# Geo Factsheet



Number 122

# The United States: Census 2000 Update

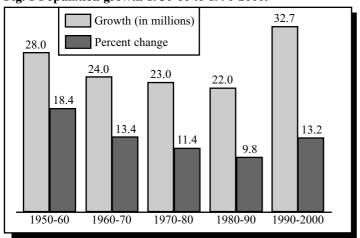
The data for Census 2000 is being released gradually according to a two year timetable. At the time of writing the following were the main categories for which information was available for direct comparison state by state.

# **HEADLINES**

### 1. Record Census-to-Census Increase

The total population of the United States increased from 248.7 million in April 1990 to 281.4 million in April 2001 (*Fig. 1*), an additional 13.2%. This 32.7 million growth was the largest census-to-census increase in American history and significantly up on the previous decade. The previous record increase was 28 million between 1950 and 1960, a result mainly of the post-Second World War baby boom (total decennial population growth declined steadily in the three decades following the 1950s before increasing again in the 1990s). However, in relative terms the growth in population between 1950 and 1960 was greater than in the last decade. As birth and death rates registered very little change in the 1990s the recent increase in population growth was due to a significantly higher rate of **immigration**.

Fig. 1 Population growth 1950-60 to 1990-2000.



Eight states recorded a numerical increase of more than one million in the last decade. These were California (4.1 million), Texas (3.9 million), Florida (3 million), Georgia (1.7 million), Arizona (1.5 million), North Carolina (1.4 million), Washington (1 million) and Colorado (1 million). Texas has replaced New York as America's second most populous state (see Fig. 3 on page 2), the first time since 1810 that New York has not been first or second. However, California remains by far the largest of the states in population size with almost 34 million people, 12% of the nation's population (Fig. 3). The second and third most populous states — Texas at 20.9 million and New York at 19 million — together accounted for 14% of the country's population. An additional 28% of the population live in the next seven most populous states — Florida, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, New Jersey, and Georgia.

No state recorded a fall in population although North Dakota (+ 3,400) and West Virginia (+14,867) came close. In relative terms these increases amounted to only 0.5% and 0.8% respectively. The District of Columbia, the federal capital, which of course is not a state, recorded a population decrease of 5.7%.

While the ten most populous states contained 54% of the population in 2000 the ten least populous states accounted for only 3% of the total population. Wyoming remains the least populous state with only 493,000 people. Six other states (Montana, Delaware, South Dakota, North Dakota, Alaska and Vermont) still have populations below one million.

#### Exercise

- 1. Use a chloropleth technique, using Fig. 3 as a base map, to show the pattern of growth. What factors do you think are responsible?
- Use a statistical correlation technique to test the relationship between population size in 1990 and population growth 1990 – 2000.

# 2. The Shift to the South and West Continues

The U. S. population is still shifting away from its industrial heartland in the Northeast and Midwest (the 'Frostbelt') towards the Sunbelt states of the South and West (Fig. 2). The Northeast region has seen its share of the US population drop from 21.7% in 1980 to 19% in 2000. The Midwest's share of total population fell from 26% to 22.9% in the same period. The relative decline of these two regions began, of course, much earlier in the twentieth century due mainly to the contraction of a range of traditional industries such as coalmining, iron and steel, heavy engineering, textiles, shipbuilding and clothing, resulting from de-industrialisation leading to a rise in unemployment. In the relatively sparsely populated agricultural states of the Western Midwest the decline in the agricultural workforce has been an important factor in demographic trends for some time.

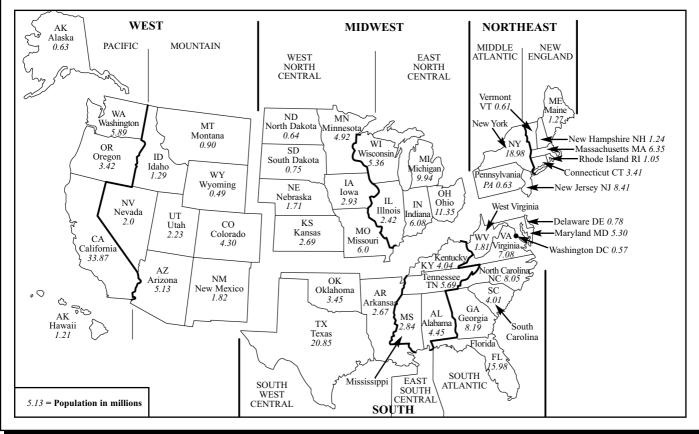
Fig. 2 US Resident population by region and division

Population in millions								
Region & division	1980	%	1990	%	2000	%		
United States	226.5	100.0	248.7	100.0	281.4	100.0		
Northeast: New England Middle Atlantic Midwest:  Midwest:	49.1 12.3 36.8	21.7 5.5 16.2	13.2	20.4 5.3 15.1	53.6 13.9 39.7	19.0 4.9 14.1		
Midwest: § East North Central West North Central	58.9 41.7 17.2	26.0 18.4 7.6	59.7 42.0 17.7	24.0 16.9 7.1	64.4 45.2 19.2	22.9 16.1 6.8		
South: South Atlantic East South Central West South Central West:	75.4 37.0 14.7 23.7	6.5 10.5	85.5 43.6 15.2 26.7	34.4 17.5 6.1 10.7	100.2 51.8 17.0 31.4	35.6 18.4 6.0 11.2		
West:	43.2 11.4 31.8	19.1 5.0 14.0	52.8 13.7 39.1	21.2 5.5 15.7	63.2 18.2 45.0	22.5 6.5 16.0		

However, although no state in the Midwest grew no faster than the national average of 13.2% between 1990 and 2000, several states in this region had their fastest growth rates for some time, e.g. Nebraska's 8% increase and Iowa's 5% gain were the highest growth rates for those states since 1910 to 1920.

Fig. 3 Population data for the US in 2000.

		Census p	opulation	Change 1900 to 20				Census population		Change 1900 to 2000	
Rank	Area	April 1 2000	April 1 1990	Numeric	%	Rank	Area	April 1 2000	April 1 1990	Numeric	%
1	California	33,871,648	29,760,021	4,111,627	13.8	27	Oklahoma	3,450,654	3,145,585	305,069	9.7
2	Texas	20,851,820	16,986,510	3,865,310	22.8	28	Oregon	3,421,399	2,842,321	579,078	20.4
3	New York	18,976,457	17,990,455	986,002	5.5	29	Connecticut	3,405,565	3,287,116	118,449	3.6
4	Florida	15,982,378	12,937,926	3,044,452	23.5	30	Iowa	2,926,324	2,776,755	149,569	5.4
5	Illnois	12,419,293	11,430,602	988,691	8.6	31	Mississippi	2,844,658	2,573,216	271,442	10.5
6	Pennsylvania	12,281,054	11,881,643	399,411	3.4	32	Kansas	2,688,418	2,477,574	210,844	8.5
7	Ohio	11,353,140	10,847,115	506,025	4.7	33	Arkansas	2,673,400	2,350,725	322,675	13.7
8	Michigan	9,938,444	9,295,297	643,147	6.9	34	Utah	2,233,169	1,722,850	510,319	29.6
9	New Jersey	8,414,350	7,730,188	684,162	8.9	35	Nevada	1,998,257	1,201,833	796,424	66.3
10	Georgia	8,186,453	6,478,216	1,708,237	26.4	36	New Mexico	1,819,046	1,515,069	303,977	20.1
11	North Carolina	8,049,313	6,628,637	1,420,676	21.4	37	West Virginia	1,808,344	1,793,477	14,867	0.8
12	Virginia	7,078,515	6,187,358	891,157	14.4	38	Nebraska	1,711,263	1,578,385	132,878	8.4
13	Massachusetts	6,349,097	6,016,425	332,672	5.5	39	Idaho	1,293,953	1,006,749	287,204	28.5
14	Indiana	6,080,485	5,544,159	536,326	9.7	40	Maine	1,274,923	1,227,928	46,995	3.8
15	Washington	5,894,121	4,866,692	1,027,429	21.1	41	New Hampshire	1,235,786	1,109,252	126,534	11.4
16	Tennessee	5,689,283	4,877,185	812,098	16.7	42	Hawaii	1,211,537	1,108,229	103,308	9.3
17	Missouri	5,595,211	5,117,073	478,138	9.3	43	Rhode Island	1,048,319	1,003,464	44,855	4.5
18	Wisconsin	5,363,675	4,891,769	471,906	9.6	44	Montana	902,195	799,065	103,130	12.9
19	Maryland	5,296,486	4,781,468	515,018	10.8	45	Delaware	783,600	666,168	117,432	17.6
20	Arizona	5,130,632	3,665,228	1,465,404	40.0	46	South Dakota	754,844	696,004	58,840	8.5
21	Minnesota	4,919,479	4,375,099	544,380	12.4	47	North Dakota	642,200	638,800	3,400	0.5
22	Louisiana	4,468,976	4,219,973	249,003	5.9	48	Alaska	626,932	550,043	76,889	14.0
23	Alabama	4,447,100	4,040,587	406,513	10.1	49	Vermont	608,827	562,758	46,069	8.2
24	Colorado	4,301,261	3,294,394	1,006,867	30.6	(N/A)	District of Columbia	572,059	606,900	-34,841	-5.7
25	Kentucky	4,041,769	3,685,296	356,473	9.7	50	Wyoming	493,782	453,588	40,194	8.9
26	South Carolina	4,012,012	3,486,703	525,309	15.1	(N/A)	<b>United States</b>	281,421,906	248,709,873	32,712,033	13.2



In contrast both the South and the West have recorded significant population increases. The population of twelve states increased by at least 20%, led by Nevada (66.3%), Arizona (40.0%), Colorado (30.6%), Utah (29.6%), and Idaho (28.5%). These five states are all located in the Mountain census division, the area with the lowest population density in the United States. Nevada has been the country's fastest growing state for each of the past four decades.

The long-term shift in population, wealth and political power towards the West and the South has occurred for a number of reasons:

- the warm climate of the Sunbelt makes it an attractive place for industries to locate and for workers to live.
- generally cheaper land, lower taxes and low trade union membership have been attractive to industry.
- the location of important raw materials, for example oil and gas in Texas and California, have attracted high levels of investment.
- the Interstate Highway System and universal air travel has considerably improved the accessibility of the South and the West in recent decades.
- Pacific and Gulf Coast ports have expanded at a rapid rate as trade with Asia, South America and Australasia has expanded.
- universities in the South and West are producing many more highly skilled graduates than thirty or forty years ago. The level of both privately and publicly funded research and development has been expanding significantly resulting in a much higher level of innovation in the Sunbelt.
- immigration from the Far East (Japan, China, Malaysia etc.) has led to an input of technological and scientific skills.

States such as Nevada, Arizona and Colorado, which have lured population inward from both the east and west coasts, have been termed the "new Sunbelt" by the demographer William Frey (University of Michigan) to distinguish them from the highly populated "old Sunbelt" led by California, Florida and Texas. Growing opportunities in high technology industries has been the major catalyst in attracting people to the "New Sunbelt". However, Frey sees Texas as representing both the old and new sunbelts. This state has attracted a significant number of young high technology workers from elsewhere in the U.S. as well as being a major destination for immigrants from Central and Latin America.

# 3. Trends at the County Level

The fifty states are subdivided into a total of more than 3000 counties. Not surprisingly, contrasts at this scale are greater than at the state level. For example, five counties in the U.S. more than doubled their populations during the 1990s. At the top of the county growth league was Douglas County, Colorado (south of Denver), which increased in population by 191% over the last decade. Following Douglas were Forsyth County, Georgia (north of Atlanta), up 123%; Elbert County, Colorado (southeast of Denver), up 106%; Henry County, Georgia (east of Atlanta), up 103%; and Park County, Colorado (southwest of Denver), up102%.

The 2000 census reveals some broad patterns of population change at this scale which include:

- a band of counties that lost population, in some cases declining more than 10%, stretched N-S across the Great Plains states between the Mexican and Canadian borders.
- a band of slow growth counties includes much of the interior Northeast and Appalachia, extending from Maine through western Pennsylvania and West Virginia to eastern Kentucky.
- rapid population growth in the interior West and much of the South.
   For the latter this was particularly strong in counties in Florida, northern Georgia, Tennessee, south-western Missouri, and eastern, central, and southern Texas.
- the concentration of population growth within and adjacent to metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles or Atlanta, resulting from urban sprawl.
- counties bordering Mexico grew by 21% as a result of immigration.
   Those bordering Canada increased on average by only 0.8%, with many counties experiencing population decline.
- the overall growth rate for coastal counties, at 11%, was exceeded by non-coastal counties which grew by 15%. Fifty-three per cent of Americans lived in a coastal county in 2000. This trend is against a global trend of migrating towards the coast.

#### Exercise:

Obtain a base map of the USA and prepare an annotated diagram to show the main trends in the counties.

#### 4. Metropolitan Areas Grow Fastest

In 2000, 80.3% of Americans were resident in metropolitan areas, a slight increase on the 79.8% recorded in 1990. The population in metropolitan areas increased by 14%, while the non-metropolitan population grew by 10%. Almost 30% of Americans live in metropolitan areas containing at least five million people (*Fig. 4*). However, these major metropolitan areas recorded the lowest growth rates of all sizes of metropolitan area. In contrast, metropolitan areas with populations between two and five million grew the fastest, up almost 20%.

New York, the most populous metropolitan area in the USA, passed the 20 million mark in the last decade with an increase of 8.4% (Fig. 5). Los Angeles, in second place, now tops 16 million people.

Fig. 4 Population change and 2000 share by metropolitan status and size category: 1990 to 2000

Population size category	Population April 1 1990	Population April 1 2000	% change 1990 to 2000	2000 share of US total	
United States	248,709,873	281,421,906	13.2	100.0	
Total for all metropolitan areas	198,402,980	225,981,679	13.9	80.3	
5,000,000 or more	75,874,152	84,064,274	10.8	29.9	
2,000,000 - 4999,999	33,717,876	40,398,283	19.8	14.4	
1,000,000 - 1,999,999	31,483,749	37,055,342	17.7	13.2	
250,000 - 999,999	39,871,391	45,076,105	13.1	16.0	
Less than 250,000	17,455,812	19,387,675,	11.1	6.9	
Total nonmetropolitan	50,306,893	55,440,227	10.2	19.7	

Fig. 5 Population change and 2000 share for the largest metropolitan areas: 1990 to 2000

Metropolitan area	Population April 1 1990	Population April 1 2000	% change 1990 to 2000	2000 share of US total
Total for metropolitan areas of 5,000,000 +	75,874,152	84,064,274	10.8	29.9
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA	19,549,649	21,199,865	8.4	7.5
Los Angeles-Riverside -Orange County, CA	14,531,529	16,373,645	12.7	5.8
Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI	8,239,820	9,157,540	11.1	3.3
Washington-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV	6,727,050	7,608,070	13.1	2.7
San Francisco-Oakland- San Jose, CA	6,253,311	7,039,362	12.6	2.5
Philadelphia-Wilmington- Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD	5,892,937	6,188,463	5.0	2.2
Boston-Worcester-Lawrence, MA-NH-ME-CT	5,455,403	5,819,100	6.7	2.1
Detroit-Ann Arbor- Flint, MI	5,187,171	5,456,428	5.2	1.9
Dallas-Fort Worth, TX	4,037,282	5,221,801	29.3	1.9

Exam Hint: With very large cities, the numbers of people recorded depends on where the boundary is drawn in some cases so always be careful to check this before interpreting change.

Fig. 6 Population change for the ten fastest growing metropolitan areas: 1990 to 2000.

Metropolitan Area	Population April 1 1990	Population April 1 2000	Change 1990 to 2000	% change 1990 to 2000
Las Vegas, NV-AZ	852,757	1,563,282	710,545	83.3
Naples, FL	152,099	251,377	99,278	65.3
Yuma, AZ	106,895	160,026	53,131	49.7
McAllen-Edinburg- Mission, TX	383,545	569,463	185,918	48.5
Austin-San Marcos, TX	846,227	1,249,763	403,536	47.7
Fayetteville- Springdale-Rogers, AR	210,908	311,121	100,213	47.5
Boise City, ID	295,851	432,345	136,494	46.1
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	2,223,480	3,251,876	1,013,396	45.3
Laredo, TX	133,239	193,117	59,878	44.9
Provo-Orem, UT	263,590	368,536	104,946	39.8

Fig. 7 Population change for the ten largest cities: 1990 to 2000.

Metropolitan Area	Population April 1 1990	Population April 1 2000	Change 1990 to 2000	% change 1990 to 2000	
New York, NY	7,322,564	8,008,278	685,714	9.4	
Los Angeles, CA	3,485,398	3,694,820	209,422	6.0	
Chicago, IL	2,783,726	2,896,016	112,290	4.0	
Houston TX	1,630,553	1,953,631	323,078	19.8	
Philadelphia, PA	1,585,577	1,517,550	-68,027	-4.3	
Phoenix, PA	983,403	1,321,045	337,642	34.3	
San Diego, CA	1,110,549	1,223,400	112,851	10.2	
Dallas, TX	1,006,877	1,188,580	181,703	18.0	
San Antonio, TX	935,933	1,144,646	208,713	22.3	
Detroit, MI	1,027,974	951,270	-76,704	-7.5	

Exercise: On a base map of the USA, use an appropriate geographical technique to show the pattern of population change in Fig. 6 (10 fastest growing cities) and in Fig. 7 (the ten largest cities). Analyse the reasons for your results.

Fig. 8 Difference in population by race and Hispanic or Latino origin for the US: 1990 to 2000.

The growth in metropolitan area populations follows the general spatial pattern of population change in the United States, with the Sunbelt states leading the way. Twenty-four metropolitan areas increased their populations by more than 30% between 1990 and 2000 with Las Vegas leading the way with an astounding 83.3% increase (Fig. 6). Of the metropolitan areas with a population of over five million in 1990, Washington-Baltimore grew at the fastest rate, 13.1%, putting it in 128th place in the growth league table. Twenty-four of the USA's 280 metropolitan areas actually recorded a fall in population. The largest casualties on this list were Pittsburgh (-1.5%) and Buffalo-Niagara Falls (-1.6%), traditional areas of deindustrialisation.

The faster growth of metropolitan areas compared to non-metropolitan areas between 1990 and 2000 might at first sight be seen as a reversal of the counterurbanisation (moving from urban to rural areas) process evident in previous decades. However, by definition, metropolitan areas invariably contain rural areas which are adjacent to the continuous built-up area as county boundaries are used to delimit metropolitan areas. Much more detailed analysis of the data will be required to come to a conclusion on the counterurbanisation issue.

#### 5. City Populations (i.e. inner urban areas in cities)

In the twentieth century, massive **suburbanisation** saw American urban areas grew well beyond their original City boundaries which today correspond roughly to the inner city areas of metropolitan areas. Cities generally contain the oldest and poorest quality housing within the metropolitan area. Compared to the suburbs, population density is high and residents are mainly on low incomes with many belonging to racial minority groups. Thus New York City has a population of just over 8 million, **less than half that of the metropolitan area**. Eight of the ten largest cities increased in population between 1990 and 2000; only Philadelphia and Detroit declined in size. New York City recorded the largest numerical increase, for the first time since the 1930s. Los Angeles gained the most population in each of the decades from the 1940s through the 1980s, with the exception of the 1970s, when Houston recorded the largest increase. In the last decade, Phoenix was the fastest growing of the ten largest cities, up by 34%.

Population size not only decides political representation it also, to an extent, determines the level of funding that cities are entitled to. Many federal and state programmes apportion their money partly on the basis of population statistics. Thus cities such as Detroit and Philadelphia will be concerned about the financial repercussions of population decline. Nearly all the cities have had major regeneration projects in order to improve their living environments.

	Census	1990	Censu	s 2000	Diffe	rence betwe	en 1990 and 20	00
					Using race : Census		Using race alone or in combination for Census 2000	
SUBJECT	Number	% of total population	Race alone	Race alone or in combination	Numerical difference (2000 minus 1990)	% difference (based on 1990)	Numerical difference (2000 minus 1990)	% difference (based on 1990)
RACE:								
Total population	248,708,873	100.0	281,421,906	281,421,906	32,712,033	13.2	32,712,033	13.2
White	199,686,070	80.3	211,460,626	216,930,975	11,774,556	5.9	17,244,905	8.6
Black or African American	29,986,060	12.1	34,658,190	36,419,434	4,672,130	15.6	6,433,374	21.5
American Indian and Alaska Native	1,959,234	0.8	2,475,956	4,119,301	516,722	26.4	2,160,067	110.3
Asian	6,908,638	2.8	10,242,998	11,898,828	3,334,360	48.3	4,990,190	72.2
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	365,024	0.1	398,835	874,414	33,811	9.3	509,390	139.5
Some other race	9,804,847	3.9	15,359,073	18,521,486	5,554,226	56.6	8,716,639	88.9
HISPANIC OR LATINO AND RACE:								
Total population	248,709,873	100.0	281,421,906	281,421,906	32,712,033	13.2	32,712,033	13.2
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	22,354,059	9.0	35,305,818	35,305,818	12,951,759	57.9	12,951,759	57.9
Not Hispanic or Latino	226,355,814	91.0	246,116,088	246,116,088	19,760,274	8.7	19,760,274	8.7
White	188,128,296	75.6	194,552,774	198,177,900	6,424,478	3.4	10,049,604	5.3
Black or African American	29,216,293	11.7	33,947,837	35,383,751	4,731,544	16.2	6,167,458	21.1
American Indian and Alaska Native	1,793,773	0.7	2,068,883	3,444,700	275,110	15.3	1,650,927	92.0
Asian	6,642,481	2.7	10,123,169	11,579,494			4,937,013	74.3
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	325,878	0.1	353,509	748,149	27,631	8.5	422,271	129.6
Some other race	249,093	0.1	467,770	1,770,645	218,677	87.8	1,521,552	610.8

#### 6. Population by Race

Fig. 8 (on page 4) shows the difference between the population by race for 1990 and 2000. Because individuals could report only one race in 1990 and could report more than one race in 2000, and because of other changes in the census questionnaire, the race data for 1990 and 2000 are not directly comparable. Thus the difference in population by race between 1990 and 2000 is due to both changes in the census questionnaire and to real changes in the population.

Note: The difference in population for a race between 1990 and 2000 using race alone (column 5) and the difference in population between 1990 and 2000 using race alone or in combination in 2000 (column 7) provide a "minimum-maximum" range for the change in population of that race between 1990 and 2000.

In 2000, 75.1% of Americans were classified as White, 12.3% as Black or African American, 3.6% as Asian, 0.9% as American Indian and Alaska Native, and 0.1% as Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander. Of the remainder, 5.5% were classified as 'Some other race' and 2.4% as 'Two or more races'.

For those recorded as being of 'one race':

- 32% of Black or African Americans live in the South Atlantic division with 54.8% living in the South region as a whole.
- 45.4% of America's Asian population live in the Pacific division.
- The American Indian and Alaska Native population is heavily concentrated in the West, the residence of 48% of people in this group.
- The West North Central division has the highest percentage of population recorded as 'White' (88.4%) followed by New England (86.6%).
- For the Hispanic or Latino population (of any race), the highest concentration is in the Pacific division (33.4%) with the West South Central following in second place (19.9%).

Exercise: Suggest reasons for this racial distribution.

#### **Conclusion – the importance of the US Census**

Like any other census the changes are vital for all forms of social and economic planning. For example, schools, or senior citizen services but in the US the census has a very important political impact too.

The most fundamental reason for conducting the decennial census of the United States is to determine the number of members of the **House of Representatives** (435 in total) each of the 50 states is entitled to have. An apportionment has been made on the basis of each decennial census from 1790 to 2000, except following the 1920 census. When the vot is close it can make a real difference.

#### **Bibliography**

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B. Price and P. Guinness, *North America: An Advanced Geography*, 1997, Hodder & Stoughton.P. Guinness, *North America in Focus*, 1990, Hodder & Stoughton.

Statistical Abstract of the United States 2000, United States Bureau of the Census.

# Website

Use this for an update of the latest information on the United States Census 2000:

http://www.census.gov/dmd/www/2khome.htm

#### Question

For an MEDC you have studied:

- (a) Describe recent changes in its population distribution.
- (b) Discuss the main reasons for these changes.

#### **Guidelines for Answers**

Use one of the N. American texts on the reading list to help you.

- (a) Discussion of the data provided in *Fig. 1* would set the scene with regard to relative and absolute changes for the whole country for the last five decades. This could be followed by an outline of the major trends in terms of spatial distribution focusing on:
  - the continuing shift of population towards the Sunbelt states of the South and the West;
  - 2. the more detailed trends identified by analysis of County data;
  - the faster growth of metropolitan area populations compared to non-metropolitan areas;
  - 4. changes in City populations between 1990 and 2000.
- (b) The large absolute increase in population over the last decade was due primarily to high immigration as there was little change in birth and death rates in the 1990s. Provide evidence of racial changes from *Fig. 8*.

The main spatial change that should be explained in this part of the answer is the continuing relative increase of population in the Sunbelt at the expense of the Frostbelt. This has been the result of the large-scale creation of new employment opportunities in the Sunbelt states due to a range of factors including:

- the perceived high quality of life;
- the attraction of lower general costs to industry;
- the relatively high level of federal spending in the Sunbelt;
- the location and exploitation of important raw materials;
- significant improvements to infrastructure;
- and the development of innovation centres acting as seedbeds for new manufacturing industry and services.

A few examples of changes at the County scale could be explained such as:

- the rural depopulation responsible for population decline in a band of counties stretching across the Great Plains states from the Mexican border to the Canadian border.
- the slow growth of counties in the interior Northeast due to the continued decline of traditional industries along with the general inability to attract new employment opportunities, combined with further rationalisation in the primary sector.

The faster growth of metropolitan areas compared to non-metropolitan areas between 1990 and 2000 should be discussed. This has been due primarily to the higher rate of job creation in metropolitan areas. A significant number of urban areas, particularly inner cities, which had been in decline for some time, have shown distinct signs of revitalisation in terms of the inward movement of jobs and people. The term 'reurbanisation' is generally applied to this process.

#### Acknowledgements

This Factsheet was written and researched by Paul Guinness, who teaches geography at Kings College School, and is a well-known author.

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