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suburbs differ demographically from rural and small-town areas. The chief exception to this pattern is in the Southwest and West where large percentages of hired farmworkers are immigrants, including many illegals.

Conclusions

Demographic trends of recent years reflect conditions of a highly developed, comparatively prosperous, democratic society. The small family ideal prevails, more than ever before. Improvements in health, safety, and medical treatment continue to postpone death. Internal migration is not inhibited and immigration from abroad is not tightly controlled. There is no government population policy.

There continue to be differences in the demographic composition and trends between the rural/small-town population and the large city/suburban population, some of which are not discussed here. But, rural areas and small towns have shared in the general trends. The most distinctive trend has been the widespread renewal of population growth after several decades of decline or stagnation. The unanswered question is whether this "turnaround," having been interrupted by recession, will resume with the improved economic conditions.

The demographic events of the last 15 years offer several classic examples of the difficulty of predicting human behavior. The demand for forecasts is insatiable, but, collective human behavior is still capable of changing in unexpected ways that keep society evolving, dynamic, and difficult to characterize neatly. **RDP**

Nina Glasgow

Newcomers From Cities Support Rural Growth and Development

Metro migrants to the rural Midwest favor development, as long as it does not raise taxes. Most of the migrants look askance at anything that will raise taxes, but younger migrants are somewhat more willing to pay higher taxes for community improvements.

Despite the 1980's slowdown in nonmetro growth, the growth spurt of the 1970's finds many metro-origin newcomers now settled in rural places. These migrants tend to be younger, better educated, and more affluent than the local population they joined. Whether the newcomers voice preservationist or pro-growth sentiments will influence the potential for conflict within local communities, as well as the course of future growth and change.

This article examines growth and development sentiments of metro-origin newcomers to fast-growing nonmetro counties of the Midwest.

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These new residents do not support all kinds of growth and development. Therefore, I also examined what influenced their sentiments toward different growth and development options.

Older, Less Satisfied Newcomers Support Growth, Development

The growth and development measures used in this study apply to taxation issues. Population growth and economic expansion broaden the local tax base and may lead to stable or lower tax rates. In this sense, they may be considered conservative. Community service improvements, on the other hand, typically require tax increases and, thus, may be considered progressive.

Older and less satisfied migrants supported community expansion significantly more than did others in the sample. This finding supports the notion that older people are fiscally conservative and, therefore, support growth and development strategies that broaden the local tax base with the idea that it will stabilize or lower their taxes. Less satisfied migrants may have supported expansion because of difficulty in adjusting to their new community and so they wanted the nonmetro community to become more like the metro community they had left.

In fact most of the urban-origin migrants usually supported community expansion. Nearly all the various subgroups within the sample expressed similar levels of support for community expansion.

Most newcomers to rural areas favor development for tourism and recreation.

Photo by J.C. Allen & Son, Inc.



The Survey

This article is based on a telephone survey of migrants into 75 nonmetro counties with rates of net immigration of 10 percent or more between 1970 and 1975 (see map). Within each county, a sample of households was obtained from 1977 telephone listings matched against 1970 directories. This procedure was designed to maximize the probability of obtaining an immigrant on any given call. Initial screening questions yielded 501 interviews with metro-to-nonmetro migrants. Sample design, data collection, and data processing were carried out by the Survey Research Laboratory at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. (For greater detail on the survey design, see Sofranko and Williams.)

For the initial analysis, multiple-item measures of migrant's growth and development sentiments were summarized to depict options labeled as support for "community expansion" and "community services improvements."

Midwestern counties surveyed



Factor analysis statistical techniques were used to form the summarized measures of support for "community expansion" and "community service improvements."

The measure of sentiments toward community expansion summarizes support for promotion of recreation and tourism. The second measure summarizes support for community service improve-

ment, including medical facilities, schools, and parks.

Age, sex, education, income, and homeownership are among the characteristics of migrants examined for their influence on sentiments toward growth and development. Length of residence and community involvement—indicators of community attachment—are also part of the initial analysis. A residence variable, size of place change (degree of size change from the former metro to the current nonmetro community), is included. Finally, the migrants' level of community satisfaction is included for its association with sentiments toward growth and development. For the second part of the analysis, I divided the sample of migrants into those under 60 years of age and those 60 years and over.

The significant findings reported in the initial part of the paper are based on a regression analysis. Anyone desiring further information on the findings may write to the author.

Women, Better Educated, Younger Migrants Support Better Services

Newcomers' support for community service improvements showed more variation. Metro-origin migrants most likely to support community service improvements included the younger and better educated, women, renters, those who were less satisfied with their community, and those who had moved from very large cities.

Younger, better educated individuals, and women seemed more progressive in that they were more willing to take on added tax burdens; they may also be greater consumers of community services, and, therefore, have a higher demand for public goods and services. Renters were more likely than homeowners to support community service improvements, perhaps because renters see the effects of tax increases less directly. Those who moved from the largest of metro areas to a small rural community had the most difficulty adjusting to community services in the nonmetro areas. Their support for community service improvements probably resulted from past exposure to the often better and more varied goods and services of large metro

areas. The association between community dissatisfaction and support for community service improvements shows, once again, that dissatisfaction brings about a desire for community change.

Support for Growth and Development Strategies Differs By Age

Retirees form a significant portion of the urbanites who move to nonmetro areas, and they often cluster in particular communities. A preponderance of older citizens in a community will likely determine the kinds of community change advocated; proposed changes may differ from those in communities dominated by younger, or working age adults.

Older migrants were consistently more receptive to community expansion strategies (except business expansion) than were younger migrants (fig. 1). Younger migrants were more likely to support business expansion, possibly reflecting more concern with employment opportunities and, perhaps, expanded retail services. Older migrants, on the other hand, especially supported expanded recreation and tourism. By a 10-percentage point difference, they were also more supportive of bringing new people into the community. Older persons'

Table 1—Rural newcomers favor growth without tax increases

Growth and development issue	Younger migrants (< 60 years)	Older migrants (≥ 60 years)
<i>Percent in agreement</i>		
Elected officials should try to:		
Attract new factories	77	83
Attract tourism and promote recreation	83	90
Develop the business district	86	81
Attract new residents	70	80
Taxes should be increased to:		
Improve schools	30	20
Build parks	36	26
Improve medical facilities	49	46
Improve police protection	38	39
Improve roads	41	32
Improve senior citizen services	46	31

greater support for these changes seems to reflect their greater amount of time for leisure and social activities.

If taxes were to be raised, doing so to improve medical facilities received the most support among both younger and older migrants (49 and 46 percent, respectively). But younger migrants were more willing than their seniors to support tax increases to improve all other services, except police protection; both groups were about equally in favor of better police protection. Older migrants' more limited endorsement of tax increases to improve community services reflects their conservative stances on taxation issues. Even most younger migrants, however, oppose improvements that stipulate tax increases. Both younger and older migrants overwhelmingly support community expansion, and oppose community service improvements. The magnitude of support differs somewhat between older and younger migrants, but the pattern is similar.

Conclusions

Growth and economic development are overwhelmingly favored by metro-origin migrants residing in high-growth nonmetro areas of the Midwest. All the migrants sampled had been in rural and small-town areas for at least 2 years. All had experienced continuing nonmetro population growth, and most did not have preservationist attitudes toward further growth and development in nonmetro areas. They did not show a "pulling up the gangplank" reaction—a preference for keeping additional people from settling in the rural and small-town areas they had moved to. Perhaps metro-origin newcomers will become more concerned with preserving the environmental and other qualities of rural areas if growth and development go beyond some threshold point. But so far, the migrants favored an aggressive stance of public officials attracting new people, new factories, new businesses, and tourist and recreational development.

The migrants were more fiscally than environmentally concerned about nonmetro growth and development. Most were unwilling to increase their taxes to improve community services. Earlier research has shown that increased tax revenues to communities from new business and industry are often outweighed by the additional costs for community services. Among metro migrants in the Midwest, the potential for conflict appears likely if growth and development strain community services to the point of requiring additional local taxes for improvements. Although most of the newcomers oppose community service improvements, a substantial minority support them.

Although the migrants generally favored community expansion and opposed service improvements, some significant differences were found among different migrant groups. Older migrants favored growth and expansion more than younger migrants, probably reflecting different requirements for the different age groups. Older migrants may be more concerned about raising taxes because they must live on limited incomes. Younger migrants, most of whom have children, want more community services. Women, renters, those who moved from very large cities, and those who were least satisfied with the community likewise favored improved community services. Younger migrants' attitudes were more progressive and slightly more environmentally concerned. **RDP**

For Additional Reading . . .

Frederick C. Fliegel, Andrew J. Sofranko, and Nina Glasgow. "Population Growth in Rural Areas and Sentiments of the New Migrants Toward Further Growth," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 46, pp. 411-429.

Andrew J. Sofranko and James D. Williams. *Rebirth of Rural America: Rural Migration in the Midwest*. Ames, Iowa: North Central Regional Center for Rural Development. 1980.

Paul R. Voss. "A Test of the Gangplank Syndrome Among Recent Migrants to the Upper Great Lakes Region," *Journal of the Community Development Society*, Vol. 11, pp. 95-111.

James P. Miller

Rethinking Small Businesses as the Best Way to Create Rural Jobs

It makes some local officials uneasy, but more than half of the new jobs in rural areas are created by branch plants of large corporations. Many areas try to encourage small local firms as sources of new jobs. New data, however, show that such firms create less than a third of new jobs and they are an unreliable employment source because many fail within their first 5 years of business.

How important are independent businesses as sources of new jobs in rural areas? Are they more likely to generate new jobs than large corporations? Will these businesses (and the jobs they create) still be around 5 years from now?

These are questions being asked by local officials and business leaders who want to reduce the role of large corporations in rural communities by encouraging more local entrepreneurship. They are concerned that their communities will be less prosperous and stable if they rely on branch plants of large national firms for jobs instead of striving for self-sufficiency by promoting small business.

However, some recent data may temper local leader's enthusiasm for a strictly local approach to rural economic development. The data suggest that:

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