

# POLICY BRIEF

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# A Comparison of Economic Growth Trends between Atlanta and Other Large Metropolitan Areas

### **DAVID L. SJOQUIST**

Department of Economics Center for State and Local Finance Georgia State University

### **LAKSHMI PANDEY**

Center for State and Local Finance Georgia State University In this brief, economic growth in the Atlanta metropolitan area over a 23-year period is compared to the growth experiences of other large metropolitan areas. Three measures of economic growth are considered: population, employment, and per capita income. Data was gathered for the 50 largest metropolitan statistical areas (based on population) for six different years (1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, and 2013, the most recent year available), but the analysis focuses on the 31 metropolitan areas that had a 2013 population of at least 2 million. The data comes from the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, which reports historic data for the current definition of each metropolitan area. Per capita income is inflation adjusted (1990 = 1).

# **Population**

Figures 1 and 2 report population for the six years. Figure 1 shows the level of population while Figure 2 shows the areas' rank. Because New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago are so much larger than the other metropolitan areas, they are not included in Figure 1, as including them makes it hard to read the rest of the figure. For each metropolitan area, Figure 1 includes a marker that indicates the area's population for each year. The metropolitan areas are arrayed left to right according to their 2013 population. The green square notes the 2013 population while the red triangle notes the 1990 population. The distance between any two markers reflects the growth or decline in population between the two years; thus, the distance between the red triangle and the green square measure the growth in population for the period 1990 to 2013.

As Figure 1 shows, Dallas, Houston, Atlanta, and Phoenix had the largest increases in population over the 23-year period. On the other hand, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland had very small or negative changes in population.



Figure 2 shows population rank for each year. New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago ranked 1st, 2nd, and 3rd in all years. Among the 31 metropolitan areas, Phoenix's rank increased the most, from 20th to 12th, or eight places. Atlanta increased from 12th to 9th, while Dallas went from 9th to 4th, Houston went from 10th to 5th, and Charlotte went from 29th to 23rd. Atlanta ranked 9th in 2005, so the change in Atlanta's rank occurred in the first 15 years of the period. The rank of many of the metropolitan areas fell, Detroit for example, which went from 5th to 14th.

Columns 1 and 3 of Table 1 show the change in population, both absolute and percentage, for the entire period for the largest 50 metropolitan areas, while columns 2 and 4 show the rank for those changes. Among the largest 50 metropolitan areas, the Atlanta area experienced the 4th largest increase in population, with Dallas, Houston, and New York experiencing the largest increases. Atlanta had the 6th highest percentage change, which was greater than the percentage change for New York, Dallas, Houston, and Charlotte. The metropolitan areas with the greatest percentage change were smaller metropolitan areas, such as Las Vegas (whose 2013 population ranked 31st) and Raleigh, N.C. (whose 2013 population ranked 47th).

### **Employment**

Figures 3 and 4 are equivalent to Figures 1 and 2 except they are for employment. Because the correlation between population and employment is very high, the two sets of figures are very similar. Atlanta's employment in 2013 ranked 9th, while in 1990 it ranked 12th. Dallas's rank went from 7th to 4th and Houston's went from 10th to 6th.

Columns 5 and 7 of Table 1 shows the change and percentage change in employment for the period 1990-2013, while columns 6 and 8 show the rank for those changes. The growth of employment is highly correlated (0.98) with the growth in population. In general, the metropolitan area rankings for employment growth are about the same as population growth. Atlanta ranked 4th

In terms of both the number of new residents and new jobs, but ranked 6th in terms of the population growth rate and only 11th in terms of employment growth rate.

There are a couple of interesting observations. First, none of the 50 metropolitan areas experienced a decrease in employment, even those metropolitan areas that lost population. Second, there are differences in the ratios of employment growth and population growth. For example, Detroit added three times as many jobs as people, while Boston added about 25,000 more jobs than people. Atlanta added about 55 jobs for every 100 additional people, while Dallas and Houston added about 65 jobs for every new 100 residents.

## **Per Capita Income**

Real per capita income data are presented in Figures 5 and 6, where the metropolitan areas are ordered from largest to smallest in terms of 2013 per capita income. A few observations to note. All of the 31 metropolitan areas experienced an increase in real per capita income over the period 1990-2013. The range of per capita incomes was smaller in 1990 than in 2013, implying greater cross metropolitan inequities in 2012 than in 1990. In general, the larger the 1990 per capita income, the larger the increase in per capita income over the period (correlation of 0.41). For a few of the metropolitan areas, 2013 per capita incomes were below the highest income they had over the period. For example, Atlanta's per capita income was largest in 2000 and is now (2013) almost \$2,000 smaller (in real terms). In 1990, per capita income in Atlanta was almost equal to that for Dallas and 2.6 percent greater than income in Houston. By 2013, Dallas' per capita income was 7 percent greater, and Houston's per capita income was 14.6 percent greater.

There was a lot of shuffling of per capita income ranks over the period, as can be seen in Figure 6. Houston and Pittsburgh experienced the largest increase in rank—Houston went from 21st to 9th, while Pittsburgh went from 25th to 13th. Miami had the largest decrease in rank,

going from 7th to 20th. Atlanta's rank initially rose from 18th to 14th (by 2000) and then fell to 25th.

Table 2 shows the growth and growth rates of real per capita income for the entire period for the largest (by population) 50 metropolitan areas. Atlanta ranked 47th in both the dollar increase and the percentage increase. Among all 380 metropolitan areas, Atlanta's per capita income ranked 55th in 1990 and 149th in 2013. Between 1990 and 2013, Atlanta's per capita income increased 12.9 percent, compared to increases of 33.0 percent for Dallas, 22.9 percent for Charlotte, and 20.7 percent for Houston. Over the entire period, Atlanta's growth in per capita income ranked 24th, for both dollar increase and percentage increase. Clearly, Atlanta's per capita income growth is seriously lagging.

## **Concluding Comments**

The Atlanta metropolitan area enjoyed robust growth between 1990 and 2013 when growth is measured by the increase in population and employment. Only three metropolitan areas experienced larger increases. However, as measured by per capita income growth, Atlanta has done very poorly. The data suggest that while Atlanta has been attracting people and jobs, the jobs it has added pay less than the jobs going to most other large metropolitan areas. This suggests that Atlanta — and Georgia — needs to rethink its economic development strategy, both in terms types of jobs that are being added and the skill levels of the workers.

Table 1. Population and Employment Change, 1990-2013

|                      | (1)        | (2)  | (3)               | (4)  | (5)        | (6)  | (7)               | (8)  |
|----------------------|------------|------|-------------------|------|------------|------|-------------------|------|
|                      | POPULATION |      |                   |      | EMPLOYMENT |      |                   |      |
| METROPOLITAN<br>AREA | CHANGE     | RANK | PERCENT<br>CHANGE | RANK | CHANGE     | RANK | PERCENT<br>CHANGE | RANK |
| Atlanta              | 2,418,721  | 4    | 77.9%             | 6    | 1,321,123  | 4    | 68.2%             | 11   |
| Austin               | 1,031,153  | 14   | 121.0%            | 3    | 690,432    | 11   | 134.6%            | 2    |
| Baltimore            | 380,195    | 34   | 15.9%             | 38   | 326,363    | 31   | 23.2%             | 34   |
| Birmingham           | 181,591    | 42   | 18.9%             | 33   | 145,877    | 44   | 28.2%             | 31   |
| Boston               | 546,997    | 27   | 13.2%             | 40   | 573,925    | 17   | 21.5%             | 36   |
| Buffalo              | -56,828    | 49   | -4.8%             | 50   | 23,954     | 51   | 3.8%              | 50   |
| Charlotte            | 985,511    | 16   | 73.0%             | 7    | 516,150    | 21   | 61.1%             | 14   |
| Chicago              | 1,334,079  | 10   | 16.3%             | 36   | 1,004,382  | 9    | 21.3%             | 37   |
| Cincinnati           | 300,192    | 37   | 16.3%             | 35   | 255,518    | 34   | 25.2%             | 32   |
| Cleveland            | -39,563    | 47   | -1.9%             | 47   | 79,922     | 47   | 6.6%              | 47   |
| Columbus             | 498,803    | 29   | 34.0%             | 25   | 358,896    | 27   | 40.1%             | 21   |
| Dallas               | 2,767,169  | 1    | 68.4%             | 8    | 1,793,228  | 2    | 71.1%             | 10   |
| Denver               | 1,039,452  | 12   | 62.7%             | 11   | 688,781    | 12   | 63.5%             | 12   |
| Detroit              | 43,997     | 46   | 1.0%              | 46   | 148,029    | 42   | 6.6%              | 48   |
| Hartford             | 90,164     | 45   | 8.0%              | 44   | 40,111     | 49   | 5.3%              | 49   |
| Houston              | 2,537,538  | 2    | 67.2%             | 9    | 1,641,085  | 3    | 75.6%             | 7    |
| Indianapolis         | 522,654    | 28   | 36.5%             | 22   | 331,517    | 30   | 37.6%             | 23   |
| Jacksonville         | 462,455    | 30   | 49.6%             | 16   | 268,276    | 33   | 48.3%             | 17   |
| Kansas City          | 435,568    | 31   | 26.9%             | 28   | 305,631    | 32   | 31.0%             | 27   |
| Las Vegas            | 1,271,698  | 11   | 168.2%            | 1    | 669,164    | 13   | 148.0%            | 1    |
| Los Angeles          | 1,834,288  | 6    | 16.2%             | 37   | 1,079,224  | 8    | 15.7%             | 41   |
| Louisville           | 236,813    | 40   | 23.1%             | 31   | 170,594    | 41   | 28.8%             | 30   |

|                      | (1)        | (2)  | (3)               | (4)  | (5)        | (6)  | (7)               | (8)  |
|----------------------|------------|------|-------------------|------|------------|------|-------------------|------|
|                      | POPULATION |      |                   |      | EMPLOYMENT |      |                   |      |
| METROPOLITAN<br>AREA | CHANGE     | RANK | PERCENT<br>CHANGE | RANK | CHANGE     | RANK | PERCENT<br>CHANGE | RANK |
| Memphis              | 263,148    | 38   | 24.4%             | 30   | 184,507    | 38   | 29.6%             | 29   |
| Miami                | 1,749,613  | 9    | 42.9%             | 18   | 1,267,007  | 5    | 58.9%             | 15   |
| Milwaukee            | 134,356    | 43   | 9.4%              | 42   | 112,064    | 45   | 12.7%             | 44   |
| Minneapolis          | 852,990    | 18   | 32.7%             | 26   | 612,979    | 16   | 35.6%             | 26   |
| Nashville            | 649,389    | 25   | 58.6%             | 13   | 439,681    | 25   | 63.5%             | 13   |
| New Orleans          | -44,037    | 48   | -3.4%             | 48   | 74,352     | 48   | 10.9%             | 46   |
| New York             | 2,491,559  | 3    | 14.3%             | 39   | 2,224,603  | 1    | 23.1%             | 35   |
| Oklahoma City        | 347,165    | 35   | 35.7%             | 23   | 251,354    | 35   | 44.3%             | 19   |
| Orlando              | 1,027,122  | 15   | 82.8%             | 5    | 625,092    | 15   | 84.5%             | 5    |
| Philadelphia         | 589,492    | 26   | 10.8%             | 41   | 516,646    | 20   | 17.3%             | 39   |
| Phoenix              | 2,149,646  | 5    | 95.6%             | 4    | 1,124,079  | 6    | 88.8%             | 4    |
| Pittsburgh           | -108,814   | 50   | -4.4%             | 49   | 183,534    | 39   | 14.6%             | 43   |
| Portland             | 778,589    | 21   | 50.7%             | 15   | 470,792    | 23   | 51.3%             | 16   |
| Providence           | 91,075     | 44   | 6.0%              | 45   | 87,004     | 46   | 11.1%             | 45   |
| Raleigh              | 665,642    | 24   | 121.3%            | 2    | 354,831    | 28   | 98.1%             | 3    |
| Richmond             | 326,029    | 36   | 35.4%             | 24   | 181,893    | 40   | 30.9%             | 28   |
| Riverside            | 1,750,407  | 8    | 66.5%             | 10   | 792,452    | 10   | 79.0%             | 6    |
| Sacramento           | 694,308    | 23   | 45.6%             | 17   | 385,622    | 26   | 46.0%             | 18   |
| Salt Lake City       | 383,872    | 33   | 50.7%             | 14   | 340,686    | 29   | 72.4%             | 9    |
| San Antonio          | 866,648    | 17   | 61.4%             | 12   | 544,812    | 19   | 75.3%             | 8    |
| San Diego            | 698,887    | 22   | 27.8%             | 27   | 509,062    | 22   | 35.7%             | 25   |
| San Francisco        | 796,601    | 19   | 21.4%             | 32   | 561,679    | 18   | 23.4%             | 33   |
| San Jose             | 384,499    | 32   | 25.0%             | 29   | 209,916    | 37   | 19.9%             | 38   |
| Seattle              | 1,031,298  | 13   | 40.0%             | 20   | 655,309    | 14   | 39.6%             | 22   |
| St. Louis            | 236,036    | 41   | 9.2%              | 43   | 222,825    | 36   | 15.2%             | 42   |
| Tampa                | 792,712    | 20   | 38.2%             | 21   | 470,083    | 24   | 43.7%             | 20   |
| Virginia Beach       | 247,123    | 39   | 16.9%             | 34   | 146,000    | 43   | 17.0%             | 40   |
| Washington, D.C.     | 1,776,531  | 7    | 42.6%             | 19   | 1,088,503  | 7    | 37.1%             | 24   |

Table 2. Change in Real Per Capita Income, 1990 - 2013

| METROPOLITAN |        |      | PERCENT |      |
|--------------|--------|------|---------|------|
| AREA         | CHANGE | RANK | CHANGE  | RANK |
| Atlanta      | 2,655  | 47   | 12.9%   | 47   |
| Austin       | 7,089  | 15   | 39.3%   | 9    |
| Baltimore    | 8,570  | 5    | 39.0%   | 10   |
| Birmingham   | 5,924  | 22   | 33.0%   | 17   |
| Boston       | 9,978  | 3    | 40.4%   | 8    |
| Buffalo      | 5,615  | 28   | 29.2%   | 20   |
| Charlotte    | 4,347  | 38   | 22.9%   | 34   |
| Chicago      | 4,926  | 33   | 21.8%   | 37   |
| Cincinnati   | 5,050  | 32   | 25.8%   | 29   |

| METROPOLITAN<br>AREA | CHANGE | RANK | PERCENT<br>CHANGE | RANK |
|----------------------|--------|------|-------------------|------|
| Cleveland            | 4,143  | 40   | 19.3%             | 40   |
| Columbus             | 5,451  | 29   | 28.5%             | 22   |
| Dallas               | 5,836  | 26   | 28.4%             | 25   |
| Denver               | 7,417  | 12   | 34.1%             | 15   |
| Detroit              | 2,864  | 46   | 13.5%             | 46   |
| Hartford             | 5,866  | 24   | 23.3%             | 33   |
| Houston              | 9,164  | 4    | 45.9%             | 2    |
| Indianapolis         | 3,850  | 41   | 19.2%             | 41   |
| Jacksonville         | 4,479  | 36   | 22.7%             | 35   |
| Kansas City          | 5,661  | 27   | 28.4%             | 23   |
| Las Vegas            | 1,108  | 49   | 5.6%              | 49   |
| Los Angeles          | 4,914  | 34   | 22.1%             | 36   |
| Louisville           | 4,590  | 35   | 24.6%             | 32   |
| Memphis              | 5,092  | 31   | 28.4%             | 24   |
| Miami                | 3,057  | 44   | 13.6%             | 45   |
| Milwaukee            | 5,894  | 23   | 28.3%             | 27   |
| Minneapolis          | 6,329  | 19   | 28.3%             | 26   |
| Nashville            | 7,132  | 14   | 38.5%             | 11   |
| New Orleans          | 7,720  | 9    | 44.4%             | 4    |
| New York             | 6,726  | 17   | 25.4%             | 31   |
| Oklahoma City        | 7,423  | 11   | 42.6%             | 6    |
| Orlando              | 2,088  | 48   | 11.2%             | 48   |
| Philadelphia         | 7,168  | 13   | 32.2%             | 19   |
| Phoenix              | 2,991  | 45   | 16.0%             | 44   |
| Pittsburgh           | 8,011  | 7    | 41.1%             | 7    |
| Portland             | 4,379  | 37   | 21.7%             | 38   |
| Providence           | 6,401  | 18   | 32.7%             | 18   |
| Raleigh              | 3,821  | 42   | 18.3%             | 42   |
| Richmond             | 4,286  | 39   | 19.9%             | 39   |
| Riverside            | 637    | 50   | 3.6%              | 50   |
| Sacramento           | 5,845  | 25   | 28.9%             | 21   |
| Salt Lake City       | 7,007  | 16   | 43.0%             | 5    |
| San Antonio          | 6,041  | 21   | 36.9%             | 13   |
| San Diego            | 7,796  | 8    | 37.1%             | 12   |
| San Francisco        | 12,133 | 2    | 45.5%             | 3    |
| San Jose             | 13,337 | 1    | 52.3%             | 1    |
| Seattle              | 8,175  | 6    | 35.9%             | 14   |
| St. Louis            | 5,226  | 30   | 25.4%             | 30   |
| Tampa                | 3,504  | 43   | 18.3%             | 43   |
| Virginia Beach       | 6,302  | 20   | 33.5%             | 16   |
| Washington, D.C.     | 7,601  | 10   | 28.3%             | 28   |

Figure 1. Metropolitan Area Population, Ordered by 2013 Rank 7,000,000 6,000,000 5,000,000 4,000,000 3,000,000 4,000,000 2,000,000 1,000,000 Boston Reancisco Minneapolis San Antonio Sacramento Philadelphia Atlanta Phoenix Riverside Detroit seattle San Diego Baltimore Pittsburgh Charlotte Portland Orlando Cincinnati Houston St. Louis Tampa **▲** 1990 **■** 1995 **●** 2000 **◆** 2005 **◆** 2010 **■** 2013

Figure 2. Metropolitan Area Population Rank, Ordered by 2013 Rank 11 Rank 16 21 26 31 St. Louis Rollingre Washington, D.C. San Francisco San Antonio Orlando Atlanta Phoenix Detroit Hando ento incimati develande city egas ofe pitsburgh charlotte hand

**▲** 1990 ■ 1995 ● 2000 ◆ 2005 ◆ 2010 ■ 2013

5,000,000 4,500,000 4,000,000 3,500,000 3,000,000 **Employment** 2,500,000 2,000,000 1,500,000 1,000,000 500,000 Boston Reancisco Minneapolis San Antonio Sacramento Philadelphia Atlanta Phoenix Riverside seattle San Diego Bakimore Pittsburgh Charlotte Portland Orlando Cincinnati Cleveland Houston Detroit St. Louis Tampa **▲** 1990 **■** 1995 **●** 2000 **◆** 2005 **◆** 2010 **■** 2013

Figure 3. Metropolitan Area Employment, Ordered by 2013 Rank

Figure 4. Metropolitan Area Employment Rank, Ordered by 2013 Rank 11 Rank 16 21 26 Chicago Dallas D.C. 31 Houston Philadelphia SanFrancisco Miami Phoenix Atlanta uis anna buten Portland and charlotte city is seattle diego side san Antonio ento Vegas

**▲** 1990 **■** 1995 **●** 2000 **◆** 2005 **◆** 2010 **■** 2013

45,000 40,000 35,000 🌢 30,000 Per Capita Income 25,000 20,000 15,000 10,000 5,000 San Francisco Boston, D.C. Philadelphia Mineapolis Los Angeles Sacramento Kansas City NewYork Cincinnati San Antonio seattle Baltimore Houston Pittsburgh Dallas St. Louis Cleveland Denver San Diego Chicago Miami Tampa Phoenix nati petok patoke pianta **▲**1990 ■1995 ●2000 ◆2005 ◆2010 ■2013

Figure 5. Metropolitan Area Per Capita Income, Ordered by 2013 Rank

Figure 6. Metropolitan Area Per Capita Income Rank, Ordered by 2013 Rank 11 Rank 16 21 26 Tampa Antonio Phoenix Velas Orland<sup>O</sup> Riverside Philadelphia Minneapolis Los Ángeles Baltimore Houston san Diego Pittsburgh . Dallas St. Louis Atlanta seattle Miami Chicago **▲** 1990 ■ 1995 ● 2000 ◆ 2005 ◆ 2010 ■ 2013

### **About the Author**

**David L. Sjoquist** is a faculty member in the Andrew Young School of Policy Studies at Georgia State University. A specialist in the field of public finance, Sjoquist has an extensive interest in urban economics, especially local economic development, central city poverty, and education policy. He has published extensively on topics such as analysis of public policies, tax allocation districts, teenage employment, local government fiscal conditions, and the urban underclass. His current research interests include property taxation, school financing, local sales and income taxes. His work has been published in such journals as American Economic Review, Journal of Public Economics, National Tax Journal, and Review of Economics and Statistics. He has his Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota.

**Lakshmi Pandey** is a Senior Research Associate with the Center for State and Local Finance. He specializes in working with administrative data and also provides analytical and technical support on research projects such as: welfare to work, SNAP and unemployment insurance for USDA, census data analysis and GIS, incorporation and cityhood studies, and many others. He received his Ph.D. from Banaras Hindu University in India and has worked at Washington State University and State University of New York at Buffalo prior to Georgia State University.

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