WHERE WE STAND

An Update from

EAST-WEST GATEWAY
Council of Governments

November, 2011 • 6th Edition, Update #1

WHERE WE STAND UPDATE: POPULATION GROWTH IN ST. LOUIS

Since its first publication in 1990,* Where We Stand *has come to be recognized as an authoritative source of information about the competitive position of the St. Louis region in the national marketplace. We track over 100 variables that together tell a story about the health and competitive position of our region compared to 34 peer metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs).[1] Now in its sixth edition,* Where We Stand *is issued about every five years with periodic updates between each publication. These briefings provide an opportunity to update St. Louis' standing with new data or provide further insight on a specific topic. This issue builds on the data included in the WWS sixth edition, providing a greater understanding of the factors that influence population change in St. Louis, while also identifying noteworthy settlement patterns in other metropolitan regions.

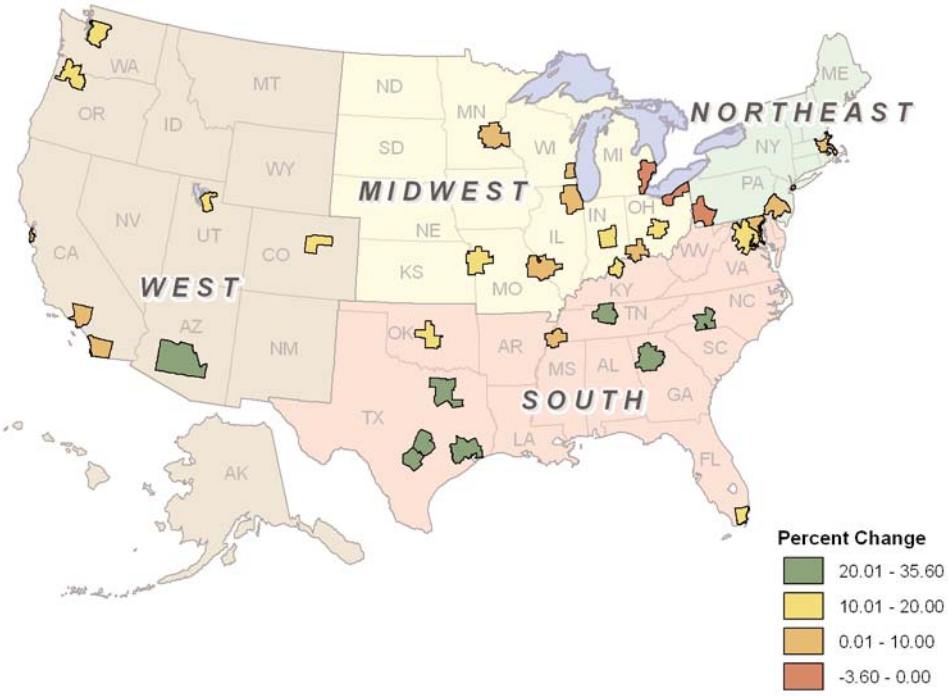
National Population Change

Five years ago the United States reached a milestone as it joined the ranks of China and India as one of only three countries with a population exceeding 300 million. It took the U.S. almost 200 years to amass its first 200 million people and only 40 years to add its last 100 million.

Since 2000, the U.S. experienced a 9.7 percent increase in population (from 281.4 million in 2000 to 308.7 million in 2010),[2] the slowest rate in the past six decades and the second slowest since 1900.[3]

The nation did not experience widespread population growth over the past decade; rather it saw concentrated regional gains.[4] From 2000 to 2010, regional growth in the South and West outpaced the national average (14.3 and 13.8 percent, respectively). The Midwest and Northeast, on the other hand, grew at a much slower pace than the national average over this time period (3.9 and 3.2 percent, respectively).

MSA Population Change by Region, 2000-2010



St. Louis is typical of other Midwestern regions—a slower pace of population growth with relatively lower rates of international and domestic migration but some growth due to natural increases. This briefing compares the St. Louis region with 34 peer regions on population change dynamics.

1 The U.S. Census Bureau defines a MSA, or metropolitan statistical area, as "that of a large population nucleus, together with adjacent communities having a high degree of social and economic integration with that core. Metropolitan statistical areas comprise one or more counties … the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) defines metropolitan areas for purposes of collecting, tabulating, and publishing federal data. Metropolitan area definitions result from applying published standards to Census Bureau data".

2 U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census; Census 2000.

3 U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census; Census 2000; Hobbs, F., & Stoops, N. (2002). *Demographic trends in the 20th century*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau; Forstall, R. (1996). *Population of the states and counties of the United States: 1790 to 1990*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau.

4 The U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census divides the country into four regions (South, West, Midwest & Northeast). Regional population data from U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census; Census 2000.

Metropolitan Population Change

Much of the population boom in the South and West can be attributed to the rapid growth of metropolitan areas in those regions. Of the 20 WWS peer regions that experienced growth above the national average (9.7 percent) over the past decade, 16 were located in the South and West. The top 12 fastest-growing MSAs were located in these regions with the top eight growing at a rate more than double that of the national average. Additionally, the three fastest growing metropolitan areas, Phoenix, Charlotte and Austin, grew roughly three times faster than the nation as a whole (27.9, 31.2 and 35.6 percent, respectively).

Slow or negative population growth in some metropolitan areas of the Midwest and Northeast has contributed to the slow population growth in these regions. Of the 15 WWS peer regions that experienced below average growth over the past decade, 10 were located in these two regions. Furthermore, the only three metropolitan regions to lose population over the past decade, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Detroit (-3.0, -3.3 and -3.6 percent respectively), are located in these slow-growth regions.

In the past decade, the St. Louis MSA grew at the ninth slowest rate among the WWS peers. St. Louis' population grew from 2,698,687 in 2000 to 2,812,896 in 2010, a 4.1 percent increase. This rate is far below the peer average growth rate of 12 percent but is in line with the population trends of MSAs throughout the Midwest and is a higher rate than some of the most populated regions such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

METRO AREA POPULATION

2010

1	**New York**	**18,897,109**
2	Los Angeles	12,828,837
3	Chicago	9,461,105
4	Dallas	6,371,773
5	Philadelphia	5,965,343
6	Houston	5,946,800
7	Washington D.C.	5,582,170
8	Miami	5,564,635
9	Atlanta	5,268,860
10	Boston	4,552,402
11	San Francisco	4,335,391
12	Detroit	4,296,250
13	Phoenix	4,192,887
Average		**3,980,077**
14	Seattle	3,439,809
15	Minneapolis	3,279,833
16	San Diego	3,095,313
17	**St. Louis**	**2,812,896**
18	Baltimore	2,710,489
19	Denver	2,543,482
20	Pittsburgh	2,356,285
21	Portland	2,226,009
22	San Antonio	2,142,508
23	Cincinnati	2,130,151
24	Cleveland	2,077,240
25	Kansas City	2,035,334
26	Columbus	1,836,536
27	Charlotte	1,758,038
28	Indianapolis	1,756,241
29	Austin	1,716,289
30	Nashville	1,589,934
31	Milwaukee	1,555,908
32	Memphis	1,316,100
33	Louisville	1,283,566
34	Oklahoma City	1,252,987
35	**Salt Lake City**	**1,124,197**

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

POPULATION CHANGE

Percent change, 2000-2010

1	**Austin**	**35.6**
2	Charlotte	31.2
3	Phoenix	27.9
4	Houston	25.5
5	San Antonio	24.6
6	Atlanta	23.0
7	Dallas	22.6
8	Nashville	20.7
9	Denver	15.9
10	Washington D.C.	15.8
11	Salt Lake City	15.6
12	Portland	15.0
13	Indianapolis	14.7
14	Oklahoma City	14.1
15	Columbus	13.4
16	Seattle	12.7
Average		**12.0**
17	Miami	10.7
18	Kansas City	10.4
19	Louisville	10.2
20	Minneapolis	10.0
21	San Diego	9.6
22	Memphis	8.9
23	Baltimore	6.0
24	Cincinnati	5.7
25	San Francisco	4.8
26	Philadelphia	4.8
27	**St. Louis**	**4.1**
28	Chicago	3.8
29	Milwaukee	3.6
30	Los Angeles	3.5
31	Boston	3.4
32	New York	3.0
33	Pittsburgh	-3.0
34	Cleveland	-3.3
35	**Detroit**	**-3.6**

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

HIGHER

AVERAGE

LOWER

Components of Population Change

There are two components of population change: migration and natural increase. Migration is the number of immigrants (both international and domestic) that move in to or out of an area. Natural increase is the number of births over deaths.

International Migration

Foreign-born residents make up about 12.5 percent of the total population of the United States[5] and a majority of them live in metropolitan areas. This settlement pattern has held up for over a century and American cities continue to host large immigrant populations.

In the past decade, all 35 of the WWS peer regions experienced positive population gains from international migration. Six of the 10 fastest growing regions were also among the top 10 metro regions for high rates of international migration. Five of those metros (Austin, Phoenix, Dallas, Houston and Atlanta) are located in the booming Sunbelt region. Another metro in the Sunbelt, Miami, has below-average population growth but ranks first among the peer regions with over 10 percent of its population increase coming from international migration.

Only three metropolitan regions in the Northeast or Midwest (New York, Boston and Chicago) had international migration rates above the average (3.6 percent) for WWS peer regions. Eleven of the 19 peer regions that had international migration rates below the average were located in the Northeast or Midwest. Pittsburgh experienced the slowest rate, a mere 0.8 percent.

5 Hall, M., Singer, A., De Jong, G., & Roempke Graefe, D. (2011). *The geography of immigrant skills: Educational profiles of metropolitan areas*. Washington D.C.: Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings.

A relatively small cohort of foreign-born residents settled in the St. Louis MSA over the past decade. International migration grew the regional population by only 1.1 percent (roughly 11,500 people), the second smallest rate among WWS peer regions. This rate is well below the 3.6 percent peer average, another example of the slow-growth of metropolitan areas in the Midwest.

NET MIGRATION

Percent of 2000 population, 2000-2009

1	**Austin**	**22.9**
2	Phoenix	22.7
3	Charlotte	21.8
4	Atlanta	14.5
5	Dallas	12.2
6	San Antonio	12.0
7	Nashville	11.9
8	Houston	11.2
9	Portland	9.9
10	Denver	7.1
11	Indianapolis	6.4
12	Oklahoma City	5.9
13	Seattle	5.5
Average		**4.5**
14	Columbus	4.4
15	Miami	4.4
16	Louisville	4.3
17	Washington D.C.	4.1
18	Kansas City	3.5
19	Minneapolis	2.1
20	Memphis	0.9
21	Salt Lake City	0.9
22	Baltimore	0.3
23	Cincinnati	0.2
24	Philadelphia	0.2
25	**St. Louis**	**-0.5**
26	Boston	-1.0
27	San Diego	-1.0
28	Pittsburgh	-1.2
29	Chicago	-2.0
30	San Francisco	-2.1
31	Milwaukee	-3.1
32	Los Angeles	-4.3
33	New York	-4.6
34	Cleveland	-4.9
35	**Detroit**	**-6.0**

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

NET INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Percent of 2000 population, 2000-2009

1	**Miami**	**10.1**
2	Phoenix	6.5
3	Los Angeles	6.5
4	Washington D.C.	6.4
5	Dallas	6.2
6	San Francisco	6.2
7	Houston	6.1
8	New York	5.9
9	Austin	5.2
10	Atlanta	4.8
11	Boston	4.3
12	Denver	4.3
13	Salt Lake City	4.2
14	Seattle	4.2
15	Chicago	4.0
16	Portland	3.7
Average		**3.6**
17	Charlotte	3.6
18	San Diego	3.5
19	Minneapolis	2.8
20	Nashville	2.8
21	Columbus	2.5
22	Oklahoma City	2.2
23	Philadelphia	2.2
24	Detroit	2.1
25	Kansas City	1.9
26	San Antonio	1.8
27	Indianapolis	1.8
28	Milwaukee	1.8
29	Baltimore	1.7
30	Memphis	1.6
31	Louisville	1.4
32	Cleveland	1.3
33	Cincinnati	1.1
34	**St. Louis**	**1.1**
35	**Pittsburgh**	**0.8**

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

NET DOMESTIC MIGRATION

Percent of 2000 population, 2000-2009

1	**Charlotte**	**18.2**
2	Austin	17.7
3	Phoenix	16.2
4	San Antonio	10.2
5	Atlanta	9.6
6	Nashville	9.2
7	Portland	6.2
8	Dallas	5.9
9	Houston	5.1
10	Indianapolis	4.6
11	Oklahoma City	3.8
12	Louisville	2.9
13	Denver	2.8
14	Columbus	2.0
15	Kansas City	1.6
16	Seattle	1.4
Average		**0.9**
17	Memphis	-0.7
18	Minneapolis	-0.8
19	Cincinnati	-0.9
20	Baltimore	-1.4
21	**St. Louis**	**-1.6**
22	Philadelphia	-2.0
23	Pittsburgh	-2.0
24	Washington D.C.	-2.3
25	Salt Lake City	-3.4
26	San Diego	-4.5
27	Milwaukee	-4.8
28	Boston	-5.3
29	Miami	-5.7
30	Chicago	-6.0
31	Cleveland	-6.2
32	Detroit	-8.1
33	San Francisco	-8.3
34	New York	-10.5
35	**Los Angeles**	**-10.8**

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

HIGHER

AVERAGE

LOWER

Domestic Migration

Along with international migration, domestic migration plays an important role in population change. In 2008 alone, more than 10 million Americans "shuffled the deck" by moving from one county to another.[6] Yet, over the past decade domestic migration among WWS peer regions occurred on average at a significantly slower rate (0.9 percent) than international migration (3.6 percent).

The rate at which domestic migration took place among WWS regions is quite varied, with Charlotte growing 18.2 percent and Los Angeles losing 10.8 percent of its population base. Los Angeles is not the only region feeling the negative effects of domestic migration. In the last 10 years, over half of the WWS peer regions saw more residents move to another area of the nation than they saw move into their region from elsewhere.

Domestic migration patterns for metropolitan regions mirrored those of overall population growth and international migration, with the South and West regions experiencing higher rates (the nine metros that gained population from domestic migration at the highest rate are located in these regions). Charlotte, Austin and Phoenix, the three fastest growing regions in the past decade, also had the highest rates of domestic migration (all exceeding 16 percent).

At the other end of the spectrum, seven of the 10 slowest growing metropolitan regions over the past decade also experienced the greatest loss of population due to domestic migration (all exceeding 4 percent). Six of these 10 regions were located in the slow-growth areas of the Northeast and Midwest. Across the nation, though, 19 of the 35 WWS regions lost population due to domestic migration.

The St. Louis metropolitan area was among the 19 WWS peer regions experiencing more domestic out-migration than in-migration. On average, domestic migration contributed to roughly 1 percent increase in population in the WWS regions over the past decade. St. Louis lost 1.6 percent of its population due to more people moving out of the region than in but several Midwestern peer regions (Chicago, Milwaukee, Cleveland and Detroit) experienced a greater proportional loss of population due to domestic migration.

6 This includes migration both within metropolitan areas and between them; Bruner, J. (Designer). (2010). *Where Americans are moving*. [Web Map]. Retrieved from http://www.forbes.com/2010/06/04/migration-moving-wealthy-interactive-counties-map.html.

Natural Increase

While international and domestic migration largely influence population change, so does natural change, i.e. births and deaths. The natural rate of increase is calculated by determining the difference between the number of births and deaths in a given area.

Of the over 27 million person increase in population in the United States over the past decade, roughly 17 million (63 percent)[7] is due to natural increases. The remaining 10 million is a result of international migration into the United States. The metropolitan and regional trends associated with natural increase are similar to those seen with total population change, international migration and domestic migration.

Three of the top five fastest growing metropolitan areas over the last decade had natural increase rates among the top five (Austin, Houston and Phoenix). These Sunbelt, metropolitan areas are leading population growth in the United States with natural increase rates all exceeding 10 percent. Additionally, these regions boast impressive top-10 net migration rates (22.9, 11.2, and 22.7 percent, respectively).

Meanwhile, Pittsburgh was the lone WWS peer region that experienced negative natural growth, losing 1.2 percent of its population due to more people dying than being born. Other older Midwestern and Northeastern metro areas fared better, though not by much. Cleveland had a 2.2 percent natural increase rate, while Philadelphia managed to increase its population by just 3.5 percent over the past decade. Ten out of the 19 peer regions that had below-average natural increase rates were located in the Midwest or Northeast.

Since the St. Louis metropolitan area had a negative net migration rate (-0.5 percent), the region relied on natural growth to increase the population. The metro area experienced a 3.8 percent natural increase rate over the past decade. This rate, however, was the fourth lowest among WWS peers and is well below the peer average rate of 6.9 percent.

NATURAL INCREASE

Percent of 2000 population, 2000-2009

1	**Salt Lake City**	**13.6**
2	Austin	12.2
3	Dallas	11.5
4	Houston	11.4
5	Phoenix	10.6
6	Atlanta	10.5
7	Denver	9.5
8	San Antonio	9.0
9	Charlotte	8.9
10	Washington D.C.	8.9
11	Los Angeles	8.7
12	San Diego	8.3
13	Minneapolis	8.1
14	Indianapolis	7.5
15	Columbus	7.2
16	Chicago	7.1
Average		**6.9**
17	Memphis	6.9
18	Nashville	6.9
19	Kansas City	6.7
20	Portland	6.5
21	Oklahoma City	6.5
22	Seattle	6.3
23	San Francisco	5.9
24	New York	5.7
25	Cincinnati	5.3
26	Milwaukee	5.2
27	Boston	4.2
28	Miami	4.1
29	Louisville	4.1
30	Baltimore	4.0
31	Detroit	3.9
32	**St. Louis**	**3.8**
33	Philadelphia	3.5
34	Cleveland	2.2
35	**Pittsburgh**	**-1.2**

HIGHER

AVERAGE

LOWER

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

7 Norris, D. (2011, June 08). *Comparing population growth in Canada and the United States*.
Retrieved from http://environicsanalytics.wordpress.com/2011/06/08/comparing-population-growth-in-canada-and-the-united-states/.

Conclusion

What do these population statistics tell us? Why are metropolitan areas in the South and West experiencing substantially greater population gains than regions in the Midwest and the Northeast? What factors are contributing to the pattern of urbanization that we see today?

Over the last century, many theorists have viewed concentrated population growth as an outcome of industrialization and local economic development.[8] Today, however, popular thought revolves around the belief that urban growth is a result of shifting population dynamics. Local amenities and personal preferences are now some of the most popularly researched and scrutinized attributes of population change.[9] Some theorists, however, worry that policy focused on increasing local amenities and targeting the "creative class" can be problematic, as it exacerbates the urban economic and social divide.[10]

While the 6th edition of WWS does not directly theorize about population growth, it does provide baseline objective data that can help explain such changes. For one thing, the data show us that there has been a shift in international immigration patterns to the United States. Older cities like New York, Philadelphia and Boston were once the traditional entrance points for immigrants into the country. While these cities are still home to large immigrant populations, metropolitan regions in the South and West (Phoenix, Miami and Dallas) are now emerging as the new gateways for international migration, fueled in large part by Latin Americans.

Economic development and jobs may also contribute to population change. The three WWS regions that experienced the greatest increase in employment over the past decade (Austin, San Antonio and Houston) were also among the five fastest growing areas in terms of population. Additionally, regions in the Midwest that have historically been reliant on manufacturing (St. Louis, Detroit and Cleveland) have felt the brunt of the decline in that industry—reflected in both employment and population numbers. There is no doubt an important connection between employment opportunities and population settlement, but do jobs follow people or do people follow jobs?[11]

Population growth is a complex process that indeed warrants the diverse set of theories dedicated to it. It would be reckless though, to postulate that any one theory could describe all the complexities of urbanization. A regional growth strategy must take a holistic approach by considering human capital, infrastructure, entrepreneurship and amenities when formulating policy. When it comes to planning around population change, area leaders must look at these and other factors to meet the needs and desires of a rapidly changing and highly mobile population.

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10 Scott, M. and Storper, M. (2009). Rethinking human capital, creativity and urban growth. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 9: 147-167.

11 Mazek, W.F. and Chang, J. (1972). The chicken or egg fowl-up in migration: a comment. *Southern Economic Journal*, 39: 133-139 ; Muth, R. F. (1971) Migration—chicken or egg. *Southern Economic Journal,* 37: 295-306.