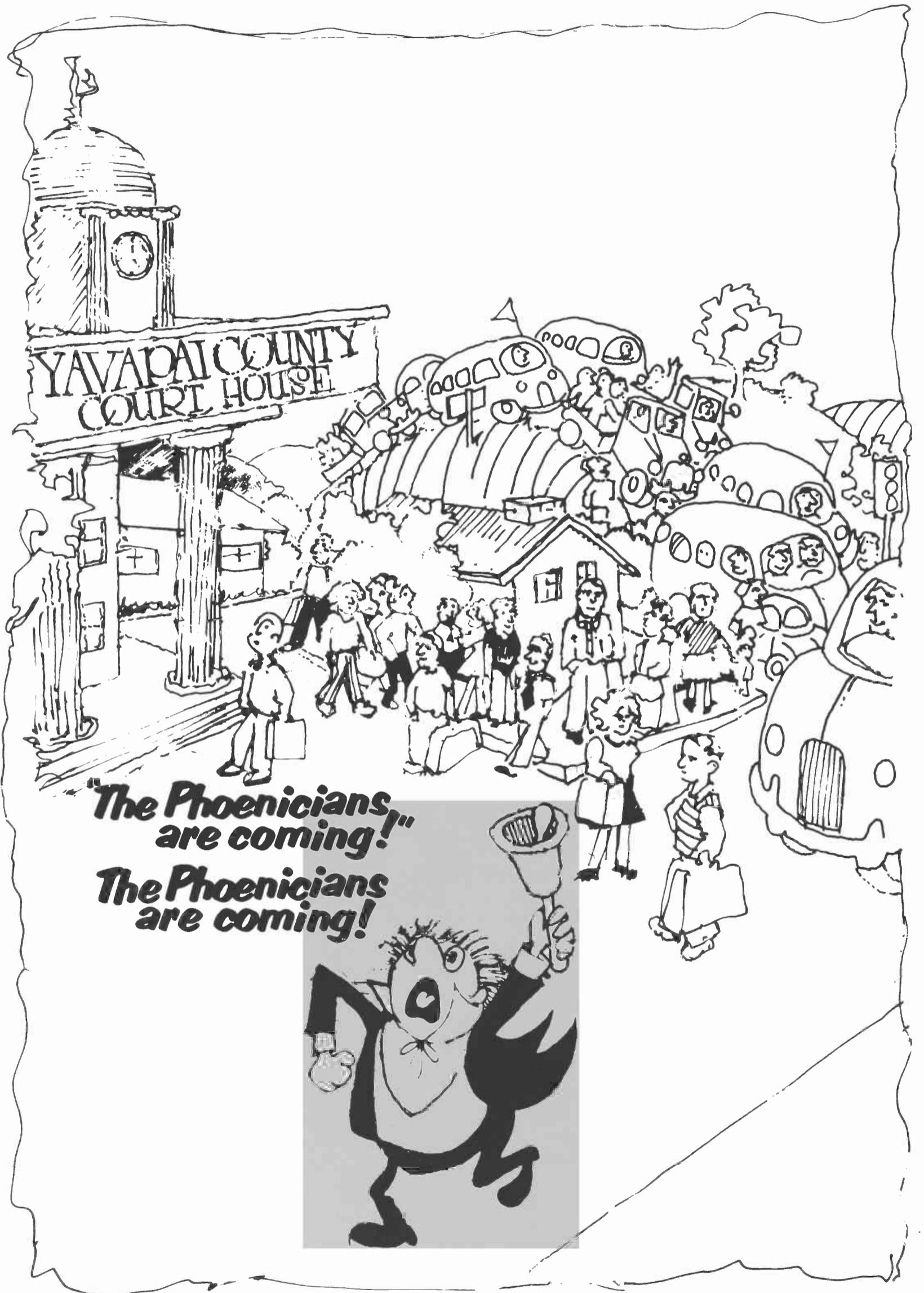


# THE DAY THEY INVADED PRESCOTT...



***"The Phoenicians  
are coming!"***

***The Phoenicians  
are coming!***



# ... OR, WHERE IN ARIZONA WOULD YOU LIKE TO LIVE IF YOU COULD LIVE ANYWHERE YOU WANTED?

by Edwin H. Carpenter\*

Imagine the expressions on the faces of the members of the Prescott City Council when their mayor tells them, in a hastily called afternoon meeting, that their town of 16,000 will be invaded the next morning.

"Gentlemen," he begins, "we have positive information that approximately 12,000 people, mostly from Phoenix and Tucson, will move here tomorrow, bag and baggage. Our best estimate is that the first moving vans and buses will begin arriving at the courthouse about 7:30 a.m. Somehow we are going to have to find them all homes, jobs, and places for their children in our schools. I don't know how we'll manage this and I'm open to suggestions."

That precise situation could happen if all the people who would like to leave Phoenix and Tucson and head for smaller towns, awoke one morning and decided to get out. Because, from a statewide survey of heads of household, we find that there are 243,000 people throughout Arizona who'd like to move somewhere else, and about 181,000 of those are in Phoenix and Tucson.

Most of them, if they had their way, would live in smaller communities. The fictional scene in Prescott is based on the fact that there are about 62,000 people in the state, mostly from Tucson and Phoenix, who'd like to live in a community of between 10,000 and 49,999 and there are six communities of this size in the state.\*\* Predicting that 12,000 of them would choose Prescott doesn't seem too remote. The town is highly attractive, does draw people from Tucson and Phoenix and boomed from 13,000 in 1970 to nearly 17,000 this year.

## SMALL TOWN SATISFACTION

What we find in Arizona is that people in communities of 35,000 or less are far more likely to prefer size of the communities they live in than are residents of much larger towns. Approximately 84 percent of those who live in smaller communities said they would

prefer to live in communities 50,000 or less (see Table 1).

In the only city that could be designated a medium metropolitan community (150,000 to 499,999), Tucson, about 25 percent of the people said they most preferred living in a community of that size or larger, while 75 percent wanted to live in a smaller one. And in the greater Phoenix area, the only large metropolitan city in the state (over 500,000), only 4.7 percent prefer living in a community that size, while 95.3 percent would like living in someplace smaller.

In addition to finding out what size community our survey respondents would most like to live in, we also asked them how satisfied they were in the community in which they lived and also whether they would consider moving. The idea here being that if a person loathes where he lives and very much wants to move elsewhere, he would be a more likely candidate to make a move than either the person who both likes his community and wouldn't consider a move or the person who perhaps likes his community but might consider moving.

We found that about 14 percent of all Arizonans are actively dissatisfied with where they live and would definitely move if they could. That's where the figure 243,000 came from.

Our survey was based on a random sample of heads of households throughout Arizona and we obtained 1,416 responses, comprising better than 70 percent of the total original sample. The idea was to find out what sort of migration potential exists in Arizona, and to compare this with trends in the rest of the nation.

## ARIZONA NOT TYPICAL

To begin with, we find that Arizona, unlike the balance of the country, is not experiencing what, for want of a better term, might be called "outflux." This is a relatively new phenomenon. For decades Americans have been making ghost towns of rural communities, pouring into the large cities and making them metropolises and, finally, megalopolises of tens of millions. But, since 1970 this flow has switched, with outlying counties receiving more migrants than the counties with urban population centers of more than 50,000. For example, between March of 1970 and

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\*\*All data based on 1970 U.S. Census.

March of 1974, some 5,965,000 persons over the age of four years moved out of the urban areas of the United States and 4,121,000 moved into them, with a net migration loss to the metropolitan areas of 1,844,000. In part this can be laid to the spread of suburbs, because the greatest growth occurred in non-metropolitan counties directly adjacent to urbanized neighbors. (Examples can be found in Du Page County, Illinois, directly adjacent to Cook County and Chicago, and in San Bernardino County, California, directly adjacent to Los Angeles County.) While the metropolitan areas grew by 2.9 percent between 1970 and 1973, outlying counties directly adjacent to metropolitan centers grew by 4.7 percent and counties not directly adjacent increased by 3.7 percent. This shows that the growth rate is higher than it is in metropolitan areas even among counties at least once removed from their city cousins.

### **BIG CITIES BOOM**

However, this turnaround in growth rate and structure doesn't show up in Arizona, now and for the past four years at least, the fastest growing state in the nation. Between 1960 and 1970 Tucson and Phoenix (the Phoenix of which we speak is metropolitan Phoenix, comprising all adjacent suburbs such as Scottsdale, Glendale, Tempe, and Mesa etc., and regarding it collectively means that Tucson and Phoenix are the only two urban areas in the state in the sense of having a population of more than 50,000) combined for a 42 percent growth rate. True, non-metropolitan Arizona is also growing, with a rate of gain of 21 percent between 1960 and 1970, but the rise in the cities has been faster.

It seems likely that there is a migration from Arizona's two largest communities to smaller ones, but this may very well be masked by the enormous flow of immigrants from other states to Phoenix and Tucson. But with this huge influx, we don't know if the increase in the outlying counties is coming from people fleeing our cities or from newcomers moving directly from out of state. Certainly with communities such as Rio Rico in Santa Cruz County and Lake Havasu City in Mohave County being created whole cloth from previously uninhabited areas and being sold heavily to out-of-staters, the non-metropolitan growth could come in large part from immigrants to the Grand Canyon State. Whatever the case, the development of non-metro areas in Arizona has been taking place at a rate that has made it difficult, for some communities at least, to adjust to, accommodate, and assimilate the new arrivals. Whether this boom in the smaller places and hinterlands of Arizona will proceed apace remains to be seen. Many communities created in the past 10 years away from the larger cities are actually dependent on the established cities and towns for everything from banking to the opera. Towns such as Green Valley, south of Tucson, and Fountain Hills, northeast of Phoenix, trumpet their

distance from the maddening crowd while extolling their proximity to good hospitals, large stores, and first-rate entertainment. Shortages and increasing prices of energy may bring migration to outlying communities to a sharp halt, at least for those who anticipate making regular trips to the two truly metropolitan communities in Arizona. On the other hand, smaller communities are thought by a number of people to offer a better quality of life than large cities, and this could keep growth high in the non-metropolitan towns.

### **A MATTER OF CHOICE**

One of the reasons we chose to study attitudes of people toward community size and their current state of satisfaction and desire to move is that choice, in a post-industrial society such as ours, is an increasingly important factor. In the post-industrial era, service sector occupations, such as running filling stations, Circle K's, newspapers, painting businesses, and so forth, comprise a larger portion of the various occupational types than they do in industrial societies where virtually everyone is engaged in farming or manufacturing. The places one can live and work in the agricultural, mining, and manufacturing sectors are fairly limited. However, virtually all towns have banks, filling stations, grocery stores. In such service sector societies the money simply passes from one hand to another as people pay the gas station owner, who pays the grocer, who pays the banker, who has already paid the agency where the car for which the gas was bought was purchased. Eventually, of course, the money does find its way back to the basic, productive sectors.

Furthermore, in Arizona there is yet another service occupation very important to the state — tourism — that provides many jobs away from metropolitan areas. The entire Fred Harvey complex of hotels and restaurants at the Grand Canyon is a prime example, so is the mega-motel, "Little America" at Flagstaff.

### **COMMUNITY SIZE PARAMOUNT**

In examining the people who responded to our questionnaire, we found that the greatest number (47.2 percent) had lived in their communities for 11 years or more, regarded themselves as very or moderately conservative (47.6 percent), and considered the size of the community they would prefer living in the most single factor in choosing where to live.

Indeed, the size of population led such categories as "region of the country," "climate," and "landscape: kind of scenery," overwhelmingly. Thirty-six percent said landscape was of "great importance" in choosing a community; 42.1 percent said region of the country was of great importance; 60.5 listed climate as the most important factor; and 89.8 percent listed size of population as being of great importance.

Most of the respondents said the Southwest is where they would most prefer to live (67.7 percent), followed by California with 10.5 percent. Where would Arizonans least like to live? The Middle Atlantic States

of New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware topped their list of “least like” with 25.8 percent, followed by the South with 16.2 percent, and New England with 15.6 percent.

### KEEP OR CUT SIZE

One of the most fascinating opinion findings among inhabitants of the booming cities and towns of this state is that the overwhelming majority prefer

much if the discontented 14 percent mentioned earlier were to make their moves?

To begin with, Phoenix, where only 5 percent indicate they prefer to live in large metropolitan communities of 500,000 plus, would suffer a gross loss of 154,000 people (based on household average of 3.2 persons), or 17.6 percent of its inhabitants (see Table 2). This would be only partially offset by the migration of some 2000 persons from Tucson whose household head indicated they’d prefer a larger city,

**Table 1. Comparison between size of community in which respondent would most like to live and present place of residence.**

| Area Most Preferred  | Present Place of Residence             |  |   |
|--|--|--|---|
|  | Large Metropolitan (Phoenix) (N = 749) | Medium Metropolitan (Tucson) (N = 273) | Remaining Smaller Towns of 35,000 or Less (N = 374) |
|  | ----- percent -----                    |  |   |
| LARGE METROPOLITAN: Contains city of 500,000 or more, many suburbs, very little open country   | 4.7                                    | 2.2                                    | 0.8   |
| MEDIUM METROPOLITAN: Contains city of 150,000 to 499,999, several suburbs, some open country   | 24.8                                   | 22.3                                   | 3.2   |
| SMALL METROPOLITAN: Contains city of 50,000 to 149,999, few suburbs, considerable open country | 30.0                                   | 37.7                                   | 12.3  |
| SEMI-URBAN: City of 10,000 to 49,999, few smaller towns and contains much open country         | 22.4                                   | 22.0                                   | 31.0  |
| SEMI-RURAL: Contains city of 2,500 to 9,999, one or two smaller towns, mostly open country     | 11.3                                   | 8.1                                    | 29.7  |
| RURAL: Contains town of less than 2,500, surrounded entirely by open country                   | 6.8                                    | 7.7                                    | 23.0  |
| TOTAL  | 100.0                                  | 100.0                                  | 100.0   |

to see the population of their communities remain the same or decrease. We asked,

*Concerning the number of people living in your community, would you like:*

*The Number to Decrease — 25.7%*

*The Number to Remain the Same — 59.4%*

*The Number to Increase — 13.1%*

*No Response — 1.8%*

Given that 85.1 percent of heads of household prefer either no population growth or population loss, perhaps it is not surprising to find this sentiment being expressed by voters in communities such as Flagstaff and Tucson, where candidates advocating “controlled growth” at the very least have been elected to city councils and boards of supervisors and where businessmen, alarmed at such sentiment, have gone outside the traditional chamber of commerce approach and have formed groups to battle the “environmentalists.”

So which communities would gain or lose how

and by another 5,000 people who live in or near towns of 35,000 or less. The net loss to Phoenix would be about 148,000 persons. It is further assumed that, since some 1,907 heads of household prefer a town of 500,000 or more and since Phoenix is a community of that size, some 6,000 persons would move from Phoenix to another community the same size or larger in another state.

### TUCSON ALSO LOSES

The Tucson urban area would lose about 27,000 inhabitants in gross terms, or about 9 percent. But this outflux would be fairly well compensated for by migration from Phoenix of about 9,600 people with an additional 5,400 coming from in or near towns of 35,000 or less. The net loss from Tucson, then, would be in the neighborhood of 12,000.

A great number of people indicated they would like to live in small metropolitan areas, defined for our purposes as ranging from 50,000 to less than 150,000 in population. There are no cities of that size

## RECENT DEMOGRAPHIC DATA . . .

Between the time this article went to the printers and its final proofing, some new data on Arizona population demographics became available. It shows that while the United States as a whole grew 4.0 percent during the years 1970-74, the 13 Western states (Alaska, Hawaii, California, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico) grew 6.9 percent. At the same time, Arizona grew 21.4 percent total, of which 16.1 percent represented migration from out of state. Metropolitan counties grew 21.5 percent, non-metropolitan counties grew 23.9 percent, and non-metro counties not adjacent to metro counties grew 18.5 percent. This last figure for rural counties, not adjacent to metropolitan counties, compares with a 9.2 percent figure for all counties in the 13 Western states.

## SAMPLE QUESTIONS . . .

*Below is a sample of the way in which we tested our sample for likelihood of moving, asking what size community they'd prefer living in, their satisfaction with where they are, and how seriously they would consider moving.*

Here are some descriptions of different kinds of areas in which one might choose to live. Each choice contains a different size major city, different amounts of open country, and some include suburbs or smaller towns. Suppose you could live in some part of any of these areas. In which one would you *most like* to live?

Area most like

- 1 LARGE METROPOLITAN: Contains city of 500,000 or more, many suburbs, very little open country
- 2 MEDIUM METROPOLITAN: Contains city of 150,000 to 499,999, several suburbs, some open country
- 3 SMALL METROPOLITAN: Contains city of 50,000 to 149,999, few suburbs, some open country
- 4 SEMI-URBAN: City of 10,000 to 49,999, few smaller towns and contains much open country
- 5 SEMI-RURAL: Contains city of 2,500 to 9,999, one or two smaller towns, mostly open country
- 6 RURAL: Contains town of less than 2,500, surrounded entirely by open country

How well satisfied are you with living in this community:

- 1 NOT AT ALL SATISFIED
- 2 NOT VERY MUCH SATISFIED
- 3 PRETTY MUCH SATISFIED
- 4 VERY MUCH SATISFIED

Which one of the following statements best describes how you would feel about moving away from this community if presented with that opportunity?

- 1 I WOULD NEVER CONSIDER LEAVING HERE.
- 2 I WOULD MOVE TO ANOTHER COMMUNITY IF I HAD TO BUT WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO LEAVE HERE.
- 3 IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE TO ME WHETHER I LIVE HERE OR IN ANOTHER COMMUNITY.
- 4 I WOULD PROBABLY BE MORE SATISFIED LIVING IN ANOTHER COMMUNITY.
- 5 I WOULD REALLY LIKE TO LEAVE THIS COMMUNITY IF I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY.

**Table 2. Percentage distribution of where respondents that are dissatisfied with and desire to move from present place of residence would prefer to live.**

| Size of Preferred Place of Residence   | Percent of Respondents that are Dissatisfied with and Desire to Move from Present Community of Residence |   |                                   |
|--|--|---|-----------------------------------|
|  | Large Metropolitan (Phoenix Area) (N = 726)  | Medium Metropolitan (Tucson Area) (N = 275) | Towns of 35,000 or Less (N = 385) |
|  | ----- percent -----  |   |                                   |
| LARGE METROPOLITAN: Contains city of 500,000 or more, many suburbs, very little open country   | 0.7  | 0.7   | 0.3                               |
| MEDIUM METROPOLITAN: Contains city of 150,000 to 499,999, several suburbs, some open country   | 1.1  | 1.1   | 1.0                               |
| SMALL METROPOLITAN: Contains city of 50,000 to 149,999, few suburbs, considerable open country | 3.4  | 1.5   | 1.6                               |
| SEMI-URBAN: City of 10,000 to 49,999, few smaller towns and contains much open country         | 3.9  | 3.6   | 3.1                               |
| SEMI-RURAL: Contains city of 2,500 to 9,999, one or two smaller towns, mostly open country     | 5.5  | 1.1   | 1.6                               |
| RURAL: Contains town of less than 2,500, surrounded entirely by open country                   | 3.0  | 1.1   | 1.3                               |
| TOTAL  | 17.6   | 9.1   | 8.9                               |

in Arizona, so that means that some 29,000 people from the Phoenix area, 4,500 from the Tucson area, and 9,000 from towns of 35,000 or less cannot now have their way in city size preference and remain Arizona residents.

For the six communities in Arizona that range from 10,000 to 50,000 in size (by the 1970 census, these included Prescott, Yuma, Flagstaff, Douglas, Casa Grande, and Sun City), our data is less certain because of some problems with category size of towns. But it is clear that 62,000 persons from around the state would move to these six communities with 34,000 moving in from metropolitan Phoenix, 11,000 from Tucson, and 17,000 from places of 35,000 or less. Explanation for the figure of 17,000 may lie in a simple desire by heads of household to move to another city of similar size. So Yuma's gain may be Flagstaff's loss and so on.

Again, with the 28 semi-rural communities of from 2,500 to 10,000, we know that there would be an inundation of 48,000 from greater Phoenix, 3,000 from Tucson, and 9,000 from towns of 35,000 or less. Again, how much simple moving back and forth of families from one small town to another is represented among the 9,000 cannot be determined.

#### SMALL LOSS FOR BIG CITIES

Finally, rural communities of less than 2,500 could find themselves swollen by a total of 46,000 persons, statewide. This includes 26,000 from Phoenix, 3,000 from Tucson, and 7,000 from towns of less than 35,000. The same caution applies here, because while a cer-

tain number of people from cities the size of Kingman (7,500) might move to Bumblebee, a certain number of people from Bumblebee might move to a community of similar size elsewhere.

In any case, it is clear that the population loss to the larger communities in Arizona would not be particularly dramatic, especially with their constant influx of newcomers from out of state, while the population explosion in the smaller communities would be enormous, possibly damaging.

Making these projections is a useful exercise in attempting to predict behavior, and much of it is predicated on the human condition of "would if I could." Some of those who would move if they could won't because jobs, health care, or education aren't adequate in the communities to which they'd like to move. Circumstances beyond their control may keep them where they are. Likewise, a certain number of those who are well satisfied with where they live will find themselves moving due to circumstances beyond their control.

Finally, there is the fact that the 14 percent of heads of household who are designated as potential movers have not yet moved (we are keeping in touch with the potential movers in our sample to see what percentages does in fact make good their intended escape) and we don't know that they will. At the same time, we do not know how many of the people who reported satisfaction with and desire to remain where they are moved there sometime in the past in order to be living now where they once very badly wanted to be.