Rural Communities in an Urbanizing World
Will they survive? Should Urbanites care?
Challenges and Opportunities for Economic Development in Ohio Conference
Columbus, OH 43220
May 8, 2019
Partridge.27@osu.edu
Ohio State University and Ph.D. Program, Urban Studies and Regional Science, Gran Sasso Science Institute, L’Aquila, Italy
Update
A brief preview…..

“Rural Communities in an Urbanizing World
Will they survive? Should Urbanites care?”

Of course—answer yes! For god’s sake, its my job security.
Introduction

- Should we care about rural areas AND should urbanites subsidize them? *You can substitute “lagging regions” for “rural.”*
- In the past, rural to urban migration meant there were personal connections and less of a rural/urban divide.
- Rural areas will play a key role but not all rural places are sustainable. I’m not a charlatan or worse, a “consultant.” 😊
- Rural policy needs to consider that government funds are scarce; there are high-valued alternative like education.
- **Triage** may be needed in that sending funds to unsustainable rural places may also harm those who could have been helped because funding is “spread too thin.” (Olfert et al., 2014).
Many people prefer to live in rural areas and will choose to live there. We will always have rural.

A great thing is that your arrival time on the GPS is the same as your departure time in my hometown of Miles City, MT.

Rural areas are the primary source of environment, food, energy, other commodities, natural amenities, water, etc.

If rural has a future, then why the interest.
2016 Presidential Vote Share
Red Trump won; Blue Trump lost.

Brexit Vote Share—Red=Leave

Brexit Vote (June 2016)
Percent Voting to Leave EU

- 70.00% or More in Favor of Leaving
- 60.00 to 69.99%
- 55.00 to 59.99%
- 50.00 to 54.99%
- 45.00 to 49.99%
- 40.00 to 44.99%
- 30.00 to 39.99%
- Under 30.00% in Favor of Leaving

(By District)

Source: https://www.caliper.com/featured-maps/maptitude-brexit-map.html
2017 Italian Lower Chamber Results

% of votes in the lower chamber*

- Centre-right: 37
- Five Star: 33
- Centre-left: 23
- Free and Equal: 3
- Others: 4

* 61,044 of 61,401 constituencies. Does not include overseas vote

Source: Italy's Ministry of Interior
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rural Depends on Urban for:</th>
<th>Urban Depends on Rural for:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
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<td>Market for Private and Public Goods and Services</td>
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<td>Urban Amenities</td>
<td>Market for Urban Amenities</td>
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<td>Market for recreation activities</td>
<td>Outdoor Recreation</td>
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<td>Market for agriculture products</td>
<td>Food Safety and Security</td>
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<tr>
<td>Demand for Environmental Stewardship</td>
<td>Natural Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property taxes/land market</td>
<td>Land for Residential and Industrial Expansion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

• More attention to rural policy is needed—ignore it at urban areas’ peril: economically, socially, environmentally, and “politically.”
  • Rural and peripheral areas were among the strongest regions in Trump’s electoral success (Goetz et al., 2018), which was not favored in urban America.

• OECD (2010) does not show a general rapid decline in nonmetropolitan share of population in “rich” economies.

• Yet, rural areas face many challenges and many rural areas no longer serve a role that sustains their existence.
• What is definition of “rural” going forward?
  • Economic integration/metropolitan areas—not population density, the appearance of the landscape, or cultural attitudes—definitely not how (say) a *New York Times* writer defines it.
• What is urban is country specific. I believe 100K in the US.
• Despite my somewhat optimistic statements regarding rural conditions, urban areas possess significant “agglomeration” economies that increase firm productivity and enhance household consumption.
• For example, the internet has been held out for the last quarter century as a potential life saver for rural areas.
  • That is unlikely to be true…..think Amazon or think how it is so much easier to work from home in major urban areas, reducing household commuting costs. (Netflix effect)
USA Metropolitan and Micropolitan Areas, 2013
On the positive side for rural areas is that standard economic theory predicts that local economies converge. Grow together.

So what’s happening….It's actually **divergence** and places are being left behind.
Is basic economic wellbeing diverging?

Average standard deviations in per-capita income

- Unweighted std fall until 1994 to 0.17 before rising almost 50% to 0.25 in 2014.
- The population-weighted standard deviations increased from 0.20 in 1976 to about 0.32 in 2016, or a rise of about 60%.
- For the unweighted and weighted standard deviations of annual wage and salary job growth, the trend is steady convergence of job growth rates until 2010. After that, there has been about a one-third increase in the unweighted variation between 2010-2016.
Population growth 1990-2017 (%)

1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions

- >100%
- 50 to 100%
- 25 to 50%
- 0 to 25%
- -25 to 0%
- <-25%
Population growth 2010-2017 (%)

1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions

- >100%
- 50 to 100%
- 25 to 50%
- 0 to 25%
- -25 to 0%
- <-25%
Rural America’s “problems” are over-exaggerated. Many are struggling, but ..........


ii) Namely, if you go back to 1950, what was considered rural America has grown faster than urban America. Like the Big Ten promoting its best teams every year to the NFL.

iii) What’s left is difficult, but does not mean ALL of rural America is struggling.
Rural Development has not been a failure. Though true that it will be more difficult going forward.

Figure 1, Population Growth of Non-Metro Area by historical MSA Definition: 100 = 1969 Population

Source: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis for population and U.S. Census Bureau for metro definitions.
Population change by metro/nonmetro status, 1976-2017

Nonmetro-Metro Domestic Net Migration and Nonmetro-Metro Gross Movers from Abroad

Source: U.S. Census Bureau’s CPS, https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/geographic-
Share of U.S. Manufacturing Employment in Nonmetro Areas and Nonmetro Manufacturing Location Quotient, 1969-2017

Source: BEA, https://www.bea.gov/data/employment/employment-county-metro-and-other-
“Rural” is just farming, forestry, and mining

• NO!!!!
• Most areas rural long ago diversified out of agriculture.
• While the landscape may look like farms, the people have organized themselves into a much more diversified economy that is often urban centered.
  • e.g., over 360 nonmetro counties are reliant on manufacturing and 426 on recreation/tourism
Figure 1. Farming-Dependent Counties in 1950 and 2000

Nonmetro farming-dependent counties, 1950

- Green: Nonmetro farming dependent
- Light gray: Other nonmetro
- Gray: Metro
Nonmetro farming-dependent counties, 2000

Source: Farming-dependent counties are defined by ERS. Metro/nonmetro status is based on the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) June 2003 classification.
Rural Ohio Economy

• For job growth in OH’s 32 (rural) micropolitan areas:
  • 3 better than C-bus,
  • 7 better than Cincy;
  • 15 better than U.S. nonmetropolitan avg.
  • 7 worse than U.S. nonmetropolitan avg.

• For job growth in OH’s 17 core-rural counties:
  • 2 better than C-bus, Wyandot and Holmes
  • 3 better than Cincy;
  • 10 better than U.S. nonmetropolitan avg.
  • 2 worse than U.S. nonmetropolitan avg.
## Job Growth in the U.S. and Ohio

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2001 to 2010</th>
<th>2010 to 2018</th>
<th>2001 to 2018</th>
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<td>United States</td>
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<td>12.99</td>
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<td>15.27</td>
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<td>Ohio Metro excluding</td>
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<tr>
<td>Columbus and Cincinnati</td>
<td>-11.67</td>
<td>5.64</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ohio Micro</td>
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<td>7.39</td>
<td>-3.90</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ohio Nonmetro Core</td>
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<td>8.42</td>
<td>-4.61</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ohio Nonmetro Total</td>
<td>-10.76</td>
<td>7.55</td>
<td>-4.02</td>
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Source: QCEW
## Job Growth in Ohio Micro Areas %

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<th>Micro Area Name</th>
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<th>2010 to 2018</th>
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<td>Celina, OH</td>
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<td>18.04</td>
<td>33.00</td>
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<td>Wooster, OH</td>
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<td>Findlay, OH</td>
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<td>Van Wert, OH</td>
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<td>Cambridge, OH</td>
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<td>Wilmington, OH</td>
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<td>Ashland, OH</td>
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<td>New Philadelphia-Dover, OH</td>
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<td>Mount Vernon, OH</td>
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<td>Washington Court House, OH</td>
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<td>6.40</td>
<td>3.71</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Micro Area Name</th>
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<th>2010 to 2018</th>
<th>2001 to 2018</th>
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<td>5.46</td>
<td>-18.68</td>
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<td>Marion, OH</td>
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<td>-10.33</td>
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<td>Norwalk, OH</td>
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<td>Portsmouth, OH</td>
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<td>Point Pleasant, WV-OH</td>
<td>-5.26</td>
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<td>-8.99</td>
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<td>Jackson, OH</td>
<td>-5.24</td>
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<td>-9.47</td>
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<td>Coshocton, OH</td>
<td>-15.22</td>
<td>-6.42</td>
<td>-20.66</td>
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Source: QCEW
## Job Growth in Ohio Core Rural Counties%

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Core Rural County Name</th>
<th>2001 to 2010</th>
<th>2010 to 2018</th>
<th>2001 to 2018</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wyandot County</td>
<td>-27.83</td>
<td>22.89</td>
<td>-11.31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Holmes County</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>19.58</td>
<td>23.62</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harrison County</td>
<td>-18.45</td>
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<td>-4.89</td>
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<td>Morgan County</td>
<td>-29.12</td>
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<td>-17.46</td>
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<td>Williams County</td>
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<td>Putnam County</td>
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<td>Pike County</td>
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<td>Paulding County</td>
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<td>Preble County</td>
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<td>5.47</td>
<td>-4.17</td>
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<td>Highland County</td>
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<td>Vinton County</td>
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<td>Noble County</td>
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<td>-8.97</td>
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<td>Meigs County</td>
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<td>Monroe County</td>
<td>-18.82</td>
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<td>-35.09</td>
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Source: QCEW
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Metro Area Name</th>
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<td>-2.05</td>
<td>17.68</td>
<td>15.27</td>
</tr>
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<td>Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN</td>
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<td>10.94</td>
<td>4.50</td>
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<td>Toledo, OH</td>
<td>-13.17</td>
<td>8.04</td>
<td>-6.18</td>
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<td>Dayton-Kettering, OH</td>
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<td>Wheeling, WV-OH</td>
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<td>Mansfield, OH</td>
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<td>Weirton-Steubenville, WV-OH</td>
<td>-12.19</td>
<td>-7.36</td>
<td>18.65</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: QCEW
Job Growth in Ohio Counties, 2001-2010

Source: QCEW
Job growth in U.S. Counties, Metro Areas, 2010-2016

Source: BLS
Job growth in U.S. Counties, Nonmetro Areas, 2010-2016

Source: BLS
Annual Population Growth Rates, Ohio Metro Areas, 2010-2018

Source: U.S. Census Bureau
Annual Population Growth Rates, Ohio Micro and Nonmetro Areas, 2010-2018

Source: U.S. Census Bureau
Population Growth in Ohio Counties, 2001-2010

Source: U.S. Census Bureau
What is good rural or lagging-region policy?

1. **Governance reform** to shift from separate farm/rural/urban policies to a **regional** policy.

   - Policy goals include: Tax sharing, planning and management of the rural-urban fringe, environmental protection, infrastructure, economic development for regions. This helps facilitate cooperation.

   - Key issue is how to get all actors to participate and believe their input is valued. Leverage local social capital and networks to promote good governance (Natcher and Olfert, 2012). If not, mainly sectoral actors will participate to seek rents.
• 21st Century will belong to places that use their knowledge to leverage their assets.
  • Rural communities should be attractive to knowledge workers and commuters.
    • Quality of life, pleasant environment, sustainable development; good public services such as schools—this is good economics!
    • Attract return migrants in the 30s after they have seen bright lights. Young adults will always flee to the cities.
  • Rural US counties with greater shares of knowledge workers grow faster than metro areas (even metros with knowledge workers) and they grow about twice the rate of rural counties with low shares (Wojan and McGranahan, 2007).
3. Business retention and expansion is better than tax incentives for outside investment. **Building local Entrepreneurship**

- Treat all businesses alike (Li et al., 2016).
- If you build a good climate for investment, your own businesses will thrive and STAY!
  - SME development is important because small businesses buy locally; profits stay local (Goetz et al.).
  - Bigger multipliers (Tsevetkova et al., forthcoming).
  - Entrepreneurship is critical and while academics say focus on the “opportunity” start-ups versus “necessity” start-ups, when I talk to actual people on the ground, they point to zillions of necessity start-ups that are vastly successful (Stephens and Partridge, 2011; Stephens et al., 2011.
Conclusions

- Cities are the engines of growth and urban-led growth can be an effective rural strategy.
- Focus on realities such as emerging regions that the people have self formed—the politicians lag what the people are doing. **Regionalism**.
- Adopt good strategies that don’t require perfect foresight.
  - You just need to make it such that the best firms want to be in your community.
- Education & entrepreneurship are keys.
- Quality of life is critical in attracting the right people including commuters.
Thank you

partridge.27@osu.edu

Google Mark Partridge economist

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Level Year</th>
<th>Non Metro</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non Adjacent</td>
<td>Adjacent</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Metro</td>
<td>U.S. Total</td>
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<td>22,820,635</td>
<td>41,384,183</td>
<td>208,238,817</td>
<td>249,623,000</td>
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<td>2010</td>
<td>20,071,333</td>
<td>26,173,406</td>
<td>46,244,739</td>
<td>263,093,682</td>
<td>309,338,421</td>
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<td>2017</td>
<td>19,909,962</td>
<td>26,111,196</td>
<td>46,021,158</td>
<td>279,698,020</td>
<td>325,719,178</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990-2017</td>
<td>7.25%</td>
<td>14.42%</td>
<td>11.20%</td>
<td>34.32%</td>
<td>30.48%</td>
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<td>2010-2017</td>
<td>-0.80%</td>
<td>-0.24%</td>
<td>-0.48%</td>
<td>6.31%</td>
<td>5.30%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage (%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counties that gained population 1990-2017</td>
<td>53.6%</td>
<td>74.2%</td>
<td>62.6%</td>
<td>88.0%</td>
<td>69.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counties that gained population 2X National Average 1990-2017</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counties that gained population 2010-2017</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
<td>36.2%</td>
<td>74.8%</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counties that gained population 2X National Average 2010-2017</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (1993 Urban Influence Codes definitions).
Annual Job Growth Rates, Ohio Micro and Nonmetro Areas, 2010-2018

Source: QCEW
Annual Job Growth Rates, Top 3 Ohio Micro Areas, 2010-2018

Source: QCEW
Figure 2, Population Growth of Metro Area by historical MSA Definition:
100 = 1969 Population

Bureau of Economic Analysis for population and U.S. Census Bureau for metro definitions.
Population growth (%) vs Population (logs) in 2010
MSAs, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions
Population growth (%) vs Population in 2010
MSAs, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions

Population growth (%) vs Population in 2010

-10 0 10 20 30
Population growth (%)

5M 10M 15M 20M
Population in 2010

popgrowth1017 Fitted values
Population growth 1990-2017 (%)

Nonmetro, adjacent to small metro areas, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions

- >100%
- 50 to 100%
- 25 to 50%
- 0 to 25%
- -25 to 0%
- <-25%
Population growth 1990-2017 (%)
Nonmetro, adjacent to large metro areas, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions

- >100%
- 50 to 100%
- 25 to 50%
- 0 to 25%
- -25 to 0%
- <-25%
Population growth 1990-2017 (%)
Metro areas, Population 50-100 k, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau
MSA Definitions

- >100%
- 50 to 100%
- 25 to 50%
- 0 to 25%
- -25 to 0%
- <-25%
Population growth 1990-2017 (%)

Metro areas, Population 250-1,000 k, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau

MSA Definitions

- >100%
- 50 to 100%
- 25 to 50%
- 0 to 25%
- -25 to 0%
- <-25%
Population growth 1990-2017 (%) 

Metro areas, Population 1-3,000 k, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions

- >100%
- 50 to 100%
- 25 to 50%
- 0 to 25%
- -25 to 0%
- <-25%
Population growth 1990-2017 (%)

Metro areas, Population 3,000 k +, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions

- >100%
- 50 to 100%
- 25 to 50%
- 0 to 25%
- -25 to 0%
- <-25%
Population growth 2010-2017 (%)
Non-metro, non-adjacent areas, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions

- >100%
- 50 to 100%
- 25 to 50%
- 0 to 25%
- -25 to 0%
- <=-25%
Population growth 2010-2017 (%)
Non-metro, adjacent to small metro areas, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions

>100%
50 to 100%
25 to 50%
0 to 25%
-25 to 0%
<-25%
Population growth 2010-2017 (%)
Non-metro, adjacent to large metro areas, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA
Definitions

- >100%
- 50 to 100%
- 25 to 50%
- 0 to 25%
- -25 to 0%
- <-25%
Population growth 2010-2017 (%)

Metro areas, Population 50-100 k, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions

- >100%
- 50 to 100%
- 25 to 50%
- 0 to 25%
- -25 to 0%
- <-25%

Map showing the distribution of population growth across the United States.
Population growth 2010-2017 (%)
Metro areas, Population 100-250 k, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions

- >100%
- 50 to 100%
- 25 to 50%
- 0 to 25%
- -25 to 0%
- <-25%
Population growth 2010-2017 (%)

Metro areas, Population 250-1,000 k, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions
Population growth 2010-2017 (%)
Metro areas, Population 1-3,000 k, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA
Definitions

- >100%
- 50 to 100%
- 25 to 50%
- 0 to 25%
- -25 to 0%
- <-25%
Metro areas, Population 3,000 k +, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions

- >100%
- 50 to 100%
- 25 to 50%
- 0 to 25%
- -25 to 0%
- <-25%
Vox populi
Italian election results*, Chamber of Deputies, top four parties, %, March 7th 2018 at 12:00 GMT

Source: Italian Ministry of the Interior
Economist.com

*Excluding Valle d’Aosta, which has a separate political system
Population growth (%) vs Population (logs) in 1990 MSAs, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions
Population growth (%) vs Population in 1990
MSAs, 1993 USDA and U.S. Census Bureau MSA Definitions
Plains States Engines of Growth
1990-2000 Population Growth