

Fifty Years of Growth and Decline of Large Counties in the United States, 1960 – 2010

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Abstract

A cursory glance at the population growth of the United States as a whole speaks very little of emerging demographic trends in its population. This paper poses a more thorough investigation of subnational population trends, especially migration trends, by examining the population growth rates in large metropolitan counties – those that reached a population of one million or more in the 50 years studied, from 1960 to 2010, and the social and economic conditions that explain the trends revealed. The study exposes a trend towards suburbanization in major metropolitan areas across the United States. A regional breakdown amalgamates counties into four sweeping sections: the Northeast, the Midwest, the South and the West. A study of the Northeast, where the population density has historically been the highest in the country, shows depopulation peaking in the 1970s and gradually recovering through 2010, although the majority of counties studied exhibited a net loss over the 50-year period. In the Midwest, another historic hotbed of population and industry, some counties declined while most showed positive growth, albeit moderate. The South displayed substantial and relatively uniform growth in all counties studied, although all but one county included in the study were in Texas or Florida. The West also showed exclusively growth, but with much greater variance in the level of growth from county to county, and slowing down in most counties after 1980.

JEL Classification: I22, O10, O40

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1.0 Introduction

High population volatility in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, especially over a short period of time, can cause a variety of social and economic problems. Extremely rapid growth can put a strain on the area's resources, causing the dilapidation of a once-thriving community, urban decay and dangerous social conflicts. A lack of growth – or worse, depopulation – depletes the tax base, crippling social services and often leads to a contraction of the economy. Essentially, slow and steady wins the race: a gradual, stable increase in population boosts economic output while allowing the local government time to plan for the larger-scale needs of its growing constituency.

Although such arguments are applicable to smaller, rural areas as well, metropolitan areas especially merit study for several reasons. First, the study of population-dense metropolitan areas is a simple way to examine a large portion of the citizenry. Second, in a developed economy such as that of the United States, urban areas are economic motors of growth – or decline; their economic activities and innovation, or lack thereof, drive the country's economy. Third, metropolitan areas are hotbeds of social change, the stage of new intellectual movements, changing cultural relations, or even dangerous rioting.

To circumvent the difficulties associated with the changing boundaries of large metropolitan areas, which often change from one decennial census to another, making comparisons over time rather tenuous, large *metropolitan counties* – where boundaries change rarely or negligibly – were studied between 1960 and 2010.

Counties are political and geographic boundaries that vary greatly in physical and population size. The political administration of a county is a branch of the state government, whose responsibilities and sources of revenue vary greatly from state to state. Responsibilities often include road construction and maintenance, but can also include social services and public utilities. Sources of revenue can include property tax, sales tax (in approximately half of the states) and state funding. County governments involve some form of board or council, and many provide a check on the council's power in the form of an administrator or executive (National Association of Counties, 2013).

There were 41 counties in the United States that had reached a population of one million or more at one point or another during the period of this study, accounting for 27 percent of the nation's population in 2010. Of these counties, 10 were in the Northeast, seven in the Midwest, 11 in the South and 13 in the West. The details of this distribution, along with the decennial census population and growth rates over the period 1960-2010, are presented in Table 1.

On average, large metropolitan counties in the Northeast and Midwest grew very slightly between 1960 and 2010. This nearly stagnant average rate of growth disguises the highly varied county-by-county data. In the Northeast, three out of 10 counties grew substantially (more than 20 percent), one grew a negligible amount (less than five percent), and six counties lost population. Even more alarming, two of the six counties that lost population contracted by more than 20 percent. In the Midwest, four out of seven counties grew substantially, one grew a negligible amount, and two contracted significantly (more than 20 percent population loss). The stark contrasts in population changes experienced by large Northeastern and Midwestern counties will be discussed in greater detail later in this paper.

The slow growth and even decline in Northeastern and Midwestern metropolitan counties contrasts sharply with the often explosive growth in metropolitan counties in the South and the West. Not a single county in either region registered negative growth in any of the five decades considered in this study. The slowest-growing counties in the South more than doubled, and the fastest-growing counties more than quadrupled in size over the 50 years studied. The West experienced a greater range of expansion, but still much more substantial growth than the Northeast or Midwest: The slowest-growing counties grew by at least 60 percent, and the fastest-growing county exploded to a whopping 14 times its original size.

Figure 1 provides a graphical presentation of the 50-year growth and contraction of large counties in each of the regions, and of decade-by-decade growth and contraction of large metropolitan areas for the US regions as a whole.

Decade-by-decade trends, shown in Table 1, reveal another layer to the story. Most large counties – with a population greater than one million – in the Northeast, the Midwest, the South and the West generally experienced an explosion of population during the 1960s. Subsequent population changes diverged in these four regions. The counties of the South and the West grew steadily and even though the rate slowed somewhat, the growth remained positive for all Southern and Western counties between 1970 and 2010. On the other hand, most of the counties in the Northeast and many in the Midwest experienced depopulation in some decades after 1970. Population growth (and contraction) in the four regions over time is documented in Figures 2 and 3.

Once prominent population trends have been identified, speculation must be made as to why they are exhibited. People are often reluctant to migrate because their employment and established social ties anchor them to their original locations. Conversely, they can also be compelled to leave the same location should employment opportunities suddenly become more appealing in a different place (whether by diminishing employment in the first location or by improving employment in a new one), or should the social atmosphere become hostile or otherwise undesirable.

The population changes in many counties were a result of suburban sprawl. This phenomenon, the increase of migrants from urban centers to suburban neighborhoods surrounding city

centers, was widespread in the United States over the course of the study. Many traditional urban planners have followed the New York consolidation model, under the belief that pooled taxes promote welfare (Jackson & Dunbar, 2005, p. 410); contrary to these popularly held consolidationist beliefs, urban planners Jackson and Dunbar attributed the prosperity of American cities to decentralization. Lower housing costs attract many urban residents to relocate to suburban neighborhoods, where the quality of life is often perceived as better. One unfortunate reflection of this is the phenomenon of “white flight,” whereby middle-class and affluent white families, reluctant to live in neighborhoods with increasing minority populations, would relocate from urban areas to the relatively white nonurban areas upon the arrival of nonwhite migrants in their urban neighborhoods.

In the 1960s, declining populations began to appear in some counties in the Northeast, and similar population decreases had begun to affect most metropolitan counties in the Northeast and many in the Midwest by the 1970s. Causes ranged from declining local industries, such as automobiles in the Midwest or steel in the Northeast, to declining safety caused by tense intercultural relations. Furthermore, real estate bubbles generated population vulnerability in many counties, as housing price affected potential migrants’ decisions (“Few high-end deals happened in Buffalo”, 2009). Wracked with deindustrialization and sharp social conflicts, these regions struggled to maintain positive economic and population growth.

Populations in the West and South grew more rapidly than in the Northeast or Midwest over the 50-year period studied because they offered better employment opportunities, cheap suburban housing, and many areas with relatively subdued cultural conflicts. Military funding built up large economic bases in major cities in the South, such as Hillsborough County, FL and Bexar County, TX. In the West, economic diversification helped promote growth and protect against the failure or decline of any one industry. Although the Northeast and West had similar levels of employment in 1975, diverse industries helped the West grow steadily stronger while Route 128 in the Northeast, where the steel industry was central to economic welfare, fell into significant decline. In contrast to the decline faced in many steel-dependent areas, New York City maintained economic prosperity by diversifying and internationalizing its economy.

This paper outlines United States regional population trends for the Northeast in Section 2, the Midwest in Section 3, the South in Section 4 and the West in Section 5. County-by-county analysis explores sub-regional patterns and their causes as well as individual cases of note. Section 6 summarizes observed trends and concludes on the matter.

The first region of analysis is the Northeast, which now follows.

2.0 The Northeast

Between 1960 and 2010, the most rapid population growth in the Northeast took place in Middlesex County, Boston, MA (21 percent growth), Queens County, New York, NY (23 percent

growth), and Suffolk County, NY (124 percent growth). Wide-reaching industry development plans in these counties generated a number of new jobs, allowing them to maintain current population and to draw migrants. Middlesex County benefited from industry development in high technology, tourism, and financial services, and New York County (Manhattan), drew growth from economic expansion in international markets after 1980 (Beasley, 2009, p. 9). Job growth in New York County meant population growth in surrounding suburbs, including Suffolk County in Long Island, whose lower housing prices and potentially higher quality of life allowed it to benefit from New York City's suburbanizing population.

In contrast, the most severe population decreases occurred in Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, PA (25 percent contraction) and Philadelphia County, PA (24 percent contraction) (Perry, 2002). The heavy population loss in these counties stems in large part from a lack of new industry development to rejuvenate the economy – from the 1970s to the 1980s, employment declined in Allegheny County because of its singular economic dependence on the declining steel industry. Metropolitan bases whose growth had once been bolstered by old industry soon found themselves struggling to find alternative economic engines of growth. By contrast, some of the most significant growth in the Northeast, and especially Pennsylvania, occurred in less central counties that were too small to be included in the study, such as Chester County, where developing industries and conscious efforts at social integration fostered growth.

Investigation and analysis of trends in the Northeast and the causes behind them lead to a clear maxim: economic growth in a county leads to an increasing population there. For example, two distinct economic trends were demonstrated in Queens County: population decreased in the 1970s coinciding with the county's deindustrialization and increased after 1990 coinciding with its developing retail industry (Trager, 1994).

When private economic activities fail to boost a county's economy, public works can play a major role. Large-scale economic plans, especially involving the construction of infrastructure, can boost a region's attractiveness to migrants. A cautionary lesson can be learned from an overview of infrastructure in Bronx County, which lost significant population in the 1970s due to severe urban decay.

In addition to economic factors, the social environment in a county or region can be greatly reflected in its growth or decline. Cultural diversity is a double-edged sword in terms of its effects on population growth. The key to how social diversity affects the size of the local population lies in how social conflicts are handled by influential political and economic players: When the powers-that-be strive to mediate social conflicts, diversity can improve market competitiveness in the local economy. Conversely, cultural differences that are accentuated by biased leadership can drive away large portions of population.

A study in the 1970s shows that "property tax assessment discrimination against low-income groups" targeted minority ethnicities in many metropolitan areas in the Northeast, such as New York City, Philadelphia, and Boston (Pearson, 1979). This discrimination in the real estate

market underscored and reinvigorated racial tensions and led to a hostile social environment discouraging migrants from settling in the areas.

In the New York Metropolitan area during the 1960s, the total population decline of 519,338 in five of New York City's central counties was mostly offset by the total population increase of 437,196 in the surrounding suburban counties – including Nassau and Suffolk Counties. In the New York metropolitan area, nonwhite populations increased in central or urban parts of the city, countering falling white populations in those same areas; many of these white families relocated to more suburban parts of the New York metropolitan area, where the white population grew significantly (Rosenwaike, 1972, p. 137).

This population mobility is consistent with what Boskin described: white populations tended to move out of urban areas and populations of other ethnicities replaced them when the urban ghettos took shape in the mid-1960s (Boskin, 1969). This phenomenon, dubbed “white flight” was a reflection of cultural and racial tensions that caused population and even economic declines in many counties in the Northeast. Severe violent racial riots out of dissent of the racial inequality in the urban areas also spurred this population redistribution. In spite of this, immigrants flooded into New York City in the 1960s under the Hart-Cellar Immigration Act of 1965 (Kasinitz, Bazzi, & Doane, 1998). The overall trend in population, however, was an increase in suburban population.

This decentralization of the population in a county or an area can be a positive factor. As Jackson and Dunbar claimed, the prosperity of American cities was fostered in large part by decentralization following the abandonment of the New York consolidation model (Jackson & Dunbar, 2005, p. 410). While Middlesex County, which demonstrated significant growth, demonstrated increasingly centralized regulation (Kaplan, 1997), it proves to be the exception rather than the rule. Suffolk County, whose growth far outstripped that of Middlesex, benefited almost exclusively from suburban sprawl and decentralization.

As mentioned earlier, while some Northeast counties grew in population, others declined. Nine out of 10 major metropolitan counties in the Northeast lost population in the 1970s, due to declining industry and poor race relations. After 1980, its population regained positive growth, although not as rapid as growth in the 1960s: two percent, five percent and three percent in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s respectively. A visual summary of the trends in the Northeast over the period studied can be found in Figures 2.1 and 3.1, and the full details of the census data can be found in Table 1. With the backdrop of this overall regional experience in the Northeast, trends in population growth (or decline) in each of the counties of the Northeast will now be discussed.

Middlesex County, Boston, MA (Cambridge)

Middlesex County, MA had a positive population growth of 21 percent over the 50 years studied, from 1,238,742 in 1960 to 1,503,085 in 2010. Its population grew most rapidly – by 13 percent – in the 1960s but suffered a decline of two percent in the following decade.

Although the Middlesex County local government defaulted in the 1990s, the county's success in maintaining positive population growth between 1960 and 2010 stands out starkly against the many metropolitan counties enduring depopulation in the Northeast. One remarkable attribute of Middlesex is its innovation in almost every aspect, such as its more conventional technological innovations, as well as prison reforms, tourism development accompanied by environmental protection, jurisdiction reform after the local government defaulted in 1997, legalizing homosexual marriage and its innovational treatment of bonds in the great recession.

In the 1960s, the completion of Route 128 corridor construction boosted the county's economy to a remarkable new level. This project not only relieved traffic congestion, but also encouraged technological innovation by connecting the industrial parks and university laboratories ("Mass Moments", nd). Middlesex County, together with other counties along Route 128, welcomed a population jump in the 1960s, a benefit of this project.

In the 1970s, John J. Buckley led an innovative reform of the vocational training in a local prison (Higgins, 1972). In the 1980s, the county experienced increasing tourism, which multiplied environmental issues (Houvouras, 1989; Andrews Jr., 1997). In the 1990s, Middlesex County displayed a trend of increasing regulation: the county lost governmental sovereignty and was absorbed by the commonwealth because of its severe default (Kaplan, 1997). Nonetheless, this default did not have a detrimental effect on the county's population growth, which was five percent in the 1990s.

In the 2000s, consistent with its focus on education, the county resourcefully transformed an old building into a college amenity (Badolato, 2004). In addition, it sought to encourage investors for its financial service development (Koulakova, 2002). In legislature, the legalization of homosexual marriage in Massachusetts had "a relatively small but positive long-term aggregate economic impact" (Albelda, Ash, & Badgett, 2005). During the recession in the latter part of the 2000s, local governments in Middlesex County, including Boston, were supported by the Massachusetts government within a coordinated program known as the "recovery zone bond program" (Kaske, 2009).

Middlesex County's innovations strengthened local community ties and reinvigorated its traditional technology-oriented economy, holding its original population and attracting new migrants. The county retained positive population growth in all but one decade studied, and an overall population gain of 21 percent.

Erie County, Buffalo, NY

Erie County experienced an overall depopulation of 14 percent over the half-century studied. Its population increased by 13 percent in the 1960s but began a steep decline in the 1970s. Rates of decline during the four decades from 1970 to 2010 were nine percent, five percent, two percent and percent respectively. As a result, the population dropped from 1.1 million in 1970 to 0.9 million in 2010.

Troubled by depopulation and a high unemployment rate, common symptoms caused by de-industrialization across much of the Northeast and Midwest, Erie County struggled with its fragmented political and economic structure, and lack of leadership (Pitegoff, 1991, p. 316). This inefficient leadership led to ineffective long-term urban planning.

In the 1980s, Erie County completed its light rail transit system. However, this public transportation plan experienced decreasing ridership and failed to reverse the local depopulation issue by 2010 (Hess & Almeida, 2007). The public transportation project proved poorly-planned and ineffective in boosting population growth.

In addition, Erie County experienced an overall cut in its education budget. In the 1970s the New York City government cut funding to the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library System, leading to many library position terminations (“N.Y. libraries face more \$\$ & staff cutbacks”, 1976) and the closure of its Division of Services to Schools. Although the government recovered the financial aid two years later (“Buffalo, N.Y. comeback: staff & services restored”, 1978), the budget on the library system deteriorated in the 1980s (“Buffalo & Erie County \$\$ crisis worsens”, 1981) and this decrease in funding continued in the 2000s (Oder, 2005).

Although, like most large American counties, Erie County experienced growth in the 1960s, the county displayed a steady decline in the following four decades, resulting in an overall population decline of 14 percent between 1960 and 2010.

Bronx County, New York, NY

Adjacent to Manhattan (i.e., New York County), Bronx County experienced a small population decline of three percent in the 50 years studied, from 1,424,815 in 1960 to 1,385,108 in 2010. However, a decade-by-decade analysis shows that the county suffered a significant population decline of 21 percent in the 1970s while the population grew positively in the remaining decades, increasing most rapidly by 11 percent in 1990s.

Bronx County’s population decline in the 1970s was a result of severe urban decay, including a series of arsons, leading to grave loss in infrastructure and far-reaching declines in its economy and population. Joe Flood blamed the arsons on the budget cut in the fire department: “50 fire units were shuttered or moved” (Flood, 2010), but it is widely believed that property-owners saw the destruction of their dilapidated buildings as more profitable than improving them. The population dropped sharply during this decade out of residents’ concerns for safety, with many residents moving to suburban areas nearby.

In the following decades, major improvements were made in the county. From the 1980s to the 1990s, Bronx County dealt with its internal conflicts in society and governance, leading to growth in its population. In 1985, major improvements in child abuse cases were called for (“New York Grand Jury Calls for Changes In Handling of Abuse”, 1985). According to the US 2010 Census, Bronx County accounted for 7.3 percent of the New York metropolitan area

population. Compared to the metropolitan area, the population of Bronx County was more diverse and concentrated in black and Hispanic population compared to their counterparts of white and Asian population. For example, in 2007, African-American-owned businesses accounted for 34.9 percent and Hispanic-owned businesses for 37.6 percent of all businesses, much higher than the New York averages of 10.4 percent and 10 percent respectively (“Bronx County, New York Quickfacts”, 2011).

Due in part to this cultural tolerance, Bronx County registered a population growth of 11 percent in the 1990s, allowing a partial recovery from the severe population loss of 21 percent in 1970s. In 1995, there was a call to examine the state of public administration responsibility (Black, 1995). In addition, starting in the late 1990s, a series of news stories broke out indicating a certain amount of economic recovery. The construction of one of the most technologically advanced paper mills in North America started in January 2000 to strengthen waste management (“In brief”, 1999); in 2006, the largest green roof (or living roof, a measure of environmental protection) in New York City was installed by Tecta America Corp. in Bronx County (“Largest green roof in Bronx installed”, 2006); in 2007, a construction project of a water filtration plant was started (Garrett, 2007). These innovative plans generated new employment opportunities, accelerating the population growth in the county in the 1990s.

After a devastating population decline in the 1970s that resulted from urban decay and the decline of safety in the county, reforms were put into place to clean up the Bronx in the 1980s. Thanks to these reforms, higher-than-average levels of cultural tolerance and economic recovery, Bronx County made a substantial recovery in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, resulting in a net population loss of only three percent over the 50-year period.

Kings County, New York, NY

Kings County, conterminous with Brooklyn, is the most populous county of New York City, with a population of 2,504,700 in 2010. Its population was 2,627,319 in 1960 but decreased by five percent over the following five decades. The sharpest population decline – 14 percent – occurred in the 1970s, although the county maintained a slight growth of three percent, seven percent and two percent in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s respectively.

In the 1960s, the Hart-Cellar Immigration Act of 1965 generated a large immigrant population from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia to the United States. New York City, especially Queens County and Kings County, became a top choice for the new arrivals. The Hart-Cellar Immigration Act led to a massive increase of immigrants to the United States. The New York metropolitan area received more of these immigrants than almost anywhere else in the country – surpassed as an immigration center by only the Los Angeles metropolitan area. “While some new arrivals settled in traditional immigrant and minority enclaves such as Manhattan’s Chinatown, El Barrio, and the Lower East Side, many — particularly those who were relatively affluent — moved to the less dense neighborhoods of Brooklyn and Queens” (Kasinitz et al., 1998).

In the 1970s, however, the Black Power movement shook Kings County, along with many other major metropolitan counties in the country. A series of violent race riots caused injuries and property damage, causing many residents to fear for their safety (Boskin, 1969). The damage of these riots was incredible – severe injuries and property damages in the hundreds of millions of dollars (Boskin, 1969) caused decline in many counties including Kings County. Not only did this prevent the arrival of new residents, it encouraged many established residents to abandon their homes in search of a safer place to live.

In the mid-1990s, Kings County suffered from economic decline and 10 percent unemployment. Brooklyn was said to be trapped in troubles with “decrepit roads and public utilities, high taxes, heavy public debt and a perpetual shortage of affordable housing” (Tierney, 1997). However, the 1997 consolidation of New York City’s five boroughs – Manhattan, the Bronx, Queens, Brooklyn and Staten Island – presented new opportunities for growth in Kings County: In the 1960s, Kings County served its neighbor Manhattan as a housing base, which helped build its economy. After the consolidation, Brooklyn’s housing base fostered new economic activities, developing service industries and eventually becoming relatively independent from Manhattan (Ward, 2005).

After a sharp drop in population in the 1970s, Kings County regained shaky yet positive growth in population, thanks to the revitalization of its economy. The county experienced a net loss of five percent of its population between 1960 and 2010.

Queens County, New York, NY

Queens County displayed a population growth of 23 percent over the 50 years studied. Growth reached 10 percent in the 1960s, three percent in the 1980s and 14 percent in the 1990s. The population contracted by five percent in the 1970s, a common time of population loss in the Northeast, and maintained a stable population (zero growth) in the decade of the 2000s.

In the 1960s, many immigrants made Queens County their home under the Hart-Cellar Immigration Act of 1965. Queens County experienced a population growth of 10 percent in the 1960s, largely because while new immigrants flooded in, little or no white flight took place. This phenomenon is explained by the stability of co-op owners (possibly due to their inability to sell real estate in the tight market), active community and preservation groups, investment of residents in the community and the continuing white dominance in public policy making (Kasinitz, Bazzi, & Doane, 1998).

In the 1990s, the growing retail industry in “superstores” contributed to the population growth (Trager, 1994). These growing retail services contributed to the population growth from many diverse origins (Trager, 1994). “During the decade of the 1990s the borough of Queens in New York City became the most ethnically diverse county in the United States” (Miyares, 2004).

While it experienced a slight drop in population in the 1970s, Queens County experienced a net gain in population between 1960 and 2010 of 23 percent. The county benefited from cultural integration throughout the half-century, and a renewed economy in the 1990s.

New York County, New York, NY

New York County is conterminous with Manhattan, a leading commercial, economic, and cultural center of the United States. The population declined from 1960 to 1970 by nine percent and from 1970 to 1980 by seven percent, but the county's population turned to slow positive growth of four percent, three percent and three percent in the following three decades respectively.

In the 1960s zoning regulations discouraged population growth in New York County, and political and social upheavals continued to accumulate with notoriously rising crime rates and the emergence of a fiscal crisis in the 1970s. The county's situation began to turn in the 1980s, however, when crime rates began to drop and population began to increase. Furthermore, the county's economy continued to experience growth as a major center of international commerce. Although deindustrialization hit most cities in the Northeast and Midwest, such as Detroit and Philadelphia, Manhattan maintained its labor force and revitalized its economic center by expanding new business to international markets (Beasley, 2009, p 9).

Urban decline cost New York County population in the 1960s and 1970s, but the county's decreasing crime rates and increasing economic opportunities brought renewed population gain in the following three decades. Slow population growth in the 2000s correlated to a security concern rising after the September 11 terror attack (Roberts, 2010).

Nassau County, Nassau-Suffolk (Long Island), NY

The population of Nassau County grew a modest 3 percent between 1960 and 2010. This figure was the outcome of significant fluctuations in each decade: the county's population grew 10 percent in the 1960s, contracted 7 percent in the 1970s, contracted 3 percent in the 1980s, grew 4 percent in the 1990s, and experienced negligible change in the 2000s.

Nassau County and Suffolk County comprise the Nassau-Suffolk metropolitan area in Long Island, a major New York suburb. During the 50 years studied, the population of Suffolk County grew an impressive 124 percent, but the population of Nassau County grew only 3 percent. The respective population changes in these two counties are highly related.

In 1960, Nassau County had a population of 1,300,171, twice the population of Suffolk County (666,784). However, after an increase of 10 percent in the 1960s, its population suffered a decline from 1970 to 1990 and regained modest positive growth after 1990. It ended up with a population of 1,339,532, slightly smaller than the population of 1,493,350 in Suffolk.

Nassau County's major growth in the 1960s occurred in the nonwhite migrant group – 20 percent growth, versus 1 percent growth among white migrants (Farley, 1970, p 519). Farley points out that the migration of African-American populations in Nassau County weighted much more than that in Suffolk County and this fact indicates the emergence of “black suburbs” (Farley, 1970, p 1).

However, Nassau County went through a migrant boom in the 1950s with the population increasing from 672,765 to 1,300,171 in just ten years. This boom was caused by suburbanization effects accompanying the rapid development of New York City. The growth rate from 1950 to 1960 reached 93 percent, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. This explosive rate is exceedingly higher than the highest growth rate in Suffolk County in the 1960s – 69 percent. Such a great boom was destabilizing to the county, and contributed to its subsequent population fluctuations. Neither original resources nor new constructions could accommodate this great number of new arrivals, nor could the county achieve sustainable development under these conditions. In response to this new, noisy environment, seniors moved out of the town, leading to a decrease in the elderly population. The increasingly competitive job market discouraged migrants, a trend reflected in the depopulation from 1970 to 1990.

Nassau County experienced shaky and inconsistent growth throughout the period studied, resulting in a modest overall increase of three percent. This growth pattern presents a notable contrast to the one exhibited in neighboring Suffolk County.

Suffolk County, Nassau-Suffolk (Long Island), NY

Suffolk County experienced the greatest growth in the Northeast, at 124 percent from 1960 to 2010. In contrast to Nassau County, Suffolk enjoyed population growth throughout in each decade studied, although it grew at declining rates: 69 percent in the 1960s, 14 percent in the 1970s, 3 percent in the 1980s, 7 percent in the 1990s and 5 percent in the 2000s.

A dramatic increase in the population of Suffolk County occurred in the 1960s, and the population continued to grow after 1970, the only case of consistently positive growth in the Northeast. From 1967 to 1968 in Suffolk County, the net number of migrants hiked from 55,045 to 97,885 per year, and the total growth rate jumped from 19 percent to 65 percent (Farley, 1970, p 519). Although the data collected in 1967 only enumerated Babylon and Huntington towns and data in 1968 enumerated Brookhaven and Smithtown towns, these data were highly representative of population expansions in these counties.

The population growth in Suffolk was relatively smoother than that of Nassau. The primary population boom in this county took place in the 1960s at a 69 percent increase, and the growth thereafter slowed gradually. One reason for this relatively smooth change is reflected in its location. The main drive for population growth in both Nassau County and Suffolk County was the suburbanization of New York City. However, Nassau is located in between New York City and Suffolk County – it functioned as a buffer for the growth in Suffolk. That is to say, as

the population exploded in Nassau in the 1950s, some new migrants and original residents in Nassau realized that Suffolk was an amenable alternative to Nassau for them, and they gradually moved to Suffolk.

As Suffolk County's economy developed, job opportunities attracted additional migrants. This evolution was smoother than the boom that hit Nassau County because Suffolk was able to predict its population changes before they hit, by observing its neighbour. It was better-prepared for such a boom with well-planned adjustments in its economic development. This allowed Suffolk County to maintain positive growth and a higher level of prosperity than its western neighbor.

Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, PA

Allegheny County lost population consistently over the 50 years studied. During the five decades, its depopulation rates reached 1 percent, 10 percent, 8 percent, 4 percent and 5 percent respectively. Its population declined from 2,002,512 in 1960 to 1,526,006 in 2010, with an overall decline of 24 percent. Its most severe population loss of 10 percent occurred in the 1970s.

Before 1945, Allegheny County, known popularly as Steel Valley, flourished in a close relationship to the thriving steel industry. This heavy industry had begun to decline by 1970, and Allegheny County along with it (Hall, 1997; Tiffany, 2001).

In the 1970s, the real wage of steelworkers rose significantly, but fell in the early 1980s when "it was clear to all that the industry was in trouble" (Deily, 1998, p 147). In the early 1980s when the US steel industry collapsed and Allegheny County's survival was challenged, the county invested in education and the development of technological research. However, this transition led to a highly uneven distribution within society in the county: some communities prospered, enjoying the benefits of technological development, while the majority of steelworkers and other traditional workers felt the burden of their impoverishment increasingly heavy (Streitfeld, 2009). What's more, severe air pollution incurred high hospitalization rates in Allegheny County in the 1970s (Carpenter, Chromy, Bach, Lesourd, & Gillette, 1979).

Allegheny County promoted decentralized services for its population. On the one hand, positive effects came in direct targeting issues, such as social care for seniors (Encandela et al., 1997). On the other, its government fragmentation with many separate municipal entities hindered the launch of effective policies and reforms to address its economic crisis (Anway, 2011) and broadening fiscal disparity (Miller et al., 1995).

Allegheny County was the county which suffered the greatest population decline, losing population every decade in the half-century studied. A highly homogeneous industrial base reliant on the declining steel industry and an inefficient government structure forced Allegheny County into a steady decline that was especially steep in the 1970s and 1980s.

Philadelphia County, PA

Philadelphia County experienced a great population decline over the 50 years studied. Its population slumped from 2,002,512 in 1960 to 1,526,006 in 2010, a decrease of 24 percent. Due to low land prices, Philadelphia was said to be one of the cheapest metropolitan housing markets in the United States in terms of property values and construction costs. However, housing policies in Philadelphia County were ineffective in boosting population growth. What's more, while smaller neighboring counties showed increases in economic activity, Philadelphia County showed decline, helped along by a decreasing demand for its products. It appears likely that the county's declining population stemmed most significantly from social factors rather than economic ones.

Philadelphia is an historically important port city, fostering both coastal and international trade in the eighteenth century (Scranton, 1992, p 421). Based on its locational advantage, Philadelphia developed its textiles and machinery in the early nineteenth century, and subsequently by 1900 its manufacturing development had expanded to other counties, especially Camden County, New Jersey, located across the Delaware river (Scranton, 1992, p 422). Soon, however, its neighbors had begun to outpace the central city. By 1981, Chester County, PA, in the greater Philadelphia metropolitan area, had experienced rapid industrialization, producing a wide variety of manufactured goods, from textiles to weaponry (Scranton, 1992, p 423). This county grew 137 percent over the 50 years studied, drawing greatly from Philadelphia's population loss.

In 1960, the population of Philadelphia County accounted for 46 percent of the metropolitan area. However, this percentage declined decade by decade, reaching as low as 30 percent. History shows that the population growth of Philadelphia County, a central city of the metropolitan area, is closely linked to the industrial work force growth of the metropolitan area, a connection demonstrated pre-1920, during the 1940s and World War II, and in the 1970s and 1980s. The industrial work force reached its historic peak of 626,000 in the 1960s partly because of the Korean War, but endured an "unmitigated disaster" from 1970 to 1985, losing 180,000 jobs in total (Scranton, 1992, p 423). From 1970 to 1980, the population decline reached its trough of 13 percent, slowing to 6 percent in the 1980s.

Cultural factors also contributed to the population changes in Philadelphia County. Wynnefield, a Philadelphia neighborhood, used to be an affluent Jewish community, mainly middle- and upper-middle class, in the early twentieth century (Hardy, 2006, p 10). After World War I, Catholic families flooded into this community, crowding out many members of the Jewish community (Hardy, 2006, p 11). However, after the Great Depression hit the county, many Catholic families lost their homes and more Jewish families replaced them. These changes in the cultural make-up of the population led to a religious conflict between the Catholic and Jewish community members. During the 1960s, many original residents of Wynnefield moved out, especially to Florida, while some African-Americans moved in. This trend continued over the next two decades such that by 1978, African-Americans made up more than 90 percent of

the population in Wynnefield, as the community became much more racially homogeneous (Hardy, 2006, p 11).

Although Wynnefield is merely a community within Philadelphia County, it is typical of the whole county. Its population upheavals were not driven by economic factors; instead, it was dominated by cultural factors. It implies that cultural disintegration and even conflicts discourage in-migration, which in turn leads to economic decline. In this case, the surplus in the housing and job markets was caused by cultural conflicts compelled residents to abandon the neighborhood. As residents felt threatened by a different religion, they chose to move to a new environment, such as Chester County, comprised of Philadelphia suburbs, or Florida, both of which offered not only a more peaceful and integrated community, but job opportunities as well. Cultural acceptance encouraged immigrants to settle in places like Chester County and Florida, while simultaneously discouraging immigrants from settling in places like Philadelphia.

Sam Bass Warner, Jr. offers a possible explanation. He claims that “big cities require habits of community (Goist, 1969).” Such a community does not have to be culturally uniform; on the contrary, it can encompass many diverse cultures. However, the critical point is interconnections among these different cultures. If these different groups can integrate or at least tolerate each other’s habits and way of life, this coherence leads to harmony in the community. The situation in Wynnefield in Philadelphia County, however, was quite the contrary. The conflict between Catholic and Jewish families drove people out of the community, and the area suffered depopulation and economic decline as a result.

Philadelphia County experienced population loss from 1960 to 2000, and only a very slight population gain between 2000 and 2010. This loss coincided with general population gain in the surrounding suburban counties, where Philadelphians migrated to seek more socially tranquil communities.

A slight majority of major metropolitan counties in the Northeastern United States experienced declining populations between 1960 and 2010. Reasons for these losses were both economic, as was the case of the declining steel industry in Allegheny County, and social, as was the case in Philadelphia County. Those counties that experienced population gain generally benefitted from suburban sprawl, or an increase of migrants from central to peripheral locations in a metropolitan area. Counties with increasing populations demonstrated a cultural integration and tolerance that set them apart from those with declining populations.

The next region for discussion is the Midwest, which, as the following paragraphs will demonstrate, shows certain demographic trends similar to the Northeast, but others substantially different.

3.0 The Midwest

During the 50-year period from 1960-2010, the Midwest experienced population changes that varied greatly by county. While the population of some counties boomed, such as Oakland County, Detroit, MI (74 percent growth) and Franklin County, Columbus, OH (70 percent growth), significant depopulation emerged in others, such as Wayne County, Detroit, MI (32 percent population loss) and Cuyahoga County (22 percent population loss).

In some cases, one county's loss was its neighbor's gain. The sharp population decline in Wayne County was associated with the steep population growth in neighboring Oakland County, both within the Detroit Metropolitan Area. Compared to its neighbor, Wayne County lacked economic diversification and community building. The healthy communities in Oakland County, therefore, attracted a large population over the course of the fifty years studied. In contrast, Wayne's piercing social conflicts and economic dependence on the declining automobile industry stunted its population growth severely, similar to Allegheny and Philadelphia counties in Pennsylvania.

Industry development has usually boosted the local population growth. Research and development in medicine, biotechnology and other sciences in St. Louis County corresponded with a population growth of 42 percent. On the other hand, Cuyahoga County, Cleveland, OH witnessed a shift in economic structure – that is, economic decentralization leading to population dispersion, despite the fact that the county had made efforts to redevelop by building public transportation (Boarnet & Compin, 1999).

During some decades of the period studied, upward trends of suburbanization, or decentralization, such as white flight, emerged in the Midwest. In the 1980s, a seven percent fall in the population of the city of Chicago and a three percent growth in the surrounding suburbs contributed to three percent depopulation in Cook County (which lies within Chicago metropolitan area), while five other, more peripheral counties in that metropolitan area displayed solid gains in population. Furthermore, this population dispersion shifted to economic decentralization as was the case in Cuyahoga County, OH.

Franklin County, on the other hand, experienced a lesser degree of suburbanization, losing fewer residents to white flight. Jonas stresses the significant role of responses of housing developers to education segregation in inhibiting white flight in Franklin County, Ohio (Jonas & Cox, 1998). In addition, population issues arose when existing residents imposed impact fees to resist minority migration into the county. Since housing developer interests last longer than other developers, such as those dealing with water systems, they are relatively critical in promoting long term population, in response to education segregation issues. Similarly, the population growth peak of Hennepin County, MN, in the 1960s reflected developers' contribution to replacing farmland with housing development, shopping and school facilities in the suburbs.

Figures 2.2 and 3.2 provide a visual demonstration of the overall trends in population growth in the Midwest and Table 1 includes detailed census data for the region. The underlying reasons affecting population change in each of the Midwest counties over the 50-year period are summarized below.

Franklin County, Columbus, OH

Franklin County experienced a significant population growth of 70 percent in the 50 years studied, and its growth rates during the five decades were subsequently 22, four, 11, 11, and nine percentage points respectively.

Across the Midwest (and many other regions in the United States), a widespread movement of white flight broke out in response to the 1960s and 1970s busing for racial balance as a desegregation policy (Jonas & Cox, 1998). In contrast to population declines in some Midwestern metropolitan counties, such as Cuyahoga County in the Cleveland metropolitan area, Franklin County in the Columbus metropolitan area gained population in part because of its strategies to prohibit white flight to areas outside the county. Jonas stresses the significant role of a coalition between housing developers and education reformers in inhibiting white flight in Franklin County, Ohio (Jonas & Cox, 1998). It is in the best interest of such parties, who operate long-term business, to promote steady long-term population growth. For this reason, housing developers in Franklin County worked to maintain a stable population in the face of conflict over education segregation issues.

In addition to the work of Franklin County housing developers to retain residents, efforts were made to improve the county's education system, an important aspect in attracting population. Ohio's Columbus Metropolitan Library gained the Library of the Year Award in 2010 (Berry III, 2010). Public Library of Columbus and Franklin County expanded outreach services in the late 1970s ("Ohio expands outreach serv. with CETA staff help", 1977) and reorganized in the early 1980s to better its services ("Columbus, Ohio library undergoes major reorganization", 1983).

Within Franklin County, population changes were related to municipal expansion, which provided advantages in eligibility to receive federal funds. For example, the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) requires a Consolidated Plan when state and local jurisdictions apply for the federal funds ("Columbus and Franklin County Consolidated Plan 2010-2014 - County Version", 2010, p 1) so municipal expansion helped to collect data and maintain accountability. In addition, municipal expansion facilitated planning commissions and thus unified planning so that localities could achieve more effective planning with reduced cost, more effective public outreach and consolidation of zoning (*Considerations for United Planning*, nd), benefitting the housing and other industries in Franklin County.

A sub-county analysis shows how important municipal incorporation was for growth. Within Franklin County from 1990 to 2000, while 12 of 23 cities and villages enjoyed positive population growth, only four of 16 unincorporated townships gained population. Moreover, growth rates of the twelve cities and villages that grew ranged from 1.1 percent to 129 percent

while growth rates of the four unincorporated townships were between 1.3 percent and 16.3 percent. Striking population growths occurred in the cities of Dublin (112 percent), Grove City (38 percent), and Hilliard (105 percent), and villages of Canal Winchester (39 percent), Groveport (35 percent) and Obetz (72 percent). On the other hand, great population declines – over 10 percent – occurred in most of the unincorporated townships. From 2000 to 2008, while Franklin County generally gained population in most of its areas, the cities and villages experienced greater growth rates than the unincorporated townships (“Columbus and Franklin County Consolidated Plan 2010-2014 - County Version”, 2010).

In the 2000s, Franklin County achieved growth in multiple industries, upgraded from A- to AA in 2005 in the Convention Facilities Authority’s tad and lease revenue anticipation refunding bonds (“Franklin Co., Ohio, Agency Raised by S&P”, 2005), from AA to AAA in 2007 (Devitt, 2007), and from “stable” to “positive” in health care bonds (Carvlin, 2006). Furthermore, in the great recession, the local government of Franklin County succeeded in balancing its fiscal budget without “cutbacks in services” (“Mission Accomplished in Franklin County”, 2008).

Franklin County experienced consistent population gain between 1960 and 2010. After the 1960s boom ended, the county nonetheless maintained steady growth in the following four decades, thanks to the prevention of white flight, successful urban and economic planning, and upgrades to education and infrastructure.

Cuyahoga County, Cleveland, OH

Having experienced a decline of 22 percent over the previous 50 years, Cuyahoga County, OH had a population of 1,280,122 in 2010. From 1,647,895 in 1960, the population increased by four percent during the next decade. After a steep decline of 13 percent in the 1970s, however, the population decreased for the next 30 years at rates of six, one and eight percent respectively in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s.

Population changes in Cuyahoga County population were linked closely to population changes in Cleveland, a city located within Cuyahoga County. During the 100 years from 1860 to 1960, the population of Cleveland accounted for more than half of the total county population, comprising as much as 88 percent of the county’s population in 1910. In the 1960 Census, this percentage had dwindled to 53 percent. The proportion of Cuyahoga County’s population comprised by Cleveland kept declining, reaching as low as 31 percent in 2010. This is a clear example of suburbanization, as residents moved outside the city itself and into surrounding peripheral neighborhoods.

In terms of absolute population changes, Cleveland’s population changes foreshadowed those of Cuyahoga over the fifty years studied. Beginning in 1960s, Cleveland’s population declined by 125,147; this decrease was followed by declines of 177,081 in the 1970s, 68,206 in the 1980s, 27,213 in the 1990s, and 81,588 in the 2000s. Accordingly, the decline of the county’s population displayed similar patterns. Although in the 1960s it grew by 73,405, Cuyahoga County’s population dropped dramatically, by 222,900 during the 1970s. This population loss

continued in the following 30 years, with decreases of 86,260 in the 1980s, 18,162 in the 1990s, and 113,856 in the 2000s. In the forty years from 1970 to 2010, the population decrease in Cleveland dominated the total population decrease in Cuyahoga County, accounting for 79, 79, 150, and 72 percentage points respectively of the county's loss in each of the four decades. Cleveland's population, accounting for a decreasing but still significant part of Cuyahoga County's population, was highly correlated with changes in the total population of the county.

Rather than focus on large-scale economic projects, Cuyahoga County paid more attention to social issues, such as carbon monoxide-related deaths (Jenkins, Homer, Engelhart, & Lavins, 2003), homosexual inequality (Anetzberger, Ishler, Mostade, & Blair, 2004), maternal and child health in 1990s (Howell, Pettit, & Kingsley, 2005), and young Hispanic father programs in 2010 (Robbers, 2010). These programs were not enough to counter the Cuyahoga's declining economic state.

The population decentralization trend echoed the county's economic decentralization. Although the leadership in the economic and political structures made efforts to create jobs in the central city of Cleveland – such as the Steelyard Commons development in the Old Industrial Valley and Euclid Corridor Transit Redevelopment – a trend of decentralization in commercial activities with emerging “submarkets” dominated this area beginning in the 1970s (Margulis, 2007, p 265). The Old Industrial Valley witnessed its heyday in the steel making industry from 1868 to the early twentieth century (“Reflecting on the History of the Land”, 2005) but began to decline soon after.

Several projects were attempted to rescue Cuyahoga County's flailing economy. The first was aimed at building a retail base in Cleveland without public subsidies in order to revitalize its urban economy (“Economic Impact”, 2005). The second project developed a light train line connecting the two largest employment districts – the downtown central business district and University Circle to the Windermere Rapid Transit Station in East Cleveland – with both private and public involvement (“Euclid Corridor Transportation Project”, 2005). Unlike the transit-oriented development in San Diego County that advanced the central local economy (Boarnet & Compin, 1999), this project failed to reverse the trend of decentralization in Cleveland (Margulis, 2007). Another possible contribution to this decentralization in Cleveland was a series of fires on the Cuyahoga River correlated with environmental degradation. The fires, occurring in 1969 and earlier, caused great economic losses (Stradling & Stradling, 2008).

This economic decentralization indicated the inadequacy of growth management in Cleveland, leading to declining population as residents abandoned their housing and employment (Freilich, Garvin, & White, 1993). As current population continues to decline, social safety deteriorates because vacant houses left by migrants become “eyesores and drug traps and crime traps” (Meghan Hoyer & USA Today, 2012). Because the population in Cuyahoga County has depended greatly on that of Cleveland, this decentralization in Cleveland is indirectly linked to the depopulation in the county.

Cuyahoga County in the Cleveland metropolitan area has experienced a steadily declining population since the 1970s, leading to a net population loss of 22 percent between 1960 and 2010. Despite several attempts to revitalize the central economy, the county lost significant population to a strong and seemingly irreversible trend of decentralization.

Wayne County, Detroit, MI

Wayne County experienced a population loss of 32 percent in the 50 years studied. During the 1960s, its population remained steady at over 2.6 million. Nonetheless, the county's population experienced a sharp drop – 12 percent – during the 1970s, followed by losses of 10, two and 12 percentage points respectively in the next three decades.

The county had gained a reputation for its dominance as a global center of automobile manufacturing ("Facts about Wayne County & Michigan", 2010). By 1929, the automobile industry had grown in the largest industry in the United States (Davis, 1982), and much of its manufacturing took place in Wayne County. Nonetheless, Wayne County lost a great number of jobs in the mid- to late-twentieth century, as automobile manufacturing plants abandoned the area.

Chrysler, which was once headquartered in Wayne County, moved to neighboring Oakland County between 1991 and 1993, taking roughly 6,000 jobs with it. Unlike Chrysler, Ford Motor Company maintained its headquarters in Wayne County throughout the time studied, but it has long ceased to be the heavy employer that it had been in the first half of the twentieth century ("Revolution: 1960-1979", 2012). Along with the loss of employment in the automobile industry, service industries, such as retail, shrunk as well (*City of Highland Park Comprehensive Master Plan 2001*, 2001). As Jerry Conover claimed, each job in the automobile industry generates five or six other jobs in the entire economy (Jones, 2009).

In addition to the contractions brought about by the waning automobile industry, Wayne County faced further decline due to the 1967 Detroit riot ("The Fire This Time", 1967) and other heated social conflicts. The five-day "12th street riot" was one of the deadliest in United States history, and consequently, a great number of middle class families moved out of the county due to a concern for safety. As street crime rates increased, a growing number of plants were closed and even more jobs were lost.

Wayne County was steadily abandoned during the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, due to both a declining industry and unsafe social conditions that made it an extremely undesirable place to live. Many of those who fled Wayne County found their home one county over, in Oakland. Compared to its neighbor, Oakland County, Wayne County lacked positive involvement in developing its economy and community building.

Oakland County, Detroit, MI

The population in Oakland County, to the north of Wayne County, grew by 74 percent in the fifty years studied, from 690,259 in 1960 to 1,202,362 in 2010. Its highest growth reached a rate of 32 percent in the 1960s, followed by an 11 percent growth rate in the 1970s, seven percent in the 1980s, 10 percent in the 1990s and 1 percent in the 2000s.

Much of the growth in Oakland County was fed by the population loss in neighboring Wayne County. Besides its abundant natural resources and the automobile industry, Oakland County made efforts to promote public support of business and high technology along with devotion to the health care system, education and financial services. This all-around development strategy reinforced the local prosperity based on its traditional industry. The healthy communities in Oakland, therefore, attracted a large population in the fifty years. In contrast, Wayne County's piercing social conflicts and economic dependence on the declining automobile industry limited its population growth. When Chrysler decided to move its headquarters to Oakland County, the economy in Wayne was further eroded and population declined in the face of fewer employment opportunities and rising social conflicts; at the same time, Chrysler's arrival in Oakland County brought economic opportunities and an increase in population.

Additional economic opportunities emerged with the discovery of the Niagaran reef in the 1960s, which brought out greater discoveries in the 1970s under the pressure of the oil crisis, and seven new petroleum reef discoveries between 1985 and 1987 stimulated another wave of exploration in late 1980s (Inc, Bellinger, & Lintemuth, 1991). Plants expanded in the 1980s (Halliday, 1993), partly benefited from new Niagaran reef discoveries in 1980s.

Besides its abundant natural resources and the automobile industry, Oakland County took efforts to promote public support of business and high technology along with devotion to the health care system, education and financial services. The opening of a Michigan State University campus in Oakland in 1959 (Kirk, 1960) and the founding of a charter school by Eastern Michigan University in 1997 (Serwach, 1997a), both helped attract population to the area.

Oakland led the state in private-sector job growth, which boomed in the 1990s. Much of this was uneven growth of employment in different industries: a growing number of applicants for retail industry contrasted sharply with a shortage of labor supply in the manufacturing industry, in both low-wage production jobs and high-wage technical jobs (Gargaro, 1996; Serwach, 1997b).

In 1995, the opening of a business-aid office (Gargaro, 1995a; Pearl, 1995) and a high-tech development office (Gargaro, 1995b) encouraged business development and multiplied businesses that ranked the top counties in the state ("Study", 1996). Along with these offices, financial services improved in the 1990s in Oakland County, and the economy prospered – revenues doubled from 1989 to 1999. The county's good reputation was displayed in its

maintenance of a AAA credit rating from two Wall Street rating agencies, Standard & Poor's Corp. and Moody's Investors Service Inc. (Hogue, 1999).

The county's economic prosperity was largely brought about by increasing economic diversification. In contrast to declining neighbor, Wayne, Oakland County had strong economic bases in various industries. By 2010, the majority of Oakland County employment was concentrated in the health care system, the automobile industry, education and financial services, according to data released in 2012 ("Largest Employers: Twenty-five Largest Oakland County Employers, 2012", 2012).

Oakland County was everything that Wayne County was not – economically diverse, socially stable, and an attractive place to live. As a result, Oakland County drew significant population from Wayne County, growing steadily throughout the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, profiting from its neighbor's loss. It wasn't until the 2000s, when the automobile industry contracted sharply, that Oakland County's population gain began to slow.

Cook County, Chicago, IL

Overall, the population in Cook County, IL remained stable, with only a slight growth of 1 percent at the end of 50 years. However, the population fluctuated by decade over the course of the period studied: the growth rates for each of the five decades were seven, negative four, negative three, five, and negative three percentage points respectively. The population grew by seven percent in the 1960s and declined by four percent in the 1970s, patterns consistent with the rest of the Midwest and the Northeast. Decreases of three percent in the 1980s and 2000s were partly countered by an increase of five percent in the 1990s.

Both within Cook County and within the greater span of the Chicago metropolitan area, suburbanization played a significant role in the population volatility. Population decline in Chicago was paired with population growth in Chicago suburbs over the 50 years studied ("Populations of Chicago, Suburbs, and Downstate, 1950-2000", 2004). During the 1980s, the three percent population decline in Cook County coincided with a three percent rise in the population of the surrounding suburbs and seven percent fall in the population of the central city of Chicago. The other five counties in the Chicago metropolitan areas experienced population gains throughout the 1980s (Reardon, 1991). This conjugality showed a suburbanization trend in the Chicago metropolitan area and across the country.

An additional factor leading to the population decline was job loss in Chicago caused by the downturn of the steel and automobile industries (Iska, 2012). Although unable to match Detroit, Chicago is still an important center for steel and auto parts (Young, 2004). Furthermore, job losses in steel and automobile industries implied additional job losses in other industries. As noted earlier, each job in the automobile industry generates five or six other jobs in the entire economy (Jones, 2009).

Cook County experienced increasing suburbanization and the decentralization of its economy. Despite fluctuations in the decades between 1960 and 2010, the county exhibited a slight net population increase of one percent over the 50 years studied, considerably below the average for the large counties in the United States.

Hennepin County, Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN

Population growth in Hennepin County reached its peak in the 1960s, at 14 percent for the decade. This peak was followed by a slight decline of two percent in the 1970s, a renewed growth of 10 percent in the 1980s, and further growth of eight percent and two percent in the following two decades. Hennepin County experienced a net population gain of 37 percent over the 50-year period studied.

Similar to Cook County, Hennepin experienced significant suburban growth which, because most suburbs were within the county's boundaries, contributed to the overall growth of the county. During the decade of the 1960s, developers promoted housing development, shopping and school facilities in the suburbs, replacing farmland. While population in the suburbs increased by nearly 50 percent, population in Minneapolis, the central city, fell by 10 percent.

After the end of the Vietnam War in the 1970s, the county and its neighbors witnessed another population growth, driven by immigration of refugees from Southeast Asia, often aided by local churches. This wave peaked in the 1980s, and was a significant contribution to the increase in Hennepin County's overall population during that decade ("History of Hennepin County", 2012).

In spite of decade-by-decade fluctuations, Hennepin County's population increased greatly between 1960 and 2010 thanks to significant suburbanization and a relatively welcoming atmosphere to immigrants.

St. Louis County, St. Louis, MO

Over the period 1960-2010, the population in St. Louis County grew by 42 percent. The most rapid growth, 35 percent, took place during the 1960s, from 703,532 to 951,363; the county's growth slowed to two percent, where it was maintained from 1970 to 2000, and fell to a decline of two percent in the 2000s. Although the population slightly exceeded one million in 2000, it fell below one million again in 2010.

St. Louis had prospered in the early twentieth century thanks in large part to its factories. In the second half of the century, St. Louis began to develop its well-known research in medicine, biotechnology, and other sciences based in Washington University and other institutions. However, white flight in 1960s-70s detracted from population growth in the central city ("History: 'Mound City'", 2012). As did virtually every other metropolitan area in the Midwest, St. Louis County experienced high levels of suburbanization.

Consistent with trends throughout the United States, population increased significantly in most large Midwestern counties in the 1960s. As it had in the Northeast, social tensions tended to drive population away from large counties in the Midwest in the 1970s. Throughout the half-century studied, major metropolitan areas in the Midwest experienced high levels of suburbanization. Economic diversification proved crucial in protection against the declining old industries of auto and steel manufacturing, and social integration (or lack thereof) was another deciding factor in a county's ability to retain population.

A discussion of the large counties in the South now follows, characterized by triple digit percentage increases in the population of all counties over the 50-year period of this study.

4.0 The South

Between 1960 and 2010, every metropolitan county in the South at least doubled in size. The growth over the 50 years ranged from the highest of 479 percent in Palm Beach County, West Palm Beach, FL to the lowest of 149 percent growth in Dallas County, TX. It is important to note that of the 11 counties studied in the South, 10 were evenly distributed between Texas and Florida. These two states have several large metropolitan areas, in contrast to most other states in the South, with relatively fewer metropolitan areas and a near absence of large counties.

This shows a stark contrast to the majority of counties in the Northeast, Midwest and West: suburbanization, while present, was not a dominant trend in the South. This is likely because the configuration of the population had previously been very rural in this region, and urbanization did not begin to occur in earnest until World War II (Auch & Taylor, 2004). The South's trend of emerging urban centers is reminiscent of similar patterns in the Northeast and Midwest a century before.

Military spending and the economic ramifications of it contributed to the rapid urban population growth that took place in the South. Since the Cold War, national defense spending in Texas and Florida marked the beginning of the region's population growth. Two military medical centers in Bexar County, San Antonio, TX (50-year population growth: 150 percent); Bergstrom Army Air Field in Travis County, Austin, TX (383 percent growth); the aviation industry in Miami-Dade County, FL (167 percent growth) and Tarrant County, TX (236 percent growth); and other large military projects enacted in Hillsborough County, Tampa, FL (209 percent) laid a foundation for subsequent rapid growth in these two states.

National defense investments in Texas and Florida and the growth of the federal government in the Washington, DC area contributed to rapid growth in high-tech companies, education, and hospitals in these states. By 1990, high-tech companies and research institutions had concentrated in Miami-Dade County, Miami, FL, Bexar County, San Antonio, TX and Travis County, Austin, TX. In addition, hospitals flourished in Miami-Dade County, FL, Bexar County, TX, and Harris County, TX (229 percent growth).

This rapid growth in military bases, high-tech industries, hospitals, tourism and education had ramifications in the service industry, increasing demand. This economic diversity generated abundant job opportunities in the South and West, drawing population from the Northeast and Midwest. They were compelled to migrate out of concern about limited growth of employment in the relatively mature economies they came from, and driven out by social upheavals, especially white flight in the 1960s to 1970s.

An increasing number of these intra-national migrants set the housing markets in motion in the South and West. The housing industries thrived and reinvigorated the local economies in the two regions. Counties experiencing particularly thriving housing markets included Palm Beach County, FL, and Travis County, TX. However, many over-heated housing developments generated economic bubbles in 1990 and in 2006 (Cortez, 2008).

The growing service industry attracted additional tourism, which had thrived in the South for a long time. A steady flow of tourists supported local economic development in Miami-Dade County, Miami, FL, Bexar County, TX and Palm Beach County, FL.

Public transportation played another important role in large Southern counties. The economy in Fairfax County, VA was connected to surrounding counties by public transportation, making it a more attractive place to settle. In addition, urban planning in Palm Beach County, FL and other counties in the South helped make their cities more agreeable places to live. The largely ineffective implementation of public transit and urban planning observed in the Northeast contrasts with the positive effects observed in Fairfax County and Palm Beach County in the South. In contrast, unplanned growth in the 1970s in Hillsborough County, FL, caused a series of complaints from environmentalists during the 1970s-80s (Kerstein, 1993). Details of the census data can be found in Table 1, and summary graphs of population growth in the South are displayed in Figures 2.3 and 3.3.

In the discussion below, the experience of each of the large counties in the South are analyzed in some detail.

Hillsborough County, Tampa, FL

The population of Hillsborough County grew a total of 209 percent between 1960 and 2010. Beginning with a population of just 397,788 residents in 1960, the county's population growth was steady, increasing 23 percent in the 1960s, 32 percent in the 1970s, 29 percent in the 1980s, 20 percent in the 1990s and 23 percent in the 2000s.

Hillsborough County started its strong trend of growth in 1950, when Social Security and Cold War defense spending brought capital into the county, especially through the promotion of technological development (Mormino, 2000). Through the 1960s a number of factors attracted industries: low land prices, low expenditures and taxes, absence of impact fees, the construction of two interstate highways, and the combination of low wages and weak unions.

As the population continued to increase in the 1960s, environmentalists and growth management activists voiced concerns about the rapid pace of growth. Unplanned growth in the 1970s led to rising complaints in the 1980s (Kerstein, 1993). As the county experienced rapid population growth, it was faced with the issues such as the undue conversion of agricultural land (Gran, 2012). In the 1990s, the county brought out a new plan for balanced growth (Matusz & Campbell, 1994).

The strong increase of population in Hillsborough County, brought about by federal defense spending, began to strain its natural resources in the 1970s and 80s, and the problem was addressed in the 1990s. The county's growth remained generally steady decade-by-decade throughout the 50 years studied.

Broward County, Fort Lauderdale, FL

The population of Broward County, FL grew by 423 percent between 1960 and 2010, the second-highest rate in the South and the fifth-highest rate in the United States over the course of the 50 years studied. Population growth was extremely high in the 1960s, when it increased 86 percent in just 10 years, but began to slow in the following decades, growing 64 percent in the 1970s, 23 percent in the 1980s, 29 percent in the 1990s and just 8 percent in the 2000s.

Ronald K. Vogel tells the story of Broward County, FL in the context of a political economy (Vogel, 1992). From 1950s to 1970s, Broward County experienced a striking population explosion, from 83,933 to 620,100. Vogel attributes to this sharp growth to market forces (Vogel, 1992, pp. 27, 36). A small group of "old-guard elites," Vogel explains, shaped the original business leadership in Broward, initiating large-scale economic projects (Vogel, 1992, p. 27, 36). These giant new projects in the third industry generated a great number of job opportunities, thus attracting migrants to Broward.

This population growth continued until the late 1970s when it suffered stagnation for a short period. This slow-down in growth was primarily caused by a lack of sufficient infrastructure and services to accommodate the growing population (Vogel, 1992, p. 31). Furthermore, inefficiency detracted from the county's ability to generate large projects during that period, when Broward County was dominated by "hyperpluralism" (Vogel, 1992, p. 115). The author insists that a deficiency of leadership both in economic and political structure hindered the initiation of the type of giant projects that fueled growth in the previous decades. This deficiency occurred as the increasing diversity in the county generated obstacles to agreement on large projects. This meant that growth in the economic market was fettered and fewer migrants settled in the area as a result of fewer job opportunities.

However, starting in 1974, a series of reforms were implemented to centralize the government power. Since then, the infrastructure and services were improved to some extent, creating a new drive for further population growth. This growth continued, albeit at a lesser rate, through the end of the studied period, 2010, when the population reached 1,784,066. One factor in the

county's growth is its return to centralized political power, which enabled large projects to get approved efficiently and create new job opportunities. According to Vogel, a solid infrastructure base was established in 1978, focusing on roads and schools as well as parks and libraries (Vogel, 1992, p 28).

Broward County experienced explosive population growth during the first two decades of the study, which caused a strain on the county's resources. Consequently, growth began to slow, but a renovation of the county's infrastructure has helped to better accommodate the multitude of new migrants.

Miami-Dade County, Miami, FL

The population of Miami-Dade County increased 167 percent from 1960 to 2010. This rate, while higher than any in the Northeast or Midwest, was relatively low among Southern metropolitan counties. The population grew at a decreasing rate, from 36 percent in the 1960s, to 28 percent in the 1970s, to 19 percent in the 1980s, to 16 percent in the 1990s, and finally 11 percent in the 2000s. Interestingly, from 1960 to 2000, the county maintained a population growth of around 330,000 for each decade, but growth slowed to 243,073 in the 2000s when the Miami metropolitan area was geographically expanded and Miami-Dade County population accounted for only 45 percent of that of the metropolitan area. The population of Miami-Dade County had been exactly that of the Miami metropolitan area before 2000.

One crucial impetus for economic growth was tourism, beginning after World War II (Carney, 1946). Other contributors included hospitals, investment in information technology, aviation, financial services and trade ("Economic Growth Plan For Miami Dade County, Florida Is Complete", nd). However, an upward trend in social pressure – when hot debates about homosexuality broke out in the county – created a mild disincentive for migrants to settle there in the 1970s ("Gay rights showdown in Miami", 1977; "Homosexuality and civil rights", 1977; "Anita Bryant's hollow victory", 1977).

In spite of this, the county's population was highly diverse: the non-Hispanic white population dropped from 20.7 percent in 2000 to 15.4 percent in 2010 (South Florida Regional Planning Council, 2011) and the county welcomed migrants from outside the United States. For example, schools encouraged racial integration by establishing bilingual programs (Bequer, 1978) and honoring immigrants ("Immigrants Honored In Miami Schools", 1981).

Miami-Dade County's population increased steadily in arithmetic terms, but naturally this meant that with every passing decade, the same number of migrants meant a lower percentage increase of population. The thriving tourism industry and social integration played a key role in attracting migrants to the county.

Orange County, Orlando, FL

The population growth in Orange County, FL accelerated over the first three decades included in this study, but decelerated in the 1990s and 2000s. Population grew by 31 percent in the 1960s, by 37 percent in the 1970s and by 44 percent in the 1980s; but by 32 percent in the 1990s and by 28 percent in the 2000s.

The opening of Walt Disney World in 1971 promised a global reputation for Orange County, FL. It was around the establishment of Walt Disney World that the county started its economic boom. Other theme parks and attractions, such as Universal Studios, began to sprout up in the county, empowering its tourism development. This booming entertainment industry has shown its potential to boost the local economy (Dwoskin, 2012). The rapid growth in the entertainment industry led to an increasing number of tourists from overseas, which in turn fueled the growth in population.

Minority populations in Orange County – namely Hispanic/Latino populations – grew so substantially that it became a “minority-majority” (Powers, Maines, & Williams, 2011). Successful social integration attracted still more immigrants, boosting the population and the local economy.

As was the case in Miami-Dade County, steady arithmetic growth registers as decreasing exponential growth. Further similarity to its neighbor is found in Orange County’s characteristic growth based on the tourism industry and social integration.

Palm Beach County, West Palm Beach, FL

Palm Beach County experienced 479 percent population growth over the 50 years studied, the greatest growth rate among the Southern metropolitan counties. The county population growth rate was 53 percent in the 1960s, accelerated to 65 percent in the 1970s, maintained 50 percent in the 1980s, and slowed down to 31 percent and 17 percent respectively in the 1990s and 2000s. Moreover, the county population grew with increasing diversity. For example, the minority population rate jumped from 29 percent in 2000 to 40 percent in 2010 (Clary, Williams, & Maines, 2011) as black and Hispanic populations acted as a driving force for population growth (Bennett & Hartnett, 2011).

Palm Beach County has been famous as a “winter resort haven” for the wealthy since the 1920s (“Population and Demographics”, nd), but the tourism industry was not the only thing driving growth in the county. In the early 1980s, Florida’s Palm Beach County Library gained an operating budget increase of 65 percent, to 4.2 million (“Sunshine in Palm Beach County; budget up \$1.5 million”, 1981). Palm Beach County opened a new terminal at its airport in 1989 (“Flights of fantasy”, 1989). In early 1990s, the county boosted its savings by “switching from brand name to generic drugs” (“Palm Beach County, Fla.”, 1993).

In the mid-1990s, housing developers failed to promote school desegregation because of the explosive population growth, the lack of developer knowledge of “the dynamics of racially balanced communities” (Schmidt, 1995) and the unwillingness of school leadership to be self-selective (Bradley, 1995). This resulted in a significant drop in population growth, from 50 percent in the 1980s to just 31 percent in the 1990s.

While tourism and infrastructure boosted Palm Beach County’s growth in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, overexpansion caused problems in housing and education. The county’s growth began to slow to more manageable levels in the 1990s and 2000s.

Bexar County, San Antonio, TX

The population growth rate of Bexar County was maintained at roughly 20 percent over the 50-year period studied. However, in absolute value, population growth in Bexar County strikingly accelerated: 10-year growth increased from 176,863 in the 1960s, to 290,284 in the 1990s, and up to 550,125 in the 2000s. By 2010, Bexar County’s population accounted for 80 percent of the population in the metropolitan area.

Economic development in Bexar County benefitted primarily from agricultural production, tourism, military spending and hospitals (such as military medical centers Wilford Hall and Brooke Army Medical Center) and education. After 1980, electronics and biotechnology companies started to prosper in the county (Long, 2010). Beginning in 1990, the real estate market was invigorated, and the resident housing market achieved significant growth in the 2000s (Moncivais, 2009), driven partly by deregulation in the mortgage market (Albanese, 2005).

Dallas County, Dallas, TX

Dallas County experienced an overall population increase of 149 percent, the lowest – but still very substantial – growth in the South. Population growth slowed from 39 percent in the 1960s to seven percent in the 2000s, although it experienced a relative boom in the 1990s of 20 percent growth. Over the course of the 50 years studied, the manufacturing industry expanded rapidly as farming, except for wheat products, declined. In addition, retail and wholesale trades, and services including hotels, provided manifold employment opportunities (Maxwell, 2010). Such economic opportunities provided significant, but not expanding growth.

Harris County, Houston, TX

Thanks to its large base population, Harris County enjoyed the largest absolute population growth – 2.85 million – among Southern metropolitan counties. Its net population increase over the 50 years was 229 percent and respective growth rates in each of the successive decades were 40 percent, 38 percent, 17 percent, 21 percent, and 20 percent.

In the 2000s, the population of the county had spread out and grew most significantly outside the Tollway surrounding Houston. In comparison to the population growth rates of three percent (inside Loop 610) and seven percent (between the Loop and the Tollway), the growth rate reached 40 percent outside the Tollway during 2000s. A greater percentage of population resided in this unincorporated area than in cities and villages, up from 31 percent in 2000 to 38 percent in 2010 (Harris County Management Services Population Study, March 2011). In addition, during the 2000s, three quarters of the entire county population growth occurred in the unincorporated area. This clear trend of suburbanization, in line with the rest of the United States, was slightly uncharacteristic of the South, but stems from the fact that Houston has historically been a larger city, like the more established urban hubs of the Northeast and Midwest.

One major drive to population growth outside the Tollway was the completion of radiating the Tollway and infrastructure maintenance and development outside the Tollway (Harris County Management Services Population Study, March 2011). For example, in the 2000 tax year, Harris County owned 305 water districts, more than any other county in the state. In addition, Harris County Hospital District represents the prospering hospital industry and a large portion of Texas hotel occupancy taxes shows the county's dominant role in the hotel industry in Texas (TLC Research Division, 2002).

As the largest county in the base year, 1960, Harris County experienced both significant growth and significant suburbanization over the 50 years studied. This growth and sprawl were brought about in large part due to a solid and growing infrastructure in the county.

Tarrant County, Fort Worth, TX

The population of Tarrant County, TX grew by 236 percent from 1960 to 2010. Decade-by-decade analysis shows growth rates of 33 percent in the 1960s, 20 percent in the 1970s, 36 percent in the 1980s, 24 percent in the 1990s and 25 percent in the 2000s.

Development of the aviation industry, such as General Dynamics and Strategic Air Command, which operated from the 1940s to the 1980s, increased job demand. In addition, completion of Spur 303 and Interstate 30 West in the 1960s, and construction of the Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport in the 1970s, improved the county's transportation network both inside and outside the state, fueling local growth. Moreover, businesses prospered over time and the economy diversified, especially after 1990 (High Tower, 2010).

Travis County, Austin, TX

Travis County, TX experienced 383 percent population growth, the third-highest of Southern metropolitan counties. Bergstrom Army Air Field was established in the county during World War II, extending far-reaching influence on local development. As a consequence of the base's location in Travis County, returning veterans increased college student population and demand for housing and other services in the area. The desegregation movement became successful in

education in the 1950s, business in the 1960s, and in politics in the 1970s. At the same time, high-tech companies established headquarters (Texas Instruments, 1951, and Tracor, Incorporated, 1955) or branches (International Business Machines, 1967; Motorola, 1974; Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corporation, 1983; Dell Computers, 1984; and Sematech, 1988) in Travis County, becoming major employers (Smyrl, 2010).

Fairfax County, Washington, DC-MD-VA

Fairfax County, VA experienced significant, but declining, population growth between 1960 and 2010. Overall population increase amounted to 293 percent, but with the exception of a slight bump in the 1980s, both percent and absolute increase declined with each decade: from 65 percent increase in the 1960s to 31 percent in the 1970s, 37 percent in the 1980s, 18 percent in the 1990s, and 12 percent in the 2000s.

Fairfax County, similar to Harris County, was a site of suburban sprawl. Due to its proximity to the Northeast, but even more its highly established nature as a city, Washington, DC experienced strong trends of decentralization and suburbanization. Expansion in the federal government contributed greatly to the population explosion in the Washington Metropolitan Area. A primary benefactor of this suburban sprawl was Fairfax County, VA to the south.

As the federal government opened new bureaus and programs through the 1950s and 1960s, Fairfax County's population grew greatly in response to increasing employment opportunities with the US Government. After 1970, the private sector began to thrive in the county, where businesses opened offices close to the policy-making capital of Washington, DC. Subsequently, services industry flourished, boosting continuous population growth for the rest of twentieth century and the 2000s.

In the 1960s, out of all the decades studied, Fairfax County enjoyed very significant population growth: 65 percent, the second-highest in the South. This growth occurred as the federal government underwent an unprecedentedly large expansion in 1960s, although the trend had begun in the 1950s. Federal government expansion led to the establishment of new bureaus and programs, which of course warranted increased hiring. Furthermore, this expansion stimulated other industry development.

Beginning in the 1970s, the major contributor to population growth shifted from the public sector to the private sector, when businesses started to set offices in the county close to the country's capital. By 2010, the industries in the county ranged from information technology to education to public transportation ("History of Fairfax County, Virginia", nd). In 2010, the federal government contributed to just three percent of the county employment (County of Fairfax, Virginia 2010 Comprehensive Annual Financial Report, n.d.), a telling measure of how greatly the county's economy had diversified.

Moreover, Fairfax County began to play a dominant role in employment provision, as well as a housing base. On the one hand, the county population remained around one fifth of the

Washington metropolitan area population: 14 percent, 16 percent, 20 percent, 21 percent and 19 percent in the five decades respectively. On the other, compared to its relatively small portion of the area's population, many important employers were located in the county's jurisdictional area: 23 Fairfax County companies were among the 50 largest technology employers in the Washington area, while 22 of the 50 fastest growing companies in the area were from Fairfax County ("County of Fairfax, Virginia 2010 Comprehensive Annual Financial Report," n.d.).

However, the independence of prospering private businesses in the Fairfax County was questioned by Justin Fox, who claimed the major employers were "government-contractors" dependent on the federal government (Fox, 2007). In this respect, the model of Fairfax enjoying low unemployment was hardly emulated by most counties in other areas. In contrast, Russ Banham attributes the economic boom and the exceptional transformation of the county to a small group of business elites who dealt with regulators and "antigrowth forces" (Longstreth, 2012).

Fairfax County's population growth began as it benefited from suburban sprawl in the Washington metropolitan area, beginning with a massive jump in growth in the 1960s. Although growth slowed in the subsequent decades, the county gained status as an important employer, with private sector companies investing in the area.

The South, compared to the other three regions of the United States, experienced less pervasive trends of suburbanization. Growth in most of the Southern metropolitan counties was triggered by heavy military spending and investment during World War II, at which point urbanization began – only Houston (Harris County, TX) and Washington, DC (Fairfax County, VA) were sufficiently developed as cities by 1960 to begin suburbanization in the following 50 years. In the remaining eight counties studied, tourist and service industries played a heavy role in the attraction of population, as did the promotion of cultural integration in many of these counties. Nearly all Southern counties, however, benefited from the establishment of new businesses between 1960 and 2010.

The fourth and final region is the West in which all of the large counties experienced positive population growth, some more than others, and, on average, less than the counties in the South – but positive nonetheless – over the 50-year period of this study. It is a discussion of the West that now follows.

5.0 The West

In the 50 years from 1960 to 2010, the large metropolitan counties of the American West gained significant but highly varied population growth. The 13 metropolitan counties of the West ran the gamut of growth, from the most explosive, Clark County, Las Vegas, NV experienced 1,436 percent growth in just 50 years to the lowest, but still significant levels of growth in Los Angeles

County, CA: 63 percent. In between these extremes is a range of growth rates, including 615 percent increase in Orange County, Santa Ana, CA; 475 percent increase in Maricopa County, Phoenix, AZ; and 200 percent increase in San Diego County, CA.

Such variation from county to county reflects the high degree of economic diversification in the region. As did many counties in the South, the West benefited greatly from significant national defense spending, high technology, education, tourism and public transportation-guided urban planning. Large military projects were launched in Santa Clara County, San Jose, CA (177 percent growth); high-tech companies and research institutions concentrated in Los Angeles County, CA (63 percent growth), Sacramento County, CA (182 percent growth) and Santa Clara County, CA (177 percent growth); Sacramento County, CA gained reputation in the hospital industry.

The economy in Clark County, NV, the county with the most rapid population growth, integrated highly developed tourism, the entertainment industry, education, mineral mining and businesses – yielding a highly diverse and developed economic model. In addition, the county started programs to enhance collaboration within diverse communities. In contrast to the diversified economy in Clark County, Contra Costa County's development depended more heavily on its housing market in the 1990s. As a housing base for the San Ramon Valley in the Bay Area, Contra Costa County overheated in the residential housing construction so that a moratorium had to be called for in the late 1990s. The less diversified economy in Contra Costa County made the local economy fragile, and thus more severely weakened by the housing market recession, which limited the county's development.

Increasing suburban sprawl contributed to the population changes in the West, but in a novel manner: while suburban sprawl took population away from large metropolitan counties in the Northeast and Midwest, it brought population increases to many large metropolitan counties in the West. These large counties in the West were in fact suburban centers, not urban centers, building their population largely as an accommodation to the trend of decentralization, drawing migrants from city centers with lower housing prices. Some of these counties did not necessarily have highly developed industries other than services industries, but their attractive housing market served large cities in neighboring counties whose various industries were more developed. Other suburbanizing counties benefited from large-scale public transportation projects, urban planning or land economics. Details of growth in the West can be found in Table 1, and growth is graphed in Figures 2.4 and 3.4.

In the following paragraphs, individual demographic experiences of the counties in the South are discussed.

Maricopa County, Phoenix, AZ

Maricopa County experienced a population growth of 475 percent between 1960 and 2010, the third-most rapid growth in the West. The population increased by 46 percent in the 1960s, 56 percent in the 1970s, 41 percent in the 1980s, 45 percent in the 1990s and 24 percent in the

2000s. By 2010, Maricopa County had become the fourth most populous county in the country, reaching 3,817,117 in 2010. In addition, Maricopa County contributes to over 90 percent of the Phoenix metropolitan area's total population.

Sara D. Moya examined the role of growth planning in Maricopa County's development between 1988 and 1992. A study she conducted shows that deregulation in local governments restrained the growth planning, although some local growth planning managed to achieve successes (Moya, 1998). Another study, conducted in 1999, produced similar results, showing that the population expansion from 1960 to 1980 stemmed mainly from land economics, rather than growth planning (Knowles-Yanez et al., 1999). In addition, the study shows two patterns of land economics in this period: new desert development and disperse distribution of urban development. Additionally, the momentum of growth was sustained by an economic shift after 1980, a shift from traditional agricultural production to "a more diversified" set of products, brought about by an increasingly skilled labor market (Knowles-Yanez et al., 1999).

Maricopa County gained a magnitude of population growth from land economics, such as the new development of desert land, and an increasingly diversified industry.

Alameda County, Oakland, CA

Over the 50 years studied, Alameda County's population grew 66 percent, the second-lowest rate in the West. The county's growth was sporadic and inconsistent, with a gain of 18 percent in the 1960s, just three percent in the 1970s, 16 percent in the 1980s, 13 percent in the 1990s and five percent in the 2000s.

Beginning in the 1970s, office space decentralization had occurred in the San Francisco Bay Area when manufacturing firms and offices moved to areas with lower land prices and more space (Kroll, 1984). Consequently, population growth in Alameda County and Contra Costa County, Oakland were closely correlated to the local residential housing prices.

The county is famous for its natural beauty, diversified businesses and diverse culture (Corkery, 2001). All of these factors helped draw migrants, especially as a suburban county serving San Francisco. Construction of the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART), the first hi-tech mass transit system in the United States ("BART Bay Area Rapid Transit", 1995), connected the county to urban centers nearby ("A History of BART: The Project is Rescued", 2012).

In the 1980s and 1990s, when the county's population growth experienced a small peak, Alameda County achieved its rapid growth due to the advantage of its relatively low land prices and convenient transportation network to the San Francisco, Silicon Valley and Central Valley markets (Corkery, 2001).

Contra Costa County, Oakland, CA

The population in Contra Costa County grew 156 percent in the five decades from 1960 to 2010. The county's growth slowed from 22 percent in the 1980s, to 18 percent in the 1990s, to 11 percent in the 2000s, and absolute growth in the county also declined consistently after the 1980s.

As was the case with Alameda County, growth in Contra Costa County was largely precipitated by the decentralization of the San Francisco Bay Area, attracting residents with its lower land prices. In the mid-1980s, however, opponents began to argue against development plans by politicians and businessmen, hoping to prevent traffic congestion caused by population expansion. Affordable housing in the eastern county where homes were \$200,000 cheaper than in the San Ramon Valley fueled the local growth so greatly that the county supervisor had to call for a moratorium of residential housing construction in the late 1990s (Sokoloff, 1998). Similar complaints about consequences of population expansion and failures to extend infrastructure (to extend BART and to widen Highway 4) continued in the 2000s (Hallissy, 2004).

Contra Costa County's growth, fueled by suburbanization as migrants sought convenient but affordable housing, was more than the county's infrastructure could accommodate. The county's policy-makers intentionally enacted measures to curb growth in order to ease the strain on the Contra Costa's infrastructure.

Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, CA

The Los Angeles County population grew just 63 percent between 1960 and 2010 – the lowest rate among large metropolitan counties in the West. The county's growth had a bimodal distribution over time, with a peak of 16 percent in the 1960s, a valley of six percent in the 1970s, a second peak of 19 percent in the 1980s, and a decrease to seven percent growth in the 1990s and three percent growth in the 2000s.

After World War II, Los Angeles became a major military center on the West Coast, leading to rapid economic growth, especially in manufacturing industries such as the aircraft firms of Douglas Aircraft and Lockheed. Long Beach, a city in Los Angeles County, was nicknamed "Iowa's seaport," a typical reflection of migration from the Midwest to southern California (Kling, Olin, & Poster, 1995, p. 1) during the first peak in the 1960s.

Later, growth in Los Angeles County came from a different source: outside the United States. From 1970 to 2000, Southern California, including Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, and San Bernadino Counties, was famous as the home of a large number of immigrants. By 2000, "31 percent of the local population was foreign-born" and "one-third of foreign-born individuals had lived in the United States for fewer than ten years" (Katz & Lang, 2006, p 175). This was the reason for the second peak in the 1980s.

By far the largest county in the United States in each decade studied, Los Angeles County's economy remained strong throughout the half-century considered. Two Olympic Games were hosted by Los Angeles, and the second, in 1984 brought significant additions to the infrastructure and economy there. A number of automobile companies established themselves in the county, including the "Big Three" (Ford, GM, and Chrysler). The new Tom Bradley International Terminal was opened in order to better the airport in 1984 ("Historical Timeline of Los Angeles", 2012), further attracting business and population to the area. In addition, cultural products industries, which relied on the entertainment industry, significantly contributed to Los Angeles County growth. By 1991, employment in the cultural products industries of the county exceeded employment in high-tech industry, and the gap between the two continued to widen in the 1990s (Scott, 1996).

Migration from the Midwest in the 1960s and immigration from outside the US in the 1980s brought new population to Los Angeles County, whose infrastructure and economy continued to improve and grow. Nonetheless, growth in the county remained lower than surrounding counties between the years 1960 and 2010, largely due to the fact that it was such a large and developed county at the outset of the study.

Orange County, Santa Ana, CA

The population of Orange County experienced a net population gain of 328 percent over the half-century studied. The population increased most drastically during the 1960s, swelling 102 percent in just 10 years. After the 1960s, both its percentage growth and its absolute growth slowed gradually until 2010, when the population reached 3,010,232.

In addition to the influx of immigrants experienced by most of Southern California, Orange County also attracted migrants for significant economic reasons. The county's regional economy became highly developed and integrated into the world capitalist market system, based on its four major features – "postsuburban spatial organization, information capitalism, consumerism, and cosmopolitanism" (Kling, Olin, & Poster, 1995).

In the 1960s, when the county witnessed its most rapid population growth, large land developers generated giant residential tracts, forming the foundation of the subsequent decentralized spatial organization in the county – highly specialized and polycentric (Kling, Olin, & Poster, 1995). Modarres praises this polycentric structure, claiming that it mitigates the issue of long commutes except for low-income populations, and frames "the decentralized nature of services employment" (Modarres, 2011). This feature of polycentricity offered more – and more convenient – employment opportunities in the Orange County job market, contributing to its population explosion in the 1960s.

Thanks to economic development and decentralization, Orange County's population increased to four times its original size between 1960 and 2010.

Riverside County, CA

Riverside County, CA experienced an enormous population growth of 615 percent over the 50 years studied, growing from 306,191 in 1960 to 2,189,641 in 2010. This was the second-highest growth rate in the West and indeed, the United States as a whole. This growth reached its peak of 76 percent during the 1980s. The two decades with the most significant absolute growth were the 1980s and 2000s, as the population of Riverside County grew by 507,247 residents and 644,254 residents, respectively.

Kahn argues that in Riverside County and neighboring San Bernardino County, effective regulations to improve air quality, as well as land prices relatively lower than those in their neighboring counties (such as Orange County and San Diego County (Brass, 1989), played key roles in drawing substantial migration from 1980 to 1996 (Kahn, 2000, p 597). Furthermore, the financing of a new hospital in 1989 ("Finance/New Issues; California County's Bonds for Hospital", 1989), a five-year effort to integrate the disabled in schools in 1980s (Mercer & Denti, 1989), and an ideological reform in the welfare program emphasizing work and education in the 1980s and 1990s (Deparle, 1993) all contributed to boosting the local economy and promoting a high quality of life in Riverside County. The appeal of a better quality of life in rural Riverside County was key a factor in drawing residents (Walter et al., 2012).

However, a recession hit the county in 1990, severely damaging its housing industry (Cheslow, 1993). "Riverside is a typical example of an area that has grown to depend on real estate impact fees to pay for vital services and develop infrastructure" (Cheslow, 1993). The weakened real estate market had pervasive effects on the local economy. Financial pressures, partly caused by the decrease in property tax money, forced the local government to cut its budget significantly, especially the amount allotted to the County library, in 1993, which was outsourced to the private sector in 1997 (J.K., 1997).

The 1990s were a decade dedicated to the salvation and preservation of Riverside's economic prosperity. A campaign to eradicate the medfly, a destructive pest that threatened California's hugely profitable agricultural industry, was generally successful in Riverside County in 1994, allowing agriculture to continue its positive contribution to the county's economy (Dawson, 1998; Sims, 1994).

In 1996, Riverside County's March Air Force Base was realigned, losing approximately 4,533 acres of land, nearly 1,000 of which comprise Meridian Business Park. This business park is part of the Joint Powers Authority's redevelopment plans to rejuvenate the local economy and generate new business (Business Incentive Zones: Riverside County, California; Former March Air Force Base, Riverside County, California (Closed 1996)). Energy reform was enacted in 1997 to reduce annual energy cost, as the county completed a multi-technology retrofit of its energy use (Nelson, 1997).

In the early 2000s, the Riverside County Integrated Project was created to strike a balance between human population growth and environmental protection. Giant tracts of land were

initiated under the plan, such as a 4,600-parcel subdivision in French alley (Fulton & Shigley, 2002). The Riverside County Integrated Projects generated further job opportunities while simultaneously improving the quality of life in the county, attracting substantial migrants.

A heavy dependence on the housing industry brought growth to Riverside County from 1960 to 1989, but beginning in 1990, this strategy began to backfire. Although a housing recession dampened growth in the 1990s and 2000s, successful agricultural and economic measures maintained a significant, albeit lower, level of growth in the county.

San Bernardino County, CA

San Bernardino County, similar to Riverside County, experienced a rapid population growth of 304 percent from 1960 to 2010. Its most significant growth occurred in the 1980s as well. New construction of housing and low housing prices in Fontana, a city in San Bernardino, attracted a significant number of migrant families (Lazzareschi, 1989).

The growth of San Bernardino County and Riverside County, together comprising the San Bernardino-Riverside metropolitan area, was highly correlated – the housing industry initiated population gain and fostered the growth of other industries, which diversified the economies in these two counties. This allowed the counties to maintain significant, if lessened, positive growth after the collapse of the housing market in 1990.

Sacramento County, Sacramento, CA

The population of Sacramento County grew 182 percent in the 50 years studied. To the advantage of its transportation network, as well as business and agriculture, Sacramento County laid its economic foundation during the Gold Rush era in the nineteenth century. Between 1960 and 2010, the county diversified its employment. As the capital of California, a major employer in Sacramento County has been government. Other major employers included industries such as education, information technology, health services, hospitality, and transportation (“Sacramento County History”, 2012).

A slight economic downturn occurred in the 2000s, when the private sector faced difficulty in producing jobs. Although the private sector experienced pressure, the most significant job losses occurred in the public sector (“Sacramento County Economic Forecast”, 2011).

Sacramento County, a major metropolitan area and the capital of California attracted population through a growing and diversified economy, in spite of a slight dip in growth in the 2000s.

San Diego County, San Diego, CA

The population growth in San Diego County reached its peak of 37 percent in the 1970s, and similarly rapid growth occurred in the 1960s and 1980s. The county’s growth slowed down to 13 percent in the 1990s and 10 percent in the 2000s. Overall, the county grew 200 percent

between 1960 and 2010. Two housing downturns contributed to the slow-down in San Diego County's expansion: "the 1990-96 Savings and Loan (S & L) Crisis and the 2006 subprime fallout." While the former crisis stemmed from abundant housing inventory mainly caused by aggressive lending to homebuilders and commercial developers, the latter was blamed on bad loans underpinned by a number of groups: borrowers, financial intermediaries and rating agencies (Cortez, 2008).

Santa Clara County, San Jose, CA

Santa Clara County's population grew 177 percent between 1960 and 2010. Growth reached a striking 66 percent in the 1960s and then slowed to 22 percent in the 1970s, 16 percent in the 1980s, 12 percent in the 1990s and a mere six percent in the 2000s.

Silicon Valley served as the most significant engine for the county's development. The rapid growth of the semiconductor industry fueled Santa Clara's prosperity starting in the 1960s. However, the income gap in the area had widened, despite the prosperity of Silicon Valley (Goodell, 1999). Population growth slowed down when companies matured and became unable to generate a significant number of new jobs after 1990. What's more, national defense spending, which had helped augment the economy, continued to decline in Santa Clara County, further diminishing growth ("Santa Clara County General Plan", 1994).

Clark County, Las Vegas, NV

Clark County achieved an unrivaled population growth of 1,436 percent during the period studied. In 1960, it was a small county of 127,016 people, but in the next 50 years the population skyrocketed to 1,951,269 in 2010.

Clark County and the Las Vegas metropolitan area, a world-famous area, known for its abundant and varied entertainment, share exactly the same boundaries and hence the same population. In addition to its highly prosperous tourism industry, artesian water in the surrounding valley (Malmberg, 1965) and mineral mining (Hayes & Kampf, 2008) greatly contributed to the development of Clark County (Newman, 2012). The county also has well-maintained and highly established interstate highway access, and improved its airport to strengthen its transportation infrastructure.

Beyond the development of business and mineral mining, Clark County has focused considerable attention on its education systems. In the 2000s, the county owned approximately 357 schools and was planning on a huge bond proposal in order to renew education facilities and accommodate increasing student population ("Clark County (Nev.) District Considers Huge Bond Proposal", 2012; "Fast-Growing System in Nevada Will Seek \$9.5 Billion Bond Issue", 2007; McNeil, 2011). In 2008, the Clark County School District (CCSD) won the MacConnell Award for its careful and effective educational facility planning ("Planning Reaps Rewards for Clark County", 2009).

To maintain and increase its population, Clark County took efforts to provide employees with an agreeable environment, “conducting an employee survey every two years since 1993” (Kim, 2002). Its efforts in “participative management” increased job satisfaction in the county. Comfortable employment attracted a great number of migrants over the years studied, increasing the population greatly. Among these migrants were immigrants to the United States. Between 2000 and 2009, Clark County ranked fourth in the largest absolute growth in immigrants among US counties (Wright et al., 2012).

Despite its ethnic diversity, cultural conflicts were relatively few in Clark County. In the 1990s, when Asian and Hispanic populations were expanding rapidly (Wright, Tuman, & Stevenson, 2012, p. 5), Clark County initiated projects aimed at strengthening collaboration within and between communities. These projects showed encouraging results in the county (Reilly, 1998, p 26).

Clark County achieved a virtual population growth miracle in the 50 years studied – creating a prospering oasis in the Nevada desert by strengthening its infrastructure, developing business, reinforcing the job market, boosting education, and promoting community collaboration. This plan set up a relatively healthy model for sustainable population growth in the long term: its original construction in transportation, water-supply, and other infrastructure greatly improved living standards and drew economic opportunities. Meanwhile, the efforts in education ensured skilled human capital for long-run development. While investments in physical and human capital attracted a great number of migrants, extra investments were made to better the working condition of new migrants and promote a harmonious society free from civil conflict that could cause residents to fear for their safety. This virtuous cycle significantly enhanced the population in Clark County.

Salt Lake County, Salt Lake City, UT

The population in Salt Lake County grew 169 percent from 1960 to 2010. Growth was relatively consistent, with increases of 20 percent in the 1960s, 35 percent in the 1970s, 17 percent in the 1980s, 24 percent in the 1990s and 15 percent in the 2000s.

Beginning in 1960, population in the county spread from the central city to unincorporated parts of the county, where the majority of its population dwelled in 2006 (Perlich, 2006). The 2002 Winter Olympic Games remarkably boosted not only the economy of the hosting Salt Lake County, but also that of Utah as a whole (“Salt Lake Chamber | Utah economy still benefits from 2002 Winter Olympic Games”, 2012). The county economy expanded and developed in the mining, manufacturing, business services and health care industries (“Demographics: Economic Growth”, 2011).

Heavy suburbanization and a developing and diversifying economy boosted growth in Salt Lake County from 1960 to 2010.

King County, Seattle, WA

The population in King County, WA grew continuously over the 50-year period studied, reaching a total growth of 107 percent. Its growth rate was 24 percent in the 1960s, 10 percent in the 1970s, 19 percent in the 1980s, 15 percent in the 1990s, and 11 percent in the 2000s. Compared to other counties in the West, King County, WA experienced a slower, smoother population growth, with no decade's growth rate reaching 30 percent.

In order to achieve sustainable development – and to simultaneously protect the environment and to ensure a high quality of life – King County started its first comprehensive growth management plan in 1964. In response to political, economic and environmental changes, the plan was updated in 1985, pinpointing an “urban growth boundary line.” Subsequent updates took place in the plan and in legislature in the 1990s and 2000s (“History of Growth Management in King County”, 2012).

Careful, formal planning helped King County achieve slow and steady growth in the half-century studied. This allowed the county's infrastructure and services time to develop along with its developing population, while still fostering stable economic growth.

In contrast to trends exhibited in the Northeast and Midwest, in which large metropolitan counties lost population to suburbanization, and those exhibited in the South, where suburbanization was scarce, many large counties in the West actually drew population from decentralization in nearby cities. Relatively low-priced housing in many of these large suburban – but still metropolitan – counties attracted migrants from urban centers nearby. This growth generated by the housing market was not always sustainable, as demonstrated by the collapse of various Western housing markets in the 1990s. Counties managed to sustain positive growth in spite of housing market volatility, thanks to diversification of their economies. Those counties that fared best in the face of the housing and other crisis had implemented long-term plans that allowed them to accommodate such high growth.

6.0 Conclusion

The large metropolitan counties across the four regions of the United States – the Northeast, the Midwest, the South and the West – have experienced a variety of population changes in the 50 years since 1960. Whether a county displays rapid, unchecked growth or slow, steady depopulation, policy-makers at the local, state and national levels can learn from the trends exhibited by the 41 largest counties in the United States.

The population volatility in large metropolitan counties is sometimes determined by economic factors and at other times by social factors, but there is always room for policy to influence population changes. How well cultural merging is managed, how well job creation is fostered and how strong social programs are, are all major factors in how attractive a city is as a potential

destination for migrants and how well it is able to retain its original population. It is important, therefore, for policy-makers to study both cases of counties that were successful in boosting population growth as well as those that failed to sustain their original population.

Based on this comprehensive study of all counties whose populations reached one million or more at any time between 1960 and 2010, several regional trends can be identified. Throughout all four regions, suburban sprawl resulted in decentralized populations and economies in most metropolitan areas. Suburban counties, as a result, experienced greater population growth than more urban counties, as seen in the case of the New York metropolitan area, where central urban counties' minimal growth was dwarfed by that of neighboring suburban Suffolk County.

In the Northeast, where population density has traditionally been high, a majority of counties experienced declining numbers of residents. Reasons for these population declines included economic factors, such as corresponding declines in old industries located in these areas, and social issues, such as conflicts between residents of different cultural backgrounds. Those counties that managed to foster population growth benefitted from suburban sprawl and the successful promotion of cultural integration.

The sharpest decline occurred in the Northeast during the 1970s, but since then metropolitan counties in the region have been making a shaky recovery. Should this recovery prove transient, the continually shrinking tax base would cause significant deterioration in infrastructure, urban decay and a less-than-thriving economic environment. It would likely behoove the local authorities to work towards renewed economic prosperity and increased social integration.

In the Midwest, only two of the seven cities studied lost population, and one gained population at a negligible rate. These counties lost population to surrounding suburban areas, especially as part of the phenomenon known as white flight. These counties also suffered from declining industries based in their areas. Those Midwestern counties that exhibited significant population growth had experienced successful community building and economic diversification.

The Midwest, like the Northeast, felt a severe population drop in the 1970s, due in large part to increasingly turbulent race relations in many of its urban areas. The region's well-being was further damaged by a decline in the auto industry, on which many parts of the Midwest had become highly dependent. To prevent further decline, it is imperative that metropolitan areas in the Midwest increase their economic diversification, while remaining attentive to cultural needs.

Populations in the South grew substantially and relatively steadily. However, it is interesting to note that 10 of the 11 Southern counties that were large enough to qualify for the study were in either Florida or Texas. The remaining population centers were either too small or too dispersed to register in the study. All the Southern counties studied gained population largely due to federal government spending. Military investments in Florida and Texas fostered

population growth and support industry, and the growing size of the Federal Government itself in Washington, DC drew population to neighboring suburban Fairfax County, VA.

Federal and military investment brought steady growth between 1960 and 2010 in the Southern metropolitan areas studied, greatly benefiting the economies and infrastructure there. The task of the Southern region is now to spread that investment and knowledge from the highly focused areas of Texas and Florida throughout the region as a whole.

Counties studied in the West – the majority of which were in California – showed population growth, but at highly varied rates. Many of these counties drew population with relatively cheap housing, giving rise to behemoth tracts of suburbia. The West also experienced higher-than-average levels of immigration, contributing to the population booms in many counties. Other counties, especially Clark County with an incredibly high growth of 1,436 percent in 50 years, used careful economic and social planning to create an attractive environment for migrants.

The enormous growth of Clark County is likely unsustainable, but the tendency towards thorough urban planning is likely to keep the county's resources well-managed. Recent events, however, indicate that the same cannot be said for some counties in California, where many major cities, including San Bernardino, have filed for bankruptcy (NBC News staff and wire reports, 2012). Comprehensive planning can save some counties, like Clark, but others, especially San Bernardino whose growth was based on a housing bubble, are at high risk for financial ruin when economic tides turn. Unchecked growth can be risky, and the West may be learning that lesson first-hand in the coming years.

Table 1: Counties with a Population Greater than One Million in the United States, 1960 – 2010

State name	Metropolitan area	County name	Population						Percentage Change (%)					
			1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	1960 - 1970	1970 - 1980	1980 - 1990	1990 - 2000	2000 - 2010	1960 - 2010
Northeast														
Massachusetts	Boston, MPA (Cambridge)	Middlesex County	1,238,742	1,397,268	1,367,034	1,398,468	1,465,396	1,503,085	13	(2)	2	5	3	21
New York	New York, NY	Bronx County	1,424,815	1,471,701	1,168,972	1,203,789	1,332,650	1,385,108	3	(21)	3	11	4	(3)
New York	Buffalo, NY	Erie County	1,064,688	1,113,491	1,015,472	968,532	950,265	919,040	5	(9)	(5)	(2)	(3)	(14)
New York	New York, NY	Kings County	2,627,319	2,602,012	2,230,936	2,300,664	2,465,326	2,504,700	(1)	(14)	3	7	2	(5)
New York	Nassau-Suffolk, NY	Nassau County	1,300,171	1,428,080	1,321,582	1,287,348	1,334,544	1,339,532	10	(7)	(3)	4	0	3
New York	New York, NY	New York County	1,698,281	1,539,233	1,428,285	1,487,536	1,537,195	1,585,873	(9)	(7)	4	3	3	(7)
New York	New York, NY	Queens County	1,809,578	1,986,473	1,891,325	1,951,598	2,229,379	2,230,722	10	(5)	3	14	0	23
New York	Nassau-Suffolk, NY	Suffolk County	666,784	1,124,950	1,284,231	1,321,864	1,419,369	1,493,350	69	14	3	7	5	124
Pennsylvania	Pittsburgh, PA	Allegheny County	1,628,587	1,605,016	1,450,085	1,336,449	1,281,666	1,223,348	(1)	(10)	(8)	(4)	(5)	(25)
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia, PA-NJ	Philadelphia County	2,002,512	1,948,609	1,688,210	1,585,577	1,517,550	1,526,006	(3)	(13)	(6)	(4)	1	(24)
Midwest														
Illinois	Chicago, IL	Cook County	5,129,725	5,492,369	5,253,655	5,105,067	5,376,741	5,194,675	7	(4)	(3)	5	(3)	1
Michigan	Detroit, MI (Warren)	Oakland County	690,259	907,871	1,011,793	1,083,592	1,194,156	1,202,362	32	11	7	10	1	74
Michigan	Detroit, MI	Wayne County	2,666,297	2,666,751	2,337,891	2,111,687	2,061,162	1,820,584	0	(12)	(10)	(2)	(12)	(32)
Minnesota	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	Hennepin County	842,854	960,080	941,411	1,032,431	1,116,200	1,152,425	14	(2)	10	8	3	37
Missouri	St. Louis, MO	St. Louis County	703,532	951,353	973,896	993,529	1,016,315	998,954	35	2	2	2	(2)	42
Ohio	Cleveland, OH	Cuyahoga County	1,647,895	1,721,300	1,498,400	1,412,140	1,393,978	1,280,122	4	(13)	(6)	(1)	(8)	(22)
Ohio	Columbus, OH	Franklin County	682,962	833,249	869,132	961,437	1,068,978	1,163,414	22	4	11	11	9	70
South														
Florida	Fort Lauderdale, FL	Broward County	333,946	620,100	1,018,200	1,255,488	1,623,018	1,748,066	86	64	23	29	8	423
Florida	Tampa, FL	Hillsborough County	397,788	490,265	646,960	834,054	998,948	1,229,226	23	32	29	20	23	209
Florida	Miami, FL	Miami-Dade County	935,047	1,267,792	1,625,781	1,937,094	2,253,362	2,496,435	36	28	19	16	11	167
Florida	Orlando, FL	Orange County	263,540	344,311	471,016	677,491	896,344	1,145,956	31	37	44	32	28	335
Florida	West Palm Beach, FL	Palm Beach County	228,106	348,753	576,863	863,518	1,131,184	1,320,134	53	65	50	31	17	479
Texas	San Antonio, TX	Bexar County	687,151	830,460	988,800	1,185,394	1,392,931	1,714,773	21	19	20	18	23	150
Texas	Dallas, TX	Dallas County	951,527	1,327,321	1,556,390	1,852,810	2,218,899	2,368,139	39	17	19	20	7	149
Texas	Houston, TX	Harris County	1,243,158	1,741,912	2,409,547	2,818,199	3,400,578	4,092,459	40	38	17	21	20	229
Texas	Fort Worth, TX	Tarrant County	538,495	716,317	860,880	1,170,103	1,446,219	1,809,034	33	20	36	24	25	236

State name	Metropolitan area	County name	Population						Percentage Change (%)					
			1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	1960 - 1970	1970 - 1980	1980 - 1990	1990 - 2000	2000 - 2010	1960 - 2010
Texas	Austin, TX	Travis County	212,136	295,516	419,573	576,407	812,280	1,024,266	39	42	37	41	26	383
Virginia	Washington, DC-MD-VA	Fairfax County	275,002	455,021	596,901	818,584	969,749	1,081,726	65	31	37	18	12	293
West														
Arizona	Phoenix, AZ	Maricopa County	663,510	967,522	1,509,052	2,122,101	3,072,149	3,817,117	46	56	41	45	24	475
California	Oakland, CA	Alameda County	908,209	1,073,184	1,105,379	1,279,182	1,443,741	1,510,271	18	3	16	13	5	66
California	Oakland, CA	Contra Costa County	409,030	558,389	656,380	803,732	948,816	1,049,025	37	18	22	18	11	156
California	Los Angeles, CA	Los Angeles County	6,038,771	7,032,075	7,477,503	8,863,164	9,519,338	9,818,605	16	6	19	7	3	63
California	Santa Ana, CA	Orange County	703,925	1,420,386	1,932,709	2,410,556	2,846,289	3,010,232	102	36	25	18	6	328
California	San Bernardino-Riverside, CA	Riverside County	306,191	459,074	663,166	1,170,413	1,545,387	2,189,641	50	44	76	32	42	615
California	Sacramento, CA	Sacramento County	502,778	631,498	783,381	1,041,219	1,223,499	1,418,788	26	24	33	18	16	182
California	San Bernardino-Riverside, CA	San Bernardino County	503,591	684,072	895,016	1,418,380	1,709,434	2,035,210	36	31	58	21	19	304
California	San Diego, CA	San Diego County	1,033,011	1,357,854	1,861,846	2,498,016	2,813,833	3,095,313	31	37	34	13	10	200
California	San Jose, CA	Santa Clara County	642,315	1,064,714	1,295,071	1,497,577	1,682,585	1,781,642	66	22	16	12	6	177
Nevada	Las Vegas, NV	Clark County	127,016	273,288	463,087	741,459	1,375,765	1,951,269	115	69	60	86	42	1,436
Utah	Salt Lake City, UT	Salt Lake County	383,035	458,607	619,066	725,956	898,387	1,029,655	20	35	17	24	15	169
Washington	Seattle, WA	King County	935,014	1,156,633	1,269,749	1,507,319	1,737,034	1,931,249	24	10	19	15	11	107

Sources:

1960: Table 24 - Population of Counties in the United States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico: 1960 and 1950
Part 1, United States Summary

1970: Table 24 - Population of Counties: 1970 and 1960
Volume 1 Characteristics of the Population, Part 1 United States Summary Section 1

1980: Table 17 - Land Area, Population, and Population Density for Counties: 1960 to 1980
Characteristics of the Population, Number of Inhabitants, United States Summary

1990 & 2000: Table 1: Metropolitan Areas and their Geographic Components in Alphabetic Sort, 1990 and 2000 Population, and Numeric and Percent Population Change: 1990 to 2000

2010: CPH-T-1. Population Change for Counties in the United States and for Municipios in Puerto Rico: 2000 to 2010

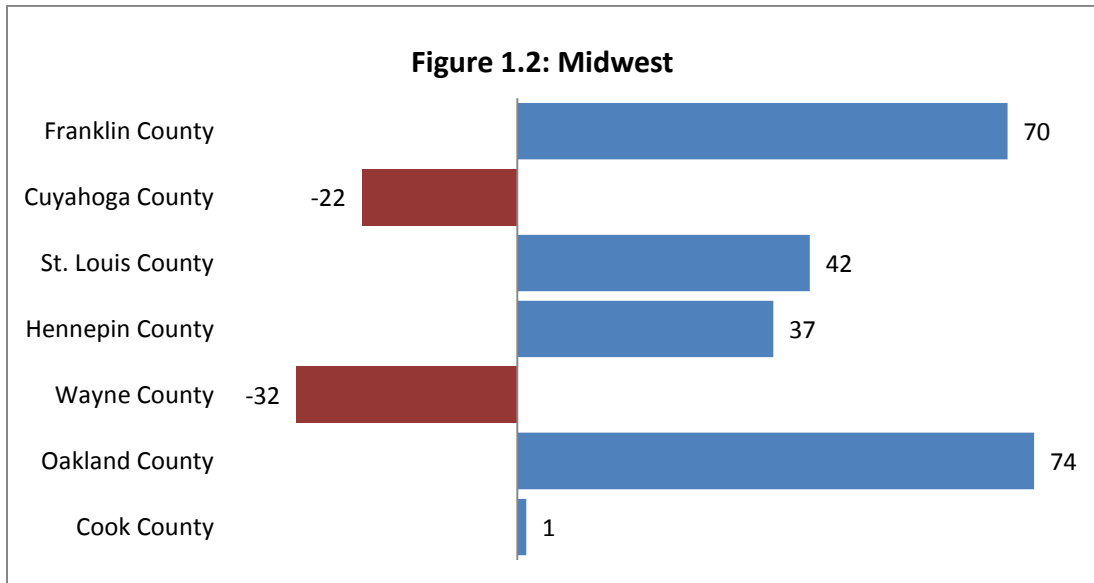
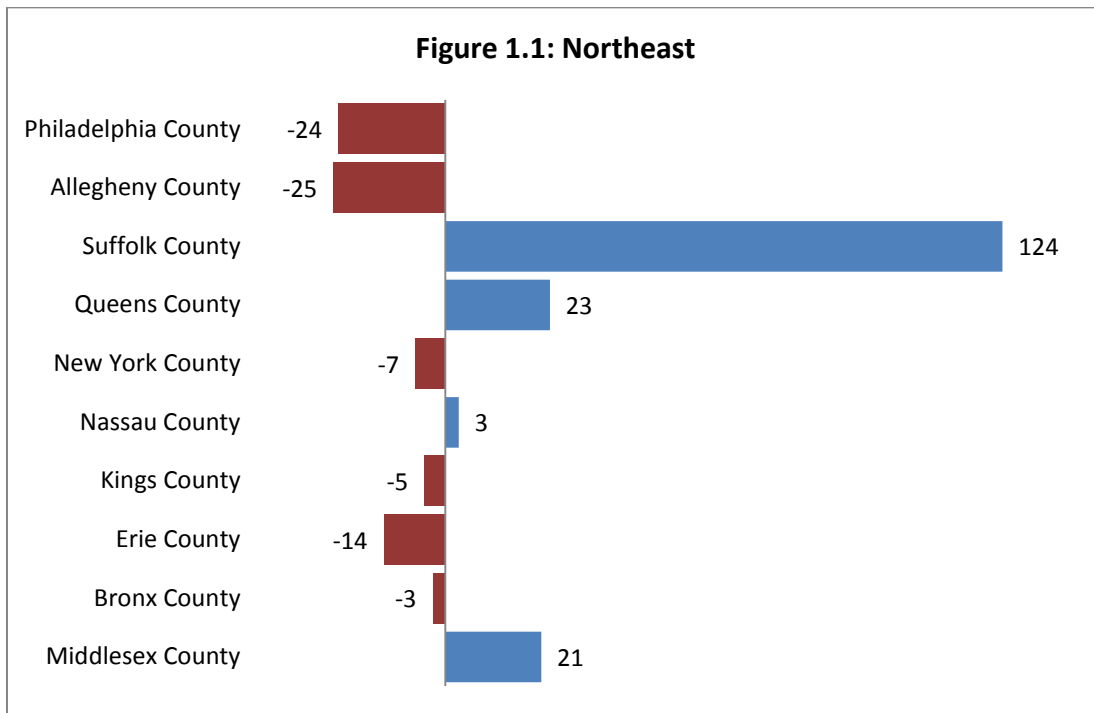
Figure 1: Growth of Large Counties in the United States (1960 - 2010)

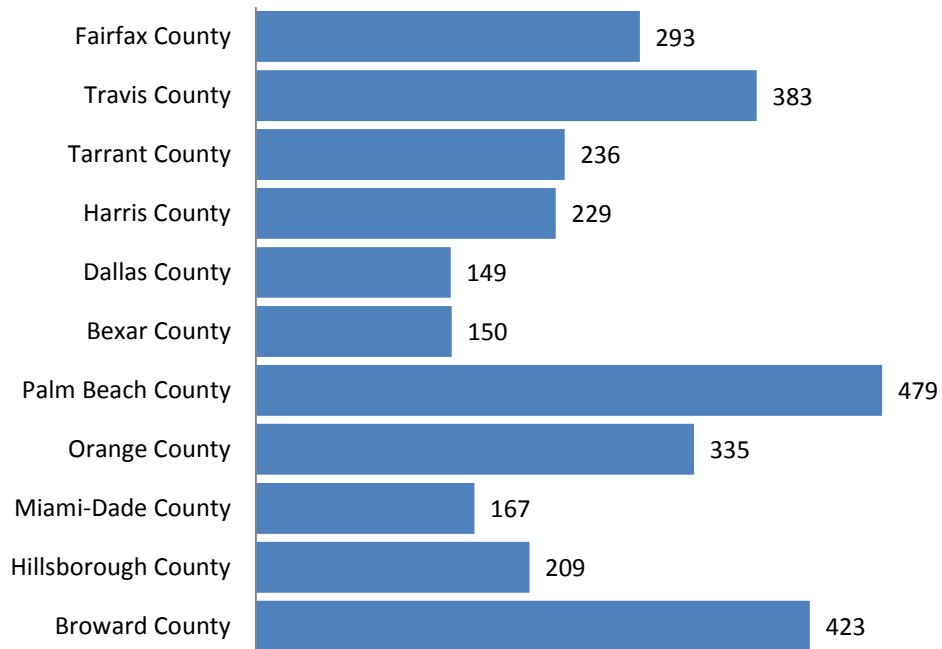
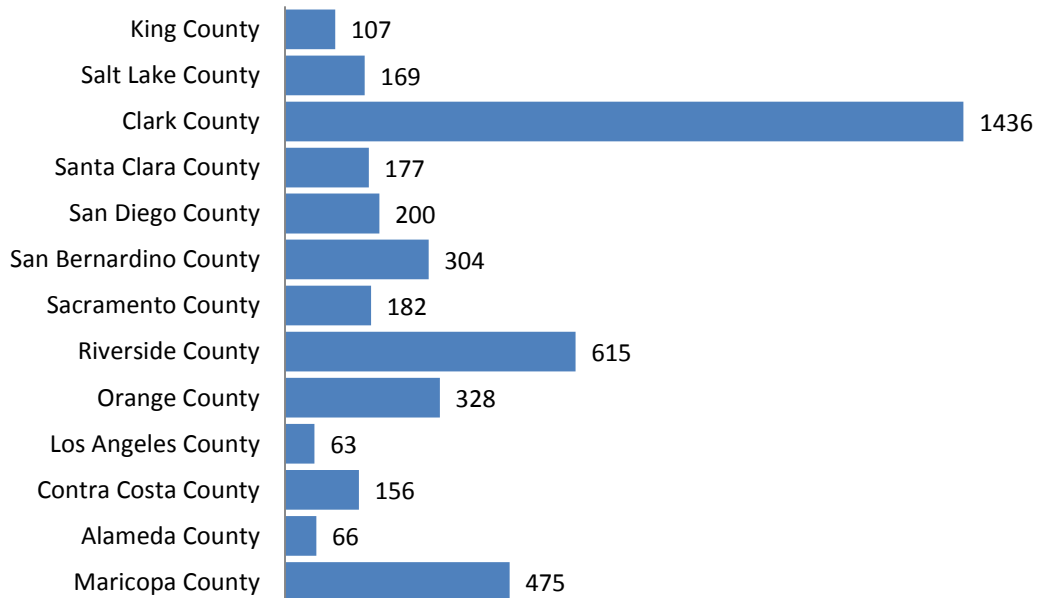
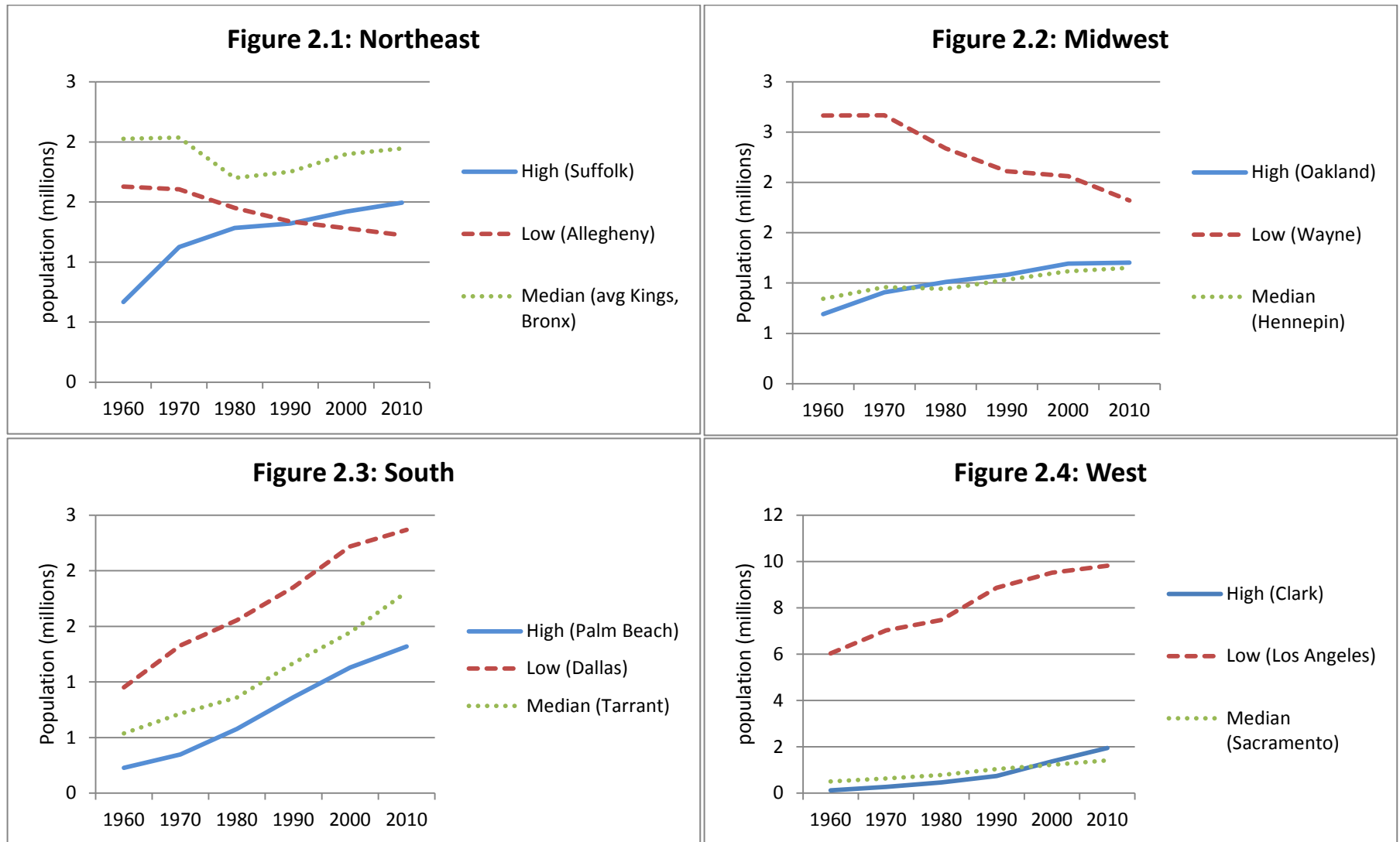
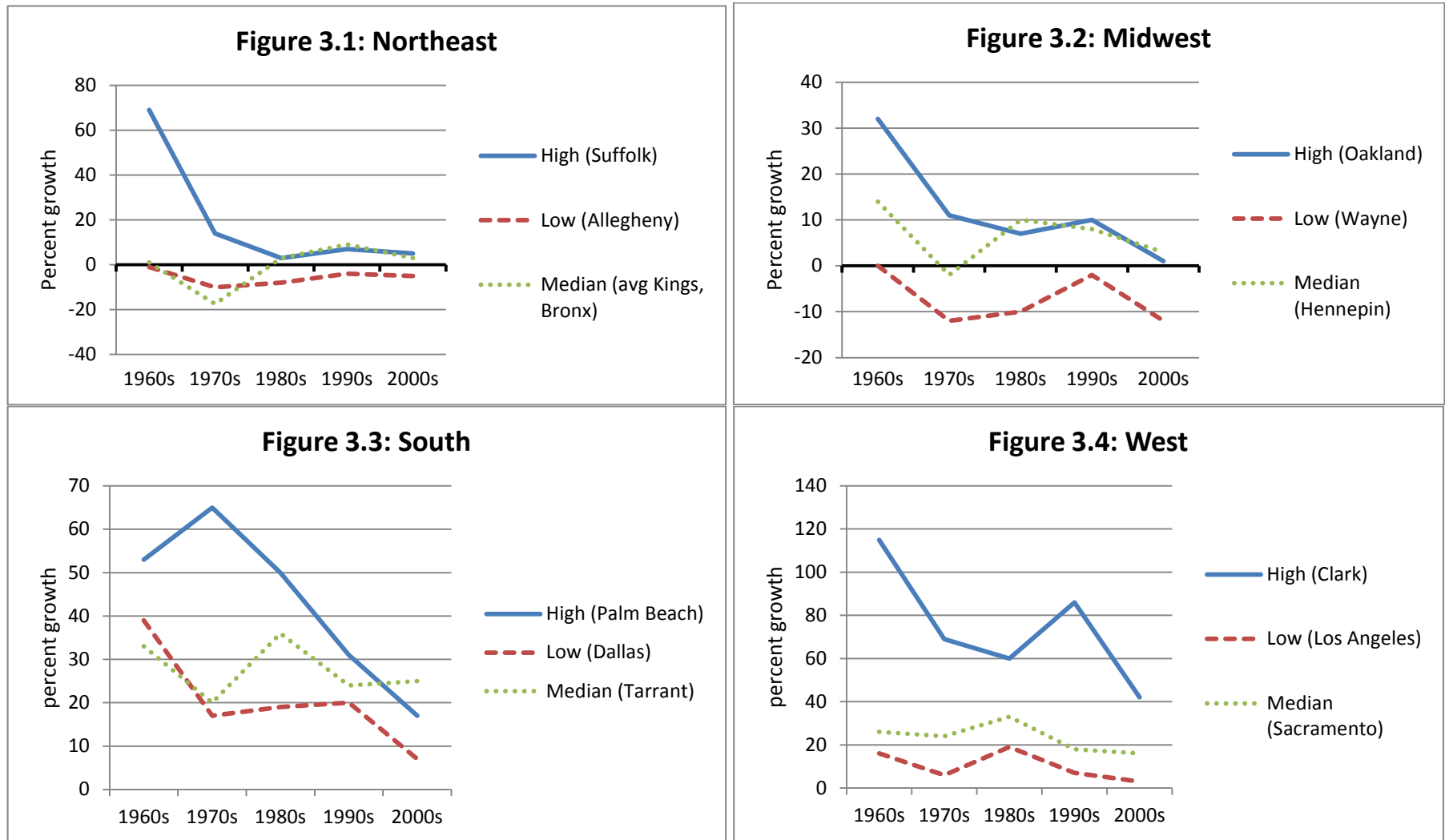
Figure 1.3: South**Figure 1.4: West**

Figure 2: Comparison of Absolute Growth in the Northeast, Midwest, South and West (1960 – 2010)¹



¹ Inclusion of data for all counties presented far too many lines to be individually comprehended on a graph small enough to fit on a sheet of paper. For simplicity's sake, these graphs show the county with the highest growth, that with the lowest growth, and the median county, based on net population growth from 1960 to 2010.

Figure 3: Comparison of Percent Growth in the Northeast, Midwest, South and West (1960 – 2010)²



² Inclusion of data for all counties presented far too many lines to be individually comprehended on a graph small enough to fit on a sheet of paper. For simplicity's sake, these graphs show the county with the highest growth, that with the lowest growth, and the median county, based on net population growth from 1960 to 2010.

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