

URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION OF MISSOURI

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Abstract

This paper describes three trends that have characterized the geographic distribution of Missouri's population. One has been the rural-to-urban shift of the population, which was driven by the industrialization of our nation's economy during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The mechanization of agricultural production in rural areas and concurrent proliferation of industrial production in urban areas provided the push/pull forces that strongly motivated rural Missourians to migrate to urban areas. The second has been the subsequent deconcentration of the metropolitan population, commonly known as the suburbanization. This trend was driven by the building of roads and freeways, low cost mortgage loans provided by the GI housing bill, expansion of the economy, dissatisfaction with city life, and the popular appeal of small town life. The third has been the movement of people from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas, known as the rural renaissance. This movement has been attributed to expansion of the economy into rural areas, preference for living and retiring for in a small town, improved transportation and communication infrastructure and availability of urban amenities in the rural environment. A comparative analysis of the urban and rural areas of Missouri shows how these migration dynamics have effected the demographic compositions of each.

Introduction

The type of community, ranging from the rural to urban, in which people live, has important implications for almost every aspect of human behavior. Sociologists have long recognized that there are qualitative differences between urban and rural residence. Nearly a century ago, a German sociologist, Ferdinand Tonnies, made a distinction in this regard. He divided communities into two types: *gemeinschaft* (rural villages), and *gesellschaft* (center of activity). A *gemeinschaft* is a primary community rooted in tradition. It is characterized by a sense of solidarity that is a product of the shared interests of the inhabitants. Citizens live in close association with one another, and because of their common interests, their relationships are generally deep-rooted and long lasting. A *gesellschaft* community, in contrast, is based on diverse economic, political and social relationships, which lead to an impersonal attitude between citizens. This attitude is reinforced by the lack of importance placed on tradition and community values in comparison to the importance placed on progress and individual success. Although people live or work together out of convenience or necessity, there is much less personal bonding in the community as a rule, and people are viewed more in terms of their roles than as unique individuals (Esheleman and Cashion, 1983: 512-513).

The rural community is characterized by agricultural occupations, low population density, small population aggregates, and a high degree of cultural homogeneity, while the urban community

is characterized by industrial occupations, high population density, large population aggregates, and a high degree of cultural heterogeneity. Thus, behavior patterns and individual personalities are shaped according to the cultural milieu.

The residential status of a population also has a bearing upon age and sex composition, racial distribution, marital status, level of education, occupation, income, and a host of other characteristics. Knowledge of the basic facts concerning urban and rural residence of a given population will therefore have considerable application in areas such as health and welfare programs, agricultural activities, educational services, hospital development, construction and other civic programs and services (Smith and Zopf, 1984:330).

Fertility, mortality and migration processes also differ greatly between rural and urban communities. Urban people, for example, have fertility levels that are greatly below those of rural residents. And while the relationship between residence and mortality is less consistent, natural increase among rural populations is much more rapid than among urban populations, because children tend to have different social meaning and different cost and utility in the two types of places. Furthermore, migration either shrinks rural populations or keeps them from growing as fast as natural increase would allow (Zopf, 1984:330).

Longitudinal analysis of urban and rural populations is complicated due to recent changes in the way the U.S. Census defines "urban" and "rural" populations. Between 1900 and 1990, the U. S. Census defined "urban" population as comprising all persons residing in urbanized areas and in places of 2,500 or more inhabitants outside urbanized areas. All persons in areas not classified as urban constitute the "rural" population (U. S. Census Bureau, 1993). For Census 2000, the Census Bureau classifies as "urban" all territory, population, and housing units located within an urbanized area (UA) or an urban cluster (UC). It delineates UA and UC boundaries to encompass densely settled territory, which consists of: (a) core census block groups or blocks that have a population density of at least 1,000 people per square mile and (b) surrounding census blocks that have an overall density of at least 500 people per square mile. In addition, under certain conditions, less densely settled territory may be part of each UA or UC. The Census Bureau's classification of "rural" consists of all territory, population, and housing units located outside of UAs and UCs (U. S. Census Bureau, 2000).

This article provides an overview of major changes in urban-rural population in Missouri during the 20th century and some factors accounting for these changes. In addition, it is concerned

with patterns of variation in urban and rural population by demographic, social and economic characteristics.

General Trend

In 2000, 69.4 percent of Missouri's population was classified as urban, and 30.6 percent was classified as rural. In the nation as a whole, the comparable percentages were 79.0 percent urban and 21.0 percent rural. Thus, Missouri contains a much larger proportion of rural people than the United States average, although 27 states in the nation contained a higher proportion of rural inhabitants than Missouri. In 2000, those states that contained the highest proportion of rural people were: Vermont, 66.2 percent; West Virginia, 63.8 percent; South Dakota, 53.6 percent; Mississippi, 52.7 percent; and Maine, 52.5 percent. On the other hand, those states that contained the highest proportion of urban population were California, 91.3 percent; New Jersey, 89.0 percent; Rhode Island, 87.0 percent; Hawaii, 86.5 percent; and Nevada, 85.3 percent (U. S. Census 2000).

One of the most important changes in the population of Missouri has been the rapid shift of people from rural to urban residence (Table 1). In 1900, the proportion of the population classified

Table 1. Urban and Rural Population of Missouri: 1900- 2000

Year	Population			Percent		Percent Change	
	Total	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
2000	5,595,211	3,883,442	1,711,769	69.4	30.6	10.5	6.9
1990	5,117,073	3,516,009	1,601,064	68.7	31.3	5.5	2.2
1980	4,916,766	3,349,588	1,567,098	68.1	31.9	2.2	12.0
1970	4,677,623	3,277,662	1,398,839	70.1	29.9	13.9	-3.1
1960	4,319,813	2,876,557	1,443,256	66.6	33.4	18.2	-5.2
1950	3,954,653	2,432,715	1,521,938	61.5	38.5	16.8	-8.7
1940	3,784,664	1,960,696	1,823,968	51.8	48.2	5.5	3.0
1930	3,629,367	1,859,119	1,770,248	51.2	48.8	17.2	-2.6
1920	3,404,055	1,586,903	1,817,152	46.6	53.4	13.9	-4.3
1910	3,293,335	1,393,705	1,899,630	42.3	57.7	23.5	-4.0
1900	3,106,665	1,128,104	1,978,561	36.3	63.7	--	--

Source: U. S. Census Bureau (1993 and 2000).

urban was 36.3 percent, rural residents making up 63.7 percent of the total population. It was during the decade from 1920 to 1930 that Missouri became predominantly urban for the first time. The 1930 Census placed the urban population at 51.2 percent and the rural population at 48.8 percent.

This trend continued at such an accelerated rate that by 1970, 70.1 percent of Missouri's population was classified as urban. Between 1970 and 1980, however, de-urbanization occurred, and the proportion of urban population fell, while the proportion of rural population increased (Figure 1). This phenomenon has subsequently been called the "Rural Renaissance." During the 20th century, the rural to urban shift caused Missouri's urban population to more than triple between 1900 and 2000, rising from 1,128,104 to 3,883,442. In contrast to the steady increase in the urban population since the turn of the century, the rural population declined from 1,978,561 in 1900 to 1,711,769 in 2000.

Obviously, there were tremendous differences with respect to the rates of growth in the urban and rural segments of the population of Missouri between 1900 and 2000. The largest percentage increase in the urban population took place during the decade from 1900 to 1910, when the urban population increased 23.5 percent as a result of the rural population's migration to urban centers. On the other hand, the smallest percentage of urban population increase was registered during the decade from 1970 to 1980, when the urban population increased by only 2.2 percent, reflective of out-migration of people to rural areas of the state. During the Depression years of the 1930s, when jobs in cities were scarce, the rate of growth in urban populations slowed down considerably, increasing by only 5.5 percent during the decade from 1930 to 1940. This was the second smallest increase between the years 1900 and 1980, due in part to the decline in the movement of rural people to cities, to the heavy migration of city people to villages and farms, and to a sharp reduction in the urban fertility rate. As the state and the entire country recovered from the Depression, employment opportunities in cities became more numerous. One of the results of this recovery was the resumption of migration of people from rural to urban areas.

In contrast to the rate of urbanization, the rate of growth in the rural population has declined in six of the ten decades between 1900 and 2000. One decade of rural population increase occurred between 1930 and 1940, when it rose by 3.0 percent. The most striking increase came between 1970 and 1980, largely a result of the heavy migration of people, especially retirees, from urban areas of the state and the nation into rural areas of Missouri, the rural population increased by 12.0 percent during that decade.

The shift in population from rural to urban areas of Missouri and elsewhere in the nation was the result of several factors. A surplus of farm products and improved transportation to urban areas reduced the need for large rural populations, while the mechanization and consolidation of

Table 2. Urban and Rural Residence of Missouri's Population by Counties: 2000

Area	Population			Percent	
	Total	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Missouri	5,595,211	3,883,442	1,711,769	69.4	30.6
Adair	24,977	16,672	8,305	66.7	33.3
Andrew	16,492	6,605	9,887	40.0	60.0
Atchison	6,430	0	6,430	0.0	100.0
Audrain	25,853	14,913	10,940	57.7	42.3
Barry	34,010	8,752	25,258	25.7	74.3
Barton	12,541	4,385	8,156	35.0	65.0
Bates	16,653	3,803	12,850	22.8	77.2
Benton	17,180	0	17,180	0.0	100.0
Bollinger	12,029	0	12,029	0.0	100.0
Boone	135,454	102,480	32,974	75.7	24.3
Buchanan	85,998	74,258	11,740	86.3	13.7
Butler	40,867	19,282	21,585	47.2	52.8
Caldwell	8,969	0	8,969	0.0	100.0
Callaway	40,766	15,621	25,145	38.3	61.7
Camden	37,051	3,175	33,876	8.6	91.4
Cape Girardeau	68,693	46,626	22,067	67.9	32.1
Carroll	10,285	3,595	6,690	35.0	65.0
Carter	5,941	0	5,941	0.0	100.0
Cass	82,092	51,412	30,680	62.6	37.4
Cedar	13,733	3,654	10,079	26.6	73.4
Chariton	8,438	0	8,438	0.0	100.0
Christian	54,285	26,617	27,668	49.0	51.0
Clark	7,416	0	7,416	0.0	100.0
Clay	184,006	164,576	19,430	89.4	10.6
Clinton	18,979	4,234	14,745	22.3	77.7
Cole	71,397	49,582	21,815	69.4	30.6
Cooper	16,670	8,196	8,474	49.2	50.8
Crawford	22,804	4,316	18,488	18.9	81.1
Dade	7,923	0	7,923	0.0	100.0
Dallas	15,661	2,681	12,980	17.1	82.9

Area	Population			Percent	
	Total	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Daviess	8,016	0	8,016	0.0	100.0
DeKalb	11,597	3,814	7,783	32.9	67.1
Dent	14,927	5,012	9,915	33.6	66.4
Douglas	13,084	2,874	10,210	22.0	78.0
Dunklin	33,155	16,634	16,521	50.2	49.8
Franklin	93,807	39,343	54,464	41.9	58.1
Gasconade	15,342	5,216	10,126	34.0	66.0
Gentry	6,861	0	6,861	0.0	100.0
Greene	240,391	197,233	43,158	82.0	18.0
Grundy	10,432	6,135	4,297	58.8	41.2
Harrison	8,850	2,532	6,318	28.6	71.4
Henry	21,997	11,899	10,098	54.1	45.9
Hickory	8,940	0	8,940	0.0	100.0
Holt	5,351	0	5,351	0.0	100.0
Howard	10,212	3,836	6,376	37.6	62.4
Howell	37,238	10,065	27,173	27.0	73.0
Iron	10,697	2,627	8,070	24.6	75.4
Jackson	654,880	628,608	26,272	96.0	4.0
Jasper	104,686	78,238	26,448	74.7	25.3
Jefferson	198,099	129,456	68,643	65.3	34.7
Johnson	48,258	24,529	23,729	50.8	49.2
Knox	4,361	0	4,361	0.0	100.0
Laclede	32,513	11,628	20,885	35.8	64.2
Lafayette	32,960	13,652	19,308	41.4	58.6
Lawrence	35,204	13,778	21,426	39.1	60.9
Lewis	10,494	0	10,494	0.0	100.0
Lincoln	38,944	8,307	30,637	21.3	78.7
Linn	13,754	4,450	9,304	32.4	67.6
Livingston	14,558	9,096	5,462	62.5	37.5
McDonald	21,681	0	21,681	0.0	100.0
Macon	15,762	5,202	10,560	33.0	67.0
Madison	11,800	4,181	7,619	35.4	64.6

Table 2—Continued

Area	Population			Percent	
	Total	Urban	Rural	Urba	Rural
Maries	8,903	0	8,903	0.0	100.0
Marion	28,289	21,163	7,126	74.8	25.2
Mercer	3,757	0	3,757	0.0	100.0
Miller	23,564	5,388	18,176	22.9	77.1
Mississippi	13,427	8,392	5,035	62.5	37.5
Moniteau	14,827	7,221	7,606	48.7	51.3
Monroe	9,311	0	9,311	0.0	100.0
Montgomery	12,136	0	12,136	0.0	100.0
Morgan	19,309	0	19,309	0.0	100.0
New Madrid	19,760	7,578	12,182	38.4	61.6
Newton	52,636	18,579	34,057	35.3	64.7
Nodaway	21,912	11,582	10,330	52.9	47.1
Oregon	10,344	2,113	8,231	20.4	79.6
Osage	13,062	0	13,062	0.0	100.0
Ozark	9,542	0	9,542	0.0	100.0
Pemiscot	20,047	13,117	6,930	65.4	34.6
Perry	18,132	7,826	10,306	43.2	56.8
Pettis	39,403	24,370	15,033	61.8	38.2
Phelps	39,825	20,777	19,048	52.2	47.8
Pike	18,351	9,157	9,194	49.9	50.1
Platte	73,781	59,111	14,670	80.1	19.9
Polk	26,992	8,746	18,246	32.4	67.6
Pulaski	41,165	20,943	20,222	50.9	49.1
Putnam	5,223	0	5,223	0.0	100.0
Ralls	9,626	224	9,402	2.3	97.7
Randolph	24,663	11,839	12,824	48.0	52.0
Ray	23,354	6,759	16,595	28.9	71.1

Area	Population			Percent	
	Total	Urban	Rural	Urba	Rural
Reynolds	6,689	0	6,689	0.0	100.0
Ripley	13,509	0	13,509	0.0	100.0
St. Charles	283,883	261,365	22,518	92.1	7.9
St. Clair	9,652	0	9,652	0.0	100.0
Ste.	17,842	4,205	13,637	23.6	76.4
St. Francois	55,641	32,915	22,726	59.2	40.8
St. Louis	1,016,315	1,002,476	13,839	98.6	1.4
Saline	23,756	12,658	11,098	53.3	46.7
Schuyler	4,170	0	4,170	0.0	100.0
Scotland	4,983	0	4,983	0.0	100.0
Scott	40,422	25,096	15,326	62.1	37.9
Shannon	8,324	0	8,324	0.0	100.0
Shelby	6,799	0	6,799	0.0	100.0
Stoddard	29,705	8,812	20,893	29.7	70.3
Stone	28,658	0	28,658	0.0	100.0
Sullivan	7,219	0	7,219	0.0	100.0
Taney	39,703	19,823	19,880	49.9	50.1
Texas	23,003	155	22,848	0.7	99.3
Vernon	20,454	8,630	11,824	42.2	57.8
Warren	24,525	5,277	19,248	21.5	78.5
Washington	23,344	4,741	18,603	20.3	79.7
Wayne	13,259	0	13,259	0.0	100.0
Webster	31,045	6,032	25,013	19.4	80.6
Worth	2,382	0	2,382	0.0	100.0
Wright	17,955	4,403	13,552	24.5	75.5
St. Louis	348,189	348,189	0	100.0	0.0

Source: U. S. Census Bureau (2000).

farms led to a loss of agricultural jobs in rural areas. Cities offered a variety of employment and economic opportunities as inducements for rural to urban migration. Attractive socio-cultural conditions in urban areas, such as better housing conditions, educational opportunities, health services, public service facilities, social welfare programs, and cultural and recreational opportunities made migration even more desirable. Not the least attractive incentive for migration was the promise of self-advancement and improvement in the standard of living.

In 2000, within Missouri, the relative proportions of urban and rural population distribution varied greatly between counties (Table 2). Of Missouri's 115 counties, 34 were entirely rural, and an additional 84 had urban populations of less than 50 percent. The following 10 counties and St. Louis City had urban populations above 70.0 percent in 2000:

St. Louis City	100.0	Clay	89.4	Boone	75.5
St. Louis	98.6	Buchanan	86.3	Marion	74.8
Jackson	96.0	Greene	82.0	Jasper	74.7
St. Charles	92.1	Platte	80.1		

Population by Size of Place

Two types of places are recognized by the U. S. Census Bureau, incorporated places and census-designated places, both of which can be urban or rural. Incorporated places are those, which are "incorporated" under the laws of their respective states as cities, boroughs, towns and villages. Census-designated places are those, which are designated by the Census Bureau as closely, settled population centers without corporate limits; in other words, these are "unincorporated" places.

In 2000, the total population of Missouri resided in 972 places, of which 230 were urban and 742 were rural (Table 3). Of the 69.4 percent who live in urban areas, only 18.8 percent lived in the 4 places of 100,000 or more. In addition, 38.8 percent of the total population lived in 195 places of various sizes ranging from 2,500 to 99,999 inhabitants.

Of the total 30.4 percent who lived in rural areas of Missouri in 2000, 4.1 percent resided in 143 places ranging in size from 1,000 to 2,499 inhabitants. An additional 3.5 percent lived in 599 places with fewer than 1000 inhabitants. Furthermore, 23.0 percent of the population was living in places classified as "other rural territory." Thus, Missouri's population was and is widely dispersed by various sizes of places, such as large cities, small towns, villages, and hamlets, all of which have influenced and will continue to influence the state as a whole (Figure 2).

As the population of the state increased, new urban places came into existence and continued to grow in size. Most of the increase in the number of urban places occurred when

particular rural places moved above the 2,500 population mark, and therefore became urban places. However, there are at present a considerable number of rural places in Missouri that are just below 2,500.

Table 3. Number and Percentages of Missouri's Population by Size: 2000

Size of place	Number of Places	Population	Percent
Missouri	972	5,595,211	100.0
Urban	230	3,883,442	69.4
100,000 or more	4	1,054,602	18.8
50,000 to 99,999	6	391,420	7.0
30,000 to 49,999	10	393,523	7.0
10,000 to 29,999	45	718,831	12.8
5,000 to 9,999	52	374,709	6.7
2,500 to 4,999	82	297,842	5.3
Other urban territory	31	652,515	11.7
Rural	742	1,711,769	30.6
1000 to 2,499	143	227,693	4.1
Under 1000	599	195,138	3.5
Other rural territory	--	1,288,938	23.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (2000).

Some of Missouri's cities are more or less specialized in their growth, and some are highly diversified in economic and social activities. Joplin and Mexico, for example, are influenced by mining activity, and Columbia, in the center of the state, owes its growth to the institutions of higher education. Jefferson City has grown largely due to its position as the political capital, and Moberly owes its development chiefly to employment afforded by railroad shops. Excelsior Springs, Lake of the Ozarks and Branson are resort cities whose main business is to serve visitors attracted by lakes in those areas. Suburban towns around St. Louis and Kansas City serve the people who work in the metropolitan regions. Most of the other cities, such as Kansas City, St. Louis, Springfield, and St. Joseph are highly diversified in their economic activities.

In 2000, Kansas City was the largest city in Missouri with a population of 441,545 residents; followed by St. Louis City with 348,189 residents, Springfield with 151,580 residents, Independence with 113,288, and St. Joseph with 73,990 residents. Kansas City won the title of

Largest City in Missouri for the first time in 1982, by losing fewer residents than St. Louis after 1980 (Table 4).

Table 4. Rank and Population of 50 largest Cities in Missouri: 2000

Rank	City	Population	Rank	City	Population
1	Kansas City	441,545	26	Grandview	24,881
2	St. Louis	348,189	27	Webster Groves	23,230
3	Springfield	151,580	28	Ferguson	22,406
4	Independence	113,288	29	Belton	21,730
5	Columbia	84,531	30	Sedalia	20,339
6	St. Joseph city	73,990	31	Arnold	19,965
7	Lee's Summit	70,700	32	Manchester	19,161
8	St. Charles	60,321	33	Hannibal	17,757
9	St. Peters	51,381	34	Sikeston	16,992
10	Florissant	50,497	35	Kirksville	16,988
11	Blue Springs	48,080	36	Overland	16,838
12	Chesterfield	46,802	37	Poplar Bluff	16,651
13	O'Fallon	46,169	38	Creve Coeur	16,500
14	Joplin	45,504	39	Rolla	16,367
15	Jefferson City	39,636	40	Warrensburg	16,340
16	University City	37,428	41	Bridgeton	15,550
17	Cape Girardeau	35,349	42	Jennings	15,469
18	Wildwood	32,884	43	Farmington	13,924
19	Ballwin	31,283	44	St. Ann	13,607
20	Raytown	30,388	45	Washington	13,243
21	Kirkwood	27,324	46	Clayton	12,825
22	Gladstone	26,365	47	Carthage	12,668
23	Liberty	26,232	48	Marshall	12,433
24	Hazelwood	26,206	49	Lebanon	12,155
25	Maryland Heights	25,756	50	Fulton	12,128

Source: U. S. Census Bureau (2000).

Metropolitan/Nonmetropolitan Areas and Suburbanization

Because cities in the United States extend their influence over such wide areas, it has become traditional to distinguish between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, as well as between rural and urban areas. Generally, metropolitan areas have a large population nucleus together with adjacent communities that have a high economic and social integration with that nucleus. As presently defined by the U. S. Census Bureau, each metropolitan area, called a Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), consists of one or more contiguous counties that (a) contain one central city with a population of at least 50,000 (or twin cities with a combined population of at

least 50,000), and (b) are socially and economically integrated with the central city (U. S. Census Bureau 2000).

Table 5. Missouri's Population by Metropolitan Statistical Areas: 2003

Rank	Metropolitan Statistical Areas	2003	Percent
	Missouri	5,595,211	--
	Metropolitan total	4,069,956	100.0
	Central City	1,184,975	29.1
	Outlying Area	2,884,981	70.9
1	St. Louis MSA	2,027,106	100.0
	Central City	348,189	17.2
	Outlying Area	1,678,917	82.8
2	Kansas City MSA	1,095,674	100.0
	Central City	441,545	40.3
	Outlying Area	654,129	59.7
3	Springfield MSA	368,374	100.0
	Central City	151,580	41.1
	Outlying Area	216,794	58.9
4	Joplin MSA	157,322	100.0
	Central City	45,504	28.9
	Outlying Area	111,848	71.1
5	Columbia MSA	145,666	100.0
	Central City	84,531	58.0
	Outlying Area	61,135	42.0
6	Jefferson City MSA	140,046	100.0
	Central City	39,636	28.3
	Outlying Area	100,410	71.7
7	St. Joseph MSA	114,087	100.0
	Central City	73,990	64.9
	Outlying Area	40,097	35.1
8	Fayetteville-Rogers MSA in AK	347,045	100.0
	Central City	N.A.	N.A.
	Outlying Area	21,681	6.3

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (2003).

Recently, all MSA's in Missouri became comprised of at least two counties, while in others three or more counties are combined. For example, the Columbia MSA included only Boone County in 2000, but by 2003 Howard County was added to the Columbia MSA. Another example is the Kansas City MSA, consisting of a total of seven counties in 2000 including Cass, Clay, Clinton, Jackson, Lafayette, Platte and Ray. Bates and Caldwell Counties became economically and socially integrated and were added to the Kansas City MSA in 2003. Economic and social integration takes into account several factors, such as residence and employment patterns, nonagricultural workers, per capita telephone calls between the county and the central city, newspaper circulation reports, official traffic counts, and the extent of retail trade in the central city by the residents of the contiguous counties.

The population living within an MSA is referred to as the metropolitan population, which is further subdivided into two parts. Those living in the city are classified as residents of the "central city," while all other persons are classified as "outside central city" residents. The remainder of the population residing outside MSAs, including small-town and rural populations is classified as the nonmetropolitan population.

In 2003, Missouri had eight MSAs consisting of 33 counties and the independent city of St. Louis (Figure 3). In 2000, 72.7 percent of Missouri's population lived in metropolitan areas. Of the 4,069,956 residents living in metropolitan areas, 29.1 percent (1,184,975) lived in the central cities and 70.9 percent (2,884,981) lived in outlying areas (Table 5). Of the total Missouri population, 27.3 percent lived in the 81 nonmetropolitan counties. Missouri had a lower share of its state's population in metropolitan areas than did the nation as a whole.

While the majority of the U.S. population has become concentrated in metropolitan areas, a process of deconcentration within metropolitan populations has occurred. This phenomenon is popularly known as "suburbanization." It represents a shift of population from higher density central cities to lower density outlying or ring portions of the MSAs.

A number of factors appear to explain the shift of population from central cities to suburbs. As the number of automobile owners increased dramatically, the construction of highways and expressways connecting cities with suburbs increased autonomy and facilitated commuting. The urban housing shortage, which followed World War II and the GI Bill subsidizing single-family housing for middle-class Americans made the suburbs attractive and affordable. The rapidly expanding economy of the 1950s and 1960s produced higher incomes, which allowed people to buy homes outside the central cities. Many urban residents were concerned about high crime rates,

inferior educational facilities, overcrowding, pollution and other examples of urban blight in the central cities. The suburbs were more aesthetically pleasing and less expensive. Finally, jobs followed urban residents into suburban areas from the central cities, attracting even more migrants (Miller, 1985:216).

The Rural Renaissance

During the first seven decades of this century, metropolitan populations grew far more rapidly than nonmetropolitan ones. One of the significant population movements in the United States in the late 1960's and 1970s, however, was the shift from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas. That shift, designated as "the population turnaround," generated a number of scholarly articles on the subject. As a result of this shift, the nonmetropolitan areas, which include many small communities and rural areas, experienced noticeably faster rates of population growth than did metropolitan areas. During the decade 1970 to 1980, the rate of 12.1 percent population growth in Missouri's nonmetropolitan areas far exceeded the 1.8 percent growth in metropolitan areas.

Table 6. Changes in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Missouri Population 1970-2000

Year	Total Population	Metropolitan Population	Nonmetropolitan Population	Percent Change	
				Metropolitan	Nonmetropolitan
2000	5,595,211	3,794,801	1,800,410	12.0	4.1
1990	5,117,073	3,387,465	1,729,608	5.5	1.4
1980	4,916,686	3,210,467	1,706,219	1.8	12.1
1970	4,677,623	3,154,893	1,522,730	N/A	N/A

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (1982, 1993 and 2000).

Table 6, however, shows that the Rural Renaissance was short-lived, with only a 1.4% increase in Missouri's nonmetropolitan population during the 1980s. This represents a drastic decline in the growth of Missouri's nonmetropolitan areas compared to the 1970s. By 1990, the metropolitan to nonmetropolitan migration trend had reversed, with metropolitan areas again experiencing much higher population growth than nonmetropolitan areas.

Although there are complex reasons for this "rural renaissance," three factors seem to be most important to an understanding of the process, namely economic decentralization, preference for rural living, and modernization of rural life (Brown, 1981).

Economic decentralization: Economic changes have clearly played an important role. The shift of many light manufacturing industries away from the metropolis, due largely to the development of the trucking industry, availability of less expensive land, lower taxes, and lower wage rates in nonmetropolitan areas, has decentralized jobs and enhanced employment opportunities in nonmetropolitan locations. Moreover, new mining and energy extraction industries have provided new employment opportunities that are geographically widespread. The phenomenon of decentralization is certainly as apparent in the small communities of Missouri as it is across all the Sunbelt states from the Carolinas to California.

Preference for rural living: As in the early period of American history, residential preferences are changing to favor small towns and rural areas. Individuals have become more willing or better able to act out long-standing preferences for living in a nonmetropolitan setting even at the sacrifice of income maximization, especially since the automobile and highway networks have made previously remote areas easily accessible. Especially first generation urban immigrants increasingly perceive large cities as unattractive. Retirement often takes place earlier, health at retirement is better, and more persons live to and beyond retirement age. Accumulated equities and better retirement incomes provide more ample means for returning to the provinces where these retirees were born and raised. Transfer payments of various kinds have greatly increased in rural regions, augmenting cash flows and investment capital and stimulating a spectrum of economic activities.

Modernization of rural life: Rural and small town life has been modernized, so that there are no longer significant differences in the material quality of life that once existed between rural and urban areas. Amenities such as paved roads, controlled access highways, electricity, telephone and television service, running water and sewer systems, health clinics and educational facilities have all helped to modernize rural living, minimizing the disadvantages of living in these areas. Thus, all of these factors have made for an increase in the relative attractiveness of "rural" living, and a corresponding relative decrease in the allure of urban life.

Characteristics of Urban and Rural Population

This section focuses on a comparative analysis between urban and rural regions of Missouri on demographic, social and economic characteristics (Table 7).

Demographic: The ratio of males to females varies considerably between Missouri's rural and urban populations. A sex ratio of 92.3 in urban areas and 100.2 in rural areas indicates that

Table 7. Comparison of Demographic, Social and Economic Characteristics of Urban and Rural Population of Missouri 2000

Characteristics	Urban	Rural
<i>Demographic:</i>		
Race & Ethnicity		
White	79.7%	96.7%
Black	15.8%	1.0%
Hispanic	2.5%	1.2%
Sex Ratio		
	92.2	100.2
Median Age		
	35.0	38.5
Age Groups		
Under 15 Years	21.1%	21.2%
15 - 64 Years	65.6%	64.9%
65 Yrs and Over	13.3%	14.0%
<i>Social:</i>		
Marital Status (Population 15 Yrs and Older)		
Married	53.4%	66.1%
Divorced	9.0%	7.3%
Percent of Households with No Husband Present		
	13.1%	7.1%
Education (Population 25 Yrs and Older)		
Less than HS	17.1%	22.2%
High School Grad	29.2%	40.4%
Some College	28.3%	24.1%
College Degree	16.3%	9.0%
Graduate Degree	9.1%	4.4%
<i>Economic:</i>		
Median Family Income		
	\$49,138	\$41,119
Percent Below Poverty		
	11.7%	11.8%
Unemployment Rate (Age 16 and Older)		
	5.6%	4.5%
Percent in Labor Force (Age 16 and Older)		
	65.9%	63.5%

Source: U. S. Census Bureau (2000).

females are more likely to live in urban areas, while males are more likely to live in rural areas. It also suggests that females are more likely to migrate to the urban areas than their male counterparts in pursuit of nonagricultural employment and educational opportunities.

The proportion of ethnic minority residents also varies markedly between Missouri's urban and rural populations. Minority residents, especially Blacks are highly concentrated in Missouri's urban areas. Ninety-seven percent of Missouri's Black residents and 83 percent of its Hispanic residents live in urban areas. Traditionally, minority residents have found greater economic opportunity and less racial discrimination in urban areas. Large ethnic enclaves in the urban areas are another reason why minority immigrants would tend to chose urban over rural migration patterns. White residents, on the other hand, comprise 96.7 percent of Missouri's rural population, but only 79.6 percent of its urban population.

Missouri's rural population is older than its urban population. The median age of rural Missouri residents is 38.5, but only 35.0 for urban residents. Most of this difference can be attributed to differences in the "over 65" population, since the proportion of urban and rural population in the lower age cohorts is negligible. Older populations in rural area are a common phenomenon often attributed to higher out-migration among the young, higher in-migration from retirees and lower mortality rates in rural environments. All these factors tend to produce older populations in rural areas.

Social: Variations in patterns of marriage and divorce are found between Missouri's rural and urban populations, with urban dwellers being less likely to be married and more likely to be divorced. Two-thirds (66 percent) of those 15 years and older living in rural areas are married, whereas only a little over half (53 percent) of urban dwellers 15 years and older are married. A variety of factors contribute to this difference including higher age of first marriage, a higher divorce rate and a culture more conducive to remaining single in the urban social environment. Nine percent of urban Missourians 15 years and older are divorced, while only 7.3 percent of rural residents 15 years and older are divorced. Urban households are also much more likely to be headed by a female with no husband present. While only 7.1 percent of rural households are headed by a single female, 13.1 percent of urban households have no husband present. These data suggest that rural Missouri families are more stable and more likely to be two-parent households.

Missouri's urban population is more highly educated than its rural population. Eighty-three percent of the urban population has at least a high school education, while only 78 percent of rural Missourians have completed high school. Twenty-five percent of urban Missourians have a college

degree, while only 13.4 percent of rural Missourians have completed college. Factors such as age differences, accessibility of a campus and differences in educational demands of the respective job markets explain why urban dwellers are more likely to find higher education functional for their needs than rural residents.

Economic: Significant differences are found between rural and urban Missouri on indicators of income and employment. The median family income is 19.5 percent higher in urban areas, with urban dwellers earning a median family income of \$49,183 compared to \$41,119 for rural families. Ironically, the poverty rates are similar for urban and rural areas of Missouri, and the unemployment rate is slightly higher urban areas. The poverty rate was 11.8 percent for rural Missourians and 11.7 percent for urban Missourians. The unemployment rate for rural Missourians is 4.5 percent compared to 5.6 percent for urban Missourians. These data suggest that income is much more stratified in urban areas. The similar levels of poverty in the urban and rural areas are offset by high concentrations of wealth in urban areas, resulting in an overall higher median income for urban areas. Rural areas do not have many extremely wealthy residents, but they have proportions of residents living in poverty similar to urban areas. Also, because the cost of living, which is generally lower in rural areas, is used in calculating poverty status, it requires a lower income to be classified as being in poverty in rural areas.

There are only a slightly higher proportion of urban residents in the workforce compared to rural residents. Sixty-six percent of urban residents are in the workforce, compared to 64.5 percent for rural areas. There may, however, be differences regarding why respective residents are not in the workforce. Rural residents not in the workforce may be more likely to be retired, whereas urban residents may be more likely to be either disabled or to support themselves through criminal activity.

Conclusion

In summary, three trends have characterized the geographic distribution of Missouri's population. One has been the rural-to-urban shift of the population, which was driven by the industrialization of our nation's economy during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The mechanization of agricultural production in rural areas and concurrent proliferation of industrial production in urban areas provided the push/pull forces that strongly motivated rural Missourians to migrate to urban areas. The second has been the subsequent deconcentration of the metropolitan population, commonly known as the suburbanization. This trend was driven by the building of roads and freeways, low cost mortgage loans provided by the GI housing bill, expansion of the

economy, dissatisfaction with city life, and the popular appeal of small town life. The third has been the movement of people from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas, known as the rural renaissance. This movement has been attributed to expansion of the economy into rural areas, preference for living and retiring for in a small town, improved transportation and communication infrastructure and availability of urban amenities in the rural environment.

Cities in Missouri are still dealing with the historic social problems associated with high population density and heterogeneity, including unemployment, underemployment, inadequate housing and sanitation, lack of healthcare services, contaminated drinking water, solid and hazardous waste and air pollution and other forms of environmental pollution (Hinrichsen, Salem and Blackburn: 2002) Many of these social problems have been aggravated by the migration of urban dwellers to the suburbs and rural regions of Missouri. The analysis has shown higher unemployment and divorce rates for urban dwellers. The migration of businesses to the suburbs has left a void in the inner cities, draining the tax base, reducing already limited employment opportunities and leaving only those too poor or marginalized to escape the vicious cycle of poverty and crime. Economic hardship creates domestic stresses that contribute to family instability and substance abuse. Since most ethnic minority residents of Missouri live in the urban areas, blacks and Hispanics are more susceptible to these problems, exacerbating perceptions of racial inequality.

Although rural areas have traditionally been thought to have fewer social problems than urban areas, they are not without unique problems of their own. Although poverty rates are similar among urban and rural Missourians, there are rural areas in Missouri where economic deprivation is more severe. For example, south-central Missouri in particular is a rural area that has historically had higher rates of poverty than other rural areas of Missouri (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2003). As in the city, economic deprivation tends to be associated with social problems such as family instability, substance abuse and domestic violence. These problems, however, can be more difficult to address in rural environments, where government and social services are either less available or more difficult to access.

As the byproducts of industrial production and fossil fuels continue to threaten the rural, and especially the urban, environments, ecologists and social engineers have increasingly focused on the concept of sustainability. A sustainable society is one that “manages its economy and population size without doing irreparable environmental harm by overdoing the planet’s ability: (a) to absorb environmental insults, (b) replenish its resources, and (b) sustain human and other forms of life over a specified period, usually hundreds to thousands of years.” (Miller, 1999:5-6) Whether through

population reduction or technologies designed to facilitate a more ecologically benign means of production, efforts must be made to halt or reverse the growing concentration of harmful pollutants in our water, air and soil, while at the same time sustaining a strong economy and high quality of life.

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