The Adirondack Park Regional Assessment Program: An Appraisal June 19, 2010

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From **Protect the Adirondacks!**

ABSTRACT

The 2009 Adirondack Park Regional Assessment Program provides a detailed statistical characterization of the Adirondacks. It has generated diverse interpretations. In this paper we defend what we call the Common Fate of Rural Communities interpretation of APRAP against the Blame the Park interpretation.

Our major findings and conclusions are:

- The Adirondacks generally have similar or higher median household income than comparable rural communities.
- While Adirondack median household income is less than the NYS median, the Adirondacks have a lower cost of living and smaller households.
- The Adirondacks have similar or lower poverty rates than comparable rural communities.
- The Adirondacks are aging, but have demographics that are generally similar to those of comparable rural communities.
- The Adirondacks are gaining older workers (45–65) and losing younger workers (25-45) along with their children. Growth of the 65+ population since 2000 is modest.
- It is not clear (as claimed) that people who are 65 and older make more demands for services on Adirondack communities than younger individuals, and they make significant contributions to their communities as volunteers, tax payers, and consumers.
- Retirees, telecommuters, and those who commute for their work outside of the Blue Line help sustain Adirondack communities and should be valued and recruited.
- Population loss in the 25-45 age groups has more to do with the kinds of jobs available in the Adirondacks than with the overall job market. Adirondack communities have trouble attracting and keeping college graduates.
- The chief problem to be solved by Adirondack communities is how to attract and keep college educated people with young families. The Park is an asset in this regard.

These comparisons provide no support for the *Blame the Park* interpretation of APRAP, they generally support the *Common Fate of Rural Communities* interpretation, and they suggest that the Park is a net asset for the economy of the region.

APRAP Appraisal

The Adirondack Park Regional Assessment Program, 2009 (APRAP) has been something of a Rorschach blot. Terry Martino, Project Director, has noted "Since the release of the report, some have concluded that Park trends are based on the impact of State land ownership and land use regulations." Others, however, have seen a more optimistic picture in APRAP. John Sheehan of the Adirondack Council, citing APRAP, claims, "Local officials in the Adirondack Park should stop blaming the Adirondack Park Agency and state land acquisition for wrecking the Adirondack economy. The economy isn't wrecked. It is one of the most robust rural areas in the Northeastern United States. Being a park is helping, not harming, the Adirondacks".

We argue that there is little evidence in *APRAP* or elsewhere to support the *Blame the Park* interpretation. We do not claim that all is rosy with the Adirondack economy. Rather we argue for what we call the *Common Fate of Rural Communities* interpretation. Many rural communities are remote and sparsely settled. The economies that have sustained them: agriculture, forestry, and mining, face growing international competition and provide declining bases for employment because of increased efficiencies and mechanization. In a globalized economy it is hard to replace these traditional jobs with manufacturing jobs, especially in rural areas with poor transportation and infrastructure. Moreover, the U.S. economy is increasingly a knowledge economy where the ability to attract and hold knowledge workers is crucial. Rural communities may be disadvantaged in this regard because they lack the density of knowledge workers required to generate the synergy that helps knowledge economies to succeed (Florida, 2002).

Our approach in arguing for the *Common Fate of Rural Communities* interpretation is comparative. If the *Blame the Park* interpretation is true, then Adirondack communities should be worse off than other similar rural communities. However, if the *Common Fate of Rural Communities* interpretation is true, Adirondack communities should be similar to other rural communities. If the Park is a net asset to the Adirondack economy, then Adirondack communities should be better off.

Our analysis compares three Adirondack areas to several other rural regions along the Canadian border and elsewhere in rural New York State. In selecting non-NYS counties we looked for northern rural counties with three characteristics: counties chosen are non-metropolitan and non-core (there is no population cluster over 10,000 people); they do not have some unique feature (an Indian reservation or an oil boom) that makes them different from the Adirondacks; and they lack substantial public ownership of land or the public ownership of land is in national forests, hence open to grazing, forestry and mining, if not development.

The areas we use to represent the Adirondack s are Essex County, Hamilton County, and the Town of Webb. These are "quintessential" Adirondack regions. They are sufficiently distant from Albany and the NYS Thruway so as not to benefit from proximity to more urban areas, they have economies that are significantly dependent on tourism, and they are connected and cross the Park from northeast to southwest. We compare these areas to two contiguous counties in Northern Minnesota (Koochiching, Lake of the Woods) and three contiguous counties in Northern Maine (Aroostook, Somerset, Piscataquis). These are northern forest counties. We also selected three agricultural counties in Northeastern Montana (Sheridan, Daniels, McCone). In rural NYS we look at three counties not in the North Country that meet our criteria: Allegany, Yates, and Delaware. We also look at three North Country towns and villages that are just outside of the Blue line and that are small and remote as are many Adirondack towns (Boonville, Lowville, and Malone) which we compare to the Town of Webb and Old Forge. We compare these "regions" on Poverty (% of individuals below the poverty line), Median Household

Income, Population Changes, Median Age, and the % of the population 65 and older and under 18. (Supporting data tables are at the end of this summary.)

Income and Poverty

Principal findings:

- The Adirondacks are the most affluent of the regions considered.
 - In 2000 the Adirondack areas considered are more affluent than all non-New York counties considered except that Hamilton County is slightly less affluent than Lake of the Woods.
 - By 2008 both Adirondack counties and the Town of Webb are more affluent than all non-New York counties.
- Poverty rates in the Adirondacks are also generally similar to or lower than comparable non-New York Counties.
- The Adirondack areas considered are the only ones with poverty rates lower than their state rates.
- In 2000 Adirondack median household income is roughly similar to the three rural New York counties considered. But by 2008 the Adirondacks are more affluent than these other rural NYS counties.
- Poverty rates in the Adirondacks are lower than other NYS rural counties in 2000 and are significantly lower in 2008.
- Adirondack economic indicators have shown improvement from 2000 to 2008 in relationship to these comparison areas.
- All areas considered are less affluent than their states. However the cost of living in the Adirondack s (as well as most rural areas) is less than 90% of the national average. NYS cost of living is 125% of the national average. Adirondack household size is also smaller.
- In 2000 Webb had lower rates of poverty and a higher median household income than Lowville and Malone and similar rates to the Town of Boonville. It exceeds Boonville on other measures of income. Old Forge is ahead of all villages on all measures.
- By 2008 Webb and Old Forge are better off on all measures considered.

These findings provide no support for the *Blame the Park* interpretation of *APRAP*, provide considerable support for the *Common fate of Rural Communities* interpretation, and some support for the idea that the Park is a net economic benefit to its residents.

Population Growth/Decline and Population Age

APRAP has highlighted the aging of the Adirondacks and this has been employed as part of an argument that seems to blame the Park. APRAP claims "Park residents average just under 43 years of age, older than any state for median age. By 2020, only the west coast of Florida will exceed the Adirondacks as the oldest region in America." State Senator Betty Little says that APRAP shows that "It [the Adirondacks] is a place on track to surpass the West Coast of Florida as having the nation's oldest population" and cites this "fact" as a reason for a moratorium on state purchases of land.

There is no doubt that the Adirondacks are aging and there is no doubt that some places in the Adirondacks are losing population. We have no reason to dispute *APRAP*'s estimate that the Adirondacks have a median age of around 43 and that this is likely to rise. There is some

doubt, however, that we are or will soon become the 2nd oldest region in the U.S. This depends on what one decides to call a region. The non-metro and non-core counties in the northern Great Plains states often have median ages that are higher than ours and are losing population at rate that one book (Carr & Kefalas, 2009) describes as the hollowing out of middle America. The majority of rural counties in eastern Montana, North and South Dakota and Nebraska lost more than 10% of their population from 1980 – 2000 (Carr & Kefalas, 2009, p. 3). And their population decline continues. If these rural counties constitute a region, it is likely that they will more than beat us to the #2 spot.

This, however, is a symbolic issue. Even if *APRAP* has engaged in a bit of hyperbole, it is still the case that the Adirondacks are aging and many villages, especially in the interior of the Park, are losing population to a degree that threatens their sustainability.

There are thus important questions to address about age and population: Can we blame this on the Park? What does the population decline and aging mean? Who is leaving? Who is staying? Who is coming? Why? *APRAP* has little to say here.

The same kinds of comparisons that we used earlier also suggest that we are suffering the common fate of rural communities.

Demographic comparisons:

- In 2000 the weighted (for population) median age of the three Adirondack regions we consider is 40.2, the same as Northern Maine. The Northern Minnesota counties we look at have a weighted median age of 41.5. Eastern Montana is 44.9. Only rural New York is younger at 38.
- By 2008 the median age of Essex County is 41.5, a gain of 2.1 years from 2000. But the two counties in Northern Maine with populations over 20,000 (the Census does not report 2008 median age data for counties with less than 20,000) have aged by 2.9 and 3.4 years. (For the same period NYS aged by 1.8 years and the U.S. by 1.4.)
- Two out of three of our Adirondack communities lost population since 2000. Essex lost 3% and Hamilton (the Adirondack's worst case) 8.4%. Webb grew by 1%. But 10 of 11 of the other areas we consider lost population. One Montana county lost 21% of its population since 2000 (having already lost considerable population in previous decades), and it has a median age of 45.1.
- All of the counties we considered in Northern Minnesota and Eastern Montana exceeded the rate of population loss of Hamilton County. The one county that grew among these 11 grew at a rate of .1%.
- If we consider the percentages of the population that are 65 and older or that are under 18 we find that the Adirondacks have about the same percentage of 65 + and under 18 people as Northern Maine and slightly fewer than Northern Minnesota. Eastern Montana has a significantly higher percentage of 65 + and significantly fewer younger people. Rural NYS in contrast has a lower percentage of 65 + people and a higher percentage of people under 18.

We do not suggest that the demographics of the Adirondacks are anything to be pleased about. They are troubling. But they do not support the *Blame the Park* interpretation. In fact most rural areas are losing population and aging. Some seem to be losing population and aging faster

¹ APRAP's discussion of aging ignores the aging of baby boomers, the main factor in aging in the U.S. (See note 3 for more details.) Moreover, some part of the difference between the rate of aging in the Adirondacks and the rest of NYS may be explained by immigration and higher birth rates among NYS poor and minority populations elsewhere in NYS.

than the Adirondacks. Moreover, in many cases, these trends started in the 1980 or 1990s or earlier. For the Adirondacks population loss began after 2000. Arguably the declines in Adirondack population began later and are less severe because the Adirondacks were buffered from the consequences of changes in their agricultural or extraction based economies by the growth of tourism and government jobs whereas the other areas we consider were not.

APRAP casts these changes in an unnecessarily negative light. It ignores the extent to which they merely reflect the aging of baby boomers, and it claims "The impact of a rapidly aging population within the Adirondack Park will have distinct socio-economic implications. The rising median age results in an increase in elderly residents who generally require more services than they produce. Volunteer-based emergency service providers are having difficulty attracting younger members." Note two things at the outset: First, it does not follow from the fact that the median age in the Adirondacks is rising that there will be an increase in the percentage of elderly. APRAP claims "In the 10 year time frame [1990 – 2000], APRAP projects that there has been a loss of more than 7,000 residents between the ages of 0 and 34 and an increase of more than 13,500 residents who are 35 and older." But APRAP's own data also suggest that the increase in the 35 and older cohort is largely in the 35 – 65 age group, not in the 65 or older group. In Essex County from 2000 – 2008, the total increase in the 65+ age group was a mere 177 people and is almost within the margin of error. (All 2008 figures are projections.) Surprisingly, the number of people in the 65 – 74 age group declined by 93.

Second, while it may be true that, broadly speaking, the elderly require more services, it is less clear that they generate significant additional costs to Adirondack towns and villages. Most of the added costs for the elderly are for health care. Towns may bear some of these costs in the form of emergency services or subsidized medical facilities, but they do not bear the full brunt of them. Adirondack counties may have lower costs for poorer 65 + people as they transition from Medicaid to Medicare. It would be more worrisome were older residents forced to leave because of unmet medical needs. If there is in-migration of 65+ people there also seems to be considerable out-migration.

We are troubled by the fact that the sole reference to the social consequences of an aging population concern emergency services. There are other services to which older people contribute substantially. Indeed, retired people in the Adirondacks appear to volunteer for community organizations in significant numbers and are essential to many community services and organizations. In Old Forge the Thrift Shop, the Food Bank, the Community Van, and Kiwanis (to mention only a few) are largely staffed by retirees.

APRAP seems to suggest that the growth of the 35 and over population is significantly a result of in-migration. That the increase in the 65 and over population from 2000-2008 is modest suggests that most of this in-migration is between 35 and 65. That the population increase in the 35-65 age group results from in-migration is, however, unclear from the data presented. Some portion of the increase in the 35 to 65 age cohort might result from the under 35 population of the previous decade aging in place. ² But since the increase in the 35 and older age group is large we will assume that in-migration is a significant factor.

What benefits do the Adirondacks derive from these older newcomers? Part of the answer depends on who they are: retirees, tourist industry entrepreneurs, telecommuters, or people who commute out of the Park for work. They may include people who have established careers outside of the Park and are able to transfer them here. Some of these "newcomers" may be people who were born or raised here and have found a way to return. But such people, whoever

 $^{^2}$ In 1990 baby boomers (those born between 1946 and 1964) ranged from 26-44 years of age. In 2008 they ranged from 44 – 62. In any region that has low or no population growth the aging of the demographic "pig in the python" resulting from the baby boom and the baby bust that followed will produce the kinds of population trends that we see in the Adirondacks.

they are, bring money into the Park that is spent here. They help sustain local economies. They may be more affluent than average. They also pay taxes, often for services they don't use such as schools. If we are to provide a full account of the social and economic consequences of an aging population this account must include the lower school taxes (or slower growth of taxes) that result from fewer students. (Webb's school taxes actually went down this year.) We do not deny that there are social costs to a shrinking and aging population, but *APRAP*'s analysis conflates an aging population with an increasingly elderly population and devalues the range of contributions older people make. It fails to provide an adequate cost benefit analysis of an aging population.

This discussion suggests that we need more clarity about the patterns of population change. To begin such an analysis we look at Essex County.

Some important facts about Essex demographics:

- The working age population (24-64) in Essex grew significantly from 1990-2000 (9%) and was basically flat from 2000-2008 (-.3%). From 1990-2008 it grew by 8.6%
- In the decade from 1990 2000 there were large gains (27%) in the 45 64 age group. The same pattern is seen from 2000 2008, but it is less pronounced (10%). The gain from 1990 2008 is over 40%.
- In the 1990-2000 period there are modest losses in the 24-44 age group (-2.5%). This increases to -9.1% for 2000-2008. The 1990-2008 loss is 11.32%.
- The over 65 group increased 13.7% from 1990-2000, but only 2.8% from 2000-2008.
- The modest decline of the under 18 group from 1990 2000 (-1.8%) has significantly increased (-22.1%) from 2000-2008.

What do these trends mean? Some suggestions:

First it seems unlikely that the decline of population from 2000 - 2008 is driven by an overall decline in available jobs. The Essex unemployment rate did not change greatly, it is not much higher than that for the State of New York, it is generally lower than the unemployment for North Country counties out of the Park 3 , and there was little change in the number of working age people. Essex gained 1.4% in private non-farm employment during the period. Some older workers moved in.

Second, while there is a steep decline in the number of children under 18, the significant figure is the loss of population in the 25-44 age group. After all it is these people who produce children and these children rarely leave without their parents.

Why is this happening? The aging in place of baby boomers is part of the explanation. It may be partly due to the job market, but if it is, this has more to do with the kinds of jobs the Adirondacks provide than with the number of jobs provided. Here is what we believe is the most important story about the decline of the 25 – 44 age group: The Adirondacks have decent schools. Most Adirondack schools graduate most of their students and prepare them to attend college. These students go to college, and when they finish they compete in national and even international markets for jobs that are not common here. They don't come back and they are not replaced. In short, we educate our children to leave.

³ In 2008 unemployment in Essex County was 6.6% and Hamilton County was 6.2%. St Lawrence was 7%, Franklin was 6.8%, Clinton was 6.5%, and Lewis was 6.6%. Notably in March of 2010 (presumably among the worst months for unemployment for tourism dependent economies in the North Country) unemployment in Essex and Hamilton Counties was similar to other North Country counties, whereas in August of 2009 it was dramatically lower. This suggests that the tourist economy inside the Blue Line has somewhat buffered Adirondack communities from the Great Recession.

Our difficulties in recruiting and retaining younger families may reflect broad changes in the economy away from manufacturing, agriculture and extraction, and towards knowledge work. Knowledge workers tend to gravitate towards urban areas. If this is correct, the central question for the Adirondacks is "How do we generate jobs that provide living wages for well educated young families?" Can we do this?

Most of the people we want to attract are not going to function in the "traditional" Adirondack economy. They will not be loggers or miners. Many may not participate in the tourist industry or in retail. They are more likely to be entrepreneurs and telecommuters or people who live in the Park but commute to jobs outside of the Park. They will want to live here because they value the unparalleled natural beauty and the recreational activities the Adirondack's provide and because they like living in small towns. We need to value such newcomers, and understand how to attract and hold them.

Some suggestions: We need to create more amenities that will be attractive to these individuals. Man (and woman) does not live by hiking or skiing alone. These people will want good restaurants, a social and intellectual life, gyms, and an occasional concert within a reasonable drive.

We also need to carefully attend to infrastructure. Broadband is important. So are decent roads, functional fax machines, and access to airports.

We need to generate a stronger identity for the region. Once you get some distance from the Adirondacks people seem to know about Yellowstone, the Great Smokies, and other Western Parks, but they do not know about us. They do not know what a great place to live and work this is

Finally we need to think about our schools. We are impressed with the overall quality of Adirondack schools. The Town of Webb schools graduate almost all of their students and send most of them to college. But many college educated people will be reluctant to settle in a place where schools do not offer many honors or Advanced Placement courses to their children. And we need to educate those who want to stay and work to be entrepreneurs. A recent New York Times article (Steinberg, 2010) noted "...employers said entry-level workers appeared to be most deficient in being able to solve problems and make decisions, resolve conflict and negotiate, cooperate with others and listen actively. Yet despite the need, vocational programs, which might teach such skills, have been one casualty in the push for national education standards, which has been focused on preparing students for college." In many rural communities programs such as FFA and 4H teach these skills well. What's the Adirondack version? Perhaps in the Adirondacks we work too hard to have comprehensive schools and do not adequately focus on the kinds of education we need to keep our students and their parents here.

The economic facts about the Adirondack Park do not suggest a region in trouble because of the excessive public ownership and control of land. They suggest that, while we are not in danger of being rich as Midas, we are doing better than many rural communities. The demographics of the Adirondack Park show that we are losing population and aging. They do not suggest that this has much to do with the excessive public ownership and control of land. In fact if these economic facts and demographic trends show anything, they show that the Park is a net asset. They provide no support for the *Blame the Park* interpretation of *APRAP*.

The main questions we Adirondackers need to address if we are to thrive in the coming years concern how we can have an economy that preserves the natural environment while providing jobs for all Adirondackers who want them, but especially jobs that attract entrepreneurs who can capitalize on our natural environment and educated young people who will stay and start families. That is where our future lies.

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Data Tables

Table 1: Comparison 2000 & 2008 Median Household Income and Poverty, Non NYS

	MH Income	MH Income	% Poverty	% Poverty
Adk	2000	2008	2000	2008
Essex	34,823	44,374	11.6	13
Hamilton	32,287	41,882	10.4	10.5
Webb	35,541	46,083	8.8	NA
Northern MN				
Koochiching	28,250	39,130	12.1	13
L of Woods	32,861	40,435	9.8	12.1
Northern Maine				
Aroostook	28,837	36,107	14.3	15.2
Somerset	30,731	35,277	14.9	18.7
Piscataquis	28,250	35,144	14.8	16.2
Eastern MT				
Sheridan	29,518	40,127	14.7	12.5
Daniels	27,306	34,239	16.9	12.2
McCone	29,718	37,576	16.8	11.7
State				
New York	43,393	55,980	14.6	13.7
MN	47,111	57,318	7.9	9.6
ME	37,240	46,419	10.9	12.6
MT	33,024	43,948	14.6	14.1

Table 2: Comparison 2000 & 2008 Median Household Income and Poverty, NYS

	2000	2008	2000	2008
Adk	MH Income	MH Income	% Poverty	% Poverty
Essex	34,823	44,374	11.6	13
Hamilton	32,287	41,882	10.4	10.5
Webb	35,541	46,083	8.8	NA
NY Rural				
Allegany	32,106	40,821	15.5	17.2
Yates	34,640	41,577	13.1	14.5
Delaware	32,461	39,821	12.9	16.5

Note: Poverty rates are not available for Webb for 2008. However, the poverty rate for the 13420 ZIP Code (which contains about ¾ of the Webb population) for 2008 is 7.7%.

Table 3: 2000 Comparisons, Towns and Villages on Median Household Income (MHI), Median Family Income (MFI), Per Capita Income (PCI) and % of Individuals in Poverty (Poverty)

	МНІ	MFI	PCI	Poverty
Webb Town	35,541	43,516	19,910	8.8
Old Forge	36,000	45,583	20,645	8.2
Boonville Town	36,744	40,845	16,704	8.2
Bville Village	29,013	36,050	16,870	12
Lowville Town	32,396	42,358	16,659	13.9
Lville Village	32,841	42,399	17,172	14.9
Malone Town	27,716	37,500	17,352	12.7
MI Village	25,200	35,077	15,960	16.4

Table 4: 2008 Comparisons, Median Household Income and % in Poverty

	МНІ	Poverty		
Webb	46,083	NA		
Old Forge (1342	20) 46,486	7.7		
Boonville Villag	e 36,820	10.9		
Lowville Village	42,385	14.9		
Malone Village	32,520	16.4		

Table 5: Population Change and Median Age

Table 6: Median Age Weighted by Population, 2000

Adk	Since 2000	Med Age 2000
Essex	-3	39.4
Hamilton	-8.4	45.4
Webb	1	42.9
Northern MN		
Koochiching	-8.5	41.5
L of Woods	-14.2	41.6
Northern Maine		
Aroostook	-3.3	40.7
Somerset	0.1	38.9
Piscataquis	-2.6	42.1
Eastern MT		
Sheridan	-21	45.1
Daniels	-15.6	47
McCone	-17.9	42.4
NY Rural		
Allegany	-1.5	35
Yates	-0.6	37.9
Delaware	-5.3	41.4

	Med Age	
Adk	40.2	
N. MN	41.5	
N. Maine	40.2	
E. MT	44.9	
NY Rural	38.0	

Figure 1: Population Loss in Rural areas 1900-2000 (from Carr, P. J., & Kefalas, M. J. (2009) p. 3)

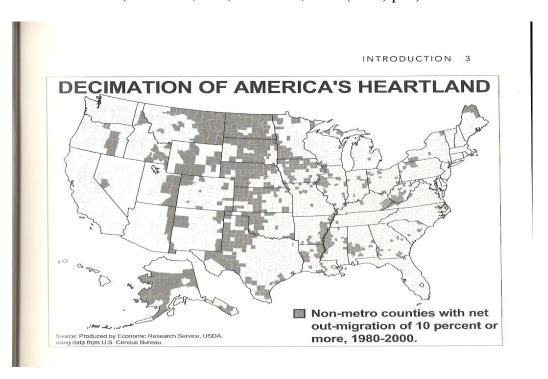


Table 7: Population Loss and Median Age Northern Tier of Counties North Dakota

	Population Lo	oss			
County	2000 - 2009	Median age	2000		
Divide	-14.1	49			
Burke	-18	47.5			
Renville	-14.7	43.6			
Bottineau	-11.1	43.4			
Rollette	0.9	28.9	(71% Nativ)	
Towner	-23.2	44			
Cavalier	-23.4	45.2			
Pembine	-13.9	41.6			

Table 8: Population Percentage Under 18 and 65 and Older, 2008

Adk	% 0 - 18	% 65+
Essex	18.3	17
Hamilton	16.3	22.1
Webb	NA	NA
Northern MN		
Koochiching	19.8	20.2
L of Woods	19.1	21.5
Northern Maine		
Aroostook	19.6	18
Somerset	21.1	15.7
Piscataquis	19	17.6
Eastern MT		
Sheridan	14.8	26.4
Daniels	16.5	24.2
McCone	19.5	20.2
NY Rural		
Allegany	19.8	15.2
Yates	23.2	16.7
Delaware	19.2	19.3

Table 9: Essex County Population Change 1990 – 2000, 2000 – 2008, 1900 - 2008

		1990 - 2000				2000 - 2008			1990 - 2008	
		1990	2000	Total Change	% Change	2008	Total Change	% Change	Total Change	% Change
	Total	37,152	38,851	1699	4.60%	37,686	-1,165	-3.00%	534	1.44%
Ages	18 and under	9,019	8858	-161	-1.80%	6897	-1,961	-22.10%	-2,122	-23.53%
	25-44	11,859	11,563	-296	-2.50%	10,516	-1,047	-9.10%	-1,343	-11.32%
	45-64	7502	9531	2029	27.00%	10,510	979	10.30%	3,008	40.10%
	65+ Under 18 and	5,477	6,227	750	13.70%	6,404	177	2.80%	927	16.93%
	65+	14,496	15,085	589	4.10%	13,301	-1,784	-11.80%	-1,195	-8.24%
	25-65	19,361	21,094	1733	9.00%	21,026	-68	-0.30%	1,665	8.60%

Table 10: North Country Regional Unemployment

County	Annual		Sample Months	
	2008	2009	Mar-10	Aug-09
Essex	6.6	9.1	10.6	7
Hamilton	6.2	7.4	11.6	4.2
St				
Lawrence	7	9.8	10.7	9.6
Clinton	6.5	9.3	10.9	8.9
Franklin	6.8	8.9	9.9	7.6
Lewis	6.6	8.8	10.9	6.8
NYS				
Average	5.3	8.4		