

THE CONTINUING DECENTRALIZATION OF PEOPLE AND JOBS IN THE  
UNITED STATES

by

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February, 2002

Presented at the 41<sup>st</sup> annual meeting, Western Regional Science Association  
Monterey, California, February 17-20, 2002

## ABSTRACT

Although the full picture is necessarily complex and many commentators are pointing to signs of re-centralization, population and employment in the 3132 counties of the U.S. continues to decentralize. This is based on an analysis of annual data from the Regional Economic Information System (REIS) by the Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA, of the U.S. Department of Commerce) that describes population and employment and income for seven major economic sectors for all counties over the years 1969-1999. The more specific conclusions of this analysis are as follows. First, Frostbelt-Sunbelt migration remains a powerful trend. Climate counts. Second, the facts do not support the idea of a “return to the cities”, “regeneration”, or any resurgence of compact development despite a strong policy interest in achieving such outcomes. Third, the dominant trends show an ebb and flow over time between growth in exurban and in suburban locations. Suburban growth was concentrated in the middle-sized metro areas. Exurban areas and rural counties usually performed better than core counties. Consistently, the core counties of the largest metro areas have fared worst, even in the most recent period (1995-99) when they did a little better. Fourth, most firms no longer have to seek locations in traditional high-density centers to achieve agglomeration economies; they can either do without them or find them in low-density regions. Finally, most planners in pursuit of “smart growth” are attempting to counter potent market trends in favor of more dispersal, potentially a costly strategy.

“It is one of the ironies of the age. Just as the wonders of communications technology make it possible to conduct all sorts of computer-based activities from any corner of the earth, so humanity clusters more into cities than ever before. Location, which should surely be irrelevant, seems to matter more, not less. Physical proximity appears to have virtues in commercial life that no amount of technological gimmickry can replace” (“Location, location, location: Why place still matters” *The Economist* June 16, 2001, p. 81).

“We were born and raised as a suburban county and now all of a sudden the frontier is going to be closing. That will force us not only to grow differently; it is going to refocus the way we view our county. It will change from suburban psychology to more urban psychology” (Prof. Scott Bollens, UC Irvine, interviewed in the *LA Times*, June 17, 2001, p. B1, B8).

"Cities Are Back! Mayors have known this for some time, but now the census figures spell out the incredible resurgence our cities have seen in the past few years" (U.S. Conference of Mayors, [www.usmayors.org](http://www.usmayors.org), Sep 11, 2001).

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The 2000 census reported ten-year population growth for the nation of slightly more than 13 percent. Most of the large cities did not keep up although most of their suburbs grew as fast or faster. Of the top 50 cities, only 13 significantly beat national growth (only four in the top 20); predictably all of these were in the Sunbelt states (Table 1). None of this is surprising because city-to-suburb and frostbelt-to-sunbelt migrations have been going on for some time. Both are explained by the lifestyle choices made by large numbers of people, facilitated by new technologies, especially falling communications and transportation costs. Indeed, recent electronic wonders have caused communications costs to plummet to such an extent that some commentators have wondered why clustering of any sort is not on the way out.

As always, however, the details are complex and hard to reduce to just one story. Table 1 compares recent metro area employment trends with population trends. At this writing, these are unfortunately not available for all the same geographic units. We see that suburban counties usually added jobs at a faster rate than their core counties. We also note that areas outside the central cities of metro areas usually also grew fastest in terms of population. The same pattern is apparent for all of the size and geographic groupings of MSAs (bottom of the table).

There were also exceptions: population growth in eight CBDs of the top-20 metros outpaced the surrounding central cities as well as the surrounding suburbs. Yet for seven of these eight, suburban job growth still beat core county job growth (San Diego not counted because the MSA does not have a suburban county).

CBD job growth using the County Business Patterns zip code files limit us to a three-year look. Also, these CBD definitions necessarily vary from the ones used to measure ten-year population growth. Metro area job growth (County Business Patterns definitions) for the 19 areas covered for the three-year period was 8.7 percent. Only seven CBDs surpassed this rate.

To try to make sense of the pattern, the rest of this paper focuses on trends. We examine the 31-year series made available by the Regional Economic Information System (REIS) by the Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA, of the U.S. Department of Commerce) for the 3132 counties of the U.S. that describes population and employment and income for seven major economic sectors for all counties for the years 1969-1999. We find that there is much less clustering than the first quotation suggests. This paper extends in more detail the descriptive analysis of U.S.

settlement trends that we earlier explored in 1998 (Gordon, Richardson and Yu, 1998).

The employment data cover both full-time and part-time jobs (Table 2). The major economic trends over the 31-year period are well known: the wage and salary employment share fell (from 86.5 percent to 83.4 percent), while the nonfarm proprietors' share rose (from 10.5 percent to 15.2 percent); the services sector's share of jobs grew significantly (from 18.4 percent to 31.6 percent); the share of jobs in finance, insurance and real estate also expanded (from 6.5 percent to 7.9 percent); on the other hand, the shares of farming and manufacturing jobs continued to fall (from 4.4 percent to 1.9 percent and from 22.6 percent to 11.8 percent respectively). Smaller or less widely recognized adjustments include an increase in agricultural services, forestry and fishing, a rise in the share of construction jobs, a drop in transportation and public utilities employment, an increase in retail trade jobs, and a fall in the share of government work (mainly reflecting a decline in the armed forces); wholesale trade jobs maintained a near constant share.

Although a file of this size can be sliced and diced in many different ways, we tried to identify geographic divisions that would help us to study the issue of agglomeration economies and its evolution. People may choose to live and work in clusters for a number of reasons. They may enjoy social interaction with others and/or they may profit from economic interactions, e.g. in markets as buyers and as sellers. Economists and others have made much of agglomeration economies as a source of economic growth because ideas are spawned and developed as a result of interactions facilitated by proximity (geographic features that contribute to connectivity also favor the subsequent spread of ideas; Diamond, 1999). Economic development and urbanization have reinforced each other over the years. Yet the operational definition of proximity, as the first quotation suggests, continues to change. Social coordination via markets (transactions) has been facilitated when distances are small; social coordination via the exchange of ideas is likewise augmented. The latter has both economic and community consequences. But these may be costly because clustering, if too dense, can result in congestion. The benefits of dispersal are expanded by increased connectivity, i.e. cheaper modes of moving people, goods and (especially) ideas. The marginal costs of moving the latter are now close to zero. This is confirmed by our analysis that reveals substantial decentralization, much of it away from metropolitan areas in general and especially from their cores.

We divided the 831 metropolitan counties five ways: i. the core counties of the

largest (i.e. > 3 million) metro areas (MSAs or CMSAs); ii. their suburbs (noncore counties); iii. the core counties of middle-sized (1-3 million) metro areas; iv. their suburbs; and v. those counties constituting the small (less than 1-million) metro areas. All data aggregations based on political boundaries are problematic. With this in mind, we often refer to noncore areas as “suburbs,” although it is clear that there are also many areas in core counties that exhibit suburban characteristics.

The nonmetro counties were divided seven ways, using the USDA’s 1993 Urban Influence Codes. If counties are adjacent to metro areas, there is a four-way partition: adjacent to larger metropolitan areas (defined for the nonmetro analysis as larger than 1 million) or to small metro areas, and with or without a city of 10,000-plus people. If counties are *not* adjacent to a metro county, there are three types: with a city of 10,000 or more, with a city of 2,500 to 9,999, or without an urban place greater than 2,500. The first four of these nonmetro counties may be considered as exurban while the last three may be defined as rural.

An obvious drawback of the classification system is that counties can be very large spatial units that have considerable heterogeneity; unfortunately, data on central cities (or “inner cities”) are not available in the REIS file. Another geographical shortcoming is the fact that counties vary significantly in size, typically as one moves west; they are likely to underbound a metropolitan region in the east and overbound it in the west. Also, the BEA (Bureau of Economic Analysis) now designates counties throughout the 31-year period in terms of their 1999 OMB (Office of Management and Budget) metro-nonmetro status; similarly, we used 1998 population estimates to categorize metro areas into size groups, while the USDA (United States Department of Agriculture) codes reflect 1990 commuting patterns. We have no data source that treats each year’s observations in terms of that year’s particular designations. The inference is that the BEA convention results in a slight classification bias in favor of metropolitan growth: the counties reclassified from nonmetro to metro were typically the fast-growing nonmetro counties.

Spatial economic analysis is always constrained by data problems. The analysis in this paper is based on County-level data. The discussion would obviously benefit from data for smaller spatial units. But these are only available sporadically, for example, from the decennial Census and or from the quinquennial Economic Censuses. County Business Pattern data at the zip code level are available on an annual basis but only since 1994 (see Glaeser and Kahn, 2001, for a use of zip code data with similar results to those found in this research). They have no sectoral detail and less coverage than the REIS data used in this paper (for

example, nonfarm proprietors are absent from the CBP totals). Moreover, they suffer from numerous zip code redefinitions, making them much harder to use. Finally, the recent change in industrial classifications from SICs to the NAICS (North American Industrial Classification Scheme), and the difficulty of constructing correspondence tables, will slow down any investigations (especially time series analysis) of sectoral detail.

The broad overall trends in U.S. settlement patterns are well known, and include the following:

- i. The westward movement of population and employment, in more recent decades to the Sunbelt.
- ii. Persistent rural-urban migration of jobs and people to the cities.
- iii. Suburbanization (and, more recently, exurbanization) out of cities.

However, the more detailed analysis made possible by the huge REIS data set (over one million observations on employment alone) suggests a much more complex picture. Although only the highlights are discussed in this paper, they are revealing. In the tables that follow, the highest growth rates in each period are marked in bold, while those that exceed the national rate for the period are shaded (see Tables 3-15b).

## 2. POPULATION

U.S. population growth through the period studied averaged a little over 1 percent per year. Was there an unequivocal redistribution of people towards cities? Table 3 suggests that the answer is more complex than a simple urbanization trend or even a post-1970 “counterurbanization” phenomenon (Frey, 1988). The fastest growth occurred in the suburbs of the middle-sized metro areas (1.63 percent; average annual growth rates are used throughout). The second-fastest growth occurred in the exurbs of the large metro areas without a city of 10,000 or more (1.22 percent). Close behind were the suburbs of the largest metro areas (1.18 percent). Three other categories of places grew faster than the national average: core counties of the middle-sized metros (1.1 percent), small metro areas (1.1 percent), exurbs of the large metros with a city of 10,000 or more (1.04 percent).

On the other hand, the major population losers were the core counties of the largest metro areas (0.52 percent), exurbs of the small metro areas, and rural counties. There was an overall redistribution of population towards the urban areas but not to the core counties of the largest metropolitan areas. Growth was strong in the suburbs but also in the exurbs of the large metropolitan areas.

A complication is that the thirty-one year pattern was not a steady trend but was subject to clear swings. Our approach to taming a large data set was to divide the period into four intervals. These correspond roughly to urban and rural dominance in terms of private employment growth (see the discussion of Figure 1 below). Whereas considerable literature comments on the “rural renaissance” of the 1970s (which many took to be a reversal of longstanding urbanization trends) and the “urban revival” of the 1980s, we find that there were swings in population and employment growth that do not match the Census years. The years 1969-76 denote a period of predominantly rural growth, 1976-88 designates a change favoring metropolitan (if more suburban) growth, 1988-95 a period reminiscent of the first (a “rural rebound”), while 1995-99 again signals growth (at least in terms of employment) that is distinctly more urban (a possible explanation is that the boom years benefited the cities by mopping up unemployment in the core counties).

Table 3 reveals that while the highest population growth in the first period was in the non-core counties of the middle-sized metros, all of the exurban and two of the three rural groups as well as the smallest metro areas significantly surpassed the national rate of 1.12 percent. The suburbs of the largest metros lagged and the core areas of the largest metro areas lagged even more. Some of these trends have been widely noted but are often misnamed as a “rural revival.” While not completely



false, this description ignores the existence of both lagging rural areas and some strongly growing metro areas and their suburbs.

Data for the second period (1976-88) signal a clear change. National population growth had fallen to 0.98 percent with only four areas exceeding this rate: the noncore counties of the middle-sized metros were still the growth leaders (1.49 percent), followed by the core counties of the same areas (1.20 percent), the noncore counties of the largest metros (1.21 percent) and the small metro areas (1.01 percent). The label “urban revival” is inaccurate; although the exurban and rural counties fell behind, population growth in the core counties of the largest metro areas continued to lag behind.

The 1988-95 years were also distinct. Noncore counties of the middle-sized metro areas were still the growth leaders (1.67 percent), while all the other metro area groups except for the core counties of the largest urban areas grew faster than the national average. However, the exurban areas of the large metro areas also did well (the “rural rebound”), while population growth in other nonmetropolitan area groups faded.

The final period (1995-1999) followed the same pattern, except for the fact that the national population growth rate again slipped below 1 percent, as did population growth in the smallest metros (0.73 percent). However, as we shall see, what distinguishes these two recent periods is the differential pattern of their job growth performance.

### 3. EMPLOYMENT

Table 4 summarizes the private job growth story and provides the rationale for the time periods used in this research. For employment, much more than in the case of population, there are alternating periods of clear metro or nonmetro job growth dominance.

National job growth over the 31 years averaged 2.25 percent, substantially higher than population growth because of the well documented increase in female labor force participation. The county groups that led are similar to those observed with respect to population: the noncore counties of the middle-sized metro areas grew fastest (3.09 percent), followed by the suburbs of the largest metro areas (2.58 percent), the core counties of the middle-sized metro areas (2.57 percent), the exurbs of the large metros (without a city of 10,000 or more; 2.43 percent), and the

smallest metro areas (2.37 percent).

The laggards were the rest of the exurban and rural areas and the core counties of the largest metro areas (the latter grew the least, 1.25 percent). Central cities vs. the suburbs is apparently no longer the key issue in the spatial competition for jobs: the more interesting comparisons are among suburbs, exurban areas and rural counties.

The 31-year span is again broken into the four periods, roughly denoting shifts between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan private employment growth dominance (Figure 1). Growth comparisons over the four time periods corroborate this view. In the years 1969-76, nonmetro job growth dominated; rural counties with a city in the 2,500-9,999 range grew fastest (2.73 percent) and there was faster than national job growth in all of the non-metro counties, especially in the two other exurban groups. These were followed by the suburbs of the middle-sized metros (2.65 percent), the small metro areas (2.34 percent) and the exurban counties. Next came the suburbs of the largest metros and the core counties of the middle-sized metro areas, both of which barely exceeded national job growth. The only lagging areas were the core counties of the largest metro areas.

This pattern changed sharply in the next period, 1976-88. Only three county-groups grew faster than the U.S.: the suburbs of the largest metro areas (3.66 percent), the noncore counties of the middle-sized metros (3.35 percent), and the core counties of the middle-sized metros (3.22 percent). The core areas of the largest metros continued to lag behind national trends, however, a key fact that belies the nomenclature of an “urban revival.”

Interestingly, the third period (1988-95) is similar to the first. While the suburbs of the middle-sized metro areas were again the growth leaders (2.91 percent), *all* of the exurban and rural county groups grew faster than the U.S. (1.69 percent). The core counties of the middle-sized metros grew somewhat faster (1.93 percent) while the suburbs of the largest metros lagged (1.31 percent). Once again, the core areas of the largest metros grew most slowly, indeed almost not at all (0.13 percent).

But this pattern did not persist into the final period (1995-99) which is reminiscent of the second period: most of the nonmetro counties (except for the large-metro exurbs without a city of 10,000) lagged U.S. growth; the middle-sized metro suburbs continued to grow the fastest (3.41 percent), closely followed by their core counties (3.25 percent). The suburbs of the largest metros performed quite well

(3.03 percent). But the major change occurred in the core areas of the largest metros. Although they still lagged the national growth rate, they grew faster than in any other period (2.41 percent). In the late years of the economic boom, even the hitherto slow-growing core counties of the large metro area finally developed buoyant labor markets.

There are economic growth opportunities in all types of spatial settings. Clustering remains important, as evidenced by the success of the suburbs of middle-sized metro areas. However, significant job growth is also possible in the lower density exurban areas and even in some remote rural areas. But aggregates do not tell the full story. Ways of digging deeper include examining the growth of proprietor employment, sectoral employment, and regional differentials. We perform this in the following sections.

#### 4. PROPRIETORSHIPS

Proprietorships are one of the three major forms of legal business entity. They tend to be smaller than the other two groups (partnerships and incorporated businesses). In 1997, the IRS reported that there were 17.2 million businesses of this type; more than 72 percent of all enterprises that filed returns were nonfarm proprietorships. Yet they accounted for less than 5 percent of all business receipts in that year. We suggest that the growth of proprietorships can serve as a proxy for the vitality of small, start-up firms. In what spatial settings have they performed best?

In 1999, total U.S. full-time and part-time employment was 163.8 million. The split between wage and salary employees and proprietors was 136.6 million vs 27.1 million. Of the latter, 2.2 million were farm proprietors. Table 5 details the growth of nonfarm proprietors' employment. This occurred primarily in metro areas, and at rates that varied little between metro county types. For the years 1969-99, proprietor employment grew fastest in the suburbs of the middle-sized metros (3.6 percent), but almost as fast in the core and noncore counties of the large and middle-sized metros. Elsewhere, only the small metros exhibited proprietorship growth faster than the national overall rate (2.79 percent).

The story was similar in the first period (1969-76), except that the core counties of the largest metros grew a little more slowly than the national rate (2.34 percent rather than 2.47 percent). This changed in the 1976-88 period, when the core counties of the largest metros performed better than any of the other county groups

(4.26 percent), a rare occurrence. In the third period (1989-95), these core counties lagged while the suburbs of the middle-sized metros again had the fastest growth (2.73 percent). Also, the core counties of both the largest and the middle-sized metros also grew more slowly than the national average (2.18 percent). During this period, the exurban areas of the large metros (without a city of 10,000) grew faster than the national average (2.63 percent). In the most recent period (1995-99), the suburbs of the middle-sized metros led once again (3.28 percent). The other counties of the middle-sized and largest metro areas plus the exurban areas of the large metros also exceeded the national growth rate (2.59 percent). The spatial pattern of entrepreneurial incubation shows a moderate tendency over the years to remain metropolitan rather than nonmetropolitan, but with the suburbs usually predominating.

Using this measure as a proxy for innovation and risk-taking, it is possible to conclude that the suburbs consistently performed well. The core areas did well in some periods, while the exurban areas have featured prominently in recent years. On the other hand, the growth in non-farm proprietorships has not been a rural phenomenon. These findings neither vindicate nor undercut conventional hypotheses about the presence of agglomeration economies as a prerequisite for the incubation of new and small firms.

## 5. FROSTBELT AND SUNBELT DIFFERENTIALS

The REIS data are available for eight major Census regions. We aggregated these into sets that roughly approximate a Frostbelt (New England, Mideast, Great Lakes, Plains) and a Sunbelt (Southeast, Southwest, Rocky Mountain, Far West<sup>1</sup>). Long-term shifts of people and capital from the former are familiar and well-documented. Not surprisingly, the major trends found in the previous sections are repeated in the regional tables. Higher Sunbelt growth rates persist throughout, even strengthening some of the contrasts among periods.

Tables 6a and 6b exhibit the population growth rates for both regions. In the Sunbelt, population grew at 1.69 percent per year for the 31-year period while the rate for the Frostbelt was merely 0.33 percent. In the Sunbelt, all area groups except for two of the rural categories grew faster than the national average; in the Frostbelt, none did.

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<sup>1</sup> Following convention, the Pacific Northwest is classified as part of the Sunbelt, but it is a misnomer of colossal proportions.

An analysis of the four sub-periods confirms that the suburban counties were the leaders in both regions. The suburban counties of the largest metros grew faster in the newer Sunbelt metro areas in every period. In the Frostbelt, only the suburban counties of the middle-sized metro areas ever grew faster than the national average, and then only in the two most recent periods.

In the 1969-76 period, the leading Frostbelt counties were the exurban areas of the large metro areas. In the other periods, the suburbs of the middle-sized metro areas led. The core counties of the largest metro areas declined throughout. In the Sunbelt, the main distinction among the time periods was the relatively strong exurban and rural growth in the first period.

Private sector employment trends (Tables 7a and 7b) reiterate a similar story and highlight the importance of exurban and rural growth in the first and third periods in both regions. Sunbelt suburbs were almost consistently the job growth leaders. Core counties performed best in the most recent (1995-99) phase.

Fast-paced proprietor employment has already been shown to be somewhat more observable in the metropolitan counties. In the Sunbelt (Table 8a) most occurs in the suburbs of the largest metro areas, but occasionally features in the exurban areas. In the Frostbelt (Table 8b), the suburbs usually perform best in terms of proprietor employment growth. However, the core counties of the largest metros had the highest growth rate in the 1995-1999 period.

## 6. MAJOR SECTORS

There are employment data for seven major (excluding mining and agricultural services, forestry and fishing) private industrial sectors in the REIS series. For the nation as a whole, over the 31 years, employment in four industries grew faster than national private employment (2.25 percent): services (3.85 percent), finance, insurance and real estate (2.65 percent), construction (2.49 percent), and retail trade (2.35 percent). The other three sectors lagged behind national job growth: wholesale trade (2.03 percent), transportation and public utilities (1.70 percent) and manufacturing which declined absolutely (-0.19 percent). Because our metric is jobs, we must qualify these descriptors of growth in the sense that industries can hire less labor either because they are declining or because they are becoming more efficient.

We will discuss the sectors' performance in terms of the two regions, the Sunbelt and the Frostbelt. Sunbelt services (Table 9a) grew fastest in the suburbs of the largest (>3 million) metro areas for the first two periods and in the exurban areas of the large (>1 million) metro areas in the second and third periods. Growth in the core counties of the largest metro areas lagged in the two recent periods. Frostbelt service sector growth (Table 9b) also grew fastest in noncore counties (most often, the suburbs of the middle-sized metros) or in the exurban areas surrounding the large metro areas.

The most visible vigorous exurban and rural growth is for employment in the Finance, Insurance and Real Estate sector (Tables 10a and 10b). For the Sunbelt, this was true in three of the four periods studied, including the most recent periods, where exurban growth surpassed suburban and core county growth. High growth rates also occurred in the most rural areas. In 1995-99, the 7.68 percent growth rate in the nonadjacent counties (with cities no larger than 2,500) was surpassed only by the growth rate (8.03 percent) in the exurban areas of the large metro areas (those without a city of 10,000 or more) and growth in the suburbs of the middle-sized metro areas (7.75 percent). Similar patterns occurred in the Frostbelt areas, where over the 1995-99 period, the same rural areas (with a 4.92 percent growth rate) were only surpassed by the same group of exurban areas (with a 5.32 percent growth rate).

Both of these major sectors are perceived to be the most dependent on agglomeration economies. If so, they appear able to find these in locations far away from the traditional core metro areas. This finding corroborates some of Beyers' (1998) results, based on an examination of the County Business Patterns (CBP) data for 1985-95. At the same time, the de-coupling of back-office from headquarters operations made possible by low-cost communications makes it possible for some firms to co-locate in core areas and in the periphery.

Construction job growth in the Sunbelt (Table 11a) has been complex. In the first period, the fastest growth (7.3 percent per annum) was experienced in the exurban areas of the largest metro areas (without a city >10,000). Growth rates >4 percent occurred in the other exurban areas, in most suburbs, and in rural counties. This changed dramatically in the years 1976-88 when growth was fastest in the suburbs of the largest metros (7.45 percent per annum). Only three other groups were above the national pace (core counties of middle-sized metro areas at 5.5 percent; noncore counties of middle-sized metro areas at 4.55 percent; and the exurban areas of the largest metros [without a city of >10,000] at 3.86 percent). In the third period, an era of slow growth for construction everywhere, growth was again

fastest in the exurban areas and the rural areas. In the fourth period, when construction activity picked up rapidly, the experience of the second period was replicated. As for the Frostbelt (Table 11b), growth in the rural and exurban counties was also faster in the first and third periods. However, in the final period, only the suburbs of the middle-sized metro areas experienced faster construction sector growth than the U.S. as a whole.

Retail trade is the only other of the seven sectors analyzed where jobs grew faster than private jobs overall in the 31-year span (2.35 percent vs. 2.25 percent). The Frostbelt story (Table 12b) is a simple one; growth was fastest in the suburbs of the middle-sized metro areas in every period. Only in the years 1988-95 was there any retail job growth higher than the national growth rate (1.88 percent) in other areas, in six of the seven exurban and rural county groups. Performance in the Sunbelt (Table 12a) was more varied: growth was fastest during the first and last periods in the suburbs of the middle-sized metros (5.21 percent and 2.75 percent respectively); in the second period, the growth leader was the suburbs of the largest metros (5.13 percent); while in the third period, the fastest growth (3.67 percent) was experienced in the exurban areas of the large metro areas (without a city of > 10,000). Growth above the national average was observed in several exurban and rural groups in each of the four periods, most noticeably in the third period.

Wholesale activities increasingly serve large-scale regional or national markets. It is no surprise, therefore, that wholesale jobs occasionally grew fastest in the rural areas of both regions (Tables 13a and 13b). This was particularly true in the first period in rural areas (with no city >2,500): 11.07 percent in the Sunbelt and 14.75 percent in the Frostbelt. In the subsequent periods, most wholesale job growth in both regions occurred in the suburbs, especially in the noncore counties of the middle-sized metro areas. In the third period, characterized by very slow national wholesale job growth (0.98 percent per annum), there was growth in the exurban areas and rural counties faster than the national average in both regions, but not in the highly rural group that experienced the fastest growth in the first period.

Another slower growing sector with substantial exurban and rural growth is Transportation and Public Utilities (TPU; Tables 14a and 14b). Sunbelt growth in TPU in the first period was fastest in the noncore counties of the middle-sized urban areas (2.86 percent), but growth was almost as fast in the suburbs of the largest metros (2.58 percent) and also in many of the exurban and rural counties. The second and third periods exhibited a similar experience. In the fourth period, Sunbelt TPU jobs grew fastest (5.02 percent per annum) in the exurban areas of the largest metros (those without a city of >10,000). The Frostbelt TPU story is not

very different: relatively fast exurban and rural growth in the first period; no county groups with above average national growth in the second period; third period performance showing the fastest growth in the rural areas (with no towns >2,500 population); while no county group outperformed national growth in the last period.

Changes in the status of the manufacturing sector during the 20th century are well known; manufacturing is highly decentralized compared with services and other sectors (Glaeser and Kahn, 2001). Carlino (1985) used the CBP data for the 1970s to illustrate the degree of nonmetropolitan manufacturing employment growth. He also demonstrated that this shift was explained by weakening agglomeration opportunities in cities. Furthermore, he referred to manufacturing as the “leading sector”, responsible for substantial rural growth in other employment sectors. However, he notes that this is nothing new. Manufacturing has been leaving population centers ever since the rise of the auto-highway system elevated truck transport over rail or waterways (in dollar value of freight shipped) as the dominant freight mode. More recently, increasing air transport has also played a significant role. For decades, manufacturing has been overwhelmingly on assembly lines that are best suited to horizontal rather than to the vertical mills so common in the nineteenth century, occupying large parcels of cheap land much less likely to be tied to rail spurs or ports. Easterlin (1998) has commented that this increasing “footlooseness” means that businesses are much more likely to follow the locational preferences of their workers than to determine them. The strength of household preferences for suburban and exurban settings is well known, and is a governing determinant of industrial location (this theme is also echoed in Glaeser and Kahn, 2001).

In addition, manufacturing was the only one of the seven major economic sectors that *declined* absolutely through the 31-year span. But most of the decline was in the Frostbelt (Table 15b), occurring in each of the four periods. Elsewhere, there were signs of positive growth in the first three periods, in two cases at substantial rates (3.10 percent in 1969-76 and 3.21 percent in 1988-95, each in the most rural counties). This changed in the final period when these counties declined (-2.81 percent), although manufacturing jobs did expand in most of the other exurban and other rural counties.

Sunbelt manufacturing (Table 15a) employment growth was more likely to be positive than in the Frostbelt. In the first period, growth was fastest in rural counties with a city of 2,500-9,999 (2.27 percent); the exurban areas of the large metros (with no city above 10,000) ranked second (1.97 percent); and all other



rural, exurban and suburban counties grew faster than 1 percent. In the second period, while national growth turned barely positive (0.27 percent), rapid Sunbelt growth occurred mainly in the suburbs of the largest metros (3.51 percent). However, the core counties of the middle-sized metro areas surpassed the national rate (2.44 percent), as did the core counties of the largest metros (1.14 percent). The third period was another era of national manufacturing decline (-0.50 percent), with only three county groups growing faster than 1 percent (the rural counties with a city of 10,000 or more and two of the exurban county groups). In the final period, there was no national growth (the growth rate was -0.07 percent) but there was, once more, relatively strong positive job growth in the suburbs of the largest metros (2.17 percent).

In the Frostbelt (Table 15b), the very rural counties (i.e. with no city above 2,500) grew fastest in the first three periods but declined sharply in the last period (-2.81 percent). The only positive metropolitan county growth was found in the suburbs of the middle-sized metros, and only in the last two periods (0.90 percent and 0.60 percent). In both regions, manufacturing firms continued to retreat from traditional urban centers.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

What preliminary conclusions might be drawn? First, Frostbelt-Sunbelt migration remains a powerful trend. Climate counts. Greenwood and Hunt's demonstration that "incremental employment opportunities are differentially attractive to migrants if the opportunities occur in southern and western states" remains true (Greenwood and Hunt, 1984, p. 957; see also Carlino and Mills, 1987). Second, the facts do not support the idea of a "return to the cities", "regeneration", or any resurgence of compact development, so often mentioned in recent years in the media and by planners and politicians (the second and third quotations that begin this paper are representative). While there are pockets of spontaneous development activity in various core areas, these are still few and are overwhelmed by the widespread decentralization trends documented in this paper. Third, the dominant trends show an ebb and flow over time between growth in exurban and in suburban locations. Suburban growth tended to be concentrated in the middle-sized metro areas. Exurban areas and rural counties usually performed better than core counties. Consistently, the core counties of the largest metro areas have fared worst, even in the most recent period (1995-99) when they did a little better. Fourth, most firms no longer have to seek locations in traditional high-density centers to achieve agglomeration economies; they can either do without them or find them in low-density regions, Silicon Valley being perhaps the first and most famous example. Finally, most planners that seek the holy grail of "smart growth" are, somewhat desperately, attempting to counter potent market trends that favor of more dispersal. Given their extent, as monitored here, planned reversals would be very costly.

Looking at population growth in U.S. cities in the 1990s, Glaeser and Shapiro (2001) have concluded that the trend to sprawl persists. This is hardly surprising. People overwhelmingly choose personal mobility, and the restructuring of metropolitan areas continues to favor a reliance upon automobiles.

However, this paper does not address the policy vs. preferences question. We have argued elsewhere that decentralization and suburbanization are widespread phenomena, occurring in places (including Canada and Europe) with policies more pro-compact and more pro-transit than the urban policies that continue to prevail in the United States (Gordon and Richardson, 2000). Recent research that looks at the timing of decentralization and policy implementation reaches similar conclusions (Beauregard, 2001). Other researchers report similar trends, but see them as "(t)he problem of decentralization" (Brennan and Hill, 1999, p. 1).

However, the documentation of serious market failures associated with these development patterns remain elusive (Gordon and Richardson, 2000).

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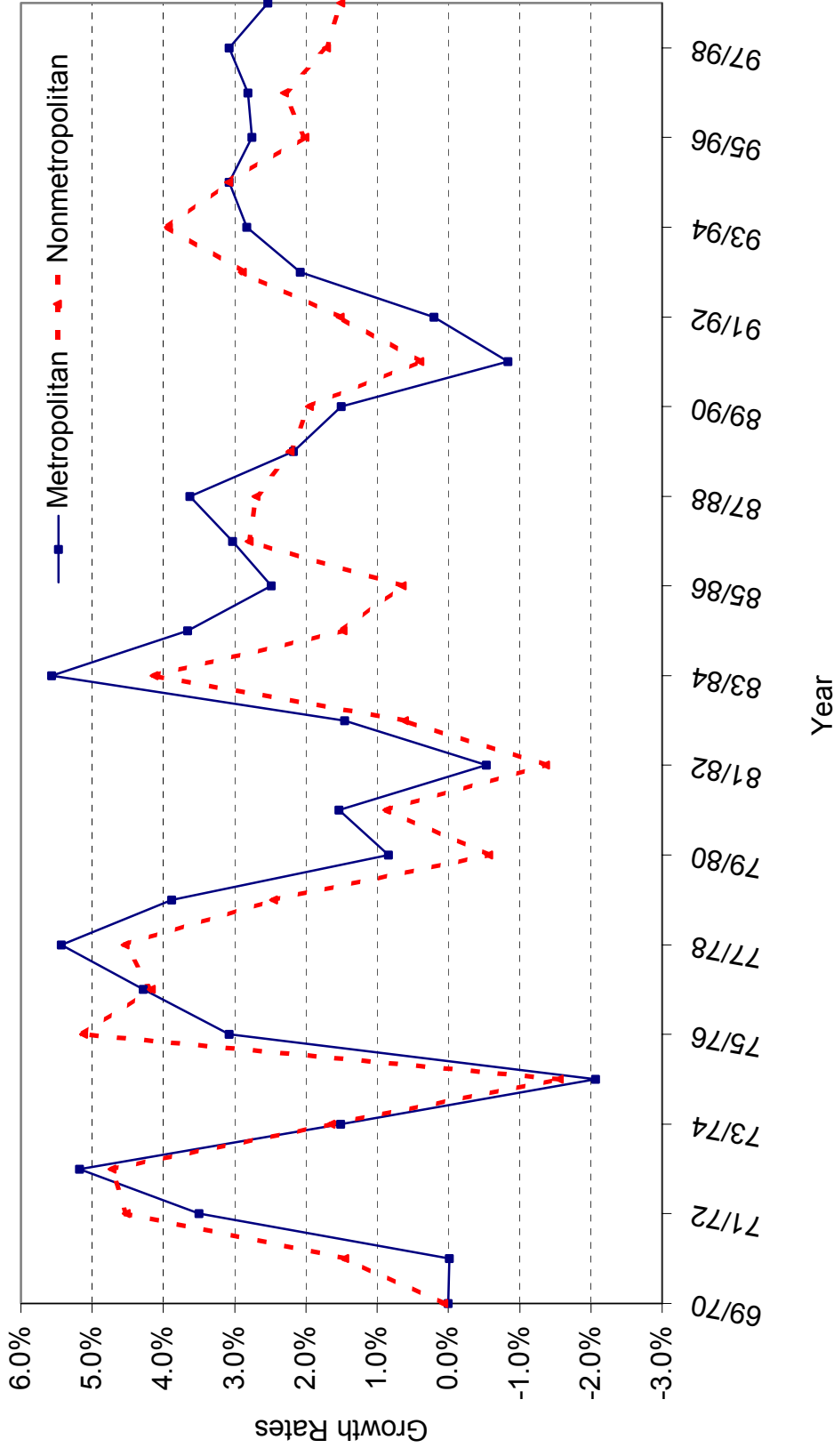
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Figure 1: U.S. Private Employment Growth Rates, Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Counties, 1969-1999



\* 1998 MSA definitions were used.

\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 1: US METRO GROWTH PERFORMANCE IN THE 1990S

METRO AREA(S)	1990-2000 Pop Growth						1990-1999 Job Growth			1994-1997 Job Growth
	Metro	Core Central City	All Other CC's > 100k Pop	Rest of Metro	Core CBD	CBD Share of Metro Growth	Private Jobs Metro	Private Jobs Noncore Counties	Core CBD***	
New York--Northern New Jersey--Long Island, NY--NJ--CT--PA CMSA	8.4%	9.4%	0.8%	7.2%	10.9%	1.02%	8.0%	9.1%	7.4%	
Los Angeles--Riverside--Orange County, CA CMSA	12.7%	6.0%	13.9%	14.9%	5.7%	0.11%	7.4%	21.3%	-0.8%	
Chicago--Gary--Kenosha, IL--IN--WI CMSA	11.1%	4.0%	20.0%	14.4%	30.0%	1.83%	15.1%	32.7%	2.2%	
Washington--Baltimore, DC--MD--VA--WV CMSA	13.1%	-5.7%	-11.5%	18.6%	4.0%*	0.12%	15.7%	18.0%	6.0%	
San Francisco--Oakland--San Jose, CA CMSA	12.6%	7.3%	12.1%	13.8%	<b>32.3%</b>	1.35%	18.8%	21.1%	13.8%	
Philadelphia--Wilmington--Atlantic City, PA--NJ--DE--MD CMSA	5.0%	-4.3%	na	8.4%	4.9%	1.24%	9.2%	13.9%	-6.2%	
Boston--Worcester--Lawrence, MA--NH--ME--CT CMSA	6.7%	2.6%	3.8%	7.5%	4.7%	1.00%	13.3%	14.1%	10.1%	
Detroit--Ann Arbor--Flint, MI CMSA	5.2%	-7.5%	-4.5%	9.1%	2.1%	0.28%	14.8%	24.2%	-9.7%	
Dallas--Fort Worth, TX CMSA	29.3%	18.0%	22.5%	37.3%	28.2%	0.28%	33.6%	40.9%	-7.7%	
Houston--Galveston--Brazoria, TX CMSA	25.2%	19.8%	na	29.3%	7.6%	0.06%	27.4%	43.3%	1.6%	
Atlanta, GA MSA	38.9%	5.7%	na	44.0%	25.1%	0.37%	42.3%	51.0%	<b>37.6%</b>	
Miami--Fort Lauderdale, FL CMSA	21.4%	1.1%	2.0%	25.2%	31.6%	0.70%	21.5%	30.6%	-24.1%	
Seattle--Tacoma--Bremerton, WA CMSA	19.7%	9.1%	15.0%	22.7%	54.4%	1.14%	23.7%	27.8%	3.6%	
Phoenix--Mesa, AZ MSA	<b>45.3%</b>	<b>34.3%</b>	<b>35.3%</b>	<b>68.8%</b>	-9.1%	-0.06%	<b>52.2%</b>	28.8%	12.2%	
Minneapolis--St. Paul, MN--WI MSA	16.9%	3.9%	-12.2%	26.2%	-16.6%	-1.40%	24.1%	31.1%	9.4%	
Cleveland--Akron, OH CMSA	3.0%	-5.4%	-2.7%	5.6%	32.2%	<b>2.71%</b>	13.9%	22.4%	9.2%	
San Diego, CA MSA	12.6%	10.1%	22.9%	13.9%	16.1%	0.78%	22.4%	na	3.0%	
St. Louis, MO--IL MSA	4.5%	-12.2%	na	7.6%	-17.5%	-1.44%	12.5%	11.3%	2.9%	
Denver--Boulder--Greeley, CO CMSA	30.4%	18.6%	na	34.0%	51.4%	0.24%	40.7%	<b>51.7%</b>	10.1%	
Tampa--St. Petersburg--Clearwater, FL MSA	15.9%	8.4%	5.8%	19.6%	11.6%	na	32.7%	26.1%	na	
TOP 10	11.5%	6.7%	9.0%	13.7%	11.3%	0.65%	13.5%	17.8%	5.6%	
TOP 20	13.7%	7.6%	9.5%	16.5%	11.6%**	0.52%	17.1%	20.6%	8.7%	
TOP 50	14.7%	9.0%	9.9%	17.5%	na	na	18.4%	22.8%	na	
SUNBELT (30)	<b>22.0%</b>	<b>15.6%</b>	<b>15.8%</b>	<b>25.6%</b>	na	na	<b>22.0%</b>	<b>31.7%</b>	na	
FROSTBELT (20)	8.4%	3.4%	-2.0%	11.0%	na	na	8.3%	17.3%	na	
FROSTBELT less NY	8.4%	-0.6%	-3.1%	11.8%	na	na	14.7%	21.3%	na	

\*Baltimore CBD growth = 5.1% \*\* no CBD data for Tampa-St. Petersburg \*\*\* Defined by zip codes

Sources: 1) MSA and cities population data from www.census.gov; 2) CBD population data from E.L. Birch (forthcoming) "Having a Longer View of Downtown" *Journal of the American Planning Association*; 3) REIS employment data from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis; 4) CBD employment data from Zipcode County Business Patterns.

Table 2: Employment Proportions, Total Full-time and Part-time Jobs by Employment Types and Major Industrial Sectors, 1969 and 1999

Employment Types and Sectors	1969		1999		Change in Proportion
	Employment	Proportion	Employment	Proportion	
Total full-time and part-time employment	91057,200	100.0%	163,757,900	100.0%	
Wage and salary employment	78726,000	86.5%	136,617,000	83.4%	-3.5%
Proprietors' employment	12331,200	13.5%	27,140,900	16.6%	22.4%
Farm proprietors' employment	2751,000	3.0%	2,249,000	1.4%	-54.5%
Nonfarm proprietors' employment	9580,200	10.5%	24,891,900	15.2%	44.5%
Farm employment	3978,000	4.4%	3,172,000	1.9%	-55.7%
Nonfarm employment	87079,200	95.6%	160,585,900	98.1%	2.5%
Private employment	71238,200	78.2%	138,329,900	84.5%	8.0%
Ag. services, forestry, fishing, & other	506,200	0.6%	2,048,400	1.3%	125.0%
Mining	734,500	0.8%	782,100	0.5%	-40.8%
Construction	4470,800	4.9%	9,254,000	5.7%	15.1%
Manufacturing	20546,000	22.6%	19,252,700	11.8%	-47.9%
Transportation and public utilities	4795,900	5.3%	7,970,300	4.9%	-7.6%
Wholesale trade	4097,900	4.5%	7,464,700	4.6%	1.3%
Retail trade	13448,900	14.8%	26,910,000	16.4%	11.3%
Finance, insurance, and real estate	5914,900	6.5%	12,978,700	7.9%	22.0%
Services	16723,100	18.4%	51,669,000	31.6%	71.8%
Government and Government Enterprises	15841,000	17.4%	22,256,000	13.6%	-21.9%

\* The proportion represents each category's employment share in U.S. total full-time and part-time employment.

\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.



Table 3: U.S. Population Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	13	0.52%	0.18%	0.70%	0.52%	0.59%
	Non-Core	154	1.18%	1.07%	1.21%	1.19%	1.25%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	34	1.10%	0.89%	1.20%	1.19%	1.02%
	Non-Core	175	<b>1.63%</b>	<b>1.84%</b>	<b>1.49%</b>	<b>1.67%</b>	<b>1.63%</b>
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		455	1.10%	1.47%	1.01%	1.10%	0.73%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	62	1.04%	1.17%	0.92%	1.18%	0.97%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	122	1.22%	1.47%	0.95%	1.26%	1.50%
Non-Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	182	0.75%	1.25%	0.58%	0.69%	0.51%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	621	0.89%	1.27%	0.66%	0.89%	0.91%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	225	0.73%	1.30%	0.56%	0.69%	0.31%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	560	0.58%	1.23%	0.30%	0.54%	0.38%
with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500		529	0.27%	0.74%	-0.06%	0.29%	0.36%
U.S. Total		3132	1.02%	1.12%	0.98%	1.04%	0.93%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 4: U.S. Private Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	13	1.25%	0.07%	2.21%	0.13%	2.41%
	Non-Core	154	2.58%	1.75%	<b>3.66%</b>	1.31%	3.03%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	34	2.57%	1.73%	3.22%	1.93%	3.25%
	Non-Core	175	<b>3.09%</b>	2.65%	3.35%	<b>2.91%</b>	<b>3.41%</b>
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		455	2.37%	2.34%	2.52%	2.17%	2.33%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	62	2.16%	1.84%	2.16%	2.48%	2.14%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	122	2.43%	2.20%	2.27%	2.75%	2.75%
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	182	1.87%	1.81%	1.90%	1.85%	1.88%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	621	2.08%	2.10%	2.01%	2.31%	1.88%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	225	2.21%	2.66%	1.92%	2.47%	1.86%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	560	2.03%	<b>2.73%</b>	1.58%	2.31%	1.70%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	529	1.92%	2.52%	1.41%	2.39%	1.59%
U.S. Total		3132	2.25%	1.72%	2.76%	1.69%	2.65%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 5: U.S. Proprietor Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	13	3.07%	2.34%	<b>4.26%</b>	2.01%	2.64%
	Non-Core	154	3.44%	3.37%	4.23%	2.52%	2.82%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	34	3.43%	3.62%	4.15%	2.13%	3.21%
	Non-Core	175	<b>3.60%</b>	<b>4.16%</b>	3.88%	<b>2.73%</b>	<b>3.28%</b>
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		455	2.79%	3.20%	3.02%	2.22%	2.38%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	62	2.15%	1.80%	2.21%	2.16%	2.60%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	122	1.80%	0.85%	1.58%	2.63%	2.67%
Non-Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	182	1.70%	1.39%	1.74%	1.70%	2.11%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	621	1.28%	0.43%	1.12%	1.95%	2.08%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	225	1.82%	1.67%	1.95%	1.73%	1.88%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	560	1.24%	0.80%	1.03%	1.64%	1.94%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	529	0.65%	-0.23%	0.40%	1.40%	1.67%
U.S. Total		3132	2.67%	2.47%	3.10%	2.18%	2.59%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 6a: Sunbelt Population Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	7	1.26%	1.02%	1.65%	0.97%	1.06%
	Non-Core	70	<b>2.55%</b>	2.64%	<b>2.80%</b>	<b>2.23%</b>	<b>2.19%</b>
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	21	2.13%	2.16%	2.33%	1.93%	1.81%
	Non-Core	96	2.38%	<b>3.03%</b>	2.29%	2.07%	2.05%
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		276	1.60%	2.12%	1.56%	1.46%	1.03%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	34	1.59%	1.64%	1.62%	1.61%	1.36%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	71	1.67%	1.84%	1.49%	1.61%	2.05%
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	104	1.11%	1.69%	0.94%	1.02%	0.81%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	398	1.09%	1.45%	0.92%	1.01%	1.13%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	125	1.05%	1.67%	0.89%	0.97%	0.56%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	350	0.82%	1.56%	0.55%	0.70%	0.54%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	279	0.48%	1.00%	0.19%	0.41%	0.54%
Region Total		1831	1.69%	1.96%	1.74%	1.52%	1.39%
U.S. Total		3132	1.02%	1.12%	0.98%	1.04%	0.93%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 6b: Frostbelt Population Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	6	-0.41%	-0.68%	-0.48%	-0.14%	-0.16%
	Non-Core	84	0.52%	0.47%	0.46%	0.59%	0.66%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	13	-0.13%	-0.30%	-0.14%	0.11%	-0.26%
	Non-Core	79	<b>0.91%</b>	0.84%	<b>0.69%</b>	<b>1.22%</b>	<b>1.13%</b>
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		179	0.41%	0.67%	0.25%	0.54%	0.23%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	28	0.47%	0.74%	0.19%	0.68%	0.48%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	51	0.73%	<b>1.11%</b>	0.40%	0.85%	0.83%
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	78	0.39%	0.85%	0.23%	0.34%	0.19%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	223	0.61%	1.03%	0.32%	0.71%	0.59%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	100	0.33%	0.86%	0.15%	0.31%	-0.04%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	210	0.21%	0.74%	-0.10%	0.26%	0.10%
with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500		250	0.01%	0.44%	-0.35%	0.14%	0.13%
Region Total		1301	0.33%	0.36%	0.21%	0.48%	0.37%
U.S. Total		3132	1.02%	1.12%	0.98%	1.04%	0.93%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 7a: Sunbelt Private Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	7	2.26%	1.88%	3.23%	0.62%	2.87%
	Non-Core	70	<b>4.22%</b>	4.13%	<b>5.44%</b>	2.41%	3.90%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	21	3.77%	3.27%	4.50%	2.72%	<b>4.29%</b>
	Non-Core	96	4.10%	<b>4.34%</b>	4.50%	<b>3.22%</b>	4.04%
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		276	2.93%	3.32%	3.02%	2.55%	2.64%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	34	2.68%	2.54%	2.81%	2.69%	2.50%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	71	2.82%	2.78%	2.67%	2.98%	3.05%
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	104	2.22%	2.49%	2.15%	2.22%	1.99%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	398	2.12%	2.26%	2.04%	2.35%	1.75%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	125	2.44%	3.11%	2.06%	2.71%	1.95%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	350	2.16%	3.15%	1.67%	2.32%	1.64%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	279	2.06%	2.70%	1.77%	2.23%	1.51%
Region Total		1831	3.07%	3.07%	3.54%	2.24%	3.14%
U.S. Total		3132	2.25%	1.72%	2.76%	1.69%	2.65%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 7b: Frostbelt Private Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	6	0.16%	-1.54%	1.04%	-0.54%	1.73%
	Non-Core	84	1.83%	0.90%	<b>2.83%</b>	0.68%	2.48%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	13	1.31%	0.49%	1.89%	0.92%	1.74%
	Non-Core	79	<b>2.18%</b>	1.39%	2.26%	2.56%	<b>2.67%</b>
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		179	1.69%	1.27%	1.90%	1.64%	1.88%
Non-Metro Areas	Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	28	1.64%	1.21%	1.51%	2.24%	1.74%
	Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	51	2.01%	1.62%	1.84%	2.49%	2.38%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	78	1.55%	1.23%	1.68%	1.50%	1.77%
	with a City of at least 10,000 Population	223	2.04%	1.91%	1.99%	2.26%	2.03%
	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	100	1.94%	2.14%	1.75%	2.17%	1.75%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	210	1.85%	2.15%	1.44%	2.29%	1.79%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	250	1.76%	<b>2.32%</b>	0.98%	<b>2.58%</b>	1.69%
Region Total		1301	1.59%	1.07%	2.02%	1.09%	2.08%
U.S. Total		3132	2.25%	1.72%	2.76%	1.69%	2.65%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 8a: Sunbelt Proprietor Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	7	3.71%	3.84%	4.83%	2.35%	2.46%
	Non-Core	70	<b>4.75%</b>	<b>6.15%</b>	<b>5.42%</b>	3.29%	2.82%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	21	4.36%	4.85%	5.29%	2.48%	<b>3.99%</b>
	Non-Core	96	4.18%	4.99%	4.62%	2.80%	3.84%
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		276	3.27%	4.02%	3.47%	2.45%	2.77%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	34	2.84%	2.47%	3.23%	2.46%	2.94%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	71	2.59%	1.31%	2.59%	<b>3.51%</b>	3.20%
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	104	1.93%	1.59%	2.00%	1.90%	2.36%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	398	1.48%	0.55%	1.38%	2.09%	2.39%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	125	2.27%	2.07%	2.48%	2.11%	2.26%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	350	1.65%	1.27%	1.49%	1.94%	2.31%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	279	1.10%	0.18%	0.87%	1.79%	2.20%
Region Total		1831	3.29%	3.46%	3.77%	2.52%	2.89%
U.S. Total		3132	2.67%	2.47%	3.10%	2.18%	2.59%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.



Table 8b: Frostbelt Proprietor Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	6	2.02%	0.09%	3.22%	1.31%	<b>3.05%</b>
	Non-Core	84	2.69%	1.99%	<b>3.46%</b>	1.98%	2.82%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	13	2.11%	2.23%	2.49%	1.53%	1.73%
	Non-Core	79	<b>2.96%</b>	<b>3.34%</b>	3.04%	<b>2.66%</b>	2.57%
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		179	2.12%	2.16%	2.37%	1.86%	1.75%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	28	1.41%	1.18%	1.09%	1.78%	2.15%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	51	1.04%	0.49%	0.66%	1.68%	2.05%
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	78	1.48%	1.20%	1.50%	1.52%	1.85%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	223	1.04%	0.30%	0.83%	1.78%	1.70%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	100	1.30%	1.25%	1.34%	1.24%	1.36%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	210	0.72%	0.26%	0.46%	1.23%	1.42%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	250	0.28%	-0.54%	0.01%	1.05%	1.17%
Region Total		1301	1.96%	1.38%	2.33%	1.77%	2.19%
U.S. Total		3132	2.67%	2.47%	3.10%	2.18%	2.59%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 9a: Sunbelt Services Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	7	3.88%	3.56%	5.03%	2.36%	3.64%
	Non-Core	70	<b>5.69%</b>	<b>5.80%</b>	<b>6.99%</b>	4.07%	4.44%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	21	5.23%	4.62%	6.07%	4.49%	5.09%
	Non-Core	96	5.59%	5.59%	6.36%	4.64%	4.98%
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		276	4.13%	3.57%	4.66%	4.05%	3.64%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	34	3.86%	2.25%	4.47%	4.10%	4.42%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	71	4.12%	2.16%	3.59%	<b>6.21%</b>	<b>5.48%</b>
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	104	3.13%	2.18%	3.21%	3.34%	4.21%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	398	2.93%	1.20%	3.04%	3.38%	4.84%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	125	3.48%	3.22%	3.58%	3.73%	3.18%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	350	3.13%	2.77%	3.05%	3.24%	3.79%
with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500		279	3.03%	1.80%	3.40%	3.53%	3.21%
Region Total		1831	4.44%	3.90%	5.22%	3.78%	4.19%
U.S. Total		3132	3.85%	3.29%	4.58%	3.18%	3.77%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 9b: Frostbelt Services Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	6	2.04%	0.38%	3.02%	1.42%	3.11%
	Non-Core	84	3.79%	3.44%	<b>4.78%</b>	2.52%	3.69%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	13	3.34%	3.14%	4.10%	2.47%	2.95%
	Non-Core	79	<b>3.93%</b>	<b>3.81%</b>	4.27%	<b>3.78%</b>	3.39%
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		179	3.56%	3.66%	3.96%	2.95%	3.24%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	28	2.99%	2.83%	3.35%	2.88%	2.39%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	51	3.67%	2.93%	4.22%	3.24%	<b>4.04%</b>
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	78	3.13%	3.05%	3.41%	2.80%	3.00%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	223	3.18%	3.12%	3.30%	2.99%	3.28%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	100	3.18%	3.23%	3.44%	2.88%	2.82%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	210	2.89%	3.03%	2.97%	2.55%	3.04%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	250	2.66%	2.92%	2.41%	3.32%	1.80%
Region Total		1301	3.19%	2.44%	3.98%	2.54%	3.29%
U.S. Total		3132	3.85%	3.29%	4.58%	3.18%	3.77%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 10a: Sunbelt Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	7	2.31%	3.26%	3.43%	-1.24%	3.54%
	Non-Core	70	4.16%	6.92%	3.94%	0.79%	5.92%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	21	4.02%	5.39%	<b>4.12%</b>	1.02%	6.57%
	Non-Core	96	<b>4.73%</b>	<b>7.56%</b>	3.60%	2.12%	7.75%
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		276	3.11%	5.50%	2.49%	0.99%	4.48%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	34	2.90%	4.77%	2.39%	1.13%	4.26%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	71	3.95%	5.23%	2.01%	<b>3.68%</b>	<b>8.03%</b>
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	104	2.78%	4.96%	1.84%	1.33%	4.29%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	398	2.79%	4.12%	1.84%	1.45%	5.65%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	125	2.63%	4.50%	1.92%	1.61%	3.24%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	350	2.86%	4.49%	1.94%	1.92%	4.41%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	279	2.92%	3.80%	1.44%	1.85%	7.68%
Region Total		1831	3.33%	5.14%	3.22%	0.63%	5.23%
U.S. Total		3132	2.65%	3.63%	2.90%	0.49%	3.99%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 10b: Frostbelt Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	6	0.68%	-0.25%	2.47%	-1.73%	1.17%
	Non-Core	84	<b>2.95%</b>	3.50%	<b>4.01%</b>	0.54%	3.03%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	13	2.06%	2.53%	2.54%	0.58%	2.37%
	Non-Core	79	2.94%	<b>4.23%</b>	2.08%	2.06%	4.79%
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		179	2.23%	3.58%	1.89%	1.28%	2.60%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	28	1.73%	3.27%	0.11%	1.82%	3.76%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	51	2.06%	2.63%	0.26%	<b>2.69%</b>	<b>5.32%</b>
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	78	1.72%	3.30%	1.05%	0.36%	3.34%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	223	1.83%	2.52%	0.90%	1.59%	3.88%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	100	1.69%	2.87%	0.86%	1.05%	3.25%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	210	1.58%	2.29%	0.70%	1.02%	3.97%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	250	1.23%	1.67%	-0.62%	1.87%	4.92%
Region Total		1301	2.06%	2.47%	2.60%	0.35%	2.70%
U.S. Total		3132	2.65%	3.63%	2.90%	0.49%	3.99%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 11a: Sunbelt Construction Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	7	2.11%	0.85%	2.96%	0.65%	4.34%
	Non-Core	70	4.44%	2.23%	<b>7.45%</b>	0.23%	<b>6.63%</b>
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	21	3.86%	1.93%	5.50%	1.52%	6.39%
	Non-Core	96	<b>4.47%</b>	4.63%	4.55%	3.19%	6.24%
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		276	3.02%	3.49%	2.68%	2.52%	4.08%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	34	3.50%	4.60%	3.51%	1.94%	4.28%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	71	4.15%	<b>7.03%</b>	3.86%	1.07%	5.39%
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	104	2.78%	3.78%	1.85%	2.91%	3.64%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	398	3.03%	4.69%	2.12%	2.77%	3.33%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	125	2.74%	4.80%	0.85%	3.82%	2.89%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	350	2.46%	4.94%	0.10%	<b>4.31%</b>	1.98%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	279	3.00%	4.83%	1.07%	4.06%	3.76%
Region Total		1831	3.28%	2.99%	3.70%	1.89%	4.93%
U.S. Total		3132	2.49%	1.03%	3.53%	1.13%	4.35%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 11b: Frostbelt Construction Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	6	-0.20%	-4.76%	2.31%	-2.40%	4.13%
	Non-Core	84	1.90%	-1.52%	<b>5.28%</b>	-1.64%	3.96%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	13	0.82%	-2.73%	2.99%	0.16%	1.70%
	Non-Core	79	<b>3.01%</b>	0.43%	4.04%	2.70%	<b>4.96%</b>
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		179	1.87%	0.11%	2.67%	1.24%	3.61%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	28	2.13%	0.95%	1.91%	<b>3.64%</b>	2.23%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	51	1.85%	-0.19%	2.35%	1.73%	4.13%
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	78	1.84%	0.35%	2.96%	0.34%	3.70%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	223	2.55%	<b>3.75%</b>	1.91%	2.20%	2.96%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	100	1.69%	2.45%	0.70%	2.07%	2.66%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	210	1.88%	2.50%	0.39%	3.40%	2.59%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	250	1.42%	3.27%	-0.19%	3.08%	0.08%
Region Total		1301	1.88%	0.17%	3.35%	0.13%	3.52%
U.S. Total		3132	2.49%	1.03%	3.53%	1.13%	4.35%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 12a: Sunbelt Retail Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	7	2.08%	2.23%	2.80%	0.79%	1.89%
	Non-Core	70	3.98%	4.53%	<b>5.13%</b>	2.46%	2.23%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	21	3.55%	4.10%	4.11%	2.55%	2.66%
	Non-Core	96	<b>4.26%</b>	<b>5.21%</b>	4.80%	3.24%	<b>2.75%</b>
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		276	3.25%	4.08%	3.53%	2.78%	1.78%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	34	2.98%	2.58%	3.46%	3.21%	1.87%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	71	2.92%	2.07%	3.20%	<b>3.67%</b>	2.28%
Non-Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	104	2.70%	2.81%	2.82%	2.79%	2.02%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	398	2.30%	1.89%	2.46%	2.75%	1.75%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	125	2.89%	3.50%	2.85%	3.14%	1.47%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	350	2.35%	2.65%	2.06%	3.11%	1.38%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	279	1.86%	1.41%	1.62%	3.01%	1.36%
Region Total		1831	3.15%	3.58%	3.65%	2.48%	2.06%
U.S. Total		3132	2.35%	2.33%	2.86%	1.88%	1.67%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.



Table 12b: Frostbelt Retail Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	6	-0.03%	-1.24%	0.71%	-0.74%	1.08%
	Non-Core	84	1.65%	1.57%	2.53%	0.41%	1.34%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	13	1.38%	1.46%	1.92%	0.89%	0.47%
	Non-Core	79	<b>2.59%</b>	<b>2.31%</b>	<b>2.88%</b>	<b>2.72%</b>	<b>1.98%</b>
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		179	2.01%	2.12%	2.33%	1.91%	1.02%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	28	1.96%	1.36%	2.04%	2.59%	1.64%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	51	1.83%	1.06%	1.88%	2.70%	1.51%
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	78	1.89%	1.68%	2.22%	1.79%	1.41%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	223	1.79%	1.16%	1.79%	2.52%	1.58%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	100	2.00%	2.29%	1.86%	2.39%	1.19%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	210	1.52%	1.20%	1.31%	2.31%	1.35%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	250	0.65%	0.44%	-0.18%	2.31%	0.56%
Region Total		1301	1.63%	1.56%	2.07%	1.20%	1.19%
U.S. Total		3132	2.35%	2.33%	2.86%	1.88%	1.67%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 13a: Sunbelt Wholesale Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	7	1.76%	2.84%	2.23%	-0.23%	1.91%
	Non-Core	70	<b>4.97%</b>	6.23%	<b>6.04%</b>	2.77%	3.38%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	21	2.58%	2.60%	3.08%	1.61%	2.73%
	Non-Core	96	4.91%	5.83%	5.10%	<b>4.11%</b>	<b>4.13%</b>
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		276	2.42%	4.24%	1.85%	1.98%	1.73%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	34	3.10%	4.28%	3.61%	2.17%	1.11%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	71	3.78%	8.95%	1.58%	3.69%	1.52%
Non-Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	104	2.54%	5.61%	1.19%	2.66%	0.99%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	398	2.70%	7.41%	1.17%	1.77%	0.72%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	125	2.50%	6.07%	0.94%	2.41%	1.08%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	350	2.63%	7.77%	0.60%	2.19%	0.47%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	279	2.64%	<b>11.07%</b>	0.40%	0.71%	-2.06%
Region Total		1831	2.78%	4.09%	2.80%	1.70%	2.31%
U.S. Total		3132	2.03%	2.91%	2.19%	0.98%	1.83%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 13b: Frostbelt Wholesale Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99	
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	6	-1.25%	-2.18%	0.02%	-3.13%	-0.15%	
	Non-Core	84	2.29%	3.28%	<b>2.92%</b>	0.39%	1.97%	
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	13	1.10%	1.03%	1.55%	0.33%	1.23%	
	Non-Core	79	2.88%	3.79%	2.50%	<b>2.81%</b>	<b>2.54%</b>	
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		179	1.78%	2.98%	1.67%	1.08%	1.24%	
Non-Metro Areas	Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	28	2.72%	6.26%	1.45%	2.36%	0.97%
		without a City of at least 10,000 Population	51	2.95%	10.36%	0.83%	0.16%	1.20%
	Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	78	2.35%	5.44%	1.22%	1.72%	1.42%
without a City of at least 10,000 Population		223	2.57%	9.05%	0.43%	1.29%	-0.13%	
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	100	2.21%	7.07%	0.67%	1.07%	0.30%	
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	210	2.73%	9.34%	0.37%	1.56%	0.26%	
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	250	<b>3.53%</b>	<b>14.75%</b>	0.36%	0.17%	-0.73%	
Region Total		1301	1.20%	1.39%	1.63%	0.23%	1.30%	
U.S. Total		3132	2.03%	2.91%	2.19%	0.98%	1.83%	

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 14a: Sunbelt Transportation and Public Utilities Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	7	1.97%	0.45%	2.35%	1.61%	4.12%
	Non-Core	70	<b>3.65%</b>	2.58%	<b>4.26%</b>	<b>3.63%</b>	3.76%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	21	3.06%	1.88%	3.45%	2.91%	4.21%
	Non-Core	96	<b>3.65%</b>	<b>2.86%</b>	3.99%	3.61%	4.04%
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		276	2.26%	2.00%	2.09%	2.20%	3.34%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	34	2.26%	1.77%	1.43%	3.00%	4.31%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	71	2.69%	2.38%	2.85%	1.42%	<b>5.02%</b>
Non-Metro Areas	Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	104	1.93%	2.05%	1.76%	1.60%	2.79%
	Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	398	2.25%	1.63%	2.64%	1.89%	2.80%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	125	1.55%	2.43%	0.76%	2.09%	1.38%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	350	1.90%	1.99%	2.08%	1.16%	2.53%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	279	2.50%	2.47%	2.22%	2.94%	2.65%
Region Total		1831	2.55%	1.74%	2.71%	2.44%	3.65%
U.S. Total		3132	1.70%	0.58%	1.84%	1.84%	3.01%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 14b: Frostbelt Transportation and Public Utilities Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	6	-0.68%	-2.33%	-0.52%	-0.46%	1.33%
	Non-Core	84	1.38%	-0.02%	<b>1.72%</b>	1.43%	2.74%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	13	0.99%	-0.91%	1.13%	1.58%	<b>2.89%</b>
	Non-Core	79	1.32%	0.11%	1.29%	1.86%	2.58%
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		179	1.25%	0.68%	1.11%	1.39%	2.40%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	28	1.03%	-0.07%	1.30%	1.05%	2.10%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	51	<b>1.57%</b>	<b>1.47%</b>	1.62%	1.82%	1.11%
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	78	0.55%	0.00%	0.37%	0.73%	1.70%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	223	1.36%	1.18%	1.28%	1.93%	0.95%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	100	1.01%	1.31%	0.75%	0.85%	1.55%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	210	0.86%	0.74%	1.05%	1.14%	-0.02%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	250	1.30%	1.02%	1.52%	<b>2.27%</b>	-0.58%
Region Total		1301	1.02%	0.22%	0.99%	1.16%	2.24%
U.S. Total		3132	1.70%	0.58%	1.84%	1.84%	3.01%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 15a: Sunbelt Manufacturing Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	7	-0.24%	-0.85%	1.14%	-2.60%	0.82%
	Non-Core	70	<b>1.85%</b>	1.06%	<b>3.51%</b>	-0.41%	<b>2.17%</b>
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	21	1.26%	0.08%	2.44%	0.25%	1.57%
	Non-Core	96	1.62%	1.57%	2.38%	0.95%	0.61%
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		276	0.74%	1.50%	0.83%	0.41%	-0.30%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	34	0.90%	1.49%	0.70%	1.04%	0.19%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	71	0.84%	1.97%	1.10%	0.42%	-1.17%
Non-Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	104	0.79%	1.59%	1.04%	0.54%	-0.94%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	398	0.70%	1.85%	0.93%	1.08%	-2.66%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	125	0.78%	1.39%	0.49%	<b>1.12%</b>	-0.01%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	350	0.76%	<b>2.27%</b>	0.91%	0.79%	-2.37%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	279	0.58%	1.93%	1.48%	0.64%	-4.58%
Region Total		1831	0.84%	0.92%	1.52%	-0.05%	0.18%
U.S. Total		3132	-0.19%	-0.72%	0.27%	-0.50%	-0.07%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.

Table 15b: Frostbelt Manufacturing Employment Growth Rates, 1969-1999

Area Group		N	69/99	69/76	76/88	88/95	95/99
Metro Areas with more than 3 million Population	Core	6	-2.64%	-3.45%	-2.34%	-3.05%	-1.40%
	Non-Core	84	-1.34%	-2.13%	-0.65%	-2.25%	-0.45%
Metro Areas with 1-3 million Population	Core	13	-1.47%	-2.04%	-1.19%	-1.71%	-0.90%
	Non-Core	79	-0.12%	-1.19%	-0.34%	0.90%	0.60%
Small Metro Areas with fewer than 1 million Population		179	-0.63%	-1.29%	-0.52%	-0.53%	-0.02%
Adjacent to Large Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	28	0.22%	-0.34%	0.01%	1.17%	0.20%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	51	0.89%	0.21%	0.78%	1.84%	<b>0.75%</b>
Adjacent to Small Metro Areas	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	78	-0.06%	-0.43%	-0.11%	0.35%	0.02%
	without a City of at least 10,000 Population	223	0.90%	0.18%	1.41%	1.59%	-0.59%
Not Adjacent to a Metro Area	with a City of 10,000 or more Population	100	0.73%	0.18%	0.55%	1.65%	0.60%
	with a City of 2,500 to 9,999 Population	210	1.22%	1.53%	0.64%	2.48%	0.22%
	with no City or a City with a Population less than 2,500	250	<b>1.76%</b>	<b>3.10%</b>	<b>1.65%</b>	<b>3.21%</b>	-2.81%
Region Total		1301	-0.63%	-0.38%	-0.71%	-0.91%	-0.31%
U.S. Total		3132	-0.19%	-0.72%	0.27%	-0.50%	-0.07%

\* N : number of counties

\*\* 1993 USDA Urban Influence Codes were used to determine which non-MSA group the various non-metro counties belong to; 1998 population data and 1998 MSA definitions were used to determine which counties are MSAs and which metro category each belongs to.

\*\*\* Source : Calculated from "Regional Economic Information System 1969-1999", Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, May 2001.