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# HEARTLAND OF TALENT 2025

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Karen King is a Senior Research Associate at the Rotman School of Management and School of Cities at the University of Toronto. Karen's quantitative research examines the challenges and divides created by urban prosperity in the United States and Canada. She studies the location patterns of individuals and firms to determine how they shape development. When not researching, she also contributes to the design and delivery of university and massive online courses. Karen holds a Ph.D. in Geography from McMaster University and a Master of Economics from the University of Toronto.

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## ABOUT HEARTLAND FORWARD

Founded in 2019, Heartland Forward is the nation's only think-and-do tank dedicated to advancing economic success in the middle of the country - the heartland. We define the heartland as 20 states in the middle of the country - making it the third largest GDP in the world: Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas and Wisconsin. As we work to accelerate economic growth in the heartland we focus on three core impact areas:

- Regional competitiveness: ensuring the heartland remains the third largest GDP in the world
- Talent Pipeline: growing human capital, innovation, workforce and entrepreneurship
- Health and Wellness: creating and sustaining healthy families, individuals and communities





# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Talent is the driving force behind economic development. But like many other economic factors, it is not evenly distributed, with significant concentrations in coastal superstar cities and tech hubs. Even before the explosion of remote work in the wake of the COVID pandemic, there were indications that talent was beginning to disperse as those coastal hubs lost population to comparatively affordable metros in the Sunbelt and traditional American heartland.

This report seeks to sort out the cumulative impact of these trends on the geography of talent across the United States, with a special focus on the heartland region.

To do so, our research updates the data in our 2022 [Heartland of Talent](#) report, which examined the changing geography of talent across US metros between 2010 and 2019. This report extends that analysis to the post-pandemic period of 2019 to 2023, the most recent year for which data are currently available.

Our research uses two basic metrics to assess the geography of talent in America between 2019 to 2023: an educational measure, the share of adults who are college graduates and an occupational measure, the share of the workforce employed in knowledge, professional and creative occupations. Our analysis covers all 387 U.S. metros but focuses particularly on the 170 metros in the 20 states that make up the heartland region. Our research also compares trends in America's 54 largest metros, those with over one million people, to those in the remaining 333 metros whose populations number between 50,000 and one million. Overall, our findings document an ongoing shift in the geography of talent, with heartland metros doing better on both measures.

**Concentration of Talent:** Heartland metros now rank among the nation's leaders in the concentration of talent.

- While coastal superstar cities and tech hubs like San Francisco, San Jose, Washington, D.C. and Boston remain national talent leaders, heartland metros like Austin, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Nashville and Chicago also number among the top 20 large metros for college grads.

- Austin, the Twin Cities, Nashville, Columbus, OH, Kansas City and St. Louis rank among the top 20 metros for the creative class.<sup>1</sup>
- Small and medium size heartland metros and especially heartland college towns boast even larger concentrations of college graduates than their counterparts without colleges.
- Ann Arbor, Lawrence, KS, Ames and Iowa City, IA, Bloomington, IL, Madison, WI and Columbia, MO all rank among the national leaders in their concentrations of college grads.
- Ann Arbor, Lawrence, KS, Madison, WI, Huntsville, AL and Columbia, MO rank among the leaders in their concentrations of the creative class.

**Growth of Talent:** Heartland metros do even better when we look at the change in talent in the post-pandemic period.

- Austin ranks first among large metros in its growth in college grads, with Indianapolis, Grand Rapids, Milwaukee, Nashville and Dallas all numbering among the top 20 large metros.
- Grand Rapids tops the list of large metros in growth of the creative class, with Nashville in second and San Antonio in fourth place. Indianapolis, Kansas City, Austin and Dallas all rank among the top 20 large metros on that measure.
- Small and medium-sized heartland metros also do well, with Florence-Muscle Shoals, AL, Bloomington, IL; Hattiesburg, MS; and Lexington-Fayette, KY numbering among the top 20 small and medium-sized metros for growth of college grads.
- Small and medium sized heartland metros do even better on the growth of the creative class, taking four of the five top spots on this measure. Florence-Muscle Shoals, AL ranks first and Tuscaloosa, FL second, Lima, OH is fourth and Lawrence, KS is fifth. Anniston-Oxford, AL, Niles, MI and Columbia, MO rank among the top 20 small and medium-sized metros for growth in the creative class.

# INTRODUCTION

Talent is a driving force, if not *the* driving force, in the wealth of places. Adam Smith famously identified skilled people as the “fourth factor of production” alongside land, labor and capital.<sup>2</sup> The role that dense urban clusters of talent play in regional innovation and growth was first recognized by the late great urbanist Jane Jacobs in the early 1960s.<sup>3</sup> The Nobel prize-winning economist Robert Lucas speculated that those “human capital externalities,” as he called them, were the basic underlying mechanism of economic growth.<sup>4</sup> Since then, the role of talent in the innovativeness and growth of cities and nations has been documented in a large and growing body of research.<sup>5</sup>

But talent is not evenly distributed.<sup>6</sup> By the turn of the twenty-first century, more than half of adults in leading metros were college graduates, while in lagging metros less than 15% of adults held college degrees. The same is true of the knowledge and professional workers who make up the “creative class.”<sup>7</sup> Here again, more than half of workers in leading metros belong to the creative class, while in lagging metros they make up less than 25% of the workforce. Over the first two decades of the 21st century, the geography of talent took an increasingly “winner-take-all” form, as college grads and knowledge workers became massively clustered in coastal superstar cities and tech hubs.<sup>8</sup>

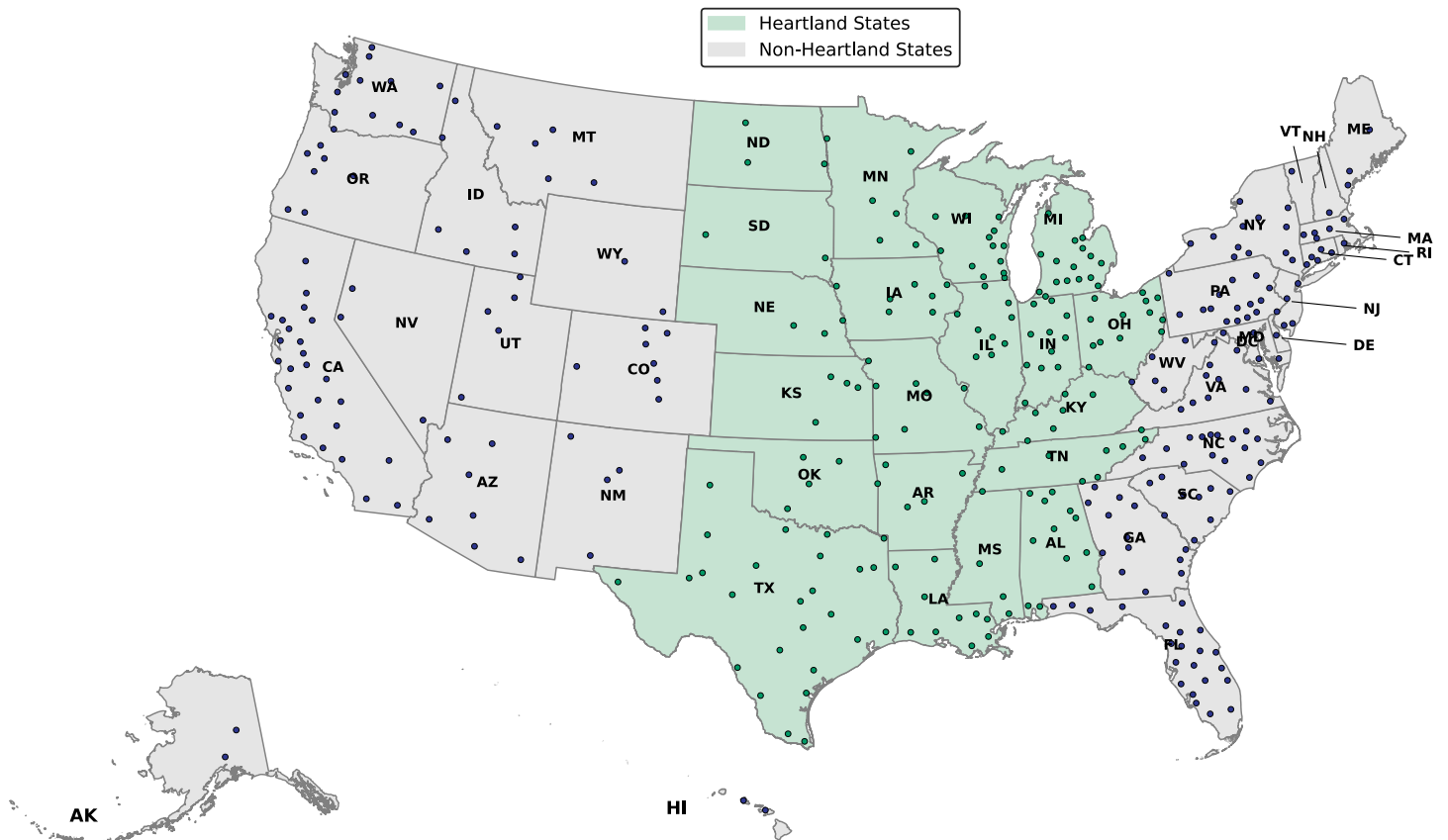
There is reason to believe that this geography may now be shifting at the margins as those superstar cities and tech hubs come up against their limits to growth.<sup>9</sup> Even before the COVID-19 crisis, traffic congestion, runaway gentrification and extreme inequality were exacting a toll on their quality of life, a “new urban crisis” that was driven in large part by their prior success at attracting talent.<sup>10</sup> Spurred by the pandemic-induced shift to remote work, knowledge workers and knowledge-based businesses began to seek out more affordable locations.<sup>11</sup> Whether that trend will continue is unclear, as the affordability advantages of many of those places have eroded and growing numbers of large corporations are demanding that executives return to their offices.<sup>12</sup>

To get a clearer picture of the degree to which the geography of talent has changed since 2019, we updated our 2022 [Heartland of Talent](#) report, which examined the changing geography of talent across US metro regions between 2010 to 2019, to account for changes between 2019 and 2023, the most recent year for which data is available.<sup>13</sup> As in that earlier report, we employed two basic metrics for talent. The first is the standard measure of educational attainment, which is the share of adults aged 25 and older who hold a bachelor’s degree or higher.<sup>14</sup> The second is an occupational measure, the share of the workforce aged 16 and older that works in the knowledge, professional, artistic and cultural occupations that make up the creative class. These include 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.<sup>15</sup> While there is some overlap between the two measures, they are not the same. While three-fourths of adults with college degrees are members of the creative class, less than 60% of workers in creative class occupations have college degrees.<sup>16</sup>

Once again, our analysis covers the geography of talent for all 387 U.S. metros with a special focus on the 170 metros in the 20 states that make up America’s heartland region (see map).<sup>17</sup> Those metros are home to roughly 104 million people, roughly 31% of the U.S. population. The heartland produces almost \$7.5 trillion in GDP, roughly 28% of total U.S. economic output.<sup>18</sup> Our analysis also separates out talent levels and trends for the 54 large metros with over one million people and the 333 small and medium-sized metros with between 50,000 and one million people.



Figure 1: Heartland Metropolitan Statistical Areas (with Alaska & Hawaii inlaid)



# COLLEGE GRADS

Table 1 shows the top 20 large US metros based on shares of adults that hold bachelor’s degrees or higher as of 2023 and the growth in talent from 2019 to 2023.<sup>19</sup> Large metros in the heartland (with more than one million people) have 16.8 million people with college degrees and account for approximately two thirds of all college grads in the heartland. All in all, 39.1% of adults in large heartland metros have a college degree compared to 41.1% across all large metros in the U.S.

College graduates make up more than half of all adults in six large metros: San Jose, Washington, DC, San Francisco, Raleigh-Cary, Boston and Austin. San Jose, the heart of Silicon Valley, tops the list of large metros, with a whopping 55.8% of adults holding a college degree.

There are 14 large metros where between 40 and 50% of adults are college grads. For comparison, the national share hovers at 36.2% of adults being college grads.

Four of the top 20 large metros are in the heartland. 52.1% of adult workers in sixth-ranked Austin are college graduates and the Twin Cities of Minneapolis-St. Paul is ranked ninth with 46.2%. 16<sup>th</sup> ranked Nashville has 42.4% and 18th-ranked Chicago has 42.1% college grads.

**Table 1: Top 20 Large Metros for College Grads, 2023**

RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	COLLEGE GRAD SHARE
1	5	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	55.8%
2	7	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	54.8%
3	10	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	53.1%
4	12	Raleigh-Cary, NC	52.7%
5	13	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	52.2%
6	14	Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX	52.1%
7	19	Denver-Aurora-Centennial, CO	49.9%
8	24	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	48.6%
9	33	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	46.2%
10	40	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ	44.6%
11	43	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	44.4%
12	46	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	43.8%
13	47	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	43.5%
14	53	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA	42.6%
15	54	Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	42.5%
16	56	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	42.4%
17	57	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	42.3%
18	61	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN	42.1%
19	63	Richmond, VA	41.9%
20	66	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	41.3%
		Large Metros	41.1%
		U.S.	36.2%

**Notes:** Share of adults aged 25 years and older with a bachelor’s degree and above. There are 55 large metros with more than one million people. Heartland metros are shaded.

**Source:** U.S. Census Bureau, 2023 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, [Table S1501 - Educational Attainment](#).



Table 2 lists the top 20 small and medium-sized metros for college grads. Boulder, the home of the University of Colorado, ranks first among these metros and first in the nation overall, with nearly two-thirds of its adults (65.4%) holding bachelor's degrees. Ithaca, NY (Cornell University) ranks second with 60.6%. The list is dominated by college towns and heartland metros are no exception. Ann Arbor, home of the University of Michigan, ranks third among these metros and third overall with 60.2%.

All in all, heartland metros comprised eight of the top 20 small and medium-sized metros for college grads, including seventh-place Lawrence, home to the University of Kansas, with 53.2% college grads; 11th-ranked Iowa City (University of Iowa) with 50.7% college grads; Bloomington, IL (nearby is the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) ranks 14<sup>th</sup> with 49.6%; Madison, home of the University of Wisconsin's main campus, ranks 15<sup>th</sup> with 49.2%;

Columbia (University of Missouri) is 16<sup>th</sup> with 49%; Ames (Iowa State) is 18<sup>th</sup> with 48.3%; and Bloomington, home of Indiana University, is 20<sup>th</sup> with 47.7%. These are all well above the 32.9% average for small and medium size metros and 36.2% for the US overall.

We now turn to the change in college grads between 2019 and 2023. Table 3 charts the trend for large metros. Austin takes the top spot, with a six percentage point growth in college grads. Six other heartland metros made the top 20, including Indianapolis (4.5 percentage points); San Antonio (4.3 percentage points), Grand Rapids (4.2 percentage points), Milwaukee (4.1 percentage points), Nashville (3.9 percentage points) and Dallas (3.7 percentage points).

**Table 2: Top 20 Small and Medium Metros for College Grads, 2023**

RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	COLLEGE GRAD SHARE
1	1	Boulder, CO	65.4%
2	2	Ithaca, NY	60.6%
3	3	<i>Ann Arbor, MI</i>	60.2%
4	4	Corvallis, OR	56.4%
5	6	Charlottesville, VA	55.5%
6	8	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	54.7%
7	9	<i>Lawrence, KS</i>	53.2%
8	11	Fort Collins-Loveland, CO	52.9%
9	15	Bridgeport-Stamford-Danbury, CT	51.9%
10	16	Bozeman, MT	51.0%
11	17	<i>Iowa City, IA</i>	50.7%
12	18	Amherst Town-Northampton, MA	50.2%
13	20	Barnstable Town, MA	49.8%
14	21	<i>Bloomington, IL</i>	49.6%
15	22	<i>Madison, WI</i>	49.2%
16	23	<i>Columbia, MO</i>	49.0%
17	25	Burlington-South Burlington, VT	48.5%
18	26	<i>Ames, IA</i>	48.3%
19	27	Portland-South Portland, ME	48.0%
20	28	<i>Bloomington, IN</i>	47.7%
		Small and Medium Size Metros	32.9%
		U.S.	36.2%

**Notes:** Share of adults aged 25 years and older with a bachelor's degree and above. There are 333 small and medium-sized metros with between 50,000 and under one million people. Heartland metros are shaded.

**Source:** U.S. Census Bureau, 2023 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, [Table S1501 - Educational Attainment](#).

**Table 3: Top 20 Large Metros on Growth of College Grads, 2019-2023**

RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	CHANGE IN COLLEGE GRAD SHARE
1	27	<i>Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX</i>	6.0
2	38	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	5.1
3	44	Jacksonville, FL	4.9
4	49	Raleigh-Cary, NC	4.8
5	50	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	4.8
6	60	<i>Indianapolis-Carmel-Greenwood, IN</i>	4.5
7	62	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL	4.5
8	64	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	4.5
9	70	Richmond, VA	4.4
10	79	<i>San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX</i>	4.3
11	83	<i>Grand Rapids-Wyoming-Kentwood, MI</i>	4.2
12	86	Denver-Aurora-Centennial, CO	4.2
13	88	Tucson, AZ	4.1
14	92	<i>Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI</i>	4.1
15	97	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	4.0
16	105	<i>Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN</i>	3.9
17	118	<i>Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX</i>	3.7
18	121	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	3.6
19	130	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	3.5
20	139	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	3.4
		Large Metros	3.1
		U.S.	3.1

**Notes:** Percentage point growth in share of adults aged 25 years and older with a bachelor’s degree and above, 2019-2023. Large metros are those with more than one million people. Heartland metros are shaded.

**Source:** U.S. Census Bureau, 2023 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, [Table S1501 – Educational Attainment](#). 2019 numbers from Florida, R. et al. (2022) Heartland of Talent: How Heartland Metropolitans are Changing the Map of Talent in the U.S.. Heartland Forward. <https://heartlandforward.org/case-study/heartland-of-talent-how-heartland-metropolitans-are-changing-the-map-of-talent-in-the-u-s/>.<sup>20</sup>



**Table 4: Top 20 Small and Medium Metros on Growth of College Grads, 2019-2023**

RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	CHANGE IN COLLEGE GRAD SHARE
1	1	Asheville, NC	9.2
2	2	Florence-Muscle Shoals, AL	9.1
3	3	Hilton Head Island-Bluffton-Port Royal, SC	9.0
4	4	Casper, WY	8.5
5	5	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	8.4
6	6	Logan, UT-ID	8.3
7	7	<i>Hattiesburg, MS</i>	8.1
8	8	Coeur d'Alene, ID	7.5
9	9	New Haven, CT	7.3
10	10	Atlantic City-Hammonton, NJ	7.3
11	11	Pensacola-Ferry Pass-Brent, FL	7.2
12	12	Rome, GA	7.2
13	13	<i>Bloomington, IN</i>	6.7
14	14	Olympia-Lacey-Tumwater, WA	6.6
15	15	St. George, UT	6.4
16	16	Brunswick-St. Simons, GA	6.4
17	17	Charlottesville, VA	6.3
18	18	Kingston, NY	6.3
19	19	<i>Lexington-Fayette, KY</i>	6.2
20	20	Pocatello, ID	6.2
		Small and Medium Size Metros	3.2
		U.S.	3.1

**Notes:** Percentage point growth in share of adults aged 25 years and older with a bachelor's degree and above, 2019-2023. There are 333 small and medium-sized metros with between 50,000 and under one million people. Heartland metros are shaded.

**Source:** U.S. Census Bureau, 2023 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, [Table S1501 - Educational Attainment](#). 2019 numbers from Florida, R. et al. (2022) *Heartland of Talent: How Heartland Metropolitans are Changing the Map of Talent in the U.S.*. Heartland Forward. <https://heartlandforward.org/case-study/heartland-of-talent-how-heartland-metropolitans-are-changing-the-map-of-talent-in-the-u-s/>.

Table 4 charts the change in college grads for the top 20 small and medium-sized metros. Asheville tops the list with 9.2 percentage point growth, the highest of any metro in the country. Heartland metros take four of the 20 spots overall, with Florence, AL second of small and medium-sized metros and second overall (9.1percentage points). Hattiesburg, MS is seventh with 8.1 percentage points; Bloomington, IN is 13<sup>th</sup> with growth of 6.7 percentage points and Lexington, KY is 19<sup>th</sup>, with growth of 6.2 percentage points. All of these metros have growth in college grads which is significantly better than the 3.2 percentage point growth for all small and medium-sized metros and 3.1 percentage point growth for the U.S. overall.

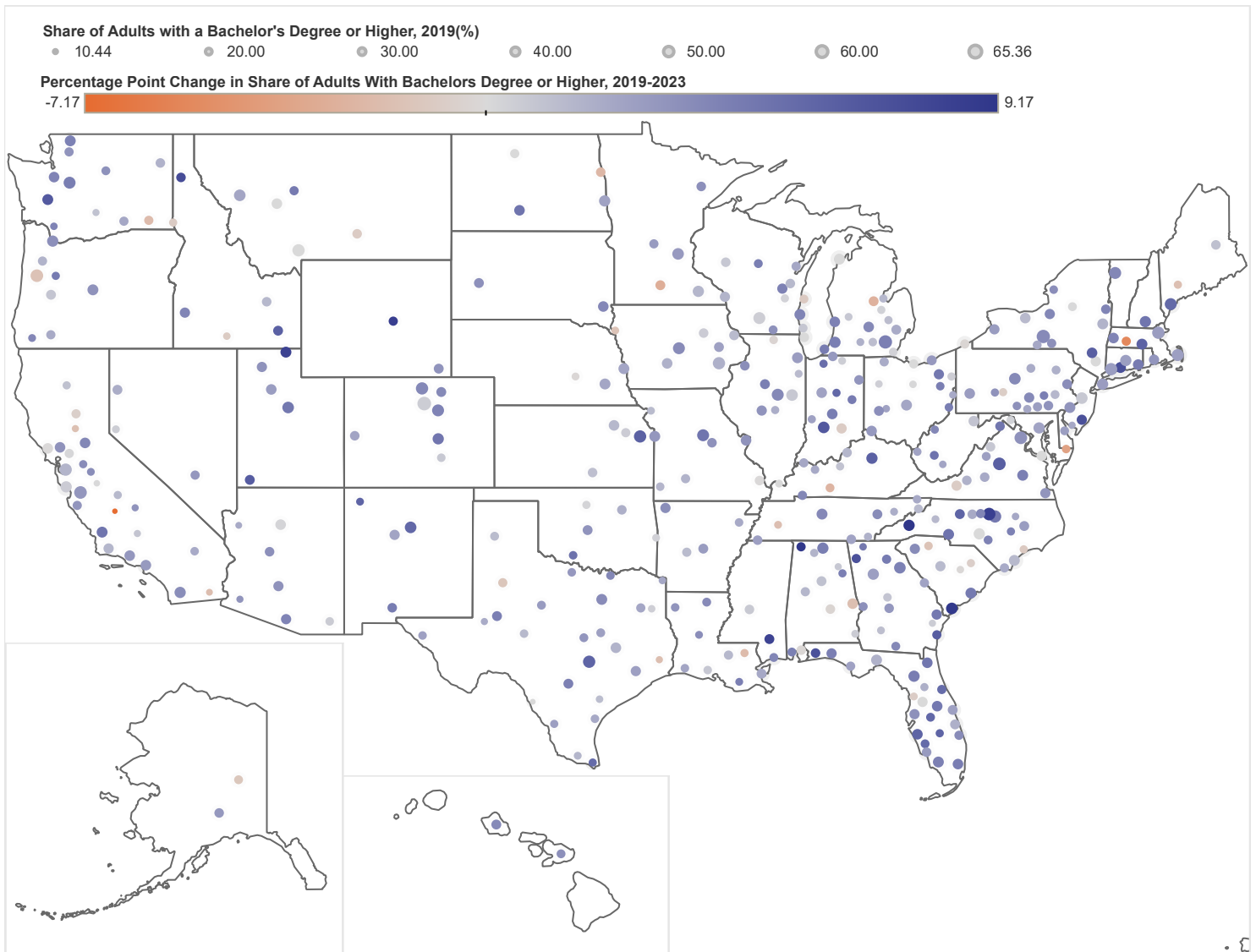
Figure 2 maps metros on both their shares and growth of college grads. The sizes of the bubbles represent the share of college grads in 2019.

Metros that have both high shares and high growth of college grads include long standing talent hubs like San Jose, Boston, Washington, D.C., New York, Seattle, Denver and Austin. But they also include large metros like Chicago, San Diego and Portland, Oregon, as well as heartland college towns like Ann Arbor and Madison.

Metros with high shares but low growth of college grads include large metros like Atlanta, Baltimore, Detroit, Boulder, San Francisco and Detroit, as well as college towns, like Houston and Champaign-Urbana in the heartland.

Metros that have low shares but high growth in college grads include a wide array of smaller heartland metros, such as Abilene, Wichita Falls, Mobile and Shreveport.

**Figure 2: Educational Attainment and Change Across Metropolitan Areas**



# CREATIVE CLASS

We now look at the geography of talent through an occupational lens, charting the changing shares of adults (16 years of age and older) who work in the knowledge, professional and artistic occupations that make up the creative class. Our analysis covers the growth in the creative class share from 2019 to 2023, the most recent year for which data are available.<sup>21</sup>

Table 5 shows the top 20 large metros for creative class share, which exceeds 44% in all of them. The list is a veritable who's who of leading tech hubs. San Jose takes the top spot with 57.2%. The creative class accounts for more than half of the workforce in six additional large metros: Washington, D.C. (56.3%),

San Francisco (54.3%), Raleigh-Cary (54.1%), Boston (52.2%), Austin (52.1%) and Seattle (51.2%).

Six of the top 20 large metros for the creative class are in the heartland. Austin is in sixth place and Minneapolis-St. Paul is 10<sup>th</sup> (with 47.4%), followed by 16<sup>th</sup> ranked Nashville (46.0%), Columbus, OH in 18<sup>th</sup> place with 45.5%, Kansas City in 19<sup>th</sup> place (45.4%) and St. Louis in 20<sup>th</sup> place (44.8%).

**Table 5: Top 20 Large Metros for the Creative Class, 2023**

RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	CREATIVE CLASS SHARE
1	2	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	57.2%
2	5	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	56.3%
3	8	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	54.3%
4	9	Raleigh-Cary, NC	54.1%
5	11	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	52.2%
6	12	Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX	52.1%
7	13	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	51.2%
8	17	Denver-Aurora-Centennial, CO	49.9%
9	19	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	49.5%
10	31	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	47.4%
11	37	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	46.9%
12	39	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	46.6%
13	41	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	46.5%
14	43	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ	46.1%
15	45	Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	46.0%
16	46	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	46.0%
17	47	Richmond, VA	45.5%
18	48	Columbus, OH	45.5%
19	49	Kansas City, MO-KS	45.4%
20	52	St. Louis, MO-IL	44.8%
		Large Metros	44.6%
		U.S.	41.3%

**Notes:** Share of the workforce in knowledge, professional and creative class occupations, 2023. There are 55 large metros with more than one million people. Heartland metros are shaded.

**Source:** U.S. Census Bureau, 2023 American Community Estimates, Table S2401 - Occupation by sex for the civilian employed population 16 years and over.

Table 6 shows the top 20 small and medium-sized metros on their share of the creative class. Boulder takes the top spot with nearly 60% of its workforce (58.1%) in creative class occupations. College towns again have outsized performance on this measure, a trend that is especially pronounced for heartland metros. Ann Arbor, MI is second with 56.9%, Madison, WI is sixth (52.3%), Lawrence, KS is eighth (51.1%), Huntsville, AL ninth (50.2%) and Columbia, MO is 20<sup>th</sup> (47.6%). Overall, the creative class for these metros far exceeds that of the 38.7% average share for small and medium-sized metros and 41.3 percent share for the nation on the whole.

Table 7 lists the top 20 large metros for creative class growth. Heartland metros take the two top spots and account for seven of the top 20 overall. Grand Rapids is first with 6.1 percentage point growth, followed closely by Nashville with 6.0 percentage point growth. San Antonio is fourth, Indianapolis sixth (each with 5.3 percentage points), followed by Kansas City in seventh place (with 4.9 percentage points), Austin in twelfth place (4.7 percentage points) and Dallas in eighteenth place (4.2 percentage points). Overall, large heartland metros have seen growth of 3.6 percentage points for the creative class, slightly above the 3.3 percentage point growth for large metros and the nation as a whole.

**Table 6: Top 20 Small and Medium Metros for the Creative Class, 2023**

RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	CREATIVE CLASS SHARE
1	1	Boulder, CO	58.1%
2	3	<i>Ann Arbor, MI</i>	56.9%
3	4	Ithaca, NY	56.4%
4	6	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	55.2%
5	7	Charlottesville, VA	54.4%
6	10	<i>Madison, WI</i>	52.3%
7	14	Corvallis, OR	51.1%
8	15	<i>Lawrence, KS</i>	51.1%
9	16	<i>Huntsville, AL</i>	50.2%
10	18	Gainesville, FL	49.8%
11	20	Burlington-South Burlington, VT	49.0%
12	21	Trenton-Princeton, NJ	48.7%
13	22	Lexington Park, MD	48.7%
14	23	Bridgeport-Stamford-Danbury, CT	48.6%
15	24	Fort Collins-Loveland, CO	48.6%
16	25	Barnstable Town, MA	47.9%
17	26	Amherst Town-Northampton, MA	47.7%
18	27	Helena, MT	47.7%
19	28	State College, PA	47.6%
20	29	<i>Columbia, MO</i>	47.6%
		Small and Medium Size Metros	38.7%
		U.S.	41.3%

**Notes:** Share of the workforce in knowledge, professional and creative class occupations, 2023. There are 333 small and medium-sized metros with between 50,000 and under one million people. Heartland metros are shaded.

**Source:** U.S. Census Bureau, 2023 American Community Estimates, Table S2401 - Occupation by sex for the civilian employed population 16 years and over.



**Table 7: Top 20 Large Metros for Growth of the Creative Class, 2019- 2023**

RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	CHANGE IN CREATIVE CLASS
1	46	<i>Grand Rapids-Wyoming-Kentwood, MI</i>	6.1
2	47	<i>Nashville-Davidson--Murfreeseboro--Franklin, TN</i>	6.0
3	48	Raleigh-Cary, NC	6.0
4	73	<i>San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX</i>	5.3
5	74	Richmond, VA	5.3
6	75	<i>Indianapolis-Carmel-Greenwood, IN</i>	5.3
7	96	<i>Kansas City, MO-KS</i>	4.9
8	98	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	4.8
9	100	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	4.8
10	103	Denver-Aurora-Centennial, CO	4.8
11	104	Tucson, AZ	4.7
12	105	<i>Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX</i>	4.7
13	107	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	4.6
14	116	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	4.4
15	117	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	4.4
16	124	Jacksonville, FL	4.3
17	125	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL	4.3
18	128	<i>Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX</i>	4.2
19	129	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	4.2
20	134	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	4.1
		Large Metros	3.3
		U.S.	3.3

**Notes:** Percentage point growth in knowledge, professional and creative class jobs, 2019-2023. Large metros are those with more than one million people. Heartland metros are shaded.

**Source:** U.S. Census Bureau, 2023 American Community Estimates, Table S2401 - Occupation by sex for the civilian employed population 16 years and over. 2019 numbers from Florida, R. et al. (2022) *Heartland of Talent: How Heartland Metropolitans are Changing the Map of Talent in the U.S.*, Heartland Forward. <https://heartlandforward.org/case-study/heartland-of-talent-how-heartland-metropolitans-are-changing-the-map-of-talent-in-the-u-s/>.

Table 8 tracks creative class growth for the top 20 small and medium-sized metros. Heartland metros took four of the top five spots and seven of the top 20 spots for creative class growth. Florence, AL is first with 11.2 percentage point growth; Tuscaloosa, AL is second (10.2 percentage points), Lima, OH is fourth (9.8 percentage points), Lawrence, KS is fifth (9.6 percentage points), Anniston, AL is twelfth (8.6 percentage points), Niles, MI is 17<sup>th</sup> and Columbia, MO is 18<sup>th</sup> (both with 7.9 percentage point growth). All of these metros are significantly above the 3.5 percentage point growth for small and medium-sized metros overall and the 3.3 percentage point growth for the US as a whole.

Figure 3 maps metros on both their creative class shares and growth. Again, the size of the bubble reflects the size of their creative class share in 2019.

Metros that have both high shares and high growth of the creative class include long standing tech hubs and talent magnets like San Francisco, Washington, D.C, Seattle, Denver and Austin. This group is joined by large metros like Pittsburgh, Baltimore and Buffalo, as well as Chicago, Dallas, Nashville, San Antonio and St. Louis in the heartland and several smaller heartland metros, such as Akron, Huntsville, Little Rock and New Orleans.

Metros that that have low shares but high growth in the creative class include a wide array of smaller heartland metros, such as Brownsville, Corpus Christi and Victoria, TX; Enid, OK; Monroe, LA; Toledo, OH and Kankakee, IL.

Metros that have high shares but low growth of creative class employment include Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Los Angeles, New York and Boston, as well as such large heartland metros as Birmingham, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Houston and Tulsa.

**Table 8: Top 20 Small and Medium Metros for Growth of the Creative Class, 2019-2023**

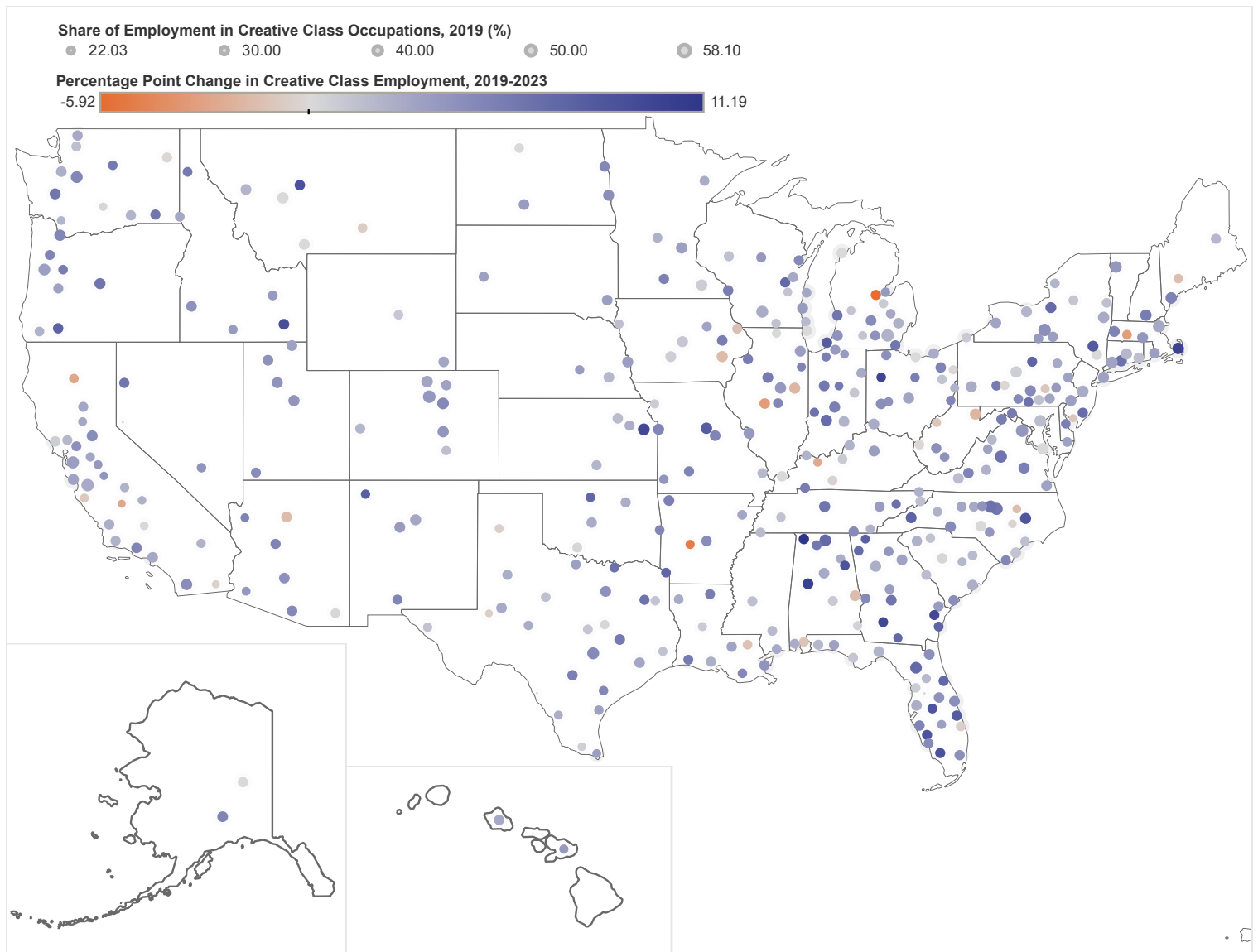
RANK	OVERALL RANK	METRO	CHANGE IN CREATIVE CLASS
1	1	<i>Florence-Muscle Shoals, AL</i>	11.2
2	2	<i>Tuscaloosa, AL</i>	10.2
3	3	Barnstable Town, MA	10.0
4	4	<i>Lima, OH</i>	9.8
5	5	<i>Lawrence, KS</i>	9.6
6	6	Hinesville, GA	9.5
7	7	Albany, GA	9.5
8	8	Pocatello, ID	9.1
9	9	Great Falls, MT	8.8
10	10	Naples-Marco Island, FL	8.8
11	11	Punta Gorda, FL	8.7
12	12	<i>Anniston-Oxford, AL</i>	8.6
13	13	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	8.4
14	14	Greenville, NC	8.4
15	15	Kingston, NY	8.1
16	16	Sebastian-Vero Beach-West Vero Corridor, FL	8.0
17	17	<i>Niles, MI</i>	7.9
18	18	<i>Columbia, MO</i>	7.9
19	19	Farmington, NM	7.7
20	20	Dalton, GA	7.6
		Small and Medium Size Metros	3.5
		U.S.	3.3

**Notes:** Percentage point growth in knowledge, professional and creative class occupations, 2019-2023. There are 333 small and medium-sized metros with between 50,000 and under one million people. Heartland metros are shaded.

**Source:** U.S. Census Bureau, 2023 American Community Estimates, Table S2401 - Occupation by sex for the civilian employed population 16 years and over. 2019 numbers from Florida, R. et al. (2022) *Heartland of Talent: How Heartland Metropolitan are Changing the Map of Talent in the U.S.*, Heartland Forward.



**Figure 3: Creative Class Employment and Change Across Metropolitan Areas**



# CONCLUSION

Our research suggests that heartland metros are improving their ability to compete for talent. While coastal superstar cities and leading tech hubs continue to rank among the nation's talent leaders, heartland metros like Austin, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Nashville and Chicago also number among the top 20 large metros for college grads, while Austin, the Twin Cities, Nashville, Columbus, OH, Kansas City and St. Louis rank among the top 20 metros for the creative class. Small and medium size heartland metros and especially heartland college towns boast even larger concentrations of college graduates. Ann Arbor, Lawrence, Ames and Iowa City, Bloomington, IL, Madison and Columbia, MO all rank among the national leaders in their concentrations of college grads, while Ann Arbor, Lawrence, Madison, Huntsville and Columbia, MO rank among the leaders in their concentrations of the creative class.

Heartland metros perform even better on the growth in talent. Austin ranks first among large metros in its growth in college grads from 2019-2023, with Indianapolis, Grand Rapids, Milwaukee, Nashville and Dallas all numbering among the top 20 large metros. Grand Rapids tops the list of large metros in growth of the creative class over this period, with Nashville in second and San Antonio in fourth place. Indianapolis, Kansas City, Austin and Dallas all rank among the top 20 large metros on that measure. Small and medium-sized heartland metros also do well on talent growth, with Florence, AL; Bloomington, IN; Hattiesburg, MS; and Lexington-Fayette, KY numbering among the top 20 small and medium-sized metros for growth of college grads. And small and medium sized heartland metros do even better on the growth of the creative class, taking four of the five top spots on this measure. Florence-Muscle Shoals ranks first and Tuscaloosa, AL second, Lima, OH is fourth and Lawrence is fifth. Anniston-Oxford, AL; Niles, MI and Columbia, MO all rank among the top 20 small and medium-sized metros for growth in the creative class.

Two decades ago, New York, Boston, Washington, D.C., San Francisco and Los Angeles offered arrays of attractions that could not be found in other places, whether they were 5-star restaurants or ethnic street food, cafes and nightlife, or world-class art galleries and museums. But over the past two decades, similar kinds of amenities have cropped up in cities across the country.

Part of this is a simple function of housing affordability. Many heartland metros offer lower housing costs and more affordable quality of life than coastal superstars and tech hubs. This not only makes it easier for local entrepreneurs to open restaurants, cafes, music venues or art galleries, it also encourages others to relocate from more expensive places.

But it is also due to the efforts heartland communities have undertaken to build up their local amenities. Bentonville, AR, the home of Walmart, has invested heavily in arts and culture amenities like the Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, the Momentary and a network of world-class bike paths and trails.<sup>22</sup> Tulsa, OK recently opened the Gathering Place, an internationally-recognized park, the Woodie Guthrie and Bob Dylan museums and archives and spearheaded a signature program for remote workers, Tulsa Remote, which has attracted thousands of high-skill workers.<sup>23</sup> There are stories like this across the heartland and across the country.

That said, the geography of talent remains concentrated: Talent clustering is a fundamental driver of innovation and economic growth and large metros and long-standing tech hubs continue to dominate. However, a number of large and small metros in the heartland, especially leading college towns, have shown that they can compete effectively for talent. That said, many other metros in the heartland and across the nation face significant challenges when it comes to attracting talent. The places that are doing the best have significant assets—research universities, signature natural amenities, well-endowed foundations, or anchor institutions like teaching hospitals and corporate headquarters that provide good jobs and invest in quality of life—to build on. Things are far more challenging for metros without them.

## Educational Attainment Data, Sorted Alphabetically by Growth and Share Dimensions

GEOGRAPHIC AREA NAME	NUMBER OF ADULTS WITH A BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019	SHARE OF ADULTS WITH BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019	CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE POINT SHARE, 2019-2023
Low Share & High Change			
Abilene, TX Metro Area	31,171	27.0%	2.9
Albany, OR Metro Area	21,850	23.4%	4.6
Alexandria, LA Metro Area	21,211	21.1%	3.6
Anniston-Oxford, AL Metro Area	18,557	23.7%	4.4
Binghamton, NY Metro Area	49,665	30.0%	3.5
Brownsville-Harlingen, TX Metro Area	59,270	22.7%	5.6
Brunswick-St. Simons, GA Metro Area	24,941	29.9%	6.4
Burlington, NC Metro Area	35,388	29.3%	4.0
Canton-Massillon, OH Metro Area	72,428	25.7%	4.4
Casper, WY Metro Area	16,138	29.2%	8.5
Chambersburg, PA Metro Area	28,665	25.5%	3.5
Charleston, WV Metro Area	40,814	27.7%	5.1
Clarksville, TN-KY Metro Area	64,160	30.3%	4.0
Columbus, GA-AL Metro Area	58,430	26.6%	3.5
Dalton, GA Metro Area	19,089	19.8%	4.8
Davenport-Moline-Rock Island, IA-IL Metro Area	80,602	30.6%	3.6
Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL Metro Area	162,691	30.0%	5.5
Farmington, NM Metro Area	16,482	20.4%	6.0
Fayetteville, NC Metro Area	69,053	28.0%	4.2
Florence-Muscle Shoals, AL Metro Area	31,404	29.4%	9.1
Gainesville, GA Metro Area	43,837	30.0%	4.6
Glens Falls, NY Metro Area	29,467	30.8%	4.1
Goldsboro, NC Metro Area	17,741	22.4%	4.3
Grants Pass, OR Metro Area	13,714	20.8%	4.0
Great Falls, MT Metro Area	17,748	30.2%	4.7
Gulfport-Biloxi, MS Metro Area	78,677	26.7%	4.0
Houma-Bayou Cane-Thibodaux, LA Metro Area	27,687	20.7%	4.4
Janesville-Beloit, WI Metro Area	30,650	26.6%	3.4
Johnstown, PA Metro Area	22,543	24.0%	3.3
Kahului-Wailuku, HI Metro Area	37,209	31.2%	3.5
Killeen-Temple, TX Metro Area	85,967	27.0%	3.2
Kokomo, IN Metro Area	13,756	23.9%	5.8
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL Metro Area	150,575	26.5%	5.8
Las Vegas-Henderson-North Las Vegas, NV Metro Area	470,159	28.7%	3.1
Lawton, OK Metro Area	21,257	25.7%	5.1
Lebanon, PA Metro Area	25,800	25.3%	4.4
Longview-Kelso, WA Metro Area	15,337	19.4%	4.1
Michigan City-La Porte, IN Metro Area	18,826	23.4%	5.4
Mobile, AL Metro Area	76,295	27.1%	4.3
Modesto, CA Metro Area	74,086	21.0%	3.6
Monroe, LA Metro Area	40,265	26.9%	3.8
Mount Vernon-Anacortes, WA Metro Area	28,904	30.3%	3.3
Muncie, IN Metro Area	19,212	27.2%	4.6
Parkersburg-Vienna, WV Metro Area	15,147	23.9%	3.9
Port St. Lucie, FL Metro Area	120,998	30.0%	3.7

<b>GEOGRAPHIC AREA NAME</b>	<b>NUMBER OF ADULTS WITH A BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019</b>	<b>SHARE OF ADULTS WITH BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019</b>	<b>CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE POINT SHARE, 2019-2023</b>
Punta Gorda, FL Metro Area	47,540	27.7%	5.6
Rome, GA Metro Area	20,300	30.0%	7.2
Salinas, CA Metro Area	80,498	28.9%	3.2
Sebring, FL Metro Area	18,854	22.7%	6.0
Sherman-Denison, TX Metro Area	25,487	25.7%	3.9
Shreveport-Bossier City, LA Metro Area	68,163	26.0%	3.3
St. Cloud, MN Metro Area	37,595	29.5%	2.9
Stockton-Lodi, CA Metro Area	122,672	23.6%	3.6
Valdosta, GA Metro Area	25,996	27.2%	3.8
Visalia, CA Metro Area	49,031	16.9%	3.3
Watertown-Fort Drum, NY Metro Area	19,249	26.0%	3.6
Wausau, WI Metro Area	27,304	27.9%	4.4
Wenatchee-East Wenatchee, WA Metro Area	24,351	28.2%	3.4
Wheeling, WV-OH Metro Area	25,484	25.8%	4.5
Wichita Falls, TX Metro Area	25,156	25.5%	3.1
Yuma, AZ Metro Area	24,427	17.4%	3.3
High Share & High Change			
Akron, OH Metro Area	179,636	36.6%	4.8
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ Metro Area	205,085	33.3%	3.6
Ames, IA Metro Area	35,237	48.3%	3.7
Anchorage, AK Metro Area	97,590	36.2%	3.1
Ann Arbor, MI Metro Area	142,452	60.2%	4.4
Asheville, NC Metro Area	139,481	44.7%	9.2
Athens-Clarke County, GA Metro Area	63,772	46.7%	4.3
Atlantic City-Hammonton, NJ Metro Area	94,603	35.5%	7.3
Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX Metro Area	892,384	52.1%	6.0
Bellingham, WA Metro Area	64,045	40.0%	4.3
Bend, OR Metro Area	81,170	42.1%	3.3
Bismarck, ND Metro Area	35,928	38.5%	5.0
Bloomington, IL Metro Area	52,609	49.6%	3.8
Bloomington, IN Metro Area	47,298	47.7%	6.7
Boise City, ID Metro Area	209,948	37.4%	4.0
Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH Metro Area	1,825,723	52.2%	2.8
Bremerton-Silverdale-Port Orchard, WA Metro Area	77,937	38.9%	4.1
Bridgeport-Stamford-Danbury, CT Metro Area	343,422	51.9%	2.8
Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY Metro Area	294,400	35.7%	2.9
Burlington-South Burlington, VT Metro Area	77,065	48.5%	3.9
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL Metro Area	202,035	31.9%	2.9
Charleston-North Charleston, SC Metro Area	250,764	42.2%	4.7
Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC Metro Area	794,722	41.3%	5.1
Charlottesville, VA Metro Area	87,366	55.5%	6.3
Cheyenne, WY Metro Area	23,293	33.4%	3.3
Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN Metro Area	2,709,482	42.1%	2.8
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN Metro Area	593,322	38.4%	3.0
Cleveland, OH Metro Area	535,449	34.7%	3.0
Coeur d'Alene, ID Metro Area	42,245	32.1%	7.5

<b>GEOGRAPHIC AREA NAME</b>	<b>NUMBER OF ADULTS WITH A BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019</b>	<b>SHARE OF ADULTS WITH BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019</b>	<b>CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE POINT SHARE, 2019-2023</b>
Colorado Springs, CO Metro Area	229,439	44.2%	4.9
Columbia, MO Metro Area	65,684	49.0%	5.0
Crestview-Fort Walton Beach-Destin, FL Metro Area	75,579	35.5%	4.4
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX Metro Area	2,137,149	40.0%	3.7
Dayton-Kettering-Beavercreek, OH Metro Area	189,401	33.8%	3.6
Denver-Aurora-Centennial, CO Metro Area	1,069,731	49.9%	4.2
Duluth, MN-WI Metro Area	63,128	31.9%	3.5
Durham-Chapel Hill, NC Metro Area	230,463	54.7%	8.4
Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR Metro Area	138,579	36.6%	3.6
Fort Collins-Loveland, CO Metro Area	133,369	52.9%	3.9
Fort Wayne, IN Metro Area	94,048	31.3%	3.2
Gainesville, FL Metro Area	95,856	43.3%	4.5
Grand Rapids-Wyoming-Kentwood, MI Metro Area	294,242	37.7%	4.2
Greeley, CO Metro Area	79,658	33.7%	3.8
Greenville, NC Metro Area	37,835	34.9%	2.8
Greenville-Anderson-Greer, SC Metro Area	234,808	35.1%	3.7
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA Metro Area	156,337	37.1%	3.8
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT Metro Area	345,825	42.5%	2.8
Hattiesburg, MS Metro Area	34,134	33.7%	8.1
Hilton Head Island-Bluffton-Port Royal, SC Metro Area	80,201	47.0%	9.0
Huntsville, AL Metro Area	162,542	44.6%	4.5
Indianapolis-Carmel-Greenwood, IN Metro Area	571,446	39.7%	4.5
Ithaca, NY Metro Area	36,856	60.6%	3.8
Jacksonville, FL Metro Area	449,412	37.4%	4.9
Jefferson City, MO Metro Area	33,446	32.3%	3.4
Kalamazoo-Portage, MI Metro Area	71,134	42.6%	4.4
Kansas City, MO-KS Metro Area	620,386	40.8%	3.1
Kingston, NY Metro Area	53,023	39.1%	6.3
Knoxville, TN Metro Area	222,359	33.6%	3.7
Lancaster, PA Metro Area	120,304	31.6%	3.3
Lansing-East Lansing, MI Metro Area	116,416	37.9%	3.8
Las Cruces, NM Metro Area	45,350	31.8%	4.6
Lawrence, KS Metro Area	39,095	53.2%	6.2
Lexington-Fayette, KY Metro Area	154,763	44.5%	6.2
Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR Metro Area	171,495	33.2%	2.9
Logan, UT-ID Metro Area	35,105	41.6%	8.3
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA Metro Area	3,487,205	38.5%	3.0
Manchester-Nashua, NH Metro Area	132,455	42.8%	5.0
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL Metro Area	1,686,028	37.6%	4.5
Midland, TX Metro Area	38,710	33.7%	4.4
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI Metro Area	435,839	40.5%	4.1
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI Metro Area	1,178,142	46.2%	3.0
Napa, CA Metro Area	38,266	39.5%	3.4
Naples-Marco Island, FL Metro Area	125,959	40.1%	4.3
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN Metro Area	608,422	42.4%	3.9

<b>GEOGRAPHIC AREA NAME</b>	<b>NUMBER OF ADULTS WITH A BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019</b>	<b>SHARE OF ADULTS WITH BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019</b>	<b>CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE POINT SHARE, 2019-2023</b>
New Haven, CT Metro Area	169,242	42.4%	7.3
New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ Metro Area	6,167,831	44.6%	2.8
Niles, MI Metro Area	34,093	31.6%	4.5
North Port-Bradenton-Sarasota, FL Metro Area	284,291	39.7%	6.0
Norwich-New London-Willimantic, CT Metro Area	75,012	37.9%	4.6
Ogden, UT Metro Area	144,577	35.3%	3.4
Oklahoma City, OK Metro Area	337,831	34.8%	3.3
Olympia-Lacey-Tumwater, WA Metro Area	88,671	41.0%	6.6
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL Metro Area	751,148	38.1%	4.8
Oshkosh-Neenah, WI Metro Area	41,612	35.3%	4.2
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA Metro Area	219,944	37.9%	3.1
Pensacola-Ferry Pass-Brent, FL Metro Area	118,448	32.2%	7.2
Peoria, IL Metro Area	82,606	33.2%	4.4
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metro Area	1,849,231	42.3%	3.2
Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ Metro Area	1,238,689	35.5%	3.3
Pittsburgh, PA Metro Area	688,352	38.8%	2.8
Pittsfield, MA Metro Area	36,511	38.0%	4.1
Pocatello, ID Metro Area	20,203	34.5%	6.2
Portland-South Portland, ME Metro Area	203,639	48.0%	5.6
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA Metro Area	794,284	43.8%	3.5
Prescott Valley-Prescott, AZ Metro Area	62,441	32.0%	3.5
Providence-Warwick, RI-MA Metro Area	436,704	36.4%	3.2
Provo-Orem-Lehi, UT Metro Area	173,910	45.4%	4.8
Raleigh-Cary, NC Metro Area	545,321	52.7%	4.8
Rapid City, SD Metro Area	37,373	34.3%	3.4
Richmond, VA Metro Area	395,968	41.9%	4.4
Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA Metro Area	636,963	38.1%	4.0
Salt Lake City-Murray, UT Metro Area	323,398	39.3%	2.8
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX Metro Area	595,718	33.1%	4.3
San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA Metro Area	991,750	43.5%	3.6
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA Metro Area	769,031	55.8%	3.1
San Luis Obispo-Paso Robles, CA Metro Area	80,345	42.1%	5.0
Santa Fe, NM Metro Area	55,409	45.9%	5.7
Savannah, GA Metro Area	107,540	37.2%	4.7
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA Metro Area	1,404,951	48.6%	4.5
Sioux Falls, SD-MN Metro Area	77,645	38.5%	3.9
South Bend-Mishawaka, IN-MI Metro Area	67,556	31.4%	3.0
Springfield, IL Metro Area	53,696	37.0%	3.3
St. George, UT Metro Area	45,126	33.7%	6.4
St. Louis, MO-IL Metro Area	769,226	39.1%	3.4
State College, PA Metro Area	45,972	47.6%	3.8
Syracuse, NY Metro Area	163,822	36.4%	3.9
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL Metro Area	855,043	35.0%	3.4
Tucson, AZ Metro Area	270,309	36.8%	4.1
Urban Honolulu, HI Metro Area	278,119	39.6%	3.8
Virginia Beach-Chesapeake-Norfolk, VA-NC Metro Area	441,237	36.1%	3.2

GEOGRAPHIC AREA NAME	NUMBER OF ADULTS WITH A BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019	SHARE OF ADULTS WITH BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019	CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE POINT SHARE, 2019-2023
Warner Robins, GA Metro Area	42,190	31.3%	3.1
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV Metro Area	2,383,616	54.8%	3.4
Winchester, VA-WV Metro Area	32,651	31.6%	4.9
Winston-Salem, NC Metro Area	159,651	33.1%	6.0
Worcester, MA Metro Area	252,970	41.4%	6.1
Low Share & Low Change			
Albany, GA Metro Area	20,529	20.9%	1.2
Altoona, PA Metro Area	19,358	22.3%	-0.8
Amarillo, TX Metro Area	47,346	26.5%	1.3
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC Metro Area	128,039	29.9%	2.5
Bakersfield-Delano, CA Metro Area	101,832	18.0%	1.0
Bangor, ME Metro Area	34,336	30.6%	1.1
Baton Rouge, LA Metro Area	166,464	29.0%	1.5
Battle Creek, MI Metro Area	20,311	22.1%	1.9
Bay City, MI Metro Area	17,383	23.1%	1.5
Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX Metro Area	48,753	18.5%	-1.8
Beckley, WV Metro Area	15,915	20.2%	2.4
Billings, MT Metro Area	41,423	30.9%	-0.9
Bowling Green, KY Metro Area	34,102	27.6%	-2.4
Cape Girardeau, MO-IL Metro Area	19,338	30.4%	0.0
Carson City, NV Metro Area	9,478	21.9%	0.6
Chico, CA Metro Area	40,040	29.9%	-0.6
Cleveland, TN Metro Area	20,990	23.0%	1.8
Corpus Christi, TX Metro Area	74,336	24.5%	2.2
Decatur, AL Metro Area	24,931	22.7%	1.7
Decatur, IL Metro Area	16,345	23.5%	2.0
Dothan, AL Metro Area	22,181	20.7%	0.7
Dover, DE Metro Area	35,006	27.2%	2.7
Eau Claire, WI Metro Area	36,233	30.7%	0.8
El Centro, CA Metro Area	18,229	16.6%	-1.8
El Paso, TX Metro Area	143,770	25.9%	2.6
Elizabethtown, KY Metro Area	19,629	22.5%	1.0
Elkhart-Goshen, IN Metro Area	26,911	20.5%	0.6
Elmira, NY Metro Area	16,021	27.5%	2.3
Enid, OK Metro Area	8,881	22.5%	0.2
Erie, PA Metro Area	54,155	29.3%	-0.2
Evansville, IN Metro Area	54,570	29.0%	2.3
Flint, MI Metro Area	64,018	22.8%	1.3
Florence, SC Metro Area	30,545	22.5%	-0.7
Fond du Lac, WI Metro Area	17,356	23.9%	0.3
Fort Smith, AR-OK Metro Area	33,650	21.4%	0.4
Fresno, CA Metro Area	174,219	23.5%	1.5
Gadsden, AL Metro Area	13,130	18.0%	0.8
Gettysburg, PA Metro Area	18,115	23.9%	2.3
Grand Island, NE Metro Area	10,502	20.9%	-0.1
Green Bay, WI Metro Area	68,732	30.1%	2.3

<b>GEOGRAPHIC AREA NAME</b>	<b>NUMBER OF ADULTS WITH A BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019</b>	<b>SHARE OF ADULTS WITH BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019</b>	<b>CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE POINT SHARE, 2019-2023</b>
Hagerstown-Martinsburg, MD-WV Metro Area	48,217	22.6%	0.3
Hammond, LA Metro Area	20,624	22.8%	-2.0
Hanford-Corcoran, CA Metro Area	10,102	10.4%	-7.2
Harrisonburg, VA Metro Area	25,782	30.8%	0.8
Hickory-Lenoir-Morganton, NC Metro Area	56,536	21.1%	1.5
Hinesville, GA Metro Area	9,342	18.3%	0.6
Homosassa Springs, FL Metro Area	29,084	21.8%	-0.8
Hot Springs, AR Metro Area	22,012	29.9%	1.4
Huntington-Ashland, WV-KY-OH Metro Area	61,628	23.9%	2.5
Jackson, MI Metro Area	27,545	24.2%	1.3
Jackson, TN Metro Area	25,891	20.7%	-1.8
Jacksonville, NC Metro Area	27,902	23.6%	-1.0
Johnson City, TN Metro Area	42,477	27.9%	1.4
Jonesboro, AR Metro Area	22,970	25.7%	2.2
Joplin, MO-KS Metro Area	33,465	24.4%	1.6
Kankakee, IL Metro Area	14,919	20.9%	1.4
Kennewick-Richland, WA Metro Area	60,061	30.0%	2.3
Kingsport-Bristol, TN-VA Metro Area	58,136	25.2%	2.2
Lafayette, LA Metro Area	72,060	25.9%	0.8
Lake Charles, LA Metro Area	40,700	25.3%	2.4
Lake Havasu City-Kingman, AZ Metro Area	27,455	15.6%	2.2
Laredo, TX Metro Area	35,660	22.9%	2.7
Lewiston, ID-WA Metro Area	10,613	23.3%	-0.9
Lewiston-Auburn, ME Metro Area	18,530	23.4%	-1.7
Lima, OH Metro Area	13,612	19.9%	0.5
Longview, TX Metro Area	39,632	20.2%	0.5
Lubbock, TX Metro Area	66,266	30.1%	-1.3
Macon-Bibb County, GA Metro Area	39,673	25.0%	0.9
Mansfield, OH Metro Area	16,893	18.9%	0.1
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX Metro Area	108,050	20.7%	1.6
Medford, OR Metro Area	47,562	29.8%	2.2
Merced, CA Metro Area	25,489	14.5%	0.1
Monroe, MI Metro Area	27,642	24.9%	0.4
Montgomery, AL Metro Area	80,633	30.8%	-0.3
Morristown, TN Metro Area	19,046	21.3%	2.0
Muskegon-Norton Shores, MI Metro Area	26,785	21.7%	0.8
Myrtle Beach-Conway-North Myrtle Beach, SC Metro Area	87,627	29.1%	2.1
Ocala, FL Metro Area	69,499	22.5%	1.9
Odessa, TX Metro Area	17,010	17.2%	2.1
Owensboro, KY Metro Area	19,147	25.0%	2.2
Panama City-Panama City Beach, FL Metro Area	44,847	29.0%	2.6
Pueblo, CO Metro Area	28,753	24.2%	0.8
Racine-Mount Pleasant, WI Metro Area	36,701	26.9%	0.9
Reading, PA Metro Area	80,004	26.9%	1.5
Redding, CA Metro Area	29,482	22.9%	1.1
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA Metro Area	778,652	25.2%	2.1



<b>GEOGRAPHIC AREA NAME</b>	<b>NUMBER OF ADULTS WITH A BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019</b>	<b>SHARE OF ADULTS WITH BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019</b>	<b>CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE POINT SHARE, 2019-2023</b>
Roanoke, VA Metro Area	69,681	30.8%	1.8
Rockford, IL Metro Area	54,970	24.2%	-0.3
Rocky Mount, NC Metro Area	20,057	19.7%	2.3
Saginaw, MI Metro Area	29,267	22.2%	0.4
Salem, OR Metro Area	83,567	28.3%	1.7
Salisbury, MD Metro Area	22,060	25.6%	-3.7
San Angelo, TX Metro Area	20,327	25.3%	1.5
Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA Metro Area	106,269	26.3%	1.9
Sheboygan, WI Metro Area	22,545	26.8%	-1.0
Sierra Vista-Douglas, AZ Metro Area	22,923	25.6%	0.6
Sioux City, IA-NE-SD Metro Area	19,672	21.1%	-1.5
Spartanburg, SC Metro Area	64,883	24.9%	-1.4
Springfield, MA Metro Area	92,283	28.8%	-5.4
Springfield, MO Metro Area	95,830	29.3%	1.7
Springfield, OH Metro Area	17,560	18.7%	2.5
St. Joseph, MO-KS Metro Area	17,448	21.3%	1.4
Staunton-Stuarts Draft, VA Metro Area	25,405	26.9%	2.7
Sumter, SC Metro Area	13,727	19.9%	-0.1
Terre Haute, IN Metro Area	25,806	23.0%	2.6
Texarkana, TX-AR Metro Area	19,874	19.8%	2.3
Toledo, OH Metro Area	123,018	30.3%	2.1
Topeka, KS Metro Area	47,771	29.7%	0.6
Tulsa, OK Metro Area	215,239	30.9%	1.9
Tuscaloosa, AL Metro Area	50,537	29.8%	1.6
Twin Falls, ID Metro Area	14,811	19.0%	-0.9
Tyler, TX Metro Area	48,246	29.7%	2.4
Utica-Rome, NY Metro Area	54,747	27.1%	0.1
Vallejo, CA Metro Area	91,764	29.1%	0.2
Victoria, TX Metro Area	12,860	19.5%	1.3
Vineland, NJ Metro Area	18,846	18.3%	2.2
Waco, TX Metro Area	52,746	27.3%	2.6
Walla Walla, WA Metro Area	12,575	30.3%	-2.0
Waterloo-Cedar Falls, IA Metro Area	33,321	30.6%	0.6
Weirton-Steubenville, WV-OH Metro Area	16,397	19.6%	2.1
Williamsport, PA Metro Area	21,085	26.4%	2.1
Yakima, WA Metro Area	29,106	18.3%	1.1
York-Hanover, PA Metro Area	95,376	29.2%	2.8
Youngstown-Warren, OH Metro Area	71,556	23.4%	0.5
Yuba City, CA Metro Area	21,273	17.9%	-1.7
High Share & Low Change			
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY Metro Area	262,282	41.3%	1.8
Albuquerque, NM Metro Area	233,652	35.7%	2.5
Appleton, WI Metro Area	54,311	31.6%	1.5
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA Metro Area	1,815,274	42.6%	2.7
Auburn-Opelika, AL Metro Area	49,517	39.7%	-1.7
Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD Metro Area	876,208	44.4%	2.5

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Barnstable Town, MA Metro Area	92,450	49.8%	2.7
Birmingham, AL Metro Area	271,821	33.4%	1.1
Blacksburg-Christiansburg-Radford, VA Metro Area	40,153	35.4%	-0.9
Boulder, CO Metro Area	144,148	65.4%	0.6
Cedar Rapids, IA Metro Area	63,533	33.3%	2.6
Champaign-Urbana, IL Metro Area	64,241	45.3%	0.8
Chattanooga, TN-GA Metro Area	131,446	32.0%	2.5
College Station-Bryan, TX Metro Area	62,173	39.7%	1.7
Columbia, SC Metro Area	205,479	35.8%	1.4
Columbus, IN Metro Area	20,193	35.6%	-0.9
Columbus, OH Metro Area	596,325	40.3%	2.3
Corvallis, OR Metro Area	34,481	56.4%	-1.5
Daphne-Fairhope-Foley, AL Metro Area	59,243	32.0%	-0.2
Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA Metro Area	197,056	39.8%	1.8
Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI Metro Area	1,057,748	34.5%	2.1
Dubuque, IA Metro Area	23,202	34.0%	1.4
Eugene-Springfield, OR Metro Area	89,269	33.2%	0.9
Fairbanks-College, AK Metro Area	19,604	32.1%	-1.2
Fargo, ND-MN Metro Area	70,655	42.9%	2.5
Flagstaff, AZ Metro Area	35,075	39.8%	0.2
Grand Forks, ND-MN Metro Area	20,482	32.0%	-2.2
Grand Junction, CO Metro Area	36,654	32.2%	2.4
Greensboro-High Point, NC Metro Area	171,442	32.1%	2.2
Houston-Pasadena-The Woodlands, TX Metro Area	1,763,563	36.0%	2.7
Idaho Falls, ID Metro Area	33,233	32.1%	1.5
Iowa City, IA Metro Area	55,960	50.7%	1.9
Jackson, MS Metro Area	129,946	31.7%	0.7
La Crosse-Onalaska, WI-MN Metro Area	40,194	35.4%	1.7
Lafayette-West Lafayette, IN Metro Area	49,319	37.4%	2.5
Lincoln, NE Metro Area	90,683	42.0%	2.3
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN Metro Area	307,376	32.3%	1.5
Lynchburg, VA Metro Area	56,708	31.5%	2.2
Madison, WI Metro Area	231,370	49.2%	0.5
Manhattan, KS Metro Area	28,076	38.9%	1.5
Mankato, MN Metro Area	21,833	34.3%	-2.8
Memphis, TN-MS-AR Metro Area	280,057	31.5%	2.7
Midland, MI Metro Area	20,393	33.7%	-2.6
Missoula, MT Metro Area	41,168	46.8%	2.4
Morgantown, WV Metro Area	35,689	38.9%	1.0
New Orleans-Metairie, LA Metro Area	234,503	34.5%	2.3
Omaha, NE-IA Metro Area	262,084	40.1%	2.4
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL Metro Area	159,646	33.0%	2.6
Reno, NV Metro Area	135,830	33.6%	2.0
Rochester, MN Metro Area	67,866	42.8%	1.6
Rochester, NY Metro Area	287,300	38.5%	1.4
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA Metro Area	1,783,239	53.1%	1.7

<b>GEOGRAPHIC AREA NAME</b>	<b>NUMBER OF ADULTS WITH A BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019</b>	<b>SHARE OF ADULTS WITH BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, 2019</b>	<b>CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE POINT SHARE, 2019-2023</b>
Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA Metro Area	78,259	44.4%	0.6
Santa Maria-Santa Barbara, CA Metro Area	100,000	36.1%	1.6
Santa Rosa-Petaluma, CA Metro Area	132,782	37.4%	0.0
Sebastian-Vero Beach-West Vero Corridor, FL Metro Area	44,524	33.2%	1.9
Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA Metro Area	132,716	31.6%	1.8
Tallahassee, FL Metro Area	101,078	40.5%	1.8
Trenton-Princeton, NJ Metro Area	117,731	45.2%	0.8
Wichita, KS Metro Area	139,635	32.2%	1.2
Wilmington, NC Metro Area	140,746	40.7%	1.5
Amherst Town-Northampton, MA Metro Area	50,348	50.2%	0.0
Bozeman, MT Metro Area	42,962	51.0%	0.0
Eagle Pass, TX Metro Area	4,166	12.1%	0.0
Helena, MT Metro Area	25,787	37.8%	0.0
Kenosha, WI Metro Area	37,533	32.4%	0.0
Kiryas Joel-Poughkeepsie-Newburgh, NY Metro Area	172,102	36.2%	0.0
Lexington Park, MD Metro Area	51,950	36.3%	0.0
Minot, ND Metro Area	14,732	29.5%	0.0
Paducah, KY-IL Metro Area	15,905	22.0%	0.0
Pinehurst-Southern Pines, NC Metro Area	34,316	44.1%	0.0
Sandusky, OH Metro Area	25,241	29.0%	0.0
Slidell-Mandeville-Covington, LA Metro Area	70,370	37.1%	0.0
Traverse City, MI Metro Area	48,143	40.9%	0.0
Waterbury-Shelton, CT Metro Area	108,342	33.0%	0.0
Wildwood-The Villages, FL Metro Area	50,525	37.0%	0.0

## Creative Class Data, Sorted Alphabetically by Growth and Share Dimensions

GEOGRAPHIC AREA NAME	NUMBER OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED AS CREATIVE CLASS, 2019	SHARE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED AS CREATIVE CLASS, 2019	CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE POINT SHARE OF CREATIVE CLASS, 2019-2023
Low Share & High Change			
Albany, GA Metro Area	21,748	36.2%	9.5
Albany, OR Metro Area	20,489	33.4%	5.5
Anniston-Oxford, AL Metro Area	17,206	34.8%	8.6
Bay City, MI Metro Area	15,289	32.9%	3.6
Beckley, WV Metro Area	14,402	33.4%	4.1
Brownsville-Harlingen, TX Metro Area	51,893	28.5%	3.3
Brunswick-St. Simons, GA Metro Area	17,318	35.4%	7.4
Burlington, NC Metro Area	32,443	36.1%	4.1
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL Metro Area	131,050	36.2%	4.6
Chambersburg, PA Metro Area	26,140	34.5%	4.6
Clarksville, TN-KY Metro Area	47,610	35.6%	5.6
Coeur d'Alene, ID Metro Area	30,007	35.1%	5.8
Columbus, GA-AL Metro Area	45,387	34.7%	4.6
Corpus Christi, TX Metro Area	68,903	32.9%	3.2
Dalton, GA Metro Area	21,128	29.8%	7.6
Decatur, AL Metro Area	26,248	35.0%	5.9
Decatur, IL Metro Area	15,960	35.7%	4.9
Dover, DE Metro Area	30,926	33.6%	5.3
Elkhart-Goshen, IN Metro Area	28,180	28.1%	3.6
Elmira, NY Metro Area	13,322	35.5%	3.6
Enid, OK Metro Area	9,696	33.9%	7.1
Farmington, NM Metro Area	15,857	31.8%	7.7
Fayetteville, NC Metro Area	51,772	34.0%	3.8
Fort Smith, AR-OK Metro Area	34,572	33.7%	4.9
Gainesville, GA Metro Area	35,978	34.4%	3.9
Gettysburg, PA Metro Area	19,027	34.6%	6.3
Grand Island, NE Metro Area	12,264	31.7%	3.5
Green Bay, WI Metro Area	63,166	36.1%	4.7
Hagerstown-Martinsburg, MD-WV Metro Area	51,527	35.3%	5.6
Hinesville, GA Metro Area	11,771	37.0%	9.5
Houma-Bayou Cane-Thibodaux, LA Metro Area	28,743	32.9%	4.8
Idaho Falls, ID Metro Area	27,831	35.5%	3.6
Jackson, MI Metro Area	24,743	35.8%	4.2
Johnstown, PA Metro Area	21,248	36.0%	5.7
Joplin, MO-KS Metro Area	31,489	32.4%	4.0
Kahului-Wailuku, HI Metro Area	25,359	31.1%	3.6
Kankakee, IL Metro Area	15,227	30.0%	5.0
Kokomo, IN Metro Area	10,605	28.1%	5.7
Lake Charles, LA Metro Area	39,443	36.3%	5.7
Lake Havasu City-Kingman, AZ Metro Area	21,849	28.4%	5.0
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL Metro Area	134,895	35.9%	8.4
Las Cruces, NM Metro Area	37,051	37.2%	4.9
Las Vegas-Henderson-North Las Vegas, NV Metro Area	376,661	33.0%	4.0
Lima, OH Metro Area	16,140	33.7%	9.8
Macon-Bibb County, GA Metro Area	33,670	33.6%	3.4

<b>GEOGRAPHIC AREA NAME</b>	<b>NUMBER OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED AS CREATIVE CLASS, 2019</b>	<b>SHARE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED AS CREATIVE CLASS, 2019</b>	<b>CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE POINT SHARE OF CREATIVE CLASS, 2019-2023</b>
Mansfield, OH Metro Area	17,401	32.5%	5.4
Merced, CA Metro Area	30,910	25.6%	4.0
Michigan City-La Porte, IN Metro Area	15,186	31.1%	5.3
Modesto, CA Metro Area	72,484	29.1%	3.8
Monroe, LA Metro Area	34,148	36.5%	5.5
Morristown, TN Metro Area	17,944	30.9%	6.4
Myrtle Beach-Conway-North Myrtle Beach, SC Metro Area	61,361	35.4%	4.9
Reading, PA Metro Area	72,874	34.2%	3.6
Rome, GA Metro Area	15,727	34.0%	6.8
Salem, OR Metro Area	75,628	36.5%	5.1
Sebring, FL Metro Area	11,196	30.4%	3.3
Sherman-Denison, TX Metro Area	23,353	34.6%	6.3
Springfield, OH Metro Area	18,219	31.0%	4.2
St. George, UT Metro Area	33,159	36.3%	4.5
Terre Haute, IN Metro Area	23,139	31.6%	6.2
Texarkana, TX-AR Metro Area	20,863	34.4%	7.2
Toledo, OH Metro Area	108,433	37.2%	4.3
Twin Falls, ID Metro Area	18,768	32.0%	3.5
Valdosta, GA Metro Area	20,212	31.2%	7.1
Vallejo, CA Metro Area	75,544	35.9%	4.2
Victoria, TX Metro Area	14,549	33.0%	4.8
Wausau, WI Metro Area	25,807	36.1%	3.8
Wenatchee-East Wenatchee, WA Metro Area	19,465	33.7%	5.8
Wheeling, WV-OH Metro Area	20,556	32.9%	4.9
Wichita Falls, TX Metro Area	24,250	35.5%	3.2
Williamsport, PA Metro Area	19,852	36.8%	7.4
Yuma, AZ Metro Area	21,241	28.4%	3.8
High Share & High Change			
Akron, OH Metro Area	144,003	40.1%	5.1
Albuquerque, NM Metro Area	190,830	43.2%	3.6
Anchorage, AK Metro Area	82,482	42.1%	5.0
Asheville, NC Metro Area	85,068	43.2%	7.4
Atlantic City-Hammonton, NJ Metro Area	69,276	38.6%	6.6
Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX Metro Area	719,984	52.1%	4.7
Barnstable Town, MA Metro Area	54,369	47.9%	10.0
Bend, OR Metro Area	58,378	44.4%	6.1
Binghamton, NY Metro Area	42,832	39.1%	3.4
Bismarck, ND Metro Area	29,673	41.6%	3.5
Bloomington, IL Metro Area	41,591	46.6%	3.8
Bloomington, IN Metro Area	37,843	47.2%	6.8
Boise City, ID Metro Area	171,982	41.3%	4.2
Boulder, CO Metro Area	103,688	58.1%	3.7
Burlington-South Burlington, VT Metro Area	64,052	49.0%	3.8
Cedar Rapids, IA Metro Area	57,763	40.7%	5.6
Charleston, WV Metro Area	33,228	38.6%	4.3
Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC Metro Area	646,379	43.9%	4.6

<b>GEOGRAPHIC AREA NAME</b>	<b>NUMBER OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED AS CREATIVE CLASS, 2019</b>	<b>SHARE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED AS CREATIVE CLASS, 2019</b>	<b>CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE POINT SHARE OF CREATIVE CLASS, 2019-2023</b>
Charlottesville, VA Metro Area	60,772	54.4%	6.2
Chattanooga, TN-GA Metro Area	110,378	39.0%	4.5
Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN Metro Area	2,101,054	43.8%	3.4
College Station-Bryan, TX Metro Area	57,476	42.0%	5.7
Colorado Springs, CO Metro Area	175,109	47.0%	3.9
Columbia, MO Metro Area	54,072	47.6%	7.9
Corvallis, OR Metro Area	25,221	51.1%	3.3
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX Metro Area	1,830,028	43.2%	4.2
Davenport-Moline-Rock Island, IA-IL Metro Area	71,840	38.1%	5.6
Dayton-Kettering-Beavercreek, OH Metro Area	161,453	41.2%	4.4
Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL Metro Area	120,880	37.8%	7.0
Denver-Aurora-Centennial, CO Metro Area	851,285	49.9%	4.8
Durham-Chapel Hill, NC Metro Area	179,080	55.2%	6.3
Fargo, ND-MN Metro Area	66,527	44.8%	4.4
Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR Metro Area	127,552	42.5%	5.3
Florence-Muscle Shoals, AL Metro Area	27,386	39.4%	11.2
Gainesville, FL Metro Area	83,126	49.8%	6.9
Grand Forks, ND-MN Metro Area	21,708	38.5%	4.8
Grand Rapids-Wyoming-Kentwood, MI Metro Area	241,295	39.8%	6.1
Great Falls, MT Metro Area	15,592	39.9%	8.8
Greenville, NC Metro Area	36,835	44.8%	8.4
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA Metro Area	133,421	43.3%	4.6
Hilton Head Island-Bluffton-Port Royal, SC Metro Area	37,481	39.0%	4.4
Huntsville, AL Metro Area	133,487	50.2%	6.9
Indianapolis-Carmel-Greenwood, IN Metro Area	497,140	44.6%	5.3
Ithaca, NY Metro Area	29,382	56.4%	4.3
Jacksonville, FL Metro Area	344,228	41.8%	4.3
Jefferson City, MO Metro Area	29,859	41.8%	4.9
Kalamazoo-Portage, MI Metro Area	56,600	41.2%	4.1
Kansas City, MO-KS Metro Area	528,825	45.4%	4.9
Kingston, NY Metro Area	37,972	43.1%	8.1
Knoxville, TN Metro Area	179,283	38.9%	3.5
La Crosse-Onalaska, WI-MN Metro Area	35,791	39.8%	5.4
Lafayette-West Lafayette, IN Metro Area	49,599	42.3%	5.9
Lansing-East Lansing, MI Metro Area	101,446	42.3%	4.6
Lawrence, KS Metro Area	33,072	51.1%	9.6
Lexington-Fayette, KY Metro Area	118,561	44.0%	3.3
Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR Metro Area	143,212	39.8%	4.5
Manchester-Nashua, NH Metro Area	116,765	47.4%	5.6
Mankato, MN Metro Area	21,103	38.2%	5.3
Medford, OR Metro Area	39,375	39.5%	7.4
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL Metro Area	1,213,973	38.6%	4.3
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI Metro Area	352,628	43.8%	3.6
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI Metro Area	965,141	47.4%	3.3
Monroe, MI Metro Area	27,910	37.4%	6.0
Naples-Marco Island, FL Metro Area	64,730	37.4%	8.8
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN Metro Area	524,034	46.0%	6.0

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New Haven, CT Metro Area	139,354	46.9%	6.4
New Orleans-Metairie, LA Metro Area	187,298	41.3%	4.0
Niles, MI Metro Area	28,381	40.4%	7.9
North Port-Bradenton-Sarasota, FL Metro Area	155,894	39.6%	5.0
Ogden, UT Metro Area	142,358	42.0%	4.2
Olympia-Lacey-Tumwater, WA Metro Area	62,243	44.3%	6.0
Omaha, NE-IA Metro Area	232,172	44.5%	3.4
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL Metro Area	582,244	40.5%	4.1
Oshkosh-Neenah, WI Metro Area	34,526	37.8%	7.0
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA Metro Area	166,262	40.8%	4.9
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL Metro Area	125,173	42.7%	4.3
Peoria, IL Metro Area	74,334	43.2%	5.6
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metro Area	1,483,484	46.5%	3.3
Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ Metro Area	1,048,666	41.6%	4.2
Pittsfield, MA Metro Area	27,921	43.9%	5.0
Pocatello, ID Metro Area	17,661	41.7%	9.1
Portland-South Portland, ME Metro Area	148,668	47.5%	5.1
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA Metro Area	625,990	46.9%	4.8
Prescott Valley-Prescott, AZ Metro Area	37,743	38.1%	5.0
Providence-Warwick, RI-MA Metro Area	356,919	41.6%	3.4
Provo-Orem-Lehi, UT Metro Area	170,169	46.3%	3.9
Punta Gorda, FL Metro Area	28,875	37.5%	8.7
Raleigh-Cary, NC Metro Area	435,646	54.1%	6.0
Rapid City, SD Metro Area	29,342	37.8%	3.2
Reno, NV Metro Area	109,841	38.3%	6.0
Richmond, VA Metro Area	315,764	45.5%	5.3
Roanoke, VA Metro Area	59,961	40.7%	5.0
Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA Metro Area	508,575	43.8%	4.4
Salt Lake City-Murray, UT Metro Area	304,418	44.0%	4.1
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX Metro Area	510,084	39.4%	5.3
San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA Metro Area	754,752	46.6%	4.4
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA Metro Area	1,308,646	54.3%	3.4
Savannah, GA Metro Area	78,011	37.6%	3.5
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA Metro Area	1,107,264	51.2%	4.8
Sebastian-Vero Beach-West Vero Corridor, FL Metro Area	26,900	39.4%	8.0
Sioux Falls, SD-MN Metro Area	71,158	41.7%	3.4
South Bend-Mishawaka, IN-MI Metro Area	58,710	37.7%	3.6
Springfield, MO Metro Area	90,983	37.6%	5.0
St. Louis, MO-IL Metro Area	646,494	44.8%	3.7
Syracuse, NY Metro Area	140,156	43.8%	6.8
Tucson, AZ Metro Area	202,796	41.2%	4.7
Tuscaloosa, AL Metro Area	53,209	42.9%	10.2
Tyler, TX Metro Area	41,579	37.4%	6.2
Walla Walla, WA Metro Area	10,478	37.9%	6.0
Warner Robins, GA Metro Area	38,404	41.7%	6.1
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV Metro Area	1,915,095	56.3%	3.8

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Winchester, VA-WV Metro Area	29,203	40.4%	5.6
Worcester, MA Metro Area	197,393	43.7%	3.9
Low Share & Low Change			
Abilene, TX Metro Area	27,085	34.2%	1.4
Alexandria, LA Metro Area	18,302	30.0%	0.8
Altoona, PA Metro Area	18,098	32.3%	-0.2
Amarillo, TX Metro Area	39,971	29.3%	-0.5
Appleton, WI Metro Area	49,112	37.2%	2.7
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC Metro Area	100,063	35.9%	1.6
Bakersfield-Delano, CA Metro Area	103,317	27.2%	-0.1
Battle Creek, MI Metro Area	17,751	29.1%	1.2
Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX Metro Area	52,483	30.7%	1.3
Billings, MT Metro Area	33,711	34.5%	-0.6
Bowling Green, KY Metro Area	32,845	34.3%	-0.3
Canton-Massillon, OH Metro Area	64,071	33.3%	1.2
Cape Girardeau, MO-IL Metro Area	18,485	36.5%	1.9
Casper, WY Metro Area	13,763	34.6%	1.0
Chico, CA Metro Area	34,837	36.9%	2.8
Cleveland, TN Metro Area	18,080	30.3%	2.2
Daphne-Fairhope-Foley, AL Metro Area	40,615	35.1%	-1.1
Dothan, AL Metro Area	20,745	30.5%	0.4
Dubuque, IA Metro Area	18,773	36.1%	-1.5
Duluth, MN-WI Metro Area	50,826	35.3%	2.5
El Centro, CA Metro Area	15,302	23.6%	-0.4
El Paso, TX Metro Area	123,973	31.8%	1.3
Elizabethtown, KY Metro Area	20,464	34.2%	0.9
Erie, PA Metro Area	42,704	34.6%	0.9
Eugene-Springfield, OR Metro Area	66,878	36.6%	3.2
Evansville, IN Metro Area	46,049	34.8%	2.1
Flint, MI Metro Area	60,515	33.6%	2.8
Florence, SC Metro Area	29,502	34.4%	1.7
Fond du Lac, WI Metro Area	15,439	28.7%	1.2
Fort Wayne, IN Metro Area	83,884	36.8%	2.6
Fresno, CA Metro Area	158,612	31.6%	2.2
Gadsden, AL Metro Area	12,937	31.4%	2.5
Glens Falls, NY Metro Area	21,097	34.6%	1.4
Goldsboro, NC Metro Area	12,993	26.4%	-0.3
Grand Junction, CO Metro Area	27,707	37.2%	1.9
Grants Pass, OR Metro Area	11,245	34.2%	2.2
Greensboro-High Point, NC Metro Area	138,232	35.9%	2.7
Gulfport-Biloxi, MS Metro Area	66,361	35.3%	2.7
Hammond, LA Metro Area	21,105	34.4%	-1.2
Hanford-Corcoran, CA Metro Area	12,175	22.7%	-2.9
Harrisonburg, VA Metro Area	22,985	34.1%	1.9
Hattiesburg, MS Metro Area	26,158	35.4%	1.8
Hickory-Lenoir-Morganton, NC Metro Area	57,042	31.7%	2.2
Homosassa Springs, FL Metro Area	17,763	32.1%	0.8



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Hot Springs, AR Metro Area	12,829	30.6%	-5.1
Huntington-Ashland, WV-KY-OH Metro Area	54,965	34.4%	-0.1
Jackson, MS Metro Area	104,762	37.2%	1.4
Jackson, TN Metro Area	26,578	32.6%	1.3
Jacksonville, NC Metro Area	25,506	34.0%	1.5
Janesville-Beloit, WI Metro Area	26,624	31.8%	1.3
Johnson City, TN Metro Area	35,318	36.8%	1.4
Jonesboro, AR Metro Area	21,780	34.6%	2.9
Killeen-Temple, TX Metro Area	72,105	35.3%	1.1
Kingsport-Bristol, TN-VA Metro Area	46,387	34.4%	2.3
Lancaster, PA Metro Area	106,090	37.4%	3.0
Laredo, TX Metro Area	33,964	29.1%	2.4
Lawton, OK Metro Area	16,381	35.8%	0.2
Lebanon, PA Metro Area	22,085	30.1%	-1.0
Lewiston, ID-WA Metro Area	10,080	34.7%	2.8
Lewiston-Auburn, ME Metro Area	19,151	33.8%	-1.5
Longview, TX Metro Area	43,936	32.7%	1.2
Longview-Kelso, WA Metro Area	13,758	28.0%	2.0
Lubbock, TX Metro Area	67,315	37.2%	2.4
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX Metro Area	98,772	26.6%	0.6
Memphis, TN-MS-AR Metro Area	223,452	35.3%	1.7
Mobile, AL Metro Area	64,864	34.8%	2.5
Montgomery, AL Metro Area	60,903	36.1%	0.8
Mount Vernon-Anacortes, WA Metro Area	21,576	35.6%	1.4
Muncie, IN Metro Area	19,383	34.8%	1.1
Muskegon-Norton Shores, MI Metro Area	22,566	28.0%	1.2
Napa, CA Metro Area	25,741	36.7%	1.9
Ocala, FL Metro Area	51,999	31.6%	1.8
Odessa, TX Metro Area	17,592	22.0%	-0.6
Owensboro, KY Metro Area	15,425	27.7%	-2.7
Panama City-Panama City Beach, FL Metro Area	37,909	36.0%	1.1
Parkersburg-Vienna, WV Metro Area	11,018	28.4%	-1.1
Pensacola-Ferry Pass-Brent, FL Metro Area	88,359	37.2%	1.9
Port St. Lucie, FL Metro Area	80,326	34.3%	-0.5
Pueblo, CO Metro Area	24,655	32.5%	1.5
Racine-Mount Pleasant, WI Metro Area	32,656	33.4%	1.8
Redding, CA Metro Area	25,904	33.4%	-2.8
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA Metro Area	683,144	31.6%	2.2
Rockford, IL Metro Area	48,615	30.7%	0.0
Rocky Mount, NC Metro Area	17,948	27.2%	-1.5
Saginaw, MI Metro Area	27,162	32.2%	0.8
Salinas, CA Metro Area	54,628	29.2%	-0.9
Salisbury, MD Metro Area	21,618	35.5%	3.2
San Angelo, TX Metro Area	18,418	32.9%	2.6
Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA Metro Area	89,653	34.1%	2.7
Sheboygan, WI Metro Area	21,274	34.5%	2.8
Shreveport-Bossier City, LA Metro Area	57,334	34.6%	2.6

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Sierra Vista-Douglas, AZ Metro Area	14,171	34.2%	-0.2
Sioux City, IA-NE-SD Metro Area	22,124	31.2%	1.4
Spartanburg, SC Metro Area	58,714	32.8%	1.3
Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA Metro Area	105,580	37.4%	0.0
Springfield, MA Metro Area	75,031	34.3%	-3.3
St. Cloud, MN Metro Area	37,852	35.9%	2.2
St. Joseph, MO-KS Metro Area	16,868	30.7%	0.8
Staunton-Stuarts Draft, VA Metro Area	20,645	34.0%	3.1
Stockton-Lodi, CA Metro Area	113,646	30.8%	2.8
Sumter, SC Metro Area	12,130	30.3%	2.0
Topeka, KS Metro Area	41,006	37.0%	2.4
Utica-Rome, NY Metro Area	47,017	35.8%	1.1
Vineland, NJ Metro Area	16,035	23.7%	-1.0
Visalia, CA Metro Area	54,099	27.3%	2.3
Waco, TX Metro Area	45,607	31.9%	0.1
Waterloo-Cedar Falls, IA Metro Area	30,341	35.5%	3.0
Watertown-Fort Drum, NY Metro Area	15,552	33.4%	2.1
Weirton-Steubenville, WV-OH Metro Area	14,984	29.6%	2.2
Wichita, KS Metro Area	119,139	37.2%	2.0
Yakima, WA Metro Area	29,055	25.4%	0.2
York-Hanover, PA Metro Area	87,185	36.2%	1.3
Youngstown-Warren, OH Metro Area	56,960	30.0%	-0.1
Yuba City, CA Metro Area	22,111	29.1%	2.8
High Share & Low Change			
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY Metro Area	216,641	47.4%	2.6
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ Metro Area	166,022	38.1%	3.1
Ames, IA Metro Area	29,866	44.4%	1.0
Ann Arbor, MI Metro Area	107,402	56.9%	2.2
Athens-Clarke County, GA Metro Area	47,945	43.3%	3.1
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA Metro Area	1,461,985	44.7%	2.4
Auburn-Opelika, AL Metro Area	40,453	43.3%	-1.6
Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD Metro Area	720,891	49.5%	1.6
Bangor, ME Metro Area	28,149	37.5%	1.9
Baton Rouge, LA Metro Area	158,108	39.0%	3.0
Bellingham, WA Metro Area	46,410	39.5%	2.7
Birmingham, AL Metro Area	231,893	41.6%	2.7
Blacksburg-Christiansburg-Radford, VA Metro Area	35,304	42.1%	1.6
Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH Metro Area	1,418,316	52.2%	2.7
Bremerton-Silverdale-Port Orchard, WA Metro Area	52,919	41.7%	2.4
Bridgeport-Stamford-Danbury, CT Metro Area	243,339	48.6%	3.0
Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY Metro Area	237,663	41.6%	3.0
Champaign-Urbana, IL Metro Area	50,662	44.9%	-1.9
Charleston-North Charleston, SC Metro Area	184,206	42.3%	2.4
Cheyenne, WY Metro Area	19,218	41.0%	2.9
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN Metro Area	497,801	43.2%	2.6
Cleveland, OH Metro Area	442,913	41.1%	2.5
Columbia, SC Metro Area	161,393	39.4%	0.2

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Columbus, IN Metro Area	18,243	42.2%	2.1
Columbus, OH Metro Area	515,572	45.5%	3.0
Crestview-Fort Walton Beach-Destin, FL Metro Area	50,152	37.5%	3.1
Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA Metro Area	173,980	43.6%	0.6
Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI Metro Area	868,470	41.2%	2.3
Eau Claire, WI Metro Area	34,356	37.5%	1.3
Fairbanks-College, AK Metro Area	15,950	38.8%	0.0
Flagstaff, AZ Metro Area	29,960	41.9%	-1.6
Fort Collins-Loveland, CO Metro Area	96,620	48.6%	3.0
Greeley, CO Metro Area	74,032	39.5%	3.1
Greenville-Anderson-Greer, SC Metro Area	190,760	39.5%	2.3
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT Metro Area	277,860	46.0%	1.9
Houston-Pasadena-The Woodlands, TX Metro Area	1,515,715	41.0%	2.8
Iowa City, IA Metro Area	45,672	46.1%	-1.7
Kennewick-Richland, WA Metro Area	53,981	38.4%	2.1
Lafayette, LA Metro Area	73,461	37.6%	2.3
Lincoln, NE Metro Area	77,485	42.0%	1.9
Logan, UT-ID Metro Area	33,735	42.2%	3.2
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA Metro Area	2,693,391	41.5%	2.8
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN Metro Area	259,201	38.7%	2.1
Lynchburg, VA Metro Area	47,805	37.9%	2.2
Madison, WI Metro Area	204,190	52.3%	2.5
Manhattan, KS Metro Area	23,310	40.2%	1.7
Midland, MI Metro Area	15,128	38.2%	-5.9
Midland, TX Metro Area	37,995	41.4%	2.7
Missoula, MT Metro Area	30,523	43.0%	2.1
Morgantown, WV Metro Area	31,009	44.2%	-1.9
New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ Metro Area	4,532,127	46.1%	3.1
Norwich-New London-Willimantic, CT Metro Area	56,860	41.5%	1.4
Oklahoma City, OK Metro Area	287,681	40.3%	2.5
Pittsburgh, PA Metro Area	539,765	44.1%	2.5
Rochester, MN Metro Area	56,482	46.7%	0.7
Rochester, NY Metro Area	226,150	43.5%	2.0
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA Metro Area	598,738	57.2%	2.6
San Luis Obispo-Paso Robles, CA Metro Area	53,365	39.7%	2.4
Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA Metro Area	58,038	44.6%	3.1
Santa Fe, NM Metro Area	33,023	44.9%	2.9
Santa Maria-Santa Barbara, CA Metro Area	77,714	38.1%	2.2
Santa Rosa-Petaluma, CA Metro Area	102,008	40.5%	0.6
Springfield, IL Metro Area	39,907	40.8%	-3.4
State College, PA Metro Area	35,314	47.6%	0.6
Tallahassee, FL Metro Area	83,010	42.8%	2.1
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL Metro Area	672,233	41.2%	2.4
Trenton-Princeton, NJ Metro Area	92,166	48.7%	2.5
Tulsa, OK Metro Area	187,719	38.0%	2.4
Urban Honolulu, HI Metro Area	181,621	39.4%	2.8
Virginia Beach-Chesapeake-Norfolk, VA-NC Metro Area	346,379	41.5%	3.1

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Wilmington, NC Metro Area	94,885	42.0%	1.2
Winston-Salem, NC Metro Area	124,923	37.6%	2.9
Unclassified Regions			
Amherst Town-Northampton, MA Metro Area	40,815	47.7%	-
Bozeman, MT Metro Area	32,131	42.5%	-
Carson City, NV Metro Area	Unavailable	Unavailable	-
Eagle Pass, TX Metro Area	Unavailable	Unavailable	-
Helena, MT Metro Area	21,614	47.7%	-
Kenosha, WI Metro Area	34,031	38.0%	-
Kiryas Joel-Poughkeepsie-Newburgh, NY Metro Area	140,198	41.0%	-
Lexington Park, MD Metro Area	52,940	48.7%	-
Minot, ND Metro Area	11,637	33.5%	-
Paducah, KY-IL Metro Area	19,542	40.3%	-
Pinehurst-Southern Pines, NC Metro Area	18,109	43.3%	-
Sandusky, OH Metro Area	20,359	36.8%	-
Slidell-Mandeville-Covington, LA Metro Area	56,692	43.2%	-
Traverse City, MI Metro Area	31,038	40.5%	-
Waterbury-Shelton, CT Metro Area	90,610	38.9%	-
Wildwood-The Villages, FL Metro Area	Unavailable	Unavailable	-



# END NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class*. Basic Books. <https://www.basicbooks.com/titles/richardflorida/the-rise-of-the-creative-class/9781541617742/>.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, A. (1776). *The wealth of nations*. Random House.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobs, J. (1961). *The death and life of great American cities*. Random House. <https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/86058/the-death-and-life-of-great-american-cities-by-jane-jacobs/>; Jacobs, J. (1969). *The economy of cities*. Random House. <https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/86059/the-economy-of-cities-by-jane-jacobs/>

<sup>4</sup> Lucas, R. (1988). On the mechanics of economic development. *Journal of Monetary Economics*, 22(3), 3–42.

<sup>5</sup> Barro, R. J. (1991). Economic Growth in a Cross Section of Countries. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 106, 407–443. Barro, R. J. (1997). *Determinants of Economic Growth: A Cross-country Empirical Study*. MIT Press. <https://mitpress.mit.edu/books/determinants-economic-growth>

<sup>6</sup> Berry, C., & Glaeser, E. (2005). The divergence of human capital levels across cities. *Papers in Regional Science*, 84(3), 407–444. Florida, R. (2019b, October 3). Venture capital remains highly concentrated in just a few cities. *CityLab*. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-10-03/the-geographic-concentration-of-venture-capital>. Atkinson, R. T., Muro, M., & Whiton, J. (2010). *The Case for Growth Centers: How to Spread Tech Innovation Across America*. Brookings Institution. <https://www.brookings.edu/research/growth-centers-how-to-spread-tech-innovation-across-america/>. Andes, S., Trujillo, J. L., & Marchio, N. (2016). Rise of the Rest? The Bay Area Still Dominates Venture Capital. Brookings Institution. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/metropolitan-revolution/2016/01/28/rise-of-the-rest-the-bay-area-still-dominates-venture-capital-2/>.

<sup>7</sup> Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class*. Basic Books. <https://www.basicbooks.com/titles/richardflorida/the-rise-of-the-creative-class/9781541617742/>.

<sup>8</sup> See Frank, R. H., & Cook, P. J. (2010). *The winner-take-all society: Why the few at the top get so much more than the rest of us*. Random House. <https://www.penguinrandomhouse.ca/books/329317/the-winner-take-all-society-by-robert-frank/9780140259957/>; Rosen, S. (1981). The economics of superstars. *The American Economic Review*, 71(5), 845–858; Florida, R. (2017b, April 12). Why America's richest cities keep getting richer. *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2017/04/richard-florida-winner-take-all-new-urban-crisis/522630/>; Florida, R., Mellander, C., & King, K. M. (2020). Winner-take-all cities. In E. Glaeser, K. Kourtit, & P. Nijkamp (Eds.), *Urban Empires: Cities as Global Rulers in the New Urban World*. Routledge. <https://www.routledge.com/Urban-Empires-Cities-as-Global-Rulers-in-the-New-Urban-World/Glaeser-Kourtit-Nijkamp/p/book/9781138601710>.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Frey, W. (2021). *Pandemic-driven population declines in large urban areas are slowing or reversing, latest census data shows*. Brookings Institution. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/pandemic-driven-population-declines-in-large-urban-areas-are-slowing-or-reversing-latest-census-data-shows/>; Florida, R. (2023, April 23). The pandemic didn't upend US geography. *CityLab*. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2023-04-14/three-years-into-the-pandemic-the-urban-exodus-was-overblown?srnd=premium&sref=0lejgNtz>

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<sup>12</sup> Florida, R. (2022, September 8). How the 'Rise of the Rest' Became the 'Rise of the Rents. CityLab. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2022-09-08/why-did-housing-costs-explode-during-the-pandemic>; Albert, V., Herrera, S. and C. Cutter, (2024, September 16). Amazon Tells Workers to Return to Office Five Days a Week. Wall Street Journal. <https://www.wsj.com/business/amazon-tells-workers-to-return-to-office-five-days-a-week-42a32ec8>

<sup>13</sup> Florida, R. et al. (2022) Heartland of Talent: How Heartland Metropolitans are Changing the Map of Talent in the U.S.. Heartland Forward. <https://heartlandforward.org/case-study/heartland-of-talent-how-heartland-metropolitans-are-changing-the-map-of-talent-in-the-u-s/>.

<sup>14</sup> U.S. Census Bureau. (2023). American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, Table S1501 – Educational Attainment. U.S. Department of Commerce. <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=S1501&tid=ACSST1Y2019.S1501>.

<sup>15</sup> U.S. Census Bureau. (2019, 2023). American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, Table S2401 - Occupation by sex for the civilian employed population 16 years and over. U.S. Department of Commerce. <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=S1501&tid=ACSST1Y2019.S1501>  
Data is missing for three metros on creative class share, Carson City, NV; Eagle Pass, TX and Wildwood-The Villages, FL as well as geographic mismatch for six metros on Creative Class Growth 2019-2023: Kenosha, WI, Minot, ND, Paducah, KY-IL, Sandusky, OH, Slidell-Mandeville-Covington, LA and Traverse City, MI.

<sup>16</sup> Stolarick, K., & Currid-Halkett, E. (2013). Creativity and the crisis: The impact of creative workers on regional unemployment. *Cities*, 33, 5-14.

<sup>17</sup> DeVol, R. (2018). Perspectives on defining the American heartland. Heartland Forward. <https://heartlandforward.org/case-study/perspectives-on-defining-the-american-heartland/>.

<sup>18</sup> Bureau of Economic Analysis. (2022). Gross Domestic Product. U.S. Department of Commerce. <https://www.bea.gov/data/gdp/gdp-county-metro-and-other-areas>.

<sup>19</sup> U.S. Census Bureau. (2023). American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, Table S1501 – Educational Attainment. U.S. Department of Commerce. <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=S1501&tid=ACSST1Y2019.S1501>. There is a geographic mismatch for seven metros on growth in the share of adults with a bachelor's degree and above between 2019-2023: Eagle Pass, TX, Kenosha, WI, Minot, ND, Paducah, KY-IL, Sandusky, OH, Slidell-Mandeville-Covington, LA and Traverse City, MI.

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<sup>23</sup> See Choudhury, P. (Raj). (2020). Our work from anywhere future: Best practices for all-remote organizations. *Harvard Business Review*. <https://hbr.org/2020/11/our-work-from-anywhere-future>; Choudhury, P. (Raj), Salmon, E., & Logan, B. (2021, September). Tulsa Remote: Moving talent to middle America. *Harvard Business School Case*. <https://www.hbs.edu/faculty/Pages/item.aspx?num=58687>; Holder, S. (2020, February 8). The great Tulsa Remote worker experiment. *CityLab*. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2020-02-28/the-great-tulsa-remote-worker-experiment>



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