SPONTANEOUS GROWTH CENTERS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICAN URBANIZATION

by

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Most discussion of growth centers concentrate on the where, the how and the why of inducing growth in areas where by some criterion, development is lagging. In this they reflect a concern with the equity or distributional objective of equalizing levels of welfare in different regions of the national territory. In developing nations, the concern is usually with countering the phenomenon of primacy as a manifestation of the duality of the economy. In most developed countries, as in the United States, the concern is rather that depressed or underdeveloped areas do not participate in the levels of social and economic welfare of most of the nation. Even those developed countries that want to diminish the concentration in their largest cities appear to consider their growth center efforts primarily as distributive ones.

It would seem that this view is too narrow for the formulation of national urbanization policies; that is to say, for policies to guide the growth of the national system of cities. Even a developed country is a developing country, and its development implies a structural evolution over time which will be reflected in the differential growth among territorial units as well as among economic sectors. In brief, development is not mere growth but also change. A national urbanization policy, as an element of a national urban policy, should address itself to the issues of efficiency or development, as manifested in growth centers which may be termed spontaneous, as well as to the questions of equity

through inducing growth in centers where the overall functioning of the system is not producing it. A national urbanization policy should include developmental objectives for guiding the phenomenon of growth as well as equity considerations for dealing with retardation.

There are, then, two varieties of growth centers. Induced growth centers are those in which public policy is trying to promote growth. In this sense, the designation of a locality as a growth center is a normative one. Spontaneous growth centers are those that are growing without benefit of special assistance; or at least without benefit of conscious or explicit policy. In a lively socio-economic system, there will always be a number of these centers, whose growth derives from the dynamics of the system. It would seem worthwhile to study the characteristics of such centers and the importance of their role in national urbanization, both for the lessons they may hold for inducing growth where it does not occur spontaneously and for their own sake as a valid subject of national developmental policy, since growth also has its problems.

The aims of this paper are modest. It will not try to analyze the reason for the development of spontaneous growth centers, nor will it enter into the economic history of particular ones. Neither will it try to suggest policy, except in the broadest outlines. It will try to describe the magnitude of the role of spontaneous growth centers in the urbanization of the American population since the turn of the century, and some of the shifts that have occurred. It will limit itself to a consideration of time series of the numbers of people who lived between 1900 and 1965 in each of the 212 Standard Metropolitan

Statistical Areas as defined territorially in 1960.[1] Estimates of net migration into all metropolitan areas (SMSA's) and into or out of each of them were constructed by assuming that they all followed the decade's rate of natural increase in the nation,[2] and that the difference in the observed population at the end of each decade from that which would have resulted from natural increase alone was attributable to migration. Spontaneous growth centers were operationally defined as those which showed substantial in-migration.[3] Most of the presentation will use as a criterion for designating a metropolitan area as a growth center a rate of net in-migration twice that into the total set of SMSA's, but we have also looked at more stringent criteria. For convenience we will use 2M, 3M, etc. for twice, three times, etc., the rate of migration into all metropolitan areas; we will also use SGC at times as shorthand for Spontaneous Growth Centers.

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[1] Definitions of SMSA's from U.S. Bureau of the Budget, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (1961). Population of individual SMSA's from: Eighteenth Decennial Census of the United States (1960), Vol. 1-A, Table 31; Sixteenth Census of the United States (1940), Vol. 1, Table 4; Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920), Vol. 1, Table 50; and U.S. Housing and Home Finance Administration, Population Growth of Standard Metropolitan Areas: 1900-1950 (December, 1953), Appendix, Table 2.

[2] Based on Series C 88-114, Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957; and Table 126, Statistical Abstract of the United States (1967).

[3] Since the analysis is based solely on demographic data, we do not consider possible alternative modes of being a growth center, such as by increases in employment without increases in residentiary population (by drawing on a commuter shed), or economic growth without population growth, as may occur through capital-intensive industrialization.

Several disclaimers are necessary as to the precision of our data. Estimates of natural increase in the early part of the century are not very reliable, and neither are population estimates for 1965,[1] our last date. Other problems arise. For instance, we assume nation-wide rates of natural increase, but poorer and smaller areas tend to have higher rates of natural increase, as do fast growing areas whose population is heavily weighted toward the young. Our practice of using the 1960 SMSA territory of course implies that the early figures for many areas include farmers and villagers; but this effect may not be too serious, since, while it makes it harder for an area to qualify for the growth criterion by expanding the base on which growth is computed, the areas where the areal definition is most excessive in the early years must be those which experienced most growth. In more recent years, two other problems arise. The first is that suburban and exurban diffusion are proceeding very rapidly, and many urban scholars think that the SMSA boundaries cut off substantial population which is functionally associated with the metropolis.[2] This effect is probably strongest for the larger metropolitan areas, and thus SMSA figures will tend to understate their most recent populations and their growth. The other problem is a more profound conceptual one. This is that,

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[1] 1965 estimates from Statistical Abstract of the United States (1967), Table 15.

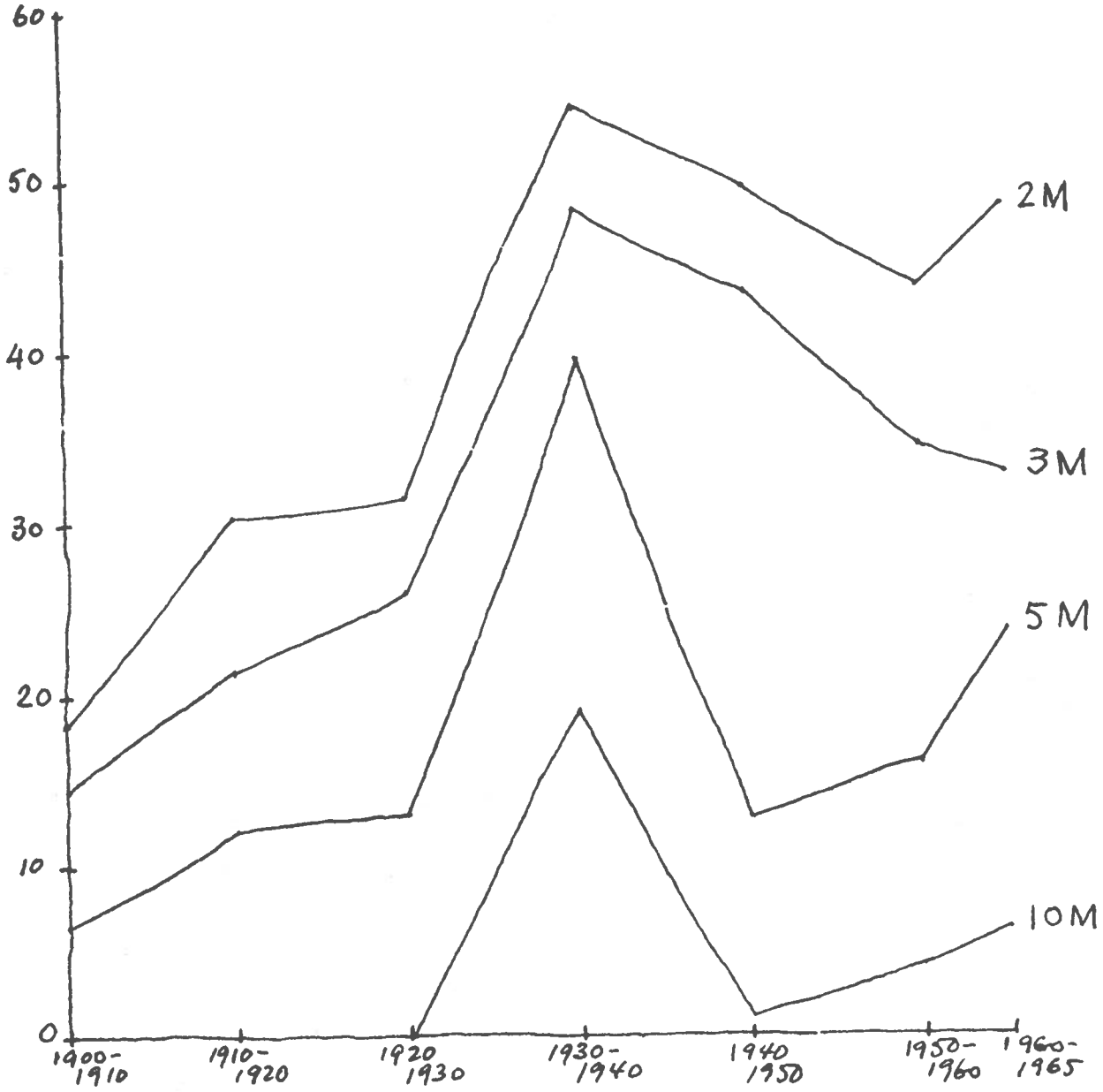
[2] See the map of commuting territories in B.J.L. Berry and E. Neils, "Location, Size, and Shape of Cities as Influenced by Environmental Factors: The Urban Environment Writ Large", in H. Perloff, The Quality of the Urban Environment, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969, p. 276-277.

just as the single-centered nineteenth century city gave way to the multi-centered metropolis, there are now recognizable congeries of metropolitan areas, sometimes called megalopolises, with strong inter-dependent functional relations. These are higher order systems which are inadequately recognized in our analysis, which is based on SMSA's; some glimmer of this effect is visible in the last of our maps in what we call "suburban metropolises". But for all these difficulties, we believe that the general outlines of our findings, if not the details, are reliable.

Figure 1 shows the share of all metropolitan growth accounted for by Spontaneous Growth Centers. In general, the share increases from the beginning of the century to the present, regardless of the criterion used, with a sharp temporary rise during the depression decade of 1930 to 1940. At the 2M level, SGC's account for nearly half of all metropolitan growth since 1940, while 3M centers, with a net in-migration at least triple that into all metropolitan areas, account for nearly one-third in the most recent period. Although the secular rise since 1900 is unmistakeable, the 2M share shows no clear trend since 1940 and the 3M share has clearly declined slightly. But there has been a clear rise at the 5M level from 12.6 to 23.7 per cent, and at the 10M level from 1.2 to 6.1 per cent. Thus, contrary to what might be imagined in a nation which has achieved our degree of economic maturity, rapidly growing cities account for an increasing rather than a decreasing share of total metropolitan growth, and this increase is most marked

Figure 1

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF METROPOLITAN GROWTH
ACCOUNTED FOR BY SGC'S
at 2M, 3M, 5M, and 10M, 1900-1965



for the higher growth criteria.[1]

More detailed information is presented in Table 1. The rate of growth of the metropolitan areas is remarkably stable from decade to decade (line 2), except for the high first decade (which resulted from a high rate of in-migration into metropolitan areas), the 1930 to 1940 decade (when both natural increase and in-migration were very low), and the most recent period (when again low natural increase and low in-migration combined to slow metropolitan growth). Migration's share of metropolitan growth (line 4) shows a marked decline over the period. Because of the increasing preponderance of vegetative growth for the metropolitan area set, it might be expected that growth rates would become more nearly equal among metropolitan areas, but we have seen that, in fact, the fast growers account for an increasing share of the total growth (line 7). Part of the explanation may be found in line 8, which shows that the SGC's account for a dramatically increasing share of all migration into the metropolitan set, and currently receive as in-migrants a greater absolute number than all of the SMSA's (including themselves) put together. This means that in the earlier decades migration from non-metropolitan areas and from abroad was more evenly distributed among SMSA's, while in recent decades marked differences in growth rates have resulted from inter-metropolitan migration. Illustrating this point, the number of SMSA's estimated to have been a net exporters

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[1] It is interesting to contrast the 1960-1965 shares of growth (which range from 48.6% for 2M to 6.1% for 10M) with the recent proposals of the National Committee on Urban Growth Policy, which suggested settling 20% of the forthcoming urban growth in 100 new towns and in ten new cities. See D. Canty, The New City, New York: Frederick Praeger, 1969.

Table 1

POPULATION, GROWTH, AND MIGRATION OF
STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS (SMSA'S)
AND OF 2M SPONTANEOUS GROWTH CENTERS (SGC), 1900-1965

	1900-1910	1910-1920	1920-1930	1930-1940	1940-1950	1950-1960	1960-1965
1) SMSA population at the beginning of the period (000)	31,955	41,955	52,524	66,804	72,834	89,317	112,885
2) Decennial rate of SMSA population growth (%)	31.4	25.2	27.2	9.0	22.6	26.4	17.8*
3) Decennial rate of migration into SMSA'S (%)	21.0	16.4	15.0	2.2	9.0	9.6	5.0*
4) Migration as % of growth	70	65	55	25	40	37	29
5) 2M criterion [(2)+(3)] (%)	52.4	41.6	42.2	11.2	31.6	36.0	22.8*
6) Share of SMSA population in 2M SGCs (%)	5.5	10.3	11.1	20.4	21.4	19.7	25.1
7) Share of all SMSA growth accounted for by 2M SGCs (%)	18.7	30.5	31.8	54.2	49.7	43.5	48.6
8) Share of net inmigration into all SMSA'S accounted for by 2M SGCs (%)	24.5	41.3	48.8	157.3	92.2	85.0	109.1
9) Number of 2M SGCs	40	40	48	87	69	52	60
10) Number of SMSA'S with net outmigration	18	31	52	77	50	60	82

*The 1960-1965 rates have been doubled to convert to the common decimal base.

of population rose from 18 in 1900-1910 to 82 in 1960-1965 (line 10).

Table 2 shows the shares of total SMSA growth contributed by SGC's of each size class and cumulatively. Disregarding the decade of the 1930's, which was anomalous in many ways and which will be discussed later, the main trends are apparent. SGC's below 200,000 population have contributed a declining share of all metropolitan growth since the beginning of the period. The share of all metropolitan growth as the result of the mergence of larger SGC's. Since the 1940's, the population categories above the 300,000-500,000 bracket have each increased their shares while most of the lower categories have had declining shares. In that period the share of growth of all SGC's under 300,000 has declined from just under one fourth to just over one tenth, while that of SGC's over 500,000 has increased from 22.3% to 32.9%. The relatively narrow categories in the table are somewhat unstable in their rates of change, but reading across the cumulative figures makes evident the overall shift toward larger urban sizes.

Since much present United States and foreign legislation and common practice in regard to induced growth centers focuses on centers below 250,000 population, it is interesting to examine further the experience of areas between 50,000 and 250,000. Since the turn of the century SGC's of this size have contributed a declining share of all metropolitan growth (from 18.7% to 10.7%); this, of course, reflects the declining share of all SMSA growth by all SMSA's in this size class (from 36.5% to 16.1%), and the decline of the share of all metropolitan population of metropolises in this class (from 33.8% to 11.7%).

Table 2

PERCENT SHARE OF ALL SMSA GROWTH ACCOUNTED FOR

BY 2M SGCs, BY SIZE CLASS AND CUMULATIVELY, 1900-1965

SGC size (000)	1900-1910 (Cum.)	1910-1920 (Cum.)	1920-1930 (Cum.)	1930-1940 (Cum.)	1940-1950 (Cum.)	1950-1960 (Cum.)	1960-1965 (Cum.)
Under 50	5.6 (5.6)	3.3 (3.3)	3.6 (3.6)	2.2 (2.2)	1.2 (1.2)	0.9 (0.9)	0 (0)
50-100	4.4 (10.0)	5.8 (9.1)	3.6 (7.2)	8.8 (11.0)	5.9 (7.1)	3.2 (4.1)	1.1 (1.1)
100-150	3.8 (13.8)	5.0 (14.1)	4.2 (11.4)	8.1 (19.1)	3.9 (11.0)	3.1 (7.2)	3.3 (4.4)
150-200	5.0 (18.7)	2.5 (16.6)	2.8 (14.2)	4.6 (23.7)	4.2 (15.2)	2.0 (9.2)	2.6 (7.0)
200-250	0 (18.7)	0 (16.6)	2.3 (16.5)	6.2 (29.9)	1.1 (16.3)	0.5 (9.7)	3.7 (10.7)
250-300	0 (18.7)	0 (16.6)	0 (16.5)	1.4 (31.3)	7.5 (23.8)	3.8 (13.5)	1.2 (11.9)
300-500	0 (18.7)	0 (16.6)	0 (16.5)	8.2 (39.5)	3.6 (27.4)	9.1 (22.6)	3.8 (15.7)
500-750	0 (18.7)	13.9 (30.5)	0 (16.5)	4.9 (44.4)	5.8 (33.2)	6.8 (29.3)	7.1 (22.8)
750-1000	0 (18.7)	0 (30.5)	9.3 (25.7)	0 (44.4)	3.0 (36.2)	1.9 (31.2)	7.0 (29.8)
1000-2000	0 (18.7)	0 (30.5)	6.1 (31.8)	0 (44.4)	4.7 (40.9)	2.3 (33.5)	6.6 (36.4)
2000 +	0 (18.7)	0 (30.5)	0 (31.8)	9.8 (54.2)	8.8 (49.7)	10.1 (43.5)	12.3 (48.6)

Contrary to what might be thought, the decline does not stem from there being fewer such areas, or fewer successful ones. The number of SMSA's of that size actually increased from 106 to 111. More surprisingly, their chances of success have increased markedly. Table 3 shows the percentage of SMSA's in each size category that qualified as SGC's for each period. This percentage may be taken as a naive a priori expectation that a metropolis of that size will qualify as an SGC.[1] This expectation was 12.3% in 1900 for all SMSA's between 50,000 and 250,000, but rose by 1960 to 31.6%, substantially above the 24.7% expectation of larger areas. Further, the centers between 50,000 and 250,000 accounted for 52% of all 2M SGC's in 1950-1960, and 58% in 1960-1965.

The sources of the declining national importance of these smaller metropolitan areas lie elsewhere. First, of course, there is the declining share of all metropolitan population in metropolitan centers of this size and the increasing share in larger centers. Secondly, there is the increasing probability of larger areas' being fast growers, which increased from nil (none of the 21 SMSA's greater than 250,000 qualified as a 2M SGC in 1900) to 24.7% of 101 in 1960. Thirdly, and and most importantly, there is the greater variability of growth rates for the smaller centers. Table 4 is offered illustratively on this point. The distribution of growth rates for larger centers is skewed

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[1] The per cent of fast-growers among centers below 50,000 is high throughout, and rises steadily, but this derives from the self-selectivity of this group, which had to grow in order to qualify as an SMSA in 1960.

Table 3

PERCENT OF SMSA'S IN EACH SIZE CLASS
WHICH WERE 2M SGCs

SGC size (000)	1900-1910	1910-1920	1920-1930	1930-1940	1940-1950	1950-1960	1960-1965
Under 50	32.9	30.0	55.6	72.2	75.0	80.0	0
50-100	13.1	17.1	18.8	44.6	36.7	34.2	36.4
100-150	13.0	21.4	22.2	47.4	29.7	14.9	23.8
150-200	13.3	21.4	15.0	47.4	29.2	25.0	30.8
200-250	0	0	25.0	44.4	13.3	5.6	42.9
250-300	0	0	0	25.0	43.8	27.8	15.0
300-500	0	0	0	27.3	20.0	30.8	21.4
500-750	0	33.3	0	12.5	36.4	35.7	27.3
750-1000	0	0	20.0	0	20.0	14.3	71.4
1000-2000	0	0	20.0	0	20.0	14.3	21.4
2000 +	0	0	0	14.3	14.3	12.5	20.0
All SMSA (212)	18.9	18.9	22.6	41.1	32.6	24.5	28.3

Table 4

NUMBER OF SMSA'S BY SIZE AND GROWTH RATES
LESS THAN 5% of SIZE CLASSES (1960-1965)

Population Class (.000)	Less than 5%	-5 to 0%	0-5%	5-15%	15-25%	25-40%	40+%	Avr-Gr*
50-100	0	2	4	11	2	0	0	6.8
100-150	1	3	11	18	1	1	0	6.0
150-200	0	2	10	8	7	0	1	9.4
200-250	0	3	3	10	1	0	2	11.4
250-300	0	3	8	9	6	0	0	7.6
300-500	0	1	8	17	3	1	0	8.8
500-750	0	0	5	12	1	0	0	8.4
750-1000	0	0	1	7	1	1	0	13.6
1000-2000	0	0	3	9	4	1	0	11.2
2000 +	0	1	1	7	1	0	0	7.2

* Average of the growth rates of SMSA's in each size class

to the right: with rare exceptions these centers grow either fast or at least steadily. While some of the smaller centers grow faster than the larger ones, nearly one in ten is in fact losing population in absolute terms. This greater spread and symmetry in the distribution of smaller center growth rates means that the average rates of the smaller metropolitan size classes will be lower. Thus, information such as that in Table 5, while correct and frequently cited, must be accepted with some caution. It must not be thought that all smaller areas are growing slowly. Rather, smaller metropolitan sizes are unstable, tending either to grow very fast into larger sizes or losing ground.[1] But just what is meant by losing ground is not clear. There are as yet no instances of massive decline, such as has occurred in some towns and small cities, although many of the currently declining centers have been alternating absolute decline with insignificant growth for decades. It may be that policies and programs are needed in some cases not to induce growth, but to facilitate and make decline less painful.

In brief, our discussion suggests that (1) smallish growth centers are possible and frequent, (2) that they will not significantly affect national urbanization, although they may have great local regional importance, and (3) that many successful smallish growth centers will grow to be far bigger because, as will be discussed below, spontaneous

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[1] Similar observations have been made recently by several authors. See E. Lampard, "The Evolving System of Cities in the U.S.", in H. S. Perloff and L. Wingo, eds., Issues in Urban Economics; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968, and W. R. Thompson, "The Future of the Detroit Metropolitan Area", in W. Haber et. al. (eds.), Michigan in the 1970's: An Economic Forecast, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Graduate of Business Administration, 1965. See also B. J. L. Berry, op. cit., who bases his argument on a break of the Pareto distribution.

Table 5

POPULATION CHANGE AND MIGRATION RATES FOR METROPOLITAN AREAS
1960 TO 1966, BY SIZE IN 1966

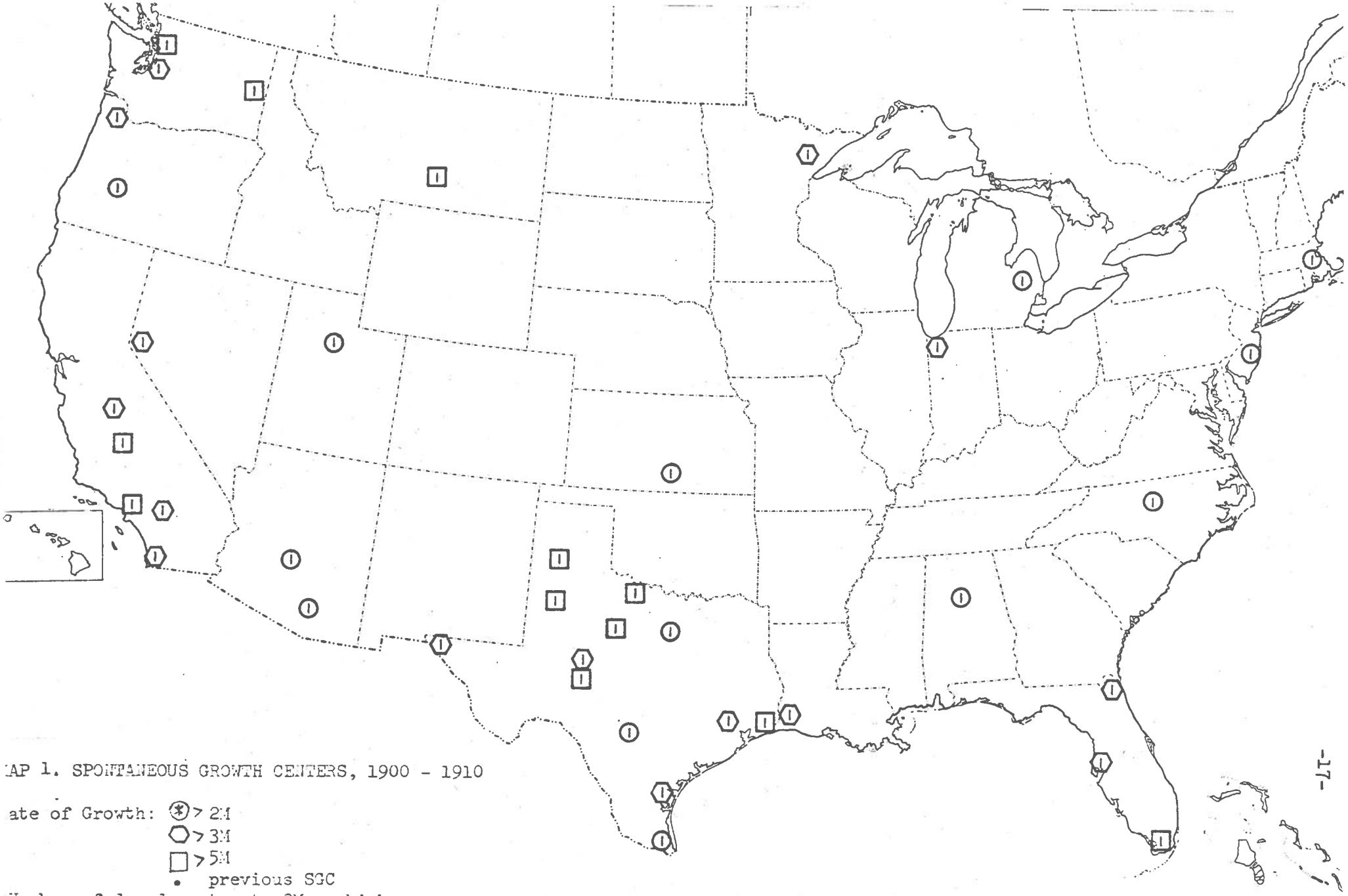
Size Category	Number of Areas	Population 1966 (000)	Percent Change 1960-1966	Net Migration 1960-1966 as Percent of 1960 Population
All metro. areas	221	132,160	10.8	2.4
2,000,000 and over	11	49,223	8.7	1.2
1,000,000-2,000,000	19	25,192	14.3	5.2
500,000-1,000,000	36	24,572	11.5	2.9
200,000-500,000	76	22,757	11.9	2.7
100,000-200,000	61	8,858	9.4	0.3
under 100,000	18	1,557	7.6	-2.1

Source: Adapted from Table D, p.5, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Series P-25 No. 427, "Estimates of the Population of Counties and Metropolitan Areas, July 1, 1966: A Summary Report," Washington: G.P.O., 1969.

growth centers have considerable staying power.

Map 6 (1950-60) and Map 7 (1960-65) best illustrate the longevity of the SGC's. The numbers within the figures, which represent the number of decades each of the active SGC's has grown since 1900, make clear that most of them have had a long history of growth. It is harder to document this longevity statistically. For the 148 SMSA's which have met the 2M criterion at some point since 1900, the median number of years in the 2M category or higher is 29. But this would represent an underestimate of the typical growth period if one thinks of an S-curve of growth, since the 65 year period would cut off portions of such curves before 1900 and, presumably, after 1965. The median number of growth years for the 1950-1960 2M centers was 34 years. While this dropped to 26 years in 1960-1965, this drop was attributable to the rather large number (9) of first-time centers. Looking at it another way, if a center had been growing in 1950-1960, its chances of growing at 2M in 1960-1965 were 61%; if it had grown at 2M at any time since 1900, its chances of growing at this rate in 1960-1965 were 36.6%. On the other hand, a metropolitan area which had never been an SGC had only a 12.3% chance of being a 2M SGC in 1960-1965.

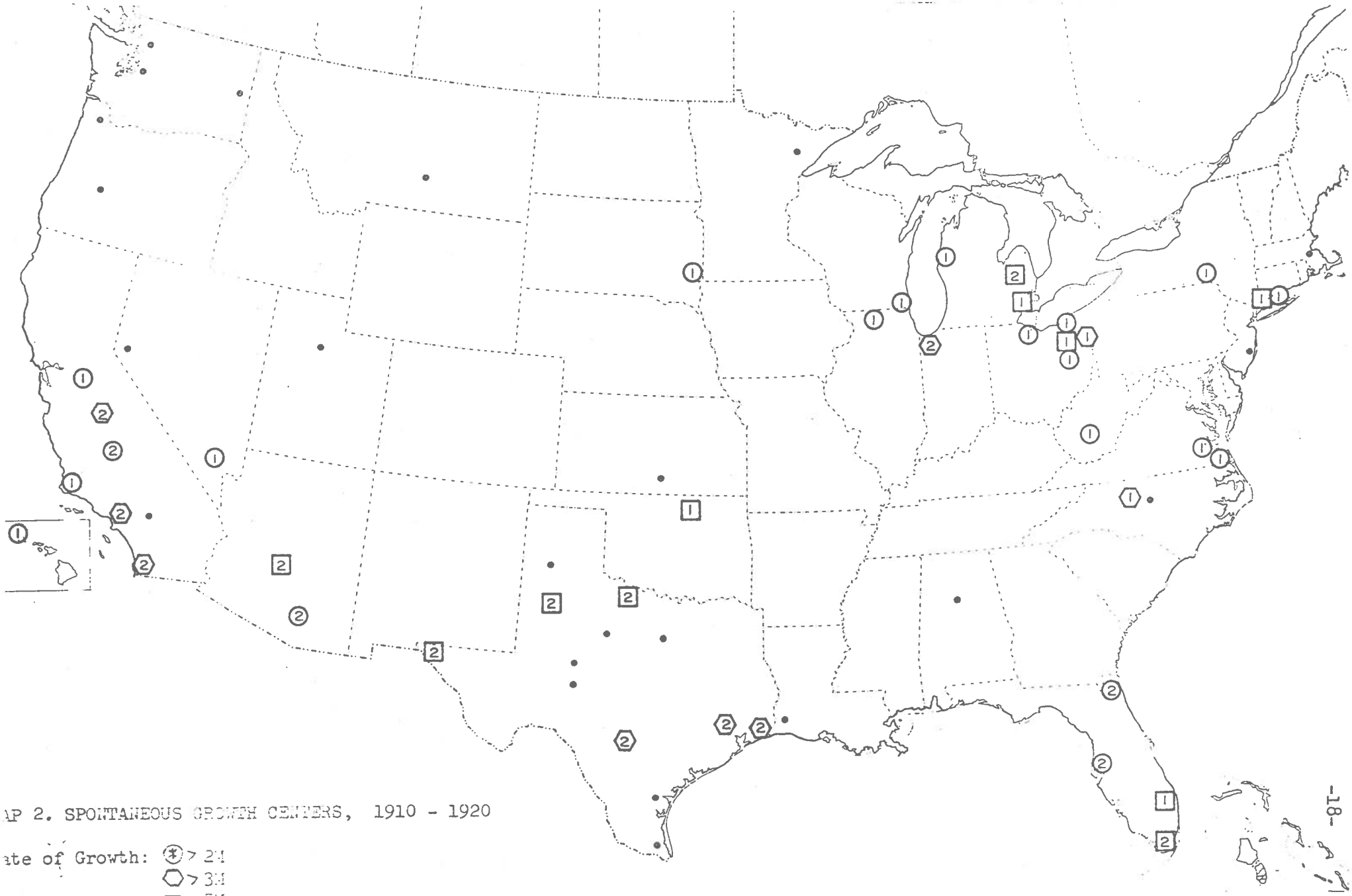
The decade of the 1930's presents discontinuities in some of the trends and continuities in others. It was, of course, the decade of the Great Depression. It saw a proliferation of 2M SGC's and a great increase in the number of metropolitan areas which had net out-migration. In this it anticipated the most recent periods, in which SGC's accounted for increasing shares of all SMSA growth by intermetropolitan migration. Similarly, it anticipated the increasing share of the fastest growers



AP 1. SPONTANEOUS GROWTH CENTERS, 1900 - 1910

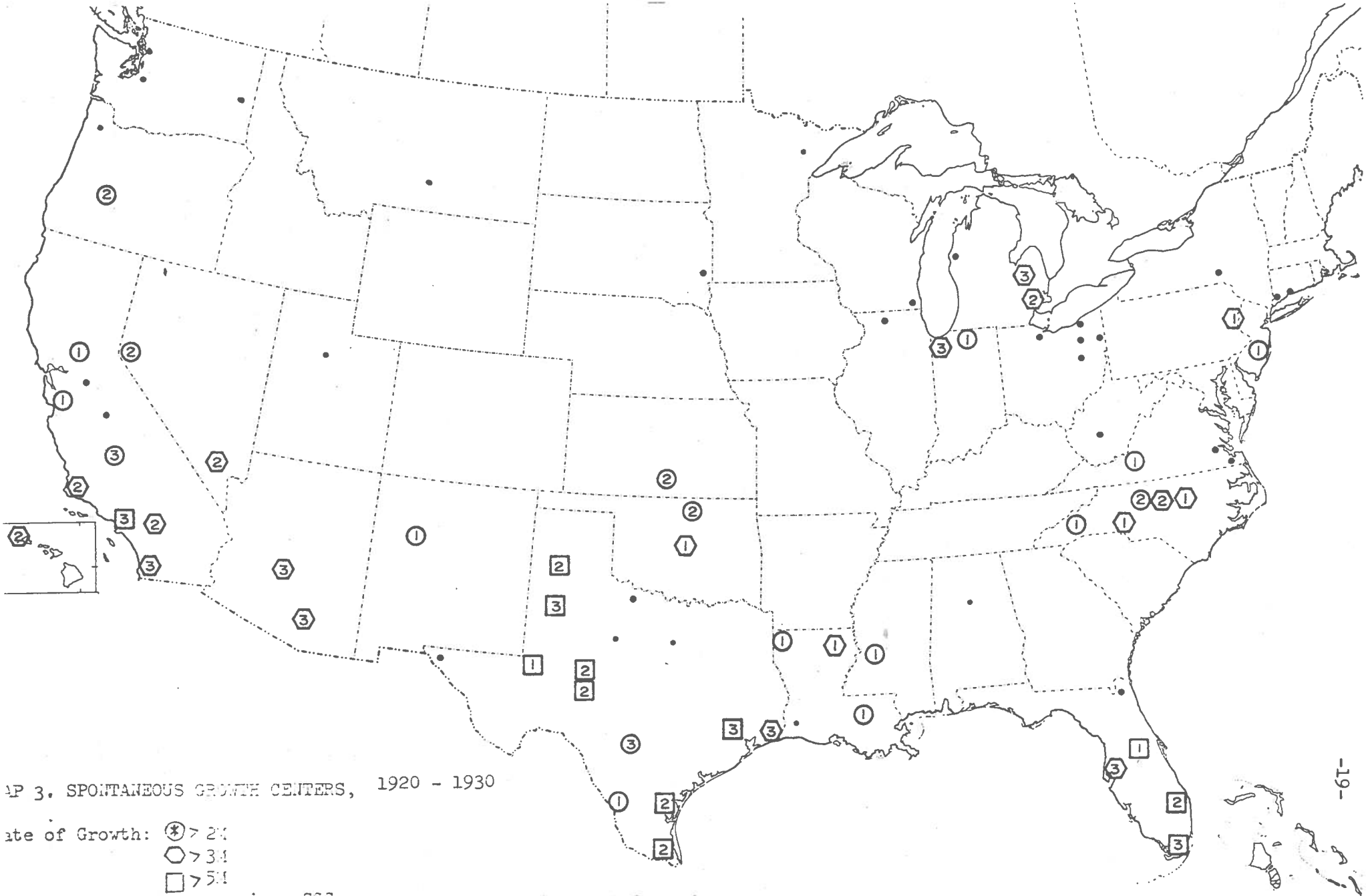
ate of Growth: ⊛ > 2M
⬡ > 3M
□ > 5M
• previous SGC

Number of decades at rate 2M or higher



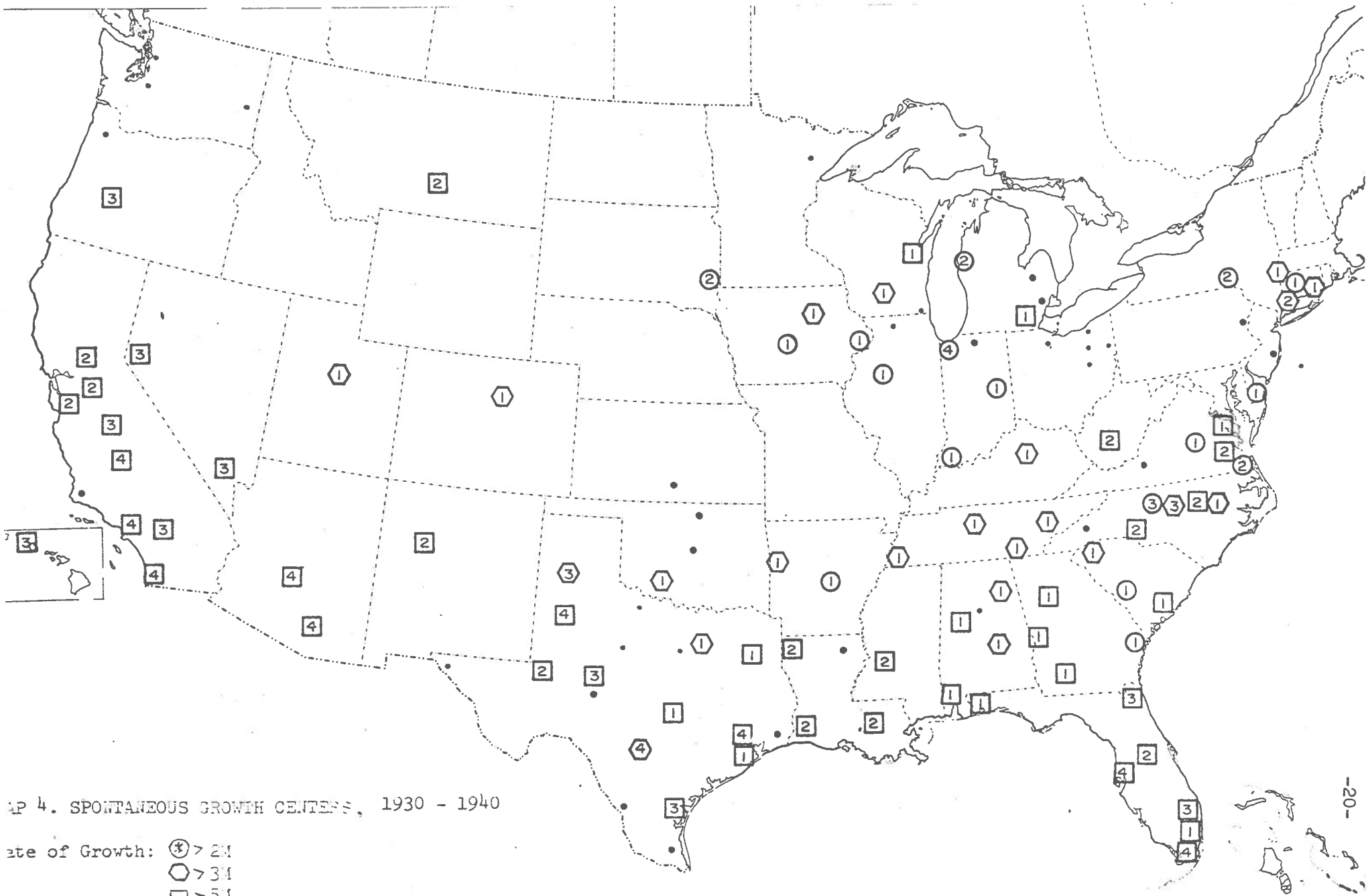
AP 2. SPONTANEOUS GROWTH CENTERS, 1910 - 1920

ate of Growth: ⊛ > 2%
⬡ > 3%
□ > 5%
• previous SGC
Number of decades at rate 2% or higher



AP 3. SPONTANEOUS GROWTH CENTERS, 1920 - 1930

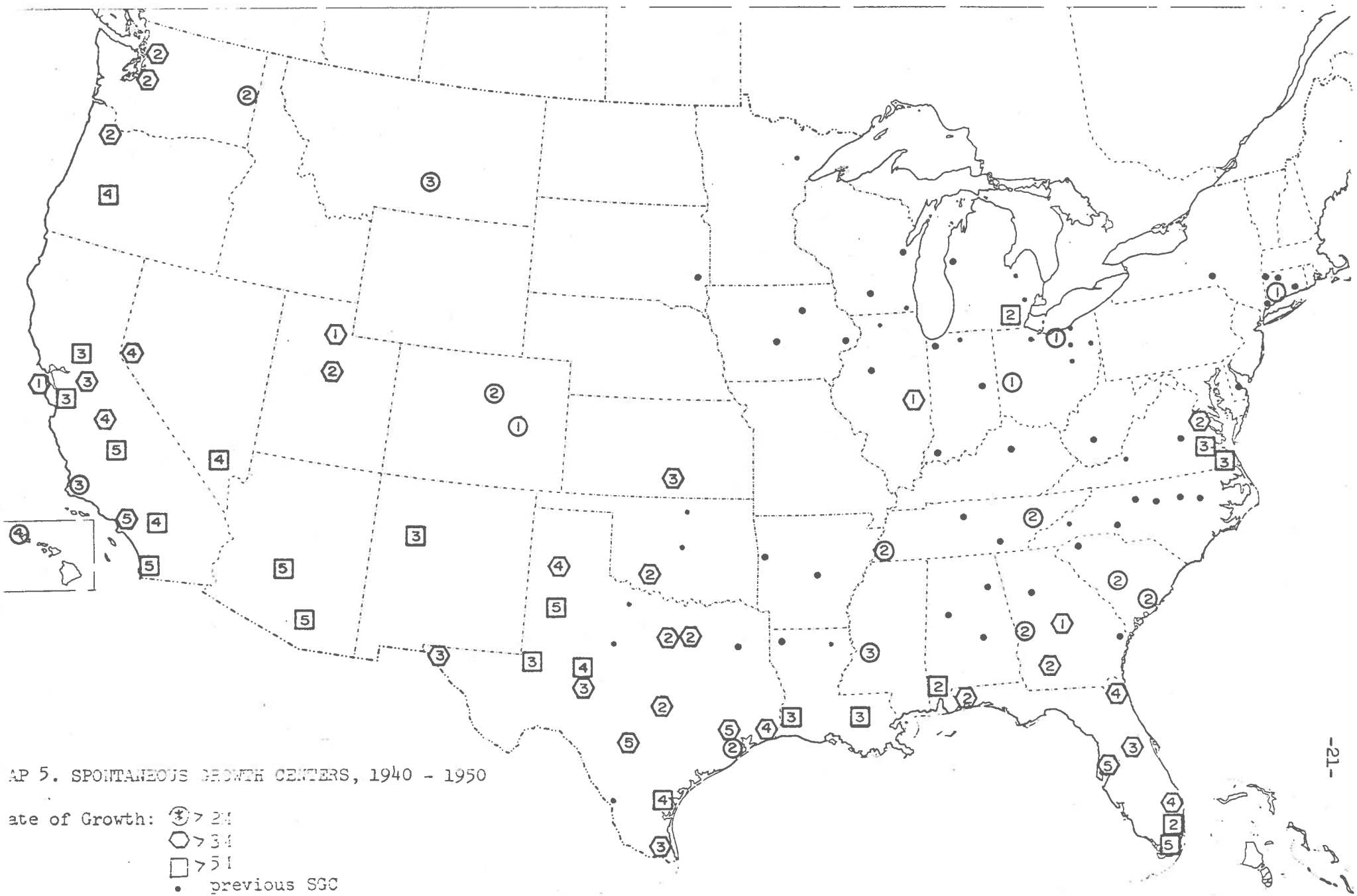
ate of Growth: ⊛ > 2%
⬡ > 3%
□ > 5%
• previous SGC
Number of decades at rate 2% or higher



AP 4. SPONTANEOUS GROWTH CENTERS, 1930 - 1940

ate of Growth: ⊛ > 2%
⬡ > 3%
□ > 5%
• previous SGC

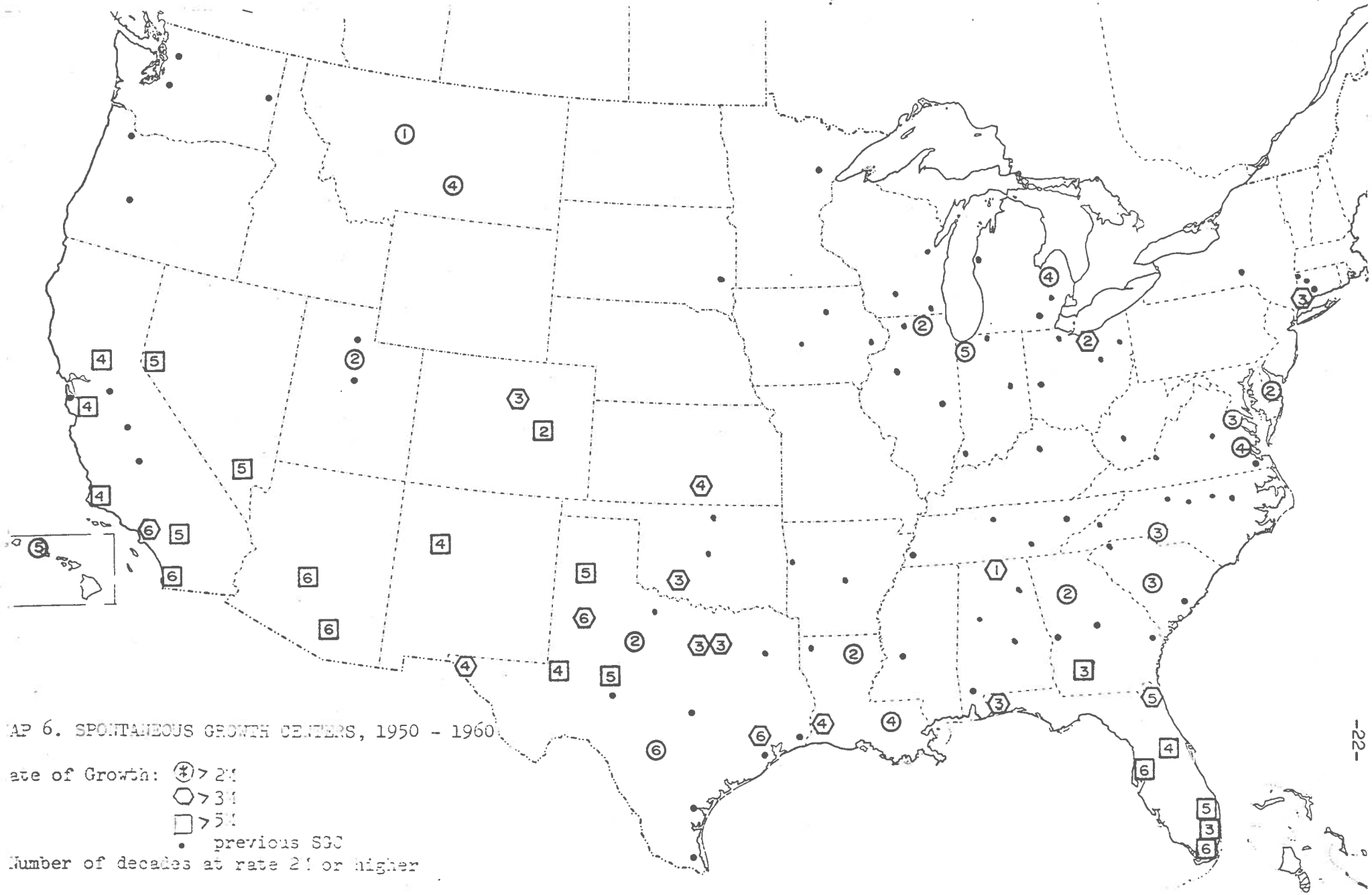
Number of decades at rate 2% or higher



AP 5. SPONTANEOUS GROWTH CENTERS, 1940 - 1950

ate of Growth: ⊛ > 2%
⬡ > 3%
□ > 5%
• previous SGC

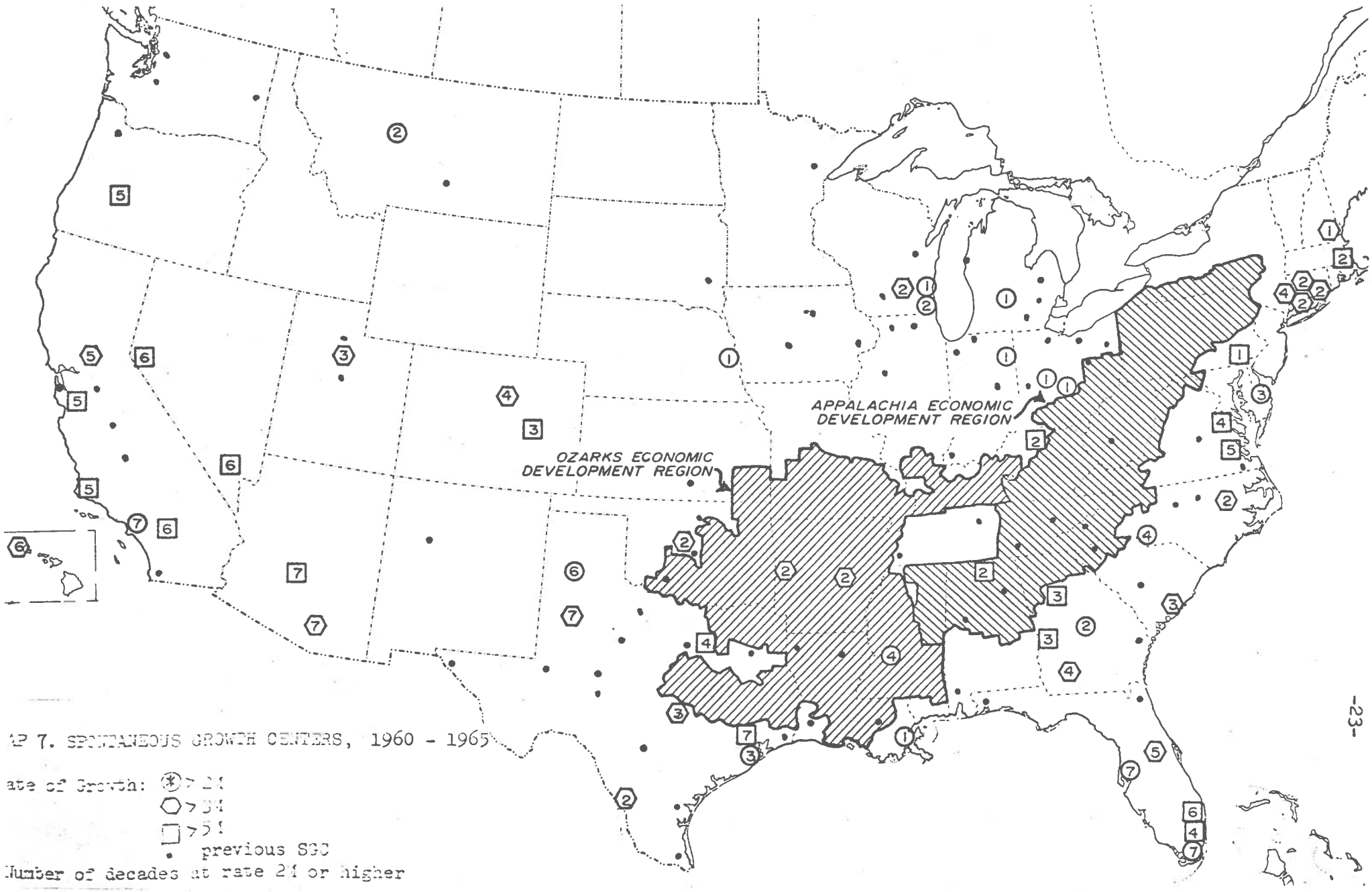
Number of decades at rate 2% or higher



AP 6. SPONTANEOUS GROWTH CENTERS, 1950 - 1960

ate of Growth: ⊛ > 2%
⬡ > 3%
□ > 5%
• previous SGC

Number of decades at rate 2% or higher



AP 7. SPONTANEOUS GROWTH CENTERS, 1960 - 1965

ate of Growth: ⊛ > 21
⬡ > 31
□ > 51
• previous SGC

Number of decades at rate 21 or higher

(see Figure 1). However, it was an untypical regression to smaller places. Except for Washington D.C. and one other, all SGC's were under 500,000 population, and nearly one half of the SMSA's under 250,000 population qualified as 2M SGC's. Most of this growth was only a spurt, and the South and the Midwest in particular are crowded with centers which grew only in this decade as the trend toward bigger places resumed in the 1940's. On the one hand, this exhibits the weakness of demographic criteria for socio-economic purposes, for one may imagine the dismalness of these smaller metropolitan areas, crowded with those who had given up on bigger cities and with impoverished farmers. Such demographic growth under conditions of economic hardship can hardly be interpreted as development. The snuffing out of the growth of these centers with the return of economic vitality testifies to the pathology of this growth. On the other hand, for reasons that are unclear, the 1930's may have provided a boost to the viability of smaller centers, according to Table 3. In this table, the frequency or probability of high growth for the smaller centers may be viewed either as a long run trend, or it may be viewed as an enduring effect of the 1930's, which pegged their growth levels to higher levels which are maintained even today. But there is no theoretical base for either interpretation, and although there appears to be pattern rather than randomness in these numbers (Table 3), a choice between these interpretations depends on squinting, preference, and numerology.

Maps 1 through 7 indicate several intersting features of the geographic distribution of SGC's. Perhaps the most striking is the antiquity of the growth in what may be called the "new regions": the

older regions base their current growth on newer centers. The Midwest's current SGC's are all new, and in fact there was a complete turnover of SGC's between the 1950's and the 1960's. The south, excepting Florida, experienced a flurry of growth in the 1930's, but the majority of these centers were quickly extinguished. There has been, however, sustained growth since then in centers in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. The Northeast presents most recently a flurry of quite recent centers, and these may be called "suburban metropolises". They include Brockton and Manchester in relation to Boston, and a number of Connecticut areas in relation to New York. Such growth centers have a greater degree of functional closure than an ordinary suburb, but they clearly owe their development to their adjacency to the larger centers. The phenomenon is not limited to the Northeast, as instanced by the continued growth of the San Jose area in relation to the San Francisco-Oakland metropolis. It is clear that in many cases and for many purposes the relevant unit for analysis is the complex of linked metropolitan areas, and that to deal with individual SMSA's in such cases may be as misleading as to work with data for a single municipality within a metropolitan area.[1]

The Appalachia Economic Development Region, shaded on Map 7, has had only one SGC since 1950. This is Huntsville, Alabama, and owes

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[1]The term "megalopolis" has sometimes been used for similar concepts but it has some value connotations, and is predicated on physical adjacency and geographic continuity of conurbation rather than on functional interdependence. "Megalopolis" means a very big city, and from medical usage, "megalo" implies abnormally big. Our meaning of a functional cluster of metropolitan areas would be better rendered by "genopolis", meaning a tribe of cities.

its growth to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration activities. Other than this, Appalachia has had ten SGC's since 1900, but none has managed to grow for more than two decades; the majority of those in the southern half grew only in the 1930's, while most of those in the northern half grew only in the 1910's. It is not surprising that a region defined by its economic difficulties should be rather light in spontaneous growth, but the barrenness of this record is striking. In contrast, just to the east of southern Appalachia, a file of metropolitan areas in Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia are exhibiting sustained growth, with a median of 27 years at 2M.

The Ozarks Economic Development Region presents a slightly better aspect. It has had seven SGC's since 1900, and has three current ones, as it had three in the 1950's. Curiously, the three in the 1960's are not the same as those of the earlier decade, so that there have been six SGC's in the area since 1950.

Conclusion

Since the beginning of the century (and presumably earlier) a very large share of American metropolitan growth, and a far larger share of the net inmigration into metropolitan areas, has been absorbed by those metropolises which grew substantially faster than the metropolitan set. This share has been increasing recently, in spite of the declining importance of metropolitan inmigration, as a result of a more active and selective intermetropolitan migration. As the number of areas with substantial net inmigration has increased, so has the number of metropolises which are net exporters of people.

While at any one time there are many metropolises putting on a spurt of growth which is not sustained, fast-growth is more typically a long-run, sustained phenomenon, adding novae to the constellation of metropolitan areas. The metropolitan population of America continues to increase through these novae as well as through vegetative growth. At the same time, some of the new fast growers are suburban metropolises in close relation to lower growth large metropolitan areas, suggesting that, as the metropolis transcended the city, new clusters of metropolitan areas are emerging as functional systems. But spontaneous growth centers are few and thus far eposodic in areas of economic retardation such as Appalachia and the Ozarks.

Explicit American urbanization or urban growth policy has tended to limit itself to the question of induced growth centers in areas of retarded development. But growth has its problems too, and national policy should concern itself with guiding the social, physical,

institutional, and economic development of the emerging novae and of the evolving clusters of interdependent metropolises. On the other hand, growth might not be possible in some backward areas, or not desirable in terms of the alternatives, and there national policy should concern itself with welfare rather than developmental considerations. More generally, such a national policy should be framed in terms of guiding the development of the system of urban areas in accordance with national objectives. Within this more general system perspective, particular programs and policies, whether focused on the problems of growth or the lack of it, would be more intelligent and effective.

Appendix

The territorial definition of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas is revised periodically. We have calculated the population of the 212 SMSA's from 1900 to 1965 according to their territorial definitions by the Bureau of the Budget for 1960.[1] These population figures are shown in the Appendix Table. In some cases it was not possible to convert the available data to conform to B.O.B. definition; these instances are noted and explained. Population growth rates are also shown in the table, which may be read as follows:

	1920
Abilene, Tex.	46404: population
	08.3: growth rate for the decade 1910-1920

Sources for Appendix Table

U.S. Bureau of the Budget, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (1961).

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Eighteenth Decennial Census of the United States (1960), Vol. 1-A, Table 31.

Sixteenth Census of the United States (1940), Vol. 1, Table 4.

Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920), Vol. 1, Table 50.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States (1967), Table 15, Table 126.

Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957, Series C 88-114.

U.S. Housing and Home Finance Administration, Population Growth in Standard Metropolitan Areas: 1900-1950 (December, 1953), Appendix, Table 1.

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[1] U.S. Bureau of the Budget, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, 1961.

Footnotes to Appendix Table

1. The territorial definitions of 44 metropolitan areas were changed between 1960 and July 1, 1965. To keep the data consistent with the 1960 SMSA definitions, estimates for the following metropolitan areas were calculated by multiplying the population as defined in the 1960 SMSA by the estimated population change for the newly defined SMSA, 1960-1965. These areas are:

Akron, Ohio
Binghamton, New York
Charleston, South Carolina
Charlotte, North Carolina
Cincinnati, Ohio-Kentucky
Cleveland, Ohio
Columbus, Ohio
Corpus, Christi, Texas
Davenport-Rock Island-Moline, Iowa-Illinois
Dayton, Ohio
Evansville, Indiana-Kentucky
Flint, Michigan
Fort Smith, Arkansas
Grand Rapids, Michigan
Greenville, South Carolina
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
Houston, Texas
Huntsville, Alabama
Indianapolis, Indiana
Jackson, Mississippi
Kansas City, Missouri-Kansas
Los Angeles, Long Beach, California
Memphis, Tennessee
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Mobile, Alabama
Montgomery, Alabama
Nashville, Tennesse
New Orleans, Louisiana
Peoria, Illinois
Richmond, Virginia
Rochester, New York
Rockford, Illinois
Sacramento, California
St. Louis, Missouri-Illinois
Salt Lake City, Utah
San Antonio, Texas
San Francisco-Oakland, California
Sioux City, Iowa
South Bend, Indiana
Terre Haute, Indiana
Toledo, Ohio
Washington, D.C., Virginia-Maryland
Wichita, Kansas
Wilmington, Delaware-New Jersey

2. Based on special census, July 1, 1907.

3. No data for Adams and Denver County

4. Includes Warwick and Elizabeth City Counties

5. 1965 population estimates for the 23 New England SMSA's were not available. Estimates were calculated by multiplying the percent change in the population of the State Economic Area in which the SMSA was located by the census population of the SMSA in 1960.

Appendix Table - POPULATION AND GROWTH RATES OF STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1900-1965

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1965(e)[1]
ABILENE, TEX	17552	50592	46404	65256	67525	85517	120337	126000
		188.2	-8.3	40.6	3.5	26.6	40.7	4.7
AKRON, OHIO	71715	108253	286065	344131	339405	410032	513569	551600
		50.9	164.3	20.3	-1.4	20.8	25.3	7.4
ALBANY, GA	13679	16035	20063	22306	28565	43617	75680	89000
		17.2	25.1	11.2	28.1	52.7	73.5	17.6
ALBANY-SCHDY-TRY, NY	395209	446094	468627	520069	531249	589359	657503	697000
		12.9	5.1	11.0	2.1	10.9	11.6	6.0
ALBUQUERQUE, NM	28630	22606	29955	45430	69391	145673	262199	288000
		-17.5	26.5	52.2	52.7	109.9	80.0	9.8
ALNTN-BTH-ETN, PA-NJ	231361	289686	246664	391516	396673	437824	492168	515000
		25.2	-14.9	58.7	1.3	10.4	12.4	4.6
ALTOONA, PA	85099	108358	128334	139840	140358	139514	137270	137000
		27.9	17.9	9.0	.4	-.6	-1.6	-.2
AMARILLO, TEX	2783	15736	20385	53151	61450	87140	149493	168000
		465.4	29.5	160.7	15.6	41.8	71.6	12.4
ANN ARBOR, MICH	47761	44714	49520	65530	90810	134606	172440	187000
		-6.4	10.7	32.3	23.3	66.6	28.1	8.4
ASHEVILLE, NC	44288	49793	64148	97937	108755	124403	130074	143000
		12.4	28.8	52.7	11.0	14.4	4.6	9.9
ATLANTA, GA	188322	273288	348580	452386	553842	726989	1017188	1216000
		37.8	27.6	29.8	23.5	30.1	39.9	19.5
ATLANTIC CITY, NJ	46402	71894	83914	124823	124066	132399	160890	179000
		54.9	16.7	48.8	-.6	6.7	21.5	11.3
AUGUSTA, GA-SC	92767	100735	109266	120393	131779	162013	216639	237000
		8.6	8.5	10.2	9.5	22.9	33.7	9.4
AUSTIN, TEX	47386	55620	57616	77777	111053	160980	212136	247000
		17.4	3.6	35.0	42.8	45.0	31.8	16.4
BAKERSFIELD, CALIF	16480	37715	54843	82570	135124	228309	291984	319000
		128.9	45.4	50.6	63.6	69.0	27.9	9.3
BALTIMORE, MD	689997	770427	902122	1036753	1139529	1405399	1727023	1854000
		11.7	17.1	14.9	9.9	23.3	22.9	7.4
BATON ROUGE, LA	31153	34580	44513	68208	88415	158236	230058	255000
		11.0	28.7	53.2	29.6	79.0	45.4	10.8
BAY CITY, MICH	62378	68238	69548	69474	74981	88461	107042	109000
		9.4	1.9	-.1	7.9	18.0	21.0	1.8
BEAUMONT-PT ART, TEX	20144	47710	88499	148549	162711	235650	306016	313000
		136.8	85.5	67.8	9.5	44.8	29.9	2.3
BILLINGS, MONT	6212	23844	29600	30785	41182	55875	79016	84000
		249.3	29.0	4.0	33.8	35.7	41.4	6.3
BINGHAMTON, NY	69149	78809	113610	147022	165749	184698	212661	222800
		14.0	44.2	29.4	12.7	11.4	15.1	4.8
BIRMINGHAM, ALA	140420	226476	310054	431493	459930	558928	634864	644000
		61.3	36.9	39.2	6.6	21.5	13.6	1.4
BOSTON, MASS	1320593	1602023	1868859	2168566	2209608	2410572	2589301	2669600[5]
		21.3	16.7	16.0	1.9	9.1	7.4	3.1
BRIDGEPORT, CONN	84609	125717	190803	210764	225268	273723	334576	382100[5]
		48.5	51.8	10.5	6.9	21.5	22.2	14.2
BROCKTON, MASS	62704	98229	110012	111259	110463	119728	149458	178000[5]
		56.7	12.0	1.1	-.7	8.4	24.8	19.1

Appendix Table (cont.)

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1965
BRNSVL-HLGN-SBO, TEX	16095	27153	36662	77540	83202	125170	151098	151000
		68.7	35.0	111.5	7.3	50.4	20.7	-.1
BUFFALO, NY	508647	621021	753393	911737	958487	1089230	1306957	1320000
		22.1	21.3	21.0	5.1	13.6	20.0	1.0
CANTON, OHIO	94767	122987	177218	221784	234887	283194	340345	356000
		29.8	44.1	25.1	5.9	20.6	20.2	4.6
CEDAR RAPIDS, I	55392	62720	74004	82336	89142	104274	136899	148000
		9.6	21.9	11.3	8.3	17.0	31.3	8.1
CHAMPAIGN-URBAN, ILL	47622	51329	56959	64273	70578	106100	132436	133000
		8.3	9.9	12.8	9.8	50.3	24.8	.4
CHARLESTON, SC	88006	88594	108450	101050	121105	164856	216382	251200
		.7	22.4	-6.8	19.8	36.1	31.3	16.1
CHARLESTON, WVA	54696	81457	119650	157667	195619	239629	252925	245000
		48.9	46.9	31.8	24.1	22.5	5.5	-3.1
CHARLOTTE, NC	55268	67731	80695	127971	151826	197052	272111	309400
		21.3	20.4	58.6	18.6	29.8	38.1	13.7
CHATTANOOGA, TENN-GA	82763	113160	130324	185703	211502	246453	283169	292000
		36.7	23.1	33.3	13.9	16.5	14.9	3.1
CHICAGO, ILL	2056554	2569033	3394996	4395646	4569643	5177868	6220913	6689000
		20.9	27.2	29.5	4.0	13.3	20.1	7.5
CINCINNATI, OHIO-KEN	527293	590456	628999	756281	787044	904402	1071624	1138100
		12.0	6.5	20.2	4.1	14.9	18.5	6.2
CLEVELAND, OHIO	460800	660352	972162	1243129	1267270	1465511	1796595	1881000
		43.3	47.2	27.9	1.9	15.6	22.6	4.7
COLORADO SPRNGS, COL	31602	43321	44027	49570	54025	74523	143742	176000
		37.1	1.6	12.6	9.0	37.9	92.9	22.4
COLUMBIA, SC	72853	87183	113798	124161	140837	186844	260828	289000
		19.7	30.5	9.1	13.4	32.7	39.6	10.8
COLUMBUS, GA-ALA	62709	67750	76909	93829	126407	170514	217985	260000
		8.0	13.5	22.0	34.7	34.9	27.8	19.3
COLUMBUS, OHIO	164460	221567	293951	361055	388712	503410	682962	765600
		34.7	32.2	22.8	7.7	29.5	35.7	12.1
CORPUS CHRISTI, TEX	10439	21955	22807	51779	92661	165471	221573	237500
		110.3	3.9	127.0	79.0	78.6	33.9	7.2
DALLAS, TEX	211190	260656	352215	458689	527145	743501	1083601	1289000
		27.7	30.2	30.6	14.9	41.0	45.7	19.0
DVNPT-RI-MLNE, I-ILL	106807	130404	166249	175523	198071	234256	270058	286800
		22.1	27.5	5.6	12.8	18.3	15.3	6.2
DAYTON, OHIO	204864	238570	289181	358041	383975	518642	694623	755700
		16.5	21.2	23.8	7.2	35.1	33.9	8.8
DECATUR, ILL	44003	54186	65175	81731	84693	99853	118257	122000
		23.1	20.3	25.4	3.6	16.7	19.6	3.2
DENVER, COL	183867[3]	246787	330948	385019	445206	612128	929383	1073000
		34.2	34.1	16.3	15.6	37.5	51.8	15.5
DES MOINES, I	82624	110438	154029	172837	195835	226010	266315	271000
		33.7	39.5	12.2	13.3	15.4	17.8	1.8
DETROIT, MICH	426329	613773	1305798	2177343	2377329	3016197	3762360	3987000
		43.8	112.7	66.7	9.2	26.9	24.7	6.0
DUBUQUE, I	56403	57450	59262	61214	63768	71337	80048	87000
		1.9	1.4	5.1	4.2	11.9	12.2	8.7

Appendix Table (cont.)

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1965
DULUTH-SUPR, MIN-WIS	119767	210696	256162	251179	254036	252777	276596	267000
		76.7	21.6	-1.9	1.1	-.5	9.4	-3.5
DURHAM, NC	26233	35276	42219	67196	80244	101639	111995	123000
		34.5	19.7	59.2	19.4	26.7	10.2	9.8
EL PASO, TEX	24886	52599	101877	131597	131067	194968	314070	344000
		111.4	93.7	29.2	-.4	48.8	61.1	9.5
ERIE, PA	98473	115517	153536	175277	180889	219388	250682	255000
		17.3	32.9	14.2	3.2	21.3	14.3	1.7
EUGENE, ORE	19604	33783	36166	54493	69096	125776	162890	194000
		72.3	7.1	50.7	26.8	82.0	29.5	19.1
EVANSVILLE, IND-KEN	104676	106790	119902	139615	157803	191137	199313	200000
		2.0	12.3	16.4	13.0	21.1	4.3	.3
FALL RIVER, MASS-RI	114616	131031	133348	133509	135137	137298	138156	142400(5)
		14.3	1.8	.2	1.2	1.6	.6	3.1
FARGO-MRHEAD, ND-MIN	46567	53575	61117	71855	78186	89240	106027	110000
		15.0	14.1	17.6	8.8	14.1	18.8	3.7
FITCHBRG-LNSTR, MASS	46935	58938	64667	66852	68853	74943	82486	86000(5)
		25.5	9.7	3.4	3.0	8.8	10.1	4.3
FLINT, MICH	41804	64555	125668	211641	227944	270963	374313	412500
		54.4	94.7	68.4	7.7	18.9	38.1	10.2
FT LDALE-HOLYWD, FLA	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	20094	39794	83933	333946	441000
					98.0	110.9	297.9	32.1
FT SMITH, ARK	36935	52278	56739	54426	62809	64202	66685	76000
		41.5	8.5	-4.1	15.4	2.2	3.9	14.0
FT WAYNE, IND	77270	93386	114303	146743	155084	183722	232196	259000
		20.9	22.4	28.4	5.7	18.5	26.4	11.5
FT WORTH, TEX	86195	143032	190086	230870	255905	392643	573215	627000
		65.9	32.9	21.5	10.8	53.4	46.0	9.4
FRESNO, CALIF	37862	75657	128779	144379	178565	276515	365945	403000
		99.8	70.2	12.1	23.7	54.9	32.3	10.1
GADSDEN, ALA	27361	39109	47275	63399	72580	93892	96980	94000
		42.9	20.9	34.1	14.5	29.4	3.3	-3.1
GALVESTON-T CTY, TEX	44116	44479	53150	64401	81173	113066	140364	157000
		.8	19.5	21.2	26.0	39.3	24.1	11.9
GARY-HMND-ECHGO, IND	57067	103404	180213	284131	321031	408228	573548	596000
		81.2	74.3	57.7	13.0	27.2	40.5	3.9
GRAND RAPIDS, MICH	129714	159145	183041	240511	246338	288292	363187	394000
		22.7	15.0	31.4	2.4	17.0	26.0	8.5
GREAT FALLS, MONT	25777	28833	38836	41146	41999	53027	73418	82000
		11.9	34.7	5.9	2.1	26.3	38.5	11.7
GREEN BAY, WIS	46359	54098	61889	70249	83109	98314	125082	137000
		16.7	14.4	13.5	18.3	18.3	27.2	9.5
GREENSBORO-HP, NC	39074	60497	79272	133010	153916	191057	246520	267000
		54.8	31.0	67.8	15.7	24.1	29.0	8.3
GREENVILLE, SC	53490	68377	98498	117009	136580	168152	209776	218800
		27.8	29.4	32.2	16.7	23.1	24.8	4.3
HAMLTON-MDLTWN, OHIO	56870	70271	87025	114084	120249	147203	199076	208000
		23.6	23.8	31.1	5.4	22.4	35.2	4.5
HARRISBURG, PA	164787	190631	211694	233467	252216	292241	345071	363000
		15.7	11.0	10.3	8.0	15.9	18.1	5.2

Appendix Table (cont.)

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1965
HARTFORD, CONN	141993	175293	234981	300017	336991	406534	525207	583000(5)
		23.5	34.1	27.7	12.3	20.6	29.2	11.0
HONOLULU, HAWAII	58504	82028	123527	202923	258256	353020	500409	571000
		40.2	50.6	64.3	27.3	36.7	41.8	14.1
HOUSTON, TEX	63786	115693	186667	359328	528961	806701	1243158	1495800
		81.4	61.3	92.5	47.2	52.5	54.1	20.3
HNGTN-ALND, WV-KEN-O	111239	133693	160579	210382	225668	245795	254780	260000
		20.2	20.1	31.0	7.3	8.9	3.7	2.0
HUNTSVILLE, ALA	43702	47041	51269	64623	66317	72903	117348	170600
		7.6	9.0	26.0	2.6	9.9	61.0	45.4
INDIANAPOLIS, IND	197227	263661	348061	422666	460926	551777	697567	748500
		33.7	32.0	21.4	9.1	19.7	26.4	7.3
JACKSON, MICH	48222	53426	72539	92304	93108	107925	131994	137000
		10.8	35.8	27.2	.9	15.9	22.3	3.8
JACKSON, MISS	52577	63725	57110	85118	107273	142164	187045	211200
		21.2	-10.4	49.0	26.0	32.5	31.6	12.9
JACKSONVILLE, FLA	39733	75163	113540	155503	210143	304029	455411	497000
		89.2	51.1	37.0	35.1	44.7	49.8	9.1
JERSEY CITY, NJ	386048	537231	629154	690730	652040	647437	610734	619000
		39.2	17.1	9.8	-5.6	-.7	-5.7	1.4
JOHNSTOWN, PA	154298	233848	279951	283910	298416	291354	280733	270000
		51.6	19.7	1.4	5.1	-2.4	-3.6	-3.8
KALAMAZOO, MICH	44310	60427	71225	91368	100085	126707	169712	181000
		36.4	17.9	28.3	9.5	26.6	33.9	6.7
KANSAS CITY, MO-KAN	305427	422180	529833	665655	686643	814357	1039493	1125800
		38.2	25.3	25.9	3.2	18.6	27.6	8.3
KENOSHA, WIS	21707	32929	51284	63277	63505	75238	100615	114000
		51.7	55.7	23.4	.4	18.5	33.7	13.3
KNOXVILLE, TENN	111142	132713	160024	209613	246088	337105	368080	390000
		19.4	20.6	31.0	17.4	37.0	9.2	6.0
LAKE CHARLES, LA	30428	62767	32907	41963	56506	89635	145475	135000
		106.3	-47.7	27.9	34.7	58.6	62.3	-7.2
LANCASTER, PA	159241	167029	173797	196882	212504	234717	278359	289000
		4.9	4.1	13.3	7.9	10.5	18.6	3.8
LANSING, MICH	96622	106938	134041	172489	191411	244159	298949	336000
		10.7	25.3	28.7	11.0	27.6	22.4	12.4
LAREDO, TEX	21851	22503	29152	42128	45916	56141	64791	76000
		3.0	29.5	44.5	9.0	22.3	15.4	17.3
LAS VEGAS, NEV	N.A.	3321	4859	8532	16414	48289	127016	232000
			46.3	75.6	92.4	194.2	163.0	82.7
LWRNCE-HVRHL, MAS-NH	123746	159829	184212	178230	178404	182442	187601	193400(5)
		29.2	15.3	-3.2	.1	2.3	2.8	3.1
LAWTON, OKLA	31738	41489	26629	34317	38988	55165	90803	99000
		30.7	-35.8	28.9	13.6	41.5	64.6	9.0
LEWISTON-AUBURN, ME	40315	45427	52867	57221	62538	68426	70295	74000(5)
		12.7	16.4	8.2	9.3	9.4	2.7	5.3
LEXINGTON, KEN	42071	47715	54664	68543	78899	100746	131906	159000
		13.4	14.6	25.4	15.1	27.7	30.9	20.5
LIMA, OHIO	47976	56580	68223	69419	73303	88183	103691	112000
		17.9	20.6	1.8	5.6	20.3	17.6	8.0

Appendix Table (cont.)

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1965
LINCOLN, NEB	64835	73793	85902	100324	100585	119742	155272	161000
		13.8	16.4	16.8	.3	19.0	29.7	3.7
LITTLE ROCK, ARK	63179	86751	109464	137727	156085	196685	242980	279000
		37.3	26.2	25.8	13.3	26.0	23.5	14.8
LORAIN-ELYRIA, OHIO	54857	76037	90612	109206	112390	148162	217500	240000
		38.5	19.2	20.5	2.9	31.8	46.8	10.3
LA-LONG BEACH, CALIF	189994	538567	997830	2327166	2916403	4367911	6742696	7551800
		183.5	85.3	133.2	25.3	49.8	54.4	12.0
LOUISVILLE, KEN-IND	294502	323473	346411	420769	451473	576900	725139	771000
		9.8	7.1	21.5	7.3	27.8	25.7	6.3
LOWELL, MASS	109437	122133	132961	126991	132633	135987	157982	162900(S)
		11.5	8.8	-4.4	4.4	2.5	16.2	3.1
LUBBOCK, TEX	293	3624	11096	39104	51782	101048	156271	185000
		1136.9	206.2	252.4	32.4	95.1	54.7	18.4
LYNCHBURG, VA	60011	71469	76557	82566	90862	96936	110701	119000
		19.1	7.1	7.8	10.0	6.7	14.2	7.5
MACON, GA	73114	80255	93268	88322	95086	135043	180403	201000
		9.8	16.2	-5.3	7.7	42.0	33.6	11.4
MADISON, WIS	69435	77435	89432	112737	130660	169357	222095	260000
		11.5	15.5	26.1	15.9	29.6	31.1	17.1
MANCHESTER, NH	59515	72642	80775	80673	81932	88370	95512	110100(S)
		22.1	11.2	-.1	1.6	7.9	8.1	15.3
MEMPHIS, TENN	153557	191439	223216	306482	358250	482393	627019	687800
		24.7	16.6	37.3	16.9	34.7	30.0	9.7
MERIDAN, CONN	24296	27265	29876	38481	39494	44088	51850	55300(S)
		12.2	9.6	28.8	2.6	11.6	17.6	6.7
MIAMI, FLA	4955	11933	42753	142955	267739	495084	935047	1061000
		140.9	258.3	234.4	87.3	84.9	88.9	13.5
MIDLAND, TEX	1741	3464	2449	8005	11721	25785	67717	67000
		99.0	-29.3	226.9	46.4	120.0	162.6	-1.1
MILWAUKEE, WIS	365246	470287	582061	777621	829629	956948	1194290	1234900
		28.8	23.8	33.6	6.7	15.3	24.8	3.4
MINNEAPOLIS-SP, MINN	459748	620832	728327	882266	967367	1151053	1482030	1612000
		35.0	17.3	21.1	9.6	19.0	28.8	8.8
MOBILE, ALA	62740	80854	100117	118363	141974	231105	314301	337900
		28.9	23.8	18.2	19.9	62.8	36.0	7.5
MONROE, LA	20947	25930	30319	54337	59168	74713	101663	112000
		23.8	17.4	79.2	8.9	26.3	36.1	10.2
MONTGOMERY, ALA	72047	82178	80853	98671	114420	138965	169210	175500
		14.1	-1.6	22.0	16.0	21.5	21.8	3.7
MUNCIE, IND	49624	51414	56377	67270	74963	90252	110938	117000
		3.6	9.7	19.3	11.4	20.4	22.9	5.5
MUSKEGN-MN HTS, MICH	37036	40577	62362	84630	94501	121545	149943	153000
		9.6	53.7	35.7	11.7	28.6	23.4	2.0
NASHVILLE, TENN	122815	149478	167815	222854	257267	321758	399743	441300
		21.7	12.3	32.8	15.4	25.1	24.2	10.4
NEW BEDFORD, MASS	72862	110537	140641	139557	138073	141984	143176	147600(S)
		51.7	27.2	-.8	-1.1	2.8	.8	3.1
NEW BRITAIN, CONN	37525	57042	76168	88541	90499	104251	129397	143600(S)
		52.0	33.5	16.2	2.2	15.2	24.1	11.0

Appendix Table (cont.)

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1965
NEW HAVEN, CONN	132322	164702	203850	232227	244294	269714	311681	332300[5]
		24.5	23.8	13.9	5.2	10.4	15.6	6.6
NLONDN-GTN-NWH, CONN	60497	66483	80996	90815	106207	123141	156913	182200[5]
		9.9	21.8	12.1	16.9	15.9	27.4	16.1
NEW ORLEANS, LA	307456	362599	413750	505306	552244	685405	868480	983100
		17.9	14.1	22.1	9.3	24.1	26.7	13.2
NEW YORK, NY	3792787	5276879	6246393	7975100	8706917	9555943	10694633	11366000
		39.1	18.4	27.7	9.2	9.8	11.9	6.3
NEWARK, NJ	523562	727787	934940	1249167	1291416	1468458	1689420	1851000
		39.0	28.5	33.6	3.4	13.7	15.0	9.6
NEWPRT NEWS-HPTN, VA	51465[4]	55228[4]	80308[4]	77078[4]	93353	154977	224503	272000
		7.3	45.4	-4.0	21.1	66.0	44.9	21.2
NORFOLK-PRTSMOTH, VA	126023	164912	241148	229635	258927	446200	578507	637000
		30.9	46.2	-4.8	12.8	72.3	29.7	10.1
NORWALK, CONN	11740	12919	34141	44245	50936	65685	96756	110500[5]
		10.0	164.3	29.6	15.1	29.0	47.3	14.2
ODESSA, TEX	3108	3768	760	3958	15051	42102	90995	93000
		21.2	-79.8	420.8	280.3	179.7	116.1	2.2
OGDEN, UTAH	25239	35179	43463	52172	56714	83319	110744	120000
		39.4	23.5	20.0	8.7	46.9	32.9	8.4
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA	104550[2]	127576	157984	274801	299216	392439	511833	585000
		22.0	23.8	73.9	8.9	31.2	30.4	14.3
OMAHA, NEB-I	204006	233652	275444	313272	325153	366395	457873	516000
		14.5	17.9	13.7	3.8	12.7	25.0	12.7
ORLANDO, FLA	N.A.	N.A.	30875	68472	92378	141833	318487	372000
				121.8	34.9	53.5	124.6	16.8
PATERSN-CFTN-PSC, NJ	233643	353904	469877	667106	718999	876232	1186873	1307000
		51.5	32.8	42.0	7.8	21.9	35.5	10.1
PENSACOLA, FLA	38606	52926	63056	67677	90752	131260	203376	224000
		37.1	19.1	7.3	34.1	44.6	54.9	10.1
PEORIA, ILL	121829	134282	150250	187426	211736	250512	288833	295500
		10.2	11.9	24.7	13.0	18.3	15.3	2.3
PHILADELPHIA, PA	1892128	2268209	2714271	3137040	3199637	3671048	4342897	4664000
		19.9	19.7	15.6	2.0	14.7	18.3	7.4
PHOENIX, ARIZ	20457	34483	89576	150970	186193	331770	663510	818000
		68.5	159.7	68.5	23.3	78.2	100.0	23.3
PITTSBURGH, PA	1083846	1471800	1759989	2023269	2082556	2213236	2405435	2372000
		35.8	19.6	15.0	2.9	6.3	8.7	-1.4
PITTSFIELD, MASS	31318	42855	52291	60700	60996	66567	73839	75000[5]
		36.8	22.0	16.1	.5	9.1	10.9	1.6
PORTLAND, ME	66113	77663	91055	99874	106566	119942	120655	130000[5]
		17.5	17.2	9.7	6.7	12.6	.6	7.7
PORTLAND, ORE-WASH	150711	303929	372777	455037	501275	704829	821897	897000
		101.6	22.7	22.1	10.2	40.6	16.6	9.1
PROVIDENCE-PWKET, RI	407432	522591	588090	677195	695253	760202	816148	839000[5]
		28.3	12.5	15.2	2.7	9.3	7.4	2.8
PROVO-OREM, UTAH	32456	37942	40792	49021	57382	81912	106991	118000
		16.9	7.5	20.2	17.1	42.7	30.6	10.3
PUEBLO, COL	34448	52723	57638	66038	68870	90188	118707	119000
		51.6	10.4	14.6	4.3	31.0	31.6	.2

Appendix Table (cont.)

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1965
RACINE, WIS	45644	57424	78961	90217	94047	109585	141781	160000
		25.8	37.5	14.3	4.2	16.5	29.4	12.9
RALEIGH, NC	54626	63229	75155	94757	109544	136450	169082	195000
		15.7	18.9	26.1	15.6	24.6	23.9	15.3
READING, PA	159615	183222	200854	231717	241884	255740	275414	283000
		14.8	9.6	15.4	4.4	5.7	7.7	2.8
RENO, NEV	9141	17434	18627	27158	32476	50205	84743	113000
		90.7	6.8	45.8	19.6	54.6	68.8	33.3
RICHMOND, VA	143631	172364	211135	236957	266185	328050	408494	453800
		20.0	22.5	12.2	12.3	23.2	24.5	11.1
ROANOKE, VA	37332	54497	73237	104495	112184	133407	158803	173000
		46.0	34.4	42.7	7.4	18.9	19.0	8.9
ROCHESTER, NY	217854	283212	352034	423881	438230	487632	586387	643300
		30.0	24.3	20.4	3.4	11.3	20.3	9.7
ROCKFORD, ILL	47845	63153	90929	117373	121178	152385	209765	225500
		32.0	44.0	29.1	3.2	25.8	37.7	7.5
SACRAMENTO, CALIF	45915	67806	91029	141999	170333	277140	502778	592300
		47.7	34.2	56.0	20.0	62.7	81.4	17.8
SAGINAW, MICH	81222	89290	100286	120717	130468	153515	190752	208000
		9.9	12.3	20.4	8.1	17.7	24.3	9.0
ST JOSEPH, MO	121838	93020	93684	98633	94067	96826	90581	95000
		-23.7	.7	5.3	-4.6	2.9	-6.4	4.9
ST LOUIS, MO-ILL	820276	1023453	1166432	1387075	1464111	1719288	2060103	2200200
		24.8	14.0	18.9	5.6	17.4	19.8	6.8
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH	77725	131426	159282	194102	211623	274895	383035	447000
		69.1	21.2	21.9	9.0	29.9	39.3	16.7
SAN ANGELO, TEX	6804	17882	15210	36033	39302	58929	64630	73000
		162.8	-14.9	136.9	9.1	49.9	9.7	13.0
SAN ANTONIO, TEX	69422	119676	202096	292533	338176	500460	687151	755100
		72.4	68.9	44.7	15.6	48.0	37.3	9.9
SAN BERNARDINO, CAL	45826	91402	123698	214924	266632	451688	809782	1026000
		99.5	35.3	73.7	24.1	69.4	79.3	26.7
SAN DIEGO, CALIF	35090	61665	112248	209659	289348	556808	1033011	1136000
		75.7	82.0	86.8	38.0	92.4	85.5	10.0
SFRISCO-OAKLAND, CAL	542964	773975	1009467	1347772	1461804	2240767	2783359	3067300
		42.5	30.4	33.5	8.5	53.3	24.2	10.2
SAN JOSE, CALIF	60216	83539	100676	145118	174949	290547	642315	885000
		38.7	20.5	44.1	20.6	66.1	121.1	37.8
SANTA BARBARA, CALIF	18934	27738	41097	65167	70555	98220	168962	243000
		46.5	48.2	58.6	8.3	39.2	72.0	43.8
SAVANNAH, GA	71239	79690	100032	105431	117970	151481	188299	192000
		11.9	25.5	5.4	11.9	28.4	24.3	2.0
SCRANTON, PA	193331	259570	286311	310397	301243	257396	234531	226000
		33.9	10.3	8.4	-2.9	-14.6	-8.9	-3.6
SEATTLE, WASH	134003	343847	456963	542378	593734	844572	1107213	1179000
		156.6	32.9	18.7	9.5	42.2	31.1	6.5
SHREVEPORT, LA	68652	79938	105531	153058	183365	216686	281481	289000
		16.4	32.0	45.0	19.8	18.2	29.9	2.7
SIOUX CITY, I	54610	67615	92171	101669	103627	103917	107849	102700
		23.8	36.3	10.3	1.9	.3	3.8	-4.8

Appendix Table (cont.)

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1965
SIOUX FALLS, SD	23926	29631	42490	50872	57697	70910	86575	94000
		23.8	43.4	19.7	13.4	22.9	22.1	8.6
SOUTH BEND, IND	58881	84312	103304	160033	161823	205058	238614	237400
		43.2	22.5	54.9	1.1	26.7	16.4	-.5
SPOKANE, WASH	57542	139404	141289	150477	164662	221561	278333	267000
		142.3	1.4	6.5	9.4	34.6	25.6	-4.1
SPRINGFIELD, ILL	71593	91024	100262	111733	117912	131484	146539	153000
		27.1	10.1	11.4	5.5	11.5	11.5	4.4
SPRINGFIELD, MO	52713	63831	68698	82929	90541	104823	126276	140000
		21.1	7.6	20.7	9.2	15.8	20.5	10.9
SPRINGFIELD, OHIO	58939	66435	80728	90936	95647	111661	131440	147000
		12.7	21.5	12.6	5.2	16.7	17.7	11.8
SPRINGFIELD, MASS	202199	258959	338033	376699	371972	413494	478592	494400(5)
		28.1	30.5	11.4	-1.3	11.2	15.7	3.3
STAMFORD, CONN	34253	49164	65298	91865	98890	134896	178409	203700(5)
		43.5	32.8	40.7	7.6	36.4	32.3	14.2
STNVILLE-NRTN, O-WVA	58269	86986	114082	141481	155214	157787	167756	170000
		49.3	31.1	24.0	9.7	1.7	6.3	1.3
STOCKTON, CALIF	35452	50731	79905	102940	134207	200750	249989	273000
		43.1	57.5	28.8	30.4	49.6	24.5	9.2
STRACUSE, NY	280161	311251	352045	400621	405981	465114	563781	606000
		11.1	13.1	13.8	1.3	14.6	21.2	7.5
TACOMA, WASH	55515	120812	144127	163842	182081	275876	321590	343000
		117.6	19.3	13.7	11.1	51.5	16.6	6.7
TAMPA-ST PBURG, FLA	36013	78374	116522	215668	272000	409143	772453	873000
		117.5	48.7	85.1	26.1	50.4	88.8	13.0
TERRE HAUTE, IND	62035	87930	100212	98861	99709	105160	108458	105500
		41.7	14.0	-1.3	.9	5.5	3.1	-2.7
TEXARKANA, TEX-ARK	44234	54382	63493	79149	82082	94580	91657	100000
		22.9	16.8	24.7	3.7	15.2	-3.1	9.1
TOLEDO, OHIO	153559	192728	275721	347709	344333	395551	456931	476100
		25.5	43.1	26.1	-1.0	14.9	15.5	4.2
TOPEKA, KAN	53727	61874	69159	85200	91247	105418	141286	149000
		15.2	11.8	23.2	7.1	15.5	34.0	5.5
TRENTON, NJ	95365	125567	159881	197143	197318	229781	266392	296000
		31.8	27.2	17.1	5.4	16.5	15.9	11.1
TUCSON, ARIZ	14689	22318	34680	55676	72838	141216	265660	307000
		55.3	52.0	60.5	30.8	93.9	88.1	15.6
TULSA, OKLA	55390(2)	81319	208039	299023	290368	327900	418974	433000
		46.8	155.8	43.7	-2.9	12.9	27.8	3.3
TUSCALOOSA, ALA	36147	47550	53680	64153	76036	94092	109047	118000
		31.6	12.9	19.5	18.5	23.7	15.9	8.2
TYLER, TEX	37370	41746	46769	53123	69090	74701	86350	93000
		11.7	12.0	13.6	30.1	8.1	15.6	7.7
UTICA-ROME, NY	183849	210513	247795	262769	263163	284262	330771	345000
		14.5	17.7	6.0	.1	8.0	16.4	4.3
WACO, TEX	59772	73250	82921	98682	101898	130194	150091	154000
		22.5	13.2	19.0	3.3	27.8	15.3	2.9
WASHINGTON, DC-MD-VA	379605	445401	571982	672198	967985	1464089	2001897	2424000
		17.3	28.4	17.5	44.0	51.3	36.7	21.1

Appendix Table (cont.)

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1965
WATERBURY, CONN	60891	90949	113266	122125	138779	154656	181638	193600(S)
		49.4	24.5	7.8	13.6	11.4	17.4	6.6
WATERLOO, I	32399	44365	56570	69146	79946	100448	122482	124000
		33.5	26.1	22.2	15.6	25.6	21.9	1.2
WEST PALM BEACH, FLA	N.A.	5577	18654	51781	79989	114688	228106	281000
		11.5	234.5	177.6	54.5	43.4	98.9	23.2
WHEELING, WVA-O	135343	166816	189766	206627	208918	196305	190342	188000
		23.3	13.8	8.9	1.1	-6.0	-3.0	-1.2
WICHITA, KAN	44037	73095	92234	136330	143311	222290	343231	349400
		66.0	26.2	47.8	5.1	55.1	54.4	1.8
WICHITA FALLS, TEX	8314	22419	78165	84100	81203	105309	129638	130000
		172.1	245.6	7.6	-3.4	29.7	23.1	.3
WILKES BARRE-HTN, PA	257121	343186	390991	445109	441518	392241	346972	346000
		33.5	13.9	13.8	-.8	-11.2	-11.5	-.3
WILMINGTON, DEL-NJ	135227	150187	184811	197866	221836	268387	366167	413400
		11.1	23.1	7.1	12.1	21.0	36.4	12.9
WINSTON SALEM, NC	35261	47311	77269	111681	126475	146135	189428	207000
		34.2	63.3	44.5	13.2	15.5	29.6	9.3
WORCHESTER, MASS	177900	205546	246347	272704	276453	303037	323306	336900(S)
		15.6	19.9	10.7	1.4	9.6	6.7	4.2
YORK, PA	116413	136405	144521	167135	178022	202737	238336	290000
		17.2	5.9	15.6	6.5	13.9	17.6	21.7
YOUNGSTOWN-KARREN, O	116725	168917	270230	359205	372566	416544	509006	523000
		44.7	60.0	32.9	3.7	11.8	22.2	2.7