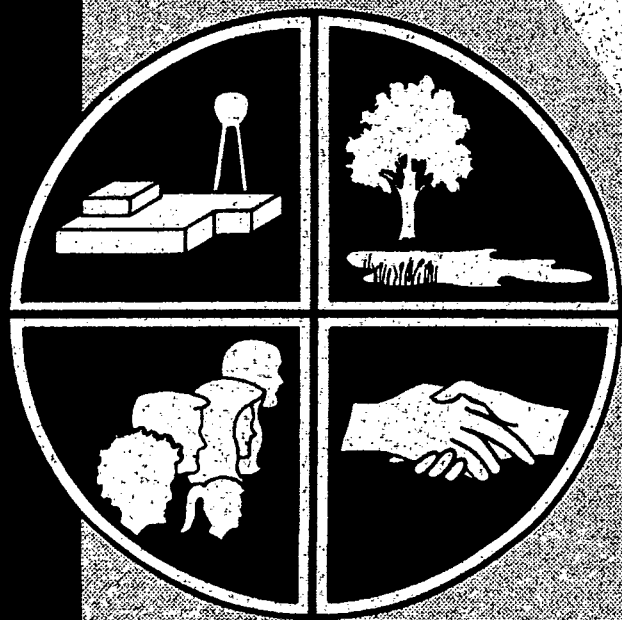


People, Jobs, and Income



A Demographic Perspective on Nonmetropolitan and Metropolitan New York

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by

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This monograph is part of the ongoing efforts by the Community and Rural Development Institute, in collaboration with the Cornell Population Information Program and Cornell Institute for Social and Economic Research, at monitoring the demographic, economic, and social conditions of the people who live and work in nonmetropolitan and metropolitan New York State. Publication of this monograph was supported by the Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Hatch project #133401, and with funds from the Aspen Institute's Rural Economic Policy Program. Data and computing support were provided by the Cornell Institute for Social and Economic Research.

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Highlights

Sociodemographic and economic differences persist between nonmetropolitan and metropolitan New York. Changes during the first five years of the 1980s favored metropolitan areas while nonmetropolitan areas fared somewhat better during the period 1985-90 with respect to growth in population, employment, and personal income. Some of the decade's more important trends and changes include:

Population

- During the years 1985-90, population growth for the core counties of the New York City metro area and its surrounding fringe diminished while upstate metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties experienced renewed growth. This renewed growth was due to a switch from net outmigration to net immigration.
- The number of non-White and Hispanic persons remained relatively small in nonmetropolitan counties, but was growing at a rapid rate. Minorities accounted for a large proportion of total population growth in both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties during the 1980s.
- Although New York is a predominantly metropolitan state, its 1.8 million nonmetropolitan residents exceed the total population of 16 other states.

Employment

- Metropolitan employment grew slowly throughout the 1980s while nonmetropolitan areas lost employment early in the decade, but grew rapidly during 1985-90.

- The nonmetropolitan unemployment rate exceeded the metropolitan rate throughout the 1980s, indicating that nonmetropolitan areas had more severe conditions during the 1979-82 recession and recovered less rapidly. However, by 1990 the gap had narrowed considerably with unemployment at 5.2 percent for metropolitan areas and 5.4 percent for nonmetropolitan areas.
- Metropolitan counties have proportionately more jobs in finance and services while nonmetropolitan areas have a higher proportion of jobs in the goods producing and government sectors. Recent changes in job growth have not eliminated metropolitan-nonmetropolitan differences in industrial composition.

Income

- Metropolitan per capita income was \$6,700, or 45 percent higher than nonmetropolitan income in 1988.
- The rate of increase in per capita income for metropolitan counties outpaced that for nonmetropolitan counties during the 1980s, but the margin of difference has narrowed since 1985.
- Most of the metropolitan-nonmetropolitan disparity in per capita income is accounted for by differences in earnings, not investment income or transfer payments.

Introduction

Change not stability, and diversity not uniformity characterize the usual social, demographic, and economic situation in New York State and the nation. The economic and social vitality of New York's metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas are affected by broad-based societal trends and changes, such as the rapid increases in minority population—largely due to international immigration—and the shift from primary dependence on goods production to greater reliance on service industries to provide employment.

While New York State is a major metropolitan state, its social geography is highly diverse, covering much of the rural to urban range that can be found in the country at large. The state is divided into 62 counties, ranging in character and composition from the 5 counties that make up New York City to Lewis County in the sparsely populated Tug Hill Plateau west of the Adirondacks. Between these extremes of urban density and rural remoteness are a variety of settlement patterns: suburban counties such as Westchester and Nassau that border New York City; upstate counties whose smaller cities serve to organize their economic life, such as Steuben County with Corning, Chautauqua County with Jamestown, and Oswego County with Fulton

and Oswego; and counties where farming is an important part of the local economy, such as St. Lawrence, Suffolk, and Wyoming. Although New York is a highly metropolitan state, nearly 2 million New Yorkers continue to live in nonmetropolitan counties, and almost 5 million persons live in the metropolitan fringe. Moreover, important residential differences between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas continue to persist in the 1990s, structuring the social context and economic opportunities of people's lives (Fuguitt et al. 1989).

This monograph describes and compares differences in population, employment, and income for the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan parts of the state, and trends and changes that have characterized these residential differences during the last decade. Our purpose is to represent graphically the main aspects of spatial differentiation in socioeconomic status within the state, not to explain the reasons for these differences. Future Community and Rural Development Institute (CaRDI) publications will provide insights into the determinants and consequences of the residentially based socioeconomic and demographic forces described in this monograph.

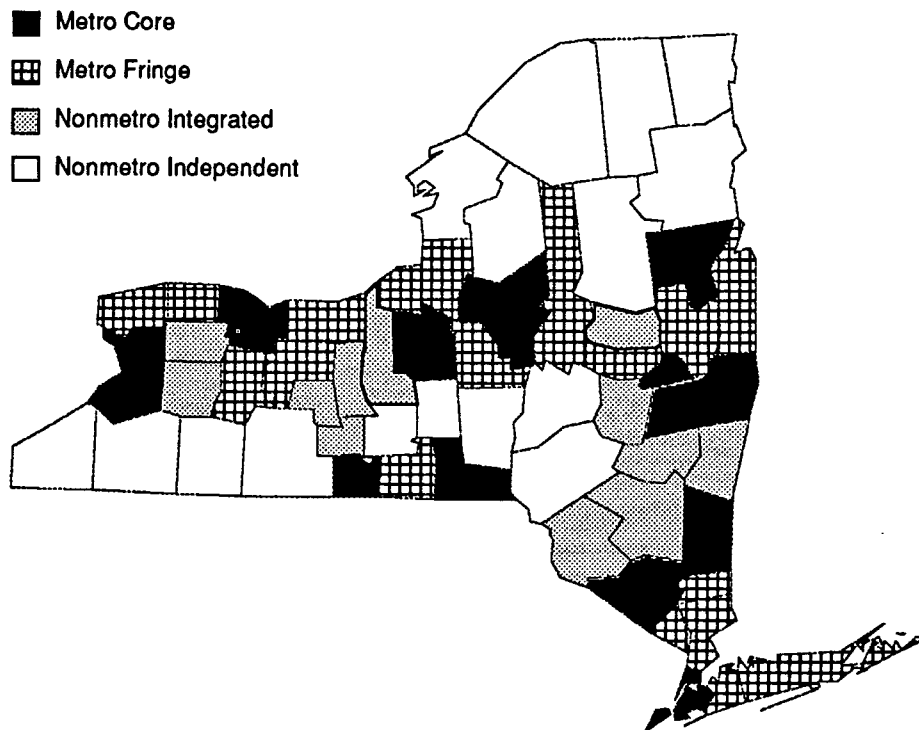
Technical Issues

County Classifications

In order to examine the demographic and economic characteristics of counties, we grouped them into categories based on their official metropolitan status. Metropolitan areas consist of the county or counties containing a large urban core and the fringe of surrounding counties that are economically and socially integrated with the urban core. The county classification of New York State is displayed in Map 1. A listing of the counties by category is included in Appendix C. Our classification scheme is adapted from the work of Hines, Brown, and Zimmer (1975).

The identification of metropolitan areas was introduced with the 1950 Census as a standard for the reporting of federal statistics related to large urban centers. The federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB), with the advice of a federal interagency committee, designates metropolitan areas. The OMB updates the classification of counties for metropolitan areas, recognizing that new metropolitan areas develop and that existing areas change their relationship with surrounding counties. In this monograph we used the metropolitan areas designation published in the *Federal Register* on January 3, 1980.

Map 1: Classification of New York Counties



Technical Issues

We chose to hold the classification of counties constant from the beginning of the decade, rather than to use their designation at the end of the decade or adjust with changes during the decade. We did this for two reasons. First, the commuting data that we used to distinguish independent from integrated nonmetropolitan areas were only available for 1980. Second, we did not want the classification to be affected by growth taking place during the period. A criticism of holding classifications constant from the beginning of the period is that it conceals the growth and spread of metropolitan areas (Fuguitt et al. 1988). However, it should be noted that very few changes in metropolitan status occurred during the 1980s in New York.¹

Thirty-four of New York's 62 counties were designated as metropolitan by the OMB in 1980, and the remaining 28 counties were classified as nonmetropolitan. We divided the metropolitan counties into four subcategories. The largest metropolitan area in the state has New York City at its core. This is a consolidated metropolitan area consisting of a number of primary metropolitan areas. The core counties are the five boroughs of New York City, which form our first category, "New York City Metro Core." The counties in the balance of the consolidated metropolitan area form the second category, "New York City Metro Fringe." The third category consists of the core counties for all the remaining metropolitan areas, which

are referred to as "Upstate Metropolitan Core." The fringe counties of the upstate metropolitan areas constitute the fourth and final metropolitan category, "Upstate Metropolitan Fringe."

We divided the nonmetropolitan counties into two categories, those which were relatively integrated into the economy of metropolitan areas and those which were more independent. We based this distinction on the proportion of employed residents who commuted to work in a metropolitan county, either core or fringe.² These commuting data were taken from the 1980 Census of Population. The nonmetropolitan counties with more than 10 percent of their employed residents commuting to work in a metropolitan area formed the fifth category, designated as "Nonmetro Integrated." The sixth category, "Nonmetro Independent," includes counties for which fewer than 10 percent of their workers commuted to metropolitan areas.

Rural-Urban vs. Nonmetropolitan-Metropolitan

In census terminology, rural-urban distinctions are not synonymous with nonmetropolitan-metropolitan. Whole counties are designated as metropolitan or nonmetropolitan, and parts of counties may be classified as urban or rural. In 1980, Erie and Suffolk Counties were both metropolitan

¹ The only changes in metropolitan status for New York State between 1980 and 1990 were the classification of Chautauqua County as the core county of the Jamestown-Dunkirk metropolitan statistical area and for Greene County to join the Albany-Schenectady-Troy metropolitan statistical area as a fringe county. Chautauqua County's population declined by 5,000 from 1980 to 1990, and Greene County's population grew by 3,900. These two changes almost cancel each other out, so that our classification procedure has not masked any substantial metropolitan growth or decline. Niagara County changed from a fringe metropolitan county to a core county with the alteration of the Buffalo metropolitan area to the Buffalo-Niagara Falls consolidated metropolitan statistical area.

² Commuting could be to a metropolitan county in New York or in a contiguous state. The percentage commuting to a metropolitan area ranged from 0% to 22% among the 28 nonmetropolitan counties.

Technical Issues

counties with populations of over 1 million. They also had large rural populations. Erie County had 117,000 rural residents and Suffolk had 48,000. In fact, close to half of the state's rural population of 2.7 million lived in metropolitan counties.

The important distinction to keep in mind is that urban is essentially a place designation, and metropolitan is a county designation. There is no specific criteria for rural; rather rural is a residual category for areas that are not urban. The urban population comprises persons living in urbanized areas and in places with 2,500 or more residents. Urbanized areas are defined as one or more central cities and the densely (1,000 or more persons per square mile) settled area surrounding them. It is therefore easy to imagine that in Erie County the density of population is greatest in the city of Buffalo and the surrounding towns, but drops to below 1,000 persons per square mile in the outer ring of towns. In a similar manner, the western portion of Suffolk County adjoins Nassau County and is densely settled, but at the eastern end, settlement is less dense. Rural-urban and nonmetropolitan-metropolitan classifications are then not synonymous, but rather different dimensions for classifying populations based on settlement patterns and economic integration.

Sources of Data

The data in this report were prepared by various federal and state agencies. In each case we attempted to use the most current data available. For some series the data are reported by the county in which people reside, and for other series the data refer to the county in which people are employed. For population data, we utilized early products from the 1990

Census of Population and Housing as well as preliminary reports on vital statistics from the New York State Department of Health. These data are reported by county of residence. Employment data came from the New York State Department of Labor and from the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA). The New York State Department of Labor data on employment and unemployment were available through 1990 and referred to county of residence. The BEA data on employment by industry went through 1989 and were based on employer records, so the data refer to the county of employment. The income data also came from the BEA. Data on per capita income and sources of personal income were reported by county of residence, while data on earned income by industry were reported by county of employment.

Specific definitions of the geographic, population, employment, and income terms used in this report are presented in Appendix A.

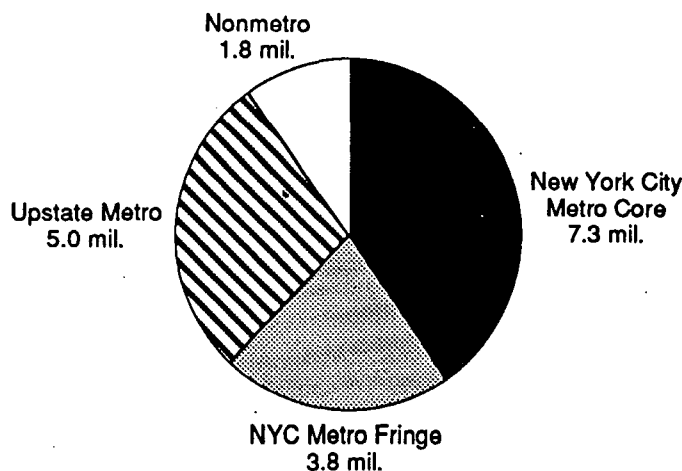
Population

New York State, according to the 1990 Census, has a resident population of 17,990,455, which grew by 2.5 percent since 1980. For this same period, the population of the United States grew 9.8 percent and the Northeast by 3.4 percent. Although the state's rate of growth was small compared with the nation's, the 1980s represent an important turnaround from the 3.7 percent loss in total population the state experienced for the period 1970-80. Within New York State the rate of growth varied between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, and by racial and ethnic groups. In this section, **POPULATION**, we describe the distribution of population and differences in the rate of growth within New York State by categories of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties. Distribution and growth in the population by race and ethnicity are also discussed.

Geographic Distribution

New York is predominantly a metropolitan state. The numerical and proportional distribution of New York State's population by county type is shown in Figure 1. Ninety percent of the state's population lives in metropolitan areas, including 41 percent in New York City core counties. Although the population of the nonmetropolitan counties accounts for only 10 percent of the state's total population, almost 1.8 million New Yorkers live outside of metropolitan areas. This is larger than the total population of 16 states. Approximately 1.1 million New Yorkers live in independent nonmetropolitan counties where less than 10 percent of the workforce commutes to work in a metropolitan area. The remaining 700,000 nonmetro New Yorkers live in areas with relatively strong economic ties to nearby metropolises. Hence, although the vast majority of New Yorkers live in metropolitan areas, a very large number live in areas of the state that are relatively independent from the economic and social systems of the large urban centers.

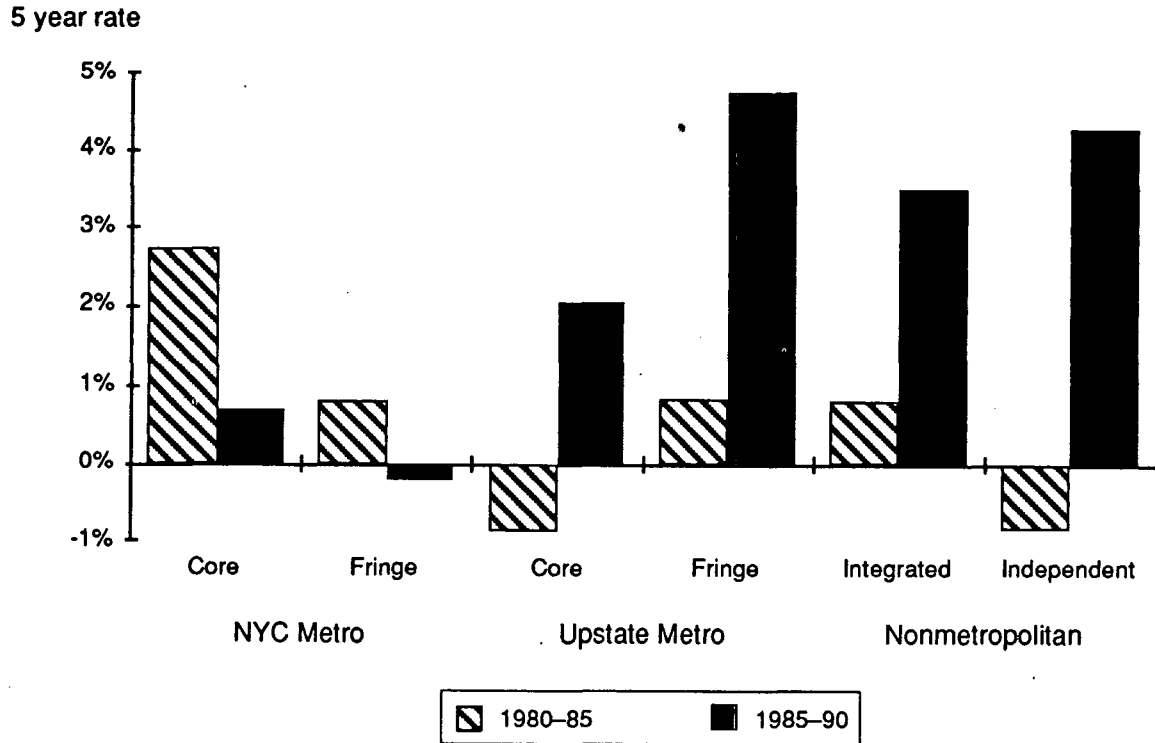
Figure 1: The population of New York State in 1990 is predominantly metropolitan, but with 1.8 million nonmetropolitan residents.



SOURCE: Census of Population and Housing

Population

Figure 2: The New York City metropolitan area and the state have seesawed back and forth in rate of population growth.



SOURCE: Census of Population and Housing; Population Estimates for States and Counties

Growth

While New York's population only grew 2.5 percent between 1980 and 1990, growth was more rapid in the period 1985-90 than in the first five years of the decade. Comparative rates of growth for the county types for the first and second halves of the decade are shown in Figure 2. The New York City metropolitan area and the balance of the state—metropolitan and nonmetropolitan—was lagging behind or actually declining. This growth was occurring at the

same time there was an expansion in New York City's financial services sector, which came to an end with the stock market crash of October 1987.

In the second half of the decade, while growth for the New York City core and its surrounding fringe counties diminished, the upstate metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties experienced renewed growth. This population growth coincided with recovery in the manufacturing sector from the 1979-82 recession. The highest rates of growth were recorded by independent nonmetropolitan counties and counties on the fringes of upstate metropolitan areas.

Population

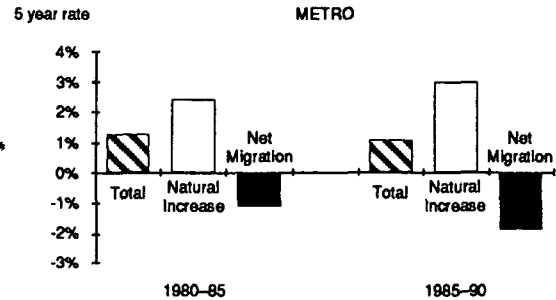
For the nation, a similar reversal in the fortunes of nonmetropolitan counties has taken place since 1985 (Beale and Fuguitt 1990; Frey 1990). Nonmetropolitan counties are often highly dependent upon the manufacturing sector as a base of employment and economic vitality. The national recession of the early 1980s had turned to economic recovery by the latter half of the 1980s, and nonmetropolitan population growth was increasing slightly in the nation. In New York State, nonmetropolitan growth was somewhat more vigorous than in the nation as a whole.³

The strong rate of growth for the New York City core relative to the state in the first half of the decade was sufficient to give it a higher rate of growth than the state for the entire decade. For the first time since the census of 1940, the New York City core grew at a faster rate than the state. The New York City metropolitan area was one of three large metropolitan areas—the others were Philadelphia and St. Louis—which experienced renewed growth in the early 1980s (Frey 1990, p.11).

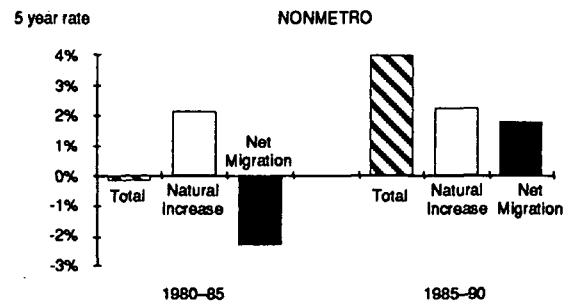
Components of Population Change

Differences in the rate of growth between the first and second halves of the decade, and between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas are better understood when the total rate of change is broken into its two components, natural increase and net migration. Changes in these components for the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas of the state for the two, five-year periods are illustrated in Figure 3. Natural increase and net migration are like balance sheets toting up the credits and debits of factors that increase or decrease a population. The difference between

Figure 3: Higher rates of net outmigration slowed the growth of metropolitan areas since 1985...



...while the reversal of net migration from negative to positive has resulted in significant growth for nonmetropolitan counties.



SOURCE: Census of Population and Housing; Vital Records of New York State Counties

the number of births and deaths among a population is termed natural increase, and net migration is the difference between persons moving into and out of an area.

Although New York's total population increased during the decade, the state actually experienced net outmigration. Between 1980 and 1985 in all of the county groups, the number of outmigrants exceeded immigrants. The metropolitan counties grew by 1.3 percent, because natural increase added 2.4 percent growth to the population, more than offsetting the loss of 1.2 percent due to net outmigration. The

³Indications are that this improved nonmetro growth situation has turned down once again since 1990 (USDA 1990/91).

Population

nonmetropolitan counties had a greater loss due to net migration, -2.3 percent, which accounted for their overall slight decline in population for the period. The highest rates of net outmigration were experienced by the core counties of upstate metropolitan areas and the independent nonmetropolitan counties. The New York City core had a very slight net outmigration that was countered by its relatively high rate of natural increase, thereby creating a significant rate of total growth during the first half of the 1980s. Much of the New York City core's immigration was from abroad, while its outmigration was typically to other parts of the United States.

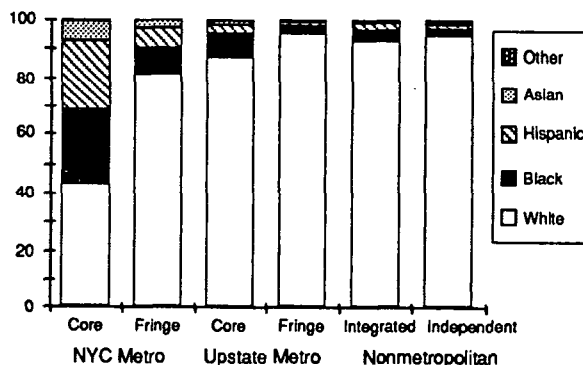
The second half of the 1980s saw a reversal in fortunes. For the metropolitan counties, while the rate of total population growth did not change much (down from +1.3 percent to +1.1 percent), the percentage change due to net migration declined further (from -1.2 percent to -1.9 percent). The reversal really refers to the nonmetropolitan counties, where the percentage change in total population due to net migration reversed from -2.3 percent to +1.8 percent.

Among the metropolitan counties, the core and fringe counties of the New York City metropolitan area experienced high rates of net outmigration. Only a high rate of natural increase kept the New York City core's population growing. The fringe counties of upstate metropolitan areas were the only metropolitan counties to have net immigration for this period. The nonmetropolitan counties grew more than three times as fast as metropolitan counties due to their higher rates of net immigration. The rate of population change for the independent nonmetropolitan counties was especially notable. Net migration changed from -3.2 percent to +1.9 percent in this category.

Racial and Ethnic Composition

Approximately one-third of New York State's population is composed of non-White and Hispanic persons. However, in the nonmetropolitan areas of the state, non-White and Hispanic people represent scarcely over 6 percent of the total population. The distribution of the population by race within each county type in 1990 is shown in Figure 4. Among the metropolitan areas, the heaviest concentration of minorities is found in the New York City core, where non-White and Hispanic peoples make up 57 percent of the population. The racial and ethnic composition of the population becomes increasingly White non-Hispanic as one goes from the New York City core to the upstate metropolitan fringe counties, where the distribution of persons by race and Hispanic origin is similar to nonmetropolitan areas.

Figure 4: The proportion of the population that is Hispanic and non-White decreases from the New York City core to the upstate metropolitan fringe, which is similar to the nonmetropolitan counties.



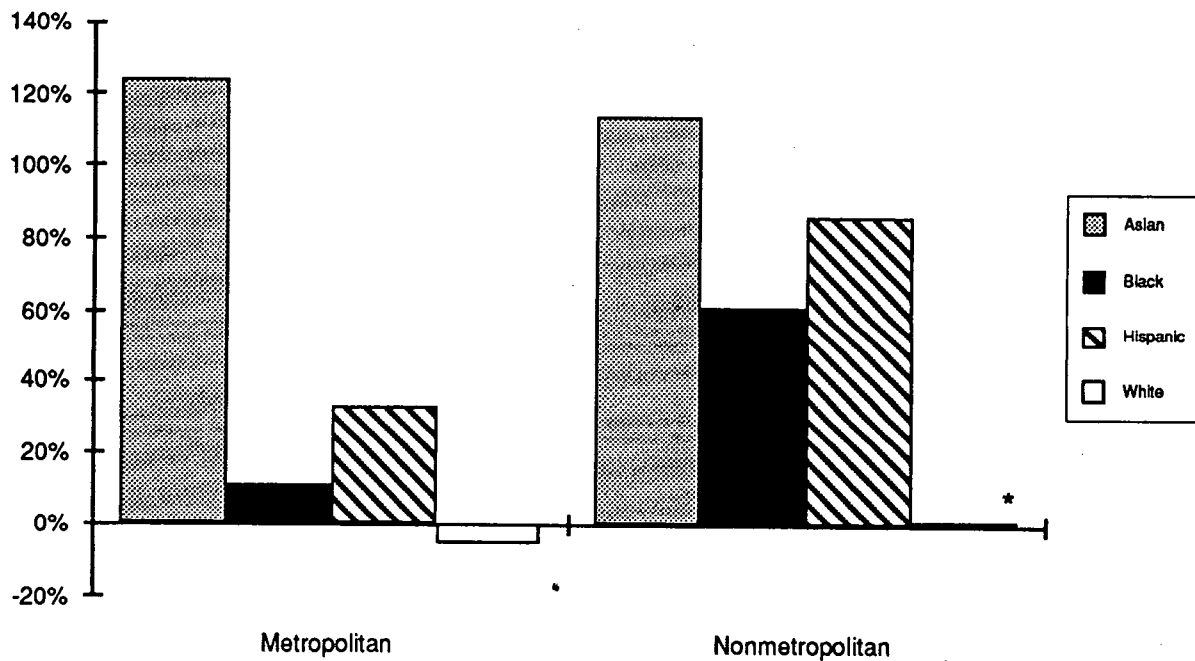
SOURCE: Census of Population and Housing

Population

The rates of growth for the decade of four major race and ethnic groups are compared in Figure 5.⁴ The fastest growing racial group in New York State is the Asian population, which more than doubled since 1980. Persons of Hispanic origin increased 33 percent for the decade, and the Black non-Hispanic population grew by 12 percent, while the White non-Hispanic population declined by 5 percent. The White non-Hispanic population declined by 6 percent in metropolitan areas and increased by only 1 percent in the nonmetropolitan counties. The greatest White non-Hispanic decrease was experienced in the New York City core, where this population group declined 14 percent.

The growth in non-White and Hispanic peoples is not limited to the New York City core, nor to only the metropolitan areas. The Black and Hispanic populations actually grew at higher rates in nonmetropolitan counties than in any category of metropolitan county. The size of the total population of non-White and Hispanic persons still remains relatively small in nonmetropolitan counties, but is growing at a high rate. In fact, to a large extent, population growth in nonmetropolitan areas of New York State is due to increases in the Hispanic and non-White populations.⁵

Figure 5: High rates of growth in non-White and Hispanic persons have occurred in nonmetropolitan as well as metropolitan areas during the 1980s.



*Nonmetropolitan white population grew 1 percent

SOURCE: Census of Population and Housing

⁴The Bureau of the Census reported on February 27, 1991 that due to problems with carrying out an enumeration of the populations on the Onondaga and Tuscarora Reservations in New York State, the reported 1990 Census counts for those areas contain errors due to the misclassification of race. Therefore we did not calculate the change in the Native American population between 1980 and 1990 for New York State.

⁵See Bouvier and Briggs (1988) for a detailed analysis of the racial and ethnic composition of New York's population and labor force.

Employment

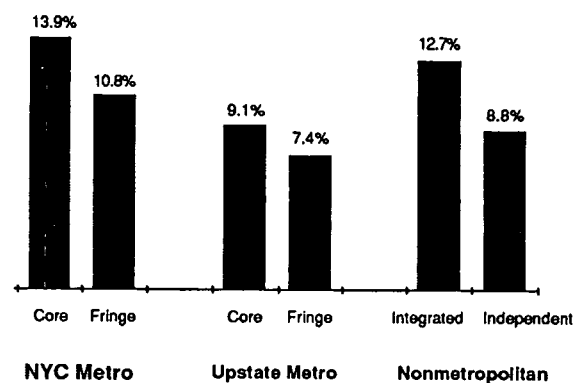
The changing structure of New York's economy, particularly its industrial composition, has reshaped the types of jobs and their availability in local economies across the state. In this section, **EMPLOYMENT**, we compare status of the labor force and changes in employment across metropolitan-nonmetropolitan county types during the 1980s. While available data do not permit an in-depth analysis of the dynamics of labor force growth and change, or its distribution by age, gender, race, or ethnicity, the data do allow us to identify some main dimensions of the economic transformation that took place in the state's metropolitan and nonmetropolitan economies during the last decade. Supply and demand for labor in local economies throughout New York State has been affected not only by conditions specific to the state, but more importantly by a number of society-wide demographic and economic trends, including maturation of the baby boom generation, increased participation of women in the labor force, regional shifts in location of goods production, internationalization of markets, and alterations in the volume and sources of international migration.

Employment Change

New York's employed labor force stood at 8.2 million in 1990, an increase of 11.3 percent or 834,000 more persons at work since 1980. Employment grew somewhat more rapidly in metropolitan than in nonmetropolitan counties during the 1980s, but the growth rate was relatively slow in both types of areas. The New York City metro area grew more rapidly than either upstate metropolitan or nonmetropolitan areas and garnered a disproportionate amount of new jobs—69 percent in comparison to its 62 percent share of

the job base in 1980. However, because the rate of employment growth was relatively low in all county types during the decade, employment became only slightly more concentrated in the New York City metro area by 1990. Employment in core metropolitan counties grew more rapidly than in fringe counties in both the New York City metro area (14 percent vs. 11 percent) and in upstate areas (9 percent vs. 7 percent). Within the nonmetropolitan sector, employment in integrated counties (those with close ties to metropolitan areas) grew at a much higher rate than independent counties (13 percent vs. 9 percent) (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Employment grew most rapidly in the New York City metropolitan complex and in integrated nonmetropolitan areas during the 1980s.

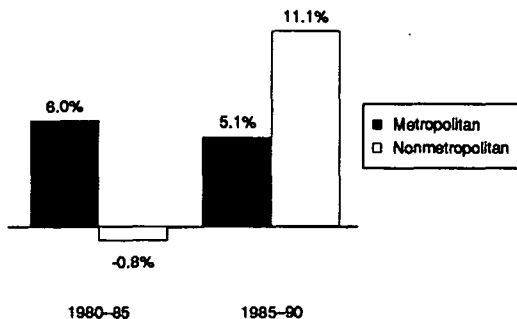


SOURCE: Civilian Labor Force File

These employment data are not totally consistent with population growth trends reviewed in the previous section. Most notably, the data indicate that population grew more rapidly in the state's nonmetropolitan areas while the opposite was true for employment; for example, metropolitan areas had a higher rate of increase in the number of employed persons. However, if the 1980-90 time period

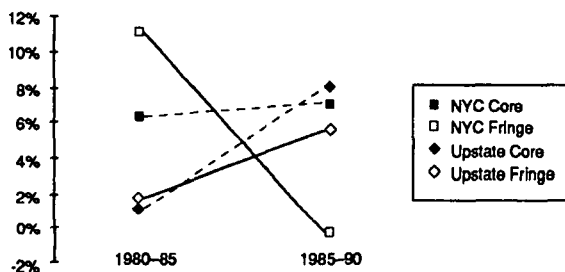
Employment

Figure 7: Nonmetropolitan employment growth exceeded metropolitan growth for the period 1985-90.



SOURCE: Civilian Labor Force File

Figure 8: New York City's fringe lost employment between 1985-90 while other metropolitan counties increased their growth rates.



SOURCE: Civilian Labor Force File

is separated into two periods, 1980-85 and 1985-90, the relative rates of population and employment growth in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties show similar trends, as shown in Figure 7. Metropolitan employment and population both grew at slow, but constant, rates throughout the decade; while nonmetropolitan areas lost both population and employment early in the decade but experienced relatively rapid growth from 1985-90. The 1985-90 growth increase was experienced in both integrated and independent nonmetropolitan areas. Upstate metropolitan counties, both core and fringe, also experienced a growth spurt in population and employment during the second half of the 1980s compared with either declining or very slow growth during 1980-85. The New York City metro area's core counties grew slowly during both time periods, while its fringe counties experienced a slight decline in employment in the later time period (and no population growth in either period) (Figure 8).

Labor Force Participation

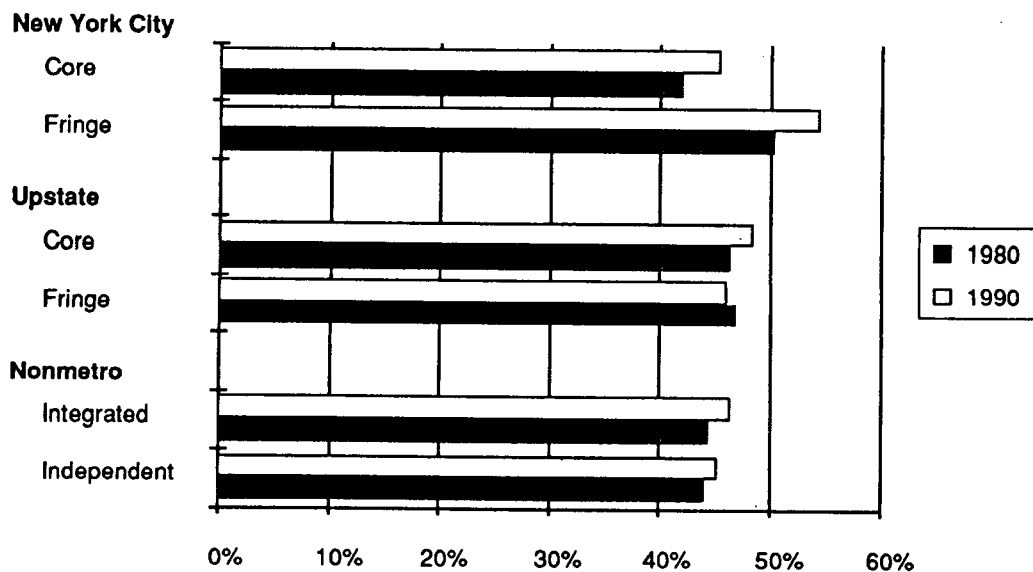
As an indicator of attachment to the labor force, we used the *crude* labor force participation rate, calculated by dividing the labor force (persons 16 years of age and older who are employed or looking for work) by the total population. Generally the labor force participation rate is calculated by computing the labor force as a proportion of the noninstitutionalized population 16 years and older. We did not have estimates of the noninstitutionalized population 16 years and older for counties in 1990, so we used the crude rate.

Employment

At least four in ten persons were in the labor force in all county types throughout the decade. Participation was slightly higher in metropolitan than in nonmetropolitan areas in 1990 (48 percent vs. 46 percent) and highest of all in the New York City metro area's fringe counties (54 percent). Participation was higher in integrated than independent nonmetropolitan counties and in core than fringe counties of upstate metropolises.

The crude labor force participation rate increased during the 1980s for all county types except upstate metropolitan fringe (Figure 9). The rate of increase was highest in the New York City core and fringe areas. However, if the decade is split into two time periods, for the New York City metro fringe area, participation rates increased only for 1980-85, while the New York City and Upstate metro core areas, and the nonmetropolitan areas increased during 1985-90. This partially accounts for the disparate county trends in employment growth displayed earlier in Figure 7.

Figure 9: During the 1980s labor force participation increased among all county types, except in the upstate metropolitan fringe counties.



SOURCE: Civilian Labor Force File; Census of Population and Housing

Employment

Unemployment

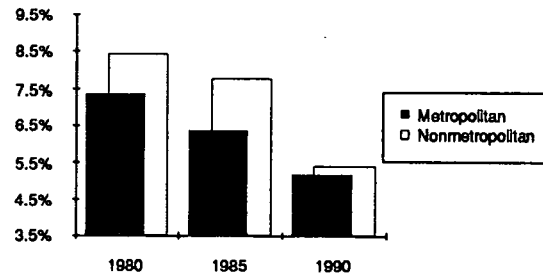
The nonmetropolitan unemployment rate exceeded the metropolitan rate throughout the 1980s (Figure 10). This indicates that nonmetropolitan areas had more severe unemployment during the 1979-82 recession, and they recovered from the recession less rapidly.⁶ However, by 1990 the gap had narrowed considerably with unemployment at 5.2 percent for metropolitan areas and 5.4 percent for nonmetropolitan areas.

These metropolitan-nonmetropolitan differences mask variation within the two categories (Figure 11). In 1990, the New York City metro area's core counties have higher unemployment, 6.8 percent, than its fringe counties, 3.7 percent. The opposite is true in upstate metropolitan areas where fringe counties have higher unemployment rates, 5.1 percent, than core counties, 3.9 percent. Within the nonmetropolitan sector, independent counties have higher unemployment rates, 5.7 percent, than integrated counties, 5.0 percent.

Changes in Jobs

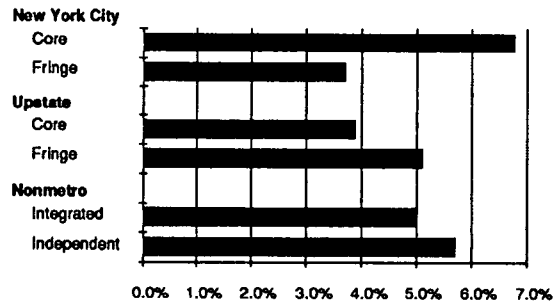
Shifting the focus from the labor force to jobs, we see that similar trends are evident.⁷ In 1989, the state had 9.8 million jobs, an increase of 16 percent (1.36 million jobs) since 1980. The rate of increase in jobs for nonmetropolitan areas, 19 percent, exceeded the rate for metropolitan areas, 16 percent. However, a disproportionate share of the growth in jobs

Figure 10: As unemployment has declined over the decade, the gap between nonmetropolitan and metropolitan areas has narrowed.



SOURCE: Civilian Labor Force File

Figure 11: The core counties of the New York City metropolitan area had the highest unemployment rates followed by the nonmetropolitan independent counties in 1990.



SOURCE: Civilian Labor Force File

⁶ These differences would likely be greater still if the rates were adjusted for discouraged workers and involuntary part-time workers, both of which have been shown to be higher in nonmetropolitan areas (Fuguitt et al. 1989).

⁷ Data in this section are from the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis. Employment is reported here by place of work, not place of residence, as is the case for the New York State Department of Labor data reported in earlier sections. There are more jobs in New York State than employed persons. This is due to persons who hold more than one job and to the surplus of persons who commute to work in New York State but live in surrounding states.

Employment

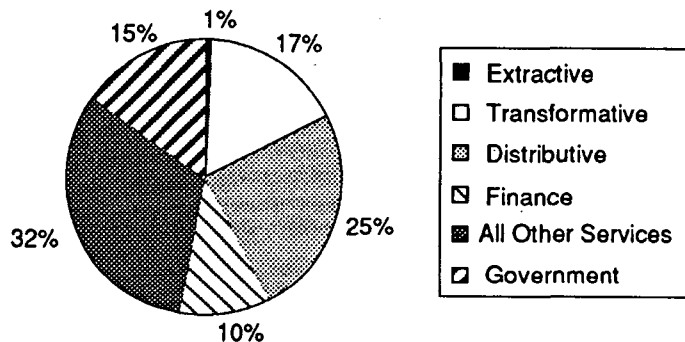
occurred in the fringe counties of the New York City metro area. Jobs in the New York City fringe counties grew by 26 percent and accounted for one-third of total job growth in the state.

Dividing the 1980-89 time period into two periods, 1980-85 and 1985-89, reveals virtually the same patterns of change that were described for the labor force. Although the overall higher rate of growth in jobs than in employed persons translates into higher rates of growth for the each of the county types, the same growth differences between areas are evident.

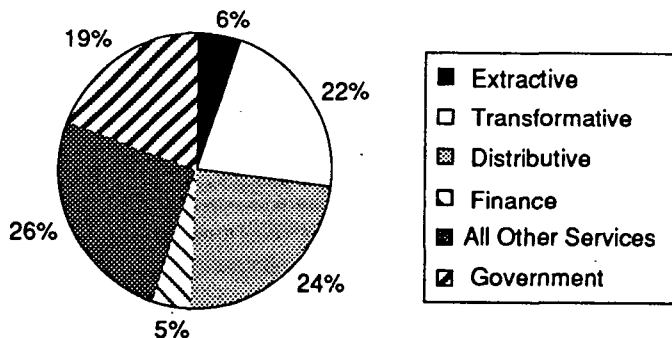
Industrial Composition of Employment

The data on jobs allow us to examine changes in the distribution and rate of growth in employment by sector of the economy. The industrial structure of employment has changed dramatically during recent decades as traditional goods producing pursuits have declined in importance and service industries have grown rapidly. Despite similarities, this industrial transformation has proceeded somewhat differently in nonmetropolitan areas compared with metropolitan areas. As a consequence, while metropolitan-nonmetropolitan gaps in industrial composition have converged, important differences persist (Figure 12).

Figure 12: In 1989, metropolitan areas had proportionally more jobs in the Finance and Service sectors, while ...



...nonmetropolitan areas had a higher proportion of jobs in the Extractive, Transformative, and Government sectors.



SOURCE: Full-Time and Part-Time Employment by Major Industry (CA25)

Employment

We have grouped industries into the following major categories: Extractive, Transformative, Distributive, Finance, Other Services, and Government. The Extractive sector is composed of agriculture, forestry, fishing, and mining; the Transformative sector includes construction and manufacturing. Distributive services include transportation, public utilities, and wholesale and retail trade; Finance services contain finance, insurance, and real estate; and Other Services covers the remaining nongovernmental services such as hotels, business services, amusement and recreation, health, and educational services. The Government sector includes all federal, military and civilian, and state and local government services.

In 1989, only 1.4 percent of the state's employment continues to be in Extractive industries, but 5.5 percent of nonmetropolitan jobs and 4.6 percent of upstate metropolitan fringe county jobs are in Extractive pursuits. Transformative jobs, the traditional backbone of the state's economy, now stand at 17.1 percent (about 17 percent in metropolitan areas and 22 percent in nonmetropolitan areas). Upstate metropolitan areas (especially their fringe counties) have the highest concentration of Transformative jobs (26 percent). Distributive industries employ about 25 percent of all workers throughout the state.

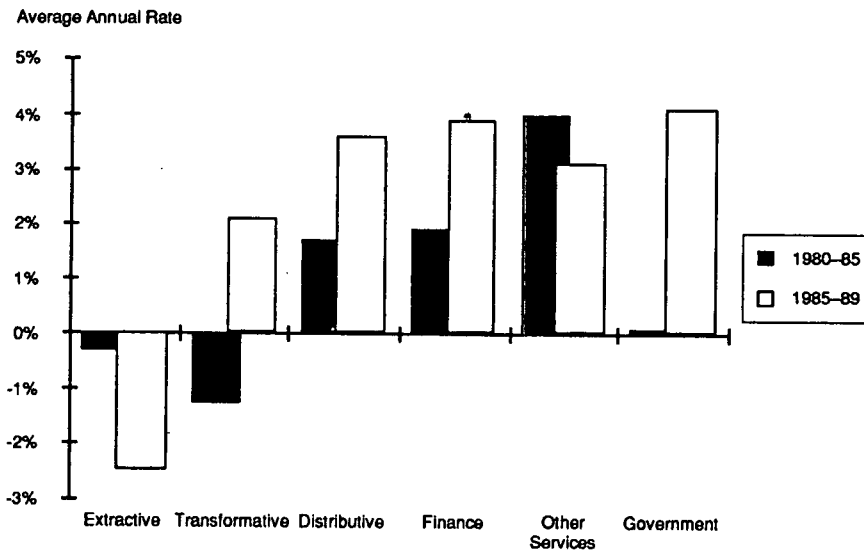
Turning to services, we see substantial differences across the county types. Metropolitan areas have twice the percentage of jobs in Finance as nonmetropolitan areas (10.4 percent vs. 4.5 percent), with such jobs accounting for 14 percent of employment in the New York City core, but only about 4

percent of jobs in independent nonmetropolitan counties and in fringe counties of upstate SMSAs. Other Service jobs are more evenly distributed across the state, accounting for about one-third of metropolitan and one-fourth of nonmetropolitan employment. Again, the New York City metro area tends to have a larger concentration and upstate fringe areas a disproportionately low concentration of Other Service jobs. Government employment accounts for about 15 percent of New York's jobs but is a slightly larger part of nonmetropolitan and upstate metropolitan economies than is true of the New York City metro area.

The direction of change in employment by industry during the last decade has been similar across all the county groups. All county types experienced declines in the proportion of jobs in Extractive industries (except the New York City metro area, which had a slight increase on a very small base, especially in its fringe counties). Transformative and Government jobs also declined as a share of employment in all counties. In contrast, Finance and Other Services increased as a share of jobs in all county types. Only Distributive industries had different patterns of change across the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan county types. Distributive jobs declined as a share of total employment in the New York City metro area (especially in the core) and increased elsewhere in the state. The overall similarity in these patterns of change indicates that the industrial composition of employment will change in a similar manner (albeit at different rates) across the state, narrowing, but not eliminating, geographic differences in the industrial structure of local economies.

Employment

Figure 13: The turnaround in rate of growth for the Transformative sector contributed to the resurgence in job growth for nonmetropolitan areas.



SOURCE: Full-Time and Part-Time Employment by Major Industry (CA25)

This seeming similarity masks changes between 1980-85 compared with 1985-89. Differences in the overall rate of job growth between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas are affected by the initial composition of employment by sector as well as growth rates by sector. Since metropolitan areas have a higher proportion of their jobs in the Finance and Other Services sectors, it would be expected that when these sectors are growing, metropolitan areas would have a higher proportion of the growth in total employment. Similarly, since the nonmetropolitan areas are more specialized in Extractive and Transformative industries, they would be expected to capture a higher proportion of total job growth when economic expansion is driven by these industries.

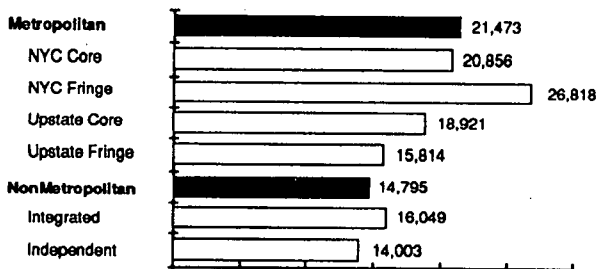
The average annual rate of growth in jobs during 1980-85 was greater in metropolitan areas than nonmetropolitan areas, but for 1985-

89, the growth in jobs among nonmetropolitan counties exceeded that in metropolitan counties. In the previous section on population, we speculated that the increased growth in nonmetropolitan counties was likely due to an economic recovery of the Transformative sector. The data in Figure 13 show that indeed the Transformative sector was an important part of the 1985-89 resurgence in job growth for nonmetropolitan areas. The Transformative sector had declined at an average annual rate of 1.3 percent for 1980-85, but grew at the average annual rate of 2.1 percent for 1985-89. The Distributive, Finance, and Government sectors increased their average annual rates of growth for the same two periods. The average annual rate of growth in the Other Services sector slowed from 4.0 percent to 3.1 percent, but this sector still contributed significantly to the overall expansion in employment. For the nonmetropolitan areas, the Extractive sector was the only sector in decline during the latter part of the decade.

Income

In this section, **INCOME**, we analyze differences in personal income by place of residence, and earnings by place of work for the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas of New York State. Personal income is a key indicator of a population's economic well-being. Changes in the distribution and quantity of personal income and spatial differences in these indicators are of general concern at the state and national levels. Changes in personal income are related to the sweeping dynamics of industrial transformation and demographic change discussed in previous sections, and to changes in the global economy that affect the competitiveness of local economies. As more of New York's manufacturing firms reduce employment or cease operations, and as more service jobs are created, personal income is affected.

Figure 14: Residents in the New York City fringe received almost twice the per capita income of residents in nonmetropolitan independent counties in 1989.



SOURCE: Personal Income by Major Source and Earnings by Major Industry (CA5)

Personal income and earnings data for counties are reported by the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis. These data are reported for the total population and do not permit analyses of population subgroups, such as racial and ethnic minorities. Furthermore, the data are not adjusted for area differences in the cost of living.

Per Capita Income

The data in Figure 14 show that the level of per capita income by place of residence varies greatly between types of counties. Metropolitan residents in 1989 had \$6,700, or 45 percent, more per capita income than nonmetropolitan area residents. Also notable are the considerably higher incomes of New York City fringe residents compared to New York City core residents, higher incomes in the upstate metropolitan core vis-a-vis the upstate metropolitan fringe, and higher incomes of nonmetropolitan integrated residents over nonmetropolitan independent county residents. On average, residents in the top income region (New York City fringe) received nearly twice the income of residents in the lowest income region (nonmetropolitan independent).

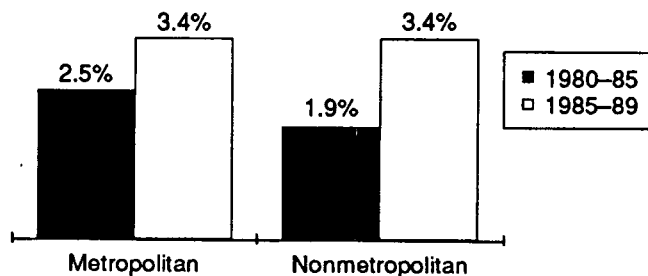
Income

Growth in Income

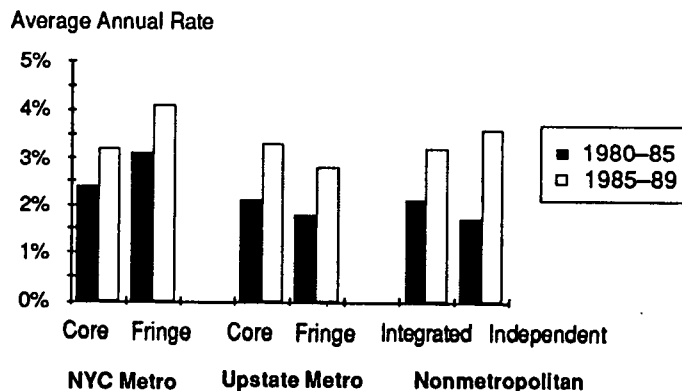
The average annual rate of real growth in per capita income for New York State increased from 2.4 percent for 1980-1985 to 3.4 percent for 1985-1989. The levels of per capita income were expressed in constant dollars, thus removing national rates of inflation as a factor contributing to growth. The rate of increase for metropolitan counties outpaced that for nonmetropolitan counties from 1980 to 1985, but the margin of difference has disappeared since 1985 (Figure 15). The rate of growth in per capita income has increased for all county types since 1985, but none has grown as rapidly

as the fringe counties of the New York City metro area. As a consequence, during the 1980s, New York City fringe counties have widened their income lead over other county types. Since 1985, per capita incomes in the counties of the New York City core, upstate metro cores, and the nonmetropolitan areas have grown at about the same pace. Independent nonmetropolitan counties have shown marked improvement in per capita income and are no longer lagging behind the others in rate of growth. Upstate fringe metropolitan counties continue to show relatively slower rates of increase when compared with other county types.

Figure 15: The higher rate of growth in per capita income for metropolitan over nonmetropolitan counties for the period 1980-85 has disappeared since 1985...



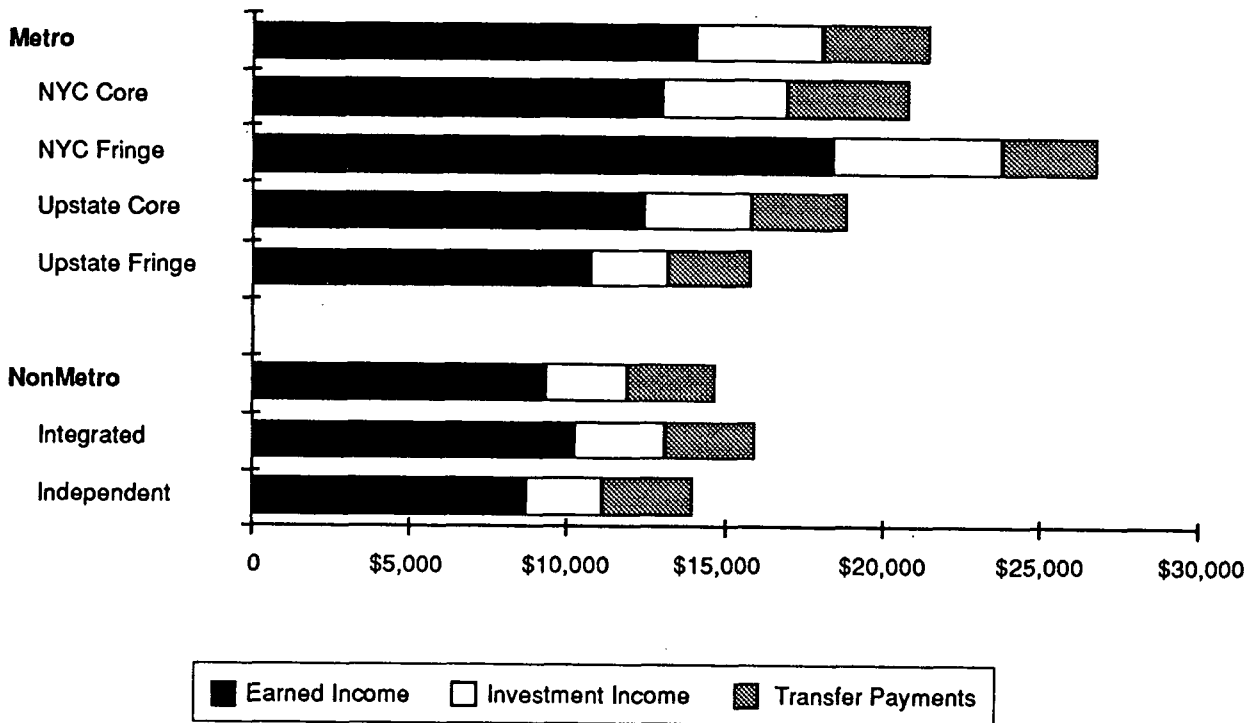
...and growth in per capita income for the New York City fringe counties has outpaced all other county types.



SOURCE: Personal Income by Major Source and Earnings by Major Industry (CA5)

Income

Figure 16: The combination of earned and investment income pushes per capita income for the New York City fringe counties to the top.



SOURCE: Personal Income by Major Source and Earnings by Major Industry (CA5)

Sources of Income

Data in Figure 16 indicate that most of the metropolitan-nonmetropolitan disparity in personal income by place of residence is accounted for by differences in earnings. Earnings include wages and benefits plus proprietary income, and are highest in the New York City fringe and lowest in nonmetropolitan independent regions. Investment income, derived from dividends, interest, and rent, is

also higher in metropolitan than in nonmetropolitan regions and highest in the New York City fringe. Transfer payments, which include Social Security, pension, Medicare, and public assistance payments are also slightly higher among metropolitan residents than among nonmetropolitan residents. Transfer payments, unlike investment income, are higher in the New York City core than in the New York City fringe.

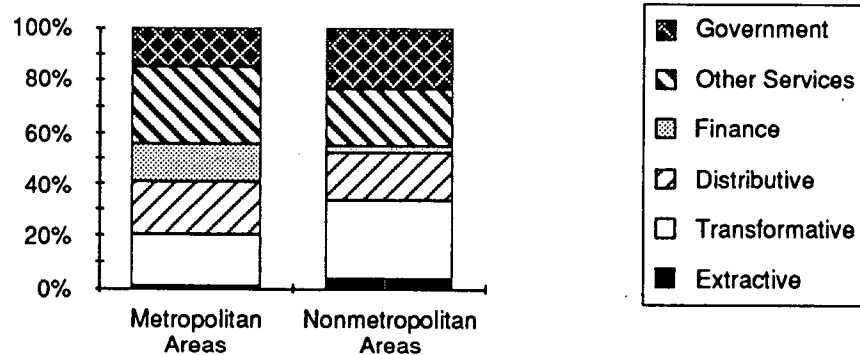
Income

Earnings by Sector

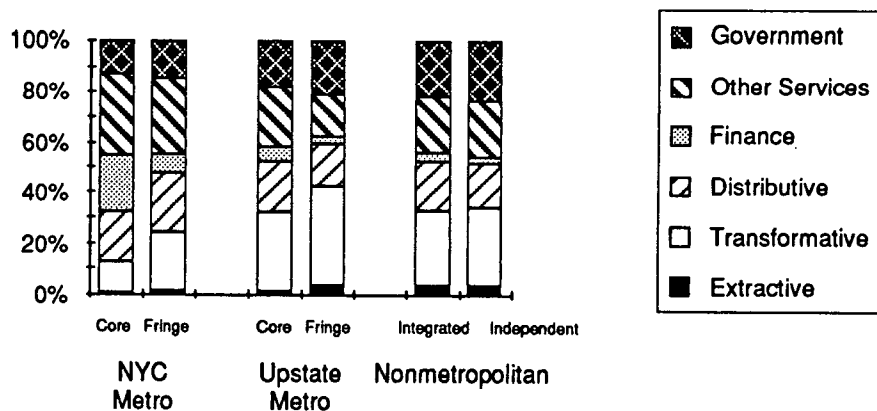
Total earnings by type of work are presented in Figure 17. Nonmetropolitan counties are relatively more dependent upon the Extractive, Transformative, and Government sectors, while the metropolitan counties depend more on the Finance and Other Service sectors. These differences are consistent with the data on employment by industry shown earlier. There are pronounced distinctions among the four types of metropolitan counties. The upstate metropolitan fringe counties are more similar to the nonmetropolitan counties than to the New York City core or fringe counties.

Earnings from the Finance sector account for 22 percent of total earnings in the core counties of the New York City metro area, three times their contribution to total earnings in the New York City fringe. The Transformative sector is a dominant source of earnings for the upstate metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties, accounting for between 29 and 37 percent of total earnings. The upstate metropolitan fringe counties derive a greater portion of their earnings from the Transformative sector than any other county type.

Figure 17: Earnings in nonmetropolitan counties are relatively more dependent upon the Extractive, Transformative, and Government sectors, while the metropolitan counties depend more on Finance...



...upstate metropolitan fringe counties derive a greater portion of their earnings from the Transformative sector than any other county type.



SOURCE: Personal Income by Major Source and Earnings by Major Industry (CA5)

Conclusions

During the 1980s, metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas of New York State experienced changes in population growth, racial and ethnic composition, employment levels, the mix of industries providing jobs, and per capita income. While some of these changes served to narrow residentially based differences in the state (racial and ethnic composition of the population, for example), metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties differed in the pace and/or direction of most changes, thus maintaining or even accentuating differences in population, economic activity, and material well-being.

The persistence of residential differentiation in New York indicates that economic opportunity is unevenly distributed in the state. Low incomes and high unemployment remain concentrated in nonmetropolitan (especially "independent" areas) and upstate metropolitan counties.

Changes during the first five years of the 1980s favored metropolitan areas, while nonmetropolitan areas fared better in population, employment, and income growth during the period 1985-90. Unfortunately, the current economic recession appears to be constraining these areas' ability to consolidate their new found vitality. In fact, the recession appears to be having a negative effect on all types of areas, regardless of their economic structure or demographic situation. Recovery from the recession should have a positive effect throughout the state and perhaps permit nonmetropolitan communities to resume the advances they were experiencing during the latter half of the 1980s.

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Appendix A: Glossary of Terms

Constant Dollars

In order to remove the effects of inflation on personal income reported in current or nominal dollars, the data have been converted to constant dollars by using the Consumer Price Index.

Crude Labor Force Participation Rate

The rate is the number of persons in the civilian labor force (persons 16 years of age and older who are employed or looking for work) divided by the total population.

Distributive Sector

Composed of industries in transportation, public utilities, and wholesale and retail trade.

Earned Income

The sum of wage and salary disbursements, other labor income, and proprietors' income. It is an indicator of income generated from participation in current production.

Employed

Annual average of monthly data on all persons in the civilian noninstitutional population who, during the week including the 12th of the month, did any work at all as paid employees or in their own business, profession or farm, or who worked 15 hours or more as unpaid workers in an enterprise operated by a family member. Also included are those who were not working but who had jobs or businesses from which they were temporarily absent because of illness, vacation, bad weather, labor-management dispute, or personal reasons, whether or not they were paid for the time off or were seeking other jobs. Each employed person is counted only once.

Extractive Sector

Composed of industries in agriculture, forestry, fishing, and mining.

Finance Sector

Composed of industries in finance, insurance, and real estate.

Government Sector

Composed of all federal, military and civilian, and state and local government services.

Investment Income

Personal income from dividends, interest and rent. Dividends are payments in cash or in other assets, excluding stock, by corporations organized for profit to noncorporate stockholders who are U.S. residents. Interest income includes flows of monetary interest and interest-in-kind (imputed interest). Rental income is the monetary income of persons from the rental of real property, the imputed net rental income of owner-occupants of nonfarm dwellings, and the royalties received by persons from patents, copyrights, and rights to natural resources.

Appendix A: Glossary of Terms *(continued)*

Labor Force

The civilian labor force is the sum of employed and unemployed persons.

Metropolitan

Consists of the county or counties containing a large urban core and the fringe of surrounding counties that are economically and socially integrated with the urban core. Each metropolitan area has one or more central counties containing the area's main population concentration: an urbanized area with at least 50,000 inhabitants. A metropolitan area may also include outlying counties which have close economic and social relationships with the central counties. The outlying counties must have a specified level of commuting to the central counties and must also meet certain standards regarding metropolitan character, such as population density, urban population, and population growth.

Natural Increase

The excess of births over deaths contributing to population growth within a geographic area. When the number of deaths is greater than births, contributing to population loss, this is termed natural decrease.

Net Migration

The arithmetic difference between immigrants and outmigrants for a geographic area. If the number of immigrants exceeds the number of outmigrants, then net migration is positive and contributes to population growth. However, when the number of outmigrants is greater than the number of immigrants, then net migration is negative and contributes to population loss.

Nonmetropolitan

The counties not contained within a metropolitan area.

Other Services Sector

This is a residual category of service industries not covered by Distributive, Finance, or Government sectors. This sector includes industries such as hotels, business services, amusement and recreation, health, and educational services.

Per Capita Income

Total personal income divided by the total population of a geographic area. Total personal income is the income received by persons from all sources. It is the sum of wage and salary disbursements, other labor income, proprietors' income, rental income of persons, personal dividend income, personal interest income, and transfer payments, less personal contributions for social insurance.

Appendix A: Glossary of Terms *(continued)*

Transfer Payments

Includes payments to persons for which they do not render current services. Transfer payments include payments by government and business to individuals, such as pensions, social security benefits, food stamps, medical vendor payments, and other welfare payments.

Transformative Sector

Composed of industries in construction and manufacturing.

Unemployed

Annual average of monthly data on those persons who did not work during the week including the 12th of the month, who made specific efforts to find a job within the past four weeks, and who were available for work during the week except for temporary illness.

Unemployment Rate

The rate is the total number of unemployed persons expressed as a percentage of the civilian labor force.

Appendix B: Sources of Data

POPULATION

Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Public Law (P.L.) 94-171 Data (New York) [computer files]/prepared by the Bureau of the Census. Washington: The Bureau [producer and distributor], 1991.

Vital Records of New York State Counties, 1960 to 1988: counts of births and deaths by age [computer file]/compiled by the New York State Department of Health—Albany, New York: The Department [producer], New York State Data Center, New York State Department of Economic Development [distributor], 1990.

Population Estimates for States and Counties With Components of Change, 1981-1987 [computer file]. Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census, 1988 [producer and distributor], 1989.

EMPLOYMENT

Civilian Labor Force File, 1980-1989 [computer file]/compiled by the New York State Department of Labor, Division of Research and Statistics—Albany, New York: The Department [producer], Economic Development and Technical Assistance Center, State University College at Plattsburgh [distributor], 1991.

Full-Time and Part-Time Employment by Major Industry (CA25) [computer file]/ compiled by the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Regional Economic Information System— Washington, DC: The Bureau [producer and distributor], 1990.

INCOME

Personal Income by Major Source and Earnings by Major Industry (CA5) [computer file]/ compiled by the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Regional Economic Information System— Washington, DC: The Bureau [producer and distributor], 1990.

Appendix C: Data for Counties

	POPULATION			INCOME	
	Total Persons (1,000s)	% Change		Per Capita Income	% Change
		1990	1980-85		
NEW YORK STATE	17,990.5	1.1%	1.4%	\$20,817	29.0%
METROPOLITAN	16,199.2	1.2%	1.1%	\$21,473	29.3%
New York City Core	7,322.6	2.7%	0.7%	\$20,856	27.2%
Bronx	1,203.8	2.3%	0.6%	\$14,234	17.9%
Kings	2,300.7	2.7%	0.3%	\$15,684	20.7%
New York	1,487.5	3.5%	0.5%	\$35,193	37.6%
Queens	1,951.6	2.0%	1.1%	\$19,836	22.5%
Richmond	379.0	5.0%	2.3%	\$21,747	35.4%
New York City Fringe	3,833.5	0.8%	-0.2%	\$26,818	36.5%
Nassau	1,287.3	0.2%	-2.9%	\$28,677	32.9%
Putnam	83.9	4.1%	4.5%	\$24,772	42.7%
Rockland	265.5	1.9%	0.4%	\$25,094	36.9%
Suffolk	1,321.9	1.6%	1.3%	\$22,600	41.4%
Westchester	874.9	0.0%	1.0%	\$31,188	37.0%
Upstate Core	3,932.3	-0.9%	2.0%	\$18,921	26.0%
Albany	292.6	-0.7%	3.3%	\$20,897	31.1%
Broome	212.2	-0.9%	0.3%	\$17,931	28.7%
Chemung	95.2	-6.2%	4.4%	\$15,820	21.7%
Dutchess	259.5	3.6%	2.1%	\$20,532	30.2%
Erie	968.5	-4.4%	0.0%	\$17,723	19.4%
Monroe	714.0	-0.1%	1.9%	\$21,193	25.0%
Oneida	250.8	-1.4%	0.5%	\$16,210	26.0%
Onondaga	469.0	0.1%	1.1%	\$18,792	27.5%
Orange	307.6	6.2%	11.9%	\$19,175	32.2%
Rensselaer	154.4	-0.6%	2.3%	\$17,242	33.3%
Schenectady	149.3	-0.1%	-0.3%	\$19,440	25.4%
Warren	59.2	0.5%	7.8%	\$16,893	35.1%
Upstate Fringe	1,110.8	0.8%	4.7%	\$15,814	22.0%
Herkimer	65.8	0.3%	-1.8%	\$13,587	17.1%
Livingston	62.4	1.4%	8.2%	\$15,775	23.8%
Madison	69.1	1.5%	4.7%	\$15,242	27.9%
Montgomery	52.0	-2.2%	-0.4%	\$15,250	21.2%
Niagara	220.8	-4.4%	1.9%	\$16,183	13.8%
Ontario	95.1	2.6%	4.3%	\$17,873	29.4%
Orleans	41.8	0.4%	8.7%	\$15,222	15.5%
Oswego	121.8	4.0%	2.8%	\$13,835	19.2%
Saratoga	181.3	4.2%	13.6%	\$18,050	34.4%
Tioga	52.3	1.8%	3.2%	\$14,886	18.3%
Washington	59.3	2.8%	5.5%	\$12,917	20.2%
Wayne	89.1	2.3%	3.0%	\$16,297	20.8%

Appendix C: Data for Counties (continued)

	EMPLOYMENT			
	Total Jobs (1,000s)	Average Annual % Change		% Unemployed
		1989	1980-85	
NEW YORK STATE	9,818.3	1.7%	1.6%	5.2%
METROPOLITAN	8,993.2	1.7%	1.5%	5.2%
New York City Core	4,149.0	1.2%	0.9%	6.8%
Bronx	251.7	1.2%	1.2%	8.2%
Kings	539.0	0.2%	1.1%	7.9%
New York	2,659.8	1.2%	0.6%	5.8%
Queens	601.7	1.8%	1.5%	6.0%
Richmond	96.9	4.0%	3.3%	6.4%
New York City Fringe	2,103.9	3.3%	1.7%	3.7%
Nassau	785.4	3.0%	1.2%	3.3%
Putnam	26.7	5.6%	4.7%	3.3%
Rockland	129.7	3.3%	2.4%	3.3%
Suffolk	655.2	4.5%	2.8%	4.4%
Westchester	506.9	2.3%	1.0%	3.4%
Upstate Core	2,291.2	1.4%	2.3%	3.9%
Albany	253.4	2.0%	3.0%	2.8%
Broome	123.4	1.7%	0.9%	4.1%
Chemung	48.0	-0.8%	4.1%	4.3%
Dutchess	143.0	3.2%	1.6%	3.0%
Erie	526.3	-0.1%	2.5%	4.8%
Monroe	452.9	1.9%	1.9%	3.3%
Oneida	130.0	1.0%	1.9%	4.3%
Onondaga	298.7	2.1%	2.3%	3.5%
Orange	138.9	2.8%	3.7%	4.6%
Rensselaer	59.6	2.3%	3.3%	4.0%
Schenectady	77.5	0.0%	0.6%	3.5%
Warren	39.6	2.6%	4.2%	6.3%
Upstate Fringe	449.1	1.3%	2.4%	5.1%
Herkimer	25.8	-1.1%	1.2%	5.6%
Livingston	24.5	1.5%	1.6%	4.5%
Madison	26.0	2.3%	3.2%	4.8%
Montgomery	24.3	0.8%	1.1%	6.1%
Niagara	99.6	-0.7%	1.9%	5.8%
Ontario	47.0	2.9%	3.5%	4.5%
Orleans	15.0	1.2%	3.0%	6.1%
Oswego	43.4	3.7%	0.4%	6.6%
Saratoga	67.5	4.1%	5.5%	3.8%
Tioga	19.4	1.1%	0.7%	4.7%
Washington	22.4	1.2%	2.3%	5.5%
Wayne	34.2	0.2%	2.1%	4.9%

Appendix C: Data for Counties *(continued)*

	POPULATION			INCOME	
	Total Persons (1,000s)	% Change		Per Capita Income	Constant \$s % Change
		1990	1980-85		
NONMETROPOLITAN	1,791.3	-0.2%	4.0%	\$14,795	25.6%
Integrated	688.4	0.8%	3.5%	\$16,049	26.0%
Cayuga	82.3	-0.5%	3.8%	\$14,355	21.0%
Columbia	63.0	1.3%	4.7%	\$18,993	33.1%
Fulton	54.2	-0.8%	-0.9%	\$15,148	23.8%
Genesee	60.1	-1.4%	2.7%	\$16,834	22.5%
Greene	44.7	2.6%	6.9%	\$15,743	25.4%
Schoharie	31.9	-0.9%	8.7%	\$13,756	28.9%
Schuyler	18.7	-1.8%	8.0%	\$13,473	19.7%
Seneca	33.7	-3.4%	3.7%	\$16,254	22.6%
Sullivan	69.3	3.5%	2.7%	\$16,243	23.7%
Ulster	165.3	2.8%	1.6%	\$17,554	32.8%
Wyoming	42.5	1.6%	5.1%	\$13,091	16.0%
Yates	22.8	-1.5%	8.5%	\$13,161	10.8%
Independent	1,102.9	-0.8%	4.3%	\$14,003	25.3%
Allegany	50.5	-2.1%	-0.3%	\$12,092	18.8%
Cattaraugus	84.2	-0.2%	-1.6%	\$13,071	17.6%
Chautauqua	141.9	-2.0%	-1.4%	\$14,781	17.8%
Chenango	51.8	0.7%	4.4%	\$14,380	22.4%
Clinton	86.0	0.6%	6.2%	\$13,419	27.3%
Cortland	49.0	-2.9%	3.7%	\$13,685	25.0%
Delaware	47.2	-0.2%	1.1%	\$13,591	29.3%
Essex	37.2	0.3%	2.4%	\$14,556	28.2%
Franklin	46.5	-2.9%	7.2%	\$13,863	34.3%
Hamilton	5.3	-2.2%	7.7%	\$16,644	44.5%
Jefferson	110.9	0.6%	26.5%	\$15,579	38.0%
Lewis	26.8	0.0%	7.4%	\$11,768	14.5%
Otsego	60.5	-0.4%	3.1%	\$14,923	30.8%
St. Lawrence	112.0	-1.2%	-0.8%	\$12,299	22.7%
Steuben	99.1	-2.2%	2.3%	\$14,243	17.4%
Tompkins	94.1	0.8%	7.6%	\$15,159	37.1%

Appendix C: Data for Counties

	EMPLOYMENT			
	Total Jobs (1,000s)	% Change		% Unemployed
		1989	1980-85	1985-89
NONMETROPOLITAN	825.1	1.1%	3.0%	5.4%
Integrated	293.9	1.5%	2.3%	5.0%
Cayuga	32.3	0.6%	2.4%	6.1%
Columbia	25.7	2.2%	2.9%	3.5%
Fulton	21.8	0.5%	1.8%	8.0%
Genesee	29.2	-0.1%	3.1%	5.7%
Greene	17.0	1.6%	2.4%	5.1%
Schoharie	10.5	1.4%	3.1%	4.9%
Schuyler	6.2	1.4%	1.7%	5.7%
Seneca	14.4	-0.5%	0.5%	5.4%
Sullivan	34.2	2.1%	2.3%	4.6%
Ulster	77.8	3.2%	2.4%	3.6%
Wyoming	17.4	1.6%	1.4%	6.2%
Yates	7.6	-0.6%	0.9%	5.7%
Independent	531.1	0.8%	3.5%	5.7%
Allegany	19.3	-0.3%	2.4%	5.8%
Cattaraugus	38.6	0.2%	1.8%	6.2%
Chautauqua	70.8	0.2%	1.5%	5.4%
Chenango	24.1	0.0%	2.9%	5.8%
Clinton	41.5	2.1%	2.9%	5.6%
Cortland	25.5	-0.1%	4.7%	5.4%
Delaware	25.5	-0.3%	3.8%	5.4%
Essex	18.0	1.4%	3.0%	7.3%
Franklin	20.9	1.9%	4.2%	7.1%
Hamilton	2.2	1.2%	4.1%	6.5%
Jefferson	60.8	1.7%	10.9%	7.7%
Lewis	9.8	1.5%	1.0%	7.5%
Otsego	28.6	2.7%	3.0%	4.2%
St. Lawrence	46.1	1.0%	1.3%	7.4%
Steuben	47.3	-0.4%	2.5%	5.5%
Tompkins	52.1	1.7%	4.1%	2.1%



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