



## HOW THE OTHER THIRD LIVES: A FOCUS ON UPSTATE NEW YORK

Project of the Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, University at Albany

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### A Picture of Stability: Good and Bad News for New York Counties in the 2010 Census

*The general pattern of population growth in New York State between 2000 and 2010 is similar to that evident during the 1990s: growth is more common in eastern New York, particularly in those areas connected in some fashion to the New York metropolitan area, whereas population stability or decline is more common in northern and western portions of the state. Although many New York counties experienced stagnation and decline, the state as a whole actually did better than 2009 population estimates suggested, and this is true for even those metropolitan areas that lost population.*

The initial findings of the 2010 Census reveal some curious trends for New York cities and counties. Early indications are that the decade between 2000 and 2010 witnessed a general malaise of population growth in smaller counties, with a number of rural counties and micropolitan areas losing population or maintaining population stability. In contrast, New York City and its suburbs exhibited continued growth throughout the time period despite fears arising from the attacks of September 11, 2001, and this growth continued up the Hudson Valley into the Capital District.

Specifically, we find:

- New York State grew in the eastern and southern portions of the state but either stagnated or declined in population in the northern and western portions of the state. Specifically, this growth is concentrated in the Hudson Valley between New York and Glens Falls.
- Metropolitan centers in eastern New York reversed a decades-old trend of population decline and actually added population, including Albany, Schenectady, Troy, and Utica. This is due largely to influxes of recent immigrants to those cities.
- Although New York and its suburbs grew more slowly than 2009 Census Bureau estimates suggested they would, upstate cities and metropolitan areas generally outperformed 2009 estimates. The Buffalo, Utica, and Binghamton metropolitan areas all lost population more slowly than initially expected, and both the Rochester and Syracuse metropolitan areas gained population in spite of 2009 estimates that suggested they would not.
- The authors cautiously suggest that although upstate metropolitan areas are not growing rapidly, it is possible that they have “hit bottom” and are beginning to rebound from past misfortunes.

#### **Introduction**

New York is the only state that can be referred to both as a “coastal” state and a “Great Lakes” state. At either end of the state is a great North American megalopolis: in the east is New York City, the heart of the most populous urban region in the world. In the west, Buffalo and Niagara Falls are the southern termini of the “Golden Horseshoe,” the Canadian megalopolis that stretches around the western shore of Lake Ontario to Toronto. In be-

tween, the Erie Canal corridor, a complex of various transportation systems including the New York State Thruway, connects these two regions. Historically, much of the development in New York State was connected to transportation between these two megalopolises and regions. A number of industrial centers—Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, Schenectady, and Albany, to name only the largest—grew along this route. As late as the 1960s, planners referred to this corridor as the “urban streak”. In the past, the interdependence of communities in this region meant that growth in one area translated into growth across the system as a whole. Expansion of shipping in New York City meant enhanced access to global markets for textile mills in Utica or steel producers in Buffalo. New technologies emerging from America’s “first Silicon Valley” meant that Manhattan merchants could sell cameras from Rochester or electric motors from Schenectady around the world. Rural areas to the north and south of the canal corridor shipped food and raw materials to ports in New York and Buffalo, creating a seemingly countless number of prosperous farming villages and smaller industrial cities and towns.

Since 1990, however, the economic and social relationships among New York communities have been severed, and some regions grow and prosper while others languish or even decline. This report will examine population trends during this time period in search of broader patterns of community change.

### Definitions

The following study utilizes geographic areas defined by the United States Office of Management and Budget and SF-1 data provided by the Census Bureau. New York is composed of 62

counties, five of which are coterminous with boroughs in New York City and thus have no functioning county government. The various types of population units discussed below are composed of either single or multiple counties.

Most counties in New York are part of a Core Based Statistical Area, or CBSA. A CBSA contains a core urbanized region that provides central place functions for the surrounding area. A CBSA with a city of at least fifty thousand residents is called a Metropolitan Area, whereas a CBSA with a city of less than fifty thousand residents is called a Micropolitan Area. Combinations of Metropolitan and Micropolitan Areas form what are referred to as Combined Statistical Areas<sup>1</sup>. New York contains twelve metropolitan areas and fifteen micropolitan areas. In addition, there are eleven rural counties that are not part of any CBSA. This report uses the CBSA definitions developed of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget in 2003<sup>2</sup>.

### Large Cities

Although large swaths of New York’s land areas are rural, in terms of population the vast majority of the state’s residents live in urban areas. The largest of these metropolitan areas is New York, one of the largest cities in the world and the center of a complex of suburbs that stretch up to 120 miles from Manhattan. The second largest is Buffalo, an national metropolitan area with about 1.6 million residents. Table I shows the U.S. population for the Buffalo-Niagara Falls CSA only; an additional quarter of the 1.6 million live across the Niagara River in Canada. These largest CSAs are followed by the Capital District (centered in Albany), Rochester, and Syracuse. Recent population trends in these metropolitan areas are shown in Table I.

**Table 1: Five Largest Combined Statistical Areas and Population Change, 1990-2010**

CSA	1990 Population	2000 Population	Change (%)	2010 Population	Change (%)
New York	19,710,239	21,361,797	1,651,558	22,085,649*	723,852
			(8.4)		(3.4)
Buffalo-Niagara Falls	1,273,522	1,254,066	-19,456	1,215,826	-38,240
			(-1.5)		(-3.0)
Albany-Glens Falls-Amsterdam	1,097,136	1,118,095	20,959	1,168,485	50,390
			(1.9)		(4.5)
Rochester-Batavia-Seneca Falls	1,096,153	1,131,543	35,390	1,149,653	18,110
			(3.2)		(1.6)
Syracuse-Auburn	742,177	732,117	-10,060	742,603	10,486
			(-1.4)		(1.4)

\* 2010 CSA population as accessed by American FactFinder on 14 July 2011; includes PL 94-171 redistricting data for New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut counties that are part of the New York Metropolitan Area. See <http://mumford.albany.edu/mumford/UpstateProject/geography.html> for more information. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011.

## New York

New York is one of the largest cities in the world surrounded by suburbs that stretch 120 miles into the surrounding countryside. Home to over 22 million people in 2010, the New York CSA, which contains counties from other neighboring states as well, is actually part of a larger urban region (or megalopolis) that extends from Boston to Washington and is home to over 50 million people<sup>3</sup>. Due to its concentration of capital, talent, and cultural institutions, New York is considered to be among the three most important cities for the functioning of the global economy<sup>4</sup>.

In terms of population trends, New York continues to be the healthiest region in the state, although growth slowed considerably in the past decade. New York City alone added 166,855 new residents since 2000, a figure greater than the population of Syracuse, the state's fifth largest city. Nevertheless, the rate of growth of 2.1 percent for the past decade is less than a quarter of the 9.4 percent growth rate for the 1990s. The New York CSA as a whole grew more slowly during both decades, growing 8.4 percent during the 1990s and 3.4 percent during the past decade. Growth was highest in Dutchess and Orange Counties, which grew by 7.8 percent during the past decade.

The basic pattern in the New York CSA is one of growth in the inner city and the newest ring of suburbs. Since the 1960s, this pattern has been unusual for a northeastern metropolitan area—only Boston exhibited a similar pattern. Within New York, Staten Island had the highest growth rate: 5.6 percent during the past decade. The Bronx had the second highest growth rate at 3.9 percent during the same time period. In the suburbs, growth is concentrated in counties with available space that do not have long commutes. In this regard the impact of higher fuel prices is evident: population growth in Ulster County was reduced from 7.5 percent during the 1990s to 2.7 percent during the past decade.

## Buffalo

As noted earlier, Buffalo-Niagara Falls is the southern end of a large urban agglomeration known to Canadians as the “Golden Horseshoe”. Richard Florida has dubbed the urban region surrounding Lake Ontario “Tor-Buff-Chester,” a term that emphasizes the bi-national character of the region. One hundred years ago Buffalo was considered one of the great cities of North America, and this is still evident in the architecture, parks, and museums.

When included with the Golden Horseshoe, a region that includes Toronto and Hamilton, Ontario, Buffalo is part of a megalopolis of 7.7 million residents in 2007; this region is projected by Statistics Canada, Canada's national statistical agency, to grow to over 11 million by 2030<sup>5</sup>. All of this growth has been on the Canadian side of the border.

In 1990 the Buffalo CSA was home to 1,273,522 residents; by 2010 the population was 1,215,826 – a decline of three percent. All told, over 70 thousand residents have left the region since 1990, over two-thirds of whom moved during the past decade. Most of this loss was the result of population decline in the cities of Buffalo and Niagara Falls. Nonetheless, this decline is

actually slower than originally estimated by the Census Bureau, which predicted a CSA population of 1,203,493 – a decline of four percent.

## The Capital District

Albany is the capital of New York State and the heart of the region known as the “Capital District.” Unlike the other large urban regions in the state, the Albany CSA is composed of a number of comparatively small but interconnected cities, including Schenectady, Troy, Saratoga Springs, Amsterdam, and Glens Falls. The region grew by two percent during the 1990s and 4.5 percent during the past decade -- growth rates that were slower than the national average of 9.7 percent, but nevertheless make the Albany area the healthiest large metropolitan area in upstate New York<sup>6</sup>. Although some might believe this growth to be predicated on the government sector, it is in actuality based more on high technology and a general pattern of growth found throughout the Hudson Valley.

Growth in this region has primarily been found in the Hudson Valley, with the strongest growth in Saratoga County, with a growth rate during the past decade of 9.5 percent. Of the remaining Hudson Valley counties only Columbia County failed to demonstrate a significant growth rate (0.003). Of the western (non-Hudson Valley) counties, Schenectady County grew fastest (5.6 percent) and Fulton County the slowest (0.8 percent).

The major cities of the Capital District reversed a decades-old trend of population decline during the past decade. The city of Albany added 2,198 residents (2.3 percent) between 2000 and 2010, growing to 97,856. Schenectady added 4,314 residents, growing seven percent to 66,135. In Troy, the gain of 959 residents (2.0 percent) brought the city population above fifty thousand once again (50,129). More research on the question as to what drove this central city growth in the Capital District and other eastern New York cities is needed, but it appears likely that it is because of recent immigrants moving to these cities from the New York metropolitan area.

## Rochester

During the 1990s, when population decline afflicted a number of metropolitan areas, Greater Rochester grew 3.2 percent—the fastest growth rate of any metropolitan area in upstate New York. Growth continued into the early part of the last decade, but the past five years have witnessed a slowing of these earlier trends.

During the 1990s, nearly every county in the CSA gained population, with the outer suburbs in Ontario, Wayne, and Orleans counties each posting growth rates of over five percent. During the past decade, however, only Ontario and Seneca counties maintained healthy growth rates; the other counties all had growth rates of less than two percent or, in the case of Orleans County, lost population. Overall, the CSA grew by only 1.6 percent. The city of Rochester itself lost 4.2 percent of its population, dropping to 210,565.

The continued growth during the 1990s was founded on the relative health of its major corporations: Kodak, Bausch & Lomb, and Xerox being the most obvious. In addition to em-

ployment, the integration of major corporations with the global economy and local universities also brought financial and human capital to the region not found in similar numbers in many of the state’s other communities—especially upstate. As these companies restructured, particularly their manufacturing, the region’s employment woes have resulted in the exodus of population evident during the past decade. This pattern is similar to that found in other upstate cities, notably Buffalo, Syracuse, and Binghamton.

**Syracuse**

Syracuse is the only one of the five largest metropolitan areas with less than one million residents. Similar to the other large upstate cities, Syracuse grew to prominence as a manufacturing center, particular with such corporations as Carrier and Lockheed Martin. Due in part to this reliance on manufacturing, the region lost over ten thousand residents during the 1990s, but then grew by a similar number in the past decade.

As in Buffalo and Rochester, most of the population loss has been in the city itself during the 1990s, but Syracuse lost only about two thousand residents in the past decade. In the past decade, two of the four counties lost population, with the greatest growth in Onondaga County, where the city of Syracuse is located (8,690 residents, 1.9 percent). Suburban Madison County—which in practice shares its suburbs with metropolitan Utica twenty miles away—grew the fastest, however, adding 4,001 residents (5.8 percent). As in other northeastern cities, much of this loss was due to changes in the manufacturing economy of the region as companies shifted operations to other states and overseas. This was aided by a wave of corporate mergers, particularly in defense industries.

**Smaller Cities**

There are four smaller metropolitan areas in the state that are of interest as well. They are shown below in Table 2.

**Table 2: Smaller Metropolitan Areas in New York State and Population Change, 1990-2010**

Metropolitan Area	1990 Population	2000 Population	Change (%)	2010 Population	Change (%)
Utica-Rome	316,633	299,896	-16,737	299,397	-499
			(-5.3)		(-0.2)
Binghamton	264,497	252,320	-12,177	251,725	-595
			(-4.6)		(-0.2)
Elmira	95,195	91,070	-4,125	88,830	-2,240
			(-4.3)		(-2.5)
Ithaca-Cortland*	143,060	145,100	2,040	150,900	5,800
			(1.4)		(4.0)

\*Ithaca-Cortland Combined Statistical Area  
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011

Utica-Rome is the smallest of the Erie Canal metropolitan areas. The metropolitan area had the greatest percent decline of all the state’s metropolitan areas during the 1990s, largely as a result of the restructuring of manufacturing found across upstate as well as the closing of Griffiss Air Force Base in Rome. As a result, the city of Rome lost 10,130 residents between 1990 and 2006—23 percent of its former population (Thomas & Smith, 2009). Population loss due to the closing of the base accounted for nearly half of population decline during the past two decades, but declines were also evident in the city of Utica (about eight thousand residents during the 1990s). In contrast, the past decade has been quite benign: the metropolitan area lost only 499 residents, the slowest drop in population since 1980. The city of Utica itself gained 1,584 residents, an increase of 2.6 percent to 62,235. This trend is similar to that of other eastern New York cities such as those in the Capital District and likely for the same basic reasons. In contrast, the city of Rome, 15 miles west of Utica, lost 1,225 residents, dropping 3.5 percent to 33,725.

The two metropolitan areas of the southern tier—Binghamton and Elmira—both slowed their rates of decline over the 1990s, with Binghamton remaining relatively stable (-0.2%) and Elmira losing only 2.5 percent of its 2000 population. As in Utica-Rome, this is actually a slowdown in the rate of decline for both regions. In all three metropolitan areas the decline was rooted in shifts in manufacturing employment. This pattern also reflects a general malaise affecting the rural southern tier.

Only Ithaca has grown since 1990, and it is in fact upstate’s second fastest growing metropolitan area. Ithaca is home to Cornell University, an Ivy League research university that attracts millions of dollars in federal and state research grants every year. Ithaca is part of the Ithaca-Cortland CSA, the smallest CSA in the state, and growth is focused in Ithaca and Tompkins County, which grew by 5.2 percent during the last decade, compared with only 1.5 percent in Cortland County.

**Micropolitan Areas**

Population trends found in some of the state’s micropolitan areas are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Micropolitan Areas in New York State and Population Change, 1990-2010					
Micropolitan Area	1990 Population	2000 Population	Change	2010 Population	Change
			(%)		(%)
Corning	99,088	98,726	-362 (-0.37)	98,990	264 (0.3)
Jamestown-Dunkirk-Fredonia	141,895	139,750	-2,145 (-1.5)	134,905	-4,845 (-3.5)
Malone	46,540	51,134	4,594 (9.9)	51,599	465 (0.9)
Ogdensburg-Massena	111,974	111,931	-43 (-0.04)	111,944	13 (0.0001)
Oneonta	60,517	61,676	1,159 (1.9)	62,259	583 (0.009)
Plattsburgh	85,969	79,894	-6,075 (-7.1)	82,128	2,234 (2.8)
Watertown	110,943	111,738	795 (0.7)	116,229	4,491 (4.0)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>656,926</b>	<b>654,849</b>	<b>2,077 (0.3)</b>	<b>658,054</b>	<b>3,205 (0.5)</b>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011

Most micropolitan areas experienced relative stability during the past decade, facing growth or decline rates of two percent or less. The major exceptions were in Jamestown and Watertown. In the case of Jamestown, the pattern of economic restructuring found in the state’s larger cities was found there as well. In this regard it is worth noting that prior to 2003 the area was classified as a metropolitan area, not a micropolitan area. In Watertown, most of the population increase can be attributed to growth at Fort Drum military reservation.

Unfortunately, population stability is not a good sign. In the United States, birth rates tend to outpace death rates, and so we should expect most areas—if not specific communities—to at least gain some population as more people are born than die. Population stability is thus an indication that the excess population created by the higher birth rate is leaving the community. Or put more simply, many micropolitan areas are able to maintain their own local economies, but they also face a constant outflow of youth to other places.

**Rural Areas**

Table 4 shows population trends for the eleven New York counties that are rural. On average, rural counties grew by 3.2 percent during the 1990s, but increased by only 0.3 percent during the past decade.

During the 1990s, only three of the eleven rural counties had growth rates that mimicked those found in the New York Met-

ropolitan area. Two of these—Greene and Sullivan—are counties immediately adjacent to the New York metropolitan area, and they accounted for nearly two-thirds of the population growth in rural New York counties. In both counties, population growth slowed considerably during the past decade in part because commuting costs to metropolitan centers increased. The two other high growth counties during the 1990s—Yates and Essex—also witnessed a slowdown in growth. With the exception of Lewis County which had a very minor increase of 0.5%, every other rural county experienced a population decline during the past decade.



Table 4: Rural Counties in New York State and Population Change, 1990-2010

County	1990 Population	2000 Population	Change (%) 1990 to 2000	2010 Population	Change (%) 2000 to 2010
Allegany	50,470	49,927	-543	48,946	-98
			(-1.1)		(-2.0)
Chenango	51,768	51,401	-367	50,477	-924
			(-0.7)		(-1.8)
Delaware	47,225	48,055	830	47,980	-75
			(1.8)		(-0.2)
Essex	37,152	38,851	1,699	39,370	519
			(4.6)		(1.3)
Greene	44,739	48,195	3,456	49,221	1,026
			(7.7)		(2.1)
Hamilton	5,279	5,379	100	4,836	-543
			(1.9)		(-10.1)
Lewis	26,796	26,944	148	27,087	143
			(0.6)		(0.5)
Schuyler	18,662	19,224	562	18,343	-881
			(3.0)		(-4.6)
Sullivan	69,277	73,966	4,689	77,547	3,581
			(6.8)		(4.8)
Wyoming	42,507	43,424	917	42,155	-1,269
			(2.2)		(-2.9)
Yates	22,810	24,621	1,811	25,348	727
			(7.9)		(3.0)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>416,685</b>	<b>429,987</b>	<b>13,302</b>	<b>431,310</b>	<b>1,323</b>
			<b>(3.2)</b>		<b>(0.3)</b>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011

### Conclusions

The general pattern of population growth in New York State between 2000 and 2010 is similar to that evident during the 1990s: growth is more common in eastern New York, particularly in those areas connected in some fashion to the New York metropolitan area, whereas population stability or decline is more common in northern and western portions of the state. Overall, New York's population increased 401,645 residents during the past decade, but grew by 774,242 in the New York CSA and Albany CSA combined. This means that 372,597 left counties not part of those two regions. The major exception to this trend, the Ithaca-Cortland CSA, has close ties to global

economy via Cornell University.

The influence of New York City is likely evident in the experience of growth in many eastern New York metropolitan centers, particularly those in the Hudson Valley and Utica. Early indications are that this growth is due in large part to recent immigrant in those cities, although more research is necessary. A key question is whether such increases in population are due to immigrants moving directly to upstate cities or whether it is due to "chain migration:" immigrants moving first to a gateway city, most likely New York, and then moving to upstate cities. The phenomenon is likely a combination of both. Some upstate cities are home to recent arrivals coming

directly to those cities. In Utica, for example, the Mohawk Valley Refugee Center has been actively recruiting refugees from a variety of countries, and this has resulted in a substantial population of Bosnian, Vietnamese, and other recent immigrant groups who moved directly to Utica. In other cases, however, chain migration is evident, and there is evidence of substantial migrations of Mexican immigrants up the Hudson Valley, Puerto Ricans to several upstate cities, and other examples of migration to New York and then to upstate cities.

A third conclusion is one that was noted in several places in this report but nevertheless needs to be addressed again. Although many New York counties experienced stagnation and decline, the state as a whole actually did better than 2009 population estimates suggested, and this is true for even those metropolitan areas that lost population. For example, although the Buffalo CSA lost over thirty-eight thousand residents, the 2009 census estimates suggested that the region would lose

over fifty thousand<sup>7</sup>. This true in other metropolitan areas as well: the Rochester CSA was estimated to lose over four thousand residents during the past decade, but actually added over eighteen thousand; the Syracuse CSA was to lose 4,070 but grew by over sixteen thousand; and the Utica MSA was estimated to have lost over six thousand residents but lost less than five hundred. A similar pattern was found in the Binghamton and, to a lesser extent, Elmira MSAs. It is possible that part of the reason for this better than expected performance is that the “pull factor” of healthier economic opportunities found in other parts of the country were simply weaker during a decade of generally poor economic performance nationwide: why leave one’s hometown to move to a new community where prospects are no better? In any case, it is possible that many upstate metropolitan areas have finally “hit bottom” and a population recovery will begin soon, and this is reason for hope.

**Table A1: New York State Population by County - 2000 Census Counts, 2009 Estimates, and 2010 Census Counts**

County	2000 Population*	2009 Estimate**	2010 Population***	Difference between 2009 Estimate and 2010 Count	Change from 2000 to 2010
Albany	294,565	298,284	304,204	5,920	3.3%
Allegany	49,927	49,157	48,946	-211	-2.0%
Bronx	1,332,650	1,397,287	1,385,108	-12,179	3.9%
Broome	200,536	194,630	200,600	5,970	0.03%
Cattaraugus	83,955	79,689	80,317	628	-4.3%
Cayuga	81,963	79,526	80,026	500	-2.4%
Chautauqua	139,750	133,503	134,905	1,402	-3.5%
Chemung	91,070	88,331	88,830	499	-2.5%
Chenango	51,401	50,620	50,477	-143	-1.8%
Clinton	79,894	81,618	82,128	510	2.8%
Columbia	63,094	61,618	63,096	1,478	0.003%
Cortland	48,599	47,996	49,336	1,340	1.5%
Delaware	48,055	45,514	47,980	2,466	-0.2%
Dutchess	280,150	293,562	297,488	3,926	6.2%
Erie	950,265	909,247	919,040	9,793	-3.3%
Essex	38,851	37,686	39,370	1,684	1.3%
Franklin	51,134	50,274	51,599	1,325	0.9%
Fulton	55,073	55,053	55,531	478	0.8%
Genesee	60,370	57,868	60,079	2,211	-0.5%
Greene	48,195	48,947	49,221	274	2.1%
Hamilton	5,379	4,923	4,836	-87	-10.1%
Herkimer	64,427	62,236	64,519	2,283	0.1%
Jefferson	111,738	118,719	116,229	-2,490	4.0%

Table A1: New York State Population by County - 2000 Census Counts, 2009 Estimates, and 2010 Census Counts						Cont.
County	2000 Population*	2009 Estimate**	2010 Population***	Difference between 2009 Estimate and 2010 Count	Change from 2000 to 2010	
Kings	2,465,326	2,567,098	2,504,700	-62,398	1.6%	
Lewis	26,944	26,157	27,087	930	0.5%	
Livingston	64,328	62,871	65,393	2,522	1.7%	
Madison	69,441	69,954	73,442	3,488	5.8%	
Monroe	735,343	733,703	744,344	10,641	1.2%	
Montgomery	49,708	48,616	50,219	1,603	1.0%	
Nassau	1,334,544	1,357,429	1,339,532	-17,897	0.4%	
New York	1,537,195	1,629,054	1,585,873	-43,181	3.2%	
Niagara	219,846	214,557	216,469	1,912	-1.5%	
Oneida	235,469	231,044	234,878	3,834	-0.3%	
Onondaga	458,336	454,753	467,026	12,273	1.9%	
Ontario	100,224	105,650	107,931	2,281	7.7%	
Orange	341,367	383,532	372,813	-10,719	9.2%	
Orleans	44,171	42,051	42,883	832	-2.9%	
Oswego	122,377	121,377	122,109	732	-0.2%	
Otsego	61,676	61,602	62,259	657	0.9%	
Putnam	95,745	99,265	99,710	445	4.1%	
Queens	2,229,379	2,306,712	2,230,722	-75,990	0.1%	
Rensselaer	152,538	155,541	159,429	3,888	4.5%	
Richmond	443,728	491,730	468,730	-23,000	5.6%	
Rockland	286,753	300,173	311,687	11,514	8.7%	
St. Lawrence	111,931	109,715	111,944	2,229	0.01%	
Saratoga	200,635	220,069	219,607	-462	9.5%	
Schenectady	146,555	152,169	154,727	2,558	5.6%	
Schoharie	31,582	31,529	32,749	1,220	3.7%	
Schuyler	19,224	18,720	18,343	-377	-4.6%	
Seneca	33,342	34,049	35,251	1,202	5.7%	
Steuben	98,726	96,552	98,990	2,438	0.3%	
Suffolk	1,419,369	1,518,475	1,493,350	-25,125	5.2%	
Sullivan	73,966	75,828	77,547	1,719	4.8%	
Tioga	51,784	50,064	51,125	1,061	-1.3%	
Tompkins	96,501	101,779	101,564	-215	5.2%	



**Table A1: New York State Population by County - 2000 Census Counts, 2009 Estimates, and 2010 Census Counts** Cont.

County	2000 Population*	2009 Estimate**	2010 Population***	Difference between 2009 Estimate and	Change from 2000 to 2010
Ulster	177,749	181,440	182,493	1,053	2.7%
Warren	63,303	66,021	65,707	-314	3.8%
Washington	61,042	62,753	63,216	463	3.6%
Wayne	93,765	91,291	93,772	2,481	0.007%
Westchester	923,459	955,962	949,113	-6,849	2.8%
Wyoming	43,424	41,398	42,155	757	-2.9%
Yates	24,621	24,482	25,348	866	3.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>18,976,457</b>	<b>19,541,453</b>	<b>19,378,102</b>	<b>-163,351</b>	<b>2.1%</b>

\* U.S. Census Bureau. 2000 Census Counts, Summary File 1. <http://factfinder.census.gov>

\*\* U.S. Census Bureau. 2009 Population Estimates. <http://www.census.gov/popest/counties/CO-EST2009-01.html>

\*\*\* U.S. Census Bureau. 2010 Census Counts, Summary File 1. <http://factfinder2.census.gov/>

<sup>1</sup> <http://mumford.albany.edu/mumford/UpstateProject/geography.html>

<sup>2</sup> United States Census Bureau. 2010. About Metropolitan and Micropolitan Statistical Areas. <http://www.census.gov/population/www/metroareas/aboutmetro.html>. Accessed 1 March 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Florida, T. G. 2007. *The Rise of the Mega-Region*. Toronto: The Martin Prosperity Institute.

<sup>4</sup> Sassen, S. 2001. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton U. Press.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander R. Thomas, Smith, Polly J. 2009. *Upstate Down: Thinking about New York and its Discontents*. New York: University Press of America.

<sup>6</sup> U.S. Census Bureau. 2011. Census 2010. <http://2010.census.gov/2010census/index.php>. Accessed 28 March 2011.

<sup>7</sup> United States Census Bureau. 2010. Population Estimates. <http://www.census.gov/popest/estimates.html>. Accessed 1 March 2011.