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**Recent Population Trends in Nonmetropolitan Cities and Villages:
From the Turnaround, Through Reversal to the Rebound**

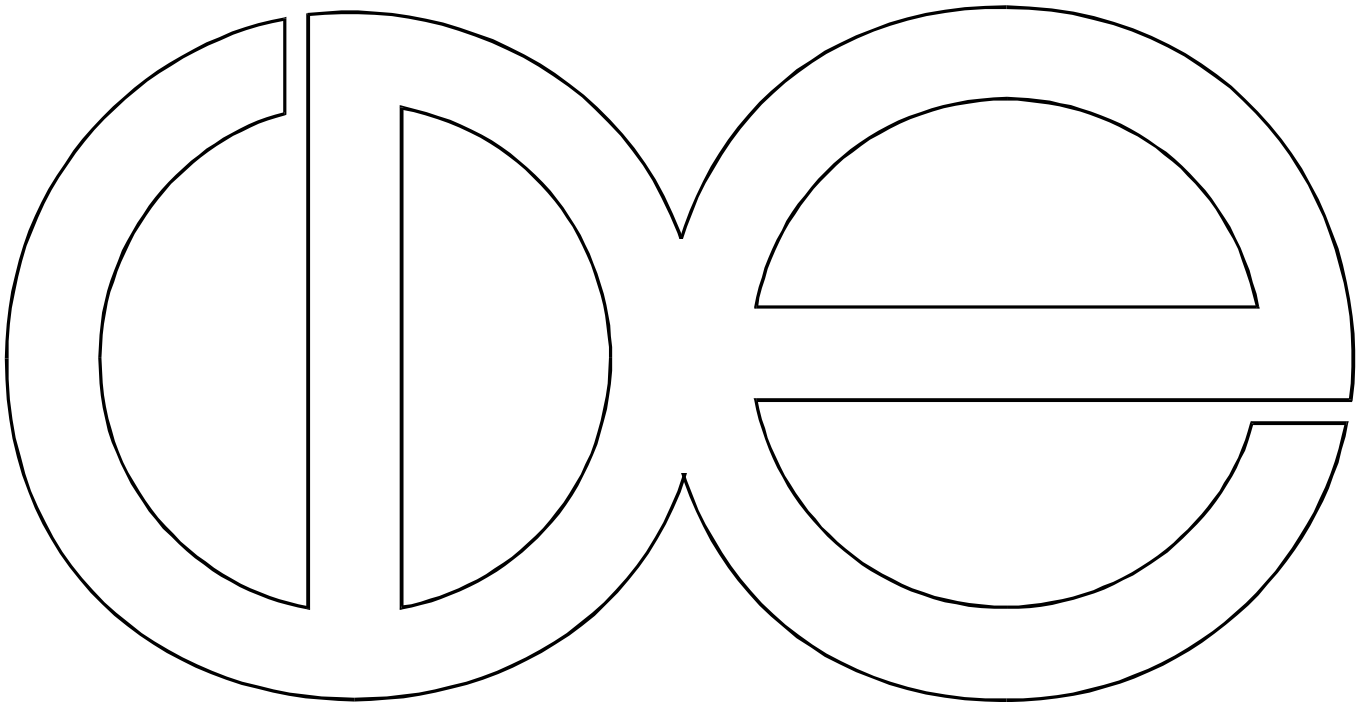
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**RECENT POPULATION TRENDS IN NONMETROPOLITAN
CITIES AND VILLAGES: FROM THE TURNAROUND,
THROUGH REVERSAL TO THE REBOUND**

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The twin processes of population concentration and deconcentration, working at the regional, metropolitan-nonmetropolitan and local levels, have defined the redistribution of the American people in the 20th century. Over most of this period, there was a massive concentration of population into cities, with a multiplication of places as urbanization spread and larger centers captured ever greater numbers. Although growth generally was at the periphery of such places, with the widespread use of the automobile there was in addition a spread of population into formerly rural nearby areas. The recognition of this led to the adoption of the metropolitan area concept in 1950, and on this basis one may generalize that at least until 1970 the 20th century settlement process could be described as concentration into metropolitan areas and deconcentration within these areas.

In nonmetropolitan areas, larger places tended to grow most rapidly, and many of these "grew up" so that their counties were reclassified as metropolitan. Both metropolitan growth and nonmetropolitan urban growth were fueled by rural to urban migration, with the reorganization of agriculture and decline in labor needs in this and other extractive industries. Consequently, many rural parts of the nation experienced declining populations in this century at least prior to 1970. Within the nonmetropolitan urban hierarchy, moreover, modernization brought a centralization of trade, service and other activities into larger places, leaving many small places behind.

As is now well known, the 1970s brought a shift in this process, with more rapid growth in nonmetro than metro areas, and at the same time increasing deconcentration at the regional level away from the industrial heartland and into the South and West.¹ On the nonmetropolitan side, of greater significance than the metro-nonmetro reversal in growth differentials was the widespread shift from slow growth or decline to a more rapid growth in population through

migration. Concern for the 'dying small town' was replaced by concern for the harmony of 'newcomers' and 'old-timers' (Frankena, 1980; Fuguitt, 1985).

This period turned out to be brief, however, and in the 1980s nonmetropolitan America again suffered a downturn in growth, and once more metropolitan areas were growing more rapidly (Beale, 1988; Albrecht, 1993; Johnson, 1993). Yet near the end of the 1980s, county population estimates indicated the beginning of yet another counter-trend (Beale and Fuguitt, 1990). Since then there has been even stronger evidence of a nonmetropolitan growth rebound based on annual county population estimates, so that by 1992 metropolitan and nonmetropolitan net migration rates had become about equivalent, with nonmetro rates exceeding metro rates in subsequent years (Johnson and Beale, 1994; Fuguitt and Beale, 1996; Hansen, 1997; Long and Nucci, 1997).

The three unanticipated changes in population and migration trends since 1970 have compounded the difficulties of uncovering the underlying processes involved. The situation before 1970 was generally interpreted as an inexorable process of population concentration into metropolitan areas, based on the advantages of accessibility there for social and economic activities. Subsequently, many viewed the turnaround as an extension of the scale of deconcentration from within metro areas to between metro and nonmetro areas, brought about by continual improvements in transportation and communication and organizational changes (Wardwell, 1977; Hawley, 1978; Wilson, 1988). This approach often made the preferences for living and working in low density settings an underlying factor, with organizational changes allowing more individuals to act on these preferences (Zuiches 1980; Kasarda 1995; Brown et al. forthcoming).

This deconcentration perspective, however, did not predict the downturn of the 1980s, leading some to conclude that the turnaround was just an aberration based on unique conditions of that decade (for example, Lever, 1993; Frey, 1995). More recently, however, the new trends of the 1990s have led to the counter-assertion that the reversal of the 1980s was itself due to unique conditions of that period, so that the turnaround has now resumed (Johnson and Beale, 1994). This debate will undoubtedly continue (for a recent contribution see Frey and Johnson, forthcoming), but further progress needs to rest on a more comprehensive understanding of just what has been going on. In particular, there needs to be more detailed analysis of the deconcentration process involving cities, small towns, and rural areas within the nonmetropolitan sector. This is the goal of the present paper.

One of the most interesting features of the 1970-80 turnaround era was the acceleration of deconcentration within nonmetropolitan areas. Not only were nonmetro areas growing more rapidly than metro areas, but villages and small towns were outpacing larger cities, and in general areas outside incorporated places were growing faster than places even in many more remote parts of the country (Fuguitt, Lichter and Beale 1981; Lichter and Fuguitt 1982; Long 1981; Long and DeAre 1982). Looking at each decade since 1950, we review here the findings noted above, while extending our analysis through the 1980s reversal period, and, using recent place population estimates, into the rebound of the 1990s.

The purpose of this study is to track and contrast the patterns of local concentration and deconcentration in nonmetropolitan America between 1950 and 1996. We consider the growth of places by initial size as well as the growth of population living in the countryside or in unincorporated hamlets. Nonmetropolitan America is characterized by socioeconomic diversity,

so it is important to take local and regional circumstances into account for each period (Brown and Beale, 1981). To determine how widespread and consistent the trends are, we compare patterns of growth by nearness to metropolitan areas, and by region of the country. We also examine differences among a subset of nonmetropolitan places distinguished by the primary socioeconomic character of their county. Using a detailed data file from the 1990 census, we are able to give some consideration to commuting. The separation of home and work is an increasingly important basis for the support and extension of nonmetropolitan population deconcentration. Finally, there has long been concern about the circumstances and future of the small rural village, so we have considered specifically some trends for those places having fewer than 2,500 residents.

DATA AND APPROACH

In this research, “places” are population centers recognized by the Bureau of the Census as incorporated over the time period under consideration. We compare the growth of places by size and the growth of the “nonplace” population. The latter is obtained by subtracting the place population from the total nonmetro population at each time, and measuring the change in this number across each interval. The size-of-place population comparisons are made by classifying places by size at the beginning of a given period and following these places through the time period, regardless of their size at the end. Places newly incorporating or disincorporating over a decade are not included in the place population totals of either time. Consequently, the nonplace population may include territory newly incorporating during the time interval considered.

In most of this analysis we use a “floating” metropolitan- nonmetropolitan designation. That is, nonmetropolitan includes counties that were not designated as metropolitan according to the census at the initial time of each interval. (Exact dates of each designation are 1950, 1963, 1974, 1983 and 1993. After 1950 these are the dates when the designations were made for the preceding census year using commuting data from that census). We believe that if data are available this floating approach is more appropriate for making comparisons over several decades than is using the same metro-nonmetro designation across all time intervals considered. Nonmetropolitan areas designated at later times include only the more remote part of the nonmetro sector for earlier times, and conversely areas designated as nonmetro at earlier times would include many counties which subsequently became metropolitan.²

Since we compare four ten-year periods and one 6.25-year period, annualized rates per 1,000 are used in most of this analysis (for calculation see Shryock and Siegel, 1971:378-80).

We are able to consider growth during the present decade by using a set of place population estimates prepared by the Bureau of the Census for July 1, 1996. In previous research Lichter and Fuguitt (1989) used the corresponding estimates for 1984, and the results were largely confirmed by the 1990 census. Population estimates should always be interpreted with caution. Nevertheless, these estimates, along with independent estimates prepared by four states (Texas, Oregon, Washington and Wisconsin) show a marked upturn in nonmetropolitan place growth between the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s. The three other states with independent estimates, Arizona, California and Florida, had relatively rapid nonmetro growth in both periods.

The place-nonplace growth comparison for 1990-96 shows a continuation of a trend beginning in 1970 of faster nonplace than place growth. This finding is consistent with that of

contemporary local observers and field observation. Nevertheless, it may be open to qualification, since there is a reciprocal relation between place and nonplace growth, such that if the calculated place growth is actually too high, nonplace growth will be too low, and vice versa. Furthermore, the total county populations from which the place growth totals are subtracted to obtain nonplace growth are based on a separate set of county estimates which are themselves subject to error. Yet, we think it is very important to have a picture of what is most likely to have happened since the last census in 1990, and we believe that our results will prove valid in that respect when the census of 2000 becomes available.

FINDINGS

There was a distinctive pattern of growth by size of place in each of the five time periods considered. Figure 1 shows the annualized rate of change in four place-size groups along with the nonplace population for nonmetropolitan territory at the beginning of each period since 1950.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

The 1950s were a time of national population expansion with high birth rates and high levels of urbanization, with heavy outmovement from farming, and shifts up the urban hierarchy into larger cities and metropolitan areas. The pattern in that decade thus consists of a positive relationship between size of place and growth, with the most slowly growing population group including those persons living outside of any incorporated place. By 1960-70, this positive pattern had greatly attenuated. Although the nonmetro population outside places was still growing the most slowly, the other size groups, from small villages up to places over 10,000,

differed little in growth, with annualized rates ranging from 7 to about 10 per 1,000. In the 1970-80 “turnaround” period, a marked pattern of deconcentration characterized nonmetro places along with the population outside places. For place-size groups, consequently, the pattern is almost the reverse of the 1950s, with an inverse association between size of place and growth and with the population outside of places growing considerably faster than the other size groups.

The 1980-90 period was different from all of the preceding ones. Growth rates generally were considerably lower in that decade than in any of the three decades preceding, but the pattern seemed to be a combination of the 1950s and the 1970s: that is, the most rapidly growing group continued to be the population outside of any place, though the rate at less than 7 per 1,000 was about one-third of the comparable rate in the 1970s. Place growth, however, shifted to a positive association with size, as in the 1950s, so that the most rapidly growing place group was for those having an initial size of 10,000 and over, and the two village groups under 2,500 declined absolutely.

In the first six years of the 1990s, we moved into yet another new pattern of growth by size of place. For each of the place-size groups and the nonplace population the 1990-96 growth levels are higher than those in the 1980s, with the greatest gain for the smallest size group of villages. Note that these data do not show a continuation of the direct association of size of place and growth of the 1980s, or a return to the inverse association of the 1970-80 turnaround decade, but rather something in between. Different place-size groups differed little in growth in the 1990s just as was true in the 1960s. But there is evidently a continuation of the trend beginning in the 1970s in which the population outside places grew more rapidly than the place population. This is seen more clearly in figure 2, which provides a direct comparison of nonplace population with

FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

the population for all places combined.

Nearness to Metropolitan Areas and Region of the Country

Before considering these trends further, it is important to see how well they stand up under disaggregation. They could, after all, be a combination of rather different patterns near or away from large cities, or in nonmetropolitan areas in different regions of the country. These geographical distinctions reflect the diversity one finds in nonmetropolitan America. One would expect to find places near metropolitan centers tending to grow more rapidly than those located elsewhere, given widespread metropolitan deconcentration. Similarly, the deconcentration process at the regional level has generally led to higher growth in the West, and since at least 1970 also in the South in comparison to the North. Figures 3a through 3c reproduce Figure 1 for places in counties adjacent or not adjacent to metropolitan areas located in the North (Northeast plus Midwest), the South and the West census regions.

FIGURES 3a, 3b, 3c ABOUT HERE

In the North adjacent counties, the inverse deconcentration growth pattern for places classed by size had been established by 1950, with the population outside places growing faster than place population in every time since that date, and places over 10,000 having the slowest growth except for 1980-90. In Northern nonadjacent counties growth levels were very low throughout the 46-year period. Although growth rates were higher in the 1990s than the 1980s, this only involved going from absolute loss to essentially no growth for places, although there was apparently some recovery of growth for the nonplace population. In the Northeast in particular,

municipal boundaries are rather fixed, with few annexations. Thus it is more difficult for growth to occur within incorporated centers.

Levels of growth are considerably higher in the South and the West and for all three regions they are higher in adjacent than in nonadjacent counties, as predicted. All in all, the consistency of these patterns across the six region-adjacency groups is more noteworthy than any differences. Except for the more highly urbanized North-adjacent, all categories show larger places growing faster than smaller ones in the 1950s, and among places this is true for all location groups in 1980-90. With the exception of the South-adjacent in 1990-96 the consistent deconcentrating pattern by size of place, with lowest growth in the largest places, is found only in the 1970-80 turnaround period. Nevertheless, since 1970, for all these location categories, the nonplace population grew more rapidly than the place population of any size group with few exceptions. A further consistent finding over almost all of these location categories is the increase in the level of growth for place size-groups and for the nonplace population when 1990-96 is compared with 1980-90, attesting to the general nature of the 1990s recovery.

Population Change by County Type

Another way to reflect the variation in nonmetro America is to distinguish counties by dominant socioeconomic character. We use four of the county types defined after 1990 by the Economic Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (Cook and Mizer, 1994). These include two of their economic types, manufacturing and farming, and two policy types, retirement destination and persistent poverty. Two-thirds of the 1993 nonmetro counties are in one or more of these types. Manufacturing counties (N=506) had 30 percent or more of their

labor and self-employment income from manufacturing in 1987-89, and farming counties (N=555) had 20 percent or more from farming. Retirement-destination counties (N=189) had 15 percent or more net migration gain of persons aged 60 and over in 1980-90, and persistent poverty counties (N=535) had 20 percent or more persons in poverty in each of the years 1959, 1969, 1979, and 1989. These distinctive types of counties have had rather different experiences in terms of social and economic change, which would be expected to impinge on population trends for incorporated places and other nonmetro territory across recent decades.³

Distinctive patterns by county type are revealed in the panels of Figures 4a and 4b. Places in retirement counties had notably higher rates of growth in each time period after 1970 than

FIGURES 4a and 4b ABOUT HERE

other county types. Growth rates inside and outside of places were high in 1970-80 with the characteristic inverse association between size of place and growth. (Since retirement counties were selected for having high elderly net migration gain, this association might seem to be circular. But in related work we have found that retirement counties also have high net migration gain for the younger population). Levels were rather lower in the 1980s for all size groups, as expected, but the rebound in the 1990s did not include the nonplace category, in contrast to other types of areas considered here. Given the premium on low density rural living in most nonmetro areas attractive to elders, we wonder if there is a methodological reason for this pattern. Since the 1996 place estimates are based on the “housing-unit method” which involves monitoring changes in housing inventories perhaps there were problems in sorting out seasonal dwellings.

Manufacturing counties show the lowest levels of growth overall, with extremely low rates for 1980-90. Despite the assumption that manufacturing is a major activity in

nonmetropolitan cities, the largest size group was not the most rapidly growing group in any time period.

Places in farming counties are distinctive in generally having a positive association between place size and growth, even during the turnaround decade. The 10,000 and over size class is the fastest growing in every period. Farm counties are most likely to be found in the Midwest, and there the traditional trade-oriented rural community structure would be expected to prevail, with centralization of trade and services moving activities and people away from villages to larger places (Fuguitt, 1994; Stabler and Olfert, 1994). We see that small farming communities were particularly hit hard with the reversals of the 1980-90 period, and villages lost more than 10 percent overall. Declines were also posted for this size group in manufacturing and poverty counties. Villages will be considered in more detail in a section to follow.

Places in persistent poverty counties generally had lower growth rates which were similar in magnitude to places in manufacturing counties after 1960. Counties in these two socioeconomic types tend to be located in different sections of the country, however. Poverty counties are largely found in Appalachia, the Southeast and the Southwest. And manufacturing counties are mostly scattered through the North and South, east of the Great Plains.

The Importance of Commuting

Commuting is an increasingly significant component of nonmetropolitan community structure. From rural sociology's beginnings there has been concern about the interdependence between rural and urban areas and how this has strengthened over time. Today, a major element of this interdependence is the separation between home and work. With advances in

transportation and communication, more and more people are choosing to live some distance from their places of employment, and many prefer low-density settings for their homes. This process has been viewed as an important basis of the rural renaissance when and where there has been increased residential population growth. Commuting has also been a factor damping growth and decline in nonmetro areas not attracting new residents on balance, as persons living there succeed in substituting commuting for migration out of the area. With shifts in employment away from resource-based rural activities, and the centralization of trade and service activities, there is evidence that many smaller cities and towns have prospered or at least held their own by turning into bedroom communities (Johansen and Fuguitt, 1984).

Although commuting helps to tie metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas together, studies since the 1970s have shown that most nonmetropolitan movement between home and work does not involve metropolitan areas (Bowles and Beale 1980; Fuguitt, 1991). Over time the location of jobs has decentralized just as has the location of residences, and there are many nonmetropolitan cities that attract workers.

The proportion of out-commuters, that is, employed residents who worked outside their home towns in 1990, is given for nonmetropolitan cities and villages by size in table 1. The first column shows that smaller places have higher proportions of people working elsewhere, with a

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

regular progression from one-quarter for the largest places to three-quarters for places less than 500 in population size. The next two columns indicate that independent of the size effect places near metropolitan areas together have higher proportions of out-commuters with each adjacent size class being from 8 to 12 percentage points higher than the corresponding nonadjacent size

class. The appreciable size of the percentages in the nonadjacent column, however, attests to the importance of commuting within the entire nonmetropolitan category.

Is commuting to another location to work more prevalent in growing than in declining communities? The answer is no, controlling for size of place. Of the workers living in places that lost 10 percent or more in the previous decade, about one-half worked elsewhere compared to four out of ten in places gaining residents according to the bottom row of table 1. But the more similar proportions for growing and declining places in individual size group rows included in the table show that this occurs because communities losing 10 percent or more are more likely to be small, and small places generally have high out-commuting percentages. Given the growth of bedroom communities as part of extended suburbanization, why is high out-commuting not associated with growth? There are possible counter-factors. Many places with expanding economies and increasing numbers of jobs may attract resident workers more than commuters who live elsewhere. On the other hand, communities with slow growth or decline may have increased the numbers of out-commuters, as many who succeed in staying do so by finding jobs in other communities, even if the commute is long and difficult.

Unfortunately, we do not have the number of persons who commuted into places to work. Knowledge of the balance between in- and out-commuters would help in understanding the circumstances in a given community and the relation between commuting and population change. We have demonstrated, nevertheless, that job commuting is indeed a very common practice in American rural communities, especially in smaller incorporated places, with the majority of workers who reside in such places employed elsewhere. Overall, the implications of this activity need to be better understood.

The Rural Village

Finally, we would like to single out places at the bottom of the size hierarchy.

Incorporated centers under 2,500 population are often termed villages, particularly since in the United States this is the threshold used by the Census to distinguish rural from urban places. Concern often focuses on these places as the ones most likely not to have a future. This is due to their limited resources, and more specifically to the decline of their trade center functions, as people travel farther to seek a greater variety in selection or cost of goods and services. In addition, the rural consumers who traditionally traded in such villages have declined in number, particularly those in the open-country farming or mining population. “The dying village” has become a cliché in the press and policy discussions at least for the past 100 years, with the possible exception of the 1970-80 turnaround decade (e.g., Fletcher, 1895; Vobejda, 1991).

What are the long-term trends in the population of nonmetropolitan villages? To go back to 1900 we use a constant 1983 nonmetropolitan-metropolitan designation. This is approximately in the middle of the period since metropolitan areas were distinguished in 1950. These, then are incorporated places having less than 2,500 population in the year indicated, located in the 2,374 counties nonmetropolitan in 1983. Table 2 shows that the number of nonmetropolitan villages increased from more than 6,000 in 1900 to nearly 10,000 by 1990, with the total village

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

population growing from 4.2 to 6.5 million. This gain was at a slower pace than the U.S. as a whole, so the proportion living in such places declined from 6 to less than 3 percent. We can conclude that although villages as defined here are definitely not disappearing, they never were a

major component of the population in this century, and are continuing to decline in relative importance. Yet the population of all places classed as nonmetro villages (column 4 of table 2) declined absolutely in only two decades, 1950-60 when there was maximum metropolitan growth (-.3 percent) and 1980-90 the recent turnaround reversal period. There was virtually no population growth for this size-class between 1950 and 1970, however.

Change in the population of the village size class across decades in column 4 is due not only to the growth or decline of places over time, but also to the establishment of new places, the disappearance of old places, and the shift of places into or out of the less-than-2,500 category. None of the four latter components, however, typically make up more than 2 percent of the total number of villages in a given decade. “Dying” by not appearing in a subsequent census is actually a rare event, testifying to the persistence of villages.

Nevertheless there are advantages in measuring the growth of the same places followed across a given time period regardless of size at the end, which is the procedure used elsewhere in this analysis, and in column 5 of table 2. Comparing growth of the village size class with growth by initial size (columns 4 and 5) shows that only in the first decade is growth by size-class greater than growth for the same places followed over time. In 1900-1910 the traditional rural settlement system was still being established, with many new places first appearing by the end of the period. In all other decades (except the 1980s when both approaches showed declines) there has been a diminution of growth by size class primarily through the net loss of faster growing places into larger size classes. The 1970-80 turnaround showed the highest village growth rates both by size class (5.9 percent) and initial size (11.6 percent) since 1910-20. The 1996 place estimates, however, produce a rate of growth across all villages for the 1990s that is similar to the 1960s, a

substantial change from the absolute decline of the 1980s (To allow a percentage comparison of this six-year period with previous decades in growth by village size, populations of 1996 were projected to the year 2000 on the basis of 1990-96 rates of growth).

Results given in previous sections of this paper showed that the 1980-90 downturn was particularly hard on smaller places, and table 2 reveals this is true relative to patterns across the entire century. Only in the 1980s did villages lose absolutely by both size-class (-3.1 percent) and by initial size (-3.4 percent). By either measurement, the overall performance of villages for 1980-90 was the poorest in this century. This makes even more remarkable the apparent growth recovery in the early 1990s, back to the 1960-70 level.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Our analysis of population redistribution by size of place within nonmetropolitan areas has shown that since the 1950s patterns of growth have supported a more deconcentrated settlement pattern. Growth by size of place in the 1960s was intermediate between the consistently concentrating pattern of the 1950s and the consistently deconcentrating pattern of the turnaround 1970s. Although in the reversal decade of the 1980s larger places were growing faster than smaller ones, the population outside places was growing even faster. Our 1996 estimates give a pattern of renewed growth in the 1990s both inside and outside of places, with small growth differentials among place size groups. These findings, then, do appear to support the view that a more deconcentrated settlement system became widespread after the 1950s, with the 1980s just a pause due to specific conditions of that decade (Johnson and Beale, 1994).

There is some reason to be cautious about the 1996 data because they are estimates. But our results comparing these data with other state-produced and earlier census 1994 estimates give us confidence that since 1990 there has been a notable upturn in both place and nonplace population growth throughout much of nonmetropolitan America. Although we are cautious about the observed 1990-96 place-nonplace growth differential, the deconcentrating pattern of greater nonplace growth is a continuation of that observed for the nation since 1970. This is consistent, moreover, with the emphasis on nonplace growth that we have encountered widely in anecdotal accounts and interviews of local informants.

Patterns of place growth since 1950 are not specific to adjacent or nonadjacent counties, or to different regions of the country, although growth levels are generally higher in adjacent than in nonadjacent counties, and in the South and West rather than the North. They are also notably higher in counties which have been attractive destinations for older adults, and we know from related research that this is based on migration gain across the age span, and not just the elderly.

As with the turnaround decade, the widespread nature of the settlement trends of the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s makes it difficult to point to specific causes, though it is clear that living outside large cities, and in many instances some distance from such cities, continues to be attractive for many people (Brown et al., forthcoming).

Although a variety of reasons may be given for the widespread revival of rural and small town America in the 1990s, and this issue is far from settled (Fuguitt and Beale, 1996), the present research raises the specific question of why incorporated places are increasingly attractive in the 1990s. We confess to some surprise at the amount and prevalence of nonmetro place growth since 1990. Yet writers (Ehrenhalt, 1996) have pointed to a revival of small town

businesses in some areas, being run by a new generation of newcomers and old timers, or have noted (Green, 1996) a growing advantage of building with access to municipal sewer, water and other utilities. Local area studies should be done to gauge the effect of these and other factors, along with the role of annexation in the growth upturn of smaller cities and villages.

More generally we need to understand better how deconcentration is affecting the form and function of the local community. With greater dispersion of economic activities, and complex patterns of cross-commuting by residents, place size no longer necessarily gives a growth advantage, and is likely to be less significant as an indicator of position in the settlement structure. Although the recent trends point to the resilience of the village, we need to understand better how these and larger places really fit into nonmetro America. Rapid nonplace growth raises important questions about implications of the often scattered transition of land use from farming, forestry or other activities to residential use.

The reversal of nonmetro growth in the 1980s, though temporary, points to the need to recognize the likelihood of continued fluctuations. Although we have had some pattern of population deconcentration at least since the turnaround, there is need to take circumstances of each particular time into consideration, along with local and regional differences. The spread of deconcentration cannot be a simple unilinear process. Our difficulties in making more confident predictions about the future are based in large part on the increasing interdependence of nonmetropolitan America with the remainder of our nation and the world.

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NOTES

¹We use “metro” and “nonmetro” interchangeably with metropolitan and nonmetropolitan in this paper. This designation is based on county units throughout the nation, including New England, where townships are used as building blocks in the official definition. Although writers sometimes treat nonmetropolitan and metropolitan as synonymous with rural and urban, note that both metro and nonmetro areas include both rural and urban territory as defined by the census.

²Were one to use a 1983 designation of nonmetropolitan in looking at change back in the 1950-60 decade, all counties under consideration would have continued to be nonmetropolitan for at least 30 years. On the other hand, for an analysis of the 1980-90 decade, the 1983 nonmetro counties would include a number that had already become metropolitan by 1990.

³This analysis differs from other sections of the paper in that the classifications for counties (except for persistent poverty) are for one time period in the 1980s, for counties nonmetropolitan in 1993, since data are not available according to the situation at the beginning of each time interval considered. We were able to classify places by size at the beginning of each decade, however. The USDA classification allowed no overlap between the two different economic types, but retirement-destination and persistent-poverty types do in some instances overlap with the economic types and with each other. In previous work, however, we did not find this to seriously affect the results obtained (Fuguitt and Beale, 1996).

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Table 1. Percent of Nonmetropolitan Workers Employed Outside Their Cities or Villages
in 1990, by Size of Place, Location, and 1980-90 Population Change

<i>Size of Place</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Location Re SMSAs</i>		<i>Percent Change 1980-1990</i>		
		<i>Adja- cent</i>	<i>Not Adjacent</i>	<i>Loss 10% or more</i>	<i>Loss less than 10%</i>	<i>Gain</i>
10,000 & up	27	31	23	29	26	28
2,500-9,999	41	46	34	38	40	42
1,000-2,499	56	62	50	51	55	60
500-999	67	73	61	65	66	70
0-499	76	81	71	75	75	76
Total	41	45	36	49	40	39

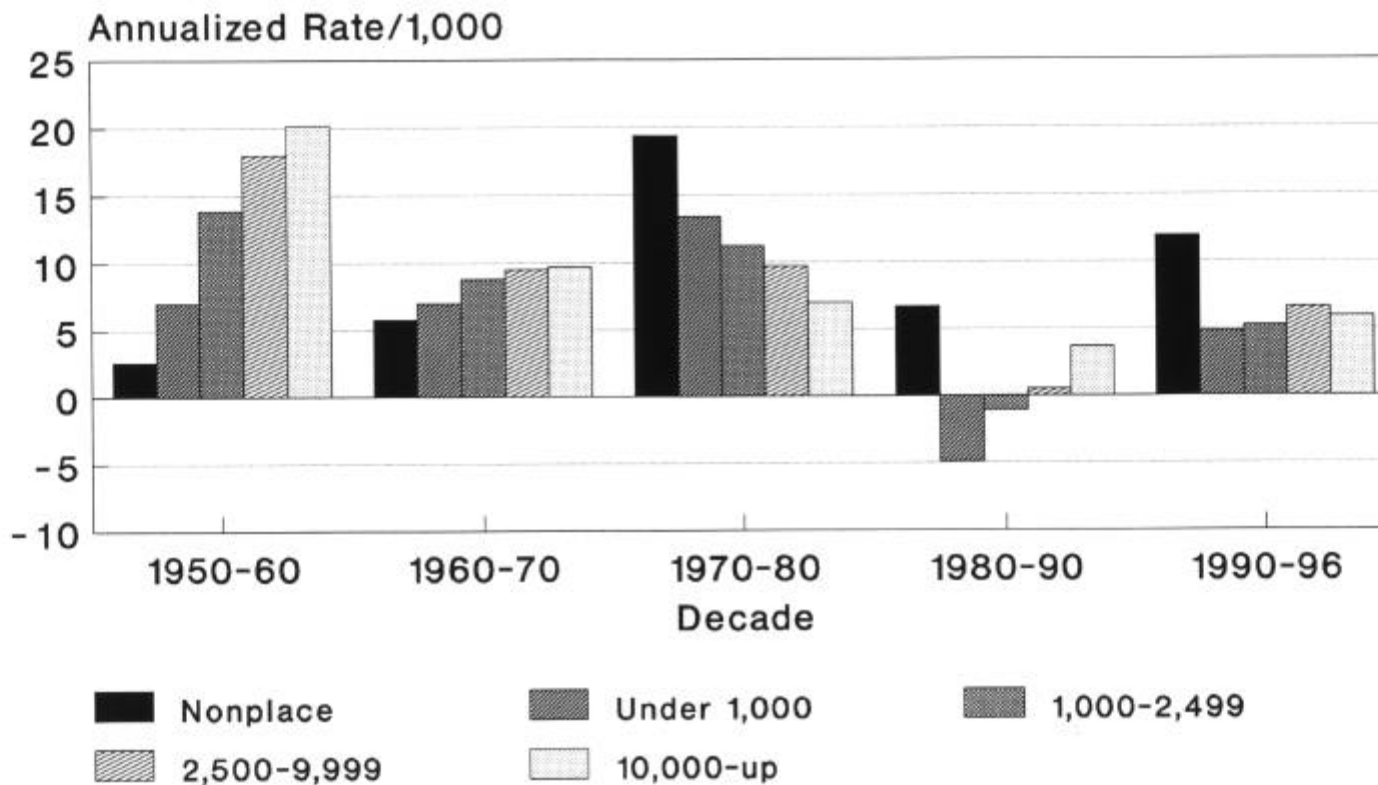
Table 2. Number and Total Population of Nonmetropolitan Incorporated Places
Having Less Than 2500 People, United States 1900-1990*

	<i>Number of villages</i>	<i>Population (thousands)</i>	<i>Percentage of U.S. population</i>	<i>Percentage growth since last census</i>		
			<i>U.S.</i>	<i>Size class</i>	<i>Places by initial size</i>	<i>U.S. total population</i>
1900	6282	4261	5.6	-	-	-
1910	8302	5495	6.0	29.0	23.2	21.0
1920	9227	6116	5.8	11.3	12.9	15.0
1930	9655	6243	5.1	2.1	5.2	16.2
1940	9514	6320	4.8	1.2	7.5	7.3
1950	9509	6326	4.2	0.1	8.8	14.5
1960	9640	6304	3.5	-0.3	5.5	18.5
1970	9566	6359	3.1	0.9	4.4	13.3
1980	9784	6737	3.0	5.9	11.6	11.5
1990	9837	6525	2.6	-3.1	-3.4	9.8
2000**	---	---	---	---	6.2	11.3

* Located in counties nonmetropolitan in 1983.

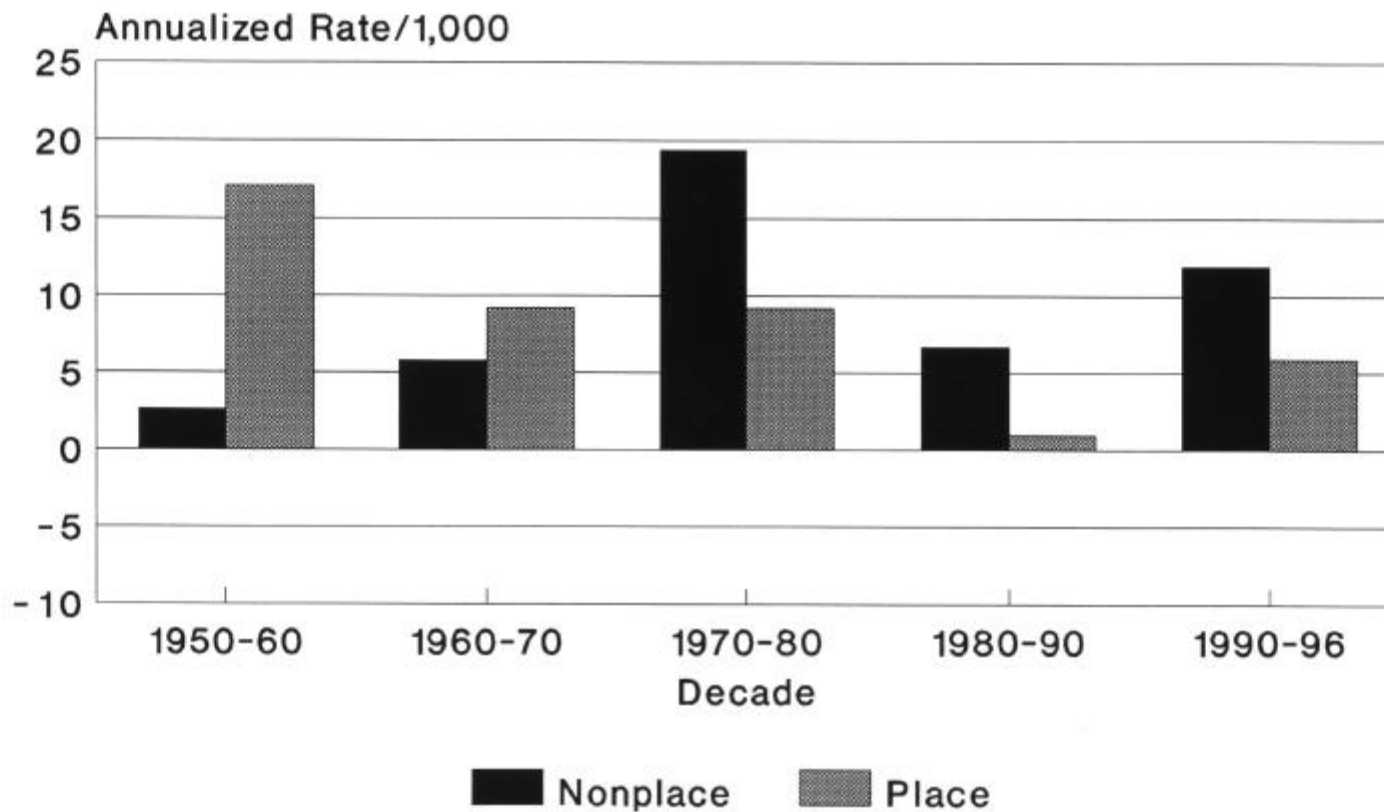
** Population projected to the year 2000 to make place and total percentage changes comparable with previous decades. The number of villages and their population not projected to 2000 because new places not available over the 1990 decade.

Figure 1
**NONMETROPOLITAN POPULATION CHANGE
 BY SIZE OF PLACE 1950-1996**



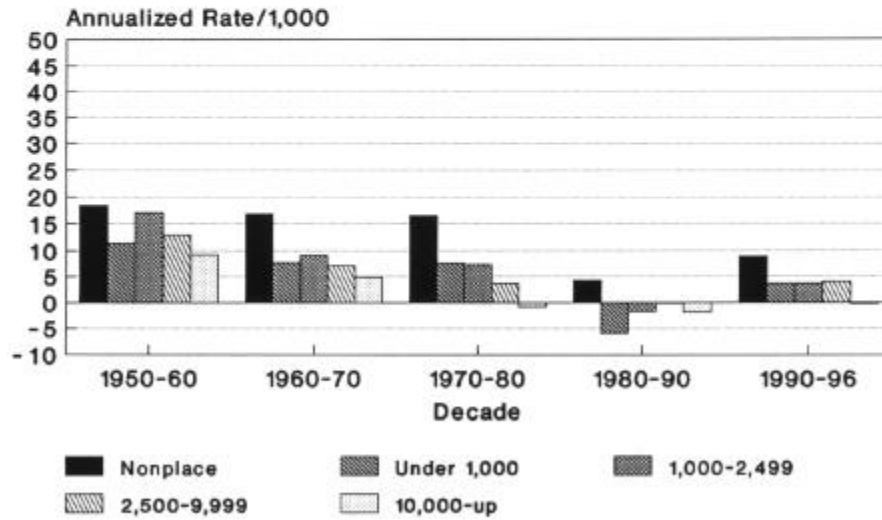
Nonmetropolitan as of the beginning of each decade. US Census estimates for 7/1/96.

Figure 2
NONMETROPOLITAN PLACE - NONPLACE
POPULATION CHANGE 1950-1996

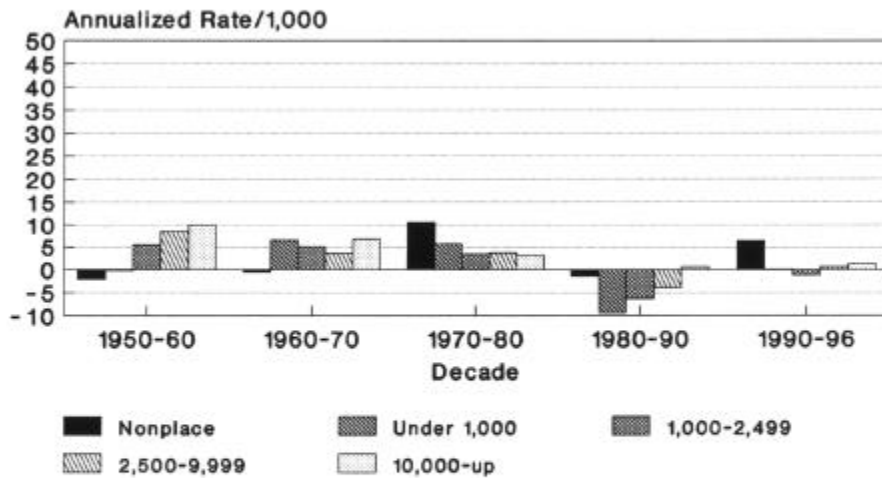


Nonmetropolitan as of the beginning of each decade. US Census estimates for 7/1/96.

Figure 3a
**POPULATION CHANGE BY PLACE SIZE, NORTH
 COUNTIES ADJACENT TO METRO AREAS**

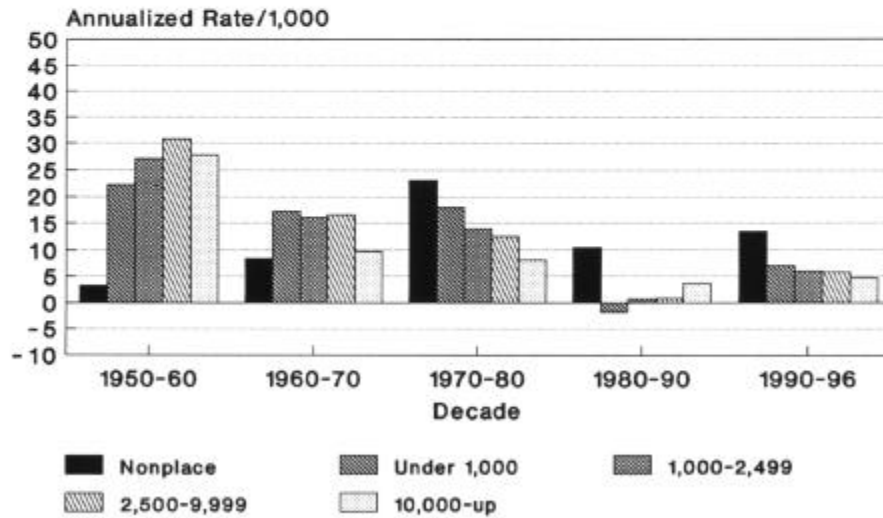


COUNTIES NOT ADJACENT TO METRO AREAS

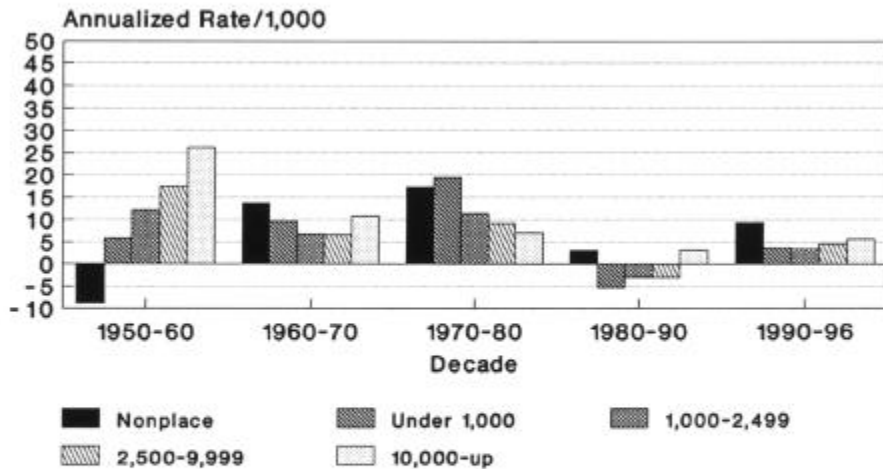


Nonmetropolitan as of the beginning of each decade. US Census estimates for 7/1/96.

Figure 3b
**POPULATION CHANGE BY PLACE SIZE, SOUTH
 COUNTIES ADJACENT TO METRO AREAS**

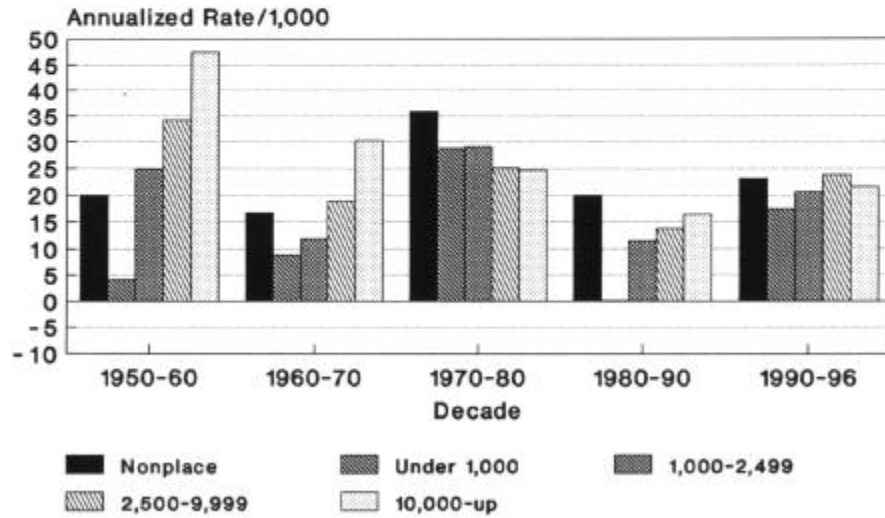


COUNTIES NOT ADJACENT TO METRO AREAS

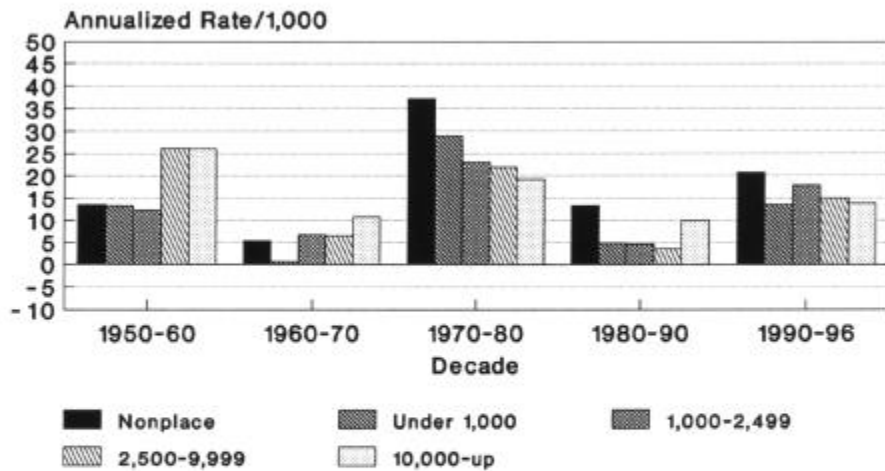


Nonmetropolitan as of the beginning of each decade. US Census estimates for 7/1/96.

Figure 3c
**POPULATION CHANGE BY PLACE SIZE, WEST
 COUNTIES ADJACENT TO METRO AREAS**

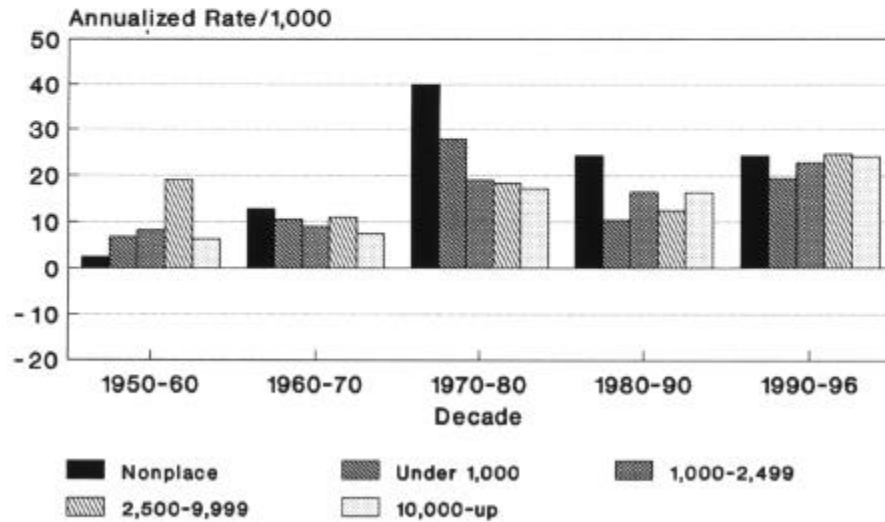


COUNTIES NOT ADJACENT TO METRO AREAS

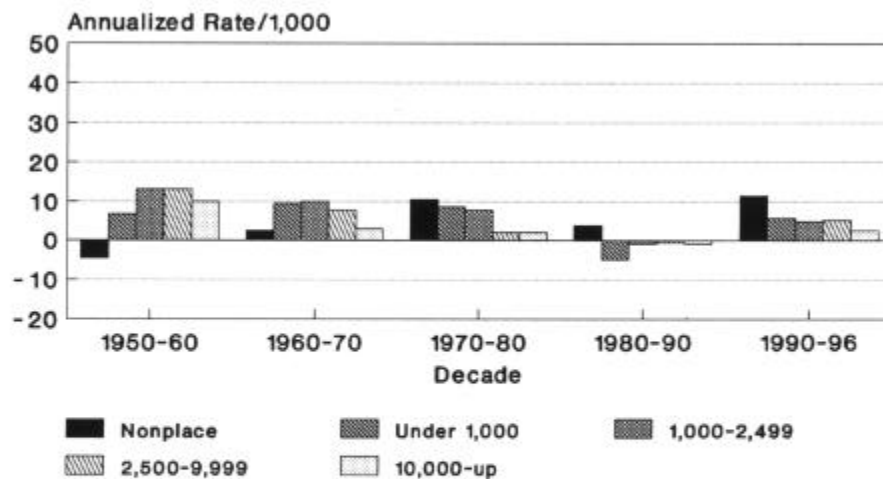


Nonmetropolitan as of the beginning of each decade. US Census estimates of 7/1/96.

Figure 4a
**POPULATION CHANGE BY COUNTY TYPE
 RETIREMENT COUNTIES**

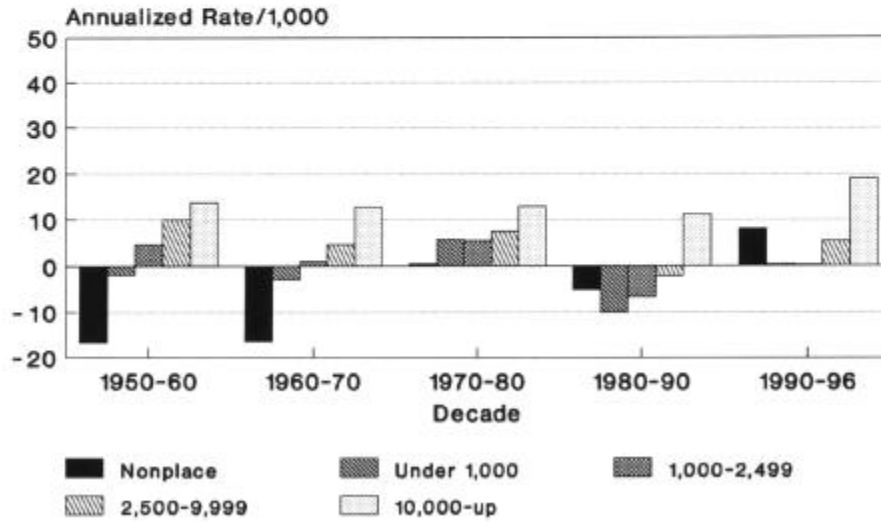


MANUFACTURING COUNTIES

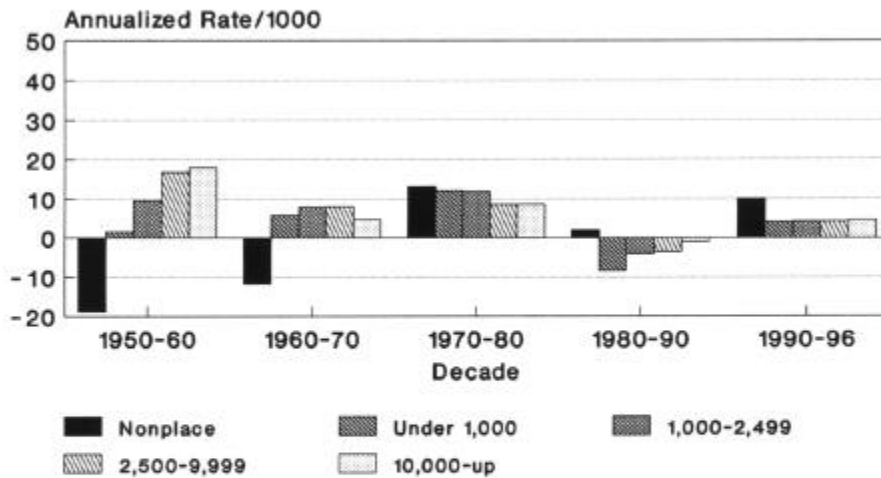


Nonmetropolitan as of the beginning of each decade. US Census estimates for 7/1/96.

Figure 4b
**POPULATION CHANGE BY COUNTY TYPE
 FARM COUNTIES**



POVERTY COUNTIES



Nonmetropolitan as of the beginning of each decade. US Census estimate for 7/1/96.

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