# Estimating Core Unemployable And Workforce Non-Participants: A Study Of Rural Pennsylvania's Labor Force 

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#### Abstract

Rural unemployment rates persistently have run higher than the national average for many years. In addition, multiple studies have established that rural underemployment also remains a longrunning problem. Unfortunately, it is not yet fully understood how the various factors contributing to rural unemployment and underemployment interact to adversely affect rural labor markets. The contribution of this paper is to gain insight as to the amount of slack labor force at the county level, focusing on the application to the labor force of rural Pennsylvania. By comparing the actual number of working-age adults presently not in a county's labor force (using data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the US Census) against an estimated number of core unemployable and workforce non-participants (Core NPW) individuals in the county we can generate estimates of the potential up-swing in employment for the regional labor market if participation rates were to become among the best in their national peer group. The study's methodology and findings provide guidance to policy makers in identifying regions most likely in need of greater assistance as to how to best spend scarce public dollars across various programs aimed at improving local labor markets.


Keywords: Rural economics, employment, unemployment, measurement issues

## INTRODUCTION

CRural unemployment rates persistently have run higher than the national average for many years. In addition, multiple studies have established that rural underemployment also remains a long-running problem. Examples of earlier research documenting the rural underemployment and unemployment problem include work by Ham (1982) and Lichter and Costanzo (1987). Since 1990, a growing literature has examined rural labor market outcomes. Studies by Isserman and Rephamm (1993), Hamrick (1997), and Jensen, Findis, and Wang (1999), among others, have identified several contributing factors to higher rural unemployment and underemployment. These factors include the declining importance of manufacturing and natural resource sectors, lagging educational attainment in rural areas, lower levels of public services support than in urban areas, and geographic isolation.

State government programs to reduce rural unemployment and underemployment reflect the above determinates of poor labor market outcomes. State economic development programs aimed at attracting or retaining employers in the state's rural counties are addressing the job demand side of rural labor markets. State support for education and skill training in rural areas is intended to increase the supply of higher skilled workers in these regions, thereby improving the quality of the labor supply in rural markets and hopefully stimulating greater demand for rural labor services. Lastly, there is a collection of government programs such as child care assistance, disability assistance, and transportation services that can be thought of as helping to eliminate barriers preventing potential workers from joining the labor force in rural areas.

Unfortunately, it is not yet fully understood how the various factors contributing to rural unemployment and underemployment interact to adversely affect rural labor markets. This lack of understanding regarding the most important determinates of rural unemployment and underemployment, and their interactive effects, complicates the targeting of scarce public tax dollars on programs most likely to improve rural labor markets. Moreover, given the diversity of what constitutes what is rural, it is important to be able to distinguish across the spectrum.

This paper introduces a methodology for peer group classification at the county levels, enabling comparisons of economic outcomes across peer groups. The methodology also generates plausible estimates of the total number non-employable, non-potential workers in a county. The methodology is applied to the rural regions Pennsylvania.

## METHODOLOGY OF STUDY

Explained here is the process used to generate "peer group" counties for each Pennsylvania county, the method which can be applied to any county in the United States. These peer groups are used several times in the analysis that follows as a way of benchmarking the performance of rural Pennsylvania ${ }^{1}$ counties against 3,108 counties in the contiguous United States. In addition, every county in the contiguous 48 states is assigned to one of 20 constructed peer groups based on similarities in their underlying industrial structure and their degree of urban or rural similarity. The performance of each rural Pennsylvania county versus its national peer group on several labor market outcomes is assessed. The outcomes across peer group counties are used to approximate (using US Census data) for each rural Pennsylvania county the number of "Core Unemployable and Not Participating in Workforce" (Core NPW) individuals in the county.

Table 1: USDA Economic Research Service 2003 Urban Influence Codes

| Code | Description | Population per sq. mile <br> (National averages) |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 1 | In large metro area of 1+ million residents | 558.0 |
| 2 | In small metro area of less than 1 million residents | 132.4 |
| 3 | Micropolitan adjacent to large metro | 54.7 |
| 4 | Noncore adjacent to large metro | 26.8 |
| 5 | Micropolitan adjacent to small metro | 51.4 |
| 6 | Noncore adjacent to small metro with own town | 23.5 |
| 7 | Noncore adjacent to small metro no own town | 5.6 |
| 8 | Micropolitan not adjacent to a metro area | 27.0 |
| 9 | Noncore adjacent to micro with own town | 16.7 |
| 10 | Noncore adjacent to micro with no own town | 6.7 |
| 11 | Noncore not adjacent to metro or micro with own town | 4.6 |
| 12 | Noncore not adjacent to metro or micro with no own town | 3.5 |

Table 2: USDA Economic Research Service County Typology Codes (CTC)

| Abbreviation |  |
| :---: | :--- |
| Farm | Farming-dependent (none in Pennsylvania) |
| Mine | Mining-dependent |
| Manf | Manufacturing-dependent |
| Fsgov | Federal/state government-dependent |
| Serv | Services-dependent |
| Nonsp | Non-specialized |

${ }^{1}$ This study uses the definition of rural as employed by the Center for Rural Pennsylvania which is based on population density. A county is rural when the number of persons per square mile within the county or school district is less than 274, which is the state average. When applying the definition to counties, 48 of Pennsylvania's 67 counties are considered rural. (See http://www.ruralpa.org/rural urban.html)

Table 3: Pennsylvania Counties within Peer Groups

| Peer Group Number | Peer Group | Number of Counties in Peer Group | Pennsylvania Counties in Peer Group |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | UIC: 1 <br> CTC: Nonspecialized | 139 | Armstrong, Beaver, Fayette, Washington |
| 2 | UIC: 1 CTC: Service | 127 | Allegheny, Bucks, Chester, Delaware, Montgomery, Philadelphia, Pike |
| 3 | UIC: 1 <br> CTC: Manufacturing | 98 | Butler, Westmoreland |
| 4 | UIC: 2 <br> CTC: Manufacturing | 222 | Berks, Erie, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lehigh, Lycoming, Mercer, Wyoming, York |
| 5 | UIC: 2 <br> CTC: Federal or State government | 111 | Centre, Dauphin |
| 6 | UIC: 2 <br> CTC: Non-specialized | 193 | Blair, Carbon, Luzerne, Northampton, Perry |
| 7 | UIC: 2 <br> CTC: Service | 98 | Cambria, Cumberland, Lackawanna |
| 8 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { UIC: } 3 \\ & \text { CTC: All } \end{aligned}$ | 92 | Indiana, Lawrence, Monroe, Venango |
| 9 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { UIC: } 4 \\ & \text { CTC: All } \end{aligned}$ | 123 | Clarion, Greene |
| 10 | UIC: 5 <br> CTC: Manufacturing | 139 | Adams, Bradford, Clinton, Columbia, Crawford, Franklin, Mifflin, Northumberland, Schuylkill, Warren |
| 11 | UIC: 5 <br> CTC: Non-specialized | 76 | Clearfield, Somerset |
| 12 | UIC: 5 <br> CTC: Farming, Mining, Federal or State Government, Sevice | 86 | Huntingdon, Montour, Union |
| 13 | UIC: 6 <br> CTC: Manufacturing | 15 | Bedford, Tioga |
| 14 | UIC: 6 <br> CTC: Farming, Mining, Federal or State Government, Service, or Non-specialized | 207 | Wayne |
| 15 | UIC: 7 <br> CTC: Non-specialized | 56 | Sullivan, Susquehanna |
| 16 | UIC: 7 <br> CTC: Farming, Mining, Federal or State Government, Service, or Manufacturing | 126 | Fulton, Juniata |
| 17 | UIC: 8 <br> CTC: Manufacturing | 69 | Elk, McKean, Snyder |
| 18 | UIC: 9 <br> CTC: Manufacturing | 53 | Cameron, Jefferson |
| 19 | UIC: 9 <br> CTC: Non-specialized | 77 | Potter |
| 20 | UIC: 10 <br> CTC: All | 196 | Forest |

These peer groups were based on county classification codes designated by the United States Department of Agriculture's Economic Research Service. Two types of these codes were utilized, Urban Influence Codes (UIC) (Table 1) and 2004 County Typology Codes (CTC) (Table 2). The UIC is a measure of "population size, urbanization, and access to larger communities," and the CTC is a measure of economic dependence. UIC are numerical from 1 to 12 with 1 representing a county that is the most urban and a 12 representing a county that is the least urban. CTC are six mutually-exclusive categories of economic dependency including farming-dependent, mining-dependent, manufacturing-dependent, federal/state government-dependent, services-dependent, and nonspecialized.

The national data was first sorted based on their Urban Influence Code (UIC). No Pennsylvania counties fell in UIC 11 or 12, so these were ignored. Next, within each of the 10 UIC groupings a data sort was done based on the County Typology Code (CTC). Counts were then taken to assess the number of counties in each group when they were based on both UIC and CTC. Some groups were found to be too small on their own, and for those groups, one or more CTC within a UIC were combined to form the peer group. Three UIC $(3,4$, and 10$)$ were small enough that all of their CTC were combined into one group.

Each Pennsylvania county was placed into one of 20 different constructed peer groups containing from 53 to 222 counties drawn from the set of counties in the 48 contiguous states. The combinations of the UIC and CTC codes used to create each peer group are reported in Table 3 along with the Pennsylvania counties in each peer group and the number of total counties in each peer group. Note that not all US counties will appear in a peer group because some have an 11 or 12 UIC or have a 1-10 UIC with a CTC that is not included in the peer groups to which Pennsylvania counties belong. ${ }^{2}$

## ESTIMATES OF THE CORE UNEMPLOYABLE

One concern when evaluating current rural labor market outcomes in Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, is the extent to which a lack of job skills, or a mismatch between job skills and job demand, has rendered a significant portion of the rural populace essentially unemployable. While it would be quite useful to have accurate estimates of the size of these "core unemployable" cohorts in each county, there are many challenges in estimating such numbers. At any point in time, the working-age adults not employed in a county can be classified into one of three categories: those lacking the job skills needed to obtain employment, those having the needed job skills who are temporarily unemployed (often referred to as "frictionally" unemployed), and those who for whatever reason have employable job skills but simply are not going to be drawn into the labor force. It is only the first of these three categories that fits the notion of "core unemployable", but the size of the other two groups also clearly impact the maximum possible employment for a county given the size of its working-age populace.

Given the difficulties inherent in untangling the above three categories of not employed working-age adults, an alternative definition: "Core Not Potential Workers" or "Core NPW" is employed. Core NPW is defined as the lowest ratio feasible for a county of its not employed working-age adults to its total working-age population. Core NPW will be the sum of the true core unemployable, the minimum feasible frictional unemployment rate, and the minimum cannot be drawn into the labor force. The Core NPW for a county depends upon county characteristics such as its underlying industrial structure and its degree of geographic isolation.

By comparing the actual number of working-age adults presently not in a county's labor force against this estimated Core NPW, this study provides estimates of the potential up-swing in employment for rural Pennsylvania counties if their labor market participation rates were to become among the best in their national peer group. The study's findings provide guidance to policy makers as to how to best spend scarce public dollars across the various programs aimed at improving rural labor markets.

Core NPW approximations of each Pennsylvania county is generated as follows. Based upon the creation of the twenty national county peer groups described in the appendix, the $90^{\text {th }}$ percentile value of its peer group's ageadjusted employment to population ratio is calculated for each Pennsylvania county. This $90^{\text {th }}$ percentile value is regarded as a realistic estimate of the "best the county can expect to do" given its underlying characteristics. Hence, the Core NPW estimate becomes $1-90^{\text {th }}$ percentile value for employment to population ratio multiplied by the county's working-age population. These estimates are presented in Table 4 for each county. Note that for Franklin, Dauphin, Lancaster, Lebanon, and Montgomery counties the estimated Core NPW slightly exceeds the actual count of adults not working because those four counties slightly exceeded the $90^{\text {th }}$ percentile within their respective peer groups. All other Pennsylvania counties were below the $90^{\text {th }}$ percentile of their peer group.
${ }^{2}$ Those readers interested in knowing exactly which counties are used to benchmark the performance of a particular county may request a copy of the table of US counties by peer group from the authors.

Table 4: Core Not Potential Workers (NPW) for 2004

| County | 15-64 Years Population | Total Employment | Total Adults Not Working | Estimated Number Core NPW |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Urban |  |  |  |  |
| Allegheny | 815,849 | 610,081 | 205,768 | 176,509 |
| Beaver | 114,800 | 85,105 | 29,695 | 27,594 |
| Berks | 259,328 | 187,209 | 72,119 | 54,387 |
| Bucks | 417,303 | 324,205 | 93,098 | 90,283 |
| Chester | 315,751 | 239,311 | 76,440 | 68,313 |
| Cumberland | 150,805 | 114,931 | 35,874 | 30,930 |
| Dauphin | 167,607 | 129,336 | 38,271 | 40,684 |
| Delaware | 364,450 | 266,998 | 97,452 | 78,849 |
| Erie | 186,891 | 131,944 | 54,947 | 39,195 |
| Lackawanna | 135,678 | 99,316 | 36,362 | 27,827 |
| Lancaster | 314,286 | 256,189 | 58,097 | 65,913 |
| Lebanon | 80,837 | 66,832 | 14,005 | 16,953 |
| Lehigh | 213,479 | 160,654 | 52,825 | 44,771 |
| Luzerne | 204,343 | 147,308 | 57,035 | 41,273 |
| Montgomery | 510,334 | 405,204 | 105,130 | 110,411 |
| Northampton | 189,929 | 138,439 | 51,490 | 38,361 |
| Philadelphia | 966,804 | 584,547 | 382,257 | 209,168 |
| Westmoreland | 240,515 | 174,959 | 65,556 | 52,837 |
| York | 270,255 | 206,542 | 63,713 | 56,679 |
| Rural |  |  |  |  |
| Adams | 66,438 | 50,800 | 15,638 | 14,992 |
| Armstrong | 46,564 | 31,422 | 15,142 | 11,192 |
| Bedford | 32,529 | 22,323 | 10,206 | 7,102 |
| Blair | 82,940 | 62,176 | 20,764 | 16,752 |
| Bradford | 40,532 | 30,816 | 9,716 | 9,146 |
| Butler | 120,602 | 89,400 | 31,202 | 26,494 |
| Cambria | 96,225 | 62,911 | 33,314 | 19,736 |
| Cameron | 3,585 | 2,473 | 1,112 | 659 |
| Carbon | 40,282 | 28,136 | 12,146 | 8,136 |
| Centre | 106,277 | 69,088 | 37,189 | 25,797 |
| Clarion | 27,964 | 19,398 | 8,566 | 5,753 |
| Clearfield | 54,871 | 38,705 | 16,166 | 10,821 |
| Clinton | 24,989 | 17,726 | 7,263 | 5,639 |
| Columbia | 44,628 | 31,556 | 13,072 | 10,070 |
| Crawford | 58,843 | 39,730 | 19,113 | 13,278 |
| Elk | 21,994 | 16,623 | 5,371 | 3,789 |
| Fayette | 94,032 | 60,762 | 33,270 | 22,602 |
| Forest | 3,239 | 2,020 | 1,219 | 222 |
| Franklin | 87,275 | 71,586 | 15,689 | 19,694 |
| Fulton | 9,637 | 7,214 | 2,423 | 1,574 |
| Greene | 27,525 | 16,155 | 11,370 | 5,663 |
| Huntingdon | 31,411 | 20,265 | 11,146 | 7,498 |
| Indiana | 61,889 | 41,974 | 19,915 | 13,145 |
| Jefferson | 29,618 | 21,019 | 8,599 | 5,448 |
| Juniata | 15,048 | 12,471 | 2,577 | 2,458 |
| Lawrence | 59,202 | 41,594 | 17,608 | 12,574 |
| Lycoming | 78,536 | 56,971 | 21,565 | 16,471 |
| McKean | 29,220 | 20,643 | 8,577 | 5,034 |
| Mercer | 77,000 | 52,319 | 24,681 | 16,149 |
| Mifflin | 29,118 | 21,359 | 7,759 | 6,571 |
| Monroe | 108,837 | 72,876 | 35,961 | 23,116 |
| Montour | 11,487 | 8,504 | 2,983 | 2,742 |
| Northumberland | 60,418 | 43,228 | 17,190 | 13,633 |

Table 4: Core Not Potential Workers (NPW) for 2004 (continued)

| County | 15-64 Years <br> Population | Total <br> Employment | Total Adults <br> Not Working | Estimated <br> Number Core NPW |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Rural continued |  |  |  |  |
| Perry | 30,553 | 23,058 | 7,495 | 6,171 |
| Pike | 36,053 | 22,882 | 13,171 | 7,800 |
| Potter | 11,409 | 8,096 | 3,313 | 1,626 |
| Schuylkill | 96,278 | 65,753 | 30,525 | 21,725 |
| Snyder | 25,703 | 18,916 | 6,787 | 4,428 |
| Somerset | 52,042 | 37,062 | 14,980 | 10,263 |
| Sullivan | 4,077 | 2,962 | 1,115 | 763 |
| Susquehanna | 27,593 | 20,520 | 7,073 | 5,165 |
| Tioga | 27,671 | 20,053 | 7,618 | 6,041 |
| Union | 30,409 | 16,817 | 13,592 | 7,259 |
| Venango | 36,674 | 25,035 | 11,639 | 7,789 |
| Warren | 27,658 | 20,215 | 7,443 | 6,241 |
| Washington | 134,791 | 95,814 | 38,977 | 32,399 |
| Wayne | 32,067 | 23,043 | 9,024 | 5,606 |
| Wyoming | 18,966 | 13,402 | 5,564 | 3,978 |

The differences between the actual number of adults not working and the estimated Core NPW for many rural Pennsylvania counties suggests that many of the non working adults should not be regarded as Core NPW. A more accurate understanding of the potential gains for each Pennsylvania county from improving its ranking relative to its peer group can be seen in Table 5. The information in Table 5 indicates the change in county employment for 2004 if the county's age-adjusted employment to population ratio had been at the indicated percentile ranking for its national peer group. Negative values in a cell entry mean that the county's actual 2004 employment to population (from Bureau of Labor Statistics sources) ratio exceeded the indicated percentile ranking for its peer group. Counties are sorted by their 2004 employment to population ratio.

Table 5: Job Creation if Counties Perform at Peer Group Percentiles 2004

|  |  | Jobs Created at Percentile |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| County | Emp/Pop Ratio | $\mathbf{9 0 t h}$ | $\mathbf{8 0 t h}$ | $\mathbf{7 0 t h}$ | $\mathbf{6 0 t h}$ | $\mathbf{5 0 t h}$ |
| Urban |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Lebanon | $82.7 \%$ | $-2,948$ | $-5,986$ | $-7,493$ | $-8,993$ | $-9,849$ |
| Lancaster | $81.5 \%$ | $-7,816$ | $-19,625$ | $-25,485$ | $-31,318$ | $-34,645$ |
| Montgomery | $79.4 \%$ | $-5,281$ | $-14,502$ | $-20,850$ | $-25,987$ | $-30,434$ |
| Bucks | $77.7 \%$ | 2,815 | $-4,726$ | $-9,916$ | $-14,117$ | $-17,753$ |
| Dauphin | $77.2 \%$ | $-2,413$ | $-5,574$ | $-8,608$ | $-10,650$ | $-14,325$ |
| York | $76.4 \%$ | 7,034 | $-3,121$ | $-8,159$ | $-13,175$ | $-16,036$ |
| Cumberland | $76.2 \%$ | 4,944 | 1,408 | -123 | $-1,517$ | $-3,625$ |
| Chester | $75.8 \%$ | 8,127 | 2,422 | $-1,506$ | $-4,684$ | $-7,435$ |
| Lehigh | $75.3 \%$ | 8,054 | 32 | $-3,948$ | $-7,910$ | $-10,170$ |
| Allegheny | $74.8 \%$ | 29,259 | 14,518 | 4,369 | $-3,843$ | $-10,952$ |
| Beaver | $74.1 \%$ | 2,101 | 442 | -773 | $-2,340$ | $-3,452$ |
| Delaware | $73.3 \%$ | 18,603 | 12,018 | 7,485 | 3,816 | 641 |
| Lackawanna | $73.2 \%$ | 8,535 | 5,353 | 3,976 | 2,721 | 825 |
| Northampton | $72.9 \%$ | 13,129 | 5,969 | 3,209 | -615 | $-3,885$ |
| Westmoreland | $72.7 \%$ | 12,719 | 4,609 | -26 | $-2,833$ | $-6,014$ |
| Berks | $72.2 \%$ | 17,732 | 7,988 | 3,153 | $-1,660$ | $-4,406$ |
| Luzerne | $72.1 \%$ | 15,762 | 8,059 | 5,090 | 976 | $-2,542$ |
| Erie | $70.6 \%$ | 15,752 | 8,729 | 5,245 | 1,776 | -202 |
| Philadelphia | $60.5 \%$ | 173,089 | 155,620 | 143,594 | 133,862 | 125,438 |

Table 5: Job Creation if Counties Perform at Peer Group Percentiles 2004 (continued)

|  |  | Jobs Created at Percentile |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| County | Emp/Pop Ratio | 90th | 80th | 70th | 60th | 50th |
| Rural |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Juniata | 82.9\% | 119 | -413 | -1,136 | -1,483 | -2,285 |
| Franklin | 82.0\% | -4,005 | -5,233 | -7,655 | -9,327 | -10,161 |
| Adams | 76.5\% | 646 | -289 | -2,132 | -3,406 | -4,040 |
| Bradford | 76.0\% | 570 | 0 | -1,125 | -1,902 | -2,289 |
| Elk | 75.6\% | 1,582 | 513 | 33 | -462 | -998 |
| Perry | 75.5\% | 1,324 | 172 | -272 | -887 | -1,413 |
| Blair | 75.0\% | 4,012 | 885 | -320 | -1,990 | -3,418 |
| Fulton | 74.9\% | 849 | 508 | 45 | -177 | -691 |
| Susquehanna | 74.4\% | 1,908 | 725 | 238 | -38 | -1,195 |
| Butler | 74.1\% | 4,708 | 641 | -1,683 | -3,090 | -4,686 |
| Montour | 74.0\% | 241 | 0 | -182 | -459 | -818 |
| Snyder | 73.6\% | 2,359 | 1,109 | 549 | -30 | -656 |
| Mifflin | 73.4\% | 1,188 | 779 | -29 | -587 | -865 |
| Warren | 73.1\% | 1,202 | 813 | 45 | -485 | -749 |
| Sullivan | 72.7\% | 352 | 177 | 105 | 64 | -107 |
| Lycoming | 72.5\% | 5,094 | 2,143 | 679 | -779 | -1,610 |
| Tioga | 72.5\% | 1,577 | 532 | -223 | -846 | -1,550 |
| Wayne | 71.9\% | 3,418 | 2,232 | 1,482 | 429 | -751 |
| Northumberland | 71.5\% | 3,557 | 2,706 | 1,030 | -128 | -705 |
| Somerset | 71.2\% | 4,717 | 2,159 | 415 | -353 | -1,454 |
| Washington | 71.1\% | 6,578 | 4,630 | 3,204 | 1,363 | 58 |
| Jefferson | 71.0\% | 3,151 | 2,480 | 779 | 18 | -588 |
| Potter | 71.0\% | 1,687 | 1,004 | 720 | 339 | 32 |
| Clinton | 70.9\% | 1,624 | 1,273 | 579 | 100 | -138 |
| Columbia | 70.7\% | 3,002 | 2,374 | 1,135 | 280 | -146 |
| Wyoming | 70.7\% | 1,586 | 874 | 520 | 168 | -33 |
| McKean | 70.6\% | 3,543 | 2,123 | 1,485 | 827 | 116 |
| Clearfield | 70.5\% | 5,345 | 2,648 | 809 | 0 | -1,161 |
| Lawrence | 70.3\% | 5,034 | 3,063 | 2,354 | 1,309 | 366 |
| Carbon | 69.8\% | 4,010 | 2,491 | 1,906 | 1,095 | 402 |
| Clarion | 69.4\% | 2,813 | 2,019 | 1,413 | 463 | -216 |
| Cameron | 69.0\% | 453 | 371 | 165 | 73 | 0 |
| Bedford | 68.6\% | 3,104 | 1,876 | 988 | 256 | -572 |
| Schuylkill | 68.3\% | 8,800 | 7,445 | 4,773 | 2,928 | 2,008 |
| Venango | 68.3\% | 3,850 | 2,629 | 2,189 | 1,542 | 958 |
| Mercer | 67.9\% | 8,532 | 5,639 | 4,203 | 2,774 | 1,959 |
| Indiana | 67.8\% | 6,770 | 4,710 | 3,968 | 2,876 | 1,891 |
| Crawford | 67.5\% | 5,835 | 5,007 | 3,374 | 2,246 | 1,684 |
| Armstrong | 67.5\% | 3,950 | 3,277 | 2,784 | 2,148 | 1,697 |
| Monroe | 67.0\% | 12,845 | 9,222 | 7,917 | 5,996 | 4,264 |
| Cambria | 65.4\% | 13,578 | 11,322 | 10,345 | 9,456 | 8,110 |
| Centre | 65.0\% | 11,392 | 9,387 | 7,464 | 6,169 | 3,838 |
| Fayette | 64.6\% | 10,668 | 9,309 | 8,314 | 7,030 | 6,119 |
| Huntingdon | 64.5\% | 3,648 | 2,989 | 2,492 | 1,733 | 752 |
| Pike | 63.5\% | 5,371 | 4,720 | 4,271 | 3,908 | 3,594 |
| Forest | 62.4\% | 997 | 802 | 669 | 565 | 448 |
| Greene | 58.7\% | 5,707 | 4,925 | 4,329 | 3,394 | 2,725 |
| Union | 55.3\% | 6,333 | 5,695 | 5,214 | 4,479 | 3,529 |

Particularly for those rural counties with the lower 2004 employment to population ratios, substantial employment gains would be possible simply by moving above the $50^{\text {th }}$ or $60^{\text {th }}$ percentile of their national peer group. With the probable exception of Centre County, whose results are skewed by the many university students (Penn

State University), the lower sorted rural counties on this list are those counties most likely to have appreciable underutilized labor available in their county labor markets.

## CONCLUSION

In order to gauge the potential amount of labor that could be drawn into each rural counties labor force if sufficient labor demand existed, estimates are generated of the size of the "Core Not Potential Workers" by county. These estimates are based on the upper range of labor market outcomes within the relevant national peer group for each rural Pennsylvania county. On this basis, many rural counties within the state could expand their workforce considerably above their existing working-age population base as 15 of 48 rural counties have a "Total Adults Not Working" value more than 50 percent larger than their Core NPW (found by taking the ratio of these two values for each county found in Table 4). These counties, in ascending order of underutilized labor, are: Indiana, Mercer, Snyder, Fulton, Monroe, Jefferson, Wayne, Cameron, Cambria, Pike, McKean, Union, Greene, Potter, and Forest.

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Elizabeth Hall is a 2004 graduate of the Indiana University of Pennsylvania with a B.A. in economics/mathematics. While at IUP, she worked as a research assistant to Dr. Jack Julian and Dr. David Yerger on a research project for the Center for Rural Pennsylvania. She currently attends Duke University School of Law where she is a member of the Duke Law Journal and the Public Interest Law Foundation. There, she continues to use her economics background in her work with the North Carolina Commissioner of Banks' State Home Foreclosure Prevention Project.

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