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METROPOLITAN OPPORTUNITY SERIES

Job Sprawl Stalls:
The Great Recession and Metropolitan Employment Location

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An analysis of the location of private-sector employment within 35 miles of downtown in the nation's 100 largest metropolitan areas from 2007 to 2010, and across the 2000s, finds:

- **Steep employment losses following the Great Recession stalled the steady decentralization of jobs that characterized the early to mid-2000s.** After dropping two percentage points from 2000 to 2007, the share of metropolitan jobs within three miles of downtown stabilized from 2007 to 2010. However, by 2010 nearly twice the share of jobs was located at least 10 miles away from downtown (43 percent) as within three miles of downtown (23 percent).

- **Job losses in industries hit hardest by the downturn, including construction and manufacturing, helped check employment decentralization in the late 2000s.** Together, construction, manufacturing, and retail—each among the most decentralized of major industries—accounted for almost 60 percent of all job losses between 2007 and 2010, with half of those losses occurring at least 10 miles from downtown.

- **In all but nine of the 100 largest metro areas, the share of jobs located within three miles of downtown declined during the 2000s.** Only Washington, D.C. experienced an increase in both the number and share of jobs located in the urban core during the 2000s. At the same time, the share of jobs at least 10 miles from downtown rose in 85 regions between 2000 and 2010.

- **A metro area's total employment—and policy and planning decisions around land use, economic development, and zoning—help shape the location of its jobs.** Employment is more decentralized in metro areas with at least 500,000 jobs. But even large metro areas with high degrees of job decentralization like Chicago and Detroit concentrate many of their jobs in dense locations outside the urban core.

In the wake of the Great Recession, policymakers and regional leaders have the opportunity to make strategic decisions about how they will pursue metropolitan growth. If the next period of economic expansion reinforces low-density, diffuse growth in metropolitan America, it will be that much harder for metro areas to achieve sustainable and inclusive growth over the long term.

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Introduction

In 2009, "Job Sprawl Revisited: The Changing Geography of Metropolitan Employment" documented the widespread decentralization of jobs in metropolitan America.[1] That analysis found that, between 1998 and 2006, employment—whether growing or declining—steadily moved farther away from downtowns across most major metro areas, in almost every major industry, and especially toward suburban communities at least 10 miles from the downtown. This shift occurred

continuously—as the economy boomed in the late 1990s, as it turned down in the early 2000s, and then as it moved through a mid-decade recovery.

Yet that analysis left off shortly before the nation entered the worst recession since the Great Depression, which led to the loss of nearly 9 million jobs nationally.[2] Though the first economic downturn of the decade did not stall the outward movement of metropolitan jobs, the second, much more disruptive, recession of the decade may very well have changed prevailing job location patterns.

The changing location of employment within a metro area intersects with a range of policy issues—from transportation to workforce development to regional innovation—that affect a region's long-term health, prosperity, and social inclusion. A number of factors can drive the decentralization of employment, which is neither an inherently positive nor negative trend. Suburban development can take place in ways that foster dense, mixed-use, and regionally-connected job centers.[3] Or it may occur in less dense and less accessible ways, raising challenges like strained infrastructure, increased energy consumption, greater spatial mismatches between the location of jobs and low-income and minority residents. In addition, because low-density job development can be difficult to effectively serve with transit, job sprawl can limit transportation options, increasing commute times and congestion.[4]

Understanding the geography of metropolitan employment will prove particularly important in the emerging recovery, as policymakers and regional leaders work to grow jobs and connect residents to economic opportunity. This brief assesses recent trends in employment location in 2000, 2007, and 2010, documenting the impact of the Great Recession on the geographic distribution of metropolitan jobs during the 2000s.

Methods

This brief builds on and updates the methods used in 2009's "Job Sprawl Revisited" to analyze employment location trends. It uses the Census Bureau's ZIP Business Patterns data on private-sector employment from 2000, 2007, and 2010 (the most recent year of data available).[5] It employs GIS software to allocate ZIP code employment data to three distance bands: within three miles of a central business district (CBD), three to 10 miles away from a CBD, and 10 to 35 miles from a CBD.[6]

Two methodological differences exist between this assessment and the 2009 analysis that affect comparability. First, the 2009 analysis focused on 98 of the 100 largest metro areas based on 2005 employment totals. The current analysis considers the 100 largest metro areas based on population in 2010. While there is a high degree of overlap in the two lists, differences exist.[7]

Second, the selection process for CBDs has been expanded in this analysis to more fully reflect metro areas that contain multiple employment centers. As with the previous analysis, 1982 CBDs (designated by the Census of Retail Trade) serve as the basis for the selection (Box 1). To designate CBDs for this analysis, a number of comparisons were made based on census tract-level job density and total employment estimates in 2010.[8] For first-named cities in the official metropolitan statistical area name, if the densest employment tract in 2010 overlapped with the 1982 CBD, the equivalent of the 1982 CBD was used.[9] If the densest tract in 2010 did not overlap with the 1982 CBD and had higher employment totals than the historical CBD, the densest tract in 2010 was selected as the CBD for this analysis. However, if the 2010 tract contained fewer jobs, the 1982 CBD was maintained.

The same process was used to determine CBDs in any other city within the metro area that had an official CBD in 1982.[10] Once secondary CBDs were determined, total employment within those CBDs was compared to the primary CBD. If the number of jobs in the secondary CBD was at least one-third of the amount located in the primary CBD in 2010, the secondary CBD was also included as a "downtown" in the analysis. (See Appendix A for a full list of CBDs included in this assessment.)

Box 1. A Note about 1982 Central Business Districts

The U.S. Census Bureau last identified Central Business Districts based on the 1982 Census of Retail Trade, after which the program was discontinued. The Census Bureau defined a CBD as "an area of very high land valuation characterized by a high concentration of retail businesses, service businesses, offices, theaters, and hotels, and by a very high traffic flow," which could be comprised of one or multiple census tracts.[11] Though dated, the 1982 CBDs represent the last systematic identification of business districts at the national scale. Furthermore, the 1982 CBDs continue to exhibit significant overlap with the densest job centers in the nation's major metro areas. Of the 100 metro areas in this analysis, 91 contained a 1982 CBD that overlapped with the highest job-density census tract in 2010. Nine (9) contained a 1982 CBD that coincided with the second-densest tract, which in each case had higher job totals than the first-ranked tract.

Moreover, the continued relevance of the 1982 CBDs is apparent in the expanded list of downtowns used in this analysis. The 2009 paper limited potential downtowns to only places that appeared in the metropolitan area name, contained a 1982 CBD, and had at least half the number of jobs as the primary CBD. This analysis removes the name restriction and allows a place with a 1982 CBD to be a potential secondary job hub, as long as it contains at least one-third the number of jobs located in the primary CBD. Ultimately, the 2009 analysis identified 105 CBDs in 98 metro areas, while this analysis identifies 136 CBDs in 100 metro areas. To verify that this list of CBDs captures significant secondary job hubs in 2010, the selection process was run again, removing the 1982 CBD requirement. Tracts that were at least as dense as the primary CBD and contained at least one-third the jobs were considered. There were nine tracts in eight metro areas that met these criteria and were not directly adjacent to the 1982-identified CBD. All of these tracts fell within the primary city: seven fell within the three miles of the official CBD, and two within the 10 mile ring. None contained more jobs than the 1982-identified CBD. Thus, the 1982 CBDs continue to provide a robust baseline for selecting significant job centers across the nation's largest metropolitan areas.

A. Steep employment losses following the Great Recession stalled the steady decentralization of jobs that characterized the early to mid-2000s.

The late 2000s brought a protracted economic downturn and widespread job losses that touched almost every major metro area in the United States. The worst recession since the Great Depression and the weak recovery that followed caused the nation's 100 largest metro areas to shed more than 5.8 million jobs within 35 miles of their downtowns from 2007 to 2010. Employment declined throughout these metro areas, from the urban core to outlying suburbs, but losses were not spread evenly (Table 1). The outer ring—more than 10 miles away from a CBD—lost jobs at a faster rate than the middle (between three and 10 miles) and inner (within three miles) rings. In fact, owing in part to the suburban-led nature of the housing market collapse and the downturn that followed, 45 percent of employment losses from 2007 to 2010 occurred more than 10 miles away from downtown.

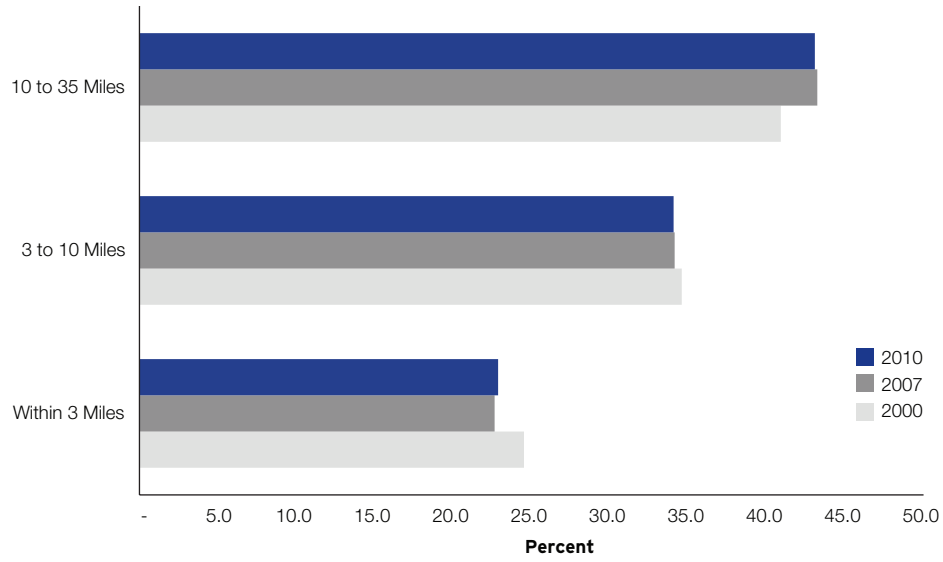
The Great Recession thus stalled the steady decentralization of metropolitan employment that marked much of the 2000s. Between 2000 and 2007, the share of jobs located more than 10 miles from downtown consistently grew, as the outer ring added employment at four times the rate of the middle ring, while the number of jobs located within three miles of a CBD actually fell. However, the job losses of the late 2000s effectively halted this trend, leaving the overall distribution of employment

Table 1. Employment Distribution Within 35 Miles of a Central Business District, 100 Metro Areas, 2000 to 2010

Number of Jobs	2000	2007	2010	2000 to 2007	2007 to 2010	2000 to 2010
Total Jobs	**76,252,828**	**79,071,521**	**73,247,962**	**3.7%**	**-7.4%**	**-3.9%**
Within 3 Miles	18,698,287	17,907,472	16,752,320	-4.2%	-6.5%	-10.4%
3 to 10 Miles	26,369,343	26,985,109	24,948,689	2.3%	-7.5%	-5.4%
10 to 35 Miles	31,185,198	34,178,939	31,546,954	9.6%	-7.7%	1.2%

Source: Brookings Institution analysis of ZIP Business Patterns data

Figure 1. Change in the Geographic Distribution of Jobs Within 35 Miles of a Central Business District, 100 Metro Areas



Source: Brookings Institution analysis of ZIP Business Patterns data

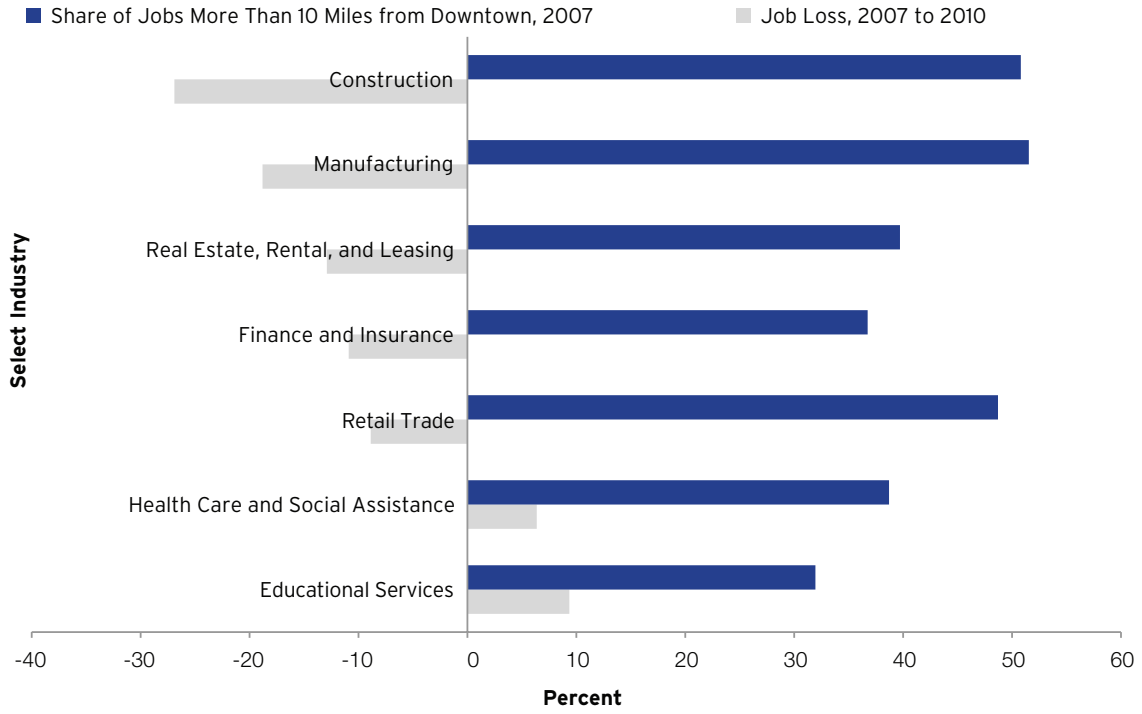
relatively unchanged between 2007 and 2010 (Figure 1). The outsized impact of the recession on the outer ring led to a slight drop in the share of jobs located more than 10 miles away from downtown (-0.2 percentage points). At the same time, the middle ring also experienced a very small decline in job share (-0.1 percentage points), while the urban core exhibited a modest uptick (+0.2 percentage points) because it lost jobs slightly more slowly.

Even with these late-decade trends, by 2010 jobs remained markedly more decentralized than in 2000. In 2010, more than three quarters of jobs within 35 miles of a downtown in the nation's 100 largest metro areas located outside of the urban core. Roughly 17 million jobs fell within three miles of CBD (22.9 percent), while almost twice that number—31.5 million—located more than 10 miles from downtown (43.1 percent).

B. Job losses in industries hit hardest by the downturn, including construction and manufacturing, helped check employment decentralization in the late 2000s.

The early to mid-2000s saw employment decentralize in nearly every major industry as the share of jobs in urban cores declined and the share in the outer ring grew. However, as the housing-led downturn deepened and spread, job losses in almost every major industry slowed that steady trend. Construction, manufacturing, and retail were among the industries hardest hit by job losses following the Great Recession. Together, those three industries accounted for 60 percent of the decline in total employment within 35 miles of downtown between 2007 and 2010.[12] They were also among the most decentralized industries, locating roughly half of their jobs more than 10 miles from downtown in 2007 (Figure 2). As a result, roughly two-thirds of job losses in the outer ring of metropolitan areas came in construction, manufacturing, and retail. The collapse of the housing market also caused the real estate and finance industries—both of which had decentralized at a rapid pace earlier in the decade—to shed jobs at a faster-than-average rate, regardless of location. Amid these employment losses, jobs in these industries stopped their steady march outward in metropolitan areas. The share of construction, real estate, and finance jobs more than 10 miles from downtown dropped slightly between 2007 and 2010 (0.6 percentage points or less), while increasing slightly for manufacturing and retail (0.2 percentage points each).

Figure 2. Job Location and Employment Change for Selected Industries within 35 Miles of Downtown, 100 Metro Areas, 2007 to 2010



Source: Brookings Institution analysis of ZIP Business Patterns data

At the same time, as almost every other major industry shed employment, the health care and social assistance and educational services industries experienced notable job growth between 2007 and 2010, with increases shared across the three rings. The recession-era gains in health care and social assistance employment meant that jobs in that industry grew to account for roughly 17 percent of all jobs in the urban core by 2010—the largest share among major industry categories. However, those jobs continued to grow faster farther away from downtown. From 2007 to 2010, outer-ring health care and social assistance employment grew by 8 percent, versus 4 percent near downtown. In contrast, jobs in educational services grew slightly faster in the urban core than in other metropolitan locations toward the end of the decade. Still, longer-running trends meant that educational services joined 16 other major industries that ended the 2000s more decentralized than when the decade began.

Together these industry dynamics helped contribute to an overall slowdown in job decentralization during the late 2000s. Ultimately, industry-specific losses and gains between 2007 and 2010 served to pause, but not reverse, the longer-running trend.

C. In all but nine of the 100 largest metro areas, the share of jobs located within three miles of downtown declined during the 2000s.

Given the depth and length of the Great Recession, nearly every major metro area suffered job losses in the late 2000s. Between 2007 and 2010, 97 of the nation's 100 largest metro areas lost employment within 35 miles of downtown.[13]

In many metro areas, these job losses changed the trajectory of employment location. Between 2000 and 2007, the share of jobs near downtowns declined in 95 of the 100 largest metro areas. But between 2007 and 2010, that share increased in more than half (54) of the nation's largest metro areas (Table 2). However, in only four of those regions did the absolute number of jobs located in

Table 2. Metro Areas with the Largest Increases in Urban Core and Outer-Ring Job Share, 2007 to 2010

Largest Increases in Share of Jobs within 3 Miles of Downtown		Largest Increases in Share of Jobs More Than 10 Miles from Downtown	
Chattanooga, TN-GA	2.5	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	3.0
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	1.8	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	1.8
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	1.8	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	1.7
Charleston-North Charleston-Summerville, SC	1.7	Provo-Orem, UT	1.7
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	1.6	El Paso, TX	1.6
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	1.6	Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	1.5
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1.5	Oklahoma City, OK	1.5
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	1.5	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	1.5
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1.3	Honolulu, HI	1.3
Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX	1.3	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	1.3

Source: Brookings Institution analysis of ZIP Business Patterns data

the urban core actually grow: Austin, Charleston, Cincinnati, and New Orleans. Of these four regions, Austin was the only one that did not lose jobs overall during this time period. In the other 50 metro areas, the share of jobs near downtown increased because that ring lost jobs at a slower rate than the middle and outer employment rings.

Even with these recession-related changes, 91 metro areas ended the decade with a lower share of jobs within three miles of downtown than in 2000 and two (Detroit and San Francisco) remained unchanged. Ultimately, the period following the downturn reversed the longer-running downward trend in urban core job share in just three metro areas. Between 2000 and 2007, Chicago, Oxnard, and Washington, D.C. each experienced declines in the share of jobs located within three miles of a CBD, but by 2010 had more than reversed those losses. These regions joined Milwaukee, where urban core job share held steady in the early 2000s, and Boston, Little Rock, and San Jose, where the share of jobs in the urban core had increased even before the Great Recession began. However, almost all of these regions (with the exception of Washington, D.C.) experienced net job losses over the course of the decade, with the increase in urban core job share occurring as the inner ring shed jobs at a slower rate than elsewhere.

Notwithstanding the re-centralization of employment in a few places, job sprawl was the dominant metropolitan trend across the 2000s, especially in the West and South. Between 2007 and 2010, 56 metro areas experienced an uptick in outer-ring job share, led by regions including Cape Coral, Little Rock, and San Antonio, which shed jobs following the downturn, as well as El Paso, which managed to add jobs during this time period (Table 2). On the whole, the share of jobs in the outer ring increased in 85 of the nation's largest metro areas from 2000 to 2010. Almost one-third of the nation's largest metro areas (31) saw that share grow at more than twice the average rate (+2.2 percentage points), with Phoenix posting an increase of almost 11 percentage points (Table 3). Nine of the ten largest increases in outer-ring job share occurred in the South and West. With many jobs in fast-growing industries like construction, retail, and administrative support services, Phoenix, Oklahoma City, and Orlando, as well as the Texas metro areas of San Antonio, Houston, and Austin, each added jobs overall during the 2000s, particularly in the outer ring. Even employment losses following the downturn did not dampen decentralization in these metro areas, as each continued to see increases in outer-ring job shares between 2007 and 2010. In contrast, Dallas, Indianapolis, Memphis, and Jacksonville experienced a decline in total employment over the course of the decade, but gained jobs in the outer ring while losing them in closer-in places.

Table 3. Metro Areas with the Largest Increases in Outer-Ring Job Share, 2000 to 2010

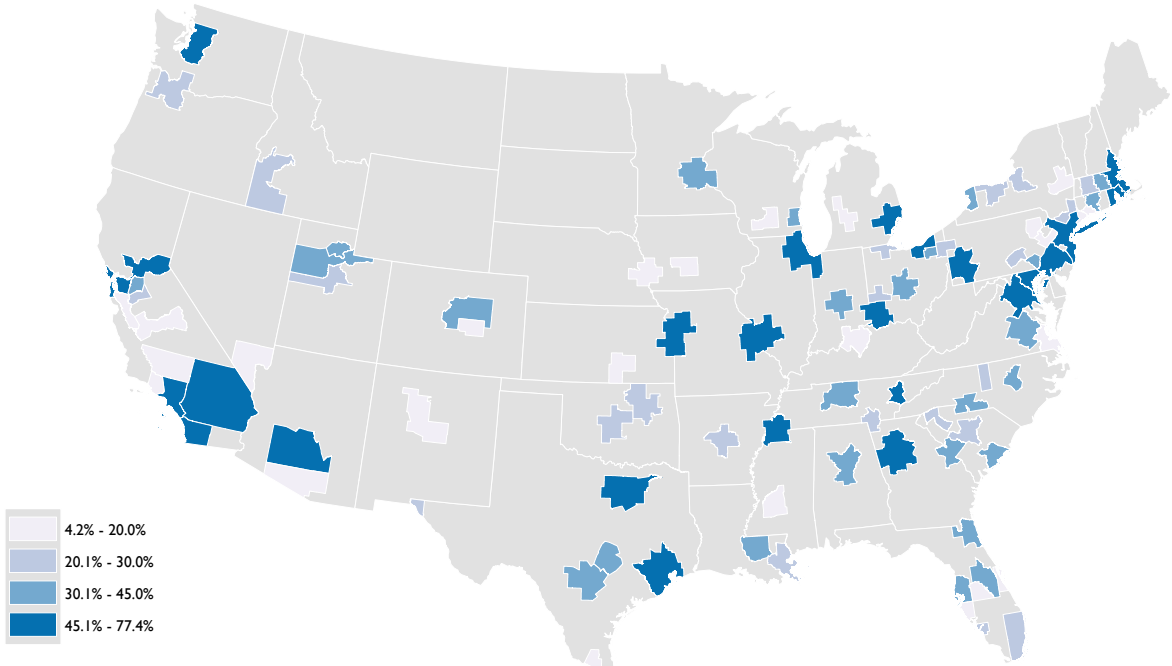
	2000 to 2010		
	Within 3 Miles	3 to 10 Miles	10 to 35 Miles
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	-6.8	-4.0	10.8
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	-5.4	-4.0	9.4
Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX	-2.7	-5.2	7.9
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	-3.3	-4.5	7.8
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	-2.6	-5.1	7.7
Oklahoma City, OK	-2.4	-4.8	7.2
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	-2.8	-4.1	7.0
Indianapolis-Carmel, IN	-2.9	-4.0	6.9
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	-1.2	-5.6	6.8
Jacksonville, FL	-3.8	-2.8	6.6

Source: Brookings Institution analysis of ZIP Business Patterns data

D. A metro area's total employment—and policy and planning decisions around land use, economic development, and zoning—help shape the location of its jobs.

A number of factors help determine where jobs locate with a region. As demonstrated by abrupt changes in employment levels following the Great Recession, the number of jobs—and whether that number is growing or declining—helps shape patterns and trends in the geographic distribution of employment. In fact, the number of jobs that a region contains matters more to its degree of employment decentralization than the actual geographic size of a metro area.

Map 1. Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles from Downtown, 100 Metro Areas, 2010



Source: Brookings Institution analysis of ZIP Business Patterns data

Table 4. Geographic Distribution of Jobs by Metro Area Employment Size, 100 Metro Areas, 2010

Size	Number of Metro Areas	Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles	Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles	Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles	Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles
Under 500,000 Jobs	58	15,764,185	30.3	45.2	24.4
Over 500,000 Jobs	42	57,483,777	20.8	31.0	48.2
All Metro Areas	100	73,247,962	22.9	34.1	43.1

Source: Brookings Institution analysis of ZIP Business Patterns data

In 2010, metro areas in the manufacturing belt that runs through the Midwest and Northeast exhibited some of the highest shares of jobs located more than 10 miles from downtown, though each major census region contains metro areas with above-average outer-ring employment shares (Map 1). In part, the industry mix of these manufacturing hubs may account for this larger regional pattern, but the Midwest and Northeast also contain many of the nation's largest employment hubs. In general, the more jobs a metro area has, the more decentralized those jobs tend to be. On average, metro areas that contain fewer than 500,000 jobs have 30 percent of jobs in the urban core, outstripping the outer-ring job share by almost 6 percentage points (Table 4). In contrast, the 42 metro areas with more than 500,000 jobs (which are home to 78 percent of all jobs within 35 miles of a downtown in the 100 largest metro areas) locate an average of just 21 percent of jobs in the urban core, and more than 48 percent of jobs at least 10 miles from downtown. Notably, employment size matters much more than physical size, which is only weakly related to measures of decentralization.[14]

Among larger employment centers, three of the five most decentralized metro areas are Midwestern regions with a history of manufacturing (Table 5). Detroit leads the list, with over 77 percent of jobs located in the outer ring, with Chicago a distant second at 67 percent. In contrast, the most centralized large metro areas tend to be in the Sun Belt, with the exception of metropolitan New York, which located 31 percent of jobs within three miles of Manhattan's central business district. San Jose registered as the most centralized metro area by far in 2010, with 64 percent of jobs located within three miles of CBDs in San Jose, Palo Alto, and Sunnyvale.

Among smaller employment centers, three of the five most decentralized metro areas ranked above the overall metro average for outer-ring job share in 2010—Memphis, Knoxville, and Worcester. However, Worcester also posted an above-average inner-ring job share, as did Stockton. At the other end of the spectrum, the most centralized smaller metro areas each located at least 46 percent of jobs within three miles of a central business district. Bridgeport exhibited the highest inner-ring job share among smaller employment centers, with 58 percent of jobs located in the urban core.

Beyond employment size, political fragmentation—or the number of jurisdictions within a region—can also influence job location. Edward Glaeser and his colleagues found a significant relationship between the extent of a metro area's fragmentation and its level of job sprawl. Jobs tend to locate farther from the city center in regions with more political units, as employers look for business-friendly tax rates and local governments beyond the central city.[15] In keeping with these findings, many of the metro areas that rank among the most decentralized in Table 5 also exhibit higher levels of fragmentation (e.g., Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and St. Louis), while many of the most centralized metro areas are less politically fragmented (e.g., Las Vegas, Salt Lake City, Virginia Beach, and San Jose).

These patterns also underscore the importance of topography (e.g., the presence or absence of natural growth boundaries) and development decisions within metro areas in shaping employment location. Many of the most centralized metro areas in 2010 have more than one major employment hub. By contrast, the most decentralized metro areas are each anchored by one traditional CBD. But the most centralized list also includes a number of metro areas that have pursued growth management policies to encourage density and more centralized development. For instance, Honolulu and Salt Lake City each rank among the most centralized and each has only one CBD. Honolulu is hemmed in

Table 5. Most Centralized and Decentralized Metro Areas by Employment Size, 100 Metro Areas, 2010

Most Centralized					Most Decentralized				
		Share of Jobs					Share of Jobs		
Highest Share Within 3 Miles	# of CBDs	Within 3 Miles	3 to 10 Miles	10 to 35 Miles	Highest Share Beyond 10 Miles	# of CBDs	Within 3 Miles	3 to 10 Miles	10 to 35 Miles
Larger Employment Regions					***Larger Employment Regions***				
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	3	64.0	31.9	4.2	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	1	7.3	15.3	77.4
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	1	44.6	46.9	8.6	Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	1	19.5	13.1	67.4
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	3	32.4	53.2	14.4	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	1	9.9	25.6	64.6
Salt Lake City, UT	1	31.8	37.6	30.6	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	1	15.2	20.8	64.0
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	1	30.9	23.0	46.1	St. Louis, MO-IL	1	13.2	25.6	61.2
Smaller Employment Regions					***Smaller Employment Regions***				
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	4	58.3	37.5	4.2	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	1	12.4	39.2	48.4
Honolulu, HI	1	53.9	28.3	17.8	Knoxville, TN	1	18.6	36.2	45.2
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	3	50.3	35.2	14.4	Worcester, MA	1	31.0	24.9	44.1
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	3	47.4	44.1	8.5	Stockton, CA	1	30.5	31.3	38.2
Scranton-Wilkes-Barre, PA	2	46.5	33.7	19.8	Charleston-North Charleston-Summerville, SC	1	21.7	40.2	38.1

Source: Brookings Institution analysis of ZIP Business Patterns data

Table 6. Share of Employment in High-Density ZIP Codes Outside the Urban Core, Selected Metro Areas, 2010

Metro Area	%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	76.7
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	55.2
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	54.1
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY	54.1
Tucson, AZ	53.3
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	52.8
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	52.4
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	49.3
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	49.0
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	48.1
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	48.0
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	47.5
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	45.3
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	45.3
Albuquerque, NM	44.8

Source: Brookings Institution analysis of ZIP Business Patterns data

by mountains and water, but it has also adopted urban growth boundaries to manage development. Salt Lake City, another region constrained by geography, has actively pursued denser forms of development in recent years and become a leader in transit-oriented development.

To be sure, not all job decentralization is created equal. Traditional depictions of "sprawl" focus on patterns of diffuse, low-density greenfield development at the fringes of metropolitan regions, whether they are actually growing overall or just growing outward as populations decline. But many regions are seeing suburban development occurring in denser ways—whether in new places or through retrofitting older communities—that can, for instance, facilitate transit connections. Among the 100 largest metro areas, 42 have at least half of their jobs in high-density ZIP codes.[16] And for many of these regions, a sizeable share of metro area jobs locate in high-density ZIP codes outside the urban core (Table 6). In the Los Angeles metro area, three-quarters of regional jobs fell in high-density ZIP codes more than three miles from downtown, while regions including San Diego, Chicago, and New York had more than half of their jobs in such ZIP codes. Moreover, Detroit, which topped the list for the most decentralized metro area, also ranks among the top 10 for the density of employment outside the urban core. At the other end of the spectrum, regions such as Augusta, GA; Chattanooga, TN; Greensboro, NC; Lakeland, FL; Poughkeepsie, NY; and Worcester, MA have no high job-density ZIP codes more than three miles from their downtowns. In those places, connecting people to jobs and transit may pose greater challenges than in more densely developed metro areas. (For detailed results, see Appendix D.)

Conclusion

The Great Recession led to net job losses in almost every major metro area and almost every major industry between 2007 and 2010. On the whole, these losses were felt throughout metropolitan regions—from the urban core to the metropolitan fringe. However, the housing-led downturn took the greatest toll on jobs outside the urban core, particularly those located more than 10 miles away from downtown and those in the construction, manufacturing, and retail industries.

The severity of the recession, and especially steep outer-ring job losses, helped drive a slight uptick in urban core job share in more than half of the nation's largest metro areas between 2007 and 2010. Most of these increases reflect a rebalancing of the distribution as regions shed jobs, rather than actual job gains in the urban core. On the whole the magnitude of these recession-era changes was modest enough that they served to stall decentralization, not reverse longer-running trends: By 2010, 91 metro areas located a smaller share of employment within three miles of downtown compared to 2000, as job share shifted outward toward the middle ring and metropolitan fringe.

These trends suggest that, as the economy recovers, the outward shift of employment will also likely resume within most major metro areas. However, efforts to encourage denser forms of suburban development and to attract jobs to the urban core have accelerated in recent years in regions like Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Denver, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. Such actions could succeed in eventually stemming longer-running trends toward decentralization in these regions, though it may be some time before the ultimate impact of these measures can be determined.

In the wake of the Great Recession, policymakers and regional leaders have the opportunity to make strategic decisions about how they will pursue metropolitan growth. If the next period of economic expansion ushers in low-density, diffuse growth in metropolitan America, the negative consequences of decentralization will make it that much harder for metro areas to achieve sustainable and inclusive growth over the long term. On the other hand, denser forms of development, whether inside or outside of traditional downtowns, allow for more effective connections between people and jobs, as do comprehensive development plans that explicitly link up jobs, housing, and transportation. Because the location of employment relates to so many aspects of a metro area's growth and performance, land use, zoning, and economic development strategies should be balanced with housing and transportation planning to ensure that regions are not just growing more jobs or better jobs, but they are locating jobs in ways that promote accessibility and connection.

Endnotes

1. Elizabeth Kneebone, "Job Sprawl Revisited: The Changing Geography of Metropolitan Employment" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2009).

2. Analysis of U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data, December 2007 to December 2010.

3. Robert Cervero, Yoshifumi Komada, and Andrew Krueger, "Suburban Transformations: From Employment Centers to Mixed-Use Activity Centers," University of California Working Paper (Berkeley, CA: 2010).

4. For a more detailed review of the literature on these effects, see Kneebone, "Job Sprawl Revisited."

5. The data exclude information on the self-employed population, employees of private households, railroad employees, agricultural production workers, and most government employees.

6. The 35 mile buffer captures 95 percent of all jobs located within the 100 largest metro areas. It serves to bound the analysis and helps standardize measures across metro areas of differing geographic size. For detailed explanations of the data cleaning and allocation process, see Kneebone, "Job Sprawl Revisited."

7. The metro areas included in the 2009 analysis that do not appear in this analysis include: Durham, NC; Lansing-East Lansing, MI; Lexington-Fayette, KY; Portland-South Portland-Biddeford, ME; and Trenton-Ewing, NJ. The metro areas appearing in this analysis that were not included in 2009 are: Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL; McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX; Modesto, CA; Ogden-Clearfield, UT; Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL; Provo-Orem, UT; and Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT.

8. Job density and total employment figures in 2010 come from Nielsen's Business Facts database, and are provided at the census tract level, consistent with boundaries drawn based on Census 2000.

9. Three metro areas had first-named cities that did not have a defined CBD in 1982: Palm Bay, Virginia Beach, and North Port. For these cities, the densest tract based on 2010 job counts was selected as the primary CBD. The 1982 Census of Retail Trade used 1980 census tracts to designate CBDs. In cases where the 1982 CBDs were maintained, 1980 and 2000 census tracts were mapped together to identify the corresponding tracts in 2000, so that all CBDs used in the analysis are drawn from the same base year.

10. Based on density and job totals, the CBDs for six places—four primary CBDs (Las Vegas, Little Rock, Honolulu, and Nashville) and two secondary CBDs (Newport News and Sunnyvale)—were changed away from the 1982 CBD.

11. See www.census.gov/geo/www/cbd.html.

12. ZIP business patterns "classifies an establishment by its physical location", thus employees may be allocated to the address of the main office, though they work at project sites away from headquarters. See www.census.gov/econ/cbp/methodology.htm.

13. The three exceptions were the Texas metro areas of Austin, El Paso, and McAllen, each of which managed to weather this period with modest job gains within 35 miles of a CBD.

14. As noted in the methods section, bounding the analysis at 35 miles helps to standardize measures across places of different physical size. In 2009, the correlation between share of jobs in the 10 to 35 mile ring and metropolitan land area was fairly weak (0.34), and the correlation between land area and change in outer-ring job share over the decade even weaker (0.26).

15. Edward Glaeser, Matthew Khan, and Chenghuan Chu, "Job Sprawl: Employment Location in U.S. Metropolitan Areas" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2001).

16. "High-density" ZIP codes rank within the top quartile of all metropolitan ZIP codes and have at least 1,330 jobs per square mile.

Appendix A. List of Central Business Districts by Metro Area, 2010

Metro Area	CBD City	CBD Type*
Akron, OH	Akron, Ohio	Primary
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	Albany, New York	Primary
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	Schenectady, New York	Secondary
Albuquerque, NM	Albuquerque, New Mexico	Primary
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	Allentown, Pennsylvania	Primary
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	Easton, Pennsylvania	Secondary
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	Bethlehem, Pennsylvania	Secondary
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	Atlanta, Georgia	Primary
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	Augusta, Georgia	Primary
Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX	Austin, Texas	Primary
Bakersfield-Delano, CA	Bakersfield, California	Primary
Baltimore-Towson, MD	Baltimore, Maryland	Primary
Baton Rouge, LA	Baton Rouge, Louisiana	Primary
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	Birmingham, Alabama	Primary
Boise City-Nampa, ID	Boise City, Idaho	Primary
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	Boston, Massachusetts	Primary
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	Bridgeport, Connecticut	Primary
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	Danbury, Connecticut	Secondary
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	Norwalk, Connecticut	Secondary
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	Stamford Connecticut	Secondary
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	Buffalo, New York	Primary
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	Cape Coral, Florida	Primary
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	Fort Myers, Florida	Secondary
Charleston-North Charleston-Summerville, SC	Charleston, South Carolina	Primary
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	Charlotte, North Carolina	Primary
Chattanooga, TN-GA	Chattanooga, Tennessee	Primary
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	Chicago, Illinois	Primary
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	Cincinnati, Ohio	Primary
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	Cleveland, Ohio	Primary
Colorado Springs, CO	Colorado Springs, Colorado	Primary
Columbia, SC	Columbia, South Carolina	Primary
Columbus, OH	Columbus, Ohio	Primary
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	Dallas, Texas	Primary
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	Forth Worth, Texas	Secondary
Dayton, OH	Dayton, Ohio	Primary
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	Denver, Colorado	Primary
Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	Des Moines, Iowa	Primary
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	Detroit, Michigan	Primary
El Paso, TX	El Paso, Texas	Primary
Fresno, CA	Fresno, California	Primary
Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	Grand Rapids, Michigan	Primary
Greensboro-High Point, NC	Greensboro, North Carolina	Primary
Greensboro-High Point, NC	High Point, North Carolina	Secondary
Greenville-Mauldin-Easley, SC	Greenville, South Carolina	Primary
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	Harrisburg, Pennsylvania	Primary
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	Hartford, Connecticut	Primary
Honolulu, HI	Honolulu, Hawaii	Primary
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	Houston, Texas	Primary

Appendix A. List of Central Business Districts by Metro Area, 2010 (continued)

Metro Area	CBD City	CBD Type*
Indianapolis-Carmel, IN	Indianapolis, Indiana	Primary
Jackson, MS	Jackson, Mississippi	Primary
Jacksonville, FL	Jacksonville city, Florida	Primary
Kansas City, MO-KS	Kansas City, Missouri	Primary
Knoxville, TN	Knoxville, Tennessee	Primary
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	Lakeland, Florida	Primary
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	Winter Haven, Florida	Secondary
Lancaster, PA	Lancaster, Pennsylvania	Primary
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	Las Vegas, Nevada	Primary
Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	Little Rock, Arkansas	Primary
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	Los Angeles, California	Primary
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	Long Beach, California	Secondary
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	Louisville, Kentucky	Primary
Madison, WI	Madison, Wisconsin	Primary
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	McAllen, Texas	Primary
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	Memphis, Tennessee	Primary
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	Miami, Florida	Primary
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	Fort Lauderdale, Florida	Secondary
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	Hollywood, Florida	Secondary
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	Pompano Beach, Florida	Secondary
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	West Palm Beach, Florida	Secondary
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Primary
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	Minneapolis, Minnesota	Primary
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	St. Paul, Minnesota	Secondary
Modesto, CA	Modesto, California	Primary
Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro-Franklin, TN	Nashville-Davidson (consolidated) city, TN	Primary
Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro-Franklin, TN	Berry Hill, Tennessee	Secondary
New Haven-Milford, CT	New Haven, Connecticut	Primary
New Haven-Milford, CT	Milford, Connecticut	Secondary
New Haven-Milford, CT	Waterbury, Connecticut	Secondary
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	New Orleans, Louisiana	Primary
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	New York, New York	Primary
North Port-Bradenton-Sarasota, FL	North Port, Florida	Primary
North Port-Bradenton-Sarasota, FL	Bradenton, Florida	Secondary
North Port-Bradenton-Sarasota, FL	Sarasota, Florida	Secondary
Ogden-Clearfield, UT	Ogden, Utah	Primary
Oklahoma City, OK	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	Primary
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	Omaha, Nebraska	Primary
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	Orlando, Florida	Primary
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	Oxnard, California	Primary
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	San Buenaventura (Ventura), California	Secondary
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	Thousand Oaks, California	Secondary
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	Palm Bay city, Florida	Primary
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	Cocoa, Florida	Secondary
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	Titusville, Florida	Secondary
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	Primary
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	Phoenix, Arizona	Primary
Pittsburgh, PA	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	Primary

Appendix A. List of Central Business Districts by Metro Area, 2010 (continued)

Metro Area	CBD City	CBD Type*
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	Portland, Oregon	Primary
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	Poughkeepsie, New York	Primary
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	Middletown, New York	Secondary
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	Newburgh, New York	Secondary
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	Providence, Rhode Island	Primary
Provo-Orem, UT	Provo, Utah	Primary
Raleigh-Cary, NC	Raleigh, North Carolina	Primary
Richmond, VA	Richmond, Virginia	Primary
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	Riverside, California	Primary
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	San Bernardino, California	Secondary
Rochester, NY	Rochester, New York	Primary
Sacramento-Arden-Arcade-Roseville, CA	Sacramento, California	Primary
St. Louis, MO-IL	St. Louis, Missouri	Primary
Salt Lake City, UT	Salt Lake City, Utah	Primary
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	San Antonio, Texas	Primary
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	San Diego, California	Primary
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	San Francisco, California	Primary
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	San Jose, California	Primary
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	Palo Alto, California	Secondary
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	Sunnyvale, California	Secondary
Scranton-Wilkes-Barre, PA	Scranton, Pennsylvania	Primary
Scranton-Wilkes-Barre, PA	Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania	Secondary
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	Seattle, Washington	Primary
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	Bellevue, Washington	Secondary
Springfield, MA	Springfield, Massachusetts	Primary
Stockton, CA	Stockton, California	Primary
Syracuse, NY	Syracuse, New York	Primary
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	Tampa, Florida	Primary
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	St. Petersburg, Florida	Secondary
Toledo, OH	Toledo, Ohio	Primary
Tucson, AZ	Tucson, Arizona	Primary
Tulsa, OK	Tulsa, Oklahoma	Primary
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	Virginia Beach city, Virginia	Primary
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	Newport News, Virginia	Secondary
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	Norfolk, Virginia	Secondary
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	Washington, District Of Columbia	Primary
Wichita, KS	Wichita, Kansas	Primary
Worcester, MA	Worcester, Massachusetts	Primary
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	Youngstown, Ohio	Primary
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	Warren, Ohio	Secondary

**Primary CBDs are those located in the city that appears first in the official metropolitan statistical area name.*

Appendix B. Geographic Distribution of Jobs in the 100 Largest Metro Areas, 2000-2010

	2000				2007				2010			
Metro Area	**Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD**	**Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles from CBD**	**Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD**	**Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles from CBD**	**Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD**	**Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles**
100 METRO TOTAL	**76,252,828**	**24.5**	**34.6**	**40.9**	**79,071,521**	**22.6**	**34.1**	**43.2**	**73,247,962**	**22.9**	**34.1**	**43.1**
Akron, OH	303,705	27.3	43.6	29.1	293,371	23.9	44.1	32.0	266,493	24.9	44.3	30.9
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	319,153	37.4	47.3	15.3	336,991	35.7	47.5	16.8	323,123	36.3	46.7	17.0
Albuquerque, NM	275,640	27.8	60.8	11.4	309,033	25.4	60.3	14.3	277,353	26.7	59.9	13.4
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	285,564	52.7	31.3	16.0	302,867	51.1	34.0	15.0	283,287	50.3	35.2	14.4
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	1,983,368	10.3	29.3	60.4	2,052,759	9.5	25.5	65.0	1,864,067	9.9	25.6	64.6
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	177,013	26.2	38.6	35.2	179,766	24.7	40.3	35.0	160,538	24.8	43.0	32.2
Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX	546,507	27.0	44.0	29.0	630,272	23.0	40.4	36.6	631,816	24.3	38.8	36.9
Bakersfield-Delano, CA	132,020	45.5	37.6	16.8	167,382	40.5	43.3	16.3	156,459	40.2	42.8	16.9
Baltimore-Towson, MD	1,017,497	19.3	35.3	45.5	1,116,610	17.3	32.7	50.0	1,045,722	17.5	32.3	50.2
Baton Rouge, LA	282,281	18.6	53.0	28.4	317,525	16.3	53.6	30.1	307,698	15.1	53.8	31.1
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	447,304	36.0	37.1	26.9	459,685	32.5	36.3	31.2	414,679	31.3	36.2	32.5
Boise City-Nampa, ID	193,940	50.4	25.9	23.7	236,337	39.6	35.0	25.3	207,996	39.4	36.2	24.4
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	2,172,971	28.3	24.0	47.7	2,137,135	29.0	23.3	47.7	2,041,857	29.2	23.6	47.2
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	441,800	63.2	33.4	3.4	427,951	58.8	37.3	3.9	393,311	58.3	37.5	4.2
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	476,004	21.6	50.1	28.3	468,209	18.0	51.9	30.0	455,929	18.1	51.3	30.6
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	143,037	45.2	40.0	14.8	198,147	38.7	43.2	18.1	166,266	35.6	43.3	21.1
Charleston-North Charleston, Summerville, SC	214,923	25.9	41.6	32.5	244,300	20.0	42.4	37.6	225,812	21.7	40.2	38.1
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	714,498	25.4	36.8	37.8	803,809	24.1	34.4	41.5	720,823	23.5	33.5	43.0
Chattanooga, TN-GA	214,879	33.2	42.5	24.3	213,920	30.1	45.2	24.7	193,005	32.6	43.5	24.0
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	3,803,451	18.5	13.8	67.7	3,674,306	17.9	13.1	69.0	3,374,483	19.5	13.1	67.4
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	934,485	19.7	30.8	49.5	907,870	16.1	29.9	53.9	857,640	17.7	29.5	52.8
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	1,041,380	17.5	39.6	43.0	927,713	15.7	38.0	46.3	831,701	15.4	38.1	46.5
Colorado Springs, CO	215,142	37.8	52.7	9.6	235,541	34.1	51.9	14.0	215,371	33.0	52.2	14.8
Columbia, SC	266,628	33.6	41.4	25.0	283,911	29.9	42.2	27.9	263,269	30.1	41.9	28.0
Columbus, OH	790,312	23.7	45.9	30.4	782,270	21.1	44.0	35.0	740,704	21.2	43.4	35.4
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	2,489,338	15.9	34.4	49.7	2,544,069	13.8	30.0	56.2	2,436,904	13.3	29.2	57.5
Dayton, OH	379,383	28.4	52.0	19.6	339,849	24.4	54.0	21.7	307,773	24.5	53.4	22.0
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	1,067,547	23.6	45.5	30.9	1,107,774	21.4	42.2	36.5	1,034,107	21.5	41.8	36.7
Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	259,866	46.1	43.7	10.1	283,712	38.7	50.4	10.8	269,251	37.5	51.5	11.0
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	1,856,487	7.3	16.6	76.1	1,594,982	7.2	15.4	77.4	1,380,896	7.3	15.3	77.4
El Paso, TX	199,847	21.5	60.7	17.8	204,234	19.9	57.8	22.3	207,143	18.5	57.6	23.9
Fresno, CA	206,009	26.0	59.2	14.8	247,005	22.7	63.8	13.6	219,802	23.1	62.5	14.4

Appendix B. Geographic Distribution of Jobs in the 100 Largest Metro Areas, 2000-2010 (continued)

	2000				2007				2010			
Metro Area	**Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD**	**Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles from CBD**	**Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD**	**Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles from CBD**	**Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD**	**Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles**
Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	355,313	28.3	57.7	13.9	340,138	25.8	58.8	15.4	307,195	26.0	58.7	15.2
Greensboro-High Point, NC	340,253	35.6	42.8	21.7	328,844	32.4	46.7	20.9	294,641	32.2	47.2	20.6
Greenville-Mauldin-Easley, SC	284,273	38.4	39.1	22.5	275,655	33.1	43.7	23.2	247,348	33.3	43.6	23.1
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	255,942	34.0	39.8	26.3	270,753	32.1	40.8	27.2	258,775	31.8	41.1	27.0
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	557,094	27.0	39.4	33.7	554,100	24.5	40.6	34.9	515,407	23.8	41.4	34.8
Honolulu, HI	316,532	55.7	30.7	13.6	357,636	55.4	28.1	16.5	335,929	53.9	28.3	17.8
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	1,818,667	14.0	36.6	49.4	2,076,874	11.5	32.3	56.2	2,020,868	10.7	32.1	57.2
Indianapolis, IN	771,115	22.3	44.5	33.1	781,476	19.3	41.4	39.3	732,061	19.5	40.5	40.1
Jackson, MS	208,677	45.6	42.3	12.0	204,844	36.5	45.2	18.3	194,394	35.5	46.8	17.7
Jacksonville, FL	455,009	24.7	44.0	31.2	514,623	21.7	41.7	36.6	453,213	21.0	41.2	37.8
Kansas City, MO-KS	877,876	20.5	31.5	48.0	888,255	17.0	30.5	52.5	831,452	16.9	29.9	53.3
Knoxville, TN	275,146	21.9	36.3	41.8	305,068	19.0	36.4	44.5	284,256	18.6	36.2	45.2
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	161,979	40.1	43.6	16.3	174,455	34.3	49.0	16.7	158,959	35.3	47.7	17.0
Lancaster, PA	213,295	32.2	36.0	31.8	218,878	30.7	38.1	31.3	207,280	31.2	37.4	31.4
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	615,490	50.9	42.1	7.0	841,954	44.5	47.5	8.0	712,598	44.6	46.9	8.6
Little Rock-North Little Rock, Conway, AR	282,888	33.8	40.3	25.9	292,663	36.6	35.2	28.1	271,753	34.5	35.5	29.9
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	5,144,060	10.0	34.2	55.8	5,194,610	9.5	34.2	56.3	4,719,962	9.9	34.2	55.9
Louisville-Jefferson County, KY-IN	545,865	30.2	53.0	16.8	541,477	27.1	52.7	20.3	507,568	28.9	51.5	19.6
Madison, WI	236,342	33.5	48.3	18.2	265,301	29.2	54.1	16.7	252,870	30.1	53.7	16.2
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	114,903	43.4	36.2	20.4	160,977	35.1	45.3	19.6	167,167	33.6	46.8	19.6
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	547,167	13.6	44.9	41.5	531,553	12.2	39.7	48.2	490,626	12.4	39.2	48.4
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	1,910,885	26.7	51.7	21.6	2,025,204	24.7	50.5	24.8	1,809,699	24.3	50.5	25.2
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	784,375	22.6	42.0	35.4	788,352	22.6	39.0	38.3	731,212	24.1	38.1	37.8
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	1,592,547	26.1	44.5	29.4	1,648,302	24.0	42.5	33.6	1,530,794	25.1	41.5	33.4
Modesto, CA	120,253	52.2	23.8	24.0	139,019	45.8	30.1	24.1	121,468	45.5	30.7	23.8
Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro-Franklin, TN	633,843	30.0	31.9	38.1	687,997	26.9	29.1	44.0	625,265	27.0	28.7	44.3
New Haven-Milford, CT	337,944	47.0	35.2	17.8	343,045	46.0	35.7	18.3	311,869	45.3	36.4	18.3
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	509,337	33.8	48.3	18.0	434,206	29.8	46.5	23.8	424,539	31.6	44.5	24.0
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY -NJ-PA	6,766,972	31.5	21.4	47.0	6,793,961	30.7	22.2	47.1	6,437,814	30.9	23.0	46.1
North Port-Bradenton-Sarasota, FL	239,670	51.9	40.4	7.8	228,787	39.6	51.5	8.9	198,338	40.4	50.3	9.3
Ogden-Clearfield, UT	133,264	38.3	32.3	29.3	156,159	29.6	38.3	32.1	142,183	30.6	38.0	31.4
Oklahoma City, OK	420,702	28.8	49.4	21.8	461,959	25.7	46.8	27.5	435,233	26.4	44.6	29.0
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	380,659	27.1	61.1	11.8	398,162	24.3	59.8	15.8	393,547	23.3	60.6	16.1
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	799,534	15.6	46.5	37.9	935,709	13.1	43.0	43.9	844,450	12.8	42.4	44.9
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	242,819	47.4	44.2	8.4	277,707	47.1	44.4	8.5	238,637	47.4	44.1	8.5

Appendix B. Geographic Distribution of Jobs in the 100 Largest Metro Areas, 2000-2010 (continued)

	2000				2007				2010			
Metro Area	**Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD**	**Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles from CBD**	**Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD**	**Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles from CBD**	**Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD**	**Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles**
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	157,417	43.8	50.3	5.9	183,752	42.1	51.1	6.8	166,033	42.2	50.5	7.3
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	2,440,502	16.7	21.8	61.5	2,457,437	15.3	20.9	63.8	2,309,658	15.2	20.8	64.0
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	1,351,956	24.8	40.0	35.2	1,660,229	18.8	36.7	44.5	1,412,678	18.1	35.9	46.0
Pittsburgh, PA	1,005,045	26.2	29.7	44.1	1,013,025	25.9	28.7	45.3	981,789	25.2	29.5	45.2
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR	860,172	26.1	47.5	26.4	926,786	24.4	45.3	30.3	863,135	23.8	46.8	29.5
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	182,994	39.7	37.2	23.1	204,041	36.9	38.7	24.4	196,855	37.2	38.3	24.5
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	603,488	22.4	29.0	48.6	638,508	21.5	29.0	49.5	582,629	21.7	28.7	49.6
Provo-Orem, UT	135,049	39.2	40.5	20.3	150,609	34.5	40.6	24.9	142,681	33.8	39.6	26.6
Raleigh-Cary, NC	367,111	18.2	56.1	25.7	428,381	15.6	52.9	31.5	406,506	15.4	53.1	31.5
Richmond, VA	480,379	21.4	50.3	28.3	512,435	20.1	47.0	32.9	465,268	19.6	47.0	33.4
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	705,966	14.8	29.6	55.6	940,505	12.2	31.2	56.6	791,754	12.3	31.6	56.2
Rochester, NY	426,067	34.8	45.5	19.7	417,471	30.6	48.1	21.3	397,181	30.7	47.3	22.0
Sacramento-Arden-Arcade-Roseville, CA	579,560	19.6	38.6	41.8	680,229	17.3	35.3	47.4	586,318	18.5	35.2	46.3
St. Louis, MO-IL	1,149,391	14.9	27.5	57.6	1,168,959	13.6	24.8	61.6	1,083,419	13.2	25.6	61.2
Salt Lake City, UT	497,017	36.0	39.9	24.1	563,426	31.1	37.4	31.5	522,087	31.8	37.6	30.6
San Antonio-Mauldin-Easley, SC	623,492	19.2	56.5	24.3	707,291	14.2	53.8	32.0	702,726	13.8	52.4	33.7
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	1,003,940	13.7	34.8	51.5	1,130,030	11.6	34.6	53.8	1,041,789	12.3	34.6	53.1
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	1,990,334	25.2	17.7	57.1	1,893,415	24.1	18.9	57.0	1,747,221	25.2	19.5	55.4
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	987,478	62.3	34.3	3.4	906,190	62.5	33.1	4.4	838,902	64.0	31.9	4.2
Scranton-Wilkes-Barre, PA	231,855	48.2	32.1	19.7	237,854	45.2	34.5	20.4	227,421	46.5	33.7	19.8
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1,407,401	28.1	24.9	47.1	1,498,013	26.1	25.1	48.8	1,383,910	27.4	27.0	45.6
Springfield, MA	235,675	34.6	40.2	25.2	230,659	32.7	39.4	27.9	224,714	32.8	38.1	29.1
Stockton, CA	153,433	36.1	27.5	36.4	177,762	31.4	30.2	38.4	160,037	30.5	31.3	38.2
Syracuse, NY	267,548	38.4	40.2	21.4	253,863	37.4	40.9	21.7	245,149	37.8	40.5	21.7
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	997,557	21.1	45.0	33.9	994,529	20.1	44.3	35.6	905,865	20.2	45.0	34.8
Toledo, OH	285,719	26.2	54.8	18.9	277,422	24.6	53.9	21.6	250,628	23.8	54.8	21.4
Tucson, AZ	292,048	22.8	67.0	10.2	330,765	20.3	65.0	14.7	301,467	19.2	64.8	16.0
Tulsa, OK	365,158	24.8	55.1	20.1	378,023	19.0	56.3	24.7	356,112	19.3	55.2	25.5
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	576,871	34.8	52.5	12.7	630,470	33.3	52.5	14.2	584,420	32.4	53.2	14.4
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	2,001,037	21.7	32.7	45.5	2,248,179	21.2	31.2	47.6	2,165,605	21.8	31.0	47.1
Wichita, KS	257,502	38.0	49.1	12.9	256,625	36.0	50.1	13.9	250,118	36.3	49.7	14.0
Worcester, MA	293,779	32.6	23.7	43.7	292,394	31.6	24.5	43.9	270,450	31.0	24.9	44.1
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	237,221	30.2	44.0	25.8	214,239	26.2	46.0	27.8	198,787	27.3	45.1	27.5

Appendix C. Change in the Geographic Distribution of Jobs in the 100 Largest Metro Areas

	Change 2000-2007				Change 2007-2010				Change 2000-2010			
Metro Area	**Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD**	**Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles from CBD**	**Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD**	**Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles from CBD**	**Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD**	**Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD**	**Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles**
100 METRO TOTAL	**2,818,693**	**-1.9**	**-0.5**	**2.3**	**-5,823,559**	**0.2**	**-0.1**	**-0.2**	**-3,004,866**	**-1.7**	**-0.5**	**2.2**
Akron, OH	-10,334	-3.4	0.5	2.9	-26,878	1.0	0.2	-1.2	-37,213	-2.5	0.7	1.7
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	17,838	-1.6	0.2	1.4	-13,868	0.6	-0.8	0.2	3,970	-1.1	-0.6	1.6
Albuquerque, NM	33,393	-2.4	-0.4	2.8	-31,679	1.3	-0.4	-0.9	1,714	-1.1	-0.8	1.9
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	17,303	-1.6	2.6	-1.0	-19,580	-0.7	1.3	-0.5	-2,277	-2.4	3.9	-1.6
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	69,390	-0.8	-3.8	4.6	-188,691	0.4	0.1	-0.5	-119,301	-0.4	-3.8	4.2
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	2,753	-1.5	1.7	-0.2	-19,228	0.1	2.7	-2.7	-16,475	-1.4	4.4	-2.9
Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX	83,766	-4.0	-3.6	7.6	1,544	1.3	-1.6	0.3	85,309	-2.7	-5.2	7.9
BBakersfield-Delano, CA	35,362	-5.1	5.7	-0.6	-10,924	-0.2	-0.4	0.7	24,438	-5.3	5.2	0.1
Baltimore-Towson, MD	99,113	-2.0	-2.5	4.5	-70,888	0.2	-0.5	0.2	28,225	-1.8	-3.0	4.8
Baton Rouge, LA	35,244	-2.2	0.6	1.7	-9,827	-1.3	0.2	1.1	25,417	-3.5	0.8	2.7
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	12,380	-3.5	-0.8	4.3	-45,005	-1.2	-0.1	1.3	-32,625	-4.7	-0.9	5.6
Boise City-Nampa, ID	42,397	-10.8	9.1	1.7	-28,341	-0.2	1.1	-1.0	14,056	-10.9	10.2	0.7
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	-35,836	0.7	-0.8	0.0	-95,278	0.1	0.3	-0.5	-131,114	0.9	-0.4	-0.4
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	-13,848	-4.4	3.9	0.6	-34,641	-0.5	0.2	0.3	-48,489	-4.9	4.1	0.9
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	-7,795	-3.6	1.8	1.8	-12,280	0.0	-0.6	0.6	-20,075	-3.6	1.2	2.3
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	55,111	-6.5	3.2	3.2	-31,881	-3.1	0.1	3.0	23,229	-9.6	3.3	6.3
Charleston-North Charleston, Summerville, SC	29,377	-5.8	0.8	5.1	-18,488	1.7	-2.2	0.5	10,889	-4.2	-1.4	5.6
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	89,311	-1.4	-2.4	3.8	-82,986	-0.6	-0.8	1.5	6,324	-2.0	-3.2	5.2
Chattanooga, TN-GA	-959	-3.1	2.7	0.4	-20,915	2.5	-1.8	-0.7	-21,873	-0.6	1.0	-0.3
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	-129,145	-0.6	-0.7	1.3	-299,823	1.6	0.0	-1.6	-428,968	1.0	-0.7	-0.3
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	-26,616	-3.5	-0.9	4.4	-50,229	1.6	-0.5	-1.1	-76,845	-1.9	-1.4	3.3
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	-113,667	-1.8	-1.5	3.3	-96,013	-0.3	0.1	0.2	-209,680	-2.1	-1.4	3.5
Colorado Springs, CO	20,399	-3.7	-0.7	4.4	-20,170	-1.1	0.3	0.8	229	-4.8	-0.4	5.2
Columbia, SC	17,283	-3.7	0.8	2.9	-20,642	0.2	-0.3	0.1	-3,359	-3.5	0.5	3.0
Columbus, OH	-8,042	-2.7	-1.9	4.5	-41,566	0.2	-0.6	0.4	-49,608	-2.5	-2.4	5.0
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	54,731	-2.1	-4.4	6.5	-107,165	-0.5	-0.8	1.3	-52,434	-2.6	-5.1	7.7
Dayton, OH	-39,534	-4.1	2.0	2.1	-32,076	0.1	-0.5	0.4	-71,610	-3.9	1.5	2.5
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	40,227	-2.3	-3.3	5.5	-73,667	0.1	-0.4	0.2	-33,440	-2.1	-3.6	5.8
Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	23,846	-7.4	6.7	0.7	-14,460	-1.2	1.0	0.2	9,385	-8.6	7.7	0.9
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	-261,505	0.0	-1.2	1.3	-214,086	0.1	-0.1	0.1	-475,591	0.0	-1.4	1.3
El Paso, TX	4,387	-1.6	-2.9	4.5	2,909	-1.4	-0.2	1.6	7,296	-3.0	-3.1	6.1
Fresno, CA	40,995	-3.3	4.6	-1.3	-27,202	0.5	-1.3	0.8	13,793	-2.8	3.3	-0.5
Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	-15,175	-2.5	1.1	1.4	-32,944	0.2	-0.1	-0.1	-48,119	-2.3	1.0	1.3
Greensboro-High Point, NC	-11,409	-3.2	3.9	-0.8	-34,203	-0.2	0.5	-0.3	-45,612	-3.3	4.4	-1.1
Greenville-Mauldin-Easley, SC	-8,618	-5.3	4.6	0.7	-28,307	0.2	-0.1	-0.1	-36,925	-5.1	4.4	0.6

Appendix C. Change in the Geographic Distribution of Jobs in the 100 Largest Metro Areas (continued)

	Change 2000-2007				Change 2007-2010				Change 2000-2010			
Metro Area	Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD	Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles from CBD	Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD	Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles from CBD	Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD	Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	14,811	-1.9	1.0	0.9	-11,978	-0.2	0.4	-0.2	2,833	-2.1	1.4	0.7
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	-2,993	-2.5	1.3	1.2	-38,693	-0.7	0.8	-0.1	-41,687	-3.2	2.1	1.1
Honolulu, HI	41,104	-0.4	-2.6	3.0	-21,707	-1.5	0.2	1.3	19,397	-1.8	-2.4	4.2
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	258,207	-2.5	-4.3	6.8	-56,005	-0.8	-0.2	1.0	202,202	-3.3	-4.5	7.8
Indianapolis, IN	10,361	-3.0	-3.2	6.2	-49,414	0.2	-0.9	0.7	-39,053	-2.9	-4.0	6.9
Jackson, MS	-3,833	-9.1	2.8	6.2	-10,450	-1.0	1.6	-0.6	-14,283	-10.1	4.4	5.6
Jacksonville, FL	59,613	-3.1	-2.3	5.4	-61,409	-0.7	-0.5	1.2	-1,796	-3.8	-2.8	6.6
Kansas City, MO-KS	10,379	-3.5	-1.0	4.5	-56,803	-0.2	-0.6	0.8	-46,424	-3.6	-1.6	5.3
Knoxville, TN	29,922	-2.9	0.1	2.8	-20,811	-0.4	-0.2	0.6	9,111	-3.3	-0.1	3.4
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	12,475	-5.8	5.3	0.4	-15,496	1.0	-1.3	0.3	-3,020	-4.8	4.1	0.7
Lancaster, PA	5,583	-1.5	2.1	-0.5	-11,598	0.6	-0.7	0.1	-6,015	-1.0	1.4	-0.4
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	226,463	-6.4	5.4	1.0	-129,355	0.0	-0.6	0.6	97,108	-6.4	4.8	1.6
Little Rock-North Little Rock, Conway, AR	9,775	2.8	-5.1	2.2	-20,909	-2.1	0.3	1.8	-11,134	0.7	-4.8	4.1
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	50,550	-0.5	0.0	0.5	-474,647	0.4	0.0	-0.4	-424,098	-0.1	0.0	0.1
Louisville-Jefferson County, KY-IN	-4,388	-3.1	-0.3	3.5	-33,909	1.8	-1.2	-0.6	-38,296	-1.3	-1.5	2.9
Madison, WI	28,959	-4.3	5.8	-1.5	-12,431	0.9	-0.4	-0.6	16,528	-3.4	5.4	-2.1
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	46,073	-8.4	9.2	-0.8	6,191	-1.4	1.4	0.0	52,264	-9.8	10.6	-0.8
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	-15,614	-1.4	-5.2	6.7	-40,927	0.2	-0.4	0.2	-56,541	-1.2	-5.6	6.8
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	114,319	-2.0	-1.2	3.2	-215,505	-0.4	0.0	0.4	-101,187	-2.4	-1.2	3.6
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	3,977	0.0	-2.9	2.9	-57,140	1.5	-0.9	-0.5	-53,163	1.5	-3.8	2.3
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	55,755	-2.2	-2.0	4.2	-117,508	1.1	-0.9	-0.2	-61,753	-1.0	-3.0	4.0
Modesto, CA	18,767	-6.4	6.3	0.1	-17,551	-0.3	0.6	-0.3	1,215	-6.7	6.9	-0.2
Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro-Franklin, TN	54,154	-3.1	-2.8	5.9	-62,732	0.0	-0.4	0.4	-8,578	-3.0	-3.2	6.2
New Haven-Milford, CT	5,100	-1.0	0.5	0.5	-31,175	-0.7	0.7	0.1	-26,075	-1.7	1.2	0.5
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	-75,130	-4.0	-1.8	5.8	-9,667	1.8	-2.0	0.2	-84,797	-2.2	-3.8	6.0
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY -NJ-PA	26,989	-0.8	0.8	0.0	-356,147	0.2	0.8	-0.9	-329,158	-0.7	1.6	-0.9
North Port-Bradenton-Sarasota, FL	-10,883	-12.3	11.1	1.2	-30,449	0.9	-1.2	0.4	-41,333	-11.4	9.9	1.6
Ogden-Clearfield, UT	22,895	-8.7	6.0	2.7	-13,977	1.0	-0.3	-0.6	8,919	-7.7	5.6	2.1
Oklahoma City, OK	41,257	-3.1	-2.7	5.7	-26,726	0.6	-2.1	1.5	14,531	-2.4	-4.8	7.2
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	17,502	-2.8	-1.3	4.1	-4,615	-1.1	0.8	0.3	12,887	-3.9	-0.5	4.4
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	136,175	-2.5	-3.5	6.0	-91,259	-0.4	-0.7	1.0	44,916	-2.8	-4.1	7.0
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	34,888	-0.2	0.2	0.1	-39,070	0.3	-0.3	0.0	-4,182	0.1	-0.1	0.0
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	26,335	-1.7	0.8	1.0	-17,719	0.1	-0.6	0.5	8,616	-1.6	0.2	1.5
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	16,934	-1.4	-0.9	2.3	-147,778	-0.1	-0.1	0.2	-130,844	-1.5	-1.0	2.5
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	308,274	-6.0	-3.2	9.3	-247,551	-0.7	-0.8	1.5	60,723	-6.8	-4.0	10.8
Pittsburgh, PA	7,981	-0.2	-1.0	1.2	-31,236	-0.7	0.8	-0.1	-23,255	-0.9	-0.1	1.1
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR	66,614	-1.7	-2.2	3.9	-63,651	-0.6	1.4	-0.8	2,963	-2.3	-0.8	3.1

Appendix C. Change in the Geographic Distribution of Jobs in the 100 Largest Metro Areas (continued)

	Change 2000-2007				Change 2007-2010				Change 2000-2010			
Metro Area	Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD	Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles from CBD	Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD	Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles from CBD	Total Number of Jobs Within 35 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs Within 3 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs 3 to 10 Miles from CBD	Share of Jobs 10 to 35 Miles
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	21,048	-2.8	1.5	1.3	-7,187	0.3	-0.5	0.2	13,861	-2.5	1.0	1.4
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	35,020	-0.9	0.0	0.9	-55,879	0.2	-0.3	0.1	-20,860	-0.8	-0.3	1.0
Provo-Orem, UT	15,560	-4.6	0.1	4.5	-7,928	-0.8	-1.0	1.7	7,632	-5.4	-0.9	6.3
Raleigh-Cary, NC	61,270	-2.5	-3.3	5.8	-21,875	-0.2	0.3	0.0	39,395	-2.8	-3.0	5.8
Richmond, VA	32,056	-1.4	-3.3	4.6	-47,167	-0.5	0.0	0.5	-15,112	-1.9	-3.2	5.1
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	234,539	-2.6	1.6	1.0	-148,751	0.0	0.4	-0.4	85,788	-2.5	2.0	0.6
Rochester, NY	-8,596	-4.2	2.6	1.6	-20,290	0.1	-0.8	0.7	-28,885	-4.1	1.8	2.3
Sacramento-Arden-Arcade-Roseville, CA	100,670	-2.3	-3.3	5.6	-93,911	1.2	0.0	-1.1	6,758	-1.1	-3.3	4.4
St. Louis, MO-IL	19,568	-1.3	-2.6	4.0	-85,540	-0.3	0.7	-0.4	-65,972	-1.7	-1.9	3.6
Salt Lake City, UT	66,409	-4.9	-2.4	7.3	-41,339	0.7	0.2	-0.8	25,070	-4.2	-2.3	6.5
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	83,799	-5.0	-2.6	7.7	-4,566	-0.3	-1.4	1.7	79,234	-5.4	-4.0	9.4
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	126,090	-2.1	-0.2	2.3	-88,241	0.7	0.0	-0.7	37,849	-1.4	-0.2	1.6
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	-96,919	-1.1	1.3	-0.1	-146,193	1.1	0.5	-1.6	-243,113	0.0	1.8	-1.8
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	-81,287	0.2	-1.2	1.0	-67,288	1.5	-1.2	-0.3	-148,576	1.7	-2.4	0.7
Scranton-Wilkes-Barre, PA	6,000	-3.0	2.3	0.7	-10,433	1.3	-0.7	-0.6	-4,434	-1.7	1.6	0.1
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	90,612	-1.9	0.3	1.7	-114,103	1.3	1.8	-3.2	-23,491	-0.6	2.1	-1.5
Springfield, MA	-5,016	-1.9	-0.8	2.7	-5,945	0.1	-1.3	1.2	-10,961	-1.8	-2.1	3.9
Stockton, CA	24,330	-4.7	2.6	2.0	-17,725	-1.0	1.1	-0.2	6,604	-5.6	3.7	1.9
Syracuse, NY	-13,685	-1.0	0.7	0.3	-8,714	0.4	-0.4	0.0	-22,399	-0.6	0.3	0.3
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	-3,028	-1.0	-0.7	1.7	-88,664	0.1	0.7	-0.8	-91,692	-1.0	0.0	0.9
Toledo, OH	-8,296	-1.7	-1.0	2.7	-26,795	-0.8	0.9	-0.1	-35,091	-2.5	-0.1	2.5
Tucson, AZ	38,717	-2.5	-2.0	4.5	-29,298	-1.1	-0.2	1.3	9,419	-3.6	-2.2	5.8
Tulsa, OK	12,865	-5.8	1.2	4.6	-21,910	0.3	-1.1	0.8	-9,045	-5.5	0.1	5.4
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	53,598	-1.5	0.0	1.5	-46,050	-0.8	0.7	0.2	7,548	-2.3	0.7	1.7
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	247,141	-0.6	-1.5	2.1	-82,573	0.7	-0.2	-0.5	164,568	0.1	-1.7	1.6
Wichita, KS	-877	-2.0	1.0	1.0	-6,508	0.2	-0.3	0.1	-7,385	-1.8	0.7	1.1
Worcester, MA	-1,385	-1.0	0.7	0.2	-21,944	-0.6	0.5	0.1	-23,329	-1.6	1.2	0.4
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	-22,983	-4.1	2.0	2.0	-15,451	1.2	-0.9	-0.3	-38,434	-2.9	1.1	1.7

Appendix D. Employment Located in High-Density ZIP codes, 100 Metro Areas, 2010

Metro Area	Number of ZIP Codes Within 35 Miles of CBD	Number of High Density ZIP Codes Within 35 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs Within High Density ZIP Codes (%)	Number of High Density ZIP Codes More than 3 Miles from CBD	Share of Jobs Within High Density ZIP Codes More than 3 Miles from CBD (%)
Akron, OH	55	7	15.5	0	0.0
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	118	13	46.0	3	18.4
Albuquerque, NM	39	7	60.7	5	44.8
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	80	8	37.5	2	6.5
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	161	36	51.9	28	43.7
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	47	1	1.6	0	0.0
Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX	86	20	59.2	13	39.6
Bakersfield-Delano, CA	35	2	27.4	1	14.5
Baltimore-Towson, MD	153	33	52.7	23	33.8
Baton Rouge, LA	75	7	51.6	4	38.8
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	95	9	41.6	3	13.5
Boise City-Nampa, ID	35	2	18.1	0	0.0
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	230	76	64.3	51	36.5
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	48	17	58.2	2	9.5
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	84	24	53.6	15	37.6
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	38	2	19.9	1	9.9
Charleston-North Charleston, Summerville, SC	36	4	38.1	2	22.7
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	81	13	43.5	5	19.5
Chattanooga, TN-GA	57	5	25.5	0	0.0
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	286	133	74.2	116	54.1
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	151	30	51.2	21	34.6
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	100	22	46.6	18	34.7
Colorado Springs, CO	47	7	48.9	4	19.8
Columbia, SC	49	5	35.2	1	7.9
Columbus, OH	107	18	47.8	11	32.2
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	240	66	60.1	52	47.5
Dayton, OH	76	7	26.4	3	11.3
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	110	39	64.6	29	43.1
Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	75	7	48.4	3	25.5
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	176	44	55.8	39	49.0
El Paso, TX	28	8	55.9	5	41.6
Fresno, CA	53	9	51.7	6	40.0
Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	57	7	55.6	5	37.0
Greensboro-High Point-Mauldin-Easley, SC	52	3	18.8	0	0.0
Greenville, SC	43	4	44.3	2	13.3
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	61	8	37.2	1	4.7
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	98	14	27.8	7	5.8
Honolulu, HI	35	6	61.5	0	0.0
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	187	55	63.1	44	52.8
Indianapolis, IN	107	13	41.5	9	27.7
Jackson, MS	46	5	20.8	1	1.3
Jacksonville, FL	57	5	24.3	1	6.4
Kansas City, MO-KS	169	27	46.6	17	32.8
Knoxville, TN	56	4	20.4	1	9.6

Appendix D. Employment Located in High-Density ZIP codes, 100 Metro Areas, 2010 (continued)

Metro Area	Number of ZIP Codes Within 35 Miles of CBD	Number of High Density ZIP Codes Within 35 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs Within High Density ZIP Codes (%)	Number of High Density ZIP Codes More than 3 Miles from CBD	Share of Jobs Within High Density ZIP Codes More than 3 Miles from CBD (%)
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	35	0	0.0	0	0.0
Lancaster, PA	52	3	29.2	2	1.5
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	67	19	72.9	12	26.7
Little Rock-North Little Rock, Conway, AR	60	5	36.7	2	9.9
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	375	246	86.5	216	76.7
Louisville-Jefferson County, KY-IN	112	17	50.2	8	28.1
Madison, WI	58	8	41.5	3	14.8
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	22	2	30.8	1	13.8
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	73	15	51.5	11	40.4
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	183	82	67.0	54	45.3
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	81	21	53.1	13	29.6
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	193	55	61.8	32	37.6
Modesto, CA	24	2	30.3	0	0.0
Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro-Franklin, TN	91	12	35.0	2	10.9
New Haven-Milford, CT	43	5	27.0	0	0.0
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	67	16	55.1	7	26.0
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	633	367	84.6	320	54.1
North Port-Bradenton-Sarasota, FL	45	3	17.6	1	4.3
Ogden-Clearfield, UT	24	0	0.0	0	0.0
Oklahoma City, OK	90	14	39.9	5	15.5
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	111	17	64.3	11	48.1
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	93	21	55.9	15	43.6
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	34	2	24.4	1	13.9
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	28	3	27.5	1	4.3
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	319	103	56.3	85	41.8
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	136	41	66.1	30	48.0
Pittsburgh, PA	253	32	37.6	20	12.4
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	120	32	61.8	21	39.7
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	70	2	18.1	0	0.0
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	111	27	47.7	17	27.9
Provo-Orem, UT	26	3	22.8	2	15.8
Raleigh-Cary, NC	57	7	31.8	4	21.5
Richmond, VA	101	9	35.9	5	23.4
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	115	13	35.8	9	27.7
Rochester, NY	96	15	47.0	5	22.0
Sacramento-Arden-Arcade-Roseville, CA	93	17	47.0	10	33.6
St. Louis, MO-IL	175	29	48.1	21	34.6
Salt Lake City, UT	48	18	66.4	10	41.4
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	104	17	52.6	12	42.3
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	92	30	66.2	23	55.2
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	162	79	77.1	62	52.4
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	68	34	78.4	8	10.2
Scranton-Wilkes-Barre, PA	69	6	17.8	1	1.9
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	149	46	71.0	33	45.3
Springfield, MA	80	6	23.8	1	1.1

Appendix D. Employment Located in High-Density ZIP codes, 100 Metro Areas, 2010 (continued)

Metro Area	Number of ZIP Codes Within 35 Miles of CBD	Number of High Density ZIP Codes Within 35 Miles of CBD	Share of Jobs Within High Density ZIP Codes (%)	Number of High Density ZIP Codes More than 3 Miles from CBD	Share of Jobs Within High Density ZIP Codes More than 3 Miles from CBD (%)
Stockton, CA	33	4	28.3	2	19.6
Syracuse, NY	84	9	45.5	3	16.3
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	127	33	59.6	26	41.5
Toledo, OH	66	7	36.8	4	23.3
Tucson, AZ	45	10	61.4	8	53.3
Tulsa, OK	76	11	51.3	7	38.1
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	113	18	46.9	7	25.8
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	232	75	71.9	54	49.3
Wichita, KS	77	8	40.4	1	9.5
Worcester, MA	83	7	29.4	0	0.0
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	81	4	9.0	1	3.1

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