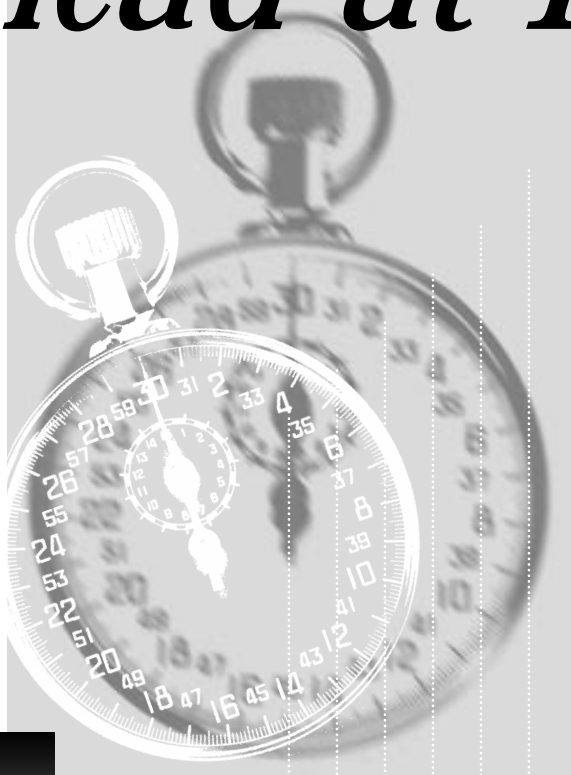
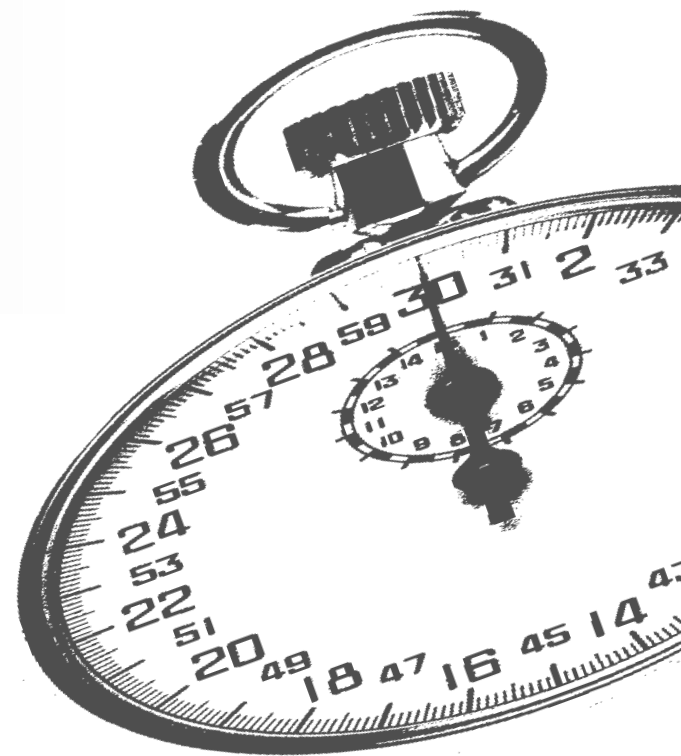


Ahead at Halftime:

MINNESOTA AT MID-DECADE



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Ahead at Halftime: Minnesota at Mid-Decade was prepared by several people: Barbara Ronningen coordinated the written contributions of R. Thomas Gillaspay, Martha McMurry and James Hibbs, and David Birkholz prepared the legislative district maps; all are from the Office of the State Demographer at Minnesota Planning. Population estimates were prepared by James Hibbs at Minnesota Planning and Kathy Johnson of the Metropolitan Council.

For additional information or copies of this report, contact:



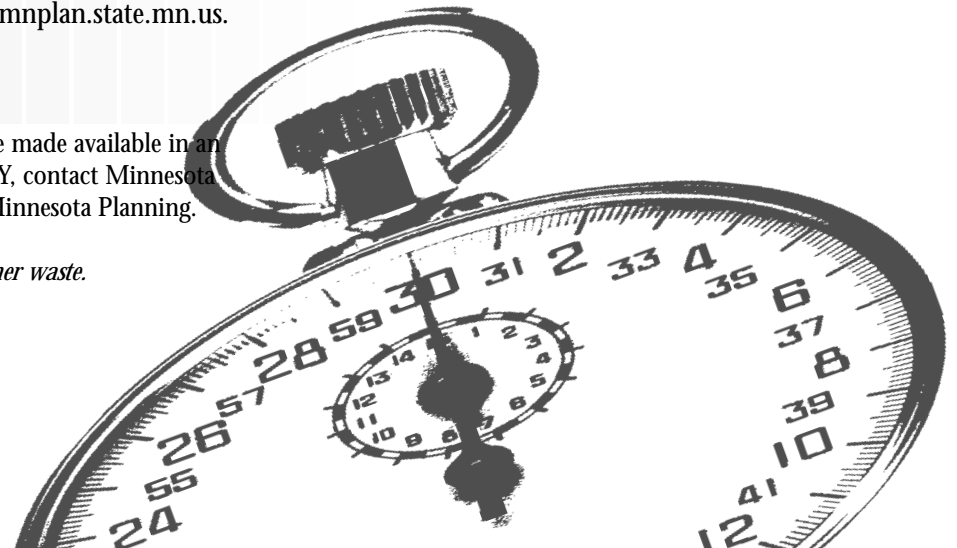
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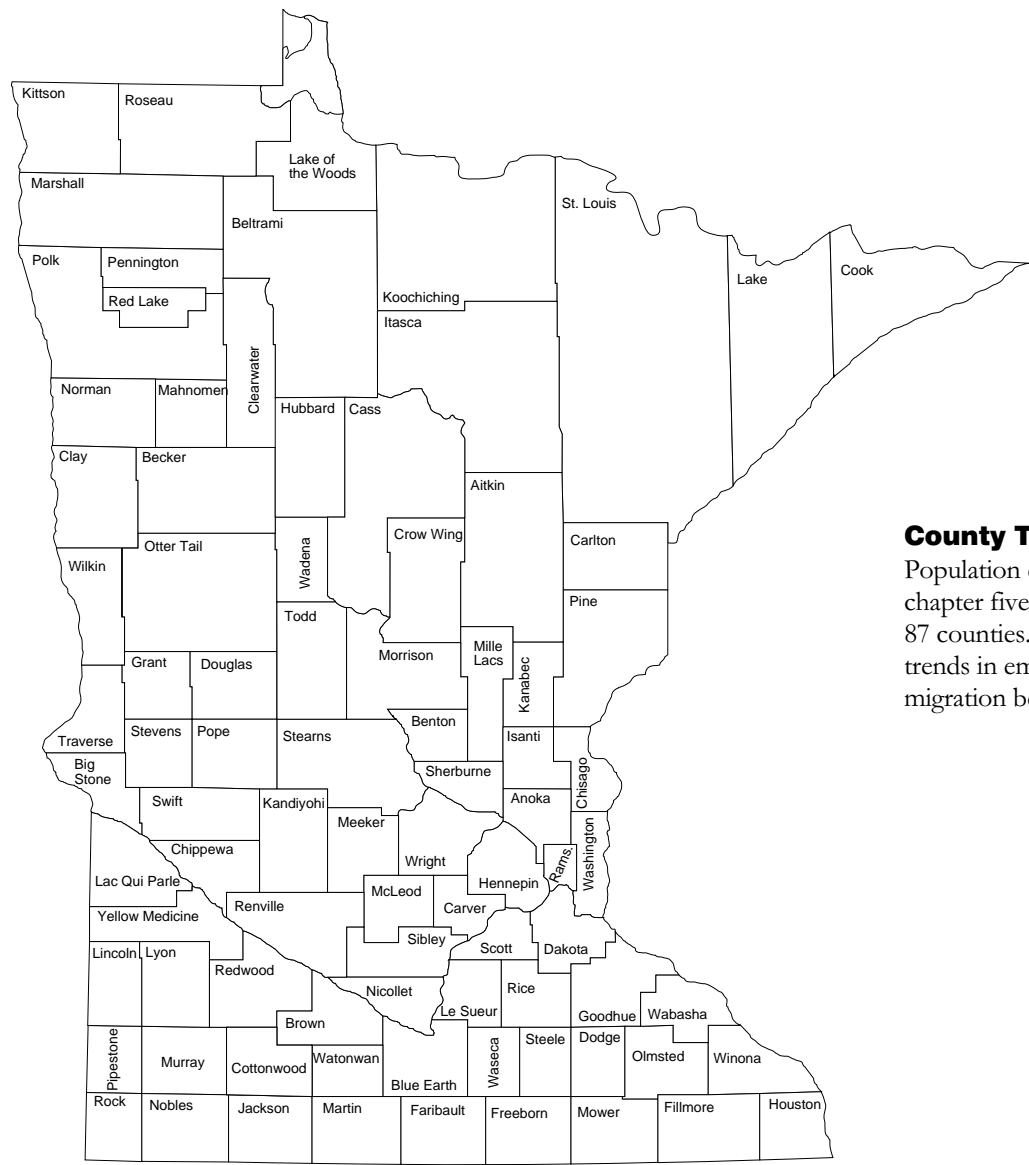
September 1996

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Minnesota Counties



County Trends

Population estimates are provided in chapter five for each of Minnesota's 87 counties. The county tables include trends in employment, income and migration between 1990 and 1994.

Ahead at Halftime:

MINNESOTA AT MID-DECADE

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1

Summary

Minnesota's population and economy grew at a phenomenal pace in the first half of the 1990s. Population growth has been faster than in the previous two decades and as fast as in the 1960s. The economy has grown even more quickly.

Rapid growth raises important questions for policy-makers. Increasing population means greater demand for services, and an expanding economy requires more workers.

Ahead at Halftime: Minnesota at Mid-Decade describes Minnesota at the halfway point of the 1990s, looking at population shifts that will affect the makeup of legislative districts, changing trends in migration and economic developments.

Population growth in Minnesota has averaged more than 1 percent in the first five years of the 1990s. This rapid growth has occurred in spite of fewer births and an aging population. The primary explanation for Minnesota's population expansion has been a reverse in migration trends. Since 1988, more people have moved into Minnesota than have moved out.

Population growth varies widely in Minnesota. Twenty counties in the southern and western parts of the state lost population between 1990 and 1995. The central cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul both lost population in the 1990s, as did many inner-ring suburbs. Suburban areas, especially second- and third-ring suburbs, continue to grow rapidly.

These differential growth rates mean that legislative districts in Minnesota are no longer equal in population. Using 1995 estimates of population, the largest House district had 11,500 more people than the smallest district. The Iron Range has lost the population equivalent of half a district, and Minneapolis and St. Paul have lost more than one district. Suburban districts in the seven-county Twin Cities area have gained the equivalent of 2.4 districts and make up about one-third of Minnesota's population.

If population trends continue through the last five years of the decade, redistricting following the 2000 census would increase the number of legislative districts in the suburban Twin Cities and in the Anoka-St. Cloud corridor. Areas in southern, western and northern Minnesota, where population has grown more slowly, would have fewer districts covering larger areas.

Population trends in Minnesota have been much more positive in the 1990s than in the 1980s. Although many counties lost population in the 1990s, these declines have been much smaller than in the previous decade. Whereas in the 1980s, population losses ranged as high as

20.1 percent, from 1990 to 1995, the greatest decrease was only 4.1 percent.

Trends in migration have been more positive in all but four counties in the state. In many counties, more people moved in than moved out. And in counties where more people left than moved in, the difference was much smaller in the 1990s.

Natural increase, on the other hand, shows a more negative trend. Thirteen counties had a greater number of deaths than births in at least three of the four years between 1990 and 1994. Migration has made up for the losses due to natural decrease so that population continued to grow in most areas of the state.

Economic growth, especially in the number of jobs, has been greater than population growth. From 1990 to 1994, the number of jobs increased almost twice as fast as the population. The robust economy turned Minnesota into something of a migration magnet, as people move to the state to benefit from an expanding job market.

The early 1990s were a time of recession in the United States, and Minnesota's economy struggled with loss of jobs and the accompanying higher unemployment rates. However, in 1993, the economy turned around, and in 1994, the number of new jobs added in Minnesota was phenomenal. More than one-third of the new jobs created between 1990 and 1994 were added in the last year. Hennepin County, alone, had a total of 24,100 new jobs in 1994.

Per capita income in Minnesota lagged in the early 1990s with the nationwide recession. The 1993 floods in the Red River Valley and southern Minnesota further dampened personal income. But the recovery in 1994 meant that per capita income had grown 23.1 percent since 1990 and was much higher than in neighboring states. Per capita income in Minnesota was slightly higher than the national average. In the 1990s, income grew at a slightly faster rate in Minnesota than the rest of the nation.

Cities in Minnesota accounted for about 85 percent of all population growth. While Minneapolis, St. Paul and cities with less than 100 people lost population, cities with populations ranging from 10,000 to 90,000 gained 167,200 in the 1990s, or about two-thirds of the total increase.

Population in townships grew more slowly than in cities in the 1990s, averaging a 4.2 percent increase. Only about 20 percent of Minnesota's population lives in townships. Township populations are more difficult to track since many of the largest population declines resulted from mergers, annexations or dissolutions.

Minnesota's Population — Exceptional Growth

Population growth in Minnesota since the 1990 census has been phenomenal, increasing faster than in the 1980s and the 1970s, and equaling growth rates in the 1960s. Minnesota's annual population growth of more than 1 percent in the first five years of the 1990s has exceeded growth in Wisconsin, North Dakota, South Dakota and Iowa and matched national population increases for the period. Perhaps the most amazing aspect of this growth is that it comes at a time when births are low and the population is aging rapidly. Nevertheless, Minnesota has achieved incredible population growth. Since the late 1980s, more people have moved into Minnesota than have moved out, reversing historical migration patterns.

The exceptional population growth seen in the first five years of this decade, if it

continues through the 1990s, will have a profound impact on Minnesota's legislative districts. Legislative districts will be redrawn after the 2000 census. If legislative districts were to be redrawn based on today's population patterns, the suburban Twin Cities would gain representation by having more districts covering smaller areas. The corridor extending north from Anoka County to the St. Cloud area would gain representation, as would Washington and Dakota counties. Many districts in southern, western and northern Minnesota would lose representation as districts cover more area, and districts in the northeast would need to be reconfigured to reflect rapid growth in Cook and Aitkin counties and only slight increases in Lake and St. Louis counties.

Redistricting in 1992 created legislative districts with roughly equal populations based on 1990 census data. Since 1990, population growth in Minnesota has been rapid but uneven. Based on population estimates prepared by the State Demographer's Office and the Metropolitan Council, the largest House district in 1995 had nearly 11,500 more people than the smallest district. If districts were drawn with equal population based on the 1995 estimates, Minneapolis and St. Paul, which now have a total of 20 districts, would lose at least one legislative district. The suburban seven-county area, exclusive of Minneapolis, St. Paul and inner-ring suburbs, would be represented by more than 45 districts, about 2.4 more than in 1990. Suburban districts would make up one-third of all House seats. The nine districts in the northeast have the population equivalent

of only 8.6 districts in 1995. Growth in the area has been concentrated in recreational and tourist areas in Aitkin and Cook counties, while the Iron Range cities of Hibbing, Eveleth and Virginia lost population.

Rapid Growth Raises Policy Issues

At mid-decade, Minnesota's economy and population growth are strong, but rapid growth raises important questions for policy-makers. While these historical highs are good news, they should also sound an alarm.

■ Can Minnesota sustain the growth rates seen in the early 1990s?

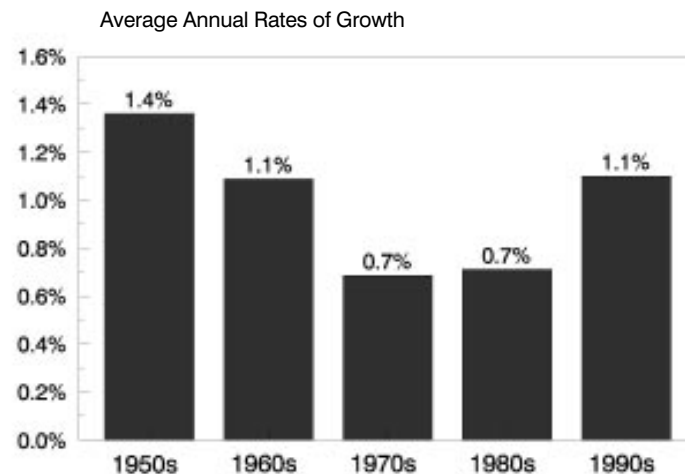
Unlike states with economies that depend on energy, Minnesota has never been a boom-bust state. But the 1990s have seen rapid employment expansion to the point that in 1995, fully 51.2 percent of Minnesota's entire population (including children and the elderly) was working.

■ Can employers continue to find the necessary labor to fill their needs?

Some businesses answer no to that question. The number of jobs in the state has expanded at twice the rate of population increase. As the economy creates jobs faster than the population grows, employers who encounter worker shortages will look either to import labor or to expand in states with larger labor pools.

■ Will cities and counties be able to meet the needs of retirees moving to recreational areas in northern Minnesota?

Minnesota Grows as Fast in 1990s as in 1960s



Source: U.S. Census Bureau and Office of the State Demographer

The central lakes area near Bemidji and Brainerd faces increased service demands from new residents. In areas where population is not growing, the struggle to maintain necessary services in the face of declining revenues becomes more acute. Current strategies for allocating state aids will need to be re-evaluated to meet changing needs.

■ Can an area with a median age over 50 support educational facilities for smaller and more diverse enrollments?

Older populations often mean declining revenues. School districts already feel pinched by greater demands and fewer

resources. Many newcomers to Minnesota speak little or no English. Schools and communities are expected to provide English as a Second Language instruction and translation services — services that raise costs at a time when local government revenues are stagnant or shrinking.

■ Will new Minnesotans find adequate housing?

Housing shortages exist in some parts of Minnesota and could become acute in some areas. These shortages are exacerbated by the costs of building new housing. In rural parts of the state, the cost of

building new housing often exceeds the value at the time of sale.

Ahead at Halftime describes Minnesota at the halfway point of the 1990s and outlines how population change since 1990 has affected the makeup of legislative districts. Assuming that these trends continue throughout the decade, this report may be a preview of redistricting after the 2000 census. The Office of the State Demographer has prepared estimates of the population for legislative districts using the 1995 estimates of population for counties, cities and townships. In addition to the legislative district estimates, this report includes population estimates for counties; vital statistics (births and deaths), migration and race data; and personal income, employment and unemployment data for counties.

3 *Legislative Districts — No Longer Equal*

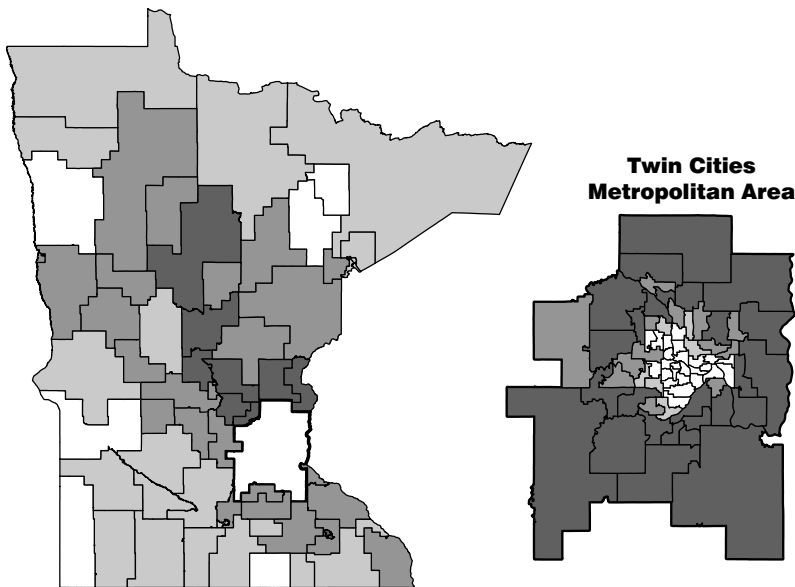
Minnesota's legislative districts were redrawn by the Minnesota Legislature in

1992 after the population counts from the 1990 census became available. These districts were created with equal population, as far as practical. Minnesota House districts in 1992 averaged 32,654 people, and every district except one (District 14B in Pope and Stearns counties) was within 3 percent of the average. Districts ranged in size from 31,704 in District 53A to 34,132 in District 14B, or from 950 fewer to 1,478 greater than the average. Seventy districts had fewer than the average number of people, and 64 had more than the average. Twenty-eight districts were within 100 people of the average size. District 14B when originally drawn was very close to the average district size with 32,765 people; however, after redistricting was completed, the Census Bureau made adjustments to the population in that district. Consequently, District 14B became considerably larger than all other districts.

Using the same 3 percent range from the average, only 40 House districts were within 3 percent of the average size in 1995; 94 districts were more than 3 percent above or below average. Thirty-four districts were more than 3 percent larger, and 60 were more than 3 percent smaller. Average size of House districts in 1995 is 34,530. Districts range in size from 31,750 (District 46B in Crystal and Robbinsdale) to 43,220 (District 57A in Maplewood, Oakdale and Woodbury), from 2,770 less than the average to 8,700 more than the average.

Each Senate district is made up of two House districts and averaged 65,308 people when drawn in 1992. Every Senate district was within 1.7 percent of average district size. In 1995, the average Senate

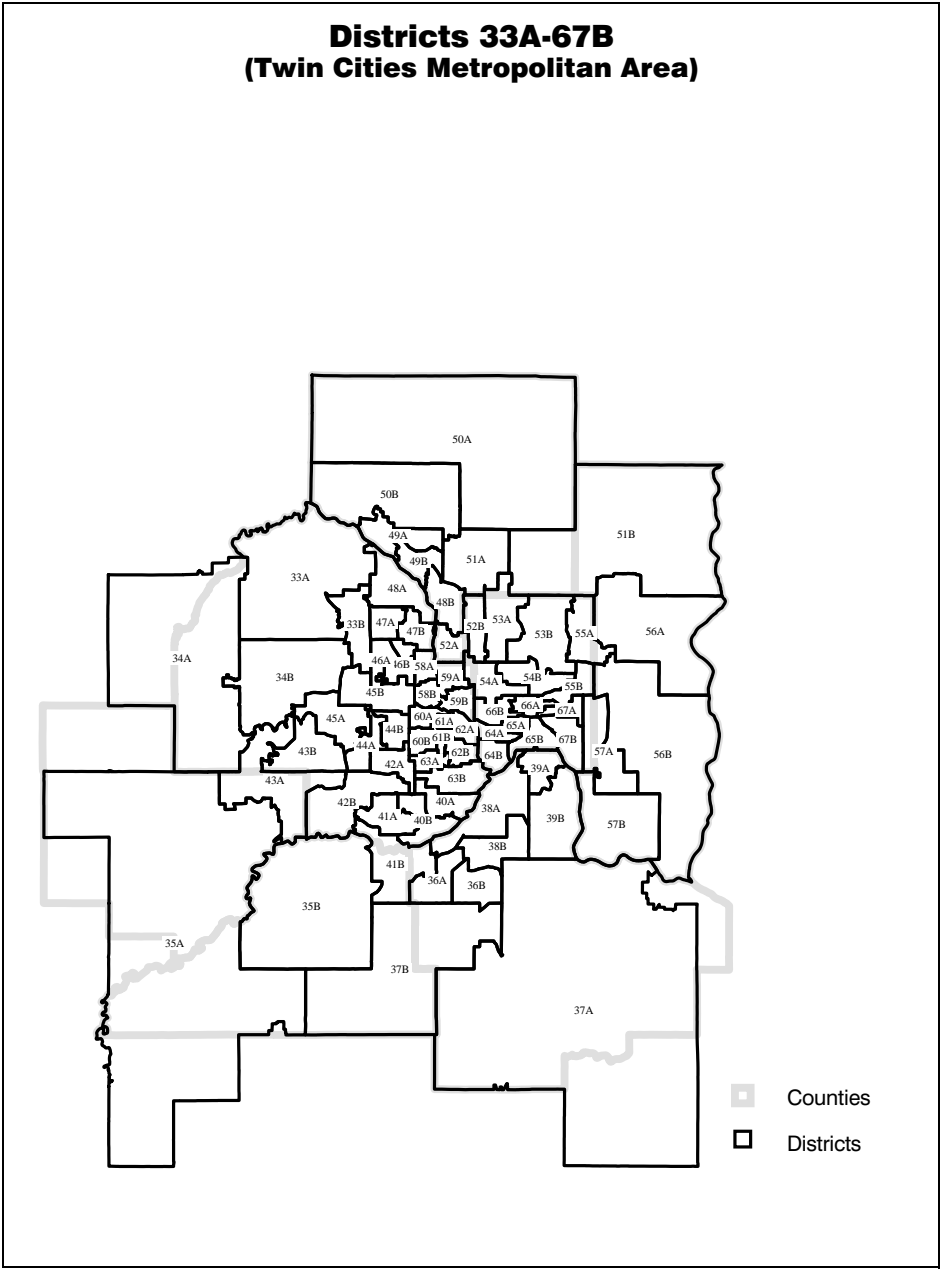
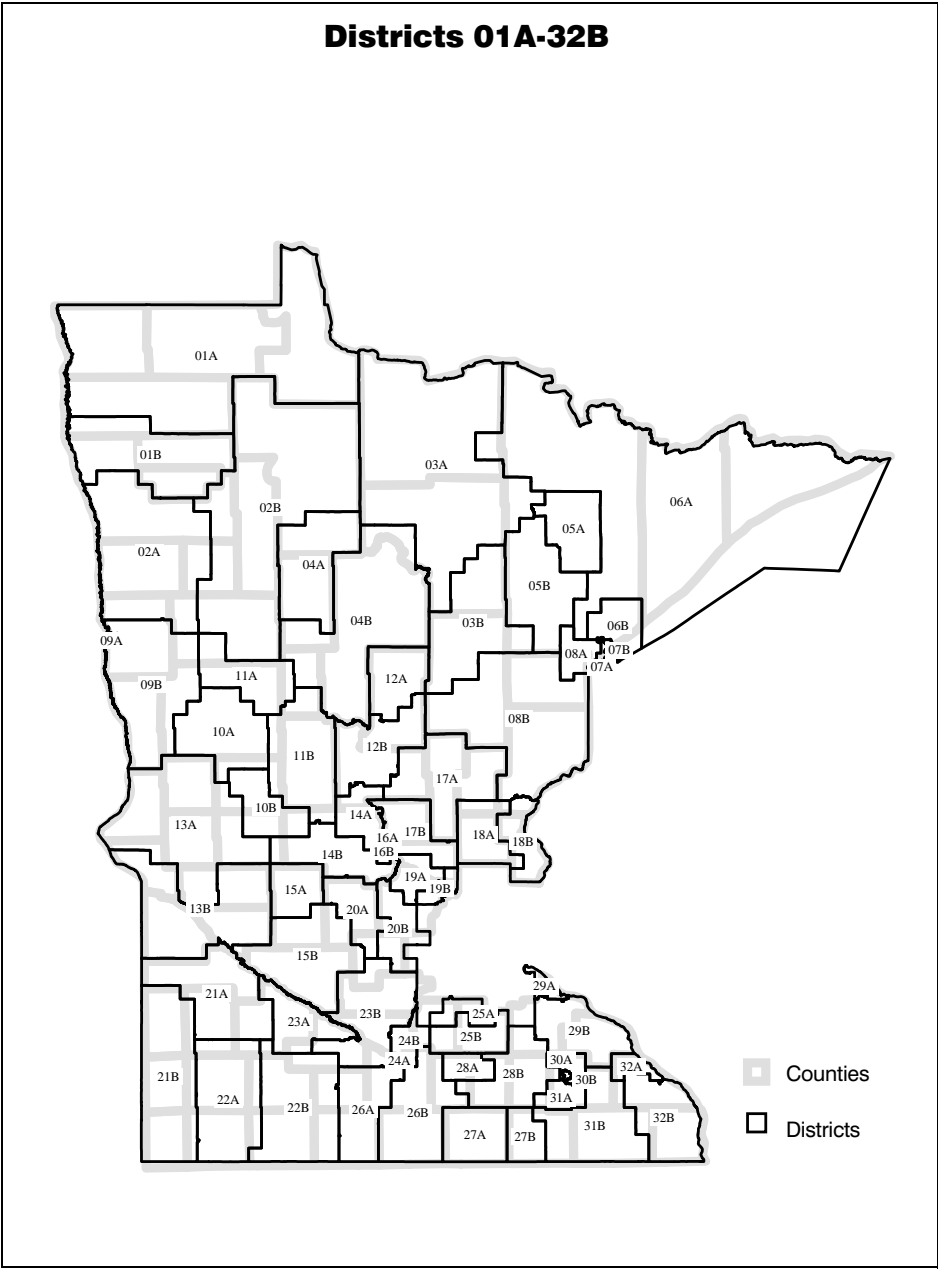
Legislative District Population Varies Widely in 1995 Change Since 1990 Census



□ Loss □ Gain up to 1,000 □ Gain 1,000 to 2,500 ■ Gain over 2,500

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Office of the State Demographer and Metropolitan Council

Legislative Boundaries Drawn in 1992



Population in Legislative Districts — 1990 and 1995

District Number	Areas Included	Population 1990	Estimated Population 1995	Change 1990-1995	Variance from 1995 Average
1A	Kittson, Lake of the Woods, Marshall and Roseau counties	32,161	33,055	894	-1,471
1B	Marshall, Pennington, Polk and Red Lake counties	32,762	33,050	288	-1,476
2A	Becker, Clay, Mahnomen, Norman and Polk counties	32,150	32,111	-39	-2,415
2B	Becker, Beltrami, Clearwater, Mahnomen and Polk counties	32,044	33,412	1,368	-1,114
3A	Itasca, Koochiching and St. Louis counties	32,168	32,611	443	-1,915
3B	Aitkin, Itasca, and St. Louis counties	33,102	34,131	1,029	-395
4A	Beltrami and Hubbard counties	32,312	34,564	2,252	38
4B	Cass, Hubbard, Itasca and Wadena counties	33,121	35,734	2,613	1,208
5A	St. Louis County	32,799	32,269	-530	-2,257
5B	St. Louis County	32,539	32,220	-319	-2,306
6A	Cook, Koochiching, Lake and St. Louis counties	32,622	33,177	555	-1,349
6B	Duluth	32,691	33,383	692	-1,143
7A	Duluth	32,223	32,288	65	-2,238
7B	Duluth	32,121	32,186	65	-2,340
8A	Carlton and St. Louis counties	33,193	34,452	1,259	-74
8B	Aitkin, Carlton and Pine counties	32,800	35,094	2,294	568
9A	Moorhead	32,819	34,184	1,365	-342

District Number	Areas Included	Population 1990	Estimated Population 1995	Change 1990-1995	Variance from 1995 Average
9B	Becker, Clay, Otter Tail and Wilkin counties	33,207	34,485	1,278	-41
10A	Douglas and Otter Tail counties	33,047	34,253	1,206	-273
10B	Douglas, Pope and Stearns counties	33,161	34,942	1,781	416
11A	Becker, Otter Tail and Wadena counties	33,360	34,572	1,212	46
11B	Douglas, Otter Tail, Stearns, Todd and Wadena counties	32,599	33,159	560	-1,367
12A	Crow Wing County	33,030	35,449	2,419	923
12B	Cass, Crow Wing and Morrison counties	32,058	34,705	2,647	179
13A	Big Stone, Douglas, Grant, Pope, Stevens, Swift and Traverse counties	32,397	32,755	358	-1,771
13B	Big Stone, Chippewa, Lac Qui Parle and Swift counties	33,110	32,484	-626	-2,042
14A	Benton, Morrison and Stearns counties	32,207	35,603	3,396	1,077
14B	Pope and Stearns counties	34,132	36,096	1,964	1,570
15A	Kandiyohi County	32,614	34,926	2,312	400
15B	Chippewa, Kandiyohi, McLeod, Meeker, Renville and Yellow Medicine counties	32,435	32,513	78	-2,013
16A	St. Cloud and Sauk Rapids	33,120	35,397	2,277	871
16B	St. Cloud and Waite Park	33,216	34,942	1,726	416

Population in Legislative Districts — 1990 and 1995

District Number	Areas Included	Population 1990	Estimated Population 1995	Change 1990-1995	Variance from 1995 Average
17A	Kanabec, Mille Lacs and Morrison counties	33,218	35,100	1,882	574
17B	Benton and Sherburne counties	32,696	38,150	5,454	3,624
18A	Chisago, Isanti, Kanabec and Pine counties	32,300	35,772	3,472	1,246
18B	Chisago and Pine counties	32,246	37,529	5,283	3,003
19A	Sherburne and Wright counties	33,041	38,539	5,498	4,013
19B	Sherburne and Wright counties	31,996	38,157	6,161	3,631
20A	McLeod, Meeker, Stearns and Wright counties	32,983	34,594	1,611	68
20B	Carver, McLeod and Wright counties	32,095	33,701	1,606	-825
21A	Lyon, Redwood and Yellow Medicine counties	32,970	33,377	407	-1,149
21B	Lincoln, Lyon, Murray, Nobles, Pipestone and Rock counties	33,070	32,938	-132	-1,588
22A	Cottonwood, Jackson, Lyon, Murray, Nobles and Redwood counties	32,411	32,640	229	-1,886
22B	Brown, Cottonwood, Jackson, Martin, Redwood and Watonwan counties	33,037	33,101	64	-1,425
23A	Brown and Redwood counties	33,035	33,661	626	-865
23B	Blue Earth, Brown, McLeod, Nicollet and Sibley counties	32,258	32,947	689	-1,579

District Number	Areas Included	Population 1990	Estimated Population 1995	Change 1990-1995	Variance from 1995 Average
24A	Mankato	33,148	33,738	590	-788
24B	Blue Earth, Le Sueur and Nicollet counties	33,162	34,922	1,760	396
25A	Le Sueur, Rice and Scott counties	32,653	35,085	2,432	559
25B	Le Sueur and Rice counties	32,571	34,426	1,855	-100
26A	Blue Earth, Martin, and Watonwan counties	32,544	32,668	124	-1,858
26B	Blue Earth, Faribault and Waseca counties	33,185	33,202	17	-1,324
27A	Freeborn County	33,060	32,759	-301	-1,767
27B	Mower County	32,256	32,376	120	-2,150
28A	Owatonna and Waseca	33,289	34,287	998	-239
28B	Dodge, Goodhue, Olmsted and Steele counties	32,841	34,527	1,686	1
29A	Hastings and Red Wing	33,211	34,988	1,777	462
29B	Goodhue and Wabasha counties	32,747	34,025	1,278	-501
30A	Rochester	32,367	35,009	2,642	483
30B	Rochester	32,487	35,130	2,643	604
31A	Rochester	32,721	34,162	1,441	-364
31B	Fillmore, Mower, Olmsted and Winona counties	32,683	33,424	741	-1,102
32A	Winona	32,581	33,065	484	-1,461
32B	Fillmore, Houston and Winona counties	32,750	33,777	1,027	-749
33A	Maple Grove	32,928	37,736	4,808	3,210
33B	Maple Grove and Plymouth	32,793	37,680	4,887	3,154
34A	Western Hennepin County	32,379	34,573	2,194	47

Population in Legislative Districts — 1990 and 1995

District Number	Areas Included	Population 1990	Estimated Population 1995	Change 1990-1995	Variance from 1995 Average
34B	Plymouth	32,653	36,475	3,822	1,949
35A	Chaska	32,939	37,720	4,781	3,194
35B	Prior Lake and Shakopee	32,763	37,256	4,493	2,730
36A	Apple Valley	32,349	38,401	6,052	3,875
36B	Burnsville	32,538	35,242	2,704	716
37A	Dakota and Goodhue counties	32,126	37,553	5,427	3,027
37B	Lakeville	32,068	43,097	11,029	8,571
38A	Eagan	32,185	37,400	5,215	2,874
38B	Eagan, Mendota Heights and Burnsville	32,268	38,340	6,072	3,814
39A	West St. Paul	32,327	33,385	1,058	-1,141
39B	Inver Grove Heights and South St. Paul	32,675	35,819	3,144	1,293
40A	Bloomington and Richfield	32,316	32,303	-13	-2,223
40B	Bloomington	32,283	32,499	216	-2,027
41A	Bloomington and Eden Prairie	32,057	33,118	1,061	-1,408
41B	Burnsville, Savage and Bloomington	32,273	38,494	6,221	3,968
42A	Eden Prairie and Edina	32,333	32,873	540	-1,653
42B	Edina	32,399	35,951	3,552	1,425
43A	Chanhassen and Eden Prairie	32,011	38,875	6,864	4,349
43B	Minnetonka	32,750	34,541	1,791	15
44A	Minnetonka and St. Louis Park	32,536	32,777	241	-1,749
44B	St. Louis Park	32,558	32,395	-163	-2,131
45A	Minnetonka, Plymouth and Wayzata	33,159	35,654	2,495	1,128

District Number	Areas Included	Population 1990	Estimated Population 1995	Change 1990-1995	Variance from 1995 Average
45B	Golden Valley and Plymouth	32,323	34,308	1,985	-218
46A	Crystal and New Hope	32,856	32,595	-261	-1,931
46B	Crystal and Robbinsdale	32,064	31,752	-312	-2,774
47A	Brooklyn Park	32,811	34,819	2,008	293
47B	Brooklyn Center and Brooklyn Park	32,749	32,783	34	-1,743
48A	Brooklyn Park and Champlin	33,014	35,759	2,745	1,233
48B	Fridley, Spring Lake Park and Coon Rapids	32,429	33,514	1,085	-1,012
49A	Anoka and Coon Rapids	32,151	34,469	2,318	-57
49B	Coon Rapids	33,016	37,380	4,364	2,854
50A	East Bethel, Ham Lake and Oak Grove	32,477	37,063	4,586	2,537
50B	Andover and Ramsey	32,640	41,903	9,263	7,377
51A	Blaine	33,425	36,032	2,607	1,506
51B	Lino Lakes, Forest Lake and Hugo	32,810	40,179	7,369	5,653
52A	Columbia Heights and Fridley	32,648	32,424	-224	-2,102
52B	Mounds View and New Brighton	32,966	33,290	324	-1,236
53A	Shoreview and Arden Hills	31,704	33,218	1,514	-1,308
53B	Vadnais Heights and Shoreview	32,976	35,825	2,849	1,299
54A	Roseville	32,232	33,074	842	-1,452
54B	Maplewood and Roseville	32,525	33,803	1,278	-723
55A	White Bear Lake	33,067	35,256	2,189	730
55B	North St. Paul, St. Paul and Maplewood	33,005	34,184	1,179	-342

Population in Legislative Districts — 1990 and 1995

District Number	Areas Included	Population 1990	Estimated Population 1995	Change 1990-1995	Variance from 1995 Average
56A	Stillwater	32,634	36,366	3,732	1,840
56B	Oakdale, Woodbury and Lake Elmo	32,313	40,443	8,130	5,917
57A	Maplewood, Oakdale and Woodbury	32,439	43,221	10,782	8,695
57B	Cottage Grove	32,034	36,849	4,815	2,323
58A	Minneapolis	32,333	32,114	-219	-2,412
58B	Minneapolis	32,315	32,096	-219	-2,430
59A	Minneapolis	32,699	32,478	-221	-2,048
59B	Minneapolis	32,619	32,398	-221	-2,128
60A	Minneapolis	32,481	32,261	-220	-2,265
60B	Minneapolis	33,029	32,805	-224	-1,721
61A	Minneapolis	33,025	32,801	-224	-1,725
61B	Minneapolis	32,979	32,756	-223	-1,770
62A	Minneapolis	32,698	32,477	-221	-2,049
62B	Minneapolis	33,120	32,896	-224	-1,630
63A	Minneapolis	32,405	32,186	-219	-2,340
63B	Minneapolis and Richfield	32,987	32,603	-384	-1,923
64A	St. Paul	32,440	32,307	-133	-2,219
64B	St. Paul	32,602	32,468	-134	-2,058
65A	St. Paul	32,689	32,555	-134	-1,971
65B	St. Paul	32,563	32,430	-133	-2,096
66A	St. Paul	32,522	32,389	-133	-2,137
66B	St. Paul	32,606	32,472	-134	-2,054
67A	St. Paul	32,904	32,769	-135	-1,757
67B	St. Paul	32,743	32,609	-134	-1,917

Note: Estimating population changes for individual legislative districts in cities with multiple districts is problematic. The State Demographer's Office and the Metropolitan Council estimate population for entire cities and townships. Population in legislative districts located within multidistrict cities is estimated by allocating the total population of the city to districts in the same proportion as the districts represented in 1990.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau and Office of the State Demographer

district size was 69,050, and only 23 of the 67 Senate districts were within 3 percent of this average; 44 were more than 3 percent above or below average. Sixteen were more than 3 percent larger; and 28 were more than 3 percent smaller. Senate District 37, covering eastern Scott and central Dakota counties, had 11,600, or 16.8 percent, more people than the average Senate district in 1995. District 58 in Minneapolis is estimated to have 4,840 or 7 percent, fewer people than the average.

Suburban Districts Growing Fastest

House districts that have grown the most are found in southern and eastern suburban Twin Cities areas. District 37B covers parts of western Dakota County and southeastern Scott County and includes the cities of Farmington and Lakeville. One of the most rapidly growing areas in the southern suburbs, District 37B has increased by 11,030 people since the 1990 census. The district had 586 fewer people than the district average in 1992 but by 1995, was the second most populous district in the state. District 57A in western Washington County with a small area in eastern Ramsey County, including Maplewood, Oakdale, and Woodbury, increased by 10,780 people since the 1990 census and is the largest district in 1995.

District 13B in west central Minnesota, covering parts of Big Stone, Chippewa and Swift counties and all of Lac Qui Parle County, lost 630 people from 1990 to 1995, the largest decline in the state. Districts 5A and 5B, which include the Iron Range cities of Virginia, Eveleth and

Hibbing, lost 530 and 320, respectively. District 63B, including Richfield and adjacent parts of Minneapolis, declined by 380 people; six of the 10 districts with the largest declines were in Minneapolis and nearby suburbs. District 27A, Freeborn County, had 300 fewer people.

Estimating the population of legislative districts in large cities is difficult because estimates are made for entire cities and are not available for areas within cities. Minneapolis and St. Paul have the most districts within city boundaries, but large Twin Cities suburbs, St. Cloud, Rochester and Duluth present similar problems.

Districts 6B, 7A and 7B in the Duluth area have increased their population over the five-year period, but each has fewer people than the average district in 1995. District 6B is 1,140 below the average, and 7A and 7B are 2,240 and 2,340, respectively, under the average. In St. Cloud, Districts 16A and 16B have grown by about 4,000 people, but their size in 1995 is only 640 more than the average. Districts 30A, 30B and 31A in the Rochester area averaged increases of more than 2,240 people each, but each has only about 240 people more than the average district size.

Population in inner-ring suburbs, such as Richfield, Brooklyn Center, Columbia Heights, Crystal, New Hope, Robbinsdale, St. Louis Park and Fridley, declined in the 1990s, following the pattern of their near neighbors, Minneapolis and St. Paul. In all, 12 suburbs nearest the central cities lost nearly 2,120 people between 1990

10 Districts with Greatest Growth Since 1990

District Number	Areas Included	Population 1990	Estimated Population 1995	Increase 1990-1995	Variance from 1995 Average	Percent Variance from 1995 Average
57A	Maplewood, Oakdale and Woodbury	32,439	43,220	10,780	8,700	25.2%
37B	Lakeville	32,068	43,100	11,030	8,570	24.8
50B	Andover and Ramsey	32,640	41,900	9,260	7,380	21.4
56B	Oakdale, Woodbury and Lake Elmo	32,313	40,440	8,130	5,920	17.1
51B	Lino Lakes, Forest Lake and Hugo	32,810	40,180	7,370	5,650	16.4
43A	Chanhassen and Eden Prairie	32,011	38,880	6,860	4,350	12.6
19A	Sherburne and Wright counties	33,041	38,540	5,500	4,010	11.6
41B	Burnsville, Savage and Bloomington	32,273	38,500	6,220	3,980	11.5
36A	Apple Valley	32,349	38,400	6,050	3,870	11.2
38B	Eagan and Burnsville	32,268	38,340	6,070	3,810	11.1%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau and Office of the State Demographer

and 1995, or about 0.9 percent of their population. While the rate of decline slowed from the 4.4 percent of the 1980s, these areas of the Twin Cities continue to lag behind the rapid population growth of their suburban neighbors and the state as a whole. House districts affected by the decline in these inner-ring areas include 63B in Richfield, 46A and B in Crystal, New Hope and Robbinsdale, 52A in Columbia Heights and Fridley and 44B in St. Louis Park.

10 Districts with Greatest Losses Since 1990

District Number	Areas Included	Population 1990	Estimated Population 1995	Change 1990-1995	Variance from 1995 Average	Percent Variance from 1995 Average
13B	Big Stone, Chippewa, Lac Qui Parle and Swift counties	33,110	32,480	-630	-2,040	-5.9%
5A	St. Louis County	32,799	32,270	-530	-2,260	-6.5
63B	Minneapolis and Richfield	32,987	32,600	-380	-1,920	-5.6
5B	St. Louis County	32,539	32,220	-320	-2,310	-6.7
46B	Crystal and Robbinsdale	32,064	31,750	-310	-2,770	-8.0
27A	Freeborn County	33,060	32,760	-300	-1,770	-5.1
46A	Crystal and New Hope	32,856	32,600	-260	-1,930	-5.6
60B	Minneapolis	33,029	32,810	-220	-1,720	-5.0
62B	Minneapolis	33,120	32,900	-220	1,630	-4.7
52A	Columbia Heights and Fridley	32,648	32,420	-220	-2,100	-6.1%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau and Office of the State Demographer

4

More People, More Jobs, More Income — State Prospers in 1990s

Exceptional is the only way to describe Minnesota's population increases in the 1990s. But this rapid growth is occurring at the same time that many demographic indicators would point to population decline. Minnesota's population is aging very rapidly. Births are decreasing, and fertility rates have remained low. Many areas of the state are experiencing natural decrease — that is, more deaths than births. Natural decrease occurred in a few counties in the 1980s, beginning with Norman County in 1983. In the 1990s, however, this phenomenon has become widespread, affecting 20 counties between 1990 and 1994, and occurring every year in 10 counties and in three of the four years in another three counties.

In the 1980s, most population increases occurred in the Twin Cities metropolitan area, while population in many rural areas declined or stayed the same. In the 1990s, the most rapid population growth continues in the St. Cloud-Twin Cities-Rochester corridor, but population trends throughout Minnesota are becoming more positive. Counties that lost population in the 1980s have gained in the 1990s, and counties that continue to lose population are losing at a much slower rate. Counties that lost population through out-migration in the 1980s now are seeing more people move in than out.

More People Move to Minnesota

Between 1990 and 1994, the state experienced a net in-migration of 72,100 people. This means that over the four-year period, the number of people moving to Minnesota exceeded the number leaving by more than 72,000. If the current trend continues, the 1990s will be the first time since the early 20th century that Minnesota could be considered a true migration magnet. The pattern of the early 1990s is in contrast to the 1980s, when more people left the state than moved in. Minnesota experienced net in-migration during the last half of the 1980s, but the post-1990 experience has been more pronounced and is unprecedented in recent Minnesota history. Since the 1940s, the state had net out-migration in every decade except the 1970s, when there was a slight net in-migration of less than 7,000 people.

Data from the Internal Revenue Service provides some insight into the sources of recent migration trends. While this data is based on matched income tax returns and

thus does not cover the entire population, it is useful for tracking year-to-year migration trends and the origins and destinations of people moving across state lines.

Minnesota shifted from net out-migration to net in-migration between 1987 and 1988. The shift reflected a combination of more people moving in and fewer people moving out. According to the IRS data, net in-migration peaked in the 1992-1993 period and then declined from 1993 to 1994, the last period for which data is available. In the 1993-1994 data, slightly fewer people moved into Minnesota and slightly more moved out than in the previous year. It is too soon to tell whether this is just a momentary shift, a return to a more moderate level of net in-migration or even a shift back to net out-migration.

Economic developments in other states likely have played a role in recent migration trends. Minnesota's economy has

performed well in the 1990s, and the effects of defense cutbacks and base closings in the state have been minimal compared to other states. Whatever the reason, Minnesota has attracted more residents from Sun Belt and Western states. California is a prime example. Before 1990, Minnesota had a high rate of net out-migration to California. But between 1990 and 1994, California led all other states in contributing to Minnesota's net migration gain.

People moving to Minnesota from Illinois ranked second as a source of net population gains, followed by foreign residents and people from North Dakota and Iowa. In recent years, Minnesota has attracted many new residents from Illinois, particularly from the Chicago area. The bordering states of North Dakota and Iowa are traditional sources of migrants to Minnesota. During the energy boom years of the 1980s, North Dakota had a net migration

Minnesota's Leading Migration Trading Partners IRS Matched Tax Returns, 1990 to 1994

Most In-Movers Came From:		Most Out-Movers Went to:	
Wisconsin	37,607	Wisconsin	40,380
California	29,071	California	18,949
North Dakota	22,952	North Dakota	18,363
Illinois	21,818	Texas	16,618
Iowa	20,127	Iowa	15,581
Biggest Net Gains Came From:		Biggest Net Losses Went to:	
California	10,122	Wisconsin	-2,773
Illinois	6,790	Arizona	-2,153
Foreign	4,924	Florida	-1,823
Iowa	4,546	Nevada	-755

Source: Internal Revenue Service

gain from Minnesota, but recently more North Dakotans have moved to Minnesota than the other way around. The greatest net migration loss from 1990 to

1994 was to Wisconsin. This may be due, in part, to expansion of the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area into western Wisconsin. Minnesota continues to be a

loser in exchanges with many western and Sun Belt states, such as Florida and Arizona, though the losses have been generally more moderate than in the 1980s.

tional immigrants coming to Minnesota, with about 800 arriving in 1994. In 1996, the Immigration and Naturalization Service gave permission for an additional 6,000 Southeast Asian refugees to come to the United States. Minnesota can expect about 1,000 of these immigrants.

A new wave of international immigration developed after the collapse of the Communist regimes in eastern Europe in 1989. As a result, Minnesota has been the destination of large numbers of former Soviet citizens, many of them Jews seeking asylum. Former Soviet citizens made up the second largest number of international immigrants in 1994 with a total of 762. Recently, large numbers of Somali, Sudanese and Ethiopian refugees have come to Minnesota. Many of these African immigrants have settled in smaller cities, including Rochester, Marshall, Willmar and Worthington.

International immigration adds about 7,000 people each year to Minnesota's population. In 1994, when the population increased by about 42,000, immigrants from foreign lands accounted for about one-sixth of that number. International immigration became a significant factor in Minnesota's population growth in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Large numbers of refugees from the Vietnam War came to Minnesota under the sponsorship of churches and other groups in the state. That migration wave has slowed considerably from 1982, when more than 6,000 Southeast Asians came here. However, even those large numbers could not counterbalance overall net out-migration in the early 1980s. Southeast Asians continue to make up the largest numbers of interna-

National Origin of Refugee Immigrants

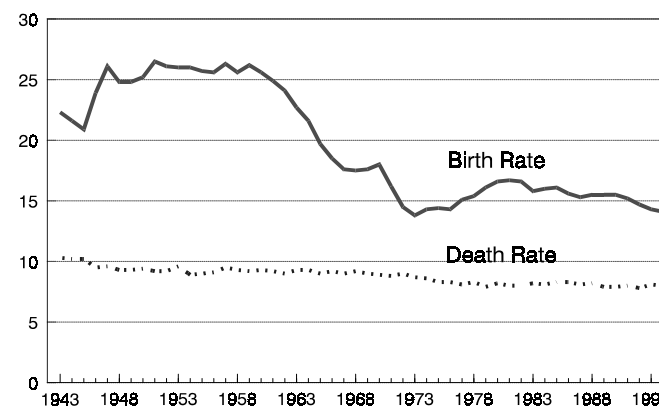
Area of Origin	Total Refugees	Refugees 1990-1995
Southeast Asia		
Cambodian	7,600	200
Hmong	32,000	6,000
Laotian	7,200	225
Vietnamese	17,000	5,000
Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union		
Czech	50	0
Hungarian	75	1
Polish	300	3
Romanian	200	35
Soviet Jews	4,200	3,000
Bosnian	260	260
Africa		
Ethiopian	1,000	300
Somali	2,500	2,500
Sudanese	400	400
Liberian	150	150
Near East and South Asia		
Afghan	200	20
Iranian	150	10
Iraqi	75	60

Note: Data on refugees used here gives a different picture of immigrants to Minnesota than Immigration and Naturalization Service data. The INS counts immigrants according to their initial destination. Because many immigrants come to Minnesota after an initial stop at a coastal city like New York or Los Angeles, African immigrants do not appear in the INS data for Minnesota. For more information on international immigration, see the *Pop Bite* "International Immigration to Minnesota" published by the Office of the State Demographer in May 1996.

Source: Refugee Services, Minnesota Department of Human Services

Birth Rates Fall But Death Rates Change Little

Per 1,000 Population



Source: Minnesota Department of Health

Fewer Babies Born in 1995

The result of trends in births and deaths in the 1990s is a declining rate of natural increase, or the difference between births and deaths. Populations change due to natural increase and net migration, the difference between in-migration and out-migration. Unless migration changes substantially, a declining rate of natural increase will lead to slower population growth. Minnesota's natural increase was 27,932 in 1995, down more than 5,000 from 33,246 in 1990. In 1995, 64,277 children were born in Minnesota, or 3,708 fewer than in 1990. While total births declined, the total number of deaths rose slightly from 34,739 in 1990 to 36,345 in 1995. The aging of the baby boom gener-

ation has meant fewer women in their childbearing years. In addition, the fertility rate has remained low. The combined effects have led to fewer births in the 1990s.

Although the number of deaths is rising, death rates have actually declined gradually since the end of World War II. The death rate is the number of deaths per 1,000 people per year. In the 1990s, Minnesota has seen increased longevity and increased population, especially in advanced ages. The result has been more deaths at a time when the state's population is living longer.

Minorities Register Largest Gains Estimated Population by Race and Hispanic Origin, 1990-1995

	1990	1995	Percent Change 1990-1995
White, non-Hispanic	4,112,249	4,221,200	2.6%
Black, non-Hispanic	93,660	136,900	46.2
American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut, non-Hispanic	48,458	58,400	20.5
Asian and Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic	77,381	107,900	39.4
Hispanic, all races	54,358	85,100	56.6
Total Population	4,386,106	4,609,548	5.1%

Note: Estimates for 1990 to 1992 are based on 1990 Census Modified Age, Race and Sex file and Census Bureau estimates for 1991 and 1992. The 1990 numbers have been adjusted to represent July 1 population, and do not match decennial census numbers. For 1993 through 1995, the Office of the State Demographer estimated population based on kindergarten through 12th-grade school enrollments and assumed the ratio of school enrollment to population is the same as in 1992. Results using this ratio method are controlled to the total state population.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau and Office of the State Demographer

Minority Populations Grow Rapidly

Minnesota's minority populations continued to grow at a rapid rate during the 1990s, just as they did in the previous decade. Overall, the minority population is estimated to have increased 42 percent from 1990 to 1995, compared to 3 percent for the white non-Hispanic population. Minority population gains accounted for 51 percent of total state population growth in the first half of this decade. Despite the large percentage increases, minority populations make up only 8.4 percent of Minnesota's total population.

Data on population trends by race and Hispanic origin is limited, and the numbers presented here should be considered a general indicator of trends. The numbers for 1991 and 1992 come from the Census Bureau. Figures for later years were extrapolated from these estimates using school enrollment data and assume that the ratio between school enrollments and total population remained stable over time.

All minority groups have grown rapidly. The estimates show Hispanics with the fastest rate of growth, 57 percent, followed by African Americans with 46 percent and Asians and Pacific Islanders with 39 percent. American Indians had a somewhat lower rate of increase, 21 percent, but their numbers also grew much faster than the white non-Hispanic population.

Minnesota's Economy Prospers in the 1990s

The state's general prosperity in the 1990s plus an abundance of jobs in an economy that continues to create more employment has been a lure for people from less pros-

perous states. Despite a national recession in 1991 and 1992 and widespread flooding in 1993, Minnesota's economy has grown at rates faster than the population. Economic trends in the 1990s all point to gains in employment and income greater than in neighboring states.

Jobs Grow Faster Than Population

Minnesota experienced substantial employment growth during the 1990s, and most regions of the state have shared in these gains. Bureau of Economic Analysis data shows an overall increase of more than 220,000 jobs between 1990 and 1994, a gain of 8.0 percent. By comparison, total population rose 4.3 percent during the same period. The BEA employment figures include both full-time and part-time employees and estimate self-employment as well as wage and salary positions.

The largest numerical gains in employment occurred in the services and retail trade industries. The number of service jobs grew by 13.5 percent and the number of retail jobs by 9.4 percent. Although service jobs are often stereotyped as low-skill and low-paying, many of the new jobs were in higher-paying industries such as business and professional services. Recreation and amusement, including gambling, was another strong performer in the services group.

Manufacturing employment grew 4.7 percent, a solid gain in light of declines in manufacturing employment at the national level. Nondurable goods manufacturing recorded a larger increase, with 6.7 percent, than durable goods manufacturing at 3.3 percent.

Among the few industries that lost jobs were farming, mining and federal government (both military and civilian) employment. All other major industries had employment growth between 1990 and 1994. Agricultural services employment grew the fastest but accounts for only a small proportion of total employment.

State's Personal Income Outpaces Neighbors'

At \$23,118, per capita income in Minnesota is significantly higher than in Wisconsin, Iowa, North Dakota or South Dakota, and slightly higher than the national average. Per capita income in Minnesota was \$4,350 higher in 1995 than in 1990, a 23.1 percent increase (not adjusted for inflation).

Per capita income for Minnesota exhibited the strong negative effects of floods in 1993 but grew tremendously in 1994 (6.3 percent) as a result of a strong farm

economy and the one-time effect of disaster payments made in January 1994. Per capita farm income increased 457.2 percent from 1993 to 1994 and fueled strong growth in all earned income. Farm income dropped 27.3 percent (not adjusted for inflation) between 1990 and 1994. Wages and salaries, about 62 percent of all personal income, increased 5.1 percent from 1993 to 1994 and 19.3 percent from 1990 to 1994.

Asset income — income derived from interest, dividends and rent — turned around in 1994 with growth of 4.6 percent. While lower than per capita income growth, it marked a big change from the less than 1 percent growth in each of the three previous years. Asset income grew only 5.7 percent from 1990 to 1994. The robust increase in 1994 reflects a strong national economy and a surging stock market.

Transfer payment income, on the other hand, saw lower growth in 1994, increasing only 3.8 percent. Because a high proportion of transfer income is paid to individuals receiving Social Security and Medicare benefits, this part of personal income is generally less volatile than asset income. From 1990 to 1994, transfer payments went up nearly 27 percent, with the biggest increases in medical payments and old age and survivor insurance benefits under Social Security. Unemployment insurance payments declined 3.7 percent in the 1990s, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children payments increased only 3.6 percent. These two types of payments make up only 6 percent of all transfer payment income. Medical payments increased 44.2 percent from 1990 to 1994 but only 6.9 percent from 1993 to 1994. The slower rate of increase in medical payments and the strong economy led to slower growth rates for all transfer payment income.

Unemployment Falls Below 4 Percent

Rapid population growth has been matched and fueled by strong economic growth in the state. One of the benefits of Minnesota's strong economy has been a decline in the unemployment rate, which went from 4.9 percent in 1990 to 3.7 percent in 1995. The Minnesota Department of Economic Security defines full employment as an unemployment rate of 4 percent or less. The increase in the number of jobs has meant that Minnesota has been at full employment since 1994. The state unemployment rate increased slightly during the recession in 1991 and 1992 but has since dropped by more than 1 percent.

5

County by County — A Detailed Look at the Trends

Statewide trends have not been uniform throughout Minnesota. The suburban ring counties of the Twin Cities extending north to St. Cloud and south to Rochester have seen the most rapid population change — a 22.4 percent gain in Sherburne County. But even within the Twin Cities area, some areas have lost population in spite of the statewide trends. Ramsey County has had net out-migration since the 1980s.

Economic trends also vary from county to county. Job growth has been strong in many areas of Greater Minnesota, but several counties actually saw the number of jobs decline. Unemployment in Clearwater County remains above 15 percent when the state as a whole is at full employment. Per capita income ranges from just over \$13,000 in Mahanomen County to nearly \$30,000 in Hennepin County.

Per Capita Income Higher in Minnesota

	1990	1995	Growth 1990-1995
Minnesota	\$18,779	\$23,118	23.1%
Wisconsin	17,398	21,839	25.5
Iowa	16,684	21,012	25.9
North Dakota	15,321	18,663	21.8
South Dakota	15,630	19,506	24.8
United States	\$17,690	\$22,788	22.1%

Note: Per capita income is calculated by dividing total personal income by total population. Because Minnesota's population has grown more rapidly than in neighboring states, growth in per capita income has been somewhat lower than that for total personal income. For a more detailed explanation of personal income, see *Pop Bite* "What Really Is Minnesota's Annual Income?" published by the Office of the State Demographer at Minnesota Planning in March 1995.

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis

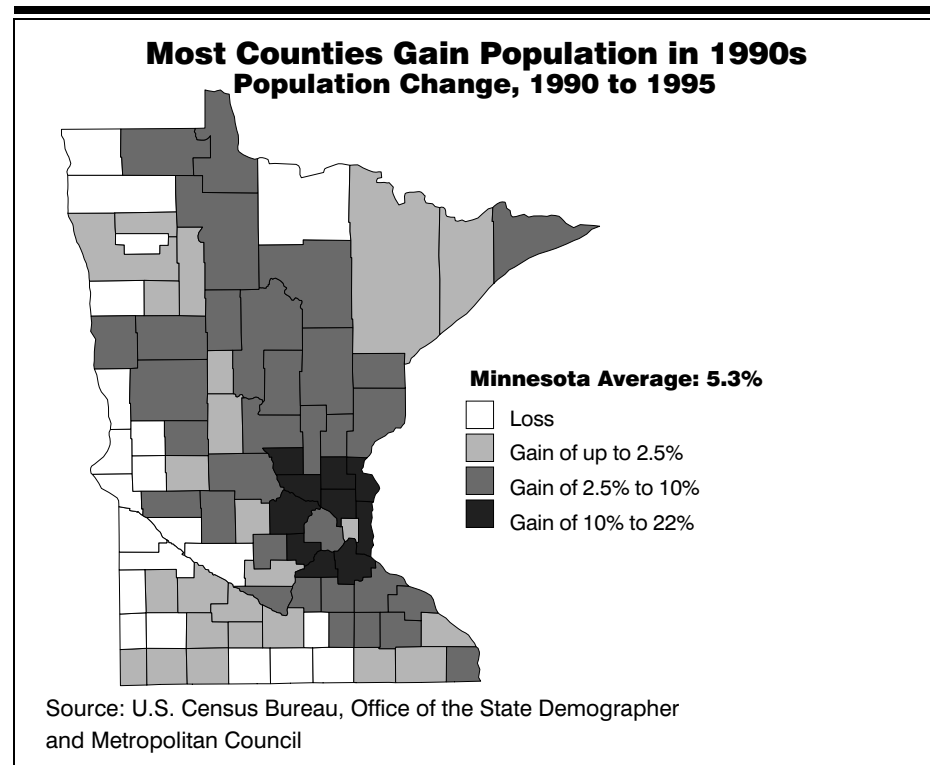
Most Counties Grow in the 1990s

The 1980s saw marked declines in large areas of rural Minnesota. Most of the 48 counties that lost population were in the rural southern and western parts of the state. To some extent, these losses were related to the farm crisis in the early 1980s, when many farmers were forced to leave farming and many farm-related businesses closed. Counties in the northeast also lost population in the 1980s. The downturn in the taconite industry meant loss of jobs and population.

Twenty counties along the state's southern and western borders lost population in the early 1990s, but these declines were

more moderate than in the 1980s. During the 1980s, 49 counties lost population with declines ranging from 20.1 percent in Lake County to 0.8 percent in LeSueur County. In the first half of the 1990s, population losses ranged from 4.1 percent in Big Stone to 0.1 percent in Grant County. Thus, in the 1990s, not only have fewer counties lost population, but the magnitude of the losses has been smaller.

Koochiching County in the north also lost population in the 1990s, but this decline is somewhat misleading. Construction workers residing in International Falls at the time of the 1990 census have since returned to their homes, and their departure resulted in a population loss.



Population by County

County	Total 1980	Total 1990	Total 1995	Change 1980-1990	Change 1990-1995
Minnesota	4,075,971	4,375,665	4,626,514	7.4%	5.7%
Aitkin	13,404	12,425	13,366	-7.3	7.6
Anoka	195,998	243,641	272,636	24.3	11.9
Becker	29,336	27,881	29,163	-5.0	4.6
Beltrami	30,982	34,384	36,508	11.0	6.2
Benton	25,187	30,185	33,362	19.8	10.5
Big Stone	7,716	6,285	6,026	-18.5	-4.1
Blue Earth	52,314	54,044	55,172	3.3	2.1
Brown	28,645	26,984	27,580	-5.8	2.2
Carlton	29,936	29,259	30,559	-2.3	4.4
Carver	37,046	47,915	57,010	29.3	19.0
Cass	21,050	21,791	23,801	3.5	9.2
Chippewa	14,941	13,228	13,097	-11.5	-1.0
Chisago	25,717	30,521	36,045	18.7	18.1
Clay	49,327	50,422	52,540	2.2	4.2
Clearwater	8,761	8,309	8,452	-5.2	1.7
Cook	4,092	3,868	4,166	-5.5	7.7
Cottonwood	14,854	12,694	12,768	-14.5	0.6
Crow Wing	41,722	44,249	48,437	6.1	9.5
Dakota	194,279	275,189	316,272	41.6	14.9
Dodge	14,773	15,731	16,680	6.5	6.0
Douglas	27,839	28,674	30,424	3.0	6.1
Faribault	19,714	16,937	16,661	-14.1	-1.6
Fillmore	21,931	20,777	20,906	-5.3	0.6
Freeborn	36,329	33,060	32,759	-9.0	-0.9
Goodhue	38,749	40,690	42,477	5.0	4.4
Grant	7,171	6,246	6,242	-12.9	-0.1
Hennepin	941,411	1,032,431	1,063,631	9.7	3.0
Houston	18,382	18,497	19,123	0.6	3.4
Hubbard	14,098	14,939	16,225	6.0	8.6
Isanti	23,600	25,921	28,664	9.8%	10.6%

Population by County

County	Total 1980	Total 1990	Total 1995	Change 1980- 1990	Change 1990- 1995
Itasca	43,069	40,863	42,446	-5.1%	3.9%
Jackson	13,690	11,677	11,717	-14.7	0.3
Kanabec	12,161	12,802	13,473	5.3	5.2
Kandiyohi	36,763	38,761	41,167	5.4	6.2
Kittson	6,672	5,767	5,572	-13.6	-3.4
Koochiching	17,571	16,299	15,911	-7.2	-2.4
Lac Qui Parle	10,592	8,924	8,717	-15.7	-2.3
Lake	13,043	10,415	10,473	-20.1	0.6
Lake of the Woods	3,764	4,076	4,363	8.3	7.0
Le Sueur	23,434	23,239	24,371	-0.8	4.9
Lincoln	8,207	6,890	6,791	-16.0	-1.4
Lyon	25,207	24,789	25,211	-1.7	1.7
McLeod	29,657	32,030	33,803	8.0	5.5
Mahnomen	5,535	5,044	5,127	-8.9	1.6
Marshall	13,027	10,993	10,733	-15.6	-2.4
Martin	24,687	22,914	22,840	-7.2	-0.3
Meeker	20,594	20,846	21,352	1.2	2.4
Mille Lacs	18,430	18,670	19,807	1.3	6.1
Morrison	29,311	29,604	30,756	1.0	3.9
Mower	40,390	37,385	37,628	-7.4	0.6
Murray	11,507	9,660	9,606	-16.1	-0.6
Nicollet	26,929	28,076	29,386	4.3	4.7
Nobles	21,840	20,098	20,408	-8.0	1.5
Norman	9,379	7,975	7,885	-15.0	-1.1
Olmsted	92,006	106,470	113,968	15.7	7.0
Otter Tail	51,937	50,714	52,847	-2.4	4.2
Pennington	15,258	13,306	13,391	-12.8	0.6
Pine	19,871	21,264	22,816	7.0	7.3
Pipestone	11,690	10,491	10,433	-10.3	-0.6
Polk	34,844	32,589	32,904	-6.5%	1.0%

County	Total 1980	Total 1990	Total 1995	Change 1980- 1990	Change 1990- 1995
Pope	11,657	10,745	10,906	-7.8%	1.5%
Ramsey	459,784	485,783	494,674	5.7	1.8
Red Lake	5,471	4,525	4,481	-17.3	-1.0
Redwood	19,341	17,254	17,293	-10.8	0.2
Renville	20,401	17,673	17,595	-13.4	-0.4
Rice	46,087	49,183	52,232	6.7	6.2
Rock	10,703	9,806	9,870	-8.4	0.7
Roseau	12,574	15,026	16,025	19.5	6.6
St. Louis	222,229	198,213	198,850	-10.8	0.3
Scott	43,784	57,846	69,262	32.1	19.7
Sherburne	29,908	41,945	51,328	40.2	22.4
Sibley	15,448	14,366	14,584	-7.0	1.5
Stearns	108,161	119,324	126,912	10.3	6.4
Steele	30,328	30,729	31,817	1.3	3.5
Stevens	11,322	10,634	10,575	-6.1	-0.6
Swift	12,920	10,724	11,081	-17.0	3.3
Todd	24,991	23,363	23,742	-6.5	1.6
Traverse	5,542	4,463	4,374	-19.5	-2.0
Wabasha	19,335	19,744	20,428	2.1	3.5
Wadena	14,192	13,154	13,294	-7.3	1.1
Waseca	18,448	18,079	18,031	-2.0	-0.3
Washington	113,571	145,858	175,441	28.4	20.3
Watsonwan	12,361	11,682	11,764	-5.5	0.7
Wilkin	8,454	7,516	7,399	-11.1	-1.6
Winona	46,256	47,828	48,987	3.4	2.4
Wright	58,681	68,710	77,232	17.1	12.4
Yellow Medicine	13,653	11,684	11,613	-14.4%	-0.6%

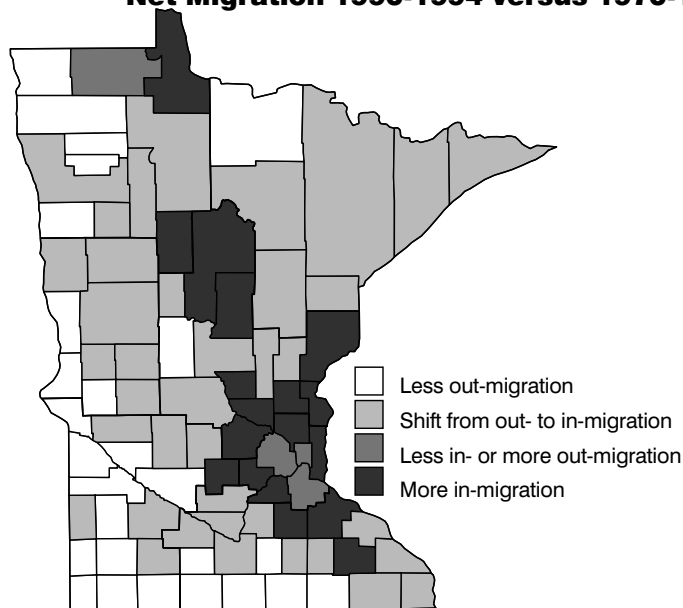
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Office of the State Demographer and Metropolitan Council

More Counties Welcome Newcomers

Within Minnesota, the migration trends of the 1990s differ noticeably from those of the last decade. From 1980 to 1990, only 20 counties had net in-migration. So far in this decade, 56 counties have experienced net in-migration. Eighty-three of the state's 87 counties have shown a more positive migration profile in the 1990s than in the 1980s. This includes 38 counties that shifted from net out-migration to net in-migration, 29 counties that continued their 1980s trend of net out-migration but at a slower rate and 18 counties where net in-migration rates accelerated.

Overall, the shift in migration has favored less densely populated areas. Among the four counties with a more negative migration pattern in the 1990s are three of the state's most populous. Hennepin County shifted from a slight net in-migration in the 1980s to a modest net out-migration in the 1990s. Ramsey County, with net out-migration in the 1980s, has had even higher rates of net migration loss in the 1990s. Dakota County continues to have substantial net in-migration but at a lower level than in the 1980s. The fourth county, Roseau County in northwestern Minnesota, had a particularly high level of net in-migration in the 1980s because of rapid industrial growth. Net in-migration

More People Move to Minnesota Net Migration 1990-1994 versus 1970-1990



Source: Office of the State Demographer

Natural Increase and Net Migration for Counties, 1990-1994

County	Population Change	Number of Births	Number of Deaths	Natural Increase	Net Migration	Natural Decrease: Number of Years
Minnesota	194,690	264,284	141,677	122,607	72,083	0
Aitkin	526	536	708	-172	698	4
Anoka	23,072	16,983	4,141	12,842	10,230	0
Becker	949	1,516	1,179	337	612	0
Beltrami	1,706	2,327	1,174	1,153	553	0
Benton	2,558	2,029	1,039	990	1,568	0
Big Stone	-260	268	392	-124	-136	4
Blue Earth	951	2,514	1,604	910	41	0
Brown	375	1,415	1,064	351	24	0
Carlton	935	1,384	1,211	173	762	1
Carver	7,110	3,631	1,055	2,576	4,534	0
Cass	1,205	1,210	1,110	100	1,105	1
Chippewa	-105	632	637	-5	-100	2
Chisago	4,179	1,960	1,020	940	3,239	0
Clay	1,726	2,629	1,414	1,215	511	0
Clearwater	62	412	428	-16	78	2
Cook	220	196	150	46	174	0
Cottonwood	38	578	595	-17	55	3
Crow Wing	3,050	2,506	1,982	524	2,526	0
Dakota	32,813	20,416	4,939	15,477	17,336	0
Dodge	780	973	515	458	322	0
Douglas	1,297	1,412	1,217	195	1,102	0
Faribault	-282	705	875	-170	-112	4
Fillmore	22	1,083	1,093	-10	32	2
Freeborn	-87	1,557	1,408	149	-236	0
Goodhue	1,363	2,090	1,863	227	1,136	0
Grant	-77	264	382	-118	41	4
Hennepin	24,242	65,453	31,763	33,690	-9,448	0
Houston	432	1,053	759	294	138	0
Hubbard	766	685	632	53	713	1

Natural Increase and Net Migration for Counties, 1990-1994

County	Population Change	Number of Births	Number of Deaths	Natural Increase	Net Migration	Natural Decrease: Number of Years
Isanti	2,116	1,397	802	595	1,521	0
Itasca	1,184	1,958	1,710	248	936	0
Jackson	-40	487	501	-14	-26	2
Kanabec	405	643	470	173	232	0
Kandiyohi	1,751	2,318	1,379	939	812	0
Kittson	-166	231	330	-99	-67	4
Koochiching	-477	763	651	112	-589	0
Lac Qui Parle	-197	351	476	-125	-72	4
Lake	-17	425	460	-35	18	2
Lake of the Woods	212	250	165	85	127	0
Le Sueur	683	1,306	827	479	204	0
Lincoln	-87	283	415	-132	45	4
Lyon	406	1,457	893	564	-158	0
McLeod	1,265	1,814	1,189	625	640	0
Mahnomen	86	300	236	64	22	1
Marshall	-227	502	474	28	-255	1
Martin	-72	1,126	988	138	-210	0
Meeker	279	1,065	890	175	104	0
Mille Lacs	628	1,045	844	201	427	0
Morrison	983	1,622	1,108	514	469	0
Mower	176	1,934	1,664	270	-94	1
Murray	-92	453	413	40	-132	1
Nicollet	982	1,449	712	737	245	0
Nobles	248	1,147	832	315	-67	0
Norman	-136	357	492	-135	-1	4
Olmsted	7,916	7,248	2,612	4,636	3,280	0
Otter Tail	1,109	2,420	2,327	93	1,016	1
Pennington	21	663	624	39	-18	0
Pine	1,245	1,096	887	209	1,036	0
Pipestone	-78	552	487	65	-143	0

County	Population Change	Number of Births	Number of Deaths	Natural Increase	Net Migration	Natural Decrease: Number of Years
Polk	246	1,798	1,559	239	7	0
Pope	94	474	503	-29	123	2
Ramsey	7,126	32,186	15,473	16,713	-9,587	0
Red Lake	-59	205	228	-23	-36	4
Redwood	16	883	869	14	2	1
Renville	-165	839	856	-17	-148	1
Rice	2,386	2,532	1,585	947	1,439	0
Rock	7	490	405	85	-78	0
Roseau	685	975	532	443	242	0
St. Louis	653	8,954	8,677	277	376	1
Scott	8,739	4,673	1,217	3,456	5,283	0
Sherburne	7,289	2,997	1,081	1,916	5,373	0
Sibley	118	723	619	104	14	0
Stearns	5,847	6,651	2,780	3,871	1,976	0
Steele	917	1,700	973	727	190	0
Stevens	-37	390	373	17	-54	2
Swift	161	539	593	-54	215	4
Todd	175	1,183	954	229	-54	0
Traverse	-120	187	238	-51	-69	3
Wabasha	548	1,051	782	269	279	0
Wadena	53	707	711	-4	57	3
Waseca	-185	922	686	236	-421	0
Washington	23,442	9,493	2,825	6,668	16,774	0
Watsonwan	-70	714	515	199	-269	0
Wilkin	-99	363	322	41	-140	1
Winona	960	2,283	1,718	565	395	0
Wright	6,377	4,733	1,837	2,896	3,481	0
Yellow Medicine	-86	560	559	1	-87	3

Source: Minnesota Department of Health and Office of the State Demographer

in Roseau County continues in this decade but at a more moderate rate.

Natural Decrease Hits West-Central Counties Hardest

Natural decrease occurred in 20 counties in western and southern Minnesota between 1990 and 1994. Many of these counties have had sustained out-migration of young adults. The population that stays is relatively old, and consequently, deaths often exceed births over the year. Unless these counties begin to see significant in-migration, their population will continue to decline.

Job Growth Strong Throughout Minnesota

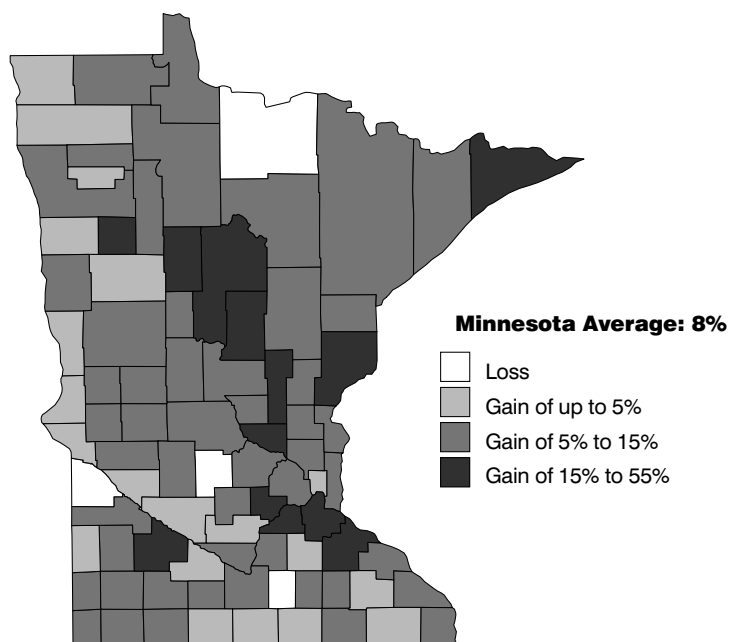
County-level Bureau of Economic Analysis employment data, available through 1994, shows that all but three of Minnesota's counties had an increase in the number of jobs between 1990 and 1994. Several areas registered particularly strong growth: suburban counties near the Twin Cities; a band of counties extending from the Twin Cities westward, including the St. Cloud region; and a band of counties in north-central Minnesota extending to the Canadian border.

Between 1993 and 1994, job growth was exceptionally strong. Overall, in Minnesota, job growth in 1994 accounted for

Total Full- and Part-time Employment by County

	1990	1993	1994	Percent Change 1993-1994	Percent Change 1990-1994
Minnesota	2,694,599	2,830,554	2,911,145	2.8%	8.0%
Aitkin	4,994	5,303	5,512	3.9	10.4
Anoka	103,888	114,883	118,581	3.2	14.1
Becker	14,235	14,238	14,619	2.7	2.7
Beltrami	17,260	18,597	19,194	3.2	11.2
Benton	14,003	14,354	15,358	7.0	9.7
Big Stone	3,054	3,051	3,093	1.4	1.3
Blue Earth	34,256	37,460	38,518	2.8	12.4
Brown	17,083	17,334	17,817	2.8	4.3
Carlton	13,548	14,921	15,208	1.9	12.3
Carver	24,160	30,078	31,894	6.0	32.0
Cass	9,749	11,882	12,337	3.8	26.5
Chippewa	7,367	7,512	7,416	-1.3	0.7
Chisago	12,645	13,697	14,468	5.6	14.4
Clay	21,885	22,719	23,592	3.8	7.8
Clearwater	3,614	3,881	3,992	2.9	10.5
Cook	2,502	3,111	3,236	4.0	29.3
Cottonwood	7,148	7,487	7,741	3.4	8.3
Crow Wing	23,058	25,978	27,047	4.1	17.3
Dakota	132,425	147,753	154,387	4.5	16.6
Dodge	6,104	6,414	6,701	4.5	9.8
Douglas	16,182	17,340	18,313	5.6	13.2
Faribault	9,018	8,981	9,224	2.7	2.3
Fillmore	10,811	10,910	11,047	1.3	2.2
Freeborn	16,828	17,797	17,151	-3.6	1.9
Goodhue	23,233	26,489	27,180	2.6	17.0
Grant	3,357	3,589	3,733	4.0	11.2
Hennepin	895,790	917,277	941,378	2.6	5.1
Houston	7,246	7,589	7,823	3.1	8.0
Hubbard	6,062	6,593	7,158	8.6	18.1
Isanti	11,151	12,010	12,367	3.0%	10.9%

Job Growth Strong in the 1990s



Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis

Total Full- and Part-time Employment by County

	1990	1993	1994	Percent Change 1993-1994	Percent Change 1990-1994
Itasca	17,295	18,564	18,991	2.3%	9.8%
Jackson	5,960	6,159	6,377	3.5	7.0
Kanabec	5,853	6,136	6,255	1.9	6.9
Kandiyohi	22,421	23,690	24,609	3.9	9.8
Kittson	3,042	3,043	3,095	1.7	1.7
Koochiching	9,034	7,424	7,440	0.2	-17.6
Lac Qui Parle	4,447	4,373	4,448	1.7	0.0
Lake	4,923	5,312	5,458	2.7	10.9
Lake of the Woods	1,990	2,136	2,183	2.2	9.7
Le Sueur	10,787	10,995	11,534	4.9	6.9
Lincoln	3,223	3,264	3,328	2.0	3.3
Lyon	15,640	17,568	17,749	1.0	13.5
McLeod	20,488	22,188	22,881	3.1	11.7
Mahnomen	2,206	3,243	3,438	6.0	55.8
Marshall	5,073	5,127	5,228	2.0	3.1
Martin	13,027	12,865	13,404	4.2	2.9
Meeker	10,028	9,648	9,684	0.4	-3.4
Mille Lacs	10,450	12,039	12,435	3.3	19.0
Morrison	13,755	14,807	15,202	2.7	10.5
Mower	18,023	19,185	19,439	1.3	7.9
Murray	4,693	4,899	4,986	1.8	6.2
Nicollet	14,395	15,409	16,445	6.7	14.2
Nobles	13,168	13,917	14,020	0.7	6.5
Norman	3,810	3,829	3,890	1.6	2.1
Olmsted	79,015	83,237	82,377	-1.0	4.3
Otter Tail	26,001	27,471	28,551	3.9	9.8
Pennington	8,241	8,798	9,368	6.5	13.7
Pine	8,598	10,515	10,765	2.4	25.2
Pipestone	5,594	6,046	6,221	2.9	11.2
Polk	16,454	16,929	17,487	3.3%	6.3%

	1990	1993	1994	Percent Change 1993-1994	Percent Change 1990-1994
Pope	5,192	5,481	5,649	3.1%	8.8%
Ramsey	354,357	360,074	367,758	2.1	3.8
Red Lake	2,022	2,057	2,096	1.9	3.7
Redwood	8,958	9,639	10,710	11.1	19.6
Renville	9,226	10,060	9,325	-7.3	1.1
Rice	26,435	27,298	27,621	1.2	4.5
Rock	5,119	5,216	5,459	4.7	6.6
Roseau	10,017	10,149	10,724	5.7	7.1
St. Louis	101,172	105,150	107,358	2.1	6.1
Scott	25,950	31,425	33,022	5.1	27.3
Sherburne	14,757	16,942	18,214	7.5	23.4
Sibley	6,100	6,141	6,304	2.7	3.3
Stearns	77,161	83,800	85,784	2.4	11.2
Steele	19,588	20,593	21,150	2.7	8.0
Stevens	5,879	6,099	6,296	3.2	7.1
Swift	5,233	5,648	5,835	3.3	11.5
Todd	10,411	10,928	11,087	1.5	6.5
Traverse	2,279	2,199	2,374	8.0	4.2
Wabasha	9,032	9,575	10,147	6.0	12.3
Wadena	6,917	7,327	7,633	4.2	10.4
Waseca	10,544	9,889	10,049	1.6	-4.7
Washington	56,220	60,447	64,239	6.3	14.3
Watsonwan	6,504	6,794	6,850	0.8	5.3
Wilkin	3,541	3,618	3,633	0.4	2.6
Winona	27,782	29,335	30,239	3.1	8.8
Wright	27,697	30,133	31,654	5.0	14.3
Yellow Medicine	6,216	6,493	6,562	1.1%	5.6%
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis					

37.2 percent of employment gains in the 1990s. In no less than 28 counties throughout the state, more than half of the jobs added in the 1990s were created in this one year, and in another 17 counties, a third of the new jobs were added in 1994. In many of these counties, job growth in the first three years of the 1990s was stagnant, with several actually losing jobs in 1992 and 1993.

Unemployment Remains High in North-Central Minnesota

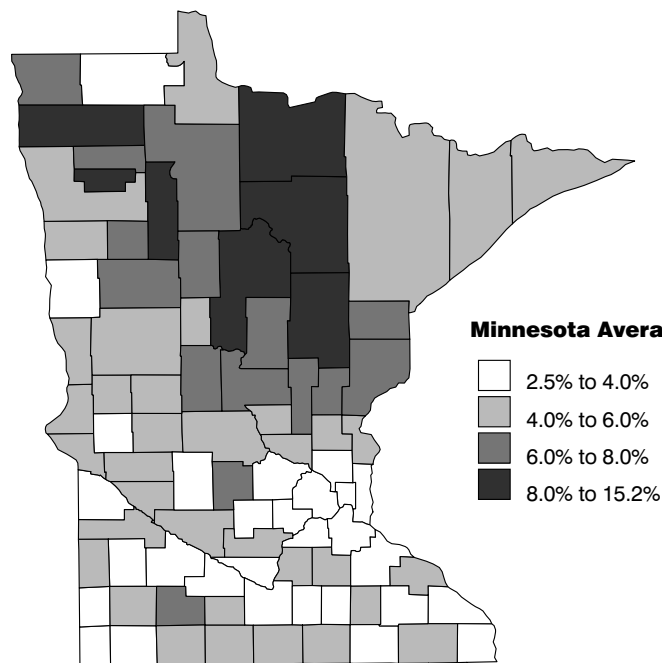
The highest unemployment rate in 1995 was 15.2 percent in Clearwater County,

more than six times the 2.5 percent rate in Carver, Rock and Dakota counties. Clearwater, Red Lake, Marshall, Itasca and Aitkin counties have had the highest unemployment rates throughout the 1990s, peaking in 1993. While these counties continue to have unemployment above 8.7 percent, the rates have dropped by 2 to 3 percent since 1993. The southern third of the state has had unemployment rates below 5 percent throughout the 1990s. Counties in the Twin Cities region had the lowest unemployment rates in the 1990s, with a high of 5.1 percent in Scott County in 1991 and lows of

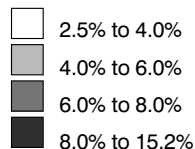
Unemployment Rates by County 1990-1995

Counties	1990	1994	1995
Minnesota	4.9%	4.0%	3.7%
Aitkin	10.8	10.3	9.4
Anoka	4.6	3.4	3.1
Becker	7.6	7.9	7.7
Beltrami	7.7	6.5	6.4
Benton	6.5	4.3	4.4
Big Stone	4.4	5.1	4.9
Blue Earth	3.9	2.8	3.2
Brown	4.3	3.9	3.8
Carlton	7.6	7.7	7.0
Carver	3.7	2.7	2.5
Cass	10.0	8.5	8.3
Chippewa	5.0	5.8	5.2
Chisago	7.1	5.0	4.6
Clay	5.5	3.7	3.7
Clearwater	16.9	14.9	15.2
Cook	9.1	5.6	5.8
Cottonwood	6.4	5.3	7.1
Crow Wing	7.3	6.6	6.2
Dakota	3.7	2.9	2.5
Dodge	5.4	5.8	5.4
Douglas	5.9	4.1	4.3
Faribault	5.1	4.8	5.1
Fillmore	4.8	5.0	4.7
Freeborn	11.7	6.7	4.7
Goodhue	3.7	4.1	3.7
Grant	6.7	4.7	4.7
Hennepin	4.1	3.2	2.8
Houston	3.6	3.0	3.5
Hubbard	9.5	7.7	6.7
Isanti	6.0%	4.7%	4.5%

Unemployment Rates in 1995



Minnesota Average: 3.7%



Source: Minnesota Department of Economic Security

Unemployment Rates by County 1990-1995

Counties	1990	1994	1995
Itasca	10.7%	11.6%	9.4%
Jackson	4.5	4.9	4.8
Kanabec	10.7	8.3	7.9
Kandiyohi	4.8	3.9	3.5
Kittson	8.1	6.2	6.3
Koochiching	7.1	9.7	8.7
Lac Qui Parle	3.5	3.7	3.5
Lake	6.8	6.1	5.2
Lake of the Woods	3.3	4.3	4.1
Le Sueur	6.0	4.6	4.4
Lincoln	4.4	4.8	5.0
Lyon	4.4	3.3	3.4
McLeod	4.4	3.9	3.6
Mahnomen	11.8	7.9	7.1
Marshall	12.8	10.6	9.8
Martin	4.6	4.8	4.4
Meeker	6.7	6.4	6.2
Mille Lacs	7.6	7.1	8.0
Morrison	9.7	7.6	7.6
Mower	4.4	3.8	3.2
Murray	5.1	5.1	5.6
Nicollet	4.0	2.6	2.9
Nobles	3.6	3.2	4.0
Norman	6.1	5.6	5.5
Olmsted	2.9	3.4	2.9
Otter Tail	6.3	5.4	5.5
Pennington	9.5	6.1	6.1
Pine	10.9	8.9	8.0
Pipestone	6.5	3.6	3.4
Polk	5.8%	4.5%	4.1%

Counties	1990	1994	1995
Pope	5.7%	4.7%	4.1%
Ramsey	4.1	3.2	2.9
Red Lake	15.8	12.2	11.1
Redwood	3.2	3.1	3.0
Renville	6.3	6.0	4.9
Rice	4.6	4.7	4.1
Rock	2.7	2.7	2.5
Roseau	4.7	3.7	3.6
St. Louis	6.6	6.4	5.7
Scott	4.6	3.2	3.1
Sherburne	5.7	4.0	4.1
Sibley	5.2	5.6	5.2
Stearns	5.7	4.1	4.1
Steele	3.6	3.7	3.9
Stevens	5.8	3.7	3.4
Swift	4.8	4.5	4.6
Todd	8.0	6.7	6.9
Traverse	5.2	4.1	4.8
Wabasha	4.5	4.2	4.1
Wadena	7.2	5.6	5.3
Waseca	3.9	4.2	3.6
Washington	3.8	2.8	2.7
Watsonwan	3.6	3.4	4.3
Wilkin	4.9	4.0	4.2
Winona	5.8	3.6	3.6
Wright	5.7	4.2	4.0
Yellow Medicine	4.5%	5.3%	5.0%
Source: Minnesota Department of Economic Security			

2.5 percent in Dakota and Carver counties in 1995.

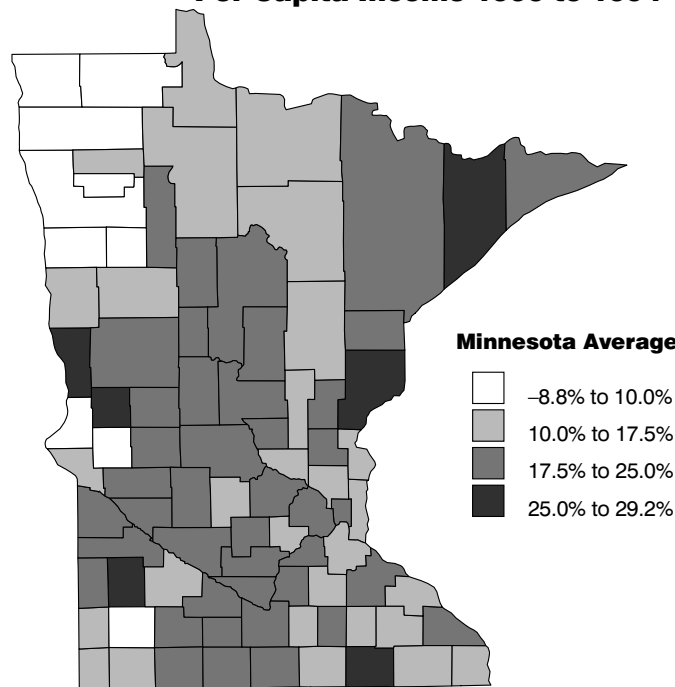
Farm Counties Show Strongest Personal Income Growth

In 1994, 14 counties had per capita personal income greater than \$20,000, up from six counties in 1993. A strong farm economy bouncing back from the floods of 1993 and boosted by disaster payments received in January 1994 meant that Mower, Steele, Goodhue, Rock, Murray, Martin and Lyon counties made substantial gains with per capita income surpass-

ing the \$20,000 mark. Thirteen counties, most in the southwestern quadrant of the state, saw per capita income increase more than 20 percent in 1994, and another 19 had income growth greater than 10 percent. Whether these gains can be maintained in the next few years remains to be seen, but in 1994, rural agricultural Minnesota experienced extraordinary increases in personal income.

Many rural counties in north-central Minnesota continue to lag behind in personal income. Despite greater-than-average gains in 1994, nine counties had per capita

Income Grows Fastest in Rural Counties Per Capita Income 1990 to 1994



Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis

Per Capita Income by County 1990-1994

	1990	1993	1994	Percent Change 1993-1994	Percent Change 1990-1994
Minnesota	\$18,779	\$20,911	\$22,217	6.25%	18.3%
Aitkin	12,615	14,057	14,746	4.90	16.9
Anoka	16,868	18,678	19,491	4.35	15.6
Becker	13,294	14,450	15,405	6.61	15.9
Beltrami	12,680	14,216	14,828	4.31	16.9
Benton	14,304	15,816	17,016	7.59	19.0
Big Stone	14,735	14,440	16,376	13.41	11.1
Blue Earth	15,296	17,535	18,982	8.25	24.1
Brown	16,261	17,384	19,804	13.92	21.8
Carlton	13,519	15,846	16,462	3.89	21.8
Carver	20,225	22,463	23,606	5.09	16.7
Cass	12,740	14,626	15,345	4.92	20.4
Chippewa	16,376	15,720	19,438	23.65	18.7
Chisago	15,273	16,837	17,629	4.70	15.4
Clay	13,797	15,156	16,204	6.91	17.4
Clearwater	11,107	12,947	13,875	7.17	24.9
Cook	16,615	18,812	19,999	6.31	20.4
Cottonwood	15,478	14,631	19,179	31.08	23.9
Crow Wing	14,625	16,921	17,755	4.93	21.4
Dakota	20,995	23,085	24,217	4.90	15.3
Dodge	15,848	16,305	18,472	13.29	16.6
Douglas	14,087	16,043	17,250	7.52	22.5
Faribault	16,045	16,271	19,643	20.72	22.4
Fillmore	14,715	14,833	16,447	10.88	11.8
Freeborn	15,374	16,130	17,841	10.61	16.0
Goodhue	16,544	18,782	20,278	7.97	22.6
Grant	15,506	17,480	19,671	12.53	26.9
Hennepin	24,736	28,108	29,529	5.06	19.4
Houston	15,765	16,834	18,056	7.26	14.5
Hubbard	\$12,536	\$14,096	\$15,405	9.29%	22.9%

Per Capita Income by County 1990-1994

	1990	1993	1994	Percent Change 1993- 1994	Percent Change 1990- 1994
Isanti	\$14,816	\$16,411	\$17,509	6.69%	18.2%
Itasca	13,422	15,020	15,536	3.44	15.8
Jackson	16,011	14,158	18,903	33.51	18.1
Kanabec	12,793	14,638	15,626	6.75	22.1
Kandiyohi	15,597	16,714	18,372	9.92	17.8
Kittson	19,279	15,864	18,500	16.62	-4.0
Koochiching	13,984	15,080	15,643	3.73	11.9
Lac Qui Parle	15,654	14,571	18,889	29.63	20.7
Lake	13,136	15,971	16,740	4.81	27.4
Lake of the Woods	14,484	15,671	16,477	5.14	13.8
Le Sueur	15,674	17,008	18,454	8.50	17.7
Lincoln	14,271	13,161	17,550	33.35	23.0
Lyon	15,997	17,863	20,013	12.04	25.1
McLeod	16,093	18,287	19,786	8.20	22.9
Mahnomen	12,209	12,320	13,312	8.05	9.0
Marshall	14,990	13,541	15,147	11.86	1.0
Martin	16,999	16,646	20,016	20.25	17.7
Meeker	14,852	15,686	17,082	8.90	15.0
Mille Lacs	13,660	14,813	15,732	6.20	15.2
Morrison	12,333	13,835	14,818	7.11	20.1
Mower	16,677	19,013	20,863	9.73	25.1
Murray	15,603	14,446	20,172	39.64	29.3
Nicollet	15,363	17,140	18,936	10.48	23.3
Nobles	17,028	16,730	19,226	14.92	12.9
Norman	17,281	15,623	15,752	0.83	-8.8
Olmsted	19,921	22,199	23,112	4.11	16.0
Otter Tail	14,274	15,922	17,126	7.56	20.0
Pennington	14,828	16,199	16,944	4.60	14.3
Pine	11,801	14,100	14,805	5.00	25.5
Pipestone	\$14,998	\$14,973	\$17,285	15.44%	15.2%

	1990	1993	1994	Percent Change 1993- 1994	Percent Change 1990- 1994
Polk	\$15,500	\$15,736	\$16,921	7.53%	9.2%
Pope	13,246	14,448	16,283	12.70	22.9
Ramsey	20,571	23,703	24,951	5.27	21.3
Red Lake	12,603	12,500	13,409	7.27	6.4
Redwood	16,491	15,810	19,140	21.06	16.1
Renville	16,295	15,642	19,333	23.60	18.6
Rice	15,182	16,893	17,818	5.48	17.4
Rock	17,896	16,007	20,258	26.56	13.2
Roseau	15,997	15,784	16,461	4.29	2.9
St. Louis	15,591	17,748	18,721	5.48	20.1
Scott	18,178	20,508	21,490	4.79	18.2
Sherburne	14,873	16,073	17,029	5.95	14.5
Sibley	14,738	15,118	17,672	16.89	19.9
Stearns	14,383	16,350	17,172	5.03	19.4
Steele	17,103	18,491	20,505	10.89	19.9
Stevens	15,657	15,157	17,197	13.46	9.8
Swift	14,581	14,565	17,660	21.25	21.1
Todd	12,115	13,507	14,497	7.33	19.7
Traverse	18,394	17,848	19,427	8.85	5.6
Wabasha	16,282	17,461	18,827	7.82	15.6
Wadena	11,830	13,578	14,431	6.28	22.0
Waseca	15,599	15,545	17,922	15.29	14.9
Washington	20,360	22,178	23,099	4.15	13.5
Watsonwan	15,610	15,723	18,776	19.42	20.3
Wilkin	14,535	16,028	18,224	13.70	25.4
Winona	15,479	17,634	18,823	6.74	21.6
Wright	15,767	17,567	18,685	6.36	18.5
Yellow Medicine	\$15,340	\$14,853	\$18,657	25.61%	21.6%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis

income below \$15,000. Mahnommen, Red Lake and Clearwater counties continue to be the poorest in Minnesota. New gambling establishments contributed to above-average growth in 1994, and if recreation and gaming continue to expand, these counties may see substantial improvements in the near future.

6

Cities and Townships — Urban Areas Gain Most

The vast majority of Minnesota's population lives in cities; only 20 percent live in townships, and less than 1 percent live in unorganized territories located in the northern part of the state. Most of the increase in population in the 1990s has occurred in mid-size cities. The 77 cities with 10,000 to 90,000 people accounted for more than two-thirds of Minnesota's population growth from 1990 to 1995.

Cities with the most rapid population growth, not surprisingly, are found in the Twin Cities suburban ring extending northwest to St. Cloud. Cities with population losses in the 1990s are scattered throughout the state, especially along the southern and western borders and on the Iron Range. In the 1990s, 316 cities lost population, but the total population loss was only 10,000 people. Another 29 cities had the same population in 1995 as in 1990. Finally, 509 cities gained a total of 223,400 people in the 1990s. Net growth in the population of Minnesota's cities was 213,400, or 85.1 percent of Minnesota's population increase in the 1990s.

In the first five years of the 1990s, very small cities (those with 100 or fewer people) lost a total of 130 people, an average decline of 2.3 percent. Population in Minneapolis and St. Paul declined by 3,610 people, or about 0.6 percent. All other size classes of cities increased population in the 1990s.

Township Population Grows Slower than Cities'

Minnesota has 854 cities and 1,794 townships. Townships are often thought of as sparsely settled rural areas, but 342 townships are located in metropolitan counties. The Twin Cities and St. Cloud metropolitan areas have 149 townships, many of them growing rapidly as city and suburban dwellers move further and further from the central cities. Of the 20 townships with the largest increases in population between 1990 and 1995, 19 were in the Twin Cities and St. Cloud metropolitan areas. Population in townships grew 4.2 percent from 1990 to 1995. Population in 1,036 townships increased in the

10 Cities with Largest Population Increases

City	Population in 1990	Population in 1995	Percent Change 1990-1995	Change 1990-1995
Woodbury	20,075	31,260	55.7%	11,180
St. Cloud	48,812	58,570	20.0	9,750
Lakeville	24,854	34,290	38.0	9,440
Eagan	47,409	56,680	19.6	9,270
Plymouth	50,889	58,960	15.9	8,070
Coon Rapids	52,978	59,980	13.2	7,000
Eden Prairie	39,311	46,310	17.8	7,000
Apple Valley	34,598	40,680	17.6	6,090
Rochester	70,729	76,560	8.2	5,830
Maple Grove	38,736	44,310	14.4%	5,580

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Office of the State Demographer and the Metropolitan Council

10 Cities with Largest Population Decreases

City	Population in 1990	Population in 1995	Percent Change 1990-1995	Change 1990-1995
Minneapolis	368,383	365,890	-0.7%	-2,490
St. Paul	272,235	271,120	-0.4	-1,120
Richfield	35,710	35,240	-1.3	-470
International Falls	8,301	7,830	-5.7	-470
Brooklyn Center	28,887	28,460	-1.5	-420
Virginia	9,410	9,170	-2.5	-240
Columbia Heights	18,910	18,680	-1.2	-230
St. Louis Park	43,787	43,570	-0.5	-220
New Hope	21,853	21,650	-1.0	-210
Robbinsdale	14,396	14,210	-1.3%	-190

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Office of the State Demographer and the Metropolitan Council

Size and Population Change						
Size of City	Total Population 1980	Total Population 1990	Total Population 1995	Percent Change 1980-1990	Percent Change 1990-1995	Number of Cities in Class
100 or fewer	7,054	5,761	5,630	-18.3%	-2.3%	81
101 to 500	82,024	75,953	76,760	-7.4	1.1	296
500 to 1,000	106,458	104,788	107,440	-1.6	2.5	153
1,000 to 2,500	208,208	206,571	217,000	-0.8	5.1	133
2,500 to 10,000	470,569	508,910	544,940	8.2	7.1	112
10,000 to 50,000	1,137,774	1,311,464	1,427,740	15.3	8.9	67
50,000 to 90,000	480,928	598,684	649,630	24.5	8.5	10
Minneapolis and St. Paul	641,181	640,618	637,010	-0.1%	-0.6%	2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Office of the State Demographer and the Metropolitan Council

10 Townships with Largest Increases					
Township	County	Population 1990	Population 1995	Increase 1990-1995	Percent Change 1990-1995
Wyoming	Chisago	2,967	4,240	1,270	42.8%
White Bear	Ramsey	9,424	10,530	1,110	11.7
Big Lake	Sherburne	4,452	5,340	890	20
West Lakeland	Washington	1,736	2,550	810	46.8
Livonia	Sherburne	2,288	3,100	807	35.3
Credit River	Scott	2,854	3,650	800	27.9
Becker	Sherburne	2,336	3,050	710	30.4
Frankfort	Wright	2,935	3,630	700	23.6
Baldwin	Sherburne	2,909	3,570	670	22.9
Chisago Lake	Chisago	3,057	3,640	580	19.1%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Office of the State Demographer and the Metropolitan Council

1990s, while 704 townships lost population and 54 townships stayed the same.

Of the 23 townships with population declines greater than 35, all but eight lost population because parts of their land area were annexed by neighboring cities or they reorganized. Three townships chose to become unorganized territories, four townships merged to become two, and two townships were annexed in their entirety. Since 1990, three townships have incorporated — Otsego, Oak Grove and Cohasset (Bass Brook township).

Pop Bites referenced in this report can also be found at this site.

Information on births and deaths in Minnesota comes from the Minnesota Department of Health and is available through 1995.

Estimates of age and race are prepared by the U.S. Census Bureau. Estimates of age are available through 1994 and of race through 1992. Race estimates through 1995 were prepared by the State Demographer's Office using information provided by the Minnesota Department of Children, Families and Learning.

Information on migration between states was provided by the Internal Revenue Service and is available through 1994. International immigration data comes from the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Data is available through 1994 for Minnesota. Estimates of the number of international refugees were made by the Department of Human Services' Refugee Services.

Data on personal income from the U.S. Department of Commerce's Bureau of Economic Analysis is available at the state level through 1995. Data for types of income and for counties is available through 1994. BEA's employment data is available through 1994 for the state and counties. Annual average unemployment rates for the state and counties were provided by the Minnesota Department of Economic Security.

Data Sources

Data used in this report comes from many sources. Baseline data for population in 1990 comes from the 1990 census. Population estimates for 1995 are prepared by the State Demographer's Office and the Metropolitan Council. Complete tables of population estimates for counties, cities and townships can be found on Minnesota Planning's World Wide Web site:

<http://www.mnplan.state.mn.us>

Members of the 1996 Minnesota Legislature

District	Name	Party	City of Residence
Senate 1	Stumpf, LeRoy	DFL	Thief River Falls
House 1A	Tunheim, Jim	DFL	Kennedy
House 1B	Finseth, Tim	I-R	Angus
Senate 2	Moe, Roger	DFL	Erskine
House 2A	Lieder, Bernie	DFL	Crookston
House 2B	Olson, Edgar	DFL	Fosston
Senate 3	Lessard, Bob	DFL	International Falls
House 3A	Anderson, Irv	DFL	International Falls
House 3B	Solberg, Loren	DFL	Bovey
Senate 4	Vacant		
House 4A	Johnson, Bob	DFL	Bemidji
House 4B	Kinkel, Tony	DFL	Park Rapids
Senate 5	Janezich, Jerry	DFL	Chisholm
House 5A	Rukavina, Tom	DFL	Virginia
House 5B	Tomassoni, David	DFL	Chisholm
Senate 6	Johnson, Douglas	DFL	Cook
House 6A	Bakk, Thomas	DFL	Cook
House 6B	Huntley, Thomas	DFL	Duluth
Senate 7	Solon, Sam	DFL	Duluth
House 7A	Munger, Willard	DFL	Duluth
House 7B	Jaros, Mike	DFL	Duluth
Senate 8	Chmielewski, Florian	DFL	Sturgeon Lake
House 8A	Murphy, Mary	DFL	Hermantown
House 8B	Lourey, Becky	DFL	Kerrick
Senate 9	Langseth, Keith	DFL	Glyndon
House 9A	Goodno, Kevin	I-R	Moorhead
House 9B	Dauner, Marvin	DFL	Hawley
Senate 10	Larson, Cal	I-R	Fergus Falls
House 10A	Anderson, Bob	DFL	Ottertail
House 10B	Bettermann, Hilda	I-R	Brandon

District	Name	Party	City of Residence
Senate 11	Sams, Dallas	DFL	Staples
House 11A	Daggett, Roxann	I-R	Frazee
House 11B	Otremba, Ken	DFL	Long Prairie
Senate 12	Samuelson, Don	DFL	Brainerd
House 12A	Hasskamp, Kris	DFL	Crosby
House 12B	Wenzel, Stephen	DFL	Little Falls
Senate 13	Berg, Charles	DFL	Chokio
House 13A	Brown, Chuck	DFL	Appleton
House 13B	Peterson, Doug	DFL	Madison
Senate 14	Fischbach, Michelle	I-R	Paynesville
House 14A	Dehler, Steve	I-R	St. Joseph
House 14B	Bertram, Jeff	DFL	Paynesville
Senate 15	Johnson, Dean	I-R	Willmar
House 15A	Van Engen, Tom	I-R	Spicer
House 15B	Cooper, Roger	DFL	Bird Island
Senate 16	Kleis, Dave	I-R	St. Cloud
House 16A	Opatz, Joe	DFL	St. Cloud
House 16B	Knoblach, Jim	I-R	St. Cloud
Senate 17	Stevens, Dan	I-R	Mora
House 17A	Koppendrayner, LeRoy	I-R	Princeton
House 17B	Schumacher, Leslie	DFL	Princeton
Senate 18	Johnson, Janet	DFL	North Branch
House 18A	Rostberg, Jim	I-R	Istani
House 18B	Jennings, Loren	DFL	Harris
Senate 19	Ourada, Mark	I-R	Buffalo
House 19A	Olson, Mark	I-R	Big Lake
House 19B	Anderson, Bruce	I-R	Buffalo Township
Senate 20	Dille, Steve	I-R	Dassel
House 20A	Ness, Bob	I-R	Dassel
House 20B	Onnen, Tony	I-R	Cokato

Members of the 1996 Minnesota Legislature

District	Name	Party	City of Residence
Senate 21	Lesewski, Arlene	I-R	Marshall
House 21A	Vacant		
House 21B	Mulder, Richard	I-R	Ivanhoe
Senate 22	Vickerman, Jim	DFL	Tracy
House 22A	Winter, Ted	DFL	Fulda
House 22B	Harder, Elaine	I-R	Jackson
Senate 23	Frederickson, Dennis	I-R	New Ulm
House 23A	Vickerman, Barb	I-R	Redwood Falls
House 23B	Swenson, Howard	I-R	Nicollet
Senate 24	Hottinger, John	DFL	Mankato
House 24A	Dorn, John	DFL	Mankato
House 24B	Ostrom, Don	DFL	St. Peter
Senate 25	Neuville, Thomas	I-R	Northfield
House 25A	Tuma, John	I-R	Northfield
House 25B	Boudreau, Lynda	I-R	Faribault
Senate 26	Beckman, Tracy	DFL	Bricelyn
House 26A	Gunther, Bob	I-R	Fairmont
House 26B	Kalis, Henry	DFL	Walters
Senate 27	Piper, Pat	DFL	Austin
House 27A	Kraus, Ron	I-R	Albert Lea
House 27B	Leighton, Jr., Robert	DFL	Austin
Senate 28	Day, Dick	I-R	Owatonna
House 28A	Worke, Gary	I-R	Waseca
House 28B	Sviggum, Steven	I-R	Kenyon
Senate 29	Murphy, Steve	DFL	Red Wing
House 29A	Dempsey, Jerry	I-R	Hastings
House 29B	Osskopp, Mike	I-R	Lake City
Senate 30	Kiscaden, Sheila	I-R	Rochester
House 30A	Bradley, Fran	I-R	Rochester
House 30B	Bishop, Dave	I-R	Rochester
Senate 31	Scheevel, Kenric	I-R	Preston
House 31A	Frerichs, Don	I-R	Rochester
House 31B	Davids, Gregory	I-R	Preston

District	Name	Party	City of Residence
Senate 32	Morse, Steven	DFL	Dakota
House 32A	Pelowski, Jr., Gene	DFL	Winona
House 32B	Johnson, Virgil	I-R	Caledonia
Senate 33	Limmer, Warren	I-R	Maple Grove
House 33A	Lindner, Arlon	I-R	Corcoran
House 33B	Stanek, Rich	I-R	Maple Grove
Senate 34	Olson, Gen	I-R	Minnetrista
House 34A	Smith, Steven	I-R	Mound
House 34B	Van Dellen, H. Todd	I-R	Plymouth
Senate 35	Johnston, Terry	I-R	Prior Lake
House 35A	Molnau, Carol	I-R	Chaska
House 35B	Kelso, Becky	DFL	Shakopee
Senate 36	Knutson, David	I-R	Burnsville
House 36A	Tompkins, Eileen	I-R	Apple Valley
House 36B	McElroy, Dan	I-R	Burnsville
Senate 37	Pariseau, Pat	I-R	Farmington
House 37A	Ozment, Dennis	I-R	Rosemount
House 37B	Macklin, Bill	I-R	Lakeville
Senate 38	Wiener, Deanna	DFL	Eagan
House 38A	Commers, Tim	I-R	Eagan
House 38B	Pawlenty, Tim	I-R	Eagan
Senate 39	Metzen, James	DFL	South St. Paul
House 39A	Pugh, Thomas	DFL	South St. Paul
House 39B	Milbert, Bob	DFL	South St. Paul
Senate 40	Riveness, Phil	DFL	South St. Paul
House 40A	Mahon, Mark	DFL	Bloomington
House 40B	Knight, Kevin	I-R	Bloomington
Senate 41	Belanger, Jr., William	I-R	Bloomington
House 41A	Seagren, Alice	I-R	Bloomington
House 41B	Wolf, Ken	I-R	Burnsville
Senate 42	Terwilliger, Roy	I-R	Edina
House 42A	Erhardt, Ron	I-R	Edina
House 42B	Paulsen, Erik	I-R	Eden Prairie

Members of the 1996 Minnesota Legislature

District	Name	Party	City of Residence
Senate 43	Oliver, Edward	I-R	Deephaven
House 43A	Workman, Tom	I-R	Chanhassen
House 43B	Sykora, Barbara	I-R	Excelsior
Senate 44	Mondale, Ted	DFL	St. Louis Park
House 44A	Kelley, Steve	DFL	Hopkins
House 44B	Rhodes, Jim	I-R	St. Louis Park
Senate 45	Robertson, Martha	I-R	Minnetonka
House 45A	Abrams, Ron	I-R	Minnetonka
House 45B	Leppik, Peggy	I-R	Golden Valley
Senate 46	Reichgott Junge, Ember	DFL	New Hope
House 46A	Rest, Ann	DFL	New Hope
House 46B	Carlson, Lyndon	DFL	Crystal
Senate 47	Kramer, Don	I-R	Brooklyn Center
House 47A	Luther, Darlene	DFL	Brooklyn Park
House 47B	Carruthers, Philip	DFL	Brooklyn Center
Senate 48	Betzold, Don	DFL	Fridley
House 48A	Haas, Bill	I-R	Champlin
House 48B	Johnson, Alice	DFL	Spring Lake Park
Senate 49	Merriam, Gene	DFL	Coon Rapids
House 49A	Weaver, Charlie	I-R	Anoka
House 49B	Warkentin, Eldon	I-R	Coon Rapids
Senate 50	Hanson, Paula	DFL	Ham Lake
House 50A	Hackbarth, Tom	I-R	Cedar
House 50B	Vacant		
Senate 51	Krentz, Jane	DFL	May Township
House 51A	Delmont, Mike	DFL	Lexington
House 51B	Swenson, Doug	I-R	Forest Lake
Senate 52	Novak, Steven	DFL	New Brighton
House 52A	Carlson, Skip	I-R	Fridley
House 52B	Pellow, Richard	I-R	New Brighton
Senate 53	Runbeck, Linda	I-R	Circle Pines
House 53A	Krinkie, Phil	I-R	Shoreview
House 53B	Broecker, Sherry	I-R	Vadnais Heights

District	Name	Party	City of Residence
Senate 54	Marty, John	DFL	Roseville
House 54A	McGuire, Mary Jo	DFL	Falcon Heights
House 54B	Greiling, Mindy	DFL	Roseville
Senate 55	Chandler, Kevin	DFL	White Bear Lake
House 55A	Mares, Harry	I-R	White Bear Lake
House 55B	McCollum, Betty	DFL	North St. Paul
Senate 56	Laidig, Gary	I-R	Stillwater
House 56A	Holsten, Mark	I-R	Stillwater
House 56B	Larsen, Peg	I-R	Lakeland
Senate 57	Price, Leonard	DFL	Woodbury
House 57A	Perlt, Walter	DFL	Woodbury
House 57B	Marko, Sharon	DFL	Newport
Senate 58	Kroening, Carl	DFL	Minneapolis
House 58A	Rice, James	DFL	Minneapolis
House 58B	Jefferson, Richard	DFL	Minneapolis
Senate 59	Pogemiller, Lawrence	DFL	Minneapolis
House 59A	Sarna, John	DFL	Minneapolis
House 59B	Kahn, Phyllis	DFL	Minneapolis
Senate 60	Spear, Allan	DFL	Minneapolis
House 60A	Long, Dee	DFL	Minneapolis
House 60B	Orfield, Myron	DFL	Minneapolis
Senate 61	Berglin, Linda	DFL	Minneapolis
House 61A	Clark, Karen	DFL	Minneapolis
House 61B	Wejcman, Linda	DFL	Minneapolis
Senate 62	Flynn, Carol	DFL	Minneapolis
House 62A	Greenfield, Lee	DFL	Minneapolis
House 62B	Skoglund, Wes	DFL	Minneapolis
Senate 63	Ranum, Jane	DFL	Minneapolis
House 63A	Wagenius, Jean	DFL	Minneapolis
House 63B	Garcia, Edwina	DFL	Richfield
Senate 64	Cohen, Richard	DFL	St. Paul
House 64A	Entenza, Matt	DFL	St. Paul
House 64B	Orenstein, Howard	DFL	St. Paul

Members of the 1996 Minnesota Legislature

District	Name	Party	City of Residence
Senate 65	Pappas, Sandra	DFL	St. Paul
House 65A	Dawkins, Andy	DFL	St. Paul
House 65B	Mariani, Carlos	DFL	St. Paul
Senate 66	Anderson, Ellen	DFL	St. Paul
House 66A	Osthoff, Tom	DFL	St. Paul
House 66B	Hausman, Alice	DFL	St. Paul
Senate 67	Kelly, Randy	DFL	St. Paul
House 67A	Farrell, Jim	DFL	St. Paul
House 67B	Trimble, Steve	DFL	St. Paul

Source: House Public Information Office