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**Comeback Cities or the New Melting Pots:
Explorations into the Changing Large Cities of New England**
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Executive Summary

Most observers consider cities that regained population after a period of decline as cities that have been revitalized, or in other words “comeback cities”. Of course, some of these turnaround cities have not seen substantial rebounds in population. For example, turnaround cities of Brockton, Newton, Somerville, and Waltham bounced back only in the 1990s and only by about 2 percent while another turnaround city, Warwick, had population growth in the 1990s that does not even round up to 1 percent. More importantly, many cities that have seen their populations rebound still have not exhibited other signs of revival, such as reductions in the poverty rate, increases in residential construction, and income or residential property valuation changes that match or exceed those of their respective states. Cities are constantly in the process of change and the direction of the population growth is only one sign of this process. In examining cities, it is not only whether they gain or lose population that should be of interest but also how the composition of the population in these places is changing. In particular, it is important for public officials to track changes in poverty rates, racial and ethnic composition, and age distribution not only within the cities they focus on but in others in their region. Changes in property values are another important indicator of the issues that confront city residents. Comparisons to other cities can furnish insights to the relative standing of a city over time. These mix effects have a great deal to do with the economic and social needs of the populations now found in these places and the challenges and opportunities they represent to the elected and other public officials who serve them.

This paper examines changes in the population of 50 of the largest cities in New England¹ and groups them into what have become the conventional categories of long-term comeback cities, failed comeback cities, and recent comebacks based on how long population growth in these areas has been restored since 1980 and if it has been sustained through the year 2000. Information since 2000 is available but only as estimates that are subject to considerable measurement error. Hence the period after 2000 has been excluded from consideration. This classification of cities serves as a point of departure for a more thorough investigation of the demographic changes in these cities, and the extent to which population growth and decline has been accompanied by corresponding changes in poverty rates and rates of median house value change relative to statewide averages. The latter captures the capitalized value of perceived improvements in a place but also any changes in the mix of home values because it keys off the value of the median (middle-most) home in each city and state. In addition, other elements of change in the composition of residents and the housing stock in these cities are examined, including share of housing recently built, the age of residents, and the education levels of residents.

What emerges from this analysis is a series of findings about the largest cities in New England. First, 11 of the largest 50 cities in New England that have continuously added population 1970-2000, 22 cities have experienced recent or sustained comebacks since 1980, 10 failed to sustain a comeback staged in the 1980s, and 7 faced sustained declines in the 80s and 90s. Second, only 6 of the 22 recent and long-term comeback cities simultaneously

¹ In addition to the 50 largest cities in New England, we added the largest two cities in Vermont and the second largest city in Maine to expand coverage of these two states. Falling outside the study were Meriden, West Haven, and Bristol, CT, which did not fall into any of the categories listed.

experienced reduced poverty rates as well as growth in house values ahead of statewide median increases 1980-2000.

Third, it is apparent that the cities that saw turnarounds in more than their population benefited from growth in a nearby metropolitan area and shifts towards more highly educated populations. The strong association of increases in college-educated residents also suggests that these growth cities were capitalizing on the transitions in broader regional economy from blue collar manufacturing jobs to higher value-added service and technology jobs. With the data involved in this study, it cannot be made entirely clear why it was these cities in particular that experienced positive trends on a number of revitalization measures while others with similar proximity to the two major, growth-driving metropolitan areas in the New England region (Boston and New York) did not.

Fourth, the 11 cities that saw no declines in the 1970s and steady population gains since then are overwhelmingly smaller cities more distant and apart from Boston. These cities are distinct from the others because they are nearly the only ones of the group of 53 that benefited from gains in both native-born and foreign-born populations in both the 1980s and 1990s. The two additional cities sharing this trend include Peabody, MA and Cranston, RI, which were among the long-term comeback cities.

Fifth, and in stark contrast from the continuous growth cities, nearly all the other long-term comeback cities besides Peabody and Cranston continued to see losses of native-born residents in the 1980s and 1990s but foreign-born gains that more than offset those losses. Warwick, RI and Milford, CT did, however, have slight declines in foreign-born population in the 1980s that were substantially reversed.

Sixth, the short-lived growth in failed comeback cities occurred for exactly the opposite reason growth occurred in the other comeback cities, namely, temporary gains in the native-born population that offset declines in the foreign-born population. These trends then reversed in these failed comeback cities in the 1990s.

Seventh, the shift in the composition toward foreign-born population in the large majority of New England cities during the 1990s typically has resulted in a larger share of younger households (under the age of 35) and children as well as increases in poverty rates.

Eighth, growth in cities was not driven by increases in baby boomers. The sole exception is Barnstable Town, MA, a consistent growth city which saw baby boomer increases in the 1980s and 1990s. The majority of cities saw outright baby boomer declines in both decades, with the remaining –mostly sustained comeback cities- seeing slight increases in the 1980s reversed in the 1990s.

Ninth, changes in tax laws left all but one city with significant declines in new housing production in the 1990s vs. the 1980s or 1970s. The single exception is Waltham, which produced a scant 300 more houses in the 1990s than the 1980s.

Tenth, consistently growing cities had the highest shares of new housing as a percent of total housing in 2000. Even Nashua, NH with just 7 percent new housing was higher than all other cities in the other categories with the exception of Milford, CT (10 percent) and Waltham, MA (8 percent) in recent comeback cities, Stamford, CT (9 percent) and Cranston, RI (7.2 percent) in sustained comeback cities, and Burlington, VT (8 percent) in failed comeback cities.

The close link in many—though by no means all—of the turnaround cities to immigration trends is striking. Places that never made comebacks after losing population in the 1970s or 1980s or those that failed to keep the rally going stumbled in large part because some

combination of their economic bases, policies, and prior immigration patterns failed to create an environment conducive to attracting immigrants in the 1980s and 1990s. Places that gained in the 1980s and 1990s did so in large measure because they attracted immigrants. Hence, as Paul Grogan points out in his eponymous “Comeback Cities,” comeback cities frequently rebound because they play the role so often traditionally played by cities in American History—melting pots of opportunity for new immigrants who pass through them on paths towards assimilation and greater affluence. And, as Grogan also points out, official statistics on incomes may not accurately reflect the income these groups in fact have because more of may go unreported relative to native populations. Indeed, Social Compact has begun to devise new methods to assess purchasing power in a handful of immigrant neighborhoods to move beyond reported income. Given the importance of immigration to so many of the cities examined in this report, the implications of immigration patterns appear essential to understanding growth and change in the largest cities in New England.

I. New England Cities Rebounding from Past Declines

This study looks at change in 50 of New England's largest cities from 1970 to 2000, with focus on cities experiencing new population growth since 1980. Included in the study are the 50 largest cities by population in 2000, plus the two largest cities in Vermont—Burlington and Rutland—and the second largest city in Maine—Lewiston—to enhance the geographical coverage of the study. Not included in the study are three small cities in Connecticut that did not fall into any category, having neither a comeback, failed comeback, nor continuous loss or gain during the study period. Unless otherwise noted, all data used in the study has been taken from the US Census Decennial Survey of Population and Housing for the years 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000.

The 1970s were a difficult time for the majority of cities in New England. At the beginning of the decade, the 50 largest New England cities studied were home to 4.36 million people. By 1980, fully 243,000 residents had left, bringing the total population down 5.6 percent in just ten years to 4.11 million. The population losses were widespread throughout New England, occurring in 36 of the 50 cities in our study. Since then, however, these largest cities have experienced a significant rebound of 222,000 residents from 1980-2000, nearly equaling all that were lost in the 1970s. While the population totals of 1980 and 2000 are similar, the cities with the greatest population gains were not necessarily those with the greatest prior losses, and the people moving into these rebounding cities did not share the same characteristics of those whom they replaced. Additionally, mere population changes may not tell us the complete story behind comebacks in New England cities. Various economic indicators add insight to a comparison of cities based entirely on population trends.

One of the purposes of this paper is to classify cities into groups according to the patterns of their population growth. Initially, cities are classified on this basis alone. Then cities are further classified based on other quantifiable indicators of economic progress. The first part of the paper focuses on extending the concept of a comeback city beyond population changes. In the second part the focus is on differences in social, economic, and demographic trends and characteristics within and between cities in each category, with the hope of identifying a small set of traits distinctive to each category while recognizing the cities that are exceptions. The final part presents the implications of this research for public policy.

II. Defining Change and “Comebacks” in New England’s Cities

Population growth after an extended period of decline is a simple and straightforward measure of a comeback city. In theory, population is a measure of demand for city living, and population growth is an indication of greater demand for the set of public and private goods, services, and amenities available in the particular city. Therefore the fact that growth has occurred after a period of decline suggests that something has changed, making the city more desirable to a greater number of people, and making it able to re-populate, re-vitalize or, in other words, “comeback” as a city.

In the two decades from 1980 to 2000, population growth occurred in various forms. This study focuses on differentiating turnaround cities, or those whose population growth occurred after a period of decline, from cities with other patterns of growth and decline. We classify three types of turnaround cities. The first is the sustained turnaround city- those that had net population growth in the 1980s and the 1990s after losing population in the 1970s. Our study includes 15 such cities (See Appendix Table A-1). The second type of turnaround city is the recent comeback city—those that had population growth in the 1990s after prior losses in the 1970s or 1980s. The study includes 7 such cities. The third type of turnaround city is the failed comeback city – those that had population losses in the 1990s after a brief period of growth during the 1980s. There are 10 failed comeback cities in the study.

In addition to the 32 turnaround cities, there are 18 other cities that do not fall into the above groups. We split these cities into two categories. First, are the consistent growth cities—those that did not experience population losses in the 1970s and consistently grew in the 1980s and 1990s. There are 11 such cities in that study. The remaining 7 cities are decliners, which are mainly the 6 cities that have been losing population consistently since the 1970s and 1 city that has been declining steadily, but only since 1980.

III. Adding Economic Measures

Categorization by population change is a simple, but not especially satisfying, way of identifying comeback cities, mainly because it fails to capture more meaningful characteristics of revitalization. For a more thorough investigation of the extent to which population growth and decline has been accompanied by corresponding economic changes, we look to four indicators of local economic revitalization:

- Rates of median house value change relative to statewide averages,
- Rates of median income change relative to statewide averages,
- Overall growth in residential construction
- Changes in city poverty rates.

Income gains, rebuilding, and rising property values all indicate success in attracting new capital and a greater mix of incomes to cities. Since economies are largely regional, the way in which median house values and median incomes are changing relative to statewide medians gives us a relative measure of how each city is improving within its regional economy. New residential construction indicates local investment, as well as growing demand for new housing to replace or augment the existing housing stock. Lastly, poverty rates may identify cities whose population growth is based on growth in poor populations, which may be counter to notions of what it means to comeback as a city.

Most of these indicators provide meaningful insights into trends in the cities here examined. The exception is the indicator for new residential development. Except for Waltham, MA, residential construction was down in the 1990s, relative to the 1970s and 1980s for every city in the survey (See Table A-2). This reflects changes in federal tax law under the Tax Reform Act of 1986 rather than a significant softening of demand in New England's cities in the 1990s. Instead, it is the result of overbuilding in the 1980s created by powerful and unique incentives for investment in rental housing construction that existed from 1980 to 1986. After 1986, the reversal of these tax incentives caused rental property values to plummet, multifamily production to dip below trend, and loan repayments to savings and loans to fall. Thus, we limit our examination of indicators of economic progress to poverty rates, median incomes, and median house values.

Sustained comebacks do not fare particularly well in our economic measures, with nearly half of these cities worse in each measure, and only two cities, Boston and Cambridge, better in all three (See Table A-3). Recent comeback cities fared better economically, with 3 of the 7 better in every measure, although one such city—Brockton—fared worse in all three measures. Failed comeback cities fared especially poorly economically, with 7 of 10 declining on all three economic measures. Portland, ME was the one true outlier, exceeding state income and house value growth and reducing its poverty in 2000. As for declining cities, 5 of 7 decliners were worse in all economic measures and none were positive in all three measures. Lastly, only a single consistent growth city saw gains in every economic measure, while three cities—Leominster, Manchester, and Nashua—posted negative trends on each.

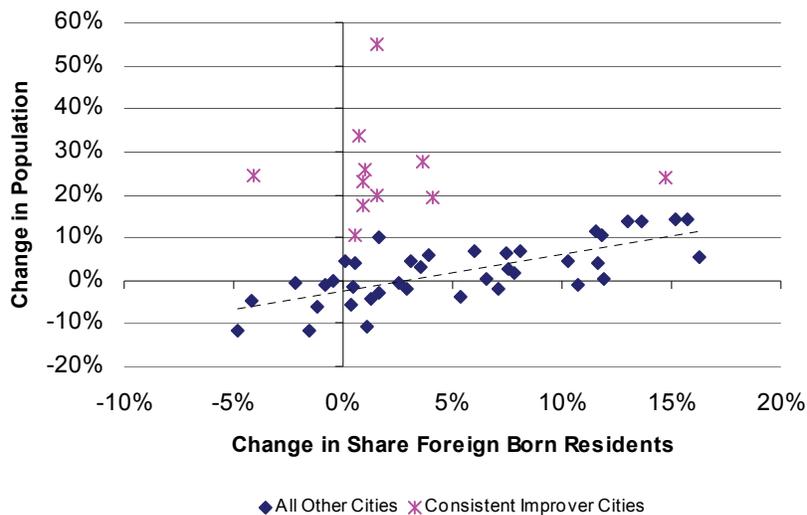
We find that population growth in New England's sustained comeback cities was somewhat dependent on growth in the poor, with 9 of the 15 cities experiencing higher poverty rates in 2000 than 1980. Higher poverty rates may be counter to notions of citywide improvements, leading to greater average use of basic public services but lower than average income tax revenues. However, as Grogan points out in his book "Comeback Cities," an increase in poor city residents may simply mark a return to the city's traditional role as a gateway for currently poor but upwardly mobile immigrants. In this sense, cities can comeback both by rebounding population and by returning to their traditional roles as points of disembarkation for immigrants. Indeed, New England cities clearly benefited from the liberalization of immigration laws in 1965 that followed a period of strict and low quotas resulting from the 1924 immigration act. Just as income gains, rebuilding, and rising property values all indicate success in attracting new capital and a greater mix of incomes to cities, attracting new poor residents who are young, ambitious foreign born persons seeking advancement may also have signaled economic gains and revitalization not attributable to stagnant populations of less mobile, persistently poor persons.

IV. Immigration and Education: Two Main Dimensions of a Comeback

Growth in the foreign born has largely driven population growth in New England cities and has also been a major dimension upon which comeback cities, failed comeback cities, and cities in decline differ. If not for immigration, the population of New England's cities would not have rebounded from declines in the 1970s. In fact, from 1980 to 2000, without immigration,

New England’s largest cities would have lost an additional 56,000 residents. Instead, an influx of 279,000 new foreign-born residents came to New England in the 1980s and 1990s and helped the population almost completely rebound from dramatic losses in the 1970s. City by city, for most New England cities—especially the largest—population growth has been directly related to growth in the foreign-born population. Charting out population change by change in foreign-born population shows this relationship (See Figure 1) and also shows how the relationship differs for consistently growing cities such as Nashua and Manchester, whose total growth was led by increases in both native born and foreign-born populations.

Figure 1: Except for Consistent Improvers, Population Change was Highly Associated with Change in Foreign Born Residents

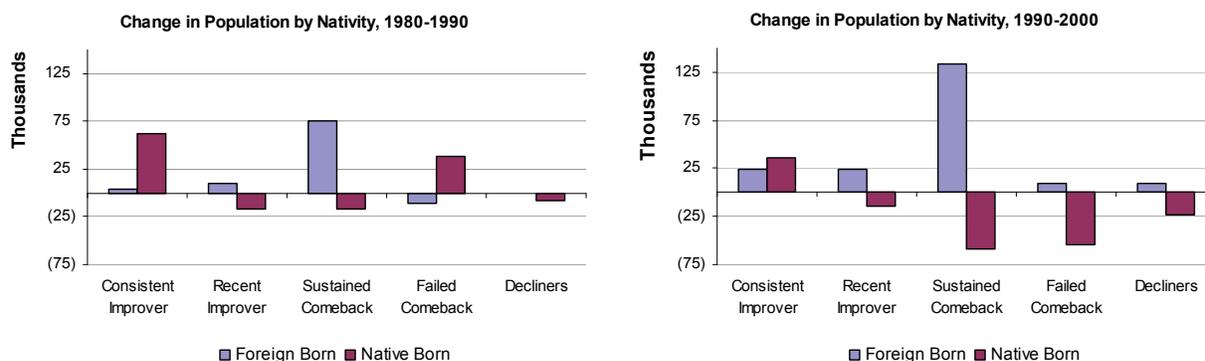


Offsetting Foreign- and Native-Born Trends

Looking further into how growth in foreign-born populations has differed between the city growth categories in the 1980s and 1990s, we find that sustained comeback cities were able to keep gaining population because increases in foreign-born populations outweighed decreases in native-born populations. Recent comeback cities also shared this trend, except that increases in foreign born weren’t enough in the 1980s to overcome native-born losses, but they accelerated in the 1990s to surpass losses in native born. Salem, MA was the exception recent comeback city where both the native-born and foreign-born populations increased in the

1990s. Due to a brief resurgence of durable goods manufacturing in the late 1980s, failed comeback cities had a trend opposite that of the sustained comeback cities. In these failed comeback cities, the 1980s was a period of population growth because increases in native-born populations outpaced losses in the foreign-born populations. The 1990s saw this trend reverse. In all but Fall River and New Bedford, there were native-born losses that were only partially offset by foreign born gains. In Fall River and New Bedford both native- and foreign-born populations declined in the 1990s. Decliner cities had stable or decreasing numbers of foreign-born residents in the 1980s and 1990s, which came on top of losses in native-born populations. Exceptions to this trend in decliners were the two large decliner cities, Bridgeport, CT and Medford, MA, which had some gains in foreign born populations in the 80s and 90s, but not enough to outweigh large native born losses.

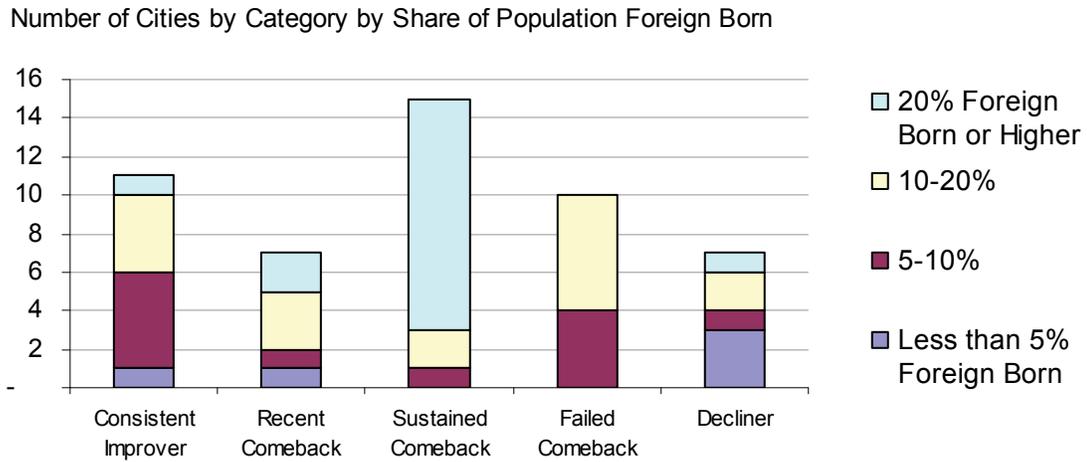
Figure 2: Increases in Foreign Born Persons Drove Population Growth, Especially in the 1990s



Foreign-Born Shares

Aside from growth of foreign-born residents, the total share of foreign-born residents has also been a major dimension upon which comeback cities may be differentiated from failed comeback cities and cities in decline. In 2000, sustained comeback cities did not differ greatly from failed comeback cities in terms of size, minority composition, age composition, and poverty rates. However, the two could be differentiated by the share of foreign-born residents, with sustained comeback cities home to much larger share of foreign-born residents in 2000. In fact, fully 12 of 15 sustained comeback cities had greater than 20 percent of their citizens foreign born, while none of the 10 failed comeback cities had more than 20 percent of their population foreign born (See Figure 3).

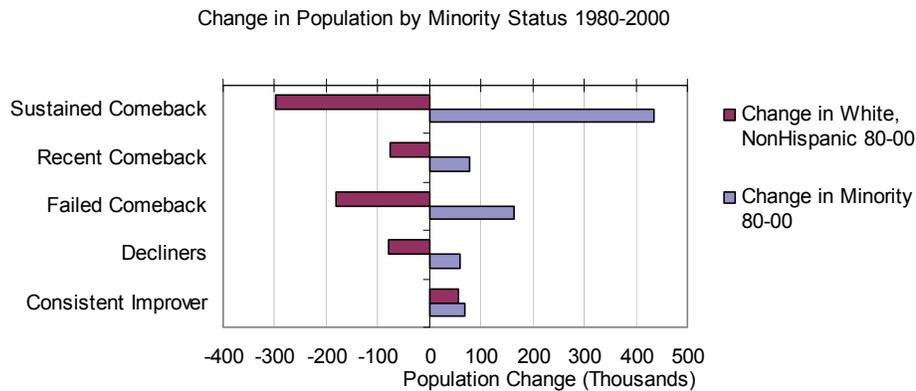
Figure 3: Most Comeback Cities Had High Shares of Foreign Born Residents



Minority Composition

The dramatic growth of foreign-born residents has made New England's cities increasingly diverse. From 1980 to 2000, while the share of foreign-born residents in New England's 50 largest cities as a whole rose from 12 to 17 percent, the number and share of minority residents was up in every category of city. Increases were most dramatic in sustained comeback cities, where between 1980 and 2000, the population of non-Hispanic whites decreased by a total of 300,000, while blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and other races grew by 450,000 residents. The link between diversity and the introduction of foreign born becomes apparent as population change by race and ethnicity between city growth categories follows trends in foreign-born growth, with failed comeback cities and cities in decline having minority growth in the 1980s and 1990s which was not enough to outweigh the larger decrease in white, non Hispanics, while consistently growing cities were the only group to have increases in whites that surpassed growth in minorities. (See Figure 4)

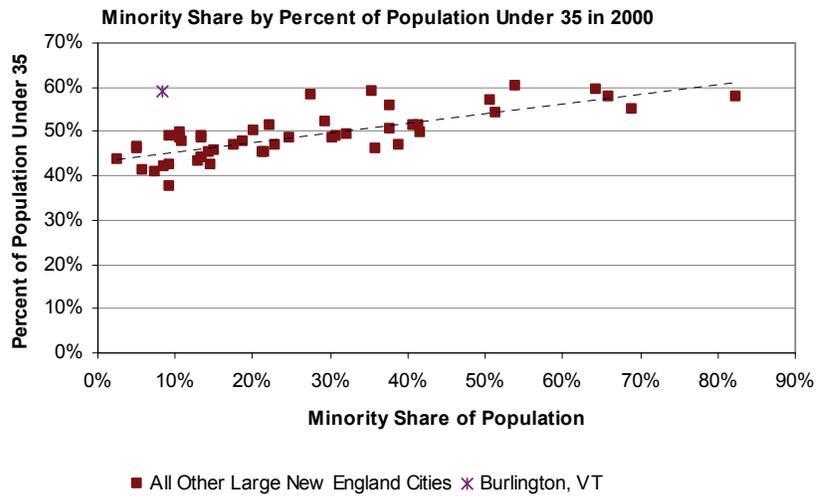
Figure 4: Foreign Born Growth Outweighed Native Born Losses in Comeback Cities



Age Composition

Foreign-born residents and minorities have also added to the ranks of the young in New England. On average, cities with high shares of minorities, such as those in the large comeback cities of New England, also had larger share of residents under age 35 (See Figure 5). Areas such as Hartford, CT and Providence RI, where minorities comprise 82 and 57 percent of the population, also have 58 and 60 percent of their respective residents under age 35. The outlier in this group is Burlington, VT, which, due to the University of Vermont's presence, has a large number of persons under 35 without a high share of minorities. Cities with large shares of minorities and persons under 35 include both sustained comeback cities such as Boston, Providence, Lawrence, and Lowell, as well as New Haven and Hartford, CT.

Figure 5: New England Cities with High Minority Shares were Also the Youngest



Educational Achievement

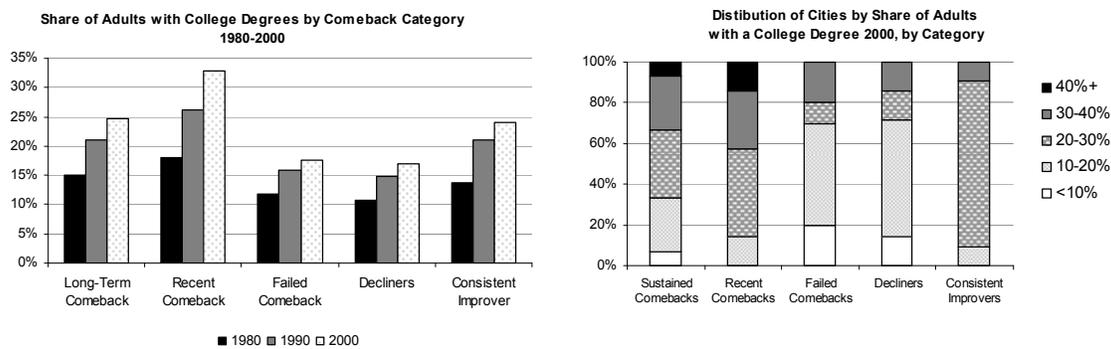
In addition to growth in foreign-born population, the second dimension upon which comeback cities may be differentiated from others is education levels. Looking at education levels, we come to four findings:

- Education is becoming increasingly important to city growth
- High education levels may be conducive to further increases
- Increases in foreign-born and minority residents may be contributing to higher education levels in some cities
- There is a clear association with changing city education levels and median household incomes and median house values.

Education is becoming more important to city growth. The recent comeback cities have the greatest share of college educated adults, while cities with failed turnarounds had the highest share of adults without a high school degree. After summing up all adults aged 18 and over across the city change categories, recent comeback cities had 33 percent of their adults with a college degree, while 28 percent of adults in sustained comeback cities were college grads, and

24 percent of adults in consistently growing cities had college degrees. On the other hand, only 16 percent of the adults in both failed comeback cities and overall declining cities had college degrees. The distribution of shares of college educated adults across cities shows a similar trend between sustained and failed comeback cities: approximately 70 percent of cities with sustained comebacks have over 20 percent college-educated adults, while only 30 percent of failed comeback cities have shares as high or higher than 20 percent (See Figure 6).

Figure 6: Shares of College Educated Adults, Mean Levels and 2000 Distributions by Category



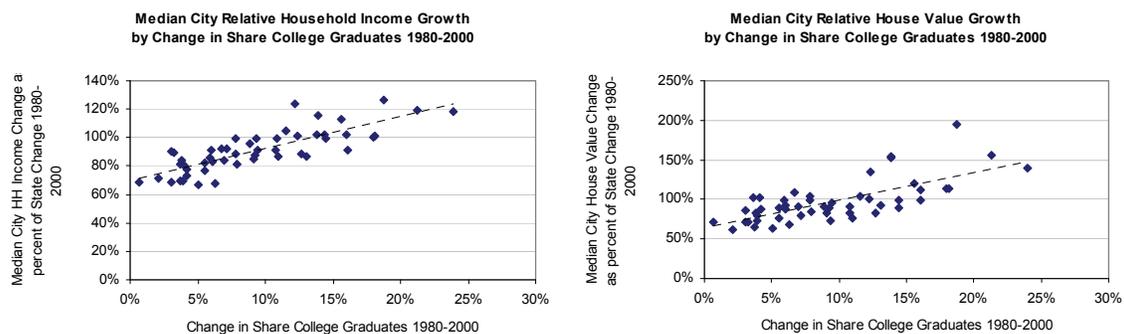
For sustained and recent comeback cities, growth in shares of foreign-born residents, minorities, and persons under 35 was coupled with higher shares of college-educated adults over age 18. While sustained comeback cities followed the same trend, recent comeback cities such as Somerville and Newton had the highest shares and most significant increases in their shares of adults with college degrees, increasing from 19 to 33 percent and from 17 to 28 percent of their respective populations from 1980-2000. Consistent growth cities followed similar trends to the comeback cities, posting consistent improvements in college educated shares. Interestingly, however, not one of the consistent improver cities was in the top 10 cities ranked by share of college educated adults in 2000. Failed comeback cities and cities in decline had a noticeably different trend, with the lowest shares of college graduates and with rates increasing only a few percentage points from just 11 to 16 percent and 10 to 16 percent respectively of all adults in these cities from 1980-2000.

Comeback cities had the highest shares of adults with a college degree and the highest growth in shares of these residents, while failed comeback cities and cities in decline had the lowest share of college educated adults and lowest growth. Exceptions to this rule among

comeback cities include the city of Lawrence, whose college educated share increased from only 7 percent to just 9 percent, as well as recent comeback city of Brockton, MA, where college graduate shares increased from a low 9 percent in 1980 to 13 percent in 2000. On the positive side, exceptions include the decliner city Medford, whose population decreased but college shares increased dramatically from 12 percent in 1980 to fully 30 percent in 2000. Failed comeback cities of Portland, ME and Burlington, VT—outliers also in many other respects—also bucked the trend, with both increasing their college educated shares to 30 percent by 2000 from relatively high respective levels of 18 and 20 percent in 1980.

Comparing levels and changes to college educated shares of adults within our city change categories, we find an association between education levels and growth of median incomes and house values in New England’s cities. Our results show that areas with the highest education levels and highest growth in college educated adults were also those that have the highest growth in median household incomes and house values (See Figure 7). This reinforces the notion that cities that saw turnarounds in more than their population benefited from growth in a nearby metropolitan area and shifts towards more highly educated populations.

Figure 7: Higher Education Levels Led to Higher Growth in Median Incomes and House Values



V. Trends and Characteristics of Cities by City Change Category

While some general trends apply to most cities in each city change category, closer inspection of each group has also shed better light on the distinctions to be made among the cities *within* each category. Depending on the sources of population growth or decline, cities within each population change group get different increases or decreases in other indicators of economic recovery. Additionally the shifting demographics of each city are unique, and while

trends exist, outliers within each trend help us understand the bigger story. We look now into each city change category to highlight our results.

Sustained Comeback Cities

Cities with sustained comebacks since 1980 include most of New England's largest cities, such as Boston, Providence, RI, Worcester, MA, and Stamford, CT. Without including Boston (which is over twice the size of the next largest city in the study at over 589,000 persons), sustained comeback cities had the largest mean population of 93,000. The group also includes Norwalk, CT and several small cities mostly within the Boston Metro area. This suggests that expansion of the regional economies of Boston and New York City positively affected many smaller cities near Boston and Norwalk and Stamford near New York.

Sustained comeback cities attained high growth in both decades of the 1980s and 1990s. Two cities with a noticeable difference are Lowell and Lawrence, which appeared more like failed comeback cities. In each strong population growth in the 1980s of over 10 percent decelerated dramatically in the 1990s, but managed stay positive. Proximity to Boston was apparent in cities with accelerated growth in the 1990s, including low-cost areas such as Lynn and Revere, as well as high-cost cities like Cambridge, Boston, and Quincy. Growth in sustained comeback cities was driven by large increases in foreign-born residents which outnumbered losses in native-born residents. The majority of New England cities' growth in foreign-born residents has been in the large sustained comeback cities, such as Boston which added 65,000 new foreign-born residents in the 1980s and 90. This is fully 11 percent of the City's 2000 population. Providence, RI and Stamford, CT (also sustained comeback cities) added 23,000 and 20,000 new foreign-born residents respectively in the 1980s and 1990s, which amounted to 13 and 17 percent of each city's total populations in 2000. In Lawrence, the nearly 13,000 new foreign-born residents since 1980 amounted to 18 percent of the City's total population. In total, sustained comeback cities lost 5 percent or 75,000 native-born residents, while nearly doubling their number of foreign-born residents (who increased by 209,000 or 93 percent). Exceptions to this trend were Peabody, MA and Cranston, RI, both of which were increasing both native- and foreign-born populations in both decades, a trait more common to suburban consistent growth cities.

Growth in foreign-born and loss of native-born populations has made New England's sustained comeback cities more diverse than in 1980. This is reflected in the growth in minorities in all sustained comeback cities in the 1980s and 1990s, as well as in the decline in the number and share of white, non-Hispanic residents in all of them. Sustained comeback cities significantly increased their minority shares by an average of 22 percentage points from 1980 to 2000 to equal 34 percent in 2000. As exceptions, Peabody, MA and Cranston, RI had the lowest share changes, with only minor growth in minorities and modest losses in whites.

The population growth of sustained comeback cities came in spite of dramatic losses in baby boomers, especially in the 1990s. Though all but a few cities in New England experienced losses in this generation—who were 25 and 44 years old in 1990 and of prime age to start families and move to the suburbs—losses were especially large in sustained comeback cities such as Boston and Cambridge. These two cities lost 26 and 38 percent of their Baby Boomer population in the 1990s respectively. That the overall population of these cities increased, even as this large segment of the population moved away is dramatic, and demonstrates the draw that these cities still have in attracting young adults and the constant dynamism and flux of the population of these cities. Home to many major universities, they are able to replenish their young adult populations. Except for Lawrence, Lowell, Worcester, Providence, and Peabody, sustained comeback cities attracted Generation X residents in the 1990s (aged 15-24 in 1990). Stamford and Norwalk, CT in particular increased their Generation X residents by 56 and 49 percent, respectively, while Cambridge, MA also increased this population by 20 percent in the 1990s.

Growth in sustained comeback cities was not necessarily attached to growth in overall indicators of economic development. Of the three factors we examined (median income growth in relation to statewide growth, median house value growth in relation to statewide growth, and changes in poverty rates), we found that over half of cities with sustained comebacks registered negative in all three respects. The cities registering negatively on each of these measurements were generally lower-cost, lower-income cities with already high poverty rates. These cities included Lawrence, Lowell, Lynn, Revere, Worcester, Providence, and Pawtucket. Of the 15 cities in this category, only two—Boston and Cambridge—had positive growth in all respects, while other similarly situated cities such as Quincy, as well as affluent cities near the New York Metro, such as Stamford and Norwalk were positive in two of the three measures without large

negatives in the third. Lastly, the fact that sustained comeback cities had both some of the highest and lowest median house values in their respective states suggests these cities were not simply the cheapest areas in otherwise high-cost metros.

In terms of residential development, as noted earlier, it dropped in fully 52 of the 53 cities from 1980s to the 1990s. For sustained comeback cities, this meant population growth occurred alongside decreases in housing production. Declines were large for sustained comeback cities. In Boston, for example, in 1990, 19,000 units were built in the previous 10 years, but in 2000, only 8,500 units were less than 10 years old. As a group, new housing went from 11 percent of the total housing stock in 1990 to just 4.5 percent in 2000. Given that reductions in development were spread across the region, the large, sustained comeback cities with access to regional job centers were a likely place for new residents to land. It also put pressure on house prices in the cities most accessible and most desirable in the recovering regional economy—areas with already relatively high house values to begin with.

Recent Comeback Cities

Cities with recent comebacks that didn't turnaround until the 1990s include mainly mid-sized New England cities close to Boston, such as Newton, Somerville, and Waltham, as well as Milford, CT and Salem, MA. Recent comeback cities had a mean population of approximately 70,000 in 2000. The location of these cities suggests that expansion of the regional economies of Boston and New York City positively affected them in the 1990s.

Recent comeback cities attained high growth in the 1990s that outweighed losses occurring in the 1980s. Two cities appearing as exceptions to this are Warwick, RI and Brockton, MA whose population growth in the 1990s was smaller and not enough to overcome losses in the previous decade. These two cities were also outliers in that they had population growth in the 1970s and 1990s while the others only increased in the 1990s. Proximity to Boston was apparent in cities with accelerated growth in the 1990s, including low cost areas such as Brockton and Salem, as well as high cost cities Newton, Waltham, and Somerville. Growth in recent comeback cities was driven by accelerated increases in foreign-born residents in the 1990s, which grew to outnumber sustained losses in native-born residents in both the 1980s and 1990s. As a group, recent comeback cities lost 4 percent of their native-born residents in the 1980s and then again in the 1990s, while growth in foreign-born residents increased from 20

percent growth, or 9,000 new residents in the 1980s to a significant 42 percent growth, or 24,000 new residents in the 1990s. The result was that from 1980 to 2000, these cities had a 7 percent loss in native-born population and a 70 percent gain in foreign-born population. An exception to this trend was Salem, MA which was increasing in both native- and foreign-born populations in the 1990s, a trait more common to the consistent growth cities. Also of note were Warwick and Milford, RI who were exceptions in that they saw only very little change in foreign- and native-born population growth, and not the large acceleration seen in the other cities.

Growth in foreign-born and loss of native-born populations has made New England's recent comeback cities more diverse in the last decade, with accelerated minority growth reflected in all recent comeback cities in the 1990s. Declines in number and share of white, non-Hispanic residents was also found in all these cities. Recent comeback cities increased their minority shares by an average of 15 percentage points from 1980 to 2000 to equal 20 percent in 2000. Warwick and Milford, RI - the two cities outlined above as having very little growth - also had the lowest minority shares and the lowest changes in minorities, increasing just 6 and 4 percent respectively.

The population growth of recent comeback cities also came in spite of dramatic losses in baby boomers in the 1990s. Losses were especially large in recent comeback cities such as Somerville and Waltham, which lost 36 and 19 percent of their Baby Boomer population in the 1990s, changing similarly to long-term comeback cities Boston and Cambridge. Other recent comeback cities had fewer losses, such as Warwick, which actually had slight gains in Baby Boomers, appearing more like a consistent growth city in this respect. Aside from Salem and Somerville, recent comeback cities did not attract significant numbers of young adults in the 1990s. While Somerville's Generation X residents increased by a dramatic 46 percent in the 1990s, high cost areas such as Newton and Waltham, MA decreased their respective Generation X residents by 20 and 14 percent in the 1990s.

Growth in recent comeback cities, more than other groups was also attached to growth in overall indicators of economic development, suggesting that economic growth in high-value areas in the 1990s was especially beneficial to these cities. Of the three factors we observed (median income growth in relation to statewide growth, median house value growth in relation to statewide growth, and changes in poverty rates), we found that 3 of the 7 cities with recent comebacks were positive in all three respects. The cities registering positive on each of these

measurements—Newton, Waltham, and Milford—were high-value, high-income cities with low poverty rates. Only one recent comeback city had negative growth in all respects, Brockton, which although in the Boston Metro did not share the high-cost, high-income and low poverty rates of the other recent comeback cities.

Recent comeback cities also had population growth alongside decreases in housing production in the 1990s. Though we saw trends in residential development were overwhelmingly negative for 52 of 53 cities in the study, the recent comeback city of Waltham was the only city to have increased housing production in the 1990s relative to the 1980s--barely increasing production by 300 units. However, part of this was due to very low production levels in the 1980s. In 2000, Waltham still had just 8 percent of its housing stock as new units built in the past 10 years. Declines in residential construction were large for sustained comeback cities. For example in Salem, which had a 6 percent population increase in the 1990s, new construction went from 1,745 units to just 715 from the 1980s to the 1990s. Additionally, in Somerville, new housing comprised just 1.4 percent of the housing stock in 2000. As a group, new housing went from 12 percent of the total housing stock in 1990 to just 5 percent in 2000. Given that reductions in development were spread across the region, the largely built out recent comeback cities with access to regional job centers were a likely place for new residents to land. Regional economic recovery also put pressure on house prices in the cities most accessible and most desirable in the recovering regional economy—namely, those with initially high house values compared to other groups.

Failed Comeback Cities

Cities which experienced population decreases in the 1990s after brief rebounds in the 1980s include large cities in western and South Eastern New England that are outside the Boston/Providence/NYC corridor such as Springfield, MA, Hartford, Waterbury and New Britain, CT, New Bedford and Fall River, MA. It also includes rural northern cities such as Portland, ME and Burlington, VT, though these cities are most often outliers in many of the trends of this group. Failed comeback cities are large and similar in size to the large sustained comeback cities, having a mean population of 92,000. The location of these cities suggests that they were largely bypassed by the expansion of the financial service and high value added service economies of Boston, Providence, and New York City in the 1990s.

Failed comeback cities, during their time of growth in the 1980s, displayed the exact opposite growth pattern of cities with sustained population comebacks, with high population growth in the 1980s that was driven by a brief increase in native-born residents, which outweighed concurrent losses in the foreign-born populations. Nearly every other city with sustained population increases had growth in foreign-born populations. It appears that in the 1990s, when this native-born population growth quickly turned to large declines, the newly formed growth in foreign-born residents in these cities was relatively small and not enough to overcome such losses. Two cities of exception are Fall River and New Bedford, MA whose foreign-born populations continued to be drivers of decline in the 1990s. This was rare even among consistently declining cities. Other outlier cities in the group were Portland, ME and Burlington, VT, which technically were failed comebacks but had only negligible population losses in the 1990s.

Proximity to Boston as a driver for growth was apparent in cities with failed comebacks in the 1990s, as not one city in this group was within the Boston Metro area. As a group, failed comeback cities lost 9 percent of their foreign-born residents in the 1980s and then increased their foreign-born population by 9 percent in the 1990s, while changes in native-born residents went from 5 percent growth, or 38,000 new residents in the 1980s to a 6 percent loss, or 55,000 new residents in the 1990s. This dwarfed the 9,900 gain in foreign-born population. The result was that from 1980 to 2000, these cities had a 2 percent loss in native-born population and a 1 percent loss in foreign-born population.

Although suffering net losses of population, recent modest growth in foreign-born and loss of native-born populations has made New England's failed comeback cities more diverse in the last decade, with small minority growth reflected in all these cities in the 1990s. Failed comeback cities increased their minority shares by an average of 17 percentage points from 1980 to 2000 to equal 35 percent in 2000. Burlington, VT, and Portland, ME, the two cities with the lowest minority shares, also had the lowest growth in minority shares, increasing just 6 and 7 percent respectively, while Fall River with a slightly higher minority share, also had just 7 percent growth in minority shares in the last two decades.

The population decline of failed comeback cities also came in spite of dramatic losses in baby boomers in the 1990s. Failed comeback cities went from having the highest average percentage of residents as baby boomers in 1980 (37 percent) to having the lowest percentage of

any category in 2000 (26 percent). Boomer losses were large in number and share in failed comeback cities, especially New Haven, CT, Hartford, CT and Burlington, VT which lost 43, 41, and 52 percent their respective Baby Boomer population from 1980-2000s, reducing their respective Baby Boomer population shares by 17, 13, and a full 28 percentage points in Burlington. While comeback cities such as Boston, Cambridge, and Somerville were attracting younger Generation X residents, failed comeback cities, especially Hartford, Springfield, New Haven, and Burlington, who combined to lose 23,000, or 25 percent of their Gen X residents, lost significant numbers of young adults in the 1990s. The two exceptions to this trend were Portland, ME which increased its number of Gen X residents by 22 percent in the 1990s, and Waterbury, CT, which had a slight increase.

Decline in failed comeback cities was attached to negative trends in overall indicators of economic development, suggesting that economic growth in high-value areas around Boston and New York City in the 1990s had minimal benefit on these cities. Of the three factors we considered, we found that 7 of the 10 cities with failed comebacks were negative in all three respects, indicating that they were not keeping up with statewide growth. The failed comeback cities registering negative on each of these measurements generally had the worst readings, with the greatest increases in poverty, and the smallest increases in median incomes and house values. Hartford, CT and Springfield, MA for instance, each had poverty rates that increased by over 5 percentage points from 1980 to 2000, with house values appreciating at less than 70 percent of the statewide level, and median incomes growing at just 71 percent of statewide levels. Only one failed comeback city—Portland—had positive growth in all respects, whose robust economy and only very slight population decline in the 1990s led it to appear more like a growth city than a failed comeback.

Failed comeback cities also had decreases in housing production in the 1990s. For example Hartford, a city of 56,000 housing units in 1990, registered only 2,000 housing units built in the 1990s. This contributed to a net decline of a dramatic 5,400 housing units from 1990 to 2000. Other failed comeback cities registered net declines in housing units in the 1990s such as New Britain, New Haven, Waterbury, CT, as well as New Bedford and Springfield, MA. As a group, new housing went from 11 percent of the total housing stock in 1990 to just 5 percent in 2000.

Cities in Decline

Cities in decline are those which experienced net population decreases since the 1970s or 1980s. They are mainly small cities, having a mean population of just 55,000, and are located outside the Boston metropolitan area, with the exception of Medford, MA. The group includes two general types of decliners: small rural cities, such as Pittsfield, MA, Lewiston, ME, Rutland, VT and Woonsocket, RI, and larger, more urban cities with consistent decline, such as Bridgeport, CT, East Providence, RI, and Medford, MA.

Population change in declining cities followed two trends. The rural cities in north and west New England experienced consistent decline through sustained losses in both foreign- and native-born populations in the 1980s and 1990s, with larger number losses in native born but larger percentage losses in foreign born. The other more urban decliners appeared more like failed comeback cities, with some foreign born increases that were exceeded by larger losses in native born. Bridgeport, CT and Medford, MA stood out in this group as having substantial foreign-born population increases, but they also incurred equally substantial native born losses.

Though cities differed within the group, as a whole these cities had very little population change in the 1980s and large declines in the 1990s. They lost 1 percent of their foreign-born residents in the 1980s and then increased their foreign-born population by 22 percent in the 1990s. These cities also accelerated their losses in native born residents, increasing from a 2 percent loss in the 1980s to a 7 percent loss of 23,000 native born residents in the 1990s, which dwarfed the concurrent 8,000 person gain in foreign-born population.

The modest changes in foreign-born population combined with relatively larger losses of native-born populations to make New England's declining cities slightly more diverse in the last decade, with small minority growth reflected in all these cities in the 1990s, while declines in number and share of white, non-Hispanic residents also occurred in each. These cities increased their minority shares by an average of 10 percentage points from 1980 to 2000 to become 19 percent minority. Rutland, VT, and Lewiston, ME, had the lowest minority shares and lowest growth, increasing just 1 and 3.5 percent to become 2 and 5 percent minority in 2000.

The population decline of these cities was marked by dramatic losses in baby boomers and an aging population base, with rising shares of adults aged 65 and over in all cities except Bridgeport, CT and Woonsocket, RI. Declining cities went from having 33 percent of residents as baby boomers in 1980 to having just 28 percent of residents as Baby Boomers in 2000.

Losses were large in number and share in decliner cities, especially Bridgeport, CT, and Medford, MA, which reduced their respective Baby Boomer population shares from 30 to 26 percent and from 36 to 28 percent respectively. Bridgeport, CT differed from the other decliners in that the lower share of baby boomers was replaced by higher shares of younger residents, while most declining cities such as Medford, Lewiston, and Pittsfield saw increasing shares of residents aged 65 and over, suggesting higher aging in place in declining cities.

With Medford as an exception, the location of these cities suggests that population losses occurred from being bypassed by the expansion of the financial service and high value added service economies of Boston, Providence, and New York City in the 1990s, as population decline in these cities was attached to negative trends in overall indicators of economic development. Of the three factors we observed, we found that 5 of the 7 cities in decline were negative in all three respects, indicating that they were not keeping up with statewide growth and had increasing poverty rates. Medford, being within the Boston metropolitan area, had the most positive economic indicators, with above state growth in incomes and house values, while Pittsfield, MA, being the other decliner city in Massachusetts away from the Boston metro, had the lowest levels of income and house value growth relative to its state, each at just 67 percent of state growth.

Decliner cities also had decreases in housing production in the 1990s and the lowest number of new housing as a percent of the total housing stock. Bridgeport, a city of 54,000 housing units in 1990, registered only 2,200 housing units built in the 1990s, which contributed to a net decline of a dramatic 2,900 housing units from 1990 to 2000, which was 5 percent of its housing stock. Other decliner cities that registered net declines in housing units in the 1990s were Lewiston, ME and Rutland, VT. As a group, new housing went from 11 percent of the total housing stock in 1990 to just 4 percent in 2000. On the other hand, 3 of these cities had modest increases in their housing stock amid population losses in the 1990s, the greatest being East Providence, RI where total housing stock increased by 2.4 percent.

Consistently Growing Cities

Cities who have consistently grown from 1970 through 2000 are mostly outer suburb cities of the Boston metropolitan area in proximity to Interstate 495. These cities are less built out than the inner comeback cities and smaller, with a mean population of 58,000. The group

also includes Nashua, and Manchester, NH, which potentially felt spillover effects of the dispersing Boston economy, as well as Barnstable Town, MA, which has seen a steady transition from seasonal to year-round residents and retirees.

Consistent growth cities attained high growth in both decades of the 1980s and 1990s. Growth trends in the 1990s ranges from Haverhill, MA, with 15 percent population growth to Middletown, CT, with just 1 percent growth in the 1990s trending down. Proximity to Boston and the 495 corridor was apparent in cities with accelerated growth in the 1990s, which included Haverhill, Methuen, and Taunton. Unlike other comeback cities, which were experiencing net losses in native-born populations, growth in consistently growing cities was driven by substantial increases in both native born and foreign-born residents, with native growth outpacing foreign-born growth. As a group, growth in the native-born population was higher in number, while foreign-born growth saw higher percent gains. In total, native-born population increased by 98,000, or 21 percent from 1980 to 2000, while foreign-born residents increased by 28,000, or fully 65 percent. The exception to this trend was Taunton, MA, which had declines in foreign-born residents in both the 1980s and 1990s.

Growth in foreign-born populations made all of New England's consistent growth cities slightly more diverse in 2000 than in 1980, but these cities as a group still had significantly fewer minorities and smaller minority growth from 1980-2000. Across the category, consistent growth cities significantly increased their minority shares by an average of 9 percentage points from 1980 to 2000 to equal 15 percent of city populations in 2000. As an exception, Danbury, CT had the highest share change, with minorities increasing 21 percentage points to become 32 percent of the population.

While the population growth of consistently growing cities in New England was driven by increases in Baby Boomers in the 1980s, except for Barnstable, the 1990s saw reductions in the number and share of baby boomers in most of these cities. However, nearly all cities in New England experienced losses in this generation. Except for Middletown, CT and Barnstable Town, MA consistent growth cities attracted Generation X residents in the 1990s, each increasing their shares of this group between 2 and 3 percent.

Population change in consistent growth cities was not necessarily attached to growth in overall indicators of economic development. Of the 11 cities in this category, only one consistent growth city, Haverhill, had positive economic growth in all three measures, while

Leominster, Nashua, and Manchester, each registered poverty rate increases and below state median income and house value growth. The majority of these cities did have reductions in poverty rates from 1980 to 2000, signaling that their growth was largely from poor residents.

While even in consistently growing cities, population growth occurred alongside decreases in housing production relative to the 1980s. However, consistently growing cities had the greatest amount of new housing as a percent of total housing in the city. In fact, 10 of the top 11 cities with the highest shares of new homes in 2000 were in the consistent growth category, and not in comeback cities. New home shares in this high-flying group ranged from a low of 7.0 percent in Nashua, NH to a high of 14.8 percent of the housing stock in Taunton, MA. Outer suburb cities of Boston, such as Taunton, Attleboro, and Haverhill, had the highest levels, with new housing comprising 14.8, 13 and 12.5 percent of all housing in each respective city. Even these cities faced declines from levels near 20 percent in the 1980s. As a group, new housing went from 20 percent of the total housing stock in 1990 to just over 10 percent in 2000. Given that even the reduced level of 10 percent was nearly twice as high as the level for any other category of city, population growth appears to be having a physical effect on consistently growing cities, as opposed to comeback cities, which appear to be absorbing growth within the existing housing stock. That the median values of housing is lower than housing in recent or sustained comeback cities closer to the Boston metropolitan area suggests that much of this growth may be driven by the affordability of these areas and the need for affordable housing further away from job centers but still within commuting distance.

VI. Conclusions

The following conclusions draw out major themes from the above detailed discussions of findings by dimensions of change and with in each city change category.

I) With increasing dependence on foreign born, many New England cities have returned to their historic role as points of entry for new immigrants

For most New England Cities, population growth has been driven by growth in foreign born outweighing other losses. If not for increased immigration in the 1980s and 1990s, the population of New England's cities would not have rebounded from declines in the 1970s, and instead would have faced the additional loss of 56,000 native-born residents. However, 279,000

new foreign-born residents came to New England's cities in the past two decades, and the population almost completely rebounded. Such a large transition marks a return to the past nature of New England's large cities as gateway communities for immigrants as they enter the country, establish their bearings and join the workforce.

II) Population growth in New England's comeback cities has meant increasing diversity in terms of the share of foreign-born and minority residents.

On average, in cities of sustained comebacks through the 1980s and 1990s—areas where the majority of population growth occurred—the share of foreign-born residents increased by 10 percentage points, reaching 22 percent of the cities' population in 2000. Meanwhile, minority shares climbed 22 percent to comprise an average of 34 percent of these cities' populations. On the other hand, declining cities and those with failed comebacks increased their shares of foreign born by less than one percent in twenty years, with just 10 and 13 percent of their respective populations foreign born in 2000.

III) Higher foreign-born and minority shares have helped maintain high shares of young residents in comeback cities, even as the remaining Baby Boomers age.

While baby boomers have been leaving the cities for the suburbs throughout the 1980s and 1990s, those remaining still comprise the largest segment of the population of most all New England cities. As baby boomers continue to leave, the young, foreign-born residents arriving have maintained a consistent share of young residents in comeback cities even as the largest segment of the population has aged.

IV) Rising education levels has also differentiated New England's comeback cities from decliners

While comeback cities and failed comeback cities both consisted of large cities, those with sustained comebacks and accelerated growth in the 1990s had the largest shares and increases in shares of residents with college degrees. The association between rising shares of college educated adults and the economic indicators of growth, such as above-state growth in median house values and median household incomes also suggests that higher education is playing a major role in both population and economic growth in New England's cities.

V) Economic indicators suggest access and proximity to large metropolitan areas, especially Boston, has had a large positive influence on the growth and change of New England's cities.

Cities with consistent population growth appear at the confluence of the Boston/I495 regions, while cities with consistent decline are rural and far away from large metro areas. Comeback cities are closer to Boston, New York City, and Providence, while failed comeback cities are outside of this corridor and appear disconnected. The association becomes even more apparent when viewing indicators of economic growth, as cities that improved on these measures tended to be higher-value, higher-income cities closest to Boston and New York City, while cities away from these metros tended to do increasingly worse.

VI) The combination of foreign-born population growth and rising poverty rates in many comeback cities differentiates these areas from high populations of persistently poor.

Not all areas that gained population had gains on other economic indicators such as poverty rates. Areas that are attracting new, poor residents that increase the poverty rate challenge the notion of a “comeback” as being positive progress across a range of indicators. However, that the poverty rates may consist of largely young and upwardly mobile foreign born sets these cities apart from others that may be older and persistently poor. The aspiring, upwardly mobile poor immigrant who moves on and makes room for new immigrant families who are poor but similarly working and aspiring is the vision of comeback cities as gateways of opportunity.

VII) Market cycles of the 1990s and changes in federal tax laws in 1986 had a dramatic negative impact on development throughout New England's cities; but while residential construction was down almost everywhere, new residential construction was transforming the small, consistently growing cities on the fringe of the Boston Metropolitan area.

Residential development in the 1990s was down significantly from levels of the 1970s and 1980s in every city in New England except Waltham, MA. By year 2000, most cities had only between 2 and 6 percent of their housing stock less than 10 years old. Consistently growing cities, however, especially those in the 495 belt around Boston, such as Methuen, Haverhill, and Attleboro, MA, still averaged over ten percent of their 2000 housing stock built in the 1990s.

This suggests that population increases in these cities are having a much greater impact upon the physical environment of these outer-metro cities than are being felt in the more built-out inner metro comeback cities whose growth appears to be refilling vacant housing stock.

VIII) Final Observations and Policy Implications

Although our look at population change dynamics does not lend itself to in-depth analysis of civic policy in New England, it does lend itself to drawing out several policy implications. The fact that growth in New England's cities has been increasingly dependent upon increasing shares of a diverse array of immigrants and minorities in the past two decades leads to several implications. The main implication is that, in order to grow, cities will increasingly need to attract a diverse array of new residents, many of whom will have been born outside of the country. Also, with the increasing diversity of new residents in terms of race, culture, age, education, and income, additional community, cultural and educational institutions will need to be established within New England's cities to support the different needs of these populations.

Given that rising poverty rates have accompanied growth in many New England comeback cities, supports and services are especially necessary to enhance upward mobility of the poor residents, both native- and foreign-born. While rising poverty rates themselves may not be contrary to economic recovery in comeback cities, this is only if the poor themselves are constantly changing as currently poor move up the income scale. If this upward mobility slows and levels of the persistently poor increase then comeback cities will hardly live up to their names.

The association between educational attainment of residents and city population comebacks in New England, as well as the associations between education levels and gains in our economic measures underscores the need to focus on education to train and support a highly educated local workforce. It is apparent that such a workforce best positions a city for the high-value added economy driven by regional finance, technology and service industries that are firmly established in, and increasingly spreading out from centers of Boston, New York, and Providence.

The fact that education levels increased the most in areas that also saw the largest increases in shares of foreign born suggests that there is great income and educational variation among foreign born. As a result cities need to find ways of both being receptive to highly educated immigrants as well as providing educational opportunities for the foreign- and native-

born looking for economic advancement. The importance of higher education and skill training is apparently great. Cities close to the major, thriving cities in the region like Boston that started with lower shares of residents with college degrees in 1980 fared much worse than the cities that started with higher shares over the past two decades. While it is possible that lower initial shares signaled that these cities were less desirable areas to start with, it is the case that economic progress appears to have stalled in places that did not increase the college-educated share but advanced in those that did.

Of course, this analysis leaves many questions unanswered. The analysis is not fine-grained enough to explain why two similarly located places with similar initial economic bases thrived while others struggled. Important factors are noticeably absent from this analysis, such as political leadership, city governance, nonprofit capacity, business leadership, level and use of federal community development subsidies, industrial mix, and transportation access. Nevertheless, this paper makes it clear that it is well worth moving beyond simple classifications of cities into categories of population change. While there is value to doing so in ways this paper points out, it is superficial in the sense that below the surface are demographic and economic shifts at least as important. In many cases, the direction of population change and indicators of economic success move in opposite directions. It is vitally important for leaders to focus as much or more on understanding how the mix of their residents is changing as on toting up population gains and losses. It is therefore also worthwhile for cities to fund ways to share information and experiences among cities undergoing similar demographic and economic shifts. Hopefully, this paper helps facilitate those exchanges.

Table A-1: Population of Cities by Change Category, 1970 – 2000

GEOGRAPHY	CATEGORY	POP1970	POP1980	POP1990	POP2000	Change 1970-80		Change 1980-90		Change 1990-2000		Change 1980-2000	
						#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
CT, Danbury	Consistent Improver	50,781	60,470	65,585	74,848	9,689	19%	5,115	8%	9,263	14%	14,378	24%
CT, Middletown	Consistent Improver	36,924	39,040	42,762	43,167	2,116	6%	3,722	10%	405	1%	4,127	11%
MA, Attleboro	Consistent Improver	32,907	34,196	38,383	42,068	1,289	4%	4,187	12%	3,685	10%	7,872	23%
MA, Barnstable	Consistent Improver	19,842	30,898	40,949	47,821	11,056	56%	10,051	33%	6,872	17%	16,923	55%
MA, Haverhill	Consistent Improver	46,120	46,865	51,418	58,969	745	2%	4,553	10%	7,551	15%	12,104	26%
MA, Leominster	Consistent Improver	32,939	34,508	38,145	41,303	1,569	5%	3,637	11%	3,158	8%	6,795	20%
MA, Methuen	Consistent Improver	35,456	36,701	39,990	43,789	1,245	4%	3,289	9%	3,799	9%	7,088	19%
MA, Taunton	Consistent Improver	43,756	45,001	49,832	55,976	1,245	3%	4,831	11%	6,144	12%	10,975	24%
NH, Concord	Consistent Improver	30,022	30,400	36,006	40,687	378	1%	5,606	18%	4,681	13%	10,287	34%
NH, Manchester	Consistent Improver	87,754	90,936	99,567	107,006	3,182	4%	8,631	9%	7,439	7%	16,070	18%
NH, Nashua	Consistent Improver	55,820	67,865	79,662	86,605	12,045	22%	11,797	17%	6,943	9%	18,740	28%
CT, Bridgeport	Decliner	156,542	142,546	141,686	139,529	-13,996	-9%	-860	-1%	-2,157	-2%	-3,017	-2%
MA, Medford	Decliner	64,397	58,076	57,407	55,765	-6,321	-10%	-669	-1%	-1,642	-3%	-2,311	-4%
MA, Pittsfield	Decliner	57,020	51,974	48,622	45,793	-5,046	-9%	-3,352	-6%	-2,829	-6%	-6,181	-12%
ME, Lewiston	Decliner	41,779	40,481	39,757	35,690	-1,298	-3%	-724	-2%	-4,067	-10%	-4,791	-12%
RI, East Providence	Decliner	48,207	50,980	50,380	48,688	2,773	6%	-600	-1%	-1,692	-3%	-2,292	-4%
RI, Woonsocket	Decliner	46,820	45,914	43,877	43,224	-906	-2%	-2,037	-4%	-653	-1%	-2,690	-6%
VT, Rutland	Decliner	19,293	18,436	18,230	17,292	-857	-4%	-206	-1%	-938	-5%	-1,144	-6%
CT, Hartford	Failed Comeback	158,017	136,392	139,739	121,578	-21,625	-14%	3,347	2%	-18,161	-13%	-14,814	-11%
CT, New Britain	Failed Comeback	83,441	73,840	75,491	71,538	-9,601	-12%	1,651	2%	-3,953	-5%	-2,302	-3%
CT, New Haven	Failed Comeback	137,707	126,109	130,474	123,626	-11,598	-8%	4,365	3%	-6,848	-5%	-2,483	-2%
CT, Waterbury	Failed Comeback	108,033	103,266	108,961	107,271	-4,767	-4%	5,695	6%	-1,690	-2%	4,005	4%
MA, Chicopee	Failed Comeback	66,676	55,112	56,632	54,653	-11,564	-17%	1,520	3%	-1,979	-3%	-459	-1%
MA, Fall River	Failed Comeback	96,898	92,574	92,703	91,938	-4,324	-4%	129	0%	-765	-1%	-636	-1%
MA, New Bedford	Failed Comeback	101,777	98,478	99,922	93,768	-3,299	-3%	1,444	1%	-6,154	-6%	-4,710	-5%
MA, Springfield	Failed Comeback	163,905	152,319	156,983	152,082	-11,586	-7%	4,664	3%	-4,901	-3%	-237	0%
ME, Portland	Failed Comeback	65,116	61,572	64,358	64,249	-3,544	-5%	2,786	5%	-109	0%	2,677	4%
VT, Burlington	Failed Comeback	38,633	37,712	39,127	38,889	-921	-2%	1,415	4%	-238	-1%	1,177	3%
CT, Norwalk	Long-Term Comeback	79,288	77,767	78,331	82,951	-1,521	-2%	564	1%	4,620	6%	5,184	7%
CT, Stamford	Long-Term Comeback	108,798	102,453	108,056	117,083	-6,345	-6%	5,603	5%	9,027	8%	14,630	14%
MA, Boston	Long-Term Comeback	641,071	562,994	574,283	589,141	-78,077	-12%	11,289	2%	14,858	3%	26,147	5%
MA, Cambridge	Long-Term Comeback	100,361	95,322	95,802	101,355	-5,039	-5%	480	1%	5,553	6%	6,033	6%
MA, Lawrence	Long-Term Comeback	66,915	63,175	70,207	72,043	-3,740	-6%	7,032	11%	1,836	3%	8,868	14%
MA, Lowell	Long-Term Comeback	94,239	92,418	103,439	105,167	-1,821	-2%	11,021	12%	1,728	2%	12,749	14%
MA, Lynn	Long-Term Comeback	90,294	78,471	81,245	89,050	-11,823	-13%	2,774	4%	7,805	10%	10,579	13%
MA, Malden	Long-Term Comeback	56,127	53,386	53,884	56,340	-2,741	-5%	498	1%	2,456	5%	2,954	6%
MA, Peabody	Long-Term Comeback	48,080	45,976	47,039	48,129	-2,104	-4%	1,063	2%	1,090	2%	2,153	5%
MA, Quincy	Long-Term Comeback	87,966	84,743	84,985	88,025	-3,223	-4%	242	0%	3,040	4%	3,282	4%
MA, Revere	Long-Term Comeback	43,159	42,423	42,786	47,283	-736	-2%	363	1%	4,497	11%	4,860	11%
MA, Worcester	Long-Term Comeback	176,572	161,799	169,759	172,648	-14,773	-8%	7,960	5%	2,889	2%	10,849	7%
RI, Cranston	Long-Term Comeback	74,287	71,992	76,060	79,269	-2,295	-3%	4,068	6%	3,209	4%	7,277	10%
RI, Pawtucket	Long-Term Comeback	76,984	71,204	72,644	72,958	-5,780	-8%	1,440	2%	314	0%	1,754	2%
RI, Providence	Long-Term Comeback	179,116	156,804	160,728	173,618	-22,312	-12%	3,924	3%	12,890	8%	16,814	11%
CT, Milford	Recent Comeback	50,858	49,101	48,168	50,594	-1,757	-3%	-933	-2%	2,426	5%	1,493	3%
MA, Brockton	Recent Comeback	89,040	95,172	92,788	94,304	6,132	7%	-2,384	-3%	1,516	2%	-868	-1%
MA, Newton	Recent Comeback	91,066	83,622	82,585	83,829	-7,444	-8%	-1,037	-1%	1,244	2%	207	0%
MA, Salem	Recent Comeback	40,556	38,220	38,091	40,407	-2,336	-6%	-129	0%	2,316	6%	2,187	6%
MA, Somerville	Recent Comeback	88,779	77,372	76,210	77,478	-11,407	-13%	-1,162	-2%	1,268	2%	106	0%
MA, Waltham	Recent Comeback	61,582	58,200	57,878	59,226	-3,382	-5%	-322	-1%	1,348	2%	1,026	2%
RI, Warwick	Recent Comeback	83,694	87,123	85,427	85,808	3,429	4%	-1,696	-2%	381	0%	-1,315	-2%
TOTAL		4,355,414	4,112,398	4,247,043	4,334,518	(243,016)	-5.6%	134,645	3%	87,475	2%		5%
TOTAL ALLCITIES		4,468,930	4,219,600	4,355,598	4,430,336	(249,330)	-6%	135,998	3%	74,738	2%	210,736	5%

Table A-2: New Units (Built in Previous 10 Years) as a Percentage of Total Units 1980-2000, by City

GEOGRAPHY	CATEGORY	1980			1990			2000			% Change 1980-2000		
		Total Units	# New	% New	Total Units	# New	% New	Total Units	# New	% New	Total Units	# New	% New*
CT, Danbury	Consistent Improver	22,581	5,469	24%	25,950	5,508	21%	28,519	2,516	9%	+26%	-54%	-15%
CT, Middletown	Consistent Improver	14,774	3,825	26%	18,102	4,152	23%	19,697	2,384	12%	+33%	-38%	-14%
MA, Attleboro	Consistent Improver	12,503	2,188	17%	15,045	2,775	18%	16,554	2,177	13%	+32%	-1%	-4%
MA, Barnstable	Consistent Improver	16,436	5,708	35%	23,377	7,438	32%	25,018	2,749	11%	+52%	-52%	-24%
MA, Haverhill	Consistent Improver	18,527	2,547	14%	21,321	4,070	19%	23,737	2,971	13%	+28%	+17%	-1%
MA, Leominster	Consistent Improver	12,988	2,430	19%	15,533	2,958	19%	16,976	1,755	10%	+31%	-28%	-8%
MA, Methuen	Consistent Improver	13,231	2,134	16%	15,441	2,698	17%	16,885	1,579	9%	+28%	-26%	-7%
MA, Taunton	Consistent Improver	16,770	2,495	15%	20,281	3,952	19%	22,908	3,379	15%	+37%	+35%	-0%
NH, Concord	Consistent Improver	12,126	2,539	21%	15,697	4,459	28%	16,881	1,482	9%	+39%	-42%	-12%
NH, Manchester	Consistent Improver	35,869	4,732	13%	44,361	9,202	21%	45,892	3,879	8%	+28%	-18%	-5%
NH, Nashua	Consistent Improver	25,444	7,749	30%	33,383	8,867	27%	35,387	2,494	7%	+39%	-68%	-23%
CT, Milford	Recent Comeback	18,437	3,217	17%	20,149	2,296	11%	21,137	2,184	10%	+15%	-32%	-7%
MA, Brockton	Recent Comeback	34,720	5,684	16%	35,376	2,457	7%	34,837	982	3%	+0%	-83%	-14%
MA, Newton	Recent Comeback	29,131	2,025	7%	30,497	1,905	6%	32,112	1,127	4%	+10%	-44%	-3%
MA, Salem	Recent Comeback	15,879	1,558	10%	17,161	1,745	10%	18,175	715	4%	+14%	-54%	-6%
MA, Somerville	Recent Comeback	30,942	1,588	5%	31,786	1,705	5%	32,477	469	1%	+5%	-70%	-4%
MA, Waltham	Recent Comeback	21,224	2,622	12%	21,723	1,635	8%	23,880	1,948	8%	+13%	-26%	-4%
RI, Warwick	Recent Comeback	32,450	6,033	19%	35,141	4,128	12%	37,085	2,590	7%	+14%	-57%	-12%
CT, Norwalk	Long-Term Comeback	29,448	4,301	15%	32,224	4,758	15%	33,753	2,139	6%	+15%	-50%	-8%
CT, Stamford	Long-Term Comeback	40,059	6,537	16%	44,279	7,710	17%	47,317	4,147	9%	+18%	-37%	-8%
MA, Boston	Long-Term Comeback	241,444	17,287	7%	250,863	18,966	8%	251,935	8,539	3%	+4%	-51%	-4%
MA, Cambridge	Long-Term Comeback	41,300	4,361	11%	41,979	3,079	7%	44,725	2,098	5%	+8%	-52%	-6%
MA, Lawrence	Long-Term Comeback	25,992	2,229	9%	26,915	3,246	12%	25,601	943	4%	-2%	-58%	-5%
MA, Lowell	Long-Term Comeback	34,883	4,069	12%	40,302	6,072	15%	39,468	1,392	4%	+13%	-66%	-8%
MA, Lynn	Long-Term Comeback	32,617	2,817	9%	34,670	3,325	10%	34,690	889	3%	+6%	-68%	-6%
MA, Malden	Long-Term Comeback	21,464	2,776	13%	23,217	2,086	9%	23,634	865	4%	+10%	-69%	-9%
MA, Peabody	Long-Term Comeback	16,248	1,846	11%	18,240	2,425	13%	18,898	1,115	6%	+16%	-40%	-5%
MA, Quincy	Long-Term Comeback	34,352	4,982	15%	37,732	4,273	11%	40,093	2,033	5%	+17%	-59%	-9%
MA, Revere	Long-Term Comeback	17,176	2,584	15%	18,726	3,088	16%	20,181	975	5%	+17%	-62%	-10%
MA, Worcester	Long-Term Comeback	61,645	6,868	11%	69,336	9,140	13%	70,723	3,633	5%	+15%	-47%	-6%
RI, Cranston	Long-Term Comeback	27,280	3,857	14%	30,516	4,319	14%	32,068	2,326	7%	+18%	-40%	-7%
RI, Pawtucket	Long-Term Comeback	29,768	2,504	8%	31,615	2,657	8%	31,819	805	3%	+7%	-68%	-6%
RI, Providence	Long-Term Comeback	67,535	5,120	8%	66,794	6,299	9%	67,915	3,287	5%	+1%	-36%	-3%
CT, Hartford	Failed Comeback	55,254	4,421	8%	56,098	5,181	9%	50,644	2,016	4%	-8%	-54%	-4%
CT, New Britain	Failed Comeback	29,762	2,616	9%	32,335	3,565	11%	31,164	747	2%	+5%	-71%	-6%
CT, New Haven	Failed Comeback	50,634	4,805	9%	54,057	5,423	10%	52,941	2,269	4%	+5%	-53%	-5%
CT, Waterbury	Failed Comeback	40,854	6,586	16%	47,205	8,373	18%	46,827	2,905	6%	+15%	-56%	-10%
MA, Chicopee	Failed Comeback	21,090	2,194	10%	23,690	2,365	10%	24,424	1,155	5%	+16%	-47%	-6%
MA, Fall River	Failed Comeback	37,021	3,550	10%	40,375	4,564	11%	41,857	2,258	5%	+13%	-36%	-4%
MA, New Bedford	Failed Comeback	39,523	3,903	10%	41,760	3,324	8%	41,511	1,401	3%	+5%	-64%	-7%
MA, Springfield	Failed Comeback	58,692	7,080	12%	61,320	5,550	9%	61,172	2,475	4%	+4%	-65%	-8%
ME, Portland	Failed Comeback	27,962	2,843	10%	31,293	3,473	11%	31,864	1,641	5%	+14%	-42%	-5%
VT, Burlington	Failed Comeback	13,763	1,479	11%	15,480	2,006	13%	16,395	1,301	8%	+19%	-12%	-3%
CT, Bridgeport	Decliner	55,291	4,349	8%	57,224	6,074	11%	54,367	2,185	4%	-2%	-50%	-4%
MA, Medford	Decliner	20,647	1,191	6%	22,650	2,131	9%	22,687	333	1%	+10%	-72%	-4%
MA, Pittsfield	Decliner	20,484	1,659	8%	21,272	1,796	8%	21,366	622	3%	+4%	-63%	-5%
ME, Lewiston	Decliner	15,872	1,940	12%	17,118	1,684	10%	16,470	893	5%	+4%	-54%	-7%
RI, East Providence	Decliner	19,402	3,359	17%	20,808	2,093	10%	21,309	1,019	5%	+10%	-70%	-13%
RI, Woonsocket	Decliner	18,354	1,974	11%	18,739	1,373	7%	18,757	461	2%	+2%	-77%	-8%
VT, Rutland	Decliner	7,341	793	11%	8,083	960	12%	7,919	247	3%	+8%	-69%	-8%

* Changes in New Housing as Share of Total Housing is Measured as Percentage Point Change in Shares

Table A-3: Economic Indicators of Poverty, Median Income, and House Value Growth 1980-2000, by City

GEOGRAPHY	CATEGORY	Poverty Rates			Median City House Values			Median City HH Income			Economic Indicators 1980-2000		
		1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	Poverty Rate Change	Median Income Growth Relative to State	Median House Value Growth Relative to State
CT, Danbury	Consistent Improver	6.7%	5.8%	8.0%	73,900	188,200	186,500	20,092	43,832	53,664	+1.2%	99%	103%
CT, Middletown	Consistent Improver	9.7%	7.0%	7.5%	60,300	156,100	140,400	17,308	37,644	47,162	-2.2%	102%	90%
MA, Attleboro	Consistent Improver	7.0%	6.4%	6.2%	42,800	143,300	152,800	17,771	36,631	50,807	-0.8%	99%	91%
MA, Barnstable	Consistent Improver	10.2%	6.8%	8.8%	55,600	159,400	171,500	16,312	33,411	46,811	-1.3%	100%	74%
MA, Haverhill	Consistent Improver	10.5%	8.8%	9.1%	41,200	140,800	159,200	15,044	36,945	49,833	-1.4%	123%	101%
MA, Leominster	Consistent Improver	9.3%	7.2%	9.5%	42,200	136,100	140,500	16,547	35,974	44,893	+0.2%	91%	82%
MA, Methuen	Consistent Improver	7.7%	7.2%	7.4%	50,000	150,500	159,000	18,946	37,701	49,627	-0.3%	86%	77%
MA, Taunton	Consistent Improver	10.5%	8.3%	10.0%	35,900	138,900	145,800	15,701	32,315	42,932	-0.5%	93%	108%
NH, Concord	Consistent Improver	9.0%	6.7%	8.0%	43,200	112,000	112,300	15,933	32,733	42,447	-1.0%	87%	90%
NH, Manchester	Consistent Improver	10.4%	9.0%	10.6%	46,300	118,500	114,300	15,608	31,911	40,774	+0.2%	85%	83%
NH, Nashua	Consistent Improver	6.5%	6.5%	6.8%	55,800	138,500	137,500	19,285	40,505	51,969	+0.3%	89%	82%
CT, Milford	Recent Comeback	4.0%	3.7%	3.8%	66,400	171,800	168,700	22,111	44,142	61,167	-0.2%	105%	104%
MA, Brockton	Recent Comeback	12.6%	13.6%	14.5%	38,200	131,600	128,300	15,309	31,712	39,507	+1.9%	84%	83%
MA, Newton	Recent Comeback	5.8%	4.3%	4.3%	81,200	290,400	438,400	26,663	59,719	86,052	-1.5%	119%	156%
MA, Salem	Recent Comeback	10.5%	11.7%	9.7%	49,800	161,900	188,700	15,150	32,645	44,033	-0.9%	102%	99%
MA, Somerville	Recent Comeback	12.4%	11.5%	12.5%	43,400	164,400	214,100	14,401	32,455	46,315	+0.1%	118%	139%
MA, Waltham	Recent Comeback	8.1%	6.5%	7.0%	59,500	190,000	250,800	18,615	38,514	54,010	-1.1%	101%	114%
RI, Warwick	Recent Comeback	6.6%	4.8%	5.9%	40,800	116,300	111,700	18,749	35,786	46,483	-0.7%	92%	95%
CT, Norwalk	Long-Term Comeback	7.0%	5.2%	7.2%	90,500	240,300	270,100	22,142	48,171	59,839	+0.3%	101%	134%
CT, Stamford	Long-Term Comeback	7.7%	6.3%	7.9%	110,300	293,500	362,300	22,295	49,787	60,556	+0.2%	102%	155%
MA, Boston	Long-Term Comeback	20.2%	18.7%	19.5%	36,000	160,100	190,600	12,530	29,180	39,629	-0.6%	115%	152%
MA, Cambridge	Long-Term Comeback	15.1%	10.7%	12.9%	61,400	256,800	398,500	14,211	33,140	47,979	-2.2%	127%	194%
MA, Lawrence	Long-Term Comeback	19.3%	27.5%	24.3%	41,800	128,000	114,100	11,980	22,183	27,983	+5.1%	71%	61%
MA, Lowell	Long-Term Comeback	13.5%	18.0%	16.8%	41,300	130,600	134,200	14,415	29,351	39,192	+3.3%	92%	80%
MA, Lynn	Long-Term Comeback	13.8%	15.9%	16.5%	38,200	138,100	145,200	14,368	28,553	37,364	+2.8%	85%	99%
MA, Malden	Long-Term Comeback	9.4%	7.5%	9.2%	46,300	162,300	176,100	15,938	34,344	45,654	-0.2%	100%	99%
MA, Peabody	Long-Term Comeback	5.9%	4.6%	5.3%	56,700	176,600	215,900	20,687	39,800	54,829	-0.6%	88%	99%
MA, Quincy	Long-Term Comeback	8.2%	6.8%	7.3%	44,600	159,500	185,700	17,376	35,858	47,121	-0.9%	91%	112%
MA, Revere	Long-Term Comeback	10.6%	11.6%	14.6%	47,500	158,100	168,200	15,158	30,659	37,067	+4.0%	77%	90%
MA, Worcester	Long-Term Comeback	14.4%	15.3%	17.9%	35,500	128,200	119,600	14,116	28,955	35,623	+3.5%	81%	84%
RI, Cranston	Long-Term Comeback	7.3%	6.5%	7.3%	45,900	127,600	122,500	17,320	34,528	44,108	-0.0%	96%	91%
RI, Pawtucket	Long-Term Comeback	11.7%	10.6%	16.8%	41,300	111,400	99,000	13,631	26,541	31,775	+5.1%	82%	76%
RI, Providence	Long-Term Comeback	20.4%	23.0%	29.1%	38,000	111,200	101,500	11,437	22,147	26,867	+8.8%	84%	91%
CT, Hartford	Failed Comeback	25.2%	27.5%	30.6%	45,700	133,300	93,900	11,513	22,140	24,820	+5.4%	69%	71%
CT, New Britain	Failed Comeback	11.8%	12.8%	16.4%	49,600	138,800	96,900	15,770	30,121	34,185	+4.6%	69%	65%
CT, New Haven	Failed Comeback	23.2%	21.3%	24.4%	47,800	144,100	109,200	11,683	25,811	29,604	+1.2%	91%	87%
CT, Waterbury	Failed Comeback	14.1%	12.1%	16.0%	40,300	130,600	101,300	14,865	30,533	34,285	+1.9%	77%	103%
MA, Chicopee	Failed Comeback	8.8%	9.8%	12.3%	34,400	113,200	104,900	15,452	28,905	35,672	+3.5%	70%	72%
MA, Fall River	Failed Comeback	14.8%	14.3%	17.1%	34,100	128,800	132,900	11,506	22,452	29,014	+2.3%	81%	102%
MA, New Bedford	Failed Comeback	16.2%	16.8%	20.2%	32,600	114,900	113,500	11,634	22,647	27,569	+4.0%	73%	88%
MA, Springfield	Failed Comeback	17.8%	20.1%	23.1%	29,000	104,300	87,300	13,309	25,656	30,417	+5.3%	69%	71%
ME, Portland	Failed Comeback	15.4%	14.0%	14.1%	41,400	112,300	121,200	12,203	26,576	35,650	-1.3%	113%	120%
VT, Burlington	Failed Comeback	16.2%	19.3%	20.0%	52,200	114,500	131,200	13,048	25,523	33,070	+3.8%	87%	93%
CT, Bridgeport	Decliner	20.4%	17.1%	18.4%	57,100	145,600	117,500	13,854	28,704	34,658	-2.0%	89%	72%
MA, Medford	Decliner	7.6%	6.9%	6.4%	53,800	182,700	226,800	18,266	38,859	52,476	-1.2%	100%	114%
MA, Pittsfield	Decliner	10.3%	9.7%	11.4%	36,200	110,700	100,800	15,854	29,987	35,655	+1.1%	67%	63%
ME, Lewiston	Decliner	13.3%	13.9%	15.5%	38,500	87,200	87,200	12,348	24,051	29,191	+2.1%	80%	79%
RI, East Providence	Decliner	7.1%	6.8%	8.6%	44,000	121,700	117,900	16,728	31,007	39,108	+1.5%	83%	92%
RI, Woonsocket	Decliner	14.3%	13.9%	19.4%	43,600	118,700	112,800	12,514	25,363	30,819	+5.2%	91%	87%
VT, Rutland	Decliner	11.3%	12.1%	15.4%	42,200	95,200	89,300	13,888	25,434	30,478	+4.1%	68%	68%

Table A-4: College Graduate Shares of Adults by City Change Category 1980-2000

GEOGRAPHY	Population 18+			College Graduates			% College Graduates			% Change in College Grads		Change in Share
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980-1990	1990-2000	1980-2000
CT, Danbury	43,963	51,371	58,735	7,433	12,584	14,525	17%	24%	25%	+69%	+15%	+8%
CT, Middletown	29,706	34,509	33,741	4,586	8,238	10,064	15%	24%	30%	+80%	+22%	+14%
MA, Attleboro	24,243	28,779	31,485	2,754	5,412	6,990	11%	19%	22%	+97%	+29%	+11%
MA, Barnstable	23,442	32,182	37,344	4,878	8,484	11,263	21%	26%	30%	+74%	+33%	+9%
MA, Haverhill	34,144	39,096	43,934	3,302	7,769	9,621	10%	20%	22%	+135%	+24%	+12%
MA, Leominster	25,055	29,314	30,751	2,548	5,323	6,436	10%	18%	21%	+109%	+21%	+11%
MA, Methuen	26,903	30,500	33,031	2,952	5,444	7,253	11%	18%	22%	+84%	+33%	+11%
MA, Taunton	32,650	37,707	42,234	2,423	4,243	5,972	7%	11%	14%	+75%	+41%	+7%
NH, Concord	22,929	27,657	31,305	4,482	7,119	9,022	20%	26%	29%	+59%	+27%	+9%
NH, Manchester	67,656	76,657	81,622	7,950	13,829	17,021	12%	18%	21%	+74%	+23%	+9%
NH, Nashua	48,305	60,472	65,222	8,120	16,236	19,238	17%	27%	29%	+100%	+18%	+13%
CT, Milford	37,401	39,032	39,261	6,199	8,550	11,035	17%	22%	28%	+38%	+29%	+12%
MA, Brockton	66,500	68,402	67,999	6,097	8,117	8,845	9%	12%	13%	+33%	+9%	+4%
MA, Newton	65,658	67,277	66,067	26,765	34,873	40,983	41%	52%	62%	+30%	+18%	+21%
MA, Salem	29,783	30,999	32,312	3,807	7,031	9,303	13%	23%	29%	+85%	+32%	+16%
MA, Somerville	60,735	64,571	66,269	9,655	19,967	26,399	16%	31%	40%	+107%	+32%	+24%
MA, Waltham	46,597	48,910	50,055	7,879	11,759	17,530	17%	24%	35%	+49%	+49%	+18%
RI, Warwick	64,346	67,005	67,096	8,941	13,319	15,664	14%	20%	23%	+49%	+18%	+9%
CT, Norwalk	58,139	62,559	64,743	11,765	17,412	21,111	20%	28%	33%	+48%	+21%	+12%
CT, Stamford	77,388	86,066	91,277	18,591	28,645	34,549	24%	33%	38%	+54%	+21%	+14%
MA, Boston	441,357	464,827	473,267	83,667	130,243	155,433	19%	28%	33%	+56%	+19%	+14%
MA, Cambridge	80,431	82,249	87,942	30,464	39,101	49,772	38%	48%	57%	+28%	+27%	+19%
MA, Lawrence	44,948	47,920	49,066	3,182	4,333	4,487	7%	9%	9%	+36%	+4%	+2%
MA, Lowell	66,858	76,308	76,876	6,206	10,661	12,620	9%	14%	16%	+72%	+18%	+7%
MA, Lynn	58,090	61,288	65,219	5,294	8,057	9,813	9%	13%	15%	+52%	+22%	+6%
MA, Malden	40,790	43,348	45,102	4,470	8,532	11,460	11%	20%	25%	+91%	+34%	+14%
MA, Peabody	33,666	36,997	37,411	4,879	7,269	8,357	14%	20%	22%	+49%	+15%	+8%
MA, Quincy	66,816	70,769	72,633	9,990	15,646	22,528	15%	22%	31%	+57%	+44%	+16%
MA, Revere	33,206	34,826	37,468	2,592	4,067	5,000	8%	12%	13%	+57%	+23%	+6%
MA, Worcester	123,500	131,895	132,040	16,232	24,965	27,853	13%	19%	21%	+54%	+12%	+8%
RI, Cranston	55,899	61,336	61,968	8,043	12,239	14,417	14%	20%	23%	+52%	+18%	+9%
RI, Pawtucket	53,994	56,131	54,833	4,245	6,863	7,361	8%	12%	13%	+62%	+7%	+6%
RI, Providence	120,160	122,219	128,398	16,459	23,038	26,541	14%	19%	21%	+40%	+15%	+7%
CT, Hartford	97,004	101,746	85,065	10,440	13,156	9,689	11%	13%	11%	+26%	-26%	+1%
CT, New Britain	58,196	59,553	54,318	6,618	9,362	8,217	11%	16%	15%	+41%	-12%	+4%
CT, New Haven	94,136	99,924	92,312	16,800	23,817	21,998	18%	24%	24%	+42%	-8%	+6%
CT, Waterbury	76,525	83,367	78,881	6,803	11,082	10,281	9%	13%	13%	+63%	-7%	+4%
MA, Chicopee	41,264	44,318	42,361	3,181	4,353	4,906	8%	10%	12%	+37%	+13%	+4%
MA, Fall River	67,571	70,311	69,733	4,235	5,592	6,930	6%	8%	10%	+32%	+24%	+4%
MA, New Bedford	72,603	74,942	70,623	4,222	6,787	7,043	6%	9%	10%	+61%	+4%	+4%
MA, Springfield	110,262	114,548	108,263	11,826	15,691	14,948	11%	14%	14%	+33%	-5%	+3%
ME, Portland	47,397	51,598	52,123	8,450	14,059	17,427	18%	27%	33%	+66%	+24%	+16%
VT, Burlington	30,336	32,876	32,540	6,099	8,567	10,797	20%	26%	33%	+40%	+26%	+13%
CT, Bridgeport	102,531	104,698	100,145	8,233	12,197	11,330	8%	12%	11%	+48%	-7%	+3%
MA, Medford	44,857	47,392	45,667	5,492	10,547	13,800	12%	22%	30%	+92%	+31%	+18%
MA, Pittsfield	37,866	37,600	35,189	5,481	6,706	6,883	14%	18%	20%	+22%	+3%	+5%
ME, Lewiston	29,881	30,803	28,344	2,246	2,702	3,251	8%	9%	11%	+20%	+20%	+4%
RI, East Providence	38,437	39,834	38,165	4,327	6,039	6,606	11%	15%	17%	+40%	+9%	+6%
RI, Woonsocket	33,096	33,191	32,048	2,080	2,848	2,984	6%	9%	9%	+37%	+5%	+3%
VT, Rutland	13,776	14,311	13,378	1,901	2,515	2,686	14%	18%	20%	+32%	+7%	+6%

Table A-5: Population by Foreign Born Status

GEOGRAPHY	CATEGORY	1980		1990		2000		Change 1980-2000									
		Native	%	Foreign	%	Native	%	Foreign	%	Native	%	Foreign	%				
CT, Danbury	Consistent Improver	53,045	88	7,425	12	55,747	85	9,838	15	54,607	73	20,241	27	1,562	3	12,816	173
CT, Middletown	Consistent Improver	35,526	91	3,514	9	39,543	92	3,219	8	39,030	90	4,137	10	3,504	10	623	18
MA, Attleboro	Consistent Improver	31,458	92	2,738	8	35,065	91	3,318	9	38,323	91	3,745	9	6,865	22	1,007	37
MA, Barnstable	Consistent Improver	29,233	95	1,665	5	38,694	94	2,264	6	44,499	93	3,322	7	15,266	52	1,657	100
MA, Haverhill	Consistent Improver	44,080	94	2,785	6	48,468	94	2,950	6	54,884	93	4,085	7	10,804	25	1,300	47
MA, Leominster	Consistent Improver	31,457	91	3,051	9	35,235	92	2,910	8	36,995	90	4,308	10	5,538	18	1,257	41
MA, Methuen	Consistent Improver	34,092	93	2,609	7	37,089	93	2,901	7	38,903	89	4,886	11	4,811	14	2,277	87
MA, Taunton	Consistent Improver	38,642	86	6,359	14	44,000	88	5,832	12	50,337	90	5,639	10	11,695	30	(720)	-11
NH, Concord	Consistent Improver	29,335	96	1,065	4	34,935	97	1,071	3	38,950	96	1,737	4	9,615	33	672	63
NH, Manchester	Consistent Improver	83,230	92	7,706	8	92,828	93	6,739	7	96,971	91	10,035	9	13,741	17	2,329	30
NH, Nashua	Consistent Improver	63,425	93	4,440	7	74,089	93	5,573	7	77,827	90	8,778	10	14,402	23	4,338	98
CT, Milford	Recent Comeback	48,052	94	2,846	6	47,334	95	2,604	5	46,502	92	4,100	8	(1,550)	-3	1,254	44
MA, Brockton	Recent Comeback	87,912	92	7,260	8	82,397	89	10,391	11	76,960	82	17,344	18	(10,952)	-12	10,084	139
MA, Newton	Recent Comeback	74,022	89	9,600	11	71,827	87	10,758	13	68,713	82	15,116	18	(5,309)	-7	5,516	57
MA, Salem	Recent Comeback	35,174	92	3,046	8	34,701	91	3,390	9	35,598	88	4,809	12	424	1	1,763	58
MA, Somerville	Recent Comeback	63,879	83	13,493	17	59,235	78	16,975	22	54,751	71	22,727	29	(9,128)	-14	9,234	68
MA, Waltham	Recent Comeback	50,971	88	7,229	12	49,120	85	8,758	15	47,251	80	11,975	20	(3,720)	-7	4,746	66
RI, Warwick	Recent Comeback	83,365	96	3,758	4	81,817	96	3,610	4	81,716	95	4,092	5	(1,649)	-2	334	9
CT, Norwalk	Sustained Comeback	68,307	88	9,460	12	67,910	87	10,421	13	66,151	80	16,800	20	(2,156)	-3	7,340	78
CT, Stamford	Sustained Comeback	87,669	86	14,784	14	87,981	81	20,075	19	82,413	70	34,670	30	(5,256)	-6	19,886	135
MA, Boston	Sustained Comeback	475,938	85	87,056	15	459,686	80	114,597	20	437,305	74	151,836	26	(38,633)	-8	64,780	74
MA, Cambridge	Sustained Comeback	77,759	82	17,563	18	74,452	78	21,350	22	75,137	74	26,218	26	(2,622)	-3	8,655	49
MA, Lawrence	Sustained Comeback	53,823	85	9,352	15	55,534	79	14,673	21	50,032	69	22,011	31	(3,791)	-7	12,659	135
MA, Lowell	Sustained Comeback	83,946	91	8,472	9	86,441	84	16,998	16	81,900	78	23,267	22	(2,046)	-2	14,795	175
MA, Lynn	Sustained Comeback	71,257	91	7,214	9	70,008	86	11,337	14	68,774	77	20,348	23	(2,483)	-3	13,134	182
MA, Malden	Sustained Comeback	48,363	91	5,023	9	46,568	86	7,316	14	41,851	74	14,489	26	(6,512)	-13	9,466	188
MA, Peabody	Sustained Comeback	40,840	89	5,136	11	41,686	89	5,353	11	42,718	89	5,411	11	1,878	5	275	5
MA, Quincy	Sustained Comeback	77,620	92	7,123	8	75,460	89	9,525	11	70,383	80	17,642	20	(7,237)	-9	10,519	148
MA, Revere	Sustained Comeback	38,421	91	4,002	9	37,431	87	5,355	13	37,347	79	9,936	21	(1,074)	-3	5,934	148
MA, Worcester	Sustained Comeback	148,040	91	13,759	9	154,687	91	15,072	9	147,551	85	25,097	15	(489)	0	11,338	82
RI, Cranston	Sustained Comeback	66,643	93	5,349	7	70,474	93	5,586	7	72,110	91	7,159	9	5,467	8	1,810	34
RI, Pawtucket	Sustained Comeback	59,963	84	11,241	16	59,776	82	12,868	18	55,922	77	17,036	23	(4,041)	-7	5,795	52
RI, Providence	Sustained Comeback	135,643	87	21,161	13	129,196	80	31,532	20	129,671	75	43,947	25	(5,972)	-4	22,786	108
CT, Hartford	Failed Comeback	112,496	82	23,896	18	118,297	85	21,442	15	98,907	81	22,671	19	(13,589)	-12	(1,225)	-5
CT, New Britain	Failed Comeback	61,777	84	12,063	16	63,047	84	12,444	16	58,675	82	12,863	18	(3,102)	-5	800	7
CT, New Haven	Failed Comeback	115,179	91	10,930	9	119,841	92	10,633	8	109,276	88	14,350	12	(5,903)	-5	3,420	31
CT, Waterbury	Failed Comeback	91,325	88	11,941	12	99,500	91	9,461	9	94,321	88	12,950	12	2,996	3	1,009	8
MA, Chicopee	Failed Comeback	50,142	91	4,970	9	52,970	94	3,662	6	50,191	92	4,462	8	49	0	(508)	-10
MA, Fall River	Failed Comeback	72,199	78	20,375	22	73,496	79	19,207	21	73,722	80	18,216	20	1,523	2	(2,159)	-11
MA, New Bedford	Failed Comeback	75,026	76	23,452	24	79,057	79	20,865	21	75,376	80	18,392	20	350	0	(5,060)	-22
MA, Springfield	Failed Comeback	139,452	92	12,867	8	145,421	93	11,562	7	139,923	92	12,159	8	471	0	(708)	-6
ME, Portland	Failed Comeback	58,794	95	2,778	5	61,065	95	3,293	5	59,362	92	4,895	8	568	1	2,117	76
VT, Burlington	Failed Comeback	35,987	95	1,725	5	37,499	96	1,628	4	35,749	92	3,140	8	(238)	-1	1,415	82
CT, Bridgeport	Consistent Decliner	123,408	87	19,138	13	120,955	85	20,731	15	110,891	79	28,638	21	(12,517)	-10	9,500	50
MA, Medford	Consistent Decliner	51,799	89	6,277	11	50,634	88	6,773	12	46,728	84	9,037	16	(5,071)	-10	2,760	44
MA, Pittsfield	Consistent Decliner	49,182	95	2,792	5	46,585	96	2,037	4	44,020	96	1,773	4	(5,162)	-10	(1,019)	-36
ME, Lewiston	Consistent Decliner	37,031	91	3,450	9	37,503	94	2,254	6	34,352	96	1,338	4	(2,679)	-7	(2,112)	-61
RI, East Providence	Decliner Since 80s	43,473	85	7,507	15	42,956	85	7,424	15	40,919	84	7,769	16	(2,554)	-6	262	3
RI, Woonsocket	Consistent Decliner	42,657	93	3,257	7	40,805	93	3,072	7	39,985	93	3,239	7	(2,672)	-6	(18)	-1
VT, Rutland	Consistent Decliner	17,859	97	577	3	17,577	97	473	3	16,954	98	338	2	(905)	-5	(239)	-41
	TOTAL	3,628,916	88	485,279	12	3,686,802	87	562,020	13	3,571,433	82	777,560	17	(57,483)	-2	277,894	36

Table A-6: Population by Minority Status

GEOGRAPHY	CATEGORY	1980		1990		2000		Change 1980-2000									
		White, nonHispanic	%	Minority	%	White, nH	%	Minority	%	White, nH	%	Minority	%				
CT, Danbury	Consistent Improver	53,811	89	6,659	11	53,951	82	11,634	18	50,732	68	24,116	32	(3,079)	-6	17,457	262
CT, Middletown	Consistent Improver	33,899	87	5,141	13	35,996	84	6,766	16	33,317	77	9,850	23	(582)	-2	4,709	92
MA, Attleboro	Consistent Improver	32,855	96	1,341	4	35,817	93	2,566	7	37,505	89	4,563	11	4,650	14	3,222	240
MA, Barnstable	Consistent Improver	29,327	95	1,571	5	38,029	93	2,920	7	43,429	91	4,392	9	14,102	48	2,821	180
MA, Haverhill	Consistent Improver	45,155	96	1,710	4	47,587	93	3,831	7	51,007	86	7,962	14	5,852	13	6,252	366
MA, Leominster	Consistent Improver	32,342	94	2,166	6	33,457	88	4,688	12	33,604	81	7,699	19	1,262	4	5,533	255
MA, Methuen	Consistent Improver	35,813	98	888	2	37,342	93	2,648	7	37,532	86	6,257	14	1,719	5	5,369	605
MA, Taunton	Consistent Improver	42,425	94	2,576	6	45,959	92	3,873	8	50,072	89	5,904	11	7,647	18	3,328	129
NH, Concord	Consistent Improver	29,955	99	445	1	35,058	97	948	3	38,613	95	2,074	5	8,658	29	1,629	366
NH, Manchester	Consistent Improver	89,149	98	1,787	2	95,105	96	4,462	4	95,663	89	11,343	11	6,514	7	9,556	535
NH, Nashua	Consistent Improver	65,897	97	1,968	3	74,334	93	5,328	7	74,976	87	11,629	13	9,079	14	9,661	491
CT, Milford	Recent Comeback	49,077	96	1,821	4	47,806	96	2,132	4	45,883	91	4,719	9	(3,194)	-7	2,898	159
MA, Brockton	Recent Comeback	86,309	91	8,863	9	72,115	78	20,673	22	55,164	58	39,140	42	(31,145)	-36	30,277	342
MA, Newton	Recent Comeback	79,096	95	4,526	5	75,438	91	7,147	9	72,546	87	11,283	13	(6,550)	-8	6,757	149
MA, Salem	Recent Comeback	36,663	96	1,557	4	34,556	91	3,535	9	33,283	82	7,124	18	(3,380)	-9	5,567	358
MA, Somerville	Recent Comeback	73,166	95	4,206	5	64,496	85	11,714	15	56,222	73	21,256	27	(16,944)	-23	17,050	405
MA, Waltham	Recent Comeback	55,401	95	2,799	5	50,988	88	6,890	12	46,139	78	13,087	22	(9,262)	-17	10,288	368
RI, Warwick	Recent Comeback	85,630	98	1,493	2	83,349	98	2,078	2	80,889	94	4,919	6	(4,741)	-6	3,426	229
CT, Norwalk	Sustained Comeback	61,454	79	16,313	21	58,051	74	20,280	26	53,283	64	29,668	36	(8,171)	-13	13,355	82
CT, Stamford	Sustained Comeback	79,736	78	22,717	22	76,933	71	31,123	29	71,474	61	45,609	39	(8,262)	-10	22,892	101
MA, Boston	Sustained Comeback	382,123	68	180,871	32	339,458	59	234,825	41	290,972	49	298,169	51	(91,151)	-24	117,298	65
MA, Cambridge	Sustained Comeback	75,793	80	19,529	20	68,784	72	27,018	28	65,439	65	35,916	35	(10,354)	-14	16,387	84
MA, Lawrence	Sustained Comeback	51,371	81	11,804	19	38,482	55	31,725	45	24,520	34	47,523	66	(26,851)	-52	35,719	303
MA, Lowell	Sustained Comeback	85,481	92	6,937	8	79,747	77	23,692	23	65,523	62	39,644	38	(19,958)	-23	32,707	471
MA, Lynn	Sustained Comeback	72,945	93	5,526	7	65,471	81	15,774	19	55,423	62	33,699	38	(17,522)	-24	28,173	510
MA, Malden	Sustained Comeback	51,461	96	1,925	4	47,300	88	6,584	12	39,206	70	17,134	30	(12,255)	-24	15,209	790
MA, Peabody	Sustained Comeback	44,681	97	1,295	3	44,854	95	2,185	5	44,581	93	3,548	7	(100)	0	2,253	174
MA, Quincy	Sustained Comeback	83,015	98	1,728	2	77,508	91	7,477	9	69,098	78	18,927	22	(13,917)	-17	17,199	995
MA, Revere	Sustained Comeback	41,769	98	654	2	38,875	91	3,911	9	37,236	79	10,047	21	(4,533)	-11	9,393	1436
MA, Worcester	Sustained Comeback	148,500	92	13,299	8	141,870	84	27,889	16	122,112	71	50,536	29	(26,388)	-18	37,237	280
RI, Cranston	Sustained Comeback	70,401	98	1,591	2	71,463	94	4,597	6	68,980	87	10,289	13	(1,421)	-2	8,698	547
RI, Pawtucket	Sustained Comeback	66,261	93	4,943	7	62,134	86	10,510	14	50,484	69	22,474	31	(15,777)	-24	17,531	355
RI, Providence	Sustained Comeback	123,222	79	33,582	21	104,391	65	56,337	35	80,082	46	93,536	54	(43,140)	-35	59,954	179
CT, Hartford	Failed Comeback	60,766	45	75,626	55	42,867	31	96,872	69	21,513	18	100,065	82	(39,253)	-65	24,439	32
CT, New Britain	Failed Comeback	62,472	85	11,368	15	56,682	75	18,809	25	42,418	59	29,120	41	(20,054)	-32	17,752	156
CT, New Haven	Failed Comeback	74,120	59	51,989	41	63,890	49	66,584	51	44,074	36	79,552	64	(30,046)	-41	27,563	53
CT, Waterbury	Failed Comeback	83,412	81	19,854	19	80,439	74	28,522	26	62,485	58	44,786	42	(20,927)	-25	24,932	126
MA, Chicopee	Failed Comeback	53,716	97	1,396	3	53,179	94	3,453	6	47,335	87	7,318	13	(6,381)	-12	5,922	424
MA, Fall River	Failed Comeback	89,364	97	3,210	3	88,863	96	3,840	4	82,335	90	9,603	10	(7,029)	-8	6,393	199
MA, New Bedford	Failed Comeback	85,599	87	12,879	13	84,969	85	14,953	15	70,614	75	23,154	25	(14,985)	-18	10,275	80
MA, Springfield	Failed Comeback	112,467	74	39,852	26	100,305	64	56,678	36	73,933	49	78,149	51	(38,534)	-34	38,297	96
ME, Portland	Failed Comeback	60,065	98	1,507	2	61,845	96	2,513	4	58,237	91	6,020	9	(1,828)	-3	4,513	299
VT, Burlington	Failed Comeback	36,933	98	779	2	37,296	95	1,831	5	35,659	92	3,230	8	(1,274)	-3	2,451	315
CT, Bridgeport	Consistent Decliner	84,645	59	57,901	41	65,717	46	75,969	54	43,174	31	96,355	69	(41,471)	-49	38,454	66
MA, Medford	Consistent Decliner	55,553	96	2,523	4	52,862	92	4,545	8	47,400	85	8,365	15	(8,153)	-15	5,842	232
MA, Pittsfield	Consistent Decliner	50,104	96	1,870	4	46,150	95	2,472	5	41,923	92	3,870	8	(8,181)	-16	2,000	107
ME, Lewiston	Consistent Decliner	39,841	98	640	2	39,091	98	666	2	33,871	95	1,819	5	(5,970)	-15	1,179	184
RI, East Providence	Consistent Decliner	47,087	92	3,893	8	45,785	91	4,595	9	41,636	86	7,052	14	(5,451)	-12	3,159	81
RI, Woonsocket	Consistent Decliner	44,269	96	1,645	4	40,305	92	3,572	8	34,489	80	8,735	20	(9,780)	-22	7,090	431
VT, Rutland	Consistent Decliner	18,186	99	250	1	17,979	99	251	1	16,864	98	428	2	(1,322)	-7	178	71
	TOTAL	3,452,782	84	661,413	16	3,254,928	77	993,885	23	2,872,949	66	1,461,657	34	(579,833)	-20	800,244	55

Table A-7a: Population By Age

Geography	Category	1980		1990		2000		Change 1980-2000									
		Under 35	%	65 Plus	%	Under 35	%	65 Plus	%	Under 35	%	65 Plus	%				
CT, Danbury	Consistent Improver	35,076	58.0	6,490	10.7	35,547	54.2	7,658	11.7	36,818	49.2	8,335	11.1	1,742	5.0	1,845	28.4
CT, Middletown	Consistent Improver	22,822	58.5	4,534	11.6	24,543	57.4	5,127	12.0	20,332	47.1	5,796	13.4	(2,490)	-10.9	1,262	27.8
MA, Attleboro	Consistent Improver	19,380	56.7	3,838	11.2	21,360	55.6	4,627	12.1	20,105	47.8	5,320	12.6	725	3.7	1,482	38.6
MA, Barnstable	Consistent Improver	15,076	48.8	5,862	19.0	18,383	44.9	8,358	20.4	18,067	37.8	9,573	20.0	2,991	19.8	3,711	63.3
MA, Haverhill	Consistent Improver	25,762	55.0	7,316	15.6	28,694	55.8	7,267	14.1	28,916	49.0	7,566	12.8	3,154	12.2	250	3.4
MA, Leominster	Consistent Improver	19,459	56.4	4,078	11.8	20,621	54.1	4,965	13.0	19,761	47.8	5,579	13.5	302	1.6	1,501	36.8
MA, Methuen	Consistent Improver	19,511	53.2	4,904	13.4	19,865	49.7	6,623	16.6	19,926	45.5	6,709	15.3	415	2.1	1,805	36.8
MA, Taunton	Consistent Improver	25,000	55.6	5,862	13.0	26,866	53.9	7,055	14.2	27,082	48.4	7,298	13.0	2,082	8.3	1,436	24.5
NH, Concord	Consistent Improver	16,714	55.0	4,673	15.4	19,339	53.7	5,055	14.0	18,861	46.4	5,555	13.7	2,147	12.8	882	18.9
NH, Manchester	Consistent Improver	51,034	56.1	12,204	13.4	55,584	55.8	13,593	13.7	53,405	49.9	13,925	13.0	2,371	4.6	1,721	14.1
NH, Nashua	Consistent Improver	40,244	59.3	6,429	9.5	44,729	56.1	8,072	10.1	41,881	48.4	10,069	11.6	1,637	4.1	3,640	56.6
CT, Milford	Recent Comeback	28,154	55.3	5,061	9.9	24,458	49.0	6,916	13.8	21,400	42.3	7,592	15.0	(6,754)	-24.0	2,531	50.0
MA, Brockton	Recent Comeback	55,903	58.7	11,265	11.8	51,837	55.9	11,472	12.4	48,461	51.4	11,080	11.7	(7,442)	-13.3	(185)	-1.6
MA, Newton	Recent Comeback	44,018	52.6	11,891	14.2	40,132	48.6	12,365	15.0	36,966	44.1	12,679	15.1	(7,052)	-16.0	788	6.6
MA, Salem	Recent Comeback	20,673	54.1	5,939	15.5	20,317	53.3	5,792	15.2	19,025	47.1	5,667	14.0	(1,648)	-8.0	(272)	-4.6
MA, Somerville	Recent Comeback	45,080	58.3	10,499	13.6	44,682	58.6	9,314	12.2	45,100	58.2	8,053	10.4	20	0.0	(2,446)	-23.3
MA, Waltham	Recent Comeback	33,598	57.7	7,167	12.3	32,343	55.9	7,605	13.1	30,336	51.2	7,828	13.2	(3,262)	-9.7	661	9.2
RI, Warwick	Recent Comeback	45,998	52.8	11,267	12.9	40,308	47.2	14,343	16.8	35,564	41.4	14,582	17.0	(10,434)	-22.7	3,315	29.4
CT, Norwalk	Sustained Comeback	42,186	54.2	8,414	10.8	39,862	50.9	9,764	12.5	38,174	46.0	10,646	12.8	(4,012)	-9.5	2,232	26.5
CT, Stamford	Sustained Comeback	52,603	51.3	12,344	12.0	54,000	50.0	14,275	13.2	54,746	46.8	16,249	13.9	2,143	4.1	3,905	31.6
MA, Boston	Sustained Comeback	340,354	60.5	71,065	12.6	341,649	59.5	66,156	11.5	335,089	56.9	61,601	10.5	(5,265)	-1.5	(9,464)	-13.3
MA, Cambridge	Sustained Comeback	61,857	64.9	10,924	11.5	56,378	58.8	9,941	10.4	59,972	59.2	9,328	9.2	(1,885)	-3.0	(1,596)	-14.6
MA, Lawrence	Sustained Comeback	36,240	57.4	9,523	15.1	42,941	61.2	8,734	12.4	41,772	58.0	6,885	9.6	5,532	15.3	(2,638)	-27.7
MA, Lowell	Sustained Comeback	54,418	58.9	12,008	13.0	62,946	60.9	12,560	12.1	58,754	55.9	11,152	10.6	4,336	8.0	(856)	-7.1
MA, Lynn	Sustained Comeback	41,729	53.2	12,505	15.9	43,783	53.9	12,171	15.0	45,066	50.6	11,396	12.8	3,337	8.0	(1,109)	-8.9
MA, Malden	Sustained Comeback	28,453	53.3	8,486	15.9	28,380	52.7	8,256	15.3	27,271	48.4	7,853	13.9	(1,182)	-4.2	(633)	-7.5
MA, Peabody	Sustained Comeback	24,340	52.9	4,911	10.7	22,716	48.3	6,680	14.2	19,738	41.0	8,416	17.5	(4,602)	-18.9	3,505	71.4
MA, Quincy	Sustained Comeback	43,248	51.0	14,526	17.1	43,057	50.7	14,206	16.7	39,721	45.1	14,306	16.3	(3,527)	-8.2	(220)	-1.5
MA, Revere	Sustained Comeback	21,326	50.3	6,201	14.6	20,600	48.1	7,343	17.2	21,340	45.1	7,867	16.6	14	0.1	1,666	26.9
MA, Worcester	Sustained Comeback	88,424	54.7	26,325	16.3	94,512	55.7	27,208	16.0	90,103	52.2	24,449	14.2	1,679	1.9	(1,876)	-7.1
RI, Cranston	Sustained Comeback	34,921	48.5	11,713	16.3	35,574	46.8	14,139	18.6	34,422	43.4	13,820	17.4	(499)	-1.4	2,107	18.0
RI, Pawtucket	Sustained Comeback	36,594	51.4	11,556	16.2	38,246	52.6	11,945	16.4	35,576	48.8	10,800	14.8	(1,018)	-2.8	(756)	-6.5
RI, Providence	Sustained Comeback	89,031	56.8	23,919	15.3	95,871	59.6	21,856	13.6	104,625	60.3	18,351	10.6	15,594	17.5	(5,568)	-23.3
CT, Hartford	Failed Comeback	84,376	61.9	15,360	11.3	87,526	62.6	13,700	9.8	70,217	57.8	11,825	9.7	(14,159)	-16.8	(3,535)	-23.0
CT, New Britain	Failed Comeback	40,080	54.3	10,513	14.2	41,102	54.4	12,757	16.9	36,689	51.3	11,213	15.7	(3,391)	-8.5	700	6.7
CT, New Haven	Failed Comeback	77,881	61.8	16,504	13.1	79,278	60.8	15,850	12.1	73,316	59.3	12,754	10.3	(4,565)	-5.9	(3,750)	-22.7
CT, Waterbury	Failed Comeback	54,669	52.9	15,938	15.4	57,882	53.1	17,834	16.4	53,409	49.8	16,081	15.0	(1,260)	-2.3	143	0.9
MA, Chicopee	Failed Comeback	28,812	52.3	7,531	13.7	28,143	49.7	9,735	17.2	24,125	44.1	9,633	17.6	(4,687)	-16.3	2,102	27.9
MA, Fall River	Failed Comeback	48,390	52.3	15,339	16.6	48,512	52.3	16,791	18.1	44,919	48.9	15,513	16.9	(3,471)	-7.2	174	1.1
MA, New Bedford	Failed Comeback	51,460	52.3	15,896	16.1	52,106	52.1	17,362	17.4	45,555	48.6	15,759	16.8	(5,905)	-11.5	(137)	-0.9
MA, Springfield	Failed Comeback	86,989	57.1	20,952	13.8	90,122	57.4	21,552	13.7	82,321	54.1	18,842	12.4	(4,668)	-5.4	(2,110)	-10.1
ME, Portland	Failed Comeback	34,102	55.4	10,200	16.6	34,928	54.3	9,673	15.0	31,361	48.8	8,887	13.8	(2,741)	-8.0	(1,313)	-12.9
VT, Burlington	Failed Comeback	25,121	66.6	4,075	10.8	25,200	64.4	4,133	10.6	23,017	59.2	4,093	10.5	(2,104)	-8.4	18	0.4
CT, Bridgeport	Consistent Decliner	81,774	57.4	18,879	13.2	80,658	56.9	19,260	13.6	76,833	55.1	15,929	11.4	(4,941)	-6.0	(2,950)	-15.6
MA, Medford	Consistent Decliner	30,822	53.1	8,588	14.8	29,091	50.7	9,649	16.8	25,434	45.6	9,659	17.3	(5,388)	-17.5	1,071	12.5
MA, Pittsfield	Consistent Decliner	27,426	52.8	7,350	14.1	23,794	48.9	8,396	17.3	19,307	42.2	8,551	18.7	(8,119)	-29.6	1,201	16.3
ME, Lewiston	Consistent Decliner	21,849	54.0	6,194	15.3	20,780	52.3	6,518	16.4	16,464	46.1	6,348	17.8	(5,385)	-24.6	154	2.5
RI, East Providence	Consistent Decliner	26,029	51.1	8,021	15.7	23,732	47.1	9,591	19.0	20,700	42.5	9,163	18.8	(5,329)	-20.5	1,142	14.2
RI, Woonsocket	Consistent Decliner	24,971	54.4	7,160	15.6	23,172	52.8	7,135	16.3	21,725	50.3	6,547	15.1	(3,246)	-13.0	(613)	-8.6
VT, Rutland	Consistent Decliner	9,878	53.6	3,098	16.8	9,088	49.9	3,293	18.1	7,554	43.7	3,140	18.2	(2,324)	-23.5	42	1.4
	TOTAL	2,313,855	56.3	565,297	13.7	2,345,237	55.2	594,670	14.0	2,221,321	51.2	570,262	13.2	(92,534)	-4.0	4,965	0.9

Table A-7b: Population by Age, Baby Boomer Generation (Born 1946-1965)

Geography	Category	1980		1990		2000		Change 1980-2000	
		Baby Boomer	%	Baby Boomer	%	Baby Boomer	%	Baby Boomer	%
CT, Danbury	Consistent Improver	21,781	36.0	23,443	35.7	23,422	31.3	1,641	7.5
CT, Middletown	Consistent Improver	15,470	39.6	15,528	36.3	13,364	31.0	(2,106)	-13.6
MA, Attleboro	Consistent Improver	11,567	33.8	12,273	34.6	13,102	31.1	1,535	13.3
MA, Barnstable	Consistent Improver	9,219	29.8	12,461	30.4	15,116	31.6	5,897	64.0
MA, Haverhill	Consistent Improver	15,645	33.4	18,071	35.1	18,124	30.7	2,479	15.8
MA, Leominster	Consistent Improver	11,894	34.5	13,444	35.2	12,627	30.6	733	6.2
MA, Methuen	Consistent Improver	11,801	32.2	13,014	32.5	13,597	31.1	1,796	15.2
MA, Taunton	Consistent Improver	15,258	33.9	16,911	33.9	16,908	30.2	1,650	10.8
NH, Concord	Consistent Improver	10,776	35.4	13,397	37.2	13,071	32.1	2,295	21.3
NH, Manchester	Consistent Improver	32,578	35.8	34,753	34.9	31,560	29.5	(1,018)	-3.1
NH, Nashua	Consistent Improver	24,620	36.3	29,910	37.5	27,150	31.3	2,530	10.3
CT, Milford	Recent Comeback	17,485	35.6	17,029	35.4	16,529	32.7	(956)	-5.5
MA, Brockton	Recent Comeback	32,749	34.4	30,279	32.6	26,876	28.5	(5,873)	-17.9
MA, Newton	Recent Comeback	30,193	36.1	27,371	33.1	26,506	31.6	(3,687)	-12.2
MA, Salem	Recent Comeback	14,133	37.0	13,681	35.9	12,403	30.7	(1,730)	-12.2
MA, Somerville	Recent Comeback	32,162	41.6	30,740	40.3	19,760	25.5	(12,402)	-38.6
MA, Waltham	Recent Comeback	24,647	42.3	20,134	34.8	16,246	27.4	(8,401)	-34.1
RI, Warwick	Recent Comeback	28,262	32.4	27,307	32.0	27,521	32.1	(741)	-2.6
CT, Norwalk	Sustained Comeback	26,816	34.5	29,033	37.1	26,401	31.8	(415)	-1.5
CT, Stamford	Sustained Comeback	33,200	32.4	39,065	36.2	35,902	30.7	2,702	8.1
MA, Boston	Sustained Comeback	244,876	43.5	211,450	36.8	151,732	25.8	(93,144)	-38.0
MA, Cambridge	Sustained Comeback	49,903	52.4	39,372	41.1	25,278	24.9	(24,625)	-49.3
MA, Lawrence	Sustained Comeback	21,164	33.5	21,800	31.1	18,980	26.3	(2,184)	-10.3
MA, Lowell	Sustained Comeback	33,754	36.5	33,809	32.7	28,194	26.8	(5,560)	-16.5
MA, Lynn	Sustained Comeback	25,574	32.6	26,728	32.9	25,832	29.0	258	1.0
MA, Malden	Sustained Comeback	18,524	34.7	19,513	36.2	16,599	29.5	(1,925)	-10.4
MA, Peabody	Sustained Comeback	14,987	32.6	15,488	32.9	15,075	31.3	88	0.6
MA, Quincy	Sustained Comeback	29,426	34.7	29,796	35.1	26,011	29.5	(3,415)	-11.6
MA, Revere	Sustained Comeback	14,244	33.6	13,823	32.3	13,684	28.9	(560)	-3.9
MA, Worcester	Sustained Comeback	58,079	35.9	52,339	30.8	45,908	26.6	(12,171)	-21.0
RI, Cranston	Sustained Comeback	22,519	31.3	25,100	33.0	24,294	30.6	1,775	7.9
RI, Pawtucket	Sustained Comeback	22,912	32.2	23,509	32.4	20,738	28.4	(2,174)	-9.5
RI, Providence	Sustained Comeback	59,570	38.0	48,453	30.1	40,563	23.4	(19,007)	-31.9
CT, Hartford	Failed Comeback	52,525	38.5	46,342	33.2	31,115	25.6	(21,410)	-40.8
CT, New Britain	Failed Comeback	27,511	37.3	24,739	32.8	18,632	26.0	(8,879)	-32.3
CT, New Haven	Failed Comeback	52,017	41.2	43,188	33.1	29,538	23.9	(22,479)	-43.2
CT, Waterbury	Failed Comeback	33,182	32.1	35,134	32.2	29,227	27.2	(3,955)	-11.9
MA, Chicopee	Failed Comeback	17,990	32.6	17,209	30.4	15,938	29.2	(2,052)	-11.4
MA, Fall River	Failed Comeback	28,123	30.4	26,496	28.6	23,970	26.1	(4,153)	-14.8
MA, New Bedford	Failed Comeback	30,598	31.1	29,161	29.2	24,963	26.6	(5,635)	-18.4
MA, Springfield	Failed Comeback	53,436	35.1	48,857	31.1	39,937	26.3	(13,499)	-25.3
ME, Portland	Failed Comeback	22,836	37.1	23,460	36.5	19,315	30.1	(3,521)	-15.4
VT, Burlington	Failed Comeback	19,390	51.4	11,743	30.0	9,311	23.9	(10,079)	-52.0
CT, Bridgeport	Consistent Decliner	49,335	34.6	46,510	32.8	36,710	26.3	(12,625)	-25.6
MA, Medford	Consistent Decliner	20,686	35.6	19,068	33.2	15,766	28.3	(4,920)	-23.8
MA, Pittsfield	Consistent Decliner	16,537	31.8	15,153	31.2	13,645	29.8	(2,892)	-17.5
ME, Lewiston	Consistent Decliner	13,567	33.5	11,161	28.1	9,547	26.7	(4,020)	-29.6
RI, East Providence	Consistent Decliner	16,289	32.0	15,633	31.0	14,237	29.2	(2,052)	-12.6
RI, Woonsocket	Consistent Decliner	14,676	32.0	13,386	30.5	11,626	26.9	(3,050)	-20.8
VT, Rutland	Consistent Decliner	6,236	33.8	5,924	32.5	5,101	29.5	(1,135)	-18.2
	TOTAL	1,510,722	36.7	1,433,188	33.7	1,207,651	29.7	(303,071)	-20.1

Map A-1: New England's "Comeback" Cities by Category and Size

-  **Sustained Comeback**
-  **Recent Comeback**
-  **Failed Comeback**
-  **City in Decline**
-  **Consistent Growth City**

Population in 2000

-  **150,000+**
-  **100,000-150,000**
-  **75,000-100,000**
-  **50,000-75,000**
-  **<50,000**

