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Population Redistribution in the United States in the 1970s

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POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE 1970S

PREFACE

As the problems confronting our cities have come forcefully to the nation's attention, the Executive Committee of the Assembly of Behavioral and Social Sciences has begun to question what role research and policy analysis might have in addressing these problems. To advise the Executive Committee on how best to use the resources of the Assembly to assist in developing such a role, an ad hoc group was convened in May 1976 under the chairmanship of Brian J. L. Berry, a member of the Executive Committee.*

The group agreed that to focus on the likely consequences and policy implications of recent shifts in U.S. population distribution--out of metropolitan areas in general and out of the Northeast and North Central regions of the country in particular--would be an appropriate and useful activity for the Assembly. To begin, the group

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*In addition to Brian J. L. Berry, Department of Geography, University of Chicago (currently, Harvard University), participants in the meeting included Peter Morrison, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA; Thomas Muller, Urban Institute, Washington, DC; George Peterson, Urban Institute; William Sampson, Department of Sociology, Northwestern University; David Stahl, Urban Land Institute, Washington, DC; George Sternlieb, Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University; Gerald Suttles, Department of Sociology, State University of New York, Stony Brook (currently, University of Chicago). Invited guests included Claude Barfield, Department of Housing and Urban Development; Neil Dumas, National Science Foundation; and Alan Pisarsky, Department of Transportation.

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INTRODUCTION

The population of the United States is now 215 million persons, 5 times greater than it was a century ago and 85 times greater than it was in 1776. In 200 years, the nation's population density increased from an average of 2 to over 60 persons per square mile.

As the United States annexed territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, new regions were settled and the geographical center of the nation's population shifted westward. At the time that the 13 colonies declared their independence, the center of population was located east of Baltimore; at the close of America's first century, the center was near Cincinnati; today, including the residents of Alaska and Hawaii, it lies just southeast of St. Louis --750 miles west of its location in 1776--reflecting the fact that the central and western regions of the country have continually increased their proportion of the nation's total population relative to the Atlantic seaboard concentration.

Concurrently, as the economy shifted from one based on agricultural production to one dominated by industry and an increasingly important service sector, settlement has been at higher and higher levels of urban concentration. In 1800, the United States was 6 percent urbanized; today, more than 75 percent of the nation's population resides in urbanized areas.[1] Metropolitan areas (defined below) have come to dominate the urbanization pattern: by the close of the 1960s, nearly 70 percent of all Americans resided in the nation's metropolitan areas. Today, 44 percent of the total population reside in the nation's 30 largest

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[1]The nation's urban population includes individuals residing either in places with 2,500 inhabitants or more or in the densely settled fringes of such places.

metropolitan areas (each of which contains 1 million or more residents), and 27 percent are concentrated in the 8 largest metropolitan areas (each of which contains more than 3 million residents).

Since 1970, major new changes in the nation's settlement pattern have been occurring. While the West received the largest net flow of migrants in the country as recently as the latter half of the 1960s, since 1970 the volume of net migration to the South has increased to more than double that to the West. Thus, the South has now emerged as the region experiencing the largest population gains and the center of population has begun to move southward. During the first half of the 1970s, interregional migration alone has produced a population increase in the South of more than 1.8 million.

Significant change has also occurred since 1970 in the overall growth rate of the nation's metropolitan areas. For the first time, the growth rate of metropolitan areas has dropped below that of nonmetropolitan areas. More significantly, the long-term net inflow of persons from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan areas has been reversed: as recently as the 1960s, there was a net flow of migrants from nonmetropolitan areas. Since then, however, these areas have added residents largely as the result of increased out-migration from the nation's metropolitan places.

Organization

This paper examines these changes in the nation's settlement patterns. First, current national population trends are reviewed as an introduction to the documentation of changes now occurring in the patterns of settlement. The national population trends include a declining growth rate for the nation as a whole, alteration of the population's age structure, and the changing composition of households, among others. Evidence relating to the current restructuring of settlement patterns is presented in the next three sections: the first presents patterns of decline and growth in central cities, nonmetropolitan areas, and the four major regions of the country; the second presents recent patterns of residential mobility and their effect on the structure of settlement; and the third reviews the changing character of central-city, suburban, and nonmetropolitan residents. A summary of regional and metropolitan and nonmetropolitan changes concludes the paper.

Definition of Terms

Throughout the paper, the definitions used are those of the U.S. Bureau of the Census. In the Bureau's classification, the United States is divided into four major geographical regions and nine divisions. A list of the regions, the divisions, and the states that comprise them follows. (For complete definitions and explanations of terms, see U.S. Bureau of the Census 1970.)

West Region

Pacific Division:	Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, Hawaii
Mountain Division:	Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico

North Central Region

West North Central Division:	North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri
East North Central Division:	Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio

South Region

West South Central Division:	Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana
East South Central Division:	Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama
South Atlantic Division:	West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida

Northeast Region

New England Division:	Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island
Middle Atlantic Division:	Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey

The Bureau also divides the United States in terms of two population concentrations: metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. A metropolitan area, briefly defined, is a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), which consists of a county or group of contiguous counties that contain at least one city of 50,000 or more residents or two contiguous cities with a combined population of at least 50,000. Contiguous counties are included in an SMSA if they are economically and socially integrated with the base county. The nonmetropolitan area is all territory outside metropolitan areas.

Metropolitan areas are subdivided into two parts: the central city and the suburban area. The largest city in the metropolitan area is designated as the central city, although additional cities within the metropolitan area may be included as part of the central city if they are of sufficient size. The suburban area is all remaining territory within the metropolitan area. Data on the nation's 30 largest metropolitan areas are presented in the Appendix.

NATIONAL DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

Dominating all other national demographic trends is the continuation of a long-term decline in the rate of population increase. The population of the United States continues to grow, but at a steadily decreasing rate. During the 1950s, the national population grew 19 percent; during the 1960s, 13 percent; and if current growth rates continue through the close of this decade, the nation's population during the 1970s will have increased 8 percent.

Each of the components of population change--birth rates, death rates, and immigration rates--contributes to the current low rate of population increase. The annual death rate, after falling continuously since 1900, stabilized during the 1950s at about 9.4 deaths per 1,000 and then dropped again to a current level of 8.9 deaths per 1,000. The nation's birth rate has returned to its previous trend of long-term decline following the anomaly of the post-World War II baby boom. The birth rate stood at 19.4 births per 1,000 in 1940 and rose to 24.9 births per 1,000 in 1955--but has declined continuously since, dropping to 14.7 births per 1,000 by 1975, the lowest rate in American history. The eventual number of births that women now moving into their child-bearing years expect to have averages 2.1, a figure barely at the replacement level for a stable population. Immigration rates are based on quotas

that are fixed by law, and legal immigration currently averages 400,000 persons per year. Of the nation's total population increase of 1.7 million during 1975, 1.2 million resulted from natural increase (an excess of births over deaths), while immigration accounted for the remaining 0.5 million (including 130,000 Vietnamese refugees).

These declining rates of population growth have caused the Census Bureau to issue a new series of three population projections that adjust "expected" national population growth downward. Each of these current projections, Series I, II, and III, assumes that annual net immigration will continue at 400,000 per year and that a slight reduction will occur in future mortality rates. The three projections differ only in their assumptions about future fertility rates, ranging in their assumptions from a high of 2.7 lifetime births per woman in Series I to a low of 1.7 lifetime births per woman in Series III. These projections suggest that the nation's population by 2000 may total between 245 and 287 million (although totals outside these bounds cannot be ruled out).

Due to a lowering of expected lifetime fertility rates, these current population projections are significantly lower than ones made as recently as the latter half of the 1960s. At that time, projections of the nation's total population by 2000 ranged from a low of 283 million (Series D) to a high of 361 million (Series A), which exceed current projections by as much as 25 percent.[2]

The long-term decline in population growth is expected to continue, although previous fluctuations in birth rates (for example, the sharp rise in the number of births following World War II, after which the birth rate dropped to an all-time low) will continue to affect current changes in the nation's demographic profile. The subpopulations of individuals aged 18 to 24 and 25 to 34, age-groups now consisting of members of the postwar boom cohorts, have grown 13 and 23 percent respectively since 1970. The aging of these large cohorts, together with their greater life expectancies, will play a major role in increasing the median age of the nation's population.

Changes in the size of other age-groups during the first half of the 1970s include a decline in the number of youths and an ever increasing number of elderly persons.

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[2]See U.S. Bureau of the Census (1975b) for comparisons between current and earlier projections and the assumptions underlying each series in the two sets of projections.

The lower birth rates of the latter half of the 1960s have produced a decline of 8 percent in the number of children aged 13 and under, while the declining mortality rate and the increased size of the cohort of elderly persons have served to increase the size of the age-group of those 65 and over by 12 percent. Continued declines in the birth rate, along with either a constant or slightly dropping death rate, will produce a population that contains proportionately more elderly persons year by year. The median age of the total population, which dropped from 30.2 years in 1950 to a low of 27.9 years in 1970, has already begun to rise and, as of 1975, stood at 28.8 years.

These shifts in the demographic structure of the nation's population are occurring at the same time that fundamental changes in the overall structure of marital arrangements are emerging. As the large birth cohorts of the late 1940s and early 1950s advance through young adulthood, the nation's marriage rate is now declining (after peaking in 1972); the median age at first marriage is increasing; the divorce rate is increasing (from 2.2 per 1,000 population in 1960 to 4.8 per 1,000 in 1975); more young unmarried adults are maintaining their own homes; and more children are living at home with a single parent. Since 1970, the largest increase in family groups has been among those headed by women who do not have husbands living with them; half of this increase was accounted for by women who were divorced. The combination of falling birth rates and changing household composition (especially the increase in one-person households) is reflected in the declining numbers of persons per household (Ross and Sawhill 1975).

These national demographic trends--lowered birth rates, increasing numbers of elderly persons, changes in family structure--carry with them consequences for the nation in the 1970s as well as long-term consequences. Although current low birth rates imply lowered future levels of household formation, the 7.7 million new households formed since 1970 represent an increase of 12.2 percent over the number that existed at the beginning of the decade. Most households, in 1975 as well as earlier, were maintained by two or more related family members (primary family households); however, a growing proportion are now maintained by persons who live alone or with non-relatives only (primary individual households). Between 1970 and 1975, the number of primary family households increased 8 percent, and the number of primary individual households rose 30 percent. These different growth rates have reduced the proportion of households composed of related family members by 3 percent in just five years (see U.S. Bureau of the Census 1976).

The Decline of Central Cities

When the nation's metropolitan areas are divided into their central-city and suburban areas, it is readily apparent that the current lower rate of growth of metropolitan areas has resulted from a combination of the depopulation of the central cities and the slackening growth boom in the suburbs. Since 1970, central cities have experienced an absolute population loss of nearly 2 million, or 3 percent of the total number of their residents at the beginning of the decade. Net migration from central cities to suburbs and nonmetropolitan areas during this same period was more than 7 million persons, for a nationwide decline in central-city population of 11.2 percent (gains and losses for each residential category are presented in Table 1).

Although the current national trend of an absolute decline in central-city population is new, the proportion of metropolitan area residents living in central cities rather than the suburbs has declined continually since reaching a peak during the 1920s. In 1920, central-city residents accounted for 66 percent of America's metropolitan-area residents; by 1960, metropolitan-area residents were about equally divided between central cities and suburbs; and by 1975, central-city residents accounted for only 43 percent of the nation's metropolitan population.

Although absolute population declines in selected central cities occurred prior to 1970, gains in other central cities always more than offset those losses, resulting in overall central-city growth. During the 1950s, absolute population declined in 56 central cities while the nation's total number of central-city residents increased 11.6 percent. During the 1960s, the number of central cities whose populations declined increased to 95 (39 percent of all central cities) while the national central-city population increased 6.5 percent. Altogether, there were 47 central cities whose populations declined continuously during the 20-year period from 1950 through 1970. Since the total central-city population declined by 3.1 percent between 1970 and 1975, it is likely that the number of central cities experiencing population losses is increasing.[3]

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[3]Neither the Current Population Survey nor the Federal-State Cooperative Program for Local Population Estimates permits intercensal estimation of central-city population changes for individual cities.

While central-city population losses during the 1950s and 1960s occurred in a relatively large number of metropolitan areas, they were largely confined to the industrial heartland cities of the North Central and Northeast Regions of the country. During the 1950s, 81 percent of the central cities that lost population were located in this northern area extending from the Midwest states through New England. During the 1960s, this concentration of declining central cities in the North lessened somewhat, to 74 percent. Of the nation's central cities that lost population during both decades, 90 percent were located in this northern area. Large central cities in this area that lost population during both the 1950s and 1960s include Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis.

In the 1970s, the greatest concentration of central cities that are losing population continues to lie within this northern industrial area. In the South, the central cities in metropolitan areas with more than 1 million residents have lost population, while the central cities of metropolitan areas with less than 1 million residents have gained population--resulting in only a slight decrease in the total number of southern central-city residents. In the West, the number of residents in metropolitan areas of all sizes has increased, with the largest gain occurring in the central cities of metropolitan areas with less than 1 million residents. Percentages of population changes during the 1970s for central cities, suburbs, and nonmetropolitan areas by size of metropolitan area for each region of the country are presented in Table 2.

The Growth of Nonmetropolitan Areas

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the nation's nonmetropolitan areas experienced high levels of out-migration. Some nonmetropolitan areas reached a turning point during the 1960s in that they were no longer losing residents, but since 1970 nonmetropolitan areas as a whole have not only retained residents but also have experienced a gain in population through migration from metropolitan areas.

The number of persons residing in the nation's nonmetropolitan areas during the 1960s grew by 6.8 percent, a rate of increase that was half the national average. During the first half of the 1970s, nonmetropolitan population

TABLE 2 Percentage Changes in the Population of the United States by City, Size, and Region, 1970–1974

					Metropolitan Areas							
		All Metropolitan Areas			>1,000,000		<1,000,000		Nonmetropolitan Areas[a]			
Region	Total	Total	Central City	Suburb	Central City	Suburb	Central City	Suburb	Total	<2,500	2,500–25,000	>25,000
Total U.S.	4.1	3.6	–1.9	8.4	–3.8	6.4	0.3	11.5	5.0	5.0	5.7	3.3
Northeast	1.2	0.2	–4.7	4.0	–5.9	3.1	–1.6	5.5	5.1	–31.9	18.9	–9.7
North Central	1.3	1.0	–5.5	6.4	–7.1	5.5	–3.4	8.1	1.8	–1.0	4.5	–4.8
South	6.7	7.6	–0.1	15.7	–1.2	13.8	0.4	17.4	5.4	11.6	3.0	8.8
West	8.0	7.1	4.4	9.0	1.7	6.3	9.7	15.6	11.6	–2.6	4.5	32.7

[a]Nonmetropolitan areas in this table are groups of counties with either no place of 2,500 or more residents (<2,500), counties with a place of between 2,500 and 25,000 residents (2,500–25,000), or counties with a place of more than 25,000 but less than 50,000 residents (>25,000).

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1975) Social and economic characteristics of the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan population: 1974 and 1970. Series P-23, No. 55 in *Current Population Reports.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce.

increased 6.3 percent, compared to the national average of 4.4 percent and an increase of 3.6 percent for metropolitan areas.[4]

More significant for nonmetropolitan areas than their current relatively higher growth rate is the reversal that has occurred in migration between the nonmetropolitan and metropolitan areas of the nation. Increased mechanization of farming since World War II has led to a decrease in the size of the farm population and contributed to rural out-migration. During the 1950s, nonmetropolitan areas have experienced a net loss of more than 5 million persons through migration. High levels of out-migration continued into the 1960s, when the nation's farm population declined at an annual rate of 4.8 percent; since 1970, however, the farm population has declined at an annual rate of only 1.8 percent. (Farm population is now at an all-time low of 8.9 million, 4.1 percent of the nation's total population.) With fewer out-migrants and increased numbers of in-migrants, nonmetropolitan areas have experienced net migration gains of approximately 2 million persons since 1970, thus reversing the trend of population loss that had existed since the 1940s.

Although not all nonmetropolitan areas are now sharing in this new pattern of growth, it is true that migration reversals have occurred in almost all nonmetropolitan areas of the country. Nonmetropolitan population increases in the four major regions vary from a low of 1.8 percent in the North Central Region, to 5.1 and 5.4 percent respectively in the Northeast and South Regions, and a high of 11.6 percent in the West. Increases are now being registered in all classes of nonmetropolitan counties--from the most sparsely settled counties (those with settlements of 2,500 persons or less) to those with a settlement of over 25,000 residents (see Table 2).

Generally, those areas located immediately adjacent to but outside metropolitan areas (which account for 52 percent of all nonmetropolitan residents) have experienced the highest nonmetropolitan growth rates: a 4.7 percent increase from 1970 through 1973 compared with a 3.7 percent increase for counties not adjacent to metropolitan areas (Beale 1975).

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[4]These changes are within metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas as defined for the Census of 1970. Between 1970 and 1975, counties whose status changed from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan shifted 114,719 square miles of land area and 9.4 million persons to the metropolitan category. Population growth between 1970 and 1974 for nonmetropolitan and metropolitan areas are virtually equal when these territorial changes are included (see U.S. Office of Management and Budget 1975).

In particular, nonmetropolitan areas whose residents are relatively more integrated into metropolitan labor markets have experienced higher rates of recent growth. Through 1974, population increased 9.1 percent in those nonmetropolitan counties in which 20 percent or more of the residents commute to a metropolitan area for work and dropped to 4.8 percent in those counties in which less than 3 percent of the residents commute to metropolitan areas (see Table 3). However, even this lowest nonmetropolitan growth figure of 4.8 percent is greater than the 3.4 percent growth experienced by metropolitan areas during the same time period (Forstall 1974).

TABLE 3 Growth of Nonmetropolitan Counties by Level of Commuting to Metropolitan Areas, 1960–1974

	Population			Percentage Change	
Level of Commuting[a]	1974	1970	1960	1970–1974	1960–1970
>19 percent commuters	4,372	4,009	3,655	9.1	9.7
10–19 percent commuters	9,912	9,349	8,705	6.0	7.4
3–9 percent commuters	14,261	13,497	12,805	5.7	5.4
<3 percent commuters	27,912	26,628	26,207	4.8	1.6

[a]Percentage of counties' work force commuting to a metropolitan area for employment. Based on 1970 Census commuting data.

SOURCE: Forstall, R. L. Trends in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Population Growth Since 1970. Revision of a paper delivered at the Conference on Population Distribution, sponsored by the Center for Population Research, National Institutes of Health, 29–31 January 1975 (revision dated 20 May 1975).

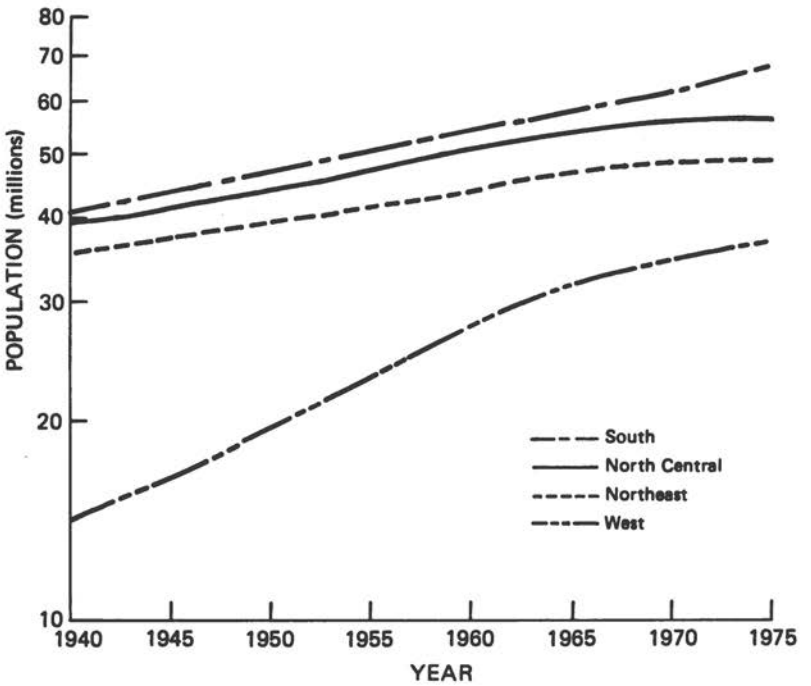
The areas of nonmetropolitan America that have undergone reversals from population decline to growth in the 1960s and 1970s are both diverse and widespread (see Beale and Fuguitt 1975). In the South, an area extending from the Ozarks through eastern Texas that contains a predominantly white population shifted from reliance on agricultural employment to development of manufacturing and new recreational areas. The Upper Great Lakes area, bordering the southern coast of Lake Superior, has also experienced growth primarily as the result of manufacturing decentralization and the development of recreational facilities and retirement communities. The nonmetropolitan areas of the Blue Ridge-Piedmont, Florida, the Southwest, and the northern Pacific Coast have all experienced growth

resulting from the decentralization of manufacturing, recreational and retirement developments, the opening up of new resources, or the expansion of improved transportation facilities (for example, the interstate highway system) that enable persons to live in rural areas and commute to metropolitan labor markets. (Since 1970, nonmetropolitan growth has not only exceeded its 1960s level but has also spread to a larger number of areas: for example, a new growth axis now cuts through central Maine along the route of the interstate highway.) While only the six nonmetropolitan areas mentioned above experienced net migration gains during the 1960s, only one of the nation's rural areas now continues to lose population through out-migration: the old Tobacco and Cotton Belt extending from the North Carolina Cape to the Delta area of the Mississippi River. This area, which contains a large rural black population, has not benefited significantly from the decentralization of manufacturing and continues to lose residents through out-migration to cities of both the North and the South.

Regional Growth

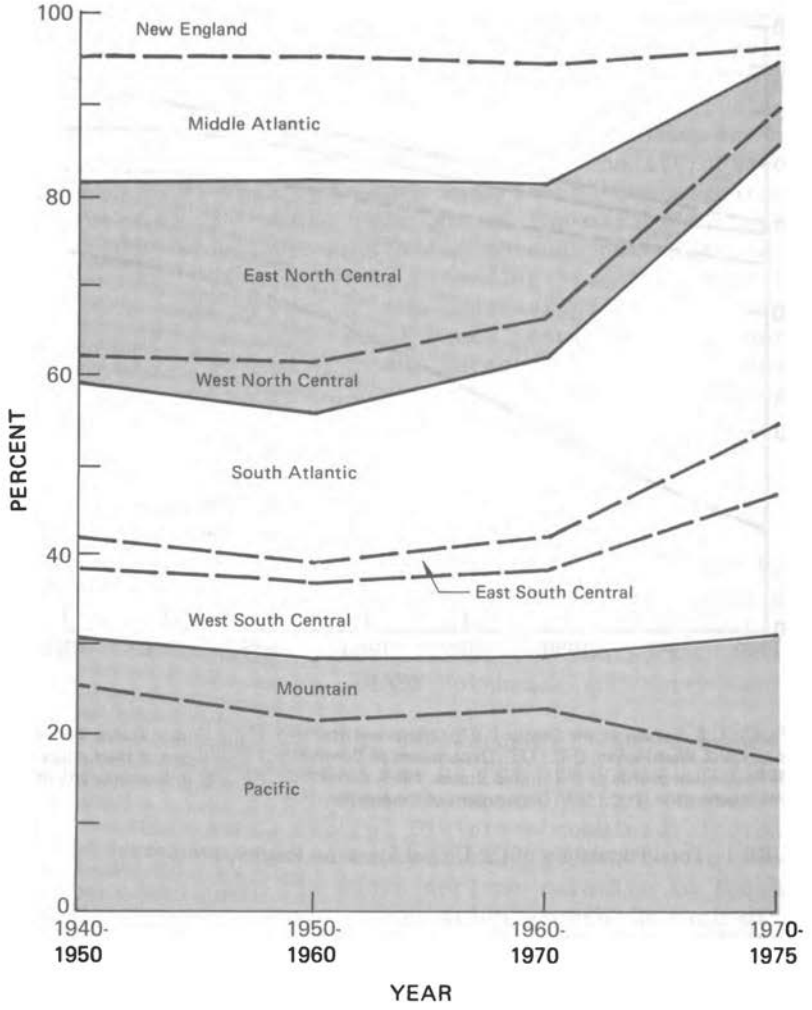
Figure 1 presents the population of the United States by residence in the four major regions for each year since 1940. The long-term faster growth trend of the West, the recently increasing growth rate of the South, and the declining growth rates of the Northeast and North Central Regions are evident.

Figure 2 presents the percentage of each decade's population increase accounted for by the individual regions and divisions. This shows that the North Central Region (the East and West North Central Divisions combined) increased its share of the nation's population growth during the 1950s but has since seen its share decline relative to those of the West and the South. Population growth in each of the three divisions of the South during the 1960s and 1970s occurred at higher rates than in any of the other divisions of the country; since 1960, these three divisions have doubled their share of the nation's total population growth. Growth in the West, while continuing to account for a large share of the total population expansion, has shifted markedly from Pacific to Mountain Divisions since the 1960s.



SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1975) *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce. U.S. Bureau of the Census (1976) Population profile of the United States: 1975. Series P-20, No. 292 in *Current Population Reports.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce.

FIGURE 1 Total Population of the United States by Region, 1940-1975.



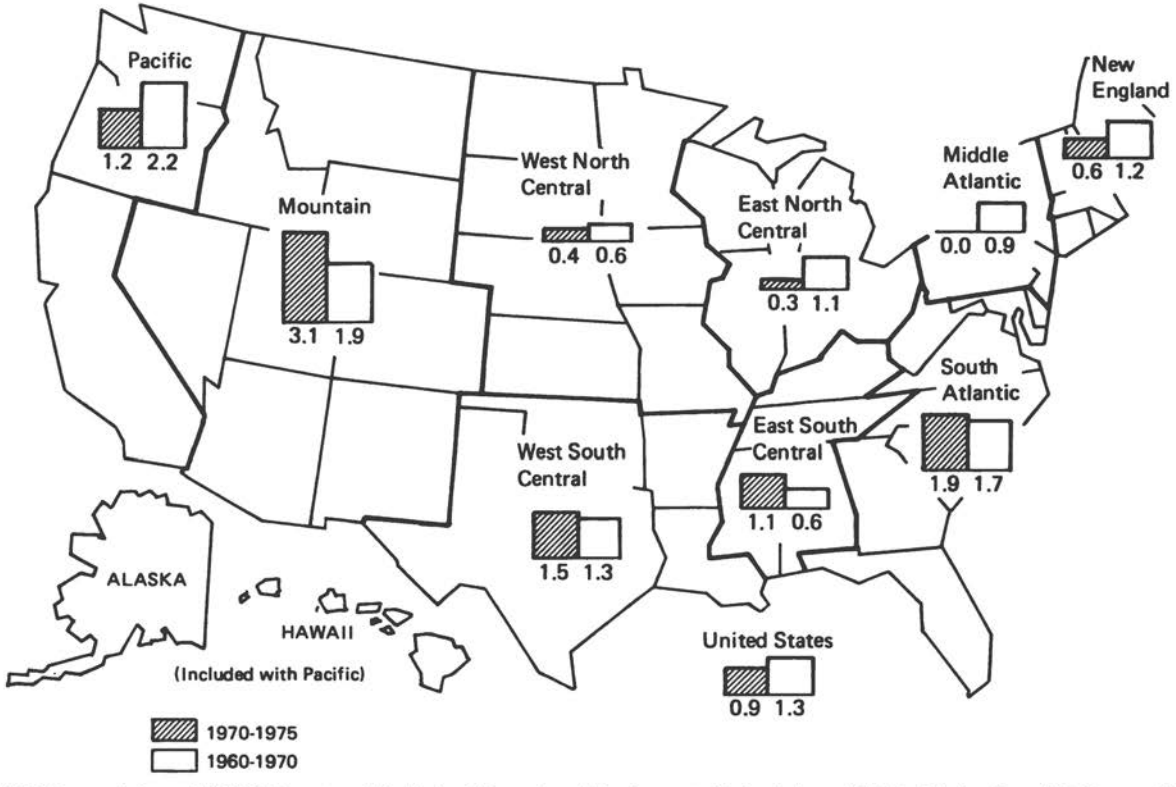
SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1975) *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce. U.S. Bureau of the Census (1976) Population profile of the United States: 1975. Series P-20, No. 292 in *Current Population Reports.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce.

FIGURE 2 Percentage of Total United States Population Growth, 1940-1950, 1950-1960, 1960-1970, 1970-1975.

Only three divisions of the country have exhibited significantly declining shares of the nation's new population growth since the 1950s. The first is the East North Central Division, which includes Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan. It first experienced a declining share of the nation's population growth during the 1960s and more recently its share has decreased even more. The second division to experience relatively slower growth has been the Middle Atlantic Division (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania), whose share of national growth has declined, especially recently. The New England Division's share of national growth has also decreased during the 1970s. The area formed by these three divisions, extending from New England to the Mississippi River and north of the Ohio River, encompasses the nation's industrial core, whose urban centers, as was previously shown, have experienced the slowest growth of any of the nation's metropolitan areas (see Table 2).

The average annual growth rates for the nine divisions of the country during the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s are shown in Figure 3. During the 1960s, the divisions covering the northern section of the country, extending from New England to the Rocky Mountains, experienced annual growth rates that were lower than the national average of 1.3 percent. Outside the North, only the East South Central Division, composed of the four states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama, experienced growth at a rate lower than the national average. Since 1970, the average annual growth rates of the northern section of the country have accounted for an even smaller percentage of the national population increase. The Middle Atlantic Division has in fact experienced zero population growth since 1970.

Meanwhile, 1970s' growth rates across the South and in the Rocky Mountain states have all increased above their 1960s' levels. The Rocky Mountain states are now experiencing the nation's fastest growth, an average annual rate of 3.1 percent--more than three times greater than the national average. Growth rates during the 1970s for each of the divisions in the South and West have exceeded the national average, and only in the Pacific Division of this entire section has the annual growth rate diminished since the 1960s.



SOURCE: U.S. Domestic Council (1976) *Report on U.S. National Growth and Development.* Updated through 1975 with data from U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Current Population Reports.* Series P-20, No. 292.

FIGURE 3 Average Annual Percentage Change in Population: 1960-1970 and 1970-1975.

Interregional Migration

Population change is the result of three major processes, natural change (births and deaths), interregional migration, and international migration. Because regional variability in natural increase has diminished over the past three decades and international migration (although it does not add equally to the population of each region) totals only about 400,000 immigrants and is relatively stable, neither seriously affects differential regional growth. The truly dynamic component of regional population change thus lies in interregional migration. Interregional migration rates (measured as a percentage of all residential moves) have remained approximately the same in the 1970s as they were in the 1960s, but the volume of interregional flows, especially those to the South, has changed dramatically in the 1970s. Interregional migration flows between the four regions for both 1965-1970 and 1970-1975 are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4 Interregional Migration: 1965-1970 and 1970-1975 (in thousands)

Residence in 1965	Residence in 1970			
	Northeast	North Central	South	West
Northeast	–	450	1,064	474
North Central	397	–	1,282	982
South	626	1,007	–	853
West	250	567	796	–

Residence in 1970	Residence in 1975			
	Northeast	North Central	South	West
Northeast	–	380	1,508	511
North Central	313	–	1,638	975
South	544	848	–	861
West	200	503	936	–

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1972) *U.S. Census of Population: 1970.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce and U.S. Bureau of the Census (1975) Mobility of the population of the United States: March 1970 to March 1975. Series P-20, No. 285 in *Current Population Reports.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce.

While the volume of interregional migration demonstrates the scale of long-distance mobility in the United States--the volume in and out of the South during the period, for example, exceeded 4 million in-migrants and 2 million out-migrants--the regional effects can be seen in the net differences in the volume of interregional migration, shown in Figure 4. During both 5-year periods, 1965-1970 and 1970-1975, the Northeast Region experienced net migration losses to each of the three other regions. Migrants leaving the North Central Region for the South and West both experienced net gains from the northern regions during the 1960s and 1970s, and a small net residual flow between the South and West has reversed itself since 1970. In the 1970s, the South has become the only region of the country with net migration gains from all other regions. Furthermore, the flow of persons into the South from both the North Central and Northeast Regions (which represents the largest in-migration streams) has increased over 1960s' levels.

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

Residential Decentralization

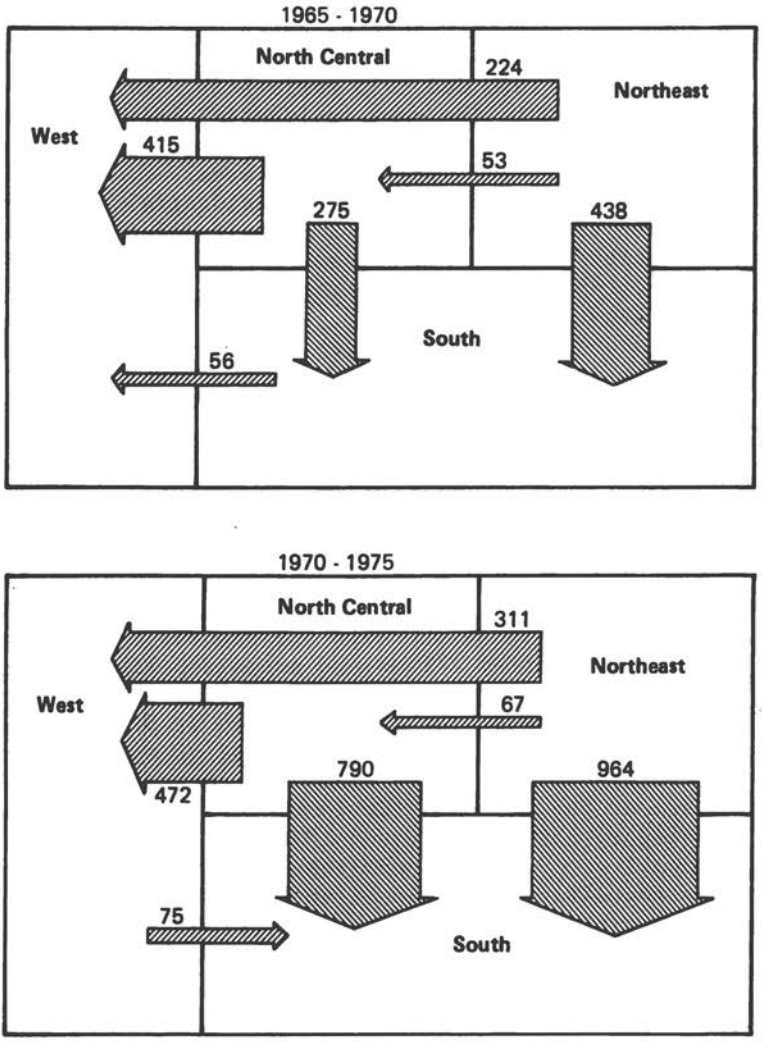
In 1975, 44 percent of the nation's civilian noninstitutional population over 4 years of age resided at a different dwelling than in 1970.[5] In Table 5, these "movers" are

TABLE 5 Residential Mobility, 1970–1975 (in millions)

Residential Category in 1970	Residential Category in 1975		
	Central City	Suburb	Nonmetropolitan Area
Central City	[17.1]	9.8	3.2
Suburb	3.8	[18.2]	3.5
Nonmetropolitan Area	2.1	3.0	[19.0]

NOTE: Figures in brackets are movers who remained in same residential category during relocation.
SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1975) Mobility of the population of the United States: March 1970 to March 1975. Series P-20, No. 285 in *Current Population Reports.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce.

[5]Estimates of residential mobility reported in this section are derived from the Census Bureau's annual Current Population Survey; see U.S. Bureau of the Census (1975a).



Note: Width of arrows is proportional to volume of net interregional migration flows. Figures accompanying arrows indicate numbers of net interregional migrants in thousands. Total numbers of interregional migrants for both periods appear in Table 4.

SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Census of Population: 1970.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce. U.S. Bureau of the Census (1975) Mobility of the population of the United States: March 1970 to March 1975. Series P-20, No. 285 in *Current Population Reports.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce.

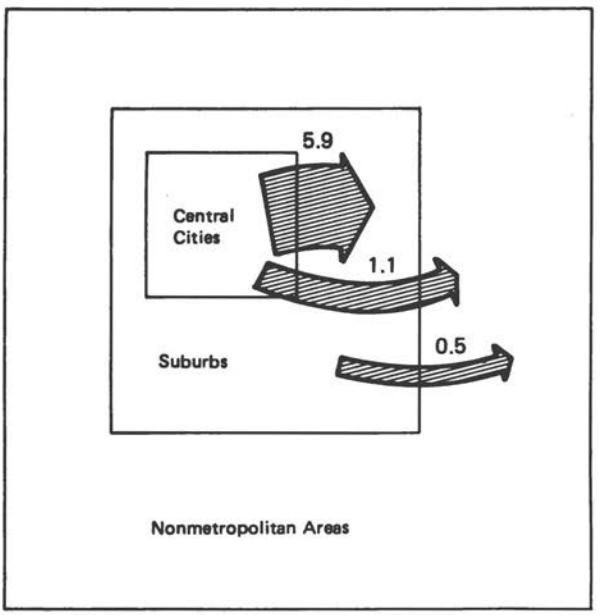
FIGURE 4 Net Interregional Migration: 1965-1970 and 1970-1975.

divided into the three residential categories of central city, suburb, and nonmetropolitan area according to the locations of their 1970 and 1975 residences. Of all moves, 85 percent were within the same residential category, for example, moves from one suburban area to another suburban area or moves within the same suburban area. Of the 15 percent who relocated to a different residential category, the pronounced trend consists of a centrifugal shift from the central city to the suburbs, and, on a larger scale, from metropolitan areas to nonmetropolitan areas (see Figure 5). Between 1970 and 1975, a total of 13 million persons moved out of central cities, three-quarters of them to the suburbs and one-quarter to nonmetropolitan areas. At the same time, only 6 million persons moved into the central cities--a net loss of 7 million residents through migration.

During this same 5-year period, the suburbs experienced a net migration gain of 5.4 million persons. This net gain resulted from the in-migration of 12.7 million and the out-migration of 7.3 million persons. The greater proportion of movers to the suburbs, 77 percent, were former central-city residents, and those who left the suburbs moved in about equal numbers to central cities and nonmetropolitan areas. The net migration gain of 1.6 million persons to nonmetropolitan areas (the result of out-migration by 5.1 million and in-migration by 6.7 million) consisted of approximately the same number of individuals from both central cities and suburban areas. Of all individuals who changed their residential category between 1970 and 1975: 26 percent moved from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas, 20 percent moved from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan areas, 38 percent moved from central cities to suburbs, and 16 percent moved from suburbs to central cities. Relocations outward from the urban center outnumbered relocations inward by a margin of 2 to 1.

Labor Force Migration

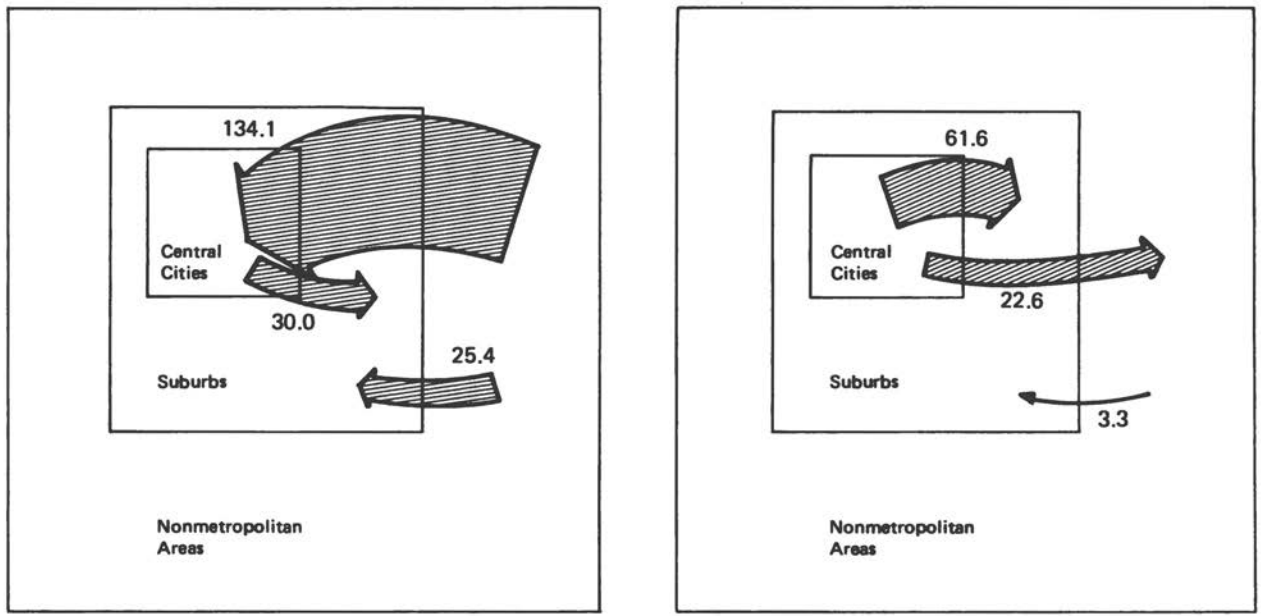
Residential decentralization in the United States has been accompanied by similar shifts in the work place of the labor force (see Figure 6). Comparing the national work-force migration patterns of 1960-1963 with those of 1970-1973 reveals a dramatic reversal: in the earlier period,



Note: Width of arrows is proportional to volume of net flows among the three areas.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1975) Mobility of the population of the United States: March 1970 to March 1975. Series P-20, No. 285 in *Current Population Reports*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce.

FIGURE 5 Net Residential Flows, 1970-1975 (in millions).



Note: Width of arrows is proportional to volume of net flows between the areas.

SOURCE: Regional Economic Analysis Division (1976) Work-Force migration patterns, 1960-1973. *Survey of Current Business* October: 23-26.

FIGURE 6 Net Work-Force Flows, 1960-1963 and 1970-1973 (in thousands).

the central counties[6] of metropolitan areas gained 104,000 workers and nonmetropolitan counties (areas) lost 106,000 workers; in the more recent period, central counties lost 84,000 workers and nonmetropolitan counties gained 19,000 (see Table 6).

This reversal in labor force migration between the central counties of metropolitan areas and nonmetropolitan areas has been most dramatic in the nation's largest cities. During the 1960-1963 period, the work force in central counties of metropolitan areas with populations of 2 million or more was increased by 25,000 workers who moved there from nonmetropolitan areas. In the 1970-1973 period, however, these same central counties lost 54,000 workers who shifted their work place to nonmetropolitan areas, plus an additional 76,000 who relocated to jobs in the suburbs (see Table 7). These work-force migration patterns reflect the accelerated decentralization of manufacturing and related activities out of central cities--especially out of the nation's largest ones--that is occurring during the 1970s.

Characteristics of Movers

Previous research has demonstrated that, typically, persons who move differ from those who do not move and, as a result, have an impact on areas of origin and destination greater than their numbers alone would imply.[7]

Age. The highest levels of mobility are usually found among persons in their twenties, reflecting the establishment of new households by young adults who have just completed their schooling, recently married, or newly entered the labor force. During the first half of the 1970s, 72 percent of all persons aged 25 to 29 resided at a different location in 1975 than they had in 1970, compared with just

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[6]Central counties are those counties within metropolitan areas that most closely approximate the central city (see Regional Economic Analysis Division 1976). These data on worker migration are derived from the Social Security Administration's Continuous Work History Sample.

[7]A summary of earlier research on the levels of geographical mobility of specific subpopulations is presented in Taeuber and Taeuber (1957); statistics for the 1970s are from U.S. Bureau of the Census (1975a).

TABLE 6 Net Migration of Work Force for Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Counties: 1960–1963 and 1970–1973 (in thousands)

	Metropolitan Counties					
	Central Counties of SMSAs with Populations of:					
Years	2 million or more	1 million–1,999,999	0.5 million–999,999	Less than 0.5 million	Suburban Counties	Nonmetropolitan Counties
1960–1963	–27.1	71.9	28.0	31.3	55.4	–159.5
1970–1973	–270.8	46.8	85.8	54.5	64.4	19.3

NOTE: Positive numbers indicate net in-migration and negative numbers indicate net out-migration.
SOURCE: Regional Economic Analysis Division (1976) Work-force migration patterns, 1960–1973. *Survey of Current Business* October: 23–26.

TABLE 7 Place-to-Place Net Migration of Work Force for Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Counties: 1960–1963 and 1970–1973 (in thousands)

	Metropolitan Counties											
	Central Counties of SMSAs with Populations of:											
	2 million or more		1 million–1,999,999		0.5 million–999,999		Less than 0.5 million		Suburban Counties		Nonmetropolitan Counties	
	'60-'63	'70-'73	'60-'63	'70-'73	'60-'63	'70-'73	'60-'63	'70-'73	'60-'63	'70-'73	'60-'63	'70-'73
Central Counties of SMSAs with Populations of:												
2 million or more	–	–	0.1	73.7	–10.4	47.1	–3.1	20.7	65.1	75.8	–24.6	53.5
1 million–1,999,999	–0.1	–73.7	–	–	1.5	–3.2	–19.3	16.5	–23.7	12.6	–30.3	1.0
0.5 million–999,999	10.4	–47.1	–1.5	3.2	–	–	0.6	–13.7	–1.2	–11.6	–36.3	–16.6
less than 0.5 million	3.1	–20.7	19.3	–16.5	–0.6	13.7	–	–	–10.2	–15.7	–42.9	–15.3
Suburban Counties	–65.1	–75.8	23.7	–12.6	1.2	11.6	10.2	15.7	–	–	–25.4	–3.3
Nonmetropolitan Counties	24.6	–53.5	30.3	–1.0	36.3	16.6	42.9	15.3	25.4	3.3	–	–

NOTE: Positive numbers indicate net in-migration, and negative numbers indicate net out-migration.
SOURCE: Regional Economic Analysis Division (1976) Work-force migration patterns, 1960–73. *Survey of Current Business* October: 23–26.

over 40 percent of the total population (over 4 years of age). Persons in their early twenties and early thirties were also highly mobile during this period: about 60 percent of both groups changed residence. The high mobility rates of younger adults are also reflected in the mobility rates of their children, which are higher than those for adolescents, whose parents are older.

Race. Residential mobility levels differ by race as well as age. Between 1970 and 1975, more blacks changed their residence than whites (46 compared with 41 percent), but they tended to move shorter distances: 36 percent of all blacks aged 4 and older moved to a new residence within the same county, compared with 23 percent of all whites. However, the long-distance moves, represented by inter-county and interstate migration, were more frequent among whites than blacks: 18 compared with 10 percent and 5 compared with 3 percent of each respective subpopulation.

Education. Educational attainment is another factor influencing the likelihood of migration. College graduates are more likely to move between counties and states than high school graduates, who, in turn, migrate more often than persons whose formal schooling ended at the primary level. Among all persons aged 18 and older, 30 percent of those with four or more years of college moved to a different county between March 1970 and March 1975, compared with 16 percent of those who had completed four years of high school and 9 percent of those with eight years of education or less.

Family Structure. The presence and age level of children are additional factors influencing the spatial mobility of families. Among married men aged 25 to 34 living with their wives, those with no children under 18 are more mobile than those with children under 18. Husband-wife families (head aged 25 to 34) whose children are all under 6 are also more residentially mobile than those with children over 6. Thus, the presence of school-age children appears to reduce the spatial mobility of families.

Characteristics of Subpopulations of Movers. Not only do more mobile individuals differ from those who are spatially stable, but also subpopulations of the spatially mobile differ among themselves in the direction of their moves. For instance, persons moving to central cities tend to be slightly younger than persons moving from central cities. In the

1970-1975 period, the median age of central-city in-migrants was 25.1 years, compared with 27.6 years for out-migrants. Blacks are relatively more numerous in the migration flow to, rather than from, central cities. Between 1970 and 1975, blacks constituted 12.3 percent of the in-migrants to central cities and 7.5 percent of the out-migrants. Continuation of these particular migration patterns by blacks and younger individuals, accompanied by the higher rates of natural increase associated with both groups, will contribute to raising the proportion of youths and blacks residing in central cities.

Directions of Residential Changes

Suburbanization Trend. Those who make short-distance moves, especially those who remain within a single metropolitan area while changing residence, contribute more to the suburbanization trend than those who move long distances (e.g., interregional migrants). Among those who moved within the same metropolitan area during the 1970-1975 period, those moving from the central city to the suburbs outnumbered those moving from the suburbs to the central city by 3 to 1. Among interregional migrants, on the other hand, persons shifting to the suburbs outnumbered those shifting to central cities by only 2 to 1. This difference between short- and long-distance movers produced a net shift to the suburbs that was 42 percent higher among those who remained within a single metropolitan area than among interregional migrants.

Metropolitan/Nonmetropolitan Shifts. A similar trend was evident during this period among individuals who changed their residential location between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. The proportion of movers shifting from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas while remaining within the same region was 14 percent higher than the proportion of those who stayed in the same residential category while migrating between regions. Among persons shifting both from central cities to suburbs and from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas, short-distance movers exhibited the greater tendency to shift away from the central city. These differences between local and long-distance movers are at least partially explained by the fact that interregional migrants continue to include individuals seeking the opportunities traditionally associated with central

cities, such as schooling and better employment. For the black poor leaving rural areas (especially those of the South), accessible housing and personal contacts are often found in the inner city. These overriding decentralization trends should not obscure the fact that some 61 percent of all interregional migrants who had resided in nonmetropolitan areas in 1970 were by 1975 living in metropolitan areas.

Black Migration. The movement to metropolitan areas was most apparent among black migrants from the South, who continue to maintain migration streams from rural areas to the cities of the North.[8] However, even this pattern is changing. During the 5-year period from 1965 to 1970, the black population of the South decreased by 216,000 due to out-migration, but since then the South has gained 14,000 blacks from other regions of the country. Comparing the first half of the 1970s to the last half of the 1960s, in-migration by blacks to the South has increased 86.4 percent and out-migration decreased 23.8 percent.

Economic Aspects of Population Shifts

There are broad economic aspects to these population shifts. During 1970-1975, the mean family income of black migrants leaving nonmetropolitan areas for central cities was $5,037 or about half that of blacks already residing in central cities. This continuing flow of low-income persons will continue to add to the financial burdens of central cities. The economic problems of cities are also affected by the fact that more families and unrelated individuals are leaving the central city than are moving to it, and the income levels of in-migrants are in general lower than those of out-migrants.[9] The previous-year mean income level of families and individuals who moved to central cities between 1970 and 1974 was about $10,300, compared with $12,500 for those who moved from central cities. During this 4-year period alone, central cities

[8]See U.S. Bureau of the Census (1975a) for data documenting the continued long-distance moves to central cities from rural areas.

[9]See U.S. Bureau of the Census (1975c) for more detail on the income differences between central city, suburban, and nonmetropolitan residents.

experienced a net loss of $29.6 billion in the aggregate personal incomes of their residents, due to the differential income levels between in-migrants and out-migrants and the greater number of out-migrants than in-migrants.

Conclusion

Overall, the decentralization trend has been greatest among movers who change residence within the same region of the country, while at least some interregional migration continues to include people moving from rural areas to central cities. More blacks, more poor, and greater numbers of younger persons are moving to, rather than from, central cities. The suburbs receive proportionately more whites, the more affluent, and families rather than single persons.

It has been suggested that these current patterns of decentralization represent continuations of previous trends --that what is now being referred to as nonmetropolitan growth is simply growth at the exurban fringes of metropolitan areas. However, longitudinal analysis of data from 1900 through the 1970s, which document levels of population concentration, forces us to conclude that what we are now witnessing is something more than the continued expansion of metropolitan areas. The data consist of indices of population concentration at each of several levels (scales) of spatial disaggregation, with the coarsest level consisting of the nine geographical divisions used by the Census Bureau and the finest consisting of county units. Analysis of changes in those indices shows that population concentration has declined throughout this century at the division and state levels, reflecting the general deconcentration that has accompanied the expansion of settlement to the West and the South. During the decade of the 1940s, population dispersal also occurred at the county level, reflecting the suburbanization movement. On the other hand, analysis of population concentrations at a level termed economic subregions--which divide the country into approximately 100 areas centered on metropolitan economies--shows continually more concentration between 1920 and 1970, indicating that period's widespread trend of rural-to-urban migration (Vining and Strauss 1976, Duncan et al. 1961).

Since 1970, however, deconcentration has occurred at all of the spatial levels--from the county through the divisional. This represents a clean break with the previous trends indicating continued urbanization in the form of rural-to-urban migration. For the first time in this

century, population deconcentration is now occurring at all levels of regional disaggregation. Although population concentration continues in some of the most rural states, e.g., New Mexico and North Dakota, the trend toward decentralization in the more urbanized states far outweighs these counter-flows and indicates that the current changes represent a genuine turning point from the nation's preceding trends toward urbanization and metropolitan concentration.

CHARACTERISTICS OF METROPOLITAN-AREA RESIDENTS

Halfway through the current decade, the central cities of metropolitan areas have lost 3.1 percent of their 1970 residential population. During the same period, suburban areas have gained 9.3 percent. As a result, the suburbs currently contain 33.1 percent more residents than do central cities: 39 percent of the nation's population reside in suburban areas, compared with 29 percent in central cities and 32 percent in nonmetropolitan areas. The differences between central-city and suburban residents are significant.

Income

The median income of families residing in the suburbs is now $14,007, 23.5 percent higher than the average of $11,343 for central-city families.[10] The difference between the average suburban and central-city family's income was 17.8 percent in 1970. Since then, in the 1970-1975 period, suburban incomes increased 4.6 percent and central-city incomes diminished an average of 0.3 percent.

Contrary to popular beliefs, current differences between central-city and suburban incomes are of a similar magnitude for both black and white families. The median income of suburban black families is now 20 percent higher than that of black families residing in central cities, and the median income of suburban white families is 15 percent higher than that of white families living in central cities. The generally lower income levels for both central-city blacks and whites should not, however, lead one to conclude that higher-income families have deserted central cities

[10] All figures in this discussion of income levels are in constant 1973 dollars. See U.S. Bureau of the Census (1975c).

altogether. As of March 1974, one-third of all central-city families (almost 5.3 million) had annual incomes in excess of $15,000, and 17 percent had annual incomes over $20,000, at a time when the median family income nationwide was $12,000.

Although the number of persons with incomes below the poverty level has actually decreased during the 1970s (from 27 million or 13.7 percent of the total population in 1969 to 23 million or 11.1 percent by 1973), the portion of that population that resides in metropolitan areas has increased from 56.2 percent to 59.9 percent, and the largest share of the increase occurs within the central city. Central cities, with 29 percent of the nation's population, now contain 37.4 percent of its poor, an increase of 3.2 percent of the total since the beginning of the decade. Just over 10 percent of all central-city families now receive some form of public assistance income, while the proportion of suburban families receiving such assistance is 3.9 percent.

Race

Not only do central cities contain a disproportionate number of the nation's poor, but they are also the home of a majority of the nation's blacks. Of the total black population, 58 percent now reside in central cities compared with 25 percent of all whites, while 17 percent of all blacks and 42 percent of all whites reside in the suburbs. The number of black persons residing outside metropolitan areas continues to decline, and the white nonmetropolitan population is now increasing at a higher rate than that of the 1960s.

Although the number of blacks residing in suburbs relative to the number of whites remains small, the suburban growth rate of blacks has exceeded that of whites during both the 1960s and 1970s. During the 1960s, black suburban population grew at an annual rate of 3.2 percent compared with 2.3 percent for whites; since 1970, black suburban population growth has increased to an average of 5.2 percent per year, while growth in the number of whites residing in the suburbs has decreased to an annual rate of 1.6 percent. Thus, black suburbanization rates have increased during the 1970s at a time when white suburbanization rates have dropped.

This increased rate of suburbanization by blacks, coupled with a central-city growth rate that has dropped from 3.1 percent per year during the 1960s to 1.9 percent per year in the 1970s, is now producing a decline in the concentration of blacks residing in the central city for the

first time in this century. The central-city concentration of blacks reached its peak in 1970, when 80 percent of all blacks living in metropolitan areas resided in central cities. Since then, the level of central-city concentration of blacks has dropped to 74 percent, placing it below the levels of the 1940s.

Blacks are not the only minority group concentrated in metropolitan areas. Persons of Hispanic origin are more concentrated in metropolitan areas than either blacks or whites; however, they are not as concentrated in central cities as blacks. Of the nation's total Hispanic-origin population, 81 percent now reside in metropolitan areas, but only 49 percent reside in central cities, compared with 58 percent of blacks and 25 percent of other whites.

Age

Similarly, the decline in the total population of central cities during the 1970s has not been distributed equally among all age-groups. The number of young adults aged 25 to 34 has increased, while the number of youths through age 17 and adults aged 35 to 64 has decreased, due to generally lower birth rates and the general suburban shift of families. The median age of the central city's declining population remains slightly older than that of suburban residents, but this gap has narrowed since the 1960s as the proportion of young children in the suburbs has declined. The proportion of elderly persons (65 and over) among the residents of central cities remains large, with 22 percent of all central-city residents receiving part of their income from social security, compared with 18 percent for suburban dwellers.

Family Structure

The final set of differences between central-city and suburban residents relates to family structure. The nationwide increase of 1.2 million families headed by women since 1970 is equal to the increase in such families that occurred during the entire decade of the 1960s. The largest proportion of this rise (83 percent) has occurred in metropolitan areas, where 74 percent of all female-headed families resided in 1974. The proportion of all families residing in the central cities that are headed by females is greater than in the suburbs--19 percent compared with 10 percent.

These differences in the structure of central-city and suburban families are largely accounted for by black families, 36 percent of which are headed by females compared with 11 percent of white families.

SUMMARY

Significant changes have taken place in the nation's settlement patterns since 1970. The two major categories of change involve the population distribution among regions and between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas.

Regional Changes

- The South is experiencing net migration gains from all other regions in numbers that are more than double the net gain to the West--the only other region now experiencing a net migration gain. Significantly, the long-term trend of out-migration by blacks from the South to the North has been reversed during the first half of the 1970s.

- The growth rate of the West continues to be the highest in the country, but the most rapid growth within that region has shifted from the coastal states (Pacific Division) to those of the Mountain Division.

- The net flow of migrants from the Northeast and North Central Regions during the first half of the 1970s was almost double that of the last half of the 1960s. This increase has resulted primarily from a rise of 34.1 percent in the migration from the North to the South coupled with a decrease of 17.3 percent in migration from the South to the North.

Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Changes

- Since 1970, the metropolitan areas of the United States have grown more slowly than the nation as a whole and substantially less rapidly than nonmetropolitan America, a development that stands in sharp contrast to all preceding decades back to the early 19th century.

- On a net basis, metropolitan areas are now losing migrants to nonmetropolitan areas, although they still show slight population increases due to natural increase and immigration.

- The overall decline in the growth of metropolitan areas is largely accounted for by the largest metropolitan areas, particularly those located in the Northeast and North Central Regions. Through 1974, the 8 metropolitan areas exceeding 3 million in population added only 285,000 residents to a 1970 population base of 56 million, while their central cities had absolute decline in population. All central cities of the nation's metropolitan areas grew at an average annual rate of 0.6 percent between 1960 and 1970 but have declined at an average annual rate of 0.4 percent since 1970 (annexations excluded). Much of the decrease is attributable to the post-1970 decline in the number of white central-city residents, which has occurred at a rate of 1 percent per year.

- Rapid growth has taken place in some smaller metropolitan areas, particularly in the South (Florida especially), the West, and in exurban counties located immediately outside metropolitan areas that have substantial daily commuting to metropolitan areas.

- Particularly impressive are the reversals in migration trends in the largest metropolitan areas and the furthermost peripheral counties. The metropolitan areas with populations exceeding 3 million gained migrants in the 1960s but have lost residents since 1970; the nation's peripheral nonmetropolitan counties lost migrants between 1960 and 1970 but have gained migrants since 1970. The balance of migration flows has been reversed.

- High growth rates prevail in certain nonmetropolitan areas, especially those with manufacturing, centers of higher education, resources for recreational development, and retirement centers. The long-term shift away from agricultural employment has also tapered off, adding to rural population retention.

We must learn more about the causes of the redistributions and their implications, for if the nation's settlement patterns are changing, so should the nation's urban policy.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX Population, Change, and Components of Change for Various Groups of Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Counties: 1960–1970 and 1970–1973 (numbers in thousands; minus sign (–) denotes decrease)

Residence Category	Population			Population Change				Natural Increase				Net Migration			
				1970–1973		1960–1970		1970–1973		1960–1970		1970–1973		1960–1970	
	July 1, 1973 (provisional)	April 1, 1970 (census)[4]	April 1, 1960 (census)	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
UNITED STATES	209,851	203,300	179,323	6,551	3.2	23,977	13.4	4,917	2.4	20,841	11.6	1,634	0.8	3,135	1.7
Inside SMSAs[1]	153,350	149,093	127,348	4,258	2.9	21,744	17.1	3,768	2.5	15,637	12.3	489	0.3	6,107	4.8
Outside SMSAs	56,501	54,207	51,975	2,293	4.2	2,232	4.3	1,149	2.1	5,204	10.0	1,144	2.1	–2,972	–5.7
Metropolitan Areas over 3,000,000[2]	56,189	55,635	47,763	554	1.0	7,872	16.5	1,218	2.2	5,464	11.4	–664	–1.2	2,408	5.0
New York Area	16,657	16,701	15,126	–45	–0.3	1,576	10.4					–305	–1.8	218	1.4
Los Angeles Area	10,131	9,983	7,752	147	1.5	2,231	28.8					–119	–1.2	1,164	15.0
Chicago Area	7,689	7,611	6,794	78	1.0	817	12.0					–124	–1.6	–17	–0.2
Philadelphia Area	5,653	5,628	5,024	25	0.4	604	12.0					–75	–1.3	91	1.8
Detroit Area	4,691	4,669	4,122	22	0.5	547	13.3					–114	–2.4	9	0.2
San Francisco Area	4,544	4,423	3,492	121	2.7	932	26.7					23	0.5	485	13.9
Boston Area	3,783	3,710	3,358	73	2.0	352	10.5					15	0.4	32	0.9
Washington SMSA	3,042	2,910	2,097	132	4.5	813	38.8					34	1.2	426	20.3
Metropolitan Areas of 1–3,000,000 by Region	35,705	34,448	28,497	1,257	3.6	5,951	20.9	861	2.5	3,510	12.3	396	1.1	2,441	8.6
Northeast	3,720	3,751	3,712	–30	–0.8	38	1.0	42	1.1	289	7.8	–73	–1.9	–251	–6.8
Pittsburgh SMSA	2,367	2,401	2,405	–35	–1.4	–4	–0.2					–56	–2.3	–167	–6.9
Buffalo SMSA	1,353	1,349	1,307	4	0.3	42	3.2					–16	–1.2	–84	–6.4
North Central	12,427	12,381	10,868	46	0.4	1,513	13.9	318	2.6	1,369	12.6	–272	–2.2	144	1.3
St. Louis SMSA	2,388	2,411	2,144	–23	–0.9	266	12.4					–78	–3.2	21	1.0
Cleveland SMSA	1,997	2,064	1,909	–67	–3.2	154	8.1					–109	–5.3	–45	–2.4
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,994	1,965	1,598	28	1.4	368	23.0					–30	–1.5	119	7.4
Milwaukee SMSA	1,432	1,404	1,279	28	2.0	125	9.8					–4	–0.3	–38	–3.0
Cincinnati SMSA	1,126	1,134	1,039	–8	–0.7	95	9.2					–36	–3.2	–31	–3.0
Kansas City SMSA	1,295	1,274	1,109	21	1.6	165	14.3					–14	–1.1	30	2.7
Indianapolis SMSA	1,139	1,111	944	28	2.5	167	17.7					–8	–0.7	37	3.9
Columbus SMSA	1,057	1,018	845	39	3.8	173	20.4					+6	0.6	52	6.1
Florida	3,376	2,976	2,078	400	13.4	898	43.2	21	0.7	135	6.5	379	12.7	764	36.7
Miami Area[2]	2,106	1,888	1,269	218	11.5	619	48.8					196	10.4	511	40.2
Tampa-St. Petersburg	1,271	1,089	809	182	16.7	279	34.5					182	16.7	253	31.3
Other South Atlantic	3,845	3,667	2,973	178	4.9	694	23.3	102	2.8	411	13.8	76	2.1	282	9.5
Baltimore SMSA	2,117	2,117	2,071	45	2.2	267	14.8					5	0.3	53	2.9
Atlanta SMSA	1,728	1,596	1,169	133	8.3	426	36.5					71	4.4	230	19.7

South Central[3]	5,930	5,675	4,305	255	4.5	1,370	31.8	213	3.8	693	16.1	42	0.7	677	15.7
Dallas-Fort Worth	2,442	2,378	1,738	63	2.7	640	36.8					−24	−1.0	362	20.8
Houston SMSA	2,138	1,999	1,430	139	7.0	569	39.8					52	2.6	311	21.8
Cincinnati SMSA	257	251	229	6	2.4	22	9.4					(Z)	0.1	−5	−2.1
New Orleans SMSA	1,093	1,046	907	47	4.4	139	15.4					14	1.4	8	0.9
West	6,406	5,998	4,561	408	6.8	1,438	31.5	163	2.7	613	13.4	244	4.1	825	18.1
San Diego SMSA	1,470	1,358	1,033	112	8.2	325	31.4					72	5.3	169	16.4
Seattle SMSA	1,385	1,425	1,107	−40	−2.8	317	28.7					−68	−4.8	187	16.9
Denver SMSA	1,366	1,239	935	127	10.2	305	32.6					86	7.0	163	17.4
Phoenix SMSA	1,119	969	664	150	15.5	306	46.1					114	11.7	190	28.6
Portland SMSA	1,066	1,007	822	59	5.9	185	22.5					40	4.0	117	14.2
Other SMSA Territory by Region	61,456	59,009	51,088	2,447	4.1	7,921	15.5	1,690	2.9	6,662	13.0	757	1.3	1,259	2.5
Northeast	13,517	13,225	11,828	292	2.2	1,397	11.8					60	0.5	312	2.6
North Central	14,761	14,447	12,820	313	2.2	1,627	12.7					−88	−0.6	6	(Z)
Florida	3,072	2,735	2,015	338	12.3	720	35.7					271	9.9	443	22.0
Other South Atlantic	7,556	7,317	6,285	238	3.3	1,032	16.4					6	0.1	126	2.0
South Central[3]	14,458	13,753	12,178	705	5.1	1,575	12.9					218	1.6	−248	−2.0
West	8,093	7,532	5,962	561	7.4	1,570	26.3					290	3.8	620	10.4
Counties with 20 Percent or More Commuters to SMSAs	4,099	3,848	3,474	251	6.5	373	10.7	74	1.9	315	9.1	177	4.6	58	1.7
Northeast (20 counties)	1,047	970	794	77	8.0	176	22.2					63	6.4	111	14.0
North Central (51 counties)	1,212	1,154	1,077	58	5.0	78	7.2					37	3.2	−5	−0.5
Florida (6 counties)	78	67	48	11	16.7	19	39.6					11	16.7	17	34.9
Other South Atlantic (41 counties)	730	697	659	33	4.7	38	5.8					17	2.4	−37	−5.6
South Central[3] (57 counties)	963	898	848	65	7.2	50	5.9					45	5.0	−36	−4.2
West (5 counties)	68	61	49	6	10.6	12	25.4					5	7.8	8	16.5
Counties with 10–19 Percent Commuters to SMSAs	9,683	9,269	8,636	414	4.5	633	7.3	182	2.0	792	9.2	232	2.5	−159	−1.8
Northeast (27 counties)	1,933	1,843	1,703	90	4.9	140	8.2					64	3.5	23	1.3
North Central (107 counties)	3,327	3,228	3,019	99	3.1	209	6.9					38	1.2	−51	−1.7
Florida (8 counties)	283	246	193	37	15.2	53	27.3					35	14.3	37	19.2

APPENDIX (Continued)

Residence Category	Population			Population Change				Natural Increase				Net Migration			
	July 1, 1973 (provisional)	April 1, 1970 (census)[4]	April 1, 1960 (census)	1970–1973		1960–1970		1970–1973		1960–1970		1970–1973		1960–1970	
				Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Counties with 10–19 Percent Commuters to SMSAs (continued)															
Other South Atlantic (61 counties)	1,569	1,511	1,468	58	3.8	43	2.9					20	1.3	–124	–8.4
South Central[3] (96 counties)	2,174	2,083	1,952	91	4.4	131	6.7					46	2.2	–67	–3.4
West (16 counties)	396	357	300	39	10.8	57	19.0					30	8.3	22	7.4
Peripheral Counties by Region	42,719	41,091	39,865	1,628	4.0	1,226	3.1	893	2.2	4,097	10.3	735	1.8	–2,871	–7.2
Northeast	3,823	3,673	3,490	150	4.1	183	5.2					84	2.3	–119	–3.4
North Central	13,493	13,101	12,919	392	3.0	182	1.4					201	1.5	–823	–6.4
Florida	868	767	617	100	13.1	150	24.4					80	10.5	67	10.9
Other South Atlantic	7,585	7,347	7,183	239	3.2	164	2.3					44	0.6	–694	–9.7
South Central[3]	10,021	9,723	9,718	298	3.1	5	0.1					76	0.8	–1,061	–10.9
West	6,929	6,481	5,938	449	6.9	542	9.1					250	3.9	–243	–4.1

(Z) Less than 500 or 0.05 percent.

[1]SMSAs as defined by OMB as of December 31, 1974, except in New England, where definitions in terms of entire counties have been substituted.

[2]Reflects certain combinations of SMSAs, as specified below. Population size groups are as of 1973.

[3]Comprises East South Central and West South Central Divisions.

[4]Includes corrections in local and national totals determined after 1970 census complete-count tabulations were made.

[5]Boone, Campbell, and Kenton Counties, Ky., are in the South Central Divisions; the remainder of the Cincinnati SMSA is in the North Central Region.

SMSA combinations are as follows: *New York Area* comprises New York SMSA, Jersey City SMSA, Long Branch-Asbury Park SMSA, Nassau-Suffolk SMSA, New Brunswick-Perth Amboy-Sayreville SMSA, Newark SMSA, and Paterson-Clifton-Passaic SMSA; *Philadelphia Area* comprises Philadelphia SMSA, Trenton SMSA, and Wilmington SMSA; *Boston Area* comprises Essex, Middlesex, Norfolk, Plymouth, and Suffolk Counties, Mass.; *Chicago Area* comprises Chicago and Gary-Hammond-East Chicago SMSAs; *Detroit Area* comprises Detroit and Ann Arbor SMSAs; *Miami Area* comprises Miami and Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood SMSAs; *Los Angeles Area* comprises Los Angeles-Long Beach, Anaheim-Santa Ana-Garden Grove, Oxnard-Simi Valley-Ventura, and Riverside-San Bernadino-Ontario SMSAs; *San Francisco Area* comprises San Francisco-Oakland, San Jose, and Vallejo-Napa SMSAs.

SOURCE: Richard L. Forstall, "Trends in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Population Growth Since 1970" (Washington, D.C.: Population Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Rev. May 20, 1975), summarizing the following: 1960 population and 1960–70 natural increase from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 461, "Components of Population Change by County: 1960 to 1970"; and *1970 Census of Population and Housing*, PHC(2)-1, "General Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas, 1960 to 1970." 1970 and 1973 populations and 1970–73 natural increase and net migration from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, Nos. 527, 530-532, and 535, "Estimates of the Population of [State] Counties and Metropolitan Areas: July 1, 1972 and 1973," for New York, Maryland, Alaska, California, and Texas, respectively; *Current Population Reports*, Series P-26, Nos. 49-93, "Estimates of the Population of [State] Counties and Metropolitan Areas: Jul. 1, 1972 and 1973," for the other 45 states. The 1970 populations in these reports include corrections in local and national totals determined after 1970 census complete-count tabulations were made. 1960–70 population change computed from 1960 and 1970 populations. 1960–70 net migration computed by subtracting 1960–70 natural increase from 1960–70 population change; these data may differ from those in Series P-25, No. 461 and Series PHC(2), No. 1 as a result of reflecting corrections in 1970 local and national totals.

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