Actual and Potential Population Trends in Metropolitan Utica

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Introduction

This study examines population trends in the Greater Utica area. By examining past population trends and current development policies, estimates of future trends can be determined. The study first examines trends in the wider region influenced by Greater Utica over time. The study identifies municipalities whose population trends have been influenced by those in the city and wider metropolitan area, categorizing these as cities, suburbs, and exurbs. Several alternative scenarios of past metropolitan growth are constructed in order to illuminate potential areas of growth in the future. The study concludes with a discussion of how current policies are likely to affect future population growth.

Theoretical Orientations

This study depends on insights from the two major theoretical schools in urban sociology today. The first of these, the Human Ecology model, is sometimes called the "Chicago School" due to its early formulation at the University of Chicago. In this approach, population trends and urban form are determined by the competition over space that results from rational actors pursuing their own self-interest. The classic model, called Concentric Zone Theory, views a city as initially developing at a natural point such as a transportation crossroads or natural harbor and then expanding outward from this central point (Burgess 1925). Given a normal bid rent curve, the settlement space of the city will expand outward in concentric zones as the city grows. The historic center of the city will function as a central business district and, due to high land prices, be subject to continual redevelopment. This is surrounded by a zone of transition holding the oldest buildings of the city that, owing to their age, hold the lowest potential rents and thus become home to the poorest of the city's residents. This zone is surrounded by working class housing, and the overall level of prosperity of the residents and businesses escalates as one drives to the urban fringe; today, this fringe is in the exburbs. The model was never meant to be an exact description of every city, but rather an "ideal type" that describes the overall process. Indeed, newer models utilized this same process but accounted for variations such as the presence of industrial sectors (Hoyt 1939) and multiple nuclei (Harris and Ullman 1945). Perhaps more significantly, the rise of the automobile as the chief transportation medium undermined many of the assumptions in these models as they do not adequately account for the rise of suburbs (For an expanded discussion, see Kleniewski and Thomas 2011, chapter 1.

Due to the empirical limitations of Human Ecology models, the challengers to the school solidified as the Political Economy school during the 1980s. Political economists recognize a wider sphere of human behavior as contributing to urban form, including not only trade but also aesthetic, political, and cultural manifestations as well. As a result, the school is better able to explain such diverse phenomena as racial segregation, land development, and crime. As the school recognizes such variables that are often dismissed as "externalities" by human ecologists
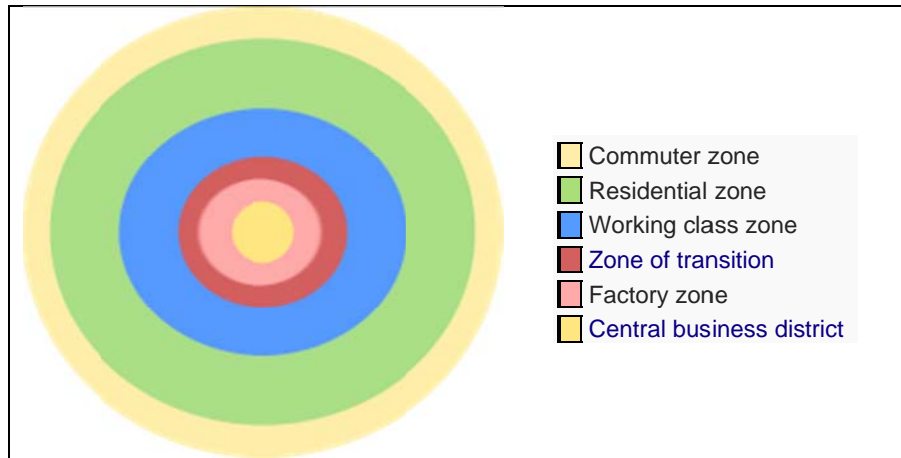
they are also more able to analyze the impact of political factors and social policy on urban life and settlement structure.

This study utilizes both approaches by examining patterns of urban growth over time and examining the potential impact of current policies in the region.

Definition of Population Related Municipalities

The federal definition of the Utica-Rome Metropolitan Area includes Oneida and Herkimer Counties. This is consistent with how most metropolitan areas in the United States are defined: except for those in New England where metropolitan areas are defined by Minor Civil Division (town and city) and a separate category called a New England County Metropolitan Area (NECMA) is also defined, all metropolitan areas in the United States are defined by examining the commuting patterns between counties. Commute to work is certainly a reliable measure of metropolitan influence, and the numbers between Oneida and Herkimer Counties certainly warrant the definition as is. There are, none the less, a number of limitations to this approach. By utilizing such a large unit of measure (the county), the details to be gleaned at a more precise unit of analysis (e.g., a township) is lost. For example, the village of Old Forge in northern Herkimer County is technically part of the metropolitan area but such communities as Richfield Springs and Edmeston in Otsego County are not even though there are more commuters from these places. Similarly, a number of municipalities between 15 and 25 miles west of Utica exhibit a high degree of commuters to both Utica and the Syracuse area; because Madison County has more residents commuting to Onondaga County than Oneida (9,693 vs. 4,362) it is classified as part of the Syracuse Metropolitan Area.[1] Further, by measuring commuting as a "pull" factor, it

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[1] U. S. Census Bureau, Residence County to Workplace County Flows for the United States and Puerto Rico Sorted by Residence Geography: 2006-2010. http://www.census.gov; Accessed 5 June 2014.

does not measure the population that may be tightly integrated culturally and economically but not specifically employed in the home county. This disadvantages metropolitan areas with weaker economies, and as such must be taken into account when considering the potential impact of economic vitality on a region.

This study makes use of the federal metropolitan area definition but also attempts to account for such potential pitfalls. By examining communities that are seemingly connected in terms of growth (and decline) we can gain a more full understanding of the population shifts since World War II and where growth could potentially take place in the event the local population begins to significantly increase once again. Utilizing the raw data and maps of growth rates at each decennial census yields four different zones connected to the metropolitan area. The first is the region's cities for which this study takes a legal definition: the five cities include Utica, Rome, Oneida, Little Falls, and Sherrill. A second zone is the Utica-Rome suburbs, townships that are in whole or part congruously urbanized with the region's cities. A third zone is the exurbs, townships that have displayed a degree of dependence on the metropolitan area in terms of population growth and decline, although some (such as the Town of Richfield) have experienced varying degrees of independence in certain time periods. A fourth zone includes the suburbs shared with Syracuse. It should be noted that the exurban zone is surrounded by rural communities that exhibit a degree of population independence but are likely strongly influenced in other ways. For example, such communities as Boonville, Cooperstown, and Hamilton all experienced population shifts that likely reflect population declines in the central villages and growth in the rural areas surrounding them; these communities are not analyzed as part of the Population Related Municipalities but should nevertheless be considered as part of the wider metropolitan region as there is some evidence that residents in these regions are influenced by Utica media and shopping (see, for example, Thomas et al. 2002). Indeed, had historical trends mirrored their early-mid twentieth century patterns, these communities would be far more integrated into the Utica metropolitan system than they currently are. A map of the Population Related Municipalities is found in figure 2; a table with populations of each can be found in Appendix A.

The following section will examine population in these municipalities and consider alternative scenarios had former population trends continued into the late twentieth century. As these municipalities are found in Oneida, Herkimer, Madison, and Otsego Counties, the alternative scenarios and mapping of longer term trends must necessarily account for all four counties.
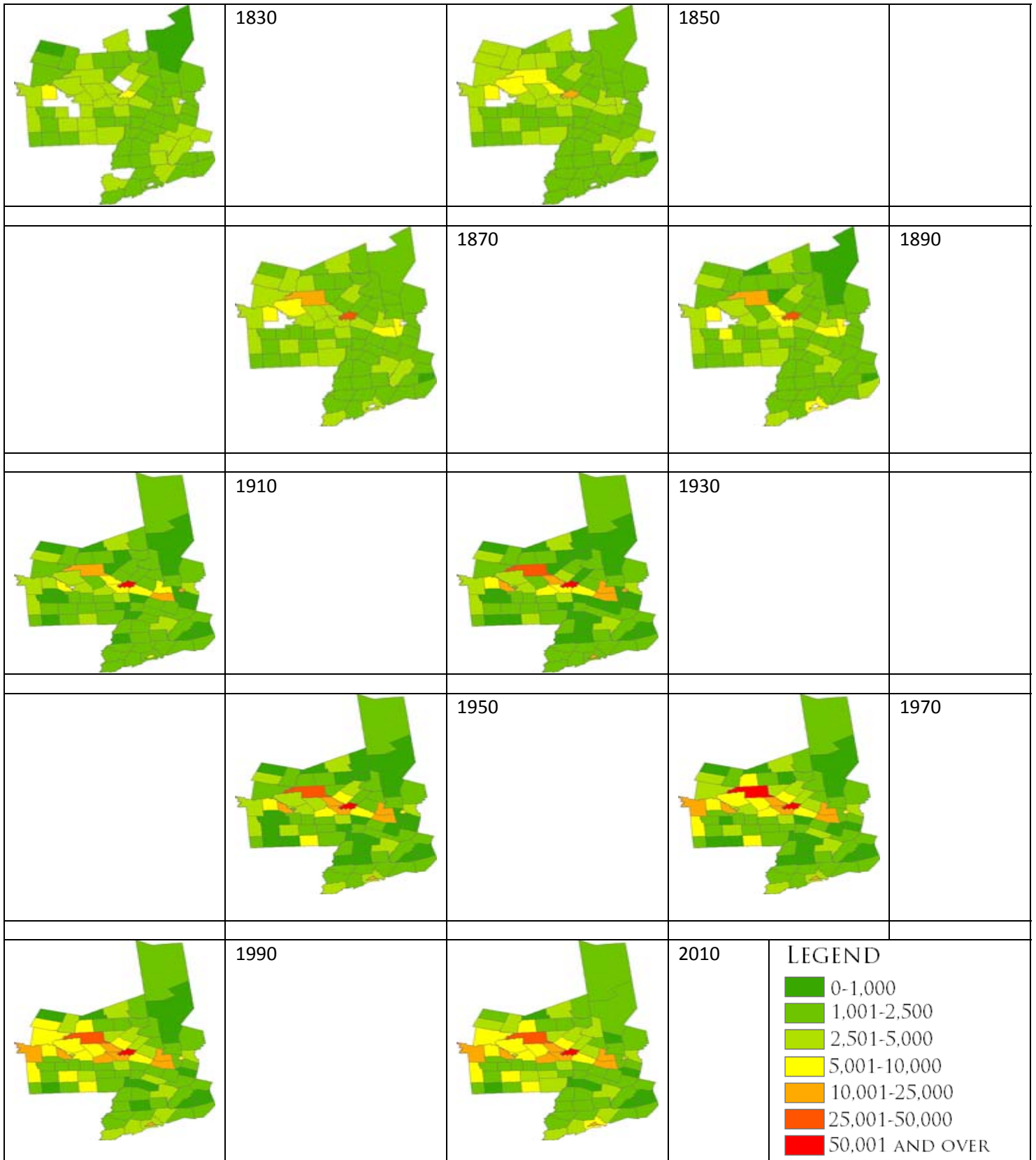
Legend
- Urbanized Area
- City
- Suburb
- Exurb
- Shared Suburb
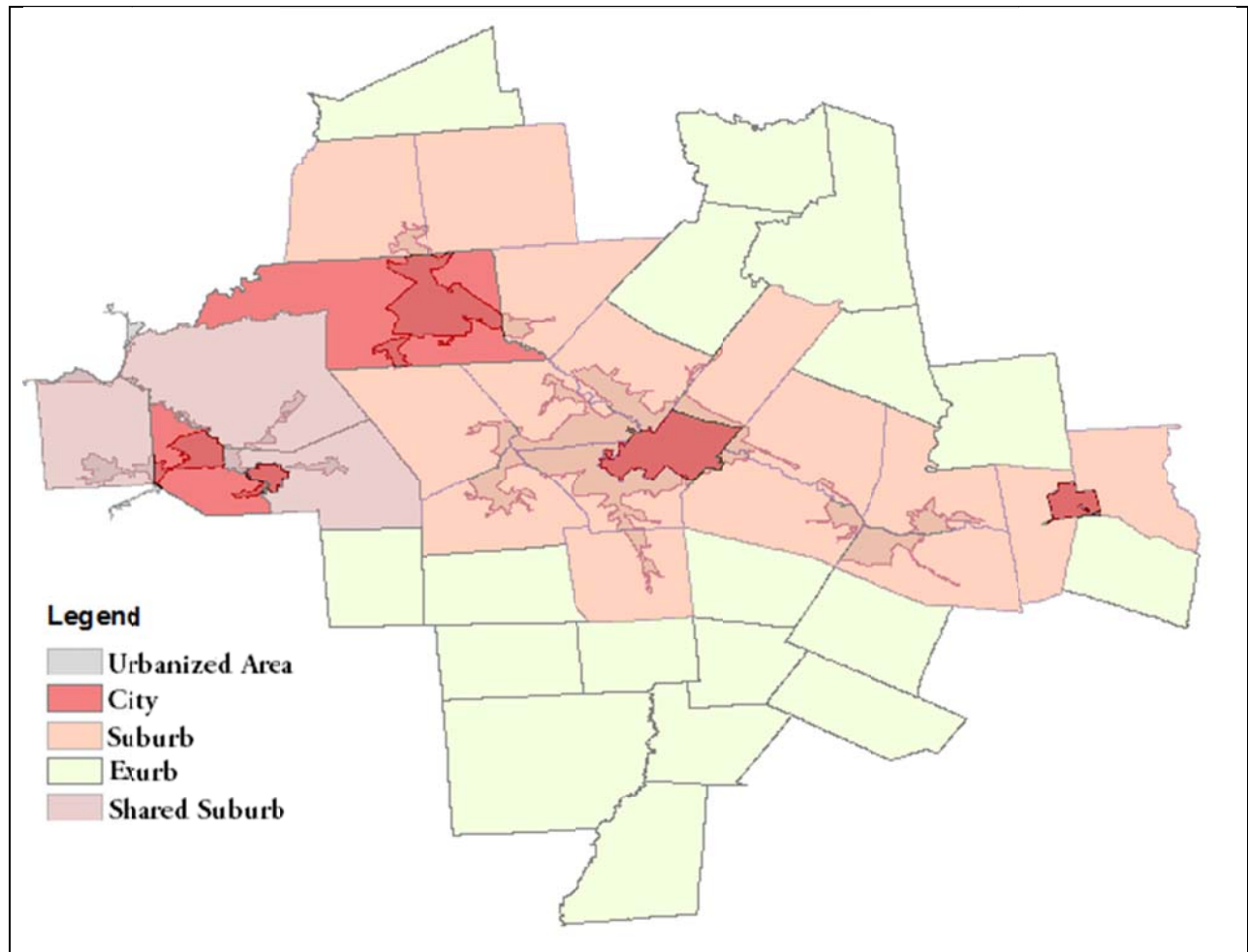
General Regional Growth

Patterns of population distribution in the four-county region between 1830 and 2010 are shown in figure 3. The general pattern through the mid-nineteenth century was of a relatively even distribution across the landscape as the economy, and hence settlement space, was dominated by agriculture. The Industrial Revolution arrived in the region around 1810—the first region in the United States outside of New England—resulting in rapid population growth in urban areas. This was most apparent in Utica and Rome, but a number of industrial suburbs such as Ilion and Herkimer also exhibited this trend. Another aspect of this trend was the relative depopulation of rural towns within 30 miles of the Erie Canal corridor as family sizes shrank and children left the farm for opportunities in the growing metropolitan areas.

Figure 3: Population of Regional Municipalities, 1830-2010

1830		1850	
	1870		1890
1910		1930	
	1950		1970
1990		2010	LEGEND

LEGEND
- 0-1,000
- 1,001-2,500
- 2,501-5,000
- 5,001-10,000
- 10,001-25,000
- 25,001-50,000
- 50,001 AND OVER

Three Alternative Scenarios

The recent regional growth as it took place was the result of a particular set of historical contingencies. In effect, the Utica region, like other major cities in the Great Lakes Region, suffered under patterns of deindustrialization and corporate concentration that developed and intensified following World War II (Thomas 2003). The demographic shift that occurred as a result of this economic shock, not only in Utica but throughout the historical industrial heartland of the United States, will one day be understood as tremendously significant by the social scientists of the future. It was as profound as the "Great Migration" of African-Americans from the American South to northern cities earlier in the century, of the Irish immigration to America following the 1840s potato famine, and of peasants to English cities following the "enclosures" that resulted in them being turned off their land at the end of the medieval period. Such demographic shifts have lasting effects not only on the places transformed by the immigration but on the places left behind as well. The significance of this demographic shift is perhaps best understood by running alternative scenarios projecting growth had the economic restructuring not occurred. We will examine population growth in the population related municipalities only and assume that had population continued to grow that the proportion of that growth in each of the four areas (city, suburb, exurb, shared suburb) would have been maintained. There are pitfalls to this approach—as much art as science—which is why three scenarios will be examined. These scenarios will be compared to how the region actually grew (or not) during the period in question.

Scenario 1 assumes that the population related municipalities had grown at a rate equal to the thirty-year (1930-1960) average annualized growth rate. The population had only increased by 0.5 percent during the 1930s, but increased to 12.4 percent during the 1940s and 16.0 percent during the 1950s as birth rates increased after the Great Depression and World War II (the Baby Boom). This lends an annualized growth rate of 0.87 over the period, or 8.7 percent over ten years. Scenario 2 assumes that the area grew at the same growth rate as New York State as a whole, and Scenario 3 assumes a growth rate matching the United States as a whole. The population of the related municipalities is shown in table 1. The 1960 population, reflecting the growth of the 1950s, will serve as the baseline.

Table 1: Change in Metropolitan Population in each Hypothetical Scenario, 1960-2010

Year	Actual	Rate	Scenario 1	Rate	Scenario 2	Rate	Scenario 3	Rate
1960	336,968		336,968		336,968		336,968	
1970	344,673	2.3	366,284	8.7	366,284	8.7	381,785	13.3
1980	320,197	-7.1	398,151	8.7	352,732	-3.7	425,690	11.5
1990	315,513	-1.5	432,790	8.7	361,550	2.5	467,408	9.8
2000	297,458	-5.7	470,443	8.7	381,435	5.5	529,106	13.2
2010	298,556	0.4	511,372	8.7	389,445	2.1	580,429	9.7
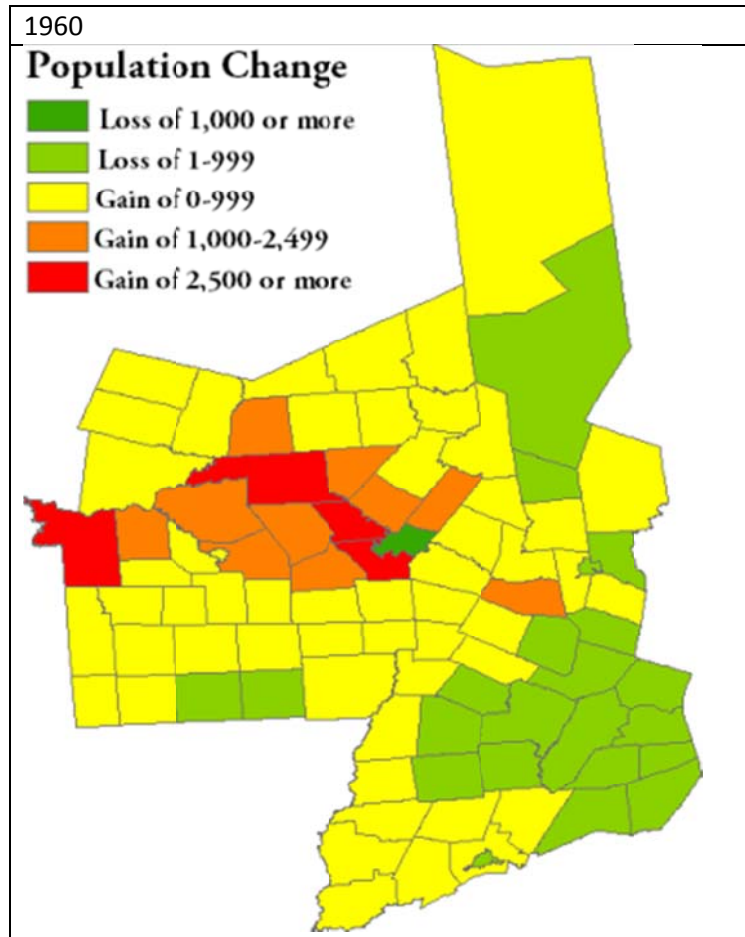
Population change since World War II in the four counties where the Utica Metropolitan Area has its greatest influence has itself experienced a pattern change during that time period. For much of the region's history since 1850, the basic pattern was rapid population growth in cities, slower growth in suburbs, and a migration from the region's countryside—towns today classified as exurban and rural—to the cities. For example, between 1920 and 1950, the region's five cities grew by 20,487 and the suburbs by 13,696. The exurban towns collectively added only 703 new residents, and this growth occured primarily toward the end of the period; in essence, the exurbs behaved more like other rural towns than

Table 2: Change in Metropolitan Population by Sector Type, 1950-1960

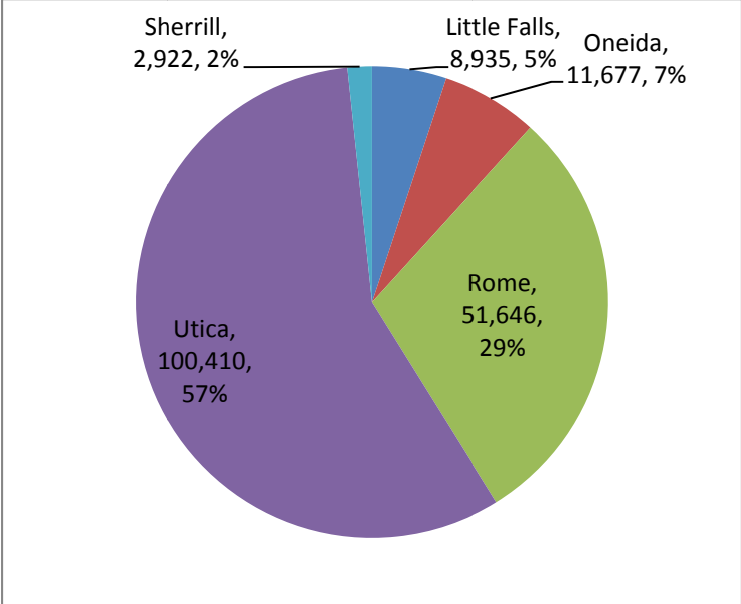| Type	Population, 1950	Population, 1960	Change (%)
Cities	166,315	175,590	9,275 (5.6)
Suburbs	85,123	114,648	29,525 (34.7)
Exurbs	25,373	29,472	4,099 (16.2)
Shared Suburbs	13,693	17,258	3,565 (26.0)
TOTAL	*290,504*	*336,968*	*46,464 (16.0)*

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census

like towns connected to the wider metropolitan area. During the 1940s, growth in the suburbs began to outpace that in the cities, and by the 1950s suburban growth outpaced urban growth by 3 to 1 (see table 2).

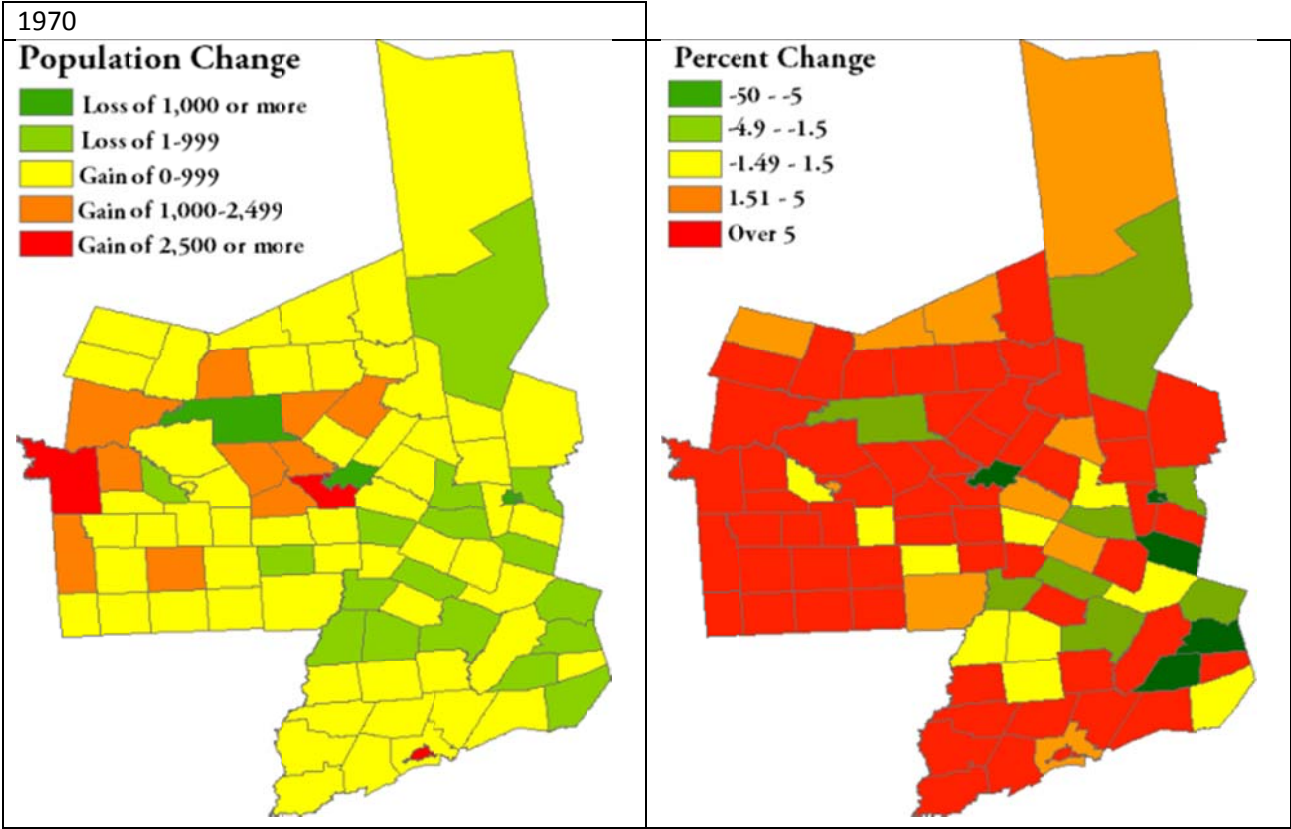Figure 5: Percent of Population in Types of Community, 1960
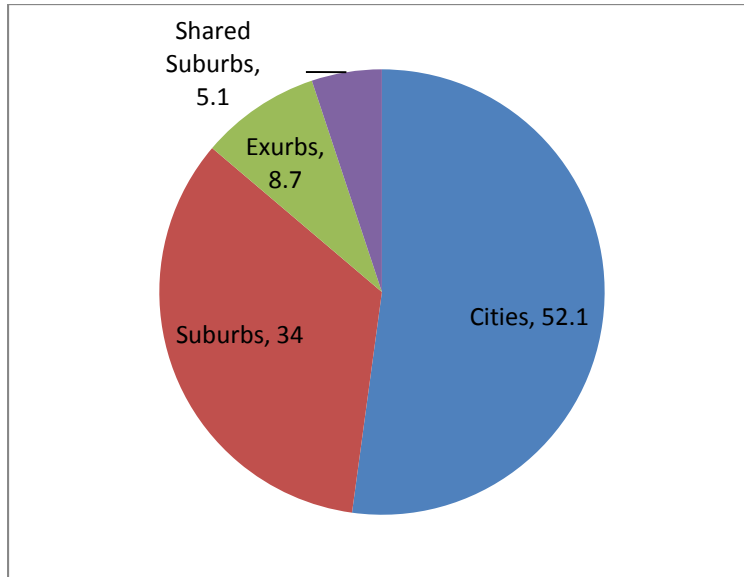
As such, the 1960 census shows a pattern of change familiar to most demographers as suburbanization. The 1950s exhibited growth in most municipalities connected to the City of Utica but, as was found in many metropolitan areas, a slight decline in population in Utica itself. The other areas of population decline were in rural towns of northern Herkimer and central and eastern Otsego Counties—towns that had been losing population for approximately 100 years due to a drop in birth rates and migration to urban centers. Slower growth was evident in exurban communities and shared suburbs, but the proximity of these communities made them desired locations for new homes. The City of Rome itself benefited from this trend as its share of the urban population rose from 25 percent in 1950 to over 29 percent; in contrast, the City of Utica's share of the urban population dropped from 61 percent in 1950 to 57 percent in 1960 (see figure 6).

Figure 6: Percent of Population in Area Cities, 1960

Sherrill, 2,922, 2%

Little Falls, 8,935, 5%

Oneida, 11,677, 7%

Rome, 51,646, 29%

Utica, 100,410, 57%

The 1970 Census

1970

Population Change

- Loss of 1,000 or more
- Loss of 1-999
- Gain of 0-999
- Gain of 1,000-2,499
- Gain of 2,500 or more

Percent Change

- -50 - -5
- -4.9 - -1.5
- -1.49 - 1.5
- 1.51 - 5
- Over 5

The 1960s exhibited a continued suburbanization trend. The aging infrastructure of the inner city combined with programs designed to encourage home ownership encouraged many middle class residents to move to new neighborhoods in the suburbs. In Utica as elsewhere, this trend disproportionately advantaged white residents over non-whites, increasing both racial and class segregation in the area (for a discussion, see Wilson 2009; Massey and Denton 1993). Birth rates in the region continued a long term decline and immigration was comparatively low, resulting in a slower overall growth rate than the previous decade. As shown in table 3, the cities lost 11,796 residents while the suburbs gained 13,949 new residents. Exurban communities continued to grow at a relatively slow but steady pace.

Table 3: Change in Metropolitan Population by Sector Type, 1960-1970

| Type	Population, 1960	Population, 1970	Change (%)
Cities	175,590	163,794	-11,796 (-6.7)
Suburbs	114,648	128,597	13,949 (12.2)
Exurbs	29,472	32,250	2,778 (9.4)
Shared Suburbs	17,258	20,032	2,774 (16.1)
TOTAL	336,968	344,673	7,705 (2.3)

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census

Figure 8: Percent of Population in Types of Community, 1970
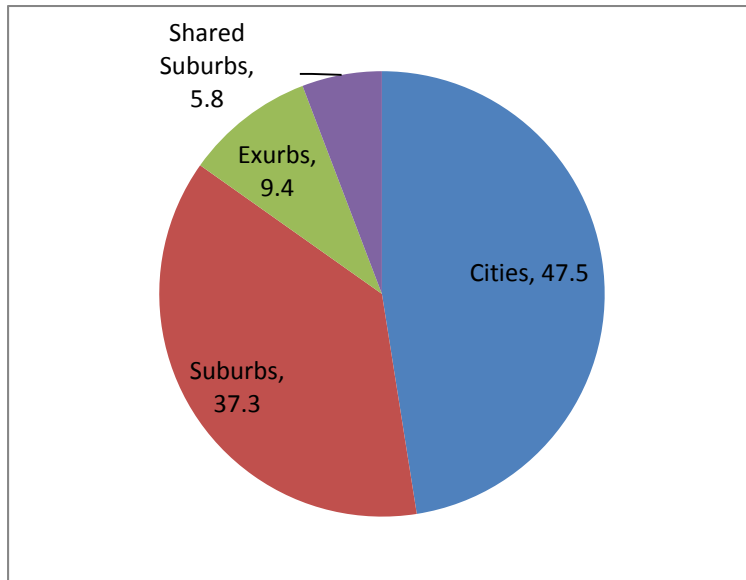
The 1970 census witnessed for the first time a metropolitan area where the majority of residents did not live in the area's cities. Less than 48 percent of residents lived in the cities, nevertheless higher than the 43 percent of residents who lived in suburban towns and the less than 10 percent living in the exurbs. Of city residents, 56 percent lived in Utica and about 30 percent lived in Rome.

**Figure 9:** Percent of Population in Area Cities, 1970
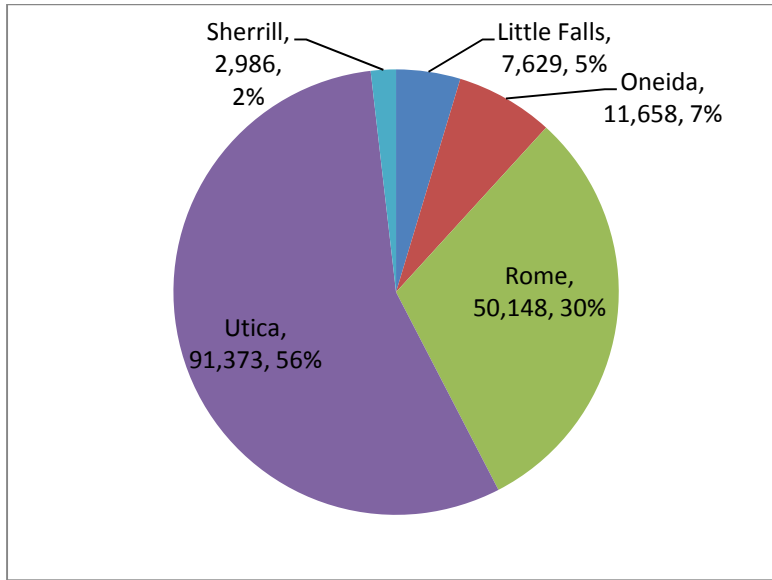
At the time that the 1970 census data was released the slow growth of the metropolitan population to 336,968 would not have been alarming. Although the cities lost population it was evident that this reflected a deconcentration of the area population into the suburbs, not the beginning of a regional decline. Had the population grown at the 1930-1960 average of 0.87 percent per year, however, the urban population would have remained approximately the same and the suburban population would have exhibited a continuation of the growth during the 1950s. Indeed, Utica's population would have declined to 97,084 rather than 91,373. Scenario 3, keeping pace with the national growth rate, would have resulted in Utica's population holding nearly steady from its 1960 population of 100,410 by growing to 101,192 (see table 4).

Table 4: Projected Population by Scenario and Sector Type, 1970

Sector	Proportion of Population	Scenario 1 Population	Scenario 2 Population	Scenario 3 Population
Cities	47.5	173,985	173,985	181,348
Suburbs	37.3	136,624	136,624	142,406
Exurbs	9.4	34,431	34,431	35,888
Shared Suburbs	5.8	21,244	21,244	22,144
TOTAL		*366,284*	*366,284*	*381,785*

The 1980 Census
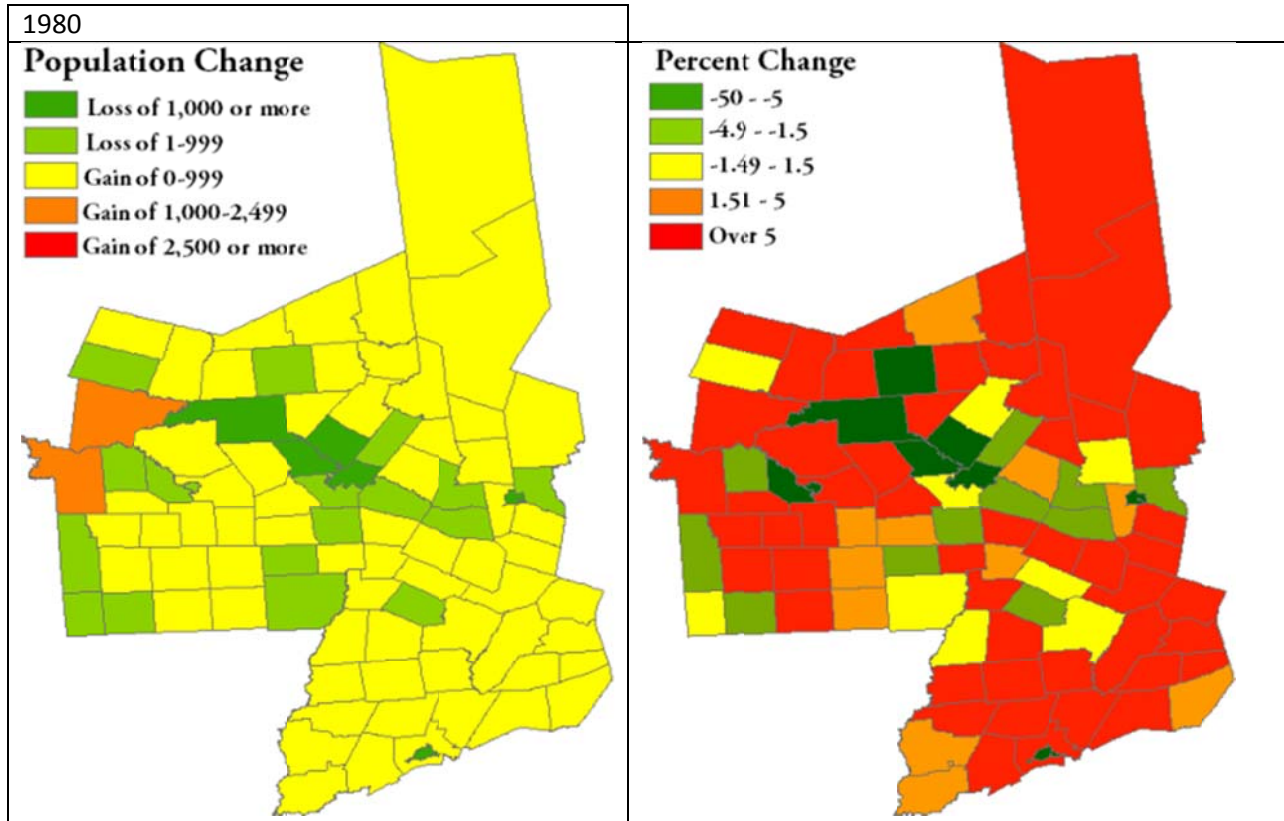
The 1970s administered the first of two population shocks to the metropolitan area that affected not only the cities but the suburbs as well. The Utica area was perhaps the first region outside of New England to experience the American Industrial Revolution, and thus it is perhaps not surprising that it was also one of the first metropolitan areas in the country to experience deindustrialization. This process actually began during the 1940s and 1950s when much of the textile industry was lost to southern states, but these losses were offset by growth in aerospace and computers as such firms as General Electric and Sperry Rand (forerunner to Unisys) manufactured cutting edge technologies in the region. The deindustrialization of the 1970s, however, involved many of these same firms and as such job losses translated into population

Table 5: Change in Metropolitan Population by Sector Type, 1970-1980

Type	Population, 1970	Population, 1980	Change (%)
Cities	163,794	139,254	-24,540 (-15.0)
Suburbs	128,597	126,431	-2,166 (-1.7)
Exurbs	32,250	33,938	1,688 (5.2)
Shared Suburbs	20,032	20,574	542 (2.7)
TOTAL	*344,673*	*320,197*	*-24,476 (-7.1)*

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census

loss (Thomas 2003). The cities lost nearly 25 thousand residents combined, and even the suburbs lost population. Exurban growth slowed but continued in the outer ring of the metropolitan area (see table 5).

Perhaps not surprisingly given the trends over the preceding two decades, the cities lost population the fastest while the suburban losses were more tempered. Throughout this period the exurbs continued to grow, however, and the suburbs shared with Syracuse—somewhat more immune to the problems in Utica in particular—showed a modest gain as well. These trends lead to the continued redistribution of the population farther from the urban centers.

Figure 11: Percent of Population in Types of Community, 1980

Shared Suburbs, 6.4

Exurbs, 10.6

Cities, 43.5

Suburbs, 39.5
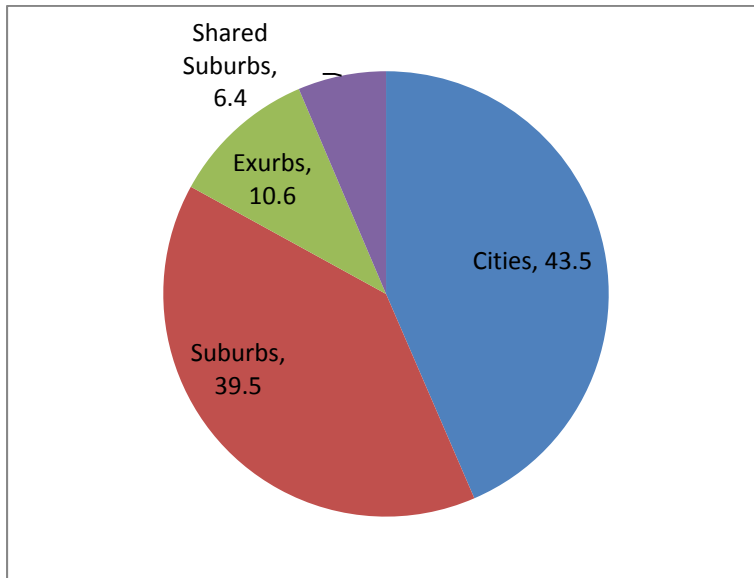
The distribution of the urban population shifted slightly as well. The percent of those living in Utica and Rome fell as the slower rate of decline in Oneida and even a modest increase in Sherrill contrasted with the rapid declines in the major cities. Oneida and Sherrill are, like the shared suburban municipalities, within commuting distance to Syracuse and Utica and as such those communities have some immunity against downturns in one or the other metropolitan area. In fact, Sherrill itself is better classified as a shared suburb despite its legal status as a city.

All three scenarios show the effects of this period. Given the redistribution of the population during this period, however, had the same proportions held under the alternative scenarios there would have been stronger growth away from the urban centers. In scenario 1, for instance, the urban population would have held about steady from a decade earlier as Utica's population would have dropped to 94,045. Had the region reflected the state's growth rate the population declines would have been similarly dramatic, and only in scenario 3 would a modest growth in the cities have been evident.

Figure 12: Percent of Population in Area Cities, 1980

Sherrill, 2,830, 2%
Little Falls, 6,156, 4%
Oneida, 10,810, 8%
Utica, 75,632, 54%
Rome, 43,826, 32%
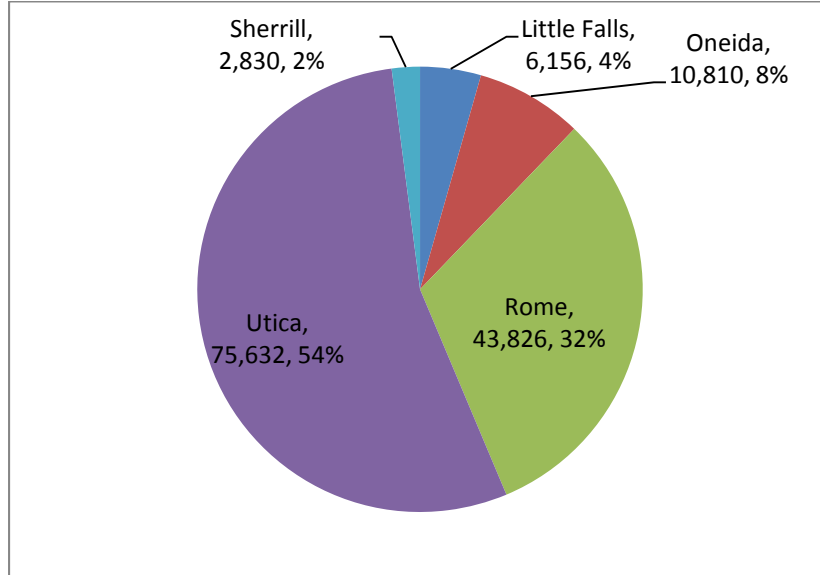
Table 6: Projected Population by Scenario and Sector Type, 1980

Sector	Proportion of Population	Scenario 1 Population	Scenario 2 Population	Scenario 3 Population
Cities	43.5	173,196	153,438	185,175
Suburbs	39.5	157,270	139,329	168,148
Exurbs	10.6	42,204	37,390	45,123
Shared Suburbs	6.4	25,482	22,575	27,244
TOTAL		*398,151*	*352,732*	*425,690*

1990

Population Change	Percent Change
Loss of 1,000 or more	-50 - -5
Loss of 1-999	-4.9 - -1.5
Gain of 0-999	-1.49 - 1.5
Gain of 1,000-2,499	1.51 - 5
Gain of 2,500 or more	Over 5
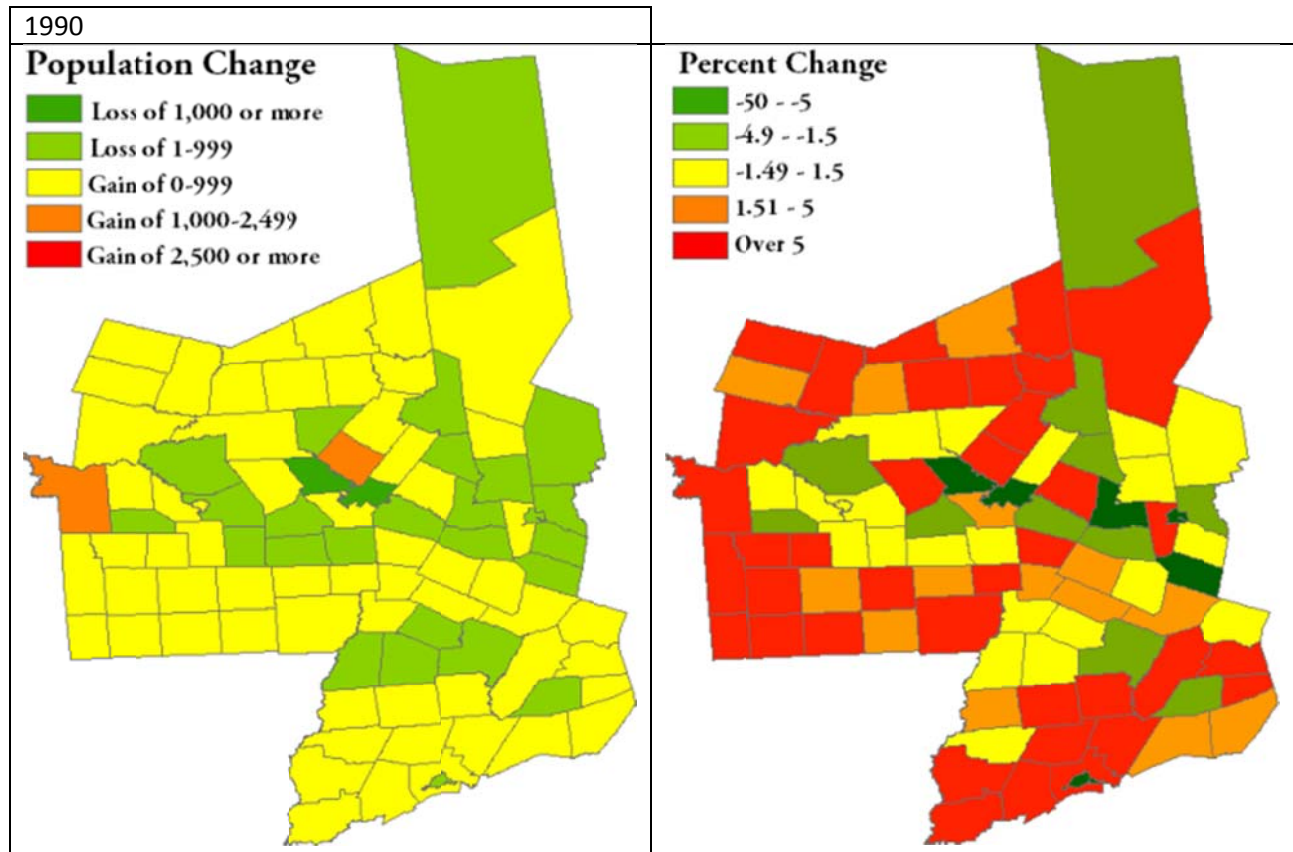
The 1980s offered some respite from the crisis of the 1970s but nevertheless posted a (modest) decline overall. The general pattern of flight from Utica as the region's largest city continued, but Rome, Oneida, and Sherrill all grew. The suburbs grew slightly overall even as population was redistributed from some (e.g., Whitestown) to others (e.g., Marcy). Growth had slowed region-wide, and even the exurbs experienced a slowing of their growth rate.

Table 7: Change in Metropolitan Population by Sector Type, 1980-1990

| Type	Population, 1980	Population, 1990	Change (%)
Cities	139,254	132,530	-6,724 (-4.8)
Suburbs	126,431	127,494	1,063 (0.8)
Exurbs	33,938	35,070	1,132 (3.3)
Shared Suburbs	20,574	20,419	-155 (0.75)
TOTAL	*320,197*	*315,513*	*-4,684 (-1.5)*

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census

As during the previous decades, this pattern lead to a further deconcentrated settlement pattern as the percent of the population living in cities fell to only 42 percent and those in the exurbs rose to over 11 percent.

Figure 14: Percent of Population in Types of Community, 1990

Shared Suburbs, 6.5
Exurbs, 11.1
Cities, 42
Suburbs, 40.4
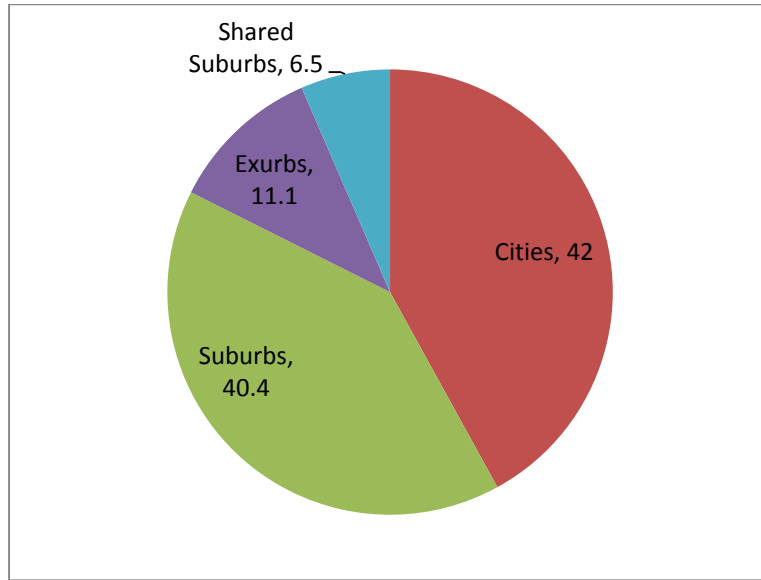
In part because of strength at Griffiss Air Force Base, the proportion of the urban population living in Rome grew while those in Utica declined. Oneida and Sherrill held about steady from a decade earlier.

Figure 15: Percent of Population in Area Cities, 1990

Sherrill, 2,864, 2%
Little Falls, 5,829, 4%
Oneida, 10,850, 8%
Utica, 68,637, 52%
Rome, 44,350, 34%
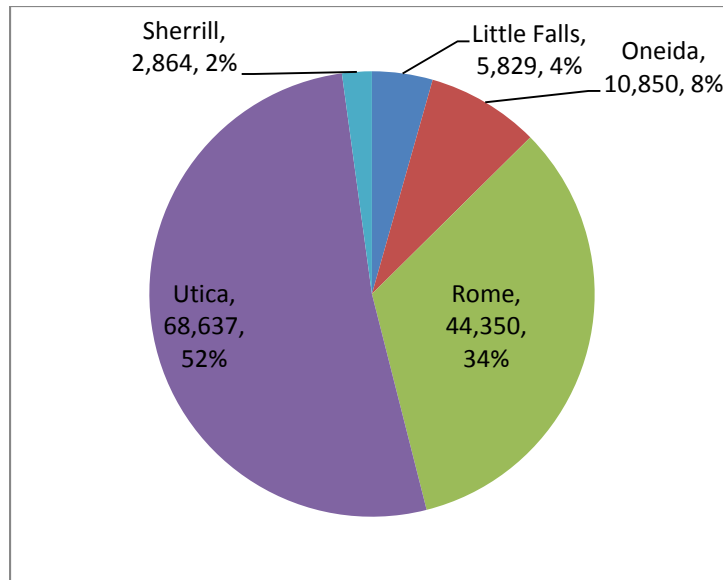
The alternative scenarios reflect this continued redistribution of population. Even though the urban population would have grown during this time, the population of Utica would have remained about constant in scenario 1, growing from 94,045 to 94,158 in 1990. In fact, had the proportions among the cities found in real life held in scenario 1, the population of Rome would have grown to 60,894. It is likely, however, that much of this growth would have been in suburban and rural areas of the city that are not, as of today, particularly urbanized. In contrast,

Table 8: Projected Population by Scenario and Sector Type, 1990

Sector	Proportion of Population	Scenario 1 Population	Scenario 2 Population	Scenario 3 Population
Cities	42	181,772	151,851	196,311
Suburbs	40.4	174,847	146,066	188,833
Exurbs	11.1	48,040	40,132	51,882
Shared Suburbs	6.5	28,131	23,501	30,382
TOTAL		*432,790*	*361,550*	*467,408*

the city of Utica has far less land area in which to develop, and whatever growth that would have occurred there would likely have been based in a further intensification of existing development (e.g., apartment complexes). Scenario 3 shows further growth in all sectors, and scenario 2 shows the metropolitan area sharing in the rebound experienced by New York State after the 1970s.

The 2000 Census
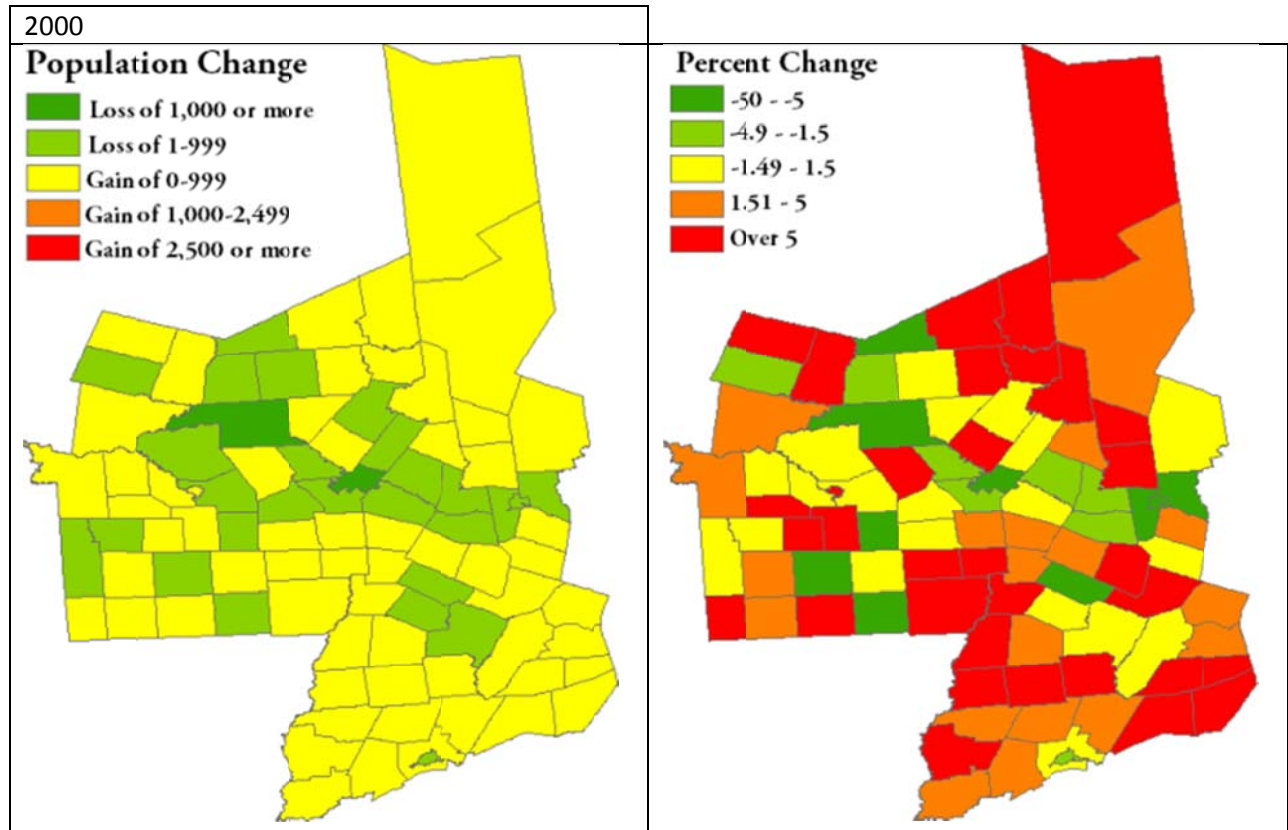
The 2000 census reflects the unfortunate events of the 1990s. Griffiss Air Force Base was significantly downsized in Rome and much of the aerospace industry in the region was similarly downsized or relocated to other states. Much of this restructuring was the result of the concentration of the defense industry into fewer corporations (Thomas 2003). Both the Syracuse and Utica metropolitan areas experienced the deindustrialization and as such the population shocks were spread across central New York. Further away, however, there was a level of population stability and even modest growth.

Table 9: Change in Metropolitan Population by Sector Type, 1990-2000

Type	Population, 1990	Population, 2000	Change (%)
Cities	132,530	114,923	-17,607 (-13.3)
Suburbs	127,494	126,078	-1,416 (-1.1)
Exurbs	35,070	36,032	962 (2.7)
Shared Suburbs	20,419	20,425	6 (--)
TOTAL	315,513	297,458	-18,055 (-5.7)

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census

As during the 1970s, both the cities and the suburbs lost population, and once again the loss of population in the cities was much faster than in the suburbs. This trend further deconcentrated the population as the exurbs grew slightly. The shared suburbs, no longer buffered from problems in both metropolitan areas, stagnated.

Figure 17: Percent of Population in Types of Community, 2000
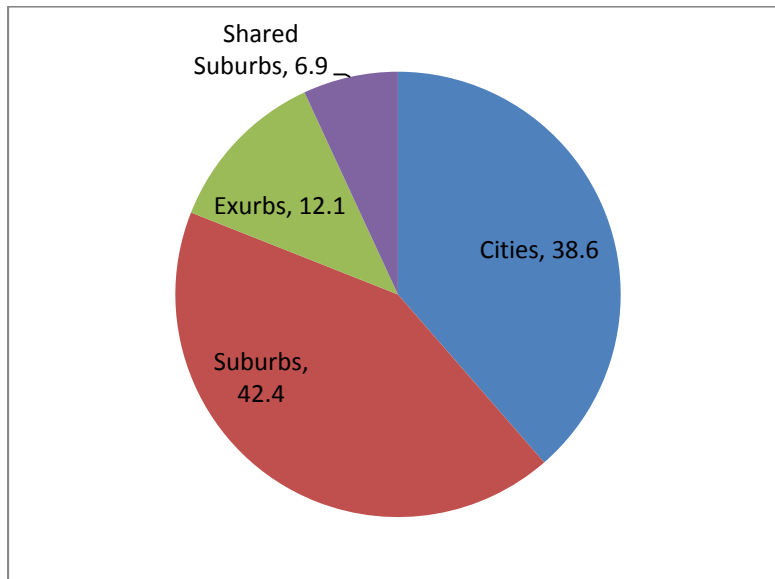
Overall, the metropolitan municipalities lost 18,055 residents, 9,400 (52.1 percent) of whom left the city of Rome. This trend not only redistributed the population between the cities and the suburbs, it also redistributed the urban population itself. The proportion of urban residents living in Utica grew to 53 percent even as population declined. In Oneida a modest population increase

Figure 18: Percent of Population in Area Cities, 2000
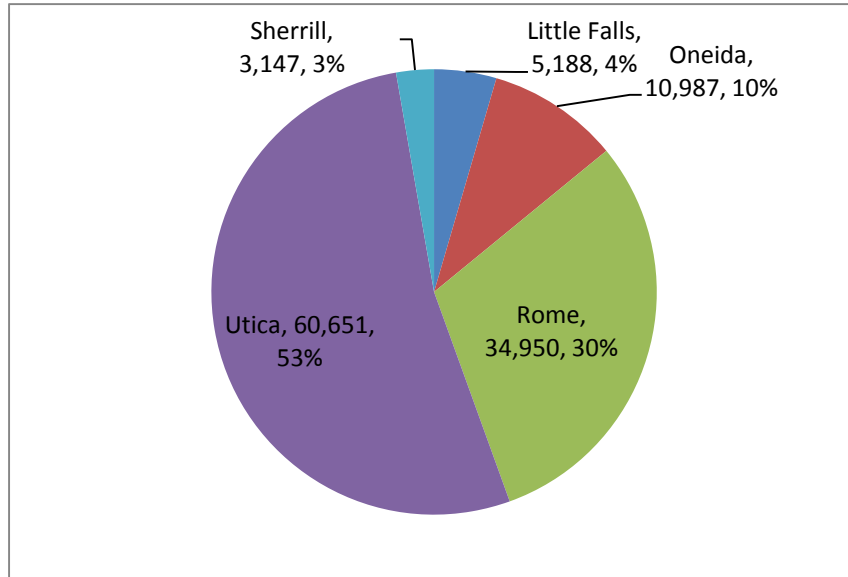
led to the proportion of its population growing to 10 percent of the total urban population of the region.

The alternative scenarios continue to demonstrate that even had the region's population continued to grow, much of the growth would have been in the suburban and exurban communities, not in the cities. We will explore this trend in more detail in the discussion of the 2010 census.

Table 10: Projected Population by Scenario and Sector Type, 2000

Sector	Proportion of Population	Scenario 1 Population	Scenario 2 Population	Scenario 3 Population
Cities	38.6	181,591	147,234	204,235
Suburbs	42.4	199,468	161,728	224,341
Exurbs	12.1	56,924	46,154	64,022
Shared Suburbs	6.9	32,461	26,319	36,508
TOTAL		*470,443*	*381,435*	*529,106*
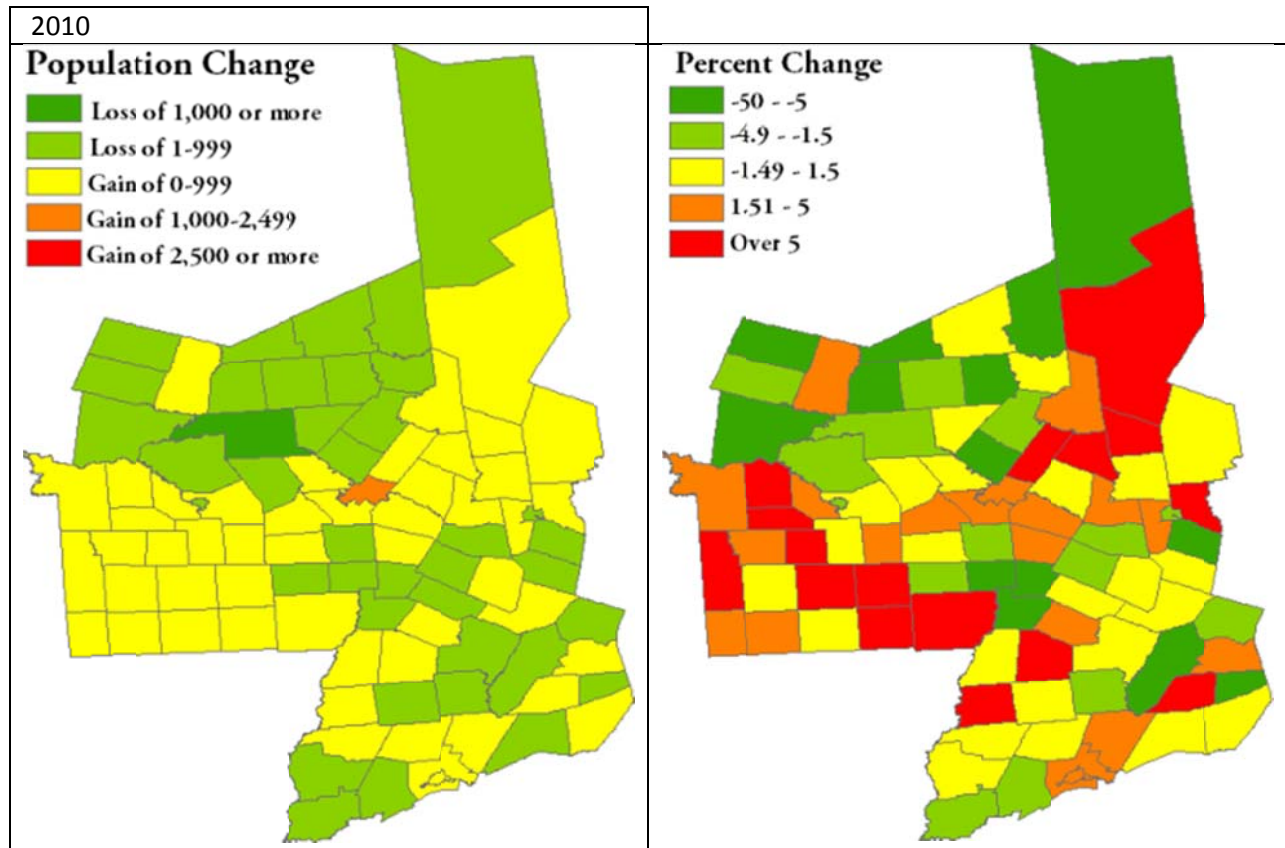
The 2010 census posted a loss of less than one thousand residents for the metropolitan area as defined by the federal government (Oneida and Herkimer Counties) and actually posted a slight increase for the population-related municipalities observed here.

Table 11: Change in Metropolitan Population by Sector Type, 2000-2010

Type	Population, 2000	Population, 2010	Change (%)
Cities	114,923	115,370	447 (0.4)
Suburbs	126,078	126,618	540 (0.4)
Exurbs	36,032	35,745	-287 (-0.8)
Shared Suburbs	20,425	20,823	398 (1.9)
TOTAL	*297,458*	*298,556*	*1,098 (0.4)*

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census

For the first time since the early twentieth century the urban population grew faster than the suburban or exurban populations. The overall trend was one of population stability as both the suburbs and exurbs remained functionally stable over the time period. In contrast, the city of Rome lost 1,225 residents as the western portion of the metropolitan area continued to suffer the

Figure 20: Percent of Population in Types of Community, 2010
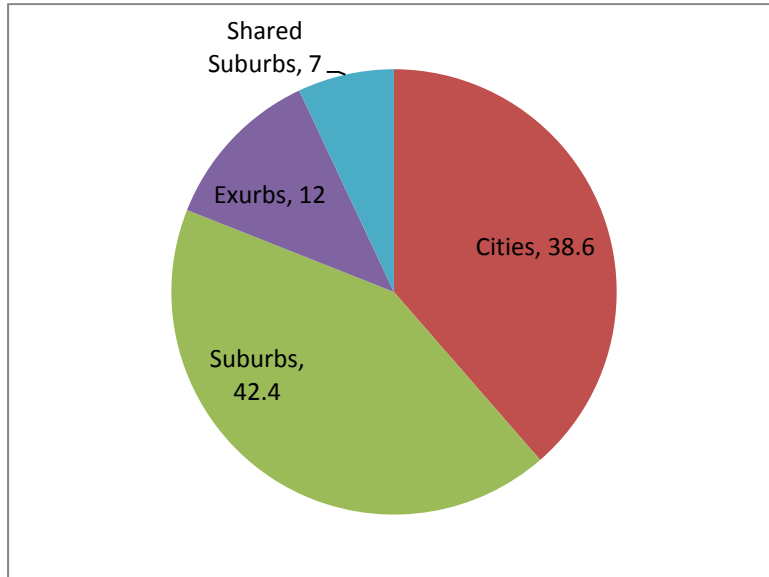
consequences of the realignment of Griffiss Air Force Base. However, the city of Utica gained 1,584 residents during the same time period.

Due to the overall pattern of population stability, the proportion of residents living in various sectors of the metropolitan remained approximately the same between 2000 and 2010.

Figure 21: Percent of Population in Area Cities, 2010
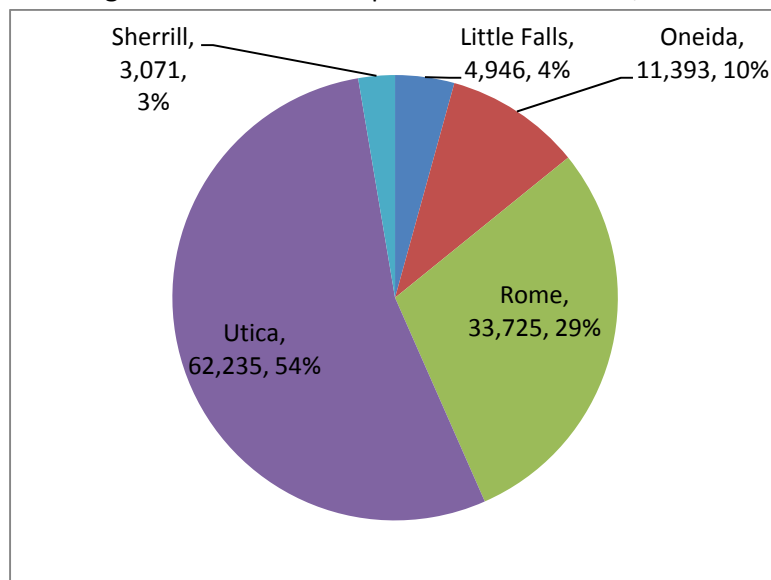
As noted earlier, a considerable amount of the population decline in cities nationwide is "white flight:" the movement of white families from cities to suburban and exurban communities. This is evident in the region's two largest cities as well. For instance, of the 10,625

residents who left the city of Rome since 1990, 10,174 were white. In Utica, where the population increased during the 2000s, the increase obscures the pattern of white flight: the city's white population decreased from 59,479 in 1990 to 42,945 in 2010. As such, population growth in the city has had to counteract the outflow of white residents, particularly since 2000. In fact, approximately 52 percent of the population that grew in the city is Asian or Asian-American, 30 percent is black, and 13 percent is "mixed race;" a further five percent did not identify race. Given that the largest group of foreign-born immigrants (Bosnians: 2,740 in 2010) are white, this growth was not fueled by European immigration. Three of the five largest foreign-born populations in the city in 2010 were Asians likely settled by the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees (Vietnamese, 591; Burmese, 553; Thai, 465). The fifth largest group, Dominicans, are part of a trend of Hispanic immigration to the city that mirrors that in the remainder of eastern New York State. The increasing presence of Hispanics in the city also explains why 18 percent of residents claimed either Mixed Race or did not identify race: this is a more prevalent practice among Latinos who do not readily identify with American social constructions of race.

Figure 22: Racial Composition of Population Growth in Utica, 2000-2010
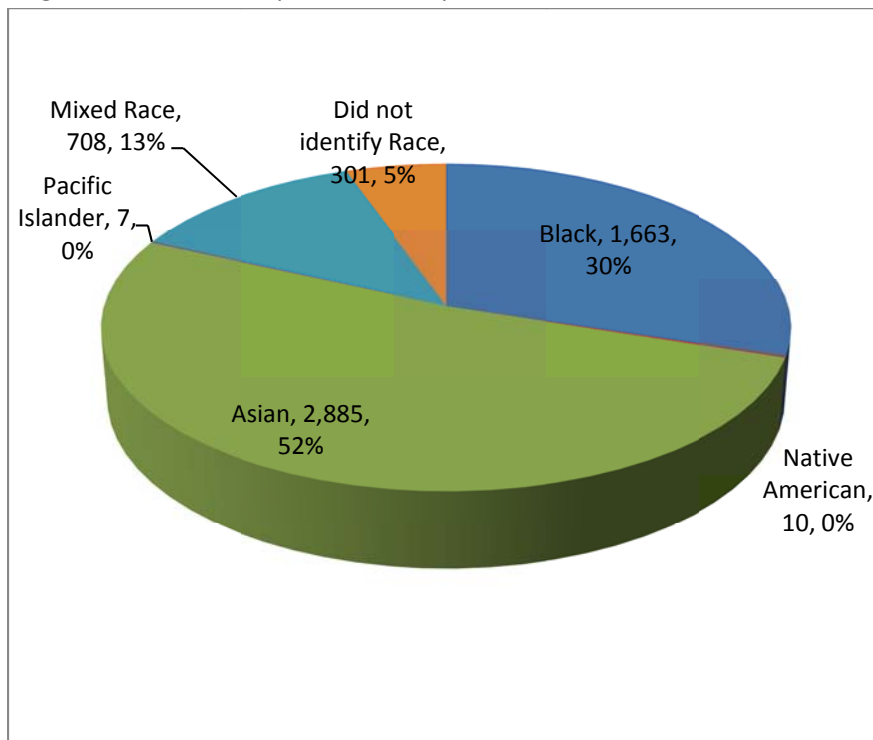
Immigration is primarily arriving through the work of the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees *and* through chain migration of immigrant groups in New York City working inland in search of new opportunities and a lower cost of living. In all, 14.7 percent of Utica's population was foreign-born in 2010, up from 11.9 percent in 2000.

Table 12: Region of Origin of Utica's Foreign Born Population, 2000-2010

Region of World	2000 Population	2010 Population	Change (%)
Europe	5,340	4,621	-719 (-13.46)
Asia	1,335	2,866	1,531 (114.68)
Africa	43	265	222 (516.28)
Oceania	0	13	13 (1300.0)
Caribbean	301	720	419 (139.20)
Central America	25	186	161 (644.0)
South America	108	350	242 (224.07)
Canada	79	120	41 (51.90)
Total Foreign Born	*7,231*	*9,141*	*1,910 (26.41)*

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census; see also Smith, Thomas and DeAmicis 2013

The damage done by the economic challenges of the 1970s and 1990s in particular is apparent when the final year of the three scenarios is examined. In scenario 1, a sustained average population growth rate equivalent to the thirty year average between 1930 and 1960 (0.87 per year) yields a population for the population related municipalities of over a half-million. Scenario 3, the metropolitan area keeping pace with the national growth rate, yields an even more grand population of 580,429. Even scenario 2, in which the metropolitan area kept pace with the state's growth rate, yields a 2010 population of 389,445. Much of this growth, however, would have occurred in suburban and exurban communities.

Table 13: Projected Population by Scenario and Sector Type, 2010

Sector	Proportion of Population	Scenario 1 Population	Scenario 2 Population	Scenario 3 Population
Cities	38.6	197,390	150,326	224,046
Suburbs	42.4	216,822	165,125	246,102
Exurbs	12	61,365	46,733	69,651
Shared Suburbs	7	35,796	27,261	40,630
TOTAL		*511,372*	*389,445*	*580,429*

Under scenario 1 the population of the selected municipalities would have grown by 174,404 (51.8 percent) residents between 1960 and 2010. This scenario would have resembled the post-war pattern of slow growth in the cities and faster growth in the suburbs and exurbs. The city of Utica would continue as the region's largest city with 106,393 residents, up only 5,983 (6.0 percent) since 1960. Rome would have recorded a greater gain of 5,992 (11.6 percent) with 57,638 residents in 2010. The suburban towns would have grown by 102,174 (89.1 percent) during the same period, today home to 216,822 residents; in fact, the 2010 census recorded 126,619 residents. The higher population of scenario 1 would likely have engulfed much of the current inner suburbs such as New Hartford and spread newer development today into what are

now outer suburbs (Paris) and exurbs. The exurban population of 61,635 in scenario 1 is nearly double the 35,745 actually recorded in 2010, and these towns would have recorded growth of 31,893 (108.2 percent) between 1960 and today. Each exurb would today have an additional 1,438 residents—approximately the size of Richfield Springs. This rate of growth is similar to that which would have been experienced in shared suburbs, growing from 17,258 in 1960 to 35,796 in 2010—a growth rate of 107.4 percent. In terms of how this growth would actually look spread across the landscape, consider a metropolitan area that has a similar population today: Syracuse. The town of New Hartford would today resemble the town of DeWitt, the town of Paris the town of Manlius, and the town of Richfield would be similar to the town of Cazenovia. Of course, these are crude comparisons, but they do approximate how the population would be distributed in scenario 1.

The official metropolitan area population is today based on Oneida and Herkimer counties, and under scenario 1 the population of the two counties would have been 540,402 in 2010.[2] However, it is likely that given this scenario the federal metropolitan area definition would today include Otsego County as well, yielding a population of 597,532. Similarly, federal definitions would quite possibly include Madison County as well, yielding a population of 647,914. However, as Madison County is currently listed as part of the Syracuse Metropolitan Area, that is not a certainly: it would depend on commuting patterns. Another possibility is that Syracuse and Utica would be included as part of the same Combined Statistical Area.

The population in scenario 2 would simply have matched the pace of growth and decline found in the state as a whole. Under this scenario the municipalities would have grown by 52,477 (15.6 percent). The city of Utica would have experienced a population decline under this scenario, dropping to 81,026 in 2010, but not the dramatic drops experienced in reality. At 43,895 in 2010, the city of Rome would have lost 7,751 residents. The suburbs would have grown to 165,125 residents by 2010, or nearly 40 thousand more than what actually occurred, and the exurbs would have grown to 46,733. Compared to what actually happened, each of the 18 exurban towns would have an additional 610 residents if spread evenly across the landscape, and as such it is unlikely that they would have a dramatically different character than they currently do. It is possible that the federal metropolitan area definition would be Oneida and Herkimer Counties in this scenario, and if so the official population would today be 418,475. It is also possible that Otsego County would also be included, yielding a population of 475,605. However, it seems unlikely that Madison County would be included in the Utica-Rome metropolitan area under this scenario unless as part of a larger Syracuse-Utica CSA.

Scenario 3 examines the population had the regional population mirrored national trends and yields a population of over 580 thousand in the related municipalities. In this scenario the current population of Utica would be 120,760 and that of Rome would be 65,421. Nevertheless, the bulk of the population would be outside the cities as the suburban towns would have 246,102

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[2] Estimates of federal metropolitan area population is based on the population of related towns plus the remainder of the population for each county included in the definition. This includes townships not necessarily included in the hypothetical federal definition but included in the related municipalities. Although this limits the accuracy of the estimate, given the hypothetical nature of the work this is not problematic.

residents and the surrounding exurbs an additional 69,651residents. As each exurb would have an additional 2,232 residents the character of each would be significantly different from what actually occurred. It is not likely that the federal metropolitan area definition would be limited to the 609,459 residents living in Oneida and Herkimer Counties, but would likely include Otsego County as well, yielding an official population of 666,589. It also seems likely that the entire region would be under a Syracuse-Utica CSA umbrella. If Madison County were included in a CSA component with Utica (and not Syracuse), the resulting four counties would be home to 716,971 residents today—slightly smaller than the Syracuse-Auburn CSA today in real life.

Potential Futures

The foregoing analysis is based largely on assumptions common to the human ecology school of thought. Specifically, the analysis is based on the idea that population would be distributed outward from urban centers in a manner consistent with past experience. This is useful for our purposes here but also a limitation. By examining the demographic trends we also ignore the impact of public policy. For example, had federal, state, and local policies not so strongly encouraged suburban growth it is unlikely that they would have grown to the extent they did. Put another way, if one had to travel Genesee Street each time they criss-crossed the city, the suburbs and exurbs would have had less appeal than they eventually had for local residents. Similarly, federal defense policy encouraged the concentration of defense contractors into fewer but larger corporations, in effect encouraging the deindustrialization of the 1990s (Thomas 2003). Today, state policy could potentially lead to a resumption of population growth, and local policies will be highly influential in where that growth actually takes place. This section will examine four scenarios of potential growth.

The first scenario continues the 8.7 percent growth per decade that was found in scenario 1 in the historical analysis. This scenario is likely a high estimate as the metropolitan area has not grown at this rate in several decades, but it has in the past. The second scenario assumes a growth rate equivalent to the 2000-2010 change, or 0.37 percent per decade. The third scenario splits the difference with a growth rate of 4.2 percent per decade. Table 14 shows the projections for each sector assuming growth is spread evenly across each municipality and 2010 proportions among sectors remains stable as it did between 2000 and 2010.

Each of the three scenarios shows some growth in the urban population and considerable stability in the shared suburbs and exurbs. As this reflects the 2000-2010 trend it also contradicts the long-term historical trend of urban decline and growth in the periphery. Another potential issue with these scenarios is that they do not account for the 2000-2010 trends: the cities did not uniformly grow, but rather Utica and Oneida grew enough to offset losses in the other cities. Similarly, suburban and exurban areas in the Rome area lost population but those to the south and east of Utica demonstrated a greater diversity of experience. In general, the cause of growth or decline in the cities was different than in the suburbs. Suburban growth was driven primarily

Table 14: Projected Population by Hypothetical Scenario and Sector Type, 2020-2030

Sector	Percent of Total	2010	Scenario 1 2020	Scenario 2 2020	Scenario 3 2020	Scenario 1 2030	Scenario 2 2030	Scenario 3 2030
Cities	38.6	115,370	125,407	115,797	120,216	136,318	116,225	125,265
Suburbs	42.4	126,618	137,634	127,086	131,936	149,608	127,557	137,477
Exurbs	12	35,745	38,855	35,877	37,246	42,235	36,010	38,811
Shared Suburbs	7	20,823	22,635	20,900	21,698	24,604	20,977	22,609
TOTAL		298,556	324,531	299,660	311,096	352,765	300,769	324,162

by a flight of white residents from the cities to the suburbs and the settlement of their offspring in the suburbs and exurbs over time. In contrast, recent growth in the city of Utica was the result of immigration. Indeed, given that the foreign-born Bosnian population declined between 2000 and 2010 there is some evidence that at least some less recent immigrant groups are leaving the city as well. As the causes of growth are different in the cities and in the periphery it is more useful to project a continuation of current population trends in the cities and revert back to our three scenarios for the periphery. Table 15 projects the population in the five cities and table 16 projects the population of the various sectors assuming that the cities grow as noted in the previous table.

Table 15: Projected Population by City assuming Continuation of Urban Trends, 2020-2030

City	Population 2000	Population 2010	Change (%)	2010-2020 Change	2020 Population	2020-2030 Change	2030 Population
Little Falls	5,188	4,946	-242 (-4.7)	-230	4,716	-220	4,496
Oneida	10,987	11,393	406 (3.7)	422	11,815	437	12,252
Rome	34,950	33,725	-1,225 (-3.5)	-1,184	32,541	-1,142	31,399
Utica	60,651	62,235	1,584 (2.6)	1,624	63,859	1,667	65,526
Sherrill	3,147	3,071	-76 (-2.4)	-74	2,997	-72	2,925
TOTAL	114,923	115,370	447 (0.39)	558	115,928	670	116,598

Table 16: Projected Population by Scenario and Sector Type assuming Continuation of Urban Trends, 2020-2030

Sector	Percent of Total	2010	Scenario 1 2020	Scenario 2 2020	Scenario 3 2020	Scenario 1 2030	Scenario 2 2030	Scenario 3 2030
Cities	38.6	115,370	115,928	115,928	115,928	116,598	116,598	116,598
Suburbs	42.4	126,618	137,634	127,086	131,936	149,608	127,557	137,477
Exurbs	12	35,745	38,855	35,877	37,246	42,235	36,010	38,811
Shared Suburbs	7	20,823	22,635	20,900	21,698	24,604	20,977	22,609
TOTAL		298,556	315,052	299,791	306,808	333,045	301,142	315,495

The exact course of the future growth (or decline) of the area population is thus subject to two differing trends. The first is the impact of recent immigration in Utica. Much of this immigration is driven by international refugees and chain migration of other minority groups through other areas in eastern New York State. There is some evidence that recent immigrants spend more in their home communities than in those more distant, and in general lower income families spend a higher proportion of their income than do those who are more well-off (Kleniewski and Thomas 2011). As such, the increase in population should, over time, aid in revitalizing urban neighborhoods. Given the continued flight of whites from the city, however, immigration would need strong continued growth in order for the 2000-2010 trend to continue. The other major trend is the growth in the periphery—the suburbs and exurbs. This trend is similarly related to the flight of whites from the inner city, and in times of economic restructuring it was the loss of this population to other regions that fueled the population declines in both the cities and the suburbs. It is likely that if the region were to retain its white residents then much of the resulting growth from children staying the area would be in the suburbs, not the cities. Similarly, were the region to attract educated workers (of any race or ethnicity) from other areas it is also likely that much of the demographic benefit would accrue to the suburbs given current development policies.

Current and Potential Sources of Population Growth

Demographic patterns are tightly entwined with other indicators of community vitality. A community with many college students will have a very different character than one of retirees, for instance. The Utica Metropolitan Area is large enough to structure varying areas to take advantage of these differing groups. Indeed, demographic growth is in itself a potent economic development strategy (Piketty 2014).

Economic Development

In circular fashion demographic growth both drives and can be driven by economic growth. A review of the major planning publications in the region reveals a considerable focus on suburban and suburban-style development, even in the region's cities. For example, Mohawk Valley EDGE lists five business parks on its website, all of which are in the suburbs. The Utica Business Park is a suburban-style office development on the city's outskirts; as of June 19, 2014 there was not a website dedicated to promoting the site. In general, a prospective investor would have some difficulty finding information about opportunities in the cities.

The most developed and arguably the best plans are those for Griffiss Park, Marcy Nanocenter, and the Oneida County Business Park. Griffiss Park is the redevelopment of the former Griffiss Air Force Base in Rome. Although it is technically in the city, the development itself is best characterized as suburban. The level of redevelopment in the park is enviable, and the site has potential for increased business in aerospace. The airport was a potential landing site

Figure 23: 5s South Business Park in Frank fort

for the Space Shuttle program. Of course, some level of passenger service would aid the region considerably.

The former airport is now being redeveloped into the Oneida County Business Park. The plan encompasses over two thousand acres, including a redeveloped "urban core," greenways, and open preserve amid existing and future industrial developments. The proximity to the New York State Thruway and a potential beltway running west of Utica make this a desirable site. Access would be enhanced if Airport Road were extended across the Mohawk River and given an exit off the Utica-Rome Expressway.

Perhaps the crown jewel is the Marcy Nanocenter at the campus of SUNY IT. Home to chip fabrication and nanotechnology laboratories, the investment at this site could potentially bring considerable population growth to the region. This growth could come in the form of new residents pursuing jobs locally or current residents staying in the area who might have left otherwise. The suburban nature of the development, combined with Griffiss Park and Oneida County Business Park, strongly favor suburban population growth.

The New Hartford Business Park between Routes 840 and 5 will likely take the form of a mixed-use development. Similarly, the Route 5s south park in Frankfort appeals to warehouse and light industry.

The plans for these parks are well-developed and, with continued state and private investment, should encourage population increases. A noticeable omission is a similar effort favoring urban development. As the largest city in the region, Utica is also the symbol of the entire area and as such should become a focus of redevelopment efforts. As a result of several decades of decline the city has acres of developable real estate adjoining downtown. Nevertheless, the central business district has by-and-large lost two of the most important components of healthy cities: economies of scale and economies of agglomeration. Economies of scale refer to the trait that as the size of a place rises the cost per unit of providing services decreases. In practice, a city can support a greater number and diversity of businesses when there is a high concentration of people in an area. As the Mohawk Valley Regional Economic Development Council (2011) noted, there should be an emphasis:

…on key civic facilities and in creating downtown options so that urban centers have nighttime activity and are centers that promote work-play and living activities to maximize the physical assets and amenities that exist in urban centers. (74)

While true, this actually understates the importance of the task. There needs to be a sustained effort to create activity downtown on an 18-hour per day basis, from office workers supporting restaurants during the day to residents supporting them in the evening. While it is plausible to assume that residents of outer neighborhoods and the suburbs will support such areas, healthy neighborhoods that attract tourists do not rely on them. For example, the world-class shopping on New York's Fifth Avenue attracts millions every year, but the district exists primarily to serve residents of the city and the hundreds of thousands who work in the buildings towering over the street. Cities also rely on economies of agglomeration: the presence of related or complimentary businesses or activities near each other enhances the ability of each to function. This is the goal of the high-technology economic development in the suburbs, but an urban equivalent could be developed to compliment these other activities.

One mechanism of urban redevelopment would be to create an "urban business park" developed along new urbanist design principles that can mimic the advantages of suburban parks within an urban environment. The area between Oriskany Street and Harbor Point is perhaps most promising due to the open real estate and recent vitality in the Bagg's Square area. Such development should aim to focus economic activity, particularly food service and entertainment, along Whitesboro Street and Broadway in a loop from Bagg's Square. Street level floors should have storefronts to encourage this activity, but upper floors should be dedicated to office space and/or residential apartments. The goal is to attract a population of office workers who support the local economy by day and a residential population who support it at night. Focusing on certain streets for pedestrian development (Whitesboro Street, Broadway) would allow for others to serve more utilitarian functions such as parking lots and garages whiles allowing a pedestrian to walk a continuous circle of relative economic vitality. The area would tie into and potentially reinvigorate areas near Columbia Street and Bagg's Square and turn Genesee Street into the historic street in the circle. The area could benefit from economies of agglomeration if the area's research oriented firms, such as Zogby International and Masonic Medical Laboratories, could relocate in the area and used to attract similar firms to Utica. Another phase could potentially bridge the railroad tracks and further such development into Harbor Point and the Gateway area.

Immigration

In contrast to economic development, the main source of population growth has been immigration. As noted earlier, the main sources of recent immigrants have been through the Refugee Center and chain migration of immigrants as they move out of New York City. This represents a resumption of an historical pattern that helped Utica grow through much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Should immigration continue at its current pace or even accelerate it will result in long-term economic growth as well.

Approximate contours of an experimental urban business park utilizing mixed use development. The red line indicates a corridor earmarked for pedestrian development: buildings on these streets would be required to have street-level storefronts. Lots outlined in brown would be sites of commercial or research activity, potentially including new facilities for existing organizations in the area. Lots outlined in green would be residential real estate. The area would be built on New Urban design principles and eventually be conduit between Harbor Point and Downtown.

College Students

A potentially underutilized population is the annual migration of college students into the area. This population is relatively stable in terms of numbers even as the individuals are in a constant state of flux. College students are currently disbursed throughout the metropolitan area and as such their economic impact has been diffused in comparison to other "college towns." Encouraging a neighborhood with a reasonably high proportion of students, like the Brewery District in Utica, could revitalize that area and result in some students choosing to stay in the city after graduation. Students are particularly helpful for the food service and entertainment industries.

Retirees

Communities and other facilities oriented toward the retirement population are found throughout the metropolitan area as the regional population has been aging. Unlike retirement havens such as Sarasota, Florida, however, these developments in Utica-Rome are primarily oriented toward a local population. Within Utica's sphere of influence, however, there has been some success in attracting retirees from other regions, particularly in the area around Cooperstown. Hence, with the proximity to the New York metropolitan area, a corridor of

retirement communities stretching from rural Cooperstown to Utica's inner city could potentially grow the local population while appealing to a variety of tastes.

Discussion and Conclusion

Tracing the demographic history of the region reveals more than just numbers and settlement patterns. A more fine-grained definition of the metropolitan area than that provided by the federal Office of Management and Budget reveals that areas of northern Herkimer and Oneida Counties are more independent than the county-level definition implies, and also that areas of Madison and Otsego Counties demonstrate some integration with the metropolitan area. It also provides a broader way of thinking about the metropolitan area: it is not just the cities or the cities and suburbs combined, but rather a number of places that extend deep into the countryside.

Examining population-related municipalities has limitations as well. The methodology for selecting them relies heavily on qualitative factors because statistical methods are unsatisfactory. However, this method results in a number of judgment calls in instances when a community demonstrates some dependence on the metropolitan trends during some but not all periods examined. For example, the population of the town of Richfield fluctuated in a manner similar to other nearby exurban communities between 1950 and 1980 but demonstrated some independence after 1990. Subsequent investigation revealed that the decline in the town population was related to declines in the village but that the hinterland actually grew as would be expected in other exurban towns. For this reason, Richfield was included as an exurb. Similarly, the town of Columbus showed a similar pattern as Richfield but did not have a declining village center and hence was deemed independent for the purposes of this study.

Another limitation is that an examination of population trends in municipalities surrounding the most built-up areas of the metropolitan area should not be construed as the extent of metropolitan influence. As noted above, the decline of village centers as populations shift into the surrounding township or nearby townships demonstrates that the demographic processes at work on a large scale in the metropolitan area are also at work at the smaller scale found in adjoining rural areas. For example, Boonville and Forestport exhibited a degree of independence from the metropolitan area in terms of population growth primarily because they are part of a community system that adjoins the metropolitan area, but that should not be understood to mean that there is little metropolitan influence. Interviews with local residents indicate that many residents shop for goods and even seek employment in the metropolitan area, and this type of integration with the metropolitan area is not measured by examining population-related municipalities. Similarly, the Hamilton area exhibited a degree of independence form the Utica metropolitan area, and its independence should be understood in part as a reflection of the competition for influence between Utica and Syracuse found in Madison County as well as an indication of how Hamilton's local economy (particularly around Colgate University) gives the town some immunity against wider regional trends. The village of Cooperstown and surrounding area also demonstrated a degree of independence from the metropolitan area due to a strong local

economy centered on health services and tourism as well as retail competition from nearby Oneonta, but past research has indicated a degree of integration in the retail market as many local residents shop in the Utica area (see table 17).

Table 17: Where Respondents Bought Apparel, by Occupation

	Low Skill Occupations	High Skill Occupations	Professional/ Managerial	SURVEY TOTAL
Did not buy	29.4	7.1	7.7	11.2
Cooperstown	0	0	2.6	1.0
Oneonta	23.5	26.2	33.3	28.6
Metro Utica	29.4	38.1	25.6	31.6
Metro Albany	5.9	16.7	25.6	18.4
Metro Binghamton	11.8	11.9	5.1	9.2

Source: Thomas, Mansky, et al. 2002

A more exacting way of measuring metropolitan influence and regional integration would be to conduct a large scale survey. In 2002 the SUNY Oneonta Center for Social Science Research released a survey of residents of the village of Hartwick that asked respondents where they purchased certain types of items. The results showed that groceries were primarily bought locally—38 percent of residents had bought groceries from within the town in the previous three months and another 22 percent had bought groceries in adjoining Cooperstown. For apparel, however, 15 percent had not recently purchased items, but among those who had, 21.3 had shopped in the Utica metropolitan area and 32 percent had shopped in the Oneonta area. Combining these data with socioeconomic data revealed that those with higher-skilled occupations were more likely to shop in Oneonta but those with managerial-professional occupations were equally likely to shop in metropolitan Albany as metropolitan Utica (see table 17). A similar survey conducted region-wide that also asked about commuting and entertainment options would better measure the metropolitan area influence and potentially reveal future growth areas in the region.

Appendix A: Population Related Municipalities, 1950-2010

Municipality	County	pop1950	pop2010	Change	Percent Change
Columbia town	Herkimer	1,132	1,580	448	39.58
Danube town	Herkimer	847	1,039	192	22.67
Fairfield town	Herkimer	1,204	1,627	423	35.13
Frankfort town	Herkimer	6,598	7,636	1,038	15.73
German Flatts town	Herkimer	14,106	13,258	-848	-6.01
Herkimer town	Herkimer	11,235	10,175	-1,060	-9.43
Litchfield town	Herkimer	776	1,513	737	94.97
Little Falls city	Herkimer	9,541	4,946	-4,595	-48.16
Little Falls town	Herkimer	874	1,587	713	81.58
Manheim town	Herkimer	3,897	3,334	-563	-14.45
Newport town	Herkimer	1,626	2,302	676	41.57
Russia town	Herkimer	1,420	2,587	1,167	82.18
Schuyler town	Herkimer	1,169	3,420	2,251	192.56
Winfield town	Herkimer	1,462	2,086	624	42.68
Brookfield town	Madison	1,841	2,545	704	38.24
Lenox town	Madison	6,515	9,122	2,607	40.02
Oneida city	Madison	11,325	11,393	68	0.60
Augusta town	Oneida	1,933	2,020	87	4.50
Ava town	Oneida	452	676	224	49.56
Bridgewater town	Oneida	806	1,522	716	88.83
Deerfield town	Oneida	1,621	4,273	2,652	163.60
Floyd town	Oneida	1,014	3,819	2,805	276.63
Kirkland town	Oneida	6,164	10,315	4,151	67.34
Lee town	Oneida	1,856	6,486	4,630	249.46
Marcy town	Oneida	5,210	8,982	3,772	72.40
Marshall town	Oneida	1,616	2,131	515	31.87
New Hartford town	Oneida	11,071	22,166	11,095	100.22
Paris town	Oneida	3,459	4,411	952	27.52
Remsen town	Oneida	962	1,929	967	100.52
Rome city	Oneida	41,682	33,725	-7,957	-19.09
Sangerfield town	Oneida	2,143	2,561	418	19.51
Sherrill city	Oneida	2,236	3,071	835	37.34
Trenton town	Oneida	2,522	4,498	1,976	78.35
Utica city	Oneida	101,531	62,235	-39,296	-38.70
Vernon town	Oneida	3,161	5,408	2,247	71.09
Verona town	Oneida	4,017	6,293	2,276	56.66
Western town	Oneida	1,352	1,951	599	44.30
Westmoreland town	Oneida	2,811	6,138	3,327	118.36
Whitestown town	Oneida	12,686	18,667	5,981	47.15

Edmeston town	Otsego	1,563	1,826	263	16.83
Plainfield town	Otsego	729	915	186	25.51
Richfield town	Otsego	2,339	2,388	49	2.09
TOTAL		*290,504*	*298,556*	*8,052*	*2.77*

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