

/UNDERSTANDING AND ACCOMMODATING TURNAROUND GROWTH
IN NONMETROPOLITAN COMMUNITIES/

by

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I. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

It is now generally accepted that a population turnaround has occurred in the growth rates of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas and, for the first time since 1820, rural areas are growing at a faster rate than urban areas (Herbers, 1981). This phenomenon, the trend of population growth turning toward rural and small town areas, marked a turnaround in that, for the first time in recent history, there was no major nationwide trend toward concentration in population (Long, 1981). Although this became public knowledge in the early 1970s, it is the continuation of persistent demographic trends that extend back at least to the 1950s according to Fuguitt and Voss (1979:10), but which became clear only after publication of the 1970 Census results.

Furthermore, this nonmetropolitan growth is not merely continued expansion of urban areas into the nearby rural areas. In fact, many counties that are classified as completely rural and remote from metropolitan centers are among the fastest growing counties in the nation (Fuguitt and Voss, 1979:37).

Although these more remote rural areas represent a relatively small proportion of the total population, rapid growth can have serious negative consequences as well as such positive impacts as increased jobs, incomes and business. Unless affected nonmetropolitan communities anticipate this growth and plan for it in an orderly fashion, the impacts could potentially destroy

those qualities that attracted the growth in the first place.

There is a wealth of published information on characteristics of nonmetropolitan areas, the nature of the turnaround, impacts of the turnaround, and strategies for managing turnaround growth in rural communities. An understanding of each of these is essential in planning for and accommodating this growth. There is a need to address these topics collectively to assist those involved in planning for small communities. This report will attempt to present the findings of a review and critique of the literature relevant to the ultimate goal of planning for nonmetropolitan growth. It is hoped that this multidisciplinary approach will provide a foundation for further research as well as generate a bibliography helpful to a variety of disciplines.

II. BACKGROUND

The population turnaround refers to the fact that, for the first time in recent history, nonmetropolitan population growth rates are greater than metropolitan growth rates in the United States. Discussion of the turnaround usually begins with a definition of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan, or urban and rural, or by accepting the census definitions. Several researchers, however, have avoided the issue by discussing the phenomenon in more general terms as population deconcentration (Long, 1981; Wardwell, 1980) or population dispersal (Carpenter, 1977; Oosterbaan, 1980). Although there are differences in the meanings of these terms, each will be used in this report where appropriate but they all refer to the same phenomenon. Similarly, the terms urban and metropolitan may be used interchangeably as may the terms rural and nonmetropolitan, but this will be discussed later.

Phases of Economic and Social Development

To look at the needs of rural Americans as rural areas and communities experience rapid population growth, it is important to understand the historical development of these places. John-

son and Beegle (1982) provide an overview of this development. They divide the development of the social and economic characteristics unique to rural America into three phases and discuss the major effects of each.

The "Primary Sustenance Phase" or age of the farmer (Johnson and Beegle, 1982:58-60), occurred from about 1790 to 1880. This was a time when most Americans lived in rural settings and rural populations grew rapidly. Rural areas were characterized by high fertility and lower mortality rates than urban areas but, as agriculture began to mechanize, these factors were offset by a net out-migration to urban areas. For the most part, urban areas during this period experienced higher rates of population growth than rural areas.

The "Centralization Phase" (Johnson and Beegle, 1982:60-2) took place from 1880 to 1970 and was characterized by urbanization, specialization and industrialization. At the beginning of this period, the Northeast had become predominantly urban (50.8%) with New York being the first city in the United States to have a population of one million. This was the trend of the Centralization Phase and was followed much later by the North Central and Western regions becoming predominantly urban around 1920 and the South finally in 1960. Foreign immigration was limited in the 1920s and during the depression, net farm migration was about zero. Overall, however, there was a tendency for population to centralize which was fueled by factors such as continuing industrialization and increasing mechanization of agriculture. From 1900 to 1970, rural-urban migration exceeded the reverse flow in every decade (Wardwell and Brown, 1980:7).

The Postindustrial Phase began with the 1970s and differed from the Centralization Phase in two significant ways. First of all the nonmetropolitan population was growing at a greater rate than the metropolitan population. Second, the net out-migration from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan areas was reversed (Johnson and Beegle, 1982:62-5).

Historically the differences in growth rates of the population resulted mainly from differences in natural increase supplemented by net migration. Net migration, in most areas, is now the main determinant in local population change (Goldstein, 1976) and net in-migration is now the primary component of growth. Urban out-migration has increased sharply while rural out-migration has declined and natural increase has been low.

Characteristics of the Turnaround

General Dispersal Trends

The population turnaround is one of three trends presently occurring that result in the tendency for population and economic activity to disperse, according to Wardwell and Brown (1980:8-16). The other two trends are suburbanization and regional redistribution and they are separate phenomena although related to the nonmetropolitan population turnaround.

Suburbanization has been going on in the United States for a long time. The centrifugal movement of central population has been occurring since the mid-to-late 1800s in America for a

number of reasons including improvements in short distance transportation and communication as well as individual push and pull factors. First the peripheral development took place along major transportation routes, and later filled in between these corridors.

Suburban areas continue to grow at rates greater than the overall population and contribute to the growth of nonmetropolitan areas by expanding into counties classified previously as nonmetropolitan. Eventually this growth causes the county to be reclassified when it crosses the threshold but prior to that time, the growth shows up as nonmetropolitan. In fact, more than half of all nonmetropolitan growth occurs in nonmetropolitan counties adjacent to metropolitan counties and much of this is attributed to suburbanization (Wardwell and Brown, 1980:10).

In addition, there is a regional redistribution of population and these regional variations and shifts are determined primarily by internal migration. This migration between regions is mainly from the North Central and Northeast regions to the South and West, although there are variations in this pattern and certain states in these regions have experienced a disproportionate amount of growth or decline.

With these two factors accounted for, the remaining redistribution of population since 1970 can be largely explained by the phenomenon known as the nonmetropolitan population turnaround - so named because, for the first time in the twentieth century, the population growth rate for nonmetropolitan areas is greater than the growth rate for metropolitan areas. As an example, from 1970 to 1974, the population in nonmetropolitan counties in-

creased by 5.4% while in metropolitan counties, the rate was 3.4% (Beale, 1976:953). For the decade from 1970 to 1980, the population in nonmetropolitan counties increased by 15.4% and the population in metropolitan counties increased by only 9.1%. This redistribution has affected not only areas adjacent to urban counties but also remote and completely rural areas.

Persistence of the Turnaround

Although the turnaround marks the first time in recent history that rural areas have grown at a faster rate than urban areas, it didn't just begin without warning in 1970. It is a reflection of the continuation of persistent demographic trends that extend back as far as the 1950s but which became clear only after publication of the 1970 Census results according to Fuguitt and Voss (1979:10), and Kloppenberg (1983:37). One of these trends was the gradual slowing of the metropolitan growth rate beginning in the 1950s and the gradual increase in the nonmetropolitan growth rate occurring at the same time (Fuguitt and Voss, 1979:7). Dailey and Campbell (1980:233-4) also mention that, in certain parts of the United States, the nonmetropolitan turnaround began before 1970. Other examples are cited by Fuguitt and Voss (1979), and Long (1981).

Pervasiveness of the Turnaround

The nonmetropolitan population turnaround is also pervasive geographically. The pattern of population deconcentration can be seen at the regional, metropolitan/nonmetropolitan and local

levels. In the United States, deconcentration has been occurring at the regional and local levels for decades (Long, 1981:3) but at the metropolitan/nonmetropolitan level it does constitute a turnaround or reversal of trends. Also these patterns of deconcentration have been observed in virtually every subregion of the United States (Wardwell and Brown, 1980:23).

This phenomenon is not unique to the United States. In fact, at least eleven other countries have experienced either a reversal in the direction of migration or a significant reduction in the rural-to-urban migration flow (Wardwell, 1980; Long, 1981). In the United States and other large countries with remote regions such as Norway and Sweden, Wardwell (1980:71) identified two different deconcentration patterns: the continued deconcentration of urban population (which has been going on for many years) and the repopulation of remote rural areas.

Although the turnaround is pervasive, there are regional differences in a number of factors. Fuguitt and Beale (1978:617-9) divided the United States into 26 relatively homogeneous subregions and found "regionally distinctive differences in (a) the growth rate of cities and villages, (b) the comparative growth of places and unincorporated territory, (c) the relationship of the initial size of these places to population change, and (d) the nature and extent of changes in these patterns in comparing 1950-1960 with 1960-1970." They relate these variations, in part, to the influence of subregional differences in physiography, climate, cultural history, political history and economy.

Reasons for the Turnaround

The phenomenon of the nonmetropolitan population turnaround has been thoroughly documented and is widely accepted now. What brought about this reversal of growth patterns, however, is not as universally agreed upon although there is considerable overlap among various authors as to the major causes. These causes or factors are also interrelated so that the more one studies them, the more similarities there seem to be.

Wardwell and Brown (1980:12-14) suggest that three inter-related factors are at the root of the cause of the turnaround: economic decentralization, a general preference for rural living and the modernization of rural life. Economic decentralization that occurred and is occurring refers to the decentralization of opportunities for employment - usually from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas - along with a change in the nature of rural employment from agriculture related jobs to service-performing jobs, and jobs in mining and energy extraction. The general preference for rural living has been documented in many surveys from Harris and Gallup polls to national, regional, state and local surveys (Zuiches, 1982:248) and, as employment constraints are reduced, this factor becomes more important. The modernization of rural life refers to the theory that rural and urban places are becoming more alike and that improvements in services and amenities in many smaller towns make them more appealing to migrants.

Long (1981:86-7) saw that deconcentration was occurring in a

number of other highly developed countries and suggested the trends were simply part of a natural process of advanced economic development. In this process, there are three trends that lead toward deconcentration. Increased economic development of a society calls for the intensity of social interaction to increase to maintain high levels of production. Secondly, when a population is confined, high levels of social interaction lead to congestion that can be counterproductive to the interaction. Finally, with advanced development, society has more efficient interpersonal linkages (through better communications, improved transportation, etc.). As a result, increased economic development of a society encourages deconcentration and decreases the effects of distance on interaction at the same time.

Wardwell and Cook (1982:10) describe two prime sources of growth for rural communities. The first is industrial relocation which includes expansion of some existing industries such as mining as well as movement of other types of industries such as manufacturing and governmental activities. Government activities include defense (military bases), education (colleges and universities), and state and local government. The second source of growth they call environmental relocation because it depends on environmental factors such as climate, natural resources and other amenities.

In discussing the migration turnaround, Chalmers and Greenwood (1977:168-9) identify four general and interrelated groups of causes. The first cause they discuss relates to the social costs of conducting business in densely populated urban areas.

It seems that recently, differentials in productivity between urban and rural labor forces have decreased and the social costs of urban disamenities, in some cases, have more than made up the difference so that rural areas are more desirable places of employment by comparison. The second cause is the rising affluence of certain segments of the population. This affluence results in persons better able to live out their lifestyle preferences build second homes, and support recreational developments. A third cause relates to changes in demand and/or supply for primary inputs such as energy and minerals. Energy development and mining boomtowns are obvious examples of this. The fourth cause is the changing demographic structure of both the population in general and the labor force. The aging of the population meant more retirement-aged persons and, since 1965, large numbers of people were in the most mobile age classes. More women are participating in the labor force which means that more young families can afford to live in areas with historically low wages but desirable amenities.

Wardwell (1980:86-110) describes a paradigm for the turnaround based on converging similarities between urban and rural areas. In this paradigm, the key element is the role distance plays in the determination of the social organization of space and the fact that this role is changing. Wardwell lists several reasons for distance becoming less and less a constraint in location theories and these reasons are therefore causes for the nonmetropolitan population turnaround. Among these reasons are: lower costs of transportation and the substitution of improved methods of communication for actual physical movement; increases

in personal affluence which have resulted in both more time and resources for longer distance personal travel and shifts in consumer demand to goods and services not directly related to or dependent upon transportation costs (recreational activities for example); changes in the labor force composition from emphasis on goods-producing to service-producing activities which tend to be less influenced by transportation costs; and changes in the living conditions in low density or rural areas, such as employment opportunities, real income levels and amenities, that suggest diminishing of rural-urban differentials in some ways.

Similarly, Wilkinson (1978:117) cited several reasons for the turnaround that he described as push and pull factors. The push factors were that: more urban residents can now afford to live out their preferences which, as mentioned earlier, are often for a nonmetropolitan lifestyle; and that many large cities, in recent decades, have had difficulties in adequately financing public services to deal with such problems as low income housing, crime, and pollution. Working along with these were pull factors such as increased availability of jobs in rural areas and improvements in services and amenities in nonmetropolitan communities.

A somewhat different perspective on reasons for the turnaround is offered by Dougherty, a planning consultant and writer (1979:59-60). He identifies major influences as the agricultural revolution, the nonmetropolitan migration of manufacturing, increasing scarcity of resources, expansion of government building programs, and increasing numbers of retirees and others seeking the advantages of small town living.

A major grouping of causes for the turnaround, then, seems to center around what has been called rural-urban convergence; life and living conditions in nonmetropolitan areas has improved so that people no longer have to "do without" to live in rural areas. These living conditions include improved services, more employment opportunities, and increasing real income levels. This works along with the fact that increasing problems in high density metropolitan areas are often a growing deterrent to urban living. In addition, technological changes have brought significant improvements in transportation and communication which have allowed the dispersal of population without isolation.

In a related perspective, Adamchak and Flint (1982) see the metropolitan to nonmetropolitan migration to be, in part, the result of quality of life considerations. They see a new ideology or major ideological reorientation which includes a shift in personal values from pursuing material gain to pursuing happiness.

To achieve the "new" QOL (quality of life) from the "new" ideology in urban-industrial society, the population responds by reversing the long established rural-to-urban migration pattern to a metro-to-nonmetro movement. They perceive life quality in a time of social scarcity as "anti-urban" or "anti-metropolitan" since their QOL needs are not being met in a highly urban-industrial setting (Adamchak and Flint, 1982:7-9).

Opinion polls and studies, as mentioned earlier, have consistently shown that there is increasing dissatisfaction with metropolitan living and that a majority of the population would prefer to live in nonmetropolitan communities or rural areas. So, as problems increase in metropolitan areas, opportunities increase in nonmetropolitan areas, and as the sacrifices of a nonmetropolitan life diminish, the population turnaround is a

logical result. These factors suggest a gradual shift in population growth patterns and an increasing concern for improving the "quality of life".

This gradual shift in growth patterns is speeded up when factors such as energy development, growing numbers of retired persons, and the general migration of people to the southwest enter the picture. Therefore, it seems that whether or not the nonmetropolitan population turnaround remains a pervasive trend throughout the United States, at least parts of the country will almost certainly continue to experience the phenomenon. Nonmetropolitan communities in these areas will continue to struggle with the problems of rapid growth.

III. NONMETROPOLITAN COMMUNITIES AND THE TURNAROUND

Overview

It needs to be stated at the outset that there is no such thing as a "typical nonmetropolitan community". Rural or nonmetropolitan communities are as varied and diverse as they are numerous. Defining nonmetropolitan communities, except in general terms, is difficult. One way to begin is to briefly discuss some differences between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan or rural and urban areas.

Differences between Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Communities

Traditionally, rural and urban have signified opposite ends of a continuum with most communities falling somewhere between the two extremes and showing relative degrees of "rurality" or "urbanity". This concept is useful in suggesting that all communities are not clearly urban or rural but that there are overlaps. Using this perspective, rural and urban are relative concepts.

In contrast, the Bureau of the Census is specific in their definitions of nonmetropolitan and metropolitan and there is a sharp dividing line between the two. The Bureau of the Census (1982:A5) defines the urban population as all persons living in "urbanized areas" as well as in places (incorporated or not) with

a population of at least 2,500 outside of urbanized areas. These urbanized areas are defined as a central city or cities together with the surrounding closely settled territory (with a density of at least 1,000 persons per square mile). The minimum population of an urbanized area is 50,000 people. The rural population, conversely, are those persons not falling under the definition of urban population.

The concept of a metropolitan area, or standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA) is one of an area with the county as the basic unit of analysis (except in New England), composed of a population nucleus along with any adjacent counties that have a high degree of economic and social integration with the nucleus. Each SMSA will have one or more central counties with the main concentration of population and this concentration will be an urbanized area of at least 50,000 inhabitants (Bureau of the Census, 1982:A5). The people living in an SMSA are referred to as the metropolitan population and those living outside the boundaries of SMSAs are referred to as the nonmetropolitan population.

Urbanized areas and metropolitan areas are closely related by definition but there are some significant differences. In concept, a metropolitan area is always larger than its core urbanized area. Each SMSA or metropolitan area has an urbanized area, but there are urbanized areas that are not a part of any metropolitan area. Also, since definitions of SMSAs use counties as building blocks, there is often a considerable amount of rural territory included in the area defined as metropolitan.

According to Long and DeAre (1982), the traditional urban-rural distinction is being replaced, to some extent, by the metropolitan-nonmetropolitan distinction since urban and rural concepts are based only on residence. The metropolitan-nonmetropolitan concept includes both the spatial and physical dimensions of urban-rural as well as an economic dimension which is the economic integration of the adjacent areas to the nucleus. In other words, metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas each have rural and urban parts.

The replacement of the rural-urban concept by the metropolitan-nonmetropolitan concept is by no means universal and, as mentioned earlier, the terms are often interchanged. For the purposes of this report, the term rural will be roughly equivalent to the term nonmetropolitan and urban roughly equivalent to metropolitan.

These differences between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas are fairly straightforward. In addition, there are many less clearly defined differences that appear in the literature. Ford (1979:4-14), in taking an ecological view of these differences, discusses them in terms of environment, people, technology, values and beliefs, and social organization. In other words, he says there are persistent rural-urban differences with respect to each of these categories. In the latter two categories, however, Ford sees the differences as diminishing. If we accept that there are differences, then the approach to land use decisions and growth in rural areas should be different from the approach used in urban areas.

Similarly, Willits et al. (1982:69-76) discuss some per-

sistent but less tangible rural-urban differences that are generally in agreement with the observations of Long and DeAre. Although rural and urban do not form entirely distinct subpopulations, there are differences as well as similarities. Again, this suggests that there should be differences in the approach to planning. "While the metro-nonmetro, urban-rural terminology can be confusing and imprecise, the popular tendency, particularly among city dwellers, to consider U.S. nonmetropolitan areas as uniform in aspect - sleepy, small towns tied closely to basic resource industries such as farming, forestry and mining - can lead to a near total misunderstanding of what is going on out there in the boondocks" (Doherty, 1979:54).

Differences Among Nonmetropolitan Communities

The concept of a continuum is also useful for describing differences among nonmetropolitan or rural communities. The Bureau of the Census definition cited earlier states that a nonmetropolitan population is any population not living within the boundaries of an SMSA. The implication is that the term nonmetropolitan would apply to a community with a population of 100 or less as well as a community with a population of 49,000, as long as it is in a nonmetropolitan county. Obviously there would be differences in these two communities although they both fall within the Bureau of the Census definition of nonmetropolitan. Applying the concept of a continuum to nonmetropolitan areas, one could assign degrees of "rurality" to these communities based on a number of demographic, economic, social and

political factors.

Since nonmetropolitan communities are varied and diverse, so is their ability to deal with the problems of rapid growth. For example, small, agriculturally-based nonmetropolitan communities are often run by part-time officials and volunteers and these governments are less likely to have the skills, time or interest for careful planning. Nonmetropolitan communities near the other end of the continuum, with larger populations and a more diverse economic base, may have elected, full-time officials and significantly greater potential for dealing with change.

Types of Turnaround Growth

To further complicate matters, there are several types of turnaround growth and each has characteristics that suggest different kinds of treatment that may be called for in planning for or accommodating this growth. The impacts of the various kinds of growth on the community differ so it becomes necessary to identify the general classifications of turnaround growth before discussing impacts and strategies for management.

Weber and Howell (1982:XXI-XXII) discuss turnaround growth in terms of resource development growth related to the expansion of natural resource industries, growth associated with the development of retirement communities and new recreation facilities, growth from the construction of new defense and manufacturing facilities, and, growth from people migrating from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas to improve their quality of life. Each of these general types of growth contributes to the overall non-metropolitan population turnaround in varying degrees.

The growth related to the expansion of natural resource industries is a significant factor in the turnaround. Although this was not mentioned as a major type of turnaround growth by Beale in 1976 (p. 955), it has certainly been identified as such in research since that time (Weber and Howell, 1982; Murdock et al., 1980; Wardwell, 1980). This category includes growth associated with development of energy resources and energy conversion and generation facilities as well as development related to non-energy mineral extraction. Energy related growth has created "energy boom towns" and can have potentially significant short term and long term impacts on affected nonmetropolitan communities.

Growth associated with the development of retirement communities and new recreation facilities, according to Beale in 1976 (p. 955), was the category of turnaround growth that showed the most rapid increase for the decade from 1960 to 1970 and, for the first half of the 1970s, the trend was continuing. This type of growth tends to occur in parts of the United States with higher levels of scenic quality or natural beauty as well as more recreational opportunities. The demographic characteristics of this type of growth differ from those of growth associated with expansion of natural resource industries and the impacts of this type of growth also differ in some respects (Dailey and Campbell, 1980).

Growth from the construction of new defense and manufacturing facilities was cited by Weber and Howell (1980), Beale (1976), and Zuiches and Price (1980) as a type of turnaround

growth. Growth from defense facilities resulted primarily from expansion and development of military bases in the United States allowed by increased budgets for national defense. This growth resulted from the increased labor force during construction as well as the buildup of military personnel after the new or expanded facilities were implemented. Growth from construction of new manufacturing facilities was the result of a trend in the 1960s of the decentralization of manufacturing. Although there was not much overall growth in manufacturing during that decade, there was a significant relocation of manufacturing plants to nonmetropolitan locations for a number of reasons. These reasons included lower land costs, better transportation, less unionization, better attitudes on the part of the workers, lower wage rates, access to the underemployed nonmetropolitan female labor force, and just getting away from the problems of urban areas. Here again, this growth suggests different impacts from the other types of growth mentioned.

The last type of turnaround growth mentioned by Weber and Howell (1982:XXII) involved people leaving urban areas to get away from the problems and hopefully, to improve their quality of life. This type of growth was cited by Ploch (1980), Press (1979), and Howell and Freese (1982) among others as significant in the turnaround. This type of growth is more difficult to document but could be included, it seems, with other types. People, for instance, who wanted to migrate to nonmetropolitan areas to improve their quality of life might be included in the category of growth associated with retirement-recreation areas or growth from relocation of manufacturing plants in rural areas.

However, the quality of life type growth can be said to be an ideological based movement (Adamchak and Flint, 1982).

One further type of growth mentioned by Beale (1976:955) as the second most rapidly growing class of nonmetropolitan counties were those counties where a senior state college was located. The rapid growth in these counties took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s and, as the communities grew, they became more diversified in the process and began to grow for other reasons. This particular type of growth is probably less significant now as colleges and universities face declining enrollments so it will not be considered as a significant type in this report.

Because the characteristics and impacts of the types of turnaround growth differ, it will be necessary to differentiate between them. Since this report is concerned with "rapid growth" in nonmetropolitan communities, the primary focus will be on two types of growth. In addressing the impacts of rapid growth on rural communities and some strategies for managing rapid growth, this report will emphasize growth from expansion of natural resource industries and growth from development of retirement communities and recreation facilities. It is recognized that there are other types of growth but these two account for a major portion of the rapid growth experienced in nonmetropolitan communities and they seem to have many of the general impacts associated with rapid growth as well as some rather unique impacts which will be discussed later.

Impacts on Nonmetropolitan Communities

Rapid growth comes to many, if not most, rural communities as a mixed blessing at best. The benefits normally associated with a growing community may be offset by actual and social costs and often these costs are at least partially unanticipated. To further complicate things, there are several different types of turnaround growth and each type has characteristics that influence its impact on the community. In some research, turnaround growth is discussed in generic terms to include the various types of growth collectively (Ford, 1978; Long, 1981; Oosterbaan, 1980), and in other research, types are treated as unique and separate (Dailey and Campbell, 1980; Murdock et.al., 1980; Press, 1979; Weber and Howell, 1982).

There are impacts that seem to be universal to rapid growth of all types just as there are specific impacts that make energy development growth different from recreation/retirement growth. In order to sort through the differences and similarities, the impacts of rapid growth in a general sense will be explored and then the impacts of two specific and unique types of growth - growth from energy development and from retirement/recreation development - will be discussed in terms of the ways in which their impacts differ from those of rapid growth in general. This will not be an exhaustive discussion of impacts but a presentation of some of the major and most significant impacts that affect rural communities.

General Impacts of Rapid Growth on Nonmetropolitan Communities

Before addressing "general" impacts, it is necessary to differentiate between two types of impacts - impacts associated with physical, infrastructural aspects of rural communities, and sociological impacts which are tied to changes that occur in the social relations of a community during rapid growth.

Physical impacts are those we normally consider when attempting to plan for or accommodate rapid growth. They are relatively easy to see and measure and quantify. Sociological impacts, on the other hand, involve changes in people's values, institutional patterns, or the solidarity and autonomy of their communities (Albrecht, 1980).

During a period of social change, the prescribed patterns of interaction change from one form to another. The transition from one set of social understandings and expectations to another set does not happen overnight. In the interim, the transition produces social disorganization, where individuals, groups and institutions are not interacting according to culturally shared expectations. Changes occur in both the formal and informal patterned relations of a community (Cortese, 1982:116).

Furthermore, many studies on turnaround growth refer primarily to growth in terms of population size. If size is our main concern in addressing rapid growth and we are looking primarily for physical or infrastructural impacts, the problem is simplified because as population size increases, so do the physical demands on the community. Although the impacts from population growth alone are serious, the impacts from population diversity by rapid immigration are more significant for the long term and make dealing with the short term growth issues more difficult (Cortese, 1982:131). The most significant and visible impacts on

the organizations and institutions of a community result from population change and not just growth (Albrecht, 1978). Therefore the impacts of a population diversifying as it grows may have more long term significance than the impacts of growth in numbers.

With this in mind, a general discussion of the impacts of rapid growth on rural communities is appropriate and this discussion will, when necessary, differentiate between social and physical impacts. As mentioned previously, research often focuses on the physical impacts of growth and planners tend to deal with these impacts and the infrastructural changes they necessitate although community institutions must ultimately adapt to both the changing size and composition of the population. There seems to be a group of physical impacts upon which there is general agreement as well as a number of both physical and social impacts that are the particular insights of one or more researcher. This section will address those impacts upon which there is general agreement first and then discuss a few of the less universally accepted impacts.

The overall impacts of rapid growth on a nonmetropolitan community are not always positive. In fact, the consequences of growth may be as devastating as the consequences of decline. In terms of implications for planning, however, any shift in population - growth or decline - requires governmental adjustment in response (Long and DeAre, 1982:1115).

Cortese (1982) discusses social impacts of rapid nonmetropolitan growth by describing the sequence of cultural changes that

occur as a community grows.

First, the communities become more culturally diverse as new people bring in new ideas. Second, diversity means that the towns become less provincial and isolated. As the responsibilities of community institutions grow, more people are brought in to run these institutions (new police chief, new social workers, new school superintendent, more professional business people). This represents a third trend toward professionalism and respect for expertise. In one community the city government was reorganized; this type of action suggests a major trend toward specialization and bureaucratization. Also implicit in such institutional growth is a fifth trend: namely, a growing belief that bigger is better, as well as more efficient and cheaper. The number of supermarkets and chain operations that appear in boomtowns represents a sixth pattern--centralization. A seventh change in the local culture is that the profit motive is strengthened for some longtime residents. As the community grows and more and more strangers move into town, many people start to rely more on institutions, an eighth cultural shift. A social worker noted, for example, that family problems, once handled at home, now end up in her office more often. Socializing takes place more through church socials and club activities. Neighboring seems to decline with the movement of newcomers to old neighborhoods, although we have no hard data on this. A ninth change is that people become more demanding of their institutions. "The churches (the police, city council, schools) should do something about that," is an often-heard complaint. Also, the lack of medical and dental facilities in these communities has been a long-standing situation, but only with the boom do residents start to demand such care. (Cortese, 1982:129)

When this process of "urbanization" occurs at an accelerated rate, the results for the community are a loss of autonomy, a loss of identity and a loss of cohesion.

In terms of population growth and physical impacts, as mentioned earlier, more people demand more of everything. This includes such obvious needs as housing, roads, utilities (phone, electricity, water, sewer, gas), police and fire protection,

health services, recreational services, educational services, commercial retail establishments and professional offices to name a few. The demand for some of these needs increases proportionally with growth and the demand for others increases at a greater rate. Some of these needs do not exist until a certain population threshold or density is reached and others exist in all communities. In the smallest nonmetropolitan communities, for example, there is no central sewer or water system since density is such that each residence can have its own well and septic tank. Once a certain threshold is reached, however, the community must provide these services and many are not equipped to do so.

There are also thresholds for certain types of community government which, when reached, may call for drastic changes. Small towns often have only part time officials who serve for the social status it brings, because of their commitment to the community and its people, or for the sense of accomplishment they get out of their efforts, but they seldom receive much in the way of financial reward. This type of government may work well until rapid growth brings with it the demand for new services as well as for more of existing services. With increasing diversity of the population, there is also a need to do some things differently and to be more responsive to the often conflicting needs of various groups. These elected officials may also be called upon to do things they have no experience with such as long range planning or zoning and seeking grants or funds. At some point the threshold is reached and the type of government must change in response (Cortese, 1982:126-7). Therefore, one significant

impact of rapid growth and diversity is often a turnover of leadership in the community - in many cases with new immigrants filling some of the vacancies.

There is a tendency toward convergence in the compositional structure of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan residents and indications are that further convergence of socioeconomic status is likely to occur (Zuiches and Brown, 1978:57). Immigrants tend to raise the income, education and occupational levels of nonmetropolitan communities and, since immigrants tend to be younger, there is a convergence of the median age for metropolitan and nonmetropolitan communities. Since the nonmetropolitan immigrants are overwhelmingly white, however, this suggests a continuing metropolitanization of the black and racial minority populations.

Communities faced with rapid growth often do not have very much information about either the opportunities it affords them or the problems it will bring. In addition, as mentioned earlier, with rapid growth comes increased demand for government and planning expertise and local leaders are often not aware of their options for managing this growth or for minimizing or mitigating the adverse effects (Weber and Howell, 1982:XXII-XXVI). This may cause serious adjustment problems which could influence the quality and cost of public services as well as the social structure of the community.

As the population shifts from metropolitan to rural areas, other impacts will result from the shift of political and economic power. Non-farm interests, for example, will become

more important in rural communities and new immigrants will demand many of the same public services they were accustomed to in the metropolitan communities they came from. There will be encroachment on prime agricultural land and timberland, escalating land values, speculation on land and neglected town values as development ensues.

Impacts Specific to Type of Growth

Turnaround growth has been discussed in general terms, as mentioned earlier, and also in more specific terms according to the primary cause or factor influencing the growth. Beale (1976) identified three major types of turnaround growth counties as retirement counties, those where a senior state college was located, and those that had a high dependence on manufacturing (because decentralization of manufacturing was occurring). Similarly, Morrison and Wheeler (1976) add counties with a major military installation and counties developing energy resources to the list.

Of this list of specific types of turnaround growth, as mentioned earlier, two types seem to suggest that they might have unique impacts or might call for unique and/or extraordinary approaches to managing resultant growth or mitigating impacts. These types are growth from energy/natural resource development and growth from recreation and retirement development and each will be discussed briefly.

Growth from energy/natural resource development Growth resulting from the development of energy or other natural resources is potentially one of the most devastating types of growth in terms

of the impacts that result. The term "energy boom town" was coined to describe the rapid and unplanned growth that takes place often during development of energy resources - probably reminiscent of the gold boom towns of the past.

At any rate, the impacts discussed earlier are certainly a part of energy development as they are of any kind of rapid growth but, as Press (1979) points out, there are impacts unique to energy boom towns. If a community plans for this growth and spends money to address the infrastructural needs that result from the growth, severe impacts can then result if and when demand for that particular resource diminishes or the supply plays out. When this happens families leave, businesses close, and fewer taxpayers are left to pay off the city bonds that financed the additional streets, utilities, schools and services that were necessary.

Energy boom towns tend to be among the fastest growing of the turnaround communities because of the nature of energy development projects. Since, according to Dailey and Campbell (1980:251), one effect of turnaround growth is an often considerable lag between the time that needs for basic services are identified and the time it takes to provide them. This impact may be increased in energy boom towns because of the accelerated rate of growth.

According to Murdock et al. (1982), there are several factors that influence the impact on communities of growth associated with major resource development. These factors are grouped according to the characteristics of the development pro-

ject, the characteristics of the local area being impacted, and the characteristics of the immigrants to the area as a result of the project or development. The last two factors, the characteristics of the local area and the characteristics of the immigrants, would seem to be factors affecting the impact of most types of turnaround growth. The first factor, where impact is directly related to a particular project, is rather unique to this type of growth and should be carefully considered in the planning.

Resource development is often in conflict with agriculture and the environment. With high levels of energy development, the attractiveness of an area for recreational use and/or continued agricultural productivity could be threatened. Impacts from energy development may directly affect the visual quality of the area and the fertility of the soils unless specific steps are taken to address these issues early in the process.

Energy development related migrants tend to be relatively young, well educated and highly skilled with high incomes when compared to long time residents of the area. In fact, data suggest that the impact of migration to a community for energy development may not be very different from that of other types of nonmetropolitan migration (Murdock et al., 1980:286). Schwarzweller (1979) agrees that, for the most part, the issues faced by nonmetropolitan areas dealing with energy growth are similar to those faced by other rural areas experiencing turnaround growth.

Growth from retirement and recreation development Growth resulting from retirement and recreation development is also

widespread in the United States and affects especially those areas of natural beauty and/or recreation potential with a desirable climate. A statement in an article on aging and leisure patterns describes the attractions that draw immigrants to a particular section of the Ozarks: "Those seeking pure, clean mountain air, pure and uncontaminated water, scenic views of mountains and lakes, desirable climates with changes of season but no extremes, excellent hospital care, modern stores and shopping, low taxes and plenty of churches will find them here" (Oliver, 1971:17).

Retirement development, like energy development, can have potentially major impacts on the nonmetropolitan communities they affect. In fact, the term "boom towns" has also been used in conjunction with nonmetropolitan communities experiencing growth from retirement or recreation development. According to Beale, there are more retirement boom towns in the United States than mining boom towns (Press, 1979a).

Again, impacts discussed earlier also apply to retirement and recreation development. As with resource development growth, however, there are some characteristics of retirement and recreation growth that make its impacts on nonmetropolitan communities unique. Two of those characteristics have to do with the age of the immigrants and their financial status - especially for retirement development. As mentioned earlier, for turnaround growth in general, immigrants tend to be younger and better educated with higher incomes than the long time area residents. Retirement migrants, on the contrary, tend to be older and often

on fixed incomes which has both positive and negative impacts.

Elderly migrants have different needs than the typical turnaround migrant. Those planning for retirement and recreation development growth should consider the need for more specialized services for the elderly such as health care, public transportation and more organized community activities (Dailey and Campbell, 1980). In addition, elderly persons are not in need of more schools and employment opportunities and want to keep the taxes low. The economic condition of the elderly is shaped by personal savings, investments, pension plans, and, to a limited extent, employment. The elderly, however, experience more poverty than any other group in society (Zuiches and Brown, 1980:72). The need for economic and community aid to the elderly is therefore likely in retirement communities.

Conclusions Although there are several types of growth involved in the turnaround and a need to consider each type of growth individually in terms of characteristics, impacts and implications for planning, there also seems to be significant value in considering turnaround growth in a generic sense - or the phenomenon of population deconcentration - as a foundation for these more specific studies. Adamchak and Flint (1982) identified a variety of structural, social psychological and ideological models developed to attempt to explain the turnaround phenomenon.

While these models are being developed and refined, however, there are very real impacts occurring as a result of rapid growth in nonmetropolitan communities and a need to approach planning for or accommodating this growth on more than one level. The first level, it would seem, would be a broad, general level -

addressing those needs and impacts that are more or less common to all types of turnaround growth. The next level would be to consider those impacts that might be "unique" to the particular type of growth occurring. In addition, there may be a need to look at each level in terms of structural factors and also sociological factors. In discussing strategies for managing rapid nonmetropolitan growth, the remainder of this report will focus on this broad, general level.

IV. STRATEGIES FOR MANAGING TURNAROUND GROWTH

To properly plan for and manage rapid growth in rural areas, it helps first of all to be prepared by anticipating the growth. By understanding the community and its setting, it is possible to predict the potential for growth. In addition, further demographic examination may reveal indicators of particular types of growth which would allow more specific predictions. This information may be generated and processed either internally or externally.

Many small nonmetropolitan communities lack the personnel and expertise to monitor demographic information and develop this awareness internally. Externally, however, regional, state and national government planning staff or faculty and students of universities could routinely monitor periodic demographic information from the Census or other sources and look for indicators that might suggest potential rapid growth situations. This information could then be passed on to the appropriate governmental agency for action.

Beale (1976) says census data indicate that certain characteristics of a community suggest its potential for growth. As an example, the most rapidly growing class of nonmetropolitan counties at the time of his study were termed "retirement counties". If a community has characteristics that have a high

attraction for retired persons (natural beauty, desirable climate, low taxes, etc.), that would be grounds for predicting a relatively high growth potential and focussing attention on regular monitoring of the population of that community. It should be noted, however, that the existence of these characteristics merely suggests potential for growth.

As mentioned earlier, Morrison and Wheeler (1976) point out that counties classified as retirement, military, energy development or university, can be expected to grow more than others and suggest that regional criteria are also important in estimating growth potential. Regions of the United States that tend to be experiencing the highest nonmetropolitan growth rates include the Upper Great Lakes, the Ozarks, South Appalachia, Northern New England and the Rocky Mountains - Utah Valleys. Communities in these regions, therefore, might be expected to have a higher base potential for growth as a result of location. This kind of general demographic information, combined with an analysis of present and past age/sex composition and other demographic factors, could enable a fairly accurate prediction of potential for growth.

External Influences

In looking at strategies for managing turnaround growth, the primary concern of the remainder of this report will be strategies appropriate for the communities themselves. It is important, however, to look at the influence of external factors in

directing or shaping growth at both the federal and state level and, more specifically, within the context of rural development policy. Laws at both the federal and state levels set constraints but they also provide opportunities and influence the growth management strategies available to local governments.

The federal government has a significant role in nonmetropolitan area development that rural communities should certainly be aware of. In fact, a large number of federal agencies provide assistance in the form of loans, grants, services and technical aid for development of nonmetropolitan areas including planning, soil and water conservation, housing, public works, road construction, park improvement and a variety of other purposes (Doherty, 1979).

States also have a crucial role in helping rural communities. Their involvement ranges from operating local programs to providing grants so that local governments can operate their own programs to allowing a variety of money-raising methods such as forms of taxation. State government is very much involved with local government and, in fact, controls nonmetropolitan community actions through state constitutions and statutes (Doherty, 1979). States can provide management assistance and encourage more far-sighted approaches to dealing with rapid growth through environmental and planning initiatives.

There has been increasing involvement of regional development organizations in helping nonmetropolitan communities develop and many of these organizations were designed, at least partly, to help small towns take advantage of grant monies available at the federal and state levels. These organizations include

regional planning organizations, councils of government, and economic development districts. Many local officials see these agencies as infringing on the autonomy of their community, however, so they do not take full advantage of the services available (Dillman and Hobbs, 1982:270).

With existing or potential assistance of various types offered by state and federal agencies, there is often a problem with coordination. Many federal programs deal directly with local government in areas such as agriculture, community development, housing, and conservation, and state governments have little to say in these activities. There is a need for more coordination of state and federal efforts to assist nonmetropolitan communities in planning for and managing rapid growth.

In the opinion of Deavers and Brown (1980), the focus of such a rural development policy, or at least one of the primary foci, should be the economic well being of the rural people and government must recognize that poverty in rural areas is different from poverty in urban areas. Deavers and Brown (1980:63) go on to discuss how such a policy should address rural poverty at both the community level and the individual or family level.

At the community level, rural poverty is often located in environments that lack adequate human and community facilities, are isolated from other areas with such facilities, and lack a wide range of employment opportunities. In these environments, institutional capacity - particularly governmental - is unable to provide support.....
.....At the individual or family level, policy must recognize that the low income position of many rural people does not result from unemployment. Rather, it results from the types of jobs available in rural labor markets, a lack of appropriate skills and training for better jobs, a lack of transportation access to take advantage of

opportunities, and chronically poor health. Governmental activity designed to assist the rural working poor must be more than income support.

In addition, Deavers and Brown (1980:64) state that the focus of rural development policy should be broader in scope to include a concern for "the provision of essential services in areas of spatial isolation and low population density; the capacity of local institutions to anticipate, plan for and adjust to change; and the activities of the federal government in rural areas and its relation to state governments and local institutions." They go on to say that, although the likelihood of such a comprehensive policy is slim, there are things that can be done to increase the awareness of the public concerning rural issues and the priority of rural issues on the national agenda. Two suggestions offered were better communication to policymakers of the results of research and a more careful choice of rural research topics to make sure that important questions related to rural development policy are addressed.

At any rate, although a comprehensive and coordinated rural development policy does not exist, there is certainly interest in and, many feel, a need for such a policy. In fact, in a statement in support of a national rural development policy, the chairman of the Division of Small Town and Rural Planning of the American Planning Association (Deines, 1983:4) stated "It is recognized that programs and institutions for rural development do exist within several agencies of the Federal Government, but their impact has been limited because of the lack of a comprehensive, intergovernmental and interagency, coordinated effort."

Internal Strategies

Background Information

As indicated previously, there is more than one level of preparation in planning for and managing rapid growth. Prior to reviewing and considering strategies, techniques, and options available to address the problems and opportunities of rapid growth, there is background information that provides a necessary foundation for planning.

Nonmetropolitan areas are growing, sometimes at a rapid rate, and this growth often causes problems. Some of these areas welcome the growth and accept the problems it brings while others consider it destructive and undesirable.

Experience and common sense have demonstrated that small towns all do not strive for the same objectives. Some want desperately to enter the mainstream of American life. Others try to preserve what it is that makes small towns small. Others want to reverse long periods of decline and deterioration through community revitalization. Still others try to hold on and protect what vitality they have (Cohen, 1977:12).

Planning should certainly be the approach taken to solving the problems of rapid growth but planners are often among the first to admit that the conventional planning treatment of small towns has not been all that successful. In an article from the American Institute of Planners Journal, Cohen (1977:4) expresses the belief that planners have contributed to the demise of the small town in many cases rather than support its revitalization.

Planning in the small town is suffering in large measure from a failure on the part of planners to recognize the small town for the distinct kind of setting it is. The conventional planning approach, in practically all its manifestations, adapts urban concepts and urban frameworks to explain small town phenomena, with no recognition that the differences in community size may constitute substantive differences in kind.

In developing an awareness of the community as unique and preparing a foundation for planning, there are several kinds of background information that a community can gather that would be helpful and possibly essential to a successful planning effort. These include information on the historical development of the community, an inventory of existing community resources, and identification of the goals and objectives of the community with respect to growth.

Historical background It is important for decisionmakers in a community, and community members at large as much as possible, to be aware of the choices and value decisions responsible for the historical development of that community. Being aware of this background can make one familiar with the essence of the community and this is certainly important to the planner if he or she is to move past applying scaled-down urban planning techniques to non-metropolitan areas. A knowledge of this cultural, political and social history can help the planner to discover that which is unique about a community.

Unfortunately, this background information is not often as readily available as some other types of information. Much of it is the type of information found in studies done by rural sociologists thirty or forty years ago but demographers can

provide the planner with some insight by analyzing changes in demographic properties and variables over time. There are often resources within the community, such as long-time residents, members of local historical societies, or students from the community who could help to put together a historical background sketch.

Inventory of existing resources This is a more traditional part of the planning process where the existing biophysical, sociocultural, political and economic resources of the community are inventoried and evaluated. An evaluation of these resources along with knowledge of the background of the community should help to identify the personality of the community.

In rural areas, the natural resources are especially significant since our food supply and most of the raw materials upon which our society depends come from nonurban parts of the country. It is important to know what the resources are, their relative values (not just economic), and which are plentiful or in short supply in order to make decisions about the use of these resources.

This becomes more important, often, when put in a regional context. A rural county might have an abundance of prime farmland so using some for non-agricultural purposes may not, at first glance, seem undesirable to the community. This county may be unique, however, within the region and provide most of the food for that region. With this added perspective, the land use decision is not so simple.

Goals and objectives Identifying the goals and objectives of a nonmetropolitan community is a vital part of the planning pro-

cess. Some common past criticisms of planning include planners imposing their perceptions of a community's goals on the community or developing the objectives and goals after having talked to a nonrepresentative sample of the population. The obvious and logical way to identify the goals of a community is through citizen participation.

Although theoretically it should be easier to involve the public in the planning process in a small town than in larger urban areas, effective citizen participation is seldom achieved in nonmetropolitan area planning (Cohen, 1976). Never-the-less, because of the nature of nonmetropolitan areas, accurately identifying the goals is essential to the process of planning for these areas with minimum impacts.

In a series of articles for the Christian Science Monitor, Robert M. Press described the effects of the turnaround on rural America. He interviewed residents of communities with various functional characteristics such as retirement communities, communities adjacent to SMSAs, resort communities, energy boom towns and college towns. These communities were also located in different geographical areas of the United States such as northern New England, the Ozarks, and the Rocky Mountain area. One thing clear from these interviews was that public reaction to the growth and to perceptions of community goals varied widely (Press, 1979). The planner's tasks of obtaining and analyzing public input to identify community goals are extremely difficult.

One very important consideration in planning for turnaround growth is that there is more to the phenomenon than is immed-

ately apparent. There is evidence that, in addition to the obvious reasons for rural migration (jobs, a simpler lifestyle, better place to raise children, etc.), there is also a quality of life that people are seeking which rapid and uncontrolled growth would likely destroy. This is a difficult factor to measure or quantify, but potentially as decisive a factor as any other. If a planner does not develop a feel for this elusive quality which is revealed by glimpses into the historical background, inventory of resources, and community goals, the chances of the plan being responsive and sensitive are considerably lessened.

The land use planning process Once the community is organized to address the problems caused by rapid growth, the procedure is fairly straightforward in most cases for the land use planning process. This 'process' actually involves at least two separate and distinct stages although it is often thought of as a single process. The first stage consists of the design of a master land use plan which is a reflection of the self-image of the community. This plan expresses the community's goals for future growth and development and their symbolic representation of the ideal community. The second stage, which is the operationalization of this plan, involves the development of the social policies that enable the community to achieve the vision reflected in the land use plan. These policies most often take the form of zoning ordinances or regulations (Garkovich, 1982).

Both of these stages should involve citizen input from the community to ensure that the outcome is as representative of the goals of the collective individuals and groups that make up the community as possible. This often involves competition and nego-

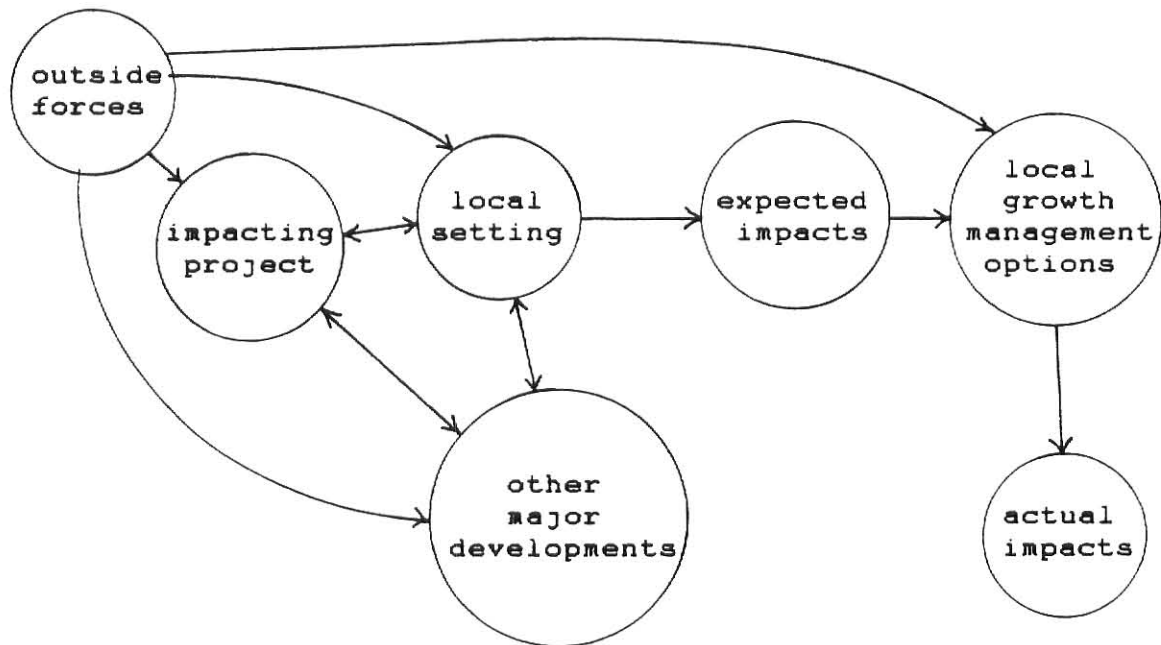
tiation of various coalitions of individuals and groups, both formally and informally, to maximize their particular self-interests. Since planning and zoning represent potential infringements on private property rights, rural residents have been shown to be less in favor of both than any other form of residential group. In other words, support for planning and zoning is greatest at the metropolitan level, followed by cities, then small towns, and finally rural areas (Christenson, 1978:56).

With this in mind, initial negative community reaction to the need for implementation of a land use planning process should be anticipated. Often this is offset, however, by the awareness of negative impacts that have already occurred as the result of unplanned rapid growth. If not, then a public education program may be called for as one of the initial steps in the process.

The land use planning process as a whole, then, involves two stages - each of which is based on a set of values and interests in conflict with the other. The land use plan, or first stage, is concerned with the general welfare of the public which is sometimes called the public good. The development of the enabling social policies, on the other hand, involves infringing on private property rights. For these reasons, support for one does not automatically mean approval of the other (Garkovich, 1982:52). The following strategies and techniques for managing rapid growth in nonmetropolitan communities apply to both stages of the process.

Techniques, Strategies, Options

In an example of rapid growth caused by an impacting project, such as an energy development, Howell and Weber (1982:256-61) describe the components of a model for managing the impacts of growth and use this model to describe four sets of options available to local leaders:



(Howell and Weber, 1982:257)

In one set, local leaders use outside resources to manage growth. This can be resources such as described earlier including obtaining grants, intergovernmental agreements or seeking redress through the courts for example. Another set of options involves local leaders negotiating with officials from the impacting project(s) and other major developments to get help dealing with the impacts. Assistance can come at any stage of development but the

negotiation and agreement for this assistance must come before the project is constructed. A third set of options involves making changes in the local setting to improve the community's ability and capacity to provide necessary public services. An example of this option might be expanding the local planning staff so they can better deal with that growth. The fourth option is taking no action at all. This option involves local leaders and citizens passively accepting the negative impacts of the project. This last option is often resorted to because of how important it is to many nonmetropolitan communities to expand their economic base or because they are not fully aware of the consequences of unmanaged growth (Howell and Weber, 1982:259-61).

Although Little and Krannich (1982:223-5) feel that the social structure of a community provides the limiting factors that set the stage for local action, they also feel that choosing an appropriate organization strategy in dealing with the effects of rapid growth is very important. Therefore, they suggest three orientations or strategies for community organization in recognition of the fact that community organization is not a unidimensional approach to problem-solving at the local level.

These strategies include locality development, social planning and social action. Locality development involves the entire community in the process and is appropriate collaboration is probable and where there is general agreement among community members. Social planning focusses on expert planning and is based on the assumption that professional planning personnel, because of their expertise, can resolve problems more effectively without community involvement. Social action involves the

organizer in an active role promoting the objectives of a specific interest group (often a disadvantaged group) and this often leads to conflict in the decision-making process.

With this as background, Little and Krannich (1982:225-36) describe a process of community organization beginning with developing an understanding of the local setting (history, values, attitudes and expectations, informal and formal power structure, and viability of the community), then providing and interpreting information to the citizens, and finally choosing a strategy, developing an organizational structure and taking action. They conclude that, to minimize the disruptive social change caused by rapid growth (from energy development projects, for example), advanced planning and organization are essential.

There are some factors to be aware of when considering strategies for management and control of growth. First, the success of local leaders in their attempts to manage growth is, in part, dependent upon factors over which they have no direct control such as existing state and federal legislation. Second, major developments can be a part of the solution as well as part of the problem. Finally, effective management calls for strong local leadership and community organization (Howell and Weber, 1982:261).

With this in mind, the nonmetropolitan community experiencing or about to experience rapid growth should have, as two early goals, development of strong community leadership and organization of the community for control of growth. The way the community is organized, obviously, would depend upon which of the

three orientations (locality development, social planning or social action) was chosen. As mentioned previously, for a variety of reasons, smaller nonmetropolitan communities often have informal voluntary leadership and are not organized in a manner that would allow them to effectively deal with the problems of rapid growth.

Generally, nonmetropolitan communities with populations of 5,000 or more are more likely to have systems in effect for land use management and are at least somewhat equipped to deal with the problems of rapid growth. They often have a development plan and some combination of building codes, zoning ordinances, and regulations governing subdivisions as well as other mechanisms for controlling growth.

The more rural communities, however, with fewer people or at least a more dispersed population, more open space, and a long tradition of rural independence, are often opposed to interfering with the rights of their neighbors to do what they want with their land. These nonmetropolitan communities and counties are often, for a variety of reasons, much less well equipped to deal with growth control. Rural attitudes such as independence often prevent nonmetropolitan areas from accepting planning as a way of solving growth problems. According to Doherty (1979:78), the problem is often that the procedure for evaluating development proposals is not flexible enough, that much of the existing planning literature and legal precedent is irrelevant for rural areas, and that there are legal and administrative obstacles to connecting planning with performance. Planning for nonmetropolitan communities needs a fresh approach which involves, first

of all, understanding their resistance to planning so that a framework can be devised which takes this into consideration.

Although the management of land use must take into consideration the state and federal political and administrative capacities, the key must be the local government acting based upon the community's particular and unique local conditions. Communities in nonmetropolitan settings, however, often do not have control over areas where the growth is occurring so there must be cooperation between town, county and regional governments. In fact, in nonmetropolitan areas, often regional programs are one of the few ways of addressing problems of land use control.

For planning and planning techniques to be successful, the citizens (landowners) must be supportive and, in rural settings, this can be a problem. For landowners in nonmetropolitan areas, there is no question about how public authority relates to private rights; private rights take precedence (Doherty, 1979:85) and this attitude is deeply rooted and hard to change.

As mentioned previously, nonmetropolitan counties must acknowledge the differences among areas and the types of rapid growth anticipated. The approach taken should be positive and flexible rather than negative and restrictive. Existing land use regulations and techniques should be adapted to nonmetropolitan conditions rather than the reverse which, as stated earlier, is often the case. In addition, there must be a willingness to collaborate among developers, elected officials, planners, and a coalition of interested citizens.

Within these parameters, there are several techniques that

are appropriate for counties to consider. Because of the limited abilities and capabilities of small nonmetropolitan communities and rural areas, the responsibility for control of growth, at least initially, must often fall on the county government.

Among these techniques are tax incentives and disincentives, transfer of development rights, assessment of impacts, outright land purchase in sensitive or critical areas, controls on mobile and modular home siting, development restrictions in critical areas, incentives for planned unit development, performance zoning and cooperative budgeting arrangements between city and county governments (Doherty, 1979:88-9). Although there is nothing magical about these techniques, they are being applied in a growing number of communities experiencing rapid growth and the results should make other rural counties with similar problems more receptive to considering them.

In addition, as Barrows and Charlier discovered (1982:195), local communities have other avenues open to them. Although they may not have the power or money by themselves to develop a successful growth management strategy, they can obtain grants from state and federal agencies for money or for technical assistance or information. They can negotiate with companies for financial aid, technical assistance or in-kind services or use their local planning or regulation powers as well as influencing similar powers at both the state and federal levels. Also, there are many options available for them to raise or borrow money or create special districts.

In presenting these options in detail, Barrows and Charlier (1982:196-219) describe the variety of alternatives and also the

distributional effects of the application of these techniques. With these effects, it was noted that the choice of techniques was often made more on the basis of who stood to gain (or lose) from the decision than on how effective the techniques were in controlling growth. With this in mind, a critical factor becomes how those gains and losses are distributed among the various community groups. Clearly who makes the choices is important in this regard and citizens should be involved in the decisions of which techniques are used and how they are to be used. The word techniques is used here because, according to Barrows and Charlier (1982:218), most successful growth management policies use a number of techniques or policies in a coordinated manner to manage growth.

What often happens in rural communities as a result of rapid growth is more of a reaction approach to the impacts of growth that has already occurred than an organized planning process undertaken before the growth occurs (Dailey and Campbell, 1980; Dillman and Hobbs, 1982). This crisis approach occurs for a number of reasons. Many nonmetropolitan areas, historically, have been anti-planning and anti-zoning as a result of thinking that the individual rights are paramount. Also, many nonmetropolitan communities were, until the turnaround, in areas experiencing population decline and were simply caught unaware by the rapid growth. Finally, a significant number of planning agencies were created after population growth and economic expansion were already well underway so they were behind from the start (Dailey and Campbell, 1980). With the planning process slowed by factors

like this, it is often difficult to get to a point where long term considerations can be made since attention is drawn to immediate problems.

A series of articles in the Christian Science Monitor concluded with a number of recommendations for federal, state and local governments and for individuals. The recommendations for local government included (Press, 1979e):

- . Don't put off making assessments of the impact of local growth.
- . Provide better training for local leaders; hire professional planners who may easily pay for themselves in helping the town or county avoid development it cannot afford.
- . Consider environmental impact zoning (which weighs effects of development on air, water, and land). Consider building up, not out, to limit sprawl and avoid leapfrog development. Limit commercial areas to reduce strip development.
- . Consider more low-density zoning over the wider areas and higher-density zoning over small areas to limit growth without being overly exclusive.
- . Require developers (and ultimately the home buyers) to pay all or a share of the costs for additional city-county services required by the development. Give closer attention to long-run maintenance costs of such services.

Although not much information seems to be available on how to develop the infrastructure needed to deal with growth, there are some suggestions for buying the time necessary to develop this infrastructure. These short-term or interim development controls are important since proper development of the planning process involves consideration of a variety of social, political, economic and resource factors. As mentioned previously, rapid growth often takes the affected community by surprise so chances are that the information necessary to consider for long term planning has not been gathered. These interim controls can give the community the time necessary to adequately prepare for the

impacts of growth.

To initiate these short-term development controls, a temporary ordinance is enacted for the purpose of preserving the status quo until permanent regulations can be adopted. These controls are mainly to protect the planning process while a community is working toward adoption of a general land use plan and the accompanying zoning ordinances or to protect sensitive areas from development until adequate consideration can be given. To enact this ordinance, planning is necessary to determine which type or types of development should be allowed and which types should be prohibited in the interim time period. Complete prohibitions or moratoria are seldom upheld by the courts (Freilich, 1975:363) so careful thought must be given to these decisions. Generally these ordinances allow only development consistent with predominant existing land use patterns, or with proposed major amendments or with the existing zoning ordinances, if any (Heeter, 1975:410).

According to Freilich (1971:77-82), there are at least three important functions of these interim development controls. The first and perhaps most obvious function is to protect the planning process during both the implementation stage and the ongoing planning process that follows. Another purpose is to prevent non-conforming uses from occurring during the process and to ensure that the system is allowed to be fully implemented. Finally, the interim controls promote public debate by giving the planning commission time to involve the public in the process.

Interim development controls have been used by states to

protect statewide or regional areas but are more commonly used at the local level by counties and municipalities that are in the process of developing permanent zoning controls. The length of time these interim controls remain in effect varies but usually ranges from a few months to over two years. The complexity and scope of the plan being prepared seems to be a critical factor and the time must be reasonably related to the needs of the community (Freilich, 1975:364).

V. CONCLUSIONS

It would seem, from material reviewed, that rapid growth is certainly a potential problem for affected nonmetropolitan communities for a variety of environmental, political, social and economic reasons. It would also seem that many nonmetropolitan communities will continue to experience rapid growth in the future. Even if the population turnaround has slowed (Forstall and Engels, 1984), much of the rapid growth described in this report will continue where the conditions are favorable. The end of the turnaround as a national phenomenon would certainly not automatically mean the end of the turnaround in rapidly growing regions of the United States as well.

Nonmetropolitan communities, then, will continue to struggle with the impacts of rapid growth and will vary a great deal in their ability to deal with the problems rapid growth brings. Larger nonmetropolitan communities, as mentioned previously, often have the political systems and infrastructure necessary to begin to deal with the problems or at least to take advantage of some of the opportunities for assistance mentioned in this report. On the other hand, small, agriculturally based nonmetropolitan communities run by part-time officials and volunteers, seldom have the resources necessary or the infrastructure in place to deal with the problems of rapid growth in any organized

way. It is precisely this audience that existing literature and research neglects.

These communities, in most cases, need to make the transition to communities with an infrastructure and a government system able to anticipate, plan for and manage growth. Most research reviewed seems to be addressing communities that have already reached this level and opportunities for them seem appropriate although not necessarily adequate in all cases. There seems to be a lack of information available that would help the smaller nonmetropolitan communities to implement the changes necessary to bring about the transition or that would help county governments in assisting these communities. In addition, perhaps an equally significant need is for research on what the implementation of these changes would do to the social fabric of the community.

Research should attempt to address the problems in a comprehensive manner as much as possible and consider the social impacts and implications of rapid growth as well as the physical, economic, environmental and political impacts. Often these are the most threatening to the very character of the community.

As mentioned previously, small nonmetropolitan communities often have characteristics that are unique and that require a unique approach when addressing the problems of rapid growth if that character and uniqueness are to be preserved. This means that techniques and strategies for accommodating rapid growth in the larger nonmetropolitan and metropolitan communities can not simply be scaled down and applied without potentially serious consequences.

There are two major shortcomings of current research identified in this report. One is that the smaller nonmetropolitan communities are not given adequate and separate consideration in approaches to planning for rapid growth. The second shortcoming is that a more wholistic approach to the problems of rapid growth in all nonmetropolitan communities is needed where both social and physical impacts are considered.

As a result of the literature review and the material presented in this report, several observations are made which can be used to generate ideas for further research. The approach taken in this report may give the impression that all nonmetropolitan communities experiencing rapid growth can be helped. There are some instances where this is not the case.

Some communities are too small for planning to help. A threshold population of 5,000 plus or minus was identified as the point where communities began developing governmental staff and expertise to deal with the problems of growth internally. As communities approach this threshold, external planning assistance can help them to make the transition but there exists a lower threshold below which planning will probably not help. Some communities are too small and too unstructured to be helped and identifying this threshold would be beneficial.

Some communities simply do not want to be helped. For reasons such as the tradition of independence and the resistance to planning mentioned earlier, some nonmetropolitan communities do not want assistance and may even actively oppose it if offered. Still other communities may not be aware that they need help or

may not even be aware that rapid growth is occurring. In these situations, it may be better to let the community experience some of the impacts of rapid growth and evolve, perhaps painfully, to the point where they are able to recognize the need to plan for growth.

Another misleading impression that is often utopian or idealistic is that, in many or most cases, planners can be brought in to "solve" the problems. In fact, as mentioned by Cohen (1977), planners are often part of the problem and this can be especially true if the planning consultants are brought in from outside with no clear commitment to the community and if they work from the top down. In addition, planners schooled in urban planning, as mentioned earlier, may have little understanding of the unique characteristics or the special needs of nonmetropolitan communities. Planning consultants, carefully selected, can help nonmetropolitan communities with their problems but should not be looked at as the solution.

A variety of arrangements can be made between planners and communities, once a consultant has been selected and communities would be well advised to explore the possibilities. In addition to the more traditional approach of hiring a planning consultant on a retainer, for example, several communities might consider employing a planner collectively and sharing the expertise and cost.

One final observation is that, with growth, a certain amount of change is inevitable and that accepting growth is accepting change. It is unfortunate that this growth often alters some of the very characteristics that attracted it. As a community

changes from a small homogeneous farm community to a larger, more heterogeneous and diverse community, the values must also change. As the social fabric and structure of the community change and nonfarm immigrants become more involved in community government and decisionmaking, these changing values can become painfully apparent to long-time residents. By the time this happens, it is probably too late to try to restore the old values.

When communities reach a size where they are aware of the impacts of uncontrolled growth and are organized to apply the strategies mentioned in the report, it is possible to preserve certain values and qualities by limiting or controlling growth. This is occurring, with varying degrees of success, in a number of communities including Mendocino and Petaluma, California (Press, 1979c); Hanover, New Hampshire and Jericho, Vermont (Press, 1979d); and Grants, New Mexico (Press, 1979e) to name a few. In the smaller communities, however, change is often upon them before they see it coming and little can be done after the fact.

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UNDERSTANDING AND ACCOMMODATING TURNAROUND GROWTH
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planning for rapid growth in these communities must recognize this fact. In addition, each community should consider a comprehensive approach to addressing the problems of rapid growth in order to have a systematic transition and improve the quality of life of the community.

This report addresses the population turnaround and the impact of rapid growth on nonmetropolitan communities, and also provides insight into possible strategies for accommodating this growth. Based on a review of literature on the impacts of rapid growth on nonmetropolitan communities, two observations are made. First, even if turnaround growth slows as a national phenomenon, it will surely continue to occur in certain areas of the country. Second, rapid growth will continue to cause problems as nonmetropolitan communities struggle with planning for and controlling this growth.

A number of techniques, strategies and options available to nonmetropolitan communities are reviewed in this report. Some provide opportunities primarily for larger nonmetropolitan communities with the infrastructure in place to effectively manage growth. Important factors in this process seem to be strong community leadership and organization of the community for managing growth. For those communities too small to have the infrastructure to take advantage of these opportunities, techniques are reviewed that call for counties to take the responsibility. Additionally, for all nonmetropolitan communities experiencing rapid growth, short-term or interim measures for managing growth are discussed which can provide needed time for development or implementation of the planning process.

Nonmetropolitan communities are unique and approaches to