

# 1 Industrial Structure and a Tradeoff Between 2 Productivity and Resilience

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7

8 **Abstract:** The structures of regional economies play a critical role in determining both a region's  
9 productivity and its resilience to shocks. Here we extend previous work on the regional roles of  
10 occupation structure and skills structure by analyzing the effect of a region's industry structure. We  
11 operationalize the concept of economic structure by constructing a network of interdependent  
12 economic components. To measure the interdependence between economic components, we adopt  
13 the view that regional economies are analogous to ecosystems, employing techniques of co-  
14 occurrence analysis to infer interactions between industries. For each U.S. metropolitan statistical  
15 area, we then create an aggregate measure of economic tightness, capturing the degree of integration  
16 or interconnectedness among a region's industries. We find that industry tightness is positively  
17 correlated with a region's economic productivity but negatively correlated with a region's change  
18 in productivity following the Great Recession. While this result echoes prior results using  
19 occupational tightness, it differs from results using skills tightness. Thus, this study contributes to  
20 a deeper understanding of the tradeoff between productivity and resilience, and the drivers of this  
21 tradeoff. Whether regional policy makers are more focused on productivity or resilience, these  
22 insights may help guide decisions regarding which industries, occupations, or skills to emphasize  
23 in regional economic development plans. Finally, we find that regional productivity is affected by  
24 the ubiquity of the region's co-occurring industries and that regions with rarely co-occurring  
25 industries are more productive.

26 **Keywords:** regional science; cities; workforce; resilience; Panarchy; information theory;  
27 interdependence; co-occurrence

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## 29 1. Introduction

30 Regional economic development agencies often seek to make their cities more economically  
31 productive. Yet, simultaneously, they must address and plan for periodic shocks that disrupt regional  
32 economies, sometimes with long lasting negative impacts. Previous research has shown that these  
33 two goals may be opposed, meaning that regional planners face a tradeoff between making their  
34 cities more productive or more resilient [1]. However, it remains unclear how managers can best  
35 approach and navigate this tradeoff. What tools or models can planners employ to understand this  
36 tradeoff and which structural elements of a regional economy most influence productivity and  
37 resilience? Policy makers must further consider what economic interventions are both feasible and  
38 practical. The goal of this study is to help answer these questions and to better empower regional  
39 planners to achieve their regional development goals.

40 Previous studies have sought to determine the roles that both occupational structure and skill  
41 structure play in the relative productivity and resilience of U.S. regional economies. Occupational  
42 structure, in particular, was shown to strongly influence a region's vulnerability to shocks [1]. Skills  
43 structure on the other hand was shown to be more correlated with economic productivity in terms of  
44 GDP growth [2]. Here we enrich this work by analyzing a third dimension of regional economies,  
45 namely industrial structure, analyzing its impact on GDP growth, GDP per capita, response to shocks  
46 and patent production.

47 Prevailing conceptions of economic structure used in both academic analysis and policy  
48 decisions typically take only limited information regarding regional economic structure into  
49 consideration. For example, location quotients are frequently used as a standalone measure of  
50 regional specialization [3-5]. However, location quotients only consider proportions of individual  
51 industries relative to total employment and national shares, they do not consider inter-relations  
52 between industries or how industry groupings co-locate in various regions. Similarly, the  
53 Hirschmann-Herfindahl index is commonly used to measure regional diversity for industries but has  
54 also been applied to a wide variety of other urban phenomenon such as patenting [3,6-8]. Like  
55 location quotients, the index only examines shares and does not account for the inter-relations  
56 between industries or the co-location of industries among various sub-national regions.

57 Incorporating inter-industry linkages, input-output matrices measure regional economic  
58 structure by estimating flows between sectors within an economy [9,10]. However, while input-  
59 output tables can be built for various geographic scales, they do not reveal how industrial linkages  
60 locate in relation to one another among all regions in a system. For example, regional purchasing  
61 coefficients simply identify the degree to which inputs are purchased locally, there is not typically  
62 detailed examination of how likely it is for two industries that depend on one another to co-locate,  
63 thus resulting in regional purchasing coefficients [11]. A more complete examination of issues  
64 relating to the use of the input-output framework has been provided elsewhere [12].

65 More recently, there has been growing interest in analyzing the structure of regional economic  
66 activity more broadly. For example, international trade data has been analyzed as a bipartite network  
67 to capture the complexity of a region's economy via its trade with other regions [13]. At the sub-  
68 national level, analysis has identified that regions diversify into industries that are technological  
69 related to preexisting industries [14,15].

70 Advancing the literature that examines regional structure holistically, we employ a recently  
71 developed technique to operationalize and quantify such structures as networks of interdependent  
72 economic components [16]. This methodology, inspired by analyses of species co-location patterns in  
73 ecology, uses conditional probabilities to quantify the magnitude of interdependence between every  
74 pair of industries.

75 We then aggregate those measures of interdependence into a single measure of economic  
76 integration, or tightness, for each urban system. It is this tightness that has been previously examined  
77 with regard to regional occupation and skill structures and which we now examine in relation to  
78 industry structure. For nearly 400 U.S. Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs), we determine how an  
79 MSA's level of economic tightness changed between 2001 and 2018 and how it relates to economic  
80 productivity. We then synthesize results of prior work with current results, combining industry  
81 tightness with occupation and skills tightness to explore the possible existence of fundamental  
82 regional development pathways.

## 83 **2. Materials and Methods**

### 84 *2.1 Data and sources*

85 Industry employment data is taken from a modified version of the Quarterly Census of  
86 Employment and Wages (QCEW) produced by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). The QCEW  
87 data account for all workers covered by unemployment insurance and include over 95 percent of all  
88 jobs in the U.S. This excludes unincorporated, self-employed workers. Importantly, the BLS does not  
89 publish raw QCEW data but first suppresses data that may create privacy issues if published. Because  
90 this suppression can substantially impact results, we use a modified QCEW dataset created by the  
91 Indiana Business Research Center that uses various statistical techniques to estimate and include  
92 suppressed data [17]. From this modified dataset we extract county-level industry employment data  
93 at the 4-digit North American Industrial Classification System (NAICS) code level from the annual  
94 version of the QCEW. Finally, we aggregate this county-level data to U.S. metropolitan statistical  
95 areas, which are agglomerations of one or more counties representing unified labor markets [18].

96 2.2 Quantifying interdependence

97 To calculate industrial tightness for all MSAs, we begin by calculating the commonly used  
 98 location quotient  $LQ$  for each industry in each MSA:  
 99

$$LQ_{i,m} = \frac{(e_{i,m}/\sum_i e_{i,m})}{(\sum_m e_{i,m}/\sum_m \sum_i e_{i,m})}. \quad (1)$$

100  
 101 where  $e_{i,m}$  is employment in industry  $i$ , in MSA  $m$ . Thus, the  $LQ$  is the ratio of an industry's share  
 102 of local employment to the industry's share of national employment. We use  $LQ$  values to create a  
 103 presence-absence matrix, with industry  $i$  deemed present in MSA  $m$  if  $LQ_{i,m} \geq 1$  and deemed absent  
 104 otherwise.

105 Using this industry presence-absence matrix, we implement the methodology of [16] to calculate  
 106 a measure of interdependence  $x$  between industries  $i$  and  $j$  as follows:  
 107

$$x_{i,j} = \frac{P[LQ_{i,m} > 1, LQ_{j,m} > 1]}{P[LQ_{i,m'} > 1]P[LQ_{j,m''} > 1]} - 1, \quad (2)$$

108  
 109 where  $x$  is the ratio of the probability that two industries  $i$  and  $j$  are both present in a randomly  
 110 selected MSA,  $m$ , more often than they would be expected to occur individually in random cities  $m'$   
 111 and  $m''$ . An interdependence value greater than one indicates that the two industries co-occur in  
 112 cities more often than would be expected by chance and a value less than one indicates that the two  
 113 industries co-occur less frequently than would be expected at random. The individual industry-pair  
 114 independencies result in an industry by industry symmetric matrix.

115 We next use this matrix and the methodology of [1] to quantify an MSA level of industry  
 116 interdependence known as tightness. We begin by weighting the sum of MSA employment in present  
 117 industries by their national level interdependence as a share of total local employment:  
 118

$$L_{i,j,m} = \frac{(s_{i,m} + s_{j,m})x_{i,j}}{2 \sum_i s_{i,m}} \quad (3)$$

119  
 120 Note that  $L$  is only calculated if both industries  $i$  and  $j$  are present in MSA  $m$ . Finally, we calculate the  
 121 measure of industry tightness  $T$  by averaging all  $L$  within:  
 122

$$T_m = \frac{2}{p_m(p_m - 1)} \sum_{i < j}^{p_m} L_{i,j,m} \quad (4)$$

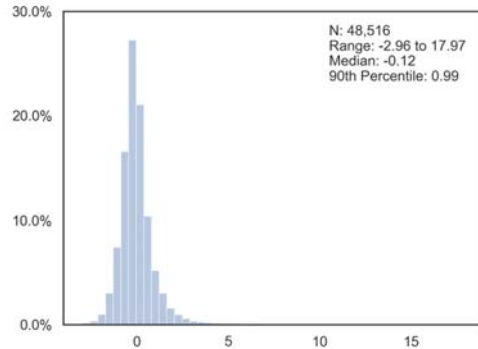
123  
 124 Thus,  $T$  captures the degree to which a city's economy is interdependent, integrated, or  
 125 interconnected. Higher tightness indicates the presence of industry pairs that are highly  
 126 interdependent with one another. Given such reliance, growth or decline in one industry may directly  
 127 result from growth or decline in interdependent industries.

128 Finally, we standardize raw tightness values as z-scores such that the mean tightness value  
 129 across MSAs = 0 and standard deviation = 1.

130 **3. Results and discussion**

131 3.1 Industry interdependence

132 For each possible pair of industries (N = 48,516) we quantified the interdependence  $\zeta$  between  
 133 the two industries and standardized values as z-scores. Using 2018 data we find the distribution of  
 134 standardized  $x$  is positively skewed (Fig. 1), ranging from range -2.96 to 17.97 with a median = -0.12  
 135 and a 90th percentile of 0.99. Industry pairs with both highest and lowest  $x$  are presented in Table 1.  
 136



137  
 138 **Fig. 1. Frequency distribution of 2018 standardized industry interdependence  $x$ .** Although the standardized  
 139 distribution of  $x$  is slightly positively skewed with a range of -2.96 to 17.97.  
 140

141 **Table 1. Highest and lowest standardized interdependence  $x$  among U.S. industry pairs (Z-Score)**

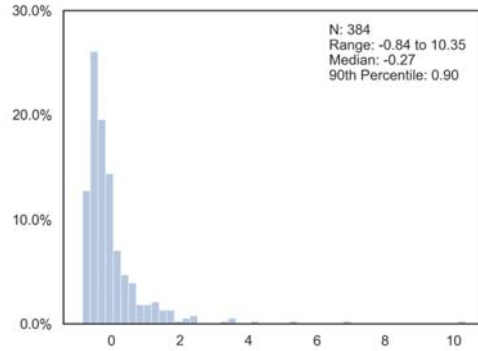
Rank	Industry 1	Industry 2	$x$
1	Motion picture and video industries (5121)	Agents and managers for public figures (7114)	17.97
2	Monetary authorities - central bank (5211)	Securities and commodity contracts brokerage (5231)	13.87
3	Oil and gas extraction (2111)	Support activities for mining (2131)	13.78
4	Securities and commodity contracts brokerage (5231)	Other financial investment activities (5239)	13.25
5	Scheduled air transportation (4811)	Securities and commodity contracts brokerage (5231)	12.95
...			
48,512	Cut and sew apparel manufacturing (3152)	Space research and technology (9271)	-2.96
48,513	Other support services (5619)	Space research and technology (9271)	-2.96
48,514	Apparel knitting mills (3151)	Space research and technology (9271)	-2.96
48,515	Textile furnishings mills (3141)	Space research and technology (9271)	-2.96
48,516	Scenic and sightseeing transportation, other (4879)	Securities and commodity exchanges (5232)	-2.96

142  
 143  
 144 We take this interdependence matrix to be the adjacency matrix of a weighted network. In this  
 145 case, nodes in the network are the 312 industries and edge values are the normalized interdependence  
 146 values calculated in equation 2. We reduce the network by removing edge weights less than zero,  
 147 apply the Louvain community detection (LCD), and visualize the networks using the Kamada-  
 148 Kawaii algorithm in the network software Pajek [19].

149 Unlike similar networks created using labor skills [2,20], the network built with industries is not  
 150 characterized by two polarized components or lobes. The LCD algorithm does, however, reveal two  
 151 communities when using a resolution parameter of 0.5 (SOM Fig. S2). The first community is  
 152 composed primarily of manufacturing and trade, transportation, and utilities, which account for 88  
 153 of the 103 nodes (85.4%) in the community (SOM Table S2). The second community is composed  
 154 primarily of the remainder of industries. Manufacturing, trade, transportation, and utilities industries  
 155 combined account for only 76 of the 209 nodes (36.4%) in the second community.

156 *MSA-level industry tightness*

157 Using industry-pair interdependencies we calculate an aggregate economic tightness metric of  
 158 each MSA and standardize as z-scores. We find the distribution of  $T$  values is more highly-skewed  
 159 than the underlying interdependence scores, ranging from -0.85 to 10.3, with median = -0.28 (Fig. 2).  
 160 MSAs with the highest and lowest standardized tightness values for 2018 are presented in Table 2.  
 161



162  
 163 **Figure 2. Tighness z-score histogram (2018).** The distribution is more positively skewed with a maximum  
 164 value of 10.35

**Table 2. Highest and lowest MSAs by 2018 standardized tightness  $T$**

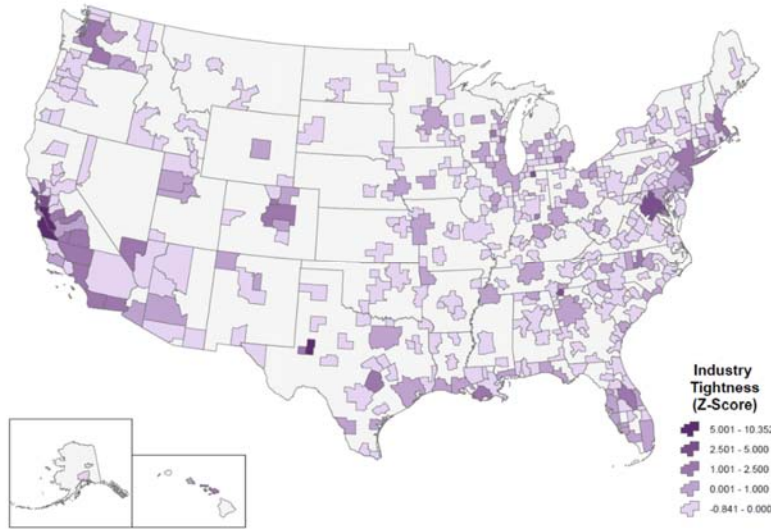
Rank	MSA	$T$ (Z-Score)
1	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	10.35
2	Midland, TX	6.88
3	Salinas, CA	5.26
4	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	4.15
5	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	3.47
...		
380	Elmira, NY	-0.76
381	Kingston, NY	-0.77
382	Manhattan, KS	-0.79
383	Killeen-Temple, TX	-0.81
384	Bay City, MI	-0.84

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168 *Spatial distribution of  $T$*

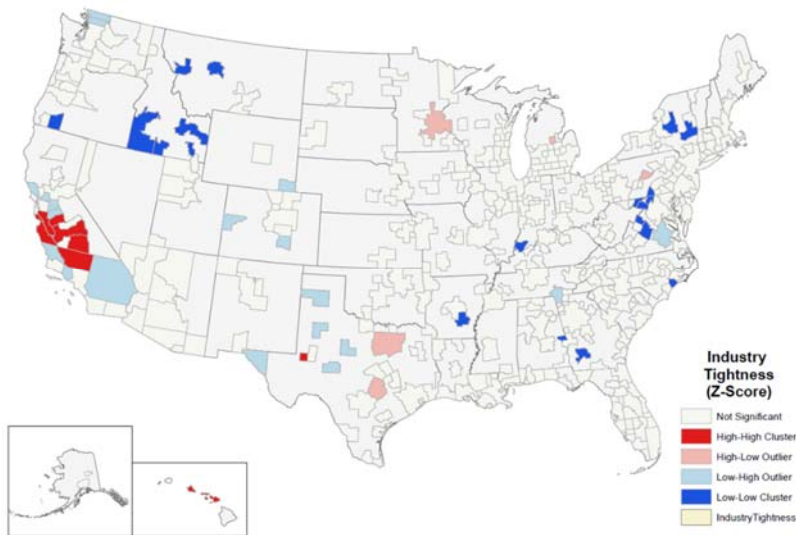
169 Analyzing the spatial distribution of  $T$  across MSAs (Fig. 3) we find several statistically  
 170 significant clusters of MSAs with high tightness values that are not evenly distributed (Fig. 4). Using  
 171 a spatial weights matrix of an MSA's 4 nearest neighbors for a local Moran's  $I$  reveals clusters of  
 172 MSAs with high  $T$  located primarily in California. Results using other neighborhood definitions  
 173 (either 2 or 3 nearest neighbors) are qualitatively similar, with additional high industrial tightness  
 174 clusters centered on Washington, D.C. and Denver among others appearing (not shown).



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176 **Figure 3. MSAs by tightness z-score.** Most regions in the US have an MSA with high tightness.

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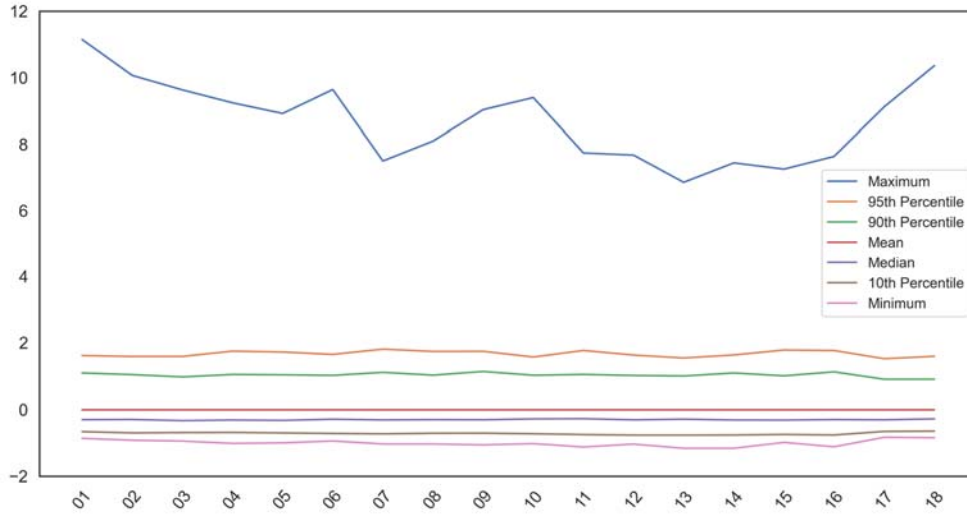
178

179 **Figure 4. LISA clusters MSA tightness z-score.** While most regions have MSAs with high tightness,  
 180 California has the largest cluster of MSAs with high industrial tightness.

181

182 *Tightness over time*

183 The distribution of  $T$  from 2001 to 2018 is displayed in Figure 5. The median normalized  
 184 tightness varied from 0.25 and 0.35 over the period examined, approximately 10 percent of the  
 185 normalized standard deviation of 1.0. The 95<sup>th</sup> percentile of the normalized tightness varied between  
 186 1.5 and 2.0 from 2001 to 2018, 50 percent of one standard deviation. The most noticeable variation  
 187 occurred at the maximum, which was driven primarily by the San Francisco MSA, which had the  
 188 highest tightness value for 12 of the 18 years 2001 to 2018.



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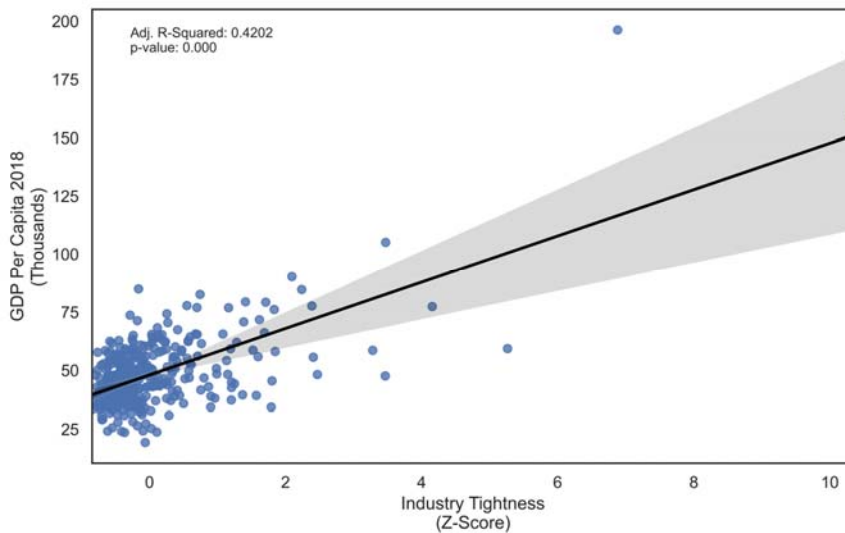
191 **Figure 5. Industrial tightness dispersion: 2001-2018.** The overall distribution of MSA industrial  
 192 tightness remained stable from 2001 to 2018.

193

194 From a policy perspective, it is notable that the tightness of individual MSAs, particularly when  
 195 ranked against all other MSAs, changes over time. For example, the rank of Hickory-Lenoir-  
 196 Morganton, NC, declined from rank 8<sup>th</sup> in 2003 to 77<sup>th</sup> in 2013, while Midland, TX climbed from 22<sup>nd</sup>  
 197 in 2005 to 1<sup>st</sup> in 2014 (SOM Fig. S3). The perpetual reordering of MSAs within the overall distribution  
 198 of *T* suggests that it may be possible for policymakers influence regional tightness.

199 *Relationship Between Tightness and Metrics of Urban Performance*

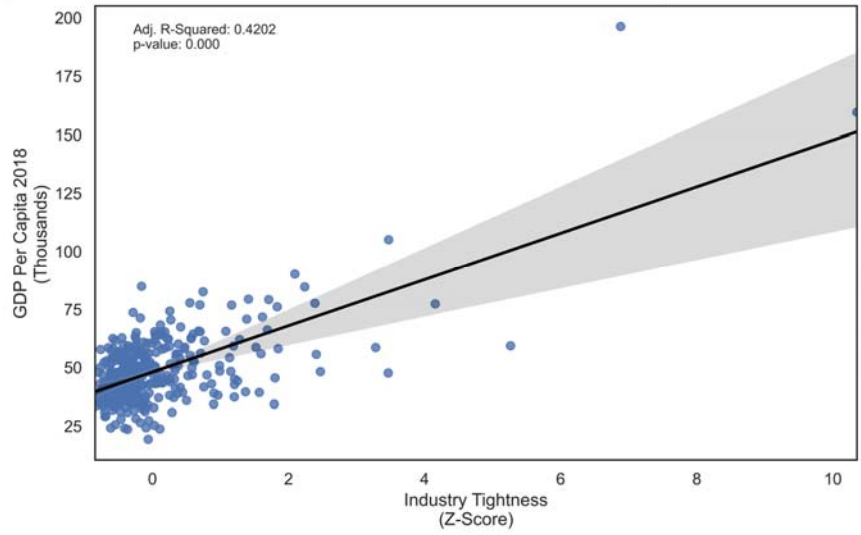
200 Industrial tightness correlates with multiple MSA characteristics. Industry tightness is  
 201 significantly and positively correlated with GDP per capita (adj  $R^2 = 0.43$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) (



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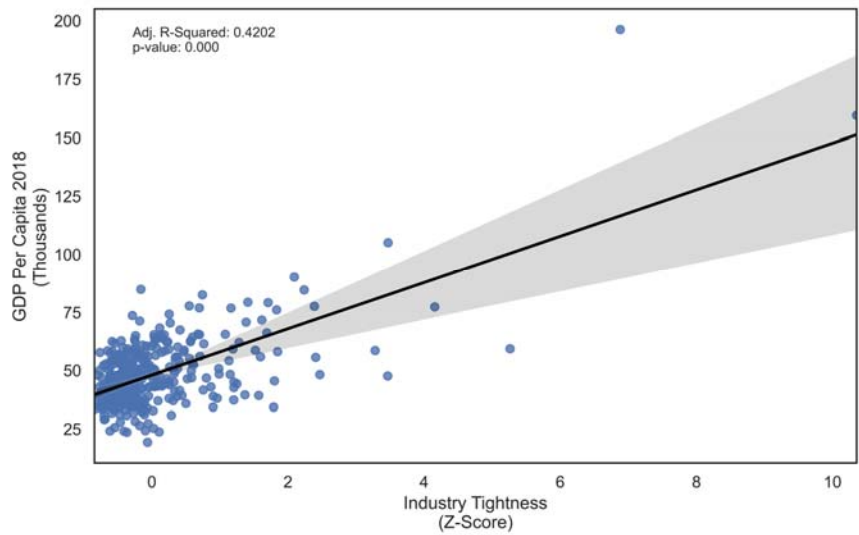
203 **Figure 6).** A one standard deviation increase in industrial tightness is correlated with an increase  
 204 in GDP per capita of \$9,971. Industry tightness is also significantly and positively correlated with

205 growth in GDP per capita (



206  
207 Figure 6).

208 To examine the relationship between industry tightness and economic vulnerability, we use data  
209 covering the period of the 2007-2009 global recession. We regress the percent change in MSA GDP  
210 per capita from 2006 to 2009 on 2006 MSA tightness (see SOM). Unlike occupational tightness [1],  
211 we find no statistically significant correlation between industry tightness and change in an MSA's  
212 per capita GDP during the recession. Two additional variables examined are the logarithm of MSA  
213 population and patents per worker (Table 3). While MSA industrial tightness is significantly  
214 correlated with both population and patents per worker, both also have low explanatory power.  
215



216  
217 **Figure 6. Industrial tightness vs. GDP per capita (thousands of \$).** MSA industrial tightness is  
218 positively correlated with regional economic productivity.

219

220 **Table 3. Tightness versus metrics of urban performance**

Single Variable Regression of Industrial Tightness versus:



	GDP Per Capita (Thousands)	GDP Per Capita Change 2015 – 2018 <sup>‡</sup>	Log Population	Patents Per 1,000 Workers (2015)
Const.	47.97	0.04	-3.29	0.68
Beta	9.97***	0.014***	0.26***	0.41***
(SE)	(0.597)	(0.002)	(0.045)	(0.056)
Adj. R2	0.42	0.094	0.079	0.122
N	384	384	384	375

Note: Patent data are sourced from the USPTO

\*\*\* significant at the 1% level.

<sup>‡</sup>Dependent tightness data are 2015 Industrial Tightness, 2015 OMB MSA definitions.

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The close positive correlation between industrial tightness and productivity raises natural questions as to the source of the correlation. Regarding time dynamics, there are at least two plausible explanations of how the correlation between MSA industrial tightness and GDP per capita could developed within any individual MSA. First, productivity could lead to greater industrial tightness as greater competition for resources results in an exclusionary process that drives non-related, less productive, industries out of the regional market either through relocation or closure. Such a dynamic process has been identified in regional economies resulting from firm formation [21]. Second, industrial tightness could induce all economic activity to become more productive, without exclusionary processes, as the complex interactions of the tightly bound economy find additional productive uses for existing industries. If complex inter-industry linkages induce regional economic productivity without an exclusionary process, the concern among ecologists that strong asymmetric relationships resulting in one species excluding another, and thus the relationship going unmeasured, would be diminished for regional economic analysis [22]. Examining the exclusionary processes that may be at work seem a fruitful area of future research.

There are additional considerations that may play a role in the strong correlation between industrial tightness and productivity. For example, the overall correlation results from a small number of rarely co-occurring industry-pairs. The overall correlation could also result from the diversity of co-occurring industry pairs. While there are numerous plausible explanations, we analyze the possibility that the correlation is driven by rarely co-occurring industry-pairs.

Rareness of industry co-occurrence could be quantified several ways. For instance, the individual occurrences of two industries could be independently rare, making a co-occurrence of both industries highly unlikely. It could also be the case that two industries have a low  $x$ , meaning that while they both may occur independently in many MSAs, they rarely co-occur. A parsimonious measure of industry-pair rarity is a simple count of the number of MSAs in which industry pair  $i,j$  co-occurs. More formally:

$$c_{i,j} = \sum_m p_{i,j,m} \quad (5)$$

247

where

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$$p_{i,j,m} = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } LQ_{i,m} > 1, \quad LQ_{j,m} > 1 \\ 0 & \text{Elsewhere} \end{cases} \quad (6)$$

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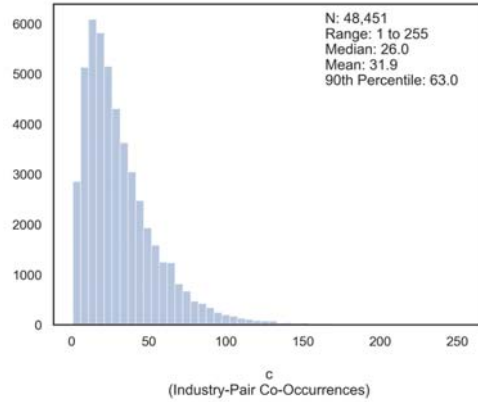
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We calculate  $c$  for each of the 48,451 unique industry pairs that co-occur at least once (65 industry pairs never co-occur). The distribution of  $c$  is highly skewed, with a median of 26, an average of 31.9 and a maximum of 255 (Fig. 7).



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255 **Figure 7. Histogram of industry-pair co-occurrences.** The distribution of the number of co-occurrences is  
 256 highly skewed, the median number of co-occurrences is 26 MSAs.

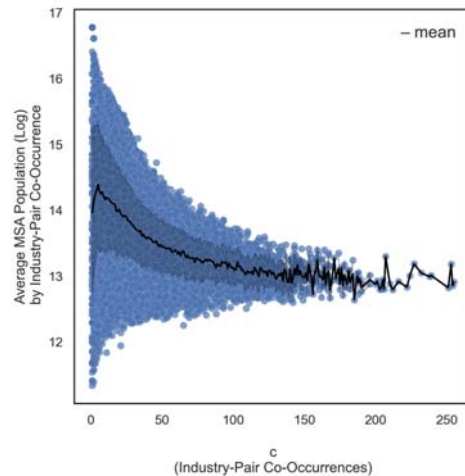
257

258 Industry-pairs with high interdependence values co-occur more rarely than industry-pairs with  
 259 lower interdependence values (SOM Fig. S4). In order to have a high inter-dependence values, two  
 260 industries have to both be specialized in only a few places and co-occur in more places than would  
 261 be expected by random chance. If two industries co-occur far more frequently than would be  
 262 anticipated by random chance, it is likely the case then that they are more productive together than  
 263 they are separately, thus capturing the essence of the measure, and resulting in the tight correlation  
 264 between tightness and economic productivity.

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266 To determine how  $c$  varies with city characteristics, we first plot  $c_{ij}$  against the average MSA  
 267 population where  $p_{i,j,m} = 1$  (Fig. 8). Given that the data are not normally distributed and  
 268 heteroskedastic, we report the mean of the average city-size for each  $c$ . Rarely occurring industry-  
 269 pairs are more likely to co-occur in larger MSAs. The mean average city-size in which an industry-  
 270 pair co-occurs rises from 2.38 million when  $c = 1$  to 2.6 million when  $c = 5$ . From this peak the mean  
 271 average city-size in which an industry-pair co-occurs falls to 1.06 million when  $c = 30$ .

271

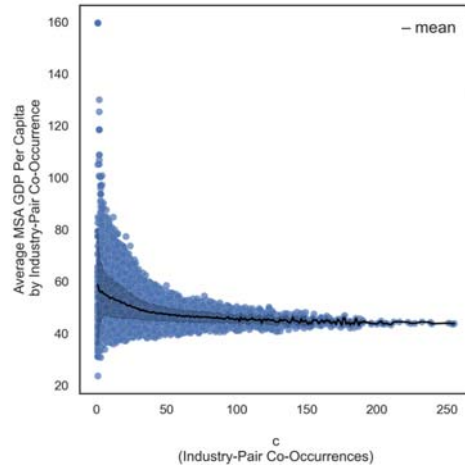


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273 **Figure 8. Average MSA population (log) vs. number of industry-pair co-occurrences.** Industries that rarely  
 274 co-occur typically co-occur in larger MSAs.

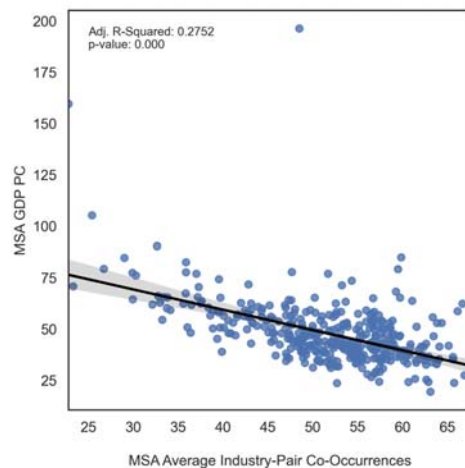
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276 Plotting the average GDP per capita where  $p_{i,j,m} = 1$  against  $c_{i,j}$  reveals a similar relationship (Fig.  
 277 9). Rarely occurring industry-pairs are more likely to occur in MSAs with higher GDP per capita.  
 278 The mean average GDP per capita of MSAs in which an industry-pair co-occurs declines from \$58,664  
 279 when  $c = 1$  to \$49,972 when  $c =$  the median of 26. As  $c$  increases, the mean average GDP per capita  
 280 across MSAs asymptotically approaches approximately \$43,000.  
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282  
 283 **Figure 9. Average MSA per capita GDP vs. number of industry-pair co-occurrences.** Industries that rarely co-  
 284 occur typically co-occur in more productive MSAs.

285  
 286 Given that the mean average per capita GDP declines as  $c$  increases suggests that cities with  
 287 rarely co-occurring industry-pairs have higher per capita economic output. To examine this further,  
 288 we compare the average  $c$  for industry-pairs that co-occur in an MSA to the MSA's per capita GDP  
 289 (Fig. 10). The correlation between the average  $c$  of industry-pairs that co-occur within the MSA and  
 290 the MSA's per capita GDP is negative and significant (adj R2 = 0.27,  $p < 0.001$ ). Regions with industries  
 291 that rarely co-occur are more productive than regions with more ubiquitously co-occurring  
 292 industries, providing further evidence that the co-occurrence measure underlying the MSA-level  
 293 tightness measure captures inter-industry productivity benefits not captured when using traditional  
 294 tools, such as location quotients, alone.  
 295



296  
 297 **Figure 10. MSA industry-pairs average co-occurrence vs. per capita GDP.** MSAs with rarer industry pairs are  
 298 more productive.

299

300 *Industries, occupations, and skills – synthesizing past work on economic structures*

301 Finally, we synthesize the results of this study, using tightness based on industries, with  
 302 previous work using tightness based on occupations [1] and on skills [2]. Comparing industrial  
 303 tightness to both occupational tightness and skills tightness reveals that the industrial tightness is  
 304 linearly correlated with occupational tightness while the relationship with skills tightness is non-  
 305 linear (**Error! Reference source not found.** SOM Figs. S6-S8). The linear correlation between  
 306 industrial tightness and occupational tightness is positive and significant (adj. R<sup>2</sup> = 0.65, p < 0.001).  
 307 Thus, while industrial and occupational tightness appear to be closely related, skills tightness stands  
 308 out as distinct from the other two measures.

309

**Table 4. Industry tightness versus occupation and skills tightness**

	Single Variable Regression of Industrial Tightness (Z-Score) vs.:	
	Occupational Tightness	Skills Tightness
Const.	0.01	0.04
Beta	0.811***	0.301***
(SE)	(0.031)	(0.048)
Adj. R2	0.646	0.094
N	365	365

\* significant at the 1% level.

310

311

312 Integrating this study with previous work, a summary of the various metrics of tightness and  
 313 their relationships with economic indicators is presented in Table 5. Overall, we find that all measures  
 314 of tightness are positively and significantly correlated with economic performance in the absence of  
 315 shocks. However, following a shock both higher occupation and industry tightness are correlated  
 316 with higher percentage drops in economic performance. On the other hand, higher skills tightness is  
 317 correlated with increased economic performance following a shock.

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**Table 5. Correlation between various measures of economic tightness and economic performance metrics**

	Tightness based on:		
	Occupations	Skills	Industries
Per capita GDP	+	+	+
Per capita personal income	+	+	+
Change in per capita GDP, following shock	-	+	-
Change in per capita personal income, following shock	-	n.s.	-

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n.s. = not significant

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The implications of this summary for policy makers is that there exists a tradeoff between economic productivity and economic resilience. Attracting industries and jobs that increase tightness may enhance economic efficiency but at the cost of resilience in the event of a shock. However, to the extent that policy makers can promote higher skills tightness without increasing occupational or industrial tightness may simultaneously enhance both productivity and resilience. However, it remains unclear what policy options might influence only specific components of a regional economy

328 and further research is required to determine realistic policy options that best empower policy  
329 makers to navigate the productivity-resilience tradeoff.

330

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