The Brookings Institution
Washington, DC

"Overall, recent growth patterns for large metropolitan areas, central cities, and smaller communities appear to resemble the 1990s 'metropolitan surge' more than the mixed growth patterns of the 1970s and 1980s."

LivingCities CensusSeries

METROPOLITAN POLICY PROGRAM

Metro America in the New Century: Metropolitan and Central City Demographic Shifts Since 2000

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Findings

An analysis of population and migration change using decennial Census data and estimates from 1960 to 2004 for the newly-defined metropolitan areas announced by OMB in 2003 finds that:

- **The fast-growing metropolitan areas of the 1990s became some of the slowest-growing in the first half of the 2000s, reflecting shifts in regional employment and housing dynamics since the late 1990s.** San Jose, San Francisco, and Boston moved onto the list of slowest-growing metropolitan areas from 2000 to 2004, likely propelled by the post-2000 decline of technology industries and still-rising housing costs. Meanwhile, non-coastal, more affordable areas like Riverside, Stockton, and Sacramento climbed to rank among the fastest-growing metros, while increased growth in Albany, Hartford, and Providence perhaps reflects their "release valve" function in the New York and Boston housing markets.

- **The rapid growth of several Sun Belt metro areas reflect the four-decade emergence of the South and West as major population growth centers, led by Las Vegas's 1200 percent growth over that period.** Of 88 large metro areas analyzed, 34 more than doubled, and 17 more than tripled in population between 1960 and 2004. All are located in the South and West regions. At the same time, 16 Northeast and Midwest metro areas grew by less than a quarter, including Rust Belt population decliners Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Scranton and Youngstown.

- **Immigration continues to drive growth in many large metropolitan areas between 2000 and 2004, but the fastest-growing metropolitan areas rely more heavily on domestic migration and natural increase.** New York and Los Angeles remain the biggest immigrant magnets in the 2000-to-2004 period, but continue to lose the most domestic migrants to other parts of the nation. In contrast, domestic migration and natural increase make the largest population contributions to fast-growing metro areas like Las Vegas, Riverside, and Raleigh.

- **The bulk of large central cities added population since 2000 and share the rising and falling fortunes of their metropolitan areas in the 2000s.** Although some cities continue to rank among the fastest-growing (Bakersfield, Raleigh, Phoenix) or slowest-growing (Cincinnati, Youngstown, Birmingham) as in the 1990s, others have grown faster (Sacramento, Riverside) or started to lose population (Boston, San Francisco), reflecting shifts occurring in their broader metropolitan areas.

- **The overall pattern of population growth in large and small metro areas, micropolitan areas, and non-metropolitan areas between 2000 and 2004 generally parallel those found in the 1990s, rather than the more mixed results of previous decades.** However, there is great variation among area types most recently. Large and small metro areas in the West grew at the same pace in the early 2000s, while rural or "non-metropolitan areas" as a whole lost population in the Midwest. Further, domestic migration plays a greater role in fueling growth in smaller metropolitan and micropolitan area growth than in large metropolitan areas.

In general, the first half of the 2000s mark a slowdown and reshuffling of population growth in metro areas from that found in the 1990s, reflecting the reactions of workers and households to the cooling of the job market in some places and the heating of housing prices in others. Overall, however, the estimates for this new decade show that large and small metro areas will continue to surge as they did in the 1990s.

Introduction

For much of the last century, large metropolitan areas have served as primary destinations for moves within the United States. Movement from the countryside to big cities, and then from these cities to their surrounding suburbs, formed important trends in the nation's history. The largest metropolitan areas, those that surround our biggest cities, have always occupied center stage as hubs of commerce, industry, and politics. Historically, migrants within the U.S. used smaller areas as stepping stones on their way to larger areas. Migrants from abroad, meanwhile, tended to move directly to large gateway areas like New York, Chicago, Boston, and San Francisco.[1]

Yet beginning in the 1970s, U.S. population began to disperse.[2] Large industrial-based metropolitan areas began to lose jobs and residents to smaller-sized metropolitan areas and non-metropolitan territory. Indeed, population declined in many large cities and metropolitan areas during the 1970s.[3] A selective metropolitan revival occurred in the 1980s, rewarding those areas in which economic mix and recreation attracted new workers and residents.[4] Other metropolitan areas, especially those located in the Rust Belt part of the Northeast and Midwest, experienced only modest gains.

Since that time, growth in individual large metropolitan areas has depended more on how each fares in the broader economy. From an economic standpoint, the 1990s were a "boom period" for most large metropolitan areas and their central cities. This was particularly true in metropolitan areas with diversified industries, and "high-tech" or knowledge-based industries (e.g., New York's strong financial services base). As a consequence, large metropolitan areas as a whole grew more rapidly during the 1990s than during any decade since the 1960s, and their central cities experienced a similar—though uneven—revival.

A mild economic U-turn accompanied the nation's transition into the 21st century. The high-tech and "dot-com" booms of the late 1990s busted during the early part of this decade (referred to here as "the 2000s"). As this survey and other recent work shows, metropolitan areas strongly tied to these industries were particularly vulnerable.[5] Concurrently, several factors have combined to push housing prices higher in some of these same coastal metropolitan areas, perhaps making them less attractive to potential domestic migrants.[6]

On the immigration front, despite the economic slump and increased security measures associated with the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, people from abroad continue to flow into the U.S. at the heightened pace of the 1980s and 1990s, particularly to large "immigrant magnet" metropolitan areas.[7] Meanwhile, other metro areas, especially those with declining populations, increasingly view immigrants as a possible source of population and labor to compensate for "brain drains" of domestic migrants.[8]

This survey explores how population growth and migration patterns in the nation's largest metropolitan areas and their central cities have changed since 2000, in the context of these 40-year trends. It differs from previous Metropolitan Policy Program reports in that it utilizes new metropolitan area definitions announced by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in 2003. These new definitions do not merely revise earlier classifications, but rather fundamentally reframe the metropolitan area concept.[9]

The survey begins with an examination of individual metropolitan area population growth and decline for the 2000-to-2004 period compared with the 1990s. It next documents, for the first time, the sweep of population change occurring in these newly-defined metropolitan areas over the 44-year period since 1960. Returning to the current decade, it compares the relative contributions of immigration, domestic migration, and natural increase to metropolitan area growth, and examines recent population changes in central cities in their metropolitan context. Finally, it contrasts large metropolitan growth in the 2000s with that occurring in smaller metropolitan areas, the new micropolitan areas, and nonmetropolitan territory.

Methodology

Data

Population trend data are drawn from the 1960 thru 2000 decennial U.S. censuses, and from county and city population estimates produced by the U.S. Census Bureau for the period July 1, 2000 to July 1, 2004.[10] For most of the analysis, county statistics are aggregated to form metropolitan areas and micropolitan areas, and city estimates are combined to produce central-city estimates, based on the geographic definitions discussed below. County population estimates for years July 1, 1990 thru July 1, 2004 were used to produce annual metropolitan population change estimates.

These same county estimates also provide the basis for estimates of metropolitan demographic components of population change from July 1, 2000 to July 1, 2004: net international migration, net domestic (or internal) migration, and natural increase.[11] Figures 1 and 4 use 2000-to-2004 population estimates to estimate change for the 2000-to-2010 decade using straight-line projection (i.e., assuming the annualized rate of change for 2000 to 2004 continues for the remaining 6 years). These projections are not intended to predict population change

for the current decade, but rather to contrast the pace of change for the most recent period with that for earlier 10-year periods.

The migration analysis in Table 3 compares net domestic migration and immigration for 2000 to 2004 and 1995 to 2000. Data for the former period derive from the county estimates discussed above, whereas those for the latter period draw from long-form sample tabulations of the "residence 5 years ago" question in Census 2000.[12] In addition to the different interval lengths for the two data sources (four years versus five years), the two sources differ somewhat in what they include in the immigration component. Statistics for 2000-to-2004 immigration include: (1) net migration of the foreign born; (2) net movement from Puerto Rico; (3) net movement of the U.S. Armed Forces; and (4) emigration of the native born. The "residence 5 years ago" statistics also include the in-migration from abroad of a small number of non-Armed Forces native born, and do not account for the emigration of native born (thought to be 220,000 annually compared with immigration of about 1.5 million) Thus, immigration statistics from the late 1990s somewhat overstate comparable trends from the more recent estimates. Both periods' measures of net domestic migration include all persons who moved within the U.S. during these periods, including longer-term foreign-born residents. Native-born individuals are estimated to comprise 89 percent of all domestic migrants.

Finally, the nature and meaning of the data examined here deserve a brief note. Population figures from 2000 to 2004, derived from the Census Bureau's Population Estimates Program, rely on a host of administrative data sources—vital records, housing construction permits, tax returns, and Medicare records, among others—and several accompanying assumptions, rather than an actual enumeration like that conducted for the decennial census. The estimates are used in federal (and some state) funding allocations, in designing samples for national surveys, and in monitoring recent demographic changes.[13]

The Population Estimates Program provides annual estimates of basic demographic indicators at the county level, including population, race and ethnicity, age, and components of population change (estimates for incorporated places are for population only). This survey focuses on population change and its components, which represent important, but admittedly crude, indicators of urban and metropolitan health. To the extent that people "vote with their feet" for socially and economically preferable locations, these figures provide a useful first-order look at which regions have succeeded in that regard during the 2000s. Still, like all estimates, the data presented here are subject to some degree of error, the magnitude of which may vary among counties and cities according to the particular demographic forces driving growth and decline.[14]

The usefulness of these data noted, future analyses will go beyond population change to focus on a wider range of indicators, including age, household, and income dynamics to monitor local progress since 2000. Together, these analyses will seek to provide a fuller, up-to-date picture of cities and suburbs at mid-decade.

Geographic Definitions

This survey compiles data for metropolitan and micropolitan areas according to the new standards set forth by the federal government in 2003, with revisions in 2004.[15] The areas used here include 361 Metropolitan Statistical Areas, 573 Micropolitan Statistical Areas, and the residual territory of the U.S. termed "other non-metropolitan."[16] The analysis makes a further distinction between 88 "large metropolitan areas" with 2000 populations exceeding 500,000, and the remaining 273 "small metropolitan areas."

Earlier Brookings reports employed the old system of Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) and Primary MSAs (PMSAs), and typically studied the 102 metropolitan areas with 2000 populations exceeding 500,000. The new definitions tend to consolidate many of those older metropolitan areas (for example, several separate PMSAs in the New York area are now consolidated into the New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA metropolitan area). Hence, the share of U.S. population in 2000 residing in the 88 large metropolitan areas under the new definitions (62.6 percent) barely differs from the share residing in the 102 large metropolitan areas (62.2 percent) under the earlier system.

One geographic term in this study—"central city"—does not conform precisely to the new standards. The central city or cities in each metropolitan area include the city named first in the metropolitan area name, plus any additional named cities with populations of at least 100,000 in 2000.[17] This differs from "principal city" concept introduced with the new standards, and from the "central city" concept employed under the old standards.[18] The adapted "central city" definition used here identifies only the most prominent cities in each metropolitan area, consistent with common use. The term "suburbs" is used here simply to denote the residual territory within each metropolitan area located outside the central city or cities. Finally, the regions used in this analysis, Northeast, Midwest, South, and West are standard Census groupings of states illustrated on Map 1.

Table 1. Fastest and Slowest Growing Large Metropolitan Areas, 2000–2004 versus 1990–2000

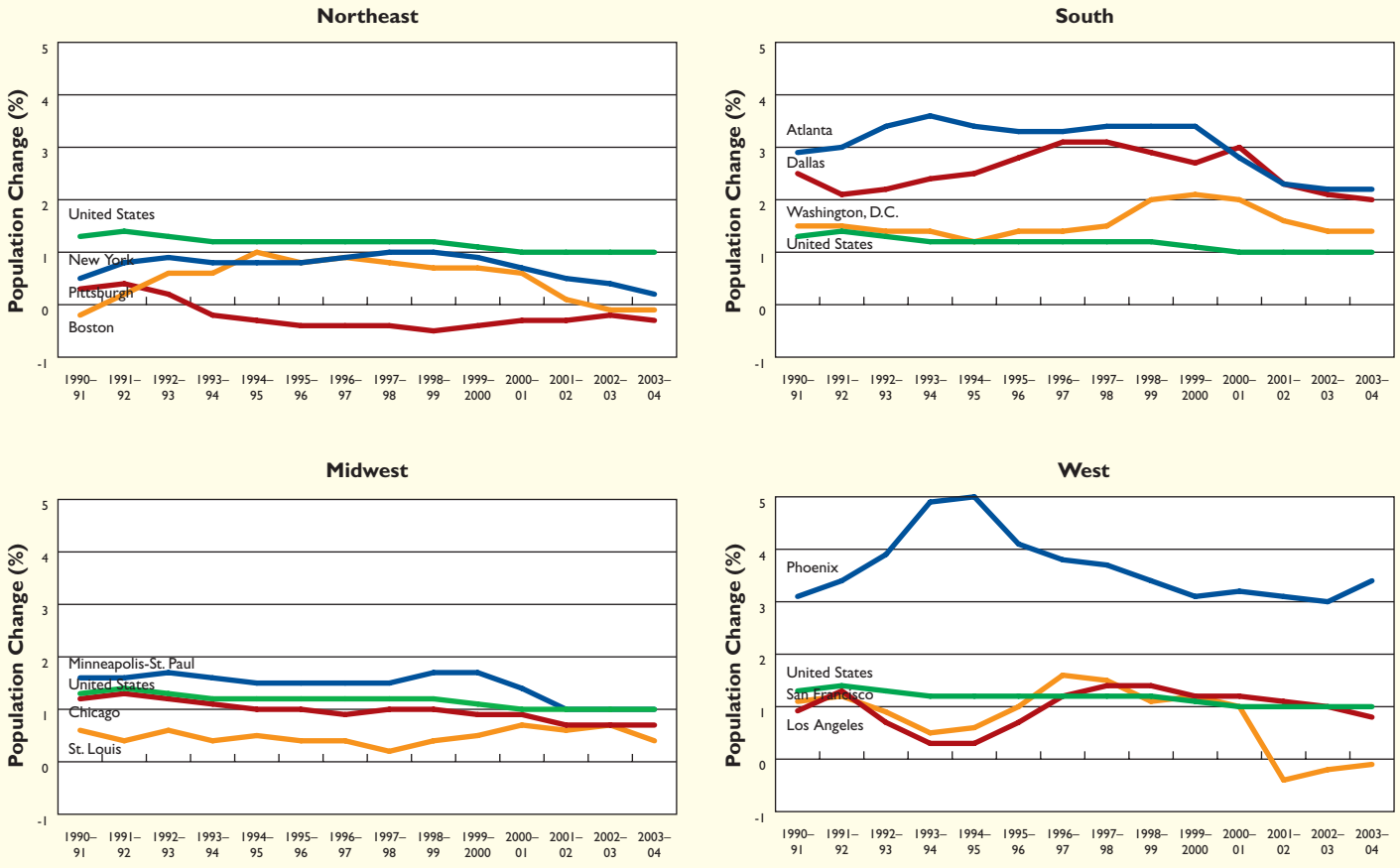
2000–2004				1990–2000			
Rank	Change from 1990–2000	Metropolitan Area	Population Change (%)	Rank	Change to 2000–2004	Metropolitan Area	Population Change (%)
		Fastest Growing				*Fastest Growing*	
1	0	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	18.5	1	0	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	85.5
2	13	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	15.7	2	-1	McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	48.5
3	-1	McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	14.7	3	-5	Austin-Round Rock, TX	47.7
4	27	Stockton, CA	14.4	4	-1	Raleigh-Cary, NC	47.3
5	-1	Raleigh-Cary, NC	13.7	5	-1	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	45.3
6	-1	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	13.3	6	-7	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	38.4
7	0	Orlando, FL	12.4	7	0	Orlando, FL	34.3
8	-5	Austin-Round Rock, TX	11.7	8	-14	Colorado Springs, CO	31.3
9	14	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	11.5	9	-18	Denver-Aurora, CO	30.7
10	9	Bakersfield, CA	10.7	10	-1	Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	29.8
11	-1	Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	10.1	11	-3	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	29.4
12	12	Sarasota-Bradenton-Venice, FL	10.0	12	-11	Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	26.5
13	-7	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	10.0	13	-7	Tucson, AZ	26.5
14	-3	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	9.7	14	-22	Salt Lake City, UT	26.1
15	1	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	9.3	15	13	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	25.7
		Slowest Growing/Declining				*Slowest Growing/Declining*	
1	1	Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	-2.0	1	-1	Scranton—Wilkes-Barre, PA	-2.5
2	-1	Scranton—Wilkes-Barre, PA	-1.4	2	1	Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	-1.7
3	0	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	-1.2	3	0	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	-1.6
4	0	Pittsburgh, PA	-1.1	4	0	Pittsburgh, PA	-1.5
5	5	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	-0.5	5	-8	Syracuse, NY	-1.5
6	0	Dayton, OH	-0.3	6	0	Dayton, OH	0.5
7	0	Toledo, OH	-0.1	7	0	Toledo, OH	0.8
8	38	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	0.1	8	-9	Springfield, MA	1.0
9	4	Rochester, NY	0.3	9	-15	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	2.0
10	4	New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	0.3	10	5	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	2.2
11	28	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	0.4	11	-20	Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	2.2
12	11	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	0.5	12	-15	New Haven-Milford, CT	2.5
13	-8	Syracuse, NY	0.5	13	4	Rochester, NY	3.5
14	5	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	0.8	14	4	New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	4.1
15	6	Akron, OH	0.9	15	-10	St. Louis, MO-IL	4.6

Rank change indicates change in growth ranking between periods among 88 metropolitan areas with populations over 500,000 in 2000
Source: Author's analysis of data from decennial U.S. censuses and Census Population Estimates Program

Findings

A. The fast-growing metropolitan areas of the 1990s became some of the slowest-growing in the first half of the 2000s, reflecting shifts in regional employment and housing dynamics since the late 1990s. Two economic factors distinguish the first four years of this decade. First, the economic recession occurring in 2001 and 2002 involved significant job losses in high-tech "knowledge economy" sectors such as telecommunications and computer systems design, as well as in goods-producing industries like manufacturing. Second, rapidly escalating housing prices have charac-

Figure 1. Annual Population Change in Selected Large Metropolitan Areas by U.S. Region, 1990–2004



Source: Author's analysis of data from Census Population Estimates Program

terized a number (but not all) metro areas and continue apace in some coastal regions. These factors, along with continued immigration to traditional ports of entry, form the backdrop for changing growth dynamics in metropolitan areas.

The metropolitan areas experiencing the fastest population growth and decline in the 2000s are not identical to those from the 1990s. Table 1 illustrates that the location of metropolitan growth shifted a great deal between the two time periods. In particular, the 2000s have displaced five of the 15 fastest-growing metro areas from the 1990s. Las Vegas, in the interior West, continues to lead all other metro areas in population growth. Yet four of the five areas dropping out of the top 15 are also located in the Interior West—Colorado Springs, Denver, Tucson, and Salt Lake City (population change rates for all 88 metropolitan areas in the 1990-to-2000 and 2000-to-2004 periods are listed in Appendix Table A).[19] Similarly, Austin and Atlanta, two metros with substantial "new economy" sectors, slipped several notches during the post-2000 period from their growth perches in the 1990s.

The slowdown in the Interior West's metropolitan population growth reflects the deceleration of out-migration from California. In the early 1990s, a protracted economic slowdown and defense cutbacks prompted many Californians to move to nearby western states. While out-migration from California continues, the pace has slowed somewhat, and the destination areas for that state's migrants may have changed (see below).

By 2004, however, the interior part of California now exhibits some of the fastest growing metro areas in the 2000s. The Riverside and Stockton metropolitan areas now rank second

and fourth, respectively, and four of the top 15 lie in California's interior, including Sacramento and Bakersfield (Fresno ranks close behind at 17). Accelerating population growth in these inland Golden State metro areas can probably be attributed to their relative affordability compared to coastal California and to the movement of technology-related jobs out of the San Francisco Bay Area. The Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario metropolitan area, located in southern California's "Inland Empire," has emerged as a strong economic force in the state measured by its residential and job growth.[20]

Florida also strengthened its hand among the fastest-growing metropolitan areas. Sarasota joined Orlando in the top 15 growers from 2000 to 2004, while Jacksonville and Tampa climbed into the top 20 (at numbers 16 and 19, respectively), reflecting Florida's growing base of service and hospitality jobs. Two other Southeastern U.S. metros, Raleigh-Cary and Charlotte, also exhibit consistently high growth rates, as do three Texas metro areas that remain among the top 15 (McAllen, Dallas, and Houston).

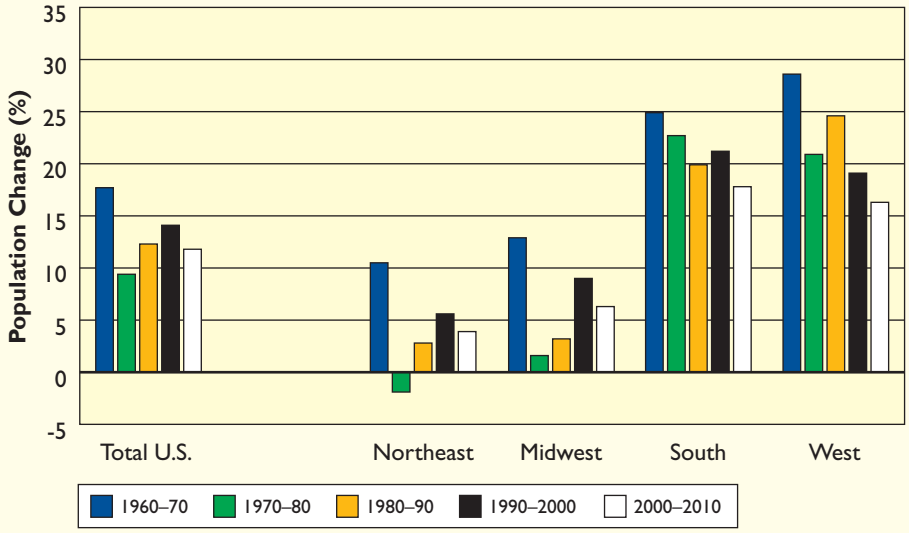
Among the slowest-growing and declining U.S. metropolitan areas, several Rust Belt staples continue to top the list: Youngstown, Scranton, Buffalo, and Pittsburgh exhibited the highest rates of metropolitan population loss in both the 1990s and the early 2000s. The Ohio metropolitan areas of Cleveland, Dayton and Toledo also registered declines during the early part of this decade, and the upstate New York areas of Rochester and Syracuse have barely grown. Detroit, meanwhile, moved slightly up the list to join the 15 slowest-growing areas between 2000 and 2004.

The sharp decline of technology-related industries elevated some conspicuous newcomers to the slowest-growing list. San Jose, San Francisco-Oakland, and Boston rank among the slowest growers thus far this decade. This represents a dramatic departure for the Bay Area metros, especially, which experienced roughly median growth among the 88 largest metro areas in the 1990s. The greater New York area, as well, has experienced slower growth in the 2000s (1.9 percent, 19th slowest) that likely owes to a combination of job losses in its manufacturing and financial services sectors, and the impacts of September 11th, 2001.

On a more positive note, the post-2000 period heralded several northeastern metro areas' exits from the slowest-growing list. These include Albany, Hartford, New Haven, and Springfield, MA. Providence, too, fell from 20th slowest-growing in the 1990s to 28th in the 2000s. The enhanced growth in these areas likely emanates from their receptivity to immigrants and domestic migrants seeking affordable housing proximate to larger, more expensive metro areas like New York and Boston.

In sum, the United States as a whole grew somewhat more slowly in recent years than during the 1990s, but population trends vary far more at the regional and metropolitan levels. The sharpest declines seem to have occurred in those metropolitan areas with significant "new economy" sectors, such as Boston, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Atlanta, Dallas and San Francisco. The drop was especially sharp in the San Francisco area between 2001 and 2002, although the region seems to have stemmed the loss since. Population trends in Phoenix inverted those in the coastal California metro areas of Los Angeles and San Francisco over the early 1990s, when the Golden State's economic slump prompted inflows into the interior West. During this period, California's economy slumped so that many interior western metros such as Phoenix received population inflows from the Golden State.

Figure 2. Population Change in Large Metropolitan Areas by Decade and U.S. Region, 1960–2010*



** Large Metropolitan Statistical Areas with populations of at least 500,000 in 2000; 2000–2010 change extrapolated from 2000–2004 change*

Source: Author's analysis of data from decennial U.S. censuses and Census Population Estimates Program

The relationship appears less strong this decade, as central California areas may be attracting more coastal out-migrants.

Large metropolitan areas as a group did not grow as much in the first years of this decade as they did over the 1990s, reflecting the negative impacts of the economic slowdown on selected regions. Indeed, many of the "highest fliers" from the late 1990s experienced population losses in the 2000s, likely as a result of employment declines coupled with continued elevated housing prices.

B. The rapid growth of several Sun Belt metro areas reflect the four-decade emergence of the South and West as major population growth centers, led by Las Vegas's 1200 percent growth over that period.

The growth of many Southern and Western metropolitan areas in the last 15 years reflects, to a large degree, the relative newness of their development. Not many of these areas are yet "built out" to the same degree as their Northern and coastal counterparts. Because this survey is the first to focus on the newly-defined set of Metropolitan Statistical Areas, this section examines their growth patterns since 1960, in order to chart the dynamism of Sun Belt areas over the past four decades.

At the national level, large metropolitan areas grew unevenly over this period, with an estimated slow down in growth between 2000 and 2010. Growth slowed dramatically in the 1970s due to extensive deindustrialization and a widespread "shakeout" of manufacturing jobs in several prominent metropolitan areas.[21] Yet as Figure 2 shows, this pattern did not hold within every region. The 1970s slowdown was much more muted for metropolitan areas in the South and West. In fact, over the 1960-to-2004 period, the only metropolitan areas that lost population in any decade were located in the Northeast and Midwest, with the exception of New Orleans in the 1980s. Only two areas (Pittsburgh and Scranton) registered declines in the 1960s, but 11 did in the 1970s, including New York, Philadelphia, and Detroit among others (Appendix Table A). The number of declining areas fell to nine in the 1980s and five in the 1990s, but rose to seven in the first four years of the 2000s.

Alongside the slow gains and declines of many older Northeastern and Midwestern metropolitan areas, several newer areas in the South and

Table 2. Fastest and Slowest Growing Large Metropolitan Areas, 1960–2004

Rank	Metropolitan Area	Population Change (%)	Population Size (000s) 2004	1960
	Fastest Growing			
1	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	1,200	1,651	127
2	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	412	3,715	726
3	Orlando, FL	371	1,862	395
4	Austin-Round Rock, TX	369	1,412	301
5	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	368	3,793	810
6	Sarasota-Bradenton-Venice, FL	346	652	146
7	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	301	798	199
8	Colorado Springs, CO	294	576	146
9	McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	264	658	181
10	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	258	5,362	1,497
11	Raleigh-Cary, NC	251	915	261
12	Tucson, AZ	241	907	266
13	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	239	4,708	1,388
14	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	224	5,180	1,601
15	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	221	5,700	1,778
	Slowest Growing			
1	Pittsburgh, PA	-13	2,402	2,769
2	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	-12	1,154	1,307
3	Scranton—Wilkes-Barre, PA	-8	552	598
4	Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	-7	590	637
5	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	0	2,137	2,127
6	Toledo, OH	11	658	594
7	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	14	4,493	3,950
8	Akron, OH	16	702	605
9	Syracuse, NY	16	654	564
10	Dayton, OH	16	846	727
11	Springfield, MA	17	688	587
12	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	19	1,516	1,279
13	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	22	18,710	15,346
14	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	22	5,801	4,757
15	St. Louis, MO-IL	22	2,764	2,263

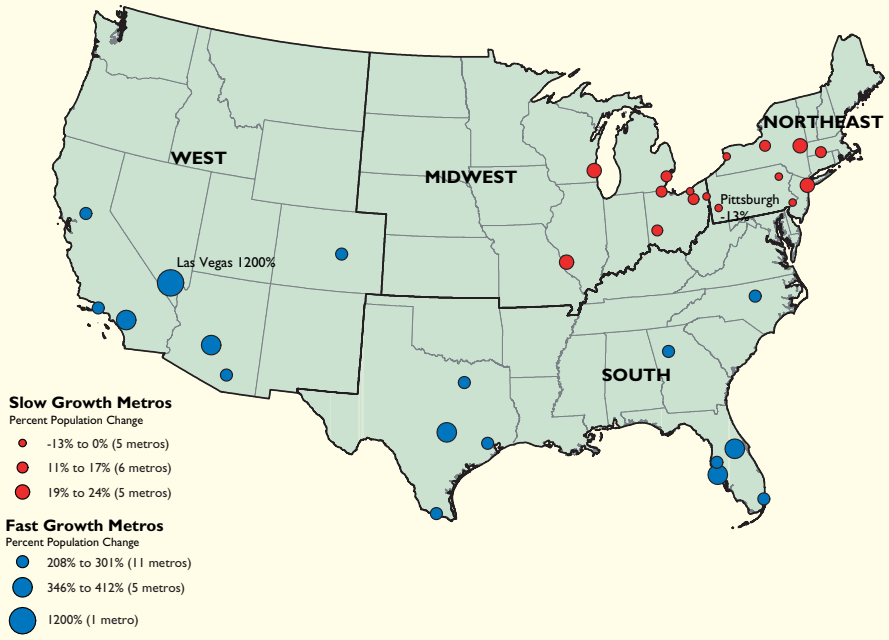
Source: Author's analysis of data from U.S. decennial censuses and Census Population Estimates Program

West experienced continued fast growth. In the 1960s, Las Vegas grew by 115 percent, San Jose by 65 percent, and Phoenix by 43 percent. The 1970s metropolitan "doldrums" did not affect Tucson, Orlando, Tampa, Houston and Miami, all of which experienced at least 40 percent growth that decade. These areas continued to grow, in a low-cost/high-development mode, even as older metropolitan areas withstood significant employment losses. This fast growth spread to other areas in the 1980s and 1990s, including Atlanta, Riverside and Raleigh-Cary NC, while large metro areas in the Northeast and Midwest generally grew by single-digit percentages in each decade.

As a result, several metropolitan areas that were barely on the map a half century ago are today some of the nation's largest, while a few others are roughly the same size (or smaller) than they were at that time. The growth distinction between the Sun Belt and the Frost Belt is clear in Table 2. All 15 of the fastest-growing metro areas from 1960 to 2004 are located in the South and West, and all 15 of the slowest-growing (and declining) metro areas over that time are in the Northeast and Midwest. Las Vegas leads the top 15, having increased in population from 127,000 to 1.6 million over the 44-year period—1,200 percent growth. Overall, 34 Southern and Western metros more than doubled, and 17 more than tripled their populations over this same period. In contrast, 16 Northeastern and Midwestern metro areas grew by less than 25 percent from 1960 to 2004, including four that lost population (Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Scranton and Youngstown). Map 1 depicts the regional distinctions between the fast and modest-growing metropolitan areas over the last 44 years.

In short, recent growth in places like Las Vegas, Phoenix, Orlando and Riverside reflects not only current economic dynamics, but also the population shifts that have characterized the nation's fast-growing regions for many decades. Compared to the more stagnant areas of the country, these metro areas constantly replenish their populations with younger migrants. For example, the Census 2000 shows that only 21 percent of Nevada's population was born in the same state, compared to fully 78 percent of Pennsylvania residents who are native born Keystone-staters. While all parts of the country will age gradually as the large Baby Boom generation advances in years, many large areas of the South and West are likely to experience continued "younging" of their populations via domestic in-migration and immigration.

Map 1. Fastest and Slowest Growing Large Metros, 1960–2004



Source: Author's analysis of Census data.

C. Immigration continues to drive growth in many large metropolitan areas between 2000 and 2004, but the fastest-growing metropolitan areas rely more heavily on domestic migration and natural increase.
As immigration's contribution to U.S. population growth has increased, it has exerted an especially prominent impact on large metropolitan areas. While immigrants are spreading more broadly across the U.S., they still concentrate heavily in a handful of "immigrant magnet" metropolitan areas.[22] At the same time, domestic migrants' motivations lead them to select a different set of metropolitan areas as their primary destinations.

The nation's eight largest metropolitan gateways for immigrants remain the same in the 2000-to-2004 period as in the late 1990s (Table 3). New York and Los Angeles lead all others. In fact, the absolute gains in immigrants for these two metropolitan areas alone accounted for 24 percent of all immigrants coming into the U.S. over the four-year period. The only changes on the list see Dallas and Houston superseding San Francisco and Washington in the more recent period. Dallas and Washington are somewhat newer destinations for international migrants, but the six others have been immigrant destinations for several decades now.[23]

Another recent pattern parallels that from the late 1990s: little overlap exists between the "immigrant magnet" metropolitan areas and those that

gained the most domestic migrants. This is because immigrants tend to move to areas where they have friends and family connections that can provide them with social and economic support. This is related, in part, to immigration laws that give strong preference to family reunification as a condition of entry[24]. In contrast, domestic migrants tend to be more "footloose" in their migration patterns and more responsive to geographic shifts in employment opportunities and amenities. As a result, metropolitan areas that gain the most domestic migrants tend to exhibit the strongest economic opportunities for working-aged migrants or amenities for retirees.

The shifting fortunes of domestic migrant magnets are evident in the middle panel of Table 3. From 1995 to 2000, Atlanta led the list, followed by Phoenix, Las Vegas and Dallas. In the 2000-to-2004 period however, the Riverside metro area rose to become the greatest domestic migration magnet, Sacramento joined the top eight, and Atlanta fell to number five on the list. The rise of Riverside and Sacramento reflects the post-2000 California employment and housing dynamics discussed earlier. It is also noteworthy that just one of the metro areas among the top domestic migrant magnets (Dallas) also ranks among the top destinations for immigrants.

Consistent with the pattern in earlier periods, the metro areas experiencing the greatest domestic outmigration include those that receive the most immigrants, as well as those located in more stagnant economic regions. The two metro areas with the largest domestic migrant losses are those that saw the largest immigrant gains—New York and Los Angeles. Chicago and San Francisco, two other immigrant magnets, also lost domestic migrants recently, as did Miami and Washington, DC (not shown).

Table 3. Greatest Immigrant and Domestic Migrant Gainers and Domestic Migrant Decliners, Large Metropolitan Areas, 1995–2000 and 2000–2004

	2000–2004		1995–2000	
Rank	Metropolitan Area	Migrants	Metropolitan Area	Migrants
	Highest Immigration			
1	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	684,913	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	892,205
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	512,282	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	594,809
3	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	263,395	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	346,611
4	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	243,355	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	322,325
5	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	184,395	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	248,670
6	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	166,747	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	231,637
7	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	157,557	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	214,820
8	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	156,655	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	210,689
	Highest Domestic Migration Gains			
1	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	325,842	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	246,444
2	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	194,392	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	245,159
3	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	168,463	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	203,228
4	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	145,580	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	145,478
5	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	124,106	Austin-Round Rock, TX	104,340
6	Orlando, FL	119,791	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	103,375
7	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	118,699	Orlando, FL	101,226
8	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	68,475	Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	83,229
	Highest Domestic Migration Losses			
1	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	-844,058	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	-823,766
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	-471,118	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	-626,957
3	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	-252,997	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	-316,509
4	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	-243,934	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	-122,049
5	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	-174,295	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	-103,641
6	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	-167,404	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	-95,849
7	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	-106,785	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	-78,571
8	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	-59,189	Honolulu, HI	-69,866

Source: Author's analysis of data from Census 2000 and Census Population Estimates Program

Table 4. Components of Population Change in Fastest Growing Large Metropolitan Areas, 2000–2004

Rank	Metropolitan Area	Population Change	Component Rates:* Immigration	Domestic Migration	Natural Increase	Immigration Share of Growth (%)
1	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	18.5	3.0	12.1	3.5	16.2
2	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	15.7	1.9	9.9	3.9	12.1
3	McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	14.7	3.7	2.1	8.9	25.0
4	Stockton, CA	14.4	2.4	8.1	3.9	16.7
5	Raleigh-Cary, NC	13.7	2.7	6.3	4.4	19.5
6	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	13.3	3.2	5.9	4.2	24.3
7	Orlando, FL	12.4	2.4	7.2	2.6	19.4
8	Austin-Round Rock, TX	11.7	3.0	3.7	5.0	25.4
9	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	11.5	2.2	6.6	2.8	19.2
10	Bakersfield, CA	10.7	2.0	4.5	4.3	18.7
11	Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	10.1	2.0	4.6	3.5	19.9
12	Sarasota-Bradenton-Venice, FL	10.0	1.4	9.9	-1.3	14.1
13	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	10.0	2.7	2.9	4.4	26.8
14	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	9.7	3.5	1.3	4.9	36.6
15	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	9.3	3.5	1.0	4.8	38.0

** Components do not sum exactly to total due to additional residual component introduced in the estimation. Rates are per 100 inhabitants.*

Source: Author's analysis of data from Census Population Estimates Program

It does not necessarily follow that domestic migrants are leaving high-immigration metro areas because of immigrant inflows, however. While some have argued that immigration has caused out-migration among some low-skilled native-born individuals, recent analyses show that domestic migration from high immigration areas is comprised of both long term foreign-born movers, as well the native born.[25] Analyses of comparable interstate migration over the 1995-to-2000 period reveal that the domestic migration of whites, blacks, and foreign-born individuals is also affected by high housing costs and other disamenities that characterize many high-immigration areas.[26]

The impact of immigration on metropolitan area population change varies sharply (Appendix Table B). It is an especially important component of growth among high-immigration metropolitan areas that are also losing domestic migrants, such as those in the top and bottom panels of Table 3. If not for immigration, metropolitan New York, Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago, San Francisco and Washington, DC would have relied on natural increase alone to achieve population growth. Similarly, metropolitan areas in declining regions like Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit that are experiencing "brain drain"—domestic out-migration of educated young people—depend increasingly on immigration to recoup some of these losses. Immigration flows to these areas are not nearly as large as they are for prime "immigrant magnets." Still, they serve a valuable function by supplanting some of the loss of homegrown residents and, in many cases, infusing these populations with higher-skilled immigrants.[27]

With all the attention given to immigration, it often goes unnoticed that domestic migration and natural increase (births minus deaths) account for the lion's share of growth in the nation's fastest-growing large metros. While immigrants and foreign-born domestic migrants are increasingly moving to these areas to fill employment opportunities created by higher-skill, native-born domestic migration, the latter migrants and their children account for most of these areas' gains. Among the 15 fastest-growing areas from 2000 to 2004, domestic migration represented the largest component of growth for 10 (Table 4). In Las Vegas, for example, domestic migration accounted for about two-thirds of overall growth, with natural increase and immigration each comprising about half the remainder. In only two of these metro areas (Dallas and Houston) did immigration make up more than one-third of population growth in the early 2000s.

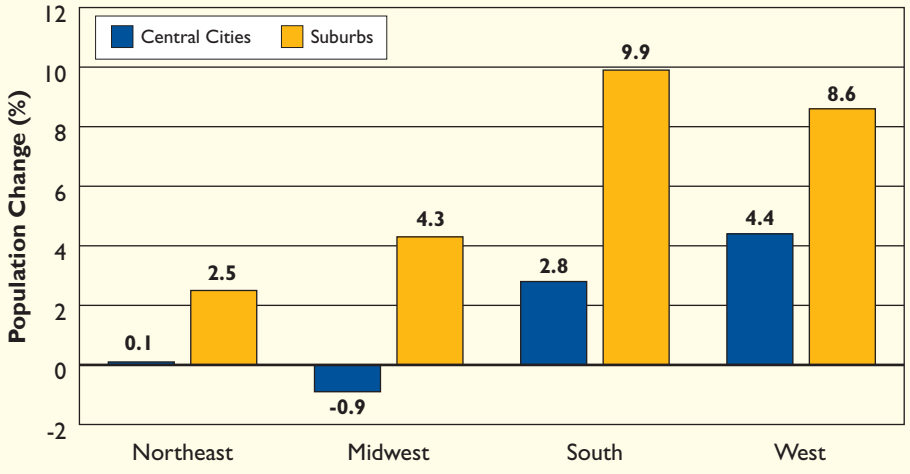
The importance of natural increase in several fast-growing areas raises an

Table 5. Large Metropolitan Areas with Highest and Lowest Natural Increase Rates, 2000–2004

Rank	Metropolitan Area	Rate
	Highest Natural Increase	
1	McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	8.9
2	El Paso, TX	6.0
3	Salt Lake City, UT	5.8
4	Austin-Round Rock, TX	5.0
5	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	4.9
6	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	4.8
7	Fresno, CA	4.5
8	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	4.4
9	Raleigh-Cary, NC	4.4
10	Bakersfield, CA	4.3
11	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	4.3
12	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	4.2
13	Colorado Springs, CO	4.2
14	Denver-Aurora, CO	4.2
15	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	3.9
	Lowest Natural Increase	
1	Scranton—Wilkes-Barre, PA	-1.5
2	Sarasota-Bradenton-Venice, FL	-1.3
3	Pittsburgh, PA	-0.6
4	Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	-0.3
5	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	0.1
6	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	0.3
7	Springfield, MA	0.7
8	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	0.7
9	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	0.8
10	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	0.8
11	Knoxville, TN	0.8
12	Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	1.0
13	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	1.0
14	Akron, OH	1.1
15	Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	1.2

Rates are per 100 inhabitants.
Source: Author's analysis of data from Census Population Estimates Program

Figure 3. Population Change in Central Cities and Suburbs of Large Metropolitan Areas, 2000–2004*



** See text for definitions of central cities and suburbs*
Source: Author's analysis of data from Census Population Estimates Program

interesting demographic question: where are the metropolitan "baby booms?" Table 5 indicates that the rate of natural increase varies quite a bit among large metropolitan areas. Metro areas with the highest natural increase rates tend to have large, younger Hispanic populations, such as McAllen, TX; and to have attracted recent waves of domestic migrants comprised of younger households of childbearing age, such as Raleigh. In metro areas like Austin, Dallas, and Houston, both groups are prevalent.

Scranton's aging population, on the other hand, accounts for its excess of deaths over births in the 2000s. Metropolitan areas like Scranton with low rates of natural increase tend to have low levels of in-migration and older populations. With relatively fewer people of childbearing age, and more in their high-mortality years, areas that have not grown significantly in recent decades show low or negative rates of natural increase. A few other areas with low levels of natural increase are Sunbelt retirement magnets that attract older migrants, such as Sarasota and Tampa. Sarasota is somewhat unique in that it is one of the fastest-growing large metro areas in the country at the same time that it registers more deaths than births.

D. The bulk of large central cities added population since 2000 and share the rising and falling fortunes of their metropolitan areas in the 2000s.

Central cities, as defined here, are the major centers that anchor their larger metropolitan areas. Yet population decentralization from central cities into the suburbs, especially in older metropolitan areas of the Northeast and Midwest, has occurred for decades. In many of these areas, growth disparities are at least as dramatic between older inner suburbs and outer suburbs as between central cities and suburbs. In many newer

Table 6. Fastest and Slowest Growing Central Cities of Large Metropolitan Areas, 2000–2004 versus 1990–2000

2000–2004				1990–2000			
Rank	Change from 1990–2000	Central Cities of Metropolitan Area	Population Change (%)	Rank	Change to 2000–2004	Central Cities of Metropolitan Area	Population Change (%)
		Fastest Growing				*Fastest Growing*	
1	1	Bakersfield, CA	16.1	1	-5	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	85.2
2	5	Raleigh-Cary, NC	14.3	2	1	Bakersfield, CA	41.3
3	19	Stockton, CA	14.0	3	-24	Austin-Round Rock, TX	41.0
4	5	McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	12.8	4	-30	Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	39.1
5	28	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	11.0	5	-4	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	37.0
6	-5	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	10.6	6	-8	Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	36.6
7	17	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	9.1	7	5	Raleigh-Cary, NC	32.8
8	11	Albuquerque, NM	7.6	8	-23	Colorado Springs, CO	28.4
9	-4	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	7.5	9	5	McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	26.7
10	19	Orlando, FL	7.4	10	-2	San Antonio, TX	22.3
11	3	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	7.3	11	-15	Greensboro-High Point, NC	22.0
12	-2	San Antonio, TX	7.0	12	-1	Fresno, CA	20.7
13	-1	Fresno, CA	6.4	13	-22	Denver-Aurora, CO	20.5
14	-8	Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	6.0	14	3	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	20.2
15	8	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	5.8	15	-6	Tucson, AZ	20.1
		Slowest Growing/Declining				*Slowest Growing/Declining*	
1	7	Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	-4.9	1	-1	Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	-14.3
2	-1	Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	-4.9	2	-39	Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	-13.0
3	22	New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	-4.4	3	-26	St. Louis, MO-IL	-12.2
4	8	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	-4.3	4	-20	Baltimore-Towson, MD	-11.5
5	5	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	-3.8	5	-5	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	-10.8
6	9	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	-3.8	6	-15	Syracuse, NY	-10.1
7	0	Pittsburgh, PA	-3.4	7	0	Pittsburgh, PA	-9.5
8	1	Dayton, OH	-3.3	8	7	Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	-9.0
9	9	Rochester, NY	-3.2	9	1	Dayton, OH	-8.7
10	-5	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	-3.2	10	5	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	-8.7
11	23	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	-3.0	11	-1	Scranton—Wilkes-Barre, PA	-6.6
12	-1	Scranton—Wilkes-Barre, PA	-3.0	12	8	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	-6.6
13	7	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	-2.9	13	-4	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	-6.5
14	25	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	-2.7	14	-2	Toledo, OH	-5.8
15	35	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	-2.7	15	9	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	-5.4

Rank change indicates change in growth ranking between periods among central cities of 88 metropolitan areas with populations over 500,000 in 2000
Source: Author's analysis of data from decennial U.S. censuses and Census Population Estimates Program

parts of the South and West, on the other hand, central cities more frequently share in metropolitan growth, though usually at substantially lower rates than their expanding suburbs (Figure 3).

Not surprisingly, central city and metropolitan growth remain closely related in the 2000-to-2004 period. Table 6 shows that 10 of the 15 metropolitan areas with the fastest-growing central cities also rank among the 15 fastest-growing metropolitan areas overall in the early 2000s (displayed in Table 1). The cities that moved far-

Table 7. Components of Population Change in Large Metropolitan Counties with Highest Domestic Out-Migration, 2000–2004

Rank	County	2004 Population (000s)	Inside Metropolitan Area	Change Components (000s)			Total Population Change (000s)
				Domestic Migration	Immigration	Natural Increase*	
1	Los Angeles County, CA	9,938	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	-379.6	400.7	370.8	391.9
2	Cook County, IL	5,328	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	-378.0	176.3	152.0	-49.7
3	Kings County, NY	2,475	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	-220.3	126.6	102.2	8.5
4	Queens County, NY	2,237	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	-218.5	143.5	81.0	6.0
5	Santa Clara County, CA	1,685	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	-172.7	100.9	70.7	-1.0
6	Dallas County, TX	2,295	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	-162.1	115.8	115.7	69.4
7	Miami-Dade County, FL	2,364	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	-126.1	165.7	63.8	103.3
8	Wayne County, MI	2,016	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	-109.5	26.1	40.3	-43.1
9	Alameda County, CA	1,455	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	-104.1	61.6	47.3	4.8
10	Harris County, TX	3,644	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	-92.8	145.1	177.1	229.4
11	Orange County, CA	2,988	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	-91.5	111.6	110.5	130.6
12	Philadelphia County, PA	1,470	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	-87.3	23.6	20.2	-43.5
13	New York County, NY	1,563	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	-86.3	71.7	37.8	23.2
14	Bronx County, NY	1,366	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	-84.8	54.3	61.3	30.8
15	Suffolk County, NY	666	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	-76.6	34.6	18.0	-23.9

**includes natural increase in addition to residual component as part of the estimation*

Source: Author's analysis of data from Census Population Estimates Program

thest up the list this decade are those associated with the rapidly growing California metropolitan areas of Stockton, Sacramento and Riverside. At the same time, central cities within some of the fastest-growing metro areas in the 1990s have dropped down the list along with their wider areas, including Austin, Portland, Colorado Springs, and Denver.

Metropolitan and central city populations have also moved in tandem for the slowest-growing and declining places in the 2000s. The largest jumps among the list of declining cities occurred for those at the heart of the Boston, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and San Francisco metropolitan areas, all of which suffered from technology-led economic weakening after 2000. At the same time, several central cities dropped off the slow-growers list in line with their metropolitan areas' improved growth rankings. The central cities of four Northeastern metros—Hartford, New Haven, Albany, and Springfield—actually shifted from experiencing declines in the 1990s to growth in the 2000s. Overall, six cities shifted from population loss in the 1990s to population gains so far this decade, but ten cities moved in the opposite direction (see Appendix Table C for population change figures for central cities and suburbs in all large metropolitan areas).

In addition to the "movers" on the lists of fastest-growing and declining central cities, many cities are mainstays in both periods. Las Vegas, Bakersfield, Raleigh-Cary, McAllen, Phoenix, Charleston, San Antonio, and Fresno all continue to anchor fast-growing metropolitan areas. In contrast, the declining central cities of Cincinnati, Youngstown, Detroit, Birmingham, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Dayton, Buffalo, and Scranton still lie within slow-growing metropolitan areas, and showed only modest changes in rank between the two periods.

Declining and slow-growing central cities do not, however, always locate in slow-growing metropolitan areas. Among the 30 central cities that lost population from 2000 to 2004 (in the nation's 88 largest metro areas), only six lie within metropolitan areas that also shrank, and only four have surrounding suburbs that also declined. Washington, DC's metropolitan area grew by 6.6 percent in the four-year period after 2000, 25th-fastest in the nation, even as its central cities lost an estimated 2.4 percent of their residents. Minneapolis-St Paul and Salt Lake City provide two additional examples of central city/metropolitan growth mismatches in recent years (Appendix Table C).

Overall, however, nearly two thirds of large metropolitan central cities are

Table 8. Components of Population Change in Fastest Growing Suburban Counties of Large Metropolitan Areas, 2000–2004

Rank	Metropolitan Area	2004 Population (000s)	Inside Metropolitan Area	Population Change (%)	Component Rates*			Immigration Share of Growth (%)
					Immigration	Domestic Migration	Natural Increase	
1	Loudoun County	239.2	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	37.5	2.1	27.9	7.5	5.7
2	Rockwall County	58.3	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	32.8	1.0	28.0	3.9	3.0
3	Douglas County	238.0	Denver-Aurora, CO	31.9	1.0	23.6	7.3	3.1
4	Kendall County	72.5	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	31.4	0.5	25.2	5.0	1.7
5	Forsyth County	131.9	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	31.2	1.7	23.8	5.8	5.4
6	Henry County	159.5	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	31.1	0.3	26.0	4.7	1.1
7	Newton County	81.5	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	29.6	0.5	24.5	4.6	1.7
8	Delaware County	142.5	Columbus, OH	27.5	0.3	20.3	4.8	0.9
9	Paulding County	105.9	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	27.5	0.3	21.6	5.6	1.0
10	Osceola County	219.5	Orlando, FL	26.0	3.7	17.4	3.4	14.0
11	Scott County	114.8	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	26.0	0.7	18.9	6.4	2.7
12	Collin County	627.9	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	25.6	2.9	16.8	5.8	11.5
13	Hamilton County	231.8	Indianapolis, IN	25.0	0.7	17.5	5.1	2.7
14	Williamson County	317.9	Austin-Round Rock, TX	24.7	1.2	17.9	5.6	4.9
15	Spencer County	14.8	Louisville, KY-IN	23.4	0.1	19.7	3.5	0.6

** Components do not sum exactly to total due to additional residual component introduced in the estimation. Rates are per 100 inhabitants.*

Source: Author's analysis of data from Census Population Estimates Program

estimated to have gained population in recent years.

Just as immigration has exerted an important and selective impact on metropolitan growth, it has continued to sustain population growth and stem decline in many central cities and their surrounding counties. In particular, many of these urban places count on immigration to counterbalance domestic migration losses. Table 7 lists the 15 counties located in large metro areas that registered the greatest net domestic out-migration over the 2000-to-2004 period. All lie at the center of major metropolitan areas. Despite the fact that each displayed substantial domestic migration losses, the combined impact of strong immigration and natural increase meant that only five registered population losses. Eight of the 15 urban counties would have registered population losses in the absence of immigration.

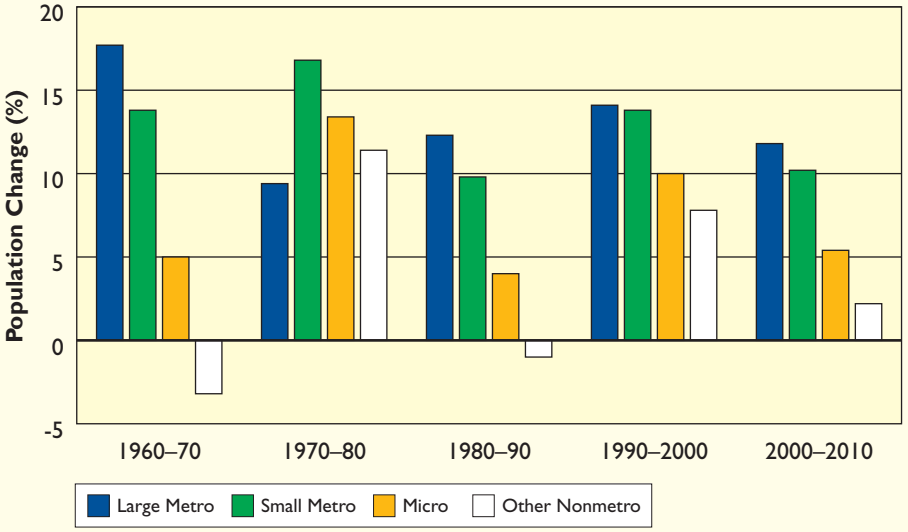
The fastest-growing large metropolitan counties, meanwhile, tend to be on the periphery and are often described as "exurban" in the popular press. Table 8 shows the components of population change for counties with the most rapid population growth between 2000 and 2004. For them, immigration contributes little to their rapid growth. Domestic migration accounts for the vast majority of recent growth in all 15 counties shown.

Notably, not all of these fast-growing counties are located in fast-growing metropolitan areas. For example, Kendall County, IL (outside Chicago), Delaware County, OH (outside Columbus) and Scott County, MN (outside Minneapolis-St. Paul) lie within modestly growing regions, but incorporate the fastest-growing suburban parts of each.[28] This is also the case for listed counties located in expanding metro areas, such as Forsyth County, GA (outside Atlanta), and Loudon County, VA (outside Washington, DC). All, though, have grown primarily from the in-migration of individuals and families from elsewhere in the metro area, or elsewhere in the U.S. Thus, while immigrants are now moving into many suburbs in record numbers, they are not yet driving outer suburban growth.

E. The overall pattern of population growth in large and small metro areas, micropolitan areas, and non-metropolitan areas between 2000 and 2004 generally parallel those found in the 1990s, rather than the more mixed results of previous decades.

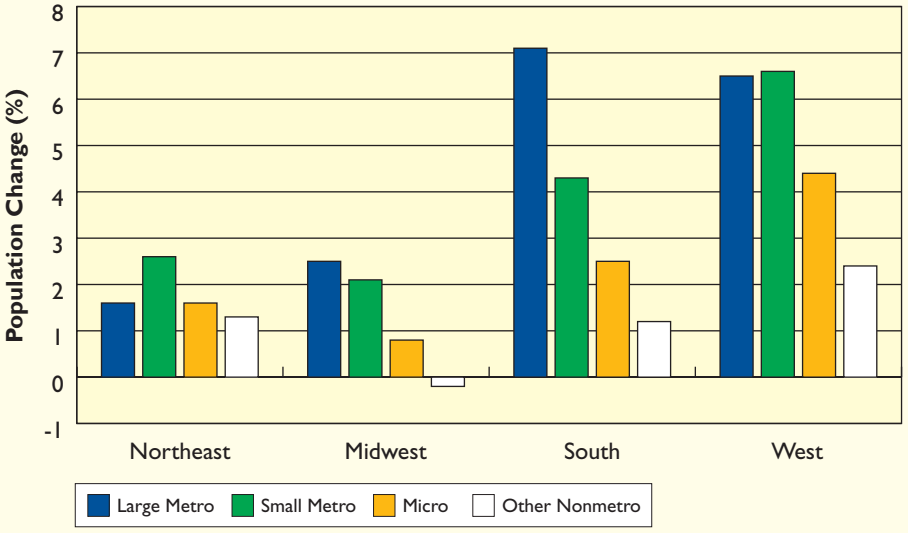
While this survey has thus far focused on the 88 large metropolitan areas with populations exceeding 500,000 in 2000, it now examines recent demographic change in the rest of the nation, employing geographic concepts recently introduced alongside the new

Figure 4. Population Change by Decade and Area Type, U.S., 1960–2010*



** See text for explanation of area types. 2000-2010 change extrapolated from 2000-2004 change*
Source: Author's analysis of data from decennial U.S. censuses and Census Population Estimates Program

Figure 5. Population Change by Area Type and U.S. Region, 2000–2004



Source: Author's analysis of data from decennial U.S. censuses and Census Population Estimates Program

metropolitan area definitions.[29] These include remaining ("smaller") metropolitan areas; micropolitan areas that surround urban populations between 10,000 and 50,000; and other territory. Because micropolitan areas are located outside the boundaries of metropolitan areas, they can be considered part of the nation's non-metropolitan territory. Therefore, this survey refers to territory outside of metropolitan and micropolitan areas as "other non-metropolitan."

To put these concepts in perspective, in 2004 the 88 large metros comprised 62.6 percent of U.S. population; the 273 small metropolitan areas comprised another 20.0 percent; the 573 micropolitan areas accounted for 10.5 percent; and just 6.9 percent of U.S. resident lived in other non-metropolitan territory. (Appendix D provides an overview of recent demographic change for these geographies by region.)

The population relationship between large metro areas and the rest of the nation has ebbed and flowed over time. Figure 4 uses current metropolitan and micropolitan definitions to examine decade-by-decade population change from 1960 projected out to 2010. Clearly, deindustrialization in the 1970s made that an outlier decade for large metropolitan growth. Population generally dispersed, with smaller metro areas, micropolitan areas, and other non-metropolitan areas all growing at a faster pace than large metropolitan areas as a group.

Since this pattern represented a fundamental break with the past, many explanations were offered to account for the change.[30] Manufacturing jobs relocated to smaller places with lower labor costs; the oil shortage prompted extensive extractive industry development in the non-metropolitan Southwest, Mountain West and Appalachia; and a large cohort of seniors raised demands for small retirement communities. Still, many observers saw the 1970s population

dispersal as the beginning of a more longstanding population deconcentration that would "loosen the constraints" and permit both residents and employers to fulfill longstanding preferences for low-density, high-amenity locations. The rebound of large metropolitan areas in the 1980s, and the faltering of many non-metropolitan economies, put a temporary damper on the "deconcentration" thesis.[31]

In the 1990s, however, small-area gains accompanied even greater metropolitan growth. The fastest-growing smaller-sized places were located in recreation and retirement-oriented communities, and on the periphery of metropolitan areas not far removed from the "exurbs." At the same time, many non-metropolitan communities began to diversify their economies.[32] These developments, along with the prospect that some baby boomers will select smaller communities for their retirement, have resurrected the notion that the deconcentration phenomenon will persist.[33]

With this background, population shifts from 2000 to 2004 shown in Figure 4 suggest a slight retrenchment from both the high growth of large metropolitan areas and the rebound of population in non-metropolitan America.[34] Yet these trends varied significantly by region within the U.S. Figure 5 indicates that both micropolitan areas and other nonmetropolitan territory grew in all regions in the early 2000s except the Midwest. Their growth was fairly impressive in the West, where smaller metropolitan areas grew at the same high rate as large metropolitan areas.

Even more so than large metro areas, small metropolitan and micropolitan areas spanned a wide spectrum of growth and decline in the early part of the current decade. Table 9 lists the fastest and slowest-growing places among the 273 small metropolitan areas over this period, ranging from rapid 20.5 percent growth in St. George, UT to 3.6 percent decline in Lawton, OK. Only 22 areas, mostly in the South and West, grew by more than 10 percent, and an additional 81 averaged at least 1 percent annual growth over the four years. At the other extreme, 44 small areas (about one in six) registered population declines, located primarily in hard-hit areas of the Northeast, Midwest and South.

While micropolitan areas have yet to undergo a great deal of demographic analysis, the latest population estimates reveal that these 573 areas vary dramatically in their growth

Table 9. Fastest and Slowest Growing Small Metropolitan Areas, 2000–2004*

Rank	Metropolitan Area	Population Change (%)
	Fastest Growing	
1	St. George, UT	20.5
2	Greeley, CO	19.7
3	Naples-Marco Island, FL	16.8
4	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	15.9
5	Bend, OR	15.3
6	Gainesville, GA	14.2
7	Port St. Lucie-Fort Pierce, FL	13.8
8	Prescott, AZ	12.8
9	Laredo, TX	12.7
10	Madera, CA	12.4
11	Merced, CA	12.0
12	Boise City-Nampa, ID	12.0
13	Ocala, FL	11.9
14	Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR-MO	11.9
15	Kennewick-Richland-Pasco, WA	11.8
	Slowest Growing/Declining	
1	Lawton, OK	-3.6
2	Decatur, IL	-3.1
3	Weirton-Steubenville, WV-OH	-3.0
4	Johnstown, PA	-2.5
5	Wichita Falls, TX	-2.4
6	Wheeling, WV-OH	-2.2
7	Anderson, IN	-2.0
8	Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA	-2.0
9	Danville, VA	-1.7
10	Pittsfield, MA	-1.7
11	Lima, OH	-1.5
12	Ocean City, NJ	-1.5
13	St. Joseph, MO-KS	-1.4
14	Springfield, OH	-1.4
15	Pine Bluff, AR	-1.3

** See text for geographic definitions*

Source: Author's analysis of data from Census Population Estimates Program

Table 10. Fastest and Slowest Growing Micropolitan Areas, 2000–2004*

Rank	Metropolitan Area	Population Change (%)
	Fastest Growing	
1	Palm Coast, FL	36.4
2	Heber, UT	17.5
3	Lake Havasu City-Kingman, AZ	15.2
4	Pahrump, NV	14.6
5	East Stroudsburg, PA	13.6
6	The Villages, FL	13.3
7	Granbury, TX	11.6
8	Rio Grande City, TX	11.1
9	Kill Devil Hills, NC	11.0
10	Dunn, NC	10.9
11	Daphne-Fairhope, AL	10.8
12	Bozeman, MT	10.8
13	Statesville-Mooresville, NC	10.8
14	Prineville, OR	10.8
15	Calhoun, GA	10.6
	Slowest Growing/Declining	
1	Pecos, TX	-9.3
2	West Helena, AR	-7.5
3	Blytheville, AR	-6.5
4	Fort Polk South, LA	-5.6
5	Huron, SD	-5.5
6	Tallulah, LA	-5.3
7	Ketchikan, AK	-5.3
8	Pampa, TX	-5.1
9	Greenville, MS	-5.1
10	Kodiak, AK	-5.0
11	Borger, TX	-4.9
12	Silver City, NM	-4.8
13	Clarksdale, MS	-4.5
14	Camden, AR	-4.5
15	Minot, ND	-4.3

** See text for geographic definitions*

Source: Author's analysis of data from Census Population Estimates Program

patterns. Population change from 2000 to 2004 ranged from 36 percent growth for Palm Coast, FL to 9.3 percent decline for Pecos, TX. Since Texas has more micropolitan areas than any other state (41), it is not suprising that its areas are represented on both the fastest-growing and slowest-growing lists (Table 10). Overall only 18 micropolitan areas grew by more than 10 percent during the four-year period, while 203—more than one third of all areas—experienced declines. Declining areas are located in all four regions of the U.S., but concentrate heavily in the South and Midwest.

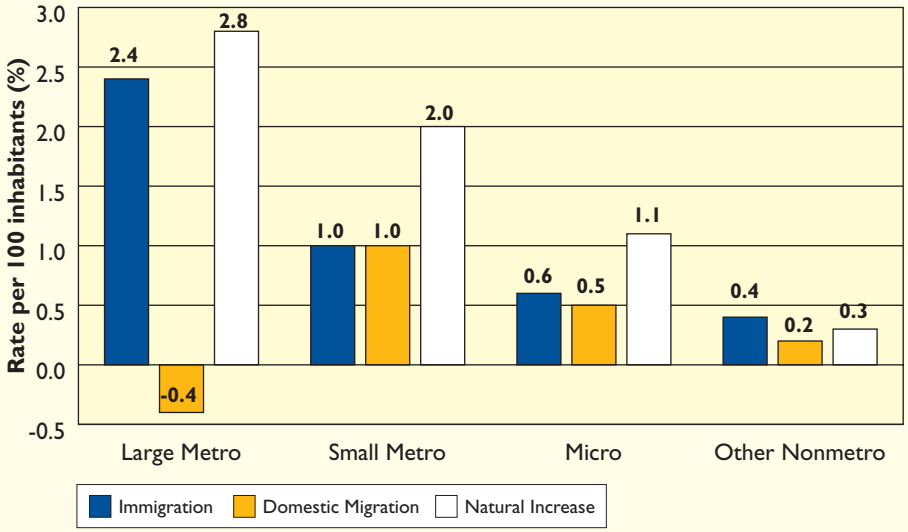
Domestic migration trends associated with these geographic concepts lend some support to the "deconcentration" thesis. Figure 6 shows that the combination of all large metropolitan areas registered net domestic out-migration to smaller-sized areas in the early 2000s, as each of the other types of areas gained domestic migrants. The Northeast and Midwest experienced the greatest domestic migration losses in their large metro areas, while their Western counterparts experienced smaller, though still significant, outflows that reflected movement from "immigrant magnet" metro areas. However, large metros in the South showed domestic migration gains (see Appendix Table D). Indeed, all geographic categories in the South showed net domestic gains, while all categories in the Midwest showed losses. The Northeast and West regions, for their part, most closely mirror the national "deconcentration" domestic migration patterns shown in Figure 6.

Both immigration and domestic migration tend to affect large metropolitan areas more than smaller ones. In small metropolitan and micropolitan areas, natural increase is the main source of growth in all regions except the Northeast. Nonetheless, despite wide variation across regions, domestic migration emerges as an important driver of population growth for smaller communities, reflecting the cutting edge of the "deconcentration phenomenon."

Conclusion

This survey highlights post-2000 population shifts taking place across the nation's large metropolitan areas, central cities and smaller communities, using the new geographic concepts developed by the federal government. In the wake of the 1990s,

Figure 6. Components of Population Change by Area Type, U.S., 2000–2004



Source: Author's analysis of data from decennial U.S. censuses and Census Population Estimates Program

a decade characterized by a strong economy and a resurgence of metropolitan growth at levels not seen since the 1960s, the early 2000s brought shifts in U.S. population growth.

These shifts occurred in the context of the new decade's modest early recession, the demise of the high-tech "dot-com" boom, and sharpening divisions in the cost of housing across the country. The big growth winners in the decade thus far are interior California metropolitan areas with relatively lower costs of living than their coastal counterparts. Selective economic downturns brought slower growth and population decline to some "new economy" metropolitan centers, as San Jose, San Francisco and Boston climbed onto the list of slowest-growing metro areas in the 2000-to-2004 period.

These recent population ebbs and flows stand in contrast to perennially fast-growing metropolitan areas like Las Vegas, which continues to lead the growth list, increasing its cumulative population growth to 1200 percent since 1960. Las Vegas and other expansive Sun Belt metro areas, including Phoenix, Orlando, Atlanta, and Raleigh, are characterized by fairly consistent, dynamic demographic change, a sharp contrast with Northeastern and Midwestern areas whose growth trajectories might be described as "steady state." Most of the fastest-growing areas of the U.S. are receiving economically "footloose" domestic migrants in large numbers.

In general, central cities appear to be following the growth trajectories of their broader metropolitan areas in the current decade, though not all declining central cities located in slow-growing (or declining) regions. Many central cities and their surrounding counties, however, do continue to receive immigrants in large numbers, despite recent economic downturns and post-2001 security concerns. In "immigrant magnet" metro areas like New York and Los Angeles, these immigrants often help to balance large outflows of domestic migrants. In aging Rust Belt urban centers, immigrants do not make up for these population losses or lack of natural increase, but they are increasingly viewed as important counterweights to continuing "brain drains" of native-born out-migrants.

Beyond large metropolitan areas, the 1990s decade brought new gains to smaller communities outside of the largest metros, suggesting a renewal of the deconcentration trend first observed in the 1970s. The early 2000s show evidence that this trend is continuing, but at a somewhat slower pace than in the 1990s. Still, both small metropolitan areas and micropolitan areas show wide variations in growth patterns across the country. Micropolitan areas, in particular, divide between a handful that grew by more than 10 percent from 2000 to 2004, and about 200 that lost population. It appears that domestic migrants are headed for cutting-edge areas of growth, in outer "exurban" counties within metropolitan areas, and to smaller communities, especially in the West.

Overall, recent growth patterns for large metropolitan areas, central cities, and smaller communities appear to resemble the 1990s "metropolitan surge" more than the mixed metropolitan growth patterns of the 1970s and 1980s. Economically successful areas continue to be rewarded with migration-driven growth. Thus, what transpires between now and 2010 will depend heavily on the nature of the economic recovery, the future of the housing market both nationally and regionally, and the location patterns of a growing number of Baby Boomers who are beginning to knock on retirement's door.

Appendix Table A. Population Change by Decade, Large Metropolitan Areas by Region, 1960–2004

Metropolitan Area	2004 Population (000s)	Population Change (%)* 1960–70	1970–80	1980–90	1990–00	2000–04	Change (%) 1960–2004
Northeast							
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	18,710	11.2	-4.1	2.9	8.8	1.9	22
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	5,801	11.9	-1.6	3.7	4.6	1.9	22
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	4,425	11.4	0.5	5.0	6.2	0.5	26
Pittsburgh, PA	2,402	-0.3	-4.0	-6.8	-1.5	-1.1	-13
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	1,629	10.8	2.0	6.2	4.8	2.6	29
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	1,185	22.2	1.6	6.9	2.2	2.9	40
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	1,154	3.2	-7.9	-4.3	-1.6	-1.2	-12
Rochester, NY	1,041	20.1	1.0	3.2	3.5	0.3	30
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	903	21.3	1.8	2.5	6.6	2.1	38
New Haven-Milford, CT	846	12.8	2.2	5.6	2.5	2.5	28
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	845	9.8	3.3	4.9	2.0	2.2	24
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	780	9.0	6.9	8.1	7.8	5.1	43
Worcester, MA	779	9.2	1.5	9.8	5.8	3.6	34
Springfield, MA	688	9.3	0.6	4.2	1.0	1.1	17
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	664	23.4	13.7	12.4	9.6	6.4	85
Syracuse, NY	654	12.9	1.0	2.6	-1.5	0.5	16
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	519	10.5	8.8	6.2	7.3	1.9	40
Midwest							
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	9,392	12.3	2.2	1.6	11.2	3.0	34
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	4,493	12.3	-1.8	-2.4	4.8	0.8	14
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	3,116	23.1	8.4	15.5	16.9	4.5	89
St. Louis, MO-IL	2,764	12.1	-1.3	3.1	4.6	2.3	22
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	2,137	9.1	-6.3	-3.3	2.2	-0.5	0
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	2,058	9.6	3.6	5.2	8.9	2.2	33
Kansas City, MO-KS	1,925	13.5	4.7	8.8	12.2	4.5	52
Columbus, OH	1,694	19.7	8.5	10.6	14.8	4.6	73
Indianapolis, IN	1,622	17.5	5.3	7.1	17.8	5.9	66
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	1,516	9.8	-0.5	2.5	4.8	0.9	19
Dayton, OH	846	17.2	-2.6	1.7	0.5	-0.3	16
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	804	15.6	5.6	4.9	11.8	4.5	50
Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	768	13.2	10.3	11.9	14.6	3.3	66
Akron, OH	702	12.2	-2.8	-0.4	5.7	0.9	16
Toledo, OH	658	8.3	2.1	-0.4	0.8	-0.1	11
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	590	4.4	-0.7	-7.0	-1.7	-2.0	-7
Wichita, KS	585	1.7	6.1	9.5	11.7	2.2	35
Scranton—Wilkes-Barre, PA	552	-0.5	0.3	-3.7	-2.5	-1.4	-8
Madison, WI	532	25.6	10.5	11.8	16.1	5.6	91
South							
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	5,700	36.4	24.5	32.2	29.4	9.7	221
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	5,362	49.4	44.0	25.9	23.5	6.6	258
Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	5,180	37.5	43.0	19.6	25.2	9.3	224
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	5,140	36.2	8.1	21.3	16.3	6.6	123
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	4,708	32.6	26.4	31.9	38.4	10.0	239
Baltimore-Towson, MD	2,639	14.8	5.3	8.3	7.2	3.2	45
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	2,588	34.8	46.0	28.2	15.9	7.6	215
Orlando, FL	1,862	32.3	54.0	52.2	34.3	12.4	371

Appendix Table A (*continued*)

Metropolitan Area	2004 Population (000s)	Population Change (%)* 1960–70	1970–80	1980–90	1990–00	2000–04	Change (%) 1960–2004
San Antonio, TX	1,854	19.5	21.3	21.9	21.6	7.8	133
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	1,644	20.0	10.0	20.1	8.8	4.1	80
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	1,475	20.4	15.4	19.8	29.8	10.1	140
Austin-Round Rock, TX	1,412	32.4	46.7	44.6	47.7	11.7	369
Nashville-Davidson—Murfreesboro, TN	1,396	16.0	21.7	14.9	25.1	6.0	116
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	1,320	16.1	14.0	-1.4	4.1	0.3	36
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	1,250	12.3	9.5	7.0	12.9	3.5	54
Jacksonville, FL	1,225	17.4	18.6	25.4	21.4	8.8	131
Louisville, KY-IN	1,201	13.5	6.5	0.2	10.0	3.1	38
Richmond, VA	1,154	17.0	13.1	13.1	15.6	4.9	82
Oklahoma City, OK	1,144	22.5	20.3	11.4	12.8	4.2	93
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	1,082	2.6	11.7	2.9	10.0	2.7	33
Raleigh-Cary, NC	915	21.8	26.6	34.6	47.3	13.7	251
Tulsa, OK	882	13.8	24.3	6.9	12.9	2.4	75
Baton Rouge, LA	729	18.5	26.7	5.5	13.2	3.0	85
El Paso, TX	713	14.4	33.6	23.3	14.9	4.6	127
Columbia, SC	679	17.8	23.6	10.1	18.0	4.7	99
Greensboro-High Point, NC	668	15.8	12.6	9.7	19.1	3.4	77
McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	658	0.3	56.0	35.4	48.5	14.7	264
Sarasota-Bradenton-Venice, FL	652	48.9	61.2	39.6	20.5	10.0	346
Knoxville, TN	647	8.3	16.5	5.9	15.2	4.8	62
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR	637	18.7	24.8	8.1	14.1	4.0	91
Greenville, SC	584	15.2	20.0	12.6	18.6	3.9	92
Charleston-North Charleston, SC	583	20.5	28.1	17.8	8.3	6.0	109
West							
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	12,925	25.5	11.2	19.8	9.7	4.2	92
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	4,154	17.4	4.5	13.4	11.9	0.4	57
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	3,793	40.7	36.8	66.1	25.7	15.7	368
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	3,715	43.2	53.9	39.9	45.3	13.3	412
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	3,167	28.6	13.9	22.3	18.9	3.8	122
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	2,932	31.4	37.1	34.2	12.6	3.8	184
Denver-Aurora, CO	2,330	28.7	29.7	13.8	30.7	6.2	168
Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	2,064	22.7	24.0	13.6	26.5	6.6	134
Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	2,017	29.4	29.8	34.7	21.3	11.5	208
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1,741	64.7	21.8	16.2	13.1	0.1	165
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	1,651	115.2	69.5	60.1	85.5	18.5	1200
Salt Lake City, UT	1,019	19.5	34.8	17.2	26.1	4.8	151
Tucson, AZ	907	32.4	51.1	25.5	26.5	6.9	241
Honolulu, HI	900	26.0	20.9	9.7	4.8	2.8	80
Fresno, CA	867	12.9	24.5	29.7	19.8	8.1	137
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	798	90.1	39.8	26.4	12.6	5.4	301
Albuquerque, NM	781	17.7	38.0	14.6	21.7	6.8	143
Bakersfield, CA	735	13.1	22.1	34.8	21.7	10.7	152
Stockton, CA	650	16.4	19.3	38.4	17.3	14.4	160
Colorado Springs, CO	576	63.6	32.7	29.0	31.3	6.7	294

** Decade-by-decade figures from 1960–2000 based on data from U.S. decennial censuses.*

Source: Author's analysis of data from Census Population Estimates Program

Appendix Table B. Components of Population Change, Large Metropolitan Areas by Region, 2000–2004*

Metropolitan Area	Population Change (%)	Component Rates*			Numeric Components*		
		Immigration	Domestic Migration	Natural Increase	Immigration	Domestic Migration	Natural Increase
Northeast							
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	1.9	3.7	-4.6	2.6	684,913	-844,058	486,120
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	1.9	1.1	-0.6	1.5	59,985	-34,588	84,580
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	0.5	2.4	-3.8	2.0	105,117	-167,404	87,586
Pittsburgh, PA	-1.1	0.4	-0.9	-0.6	10,485	-22,879	-14,013
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	2.6	1.2	0.6	1.0	18,317	8,771	15,619
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	2.9	1.4	0.4	1.2	15,859	4,442	13,771
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	-1.2	0.5	-2.0	0.3	6,159	-23,509	3,298
Rochester, NY	0.3	0.8	-1.8	1.3	8,582	-18,935	13,819
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	2.1	3.2	-3.3	2.3	28,057	-29,459	20,400
New Haven-Milford, CT	2.5	1.5	-0.2	1.2	12,441	-1,536	10,143
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	2.2	0.7	0.8	0.8	5,635	6,657	6,686
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	5.1	0.9	3.5	0.7	6,610	26,203	5,186
Worcester, MA	3.6	1.5	0.4	1.7	10,999	3,264	12,825
Springfield, MA	1.1	1.2	-0.7	0.7	8,118	-5,101	4,737
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	6.4	1.0	3.1	2.2	6,524	19,560	13,892
Syracuse, NY	0.5	0.8	-1.4	1.3	4,916	-9,386	8,329
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	1.9	0.7	0.6	0.8	3,367	2,823	3,981
Midwest							
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	3.0	2.7	-2.8	3.1	243,355	-252,997	282,051
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	0.8	1.3	-2.4	1.9	57,344	-106,785	85,293
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	4.5	1.6	-0.4	3.4	46,431	-12,212	101,754
St. Louis, MO-IL	2.3	0.7	-0.4	1.5	17,582	-11,863	40,218
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	-0.5	0.7	-2.3	1.0	15,418	-49,225	21,820
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	2.2	0.5	-0.4	2.1	11,070	-8,957	42,627
Kansas City, MO-KS	4.5	1.0	0.7	2.8	18,522	12,684	52,028
Columbus, OH	4.6	1.2	0.3	3.0	19,379	5,252	48,613
Indianapolis, IN	5.9	0.9	1.8	3.1	13,062	27,122	47,904
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	0.9	1.0	-2.2	2.2	14,647	-33,400	33,036
Dayton, OH	-0.3	0.4	-1.8	1.2	3,036	-15,575	10,541
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	4.5	1.0	0.2	3.4	7,929	1,248	25,893
Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	3.3	1.3	-1.2	3.2	9,888	-8,704	23,799
Akron, OH	0.9	0.4	-0.8	1.1	3,022	-5,565	7,693
Toledo, OH	-0.1	0.5	-1.9	1.4	3,044	-12,800	9,094
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	-2.0	0.1	-1.8	-0.3	842	-10,931	-1,849
Wichita, KS	2.2	1.1	-1.8	2.9	6,498	-10,074	16,453
Scranton—Wilkes-Barre, PA	-1.4	0.2	-0.1	-1.5	1,338	-515	-8,554
Madison, WI	5.6	1.6	1.6	2.4	8,056	7,898	12,262
South							
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	9.7	3.5	1.3	4.9	184,395	68,475	253,302
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	6.6	5.2	-0.5	1.9	263,395	-22,981	95,187
Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	9.3	3.5	1.0	4.8	166,747	48,847	225,695
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	6.6	3.2	-0.3	3.7	156,655	-16,498	180,380
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	10.0	2.7	2.9	4.4	114,313	124,106	187,092
Baltimore-Towson, MD	3.2	0.8	0.0	1.6	21,151	-889	41,586

Appendix Table B. *(continued)*

Metropolitan Area	Population Change (%)	Component Rates*			Numeric Components*		
		Immigration	Domestic Migration	Natural Increase	Immigration	Domestic Migration	Natural Increase
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	7.6	1.5	6.1	0.1	36,945	145,580	2,617
Orlando, FL	12.4	2.4	7.2	2.6	39,872	119,791	43,826
San Antonio, TX	7.8	1.2	2.8	3.9	20,369	48,882	66,294
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	4.1	0.3	0.9	2.9	5,244	14,037	45,569
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	10.1	2.0	4.6	3.5	26,873	62,123	46,434
Austin-Round Rock, TX	11.7	3.0	3.7	5.0	37,483	47,406	63,179
Nashville-Davidson—Murfreesboro, TN	6.0	1.2	2.2	2.6	16,078	28,628	34,535
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	0.3	0.5	-2.3	2.1	6,652	-29,739	27,562
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	3.5	0.7	-0.2	3.0	8,523	-2,527	36,527
Jacksonville, FL	8.8	0.7	5.7	2.4	8,446	63,866	27,452
Louisville, KY-IN	3.1	0.7	0.8	1.6	7,641	9,764	18,852
Richmond, VA	4.9	0.8	2.3	1.9	8,580	25,266	21,066
Oklahoma City, OK	4.2	1.2	0.6	2.5	13,124	6,636	27,325
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	2.7	0.6	0.7	1.5	5,810	7,055	15,370
Raleigh-Cary, NC	13.7	2.7	6.3	4.4	21,504	50,893	35,037
Tulsa, OK	2.4	0.9	-0.8	2.3	8,115	-7,304	20,017
Baton Rouge, LA	3.0	0.6	-0.2	2.7	3,975	-1,686	19,297
El Paso, TX	4.6	2.9	-4.2	6.0	19,495	-28,799	41,150
Columbia, SC	4.7	0.7	1.8	2.2	4,754	11,610	14,440
Greensboro-High Point, NC	3.4	1.9	-0.4	2.0	12,258	-2,703	12,878
McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	14.7	3.7	2.1	8.9	21,054	12,113	51,369
Sarasota-Bradenton-Venice, FL	10.0	1.4	9.9	-1.3	8,321	58,594	-7,500
Knoxville, TN	4.8	0.5	2.8	0.8	3,025	17,344	5,147
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR	4.0	0.4	1.2	2.4	2,597	7,554	14,824
Greenville, SC	3.9	1.3	1.0	1.8	7,070	5,353	9,944
Charleston-North Charleston, SC	6.0	0.6	2.9	2.6	3,389	15,730	14,116
West							
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	4.2	4.1	-3.8	3.9	512,282	-471,118	486,932
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	0.4	3.8	-5.9	2.6	157,557	-243,934	105,550
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	15.7	1.9	9.9	3.9	62,204	325,842	127,842
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	13.3	3.2	5.9	4.2	106,323	194,392	138,348
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	3.8	2.2	-1.0	2.4	67,371	-31,171	74,527
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	3.8	2.5	-2.1	3.5	69,871	-59,189	97,967
Denver-Aurora, CO	6.2	2.7	-0.6	4.2	58,805	-12,412	91,098
Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	6.6	2.3	1.7	2.7	44,203	33,399	51,749
Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	11.5	2.2	6.6	2.8	40,030	118,699	50,154
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	0.1	5.9	-10.0	4.3	102,304	-174,295	73,980
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	18.5	3.0	12.1	3.5	41,777	168,463	48,103
Salt Lake City, UT	4.8	2.6	-3.7	5.8	25,118	-35,820	56,277
Tucson, AZ	6.9	1.7	3.0	2.3	14,201	25,057	19,743
Honolulu, HI	2.8	1.9	-2.4	3.2	17,044	-20,639	28,192
Fresno, CA	8.1	2.7	0.9	4.5	21,333	7,577	36,050
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	5.4	2.3	-0.5	3.6	17,625	-3,409	27,259
Albuquerque, NM	6.8	1.2	2.6	3.0	8,758	19,279	22,182
Bakersfield, CA	10.7	2.0	4.5	4.3	13,319	29,603	28,533
Stockton, CA	14.4	2.4	8.1	3.9	13,649	46,084	22,036
Colorado Springs, CO	6.7	0.9	1.7	4.2	4,849	9,055	22,457

** Components do not sum exactly to total due to additional residual component introduced in the estimation. Rates are per 100 inhabitants.*

Source: Author's analysis of data from Census Population Estimates Program

Appendix Table C. Central City and Suburban Population Change, Large Metropolitan Areas by Region, 1990–2000 and 2000–2004

Metropolitan Area	2004 Population (000s)		1990–2000 Population Change (%)			2000–2004 Population Change (%)		
	Central City	Suburbs	Central City	Suburbs	Difference	Central City	Suburbs	Difference
Northeast								
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	8,385	10,325	9.0	8.4	-0.6	1.1	2.6	1.4
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	1,470	4,330	-4.3	8.3	12.6	-2.9	3.6	6.5
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	670	3,755	3.0	6.8	3.8	-3.0	1.2	4.2
Pittsburgh, PA	322	2,079	-9.5	-0.1	9.5	-3.4	-0.8	2.6
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	178	1,451	8.0	4.5	-3.5	2.5	2.7	0.2
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	283	872	-10.8	1.9	12.7	-3.2	-0.6	2.5
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	125	1,060	-13.0	4.4	17.4	0.5	3.2	2.7
Rochester, NY	212	829	-5.1	6.1	11.3	-3.2	1.2	4.4
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	260	643	2.8	8.3	5.6	1.1	2.5	1.4
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	94	751	-5.4	3.1	8.4	0.0	2.5	2.5
New Haven-Milford, CT	125	721	-5.2	4.0	9.2	0.9	2.8	1.9
Worcester, MA	176	604	1.7	7.1	5.4	1.7	4.1	2.4
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	107	673	1.5	9.0	7.5	0.2	5.9	5.8
Springfield, MA	152	536	-3.1	2.3	5.4	0.0	1.4	1.4
Syracuse, NY	143	511	-10.1	1.4	11.5	-2.2	1.3	3.5
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	30	633	3.6	9.9	6.4	1.6	6.6	5.0
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	48	472	-6.5	9.1	15.6	-2.5	2.4	5.0
Midwest								
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	3,132	6,260	6.3	14.0	7.7	-0.1	4.6	4.6
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	1,135	3,358	-6.6	9.7	16.2	-4.3	2.6	7.0
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	651	2,465	4.6	21.1	16.6	-2.7	6.6	9.3
St. Louis, MO-IL	343	2,421	-12.2	7.6	19.8	-1.0	2.8	3.8
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	459	1,678	-5.4	4.6	10.0	-3.8	0.4	4.2
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	314	1,744	-9.0	13.3	22.3	-4.9	3.6	8.5
Kansas City, MO-KS	444	1,481	1.5	16.1	14.6	0.6	5.7	5.1
Columbus, OH	730	964	12.4	16.7	4.3	2.2	6.5	4.3
Indianapolis, IN	784	837	6.9	32.0	25.1	0.3	11.8	11.5
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	584	932	-5.0	12.4	17.4	-2.1	2.9	5.0
Dayton, OH	160	685	-8.7	3.0	11.8	-3.3	0.5	3.8
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	409	394	16.1	7.7	-8.4	4.4	4.6	0.2
Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	195	572	4.6	18.8	14.2	-1.4	5.0	6.4
Akron, OH	212	490	-2.7	10.0	12.6	-2.1	2.3	4.4
Toledo, OH	305	353	-5.8	7.6	13.4	-2.6	2.1	4.8
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	78	512	-14.3	0.6	14.9	-4.9	-1.6	3.3
Wichita, KS	354	231	13.2	9.6	-3.7	0.7	4.6	3.9
Scranton—Wilkes-Barre, PA	74	478	-6.6	-1.9	4.7	-3.0	-1.2	1.8
Madison, WI	220	311	8.8	21.8	13.1	5.0	5.9	0.9
South								
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	2,173	3,527	19.8	36.6	16.8	5.0	12.8	7.7
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	544	4,817	1.4	26.6	25.2	5.1	6.8	1.7
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	868	4,272	0.1	20.8	20.7	-2.4	8.6	11.1
Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	2,013	3,168	19.8	29.3	9.4	2.6	13.9	11.3
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	419	4,289	5.7	43.2	37.5	0.5	11.0	10.5
Baltimore-Towson, MD	636	2,003	-11.5	15.5	27.1	-1.9	4.9	6.8

Appendix Table C. *(continued)*

Metropolitan Area	2004 Population (000s) Central City	2004 Population (000s) Suburbs	1990–2000 Population Change (%) Central City	1990–2000 Population Change (%) Suburbs	1990–2000 Population Change (%) Difference	2000–2004 Population Change (%) Central City	2000–2004 Population Change (%) Suburbs	2000–2004 Population Change (%) Difference
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	679	1,908	7.0	19.6	12.7	2.7	9.5	6.9
San Antonio, TX	1,236	618	22.3	20.2	-2.1	7.0	9.5	2.5
Orlando, FL	206	1,656	12.9	37.6	24.7	7.4	13.0	5.6
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	860	784	1.9	17.6	15.7	2.2	6.1	3.9
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	594	880	36.6	25.7	-10.9	6.0	13.0	6.9
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	462	857	-2.5	8.4	10.9	-4.4	3.0	7.4
Austin-Round Rock, TX	682	730	41.0	55.9	14.8	2.7	21.6	19.0
Nashville-Davidson—Murfreesboro, TN	547	849	11.7	36.9	25.2	0.2	10.0	9.8
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	672	578	6.5	21.5	15.0	-1.1	9.4	10.5
Louisville, KY-IN	556	645	**	**	**	0.9	5.0	4.1
Jacksonville, FL	778	448	15.8	33.5	17.7	5.6	14.9	9.3
Richmond, VA	192	962	-2.6	20.5	23.1	-2.5	6.6	9.1
Oklahoma City, OK	528	616	13.8	12.0	-1.8	4.1	4.4	0.4
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	233	849	-8.7	17.2	25.9	-3.8	4.7	8.5
Tulsa, OK	384	498	7.0	18.5	11.5	-2.3	6.3	8.6
Raleigh-Cary, NC	327	588	32.8	55.0	22.2	14.3	13.4	-0.9
Baton Rouge, LA	224	505	3.8	18.3	14.5	-1.8	5.3	7.1
El Paso, TX	592	121	9.4	52.0	42.7	4.8	3.9	-0.8
Columbia, SC	116	563	18.6	17.7	-0.8	0.3	5.6	5.3
Greensboro-High Point, NC	232	436	22.0	17.7	-4.3	2.9	3.7	0.8
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR	184	453	4.2	19.0	14.8	0.5	5.5	5.0
Knoxville, TN	178	469	5.3	19.6	14.3	1.5	6.1	4.7
McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	121	538	26.7	54.6	27.9	12.8	15.1	2.3
Sarasota-Bradenton-Venice, FL	53	599	3.4	22.5	19.1	1.2	10.8	9.6
Greenville, SC	56	528	-3.9	21.8	25.7	0.2	4.4	4.2
Charleston-North Charleston, SC	105	479	20.2	6.1	-14.1	7.3	5.7	-1.6
West								
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	4,665	8,261	6.8	11.4	4.6	3.5	4.6	1.1
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	1,345	2,809	8.7	12.4	3.7	-2.7	2.0	4.7
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	657	3,136	14.3	28.6	14.4	9.1	17.2	8.0
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	2,077	1,638	37.0	59.1	22.1	7.5	21.7	14.1
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	884	2,282	11.1	22.4	11.3	1.6	4.6	3.0
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	1,264	1,668	10.2	14.6	4.5	2.9	4.4	1.5
Denver-Aurora, CO	849	1,481	20.5	38.1	17.6	1.9	8.9	7.0
Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	689	1,376	39.1	20.7	-18.4	2.2	9.0	6.8
Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	454	1,562	10.2	22.2	12.0	11.0	11.7	0.6
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1,137	605	13.7	12.1	-1.6	0.4	-0.5	-0.8
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	535	1,116	85.2	85.8	0.5	10.6	22.7	12.1
Salt Lake City, UT	179	840	13.6	29.4	15.8	-1.8	6.3	8.0
Honolulu, HI	377	522	1.7	7.1	5.4	1.7	3.6	1.9
Tucson, AZ	512	395	20.1	36.5	16.4	4.6	10.0	5.4
Fresno, CA	458	409	20.7	18.7	-2.1	6.4	9.9	3.5
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	413	385	14.5	10.6	-3.9	5.8	5.0	-0.8
Albuquerque, NM	484	297	16.6	30.9	14.3	7.6	5.5	-2.1
Bakersfield, CA	284	451	41.3	12.0	-29.3	16.1	7.6	-8.5
Stockton, CA	280	370	15.6	18.6	3.0	14.0	14.6	0.6
Colorado Springs, CO	369	207	28.4	37.6	9.2	2.2	15.7	13.5

Source: Author's analysis of data from Census Population Estimates Program

Appendix Table D. Components of Population Change by Area Type and Region, 2000–2004*

Area Type	Population Change (%)	Component Rates			Numeric Components			Share of U.S.:	
		Immigration	Domestic Migration	Natural Increase	Immigration	Domestic Migration	Natural Increase	2000 Population	2000–04 Immigration
Northeast									
Large Metro Areas	1.6	2.3	-2.6	1.8	990,484	-1,091,616	754,092	15.0	19.8
Small Metro Areas	2.6	0.9	0.8	0.9	53,918	45,409	54,028	2.1	1.1
Micropolitan Areas	1.6	0.3	1.1	0.2	10,528	41,342	7,768	1.4	0.2
Other Non-Metro	1.3	0.2	1.2	-0.1	3,554	17,603	-1,444	0.5	0.1
Midwest									
Large Metro Areas	2.5	1.4	-1.4	2.4	497,854	-487,564	853,377	12.4	10.0
Small Metro Areas	2.1	0.8	-0.5	1.8	110,273	-66,764	250,249	4.9	2.2
Micropolitan Areas	0.8	0.5	-0.7	1.1	44,038	-66,435	95,160	3.2	0.9
Other Non-Metro	-0.2	0.2	-0.4	0.0	13,912	-24,029	1,031	2.3	0.3
South									
Large Metro Areas	7.1	2.3	1.6	3.1	1,272,062	895,173	1,710,735	19.3	25.5
Small Metro Areas	4.3	0.9	1.6	1.9	212,685	392,736	467,924	8.7	4.3
Micropolitan Areas	2.5	0.7	0.7	1.2	85,427	83,809	148,745	4.3	1.7
Other Non-Metro	1.2	0.4	0.4	0.4	39,858	39,454	39,585	3.2	0.8
West									
Large Metro Areas	6.5	3.1	-0.2	3.6	1,398,623	-74,537	1,608,979	15.8	28.0
Small Metro Areas	6.6	1.7	1.8	3.2	199,603	209,807	378,878	4.2	4.0
Micropolitan Areas	4.4	1.0	1.7	1.7	43,097	74,448	75,869	1.6	0.9
Other Non-Metro	2.4	0.6	0.5	1.2	14,292	11,164	28,058	0.8	0.3
U.S. Total									
Large Metro Areas	4.7	2.4	-0.4	2.8	4,159,023	-758,544	4,927,183	62.6	83.3
Other Metro Areas	4.1	1.0	1.0	2.0	576,479	581,188	1,151,079	20.0	11.6
Micropolitan Areas	2.2	0.6	0.5	1.1	183,090	133,164	327,542	10.5	3.7
Other NonMetro	0.9	0.4	0.2	0.3	71,616	44,192	67,230	6.9	1.4

**Large Mero Areas include metropolitan areas with populations greater than 500,000 in 2000; Small metropolitan areas include the remaining metropolitan areas.*

Other Non-Metro includes territory outside Metropolitan and Micropolitan Statistical Areas.

Source: Author's analysis of data from Census Population Estimates Program

Endnotes

1. Audrey Singer, "The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2004).
2. Calvin Beale, "The Revival of Widespread Population Growth in Nonmetropolitan America" (USDA Economic Research Service, 1975); William Frey and Alden Speare Jr., *Regional and Metropolitan Growth and Decline in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1988); William Frey, "The New Urban Revival in the United States." *Urban Studies* 30 (4–5) (1993): 741–774.
3. Patrick Simmons and Robert E. Lang, "The Urban Turnaround." In B. Katz and R. Lang, eds., *Redefining Urban and Suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000,* Volume I (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2003).
4. Frey, "The New Urban Revival in the United States."
5. Jason Bram, "New York City's Economy Before and After September 11th." Current Issues in Economics and Finance (Federal Reserve Bank of New York) 9 (2) (2003): 1–7; Ross DeVol and Lorna Wallace, *Best Performing Cities: Where America's Jobs are Created and Sustained* (Santa Monica, CA: Milken Institute, 2004); Joel Kotkin, "The Best Places for Doing Business in America 2005." Inc. Magazine, May 2005, pp. 93–110.
6. Marco Van Akkeren and Aya Ogishi, "The Return of Inflation Expectations." *Economic and Real Estate Trends* (PMI Mortgage Insurance Co.), Spring 2005.
7. William H. Frey, "Metropolitan Magnets for International and Domestic Migrants" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2003).
8. William H. Frey, "Brain Gains, Brain Drains." *American Demographics,* June 2004, pp. 19–23.
9. William H. Frey and others, "Tracking Metropolitan America into the 21st Century: A Field Guide to the New Metropoli-

tan and Micropolitan Definitions" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2004).

10. Data from the Census Bureau's Population Estimates Program and a discussion of their methodology can be found at **www.census.gov/popest/counties/** and **www.census.gov/popest/cities/** (August 2005).
11. These three components do not sum exactly to total population change because the estimation process introduces a residual component.
12. Further details on and analyses of these data can be found in Frey, "Metropolitan Magnets for International and Domestic Migrants"; Marc J. Perry, "State-To-State Migration Flows: 1995 to 2000." Census 2000 Special Report CENSR-8 (U.S. Census Bureau, August 2003); Jason P. Schacter, Rachael S. Franklin, and Marc J. Perry, "Migration and Geographic Mobility in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan America: 1995 to 2000" Census 2000 Special Report CENSR-9 (U.S. Census Bureau, August 2003).
13. U.S. Census Bureau, "Population Estimates: Concepts." **www.census.gov/popest/topics/terms/** (August 2005).
14. Some have noted discrepancies between subcounty estimates in the late 1990s and Census 2000 100 percent population counts, and between current Census subcounty estimates and those derived by state-level demographic agencies. Bruce Katz and Alan Berube, "Don't Read Too Much Into Census Numbers." *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel,* July 19, 2005.
15. Office of Management and Budget, "Revised Definitions of Metropolitan Statistical Areas, New Definitions of Micropolitan Statistical Areas and Combined Statistical Areas, and Guidance on Uses of the Statistical Definitions of These Areas." Bulletin 03-04, June 6, 2003; Office of Management and Budget, "Update of Statistical Area Definitions and Additional Guidance on Their Uses." Bulletin 04-03, February 18, 2004; Frey and others, "Tracking Metropolitan America Into the 21st Century."
16. OMB's official term for this residual territory is "non-core based." However, because all of the territory outside of metropolitan areas can be thought of as non-metropolitan, and micropolitan areas are defined separately, this survey uses the term "other non-metropolitan" to denote this territory.
17. There are two exceptions to this rule. First, the central city of the Las Vegas-Paradise, NV Metropolitan Statistical Area is Las Vegas city only, despite the fact that Paradise registers a population over 100,000 in 2000. Because it is a census designated place (CDP), it is not possible to obtain statistics for Paradise for the 1990-to-2000 period. Second, because the city of Louisville expanded extensively after the 2000 census (consolidating with surrounding Jefferson County, KY in 2002), statistics for Louisville's central city and suburbs are not displayed for the 1990-to-2000 period.
18. Frey and others, "Tracking Metropolitan America Into the 21st Century."
19. The Interior West is typically defined as those states in the Census Bureau's Mountain Division—Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming.
20. Joel Kotkin and William H. Frey, "The Third California: Presaging the West's New Urban Frontier" (Washington: Brookings Institution, forthcoming 2005).
21. Frey, "The New Urban Revival in the United States."
22. Frey, "Metropolitan Magnets for International and Domestic Migrants."
23. Singer, "The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways." Because the metropolitan areas examined here are defined differently than in earlier research (Frey, "Metro Magnets"), there are some discrepancies in rankings between the two studies.
24. Philip Martin and Elizabeth Midgley, "Immigration to the United States: Shaping and Reshaping America" *Population Bulletin* 58 (2) (2003).
25. On the former point, see George J. Borjas, *Heaven's Door: Immigration Policy and the American Economy.* (Princeton University Press, 1999). On the latter point, see William H. Frey and Kao-Lee Liaw "Explaining Migration Within the United States: The Impact of Immigrant Minorities and Blacks" In *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs,* 2005, forthcoming.
26. Frey and Liaw, *ibid*.
27. Frey, "Brain Gains and Brain Drains"; "Immigration and Domestic Migration in US Metro Areas: 2000 and 1990 Census Findings By Education and Race." Research Report 05–572 (University of Michigan Population Studies Center, 2005).
28. Lang has referred to counties like these as inhabiting the "Low-SPF Sun Belt." Robert E. Lang and Meghan Zimmerman Gough, "Growth Counties: Home to America's New Suburban Metropolis." In A. Berube, B. Katz, and R. E. Lang, *Redefining Urban and Suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000, Volume III* (Washington: Brookings Institution, forthcoming 2005).
29. Office of Management and Budget, 2003, 2004; Frey and others, "Tracking Metropolitan America Into the 21st Century."
30. Calvin Beale, "The Revival of Widespread Population Growth in Nonmetropolitan America"; Glenn V. Fuguitt, "The Nonmetropolitan Turnaround." *Annual Review of Sociology* 11 (1985): 259–280; A.G. Champion (ed.), *Counterurbanization: The Changing Pace and Nature of Population Deconcentration* (London: Edward Arnold, 1989); Frey, "The New Urban Revival in the United States."
31. Frey, *ibid*.
32. Kenneth M. Johnson, "The Rural Rebound." Reports on America 1 (3) (August) (Washington: Population Reference Bureau, 1999); Kenneth M. Johnson, "Unpredictable Directions on Rural Population Growth and Migration." In David Brown, and Louis E. Swanson, eds., *Challenges for Rural America in the Twenty-First Century* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).
33. Kenneth M. Johnson and Calvin L. Beale, "The Rural Rebound." *Wilson Quarterly* 12 (Spring 1998): 16–27.
34. The latter point is consistent with findings in John Cromartie, "Nonmetro Migration Continues Downward Trend." *Rural America* 17 (4) (Winter 2002): 1–4 (USDA Economic Research Service).
35. Previous analysis of micropolitan areas using Census 2000 data includes: Robert E. Lang and Dawn Dhavale, "Micropolitan America: A Brand New Geography." In A. Berube, B. Katz, and R. E. Lang, *Redefining Urban and Suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000, Volume III* (Washington: Brookings Institution, forthcoming 2005); and William H. Frey, "Micropolitan America: Small is Interesting." *Milken Institute Review*, April 2004.

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Acknowledgments:

The author thanks Cathy Sun of the University of Michigan Population Studies Center for assistance with Census data compilation and research. Thanks are also due to Alan Berube, Amy Liu, and Audrey Singer at Brookings for their helpful comments on the manuscript, and to Jill Wilson at Brookings for production of the map.

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