# Lifestyle Entrepreneurs, Amenity Movers, and Their Impact on Recent Population Trends in the Rural West, U.S.A.

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## 1. Introduction

Recent population trends in the United States have shown that there has been a resurgence in the populations of rural areas since the 1970s. This trend has often been characterized by demographic scholars as a "deconcentration" of people from larger, more densely settled areas into smaller, more lightly settled areas. The long era of rural population stagnation (and in many areas actual declines) first came to a halt in the 1970s. Economic disruptions in the 1980s caused the rural population rebound to come to a rest temporarily, but then in the 1990s most non-metropolitan areas rebounded strongly once again[1].

Coinciding with this rural "rebound" has been a proliferation of research into the root causes of it. Although no one cause can account for all of the population gains seen in rural areas since the 1970s, there appears to be a growing consensus as to the strong positive influence that the emergence of "amenity movers" and "lifestyle entrepreneurs" has been having on the choices people are making on where they want to live, thus influencing the populations of rural areas in ways never seen before in the United States.

The purpose of this paper is to first explain the concept of the lifestyle entrepreneur through the extensive use of previous literature written on the subject, while clarifying how a lifestyle entrepreneur and the universally known concept of the entrepreneur differ. The connection between lifestyle entrepreneurs and the recent concept of green tourism will also be explored. In the following section, the concept of the "amenity mover" will be defined, with a particular focus on how natural amenities are having more and more influence on the decision-making processes of where people decide to live.

After giving a thorough explanation of what constitutes a lifestyle entrepreneur and an amenity mover, recent population shift patterns in The United States of America will be discussed, with a particular focus on how the rise of lifestyle entrepreneurs and amenity movers has played a role in the "rural rebound" seen in many non-metropolitan counties across the U.S. since the 1970s, most notably in the rural West (Figure 1). Implications for agriculture and policy considerations regarding recent population trends will also be discussed, followed by a summary of the author's findings. These findings will then be used as a basis on which to conduct future comparative research between the Mountain West region of the United States and the southern island of Kyushu, Japan.

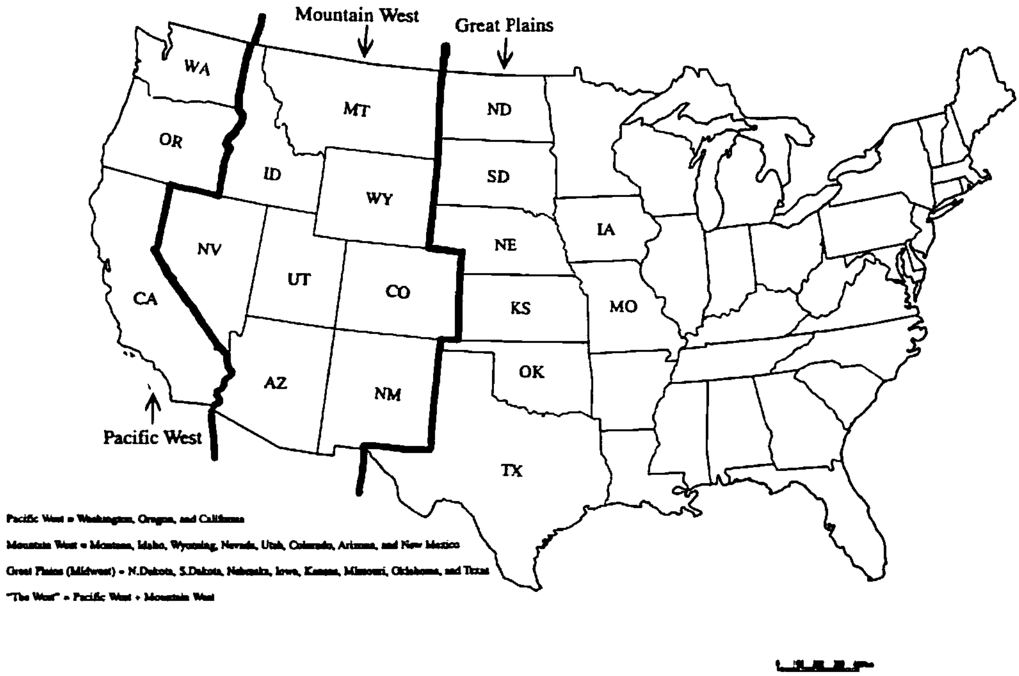



Figure 1. Regional divisions of the United States of America

## 2. Lifestyle entrepreneurs

### a. The concept of the lifestyle entrepreneur

The origin of the word entrepreneur comes from the French word "entreprendre", meaning "to undertake". Entrepreneurs "undertake" or assume the risk of organizing natural, human, and capital resources to produce goods and services. Being an entrepreneur involves more than just being in business or owning a business; it involves being creative, resourceful, and innovative.

The term entrepreneur has been in the conventional American English business lexicon for ages. An entrepreneur is most often defined as someone who starts a company, arranges business deals, and takes risks in order to make a profit. The first big wave of entrepreneurs arrived in the 1960s, mostly consisting of innovators who created new products and contributed to the high rate of economic growth. Their focus was mainly on profit maximization.

A second type of entrepreneur emerged in Europe in the 1980s, that being one who had their own business as a side job and primarily for the purpose of supplementing their main income to be able to survive. This type of entrepreneur consisted mainly of farmers who opened their own mom-and-pop restaurant or bed and breakfast (B&B).

Finally, a third type of entrepreneur emerged in the 1990s in the United States, that being the lifestyle entrepreneur. The term "lifestyle entrepreneur" was first coined by University of New Hampshire professor William Wetzel in 1987. Lifestyle entrepreneurs are those people who have gone into business mainly for lifestyle reasons, as opposed to financial reasons[2]. Up until now, lifestyle entrepreneurship has been an under-reported but steadily growing phenomenon. Lifestyle entrepreneurs do not go into business for primarily financial rewards, but rather for a different type of pay-off, mainly the chance at a better lifestyle. This could come in such forms as living at the beach or in the mountains, or working when they feel like it and with people they like (Rodriguez, 2003).

Herein lies the main difference between the first type of entrepreneur mentioned above and lifestyle entrepreneurs: the focus on profit. For the average entrepreneur, the degree of focus on money, sales growth, and expansion for expansion's sake is much higher than that of the typical lifestyle entrepreneur[3]. Instead of money, the driving force behind most lifestyle entrepreneurs is a strong desire for independence.

Lifestyle entrepreneurs can be broadly categorized into three main groups (Rodriguez, 2003). The first group is composed of burned-out mid-careerists for whom the money may be excellent at their jobs, but the lifestyle is less than desirable. For these people, they leave their jobs and venture into their own businesses to explore a different side of themselves, do things that they have always wanted to do, or simply for the excitement. The second group contains people with special lifestyle needs, such as those requiring a flexible schedule and the freedom to choose the location of where they work. People in this group often have other people depending on them for support, such as young children or ailing parents. Finally, the third group is comprised of people who have been laid off, downsized, or fired. For these lifestyle entrepreneurs, changes in their job situation (and thus loss of job security) afforded them the opportunity to finally do what they have always dreamed of doing. In fact, business start-ups generally increase during slow economies primarily because people discover that it's harder to find a job during an economic downturn.

### b. The benefits versus the drawbacks

Although attaining the type of life they want through their own business is the main initial draw for those choosing to become lifestyle entrepreneurs, there are several other benefits as well as drawbacks to lifestyle entrepreneurship. First of all, on the positive side, with use of the Internet becoming more and more widespread, the ability for lifestyle entrepreneurs to choose their location is virtually unlimited. In addition, lifestyle entrepreneurship allows people to escape the modern workplace and have more control over the "human environment" in the office, while at the same time finding work of a more meaningful, fulfilling nature (Prince, 2003). Related to this is the advantage that lifestyle entrepreneurs get to choose who they work with and when. And although a fast-growing business can hamper the lifestyle of the average entrepreneur, lifestyle entrepreneurs can truly have a life outside of their work because they are not focused on making their work their whole life.

On the other hand, there are several risks involved with becoming a lifestyle entrepreneur. These can include such things as no health insurance, no paid vacations, and lower pay (at least in the short-term). There is also the intimidation factor of failure that looms over any new enterprise that must be dealt with as well. However, to overcome the risks involved, would-be lifestyle entrepreneurs are often advised to first work part-time in their field of interest in order to gain knowledge and insight into their business of choice, as well as for the purpose of maintaining a steady income (Prince, 2003).

### c. Relation to green tourism

In recent years, the number of tourists[4] demanding more non-traditional types of activities has been increasing. To respond to this new niche market, the number of lifestyle entrepreneurs connected to the travel and tourism industry has been increasing as well. Lifestyle, as opposed to economic motives, has been recognized as a significant stimulus for tourism entrepreneurship and growth in the small-business sector in the U.S., as well as all around the world. The creation and introduction of innovative products by lifestyle entrepreneurs in the tourism industry has also been shown to help stimulate regional development (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2000).

By limiting the scale and scope of their operations, many lifestyle entrepreneurs manage to capture the niche market opportunities created by those consumers who intentionally reject typical tourist market philosophies, while at the same time succeeding in balancing economic performance and the sustainability of social and environmental values. And although it is often difficult to differentiate between the terms "tourist" and "traveler," in recent years there has been an increasing inclination by these environmentally-conscious consumers to label "tourists" as those whose activities are pre-planned and packaged by the industry, as compared with their own style of embracing environmental and sociocultural integrity (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2000).

To put the competing value pressures of lifestyle entrepreneurs and profit-driven entrepreneurs into perspective, it is helpful to depict the ideological values of lifestyle entrepreneurs as being inside a "fence," whereas the values of classic (typical/average) entrepreneurs are on the outside of the same fence. In a market-driven environment, development causes pressure to be put on those within the "fence" to compromise their core values in the interest of profit maximization. Although many examples can be illustrated to clarify this "fence ideology," a few especially poignant ones are as follows: 1) in terms of personal relations, being competitive (outside the fence) versus collaborative (inside the fence); 2) cherishing material value (outside) versus social worth (inside); 3) from an industrial standpoint, striving for profit maximization (outside) versus a high quality of life (inside); and finally 4) from a market standpoint, being "packaged or pre-planned" (outside) versus spontaneous (inside) (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2000).

However, case studies done in both New Zealand and England have shown that there are many small business operators who feel a strong sense of commitment to the future of the area in which their business is located, and thus choose to maintain a certain lifestyle rather than pursue a strategy of profit maximization (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2000, Dewhurst and Thomas, 2003).

In conclusion, the success of business owners who are lifestyle entrepreneurs may be best measured in terms of their continuing ability to maintain their chosen lifestyle, rather than measuring it in financial terms. Although there are often concerns raised about the long-term viability of this new breed of lifestyle entrepreneur who consciously chooses to limit growth, those who deliberately emphasize product quality over quantity while providing real and authentic experiences are assured a continued high level of demand and thus a higher long-term rate of success as well.

## 3. Amenity movers

### a. The concept of the amenity mover

According to the Longman Advanced American Dictionary, an amenity is "something such as a piece of equipment, store, or park that makes it easier to live somewhere." An abundance of these types of amenities can make a living area quite attractive, whereas a dearth of them can do quite the opposite. For years studies have shown that elderly couples who are relatively well off and are seeking a warm climate and casual lifestyle have been gravitating to places such as Florida, North and South Carolina, and Arizona (Adler, 1998). These people are labeled "amenity movers" precisely because they are moving to these areas because of their preference for a warm climate, which is considered to be one of many natural amenities.

When it comes to the moving preferences of those Americans less than 55 years of age, however, most of their decisions to move had been until recently based on more economic reasons, such as job opportunity or proximity to work. In contrast to this, recent studies are starting to show that more and more people of all ages are choosing to move due to the natural amenities that certain parts of the United States have to offer. One such example is the fact that many rural communities located in the Rocky Mountain West are booming as newcomers flock to a scenic lifestyle (Drabenstott, 1999).

Historically, the concept of an area's "wealth" has been measured in quantitative terms such as the number of jobs, level of income, and the amount of products and services produced. However, non-quantitative factors have been increasingly important in the choices of where people decide to live. These qualitative factors can include such things as: beautiful scenic views, peace, and being able to see wild animals in their natural habitat. And although things such as air and water can be measured by environmental scales (e.g. how breathable the air is and how clean the water is), they essentially have no price because they are not traded in a public market place. Thus, they are both considered to be qualitative measures as well (Rasker and Glick, 1994). The ideological concept of the "fence" discussed previously can be applied in this case as well. Whereas people once considered wealth in only monetary terms (thus being outside of the fence), more and more people are crossing to the inside of the fence, where wealth is a combination of many things, most importantly one's own welfare.

When people decide to move to rural areas, they are mostly looking for beautiful scenery, opportunities for outdoor recreation, a high-quality environment, and a relaxed pace of life. Research by several authors has shown that people are willing to give up some financial gain in exchange for the higher level of natural amenities that rural areas have to offer (Rasker and Glick, 1994). The increasing role that amenities are playing in population shift patterns in America's rural west will be discussed in further detail later on in this paper.

### b. Natural amenities in the United States

Over the past 30 years natural amenities such as a warm and sunny climate, varied topography[5], and abundance of water area. have been shown to play an important role in the trends seen in rural county population change throughout the United States. As part of a study on rural job growth, David McGranahan of the Economic Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) derived a natural amenities index in an attempt to explain that relationship. The index included a weighted average of six different environmental qualities that people tend to prefer, those being 1) a warm winter, 2) amount of winter sun, 3) a temperate summer, 4) low summer humidity, 5) topographic variation. and 6) amount of water area.

In the study, the author showed that the average population change in nonmetropolitan counties in the 1970-1996 period was only 1 percent among counties low on the natural amenities index (with over half of those actually losing population) and an astounding 120 percent among counties high on the index[6]. Furthermore, natural amenities were also shown to have an impact on employment change in rural counties. While the variance across counties was more varied than that for population change, it was found that natural amenities were highly related to the relatively little growth in new jobs seen in counties low on the amenities scale and the high growth in new jobs seen in counties high on the scale. In fact, high amenity counties had three times as many new jobs on average in 1996 as compared to the base year of 1970 (McGranahan, 1999)

As for what kind of new jobs are being created in these high amenity non-metropolitan counties, the answer is undoubtedly jobs in the services and professional industry (Table 1). The overall rural West average of the percentage of new jobs created in the services and professional industry from 1970 to 2000 was an overwhelming 68.2 percent, with several states exceeding 70 percent. Unfortunately, both the mining and the farm and agricultural services industry did not fair as well. Both industries experienced a prolonged period of stagnation, with many states actually experiencing negative new job growth in one or both industries. The importance of the services industry to the growth of jobs in the rural West cannot be understated. This phenomenal growth trend is expected to continue in the future

Table 1. Percentage of new jobs in selected industries as a percentage of total new jobs created in non-metropolitan areas in the rural West U.S.A. from 1970 to 2000

| | Services and Professional | Government | Construction | Manufacturing | Farm and agricultural | Mining |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arizona | 70.5 | 16.9 | 6.9 | 2.5 | 2.6 | 0.9 |
| California | 65.2 | 15.9 | 8.1 | 1.6 | 7.1 | n/a |
| Colorado | 70.1 | 12.1 | 13.3 | 2.9 | 1.9 | n/a |
| Idaho | 68.9 | 12.2 | 9.2 | 4.6 | 4.7 | n/a |
| Montana | 76.5 | 12.0 | 8.2 | 2.9 | n/a | n/a |
| Nevada | 62.3 | 13.1 | 7.1 | 7.7 | 2.2 | 5.0 |
| New Mexico | 71.4 | 13.4 | 7.2 | 2.0 | 2.7 | n/a |
| Oregon | 72.3 | 10.9 | 8.1 | 2.3 | 4.4 | 0.1 |
| Utah | 68.6 | 9.4 | 8.7 | 10.8 | 1.3 | 0.2 |
| Washington | 66.1 | 14.9 | 6.7 | 2.9 | 5.3 | 0.9 |
| Wyoming | 58.2 | 16.0 | 9.4 | 3.9 | n/a | 5.0 |
| Average | 68.2 | 13.3 | 8.4 | 4.0 | 3.6 | 2.0 |

Source: The Changing Economy of the West (Sonoran Institute)

Note 1: "n/a" represents negative employment growth, in other words no applicable postive growth.

Note 2: The percentage total of the 6 industries does not equal 100% due to negative growth in some industries in some states, as well as rounding off.

as well.

Counties high in natural amenities and with high population growth rates are mostly located in the Pacific West and Southwestern parts of the United States. In these areas, the climate is mild, the topography is quite varied (having a generous mix of plains, hills, and mountains), and lakes and/or the ocean are easily accessible. In stark contrast to this, most rural counties in the Midwest region of the United States lack these natural amenities, and this has been one of the factors that has led to substantial declines in population in many counties in that region in recent decades.

Natural amenities are also highly related to a county's popularity for retirement and recreation. This is especially true in the case of retirement counties, where 75 percent fall within the top quartile of the natural amenities index. Rural counties that specialize in recreation or attracting retirees have considerably higher population growth rates than other rural counties, and natural amenities have played a major role in the development of these areas. And although Mother Nature dictates how many or how few natural amenities an area has, the attractiveness of an area is also influenced by other amenities, such as cultural and man-made ones. These can range from carefully managed landscapes to ancient historical monuments and living cultural traditions (OECD, 1999).

No where is this point more evident than in the Mountain West region of the United States, where although winters are severely cold, amenities such as grasslands, mountains, and even the existence of dude ranches has made these areas very attractive to amenity movers. The fastest growing counties in the United States are not necessarily just those that have warm, moderate climates, as is often believed. Conversely, in order for rural counties that are experiencing a population growth slowdown or an actual population decrease to rebound, they must consider how to best "cultivate" the rural amenities they currently have, as well as devise new ways to attract people to their area through the development of these resources.

## 4. Recent population shift patterns in America's rural West

### a. General population trends in the United States, 1970-2000

Population growth rates in nonmetropolitan areas of the United States have been on the rebound since the 1970s, although a temporary slowdown in the pace of that growth was seen in the 1980s. Most of the population growth came from net migration rather than from the natural increase (number of births minus the number of deaths) that has traditionally fueled population growth in nonmetropolitan areas in the past (Figure 2). It is clear that more and more people are gradually moving from densely settled places into more lightly settled ones. This is mainly due to the fact that constant and ever-changing advances in technology have helped diminish the once burdensome "distance factor," as well as the new attitudes people have toward work.

Between 1930 and 1970, over 17 million people moved out of rural areas. Considering these staggering losses of human capital, the populations of these areas were sustained only by natural increase, which was especially high during the beginning of the Baby Boomer Era in the 1950s. But then suddenly in the 1970s, a turnaround occurred as nonmetropolitan areas gained 8.4 million people,

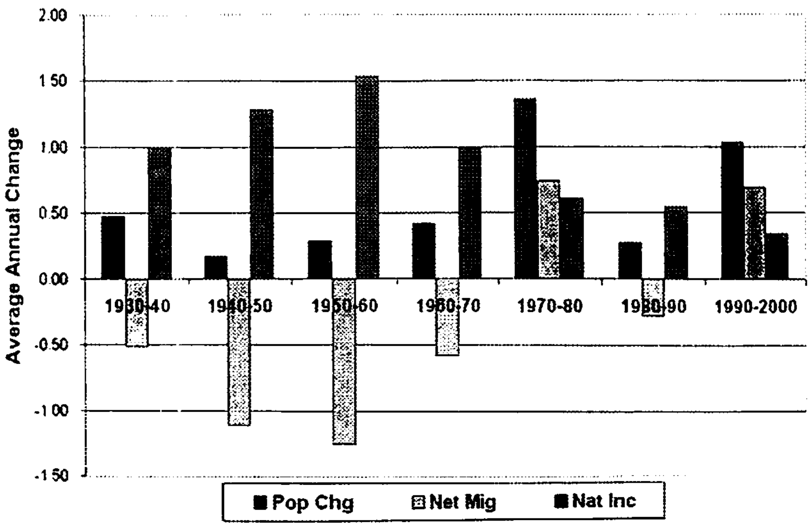



**Figure 2. Nonmetro Demographic Change, 1930 to 2000**
Source: Johnson, Kenneth M. 1999. "The Rural Rebound,"
*Population Reference Bureau Reports of America*. Vol.1, No.3, p.3.

an average increase of 1.42 percent per year. In fact, more than 80 percent of rural counties gained population during this decade (Johnson, 1999). What is most astounding, however, is that net migration suddenly increased after many decades of losses. This turnaround was brought about due to a complex set of economic, social, and geographic forces. Along with new communications technology and employment opportunities, and the spillover of population from metropolitan areas, rural areas with natural amenities became quite attractive to retirees and others with high mobility.

In the 1980s, however, the rural rebound stalled as only 1,040 of 2,303 (approximately 45 percent) rural counties gained population. And most of those increases were due to natural increase, not from net migration. The overall annual population growth rate in rural areas slowed to an almost non-existent 0.25 percent per year. The population growth slowdown seen in the 1980s was mainly caused by economic disruptions, such as the farm debt crisis[7] and the deindustrialization of rural manufacturing due to a structural shift change in the type of industries that were prosperous in rural areas. Part of the population growth slowdown in rural areas can also be attributed to a temporary shift in the attitudes people held toward living in the city versus the countryside.

In the 1990s, the population growth rate in rural areas once again rebounded to almost the same historic levels observed in the 1970s, to an annual average of just over 1 percent. And if one were to consider only the net migration increases for the two decades (Figure 2), they would see that the population gains were essentially the same because the rate of natural increase was much higher in the 1970s than in the 1990s. Overall, approximately 74 percent of rural counties gained population during the 1990s, and even more importantly, the geographic breadth of the rebound was widespread. The only noticeable losses occurred in farming and mining dependent counties in the Great Plains and the

Mississippi Delta, with this trend being more predominant in the latter 1990s (Cromartie, 2003 and Johnson, 1999). The non-metropolitan counties with the highest growth rates were those considered to be retirement, recreational, and commuting counties.

### b. The role of lifestyle entrepreneurs and amenity movers

Opinion polls have long shown that a substantial proportion of Americans would prefer to live in rural areas. The attraction of rural areas lies not only in being able to get away from the stress and hazards (e.g. crime, pollution) of city life, but also in being able to live in a place where people know each other and at the same time be in closer touch with nature. Up until recently, the mass exodus of people from rural areas to the cities was more often out of economic necessity than choice.

As mentioned previously, technological innovation was one of the main factors behind the extraordinary population growth rates seen in rural areas in the 1970s. However, the influence that technological advances in communications and transportation have had on rural areas was not limited solely to the 1970s. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, as well as now in the 21st century, technology has played an important part in the daily lives of all Americans. It has contributed to the deconcentration of people from cities to rural areas by giving people, and even to a greater degree businesses, more flexibility in where to locate.

As more and more businesses locate in rural areas to take advantage of lower labor and land costs, as well as the absence of traffic congestion, more jobs are being created for people to fill in these areas. And when lifestyle entrepreneurs choose new places to start businesses, the most popular rural counties appear to be those that are near metropolitan areas, mainly because they are seen as a good compromise between rural and urban life: "Counties adjacent to urban areas are close enough to give people access to urban labor markets, amenities, and services, yet distant enough so that people can also enjoy the advantages of rural life." (Johnson, 1999)

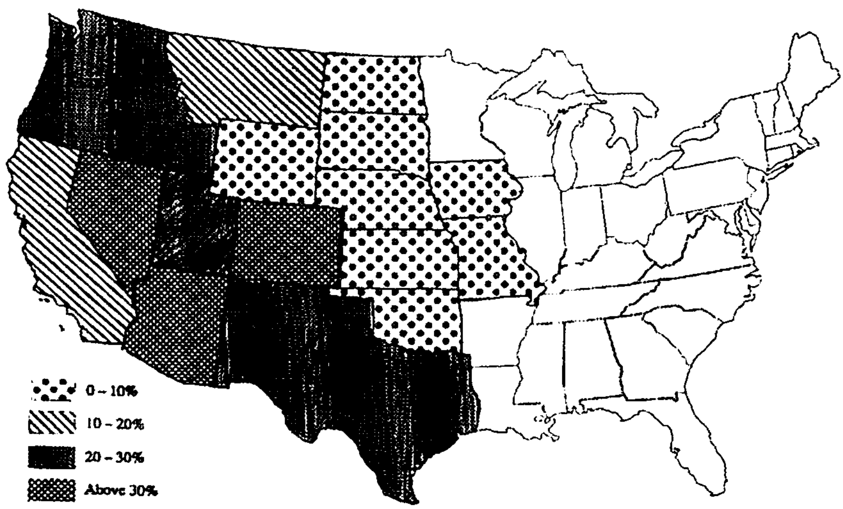
One particular area that has drawn a lot of attention since the early 1990s is the rural West. As one of the fastest growing regions of the United States, the rural West has an abundance of natural amenities (reference section 3b), as well as a comparably high environmental quality level and a more laid-back pace of life. As evidence to the region's high growth, between 1990 and 1995 approximately two-thirds of all non-metropolitan counties in the West grew at or above the national average of approximately one percent. One specific example is that of rural counties with high concentrations of nontraditional income in the Northwest, most of which have enjoyed high levels of population and economic expansion since the early 1990s. And most of these counties are located in coastal and mountainous areas that have been noted for their high level of natural amenities (Nelson, 2000).

If one were to look at a more overall picture of population trends across the 50 U.S. states from the 1990-2000 period (Figure 3 and Table 2), they would notice that compared to the national state average of a 13.84% population increase, both the Pacific West regional average of 18.43% and the Mountain West regional average of 29.60% heftily exceeded that figure, with the latter experiencing over twice the population growth seen at the national level. In addition, all of the top 5 fastest growing states in the

1990-2000 period were located in the Mountain West region. In fact, none of the Pacific West states and only two states in the Mountain West region were below the national population growth average, those being Montana and Wyoming.

In the case of Montana, its population growth for the 1990s was at 12.91%, just slightly below the national average and due primarily to the fact that the western parts of the state experienced hefty gains while the central and especially the eastern parts of the state experienced very little or even negative growth. As for Wyoming (the least populated U.S. state with less than half a million residents as of 2000), it is considered to be one of the least attractive of the eight Mountain West states for living and working, so therefore its relatively low 8.86% population growth rate is not surprising. On the other end of the spectrum, Nevada with an amazing 66.27% had the highest population growth rate in the 1990s of all 50 U.S. states, far outpacing its closest rival and fellow Mountain West state Arizona, which itself experienced an remarkable population growth of 39.98%.

Also remarkable in Figure 3 is the population trend found in the Great Plains region, which accentuates the problem of out-migration that states in the region have been experiencing since the end of World War II. All of the states in the region had less than 10% population growth during the 1990s, with the exception of Texas, which although geographically is part of the Great Plains region, has an atmosphere and industrial structure much different than the other states in the region, as well as a higher level of natural amenities. In contrast to this, North Dakota scores very low on the natural amenities scale and this is seen as one of the factors behind its dismal population growth of only 0.53% during the 1990s (lowest of all 50 states).




Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 3. State population percentage increases 1990-2000
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

## Table 2. U.S. Population figures

| State | 1990 | 1995* | 2000 | 90-95 % change | 95-00 % change | 90-00 % change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 4,040,587 | 4,253,000 | 4,447,100 | 5.26% | 4.56% | 10.06% |
| Alaska | 550,043 | 604,000 | 626,932 | 9.81% | 3.80% | 13.98% |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Arkansas | 2,350,725 | 2,484,000 | 2,673,400 | 5.67% | 7.62% | 13.73% |
| California | 29,760,021 | 31,589,000 | 33,871,648 | 6.15% | 7.23% | 13.82% |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Connecticut | 3,287,116 | 3,275,000 | 3,405,565 | -0.37% | 3.99% | 3.60% |
| Delaware | 666,168 | 717,000 | 783,600 | 7.63% | 9.29% | 17.63% |
| Florida | 12,937,926 | 14,166,000 | 15,982,378 | 9.49% | 12.82% | 23.53% |
| Georgia | 6,478,216 | 7,201,000 | 8,186,453 | 11.16% | 13.68% | 26.37% |
| Hawaii | 1,108,229 | 1,187,000 | 1,211,537 | 7.11% | 2.07% | 9.32% |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Illinois | 11,430,602 | 11,830,000 | 12,419,293 | 3.49% | 4.98% | 8.65% |
| Indiana | 5,544,159 | 5,803,000 | 6,080,485 | 4.67% | 4.78% | 9.67% |
| Iowa | 2,776,755 | 2,842,000 | 2,926,324 | 2.35% | 2.97% | 5.39% |
| Kansas | 2,477,574 | 2,565,000 | 2,688,418 | 3.53% | 4.81% | 8.51% |
| Kentucky | 3,685,296 | 3,860,000 | 4,041,769 | 4.74% | 4.71% | 9.67% |
| Louisana | 4,219,973 | 4,342,000 | 4,468,976 | 2.89% | 2.92% | 5.90% |
| Maine | 1,227,928 | 1,241,000 | 1,274,923 | 1.06% | 2.73% | 3.83% |
| Maryland | 4,781,468 | 5,042,000 | 5,296,486 | 5.45% | 5.05% | 10.77% |
| Massachusetts | 6,016,425 | 6,074,000 | 6,349,097 | 0.96% | 4.53% | 5.53% |
| Michigan | 9,295,297 | 9,549,000 | 9,938,444 | 2.73% | 4.08% | 6.92% |
| Minnesota | 4,375,099 | 4,610,000 | 4,919,479 | 5.37% | 6.71% | 12.44% |
| Mississippi | 2,573,216 | 2,697,000 | 2,844,658 | 4.81% | 5.47% | 10.55% |
| Missouri | 5,117,073 | 5,324,000 | 5,595,211 | 4.04% | 5.09% | 9.34% |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Nebraska | 1,578,385 | 1,637,000 | 1,711,263 | 3.71% | 4.54% | 8.42% |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| New Hampshire | 1,109,252 | 1,148,000 | 1,235,786 | 3.49% | 7.65% | 11.41% |
| New Jersey | 7,730,188 | 7,945,000 | 8,414,350 | 2.78% | 5.91% | 8.85% |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| New York | 17,990,455 | 18,136,000 | 18,976,457 | 0.81% | 4.63% | 5.48% |
| North Carolina | 6,628,637 | 7,195,000 | 8,049,313 | 8.54% | 11.87% | 21.43% |
| North Dakota | 638,800 | 641,000 | 642,200 | 0.34% | 0.19% | 0.53% |
| Ohio | 10,847,115 | 11,151,000 | 11,353,140 | 2.80% | 1.81% | 4.67% |
| Oklahoma | 3,145,585 | 3,278,000 | 3,450,654 | 4.21% | 5.27% | 9.70% |
| Oregon | 2,842,321 | 3,141,000 | 3,421,399 | 10.51% | 8.93% | 20.37% |
| Pennsylvania | 11,881,643 | 12,072,000 | 12,281,054 | 1.60% | 1.73% | 3.36% |
| Rhode Island | 1,003,464 | 990,000 | 1,048,319 | -1.34% | 5.89% | 4.47% |
| South Carolina | 3,486,703 | 3,673,000 | 4,012,012 | 5.34% | 9.23% | 15.07% |
| South Dakota | 696,004 | 729,000 | 754,844 | 4.74% | 3.55% | 8.45% |
| Tennessee | 4,877,185 | 5,256,000 | 5,689,283 | 7.77% | 8.24% | 16.65% |
| Texas | 16,986,510 | 18,724,000 | 20,851,820 | 10.23% | 11.36% | 22.76% |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Vermont | 562,758 | 585,000 | 608,827 | 3.95% | 4.07% | 8.19% |
| Virginia | 6,187,358 | 6,618,000 | 7,078,515 | 6.96% | 6.96% | 14.40% |
| Washington | 4,866,692 | 5,431,000 | 5,894,121 | 11.60% | 8.53% | 21.11% |
| West Virginia | 1,793,477 | 1,828,000 | 1,808,344 | 1.92% | -1.08% | 0.83% |
| Wisconsin | 4,891,769 | 5,123,000 | 5,363,675 | 4.73% | 4.70% | 9.65% |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Totals | 248,104,963 | 262,200,000 | 280,849,847 | 5.68% | 7.11% | 13.20% |

* estimate/projection

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 50-state average % change | 6.27% | 6.90% | 13.84% |
| Pacific West average % change | 9.42% | 8.23% | 18.43% |
| Mountain West average % change | 13.85% | 13.41% | 29.60% |
| All others average % change | 4.47% | 5.47% | 10.25% |

KEY

Pacific West state

Mountain West state

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

The major causes of high rates of population growth in the rural West since the 1970s have been well documented. Up until the 1970s, one of the major assumptions of migration theory was that people were assumed to move because they wanted to increase or maximize their income. However, it has been shown that at least in the case of high-amenity rural counties in the West, non-economic factors have played an important role in the decisions people make when deciding where to migrate to. When asked what single factor was the most important in their moving decision, only 23 percent of respondents to a survey conducted in the late 1980s cited employment opportunities, whereas 77 percent cited amenity-related reasons (42 percent relating to the social environment and 35 percent to the physical environment) (Rudzitis, 2000).

The migration theory assumption that people who migrate to high-amenity counties are predominantly retirees has also been somewhat negated by recent studies. One in particular showed that only 10 percent of new migrants to the rural West were retirees (usually defined as 65 years of age or older), whereas typical migrants were more likely to be young, highly educated professionals (Rudzitis, 2000). Although rural areas have long been stereotyped as not being able to attract entrepreneurs or provide new jobs, this has not been the case in recent years as more and more people, including lifestyle entrepreneurs, are attracted to the distinctiveness and appeal of small-town living. And while traditional industries in the rural West (e.g. mining, farming, and forestry) have been stagnating in recent years, other sources of nontraditional income such as investments (e.g. dividends, interest, rental income), transfer payments and self-employment income are becoming increasingly vital to non-metropolitan counties in the region. As evidence of this, the ratio of combined farm income and earnings from wages and salaries to total personal income in the rural Northwest has dropped from roughly two-thirds in 1970 to approximately half in 1994 (Nelson, 1997).

Knowing the sources of income of new residents (migrants) in the rural West is useful because it helps to partly explain why the region is growing despite the fact that employment levels in the region's traditional industries continue to either stagnate or even in some cases decline. While those already residing in the rural West tend to have a higher dependence on earned income and income from farming sources, migrants (newcomers) to the rural West do not rely on these sources as much and therefore are choosing to relocate to these areas more often for amenity-related reasons, instead of job-related ones.

One more thing worth noting regarding amenity-movers in the rural West is that although population gains in these areas have long been led primarily by high-amenity settings accessible to metropolitan areas (which are mainly located near the Pacific Ocean), the highest net migration in the 1991-1997 period was observed in the second-highest amenity quartile of counties (which are mainly located in the rural West's interior). This has mainly occurred due to soaring real estate and land prices in many of the most well-known areas with the highest natural amenities in the rural West (Cromartie and Wardwell, 2000). This indicates that people have been broadening their search for alternatives that are less expensive yet still have an above average level of amenities.

### c. Implications for agriculture[6]

The population gains being observed in the rural West since the 1970s have been part of a nationwide rural "rebound," not a rural "reversal." It is thought of as a rebound because rural areas are experiencing large population increases again after having experienced almost non-existent population growth in the 1930-1970 time period (with some rural counties actually experiencing staggering net migration losses). It is certainly not a rural reversal because Americans are not reversing back to a pioneer life of farming (Johnson, 1999). As more and more people continue to migrate to rural areas in the West, this situation has been having broad implications for agricultural counties in the region, especially in the Rocky Mountain West where the agriculture industry predominates most rural counties.

The U.S. farm population peaked just before the Great Depression and decreased sharply after World War II, mainly because the amount of income generated by agriculture was quite low. Presently, only about 0.5 percent of the United States' total income is farm-related. Furthermore, the number of people in farming jobs has decreased substantially since the 1950s, now comprising only about 1.5 percent of the total work force. In fact, only 0.3 percent of the entire U.S. population and 1.78 percent of the U.S. rural population is engaged in farming as a primary occupation. Over 90 percent of rural workers have non-farm jobs, and farming accounts for only 7.6 percent of rural employment.

As these statistics imply, present-day rural areas are much more than just farming areas. It is precisely for this reason that the future of agriculture-dominant rural areas depends on the development of the non-farm economy. The recent population stagnation, and in some cases actual declines, seen in many areas of the Great Plains (Midwest) has been seen as caused by a lack of economic non-diversification, in other words a dependence on farming. Whereas the Great Plains region has very little landscape diversity, the Mountain West region has many different types of land, not just farmland. This fact draws in new non-agricultural residents because they believe they can have a higher standard of life in areas with less congestion, less crime, and shorter commute times.

Although many fear that the considerable population increases seen in many areas in the rural West will threaten agriculture, this will not likely be the case because most people in these areas rely on non-farm income to live, as explained previously. Rather, these areas can be revitalized by the new stream of migrants and the new sources of income that they bring with them. However, the scenic beauty of lands used for agriculture is one of the points that attracts people to these areas in the first place, so these areas need to be successfully managed and controlled in order to protect their amenity value.

## 5. Conclusions

Rural areas in America are facing both the best and worst of times right now. Although a strong economic rebound in rural areas was seen in the 1970s and 1990s, the gains were not widely shared. The areas that succeeded in drawing in a large number of new residents were primarily either emerging hubs of rural commerce, were located next to major cities and thus being "suburbanized," or had a high amount of natural and scenic amenities. The biggest population gains were observed in rural areas that benefit from market access and had a remarkably high level of amenities. This paper has focused on two new types of migrants that have emerged in recent years, namely lifestyle entrepreneurs and amenity movers. The choices of where to live being made by these two groups of people have been having a significant impact on the populations of the areas they move into, which have been predominantly rural ones.

For non-metropolitan areas to continue the population "rebound" that has been observed since the 1970s, several important issues need to be considered. First of all, according to Mark Drabenstott, the Vice President and Director of the Center for the Study of Rural America, there are several challenges that are unique to rural areas that need to be addressed. Some of those being, in no particular order, 1) closing the "digital divide" in order help rural areas compete with urban areas in the high-tech race, 2) encouraging rural entrepreneurs, especially newly migrated lifestyle entrepreneurs, in order to provide an economic boost to rural areas, and 3) sustaining the environment and amenities in rural areas in order to attract and retain those who choose a rural lifestyle (Drabenstott, 1999). Related to the first point, it is especially important for rural areas to improve their communications and information-delivery infrastructure to become and stay competitive in a global service-based economy. Since the natural increase rate (births minus deaths) in rural areas has been steadily declining since the 1950s[9], it has become even more essential for rural areas to attract new residents in order to prosper.

Another important issue for further discussion is the negative impacts that too rapid of population growth can have on rural areas. If a particular rural area experiences very high population growth due to its high natural amenities, for instance, that can cause the area to become overdeveloped at too fast a pace. This in turn can lead to the destruction of scenic landscapes and other positive aspects that have been leading people to migrate there in the first place. So in order to protect the things that attract people to these rural areas, it is important for local governments to have successful management and control of the land. This can be accomplished through direct zoning limits, land-use measures that limit urban sprawl and the direct buying of lands by the government or a non-profit organization (NPO) in order to keep them from being overdeveloped.

As has been stressed many times throughout this paper already, the success of attracting a large number of new residents to many rural areas with high amenities has been achieved through enhancing the quality of life in those areas. This in itself can be a viable alternative economic development strategy. Through the coordinated efforts of local-area governments and the people who live in these areas, rural areas can make full use of the amenities they have and develop comprehensive strategies to attract new residents that appreciate what rural areas have to offer, especially lifestyle entrepreneurs and amenity movers. If these development strategies are successful, the result will be to help the populations of rural areas to continue to rebound and thrive well into the 21st century.

## Endnotes

1) As used by the U.S. Census Bureau and designated and defined by the Federal Office of Management & Budget (OMB) following a set of official standards published in a Federal Register Notice, a metropolitan area is based on the concept of a core area with a large population nucleus, plus adjacent

communities having a high degree of economic and social integration with that core. It requires the presence of a city with 50,000 or more inhabitants or the presence of an urbanized area (UA) and a total population of at least 100,000 (or 75,000 in the New England states). An urbanized area is defined as having a population density of at least 1,000 per square mile and a residential population of at least 50,000. In the literature on population redistribution trends, the terms "rural" and "non-metropolitan" are used interchangeably. Furthermore, when researchers use the term non-metropolitan (rural), they are speaking of entire counties.

Urban is territory in urbanized areas and in places of more than 2,500 people outside of urbanized areas. "Urban" classification cuts across other hierarchies and can be in metropolitan or non-metropolitan areas. In addition, urban classifications are based on sub-county geographic units, usually places (towns and cities).

2 ) A recent market research survey completed in 2001 by Warrillow & Company concluded that 90 percent of the approximately 20 million U.S. small businesses were started by a desire for independence or a desire to do a particular job well, not for the money.

3 ) It should be noted here that lifestyle entrepreneurs are not averse to making money. In fact, many are quite financially successful. It is lack of focus on money when starting their businesses that separates lifestyle entrepreneurs from typical entrepreneurs.

4 ) Tourists who demand more "environmentally sound" holidays are often known as "critical consumer" tourists, while those who "want to experience something different and new, travel independently, see and enjoy but not destroy, are adventurous and educated" are labeled as "new hybrid" tourists. (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2000)

5 ) Topography is defined as the shape of an area of land, including its hills, valleys, etc.

6 ) Amongst the six variables used in the study, temperate summer had the highest correlated coefficient to population change over the 1970-1996 time period, whereas winter sun had the lowest correlated coefficient.

7 ) The farm debt crisis was a drama that forced thousands of United States farmers into insolvency and bankruptcy, drove down land values by one-third nationally, and inflicted the greatest economic damage on rural communities since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

8 ) Unless otherwise noted, facts and figures from this section are from Thomas M. Power's presentation given at the Aso International Grassland Symposium on March 15, 2002.

9 ) In the 1950s, the natural increase rate was approximately 1.5 percent annually on average. By the 1990s, that rate dropped to approximately an average of 0.3 percent annually.

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# ライフスタイル起業家およびアメニティ・ムーヴァの出現とアメリカ合衆国西部ルーラル地域における人口動向への影響

ジョシュ・ノーマン

アメリカ合衆国では、1970年代と90年代に非大都市地域での人口回復傾向が見られた。しかし、ルーラル地域における人口の回復は、どの地域でも一様にみられたわけではなく、質の高いアメニティや市場アクセスに有利なところであった。

ルーラルウエスト地域においても、この時期、人口は全般的に増加傾向にあったが、これにはW.Wetzelのいう、新しいタイプの移住者、すなわちライフスタイル起業家やアメニティ・ムーヴァと称される人達の動向が深く関わっていたといわれる。

本研究は、近年のアメリカにおける農村研究でも注目されている新たなライフスタイルや価値観をもった移住者の出現が、ルーラルウエストの人口回復に好ましい影響を与えていることに注目し、おもにこれまでの研究の成果をもとに、1）新しいタイプのライフスタイル起業家やアメニティ・ムーヴァとはどのような人達か、その性格や特徴について述べ、2）続いて、アメリカ合衆国のルーラルウエストにおける人口動向と新たな移住者の役割や、3）未来の農村における産業の多様化の必要性について述べたものである。

なお、ライフスタイル起業家とは、近年、次第に台頭しつつある新しいタイプの起業家でお金のためでなく、よりよいライフスタイル（生活）を送るために働く人たちのことで、アメニティ・ムーヴァとは、質の高いアメニティを求めて引っ越しをする人たちのことである。