

**DOCUMENT RESUME**

**ED 096 081**

**RC 008 123**

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**TITLE** The Socioeconomic Characteristics of White and Nonwhite Populations in Growing and Declining Nonmetropolitan Counties, 1970.

**PUR DATE** Aug 74  
**NOTE** 22p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society (Montreal, Quebec, August 1974)

**EDRS PRICE** MF-\$0.75 HC-\$1.50 PLUS POSTAGE  
**DESCRIPTORS** Academic Achievement; Age; Area Studies; \*Caucasians; Employment Level; Human Geography; Income; \*Negroes; \*Population Trends; \*Rural Areas; \*Socioeconomic Background; Southern Community; Tables (Data); Urbanization

**ABSTRACT**

Socioeconomic characteristics of growing and declining nonmetropolitan counties in 1970 were compared. Separate analyses for whites and nonwhites and for the South and non-South regions were presented. Observation units were 1,308 nonmetropolitan counties and county equivalents having 250 or more nonwhite residents. Growing and declining counties were dichotomized into those which had grown by even one person and those that had not grown or had declined. The urbanization level was controlled to determine the association between population change and population composition. By grouping together those counties having 20,000 or more urban residents and those having less than 20,000 urban residents, two urban categories were delineated. Some findings were: (1) declining counties have a deficit of young adults (aged 15 to 45) and a surplus of persons 45 and older; (2) the median age of growing counties was 27.1 years and 29 years in declining counties; (3) nonwhites in growing counties had higher levels of educational attainment than their counterparts in declining counties; (4) median family income was substantially lower in declining counties than in growing counties, regardless of race, region, or level of urbanization; and (5) the labor force participation rate of females in growing counties exceeded that in declining counties, regardless of race, region, and level of urbanization. (NQ)

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THE SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATIONS IN  
GROWING AND DECLINING NONMETROPOLITAN COUNTIES, 1970

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Paper presented to the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society,  
Montreal, Canada--August 25, 1974.



ED 008123

# THE SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATIONS IN GROWING AND DECLINING NONMETROPOLITAN COUNTIES, 1970

## Introduction

The growth and decline of population is an issue of concern for nonmetropolitan communities (Bollinger, 1972). Population change has been shown to be a determinant of the composition of a community's population (Duncan and Reiss, 1956), and it is generally considered to be associated with the availability of services, amenities, and economic opportunities (Folse and Riffe, 1969; Johansen, 1974).

Previous comparative research has investigated the association of population change with socioeconomic composition for cities and metropolitan areas (Ogburn, 1936; Wu, 1945; Duncan and Reiss, 1956) and for villages (Jenkins, 1940; Fuguitt and Field, 1972). The results of these studies are remarkably consistent and they show that growing communities have younger age structures, higher socioeconomic status, and labor force participation rates that suggest greater economic opportunity.

In a similar manner the research reported here compares the characteristics of growing and declining nonmetropolitan counties in 1970. In addition, the present study provides separate analyses for whites and nonwhites, and for the South and nonsouth regions.

## Data and Methods

The units of observation in this research are nonmetropolitan counties and county equivalents having 250 or more nonwhite residents.<sup>1/</sup>

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<sup>1/</sup> The delineation of metropolitan (SMSA) and nonmetropolitan counties follows the official designation by the Office of Management and Budget in April 1974. Our data were compiled prior to the final announcement however, and we recognize only 612 metropolitan counties rather than the official total of 626. Nonwhite refers to Negroes and other nonwhite races. In the South this category is primarily composed of Negroes, but the same is not true for the remainder of the country.

There are 1,308 such counties, about two-thirds of which are located in the South (Table 1 and Figure 1). The characteristics data were compiled from the 1970 Census of Population, Fourth Count Summary Tape, file C, and are based on a 20 percent sample of the population. <sup>2/</sup>

(Table 1 and Figure 1 about here)

To delineate growing and declining counties, I simply dichotomized those that had grown by even one person from those that had not grown or that had declined. Table 2 indicates that this procedure succeeds in differentiating growing and declining counties. Regardless of the level of urbanization or of the region, there is approximately 20 percentage points difference in the rate of population growth between the two categories. Hence, even though the technique classifies borderline cases into the various categories, it tends to be quite adequate in differentiating growing from declining counties.

(Table 2 about here)

The level of urbanization is introduced as a test factor to elaborate the association between population change and population composition. This is necessary because previous research has demonstrated that population change and population composition bear a common association with urbanization (Hathaway, et al., 1968). Hence, controlling for the level

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<sup>2/</sup> Using the procedure suggested in Appendix C of the 1970 Census, PC(1)-C, I computed tests of statistical significance between growing and declining counties for each sample characteristic. With few exceptions these differences were significant at the .05 level, but in some cases this may be due to the very large sample size upon which the statistics were based (see Table 1). Hence, the mere presence of a significant difference is not necessarily indicative of a difference that is substantively important as well.

of urbanization allows one to determine whether there is an actual link between population change and population composition, or whether the observed association is merely due to the common association with a third extraneous variable.

Two urbanization categories were delineated by grouping together those counties having 20,000 or more urban residents and those having less than 20,000 urban residents. <sup>3/</sup> This classification has been used in previous research which indicates that the categories are substantially different in the characteristics of their populations (Hines, Brown, and Zimmer, 1974).

### Findings

A socioeconomic profile of growing and declining nonmetropolitan counties is displayed in Table 3. The table is composed of three pages--one for the South, one for the nonsouth, and one for the nation as a whole. Moreover, each page is composed of three panels--one for the white population, one for the nonwhite population, and one for the total population undifferentiated by race.

Age and Sex.--The age and sex composition of a community imposes requirements and limitations on each of its institutions. The age structures of growing and declining counties are graphed in Figure 2. These data indicate that declining counties have a deficit of young adults (aged 15 to 45), and a surplus of persons age 45 and older. Hence, in 1970, the median age of growing counties was 27.1 years compared with 29 years in declining counties. Similarly, growing counties were younger

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<sup>3/</sup> Urban residents are those persons who live in places of 2,500 or more population.

than declining counties in both categories of urbanization, and in both the South and nonsouth regions (Table 3).

In contrast, the median age of the nonwhite population was slightly higher in growing than in declining counties (21.2 years vs 20 years). As demonstrated in Figure 3, this is because there was a surplus of young nonwhite children, as well as of older adults in declining counties. Hence, the effect of the older age groups was moderated and the median age of the nonwhite population in declining counties was reduced. The surplus of nonwhite children in declining counties is no doubt partly attributable to high fertility, but there is evidence that it is also due to the fact that a number of such children are left behind by parents who moved to urban areas (U.S. Census of Population, 1972).

It should be pointed out that except for the surplus of nonwhite children in declining areas, the shape of the white and nonwhite age structures in growing and declining counties was essentially the same. For both races, declining counties had a deficit of young adults and a surplus of older persons. This is reflected in the dependency ratios which, regardless of race, were higher in declining counties than in growing counties (Table 3).

There were more males per 100 females in growing counties than in declining counties, for both races, and within control categories of urbanization. This difference is attributable to the disparity in length of life between males and females. That is, declining counties had a larger proportion of elderly persons, and male mortality is considerably higher than female mortality at these older ages (Kitagawa and Hauser, 1973). The sex selectivity of migration from declining

areas may be another contributing factor.

Interestingly, sex differences between areas have generally been explained by the nature of employment opportunities, and areas with heavy employment in extractive industries have been shown to have high ratios of males to females. In the present data, declining counties had lower sex ratios than growing counties despite the fact that a larger proportion of their labor force was employed in extractive industries.

Educational Attainment.---At the national level, educational attainment was greater in growing counties (11.4 years vs 10.2 years), but this aggregate pattern was not characteristic of all race and regional categories. For example, the difference in educational attainment for southern whites seems to be attributable to the level of urbanization rather than to population change, and it washed out when urbanization was controlled (Table 3). Similarly, in the nonsouth, there was very little difference in educational attainment for whites between growing and declining counties with 20,000 or more urban residents, although growing counties did have higher educational attainment in less urbanized areas.

In contrast, nonwhites in growing counties had higher levels of educational attainment than their counterparts in declining counties. In the South this difference was evident in both categories of urbanization, and in the nonsouth in more urbanized areas where educational attainment in growing counties exceeded that in declining counties by a full year (10.6 years vs 9.6 years). Data from the Survey of Economic Opportunity indicates that black migrants have higher educational levels

than nonmigrants, and hence, the differences in attainment discussed above may be attributable to the education selectivity of migration from declining areas (Beale, 1971).

Another contributing factor may be age composition, since older populations as found in declining counties would tend to have lower educational status.

Income and Poverty.--Median family income was substantially lower in declining counties than in growing counties, regardless of race, region, or level of urbanization. Similarly, the percentage of families falling below the poverty line was higher in declining counties as well. The differences in median family income ranged from 330 dollars for southern whites in counties with less than 20,000 urban residents to nearly 2,000 dollars for nonwhites in nonsouthern counties with less than 20,000 urban population. Differences were generally greater for nonwhites than for whites and in the nonsouth rather than in the South.

Employment and Industry.--One explanation for differences in family income may be that a larger proportion of the population participates in the labor force in growing than in declining counties. The data in Table 3 indicates that this is a reasonable explanation. Regardless of race, region, and level of urbanization, the labor force participation rate of females in growing counties exceeded that in declining counties. These differences seem to be greater for nonwhites than for whites, and greater in the more urbanized counties.

In contrast, growing and declining counties differed only slightly in the proportion of males participating in the labor force. Differences

were very small and inconsistent for whites, and slight but consistently in favor of growing counties for nonwhites.

Income and occupational status are generally thought to be positively associated, and hence, another determinant of higher family income in growing counties may be higher occupational status. The data in Table 3 do not indicate that this is the case. Only for nonwhites in the nonsouth did occupational status consistently and substantially favor growing counties. In the South, regardless of race or level of urbanization, differences were slight and in most cases they favored declining areas.

Finally, differences in family income may be related to the industrial composition of growing and declining counties. Most industries include a wide range of occupations, yet certain industries have substantially higher skill levels than others. Hence, the income distribution of an area may be related to its industrial composition. For example, Morrill and Wohlenberg (1971) demonstrated that poverty was directly associated with the proportion of the labor force employed in such industries as agriculture and mining and inversely associated with employment in such other industries as durable goods manufacturing and trade. Consequently, if declining areas are characterized by low wage and low skill industries, then this might explain their lower level of family income.

The data in Table 3 show that regardless of race, region, or level of urbanization, declining counties had a larger proportion of their labor force employed in extractive industry than was true of growing counties. In addition, growing counties, and especially growing counties with less than 20,000 urban residents tended to have a higher percent of

their labor force employed in manufacturing. The difference in manufacturing employment was greater for whites as compared to nonwhites and in the South as compared to the nonsouth. On the other hand, there was little association between population growth and decline and employment in wholesale and retail trade.

### Discussion

The composition of a community's population is associated with its current well being and with its potential as a place to live. For example, the age and sex composition of a community imposes requirements and limitations on each of its institutions. Age and sex structure have implications for the size, rates of entry and departure, and other aspects of the labor force, for family formation and childbearing, for the demand for housing units, and for the delivery of community, health, and social services. Each institution in a community has specific demographic requirements.

Although the differences between growing and declining counties were not generally large, the data in this paper depict a population profile in declining areas which is relatively less well off than that in growing areas. Moreover, these differences were not diminished by controlling for the level of urbanization (except educational attainment), and in most cases they held for both whites and nonwhites, and in the South and nonsouth regions. In addition, the technique used to delineate the growing and declining categories did not seek to emphasize the extreme cases, and hence, it is unlikely that the differences discussed above are artifacts of the growth and decline dichotomy.

Perhaps the most important difference between growing and declining counties is the age composition of their populations. Declining counties were shown to have a deficit of working age population and a surplus of the elderly. Moreover, the nonwhite population in declining counties was shown to have a surplus of young children as well. Youth and the aged are generally thought of as being the dependent segments of a population. These groups have relatively low rates of labor force participation and they require a number of societal supports including educational and custodial institutions and health and income maintenance.

Paradoxically, many counties that declined in population between 1960 and 1970 experienced growth in the number of occupied housing units. In general, this is attributable to the reduced size of households in the United States, <sup>4/</sup> and for rural areas in particular it is associated with the large number of elderly persons who continue to live in a separate household after their children have left home, or after the loss of a spouse. This is an important consideration for a community because many services are distributed on a household basis rather than on a per capita basis. Hence, declining population has not necessarily meant a declining need for housing units, or for fuel, water, and services associated with housing.

Declining counties were also shown to lag behind growing counties in family income, and it was suggested that this difference was related to lower levels of labor force participation by females and a higher

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<sup>4/</sup> Average number of persons per household declined from 3.67 in 1960 to 3.01 in 1973 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Decennial Censuses and Current Population Reports).

proportion of the labor force employed in low wage and low skill extractive industries in declining counties.

In his discussion of the objectives of population distribution policy, Edgar Hoover (1972) indicated that one broad aim is a rapid advancement of the nation's per capita real income. The realization of this objective would require that population and economic activity be located where they can contribute most effectively to national per capita output. Hence, the spatial misallocation of manpower and capital is clearly to be avoided.

Hoover suggested that a strategy of enhanced mobility (for both labor and capital) is the most fundamental way in which a government can influence spatial allocation with the aim of increasing national per capita output. Moreover, it follows that in many instances this strategy requires the migration of people and businesses from areas of low marginal productivity to areas of higher marginal productivity.

The data presented in this paper indicate that there are costs as well as benefits involved in the redistribution of people and activities. In this case the burden tends to fall on the remaining residents of declining areas, and hence, it appears that a number of supplemental supports are required to deal with such people.

Educational and training programs are required for the youth and working age populations. The skills and knowledge gained in such programs will make it easier for these persons to obtain employment. Middle age and elderly persons, on the other hand, require different sorts of support. Hence, unless we are ready to compel persons to move from their homes, a number of community, health, and social services will be needed to ensure a decent standard of living and a decent community in which to

live. There is little question but that these programs will require state and/or federal subsidies.

The descriptive research reported here is but a first step in a larger study of the consequences of population change for nonmetropolitan areas. I plan to re-analyze the data using a multiple regression approach, and I plan to develop a recursive linear model in which age composition is posited as an intervening variable between population change and socioeconomic composition.

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Table 1--Population and number of counties cross classified by population growth and decline, level of urbanization, region, and race, 1970 1/

Region and race	All counties		20,000 or more urban residents		Less than 20,000 urban residents				
	Total	Growth	Decline	Total	Growth	Decline	Total	Growth	Decline
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
<u>Thousands</u>									
Population									
Total									
United States	38,595	25,919	12,676	19,175	15,271	3,904	19,420	10,648	8,772
South	21,916	13,128	8,788	7,543	5,686	1,857	14,373	7,442	6,931
Nonsouth	16,679	12,791	3,888	11,632	9,585	2,047	5,047	3,206	1,841
White									
United States	32,854	22,958	9,896	17,227	13,916	3,311	15,627	9,042	6,585
South	17,042	10,850	6,192	6,040	4,699	1,341	11,002	6,151	4,851
Nonsouth	15,812	12,108	3,704	11,187	9,217	1,970	4,625	2,891	1,734
Nonwhite									
United States	5,741	12,961	2,780	1,948	1,355	593	3,793	1,606	2,187
South	4,875	2,278	2,597	1,504	987	517	3,371	1,291	2,080
Nonsouth	866	683	183	444	368	76	422	315	107
<u>Number</u>									
Counties									
United States	1,308	713	595	285	217	68	1,023	496	527
South	891	438	453	125	89	36	766	349	417
Nonsouth	417	275	142	160	128	32	257	147	110

1/ Nonmetropolitan counties having 250 or more nonwhite residents.

Table 2--Population change for nonmetropolitan counties classified by population growth and decline, level of urbanization and region, 1970 1/

Region and item	All counties		20,000 or more urban residents		Less than 20,000 urban residents				
	Total	Growth	Decline	Total	Growth	Decline	Total	Growth	Decline
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
<u>United States</u>									
Change 1960-70									
Number (000)	1,986	3,020	-1,034	1,807	2,037	-230	179	983	-804
Percent	5.4	13.2	-7.6	10.4	15.4	-5.6	0.9	10.2	-8.4
<u>South</u>									
Change 1960-70									
Number (000)	737	1,482	-743	729	822	-93	8	660	-652
Percent	3.5	12.7	-7.8	10.7	14.5	-4.8	0.0	9.7	-8.6
<u>Nonsouth</u>									
Change 1960-70									
Number (000)	1,249	1,538	-289	1,078	1,215	-137	171	323	-152
Percent	8.1	13.7	-6.9	10.2	14.2	-6.3	3.5	11.2	-7.7

1/ Nonmetropolitan counties having 250 or more nonwhite residents.





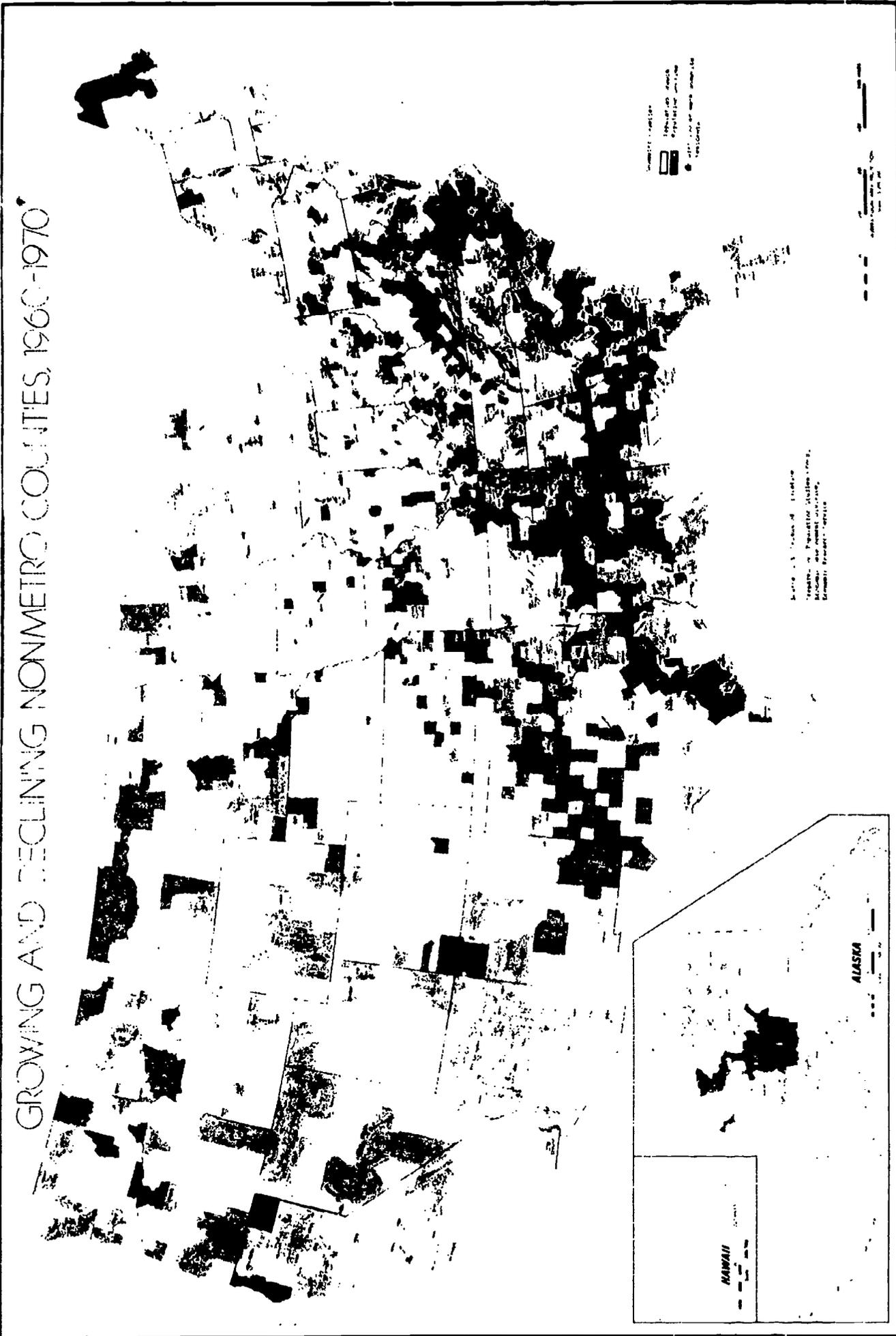
Table 3--Socioeconomic characteristics of nonmetropolitan counties by race, region, and level of urbanization, 1970 1/2--Continued

Region and characteristic	Total			20,000 or more urban residents			Less than 20,000 urban residents		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
<b>Nonsouth</b>									
Median age (yrs.)	27.6	27.0	30.1	27.0	26.6	29.2	29.1	28.1	31.3
Dependency ratio	.834	.821	.879	.805	.798	.838	.904	.892	.926
Males/100 females	98.1	98.9	95.7	97.9	98.5	95.3	98.6	100.1	96.1
Median educational attainment (yrs.)	12.1	12.1	11.8	12.1	12.2	12.0	11.9	12.0	11.3
Median family income (Dol.)	8,714	9,026	7,786	8,978	9,195	8,151	8,090	8,547	7,345
Percent below poverty level	14.1	13.0	17.7	12.8	12.2	15.7	17.1	15.5	20.0
Percent males in labor force	66.7	66.8	66.3	66.9	67.0	66.7	66.1	66.3	65.9
Percent females in labor force	36.8	37.7	33.9	37.5	38.2	34.3	35.1	36.1	33.3
Percent white collar	39.7	40.6	36.8	41.3	41.8	38.7	35.9	36.5	34.8
Percent employed in extractive industry	8.2	7.4	11.2	6.6	6.4	7.6	12.0	10.3	15.1
Percent employed in manufacturing	23.7	24.2	21.8	24.9	24.8	24.9	20.9	22.4	18.2
Percent employed in trade	18.3	18.2	18.9	18.6	18.4	19.3	17.8	17.5	18.3
<b>White Population</b>									
Median age (yrs.)	28.1	27.4	30.7	27.3	26.9	29.6	30.0	29.0	32.1
Dependency ratio	.824	.812	.864	.801	.795	.829	.883	.869	.906
Males/100 females	97.7	98.4	95.6	97.5	98.1	95.2	98.2	99.5	96.1
Median educational attainment (yrs.)	12.1	12.2	12.0	12.2	12.2	12.1	12.0	12.1	11.5
Median family income (Dol.)	8,806	9,124	7,889	9,044	9,260	8,225	8,239	8,715	7,482
Percent below poverty level	13.0	11.9	16.3	12.2	11.6	14.8	14.8	12.9	18.1
Percent males in labor force	67.6	67.8	67.2	67.6	67.7	67.4	67.6	68.0	66.9
Percent females in labor force	36.8	37.7	33.9	37.5	38.1	34.3	35.3	36.4	32.5
Percent white collar	40.3	41.1	37.4	41.8	42.3	39.2	36.5	37.2	35.3
Percent employed in extractive industry	8.2	7.3	11.2	6.6	6.4	7.7	12.0	10.2	15.3
Percent employed in manufacturing	23.8	24.3	21.8	24.9	24.9	24.9	21.2	22.9	18.3
Percent employed in trade	18.6	18.4	19.1	18.7	18.6	19.5	18.2	17.8	18.7
<b>Nonwhite Population</b>									
Median age (yrs.)	21.2	21.5	20.0	22.2	22.4	21.1	19.8	19.9	19.5
Dependency ratio	1.028	.981	1.273	90.3	86.9	1.087	1.177	1.129	1.331
Males/100 females	105.2	107.6	96.8	107.6	109.7	97.7	102.8	105.2	96.2
Median educational attainment (yrs.)	9.6	9.8	8.9	10.4	10.6	9.6	8.8	8.8	8.7
Median family income (Dol.)	6,110	6,554	4,626	6,709	6,990	5,433	5,406	5,957	4,101
Percent below poverty level	36.2	33.3	46.5	29.6	27.5	39.5	42.7	39.7	51.4
Percent males in labor force	48.8	49.2	46.9	49.4	49.7	47.5	48.2	48.6	46.5
Percent females in labor force	35.8	36.9	32.0	39.3	40.3	34.2	32.1	32.7	30.3
Percent white collar	25.7	27.0	20.0	26.2	27.3	19.8	25.1	26.6	20.1
Percent employed in extractive industry	9.1	9.1	9.2	7.0	7.1	6.1	11.8	11.8	11.6
Percent employed in manufacturing	19.7	19.6	20.0	22.8	22.5	24.2	15.6	15.4	16.5
Percent employed in trade	12.1	12.5	10.2	12.8	13.0	11.6	11.2	11.9	9.1

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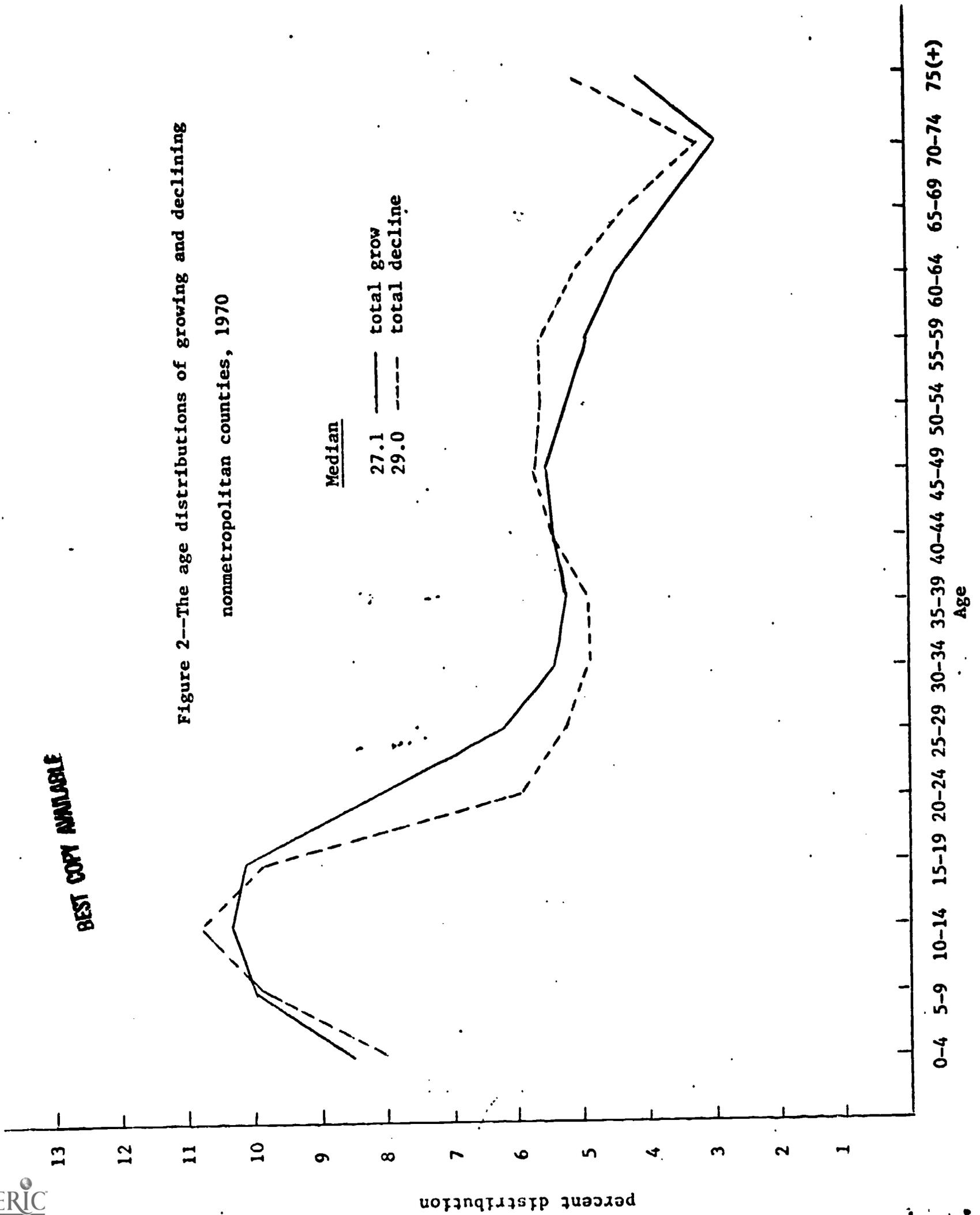
GROWING AND DECLINING NONMETRO COUNTIES, 1960-1970



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Figure 2--The age distributions of growing and declining  
nonmetropolitan counties, 1970



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Figure 3--The age distributions of growing and declining nonmetropolitan counties by race, 1970

