 19, 2015 p B-5

William H. Frey, 2015, “A New Segregation Paradigm in the United States” *Milken Institute Review*, Third Quarter, pp 67-83

William H Frey, 2015, “Voter Suppression Laws Won’t Work for Long” Newsweek.Com August 3

William H. Frey, 2015, Can a Trump-style Republican survive America’s ‘Diversity Explosion’?, Brookings Web-Ed, September 15

William H. Frey, 2015, More big cities are gaining white population, census data show Brookings Web-Ed October 1

William H Frey, 2015, “The Browning of America: The Next 15 Years” (Charticle) *Milken Institute Review*, Fourth Quarter, pp 13-15

William H Frey, 2015, “Demography and Destination” *The Economist: The World in 2016*, November 2, p. 97

William H. Fre, 2015. Census shows modest declines in black-white segregation, Brookings Web-Ed, December 8.

William Frey, 2015. “One (Mostly White, Older) Person, One Vote” *The Washington Post*, December 22.

William Frey, 2015 “The New Racial Generation Gap” *Los Angeles Times*, December 29.

William H. Frey, 2016, Sun Belt Migration Reviving, New Census Data Show, Brookings Web-Ed, January 4.

William H Frey, 2016, “Asian Surprise” *Milken Institute Review*, First Quarter pp 5-6

William H Frey, 2016, “Boomers at 70 Will Change America- Again” *USA Today* January 26.

William H. Frey, 2016, [How unrepresentative are the early presidential primary states?](#), Brookings Web-Ed, February 3.

William H. Frey, 2016, [Can Trump Win in November?](#), Brookings Web-Ed, March 2.

William H. Frey, 2016, [Can Trump push Arizona to the Democrats?](#), Brookings Web-Ed, March 21.

William H. Frey, 2016, “Diversity is an Opportunity, not a Threat for America” CNN March 26.

William H. Frey, 2016, [Migration to Sun Belt metro areas continues to surge](#), Brookings Web-Ed Brookings Institution, March 31.

William H. Frey, 2016, [Women could make a big difference in a Clinton-Trump match-up](#), Brookings Web-Ed, April 9

William H. Frey, 2016, “Boomers at 70: The New 50?” *Milken Institute Review*, Second Quarter pp 13-14

William H. Frey, 2016, “Clinton vs. Trump: The Battle of the Sexes” Newsweek.com May, 6,

William H. Frey, 2016, [At Mid-Decade, City Growth Continues](#), Brookings Web-Ed, May 20

William H. Frey, 2016, “Diversity defines the millennial generation” Brookings Web-Ed, June 28

William H. Frey, 2016, [Convention cities make exemplary stages to discuss America's racial divide](#) Brookings Web-Ed July 12,

William H. Frey, 2016, [Diversity defines the millennial generation](#), Brookings Web-Ed, June 28

William H. Frey, 2016, “Census Shows Modest Declines in Black-White Segregation” pp 848-851 in Laura Buzzard et. al. (Eds) *The Broadview Anthology of Expository Prose*. Third Edition. Ontario Canada. Broadview Press

William H. Frey, 2016, [Convention cities make exemplary stages to discuss America’s racial divide](#), Brookings Web-Ed, July 12

William H. Frey, 2016, [Metropolitan Lens: America’s racial generation gap and the 2016 election](#), Brookings Web-Ed and podcast July 26

William H. Frey, 2016, [Demographic fault lines and the 2016 election](#), *Las Vegas Sun*, August 1

William H. Frey, 2016, [Educated white women could trigger a decisive Trump defeat](#), Brookings Web-Ed August 16

William H. Frey, 2016, “The Diversity Explosion is America’s 21st Century Baby Boom” in Earl Lewis and Nancy Cantor (Eds) *Our Compelling Interests* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, pp-16-35

William H. Frey, 2016, “How America’s Diversity Explosion is Changing the Political Landscape” in *The Book of States, 2016 Edition*. (Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments) pp 267-275

William H Frey, 2016, “America’s Diversity Explosion” *Vanguardia Dossier* (quarterly journal published by Spanish newspaper, *Lavanguardia*) translated into Spanish, October/December, pp. 80-87

William H. Frey. 2016, [The power of the educated white female vote in election 2016.](#), Brookings Web-Ed and video, October 18.

William H. Frey, 2016, [Diversity is a reason for optimism](#), Brookings Web-Ed October 24

William H. Frey, 2016, [Can White Blue-Collar Workers Give Trump a Victory?](#), Op-Ed, *Newsweek.com*, November 4

William H. Frey, 2016, [The demographic blowback that elected Donald Trump](#), Brookings Web-Ed November 10

William H. Frey, 2016, [White neighborhoods get modestly more diverse, new census data show](#), Brookings Web-Ed, December 13

William H. Frey, 2016, [U.S. growth rate hits new low as migration to the Sun Belt continues](#), Brookings Web-Ed December 23

William H. Frey, 2017, . [It’s America’s minority youth that deserve both parties’ attention](#), Brookings Web-Ed January 5

William H Frey, 2017, “Millennials at the Gates“ *Milken Institute Review*, First Quarter

William H. Frey, 2017, [Trump’s early actions will widen America’s political demographic divide](#), , Brookings Web-Ed, February 10

William H Frey, 2017, “Population Growth Hits Bottom“ *Milken Institute Review*, Second Quarter

William H. Frey, 2017, [A substantial majority of Americans live outside Trump counties, census shows](#), Web-Ed Brookings Web-Ed, March 23

William H. Frey, 2017, [Census shows a revival of pre-recession migration flows](#), Brookings Web-Ed March 30

William H. Frey, 2017, [Where immigrant growth matters most](#), Brookings Web-Ed, May 2, 2017

William H. Frey, 2017, . [Census shows pervasive decline in 2016 minority voter turnout](#), Brookings Web-Ed, May 18

William H. Frey, 2017, [Race, American Identity and the Census](#), Brookings Web-Ed, May 24

William H. Frey, 2017, [City growth dips below suburban growth, Census shows](#), Brookings Web-Ed

May 30

William H. Frey, 2017, "Census shows nonmetropolitan America is whiter, getting older and losing population" Brookings Web-Ed, June 27

William H. Frey, 2017, "How young Americans are set to Change the US forever" *BBC News* July 13

William H Frey, 2017, "Internal Migration: What Does the Future Hold?" essay in A.G. Champion, Ian Shuttleworth and Thomas Cooke, (Eds), *Internal Migration in the Developed World: Are We Becoming Less Mobile?* New York: Routledge Press, 2017 forthcoming

William H Frey, 2017, "Trump country, but maybe not for long" *Milken Institute Review*, Third Quarter, 2017, forthcoming.

William H. Frey ,2017, "National Population Growth Declines as Domestic Migration Flows Rise" in *The Book of States, 2017 Edition*. (Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments) forthcoming,

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES:

Editorial Consultant: *American Journal of Sociology, American Sociological Review, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Demography, Environment and Planning-C, Government and Policy, Human Ecology, International Migration Review, International Regional Science Review, Journal of the American Statistical Association, Journal of Regional Science, Land Economics, Population Research and Policy Review, The Professional Geographer, Rural Sociology, Social Forces, Social Science Quarterly, Urban Affairs Quarterly.*

Consulting Reviewer of Research Proposals: National Science Foundation, National Institutes of Health, Russell Sage Foundation

Professional Service

Member, Advisory Committees on 1980 U.S. Census Migration Publications. U.S. Census Bureau, July 1980.

Consultant, The Urban Institute, on Urban Residential Mobility in the 1970s, 1980-82.

Member, Working Group on Spatial Distribution of the National Committee for Research on the 1980 Census, Social Science Research Council, April 1981.

Consultant, The University of Wisconsin-Madison, on Monitoring Production of Public Use Sample Files from the 1940 and 1950 Censuses of Population, 1981-83.

Board of Editorial Advisors, *Demography*, 1983-84.

Member, Subcommittee on Migration Statistics, Committee on Population Statistics, Population Association of America, 1987-88.

Member, Working Group on the Metropolitan Concepts and Statistics Project, U.S. Bureau of the Census and Office of Management and Budget, 1990-1992.

Consultant, US Department of Housing and Urban Development for *1995 President's National Urban Policy Report*, 1991-95.

Member, Subcommittee on Census 2000, Committee on Population Statistics, Population Association of America, 1990-1995.

Advisory Board, *International Journal of Population Geography*, 1995-98.

Consultant, National Academy of Sciences, Committee on Population, Panel on Economic and Demographic Impacts of Immigration,” 1995-97.

Member and Chair, Committee on National Statistics, American Sociological Association, 1996-98.

Advisory Committee, Public Radio International and WGBH, Boston, Project on Immigration and American Diversity, 1997-98.

Consultant, US Department of Housing and Urban Development for *State of the Cities, 2000*.

North American Advisory Board, *Urban Studies*, 1996 - 2002

Fellow, Urban Land Institute, 1996-2002

Council, American Sociological Association, Section on Sociology of Population, 1998-2003

Advisor, Population Division, US Census Bureau, 2000-2003

Contributing Editor, *American Demographics*, 2001-2005.

Member, Committee on Population Statistics (COPS), Population Association of America, 1995-2007

Board of Directors, National Numeracy Network, 2005- 2011

“Summer at Census Scholar”, US Census Bureau, 2011

American Sociological Association Representative to The Council of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics (COPAFS), 1998-2011

Advisory Committee for publication, “*All in Nation: An America that Works for All*” Center for American Progress, 2013-2014

Advisory Board, Generations Initiative/Generations United Project on Intergenerational Solutions, 2013-2014

Member. Review Panel for National Institutes on Aging, March 2017

COOPERATION WITH MEDIA:

Interviews with newspaper, news magazine, radio and TV reporters to discuss research findings or provide commentary related to demographic issues. These include newspapers: The New York

Times, The Washington Post, USA Today, The Wall Street Journal, The Los Angeles Times, The Christian Science Monitor, Associated Press, Gannett News Service, Knight-Ridder Newspapers, Newhouse News Service, Atlanta Constitution, San Francisco Chronicle, The Boston Globe, The Philadelphia Inquirer, The Chicago Tribune, Dallas Morning News, local Detroit newspapers, and several others; Magazines: Time, Newsweek, US News and World Report, Forbes, Fortune, The New Republic, The National Journal, The National Review, The New Yorker, and others. Radio and TV interviews were taken by Voice of America, National Public Radio, BBC, C-SPAN, The PBS Newshour, ABC World News Tonight, ABC Radio, CBS Evening News, CBS Sunday Morning, CBS Radio (Osgood Report), CNN, MSNBC, Fox, and several others.

SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS AND INTERVIEWS

Speaker, "Metro USA: Beyond the Transition," Seminar Series, Population Reference Bureau, Washington, DC, November 16, 1988.

Speaker, "Migration Processes and Metropolitan Change," Seminar Series, The Urban Institute, Washington, DC, December 1, 1988.

Speaker, "Migration and Metropolitan Population Change: U.S. and International Comparisons," Demographic Research Seminar, Center for Demographic Studies, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Suitland, MD, December 13, 1988.

Speaker, "Population Redistribution in the U.S.: Beyond the Transition," Seminar, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington DC May 1, 1989.

Speaker, "Explanations of Urban Growth." Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University, Bangkok, Thailand, August 1, 1990.

Speaker, "Recent Urban Growth in the US." Taiwan Provincial Institute for Family Planning, Taichung, Taiwan, August 6, 1990.

Speaker, "Metropolitan Population Change in the US: A Story of Growth and Decline." US-USSR Population Symposium, The Urban Institute, Washington, DC, March 20, 1991.

Speaker, "Perspectives on Recent Population Change in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan America," National Workshop on Population Change and the Future of Rural America, Wye Plantation, Maryland, May 31, 1991.

Presentation, "Metropolitan Areas as Functional Communities" before the Interagency Committee on Metropolitan Statistics, in the Metropolitan Concepts and Statistics Project, New Executive Office Building, Washington, DC, November 1, 1991 (with Alden Speare, Jr., Brown University).

Speaker, Reporters' Briefing on "The Census: Mosaics, Melting Pots and the Middle Class" Washington Journalism Center Conference. Washington D.C. February 3, 1992.

Speaker, Briefing to State Legislature and Executive Staffs on "1990 Census Results and the Michigan Population", Department of Management and Budget, State of Michigan, Lansing, March 24, 1992.

Presentation, "US Demographic Trends: 1990 Census Findings." U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, Washington, DC. June 1, 1992.

Speaker, ICPSR (Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research) Summer Seminar on 1990 Census Data Analysis, Ann Arbor, MI, June 1991; June 1992; June 1993.

Speaker, Briefing to State Legislature and Executive Staffs on "Residential Segregation in the US and Michigan," Department of Management and Budget, State of Michigan, Lansing, April 1993.

Speaker, "Metropolitan Renewal, Racial Separation and Suburban Dominance" Carolinas in Context Conference, sponsored by the Charlotte Observer and University of North Carolina, Charlotte, NC. September 13, 1993.

Presentation "Demography and Politics," American Association of Universities Conference, Washington, DC. March 20, 1994 (with Thomas B. Edsall, The Washington Post).

Speaker, "Immigration-Internal Migration Dynamics in the US" at Department of Geography and Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, U.K. June 1994.

Speaker, "The New Geography of US Population Shifts: Diversity or Balkanization?" The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago, June 13, 1994.

Panelist, Symposium on Income Disparity and Job Displacement, Center for Immigration Studies. Washington, DC. November 1994.

Speaker, "The New Out-Migration from California." UCLA Business Forecast Seminar. Los Angeles, CA. June 21, 1995.

Speaker, "The New White Flight." Congressional Briefing on Immigration, co-sponsored by the Population Resource Center and the Center for Immigration Studies, Washington, DC, August 21, 1995.

Speaker, "Immigration, Welfare Magnets and the Geography of Poor Children." Seminar, Child Trends, Inc. Washington, DC. August 30, 1995.

Panelist, Forum on the Impact of Information Technology on Human Settlement Patterns. Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge, MA. November 9, 1995.

Speaker, "Immigration and Migration 'Flight' from California." Public Policy Institute of California, San Francisco, CA, November 17, 1995.

Speaker, Metropolitan Conference on New Approaches to Defining Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Areas, Council of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics (COPAFS). Washington, DC. November 29, 1995.

Presentation, "Immigration Impacts on Internal Migration: Demographic and Geographic Dimensions" for Panel of Economic and Demographic Impacts of Immigration. National Academy of Sciences, Irvine, CA. January 25, 1996 (with Kao-Lee Liaw and Yu Xie).

Speaker, "Immigration, Internal Movement and the Changing Demographics of US High Immigration Regions." The Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA. January 26, 1996.

Speaker, "The Balkanization of America and the Challenge to Higher Education." 1996 National Conference on Higher Education, American Association of Higher Education. Chicago, IL. March 19, 1996.

Speaker, "The New White Flight: Demographic Balkanization," Lecture Series on Demographics and Public Policy. Edward J. Bloustein, School of Planning, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, November 14, 1996.

Speaker, "Immigration and the Changing Geography of Poverty," Congressional Briefing on Immigration to California, co-sponsored by the Population Resource Center and the California Institute for Federal Policy Research, Washington, DC, March 25, 1997.

Speaker, "Use of Comparative National Census Data for Aging Research," Population Activities Unit, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva, Switzerland, October 3, 1997.

New Directions in Population Geography Lecture at the 1998 meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Boston, MA, March 28, 1998.

Speaker, "Immigration, Domestic Migration and America's New Regional Demography," Inner City Forum, Urban Land Institute, Spring Meeting, May 1, 1998.

Speaker, Congressional Briefing, "Americans on the Move: How Population Shifts are Changing the Social and Political Landscape." Sponsored by the Population Resource Center, Longworth House Office Building, Washington, DC, October 28, 1998.

Guest, C-SPAN, *Washington Journal* program on "Demographics and the Election" November 3, 1998.

Panelist Advisor to *USA Today* editors, reporters on urban demographic topics, Roslyn, VA (February 8, 1999).

Panelist, "Global Overview and the US" Milken Institute Global Conference, Beverly Hills, CA March 10, 1999.

Speaker, "America's Demography in the New Century: Boomers and Immigrants as Major Players" Conference on Housing in the 21st Century, sponsored by the Urban Land Institute and Joint Center for Housing Policy, Washington, DC March 29, 1999.

Speaker, "New Demographic Shifts in America: Single Melting Pot or Multiple Melting Pots?" Massachusetts Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA April 2, 1999.

Speaker, Conference on "Demographics and the News Process" Pointer Institute for Media Studies, Detroit, MI, sponsored by Wayne State University and the Ford Foundation, April 22, 1999.

Speaker, "America's Changing Demographic Mosaic" Population Forum sponsored by Montgomery County, MD, June 12, 1999.

Panelist, "Demographic Trends Affecting Housing" National Housing Conference, Washington, DC, June 15, 1999.

Speaker, “The Who, Where, and Why of Western Migration in the 1990s” Leadership Forum on Population Trends, Center for the New West, Colorado Springs, CO, July 7, 1999.

Speaker, “Race and Space in America’s Suburbs” Annual Suburban Superintendents’ Conference American Association of School Administrators, Semiahmoo Resort, WA, July 19, 1999.

Speaker, “Changing Senior Demographics” Workshop on Developing Active Adult Communities in the 21st Century—Is the Paradigm Shifting? 1999 Fall Meeting, Urban Land Institute, October 22, 1999.

Speaker, “America’s New Diversity” Conference on “The Future of the Center: Using the Market to Save the Cities” sponsored by the Pepperdine University School of Public Policy and the Reason Public Policy Institute, Los Angeles, CA, November 11, 1999.

Speaker, “Changing Demographics for the New Century” 1999 Leaders Policy Conference, State Government Affairs Council Foundation, Naples, FL, November 20, 1999.

Speaker, “The Influence of Changing Demographics on Cities and Regions” Atlanta Trends Conference, Urban Land Institute, Atlanta, GA February 29, 2000.

Speaker “The Census” the Knight Center for Specialized Journalism, University of Maryland, April 11, 2000.

Speaker, Congressional Briefing, “America’s Demography in the New Century” sponsored by the Population Resource Center and California Institute for Federal Policy Research, Longworth House Office Building, Washington, DC, April 13, 2000.

Presentation, “US Demographic Trends: Race, Space and Boomer Aging” U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, Washington, DC. May 5, 2000.

Speaker, “America’s Changing Demographics” Builder Active Adult Workshop, Phoenix, AZ, June 6, 2000.

Speaker, “Recent Demographic Changes in the Los Angeles Region” Los Angeles Trends 2000 Conference, Urban Land Institute and University of Southern California Lusk Center, Los Angeles, CA, June 7, 2000.

Speaker, “Changing Populations: Changed Communities” Association of Community College Trustees, Charlotte, NC, June 22, 2000.

Speaker, “The Demography of the New Immigration” National Meeting of the National Association of Business Economists, Chicago, IL, September 12, 2000.

Panelist, “From Work Force 2000 to Work Force 2020” sponsored by the Hudson Institute, Washington, DC, September 28, 2000.

Speaker, “Race, Space, and the Census” Conference on the Politics of the Census, Lanier Public Policy Conference, University of Houston, Houston, TX, December 8, 2000.

Speaker, “Mapping the Future” Conference on Covering Immigration, Knight Center for Specialized Journalism, Annenberg School of Communication, University of Southern California, May 13, 2001.

Speaker, “What the New Census Tells Us” Annual Meeting of the National Association of Towns and Townships, Washington, DC, September 5, 2001.

Speaker, Congressional Briefing, “Our Changing Nation” sponsored by the Population Resource Center, Longworth House Office Building, Washington, DC, September 7, 2001.

Speaker, “Census 2000—What Does It Mean to Me?” Trends Plenary Session, Fall Meeting, Urban Land Institute, Boston, MA, October 4, 2001.

Luncheon Speaker, “What Does the Census Tell Us About Urban America?” Fannie Mae Foundation—Brookings Institution Conference on Census and the New Urban Dynamic, Cleveland, OH, November 7, 2001.

Speaker, “Diversity, But Not a Melting Pot” LISC Center for Home Ownership Summit Summer 2001, Washington, DC, November 8, 2001

Speaker, “Covering the Census Long Form Data” New York Times Census Workshop, Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, New York, NY, November 10, 2001.

Speaker, “American Melting Pots” Conference on Latinos and Census 2000, Western Knight Center for Specialized Journalism, Annenberg School of Communication, University of Southern California, February 6-9, 2002.

Speaker, “Changing Demographics and Lifestyles” Residential Summit, Urban Land Institute, Washington, DC, March 1, 2002 .

Speaker, Congressional Briefing, “What the Census Says to Demographers” National Computer Assisted Reporting Conference, March 16, 2002.

Guest, C-SPAN, *Washington Journal* program on “African American Demographics and Census 2000” April 28, 2002

Speaker, “Census 2000: What’s Next?” Meeting of Demographers and Washington DC Journalists, sponsored by the Ford Foundation and Brookings Institution, Washington DC, May 6, 2002.

Speaker, Annual meeting of the California Society of Newspaper Editors and Associated Press News Executive Council. Anaheim, CA. May 18, 2002.

Speaker, Conference on “Census 2000: Growing Together or Apart?” sponsored by the Department of City and Regional Planning, University of California-Berkeley. November 1, 2002

Speaker, “Emerging Demographic Regions in America” Urban Growth Lecture Series, University of Southern California, February, 2003.

Speaker, “New Demographic Regions in America” Seminar sponsored by Pew Charitable Trusts, Philadelphia, PA May 2003.

Presentation on Current Demographic Issues, with regional reporters, USA TODAY, McLean, VA, June 2003.

Speaker, Workshop on Analyzing Poverty and Welfare Trends Using Census 2000, National Poverty Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI. June 2003

Speaker, “Multicultural Magnets: America’s New Regions” Conference on Multicultural Equity, Strategic Research Institute, New York City, July 27, 2003

Speaker, Capitol Hill Briefing, “America Transformed: Migration and Implications for Public Policy” sponsored by Population Resource Center, The Northeast-Midwest Institute and California Federal Policy Institute, Cannon House Office Bldg. Nov 21, 2003

Speaker, “The Role of Immigrants in Revitalizing the Economy of American Cities” sponsored by the Welcoming Center for New Pennsylvanians, and Pennsylvania Economy League, Constitution Hall, Philadelphia, PA, January 14, 2004.

Speaker, “Policy Implications of US Domestic Demographic Trends” Conference on Cultural Competence and Diversity, Dwight D. Eisenhower National Security Series, co-sponsored by the Institute for International Public Policy, United Negro College Fund, at George Washington University, April 7, 2004.

Speaker, “Three Americas: How Migration is Transforming America” Athenaeum Speaker Series, Claremont-McKenna College, Claremont, CA, April 20, 2004

Speaker, Capitol Hill Briefing, “America’s Changing Demography in the 21st Century” US. Capitol, Senate Family Dining Room, sponsored by America’s Trust, May 20, 2004.

Speaker, “America’s Changing Demography: Impacts on the Urban Landscape” Board of Directors Retreat, Mortgage Bankers Association, Lake George, NY August 2, 2004.

Speaker, National Press Club, “Battleground 2004: The Last Hurrah for Aging White Voters?” Briefing sponsored by Center for Immigration Studies, October 14, 2004.

Speaker, “How Immigration and Domestic Migration are Transforming America’s Demographic Landscape” LeFrak Lecture, School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, University of Maryland. November 10, 2004.

Speaker, “What the New Demographic Shifts Imply for Urban America” Urban Land Institute-SEMCOG Forum, Detroit, MI. May 18, 2005.

Speaker, Capitol Hill Briefing, “America’s New Migration Patterns: What They Mean for Policy and Politics” sponsored by the Population Resource Center. June 6, 2005.

Speaker, “Changing Demographics: What Lies in Store for States” Annual Meeting of the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), Seattle WA August 18, 2005.

Speaker, “What Will A Cut in Census Bureau Funding Mean for US Cities?” Falk Auditorium, Brookings Institution, October 14, 2005.

Speaker, “Immigration and Racial Demographics in America.” Annual Meeting of the Society of Professional Journalists. Las Vegas, NV, October 17, 2005.

Speaker, “New Demographic Shifts in America: An Emphasis on Seniors” Senior Housing Council, Urban Land Institute, Annual Fall Meeting, Los Angeles, CA, November 2, 2005.

Speaker, “Planning for New Orleans Demographic Future” Louisiana Recovery and Building Conference. New Orleans, November 11, 2005

Speaker, “Evaluating American Community Survey Data for the Foreign Born” Conference on Immigration Statistics: Methodology and Data Quality sponsored by the US Census Bureau, February 14, 2006.

Panelist, “Research Opportunities with the American Community Survey”, Urban Markets Initiative Forum, Using Urban Information to Drive Urban Markets, Capital Hilton, Washington DC February 16, 2006.

Speaker, Capitol Hill Briefing, “Immigration Goes Nationwide” sponsored by the Population Resource Center, March 24, 2006

Presentation, “Race Migration in the United States” National Institutes of Health, Moving Americans Conference, University of Washington, Seattle May 4-6, 2006.

Keynote Speaker, “The Changing Demographics of US Society” Conference on America’s Americans, University of London Institute for the Study of the Americas and the British Library Conference Centre, London, England May 8, 2006.

Guest, C-SPAN, *Washington Journal*, “300 million Americans”, October 16, 2006

Interview, *Newshour with Jim Lehrer*, “Impact of 300 million Americans”, October 17, 2006

Speaker, “The People and Jobs: A Look at Ohio and the Nation” Conference on Rust Belt Economics, sponsored by the Gannett Foundation, The Society for Professional Journalists, and College of Communications, Kent State University, Ohio, November 14, 2006.

Speaker, “America’s Changing Racial Urban Demography” Cities in Transition Conference, sponsored by the Barrow Cadbury Trust, and The Young Foundation. London, England. December 6, 2006.

Speaker, “America’s New Demographics: Regions, Metros, Cities, Suburbs and Exurbs” Knight Center for Specialized Journalism, University of Maryland College Park, MD, February 12, 2007.

Speaker, “America’s New Demography: Immigration, Aging, Brain Drains and Gains” Rachel’s Network, Washington DC. March 5, 2007.

Speaker, “Hispanic Demographic Shifts in the US: Continued Concentration and New Dispersion” Hispanet Forum, Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles CA. March 8, 2007.

Speaker, “Demographic Change: How the US is Coping with Aging, Immigration and Other Challenges” presentations given in Japan, sponsored by the US State Department, including talks to the Japan Institute for Labor Policy and Training, Tokyo, The Research Institute of Economy Trade and Industry, Tokyo, and US State Department American Center programs in Nagoya, Kobe and Tokyo, April 9-12, 2007.

Speaker, “Boomers and Seniors in America” Conference on Planning for Retirement of the Baby Boomers in California, University of Southern California, May 21, 2007.

Speaker, “Emerging Demography” CASE (Council for Advancement and Support of Education) Summit, Chicago IL, July 9, 2007

Speaker, “Demographic Shifts in America: Immigration, Aging Baby Boomers, and New Regional Divides” National Convention, Society for Professional Journalists, Washington DC October 5, 2007

Panelist, “Taking the Nation’s Pulse in an Election Year” Jepson School of Leadership Studies, University of Richmond. January 23, 2008

Speaker, Panel on Race and Class, Brookings-AEI Conference on the Future of Red, Blue and Purple America, American Enterprise Institute, Washington DC, February 28, 2008

Panelist and Discussant, “Immigration Policies Go Local- Varying Responses of Government to Low Skilled and Undocumented Immigration” Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC. March 12, 2008

Speaker on US Demographic Trends, New York Regional Association of Grant makers (NYRAG) New York City, March 14, 2008

Speaker, “America’s Senior Population: By the Numbers” Journalists Seminar on Aging America. Knight Center for Specialized Journalism, University of Maryland College Park, MD, April 7, 2008

Speaker, “American’s New Demographic Landscape”, Brookings Council Lunch, Brookings Institution, Washington DC. May 14, 2008

Co-Presenter (with Ruy Teixeira), “The Political Geography of America's Purple States: Five Trends That Will Decide the 2008 Election.” National Press Club, Washington DC. October 10, 2008

Panelist, “Demographic Keys to the 2008 Election”, Falk Auditorium. Brookings Institution, Washington DC. October 20, 2008

Keynote Speaker, Seminar on “American Tapestry: Covering a Changing America” Knight Digital Media Center, Annenberg School of Journalism, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, December 3, 2008

Speaker, “Migration and Metropole: Case Studies of Paris, London and US Metropolitan areas” Institut d’Aménagement et d’Urbanisme de la Region Ile-de-France, Paris, France December 11, 2008

Guest, C-SPAN, *Washington Journal* program on “US Migration Slowdown” March 23, 2009

Roundtable Speaker “US Demographics and the Changing Face of America” Brookings Executive Education: State Farm Public Policy Symposium, Brookings Institution, Washington DC. April 23, 2009

Guest, C-SPAN, *Washington Journal* program on “US Minority Population Growth” May, 26, 2009

Speaker, “How Did Race Impact the 2008 Presidential Election?” in Conference, *Election Demographic: What We Learned in 2008: What it Means for 2010 and 2012*. American Enterprise Institute, Washington DC. June 12, 2009

Speaker, “*How Immigration, Migration and Aging are Changing America’s Regions and Metropolitan Areas*”, Initiative on Population, Ohio State University, Oct. 20, 2009

Speaker in Forum, “Aging Means Business” Annual Meeting of the Gerontological Society of America, Atlanta, November 20, 2009

Discussion, Joel Kotkin’s “*The Next Hundred Million: America in 2050*” American Enterprise Institute. Washington DC. Feb 5, 2010

Briefing, House Democratic Caucus, *The 2010 Census*, February 18, 2010

White House Briefing, *State of Metropolitan America*, Brookings Institution April 29, 2010

Guest, C-SPAN, *Washington Journal* program on “State of Metropolitan America” May 12, 2010

Speaker, “The New Demographics of America” in panel on “The Changing Demographics of a New Generation”, *National Journal* New America Policy Summit, The Newseum, Washington DC June 17, 2010

Keynote Speaker, “Changing Demographics and Multiculturalism in the US” US Department of State International Visitor Leadership Program, Meridian International Center, Washington DC, Sept 8, 2010

Presentations “Hispanics and the Political Demography of the Mountain West” and (with Ruy Texeira) “America’s New Swing Region” at Conference on the Political Demography and Geography of the Mountain West, University of Nevada-Las Vegas, October 8, 2010

Speaker, “What can we expect from the 2010 Census?” Fall Meeting, Urban Land Institute, October, 14, 2010

Speaker, 2010 Interactive Census Workshop, Knight Digital Media Center, School of Journalism University of California at Berkeley, December 12, 2010

Speaker, The 2010 Census and Changing American Demographics, Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute (CHCI), Washington DC, January 21, 2011

Guest, PBS *Newshour*, “Census Data Show Hispanic Boom; Blacks Leave Cities for the Suburbs”, March 24, 2011

Speaker, “Analysis of the Changing Characteristics of the US Population,” US Department of State, Foreign Press Center, Washington DC. April 5, 2011

Briefing, Senator Michael Bennet, D-CO and staff on minority demographic shifts and impacts on immigration and education policy, Washington DC .May 17, 2011

Speaker, “America’s Changing Diversity: From the Bottom Up” Demographic Forum US Department of Transportation Washington DC May 23, 2011

Speaker, “America’s New Diversity as Revealed with the 2010 Census”, EEOC Speaker Series
US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Washington DC May 25, 2011

Presenter, Findings from the 2010 Census “First Monday” conference call Funders Committee for Civic
Participation New York City, June, 6, 2011

Speaker: “The 2010 Census and the Nation’s Changing Demographics”, Inside Washington Program and
Executive Education, Brookings Institution June 7, 2011

Keynote Speaker, Changing Face of the US Workforce, *National Journal* Policy Summit
Washington DC July 11, 2011

Panelist, Immigration and the Changing Face of Metropolitan America, Urban Institute, Washington
September 20, 2011

Speaker, “2010 Census and Demographic Trends Impacting the Market”, 2012 Convention of Mortgage
Bankers Association, Chicago, IL October 12, 2011

Speaker, “America’s Changing Racial Diversity” for program, United States 2050: Charting A New
Vision and Future Together, Center for American Progress, Washington DC, October 18, 2011

Speaker, “Changing US Demographics: Diversity from the Bottom Up” 2012 Annual Meeting of the
Consortium of Social Science Associations, Washington DC, November 2, 2011

Speaker, Census Bureau Webinar to Highlight Release of Migration Data, US Census Bureau,
Washington DC, November 15, 2011

Keynote Speaker, Northeast Resurgent Conference, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA,
December 2, 2011

Speaker, “Boomer and Senior Demographics” National Forum on the Future of Aging- Going Deeper
into the Future 2012 Aging in America Conference, American Society of Aging Washington DC,
March 30, 2012

Speaker, Changing Cultures, Changing Communities, Census 2011 Conference on Building Resilient
Cities Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, May 9, 2012

Panelist, “America’s Swing Region: Changing Politics and Demographics in the Mountain West”
Brookings Institution, Washington DC, May 18, 2012

Speaker on Panel “Hunger and Poverty in a Rapidly Changing Society”
National Anti-Hunger Policy Conference, Washington DC March 4, 2013

Speaker: America’s Changing Demographics: More Diversity, Aging and Cultural Generation Gaps”
Project 2030, University of Michigan, March 19, 2013

Public Lecture: “Changing Demographics in America: Racial Change, Boomer Aging, and the Cultural
Generation Gap”, Brookings Mountain West, University of Nevada-Las Vegas, April 24, 2013

Speaker: The Nation's Changing Demographics Brookings Executive Education Program, Washington DC May 2, 2013

Panelist, Discussion and Release of Report, "*Out of Many, One: Uniting the Changing Face of America*" Sponsored by Generations United and The Generations Initiative, National Press Club, Washington DC, December 10, 2013

Panelist, "Demography as Destiny: Implications for Aging in the US" (with former Rep. Barbara Kennelly D-CT and Sharmila Choudhury) Congressional Research Service Centennial Conference, Library of Congress, Washington DC, July 16, 2014

Book Launch Event : "Diversity Explosion" Brookings Institution, December 15, 2014

"Diversity Explosion" book presentations:

*Citigroup Asset Building Policy Network, Washington DC, January 30, 2015

*University of Southern California, Price School of Public Policy, Thomas Rivera Policy Institute, Los Angeles. February 19, 2015

*US Dept. of Commerce, Minority Business Development Agency (MBDA) Stake-holder Summit, Washington DC, February 25, 2015

*Equal Employment Advisory Council Annual Meeting and Advisory Council, Washington DC, March 26, 2015

*National Association of Workforce Boards Forum, Washington DC, March 30, 2015

*National Multifamily Housing Council Research Forum, Washington DC April 1 2015

*North Carolina Institute of Minority Economic Development (NCIMED) Executive *Networking Conference, Raleigh NC April 10, 2015

*Brookings Council Event, New York City: April 17, 2015

*National Association of Realtors Diversity Committee, Washington DC, May 13, 2015

*US Marine Corps. Millennium Summit, Washington DC, May 14, 2015

*General Accountability Office (GAO), Washington DC, June 4, 2015

*Brooklyn Historical Society Speaker Series, New York City, , June 17, 2015

*Association of Chamber of Commerce Executives 2015 Convention, Montreal, August 12, 2015 (scheduled)

*Zelman & Associates 2015 Housing Summit, Washington DC, September 10, 2015 (scheduled)

*Society of Government Economists, Washington DC October 1, 2015

*Institute for Public Policy Research (UK), Coventry University and the Canada UK Foundation, "Diverse or Divided" Conference, London, November 2, 2015

*Greenville Chamber of Commerce, Diversity Recruitment Consortium, Greenville, SC. November 9, 2016

*Pennsylvania Economy League of Greater Pittsburgh and Welcoming Pittsburgh, May 9, 2016

*National War College, Washington DC May 17, 2016

*US Association of Art Museum Directors, Cleveland, OH, Keynote on "Diversity Explosion" May 23, 2016

* Center for Law and Social Policy, Washington DC. May 26, 2016

* Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce, Washington DC, June 8, 2016

* Children's Budget Summit, National Press Club, Washington DC July 7, 2016

* Annual Meeting of the Association of Public Data Users, Alexandria VA, September 23, 2016

Guest, *The Tavis Smiley Show*, Los Angeles (PBS) February 19, 2015

Panelist, States of Change: The Demographic Evolution of the American Electorate (Report Launch) American Enterprise Institute, February 24, 2015

Speaker, American Association of Political Consultants Annual Conference, New Orleans, Luncheon Panel, March 18, 2015

University of Virginia, Miller Center, American Forum (TV taping), Charlottesville, VA, “Diversity Explosion” discussion with moderator Douglas Blackmon and luncheon. April 22, 2015

2015 Interagency Minority Depository Institution and CDFI Bank Conference (sponsored by the FDIC, Federal Reserve Board and Office of the Comptroller of the Currency) Presentation on Panel, “Changing Markets, Changing Opportunities” Washington DC, July 15, 2015

Panelist, Urban Land Institute Fall Meeting, San Francisco, Panel on “Demographic Reality Check” October 7, 2015

Speaker, Institute for Educational Leadership and Washington Area School Study Council, Briefing on Demographics, Arlington VA. October 23, 2015

National Public Radio (NPR) convening of regional political reporters, Washington DC, Briefing on Diversity and US Election Demographics October 29, 2015

Speaker, Wall Street Journal Washington DC Bureau, luncheon, Discussion of “Diversity Explosion” and 2016 Election, December 15, 2015

Interview, Confronting Obstacles to Future Immigration, , The Economist, December 15, 2015

Presenter (with Ruy Teixeira and Robert Griffin), “America’s Electoral Future: How Changing Demographics Could Impact Presidential Elections from 2016 to 2032” American Enterprise Institute, Washington DC, February 25 .2016

Interview, “Can Trump Win in November?” An Interview with Leslie Marshall, I, iHeart Radio, March 3, 2016

Interview, “Politics in the News: Female Voters and the 2016 Election, with David Greene and Cokie Roberts, National Public Radio: Morning Edition, April 18, 2016

Interview, “Pittsburgh’s Diversity Explosion” KVQ Global Press Conference, KVQ radio, Pittsburgh PA May 22, 2016

Speaker (with Ruy Teixeira and Robert Griffin) Ford Foundation, New York City, “America’s Emerging Voter Representation Gap” June 9, 2016

Panelist, Media Lunch for “Our Compelling Interests” book release, Mellon Foundation, New York City, September 20, 2016

Presentation, “Diversity in Cities” Living Cities 25th Anniversary Event, Washington DC, September 27, 2016

Presentation, “The Role of Minority Voters in the Next Election” Brookings Institution Governance Studies Event, Washington DC, September 14, 2016

Panelist. [Change in America](#), BBC World Service: The Documentary, November 5, 2016

Guest, [How Once-Reliable Voting Blocs Have Changed](#), NPR “Weekend All Things Considered”, November 6, 2016

Panelist, “Discussion of 2016 election and impacts going forward” Wall Street Journal Bureau, Washington DC, December 5, 2016

Guest. [Changing Face of the USA](#), Interview, NY1 television, “Inside City Hall” December 16, 2016

Presentation to Brookings Metropolitan Council, “The 2016 Election: Emerging Demographic Trends and What They Mean for Future Elections” Washington DC, December 14, 2016

Guest, [It's the Demography, Stupid!](#), Interview, BBC Radio, January 5, 2017

Presentation to Stanford Longevity Center Advisory Board, “America’s Diversity Explosion: The Important Role of Millennials” Palo Alto, CA, January 12, 2017

Guest, [Staying Put: Why Nobody's Moving Right Now](#), NPR On Point, February 8, 2017

Presenter (with Robert Griffin and Ruy Teixeira), “Demographic Shifts, Representation Gaps and Electoral Change” Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington DC, February 17, 2017