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INDUSTRIALIZATION AND PATTERNS
OF DOMINANCE: IS NONMETROPOLITAN
AMERICA A COLONY?**



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NONMETROPOLITAN INDUSTRIALIZATION AND PATTERNS OF DOMINANCE:
IS NONMETROPOLITAN AMERICA A COLONY?¹

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Nonmetropolitan Industrialization and Patterns of Dominance
Is Nonmetropolitan America a Colony?

Patterns of growth and decline in rural America represent a focus of sociological investigation which has received considerable attention over a number of decades. This area of inquiry has received renewed interest as a result of recent shifts of industry as well as population away from urban centers and toward nonmetropolitan areas. Nonmetropolitan economic growth, long a major policy goal at both national and local levels (Rosenblatt, 1974; Summers, et al., 1976; Wallace, 1969; Vlasin, 1969), has emerged within the past decade as a reversal of long-term trends of metropolitan concentration. Nonmetropolitan America, previously faced with a self-perpetuating downward spiral of economic stagnation and population decline (Brinkman, 1974), has experienced a turnaround such that both population and manufacturing growth rates now exceed those of metropolitan areas (Beale, 1975; Haren, 1974; Humphrey, et al., 1977). Between 1960 and 1970 metropolitan manufacturing employment grew by only 4 percent, as opposed to a 22 percent growth rate in nonmetropolitan areas (Summers, et al., 1976); this trend has continued into the decade of the 1970's (Council on Environmental Quality, 1976).

As a consequence of these changes, social scientific interest in the effects of nonmetropolitan industrial developments and in the relations between nonmetropolitan locales and metropolitan centers of government, industry and finance has increased considerably. Social scientists have increasingly been referring to the 'invasion' of nonmetropolitan areas in the United States, usually referring to the invasion or influx of industry and/or people. (See Summers, et al., 1976; Beale, 1974; Morrison and Wheeler, 1976). The quantity of empirical studies in this area has mushroomed in recent years, adding to a long tradition of rural industrialization research (cf. Black, et al., 1960; Andrews and Bauder, 1968; Whiting, 1974). However, theoretical development has not kept pace with the empirical evidence.

Several years ago, an extensive literature search concluded that there was no theory to explain the industrial invasion of nonmetropolitan America. Summers, et al. (1976) suggested that neither the classic industrialization perspectives of Marx, Weber, etc. nor the perspective offered by the modernization theorists was suitable. While providing no resolution of this problem, they suggest that the industrial invasion of nonmetropolitan areas represents a third type of industrialization and that some new theoretical perspective was necessary. Such a new theoretical perspective would assist social scientists in examining and explaining the causes and effects of both the industrial and population invasion of nonmetropolitan areas.

One promising theoretical avenue which has received increased attention is to look at the rural industrialization process in terms of power relations which may exist between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan sectors of society, utilizing theories of dominance. The most promising of these investigations seem to use theories under the various title of metropolitan dominance (Gras, 1922a,b; McKenzie, 1933; Bogue, 1949; DeFleur and Crosby, 1956; Vance and Smith, 1957; Goldsmith and Copp, 1964; Kruegel, 1971), neo-colonialism (Baran, 1957; Frank, 1966, 1967, 1969; Jorgensen, 1971, 1972,

