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**Concentrated Immigration, Restructuring and  
the “Selective” Deconcentration of the U.S.  
Population**

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## **Concentrated Immigration, Restructuring and the “Selective” Deconcentration of the U.S. Population**

**Abstract:** The unprecedented, widespread 1970s “turnaround” from decline to growth in America’s nonmetropolitan areas was a subject of widespread theorizing on the part of demographers, sociologists and geographers. Just as the finishing touches were put on these theories, new patterns of metropolitan gains and nonmetropolitan decline emerged over the 1980s. Now, new post-1990 population estimates show that, once again, nonmetropolitan population changes have shifted to a net in-migration vis-a-vis the nation’s metropolitan areas. This new reversal in the fortunes of America’s rural population requires us to review the theories which have been advanced to explain earlier trends.

This paper reevaluates three key theoretical perspectives that have accounted for much of the observed nonmetropolitan population shiftings of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s with an eye toward their possible revision to account for the new 1990s trends. These explanations treat the nonmetropolitan population shifts as part of the entire settlement system that both affects and is affected by broader social, economic and demographic forces. We pay particular attention to a demographic force that has heretofore received little mention in discussions of rural population change — international migration. Immigration to the U.S. has increased substantially since the 1970s. While its direct impact is felt by large metropolitan areas, its interaction with other settlement system forces may be promoting a secondary domestic migration to fuel growth in smaller metropolitan areas, and in nonmetropolitan territory.

**Dataset used:** US census data, 1980 and 1990, 1995 postcensal population estimates proclaimed by the US Census Bureau.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Defining Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas	2
Theoretical Perspectives	3
Explanations for the 1970s and 1980s	3
Period Effects	
Regional Restructuring	
Deconcentration	
Explaining the 1990s	5
Immigration and Selective Deconcentration	7
Sections to Follow	8
Selective Domestic Migration from Metro Areas	8
The 1990s and High Immigration Metros	9
Selective Deconcentration from Large Metropolitan Areas	11
New Nonmetropolitan Gains	12
Increased Importance of Migration	12
Selective Deconcentration Trends in Nonmetropolitan America	14
Longitudinal Patterns of Population Change	15
Conclusion	16
Footnotes	
References	
Figures, Table, Maps	

# CONCENTRATED IMMIGRATION, RESTRUCTURING AND THE “SELECTIVE” DECONCENTRATION OF THE U.S. POPULATION

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## INTRODUCTION

The important interplay between theory development and empirical observation is no better illustrated than with the quest to “explain” recent changes in the growth and decline of the U.S. nonmetropolitan population. The unprecedented, widespread 1970s “turnaround” from decline to growth in America’s nonmetropolitan areas was a subject of widespread theorizing on the part of demographers, sociologists and geographers (Long and DeAre, 1988; Frey and Speare, 1988; Fuguitt, Brown and Beale, 1989). Similar counter-urbanization patterns and theories arose in other developed countries as well (Champion, 1989, 1995). However, just as the finishing touches were put on these theories, new patterns of metropolitan gains and nonmetropolitan decline emerged over the 1980s - suggesting a reevaluation of earlier deconcentration theories (Frey, 1993, 1995a). Now, new post-1990 population estimates show that, once again, nonmetropolitan population change has shifted to a net in-migration vis-a-vis the nation’s metropolitan areas (Johnson and Beale, 1995a; 1995b). This new reversal in the fortunes of America’s rural population requires us to review the theories which have been advanced to explain earlier trends.

This chapter reevaluates three key theoretical perspectives that have accounted for much of the observed nonmetropolitan population shiftings of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s with an eye toward their possible revision to account for the new 1990s trends. These explanations treat the nonmetropolitan population shifts as part of the entire settlement system that both affects and is affected by broader social, economic and demographic forces. We pay particular attention to a demographic force that has heretofore received little mention in discussions of rural population change -- international migration. Immigration to the U.S. has increased substantially since the 1970s. While its direct impact is felt by large metropolitan areas, its interaction with other settlement system forces may be promoting a secondary domestic migration to fuel growth in smaller metropolitan areas, and in nonmetropolitan territory.

We begin with a review of the theoretical perspectives previously brought to bear on America’s counterurbanization phenomena of the 1970s and selective reurbanization of the 1980s. We then discuss the relevance of these same perspectives to the 1990s, paying special attention to their interaction with the new immigration to the United States. This

section is followed by an in-depth examination of these interactions from a metropolitan perspective, with a special focus on how *High Immigration metropolitan areas* may be propelling a “selective” deconcentration of longer term resident, native born Americans to smaller and nonmetropolitan areas.

Following this, we review the 1990s’ shifts from a nonmetropolitan perspective, focusing on how the “selective” deconcentration concept may help to explain growth in counties of particular geographic and economic types and consider the implications this has for settlement system theories. This section also points up another demographic force which has shifted direction over the course of the last three decades -- the natural increase component. Historically, nonmetropolitan areas could count on a natural increase “cushion” to bolster their population gains. However, recently both metropolitan *and* nonmetropolitan fertility has declined. As a consequence, nonmetropolitan population growth is even more dependent on migration -- especially internal migration -- in achieving population gains. The final section of this chapter provides a reevaluation of the theoretical perspectives in light of the new 1990s empirical findings.,

### **Defining Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas**

Before proceeding further, a brief discussion of what is meant by “metropolitan” and “nonmetropolitan” is in order. We employ the officially defined Office of Management and Budget (OMB) metropolitan and nonmetropolitan classification which is periodically updated to take into account changing settlement patterns (see Frey and Speare, 1988, Chapter 2; and US Bureau of the Census, 1993). The metropolitan population comprises the combined population of all individual metropolitan areas. First used in the 1950 census, the metropolitan area is a functionally-based concept designed to approximate the socially and economically integrated community. As originally defined, individual metropolitan areas included a central city nucleus with a population of at least 50,000 along with adjacent counties (or towns in the New England states) that were economically and socially integrated with that nucleus, as determined by commuting data, population density and measures of economic activity. While most of the nation’s present metropolitan areas can still be characterized by this concept, minor modifications to the definition have been implemented to account for special cases and more complex urbanization patterns. Current metropolitan areas are designated as either Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA), stand-alone areas; or Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (CMSAs), combinations of smaller metropolitan units (Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas) which show commuting relationships with other such units. In 1995, there were 271 metropolitan areas (MSAs and CMSAs) which housed approximately 80 percent of the US population; the residual 20 percent was defined as “nonmetropolitan” category.

The present analysis will follow the conventional definitions of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan with one minor exception. This occurs in the six New England states, where metropolitan definitions, based on towns, preclude the availability of some population data. For this reason, we follow the convention of earlier research, to employ

county-based New England County Metropolitan Areas (any NECMAs) to define the metropolitan population in these states.

Lastly, it should be noted that while the official classification system relegates the more than 2300 nonmetropolitan counties to a single residual category (i. e., nonmetropolitan area), the scholarly literature has devised more meaningful classifications. One of these distinguishes between counties which lie adjacent to metropolitan areas, sometimes called “exurban counties,” and those that are not adjacent to metropolitan boundaries. The former are typically influenced, to some degree, by the metropolitan area’s economy. Another useful classification scheme groups nonmetropolitan counties according to a functional or economic typology. Following previous studies which used this approach (Fuguitt, Brown and Beale, 1989; Morrison, 1990; Cook and Mizer, 1994) we employ a 13-category typology which is introduced below.

## **THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES**

### **Explanations for the 1970s and 1980s**

The unprecedented population growth in US nonmetropolitan areas during the 1970s spawned a number of interpretations, speculations, and theories; not all of which successfully accounted for the renewed metropolitan growth of the 1980s. We begin by reviewing three different perspectives which attempted to distill these explanations for early shifts in nonmetropolitan population change (Frey, 1989, 1993).

**Period effects.** In some ways, the most obvious place to look for fluctuating patterns of growth and decline lie with particular “period effects” or unique economic and demographic circumstances to which these fluctuations can be directly attributed. Such effects could be identified during the 1970s decade. An important one was the 1973-74 oil crisis and subsequent recession. These events led to declines in manufacturing employment, especially in northern large metropolitan areas which sustained high energy costs. Yet, they also led to nonmetropolitan population gains in south and west “oil patch” areas where oil and natural resource exploration took place. It was during the 1970s, as well, that significant demographic forces favored nonmetropolitan areas. The large baby boom cohorts were “coming of age” and entering big universities and colleges that were often located in smaller towns and in nonmetropolitan territory. These cohorts continued to locate in smaller south and west areas, in light of the over-saturated metropolitan labor markets of the north. Finally, especially large elderly cohorts, born in the 1900s and 1910s decades, increased the pool of potential migrants to smaller-sized retirement communities which were being developed. In short, there were a number of unique period influences to account for a significant part of the large metropolitan area losses as well as the small, metropolitan and nonmetropolitan area gains in the 1970s (Fuguitt, 1985; Beale, 1988).

**Regional restructuring.** The regional restructuring perspective saw the 1970s nonmetropolitan growth to be the result of largely structural, rather than cyclical, forces. The industrial restructuring of the American economy, according to this view, had a spatial component which led to deindustrialization-related metropolitan population declines. In the context of the global economy, increasingly dominated by the multinational corporation, traditional heavy industries within the US became less labor intensive as production jobs were eliminated or exported to other countries. During the interim, some of these jobs filtered down into smaller-sized metropolitan areas and nonmetropolitan areas, with less expensive labor costs, and at least temporarily contributed to these areas' growth. In contrast to the "period effects" perspective, which attributed the 1970s' growth reversals to a unique coincidence of circumstances, the regional restructuring perspective saw them to be the culmination of a long-term trend that was merely accelerated by the mid-decade recession. Moreover, this view held that, once the deindustrialization "shake out" had taken place, some metropolitan areas would experience renewed growth -- especially corporate headquarters areas, and centers of knowledge-based industries or high tech developments, activities that could benefit from agglomeration economies in a post-industrial age (Noyelle and Stanback, 1984).

**Deconcentration.** Unlike the previous two perspectives which attributed the 1970s' small metropolitan and nonmetropolitan gains to cyclical or structural forces that would eventually subside, the deconcentration perspective saw the 1970s' growth in smaller-sized places as a more fundamental break with the past. Following theoretical statements such as those proposed by Wardwell (1980), this view saw a technological and economic "loosening of spatial constraints" that permitted both residents and employers to fulfill long-standing preferences for low-density, high-amenity locations. In essence, residential space was less dependent on agglomeration economies of the workplace so that the presumed preferences of working-aged residents to locate in smaller-sized places could now be more easily fulfilled. In addition, there were growing numbers of pensioned retirees and members of "the leisure class" who are relatively detached from the work force and more free to follow their residential preferences. In short, deconcentration perspectives saw the 1970s as just the beginning of a much more widespread dispersal of the population.

While each of these three perspectives were consistent with trends observed in the 1970s, they held different predictions for the 1980s. The period perspective predicted a return to more "normal" redistribution patterns after the severe 1970s' recession, oil crisis, and demographic developments subsided -- although this perspective also allowed for new period influences to develop in the 1980s. The regional restructuring perspective predicted a selective return to metropolitan growth after the deindustrialization "shake out" took place. Only the deconcentration perspective predicted continual dispersal. As we now know, deconcentration theory "purists" were clearly disappointed with the population declines that nonmetropolitan America absorbed during the 1980s at the same time that larger metropolitan areas gained (Beale, 1988; Frey, 1993).



Yet, the interpretation of the 1970s and 1980s in the context of the three theories above is subject to debate, even between the two authors of this chapter. Frey (1995a) in putting forth a “postmortem on the rural renaissance” suggested that both the 1970s’ gains and 1980s’ declines in small metropolitan and nonmetropolitan growth could be attributed primarily to *period* and *regional restructuring* influences and that their coincidence helped to provide the illusion that a new era of dispersed settlement had begun. He cites the fact that the same extractive, low-wage manufacturing, and agricultural activities which spawned nonmetropolitan growth in the 1970s, were each adversely affected by macro economic forces in the 1980s, prompting commensurate population declines in those same small-town America areas. Moreover, the renewed albeit selective metropolitan area growth, as forecasted by the regional restructuring perspective, once again provided job opportunities for new labor force entrants whose counterparts in the 1970s had to relocate elsewhere. Frey observes that there were really only two types of nonmetropolitan areas that continued to grow during the 1980s: resort-retirement areas, and “exurban counties,” that lie adjacent to metropolitan boundaries. However, he indicates that growth in such areas does not provide conclusive evidence that the “loosening of spatial constraints” tenet of the deconcentration perspective is at work. This is because their primary residents -- retirees and largely metro commuters -- are not dependent on self-sustaining nonmetropolitan economies.

In reviewing the same trends, Johnson is not as dismissive of the *deconcentration* perspective as an explanation for this period’s nonmetropolitan shifts (Johnson and Beale, 1995a). While acknowledging that the significant period effects operated in both decades, and urban economic problems discourage out-migration from nonmetropolitan areas, and migrants to nonmetropolitan areas, Johnson believes that deconcentration played a significant role in the nonmetropolitan trends of the 1970s. This is reflected in pervasive growth of nonmetropolitan areas in all regions of the country and especially of counties that do not lie adjacent to nonmetropolitan areas. Moreover, evidence shows that a wide range of demographic groups were drawn to these areas, not simply the elderly or new entrants to the labor force (Fuguitt, Brown, and Beale, 1988). Hence, irrespective of the proximate economic circumstances that precipitated the 1970s’ dispersal, the very fact that it occurred on such an unprecedented scale, he believes, lends support to the significance of deconcentration forces. Johnson argues that, if anything, the adverse period effects of the 1980s on nonmetropolitan areas tended to stifle an already ongoing process of deconcentration. Moreover, the fact that retirees and commuters select nonmetropolitan rather than metropolitan areas, according to Johnson, only reinforce their strong preferences for small-town living and also generates secondary economic activity in these areas.

### **Explaining the 1990s**

These differing interpretations point up the difficulty in documenting whether, when, how, or where deconcentration of the US population occurred during the 1970s and 1980s. This is because this period was fraught with significant exogenous factors associated with the economy, demographic structure, industrial reorganization and the

like. Hence, the happenstance that nonmetropolitan areas are rebounding again in the 1990s provides another, and certainly better, occasion to test the deconcentration thesis. This is because neither the period effects nor regional restructuring patterns are nearly as dominating in the 1990s as they were in the two prior decades.

It is also possible that nonmetropolitan growth will be less susceptible to period effects in light of increasing diversification of attractions in certain kinds of nonmetropolitan areas. Fuguitt and Beale (1995) point out that in contrast to the 1980s' losses in counties specializing in extractive activities, recent gains in many western mining areas may represent their recreation potential, rather than mining. They also suggest that many rural counties that relied heavily on manufacturing, in the past, are now growing because of increased numbers of service jobs. The period impacts on metropolitan areas were also more muted during the early 1990s' recession as contrasted with the recessions of the mid-1970s and early 1980s. This time it was not the heavy manufacturing metropolitan areas which lost jobs and population, but those dependent on defense industries which were downsized as a result of federal government cutbacks.

The regional restructuring scenario has, in broad strokes, played out as predicted in the sense that a distinction can now be made between metropolitan areas which have sustained renewed employment and population growth, in contrast to those whose populations might be labeled at "steady state" or declining. The shakeouts in jobs and populations from the large and medium-sized heavy manufacturing areas is essentially completed. Growing areas tend to be those associated with advanced services, knowledge-based industries, and recreation. A notable subset of these (to be discussed below) are growing largely from immigration and do provide a source for out-migrating residents in search of smaller-sized communities. But this is less a consequence of industrial restructuring than new immigration and related social and economic dynamics of these areas.

With somewhat "softer" period effects and restructuring influences operating in the 1990s, a fairer assessment of the deconcentration perspective can be made. The conditions for deconcentration may also be better if, as mentioned above, nonmetropolitan areas are becoming more diversified in their economic mix and remain attractive to residents wishing to reside within or near high amenity or recreation areas. The individual whose only tie to the workplace is his modem and laptop computer is still rare. But, with improved transportation and communication systems, the constraints on location for both residents *and firms* further diminish. This increases the opportunities in newly-diversifying nonmetropolitan areas for both workers and smaller "startup" companies involved in software design or other high tech activities.

Moreover, as the baby boom population approaches their 50s, many of this generation may elect to relocate employment with an eye toward their later retirement in smaller places. There is another segment of the population where preference may be a consideration in moving to a small town or nonmetropolitan area. It includes members of the younger "late baby boom" and baby bust generations who find the cost of living,

quality of services and longer commuting costs of larger urban areas to be prohibitively expensive from both an economic and quality of life perspective. The rising perception of large urban areas as less hospitable to childraising may offer a further outwork impetus to these cohorts. Employers and developers responding to this group may help to pave the way for their deconcentration-related move.

### **Immigration and Selective Deconcentration**

In addition to the perspectives offered to account for earlier population dispersal patterns, a new phenomenon associated with some large US metropolitan areas needs to be considered as a potential factor in prompting the observed dispersal of the 1990s. This is related to the convergence of large numbers of new immigrants on a few selected ports-of-entry metropolitan areas. These areas, to be discussed below, have traditionally been the primary gateways for foreign-born immigrants to the US. However, changes in US immigration laws in 1965, 1986 and 1990 have served to increase the volume of immigrants to these areas, and to focus their origins more heavily toward countries in Latin America and Asia (Martin and Midgley, 1994). It is also alleged that due to changes in countries of origin and because of the preference system which emphasizes family reunification rather than skills, the education gap between new immigrants and native-born residents has risen (Borjas, 1994).

The new immigration to the United States is relevant toward accounting for the new selective population dispersal. This is not because the immigrants, themselves, are dispersing, it is because they are prompting a selective dispersal of domestic migrants away from the large immigrant port-of-entry metropolitan areas -- a pattern which is also evident in Europe (Champion, 1994). This phenomenon can be attributed, in part, to the increasing dual labor market character of high immigration metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles and New York (Waldinger, 1996). Low-skilled immigrants, many with at most high school educations, tend to take poorly-paying service jobs and work in the informal sector. Because these metropolitan areas also tend to serve as advanced service centers, they attract highly educated professional domestic migrants to activities which complement the informal and low-wage sectors that employ the bulk of new immigrants. In the process, low-skilled and lower-income US residents see their wages bid down, and job prospects reduced at the same time that costs of housing and commuting rise. The increased multiethnic nature of these metropolitan areas also leads to the perception that social service costs in these areas are driven up and the potential for inter-ethnic conflict will increase. In response, lower middle class domestic residents of these areas show a propensity to out-migrate (Frey, 1995b).

The destinations of these out-migrants are not always to small metropolitan areas or nonmetropolitan territory. Often they relocate to growing metropolitan areas which are less ethnic and do not have a dual economy character. However, the coincidence of heavy immigration in California metropolitan areas, coupled with increased development and diversification of small towns, located in nonmetropolitan and small metropolitan areas in the states surrounding California and in the Rocky Mountain region, has laid the

groundwork for selective domestic out-migration into more dispersed settlement areas in the western United States in the early 1990s (Frey, 1995c; 1996).

## **Sections to Follow**

In the sections that follow, we take cognizance of the three perspectives discussed earlier as well as the emerging immigration-related dispersal in evaluating the post-1990 small metropolitan and nonmetropolitan growth. We interpret these patterns with an eye toward identifying “*selective*” *deconcentration* as consistent with the theoretical arguments underlying that theoretical perspective. By “selective” we are referring to both selectivity by demographic groups and by the kinds of geographic areas which are attracting new population growth. The demographic groups, we anticipate, will continue to be elderly populations which had helped to sustain the one strand of deconcentration during the 1970s and 1980s. We would anticipate some deconcentration of “footloose professionals” who are attracted to smaller high tech companies which have filtered out into small towns. Lastly, we are on the lookout for the deconcentration of lower-income and less-skilled domestic migrants retreating from large multi-ethnic dual economy metropolitan areas.

From a geographic standpoint, we anticipate small town and nonmetropolitan growth to be “selective” in those areas which have shown signs of greater diversification over the early 1990s. These may be previously mining or extractive counties in the west and southwest which have become attractive to businesses or residents for their amenity or recreation value. They may be previously old-line small manufacturing areas which have diversified into a variety of service functions. Finally, we expect a continued growth in resort-retirement, and exurban nonmetropolitan counties which have continued to attract retirees and commuters since the 1970s. Yet, it is the former, more diversified counties which signal a more viable long-term growth in nonmetropolitan areas consistent with the “loosening of spatial constraints” premise of the deconcentration perspective. The sections that follow examine these tendencies, first, from the perspective of large metropolitan areas and, second, from the point of view of nonmetropolitan counties.

## **SELECTIVE DOMESTIC MIGRATION FROM METRO AREAS**

In important ways, the changing fortunes of metropolitan America exert an impact on the population changes in nonmetropolitan America. This was especially evident during the 1970s when there was a wholesale downsizing of manufacturing production. As a consequence, some of the largest metropolitan areas in the US sustained unprecedented population losses during this decade. Eight northeast and midwest metropolitan areas with populations over 1 million -- New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee and Buffalo -- were among the losers during the 1970s. Migration flows, during this period, showed a clear redistribution via migration streams “down the metropolitan hierarchy” that was especially evident from these hard-hit manufacturing areas. Of course, the availability of employment opportunities in smaller metropolitan areas and nonmetropolitan areas was necessary to attract migrants to smaller-sized places. The point is that there was an accentuated metropolitan area “push,” during this period, as well as a number of nonmetropolitan “pulls.”

During the 1980s, there was a selective rebounding of metropolitan area growth. To a large degree, this growth was consistent with expectations of the regional restructuring perspective discussed earlier. That is, the areas that were most likely to gain were the locations of advanced services activities including corporate headquarters cities, high tech incubation centers, and other places that were able to make the manufacturing-to-advanced services transition, or those that were generally diversified enough to weather the 1970s manufacturing “shakeouts” (Frey, 1993). Examples of such metropolitan areas were New York, Boston, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Atlanta, Dallas-Fort Worth, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Other metropolitan areas whose economic bases were somewhat less diversified, but were able to prosper by attracting vacationers, retirees and the hotel trade also showed growth during the more prosperous 1980s. These include several Florida metropolitan areas such as Miami, Tampa-St. Petersburg, and Orlando, as well as several western areas such as Phoenix.

Still, many of the “heavy industry” metropolitan areas -- both large and small -- had a difficult time rebounding from the deindustrialization period of the 1970s. Their growth levels of metropolitan areas such as Detroit, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh were slow to rebound. Finally, the 1980s exerted its own “period effects” on metropolitan areas that were relatively specialized with respect to particular industries. The best example involved the impact of the mid-decade decline in oil prices on Houston’s population growth which declined metropolitan-wide from 16.8 percent in 1980-85 to only 2.4 percent in 1985-90.

Of course, the selective rebounding in metropolitan areas during the 1980s represented only the “pull” side of the migration equation. As is discussed below, there were several severe period effects which helped to “push” migrants away from nonmetropolitan areas and small metropolitan areas during the 1980s. Among the 150 metropolitan areas with populations under 250,000, only 10 showed population declines in the 1970s. But this number increased to 36 in the 1980-85 period, and to 59 in the 1985-90 period. Many of the same period influences, that affected nonmetropolitan areas, also affected these smaller areas located largely in the interior part of the United States (Frey and Speare, 1992).

### **The 1990s and High Immigration Metros**

The 1990s thus far have shown more modest “period effect” influences on metropolitan growth. Many of the same selective metropolitan gain patterns of the 1980s continue into the 1990s. If anything, several of the areas which were hard hit by the oil price declines and other extractive industry difficulties of the 1980s have become more diversified. Two cases in point are Houston and Denver whose metropolitan areas have rebounded as their economies have become more broad based. Even several of the old manufacturing centers, including Detroit and Cleveland, have diversified their economies and showed more “steady state” growth patterns during the first half of the 1990s. If there were adverse “period effect” influences during the early 1990s recession, it affected

metropolitan areas that also had significant US government defense installations or areas which did much contract work with the US defense agencies (e. g., San Diego, Los Angeles). This contributed to accentuated domestic out-migration from these areas.

Yet, perhaps a more important and long-term phenomenon affecting both the demographics and economies of selected large metropolitan areas is the impact that concentrated immigration imposes on a few port-of-entry areas. What is clear when looking at Table 1 is that the 8 areas listed as "High Immigration Metro Areas" are sustaining all or most of their migration-related growth from immigration rather than from domestic, internal migration. These areas are quite distinct from areas which are classed as "High Internal Migration metro areas," or "High Out-migration Metro Areas." The latter two kinds of areas, either gain or lose most of their migration-related population change through domestic migration subject to the "pushes" and "pulls" of the economy. High Internal Migration Metropolitan Areas such as Atlanta, Seattle, Raleigh-Durham, and Charlotte are among the fast-rising national or regional "command and control" corporate or banking centers with significant advanced service components to their economies. Also on this list are places like Las Vegas, Phoenix and Orlando -- noted retirement and recreation centers -- which are also attracting a increasing "working aged" population lured by new job growth in these areas. And, at the other extreme, Detroit, Cleveland, and other High Out-migration metropolitan areas are losing internal migrants due to more sluggish economies.

In contrast to these latter two categories of metropolitan areas, the "High Immigration" metropolitan areas are distinct in a number of respects. First, most of them can be thought of as either global cities or national corporate headquarters and trade centers. Not only do they attract large numbers of immigrants, mostly from Latin America and Asia, but they are also centers of finance and corporate decision-making at a national or worldwide level. Second, it is plain that there is a strong net out-migration of domestic migrants from most if not all of these areas and especially from those areas which are the largest "world cities." This suggests that these areas are taking on a dual city character (Sassen, 1991; Waldinger, 1996) in that their economic and labor force structures will become highly bifurcated between professionals, on the one hand, and lower-level service workers, on the other. In these areas (in contrast to the High Internal Migration metropolitan areas) it appears that the recent immigrant population will be taking over more of the latter jobs, while domestic migrants and longer-term residents will be taking the former.

While immigration to the United States has always been high, it has changed both in magnitude and character in the last two decades as the result of revisions in immigration legislation in the mid-1960s which were further modified in 1986 and in 1990 (Martin and Midgley, 1994). The increasing number of immigrants, both legal and illegal, from Latin America as well as from Asia have tended to accentuate the concentration of these immigrants into familiar port-of-entry areas where there are like race-ethnic and nationality populations who can provide both social and economic support as well as information about employment in the informal economy. Because the US immigration

preference system favors family reunification rather than recruitment based on skills, the most recent immigrant cohorts tend to be comprised of a disproportionate number of labor force aged persons with at most high school educations who are best suited for lower-level service kinds of employment (Briggs, 1992). As a consequence, these immigrants provide competition for less-skilled US residents because they tend to bid down the wages for employment in these large gateway metropolitan areas. This is *part* of the reason that the High Immigration metropolitan areas are showing large domestic out-migration. Indeed, it is these areas (rather than the High Out-migration metropolitan areas) that are contributing to the large domestic out-migration from all large metropolitan areas over the 1990-95 period (see Figure 1).

(Table 1 and Figure 1 here)

### **Selective Deconcentration from Large Metropolitan Areas**

Because of this competition with the lower-skilled immigrants, the domestic out-migration from Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and most of the other High Immigration metropolitan areas is accentuated for US-born residents with high school educations or less (Frey, 1995b; 1996). This kind of internal migration differs from the more conventional “circulation of elites” model (Frey, 1979) wherein it is the *most* skilled and educated residents who tend to respond to employment opportunities or declines, since it is the latter who are in a national job market and who tend to behave most “economically rational” with respect to employment opportunities (Lansing and Mueller, 1967; Long, 1988). Indeed, domestic in-migrants to the High Internal Migration metropolitan areas are disproportionately comprised of college graduates; and those most likely to leave High Out-migration metropolitan areas are also the most educated (Frey, 1995b). Yet, this is not the case with the domestic out-migrants from the large immigrant magnets.

Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that it is these migrants who are especially likely to relocate into smaller-sized metropolitan areas and nonmetropolitan areas. This appears to be the case for out-migration from California into surrounding and nearby States of the West (Frey, 1995c; 1996). The lure of communities with lower social service costs, less conflict, and the availability of employment opportunities all combine to make smaller-sized places more attractive. Another segment of the population which is leaving these High Immigration metropolitan areas are elderly migrants and pre-elderly migrants. Many of these out-migrants also tend to select smaller-sized places as destinations. The evidence for this appears in Table 2 which shows net internal out-migration *exchanges* between each region’s large metropolitan areas with smaller metropolitan areas and nonmetropolitan areas in the same region, and with other regions.

(Table 2 here)

The data show that, within each region, exchanges with smaller metropolitan areas in the same region are in favor of the dispersal of poverty (rather than nonpoverty) populations



and persons aged 65 and over. These patterns are especially evident in the north and west regions where High Immigration metropolitan areas are located. This suggests an important dynamic between concentrated immigration in the latter areas, and a selective deconcentration of lesser-skilled and elderly elements of the population. This pattern may become a new source of nonmetropolitan area gains. At the same time, it represents a distancing of poorer and lower middle class US residents from the new immigrant populations.

## **NEW NONMETROPOLITAN GAINS**

Demographic trends in the less urban areas of the United States have been extremely fluid during the past 30 years (Long and DeAre, 1988). In the United States as in other industrialized areas, rural<sup>1</sup> demographic change has historically been dominated by an excess of births over deaths sufficient to offset the net outmigration of population to the nation's urban areas. This pattern of slow nonmetropolitan population gain through an excess of natural increase over migration loss was so consistent that it came to be taken for granted (Fuguitt, et. al., 1989). This changed abruptly in the 1970s with the onset of what came to be called the nonmetropolitan population "turnaround." During this era of population deconcentration, the population gains in nonmetropolitan areas exceeded those in metropolitan areas for the first time in at least 150 years (Beale, 1975; Johnson and Purdy, 1980; Fuguitt, 1985). Net migration to nonmetropolitan areas from the nation's urban areas fueled much of this growth. In contrast, natural increase (the excess of births over deaths) contributed much less to the nonmetropolitan population gains of the 1970s than it had been the case historically.

Nonmetropolitan population redistribution patterns shifted yet again in the 1980s. Most nonmetropolitan counties lost population during the 1980s because they had a modest net outflow of population combined with low levels of natural increase (Johnson, 1993b). Researchers who believed that period effects were the primary force underlying the turnaround of the 1970s cite the diminished nonmetropolitan growth of the 1980s as evidence that U.S. population redistribution trends had reverted to historical form, with the turnaround of the 1970s just a short term fluctuation. However, nonmetropolitan areas began to show signs of growth again in the late 1980s and this growth rebound has accelerated as the 1990s have progressed (Johnson and Beale, 1994a; Beale and Fuguitt, 1990). Critical to any understanding of recent population deconcentration trends in the U.S. is a recognition of the changing role of migration and the selective nature of such migration for different kinds of nonmetropolitan counties.

### **Increased Importance of Migration**

In a reversal of the trend of the 1980s, there was widespread population growth in nonmetropolitan areas of the United States during the first half of the 1990s.<sup>2</sup> More than 75 percent of the 2304 counties classified as nonmetropolitan in 1993 gained population between 1990 and 1995 (Table 3). In all, 720 more nonmetropolitan counties gained population than in the 1980s. The estimated nonmetropolitan population gain between

April 1990 and July 1995 was nearly 2.6 million. In contrast, nonmetropolitan areas grew by fewer than 1.3 million during the entire decade of the 1980s. Thus, the nonmetropolitan population gain between 1990 and 1995 is already twice as large as that during the entire decade of the 1980s. The nonmetropolitan population still grew at a slower pace (5.1 percent) than did the metropolitan population (5.8 percent) between 1990 and 1995, but the gap was much narrower than during the 1980s. The post-1990 population gains occurred in many regions of the country. Gains were most prevalent in the Mountain West, Upper Great Lakes, Ozarks, parts of the South and in rural areas of the Northeast. Widespread losses occurred only in the Great Plains, Western Corn Belt and Mississippi Delta.

[Table 3 about here]

Renewed nonmetropolitan growth is due in large part to a recent, mostly domestic migration gain. Such migration gains accounted for 60 percent of the total estimated population increase between April 1990 and July 1995. Nonmetropolitan areas had an estimated total net migration inflow of 1,555,000 people during the period. This compares to a net outflow of 1,370,000 during the 1980s. In fact, the net migration percentage gain (3.1 percent) in nonmetropolitan areas between 1990 and 1995 was more than twice as large as the migration gain in metropolitan areas (1.5 percent). This is a sharp contrast to the pattern during the 1980s, when metropolitan areas had net in-migration of 3.7 percent, whereas nonmetropolitan areas had a net outmigration of 2.8 percent. As we indicated in the previous section, most of the recent nonmetropolitan gain is a domestic (rather than international) migration; and most of the *metropolitan* migration gain accrued in smaller metropolitan areas.<sup>3</sup> Nonmetropolitan areas receive very few immigrants, only 164,000 of the 1.5 million migrants to nonmetropolitan areas came from outside the U.S. Thus, the influx of migrants to nonmetropolitan areas since 1990 has been primarily the result of internal migration from U.S. urban areas. The only other recent period during which nonmetropolitan migration gains exceeded those in metropolitan areas was during the population turnaround of the 1970s.

Natural increase accounted for 40 percent of the nonmetropolitan population increase between April 1990 and July 1995. In all, births exceeded deaths by 1,025,000 in nonmetropolitan areas. The annualized gain through natural increase in nonmetropolitan areas was somewhat lower between 1990 and 1995 than it had been during the 1980s. In contrast, the annualized rate of natural increase accelerated in metropolitan areas during the early 1990s. The extent of the slowdown in natural increase in nonmetropolitan areas is reflected in the sharp increase in the incidence of natural decrease to record levels during the early 1990s (Johnson and Beale, 1994a, 1995a). The accelerating pace of natural decrease in nonmetropolitan America results from several interrelated phenomenon (Johnson, 1993b; Johnson and Beale, 1992). The most important is that the age structure of many nonmetropolitan areas has been distorted by decades of outmigration by young adults coupled with the aging in place among older adults. In addition, the traditionally higher birth rate of nonmetropolitan women has been converging with that of urban women (Fuguitt, et. al, 1991; Long and Nucci, 1996). Thus, the natural increase that traditionally fueled most of the growth in nonmetropolitan

areas has diminished sharply in recent years and this trend is likely to continue (Johnson, 1993b; Johnson and Beale, 1992).

### **Selective Deconcentration Trends in Nonmetropolitan America**

Nonmetropolitan population gains have been widespread since 1990, but there is significant selectivity in the patterns of growth and decline. Consistent with recent trends, nonmetropolitan population gains since 1990 have been more common in counties near metropolitan centers. More than 85 percent of these adjacent counties gained population in the early 1990s, and 76 percent had net in-migration. In fact, the net migration gain in adjacent nonmetropolitan counties (3.6 percent) exceeded that in metropolitan areas (1.5 percent) by a substantial margin. Even among more remote nonmetropolitan counties, recent population gains were significantly greater than during the 1980s. Growth occurred in 68 percent of counties not adjacent to metropolitan areas in the early 1990s, compared to 36 percent during the 1980s. Such nonadjacent counties had net in-migration ( 2.3 percent) during the early 1990s, compared to a net loss (-5.2 percent) in the 1980s.

Also, as with recent decades, nonmetropolitan counties that were destinations for retirement age migrants or centers of recreation were the fastest growing counties during the early 1990s. All 190 nonmetropolitan retirement destination counties gained population and 98 percent had net in-migration between 1990 and 1995 (Table 4). Such areas are located in the Sunbelt, coastal regions, parts of the West and in the Upper Great Lakes (Cook and Mizer, 1994). They are attracting retirees while retaining their existing population (Fuguitt and Heaton, 1993). Population gains also occurred in 92 percent of the 285 nonmetropolitan recreational counties during the early 1990s with a large majority (88 percent) receiving net in-migration. Such counties were prominent growth nodes during the 1970s and 1980s and this trend persisted in the early 1990s (Johnson and Beale, 1995a).

What is noteworthy with the 1990s, is that nonmetropolitan population gains were also widespread in government dependent counties and those with concentrations of manufacturing jobs. Evidence of the increasing nonmetropolitan diversification is reflected in the fact that much of the recent growth in manufacturing counties appears to have been fueled by jobs in sectors other than manufacturing (Fuguitt and Beale, 1995). Population gains in these manufacturing and government dependent counties have been smaller than those in recreational and retirement counties and the growth has been more evenly balanced between natural increase and net migration. Yet, to the extent that these areas are diversifying economically, these 1990 patterns portend a longer-term growth scenario. Other county types with high growth rates fueled by net migration include those with a large proportion of their workforce commuting to jobs in other counties and those with economies dominated by service sector jobs. The importance of small businesses, “startups,” may be responsible for some of these gains.

[Table 4 about here]

Counties dependent on farming were the least likely to gain population during the first half of the 1990s. Only 50 percent of the farming dependent counties grew and only 46 percent had net in-migration. Natural decrease was also more common in farm dependent counties than elsewhere. Population gains were more widespread in mining counties, but the magnitude of the gains was quite small. Migration gains occurred in only slightly over half of the mining counties. The smaller than average population gains and widespread outmigration from mining and farming dependent counties of the early 1990s represents a continuation of the trends of the 1980s. However, even among these counties the population and migration trends in the early 1990s moderated compared to the 1980s when losses were much more prevalent. Counties with histories of persistent poverty also had low growth rates during the early 1990s and, as in the case of the mining and farming counties, what growth there was came from natural increase. On the whole, however, there was increased in-migration in most types of nonmetropolitan counties, with promising development emerging within newly-diversified manufacturing.

### **Longitudinal Patterns of Population Change**

Comparing growth patterns in nonmetropolitan areas in the 1980s to those during the 1990s underscores two important points. First, the renewal of nonmetropolitan growth in the 1990s is extremely widespread geographically. Counties (Turn Gain) shifting from loss in the 1980s to growth in the 1990s are prevalent in all regions (Figure 2). Many are on the periphery of existing concentrations of counties (Gain) that grew consistently through the 1980s and early 1990s. Second, counties that lost population during the 1980s and continued to do so during the 1990s are concentrated in areas of the country with long histories of population decline.

Figure 2 about here.

Comparing nonmetropolitan demographic trends between 1990 and 1995 to those during the 1970s and 1980s also underscores important similarities and differences. Growth in nonmetropolitan areas during the early 1990s is similar in pattern to that during the turnaround decade of the 1970s, though it is smaller in magnitude. During both periods, net migration and natural increase made significant contributions to the growth of the nonmetropolitan population. In contrast, during the 1980s the minimal population gains in nonmetropolitan areas occurred because natural increase was sufficient to offset net outmigration. In this regard, the 1970s and early 1990s represents a significant departure from the historical demographic trends in nonmetropolitan areas of the United States (Johnson and Beale, 1994a). Through most of this century, nonmetropolitan population growth has been fueled by natural increase (Johnson, 1989). Net migration has traditionally diminished the nonmetropolitan growth rate because more people left such areas than migrated to them. In contrast, during the 1970s and again during the 1990s, the majority of the nonmetropolitan population gain came from net in-migration.

Comparing historical growth patterns in nonmetropolitan areas to those during the 1980s and 1990s illustrates the complex interplay between deconcentration trends and period effects. While the nonmetropolitan growth patterns of the 1970s were strong, there is a debate about whether they were fueled mainly by deconcentration and by period effects. Whereas, during the 1980s period effects mitigated against nonmetropolitan growth. The protracted economic recession of the 1980s hurt nonmetropolitan areas more severely than urban areas. Agricultural areas were hit hard by the long farm crisis of 1980-86. In addition, nonmetropolitan manufacturing -- which employs many more nonmetropolitan people than farming-- came under increased competitive pressure from offshore firms during the 1980s with much loss of jobs (Elo and Beale, 1988; Henry, et. al., 1986). All these period effects contributed to the slower overall nonmetropolitan growth in the 1980s. Only in the late 1980s, as the differential impact of these periodic factors began to subside, did nonmetropolitan growth rates begin to rise again (Beale and Fuguitt, 1990). For example, the rate of nonmetropolitan job growth has exceeded that in urban areas annually since 1990 ( Economic Research Service, 1994). As a result, nonmetropolitan workers have had less economic reason to migrate to urban areas recently. With the "dampening" of period effects in the 1990s, deconcentration trends appear to be emerging in nonmetropolitan areas during the 1990s.

## CONCLUSION

Since 1990, growth rates in nonmetropolitan areas of the United States have rebounded from the minimal levels of the 1980s. Although these growth rates are slightly lower than those in metropolitan areas, the gap between the relative growth rates is quite small. Overall, the growth patterns in nonmetropolitan America during the early 1990s resemble the patterns of the nonmetropolitan turnaround of the 1970s more than those of any other period. These findings offer evidence that the growth in nonmetropolitan areas that was evident in the 1970s was not just a one-time phenomenon.<sup>4</sup>

The turnaround and its aftermath stimulated significant theoretical work as researchers sought to account for the turnaround and then for the diminished growth in nonmetropolitan areas during the 1980s. The three theoretical perspectives (period effects, regional restructuring, deconcentration,) outlined here each offer a partial explanation for the turnaround of the 1970s, but predicted a somewhat different demographic pattern for nonmetropolitan areas in the 1980s and 1990s. There is still disagreement regarding which of these theoretical models, if any, fits the nonmetropolitan population trends of recent decades (Wardwell, 1988; Lichter, 1993). As indicated earlier, even the two authors of this chapter disagree on whether or how much the deconcentration perspective explains the nonmetropolitan growth patterns of the 1970s.

Findings from the 1990s reported here and elsewhere (Johnson and Beale, 1995; Nucci and Long, 1995) cast doubt on the argument that the turnaround of the 1970s was merely a function of unique demographic and economic period effects, whereas the redistributive patterns of the 1980s represent a reversion to more consistent historical patterns. The nonmetropolitan demographic trends of the 1980s were neither a repeat of the

nonmetropolitan turnaround of the 1970s nor a reversion to the patterns of the 1950s. On the other hand, if deconcentration implies a sustained pattern of dispersed settlement, immune from sharp cyclical influences (Frey, 1995a), the evidence is less conclusive.

What is clear is that the sharp “period effects” of both the 1970s and 1980s do not characterize the 1990s. This means that the nonmetropolitan growth patterns of the present decade can be more unambiguously attributed to deconcentration influences as put forth in the original theory. One still needs to take into account the entire settlement system, both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan. It is clear that a new factor has entered the metropolitan side of the equation -- increasing and concentrated immigration into large dual economy metropolitan areas. This concentrated immigration appears to be triggering an additional exodus of domestic migrants, selective among lower middle income, and less educated US residents, as well as the elderly population. The areas they are moving to are also selective. They include the exurban and nonmetropolitan recreation-oriented counties that have continuously attracted metropolitan residents over the last three decades. However, new metropolitan out-migrants are also attracted to diversifying manufacturing and service employment counties which portend a more viable long-term growth scenario for these places. This evidence of selective deconcentration during the absence of any strong period effects portend a continued dispersed settlement pattern in many parts of the United States.

Speculation about future nonmetropolitan population redistribution is perilous given the fluidity of the demographic shifts in nonmetropolitan areas of the U.S. during the past several decades. This reflects the complexity of the forces causing population redistribution. Nonmetropolitan demographic trends are likely to continue to be volatile in the future. Recent changes in nonmetropolitan fertility rates and age structures are sure to diminish the substantial contribution that natural increase has traditionally made to nonmetropolitan population gains. Thus, future nonmetropolitan growth or decline is increasingly dependent on net internal migration. And, as the integration of nonmetropolitan areas into the national economy continues, nonmetropolitan migration patterns are likely to become increasingly sensitive to immigration trends, national and global economic events, political affairs and a variety of social forces.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>The terms rural and nonmetropolitan are used interchangeably here.

<sup>2</sup>Data on demographic change since 1990 are from the Federal-State Cooperative population estimates series developed jointly by the U.S. Bureau of the Census and the States. Additional data are from the U.S. decennial censuses of population for 1980 and 1990. Metropolitan reclassification complicates efforts to compare the trends of various time periods. The 1993 metropolitan definition is used here to classify counties as metropolitan or nonmetropolitan. Because counties are reclassified from time to time, as new metropolitan areas are formed or territory is added to existing areas, the demographic implications of using one definition of metropolitan in preference to another are far from trivial (Johnson, 1989). There is no simple resolution to the problem of metropolitan reclassification nor is any one approach clearly superior to all others (Fuguitt, et al., 1988). A net of 92 counties shifted from the nonmetropolitan to metropolitan category as a result of using the 1993 metropolitan definition rather than, for example, using the 1985 definition. Using the 1993 definition results in greater nonmetropolitan losses during the 1980s and slower nonmetropolitan gains during the early 1990s than would have been the case had the earlier metropolitan definition been used.

<sup>3</sup>The 1990-95 nonmetropolitan total net migration rates, shown in Table 3, are not exactly the sum of the immigration and domestic migration rates shown in Figure 1. This is because the Figure omits gains for US residents returning from abroad and a "residual category" which is part of the Census Bureau's estimates .

<sup>4</sup>Further evidence of an upturn in nonmetropolitan growth is forthcoming from recent Current Population Survey (CPS) data. Following minimal nonmetropolitan migration gains in the 1991 and 1992 CPS, analysis of the 1993 and 1994 CPS indicates a net inflow of approximately 350,000 and 230,000 migrants to nonmetropolitan areas between 1992-1993 and 1993-1994 respectively. This is the first significant net in-migration to nonmetropolitan areas reported by the CPS in more than a decade. Differences in metropolitan definition and time period preclude direct comparisons of CPS and Federal-State results. However, the substantial net in-migration reflected in the 1993 and 1994 CPS represents additional independent evidence of the growth of the nonmetropolitan population after 1990.

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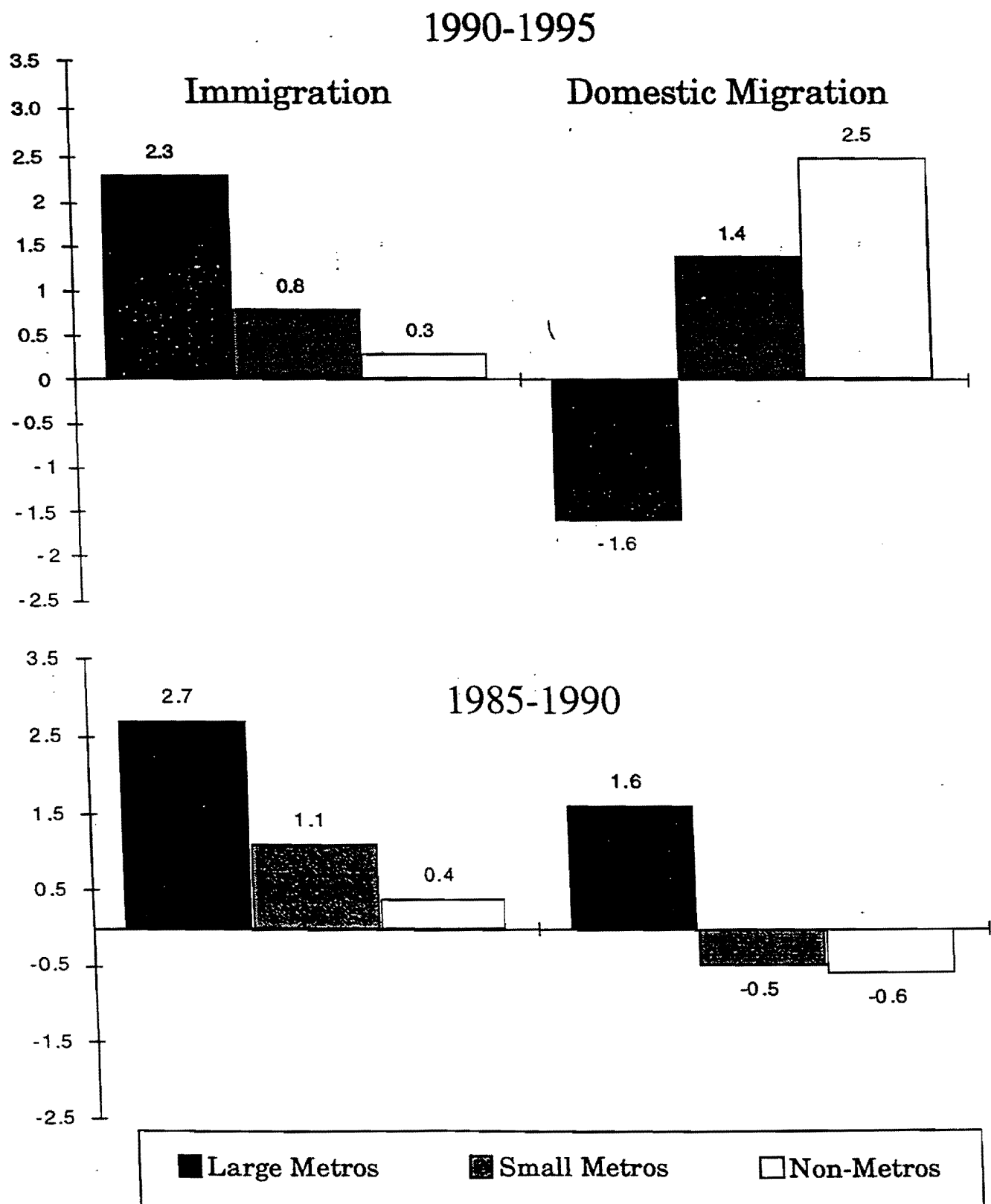
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Figure 1

# Rates of Immigration and Domestic Migration



**Table 1. Immigration and Net Internal Migration Components of Change, 1985-1995  
for Selected Large Metropolitan Areas**

<u>Metro Area*</u>	<u>Immigration (1000s)</u>	<u>Internal Migration (1000s)</u>	<u>1995 Metro Area Population (millions)</u>
<b>I. HIGH IMMIGRATION METRO AREAS</b>			
1 Los Angeles	1,635	-1,270	15.4
2 New York	1,420	-2,172	19.7
3 San Francisco-Oakland	525	-364	6.5
4 Chicago	377	-565	8.6
5 Miami	352	41	3.4
6 Washington-Baltimore	289	12	7.1
7 Boston	198	-241	5.8
8 Houston	193	-98	4.2
<b>II. HIGH INTERNAL MIGRATION METRO AREAS</b>			
1 Atlanta	64	464	3.4
2 Las Vegas	27	364	1.1
3 Phoenix	61	311	2.6
4 Seattle	90	273	3.3
5 Tampa-St. Petersburg	42	237	2.2
6 Orlando	45	235	1.4
7 Portland, OR	46	202	2.0
8 West Palm Beach	37	183	0.9
9 Raleigh-Durham	16	158	0.9
10 Charlotte	12	136	1.3
<b>III. HIGH OUT-MIGRATION METRO AREAS</b>			
1 Detroit	84	-308	5.3
2 Cleveland	30	-130	2.9
3 New Orleans	14	-119	1.3
4 Pittsburgh	14	-109	2.4
5 St. Louis	23	-73	2.5
6 Milwaukee	19	-69	1.6
7 Buffalo	15	-63	1.2

Source: Compiled by the author from Special 1990 US Census migration tabulations and US Census postcensal estimates.

\* The metropolitan area definitions are consistent with Office of Management and Budget definitions of CMSAs, MSAs and NECMA counterparts of June 30, 1995. Official names are abbreviated.

Table 2: Net Internal Migration Exchanges\* with Metro Areas and Nonmetro Areas for Large Metro Areas, by Region, in the US, 1985-90

	Total Net Migration		Net Migration Exchanges (1000s)*				
	Rate	Number (1000s)	Within Same Region		With Other Regions		
			Small Metro	Nonmetro	Large Metro	Small Metro	Nonmetro
<b>NORTH LARGE METRO AREAS - NET MIGRATION EXCHANGES</b>							
Total	-2.94	-1,783	-177	-185	-838	-456	-128
Poverty	-5.00	-350	-92	-60	-100	-63	-35
Non Poverty	-2.17	-1,212	39	-31	-778	-363	-79
College Grad	-1.47	-147	80	30	-186	-60	-11
Ages 65 +	-3.58	-311	-21	-23	-131	-107	-30
<b>SOUTH LARGE METRO AREAS - NET MIGRATION EXCHANGES</b>							
Total	2.31	691	31	-48	527	120	60
Poverty	-1.23	-49	-58	-44	72	-9	-11
Non Poverty	3.40	949	178	45	519	136	71
College Grad	5.43	268	86	32	81	47	21
Ages 65 +	1.68	65	-28	-16	94	8	5
<b>WEST LARGE METRO AREAS - NET MIGRATION EXCHANGES</b>							
Total	1.42	439	-46	-1	310	115	61
Poverty	-1.74	-71	-59	-23	29	-6	-12
Non Poverty	1.64	520	20	49	259	124	69
College Grad	4.48	239	43	16	105	54	22
Ages 65 +	-0.14	-6	-24	-18	36	a	a
<b>TOTAL US LARGE METRO AREAS - NET MIGRATION EXCHANGES WITH TOTAL SMALL METRO/ NONMETRO AREAS</b>							
Total	-0.54	-654	x	x	x	-413	-241
Poverty	-3.11	-471	x	x	x	-286	-184
Non Poverty	0.22	257	x	x		134	123
College Grad	1.77	360	x	x	x	249	111
Ages 65 +	-1.53	-252	x	x	x	-171	-81

Note: Large Metropolitan Areas have 1995 populations of 1,000,000 or more; Small metropolitan areas include all others.

\* Net Internal Migration Exchanges shown for Large Metropolitan Areas with another area equals the size of the out-migration flow to that area minus the size of the in-migration flow from that area. (Note: Table column 2 equals the sum of columns 3 to 7)

Table 3. Population change with Migration, and Natural Increase Components by Adjacency and Metropolitan Status, 1980 to 1990 and 1990 to 1995

	N of cases	Initial population (1000s)	Population change			Net migration*			Natural increase		
			Absolute change (1000s)	Percent change	Percent growing counties	Absolute change (1000s)	Percent change	Percent growing counties**	Absolute change (1000s)	Percent change	Percent growing counties***
1980 to 1990:											
All nonmetropolitan	2,305	49,578	1,320	2.7	45.1	-1,370	-2.8	27.3	2,690	5.4	89.6
Nonadjacent	1,298	22,612	134	0.6	36.4	-1,175	-5.2	20.7	1,309	5.8	87.0
Adjacent	1,007	26,966	1,186	4.4	56.3	-194	-0.7	35.8	1,382	5.1	92.9
Metropolitan	836	176,965	20,848	11.8	81.0	6,575	3.7	57.7	14,271	8.1	97.7
Total	3,141	226,543	22,168	9.8	54.7	5,206	2.3	35.4	16,962	7.5	91.8
1990 to 1995:											
All nonmetropolitan	2,304	50,820	2,580	5.1	75.3	1,555	3.1	66.8	1,025	2.0	74.3
Nonadjacent	1,297	22,669	989	4.4	67.5	529	2.3	59.4	460	2.0	67.2
Adjacent	1,007	28,151	1,591	5.7	85.4	1,026	3.6	76.4	565	2.0	83.4
Metropolitan	837	197,893	11,456	5.8	90.7	2,873	1.5	73.7	8,583	4.3	96.3
Total	3,141	248,718	14,037	5.6	79.4	4,429	1.8	68.6	9,608	3.9	80.1

Notes: 1993 metropolitan status used for 1980 to 1990 and 1990 to 1995.

\* includes internal migration and immigration components, combined

\*\* indicates percent of counties showing net in-migration

\*\*\* indicates percent of counties showing positive natural increase

Table 4. Population Change, Migration, and Natural Increase in Nonmetropolitan Counties of Different Types: 1990 to 1995

County Type	N	Population change		Net migration*		Natural Increase	
		Percent change*	Percent growing	Percent change	Percent growing	Percent change	Percent growing
Retirement	190	13.8	100	12.2	98	1.6	64
Federal Lands	269	12.1	94	8.8	87	3.3	84
Recreational	285	9.7	92	7.6	88	2.2	79
Manufacturing	506	4.6	90	2.6	76	2.0	91
Commuting	381	6.9	90	5.0	85	1.9	83
Government	242	5.4	88	1.8	74	3.6	83
Service	323	7.3	85	5.6	76	1.7	74
Non-specialized	484	5.2	81	3.7	75	1.5	74
Transfer	381	4.8	77	3.6	71	1.3	66
Poverty	535	4.3	75	1.6	60	2.7	83
Mining	146	2.7	64	0.4	53	2.3	82
Low Density	407	5.9	54	2.8	46	3.1	64
Farming	556	3.2	50	1.6	46	1.6	54
Total Nonmetropolitan	2304	5.1	75	3.1	67	2.0	74

Notes:

1993 metropolitan definition; 14 previously metro counties are excluded from analysis.

Percent change is aggregate change for all cases in category.

Recreational counties defined by Johnson and Beale (1995).

Low density counties contain fewer than six persons per square mile in 1990.

All other types defined as in Cook and Mizer (1994).

Counties are classified into one economic type (Farming, Mining, Manufacturing, Government, Service and Non-specialized). Other types are not mutually exclusive.

\* includes internal migration and immigration and immigration components, combined

\*\* indicates percent of counties showing net in-migration

\*\*\* indicates percent of counties showing positive natural increase



# Nonmetropolitan Population Change 1980–1990 Compared to 1990–1995

