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HEARTLAND OF TALENT: HOW HEARTLAND METROPOLITANS ARE CHANGING THE MAP OF TALENT IN THE U.S.

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FORWARD**

AN INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC RENEWAL

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ABOUT HEARTLAND FORWARD

Heartland Forward’s mission is to improve economic performance in the center of the United States by advocating for fact-based solutions to foster job creation, knowledge-based and inclusive growth and improved health outcomes. We conduct independent, data-driven research to facilitate action-oriented discussion and impactful policy recommendations.

The views expressed in this report are solely those of Heartland Forward.





EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Talent has become the driving force in economic development and the growth of places. But talent is not evenly distributed. For the past couple of decades or so, highly educated and skilled workers have tended to cluster and concentrate in coastal superstar cities and a handful of smaller technology hubs. Recently, the rising unaffordability of such places, combined with the disruptions of the COVID-19 pandemic and especially the shift to remote work, has provided smaller cities and metros, especially those in the heartland, with a unique opportunity.

This report examines the changing geography of talent in America over the past decade 2010-2019. To do so, it uses two basic metrics of talent: educational attainment and the share of the workforce engaged in knowledge, professional, and creative occupations.

The analysis covers all 350-plus U.S. metros, paying special attention to large metros with over one million people and the 166 metros spanning 20 states that make up America's heartland region.

Overall, its findings suggest a subtle and nuanced shift in the geography of talent. While coastal superstar cities like San Francisco, Washington, D.C., and New York City and leading tech hubs like San Jose and Boston remain talent centers, heartland metros like Columbus, Nashville, St. Louis, Cleveland and Cincinnati; heartland college towns like Ann Arbor, Madison, Iowa City, and Fayetteville, Arkansas; and older industrial metros outside the heartland metros like Pittsburgh have all have seen significant improvement in both their shares of both college grads and the creative class.

These shifts in the geography of talent are likely to be accelerated by the COVID-19 pandemic and the dramatic rise of remote work. Remote work gives talent greater choice of locations, and smaller cities and metro areas have worked to bolster their amenities and appeal to this footloose talent.

These trends however do not portend a sharp reversal in the concentrated winner-take-all nature of geography of talent in America: the clustering of talent and other economic assets in metro regions remains a fundamental driver of innovation and economic growth in the knowledge-based economy. Coastal superstar cities and tech clusters will remain hubs of this new geography for the foreseeable future. But the trends of the past decade, along with the rise of remote work, mean that smaller and medium size heartland metros and rural areas across the country can be players in this new geography of talent. These communities will need to continue to invest in research universities, community colleges, anchor institutions and workforce training systems, and work to bolster their natural amenities, arts and culture, and other assets in ways that enhance their quality of life and ability to attract and retain talent.

INTRODUCTION

Talent has become a driving force, if not *the* driving force, in the wealth of places. Adam Smith famously identified talent or human capital as the “fourth factor of production” alongside land, labor, and capital.¹ The role of dense clusters of diverse human talent in cities to power regional innovation and growth was initially pointed out by the late great urbanist Jane Jacobs.² According to the Nobel prize winning economist, Robert Lucas, this clustering of talent in cities, or what he termed “human capital externalities,” functions as the basic underlying mechanism of economic growth.³ Since then, the role of talent in the innovativeness, growth and development of cities and nations has been documented in a large and growing body of research.⁴

But talent is not evenly distributed; it is highly concentrated and clustered across places.⁵ In the leading metros, more than half of adults are college grads, while in lagging metros less than 15% of adults hold a college degree. The same is true of the knowledge, professional and creative workers that make up what I have dubbed the “creative class.”⁶ Here again, more than half of workers in leading metros are members of the creative class, while in lagging metros less than 25% are. Over the first two decades of the 21st century, talent came to be massively concentrated in coastal superstar cities and tech hubs, forming an increasingly uneven winner-take-all geography.⁷

However, this geography of talent may be starting to come up against its own limits and to shift at the margin. Even before the COVID-19 crisis, the extreme concentration of talent in superstar cities and tech hubs was already starting to undermine some of their earlier advantages.⁸ By the mid to late 2010s, the leading hubs were coming up against the limits of increasingly unaffordable housing, rising inequity and deteriorating quality of life, a “new urban crisis” driven largely by the prior success at attracting talent.⁹

Both talented workers and growing numbers of knowledge-based businesses began to seek out less expensive locations, a phenomenon the venture capitalist and entrepreneur Steve Case dubs “the rise of the rest.”¹⁰ When Amazon undertook its search for a talent-rich location to place its second headquarters, or HQ2, in 2018, metros like Nashville, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Newark, Columbus, Indianapolis, Dallas, Atlanta, Miami, and Toronto, made the list of 20 finalists, alongside established hubs like Washington, D.C., Boston, New York City, and Austin.¹¹

This dispersing trend has been accelerated by the COVID-19 pandemic and the shift to remote work.¹² Before the pandemic, roughly 5% of workers did remote work; post-pandemic, it is estimated that 20-25% of workers will do full-time remote work, while another 15-20% will work remotely on a part-time basis.¹³ Remote workers are also much more likely to move. Adam Ozimek, a leading authority on remote work, estimates that as many as 14 to 23 million additional remote workers are considering a move, a key driver of which is access to more affordable housing.¹⁴ Remote work loosens the constraints of geography and allows talented workers to locate in several kinds of places—more remote rural areas outside of superstar cities like New York’s Hudson Valley; smaller, more affordable cities; and high amenity rural areas like Bozeman, Montana, or Traverse City, Michigan, sometimes referred to as new “zoom towns.”¹⁵

To what degree is the geography of talent in America changing? Which cities and metro areas are the winners and losers? And how do the metro areas of the American heartland stack up against coastal superstars? These are the questions addressed by this study.

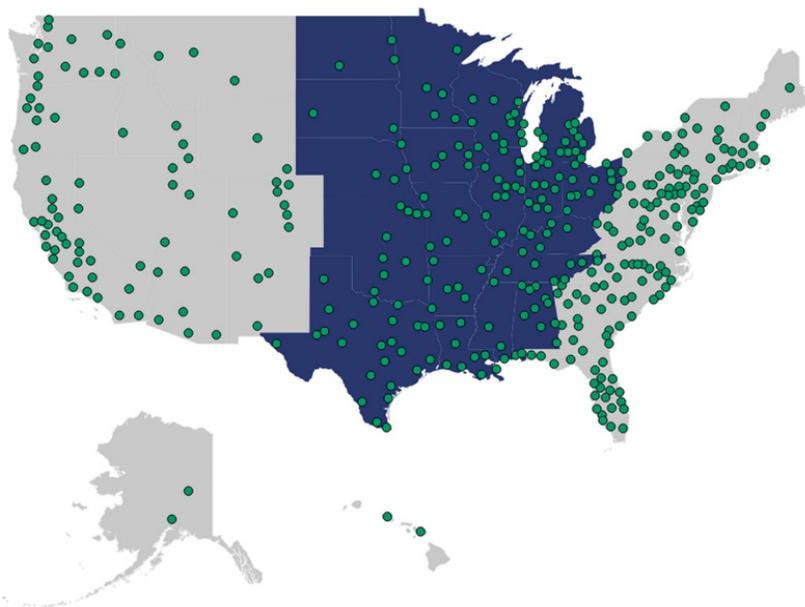


This report provides a data-driven assessment of the geography of talent across America's 350-plus metro areas. To do so, it employs two basic metrics for talent:

- The first is the standard measure of educational attainment. It is based on the share of adults (age 25 and older) who are college graduates or, more technically speaking, those that hold a bachelor's degree or higher degree.
- The second is an occupational measure that reflects workforce skills, based on my own measure of the share of the workforce (age 16 and older) engaged in knowledge, professional, artistic, and cultural occupations, that make up the creative class.

While there is some overlap between the two measures, they are not the same thing. Some three-fourths of adults with college degrees are members of the creative class, and less than 60% of the workers in creative class occupations have college degrees.¹⁶

The analysis covers the geography of talent for all 384 U.S. metros, with a focus on the 166 metros spanning 20 states that make up America's heartland region (see map below).¹⁷ Heartland metros are home to roughly 100 million people, accounting for roughly 30% of the U.S. population. The heartland produces \$6 trillion in GDP, again roughly 30% of total U.S. economic output.¹⁸ This makes America's heartland equivalent to the third largest economy in the world, behind only the U.S. and China, larger than the national economies of Japan (\$5 trillion), Germany (\$3.8 trillion) and the United Kingdom (\$2.7 trillion).¹⁹ The analysis separates out talent levels and trends for America's 53 largest metros, those with over one million people, and the remaining 331 metros with between 50,000 and one million people.



METROPOLITAN AREAS OF THE UNITED STATES

Note:

States included in the heartland are shaded blue.

Source:

Map generated by Heartland Forward using metropolitan definitions from OMB Bulletin No. 15-01 issued July 15, 2015.

COLLEGE GRADS

Nearly 75 million (or more precisely 74.5 million) Americans are college grads. As noted above, the share of adults that are college graduates is the standard measure of human capital based on educational attainment. There is an enormous literature documenting the role of such educated human capital in the innovativeness, productivity, and economic performance of nations and metropolitan areas.²⁰ A Heartland Forward study finds young firms with a larger share of employees holding bachelor's degrees or higher significantly increases the growth rate of total private employment in metro areas.²¹

But college educated talent is unevenly distributed across America's metros. In a landmark study a decade and a half ago, economists Edward Glaeser and Christopher Berry identified this growing geographic divergence of human capital. Looking at the share of adults that are college grads, they found that as the share of college grads has grown over time and become more important to economic growth, college grads have increasingly concentrated in a relatively small group of metro areas. As late as 1970, college grads were distributed more evenly across the United States. In that year, just 11% of adults had a college degree, and the share of college grads ranged between nine and 13% in fully half of all U.S. metros. At the top end, Washington, D.C. had an 18% share of college grads, while at the low-end Cleveland had a 4% share. By the early 2000s, the share of college grads increased to 27%; but the gap between leading and lagging metros had grown. In leading metros like Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, more than half of adults were college grads compared to just 14% in Cleveland and 11% in Detroit.²² In the leading regions today, more than half of adults have completed college.

The heartland is home to more than 25 million (25.9 million) college grads, 35% of U.S. college graduates, proportional to its share of population and economic output.²³

Today, roughly a third (33.1%) of Americans hold college degrees, and the heartland lags this trend slightly with only 30.0% of heartland adults holding a bachelor's degree and above. And heartland metros have seen a 3.7 percentage point growth in the creative class over the past decade or so compared to the national average of 3.8 percentage point growth.

Our analysis charts the share of adults who hold a bachelor's degree or higher in 2019, the latest year for which data are available, and the growth in talent from 2010 to 2019. The data is from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey.²⁴

The table below shows the top 20 U.S. large metros based on the share of adults that are college grads, holding a bachelor's degree and above. Large metros in the heartland (with more than one million people) have 14.8 million people with a college degree, and account for more than half of all college grads in the heartland. All in all, 36% (35.9%) of adults in large heartland metros have a college degree compared to 38% (38.1%) across all large metros in the U.S.

TOP 20 LARGE METROS FOR COLLEGE GRADS, 2019

RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	SHARE OF COLLEGE GRADS
1	5	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	52.7%
2	6	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	51.4%
3	7	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	51.4%
4	8	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	49.3%
5	14	Raleigh-Cary, NC	48.0%
6	18	<i>Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX</i>	46.2%
7	20	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	45.8%
8	26	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	44.1%
9	30	<i>Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI</i>	43.2%
10	33	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	41.9%
11	34	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	41.8%
12	40	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	40.3%
13	43	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	39.9%
14	44	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	39.9%
15	45	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	39.7%
16	50	<i>Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI</i>	39.2%
17	52	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	39.0%
18	56	<i>Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN</i>	38.5%
19	63	<i>Columbus, OH</i>	37.9%
20	65	<i>Kansas City, MO-KS</i>	37.7%
		United States	33.1%

Notes: Share of adults aged 25 years and older with a bachelor's degree and above. There are 53 large metros with more than one million people. Heartland metros in *italics*.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community and 2019 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, [Table S1501 - Educational Attainment](#).

College graduates make up more than half of all adults in San Jose, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C., with San Jose, the heart of Silicon Valley, topping the list of large metros, with a whopping 52.7% of adults holding a college degree. There are nine large metros where college grads make up between 40 and 50% of adults. These are mainly established talent and tech hubs like Boston, New York City, Raleigh-Cary in the North Carolina Research Triangle, Denver, and Seattle.

The top ranked heartland metro is Austin, where more than 45% (46.2%) of adults are college grads. In the popular media, Austin is often positioned alongside Miami as a rising tech hub, signalled by the relocation of high-tech companies like Elon Musk's Tesla Cybertruck factory and his Tesla corporate headquarters there from Silicon Valley.²⁵ But Austin has long been a leading tech hub, anchored by a world-class research university. Its business and political leadership began recruiting companies and talent from Silicon Valley three or four decades ago, while simultaneously undertaking significant efforts to build up its innovative high-tech startup companies in part by winning major federal investments like Sematech and the MCC

(Microelectronics and Computer Consortium), as well as being home to startups like Dell Computer.²⁶ Austin ranked fourth ahead of San Francisco of the creative class some two decades ago.²⁷

All in all, heartland metros comprise six of the top 20 large metros on college grads. The Twin Cities of Minneapolis-St. Paul cracks the top with 43.2% of adults being college grads. Chicago ranks 16th of large metros 39.2% of adults being college grads. Both are regional hubs for young talent, drawing from their broader regions. Nashville which ranks 18th (with 38.5%) has been a high-tech growth mecca for some time and capitalized on its music scene, Vanderbilt University, food scene and amenities. Columbus, Ohio ranks 19th (37.9%), and is similar in some respects to Austin, being home to a major research university, Ohio State University, and the state capitol. Kansas City ranks 20th (37.7%), having made consistent efforts to build up its entrepreneurial ecosystem led by the Kauffman Foundation and to develop its talent base.

TOP 20 SMALL AND MEDIUM METROS FOR COLLEGE GRADS, 2019

RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	SHARE OF COLLEGE GRADS
1	1	Boulder, CO	64.8%
2	2	Corvallis, OR	57.9%
3	3	Ithaca, NY	56.9%
4	4	<i>Ann Arbor, MI</i>	55.9%
5	9	Charlottesville, VA	49.2%
6	10	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	49.1%
7	11	Fort Collins, CO	49.0%
8	12	<i>Iowa City, IA</i>	48.8%
9	13	<i>Madison, WI</i>	48.6%
10	15	Barnstable Town, MA	47.1%
11	16	<i>Lawrence, KS</i>	47.1%
12	17	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	46.3%
13	19	<i>Bloomington, IL</i>	45.8%
14	21	Burlington-South Burlington, VT	44.6%
15	22	<i>Ames, IA</i>	44.6%
16	23	Trenton-Princeton, NJ	44.5%
17	24	<i>Champaign-Urbana, IL</i>	44.5%
18	25	Missoula, MT	44.4%
19	27	<i>Columbia, MO</i>	44.0%
20	28	Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA	43.8%
		United States	33.1%

Notes: Share of adults aged 25 years and older with bachelor's degree and above. There are 331 small and medium size metros with between 50,000 and under one million people. Heartland metros are in *italics*.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community and 2019 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, [Table S1501 - Educational Attainment](#).

The table above lists the top 20 small and medium size metros for college grads. The top ranked metro here is Boulder, Colorado, where nearly two-thirds of adults (64.8%) are college grads and is home to the University of Colorado. The overall list is dominated by college towns, and heartland metros are no exception. Ann Arbor, home of the University of Michigan, ranks 4th, with 55.9% of adults holding a college degree, higher than any large metro in the country. Iowa City, home to the University of Iowa, ranks 8th with 48.8% of adults holding a college degree; and Madison, Wisconsin, home of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, ranks 9th with 48.6% of adults holding college degrees. All in all, heartland metros comprise eight of the top 20 small and medium size metros, including Lawrence, Kansas, home to the University of Kansas, in 11th place with 47.1% college grads; Bloomington, Illinois (13th, 45.8%), Ames, Iowa, home to Iowa State University (15th, 44.6%); Champaign-Urbana, Illinois home to the University of Illinois (17th, 44.5%) and Columbia, Missouri, home to the University of Missouri (19th, 44.0%).

Overall, small and medium size heartland metros have 34.5% share of adults with a bachelor's degree and above compared to 35.2% for small and medium-sized metros in the United States.

The next two tables chart the *growth* in college grads, for large metros and small and medium size metros respectively. Among large metros, Nashville takes the top spot, posting an 8.8 percentage point growth rate in college grads, besting talent hot spots like San Francisco, Denver, San Jose, and Seattle. Austin ranks 12th with 6.8 percentage point growth in college grads. But the top 20 also includes heartland metros like Grand Rapids, Michigan, with its office furniture cluster comprised of Steelcase, Herman Miller, and more; and this part of Michigan has only gotten more attractive with the shift to remote work; Cincinnati, Ohio, home to Procter and Gamble with a burgeoning innovation district around the University of Cincinnati; and Birmingham, Alabama, home to growing innovative, entrepreneurial, and creative scenes. Some older industrial metros which are outside the heartland as we define it, such as Pittsburgh, home to Carnegie Mellon and the University of Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia, home to the University of Pennsylvania, Drexel University and Thomas Jefferson University, also rank among the top 20 large metros in growth of college graduates.

Taken as a whole, large heartland metros have seen a growth rate of 5.2 percentage points, better than the overall U.S. rate of 4.9 percentage points and similar to the 5.4 percentage points for all large metros across the country.



TOP 20 LARGE METROS ON GROWTH IN COLLEGE GRADS, 2010-2019

RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	PERCENTAGE POINT GROWTH
1	8	<i>Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN</i>	8.8%
2	15	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	8.1%
3	25	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	7.6%
4	26	Salt Lake City, UT	7.5%
5	28	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	7.4%
6	31	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	7.3%
7	32	<i>Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI</i>	7.2%
8	33	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	7.1%
9	42	Raleigh-Cary, NC	6.9%
10	43	Pittsburgh, PA	6.8%
11	44	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	6.8%
12	46	<i>Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX</i>	6.8%
13	56	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	6.3%
14	60	<i>Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN</i>	6.2%
15	61	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	6.2%
16	70	<i>Birmingham-Hoover, AL</i>	6.0%
17	75	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	5.9%
18	77	<i>St. Louis, MO-IL</i>	5.9%
19	79	Richmond, VA	5.9%
20	80	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	5.8%
		United States	4.9%

Notes: Percentage point growth in share of adults aged 25 years and older with a bachelor's degree and above, 2010-2019. Large metros are those with more than one million people. Heartland metros are in *italics*.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community and 2019 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, [Table S1501 - Educational Attainment](#).

TOP 20 SMALL AND MEDIUM METROS ON GROWTH IN COLLEGE GRADS, 2010-2019

RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	PERCENTAGE POINT GROWTH
1	1	<i>Columbus, IN</i>	12.5%
2	2	<i>Auburn-Opelika, AL</i>	10.2%
3	3	Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA	10.1%
4	4	The Villages, FL	10.0%
5	5	Corvallis, OR	9.9%
6	6	Midland, TX	9.0%
7	7	<i>Oshkosh-Neenah, WI</i>	8.9%
8	9	Portland-South Portland, ME	8.6%
9	10	Bend, OR	8.4%
10	11	Flagstaff, AZ	8.4%
11	12	Napa, CA	8.3%
12	13	Morgantown, WV	8.2%
13	14	<i>Bloomington, IN</i>	8.2%
14	16	Barnstable Town, MA	8.0%
15	17	Lynchburg, VA	8.0%
16	18	Chico, CA	8.0%
17	19	Warner Robins, GA	7.9%
18	20	<i>Sheboygan, WI</i>	7.9%
19	21	<i>Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR</i>	7.8%
20	22	<i>Hot Springs, AR</i>	7.8%
		United States	4.9%

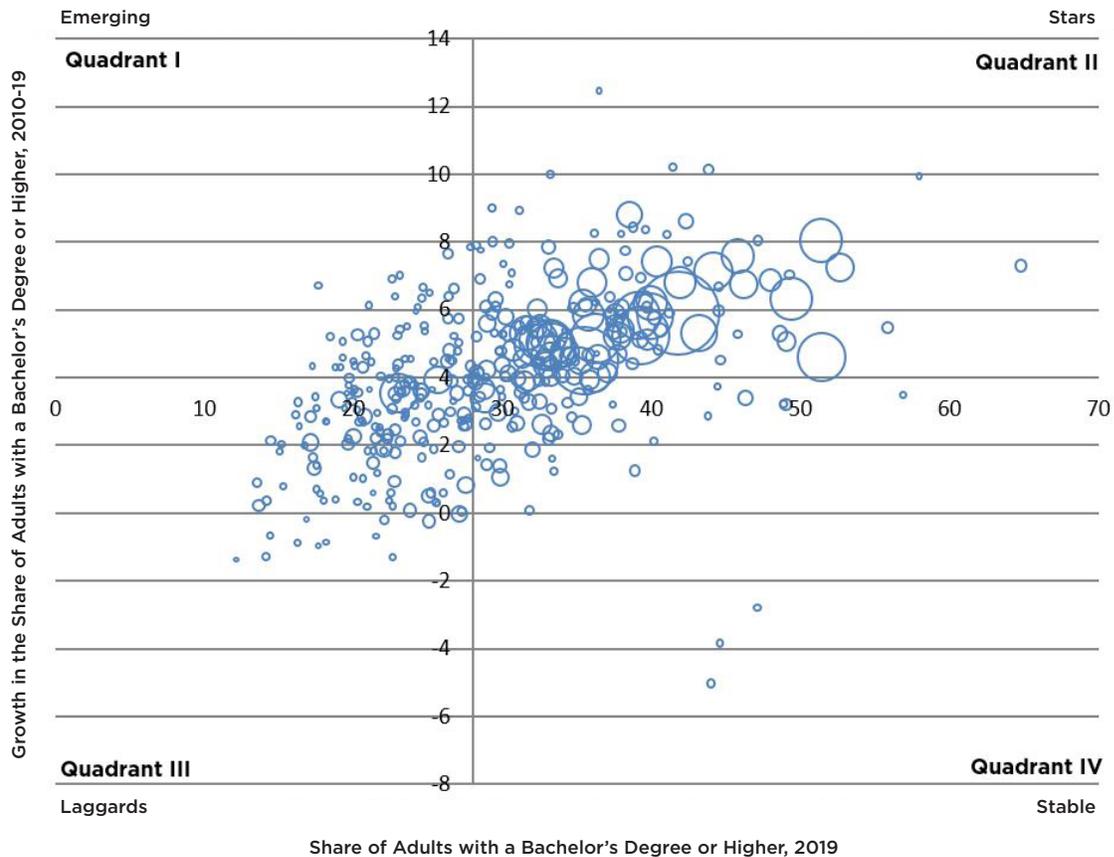
Notes: Percentage point growth in share of adults 25 years of age and older with a bachelor's degree and above. There are 331 small and medium size metros with between 50,000 and under one million people. Heartland metros are in *italics*.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community and 2019 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, [Table S1501 – Educational Attainment](#).

The table above lists the top 20 small- and medium-sized metros for growth in college grads. Columbus, Indiana, and Auburn, Alabama, home of Auburn University, take the top two spots with growth rates of more than 10 percentage points. Heartland metros take eight of the 20 spots overall, including Midland, Texas; Oshkosh and Sheboygan, Wisconsin; Bloomington, Indiana, home to the University of Indiana; and Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, home to the University of Arkansas as well as Walmart, J.B. Hunt, and Tyson Foods. Overall, small and medium sized heartland metros have seen a growth rate of 3.9 percentage points for college grads similar to the 4 percentage points for all small and medium-sized metros across the country.



Educational Attainment and Growth Across Metropolitan Areas



The chart above arrays metros on both their share and growth of college grads. The size of each bubble is the number of college grads. It is made up of four quadrants.

The upper right-hand quadrant (Quadrant II) shows metros that had both a high share and high growth of college grads; they can be thought of as national “Stars” on college educated talent. The Stars include long standing talent hubs like San Jose, San Francisco, Boston, Washington, D.C., New York City, Seattle, Denver, and Austin. But it also includes large metros like Minneapolis-St. Paul and Baltimore. In addition, it also includes heartland college towns like Ann Arbor, Madison, Champaign-Urbana, and Auburn, Alabama as well as Fayetteville-Rogers-Springdale, Arkansas; and perhaps surprisingly, larger heartland metros like Columbus and Cincinnati, Ohio; Tulsa, Oklahoma; St. Louis and Kansas City, as well as Pittsburgh.

The upper left-hand quadrant (Quadrant I) has metros that have a low share but high growth in college grads; these can be seen as emerging centers for college educated talent. This group – Emerging, includes a wide array of smaller heartland metros such as, Gadsden, Alabama; Mansfield, Ohio; and Morristown, Tennessee.

The bottom right-hand quadrant (Quadrant 4) includes metros with a high share but low growth of college grads and represents “Stable” metros on college grads. This group includes large metros like Cleveland, Memphis, Oklahoma City, Charlotte, and San Antonio, and many college towns including heartland towns like Ames, Iowa and Lawrence, Kansas.

The bottom left-hand quadrant (Quadrant III), Laggards includes metros that have a low share and low growth in college grads, and that represent laggards on these measures. This group includes large metros like Las Vegas.

CREATIVE CLASS

Human capital is ultimately about skill. The kinds of occupations people are employed in provide a more direct measure of workplace skill than educational attainment.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics, for example, provides detailed data on more than 800 specific occupations. Educational attainment measures are limited to the share of adults who hold a college degree or a more advanced degree, for example. A growing number of researchers now note that occupations provide a more direct and precise measure of skill than do broader measures of educational attainment.²⁸

Nearly two decades ago, my research team and I used such occupational categories to identify a new occupational class structure based on three main classes, the traditional working class who work in production, maintenance, construction and logistics-related occupations; the service class who work in more routine services such as retail, clerical, and health services occupations; and the creative class composed of highly skilled occupations in science and engineering, business, management and finance, education, law, and related knowledge-based occupations. Back then, the creative class comprised some 40 million workers, roughly 30% of the U.S. workforce—up from just 10% at the turn of the 20th century and less than 20% as recently as 1980. In the leading metros, like Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and Austin, the creative class made up 35% of the workforce, while in lagging regions it made up just 15%. Today, the creative class has grown to more than 60 million U.S. workers, almost 40% (38.0%) of the workforce. The heartland is home to over 20 million

(22.2 million) members of the creative class, 36.7% of the creative class across the United States. The creative class makes up more than a third (36.1%) of the heartland workers. And heartland metros have seen a 3.7 percentage point growth in the creative class over the past decade or so, in line with the national average of 3.8 percentage points.

Our analysis charts the share of adult workers (16 years of age and older) who hold a knowledge, professional or artistic occupation. The detailed occupational groupings that make up the creative class include the following: computer and mathematical occupations; architecture and engineering occupations; life, physical, and social science occupations; education, training, and library occupations; arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media occupations; business, management, and financial occupations; legal occupations; and health-care practitioners and technical occupations. The analysis covers the creative class share of the workforce in 2019, the latest year for which data are available, and the growth in the creative class from 2010 to 2019. The data is from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey.²⁹

TOP 20 LARGE METROS FOR THE CREATIVE CLASS, 2019

RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	CREATIVE CLASS SHARE
1	2	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	54.6%
2	4	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	52.5%
3	6	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	51.0%
4	8	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	49.5%
5	11	Raleigh-Cary, NC	48.1%
6	12	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	48.0%
7	15	<i>Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX</i>	47.4%
8	18	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	46.4%
9	25	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	45.1%
10	29	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	44.2%
11	30	<i>Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI</i>	44.2%
12	35	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	43.3%
13	38	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	43.0%
14	42	<i>Columbus, OH</i>	42.6%
15	45	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	42.3%
16	46	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	42.2%
17	47	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	42.0%
18	50	Pittsburgh, PA	41.6%
19	53	Rochester, NY	41.5%
20	54	<i>St. Louis, MO-IL</i>	41.1%
		United States	38.0%

Notes: Share of the workforce in knowledge, professional and creative class occupations, 2019. There are 53 large metros with more than one million people. Heartland metros are in *italics*.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community and 2019 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, [Table S2401](#) - Occupation by sex for the civilian employed population 16 years and over.

The table above lists the top 20 large metros in the creative class. The list is a veritable who's who of leading tech hubs. San Jose takes the top spot with nearly 55% (54.7%) of its workforce doing knowledge, professional and creative jobs. The creative class accounts for more than half of the workforce in two additional large metros, Washington, D.C., (52.5%) and San Francisco (51%). Creative, knowledge and professional occupations make up more than 40% of the workforce in each of the top 20 large metros, which includes tech hubs like Raleigh-Cary, Boston, Seattle, and Denver as well as superstar cities like New York City.

Heartland metros make up four of the top 20 large metros for the creative class. Austin is again the top ranked large metro in the heartland, ranking 7th with 47.4% of its workforce in the creative class. Minneapolis-St. Paul is 11th with 44.2% creative class. The Twin Cities are a regional talent hub as well as a regional economic and financial regional center for the Upper Midwest, as well as being home to the state capitol of Minnesota.

They are home to a major state university, along with various other higher education institutions; 15 Fortune 500 companies and boast a diversified economy that revolves around advanced manufacturing, finance and insurance operations, health care and life sciences, and corporate management and business services. Columbus, Ohio, home to Ohio State University and also Ohio's state capitol is 14th with 42.6%. St. Louis is 20th with 41.1%, and this metro is home to Washington University, a leading research university and several Fortune 500 companies. Several other metros, which are not formally part of the heartland but are part of the Great Lakes region also crack the top 20, including Pittsburgh (18th, 41.6% creative class) and Rochester, New York (19th, 41.5%). Nashville which ranked 18th of large metros for college grads falls to 26th of large metros on the creative class, with a nearly 40% (39.9%) share. Overall, the creative class makes up nearly 40% (39.7%) of the workforce in large heartland metros compared to 41.3% for large metros across America.

TOP 20 SMALL AND MEDIUM METROS FOR THE CREATIVE CLASS, 2019

RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	CREATIVE CLASS SHARE
1	1	<i>Ann Arbor, MI</i>	54.7%
2	3	Boulder, CO	54.4%
3	5	Ithaca, NY	52.2%
4	7	<i>Madison, WI</i>	49.7%
5	9	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	48.9%
6	10	Charlottesville, VA	48.2%
7	13	Corvallis, OR	47.8%
8	14	<i>Iowa City, IA</i>	47.8%
9	16	State College, PA	47.0%
10	17	<i>Champaign-Urbana, IL</i>	46.8%
11	19	Trenton-Princeton, NJ	46.2%
12	20	Morgantown, WV	46.1%
13	21	<i>Rochester, MN</i>	46.0%
14	22	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	45.6%
15	23	Fort Collins, CO	45.6%
16	24	Burlington-South Burlington, VT	45.2%
17	26	<i>Auburn-Opelika, AL</i>	44.9%
18	27	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	44.7%
19	28	<i>Springfield, IL</i>	44.2%
20	31	<i>Midland, MI</i>	44.1%
		United States	38.0%

Notes: Share of the workforce in knowledge, professional and creative class occupations, 2019. There are 331 small and medium size metros with between 50,000 and under one million people. Heartland metros in *italics*.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community and 2019 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, [Table S2401](#) - Occupation by sex for the civilian employed population 16 years and over.

The above table shows the top 20 small and medium size metros on the creative class. Ann Arbor takes the top spot here: with nearly 55 percent of its workforce (54.7%), it ranks number one of all metros in the country on this metric. College towns again have outsized performance on this measure, a trend that is especially pronounced for the heartland's college towns. Madison, Wisconsin, is fourth (49.7%), and Iowa City is eighth (47.8%).

All in all, heartland metros comprise eight of the top 20 small and medium-size metros for the creative class, with Champaign-Urbana 10th (46.8%), Rochester, Minnesota, home to the Mayo Clinic, 13th (46%), Auburn, Alabama, 17th (44.9%), Springfield, Illinois 19th (44.2%), and Midland, Michigan, 20th (44.1%). Older industrial metros that lie outside of the heartland as we define it, like Albany, New York; State College, Pennsylvania; and Morgantown, West Virginia, also make the top 20. Overall, the creative class makes up roughly 35 percent (34.7%) of the workforce in small and medium-sized heartland metros, on par with a 35.2 percent share for small and medium size metros across the nation.

TOP 20 LARGE METROS FOR THE GROWTH OF THE CREATIVE CLASS, 2010-2019

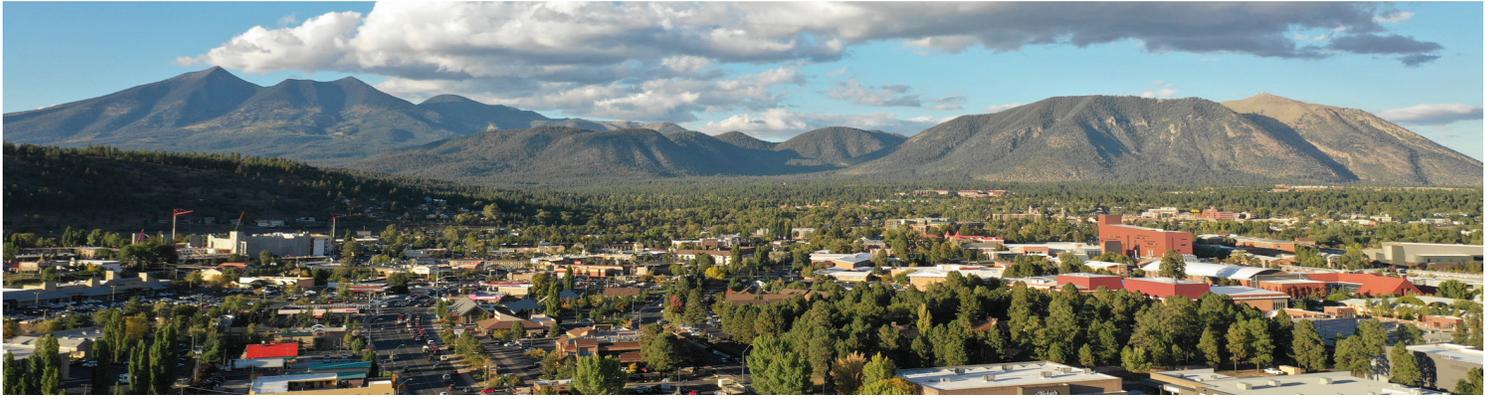
RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	PERCENTAGE POINT GROWTH
1	14	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	7.1%
2	17	Pittsburgh, PA	6.5%
3	18	Salt Lake City, UT	6.3%
4	29	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	6.0%
5	30	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	6.0%
6	33	<i>Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX</i>	5.9%
7	36	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	5.8%
8	42	<i>St. Louis, MO-IL</i>	5.7%
9	47	<i>Columbus, OH</i>	5.4%
10	51	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	5.3%
11	56	<i>Birmingham-Hoover, AL</i>	5.2%
12	63	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	5.2%
13	64	<i>Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN</i>	5.1%
14	70	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	4.9%
15	73	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	4.9%
16	76	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	4.9%
17	82	<i>Oklahoma City, OK</i>	4.7%
18	85	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	4.7%
19	90	<i>Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI</i>	4.5%
20	92	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	4.5%
		United States	3.8%

Notes: Percentage point growth in knowledge, professional and creative class jobs, 2010-2019. Large metros are those with more than one million people. Heartland metros are in *italics*.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community and 2019 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, [Table S2401](#) - Occupation by sex for the civilian employed population 16 years and over.

The table above lists the top 20 large metros for creative class growth. Here we see a mix of leading tech hubs and post-industrial metros. San Francisco takes top spot with 7.1 percentage point growth. But it is followed by Pittsburgh with 6.5 percentage points. Salt Lake City is in third place (6.3%), with San Jose in fourth and Baltimore in fifth (each with 6%). Austin again leads large heartland metros, taking sixth place with 5.9 percentage point creative class growth. Overall, large heartland metros make up seven of the top 20 large metros on creative class growth: St. Louis is eighth (5.7%), Columbus ninth (5.4%), Birmingham 11th (5.2%), Cincinnati 13th (5.1%), Oklahoma City 17th (4.7%), and Chicago 19th (4.5%). All these heartland metros have seen creative class growth at a significantly faster rate than large metros. Nashville, which ranked first of large metros on growth in college grads, falls to 36th on growth of the creative class. This reflects the fact that Nashville had a relatively large share of the creative

class (36.1% back in 2010), perhaps due to its high concentration of musicians and creative occupations related to music, which tend not to require a college degree. This is a good example of why this report employs two distinct measures of talent - college grads which captures educational attainment and creative class which captures on-the-job skill. As noted earlier, while roughly three-quarters college grads work in creative class occupations, only about 60% of creative class members hold college degrees.³⁰ Back in 2010, Nashville was one of a relatively small group of metros whose creative class share was disproportionately larger than its share of college graduates. Over the past decade, Nashville has seen significant growth in its share of college graduates, bringing these two measures of talent into closer alignment. Overall, large heartland metros have seen a growth rate of four percentage points for the creative class on par with the 4.2 percentage points growth for large metros across the nation.



TOP 20 SMALL AND MEDIUM METROS FOR CREATIVE CLASS GROWTH, 2010-2019

RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	PERCENTAGE POINT GROWTH
1	1	Flagstaff, AZ	11.6%
2	2	Morgantown, WV	10.6%
3	3	<i>Auburn-Opelika, AL</i>	10.1%
4	4	<i>Midland, TX</i>	10.0%
5	5	<i>Springfield, IL</i>	8.7%
6	6	Jacksonville, NC	8.6%
7	7	<i>Hot Springs, AR</i>	8.5%
8	8	Lewiston, ID-WA	8.4%
9	9	Casper, WY	8.3%
10	10	Santa Rosa-Petaluma, CA	7.7%
11	11	Bloomsburg-Berwick, PA	7.7%
12	12	<i>Iowa City, IA</i>	7.5%
13	13	<i>Longview, TX</i>	7.4%
14	15	Logan, UT-ID	6.6%
15	16	Missoula, MT	6.5%
16	19	<i>Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA</i>	6.3%
17	20	<i>Evansville, IN-KY</i>	6.3%
18	21	Homosassa Springs, FL	6.3%
19	22	<i>Champaign-Urbana, IL</i>	6.2%
20	23	<i>Eau Claire, WI</i>	6.2%
		United States	3.8%

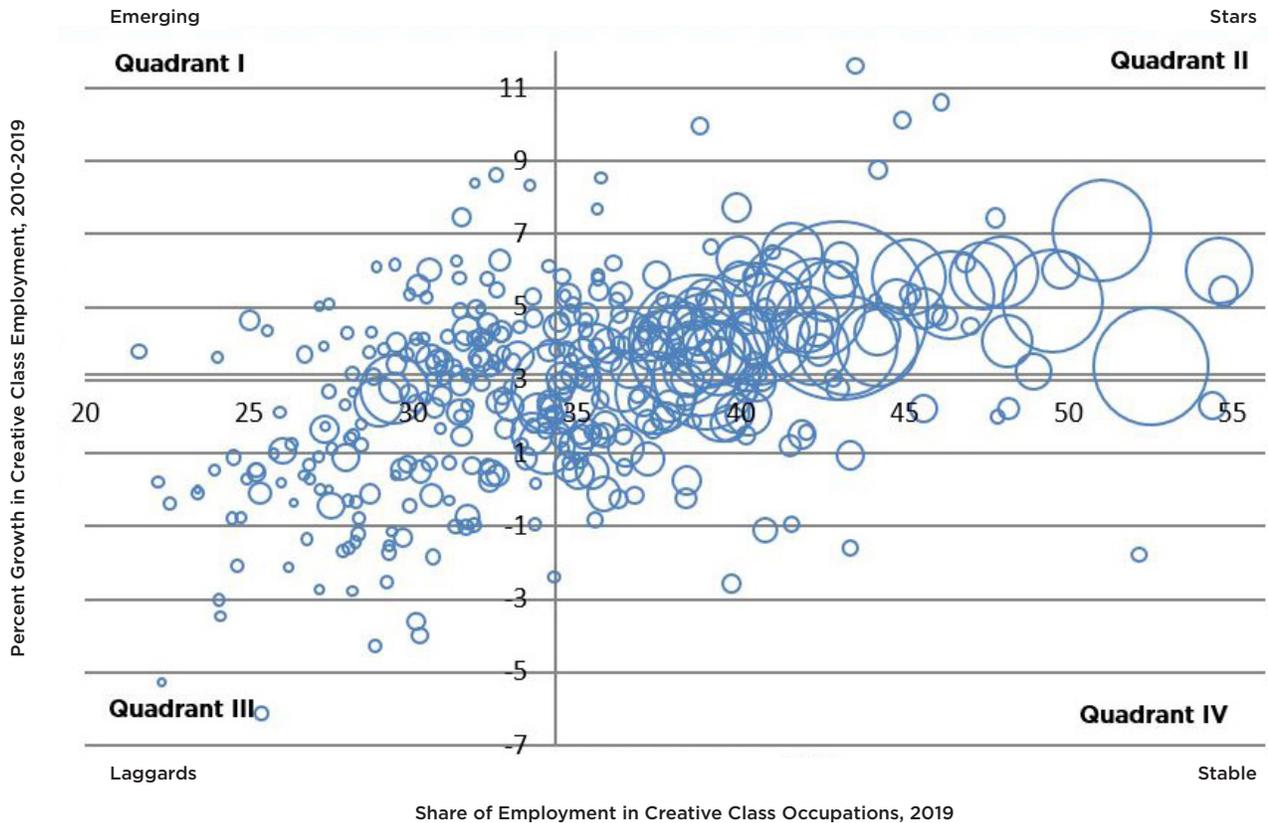
Notes: Percentage point growth in knowledge, professional and creative class occupations, 2010-2019. There are 331 small and medium size metros with between 50,000 and under one million people. Heartland metros are in *italics*.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community and 2019 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, [Table S2401](#) - Occupation by sex for the civilian employed population 16 years and over.

The table above charts creative class growth for the top 20 small and medium size metros. Heartland metros take three of the top five spots and 10 of the top 20 spots for creative class growth. Auburn, Alabama is third (10.1%); Midland, Texas is fourth (10%) and Springfield, Illinois fifth (8.7%). The heartland metros of Hot Springs, Arkansas is seventh (8.5%); Iowa City is 12th (7.5%) and Des Moines, Iowa, is 16th (6.3%); Longview, Texas is 13th (7.4%); Evansville, Indiana is 17th (6.3%);

Champaign Urbana, Illinois is 19th (6.2%) and Eau Claire, Wisconsin is 20th (6.2%). These all rank among the top 20 small and medium size metros for creative class growth. Overall, small and medium size heartland metros have seen a creative class growth rate of 3.1 percentage points, which is slightly ahead of the 2.9 percentage points for small and medium size metros across the nation.

Creative Class Employment and Growth Across Metropolitan Areas



The chart above arrays metros on both their share and growth of the creative class. Again the size of the bubble reflects the size of the creative class.

The upper right-hand quadrant (Quadrant II) shows metros that have both a high share and high growth of the creative class, the “Stars” on this metric. This group includes the usual suspects like San Jose, San Francisco, Boston, Washington, D.C., New York City, Seattle, Denver, and Austin.

It also includes an array of heartland metros like Minneapolis-St. Paul; Chicago; Columbus and Cincinnati, Ohio; Birmingham, Alabama; St. Louis, and Oklahoma City and Tulsa, as well as large metros like Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and Buffalo. And it includes smaller heartland metros and college towns like Ann Arbor, Madison, Fayetteville-Rogers-Springdale, Arkansas; Omaha, Nebraska; Iowa City, Iowa; and Rochester, Minnesota.

The upper left-hand quadrant (Quadrant I) has metros that have a low share but high growth in the creative class – “Emerging” centers for creative class talent. This group includes a wide array of smaller heartland metros including Longview and Wichita Falls, Texas; Gadsden, Alabama; Monroe, Michigan; and St. Cloud, Minnesota.

The bottom right-hand quadrant (Quadrant IV) includes metros with a high share but low growth of creative class employment and represents “Stable” metros. This group includes large metros like Phoenix and Sacramento; and college towns including heartland college towns like Ames, Iowa; Columbia, Missouri; Lafayette, Indiana; and Lincoln, Nebraska.

The bottom left-hand quadrant (Quadrant III), Laggards includes metros that have a low share and low growth in creative class employment, and it represent laggards on this measure. This group includes large metros like Las Vegas, Memphis, San Antonio, and Grand Rapids.

These data identify the heartland metros that have seen growth in knowledge, professional and creative occupations, but do not provide detail on talent flows. To get at this, we can use data from LinkedIn's Economic Graph. Based LinkedIn's profiles of over 175 million U.S. workers, the data charts inflows and outflows of talent for 20 of America's largest metros, including eight heartland metros: Austin, Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, Houston, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Nashville, and St. Louis.³¹ While the data provides a snapshot in time, the patterns they suggest are interesting.

Some heartland metros like Austin and Nashville, have become significant national talent hubs, gaining talent from leading coastal superstar cities and tech hubs. Austin draws talent from San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, New York City, Washington, D.C., and Boston, as well as Dallas, Houston and Chicago, while losing talent to less expensive metros like Denver, Nashville, Tampa, Colorado Springs, Tulsa, Albuquerque, and Asheville, North Carolina. Nashville gains talent from coastal metros like New York City, Washington, D.C., Boston, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego and Seattle, and loses talent to Denver and Tampa Bay and smaller metros like Charleston, Asheville, Huntsville, Colorado Springs and Pensacola. Dallas and Houston also gain talent from New York City, Washington, D.C., San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Others like Chicago and Minneapolis-St. Paul function more as regional talent hubs. Chicago draws talent from Midwest metros like Detroit, Columbus and Cincinnati and college towns like Urbana-Champaign, Illinois; Iowa City, Iowa; Lansing, Michigan; Lafayette, Indiana; and Columbia, Missouri. Chicago loses talent to a mix of Sunbelt and superstar metros like Denver, Phoenix, Austin, and Tampa, as well as New York City, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle. Minneapolis-St. Paul gains talent from Midwest metros like Des Moines, Milwaukee, Duluth and Fargo and college towns like Madison and Iowa City. It loses talent to Sunbelt and Western metros like Phoenix, Denver, Dallas, Austin, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Seattle and Tampa Bay.

Cleveland and St. Louis draw talent from a more limited geography. Cleveland gains talent from Ohio metros like Toledo, Cincinnati, Youngstown, and Dayton, as well as Rustbelt metros like Pittsburgh, Detroit, St. Louis, and Buffalo. It loses talent to nearby Columbus and Sunbelt metros like Charlotte, Tampa, Miami, Denver, Atlanta, Phoenix, Dallas, and Raleigh. St. Louis draws talent from Chicago and smaller regional metros and college towns like Columbia and Springfield-Branson, Missouri; Carbondale, Peoria, Springfield, and Champaign-Urbana, Illinois; Des Moines and Iowa City, Iowa; and Lafayette, Indiana, while losing talent to Sunbelt metros like Dallas, Denver, Phoenix, Atlanta, Austin, Houston, Miami and Tampa Bay as well as Boston and Washington, D.C.

DISCUSSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

This report has examined the changing geography of talent across America’s metro areas. It suggests a subtle and nuanced shift in that geography. While coastal superstar cities and leading tech hubs still dominate, heartland metros like Columbus, Nashville, St. Louis, Cleveland and Cincinnati have seen significant growth in their shares of both college grads and the creative class; heartland college towns like Ann Arbor, Madison, Iowa City, and Fayetteville, Arkansas, rank as talent stars alongside places like San Francisco, Boston, and Washington, D.C.; and older industrial metros outside the heartland metros like Pittsburgh have become significant attractors of talent as well.

These shifts, documented in our data up to 2019, have only been accelerated by the COVID-19 pandemic and the dramatic rise of remote work. Remote work gives talent greater choice of locations. Because knowledge, professional and creative workers no longer have to report to the office every day, they can spread farther afield, and the past year or two has seen significant growth in rural areas at the fringes of superstar cities like New York’s Hudson Valley. The significant growth of a cadre of workers who can work remotely on a full-time basis, which makes up as much as 20% of the workforce and a far greater percentage of knowledge and professional workers, enables these workers to move even farther afield to more affordable metro areas.

While remote work has accelerated this shift, a big part of the reason for it stems from the work smaller cities and metro areas have done to bolster their amenities and appeal to talent. Two decades ago, cities like New York City, Boston, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and Los Angeles offered a unique bundle of amenities – from restaurants, cafes and nightlife to art galleries and museums – which could not be found in other places. But over the past two decades, similar kinds of

amenities have cropped up in cities across the country. In fact, more affordable real estate of smaller cities and metro areas has enabled them to attract independent restaurants, coffee shops, co-working spaces, breweries, and music venues – destinations that have become much harder to afford to launch in superstar cities. Many of these smaller metro areas also have unique natural amenities that appeal to talent and have worked hard to bolster, upgrade, and showcase these amenities. Bentonville, Arkansas has invested heavily in arts and culture amenities like the Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art and the Momentary and a network of world-class bike paths and trails.³² Tulsa, Oklahoma has invested in the Gathering Place, an award-winning park, the Woodie Guthrie Museum, and spearheaded a signature program for remote workers, Tulsa Remote, which has attracted some 1,300 workers to the city.³³

This does not mean that the geography of talent is reverting to the older more spread-out or convergent system of the 1950s and 1960s. The winner-take-all geography of talent remains a fact of the modern knowledge economy, rooted in the clustering that is a fundamental driver of innovation and economic growth. Coastal superstar cities and tech clusters will remain hubs of this new geography for the foreseeable future. But the trends of the past decade along with the rise of remote work mean that smaller and medium size heartland metros and rural areas across the country can be players in this new geography. Unfortunately, not every place will be able to play. The places that are building up their talent bases have assets like research universities, signature natural amenities, or well-endowed local foundations, corporations, and anchor institutions that can help build up their amenities, bolster their cultural offerings, and enhance their quality of life.

This report sheds light on the state of talent in the Heartland and across U.S. metros. As talent – both educational and occupational – has risen in importance for national and regional economic performance, communities across the United States and the world have come to embrace talent-based economic development strategies. This growing field of talent-based economic development initiatives includes the following types of initiatives.³⁴

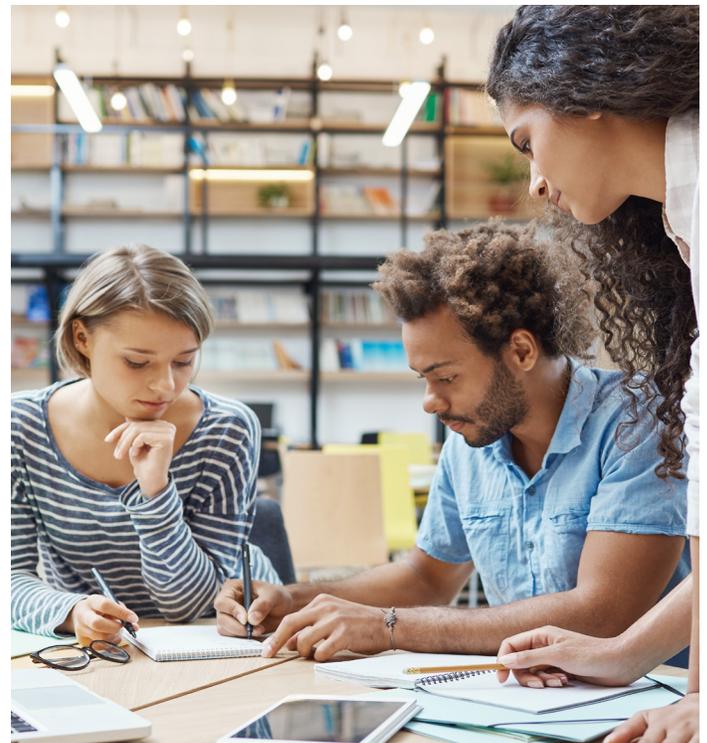
Talent-Based Economic Development Initiatives:

- **Talent Attraction:** These include initiatives to attract talent.
- **Talent Retention:** Initiatives to retain home grown talent.
- **University-Industry-Community Partnerships:** To both attract and retain talent.
- **Entrepreneurial Support:** Initiatives to enhance entrepreneurship and bolster entrepreneurial ecosystems and to impart entrepreneurial skills to various segments of the talent pool and population, including the less advantaged and minority groups.
- **Talent Pipelines:** Initiatives to grow and engage the local pool of talent by strengthening skills training across community colleges and the workforce development system broadly.
- **Quality of Place Initiatives:** Seeking both to attract and retain talent by investment in arts, cultural and/or outdoor amenities.
- **Remote Worker Initiatives:** Attracting remote workers through a combination of small incentives, access to affordable housing, and connections to the community.

This shifting geography of talent both reflects and reinforces a long-standing demographic divide. On the one hand, the suburbs have long been for Americans with families. This is due to a combination

of affordability, space, locally funded schools and perceptions of crime and safety. The pandemic has accelerated and compressed such family formation moves. Also, the rise of remote work enables talented people to leapfrog over the suburbs of superstar cities and tech hubs and locate in more remote rural areas or metros in other parts of the country. This shift in family formation moves has been further accelerated by the perception of rising crime and urban disorder in large urban centers. On the other hand, young, educated people have been drawn to big urban centers, particularly coastal superstar cities and tech hubs. Young college educated adults ages 25 to 34 accounted for more than half of the growth in close-in urban neighborhoods from 2010 to 2016.³⁵ These talented young people will continue to flock to large urban centers for the job opportunities, professional networks and thick labor markets, as well as the excitement, social life and dating opportunities, or thick mating markets, that they offer. This demographic and spatial divide in talent will likely grow even more pronounced in the wake of the pandemic.

When all is said and done, the new geography of talent looks like a slightly more stretched out version of the old.



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EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT DATA BY QUADRANT

Geographic Area Name	Number of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Share of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Growth in Educational Attainment, 2010-2019
Emerging Centers (Quadrant I)			
Altoona, PA Metro Area	20,345	23.1%	7.0%
Anniston-Oxford, AL Metro Area	15,257	19.3%	4.6%
Atlantic City-Hammonton, NJ Metro Area	51,781	28.2%	5.2%
Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX Metro Area	53,239	20.3%	5.3%
Bloomsburg-Berwick, PA Metro Area	15,071	26.3%	4.5%
Burlington, NC Metro Area	28,937	25.4%	4.5%
Clarksville, TN-KY Metro Area	50,967	26.4%	7.7%
Cleveland, TN Metro Area	18,696	21.2%	4.5%
Cumberland, MD-WV Metro Area	13,048	19.1%	4.3%
Decatur, AL Metro Area	22,290	21.0%	6.1%
El Centro, CA Metro Area	20,569	18.4%	5.2%
Evansville, IN-KY Metro Area	58,542	26.7%	6.6%
Florence, SC Metro Area	32,189	23.1%	5.4%
Fond du Lac, WI Metro Area	17,170	23.6%	5.5%
Fort Smith, AR-OK Metro Area	35,276	21.0%	5.1%
Gadsden, AL Metro Area	12,369	17.2%	4.3%
Green Bay, WI Metro Area	61,226	27.8%	4.3%
Hammond, LA Metro Area	21,613	24.8%	5.4%
Hanford-Corcoran, CA Metro Area	16,745	17.6%	6.7%
Homosassa Springs, FL Metro Area	27,160	22.6%	6.9%
Huntington-Ashland, WV-KY-OH Metro Area	53,279	21.4%	5.3%
Jackson, MI Metro Area	25,566	22.9%	5.2%
Jacksonville, NC Metro Area	26,789	24.7%	6.7%
Jonesboro, AR Metro Area	20,531	23.5%	4.6%
Kingsport-Bristol, TN-VA Metro Area	51,852	23.0%	4.4%
Lancaster, PA Metro Area	104,439	28.3%	4.2%
Lewiston, ID-WA Metro Area	10,660	24.2%	6.0%
Lewiston-Auburn, ME Metro Area	19,034	25.1%	6.5%
Mansfield, OH Metro Area	16,052	18.8%	4.3%
Monroe, MI Metro Area	26,294	24.6%	6.4%
Morristown, TN Metro Area	19,336	19.3%	5.1%
Mount Vernon-Anacortes, WA Metro Area	24,823	27.0%	4.8%
Muskegon, MI Metro Area	24,784	20.8%	4.6%
Niles, MI Metro Area	29,007	27.0%	5.0%

Geographic Area Name	Number of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Share of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Growth in Educational Attainment, 2010-2019
Ocala, FL Metro Area	56,431	20.6%	4.3%
Owensboro, KY Metro Area	18,932	22.8%	6.4%
Panama City, FL Metro Area	33,269	26.4%	6.4%
Parkersburg-Vienna, WV Metro Area	12,928	20.0%	4.5%
Port St. Lucie, FL Metro Area	96,041	26.3%	4.5%
Prescott Valley-Prescott, AZ Metro Area	51,869	28.5%	6.9%
Rome, GA Metro Area	15,105	22.9%	4.3%
San Angelo, TX Metro Area	18,613	23.8%	4.5%
Sheboygan, WI Metro Area	22,495	27.9%	7.9%
South Bend-Mishawaka, IN-MI Metro Area	61,176	28.4%	4.1%
Spartanburg, SC Metro Area	57,199	26.3%	5.7%
St. Cloud, MN Metro Area	33,943	26.6%	4.5%
Sumter, SC Metro Area	19,115	20.1%	4.4%
Utica-Rome, NY Metro Area	54,808	27.0%	5.7%
Warner Robins, GA Metro Area	33,706	28.2%	7.9%
Wenatchee, WA Metro Area	20,394	24.7%	5.5%
Williamsport, PA Metro Area	19,553	24.3%	6.1%
Winchester, VA-WV Metro Area	25,793	26.7%	5.2%
York-Hanover, PA Metro Area	83,035	26.4%	4.8%
Stars (Quadrant II)			
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY Metro Area	242,763	39.5%	6.3%
Ann Arbor, MI Metro Area	130,123	55.9%	5.5%
Appleton, WI Metro Area	49,299	30.1%	4.0%
Asheville, NC Metro Area	123,179	35.5%	6.1%
Athens-Clarke County, GA Metro Area	54,571	42.4%	7.4%
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA Metro Area	1,604,336	39.9%	5.8%
Auburn-Opelika, AL Metro Area	41,955	41.4%	10.2%
Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX Metro Area	695,959	46.2%	6.8%
Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD Metro Area	815,619	41.9%	6.8%
Bangor, ME Metro Area	32,157	29.4%	5.3%
Barnstable Town, MA Metro Area	78,986	47.1%	8.0%
Bend, OR Metro Area	56,191	38.7%	8.4%
Birmingham-Hoover, AL Metro Area	242,151	32.3%	6.0%
Blacksburg-Christiansburg, VA Metro Area	36,441	36.2%	6.2%
Bloomington, IL Metro Area	47,867	45.8%	5.3%
Bloomington, IN Metro Area	40,819	41.0%	8.2%

Geographic Area Name	Number of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Share of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Growth in Educational Attainment, 2010-2019
Boise City, ID Metro Area	166,129	33.3%	5.0%
Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH Metro Area	1,693,687	49.3%	6.3%
Boulder, CO Metro Area	141,110	64.8%	7.3%
<i>Bowling Green, KY Metro Area</i>	<i>33,033</i>	<i>30.0%</i>	<i>5.3%</i>
Bremerton-Silverdale-Port Orchard, WA Metro Area	66,319	34.8%	6.1%
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT Metro Area	317,798	49.1%	5.1%
Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY Metro Area	262,954	32.8%	4.5%
Burlington-South Burlington, VT Metro Area	66,900	44.6%	4.5%
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL Metro Area	169,403	29.0%	5.6%
<i>Cape Girardeau, MO-IL Metro Area</i>	<i>19,184</i>	<i>30.5%</i>	<i>6.8%</i>
<i>Champaign-Urbana, IL Metro Area</i>	<i>59,335</i>	<i>44.5%</i>	<i>6.7%</i>
Charleston-North Charleston, SC Metro Area	209,629	37.5%	5.6%
Charlottesville, VA Metro Area	73,086	49.2%	7.0%
<i>Chattanooga, TN-GA Metro Area</i>	<i>117,215</i>	<i>29.5%</i>	<i>6.3%</i>
Cheyenne, WY Metro Area	20,369	30.1%	7.4%
<i>Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI Metro Area</i>	<i>2,544,458</i>	<i>39.2%</i>	<i>5.2%</i>
Chico, CA Metro Area	43,830	30.5%	8.0%
<i>Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN Metro Area</i>	<i>529,749</i>	<i>35.4%</i>	<i>6.2%</i>
<i>College Station-Bryan, TX Metro Area</i>	<i>57,007</i>	<i>38.0%</i>	<i>5.9%</i>
Colorado Springs, CO Metro Area	192,885	39.2%	5.1%
Columbia, SC Metro Area	192,628	34.4%	4.6%
<i>Columbus, IN Metro Area</i>	<i>20,944</i>	<i>36.5%</i>	<i>12.5%</i>
<i>Columbus, OH Metro Area</i>	<i>543,670</i>	<i>37.9%</i>	<i>5.4%</i>
Corvallis, OR Metro Area	33,118	57.9%	9.9%
Crestview-Fort Walton Beach-Destin, FL Metro Area	62,013	31.1%	5.5%
<i>Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX Metro Area</i>	<i>1,788,138</i>	<i>36.3%</i>	<i>5.2%</i>
<i>Daphne-Fairhope-Foley, AL Metro Area</i>	<i>51,471</i>	<i>32.2%</i>	<i>5.0%</i>
<i>Dayton-Kettering, OH Metro Area</i>	<i>167,360</i>	<i>30.2%</i>	<i>5.8%</i>
Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO Metro Area	950,271	45.8%	7.6%
<i>Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA Metro Area</i>	<i>177,259</i>	<i>38.0%</i>	<i>6.1%</i>
<i>Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI Metro Area</i>	<i>978,346</i>	<i>32.4%</i>	<i>5.1%</i>
<i>Dubuque, IA Metro Area</i>	<i>21,238</i>	<i>32.6%</i>	<i>4.5%</i>
Erie, PA Metro Area	55,080	29.5%	6.1%
Eugene-Springfield, OR Metro Area	85,653	32.3%	4.4%
Fairbanks, AK Metro Area	20,391	33.3%	5.3%
<i>Fargo, ND-MN Metro Area</i>	<i>63,658</i>	<i>40.4%</i>	<i>4.8%</i>

Geographic Area Name	Number of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Share of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Growth in Educational Attainment, 2010-2019
<i>Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR Metro Area</i>	112,718	33.0%	7.8%
Flagstaff, AZ Metro Area	33,511	39.6%	8.4%
<i>Grand Forks, ND-MN Metro Area</i>	21,380	34.2%	5.4%
Grand Junction, CO Metro Area	31,974	29.8%	4.8%
<i>Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI Metro Area</i>	237,767	33.4%	7.2%
Greeley, CO Metro Area	62,942	29.9%	4.8%
Greensboro-High Point, NC Metro Area	157,452	30.0%	4.4%
Greenville, NC Metro Area	35,957	32.1%	5.3%
Greenville-Anderson, SC Metro Area	196,075	31.3%	4.5%
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA Metro Area	134,590	33.2%	4.4%
Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT Metro Area	334,903	39.7%	5.1%
Hilton Head Island-Bluffton, SC Metro Area	60,971	38.0%	5.3%
<i>Hot Springs, AR Metro Area</i>	20,729	28.6%	7.8%
<i>Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX Metro Area</i>	1,522,732	33.3%	4.9%
<i>Huntsville, AL Metro Area</i>	130,766	40.2%	5.8%
Idaho Falls, ID Metro Area	28,168	30.6%	7.1%
<i>Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN Metro Area</i>	488,357	35.2%	4.5%
Jacksonville, FL Metro Area	352,618	32.5%	5.5%
<i>Kalamazoo-Portage, MI Metro Area</i>	63,531	38.3%	7.8%
<i>Kansas City, MO-KS Metro Area</i>	551,561	37.7%	5.2%
<i>La Crosse-Onalaska, WI-MN Metro Area</i>	30,353	33.7%	4.4%
<i>Lafayette-West Lafayette, IN Metro Area</i>	47,187	34.9%	4.5%
<i>Lansing-East Lansing, MI Metro Area</i>	122,841	34.1%	4.1%
<i>Lexington-Fayette, KY Metro Area</i>	131,183	38.3%	7.1%
<i>Lincoln, NE Metro Area</i>	83,042	39.7%	6.1%
<i>Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR Metro Area</i>	152,030	30.3%	4.1%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA Metro Area	3,252,393	35.5%	4.5%
<i>Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN Metro Area</i>	269,885	30.7%	4.8%
Lynchburg, VA Metro Area	52,328	29.3%	8.0%
<i>Madison, WI Metro Area</i>	278,103	48.6%	5.3%
<i>Mankato, MN Metro Area</i>	22,839	37.2%	6.0%
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL Metro Area	1,469,095	33.1%	5.0%
<i>Midland, MI Metro Area</i>	21,276	36.3%	4.7%
<i>Midland, TX Metro Area</i>	33,332	29.3%	9.0%
<i>Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI Metro Area</i>	392,378	36.4%	4.6%
<i>Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI Metro Area</i>	1,072,662	43.2%	5.3%

Geographic Area Name	Number of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Share of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Growth in Educational Attainment, 2010-2019
Morgantown, WV Metro Area	34,760	37.9%	8.2%
Napa, CA Metro Area	35,320	36.2%	8.3%
Naples-Marco Island, FL Metro Area	104,880	35.8%	4.7%
<i>Nashville-Davidson--Murfreeseboro--Franklin, TN Metro Area</i>	<i>505,529</i>	<i>38.5%</i>	<i>8.8%</i>
<i>New Orleans-Metairie, LA Metro Area</i>	<i>286,377</i>	<i>32.3%</i>	<i>5.5%</i>
New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA Metro Area	5,642,491	41.8%	5.9%
North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL Metro Area	219,215	33.7%	6.9%
Ocean City, NJ Metro Area	22,471	32.1%	4.7%
<i>Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA Metro Area</i>	<i>235,927</i>	<i>37.7%</i>	<i>4.7%</i>
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL Metro Area	600,229	33.3%	5.2%
<i>Oshkosh-Neenah, WI Metro Area</i>	<i>36,708</i>	<i>31.1%</i>	<i>8.9%</i>
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL Metro Area	137,015	30.4%	5.3%
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metro Area	1,658,371	39.0%	5.8%
Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ Metro Area	1,074,497	32.2%	5.0%
Pittsburgh, PA Metro Area	609,265	36.0%	6.8%
Pittsfield, MA Metro Area	31,276	33.9%	5.0%
Portland-South Portland, ME Metro Area	168,508	42.3%	8.6%
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA Metro Area	713,350	40.3%	7.4%
Providence-Warwick, RI-MA Metro Area	380,264	33.2%	4.7%
Provo-Orem, UT Metro Area	133,195	40.6%	5.4%
Raleigh-Cary, NC Metro Area	448,718	48.0%	6.9%
Reno, NV Metro Area	104,467	31.6%	5.6%
Richmond, VA Metro Area	338,434	37.6%	5.9%
<i>Rochester, MN Metro Area</i>	<i>62,861</i>	<i>41.2%</i>	<i>5.9%</i>
Rochester, NY Metro Area	277,107	37.1%	4.2%
Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA Metro Area	551,133	34.2%	4.8%
Salisbury, MD-DE Metro Area	87,847	29.3%	5.9%
Salt Lake City, UT Metro Area	285,952	36.5%	7.5%
San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA Metro Area	912,647	39.9%	6.2%
San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA Metro Area	1,768,174	51.4%	8.1%
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA Metro Area	733,354	52.7%	7.3%
San Luis Obispo-Paso Robles, CA Metro Area	71,071	37.2%	6.4%
Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA Metro Area	79,378	43.8%	10.1%
Santa Maria-Santa Barbara, CA Metro Area	96,042	34.5%	4.7%
Santa Rosa-Petaluma, CA Metro Area	134,474	37.4%	5.3%
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA Metro Area	1,239,731	44.1%	7.1%

Geographic Area Name	Number of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Share of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Growth in Educational Attainment, 2010-2019
Sebastian-Vero Beach, FL Metro Area	38,939	31.3%	5.4%
Springfield, MA Metro Area	161,982	34.2%	5.1%
<i>St. Louis, MO-IL Metro Area</i>	<i>700,257</i>	<i>35.8%</i>	<i>5.9%</i>
Tallahassee, FL Metro Area	94,773	38.7%	4.4%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL Metro Area	733,375	31.6%	5.3%
The Villages, FL Metro Area	39,304	33.2%	10.0%
Trenton-Princeton, NJ Metro Area	110,409	44.5%	6.0%
<i>Tulsa, OK Metro Area</i>	<i>193,514</i>	<i>28.9%</i>	<i>4.2%</i>
Vallejo, CA Metro Area	89,822	28.9%	6.1%
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC Metro Area	392,816	32.9%	4.4%
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV Metro Area	2,215,720	51.4%	4.6%
<i>Waterloo-Cedar Falls, IA Metro Area</i>	<i>32,590</i>	<i>30.0%</i>	<i>5.3%</i>
Wilmington, NC Metro Area	80,976	39.3%	7.0%
Laggards (Quadrant III)			
<i>Abilene, TX Metro Area</i>	<i>26,300</i>	<i>24.1%</i>	<i>3.2%</i>
Albany, GA Metro Area	19,119	19.7%	3.8%
Albany-Lebanon, OR Metro Area	17,062	18.8%	0.4%
<i>Alexandria, LA Metro Area</i>	<i>17,818</i>	<i>17.5%</i>	<i>0.7%</i>
<i>Amarillo, TX Metro Area</i>	<i>43,598</i>	<i>25.2%</i>	<i>0.6%</i>
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC Metro Area	113,091	27.4%	2.9%
Bakersfield, CA Metro Area	94,296	17.1%	2.1%
<i>Baton Rouge, LA Metro Area</i>	<i>155,228</i>	<i>27.5%</i>	<i>0.8%</i>
<i>Battle Creek, MI Metro Area</i>	<i>18,573</i>	<i>20.2%</i>	<i>3.0%</i>
<i>Bay City, MI Metro Area</i>	<i>16,177</i>	<i>21.6%</i>	<i>1.2%</i>
Beckley, WV Metro Area	14,786	17.8%	0.6%
Binghamton, NY Metro Area	42,740	26.5%	3.0%
<i>Brownsville-Harlingen, TX Metro Area</i>	<i>43,149</i>	<i>17.1%</i>	<i>2.8%</i>
Brunswick, GA Metro Area	19,976	23.5%	2.9%
<i>Canton-Massillon, OH Metro Area</i>	<i>59,545</i>	<i>21.3%</i>	<i>1.5%</i>
Carson City, NV Metro Area	8,638	21.3%	0.6%
Casper, WY Metro Area	11,221	20.7%	2.7%
Chambersburg-Waynesboro, PA Metro Area	24,114	22.0%	1.8%
Charleston, WV Metro Area	41,821	22.6%	3.1%
Coeur d'Alene, ID Metro Area	28,366	24.5%	1.6%
Columbus, GA-AL Metro Area	49,432	23.1%	2.1%
<i>Corpus Christi, TX Metro Area</i>	<i>62,881</i>	<i>22.3%</i>	<i>2.3%</i>

Geographic Area Name	Number of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Share of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Growth in Educational Attainment, 2010-2019
Dalton, GA Metro Area	14,049	15.0%	1.8%
Danville, IL Metro Area	6,287	12.1%	-1.4%
Davenport-Moline-Rock Island, IA-IL Metro Area	70,597	27.1%	2.0%
Decatur, IL Metro Area	15,557	21.5%	-0.7%
Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL Metro Area	122,854	24.5%	3.6%
Dothan, AL Metro Area	21,081	20.1%	3.7%
Dover, DE Metro Area	29,849	24.5%	3.4%
Duluth, MN-WI Metro Area	57,767	28.4%	3.4%
East Stroudsburg, PA Metro Area	31,009	26.0%	0.6%
El Paso, TX Metro Area	121,720	23.3%	3.7%
Elizabethtown-Fort Knox, KY Metro Area	22,553	21.4%	2.5%
Elkhart-Goshen, IN Metro Area	26,075	19.9%	3.3%
Elmira, NY Metro Area	15,048	25.3%	3.7%
Farmington, NM Metro Area	11,711	14.4%	-0.7%
Fayetteville, NC Metro Area	78,902	23.8%	0.1%
Flint, MI Metro Area	60,459	21.5%	2.2%
Florence-Muscle Shoals, AL Metro Area	20,989	20.2%	0.3%
Fort Wayne, IN Metro Area	76,293	28.1%	4.0%
Fresno, CA Metro Area	136,816	22.0%	1.9%
Gainesville, GA Metro Area	34,293	25.4%	1.9%
Gettysburg, PA Metro Area	15,684	21.6%	3.0%
Glens Falls, NY Metro Area	24,942	26.7%	3.3%
Goldsboro, NC Metro Area	14,582	18.1%	2.7%
Grand Island, NE Metro Area	10,373	21.0%	3.6%
Grants Pass, OR Metro Area	11,003	16.8%	-0.2%
Great Falls, MT Metro Area	13,975	25.6%	0.3%
Gulfport-Biloxi, MS Metro Area	64,459	22.7%	0.9%
Hagerstown-Martinsburg, MD-WV Metro Area	45,563	22.3%	2.2%
Hattiesburg, MS Metro Area	27,217	25.5%	0.3%
Hickory-Lenoir-Morganton, NC Metro Area	52,068	19.6%	2.0%
Hinesville, GA Metro Area	8,460	17.6%	-1.0%
Houma-Thibodaux, LA Metro Area	23,040	16.3%	3.3%
Jackson, TN Metro Area	26,976	22.5%	0.6%
Janesville-Beloit, WI Metro Area	25,749	23.2%	3.6%
Johnson City, TN Metro Area	38,530	26.5%	1.2%
Johnstown, PA Metro Area	19,378	20.6%	1.0%

Geographic Area Name	Number of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Share of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Growth in Educational Attainment, 2010-2019
<i>Joplin, MO Metro Area</i>	27,308	22.8%	4.0%
Kahului-Wailuku-Lahaina, HI Metro Area	33,399	27.7%	2.8%
<i>Kankakee, IL Metro Area</i>	14,118	19.5%	3.5%
Kennewick-Richland, WA Metro Area	52,337	27.7%	3.6%
<i>Killeen-Temple, TX Metro Area</i>	68,058	23.8%	3.9%
<i>Kokomo, IN Metro Area</i>	10,420	18.2%	-0.8%
<i>Lafayette, LA Metro Area</i>	82,140	25.1%	-0.2%
<i>Lake Charles, LA Metro Area</i>	31,633	22.9%	3.4%
Lake Havasu City-Kingman, AZ Metro Area	22,011	13.5%	0.9%
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL Metro Area	104,640	20.8%	2.9%
<i>Laredo, TX Metro Area</i>	31,632	20.3%	3.6%
Las Cruces, NM Metro Area	36,648	27.2%	2.7%
Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV Metro Area	400,107	25.6%	3.9%
<i>Lawton, OK Metro Area</i>	16,824	20.5%	2.7%
Lebanon, PA Metro Area	20,565	20.9%	1.8%
<i>Lima, OH Metro Area</i>	13,387	19.4%	3.1%
<i>Longview, TX Metro Area</i>	37,509	19.7%	4.0%
Longview, WA Metro Area	11,848	15.3%	0.8%
Macon-Bibb County, GA Metro Area	37,215	24.1%	3.8%
Madera, CA Metro Area	14,022	14.1%	-1.3%
<i>McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX Metro Area</i>	93,951	19.0%	3.3%
Medford, OR Metro Area	44,059	27.6%	3.9%
Merced, CA Metro Area	24,176	14.4%	2.1%
<i>Michigan City-La Porte, IN Metro Area</i>	13,878	18.0%	0.4%
<i>Mobile, AL Metro Area</i>	66,266	22.8%	1.8%
Modesto, CA Metro Area	60,583	17.3%	1.3%
<i>Monroe, LA Metro Area</i>	30,849	23.2%	3.6%
<i>Muncie, IN Metro Area</i>	16,213	22.6%	-1.3%
Myrtle Beach-Conway-North Myrtle Beach, SC-NC Metro Area	102,599	26.9%	3.5%
New Bern, NC Metro Area	18,182	20.9%	0.2%
<i>Odessa, TX Metro Area</i>	15,237	15.1%	2.0%
Pensacola-Ferry Pass-Brent, FL Metro Area	86,508	25.0%	0.5%
<i>Pine Bluff, AR Metro Area</i>	10,226	16.4%	2.6%
Pocatello, ID Metro Area	17,331	28.3%	1.6%
Pueblo, CO Metro Area	27,254	23.4%	3.8%
Punta Gorda, FL Metro Area	35,037	22.1%	-0.2%

Geographic Area Name	Number of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Share of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Growth in Educational Attainment, 2010-2019
<i>Racine, WI Metro Area</i>	35,110	26.1%	2.7%
Reading, PA Metro Area	72,982	25.4%	2.6%
Redding, CA Metro Area	27,791	21.8%	2.4%
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA Metro Area	693,986	23.0%	3.5%
<i>Rockford, IL Metro Area</i>	55,888	24.5%	3.5%
Rocky Mount, NC Metro Area	17,617	17.4%	3.4%
<i>Saginaw, MI Metro Area</i>	28,936	21.8%	4.0%
Salem, OR Metro Area	76,131	26.6%	3.9%
Salinas, CA Metro Area	71,433	25.7%	2.9%
Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA Metro Area	96,950	24.4%	2.2%
Sebring-Avon Park, FL Metro Area	13,477	16.7%	2.0%
<i>Sherman-Denison, TX Metro Area</i>	19,959	21.7%	2.5%
<i>Shreveport-Bossier City, LA Metro Area</i>	60,725	22.8%	2.5%
Sierra Vista-Douglas, AZ Metro Area	22,101	25.0%	3.2%
<i>Sioux City, IA-NE-SD Metro Area</i>	21,432	22.6%	0.2%
<i>Springfield, MO Metro Area</i>	85,195	27.5%	2.6%
<i>Springfield, OH Metro Area</i>	14,906	16.2%	-0.9%
St. George, UT Metro Area	31,623	27.3%	0.1%
<i>St. Joseph, MO-KS Metro Area</i>	17,571	20.0%	1.1%
Staunton, VA Metro Area	22,013	24.2%	2.7%
Stockton, CA Metro Area	96,795	20.0%	2.3%
<i>Terre Haute, IN Metro Area</i>	25,312	20.4%	2.7%
<i>Texarkana, TX-AR Metro Area</i>	17,883	17.5%	1.4%
<i>Toledo, OH Metro Area</i>	122,623	28.2%	3.9%
<i>Tuscaloosa, AL Metro Area</i>	45,535	28.2%	3.1%
Twin Falls, ID Metro Area	13,745	20.0%	3.6%
<i>Tyler, TX Metro Area</i>	41,805	27.4%	2.6%
Valdosta, GA Metro Area	21,080	23.4%	2.8%
<i>Victoria, TX Metro Area</i>	11,774	18.2%	2.7%
Vineland-Bridgeton, NJ Metro Area	16,539	16.1%	2.9%
Visalia, CA Metro Area	37,833	13.6%	0.2%
<i>Waco, TX Metro Area</i>	41,448	24.7%	2.1%
Watertown-Fort Drum, NY Metro Area	15,662	22.4%	0.4%
<i>Wausau-Weston, WI Metro Area</i>	27,117	23.5%	3.0%
Weirton-Steubenville, WV-OH Metro Area	14,889	17.5%	3.1%
Wheeling, WV-OH Metro Area	21,627	21.3%	1.8%

Geographic Area Name	Number of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Share of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Growth in Educational Attainment, 2010-2019
<i>Wichita Falls, TX Metro Area</i>	22,156	22.4%	4.0%
Winston-Salem, NC Metro Area	127,512	27.1%	0.0%
Yakima, WA Metro Area	26,513	17.2%	1.6%
<i>Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA Metro Area</i>	87,335	22.8%	3.5%
Yuba City, CA Metro Area	22,280	19.6%	2.2%
Yuma, AZ Metro Area	19,427	14.2%	0.4%
Stable (Quadrant IV)			
<i>Akron, OH Metro Area</i>	155,389	31.8%	3.3%
Albuquerque, NM Metro Area	211,192	33.2%	4.0%
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ Metro Area	175,820	29.7%	3.0%
<i>Ames, IA Metro Area</i>	32,972	44.6%	-3.8%
Anchorage, AK Metro Area	86,337	33.1%	2.2%
Bellingham, WA Metro Area	54,651	35.7%	3.6%
Billings, MT Metro Area	40,378	31.8%	0.1%
<i>Bismarck, ND Metro Area</i>	29,218	33.4%	1.2%
<i>Cedar Rapids, IA Metro Area</i>	57,328	30.7%	2.6%
Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC Metro Area	649,767	36.2%	4.0%
<i>Cleveland-Elyria, OH Metro Area</i>	459,182	31.7%	4.0%
<i>Columbia, MO Metro Area</i>	56,026	44.0%	-5.0%
Durham-Chapel Hill, NC Metro Area	205,245	46.3%	3.4%
<i>Eau Claire, WI Metro Area</i>	33,730	29.9%	3.7%
Fort Collins, CO Metro Area	116,752	49.0%	3.2%
Gainesville, FL Metro Area	80,864	38.9%	1.3%
Harrisonburg, VA Metro Area	24,901	29.9%	3.4%
<i>Iowa City, IA Metro Area</i>	51,168	48.8%	3.2%
Ithaca, NY Metro Area	33,959	56.9%	3.5%
<i>Jackson, MS Metro Area</i>	122,394	31.0%	2.7%
<i>Jefferson City, MO Metro Area</i>	30,483	28.9%	4.0%
Kingston, NY Metro Area	42,732	32.9%	3.9%
<i>Knoxville, TN Metro Area</i>	180,678	29.9%	1.1%
<i>Lawrence, KS Metro Area</i>	34,069	47.1%	-2.8%
Logan, UT-ID Metro Area	25,074	33.3%	1.6%
<i>Lubbock, TX Metro Area</i>	60,680	31.4%	3.4%
Manchester-Nashua, NH Metro Area	112,446	37.8%	2.6%
<i>Manhattan, KS Metro Area</i>	26,398	37.4%	3.2%
<i>Memphis, TN-MS-AR Metro Area</i>	257,026	28.8%	3.7%

Geographic Area Name	Number of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Share of Adults with Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2019	Growth in Educational Attainment, 2010-2019
Missoula, MT Metro Area	36,342	44.4%	3.7%
<i>Montgomery, AL Metro Area</i>	<i>78,831</i>	<i>31.2%</i>	<i>3.6%</i>
New Haven-Milford, CT Metro Area	211,081	35.1%	3.4%
Norwich-New London, CT Metro Area	62,629	33.3%	3.1%
Ogden-Clearfield, UT Metro Area	131,579	32.0%	1.9%
<i>Oklahoma City, OK Metro Area</i>	<i>290,087</i>	<i>31.5%</i>	<i>3.9%</i>
Olympia-Lacey-Tumwater, WA Metro Area	70,496	34.4%	3.3%
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA Metro Area	201,040	34.8%	4.0%
<i>Peoria, IL Metro Area</i>	<i>79,642</i>	<i>28.8%</i>	<i>2.6%</i>
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY Metro Area	151,057	33.2%	2.3%
<i>Rapid City, SD Metro Area</i>	<i>30,215</i>	<i>30.8%</i>	<i>3.0%</i>
Roanoke, VA Metro Area	64,540	28.9%	1.4%
<i>San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX Metro Area</i>	<i>479,510</i>	<i>28.8%</i>	<i>3.4%</i>
Santa Fe, NM Metro Area	45,283	40.1%	2.1%
Savannah, GA Metro Area	86,079	32.4%	3.9%
<i>Sioux Falls, SD Metro Area</i>	<i>61,617</i>	<i>34.6%</i>	<i>2.8%</i>
Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA Metro Area	116,847	29.8%	1.4%
<i>Springfield, IL Metro Area</i>	<i>48,983</i>	<i>33.7%</i>	<i>2.3%</i>
State College, PA Metro Area	44,172	43.8%	2.9%
Syracuse, NY Metro Area	144,278	32.5%	3.3%
<i>Topeka, KS Metro Area</i>	<i>46,138</i>	<i>29.1%</i>	<i>1.9%</i>
Tucson, AZ Metro Area	231,808	32.6%	2.6%
Urban Honolulu, HI Metro Area	243,955	35.8%	3.9%
<i>Wichita, KS Metro Area</i>	<i>130,440</i>	<i>31.1%</i>	<i>4.0%</i>
Worcester, MA-CT Metro Area	232,723	35.3%	2.6%
Not Classified			
California-Lexington Park, MD Metro Area	22,998	30.7%	N/A
<i>Carbondale-Marion, IL Metro Area</i>	<i>25,953</i>	<i>28.2%</i>	<i>N/A</i>
<i>Enid, OK Metro Area</i>	<i>8,817</i>	<i>22.3%</i>	<i>N/A</i>
Walla Walla, WA Metro Area	13,122	32.2%	N/A

Notes: Heartland metros are in *italics*.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community and 2019 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, [Table S1501 - Educational Attainment](#).

CREATIVE CLASS DATA BY QUADRANT

Geographic Area Name	Occupational Employment in the Creative Class, 2019	Share of Occupational Employment in the Creative Class, 2019	Growth in the Creative Class, 2010-2019
Emerging Centers (Quadrant I)			
<i>Abilene, TX Metro Area</i>	24,797	32.8%	3.7%
<i>Altoona, PA Metro Area</i>	18,992	32.5%	4.4%
<i>Atlantic City-Hammonton, NJ Metro Area</i>	41,116	31.9%	4.9%
<i>Battle Creek, MI Metro Area</i>	17,471	28.0%	4.3%
<i>Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX Metro Area</i>	50,909	29.5%	4.0%
<i>Burlington, NC Metro Area</i>	26,767	32.0%	4.0%
<i>Canton-Massillon, OH Metro Area</i>	60,999	32.1%	3.5%
<i>Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL Metro Area</i>	101,763	31.6%	4.4%
<i>Casper, WY Metro Area</i>	13,835	33.5%	8.3%
<i>Decatur, AL Metro Area</i>	19,291	29.1%	3.9%
<i>Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL Metro Area</i>	90,017	30.8%	3.5%
<i>Dothan, AL Metro Area</i>	18,720	30.1%	4.1%
<i>El Centro, CA Metro Area</i>	14,569	24.0%	3.6%
<i>El Paso, TX Metro Area</i>	109,737	30.5%	3.6%
<i>Elmira, NY Metro Area</i>	11,897	31.9%	3.5%
<i>Erie, PA Metro Area</i>	42,346	33.7%	4.7%
<i>Evansville, IN-KY Metro Area</i>	51,363	32.6%	6.3%
<i>Florence, SC Metro Area</i>	28,926	32.7%	4.2%
<i>Gadsden, AL Metro Area</i>	12,550	28.9%	6.1%
<i>Glens Falls, NY Metro Area</i>	20,125	33.2%	4.5%
<i>Grants Pass, OR Metro Area</i>	10,673	32.0%	4.9%
<i>Greensboro-High Point, NC Metro Area</i>	119,258	33.2%	3.6%
<i>Gulfport-Biloxi, MS Metro Area</i>	58,084	32.7%	4.3%
<i>Hanford-Corcoran, CA Metro Area</i>	13,734	25.6%	4.4%
<i>Harrisonburg, VA Metro Area</i>	21,721	32.2%	4.1%
<i>Hickory-Lenoir-Morganton, NC Metro Area</i>	51,698	29.5%	3.4%
<i>Homosassa Springs, FL Metro Area</i>	13,982	31.3%	6.3%
<i>Houma-Thibodaux, LA Metro Area</i>	25,573	28.1%	3.2%
<i>Jacksonville, NC Metro Area</i>	22,194	32.5%	8.6%
<i>Janesville-Beloit, WI Metro Area</i>	24,894	30.6%	3.5%
<i>Killeen-Temple, TX Metro Area</i>	61,098	34.1%	3.8%
<i>Kingsport-Bristol, TN-VA Metro Area</i>	42,751	32.0%	4.2%
<i>Laredo, TX Metro Area</i>	31,342	26.7%	3.7%
<i>Lewiston, ID-WA Metro Area</i>	9,811	31.9%	8.4%
<i>Longview, TX Metro Area</i>	38,733	31.5%	7.4%

Merced, CA Metro Area	24,386	21.6%	3.8%
Mobile, AL Metro Area	58,982	32.3%	4.5%
Monroe, MI Metro Area	22,041	31.4%	5.8%
Mount Vernon-Anacortes, WA Metro Area	19,415	34.1%	6.1%
Myrtle Beach-Conway-North Myrtle Beach, SC-NC Metro Area	66,309	30.5%	6.0%
New Bern, NC Metro Area	14,876	28.7%	4.3%
Niles, MI Metro Area	22,650	32.5%	3.5%
Oshkosh-Neenah, WI Metro Area	27,583	30.9%	3.6%
Owensboro, KY Metro Area	16,535	30.4%	5.3%
Pine Bluff, AR Metro Area	9,195	27.3%	3.9%
Pocatello, ID Metro Area	14,420	32.6%	3.4%
Prescott Valley-Prescott, AZ Metro Area	31,005	33.1%	3.5%
Pueblo, CO Metro Area	21,668	31.0%	4.2%
Rocky Mount, NC Metro Area	17,851	28.7%	3.8%
Saginaw, MI Metro Area	26,499	31.4%	4.9%
Salinas, CA Metro Area	57,816	30.2%	5.6%
San Angelo, TX Metro Area	17,273	30.3%	4.2%
Sebring-Avon Park, FL Metro Area	9,884	27.1%	5.0%
Shreveport-Bossier City, LA Metro Area	51,478	32.0%	3.6%
Sioux City, IA-NE-SD Metro Area	22,166	29.8%	3.7%
Spartanburg, SC Metro Area	46,149	31.5%	4.1%
St. Cloud, MN Metro Area	36,427	33.7%	5.3%
St. George, UT Metro Area	24,886	31.8%	4.1%
St. Joseph, MO-KS Metro Area	16,566	29.9%	5.3%
Staunton, VA Metro Area	18,804	30.9%	3.3%
Tyler, TX Metro Area	33,624	31.2%	3.3%
Visalia, CA Metro Area	47,286	25.0%	4.6%
Waterloo-Cedar Falls, IA Metro Area	28,699	32.5%	5.5%
Watertown-Fort Drum, NY Metro Area	11,934	31.3%	3.3%
Wausau-Weston, WI Metro Area	27,946	32.4%	3.3%
Weirton-Steubenville, WV-OH Metro Area	13,466	27.4%	5.1%
Wichita Falls, TX Metro Area	21,890	32.3%	5.8%
Williamsport, PA Metro Area	14,977	29.4%	6.2%
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA Metro Area	72,305	30.1%	3.8%
Stars (Quadrant II)			
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY Metro Area	203,650	44.7%	5.2%
Ann Arbor, MI Metro Area	106,031	54.7%	5.4%
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA Metro Area	1,283,242	42.3%	4.9%
Auburn-Opelika, AL Metro Area	36,765	44.9%	10.1%
Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX Metro Area	579,704	47.4%	5.9%
Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD Metro Area	681,280	48.0%	6.0%
Bangor, ME Metro Area	26,744	35.6%	3.9%

Barnstable Town, MA Metro Area	40,923	37.8%	3.4%
<i>Baton Rouge, LA Metro Area</i>	<i>143,752</i>	<i>35.9%</i>	<i>3.9%</i>
<i>Birmingham-Hoover, AL Metro Area</i>	<i>198,151</i>	<i>38.9%</i>	<i>5.2%</i>
Bismarck, ND Metro Area	26,179	38.1%	3.8%
Blacksburg-Christiansburg, VA Metro Area	30,928	40.6%	3.2%
<i>Bloomington, IN Metro Area</i>	<i>33,789</i>	<i>40.4%</i>	<i>3.5%</i>
Bloomsburg-Berwick, PA Metro Area	14,248	35.6%	7.7%
Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH Metro Area	1,334,415	49.5%	5.2%
<i>Bowling Green, KY Metro Area</i>	<i>29,781</i>	<i>34.7%</i>	<i>3.8%</i>
Bremerton-Silverdale-Port Orchard, WA Metro Area	46,634	39.4%	3.9%
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT Metro Area	218,637	45.6%	5.0%
Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY Metro Area	216,240	38.6%	4.9%
Burlington-South Burlington, VT Metro Area	54,936	45.2%	5.3%
<i>Cape Girardeau, MO-IL Metro Area</i>	<i>16,347</i>	<i>34.6%</i>	<i>5.3%</i>
<i>Champaign-Urbana, IL Metro Area</i>	<i>51,261</i>	<i>46.8%</i>	<i>6.2%</i>
Charleston-North Charleston, SC Metro Area	159,051	40.0%	5.8%
Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC Metro Area	532,328	39.3%	3.8%
Cheyenne, WY Metro Area	18,595	38.1%	3.6%
<i>Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI Metro Area</i>	<i>1,940,341</i>	<i>40.5%</i>	<i>4.5%</i>
<i>Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN Metro Area</i>	<i>457,215</i>	<i>40.6%</i>	<i>5.1%</i>
<i>Cleveland-Elyria, OH Metro Area</i>	<i>386,061</i>	<i>38.6%</i>	<i>3.9%</i>
Colorado Springs, CO Metro Area	152,578	43.1%	5.8%
Columbia, SC Metro Area	153,559	39.2%	5.0%
<i>Columbus, OH Metro Area</i>	<i>471,276</i>	<i>42.6%</i>	<i>5.4%</i>
<i>Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX Metro Area</i>	<i>1,502,294</i>	<i>38.9%</i>	<i>3.1%</i>
<i>Daphne-Fairhope-Foley, AL Metro Area</i>	<i>34,831</i>	<i>36.3%</i>	<i>4.8%</i>
<i>Dayton-Kettering, OH Metro Area</i>	<i>140,337</i>	<i>36.8%</i>	<i>4.0%</i>
Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO Metro Area	742,635	45.1%	5.8%
<i>Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA Metro Area</i>	<i>160,228</i>	<i>43.0%</i>	<i>6.3%</i>
<i>Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI Metro Area</i>	<i>811,258</i>	<i>38.9%</i>	<i>3.9%</i>
<i>Dubuque, IA Metro Area</i>	<i>19,681</i>	<i>37.6%</i>	<i>5.2%</i>
Durham-Chapel Hill, NC Metro Area	157,559	48.9%	3.2%
<i>Eau Claire, WI Metro Area</i>	<i>32,211</i>	<i>36.1%</i>	<i>6.2%</i>
Fairbanks, AK Metro Area	16,975	38.8%	5.2%
<i>Fargo, ND-MN Metro Area</i>	<i>57,775</i>	<i>40.4%</i>	<i>5.8%</i>
<i>Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR Metro Area</i>	<i>95,854</i>	<i>37.1%</i>	<i>4.4%</i>
Flagstaff, AZ Metro Area	29,796	43.5%	11.6%
Grand Junction, CO Metro Area	26,818	35.3%	4.4%
Greeley, CO Metro Area	60,323	36.3%	5.4%
Greenville-Anderson, SC Metro Area	164,968	37.2%	4.0%
<i>Hammond, LA Metro Area</i>	<i>20,894</i>	<i>35.6%</i>	<i>5.8%</i>
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA Metro Area	114,744	38.7%	4.1%
Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT Metro Area	276,617	44.2%	4.3%

Hilton Head Island-Bluffton, SC Metro Area	32,687	34.6%	5.8%
<i>Hot Springs, AR Metro Area</i>	15,426	35.7%	8.5%
<i>Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX Metro Area</i>	1,305,760	38.2%	3.7%
Huntington-Ashland, WV-KY-OH Metro Area	49,306	34.5%	4.6%
<i>Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN Metro Area</i>	410,084	39.3%	3.4%
<i>Iowa City, IA Metro Area</i>	46,267	47.8%	7.5%
Jacksonville, FL Metro Area	278,965	37.5%	4.3%
<i>Kalamazoo-Portage, MI Metro Area</i>	50,349	37.1%	4.4%
<i>Kansas City, MO-KS Metro Area</i>	451,574	40.5%	4.2%
Kennewick-Richland, WA Metro Area	49,143	36.3%	4.0%
<i>La Crosse-Onalaska, WI-MN Metro Area</i>	24,883	34.4%	3.8%
<i>Lafayette, LA Metro Area</i>	77,481	35.3%	4.8%
Lancaster, PA Metro Area	95,168	34.4%	4.5%
<i>Lawton, OK Metro Area</i>	17,532	35.6%	5.9%
Lewiston-Auburn, ME Metro Area	20,088	35.3%	4.7%
Logan, UT-ID Metro Area	26,718	39.1%	6.6%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA Metro Area	2,576,416	38.7%	3.9%
<i>Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN Metro Area</i>	229,785	36.6%	4.3%
<i>Lubbock, TX Metro Area</i>	56,104	34.8%	4.8%
Lynchburg, VA Metro Area	44,285	35.7%	5.5%
<i>Madison, WI Metro Area</i>	187,990	49.7%	6.0%
<i>Midland, MI Metro Area</i>	16,828	44.1%	5.2%
<i>Midland, TX Metro Area</i>	36,107	38.7%	10.0%
<i>Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI Metro Area</i>	321,380	40.3%	4.2%
<i>Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI Metro Area</i>	881,379	44.2%	4.0%
Missoula, MT Metro Area	26,766	41.0%	6.5%
<i>Montgomery, AL Metro Area</i>	59,562	35.3%	3.4%
Morgantown, WV Metro Area	31,211	46.1%	10.6%
<i>Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro-Franklin, TN Metro Area</i>	411,936	39.9%	3.8%
<i>New Orleans-Metairie, LA Metro Area</i>	225,908	37.3%	3.9%
New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA Metro Area	4,164,484	43.0%	4.9%
Norwich-New London, CT Metro Area	54,577	40.2%	4.5%
<i>Oklahoma City, OK Metro Area</i>	254,379	37.8%	4.7%
<i>Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA Metro Area</i>	202,799	41.1%	5.2%
Panama City, FL Metro Area	29,047	34.9%	5.1%
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metro Area	1,321,804	43.3%	3.9%
Pittsburgh, PA Metro Area	484,758	41.6%	6.5%
Pittsfield, MA Metro Area	25,023	38.9%	3.9%
Port St. Lucie, FL Metro Area	75,820	34.7%	5.3%
Portland-South Portland, ME Metro Area	124,923	42.4%	3.8%
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA Metro Area	542,551	42.0%	4.7%

Providence-Warwick, RI-MA Metro Area	319,136	38.2%	4.5%
Provo-Orem, UT Metro Area	133,468	42.3%	4.4%
Raleigh-Cary, NC Metro Area	348,552	48.1%	4.1%
Redding, CA Metro Area	27,989	36.2%	5.2%
<i>Rochester, MN Metro Area</i>	<i>55,779</i>	<i>46.0%</i>	<i>4.8%</i>
Rochester, NY Metro Area	222,549	41.5%	4.3%
Salt Lake City, UT Metro Area	260,307	39.9%	6.3%
San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA Metro Area	685,341	42.2%	3.9%
San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA Metro Area	1,302,601	51.0%	7.1%
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA Metro Area	573,590	54.6%	6.0%
Santa Maria-Santa Barbara, CA Metro Area	77,422	36.0%	3.6%
Santa Rosa-Petaluma, CA Metro Area	103,188	39.9%	7.7%
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA Metro Area	984,221	46.4%	5.3%
<i>Sioux Falls, SD Metro Area</i>	<i>56,830</i>	<i>38.3%</i>	<i>4.7%</i>
Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA Metro Area	96,007	37.4%	5.9%
<i>Springfield, IL Metro Area</i>	<i>42,641</i>	<i>44.2%</i>	<i>8.7%</i>
Springfield, MA Metro Area	130,306	37.6%	4.0%
<i>St. Louis, MO-IL Metro Area</i>	<i>578,740</i>	<i>41.1%</i>	<i>5.7%</i>
State College, PA Metro Area	37,383	47.0%	4.5%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL Metro Area	583,948	38.8%	4.4%
Trenton-Princeton, NJ Metro Area	81,560	46.2%	4.7%
<i>Tulsa, OK Metro Area</i>	<i>170,069</i>	<i>35.6%</i>	<i>4.1%</i>
Urban Honolulu, HI Metro Area	168,143	36.6%	3.3%
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC Metro Area	314,589	38.4%	3.2%
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV Metro Area	1,776,510	52.5%	3.4%
<i>Wichita, KS Metro Area</i>	<i>108,854</i>	<i>35.2%</i>	<i>3.7%</i>
Wilmington, NC Metro Area	59,817	40.8%	4.9%
Winchester, VA-WV Metro Area	23,640	34.8%	3.6%
York-Hanover, PA Metro Area	79,517	34.9%	3.1%
Laggards (Quadrant 3)			
Albany, GA Metro Area	15,740	26.7%	-1.4%
Albany-Lebanon, OR Metro Area	16,843	27.8%	-1.7%
<i>Alexandria, LA Metro Area</i>	<i>18,784</i>	<i>29.2%</i>	<i>-2.5%</i>
<i>Amarillo, TX Metro Area</i>	<i>37,778</i>	<i>29.8%</i>	<i>0.7%</i>
<i>Anniston-Oxford, AL Metro Area</i>	<i>11,955</i>	<i>26.2%</i>	<i>-2.1%</i>
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC Metro Area	91,319	34.3%	2.2%
Bakersfield, CA Metro Area	96,365	27.3%	1.7%
<i>Bay City, MI Metro Area</i>	<i>14,075</i>	<i>29.2%</i>	<i>-1.5%</i>
Beckley, WV Metro Area	12,633	29.4%	-1.2%
<i>Brownsville-Harlingen, TX Metro Area</i>	<i>42,713</i>	<i>25.2%</i>	<i>0.5%</i>
Brunswick, GA Metro Area	15,213	28.0%	-1.6%
Chambersburg-Waynesboro, PA Metro Area	22,695	29.9%	-0.4%

Charleston, WV Metro Area	35,509	34.3%	2.1%
Chico, CA Metro Area	32,563	34.0%	1.6%
Clarksville, TN-KY Metro Area	35,785	30.1%	2.4%
Cleveland, TN Metro Area	16,471	28.1%	1.4%
Coeur d'Alene, ID Metro Area	23,834	29.3%	-1.7%
Columbus, GA-AL Metro Area	38,334	30.1%	-3.6%
Corpus Christi, TX Metro Area	57,747	29.7%	0.6%
Cumberland, MD-WV Metro Area	10,233	27.3%	1.7%
Dalton, GA Metro Area	15,032	22.2%	0.2%
Danville, IL Metro Area	8,035	26.4%	-0.3%
Davenport-Moline-Rock Island, IA-IL Metro Area	59,736	32.6%	0.4%
Decatur, IL Metro Area	13,745	30.8%	1.7%
Dover, DE Metro Area	22,756	28.3%	-1.2%
Duluth, MN-WI Metro Area	47,667	32.8%	1.7%
East Stroudsburg, PA Metro Area	25,683	30.6%	-1.8%
Elizabethtown-Fort Knox, KY Metro Area	21,217	33.3%	1.2%
Elkhart-Goshen, IN Metro Area	24,476	24.5%	0.9%
Eugene-Springfield, OR Metro Area	61,239	33.5%	0.9%
Farmington, NM Metro Area	11,337	24.1%	-3.5%
Fayetteville, NC Metro Area	61,461	30.2%	0.5%
Flint, MI Metro Area	53,590	30.9%	2.6%
Florence-Muscle Shoals, AL Metro Area	17,830	28.2%	1.5%
Fond du Lac, WI Metro Area	15,495	27.5%	1.1%
Fort Smith, AR-OK Metro Area	30,147	28.8%	3.1%
Fort Wayne, IN Metro Area	71,214	34.2%	2.3%
Fresno, CA Metro Area	120,752	29.4%	2.8%
Gainesville, GA Metro Area	28,707	30.5%	0.7%
Gettysburg, PA Metro Area	14,775	28.2%	-1.4%
Goldsboro, NC Metro Area	12,955	26.7%	0.4%
Grand Forks, ND-MN Metro Area	18,166	33.7%	-1.0%
Grand Island, NE Metro Area	11,059	28.2%	2.7%
Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI Metro Area	188,245	33.8%	2.1%
Great Falls, MT Metro Area	11,362	31.1%	-0.3%
Green Bay, WI Metro Area	53,822	31.5%	1.5%
Hagerstown-Martinsburg, MD-WV Metro Area	41,157	29.7%	-1.3%
Hattiesburg, MS Metro Area	24,093	33.7%	1.7%
Idaho Falls, ID Metro Area	22,648	31.9%	-1.0%
Jackson, MI Metro Area	21,835	31.7%	3.1%
Jackson, TN Metro Area	24,440	31.3%	-1.0%
Johnstown, PA Metro Area	17,392	30.4%	2.5%
Jonesboro, AR Metro Area	18,946	31.7%	2.3%
Joplin, MO Metro Area	22,687	28.4%	1.2%
Kahului-Wailuku-Lahaina, HI Metro Area	23,542	27.4%	2.7%

<i>Kankakee, IL Metro Area</i>	13,217	24.9%	0.3%
<i>Kokomo, IN Metro Area</i>	8,269	22.3%	-5.3%
<i>Lake Charles, LA Metro Area</i>	26,400	30.6%	3.0%
Lake Havasu City-Kingman, AZ Metro Area	17,844	23.4%	-0.1%
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL Metro Area	86,062	27.5%	-0.4%
Las Cruces, NM Metro Area	28,984	32.3%	0.6%
Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV Metro Area	315,109	28.9%	2.4%
Lebanon, PA Metro Area	22,282	31.1%	0.7%
<i>Lima, OH Metro Area</i>	11,291	23.9%	0.5%
Longview, WA Metro Area	11,551	26.0%	0.2%
Macon-Bibb County, GA Metro Area	30,232	30.2%	-4.0%
Madera, CA Metro Area	15,618	25.9%	2.1%
<i>Mankato, MN Metro Area</i>	18,907	33.0%	2.8%
<i>Mansfield, OH Metro Area</i>	14,846	27.1%	0.9%
<i>McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX Metro Area</i>	88,873	26.0%	1.1%
Medford, OR Metro Area	30,621	32.1%	2.9%
<i>Memphis, TN-MS-AR Metro Area</i>	212,255	33.6%	1.5%
<i>Michigan City-La Porte, IN Metro Area</i>	13,008	25.7%	1.0%
Modesto, CA Metro Area	60,009	25.3%	-0.1%
<i>Monroe, LA Metro Area</i>	25,561	30.9%	3.1%
<i>Morristown, TN Metro Area</i>	15,376	24.5%	-0.8%
<i>Muncie, IN Metro Area</i>	17,430	33.7%	0.2%
<i>Muskegon, MI Metro Area</i>	20,405	26.8%	0.7%
Naples-Marco Island, FL Metro Area	46,297	28.7%	-0.1%
Ocala, FL Metro Area	40,704	29.9%	2.6%
<i>Odessa, TX Metro Area</i>	17,690	22.6%	-0.4%
Parkersburg-Vienna, WV Metro Area	11,051	29.5%	0.4%
Punta Gorda, FL Metro Area	18,341	28.9%	-4.3%
<i>Racine, WI Metro Area</i>	29,461	31.6%	-1.0%
Reading, PA Metro Area	64,419	30.6%	-0.2%
Reno, NV Metro Area	78,719	32.4%	0.5%
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA Metro Area	596,642	29.4%	2.7%
<i>Rockford, IL Metro Area</i>	49,049	30.7%	2.2%
Rome, GA Metro Area	11,761	27.1%	-2.7%
Salem, OR Metro Area	61,411	31.4%	2.9%
Salisbury, MD-DE Metro Area	59,579	32.3%	0.2%
<i>San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX Metro Area</i>	414,595	34.1%	1.2%
Savannah, GA Metro Area	63,210	34.2%	2.4%
Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA Metro Area	83,302	31.4%	2.1%
Sebastian-Vero Beach, FL Metro Area	20,314	31.5%	2.0%
<i>Sheboygan, WI Metro Area</i>	19,168	31.7%	3.1%
<i>Sherman-Denison, TX Metro Area</i>	17,774	28.2%	-0.3%
Sierra Vista-Douglas, AZ Metro Area	15,161	34.3%	-2.4%

<i>South Bend-Mishawaka, IN-MI Metro Area</i>	51,920	34.1%	2.0%
<i>Springfield, MO Metro Area</i>	69,625	32.6%	2.4%
<i>Springfield, OH Metro Area</i>	16,350	26.8%	0.3%
Stockton, CA Metro Area	91,251	28.0%	0.9%
Sumter, SC Metro Area	15,773	28.3%	-0.8%
<i>Terre Haute, IN Metro Area</i>	20,248	25.4%	-6.1%
<i>Texarkana, TX-AR Metro Area</i>	16,428	27.2%	0.0%
<i>Toledo, OH Metro Area</i>	102,564	32.9%	2.3%
<i>Tuscaloosa, AL Metro Area</i>	36,727	32.7%	2.6%
Twin Falls, ID Metro Area	14,415	28.4%	1.8%
Valdosta, GA Metro Area	15,514	24.1%	-3.0%
Vallejo, CA Metro Area	68,218	31.7%	-0.7%
<i>Victoria, TX Metro Area</i>	12,481	28.1%	-2.8%
Vineland-Bridgeton, NJ Metro Area	14,990	24.8%	-0.8%
<i>Waco, TX Metro Area</i>	37,947	31.8%	0.7%
Wenatchee, WA Metro Area	15,753	27.9%	2.3%
Wheeling, WV-OH Metro Area	17,087	28.0%	-0.3%
Yakima, WA Metro Area	27,706	25.2%	0.5%
Yuba City, CA Metro Area	18,323	26.3%	1.3%
Yuma, AZ Metro Area	18,238	24.6%	-2.1%
Stable (Quadrant IV)			
<i>Akron, OH Metro Area</i>	123,871	35.0%	0.4%
Albuquerque, NM Metro Area	171,391	39.6%	1.8%
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ Metro Area	146,733	35.0%	1.2%
<i>Ames, IA Metro Area</i>	28,204	43.3%	-1.6%
Anchorage, AK Metro Area	70,101	37.2%	1.9%
<i>Appleton, WI Metro Area</i>	44,317	34.5%	1.4%
Asheville, NC Metro Area	79,854	35.8%	1.5%
Athens-Clarke County, GA Metro Area	41,045	40.2%	1.5%
Bellingham, WA Metro Area	40,279	36.8%	-0.2%
Bend, OR Metro Area	37,157	38.3%	2.4%
Billings, MT Metro Area	32,680	35.2%	3.0%
Binghamton, NY Metro Area	38,046	35.7%	2.5%
<i>Bloomington, IL Metro Area</i>	35,581	42.8%	3.1%
Boise City, ID Metro Area	137,011	37.2%	0.8%
Boulder, CO Metro Area	98,581	54.4%	2.3%
<i>Cedar Rapids, IA Metro Area</i>	50,264	35.1%	1.5%
Charlottesville, VA Metro Area	53,911	48.2%	2.2%
<i>Chattanooga, TN-GA Metro Area</i>	92,494	34.5%	2.8%
<i>College Station-Bryan, TX Metro Area</i>	46,769	36.3%	-0.3%
<i>Columbia, MO Metro Area</i>	43,864	39.7%	-2.6%
<i>Columbus, IN Metro Area</i>	16,768	40.0%	2.9%
Corvallis, OR Metro Area	22,536	47.8%	2.0%

Crestview-Fort Walton Beach-Destin, FL Metro Area	43,562	34.3%	2.0%
Fort Collins, CO Metro Area	87,216	45.6%	2.2%
Gainesville, FL Metro Area	65,211	43.0%	2.8%
Greenville, NC Metro Area	31,425	36.4%	0.6%
<i>Huntsville, AL Metro Area</i>	<i>98,370</i>	<i>43.3%</i>	<i>0.9%</i>
Ithaca, NY Metro Area	26,295	52.2%	-1.8%
<i>Jackson, MS Metro Area</i>	<i>96,039</i>	<i>35.9%</i>	<i>1.8%</i>
<i>Jefferson City, MO Metro Area</i>	<i>25,792</i>	<i>36.8%</i>	<i>2.6%</i>
<i>Johnson City, TN Metro Area</i>	<i>33,724</i>	<i>35.5%</i>	<i>1.6%</i>
Kingston, NY Metro Area	31,090	35.1%	0.8%
<i>Knoxville, TN Metro Area</i>	<i>144,125</i>	<i>35.5%</i>	<i>0.5%</i>
<i>Lafayette-West Lafayette, IN Metro Area</i>	<i>42,882</i>	<i>36.4%</i>	<i>1.5%</i>
<i>Lansing-East Lansing, MI Metro Area</i>	<i>104,716</i>	<i>37.7%</i>	<i>2.0%</i>
<i>Lawrence, KS Metro Area</i>	<i>29,372</i>	<i>41.5%</i>	<i>-1.0%</i>
<i>Lexington-Fayette, KY Metro Area</i>	<i>105,781</i>	<i>40.6%</i>	<i>3.1%</i>
<i>Lincoln, NE Metro Area</i>	<i>74,031</i>	<i>40.2%</i>	<i>2.7%</i>
<i>Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR Metro Area</i>	<i>123,894</i>	<i>35.3%</i>	<i>1.5%</i>
Manchester-Nashua, NH Metro Area	97,025	41.9%	1.5%
<i>Manhattan, KS Metro Area</i>	<i>23,094</i>	<i>38.6%</i>	<i>1.9%</i>
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL Metro Area	1,057,928	34.3%	2.8%
Napa, CA Metro Area	24,152	34.8%	0.7%
New Haven-Milford, CT Metro Area	173,110	40.5%	2.9%
North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL Metro Area	120,262	34.6%	3.0%
Ocean City, NJ Metro Area	14,668	34.6%	1.1%
Ogden-Clearfield, UT Metro Area	127,558	37.8%	2.3%
Olympia-Lacey-Tumwater, WA Metro Area	51,876	38.3%	-0.2%
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL Metro Area	477,384	36.4%	3.0%
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA Metro Area	150,032	35.8%	-0.1%
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL Metro Area	99,420	38.3%	0.3%
Pensacola-Ferry Pass-Brent, FL Metro Area	77,505	35.3%	3.0%
<i>Peoria, IL Metro Area</i>	<i>69,131</i>	<i>37.6%</i>	<i>2.0%</i>
Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ Metro Area	885,841	37.4%	2.7%
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY Metro Area	127,035	38.4%	3.0%
<i>Rapid City, SD Metro Area</i>	<i>24,862</i>	<i>34.6%</i>	<i>2.6%</i>
Richmond, VA Metro Area	266,893	40.2%	2.1%
Roanoke, VA Metro Area	53,734	35.7%	1.5%
Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA Metro Area	442,985	39.4%	2.1%
San Luis Obispo-Paso Robles, CA Metro Area	50,189	37.3%	1.7%
Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA Metro Area	58,400	41.5%	1.2%
Santa Fe, NM Metro Area	30,017	42.0%	1.6%
Syracuse, NY Metro Area	116,989	37.0%	2.4%
Tallahassee, FL Metro Area	76,639	40.7%	-1.1%
<i>Topeka, KS Metro Area</i>	<i>40,057</i>	<i>34.6%</i>	<i>3.0%</i>

Tucson, AZ Metro Area	169,652	36.5%	1.1%
Utica-Rome, NY Metro Area	45,301	34.7%	1.8%
Warner Robins, GA Metro Area	30,185	35.6%	-0.8%
Winston-Salem, NC Metro Area	107,728	34.7%	0.6%
Worcester, MA-CT Metro Area	194,586	39.8%	2.1%
Not Classified			
California-Lexington Park, MD Metro Area	23,923	42.7%	N/A
<i>Carbondale-Marion, IL Metro Area</i>	20,996	34.9%	N/A
Carson City, NV Metro Area	6,000	23.4%	N/A
<i>Enid, OK Metro Area</i>	7,361	26.8%	N/A
Hinesville, GA Metro Area	7,517	27.4%	N/A
The Villages, FL Metro Area	N/A	N/A	N/A
Walla Walla, WA Metro Area	8,882	31.9%	N/A

Notes: Heartland metros are in *italics*.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community and 2019 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, [Table S2401](#) - Occupation by sex for the civilian employed population 16 years and over.



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