Metropolitan Policy Program at BROOKINGS

THE LANDSCAPE OF RECESSION:

UNEMPLOYMENT AND SAFETY NET SERVICES ACROSS URBAN AND SUBURBAN AMERICA

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Findings

An analysis of unemployment, initial Unemployment Insurance claims, and receipt of Supplementary Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP, formerly known as food stamps) benefits in urban and suburban communities over the course of the Great Recession reveals that:

- **Between December 2007 and December 2009, city and suburban unemployment rates in large metro areas increased by roughly the same degree (5.1 versus 4.8 percentage points, respectively).** By December 2009, the gap between city and suburban unemployment rates was one percentage point (10.3 percent versus 9.3 percent)—smaller than 24 months after the start of the first recession of the decade (1.7 percentage points) and the downturn in the early 1990s (2.2 percentage points).

- **Western metro areas exhibited the greatest increases in city and suburban unemployment rates—5.8 and 5.6 percentage points—over the two-year period ending in December of 2009.** Increases in unemployment rates tilted more toward primary cities in Northeastern metro areas (a 5.3 percentage-point increase versus 4.2 percentage points in the suburbs), while suburbs saw slightly larger increases in the South (5.0 versus 4.4 percentage points).

- **Initial Unemployment Insurance (UI) claims increased considerably between December 2007 and December 2009 in urban and suburban areas alike.** The largest increases in requests for UI occurred in the first year of the downturn—led by lower-density suburbs—with new claims beginning to taper off between December of 2008 and 2009.

- **SNAP receipt increased steeply and steadily between January 2008 and July 2009 across both urban and suburban counties.** Urban counties remain home to the largest number of SNAP recipients, though suburban counties saw enrollment increase at a slightly faster pace during the downturn—36.1 percent compared to 29.4 percent in urban counties.

Even as signs point to a tentative economic recovery for the nation, metropolitan areas throughout the country continue to struggle with high unemployment. Within these regions, the negative effects of this downturn—as measured by changes in unemployment and demand for safety net services—have been shared across cities and suburbs alike. Standardizing sub-state data collection and reporting across programs would better enable policymakers and service providers to effectively track indicators of recovery and need in the nation's largest labor markets.

Introduction

Two years after the country entered the Great Recession, there are signs the national economy has slowly begun to recover. Thus far recovery has meant the return of economic growth, but not the return of jobs. And just as some communities have felt the downturn more than others, recovery has not and will not be shared equally across the nation's diverse metropolitan economies.[1]

Within metropolitan areas, many communities continue to struggle with high unemployment and increasing economic and fiscal challenges, while at the same time poverty and the need for emergency and support services continue to rise.[2] Even under the best case scenario of a sustained and robust recovery, cities and suburbs throughout the nation will be dealing with the social and economic aftermath of such a deep and lengthy recession for some time to come.

In light of these challenges, and in an effort to inform public- and private-sector responses to the recession and recovery within the nation's largest metropolitan areas, *Landscape of Recession* tracks leading indicators of poverty and need across cities and their surrounding suburban communities. This second edition analyzes unemployment trends by community type between December 2007 (the official start of the downturn) and December 2009. It also assesses new bouts of unemployment over the same time period by analyzing trends in initial Unemployment Insurance (UI) claims, and tracks participation in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP, also known as food stamps) between January 2008 and July 2009.

Methodology

The *Landscape of Recession* analyzes three key indicators across different metropolitan community types. Note that the community type analysis for Unemployment Insurance claims and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program has changed since the July 2009 edition.

Unemployment Levels and Rates

Monthly data on unemployment come from the Local Area Unemployment Statistics program at the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The December 2009 estimates represent the most recent local-level data available at the time of publication. Note that monthly data at the city and county level are not seasonally adjusted.

For comparisons over time, this analysis uses the U.S. Office of Management and Budget's 2007 definitions of metropolitan statistical areas across all years of data. Of the 100 largest metro areas based on revised 2007 population estimates, 99 are included in this analysis. (Honolulu is excluded because BLS does not report city data separate from the county.) Within these 99 metro areas, *primary cities* include the first city named in the official Office of Management and Budget metropolitan statistical area (MSA) name, and any other city in the MSA name that has a population of 100,000 or more. Using these criteria, there are 136 primary cities in the top 99 metro areas. *Suburbs* represent the remainder of the MSA outside the primary city or cities. In addition, suburban counties are also categorized into suburban types—high density, mature, emerging, and exurban—based on the share of the county (net of the primary city or cities) that is urbanized according to Census 2000.[3]

Initial Unemployment Insurance Claims

We collected monthly county-level data on Unemployment Insurance (UI) claims through telephone interviews with state agencies. The number of claims reported represents any notice of unemployment filed (1) to request a determination of entitlement to and eligibility for compensation or (2) to begin a second or subsequent period of eligibility within a benefit year or

period of eligibility. These requests are categorized as "initial" claims. As such, they represent "demand" for UI benefits due to new spells of unemployment. They do not, however, represent the actual number of claimants who establish eligibility and ultimately receive UI benefits. Because states use different standards for reporting UI claims by county, not all county data collected are directly comparable. Of the 100 largest metro areas, we include the 72 metro areas for which we have comparable data (see Appendix B for a complete list).

Because we cannot separate primary cities from the county data, we designate "urban" counties and compare trends in those counties to their suburban counterparts. Urban counties are those that had an urbanization rate of at least 95 percent in 2000. We identify 131 urban counties in the 100 largest metro areas, such as San Francisco County, CA; Cook County, IL; and Harris County, TX. Suburban counties are identified by type—higher density or lower density—based on the share of the county that is urbanized according to Census 2000.[4]

Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program Receipt

Data on Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) participants come from the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Food and Nutrition Service (FNS). Every six months FNS compiles state-reported data on SNAP recipients at the project area level, which is generally the county. Project areas that do not conform to county boundaries are excluded from the analysis, leaving 77 of the top 100 metro areas with comparable data (see Appendix C for a complete list). Again, because city-level data are not available, we use the same methodology described above to designate urban and suburban counties within the 77 metro areas.

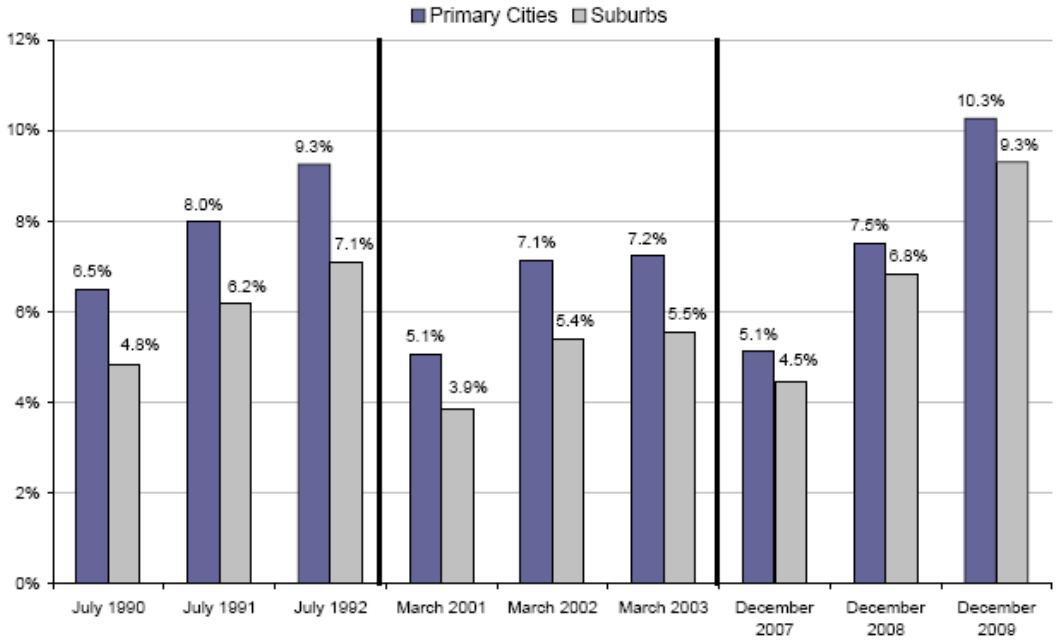
Findings

A. Between December 2007 and December 2009, city and suburban unemployment rates in large metro areas increased by roughly the same degree (5.1 versus 4.8 percentage points, respectively).

Between the onset of downturn in December 2007 and the end of 2009, the unemployed population in 99 of the largest metro areas increased by nearly 5 million workers. That increase translated into a doubling of the unemployment rate (i.e., share of people in the labor force who are unemployed)—from 4.7 percent in December of 2007 to 9.6 percent in December 2009.

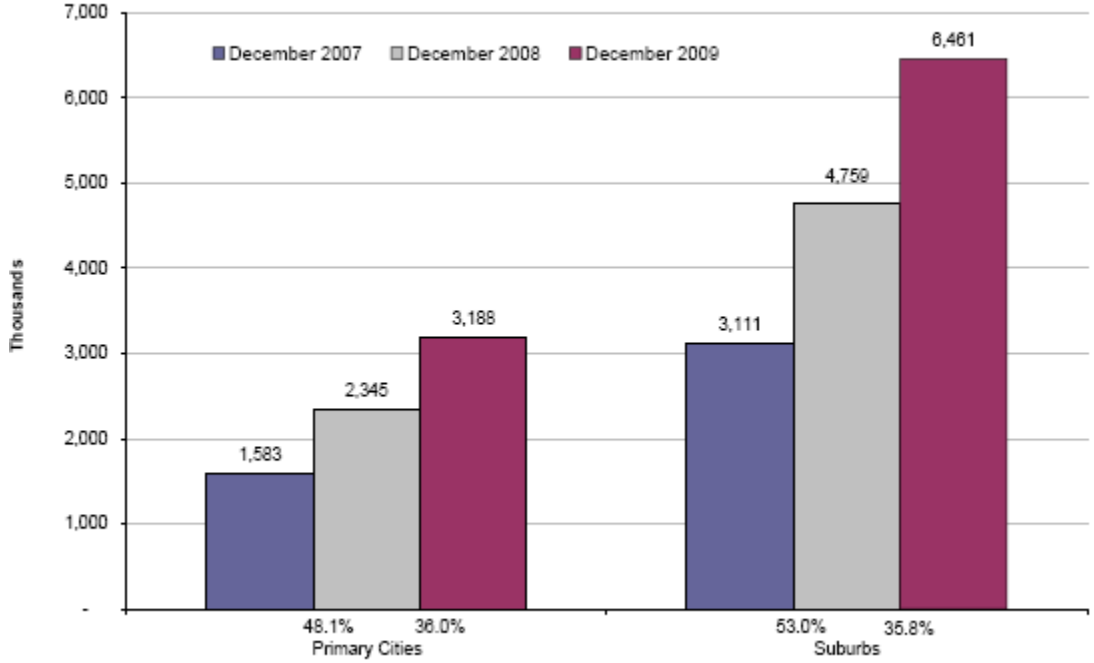
The growth in metropolitan unemployment was shared nearly equally across cities and suburbs, more so than in the previous two downturns (Figure 1). The first year of the Great Recession saw the unemployment rate increase by 2.4 and 2.3 percentage points in cities and suburbs, respectively, while the second year brought slightly larger margins as the downturn deepened (2.8 percentage points in cities and 2.5 percentage points in suburbs). Though the gap between city and suburban unemployment rates widened slightly over the two years—similar to the past two recessions—the disparity was still notably narrower by the end of 2009 than in the early 2000s and 1990s. In December 2009, only one percentage point separated city and suburban unemployment rates (10.3 percent versus 9.3 percent), versus 1.7 percentage points in March 2003, and 2.2 percentage points in July 1992. This underscores not only the more similar unemployment profile of cities and suburbs at the inception of the Great Recession, but also the extent to which suburbs have borne the brunt of this downturn alongside cities.

Figure 1. City and Suburban Unemployment Rates, 99 Metro Areas, 12 and 24 Months Following the Start of the 1990, 2000, and 2007 Recessions*



*Data are not available for the city of Indianapolis prior to 1995; therefore the Indianapolis metro area is not included in the 1990 to 1992 analysis.
Source: Brookings analysis of Local Area Unemployment Statistics data , U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

Figure 2. City and Suburban Unemployed Population, 99 Metro Areas, December 2007, 2008, and 2009



Note: Numbers below the x-axis indicate year-over-year percent change.
Source: Brookings analysis of Local Area Unemployment Statistics data , U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

The shared burden of this recession is further illustrated by the growth of the unemployed population over the course of the downturn (Figure 2). Between December 2007 and 2009, suburbs slightly outpaced their primary cities for increases in the number of unemployed workers—108 percent compared to 101 percent. The disparity was largest in the first year of the recession, while the second year brought roughly equal rates of growth in the city and suburban unemployed. The faster pace of suburban unemployment growth in the first year may reflect the early onset of the downturn in more decentralized industries, like real estate and construction, and the longer-running trend of job losses in the auto manufacturing industry. In addition, the slowing of the suburban rate in the second year may also reflect the fact that fewer people are moving into lower-density exurbs and emerging suburbs, while many larger urban cores are seeing less out-migration than in recent years.[5]

Disaggregating the suburban unemployment trends also reveals some variation across different types of suburbs. The greatest increases in the unemployment rate were seen in typically farther-flung mature and emerging suburbs, though the unemployment rate roughly doubled in each type of suburb between December 2007 and December 2009 (Table 1). At the same time, high density and mature suburbs experienced above-average increases in the total number of unemployed over this time period (111 and 109 percent, respectively), while lower-density emerging suburbs and exurbs lagged slightly behind. It should be noted, however, that exurbs retained the highest unemployment rate among suburban types each December.[6]

Table 1. Unemployment by Community Type, 99 Metro Areas, December 2007, 2008, and 2009

Unemployed Rate

	Unemployment Rate			Percentage Point Change		
Community Type	December 2007	December 2008	December 2009	2007 to 2008	2008 to 2009	Total Change
Primary Cities	5.1%	7.5%	10.3%	2.4	2.8	5.1
Suburbs	4.5%	6.8%	9.3%	2.3	2.5	4.8
Suburbs by Type						
High Density (77)	4.3%	6.6%	9.1%	2.3	2.5	4.8
Mature Suburb (114)	4.5%	6.8%	9.4%	2.3	2.6	4.9
Emerging Suburb (141)	4.6%	7.0%	9.5%	2.4	2.5	4.9
Exurb (223)	4.9%	7.2%	9.6%	2.3	2.4	4.7

Unemployed Population

	Unemployed Population			Change		
Community Type	December 2007	December 2008	December 2009	2007 to 2008	2008 to 2009	Total Change
Primary Cities	1,582,706	2,344,736	3,187,880	762,030	843,144	101.4%
Suburbs	3,111,456	4,759,236	6,460,743	1,647,780	1,701,506	107.6%
Suburbs by Type						
High Density (77)	1,206,951	1,862,056	2,540,202	655,105	678,146	110.5%
Mature Suburb (114)	1,105,731	1,690,605	2,307,988	584,874	617,383	108.7%
Emerging Suburb (141)	557,908	850,780	1,141,570	292,872	290,790	104.6%
Exurb (223)	240,866	355,796	470,983	114,930	115,187	95.5%

Note: See Methodology for explanation of suburban types.
Source: Brookings analysis of Local Area Unemployment Statistics, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

B. Western metro areas exhibited the greatest increases in city and suburban unemployment rates—5.8 and 5.6 percentage points—over the two-year period ending in December of 2009.

Regional trends reveal the varied impact of the downturn as it deepened and spread over time (Table 2). The West saw the biggest increases in city and suburban unemployment overall (5.8 and 5.6 percentage points, respectively), but the biggest single-year increases in Western unemployment occurred in the first year of the recession, while the other regions (with the exception of Northeast suburbs) saw larger upticks in unemployment in the following year. Again, this likely reflects the early timing of the housing market collapse, which hit Sun Belt metro areas in the West and in Florida particularly hard, while unemployment increases in other regions grew as the recession deepened into the second year and spread to other industries.

Table 2. Unemployment Rate by Region, Primary Cities and Suburbs, 100 Largest Metro Areas, December 2007, 2008, and 2

Primary Cities

	Unemployment Rate			Percentage Point Change		
	December 2007	December 2008	December 2009	2007 to 2008	2008 to 2009	Total Change
City Total	**5.1%**	**7.5%**	**10.3%**	**2.4**	**2.8**	**5.1**
Midwest (19)	6.1%	8.1%	11.1%	2.0	3.0	5.0
Northeast (19)	5.0%	7.3%	10.4%	2.2	3.1	5.3
South (38)	4.5%	6.5%	8.9%	2.0	2.4	4.4
West (24)	5.3%	8.3%	11.1%	3.1	2.8	5.8

Suburbs

	Unemployment Rate			Percentage Point Change		
	December 2007	December 2008	December 2009	2007 to 2008	2008 to 2009	Total Change
Suburban Total	**4.5%**	**6.8%**	**9.3%**	**2.3**	**2.5**	**4.8**
Midwest (19)	5.0%	7.0%	9.5%	2.0	2.6	4.6
Northeast (19)	4.2%	6.3%	8.3%	2.2	2.0	4.2
South (38)	4.2%	6.5%	9.1%	2.3	2.6	5.0
West (24)	4.8%	7.6%	10.4%	2.8	2.7	5.6

Source: Brookings analysis of Local Area Unemployment Statistics, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

Western metro areas overtook the Midwest for highest primary city unemployment rates in December 2008. However, the second year of the recession brought larger unemployment hikes to Northeastern and Midwestern cities, so that by December 2009 primary cities in the Midwest and West were tied for highest unemployment rate at 11.1 percent.

Among suburbs, those in Western metro areas exhibited the largest increases in unemployment rates in both years of the recession, reaching a combined 10.4 percent by December 2009. While unemployment rates increased by nearly the same magnitude in Western metro areas over the two-year period, unemployment increases in the Northeast, and to some extent in the Midwest, tilted more toward primary cities whereas suburbs saw relatively larger unemployment increases in the South.

Table 3A. City and Suburban Unemployment Rates, 99 Metro Areas, December 2009

Rank*	City Unemployment Rate	December 2009	Rank	Suburban Unemployment Rate	December 2009
1	Omaha, NE-IA	4.7%	1	Omaha, NE-IA	5.2%
2	Madison, WI	5.1%	2	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	5.6%
3	Oklahoma City, OK	6.0%	3	Provo, UT	5.7%
4	Austin, TX	6.2%	4	Des Moines, IA	5.8%
5	Portland, ME	6.3%	5	Ogden, UT	5.9%
6	San Antonio, TX	6.5%	6	Salt Lake City, UT	6.0%
7	Tulsa, OK	6.6%	7	Oklahoma City, OK	6.0%
8	Provo, UT	6.6%	8	New Orleans, LA	6.1%
9	Little Rock, AR	6.7%	9	Madison, WI	6.2%
10	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	6.8%	10	Little Rock, AR	6.4%
90	Youngstown, OH-PA	14.6%	90	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	12.9%
91	Hartford, CT	15.1%	91	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	12.9%
92	Modesto, CA	15.2%	92	El Paso, TX	13.5%
93	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	15.4%	93	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	13.6%
94	Fresno, CA	15.8%	94	Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	13.8%
95	Greenville, SC	16.0%	95	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	14.0%
96	Grand Rapids, MI	16.1%	96	Stockton, CA	14.6%
97	Columbia, SC	17.1%	97	Fresno, CA	17.9%
98	Stockton, CA	20.5%	98	Bakersfield, CA	19.1%
99	Detroit-Warren, MI	23.3%	99	Modesto, CA	19.3%
	Primary City Total, 99 Largest Metro Areas	**10.3%**		**Suburban Total, 99 Largest Metro Areas**	**9.3%**

Table 3B. Change in City and Suburban Unemployment Rates, 100 Largest Metro Areas, December 2007 to December 2009

Rank*	City Unemployment Rate	Percentage Point Change	Rank	Suburban Unemployment Rate	Percentage Point Change
1	Omaha, NE-IA	1.8	1	Omaha, NE-IA	2.1
2	Oklahoma City, OK	2.0	2	Des Moines, IA	2.1
3	Madison, WI	2.3	3	Little Rock, AR	2.4
4	Little Rock, AR	2.4	4	Cleveland, OH	2.7
5	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	2.4	5	Albany, NY	2.7
6	San Antonio, TX	2.6	6	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	2.7
7	McAllen, TX	2.6	7	Oklahoma City, OK	2.8
8	Austin, TX	2.7	8	Rochester, NY	2.8
9	Tulsa, OK	2.8	9	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	2.9
10	Portland, ME	2.8	10	Denver, CO	2.9
90	Cape Coral, FL	7.5	90	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	7.5
91	Lakeland, FL	7.8	91	Fresno, CA	7.5
92	Las Vegas, NV	7.9	92	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	7.6
93	Grand Rapids, MI	7.9	93	Orlando, FL	7.6
94	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	8.4	94	Las Vegas, NV	7.7
95	Bradenton, FL	8.5	95	Bakersfield, CA	7.8
96	Columbia, SC	8.8	96	Lakeland, FL	7.9
97	Greenville, SC	9.2	97	Cape Coral, FL	8.0
98	Stockton, CA	9.3	98	Modesto, CA	8.5
99	Detroit-Warren, MI	10.1	99	Charlotte, NC-SC	8.5
	Primary City Total, 99 Largest Metro Areas	**5.1**		**Suburban Total, 99 Largest Metro Areas**	**4.8**

Metro area names have been adjusted to reflect only primary cities used in the unemployment analysis.
Source: Brookings analysis of Local Area Unemployment Statistics, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

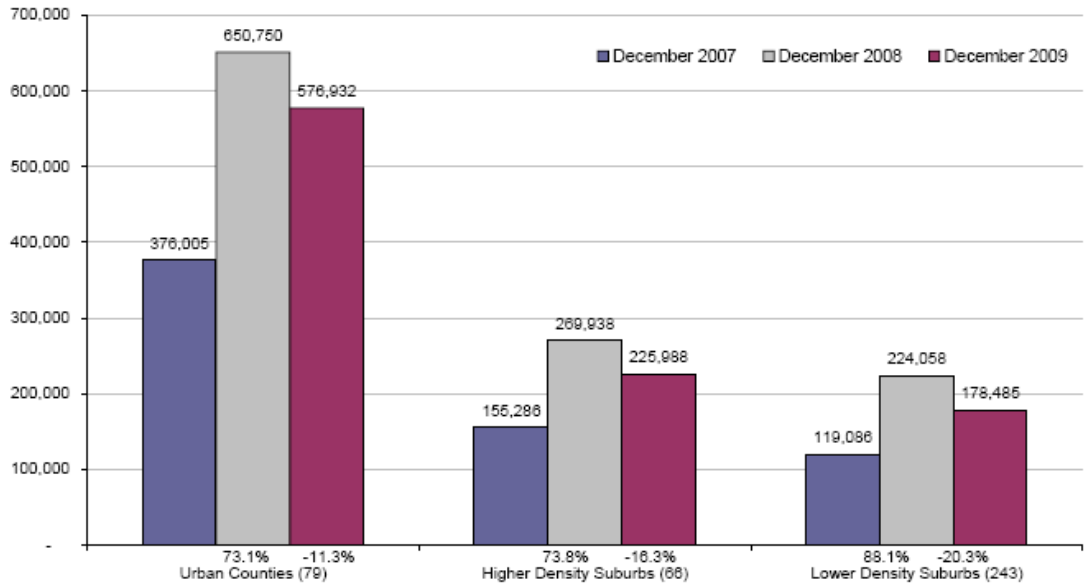
The unemployment situation in individual metro areas bears out these regional trends (Table 3 A and B). Sun Belt metro areas in the South and West (e.g., Cape Coral, Riverside, Lakeland, Las Vegas) were among those suffering the greatest increases in city and suburban unemployment rates. Metro areas in these regions, along with Midwestern auto manufacturing metro areas, also make the list for highest unemployment rates in December 2009 in primary cities (e.g., Detroit, Stockton, Youngstown) and suburbs (e.g., Modesto, Bakersfield). In contrast, metro areas that have sustained relatively lower unemployment increases over the course of the downturn (e.g., Omaha, Oklahoma City) also make the list of cities and suburbs with the lowest unemployment rates in December 2009.

C. Initial Unemployment Insurance (UI) claims increased considerably between December 2007 and December 2009 in urban and suburban areas alike.

Unemployment Insurance is a safety net program that provides workers who have lost their jobs with a temporary source of income as they look for new employment. Initial claims for UI reflect the number of people who have entered a new spell of unemployment and have requested UI assistance, not necessarily those who have been deemed eligible to receive benefits. Therefore, these data provide a snapshot of the demand for income assistance from recently unemployed workers.

In the first year of the recession, new bouts of unemployment as measured by initial UI claims rose significantly regardless of community type (Figure 3). Within 72 of the largest metro areas for which data are available, lower-density suburbs saw the greatest uptick in UI claims between December 2007 and 2008 (88 percent), while higher-density suburbs and urban counties experienced nearly equal rates of growth in UI claims that year (74 percent and 73 percent, respectively).

Figure 3. Change in Initial Unemployment Insurance Claims by Community Type, 72 Metro Areas, December 2007, 2008, and 2009



Note: Numbers below the x-axis indicate year-over-year percent change.
See Methodology for explanation of community types.
Source: Brookings analysis of state-reported data on initial Unemployment Insurance claims

In the second year of the recession requests for UI began to decline, though initial UI claims remained well above December 2007 levels. While lower-density suburbs experienced the largest increases in the previous year, they also exhibited the greatest drop in UI claims over the second year (-20 percent). Meanwhile, urban counties showed the smallest decline in UI claims over the second year of the recession (-11 percent).

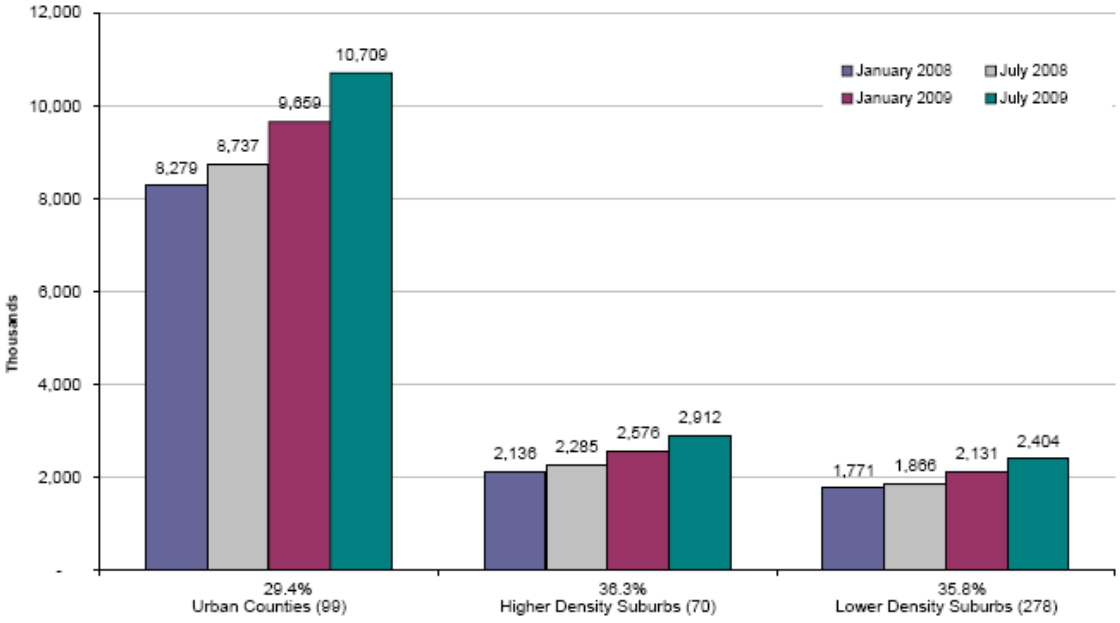
It may be a positive signal that initial UI claims declined slightly over the second year of the recession, but it bears noting what these numbers do *not* reflect. The UI data reported here do not include workers who have exhausted their regular UI benefits and are now receiving extended UI benefits for longer spells of unemployment. On average, workers are now unemployed for longer

compared to the start of the recession: The median number of weeks spent unemployed increased from eight (8) in December of 2007 to 20 in December 2009, and the share of workers out of a job for 27 weeks or more rose from 17 percent to 40 percent over that same time period.[7] Likewise, more workers are now considered "underemployed": In December 2009, the underemployment rate in the U.S. passed 17 percent, up from 8.7 percent two years earlier.[8] Notably, part-time, and temporary workers, along with the self-employed, are not typically eligible for UI benefits, and thus may not request assistance when faced with a new bout of unemployment. It is not clear how extended bouts of unemployment and ineligibility for UI distribute across different types of metropolitan communities. Nonetheless, initial UI claims provide valuable insight into the level of demand for safety net assistance due to unemployment, but represent only one indicator of a community's unemployment situation.

D. SNAP receipt increased steeply and steadily between January 2008 and July 2009 across both urban and suburban counties.

The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (formerly known as food stamps) helps low-income families and individuals purchase food. Since shortly after the onset of the Great Recession, urban and suburban communities alike have seen the number of residents turning to this federal program for help climb steadily over time (Figure 4).

Figure 4. SNAP Recipients by Suburban Type, 77 Metro Areas, January 2008 to July 2009



Note: Numbers below the x-axis represent percent change between January 2008 and July 2009.
See Methodology for explanation of community types.
Source: Brookings analysis of data provided by the Food and Nutrition Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture

In the 77 large metro areas for which comparable data are available, suburban counties—whether higher- or lower-density—saw SNAP receipt increase at a faster pace than in urban counties (roughly 36 percent versus 29 percent between January 2008 and July 2009). For urban and higher-density counties, the largest six-month increase occurred between January and July of

2009, while lower-density suburbs saw their largest period of growth slightly earlier in the recession. However, urban counties remain home to a significantly larger share of metropolitan food stamp recipients overall.

These enrollment data provide a first-order indication of possible differences in participation rates across community types. SNAP is generally available to those with gross incomes equal to 130 percent of the federal poverty level. Roughly 67 percent of SNAP recipients live in urban counties, 18 percent in higher-density suburbs, and 15 percent in lower-density suburbs. The distribution of residents in the income range for SNAP is similar though not equal; according to data from the 2008 American Community Survey about 65 percent of people with incomes under 125 percent of the poverty line live in urban counties, 18 percent live in higher-density suburbs, and 17 percent live in lower-density counties. These statistics suggest at least the possibility of under-enrollment in nutrition assistance in outer suburban areas. Do they point to real differences in eligibility, different attitudes toward support services, or a gap in knowledge or accessibility in suburban communities? These remain important questions for policymakers and service providers.

Conclusion

Even as signs point to a tentative economic recovery for the nation, it is clear that cities and suburbs alike continue to struggle with high unemployment. And though the data show a leveling off of new claims for Unemployment Insurance, we should not overlook the fact that on average Americans are spending longer stretches unemployed now than at the start of the recession just as more workers are underemployed than two-years ago.

With increasing unemployment and economic distress has come an increase in the number of people turning to safety net services like food stamps in both urban and suburban communities. However, suburban households struggling with worsening economic situations may not be connecting to these services to the extent to which they are eligible.

Though not all communities throughout the country are facing these challenges to the same extent, cities and suburbs are likely to continue grappling with these issues for some time to come, especially those that are slower to recover. As we continue to track these trends throughout the recovery, it has become increasingly clear that reliable, timely, and comparable data are needed to effectively monitor and respond to these trends. The data currently available have played an important role in capturing the intra-metropolitan dynamics of these trends. However, because there are not uniform reporting procedures across programs for sub-state data (e.g., levels of geography and time periods for which data are public are not necessarily uniform across states), it is difficult to get a comprehensive picture of comparable trends across our country's major labor markets. Standardizing reporting requirements and making comparable sub-state data publicly available on a regular basis would give policymakers and service providers better information as they navigate a thus far tentative and uneven recovery.

[1] The Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings, "MetroMonitor: Tracking Economic Recession and Recovery in America's 100 Largest Metro Areas" (Washington: Brookings Institution, March 2010).

[2] Elizabeth Kneebone and Emily Garr, "The Suburbanization of Poverty: Trends in Metropolitan America, 2000 to 2008" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2010).

[3] After subtracting the primary city(ies), "high density" suburbs are those counties that were at least 95 percent urbanized according to Census 2000. "Mature suburbs" are 75 to 95 percent urbanized, "emerging suburbs" are 25 to 75 percent urbanized, and "exurbs" are less than 25 percent urbanized.

[4] "Higher-density suburbs" are counties that were 75 to 95 percent urbanized, and "lower-density suburbs" had urbanization rates of less than 75 percent in 2000.

[5] William Frey, "The Great American Migration Slow Down: Regional and Metropolitan Dimensions" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2009).

[6] The experience of exurbs from December to December differs from the findings of the previous edition of the *Landscape of Recession*, which looked at May unemployment figures and found that exurbs led for increases in unemployment among suburban types. In part, these differences underscore the seasonal sensitivity of the exurban employment cycle. In analyzing monthly unemployment data that have not been seasonally adjusted, exurban communities prove to be most variable. In the winter months, exurban unemployment surpasses primary city unemployment rates, whereas in summer months exurbs dip below other suburban types for unemployment. The types of jobs that tend to locate in exurban communities—including agricultural and construction jobs, which are more seasonal in nature—help explain these trends.

[7] Brookings Institution analysis of U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data.

[8] Underemployment is a measure of labor underutilization and includes discouraged workers, marginally unemployed workers, and those working part-time for economic reasons (i.e. would prefer to be working full-time). As of 2008, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports this measure in quarterly moving averages, at the state level. Comparable data are not available for metropolitan areas.

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- *The Suburbanization of Poverty: Trends in Metropolitan America, 2000 to 2008*

Forthcoming

- *Serving the Suburban Poor: New challenges for Social Service Providers*
- *Immigration and Shifting Metropolitan Poverty*

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