To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by L. Alex Tooman entitled "The Evolving Economic Impact of Tourism on the Greater Smoky Mountain Region of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Economics.

Anne Mayhew, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Associate Vice Chancellor
and Dean of the Graduate School

THE EVOLVING ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TOURISM ON THE GREATER SMOKY MOUNTAIN REGION OF EAST TENNESSEE AND WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

L. Alex Tooman

May 1995

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife,

Mrs. Donna L. Tooman

and my parents,

Mr. Lee D. Tooman, Sr.

and

Mrs. Elena O. Tooman

ACKOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express very deep appreciation to my major professor, Dr. Anne Mayhew for her guidance and patience during my four years at the University of Tennessee. I also thank my other committee members, Professors William E. Cole, Sidney Carroll, and Lydia Pulsipher for their valuable comments and assistance on this and other endeavors during the last four years.

I would like to give special acknowledgement to the numerous people in Tennessee and North Carolina who greatly facilitated this research: state government employees, municipal officials, directors of local tourist bureaus, and librarians. By taking the time to talk with me and provide information and insight, they made this effort much easier and more enjoyable.

Finally, I would like to express the most profound gratitude to my wife, Donna. Without her constant support, encouragement, and understanding this project and degree would never have been attainable.

ABSTRACT

Tourism is evaluated in the Greater Smoky Mountain Region from the early 19th century to the present. During the modern era of the automobile - after the creation of the national park in the 1930s - the tourist industry has demonstrated itself to be a fairly complex agent of change, not only exhibiting various stages of development but also with a diversity of types and scale of operations.

By employing a composite approach this dissertation attempts a broad evaluation of the impact of tourism. The destination life-cycle approach developed by geographers, in which tourist destinations are viewed as evolving through a series of identifiable stages in the process of development, is utilized. Statistical data from local, state, and federal sources are then used to analyze second and third order economic effects as they have changed over time with the development of tourism. Interviews and secondary local sources provide additional data for evaluation.

Although tourism is one of the largest and fastest growing industries in the world and is being embraced by many communities as a means of rapid economic development, this study concludes that it should be adopted with caution because it has significant limitations in bringing about improvement in well being for native residents. While tourism can provide a preferable alternative to no development, controls and planning can help ensure that an inequitable distribution of costs and benefits is kept to a minimum and that the potential for economic diversity is enhanced.

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VOLUME 1

PART I

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Tourism has become one of the largest and fastest growing sectors in the world economy, and perhaps more than any other industry, characterizes post-industrial society (Eadington and Redman 1991). Locally tourism's impact is substantial in the greater Smoky Mountain area of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina. This is the region that, within five hundred miles of the majority of the population of the United States, contains the following natural attractions: The Great Smoky Mountains National Park (the most visited national park in the country), three adjacent national forests (Cherokee, Nantahala, and Pisgah), the Blue Ridge Parkway and Blue Ridge Mountains (including Grandfather Mountain, Mount Mitchell, Chimney Rock, and Craggy Gardens), several wilderness areas (Shining Rock, Joyce Kilmer Memorial Forest, Slick Rock, and Linville Gorge), the Cherokee Indian Reservation, numerous Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and other man-made scenic lakes, countless trout streams, waterfalls, and scenic roads. Additionally, there are also many attractions and amusements, in Pigeon Forge and Gatlinburg most notably, but also including second home communities with golf facilities (particularly the Cashiers and Highlands region of NC), as well as such attractions as the Biltmore House in Asheville, NC and the outdoor drama in Cherokee: *Unto These Hills* (see Figure 1.1).

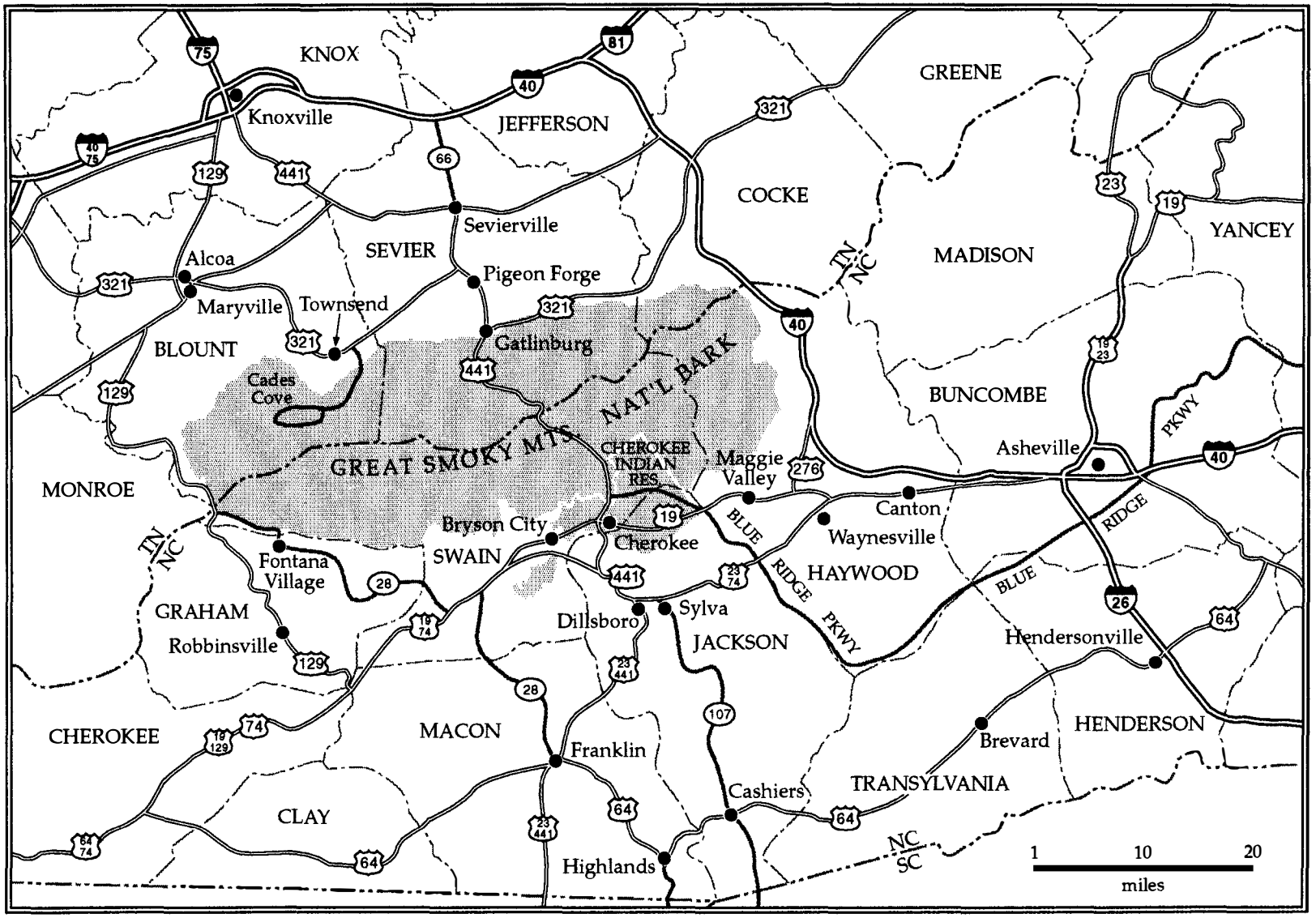


Figure 1.1 The Greater Smoky Mountain Region of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina.

The economic activity associated with these attractions, in the form of related activities, and supply of visitor accommodations and support services, can be considered a function of one industry: tourism. In spite of its conspicuousness, however, this industry has not received much attention from economists because it is "also a collection of service based activities spread across a variety of industrial classifications and consumer expenditure categories not generally grouped together" (Eadington and Redman 1991). In short, tourism provides no unique base as an industry, but rather "encompasses widely disparate firms and organizations from many industries and serves customers with a variety of income, tastes, and objectives" (Eadington and Redman 1991).

Nevertheless, tourism does receive considerable attention in other disciplines (especially geography, where several journals are devoted exclusively to the topic), from local governments desiring to expand employment and tax bases, as well as the local media (e.g. the series of articles on the expansion of country music facilities in Pigeon Forge, in imitation of Branson, Missouri in *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, July 4-6, 1993).

The purpose of this dissertation is to evaluate the evolving economic impact of the tourism industry in the Greater Smoky Mountain Region. Many local and regional officials, as well as entrepreneurs and investors not limited by proximity, have undoubtedly investigated the economic situation from several perspectives: increases in employment and tax revenues, need for additional municipal services and infrastructure, or capital requirements and return on investment. The

objective of this research, however, is not to describe present conditions and first order effects as measured by aggregate economic indicators (numbers of jobs, total income produced, growth in tax revenues and provision of services, etc.). Rather, it is to investigate the significance of second and third order effects on social welfare as tourism has evolved over time. In particular, the emphasis will be on the distributional aspects of the industry as it has grown and proliferated. In order to evaluate the second and third order effects of tourism, research has been undertaken to identify changes in statistical indicators of economic and social welfare as the industry has progressed through various stages: effects on per capita income; median family income; seasonal unemployment rates; income distribution; other measures of social dependency such as changes in eligibility for food stamps and welfare payments; changes in schooling completed; and levels of infant mortality.

All of these changes will be evaluated in conjunction with the growth of the population and the growth in the number of farms and businesses by type. In order to provide a basis for comparison, these same statistics will be reviewed for both of the states that the Smoky Mountain region is part of: Tennessee and North Carolina. The Greater Smoky Mountain Region will be defined as: Sevier and Blount counties in Tennessee; and Graham, Swain, Haywood, Buncombe, Jackson, Macon, and Transylvania in North Carolina. The sources of information that will be utilized are the U.S. Census which provides thorough decennial information; state statistical sources for more detailed information by year, quarter, or month; and chambers of commerce for very detailed

local information. Qualitative archival material will be used for the earliest periods.

The approach of this research is historical. The concept of a tourist-destination life cycle will be utilized in order to provide a coherent framework for the analysis. By adopting this method, an evolutionary pattern of tourist industry growth will be described for the subject region, while statistical information will be evaluated for each stage throughout the cycle. The goal is to demonstrate what the progressive economic effects on social welfare have been during the process of tourist industry transformation. Furthermore, observation and review of historical literature, have made it apparent that the entire region has not participated in a homogeneous process of tourist industry development. Rather, different areas within the region have experienced varying processes as the diverse stages of development have occurred at different times and for unequal durations. Effectively, each sub-region involves a separate study which will provide comparative information.

The contribution of this research is to bring together readily available detail in a manner not previously undertaken. Aspects of tourism have already been studied and reported from the perspectives of increased economic activity (more jobs, revenue, or businesses); levels of income or employment multipliers; or detrimental effects on the local population, culture, or environment. These studies have all had the characteristic of evaluating the industry at a point in time or at best over a short time period covering only one stage of the evolutionary process. Additionally, while geographers have developed the destination

life-cycle concept, their research centers around how well a destination's historical experience fits a given model.

Realizing that the exactness of fit is not so important as is the concept of an evolutionary process and changing impacts, this composite approach will be utilized in an attempt to evaluate tourism from a broader perspective. The goal will be to try to identify which, if any stages, prove to be empirically more beneficial to the local population and in what manner these benefits manifest themselves.

In Chapters 2 and 3 a description of models available for analysis of the tourist industry are presented along with samples of other empirical studies. Chapter 4 describes the historical evolution of tourism in general in the United States from the early 19th century to the present, while Chapter 5 presents the history of early tourism in the Smoky Mountain Region during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Chapter 5 also describes the conditions of the local population in the subject region at the dawn of modern tourism. In Chapter 6 the evolution of modern tourist development in the East Tennessee counties is characterized and the economic impacts associated therewith are discussed in Chapter 7. The evolution of modern tourist development in Western North Carolina and the corresponding economic impacts are specified in Chapters 8 and 9 respectively. In Chapter 10 a summary of findings is presented along with policy suggestions that might enhance welfare in tourist regions.

CHAPTER 2

THE LIFE CYCLE APPROACH

The Product Life Cycle

The notion that industries and products have life cycles is not without controversy. In its simplest form, the life cycle concept suggests that products or services proceed through a series of stages over time much in the same fashion as biological units. First, products or services are introduced to the market (born). Some risk-taking firms enter immediately based on an apparent opportunity, while others, who are more risk averse, prefer to wait and see what happens and adopt a "used apple policy" (the second or third bites are as good as the first). Second, a growth stage occurs. Demand and sales increase and new firms enter the market. This can lead to "competitive turbulence" but this also serves to stimulate the market further by means of product differentiation, new strategies and promotional efforts. Third, a maturity stage develops. Strong firms survive, weak ones fail, and mergers take place as participants battle for market share. Finally, a decline stage sets in. Few firms remain and marketing strategies are the principle competitive tools (Rakowski and Bejou 1992).

Objections to this scenario emphasize the fact that it suggests a time dependency which can be depicted graphically in the form of a standard "S" shaped curve (see Figure 2.1). This simplification may apply strictly to biological units, but when applied to market

phenomena, likewise suggests that everything is mortal there as well. For products and services, however, the stages are not necessarily fixed, time lengths vary, and reincarnations might actually occur (Dhalla and Yuspeh 1976). Empirically, studies have attempted to demonstrate both the inapplicability (Dhalla and Yuspeh 1976) as well as the validity (Polli and Cook 1969) of the concept.

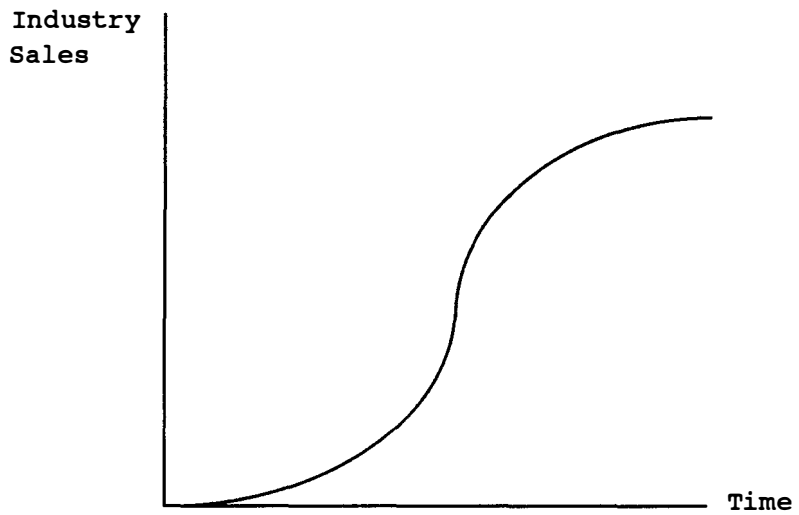


Figure 2.1 Graphical Representation of the Product Life Cycle

The basic representation shown in Figure 2.1 obviously involves over-simplification, and taken on its own provides little useful information. Any applicability, therefore, arises from its utilization as a tool in conjunction with consideration of other pertinent factors. One important consideration is how the product is defined; products can easily fall under a number of different headings depending on the level of analysis. Product class identifies objects that despite differences are essentially substitutes (e.g. forms of transportation: cars, trains,

and jet airplanes). Product form identifies objects that are much more homogeneous (e.g. four wheel transport: autos of various sizes, pickups, vans, etc.). Finally, brands identify the most constrained perspective (e.g. makes of automobiles: GM, Ford, Chrysler, etc.). The life cycle concept may describe one level much more accurately than another (e.g. form versus class) depending on the product in question (Polli and Cook 1969).

The notion of a product life cycle has been particularly important in the study of marketing. Knowledge of stages of cycles and of the current stage of a product, allows for planning in advance of future stages. This methodology basically involves the emphasis of action over reaction (Levitt 1965).

Ironically, detractors of the product life cycle approach use a similar argument to stress the weakness of the approach. Observing that sales are not determined by time but rather many other factors (e.g. preferences, demographic transitions, changing economic conditions, and competitive forces), the product life cycle is "not an inevitable or predictable phenomenon to be reacted to but a sales curve to be managed" (Hart, et al. 1984). Clearly, if taken on its own, the life cycle view provides little guidance or forecasting ability for the future. Even the most emphatic detractors, though, admit this approach has legitimate use as a diagnostic tool when interpreting historical or empirical information (Hart, et al. 1984).

The Destination Life Cycle

In applying the life cycle concept to the tourist industry, the proposition is that the basic curve retains its familiar "S" shape but the vertical axis changes from sales to the number of tourist visitations at a given destination. The economic complexity of the industry, however, has led to a more complex series of stages than that of development, growth, maturity, and decline of sales. Several models have been offered as alternatives to more realistically describe the evolution of economic and human interactions that can occur in the life cycle of a tourist destination.

One model, offered by Walter Christaller (1963), is probably more applicable to a European past but was the first to gain widespread attention. In this representation, artists first seek out unusual and undisturbed areas for subject matter and inspiration. This can lead to the development of an artist colony which in turn attracts others: poets, movie people, gourmets, and in time the rich and indulged. This procession predictably results in the destination being identified as fashionable. The increased notoriety further attracts hotels and commercialization. As the popularity of the destination increases, more working class people are attracted while the original visitors leave, except for a few commercial artists. While advertising and travel agencies now promote the destination, the original visitors are driven to find new untouched locations and the cycle repeats itself. Ultimately though, the natural or cultural factors that were responsible for the original popularity become displaced or deteriorate.

Another view of the tourist life cycle observes that the rise and fall of a destination is due predominantly to the psychology of the travelers. In this model Stanley C. Plog (1973) identifies three main types of tourists: the allocentric, the midcentric, and the psychocentric. Each of these is associated with income levels ranging from higher to lower. The allocentrics are the first to visit or discover a location because they are the most adventuresome of the three types and enjoy discovery and new experiences. As more allocentrics visit an area, it develops a reputation as the "in" place to be, thus attracting near-allocentrics or the slightly less adventuresome. As numbers of visitations enlarge, tourist facilities emerge and expand so that midcentrics become attracted. These are the people who make up the majority of the population and like their destinations to be reasonably accessible and predictable or comfortable. This increased popularity results in the maturation of the destination; development occurs so as to offer a full array of amenities, services, and amusements. At this point the destination has achieved its maximum potential and attracted the broadest possible number of participants. This heightened popularity will eventually convince the ever less adventuresome near-psychocentrics and finally least adventuresome psychocentrics to visit. These are people who travel less, stay a shorter time, and spend less money, typically preferring destinations to be as familiar as possible. As the destination becomes more accessible and more commercialized there becomes less and less of what attracted tourists in the first place. Thus, as happened in Christaller's model, the original visitors depart in search of new discoveries. As this process completes itself, the

psychocentrics eventually become the majority tourists and the resort is in decline (Plog 1973).

The model which is most referenced and incorporates the most psychological and economic factors is the six stage model developed by R. W. Butler (1980). The first stage is the exploration stage wherein we find Plog's allocentrics discovering new destinations. During these encounters the economic and social life of the residents is unaffected because the level of activity is low, although the degree of contact with locals and use of their facilities is high. In time this level of activity can increase leading to the second or involvement stage of the life cycle. In this stage some locals begin to provide facilities primarily or exclusively for visitors so that the beginning of a tourist season appears. Contact with residents is still high and the involved locals will have adjusted their social patterns to accommodate this altered economic situation. As advertising begins and increases and accessibility is enhanced, the destination eventually enters into the third or development stage. Here a well defined tourist market emerges as disparate external organizations establish more elaborate and up-to-date facilities for tourist accommodations. Advertising will become heavy, local participation and control will decline, and local preferences will be disregarded as many of the changes at this point and beyond may not be to their particular liking. Man-made attractions will be created to supplement the original ones, the tourist population will likely grow to exceed the resident population, and imported labor may be necessary as will auxiliary services and facilities to support the growing tourist trade. The tourists themselves also can be seen to

change as Plog's midcentrics begin to dominate (Butler 1980).

The next stage to evolve is the consolidation stage. At this point tourist visitations continue to increase but at decreasing rates so the rate of growth has noticeably declined. Accommodations and facilities are offered by major chains and franchises while older facilities are now second-rate and mostly undesirable. Marketing and advertising efforts are further widened to extend the tourist season and attract more distant visitors. The major portion of the local economy will have been fully tied to tourism. In time, the peak number of possible tourists will be achieved and capacity levels for many relevant factors will be reached or exceeded and the destination will enter the fifth stage of stagnation. Due to these stresses on assorted aspects of the locality; environmental, social, and/or economic problems will be evident. At this point the destination is no longer fashionable and the tourists have changed to become Plog's psychocentrics. Artificial attractions will have superseded the natural or cultural ones as the resort's image will have become divorced from its geographic environment. Surplus bed capacity will exist and facility managers will rely on repeat visitations and conventions for business while continuing to exert considerable efforts toward maintaining visitation levels (Butler 1980).

As new attractions elsewhere begin to draw tourists away, the destination will enter the final stage: that of decline. At this time however, two different outcomes are possible. In the first of these, the destination has less and less appeal to vacationers and draws mostly weekend or day visitors. Tourist facilities ultimately are replaced by

non-tourist ones as the area disengages from the tourist industry. As this occurs, there is even less attraction for tourists and remaining facilities become less viable. Local involvement, however, does increase again as the price of facilities drops along with the decline in the market. By the end of the process the destination can become either a tourist slum or be devoid of tourist activity altogether. Hotels could become condos, apartments or retirement homes as the location might be attractive for settlement especially by the elderly. In the second possible outcome, the destination could experience a rejuvenation, but this would require a dramatic change in the resource base for attracting visitors. Either a completely new set of artificial attractions must be offered so as to keep in line with changing preferences or something unique might be developed to reduce the effects of competition (e.g. gambling in Atlantic City). Another approach is to utilize a previously unexploited natural resource. One possibility here would be to establish a winter season where previously only a summer one existed. Such an endeavor should stimulate new development, which in turn would revitalize the summer market (Butler 1980).

In short, during the final stage the cycle can be made to begin again or permanent decline can set in. Realistically, an outcome anywhere between these two extremes is possible as new efforts may not be totally successful or the decline may not be totally irrevocable or precipitous. Though historically any given destination may not follow these cycles precisely, many researchers would conclude that at least the general trend holds. Ultimately, both exogenous and endogenous factors can have significant effects on a tourist destination (e.g. the

establishment of a national park or the decision to expand artificial attractions such as the new Music Road in Pigeon Forge) as can the existence of numerous potential restrictions on growth summarized under the concept of capacity limitations.

One argument against the tourist model as well as the standard product life cycle model is that the curve is not always, or even frequently, going to take the form of an "S". With the basic product model though, the product remains unchanged while the marketing efforts and strategies adapt for each stage. If a product were to be changed, the cycle would be conceived to begin anew. With a tourist destination, however, the product (destination) undergoes an evolutionary process of continual change in response to changes in use. This would suggest that any shaped curve is possible. From this view, then, the life cycle concept offers the possibility of at best being a diagnostic tool after the fact (Choy 1992).

Empirical studies to determine the applicability of the model suggest a lack of consensus. One destination that closely typifies the model is Atlantic City. In the nineteenth century when industrialization and social reform had progressed to the point where workers could enjoy leisure and recreation, the railroads also provided access to locations some distance from home. Atlantic City was reasonably close to Philadelphia and Cape May (further down the New Jersey Coast) provided the example of a coastal tourist destination which led to the creation of Atlantic City (the first two stages did not occur). Since access was provided only by the railroads, the city was designed exclusively for pedestrians. The first visitors were

predominantly rich and middle class citizens who traveled there for the sake of nature, the beach, and the plush new facilities. In time, improvements in transportation which cut travel time and cost eventually allowed more working class and lower income groups to visit. These groups wanted more mechanized amusements, lights, and cheap theaters so as a result upper income groups sought other destinations and the older, more elite entertainments began to deteriorate. In time, the decline of the railroad and advent of automobile travel meant much more freedom to travel for the average worker, while Atlantic City with its pedestrian design was inappropriate for this new mode. Suburbanization completed the decline which was only reversed in the 1970s by the introduction of a new, artificial amusement: gambling. Except for the lack of the first two stages, the Atlantic City experience fairly closely fits the model (Stansfield 1978).

Another tourist destination which reasonably fits the model is that of the Cayman Islands in the Caribbean. This also is an example of a resort that was created and skipped at least the first stage of the cycle, but the next three stages are reasonably identified with some qualification. During the involvement stage, development occurred mostly from external rather than local efforts (typical in a third world setting where local resources are severely limited). During the development stage, however, local participation actually increased due to government policies designed to encourage it, as well as place limitations on growth. Growth during this period, while rapid, was more equitably distributed and controlled so a maturity stage would represent a prolonged period of stability. Local participation (maximum retention

of profits) and planning were thus emphasized to promote long term viability rather than uncontrolled but higher levels of growth which could result in the deterioration of the "foundation assets" and lead to eventual decline. This example suggests that planning rather than laissez-faire be stressed so that the cycle can be influenced in favorable directions (Weaver 1990).

A destination which seemed to fit the model for some time and demonstrates the effects of exogenous forces is that of Lancaster County in Pennsylvania. This area was one of the top ten tourist centers in the United States in the 1970s and experienced a cycle lasting at least fifty years. Again the exploration stage cannot be distinguished because travelers had been passing through the area since colonial times. After World War II, however, people began to visit the Amish and an involvement stage lasted until about 1960. After this a development stage occurred where outside capital was introduced to establish chain establishments and resort complexes with artificial amusements. The peak year of 1978, though, was followed by a dramatic drop in visitations which was not the result of a decline of the destination. What occurred instead was a publicized outbreak of polio among the Amish, the Three Mile Island accident nearby, and the second oil shock of the decade causing gas shortages for travelers (Hovinen 1981).

Hovinen takes great exception to the inevitability of a decline stage brought about by the deterioration of the resort. This could occur because elements of carrying capacity are exceeded and the resort experiences a loss of attractiveness. In reality though, "capacity consists of different cultural and natural elements which vary

spacially and temporally" (Hovinen, 1981). Some of these may already have been exceeded in Lancaster County, but proximity to the megalopolis, the diversity of the tourist base and diversity of the attractions have served as a continued draw for a broad spectrum of tourists as well as repeat visits. Thus, a decline stage is not an inevitable outcome of the tourist cycle (Hovinen 1981).

From this view, capacities may be significant but not dominant factors in the evolution of a tourist destination. Others view carrying capacity as a significant concern requiring planning and management of growth and resource allocation so the negative aspects of tourism can be minimized while the economic, social, and natural health of the resort can be maintained. In simplistic terms, when certain thresholds are exceeded, a destination becomes decreasingly desirable. These thresholds or capacities, however, can exist in many different forms. One is physical capacity or tangible resource limits. These can represent: 1. obstacles to be overcome, such as limited facilities or services, 2. obstacles which cannot be reasonably overcome given current levels of input (financial or technological) such as perhaps new transportation links, and 3. natural resources which might be destroyed or degraded unless limits to use are imposed (Getz 1983).

Another threshold to be considered is the psychological capacity of the visitors. At what point are they no longer comfortable? One predominant aspect of this is congestion (although some leisure activities are not diminished by the presence of crowds). Similar to this problem is the one of social capacity. When will the tolerance for tourism by the host population be exceeded? After a certain point,

locals may no longer want tourism because they have been crowded out of local activities, their culture may have been damaged, or their environment degraded. Despite the difficulty in defining and measuring these thresholds, there is an interrelationship between them and each of the various stages of the life cycle. By means of planning and control at each stage a desired position can either be maintained or an unacceptable one could be improved. Whenever one of these capacities has been exceeded, regardless of the stage, a degree of decline will have occurred. The tourist destination life cycle therefore offers some insight into the probable course of change and the knowledge that different stages require different methods of control (Martin and Uysal 1990).

While most researchers, therefore, do not discount the model excessively because the first stage may have been skipped, those that have not observed the final two or three stages, cite this as a major weakness. The case of Niagara Falls is typical of this situation, where no permanent decline is foreseen. In this example elements of consolidation, stagnation, decline, and rejuvenation are seen to coexist and be perpetual as the tourist industry and planners address problems as they arise. As Getz suggests, one solution to this complexity is to define this latter more multifaceted stage as maturity; one most likely to occur where a unique natural attraction will lend permanence to maturity when that stage is achieved. The purpose of planning and control from this perspective then is to seek to enhance attractiveness and competitiveness of the destination and address the important product, market, and impact related indicators that reveal the overall

health of the tourist industry as well as any related problems that may arise, such as capacities (Getz 1992).

With this potential modification of Butler's model, a useable life cycle framework should be available for the purposes of this research. Even the strongest detractors admit that in spite of any weaknesses of the model, it does at least lend itself to historical review (a diagnostic tool after the fact). In conclusion then, an historical review of the evolution of tourism in the subject region will be made based on the life cycle framework. In conjunction with this, a statistical review of social welfare indicators will be made for each stage of the industrial evolutionary process. The purpose of this analysis will be to achieve a better understanding of this economically and socially significant industry. Many communities throughout the world, as well as locally, are pursuing tourism as a panacea for economic well being, based on the promise of jobs and revenues. Beyond these first order effects, however, may lie many significant secondary and tertiary effects which could give some insight as to what the industry really provides communities as it evolves over time. This information could also demonstrate how tourism might be managed so as to better serve these communities.

CHAPTER 3

PREVAILING ECONOMIC VIEWS

Tourism and Multipliers

Tourism has not been a topic of intensive analysis by economists perhaps because it can be classified (and so dismissed) as a low-wage service industry. Those studies that do analyze the economic impact of tourism tend to concentrate on first order, total income/multiplier effects (discussed in more detail below), and ultimately evaluate the subject from the point of view of entrepreneurs or governmental bodies. These studies attempt to determine the total revenues that can be generated from the tourist trade for the sake of profits, tax receipts, and gross employment. While this information is clearly important, economic studies could be conducted from other points of view: that of the labor force and local population, and of the second and third order effects thereon.

When attention is devoted to the labor force in the conventional approaches to tourism, the result is an observation of how many new jobs are created to support the growing industry. Typical is the argument of Somerset R. Waters (1990) that service industries should not be shunned because they are low wage, but rather applauded because service industries represent the largest component of new job growth. Waters also cites per capita annual income figures as indication that some tourist areas (e.g. Hawaii, $14,886 and Bermuda, $18,000 per

capita) have higher income levels than some manufacturing areas (e.g. Ohio, $13,933; Indiana, $13,136; and North Carolina, $12,438 per capita in 1986).

On a more specific level, the goal of multiplier analysis is to determine the total amount of income that will be generated in a tourist destination for every dollar spent on the tourist product itself. The greater the amount of local/regional resource utilization, and the lower the proportion of imported goods that enter into local consumption and production expenditures, the higher will be the multiplier (Eadington and Redman 1991). According to Mathieson and Wall (1982, 64-68), the calculation is influenced by three levels of expenditure. First, an initial expenditure creates direct income for the industry. Second, a significant portion of this income is used to pay salaries and wages, to replenish stocks, and to purchase services necessary for continued production. Third, the income that is generated results in greater consumption and a higher local level of economic activity. The principal difficulty with this analysis is to accurately incorporate all leakages.

The formal specification of the multiplier[1] is provided by Clawson and Knetsch (1966, 241):

Multiplier = total income increase = A * 1 / (1 - BC)

where A equals the proportion of income remaining in an area from the first round expenditure (how much stays versus how much is paid out for imports immediately), B equals the proportion of income that local people spend on local goods and services (the propensity to spend locally), and C equals the proportion of local income versus imports

that accrue as a result of subsequent rounds of local expenditure.

Eadington and Redman (1991) provide a simplified model to arrive at a "quick and dirty," first approximation of the multiplier:

$$\text{Multiplier} = (Nb + Nn)/Nb$$

where Nb equals basic employment for export, and Nn equals nonbasic employment for regional consumption.

Multiplier analysis can be seriously limited by the fact that the data necessary for accuracy may be unavailable. Thus, as Mathieson and Wall (1982, 64-68) and Eadington and Redman (1991) observe, efforts at multiplier analysis are clearly problematical. Disregarding difficulties in obtaining reliable data, even an accurate multiplier will have serious shortcomings. Use of the multiplier gives apparently rigorous and quantitative information that is of significant interest to *some* industry participants, but this is information that is superficial and of little consequence to other participants. It provides only a point-in-time impression of the general state of linkages versus leakages. Furthermore the multiplier is heavily influenced by the size of the study area; the larger the study area, the higher the multiplier; "leakage from a local economy often creates additional demand and income in the regional economy" (Nathan et al. 1966, ii). While studies have been conducted to calculate the multiplier for an entire tourist destination and also for separate sectors within a destination (hotels, bed and breakfasts, restaurants, gas stations, etc.) the result is a number or numbers that taken by themselves provide little guidance or direction for planning or improvement. The comparison of linkages to leakages, or imports to

local production, is not insignificant, but reliance on a single, point-in-time number to indicate economic impact is an oversimplification.

A substantial portion of the total economic impact of the tourist industry is not addressed by multiplier analysis. While multiplier analysis gives an indication of total income that can be derived from tourist expenditure, the benefits and costs that arise from this activity are very unlikely to be evenly distributed in the local economy. Both the facility owners and the employees will benefit from increased income, but benefits may vary widely. Further, the local population may have to bear some of the burden of increased costs required to support the growing industry: increased waste disposal, improvements to roads, enlargements to water and sewage systems, increased fire and police protection, and perhaps increased welfare funds. This will definitely occur if the increases in government revenues generated by tourism do not cover the added costs of necessary government services. Nonquantifiable costs that might be born by the local population include: crowding, noise, traffic, possible loss of indigenous culture, or potential degradation of the resource assets that attracted tourists in the first place.

Concerns of the labor force and local population are relevant to planning, recruiting, and development of tourism. These people have an involvement at least equal to, if not greater than, investors and government officials. As Michal Smith (1989) observed, the employees and laborers are no less than the backbone of the industry. Among the Travel Industry Congress's recommendations for Hawaii in 1970, was that

"where a choice must be made between resident goals and visitor goals, the resident must have paramount importance" (Lundberg 1980, 222).

Jakus and Segal (1993) argue that identifying the economically and politically dominant members of a locality as being the individuals most necessary to consider is reasonable because they are the most likely to influence the future course of development. Not surprisingly, in a survey conducted by Jakus and Segal in the Smoky Mountains region, the business owners, political leaders and local conservationists all had a very positive view of tourism because they were the ones enjoying the majority of benefits: higher incomes, greater prestige, and nice homes in the mountains. Jakus and Segal readily admitted that their study did not include the politically marginal members of the community - those emphasized in Smith's study - and that they might well have found different results if that had been the case.

In any event, the economic impact of tourism does differ for the respective participants in a varied and potentially inequitable fashion and this must be taken into consideration. To better understand this process, a detailed review of what is known about the characteristics of the tourist industry and its costs and benefits is provided below.

Mathieson and Wall (1982, 38-39) provide a summary of several characteristics. First, the product is highly perishable because it cannot be stored. If a room-night is not purchased from a hotel, it is lost forever and cannot be recovered. Additionally, studies have shown demand for the services of the tourist industry to be highly elastic with respect to prices and income and also subject to

considerable instability. This instability is most often the result of seasonal variations but it can also be due to unpredictable influences from exogenous factors as was noted in Chapter 2 in the case study of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

Nonetheless, tourism is attractive to, and pursued by many communities because it represents a way to create rapid economic development in an otherwise economically depressed region. Frederick (1993) identifies several specific reasons supporting this perception. First, tourism is seen as reasonably attainable even for communities with minimal public resources. "Most communities envision negligible public investments such as new roads, historic markers, town cleanup, storefront rehabilitation, and marketing. The private sector is expected to provide hotels, motels, restaurants, entertainment, and other tourist accommodations" (Frederick 1993, 216). Additionally, Nathan et al. (1966, 16) point out that such provisions frequently consist of many small and diffused enterprises, with relatively low capital requirements. These characteristics do allow for ease of entry but can also result in low value added and low levels of productivity.

Public support for tourism can be easily generated because it is easy to understand and it builds on existing characteristics or amenities of an area. Further, these resources are perceived as essentially "free" and provide the opportunity for the derivation of surplus and generation of economic activity in areas otherwise suffering from low levels of productivity. Tourism also provides a significant economic alternative to competition for manufacturing plants. This competition is not only intense, but with the gradual

decline of manufacturing and manufacturing employment in the United States, this competition will only increase. Tourism is seen not only as a clean industry but as a labor intensive one. This latter feature would be particularly attractive in economies with large numbers of poorly educated or unskilled workers, that exist in many rural areas (Frederick 1993, 216).

Once tourism is established the resulting activity is effectively an invisible export industry because there are no tangible products to ship but rather, the "goods and services are marketed in large part to nonresident customers" (Clawson and Knetsch 1966). The export nature of tourism means that the income brought into an area is not only "new" but also basic; "a community depends on such income in order to pay for imported goods and services and its taxes" (Murphy 1985, 89). The product is fragmented and in order to provide it, tourist destinations find that ancillary goods and services are also necessary. If an area wishes to develop as a tourist destination so as to derive surplus from proximity to a natural attraction, the final integrated product must consist not only of lodging and restaurant establishments, but also, at very least, assorted retail functions, auto service enterprises, transport services, infrastructure, and perhaps some form of amusements (this can include upscale attractions such as golf or less expensive, family-oriented ones). Some of these will naturally generate higher levels of local income than others, but if any components are missing, the local product may be incomplete and perhaps not competitive.

Nathan et al. (1966, 23) would probably characterize the previous discussion as describing the way in which a local tourist industry can

attract tourists other than day users because the services required by such users are few and their expenditures are small. "Where the attraction draws visitors from farther away and it becomes necessary for them to spend a night in the area in order to enjoy its resources, opportunities for recreation industry proliferate. The impact will be a function of the variety of things to do which keep the visitor there and the number of things he can find to spend money on" (Nathan et al. 1966, 23).

Multiplier analysis can provide some insight here by evaluating different segments of a given component of the tourist product. An example of this would be to compare the income generating aspects of substitute products within the lodging sector, such as hotels, campgrounds, or bed and breakfast establishments. According to Lundberg (1980, 169) and Murphy (1985, 89), people who stay in hotels or motels are likely to spend several times more money than those passing through or staying in self-catering facilities such as campgrounds. According to studies cited by Mathieson and Wall (1982, 72-74) and Murphy (1985, 92-94), however, bed and breakfasts have higher multipliers than hotels because the hotels are more likely to import more goods, services, seasonal labor, and capital from outside the area.

Another possible comparison would be between various segments of the amusement sector. For example, golf and ski resorts tend to attract a clientele with greater purchasing power than do family-oriented amusements. Also, studies by Rogers (1973) and the Mountain Outdoor Recreation Alliance (1991), show that these upscale attractions

not only generate substantial income but have considerable job-creating ability. Once again, though, imports are likely to be prominent, especially given the probable need for outside financing.

These comparisons also demonstrate the dichotomous nature of tourism. It can be an industry typified by small businesses in a location dominated by locally run bed and breakfasts, inns, specialty shops, and restaurants, or the development can be of the large resort variety described by Rogers (1973). In this latter scenario, one set of investors will buy up a very large tract of land, quickly build a recreation facility and infrastructure, and then attract second home buyers and retirees to purchase lots. This type of tourist development is very rapid and involves large-scale, planned resort communities. The intention of the investors is not only to build a recreation site, such as ski runs or a golf course that will attract people and generate profits, but also to buy up all the adjacent property so as to capitalize on the increasing land values (thereby preventing other speculators from enjoying externalities). The advantage (at least conceptually) to local governments is that all the infrastructure is financed as part of the development. With infrastructure already in place and an upscale attraction close by, second homes and retirement homes become very attractive, and the developers have land and construction crews ready to accommodate the demand. Consequently though, speed of development and magnitude of capital requirements suggest that imports will be high and local linkages will be low.

In contrast, tourist development may take the form of small-scale businesses, very likely locally owned and family run, as expected to be

found in the involvement stage. If this type of tourist development is coupled with slow growth, then theoretically there should be more time for local linkages to be established, thus decreasing imports or leakages and augmenting local income. In between these two extremes we can find popular destinations that exhibit some features of both. In these locations, typical of the development stage, single business investment can run from small to large (motels and local craft shops alongside hotels, factory-outlet malls, and theme parks), but we also find growth occurring at an accelerated pace. Under these circumstances, we might expect that rapid growth coupled with increasingly larger capital requirements could lead to more imports (including capital), less likelihood of local linkages, and possibly a declining multiplier over time.

When considered from an intertemporal perspective and in conjunction with stages of development, multiplier analysis might be used to provide greater understanding of economic impact and indicate which forms of tourist development might be more preferable than others. But, since accuracy is difficult to achieve in analysis of the present, it is all the more likely to be difficult over time. Murphy (1985, 95) notes that: the static nature of the multiplier model "restricts its application to the base year of data collection and the cost of updating the information can be almost as great as the original study."

Difficulties aside though, the total income approach still falls short of our goal because the costs and benefits associated with tourism will not be evenly distributed and multipliers simply do not

address this. It is simply not possible to determine whether development with a low level of income but a large multiplier versus one with a high level of income but a small multiplier would be more desirable. Without further research we do not know which is preferable because the distributional aspects will vary considerably.

The Benefits of Tourism

Given emphasis on the labor force and local population, the distribution of tourism's benefits and costs will be of paramount importance. One benefit that has already been mentioned is the generation of income. In addition to income derived from direct tourist expenditure, Lundberg (1980, 155-184) and Rogers (1973) identify other sources as well. Land owners or speculators, who have bought land, benefit from rising prices, contractors build all manner of facilities, while other industries engage in transporting tourists.

All the sources of income result in a second benefit, which is revenues for government derived from direct taxation. Theoretically, the local or regional governments should be interested in seeing the tourist industry succeed and should assist in its development. This may necessitate higher costs for the governments, but they will most likely cooperate as long as revenues exceed expenditures.

This mutually supportive relationship between government and private enterprisers in the development of the Jamaican tourist industry during the 1930s is described by Taylor (1993, 142). There was general agreement at the time that without adequate advertising the

tourist industry would not prosper. The question was, who should pay for this? Many felt that the business owners were the principal beneficiaries so they should finance the advertisements. The business people countered that the more business they attracted, the more income and revenue would accrue to the entire island, including the government as a result of the multiplier process. The latter argument proved to be the more persuasive, but for fiscal soundness, it was decided to let the tourists finance the promotion of the island. A duty was subsequently imposed on all visitors who came by sea or air and its level depended on length of stay.

If tourist enterprisers are successful, as those in Jamaica argued, other benefits such as employment would accrue to the community. Based on the multiplier process, three levels of employment can be expected. First, direct employment will occur in tourist establishments such as hotels and restaurants. Second, indirect employment will occur in the sector that supplies the tourist industry. Third, induced employment will result from the recirculation of earnings in the economy (Mathieson and Wall 1982, 76-82). The sheer numbers of tourists promised and employment generated may seem very desirable.

Although many tourist enterprises are labor intensive (large ones also require significant capital), and there is a correlation and causal relationship between tourist generated income and employment, the nature of this employment needs to be considered. First, most of the jobs are at a low skill or unskilled level; the few professional and managerial jobs that are created are frequently filled from outside

the area. Second, most of the jobs are in the form of housekeeping, janitorial, or preparation and service of food and beverages. Further, these jobs are mostly seasonal in nature and/or part-time, and not only have a low productivity potential but they also provide little hope for advancement. Therefore, this type of employment combines low wages, limited potential for improvement, and the probability of earnings being derived only a portion of the year. This combination of negative aspects suggests these jobs will be filled by those on the periphery of, or outside the labor force: married mothers/housewives, students, retired people, or unemployed people from outside the area. As a result, this type of employment may not be desirable as a principal source of income, and thus may have little effect on the local unemployment rate. In fact, studies have shown that for tourist related employment, women outnumber men three to one (Mathieson and Wall 1982, 76-82).

A study of tourism in Scotland cited by Murphy (1985, 97) supports the pessimistic view of employment consequences. "Low multipliers are the rule for rural communities and 'the benefits from tourist expenditure are more apparent then real - it involves a lot of noise and activity but at the end of the day, locals have surprisingly little to show for it.'" The industry offered mainly seasonal and female employment, while providing little relief to the hard-core male unemployment. Jobs requiring skills and expertise were filled by outsiders with locals provided little on-the-job training.

Nathan et al. (1966, 40) also agree with this view by citing the combination of seasonality, low wages and smallness of many businesses

as indicative that the recreation industry is more suited as a supplementary or seasonally complementary source of family income rather the sole source. "Recreation as an industry can provide a considerable supplementary income to an economy based on more varied or productive activities, but...nowhere does recreation by itself form the basis of a viable economy."

There is a solid counter argument to the above. If a location is particularly poor with unskilled potential workers, some income is certainly better than none. Also, these job openings create the possibility for young people to get a first job from which to learn about responsibility and discipline. Which view is the more realistic or pertinent? Perhaps a better question would be: Can tourism generate employment for a destination without it becoming exclusively or predominantly the negative form of employment just described?

One possible way for this to be accomplished is for the local population to capitalize on the externalities that tourism creates. Growth of tourism could result in an expanded market for local production as well as improved infrastructure that could enhance productivity. In other words, tourism has the potential to enhance entrepreneurial activity. Of course this benefit will depend on many factors such as the type of tourism under development and the sort of demands and needs that result from this activity. In addition, the course this historical process has followed will also affect the manner in which linkages develop between the tourist market and the producers and suppliers on which it depends. Further, the capacity of local suppliers to meet these demands is an important consideration, which

can in turn be affected by the rate of development (Mathieson and Wall 1982, 82-85).

What Murphy (1985, 98) concludes from several of the preceding conditions is the ability of tourism to live up to expectations depends on the structure of the local economy in which it operates. Tourism should not be viewed as a weak industry but like any other industry, its impact will reflect the structure of the local economy. Consequently, if expectations from tourism are disappointed, it is not due to a shortcoming of the industry but too often because the expectations are overly optimistic. In such instances, it is not tourism that is weak but rather the structure of the local economy, resulting in excessive leakages.

Nathan et al. (1966, 23-24) view the economic structure problem as one where "effective demand has no local effect if there is no local supply. The larger the town and the more diversified the economy, the fewer the imports." From this perspective, tourism simply will not suffice as a stand-alone industry. However, since all communities do not have the luxury of a pre-existing, fully developed, diversified economy, a different approach may be in order. Clearly, the more the industry is serviced by local suppliers, the more contribution that will be realized in the local economy.

Ideally then, any conditions or factors that can be found to promote and encourage more local linkages should be pursued. One possibility for this might be controlling growth and keeping it at a slower pace. The tradeoff associated with this course is that total income levels will be kept lower than those associated with faster

growth. It might also be expected though, that sudden and rapid development would result in locals being unable to accommodate the expanding market, forcing it to look to outside suppliers (Mathieson and Wall 1982, 82-85). Once such an integrated system has been established, it would undoubtedly become very difficult for locals to penetrate. Total income levels might be higher but the inevitable form of economic participation remaining for the locals would be relegation to low-wage, servile positions[2]. This ultimately should result in the deterioration of social well being for this group because with their incomes at a minimum, they will be ill equipped to bear the costs associated with tourist development.

The Costs of Tourism

Perhaps the cost that becomes most difficult to bear is that of rising prices. Since tourists can afford to pay higher prices, local retailers charge more and also offer more expensive goods and services. Consequently, stores catering to the local market either get displaced by specialty shops or charge prices that the visitors can afford. Either way, the local population has to travel to other areas to obtain provisions (Mathieson and Wall 1982, 86-91). Another way in which higher prices impact the local population is through land values. As Clawson and Knetsch (1966, 215) observe, "when land resources are being allocated to recreational uses by the market mechanism, it is expressed through higher prices bid for such property."

For desirable land, then, high opportunity costs will exist for

any uses other than those associated with extracting revenue from tourists. This extraction can include rents for the accommodation of visitors for temporary periods or it can be derived from outright sales to retirees or second-home builders. Speculation will figure prominently in this process and the local population will clearly be affected. Consider land near a potential tourist destination that is under an alternative use, such as agriculture. If speculators can dislocate the native owners by offering an amount above its current use-value, they can subsequently capitalize on any increase in value due to a change in use.

Are these original owners necessarily worse off? After all, they entered into a voluntary transaction and presumably made an informed choice. Both parties have derived the benefits of their decision with which they can do as they please. What are the former owners' alternatives now? If they wish to remain in the area, they will have to pay significantly higher prices for comparable land. So, they either settle for less land and put it to its best use, seek off-farm employment in the region, or relocate to another area altogether. Is this end result necessarily adverse? No, not from the point of view which proclaims that we have a voluntary market transaction wherein all participants have achieved a desired outcome to their individual benefit. However, there are unmistakable distributional aspects to this event. The concentration of capital in the hands of outside speculators allows them to exercise market power so as to bring about rapid change which becomes manifest in higher prices for land. If local citizens were sufficiently organized at the outset to determine

the nature of development they wished to realize, they could retain ownership of the land and themselves be the ones enjoying the extraction of surplus. The failure of this to occur means the local population could become alienated from the wealth and sources of income in their communities and once again have only the low-wage jobs remaining as an alternative.

The alienation of Appalachian people from their land was the subject of a study by The Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force (1983) which researched the growing tendency for private land to be converted to public land, coupled with the increasing use of private lands for recreational purposes. The concentration of land ownership in the hands of the government, corporations, or absentee proprietors (primarily urban dwelling) means that progressively less land is available for locals or alternative uses. The consequence of this trend is that profits move out of the region and locally-driven diversification does not occur. As the Task Force (1983, 64) noted, lack of available land and infrastructure will result in the failure to attract other businesses. They also note (1983, 87-88) that in tourist counties, second home and resort development displaces agriculture, which can be a primary source of local income and a stable element of a diversified economy. As land prices are driven up, farmers are tempted to sell their land, which then becomes unavailable for agricultural use. This process creates barriers for the expansion of existing farms and to new farms. Those farmers who resist the temptation to sell must then face rising property taxes which are necessary to meet the increasing demands for services resulting from the expansion of

tourism. This will be especially pronounced in counties where government ownership takes a significant portion of the land out of the tax base (typical in tourist areas). The predictable consequence of this is that yet more farmers become tempted to sell out or are obliged to fragment their farms and sell off lots for the sake of tax relief.

The Task Force (1983, 41-63) also discovered that property tax rates applied to different types of owners were regressive. Large absentee land owners and those with speculative holdings were found to enjoy lower tax rates per acre than those applied to small-scale local farmers. Ultimately as farmers abandon their vocation, diversification decreases or is eliminated. The importance of this particular form of diversification was highlighted by the Task Force (1983, 93) via references to several studies on small farms conducted in different areas of the country. These studies showed a direct relationship between small farms and levels of social and economic development in small rural communities. When compared to areas with large farms, the small farm areas had: twice as many businesses, more people supported per dollar of agricultural production, higher standards of living, higher percentages of independent businessmen and white-collar workers, more and better schools, more civic organizations, more churches, and more means of community decision making. Of course, factors other than farm sizes can also have significant impacts as well, but these were not specified.

With diversification declining or absent, a dominant industry such as tourism, which is characterized by low wages and cyclicality, will also likely contribute to the maintenance of lower wages in any

existing low-wage manufacturing jobs. Family incomes of those working in the low-wage manufacturing establishments can be supplemented with tourist income. The effect, however, is similar to the persistence of a surplus supply of labor for the local economy. The manager of a low-wage manufacturing business situated in such an economy will not be compelled to offer significantly higher wages in order to attract labor to that employment. This detrimental cycle further results in a lack of available capital in the tourist region because revenues go either to absentee developers, is held for speculative purposes, or is used for the purchase of real estate where "it is tied up in a second home for personal aesthetic enjoyment" (Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force 1983, 78-79).

The cumulative effect of declining land availability, rising prices, lack of capital, and low levels of income indicates that affordable housing will become difficult to attain. Locals will simply not be able to match the purchasing power of outsiders with considerably higher incomes. Also, high opportunity costs cause communities to be reluctant to allocate land for use in providing low-income housing. Consequently, housing for locals will be characterized by overcrowding as the Task Force (1983, 95-112) observed; or in extreme cases, homelessness will become a chronic problem. This dilemma is occurring now in the tourist destination of Branson, Missouri where low-wage employment opportunities abound, but affordable housing is unavailable. As a result, hundreds of workers are living out of their vehicles, trailers, tents in campgrounds, or homeless shelters in the neighboring town of Springfield (Nachtigal 1994).

Local inflation and loss of the resource base will therefore be significant costs to be born by residents of a tourist destination. Lewis, et al. (1978, 9-26) view this tendency in Appalachia to be the equivalent of colonial exploitation. In this view the area is like a colony suffering from absentee ownership and economic exploitation. The residents are structurally alienated and lacking resources while the absentee owners (coal mine and lumber company owners and tourist developers), who control the resources, preserve their advantage by discrimination and political as well as economic control.

Bingham (1978, 64) laments this process because self-sufficiency, an association with the land, and "the last and most appealing islands of pioneer Elizabethan culture in the world have become victims of that most infectious of American diseases, so called progress." Although loss of culture is not a trivial consideration, Bingham does not offer evidence of native views on the subject but rather pontificates from his own preferences. After all, not everyone desires to remain in a 19th century agricultural mode as do the Amish. Nonetheless, tourist development, particularly in the form of resort complexes and second-home communities, do represent a significant economic transition from small-scale agriculture.

Gottfried (1977) questions tourist development on a more fundamental economic basis. Is it really development if development is defined as a self-sustaining growth in productivity leading to an increase in per capita income which is shared by all strata of society? When considering recreation communities and second-home growth, "linkages...occur mainly along construction and certain tourist-

oriented retail/service lines" (Gottfried 1977, 46). When construction ceases, income and employment from construction dry up and the local economy will be economically depressed. Under these conditions, it is obvious that this type of activity cannot represent a leading sector capable of creating self-sustaining growth. Only continuous construction of new houses or subdivisions can ward off the inevitable situation for locals characterized by higher prices, land sold off, and no income or employment. In the unlikely event that construction does persist on a long-term basis, then this will most likely occur with complete disregard for "aesthetics, rational land use, environment, impact on government, or community integrity" (Gottfried 1977, 47).

Fisher (1979, 131-152) concurs with the above views by noting that the size of most recreational land developments is relatively large; the average size of recreational subdivisions filed with the Office of Interstate Land Sales Registration is 1,000 acres. Further, such speculative investments in the land "preclude alternative land uses and dictate patterns of growth for years to come. They lock up large parcels of land by fragmenting and scattering ownership, making any future reassembly of the land legally difficult and economically prohibitive" (Fisher 1979, 133). Over time the service oriented tourist economy begins to replace the agricultural economy as subdivisions, second homes and golf courses replace farms and woodlands. Eventually, the rural area becomes transformed into a vacation suburb.

Parlow (1978, 177-198) and Raitz et al. (1984, 260-265) describe other impacts that are in store for an area if the resort communities

do not get established as expected or advertised. In such instances, minimal facilities (e.g. roads, water and sewage systems, club houses, and golf courses) are perfunctorily and rapidly constructed merely to give the appearance of their existence but otherwise not built to anyone's standards except the developers. A cleverly orchestrated hard-sell program is implemented to keep prospective buyers off balance, while leading them to believe that properties are selling very quickly. Many of these secondary buyers, in turn, enter into purchase agreements with their own speculative intentions - anticipating future resale of their lots for a profit. The frequent outcome of this process is that subdivisions are created with few houses and poorly maintained facilities.

Additionally, the local community may not even derive the benefits of the construction work. In large resort developments "construction crews under contract to the developing corporations may be brought into a community during the building phase instead of local contractors being hired" (Raitz et al. 1984, 263). This type of rapid development and "corporate self-containment" can result in one or a very few companies building motels, gas stations, convenience stores, specialty shops, and restaurants, which all attract visitors, while at the same time provide no participatory basis for natives but rather create increased competition and may force local businesses to close down.

The process, however, can degenerate further. If the development becomes a financial burden, forcing the developers to declare bankruptcy, then further land-use changes will occur. "The unsold lots

are not reaggregated but are sold to a holding company. Any management and regulatory enforcement of county or subdivision codes is now gone, and any further development is uncontrolled" (Raitz et al. 1984, 261). The outcome of such a situation is that the few initially well-built houses may become subsequently surrounded by shacks and cottages and the property owners become responsible for maintenance of facilities which may deteriorate or be inadequate and create additional problems. One example: many resort communities have been built in areas where thin soils and unsuitable land cannot support the large numbers of septic systems made necessary by small lot sizes; consequently, ground water and streams become polluted (Raitz et al. 1984, 265). Further water problems may transpire through erosion or because diversion of creek flows or damming can produce flooding in bottom lands where it had never occurred previously (Parlow 1978, 186-187).

Parlow (1978,186-187) also identifies some of the political costs that might be incurred by indigenous people in the vicinity of a resort community. In her case study of Valle Crusis in Avery County, North Carolina, the local community association was taken over by the second-home owners. The seasonal residents flooded the summer meetings, elected one of their own as president, and canceled the winter meetings because they would not be able to attend.

In essence then, even though a region may be underdeveloped and poor, the residents initially have at least one asset: the land. As Gottfried (1977, 48) observes, if they lose that one basic resource "they may lose the ability to direct their own future and development." Once the land is lost to second-home developments, golf courses, or

strip development, it is not only no longer available for agricultural or other industrial uses, but the prime beneficiaries are the upper-class individuals who might possibly enjoy sole access to the recreational facilities.

In addition, this transformational process will also involve external costs, as already mentioned, in the form of additional services to support the growing industry and its urbanizing aspects of a rural environment. These will include increased garbage collection and disposal costs; increased police and fire protection; additional infrastructure in the form of roads, parking, water and sewage systems; and increased maintenance costs due to the effects of crowds. There will also be environmental, social and cultural costs to contend with as increasing numbers of visitors and development have the potential to degrade the natural or original attributes that originally attracted tourists. While these are in no way insignificant, their quantification is much more problematical and beyond the scope of this study. It is probably not too unreasonable, however, to assume that degradation of these qualities will very likely be correlated with the economic fortunes of the local population.

Ultimately then, do the economic benefits of tourism exceed the costs? Does this ever occur and if so, under what circumstances? Does the stage of development or speed of development make a difference? By empirically evaluating numerous social welfare criteria in the framework of the destination life cycle, evidence may be provided to identify a preferable course of tourist development. The size of the study area (nine counties in the Smoky Mountain Region) and the period

covered by the survey (back to the creation of the national park and prior) should provide evidence of the evolutionary process.

CHAPTER 4

TOURISM AND THE EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

The Era of Stagecoaches and Railroads

The evolution of tourism as an industry has been closely interrelated with modes of travel and routes. This process has been continuous and has shifted from stagecoaches, to railroads, and finally to automobiles and air travel. The actual origins of tourism in the United States go back as far as the 1790s when visitors began traveling to thermal springs in the mountains of Virginia (Raitz et al. 1984, 239). Prior to this time "Puritanism held sway, [and] a lust for recreational travel...was considered something morally reprehensible - as sinful as alcohol and as aberrant as sexual fantasy" (Taylor 1993, 5-6). Lodging establishments for business travelers, however, had been in existence since colonial days[3].

These enterprises were typically located in the center of small towns and cities where transients could be expected to arrive by either land or sea, with the need to spend several days. A typical location in early towns would have been near stagecoach lines and the lodging establishments themselves would have been no more than taverns with few amenities: no indoor plumbing was available, entrances were only through a barroom, and rooms frequently had to be shared. As innovations were adopted, travel accommodations became less Spartan and more pleasant. The first establishment to be built as an actual hotel

in the United States was the seventy room City Hotel on Broadway in New York City in 1794. In 1829, the Tremont house in Boston introduced many significant innovations by offering: a lobby with a front desk (guests no longer had to enter through a barroom), indoor plumbing, a free cake of soap, and rooms that could be locked. In 1881, the Prospect House of Blue Mountain Lake, New York became the first hotel to install electric lights. The development of the hotel proper meant that private rooms had become the norm, but during the 1800s this was not yet the case for private baths; one facility was usually located on each floor, to be shared by the guests ("Some Hospitality-Industry Milestones" 1985; "The Evolution of..." 1985).

From colonial days until World War I, hotels in cities and towns were used primarily by traveling salesmen and other businessmen "often to the embarrassment of women traveling alone and men traveling with their families" (Jakle 1985, 116). Wear (1987, 45-47) gives a regional impression of this tendency by noting that the Central Hotel in Sevierville, Tennessee was frequently occupied by traveling salesmen, known as drummers, who showed their wares to local buyers. Other regular customers were milliners, who made the hotel their seasonal home, while visiting the different stores in town to create custom-made hats for ladies.

Recreational tourism however, began to emerge by the second quarter of the 19th century with the relaxation of Puritan attitudes and the development of resort hotels made accessible by improved roads. These resort hotels were designed to be fashionable and appeal to America's upper class. They were developed around mineral springs

(spas), scenic curiosities (e.g. Niagara Falls), or scenic areas offering relief from climatic extremes: cooler summers of mountains or seashore, or warmer winters of the South and far West (Jakle 1985, 53-54). Stagecoaches provided the initial means of transport; however, in spite of better quality roads this mode was not only slow and hard but also expensive. Such trips could only be justified if the duration of stay was for several months (Dykeman 1955, 179-182; Swaim 1981, 1-19). Consequently, participation in early tourism in the United States was only for the affluent.

Railroads and steamships improved travel conditions and resorts were frequently developed by these interests. Despite the reduction in transportation costs and dramatic improvements in travel time, resort hotels and tourism continued to be chiefly the domain of the affluent (Atlantic City with its close proximity to a major metropolitan region was clearly an exception). Raitz et al. (1984, 239) observe that some smaller hotels also began to appear, thus providing accommodations to lesser capitalists or upper-middle class, while the larger resort hotels presumably maintained their clientele of more prominent capitalists and the landed gentry. Not only were resorts designed to attract people desiring to stay for prolonged periods under posh conditions while enjoying fashionable recreations, but travel itself was considered formal, "requiring decorum appropriate to public places" (Jakle 1985; 53-54, 100).

The oldest and most fashionable of the 19th century resort hotels were the spas which offered the purported healing effects of their natural spring waters. The primary purpose of visits to resorts,

however, was to socialize and have a change of scenery and routine (Jakle 1985, 53-54). They offered luxurious surroundings, formal dining, and entertainment in the form of evening dance music. Daily activities included: hunting, fishing, hiking, horseback riding, croquet, and later tennis and golf. The tourist product at that time was, therefore, one of prolonged relaxation in an expensive, single location, with guests "communing with nature and engaging in a continual round of card parties and cotillion" (Raitz et al. 1984, 238). More specifically, whereas the city hotels were dominated by men in business capacities, the Victorian resort hotels were the domain of women who with their children spent the summers in relaxation while husbands visited for an occasional week or two, but otherwise remained in the cities to work (Belasco 1979, 56-61).

The Era of the Automobile

The earlier era of tourism was brought to a close after World War I by the automobile. In essence, the automobile provided freedom and flexibility to explore the surrounding country and to stop at will rather than be tied to the confines of the resort's property or a railroad's cars, schedules, and routes. The greater mobility provided by automobiles meant tourists could continue to move on rather than be obliged to stay put (Tindell 1973, 105-108). Although automobile travel was not immediately competitive in cost with the railroad, motoring became a popular leisure-time activity and was still primarily so even through the 1920s. "Motoring was not just a means of getting

somewhere. It was, itself, the focus of trip taking" (Jakle 1985, 117-119).

As automobiles became more affordable and road networks were improved, tourism became the egalitarian activity so prevalent today. In the 1940s a network of intercity, hard-surfaced highways was brought to completion and in the 1950s the high-speed, limited-access, interstate freeway system was begun (Jakle 1985, 120). Airplane travel also evolved to create another alternative to passenger railroads. As a result of these changes the nature of tourism was irrevocably altered. The exclusive 19th century resorts fell into decline and new types of lodging establishments came into existence. In the course of this process, businesses were attracted away from train stations to airports and along major roads. The lodging establishments came to be designed to cater to the automobile and motorist by offering parking garages and drive-in registration. Over time, this process brought about the birth and profusion of the motor hotel or motel ("The Evolution of..." 1985).

A principal feature of this development was that less affluent Americans became able to participate more extensively in tourism after World War I. The working class came to enjoy standard ten-day to two-week vacations, automobiles became more affordable and combined with an expanding road system, this middle-income group eventually came to dominate the industry (Jakle 1985, 148). Based on statistics for numbers of automobiles and average wholesale value in Table 4.1 we can observe the increase in participation. According to Belasco (1979, 96-115) by 1927, half of all American families owned cars and touring

"remained" a predominantly middle class activity. Further, a survey of autocampers in Yellowstone National Park in 1926 revealed the following social equality of participants: 6,360 farmers, 2,459 salesmen, 2,062 professionals, 2,035 merchants, 1,817 teachers, 1,455 mechanics, 1,454 laborers, 1,384 students, 1,293 business proprietors and executives, 1,089 clerks, and 1,006 retired people.

Table 4.1 Automobiles and Wholesale Value 1900-1929

Year	Registered Autos	No. Cars Sold	Wholesale Value ($000)	Average $ Value
1900	8,000	4,192	4,899	1,169
1905	77,400	24,250	38,670	1,595
1910	458,377	181,000	215,340	1,190
1915	2,332,426	895,930	575,978	643
1920	8,131,522	1,905,560	1,809,171	949
1925	17,481,001	3,735,171	2,458,370	658
1929	23,120,897	4,455,178	2,790,614	626

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Historical Statistics of the United States...* (1960)

Since the less affluent did not have the funds with which to linger at expensive resorts, as did the elite in a prior era, more affordable accommodations had to be made available. Camping was one of the first lodging alternatives for the less affluent. Initially, people simply parked on the side of the road and set up camp. As more and more tourists were taking to the roads, communities decided that they should make camping facilities available to the tourists. The first such campgrounds were, therefore, municipal ones and served the purpose of confining the adverse consequences of growing numbers of transients; they could all be kept in one spot and as a consequence

would not be disturbing farm property by generating litter and building campfires all over the countryside. Another perceived benefit of these campgrounds was that any undesirable elements could be more easily identified and kept away. People who were typical of this group migrated from town to town, living out of an old automobile, while staying in one location long enough to obtain the means to move on before being evicted. These transients were not acknowledged as tourists and therefore not welcomed (Belasco 1979, 3-4; Jakle 1985, 149-169).

The drawback to communities which provided these free camping facilities was that intertown competition to attract tourists resulted in more services being provided which strained municipal budgets. Consequently, fees began to be charged and private entrepreneurs were able to enter the field, when previously they not been able to compete against subsidized free camping. Thus, within a very short period of time tourist camps became private rather than municipal facilities and subsequently cabins began to be offered for accommodations as well. In spite of their initial primitive nature, the cabins proved to be quite popular and as a result cabin camps were established and spread through the 1920s. As the cabins became more substantial and conveniences were added, they became known as cottages and as these in turn became integrated under a single roof, they became known as tourist courts or motor courts in the years prior to World War II (Belasco 1979; 3-4, 129-142).

The evolution of automobile-related tourist activity affected travel dining in a similar fashion. As motels supplanted camping,

roadside diners and drive-ins replaced picnicking. Ultimately, these enterprises (along with gasoline filling stations) were dominant components of the overall process that culminated in commercial strip development - businesses catering to the needs of a motoring population (Jakle 1985, 149-169).

Subsequent to the second world war, tourist activity expanded rapidly. Increases in leisure time coincided with a high level of pent-up demand and economic prosperity. The Great Depression was over, the economy was experiencing high levels of employment, productivity and standards of living were on the rise, and accumulated savings from war-time employment were available to be spent. The enterprise most identified with this expansion is the motel (motor hotel) as the motor courts came to be known during the 1950s. More prominent yet was the rapidity with which corporate forms of development came to dominate the industry, not only the through chain motel but also the large-scale cluster developments.

Chains, however, were not new to the hotel industry. Two of the first and most famous chains were those created by Ellsworth M. Statler and Conrad N. Hilton and consisted of large center-city hotels near train stations. Although the Statler chain actually consisted of independent businesses until a reorganization was implemented in 1947, Statler's innovations were quite significant. Among these, his first permanent hotel in Buffalo, New York in 1908 featured a bathroom in every guest room, running ice water, and electric light switches by the door. Private bathrooms were made possible by the development of the plumbing chase, a vertical corridor for pipes and other utilities now

common in high-rise construction and attributed to Statler. This innovation understandably left outmoded most existing hotels of the time. The Hilton chain, in contrast, began as a more conventional system, and in 1954 Hilton purchased the entire Statler operation. Although train travel was in decline, Hilton did not readily pursue the growing auto and airport markets but rather persisted in downtown locations in order to pursue the convention and meeting market (Lee 1985).

The chain that first catered to the roadside, airport, and suburban market was Holiday Inn, which has since grown to become the largest hotel chain. Kemmons Wilson opened the first Holiday Inn in Memphis, Tennessee in 1952 with the idea of appealing to families traveling by car; with expansion came the concept of offering a consistent product. These motels featured large rooms, two double beds, a restaurant, swimming pool, free television, free ice, and a telephone in every room. Wilson's creation proved to be an instant success; three additional Holiday Inns were built in 1954 and franchises began to be sold in 1955. The company went public in 1957 and its continued growth paralleled that of the U.S. highway system, which became the nation's largest public-works program resulting in 41,000 miles of high-speed roads (Lee 1985).

Although motels were initially mom-and-pop, no-frills, family-owned operations the chains quickly expanded and came to dominate the lodging industry. Chain operations offered (for the most part) standardized quality, and they had the corporate resources with which to acquire the strategic locations made available by the new road

networks. One adverse effect of the federal interstate-highway program on the lodging industry was that many of the family-owned, independent motels found themselves stranded along abandoned routes. Predictably, these businesses faced seriously declining revenues and many were forced to close. Further, in addition to greater capital resources, superior locations, and newer and better facilities, the chains also had the advantage of offering the convenience of reservations networks (Brown and Lefever 1990).

Along with the growth of chains, other observable trends in the scale and scope of tourist establishments took place. Prior to World War II "much of the recreational development...was accomplished by individuals, who built their own seasonal homes for their own use, or by local entrepreneurs. Developments were usually oriented to a physical resource. There was little evidence of planning, major expenditures, or organized commercial business investment in most projects. After World War II the ballooning demand for recreational facilities and seasonal homes was increasingly filled by planned and promoted business ventures. Large-scale cluster developments evolved usually near a physical resource, but [its] role [was] of secondary importance. Instead, the emphasis turned to constructed activities" (Raitz et al. 1984, 251-252). The projects that were created were the large-scale resort/second-home communities, as described in the previous chapter, which effectively converted rural settings into suburban-vacation enclaves. These could only be created by means of concentrated corporate capital followed up by major expenditures in promotion and advertising. Therefore, as specific locations have

displayed evidence of a destination life cycle, the tourist product itself has also displayed evidence of the product life cycle; with the maturation of the industry, corporate concentration came to be an increasing tendency.

As a consequence of continued prosperity then, the tourist industry (primarily in the form of automotive travel) has experienced a period of prolonged expansion since World War II. The oil shocks and inflation of the 1970s produced a temporary reversal of this trend but a rebound occurred during the economic expansion of the 1980s. Motels and chains have come to dominate the lodging industry: in 1987 the top 25 chains owned or managed 52% of all rooms, while 75% of industry revenue was accounted for by chains (the top ten chains accounted for 41.1% of all rooms). Changing demographics and travel patterns have also been occurring in the last ten to fifteen years. Social and economic conditions have forced many families to take shorter but more frequent vacations as opposed to the more traditional longer vacation. Offsetting this trend, however, is the fact that the population on average is aging which should result in more leisure travel (Dev and Hubbard 1989). Another consequence of population aging is that travel will more likely be undertaken during non-peak seasons, as more retired people and "empty nesters" will not be confined to traveling during school's summer vacation period.

In summary, the nature of the tourist industry over time has been to an overwhelming degree a function of the modes and routes of travel and the accessibility/affordability thereof. When travel was slow, difficult, and costly, tourism was the domain of the wealthy in their

exclusive resorts. Railroads reduced travel costs and provided greater accessibility, but only the relatively affluent could still afford the extended leisure time necessary to frequent the still dominant and expensive resorts. With the mass production of the automobile, improvements in road networks and increasing participation of the working class in the expanding economy, tourism came to be dominated by wage earners in an automobile-oriented society. As a result of the "mass follows class" phenomenon, tourism has grown to be a significant force not only in the overall economy but as an almost exclusive one in select regions. The Great Smoky Mountain Region is one that has experienced all phases described above.

CHAPTER 5

EARLY TOURISM IN THE SMOKY MOUNTAIN REGION AND THE COMING OF THE PARK

Defining the Early Development

Tourism in the Greater Smoky Mountain region began early in the 19th century, with wealthy people enjoying lengthy periods of leisure time at resort hotels associated with mineral springs and cool mountain summers. Two of these early, prominent hotels were the Montvale Springs Hotel (the Saratoga of the South) built in 1832 in Blount County, Tennessee and the Sulphur Springs Hotel of West Asheville, North Carolina built in 1830 (Burns 1957, 71-94; Allen 1960, 52-56).

As the 19th century progressed, more and better roads were carved through the forested mountains and over gaps; later still railroads were introduced into the region further increasing accessibility. Consequently, more resort hotels and some second homes began to dot the mountain landscape so that many areas became notable as summer resort destinations.

How much tourist development actually took place during the early years of the recreation industry? What stage or stages of development would this represent and what was the economic impact thereof? To answer these questions, historical and anecdotal works must be used because contemporary federal and state reporting did not address such issues as they do today. Neither Chambers of Commerce nor Tourist Boards yet existed and local governments did not collect this

information. Qualitative information will be offered to address these issues for the early period of tourist development of approximately 100 years: beginning in the 1830s and going roughly through to the 1930s.

In order to clearly define this period of development, the distinctions made in the previous chapter need to be stressed. The *stages* of development specified in chapter two are important but so are distinct *eras* of development as specified in chapter four. In the modern era of the automobile, identifiable stages of the Butler Model are relevant, fairly ascertainable, and will be discussed at length. The by-gone, antiquated era of the stagecoach and railroad, however, really represents its own fully distinct time period with consistent characteristics throughout and should be addressed separately.

The archaic era, the one to be dealt with in this chapter, is associated with tourism that depended primarily on stagecoaches and railroads for transportation, and occurred when tourism was the domain of only a small percentage of the population. The main characteristics of this era were low levels of effective demand due to the expense of travel and lodging, coupled with limited accessibility due to primitive forms of transport. The inevitable consequence of these traits is the supply of tourist establishments would not only be at correspondingly low levels but also that instances of industry concentration would be uncommon. As Kephart (1976, 270) observed in 1913, "the chief drawback to travel in this region, aside from the roads, is not the character of the people, but the quality of bed and board. Of course there are good hotels at most of the summer resorts, but these are few and scattering at present for a territory so immense."

By combining these attributes with those of an area that had a sparse and diffused population, engaged in subsistence agriculture, the expectation would be that the economic impact of such tourism would be fairly limited. A contributing factor to this is noted by Jakle (1985, 62-63), who observes that every resort and resort hotel had a prime season. Thus, when the hotels in the South were closed at the end of winter, others began to open further north. As a result, many of the hotel workers moved from resort to resort as the cycle progressed, thus eliminating many employment prospects for locals.

Base-Line Living Standards of the Populace

One issue that must be resolved before proceeding with the discussion of economic impacts is the base-line level of existence of the population in the subject region. Put simply, the general level in the Smoky Mountains region was not only one of subsistence agriculture but also of isolation and poverty. These characteristics may not have been particularly noteworthy in the 1850s, but as they persisted into the 20th century, any analysis of economic impact needs to be treated as changes effected and not just in comparison with national averages. The pattern of work on small farms in otherwise rugged terrain and relatively infertile lands meant that output per farm and per capita was fairly low, while isolation prevented educational services and improved farming techniques from penetrating the mountains for many years.

The more prosperous farmers were those that first claimed the

limited bottom lands of the fertile river valleys and were also able to speculate on more mountainous acreage. The poorer settlers who followed had no choice but to accept much less desirable land because alternatives and capital resources were both lacking. "Over the years the former class grew rich as their land increased in value, while the lower classes tended to sink into poverty as the game became scarce and their land overcrowded" (Swaim 1981, 9-11).

The combination of hardscrabble farming with small holdings, on marginal land, and by large families in isolation not only created poverty but contributed to its persistence well into the 20th century. Frome (1966, 245-250) describes the conditions that Dr. Robert F. Thomas, a medical missionary, discovered in Pittman Center, just 15 miles from Gatlinburg, Tennessee, in 1926. Dr. Thomas was struck by the ancient ways of the hills: not a single cabin in the vicinity had an indoor toilet and there were no telephones for miles around. In Dr. Thomas's estimation, the hilly land produced at best only one third of the corn that could have been grown on quality lowland in the valleys. "Infants were dying of diarrhea, of parasitic worms in the intestines. Typhoid, caused by unsanitary living...was...the dread plague of the mountains." Other afflictions Dr. Thomas regularly dealt with or treated were poor nutrition, small pox, pellagra, tuberculosis, trachoma, and diphtheria. Frome (1966, 79) summarizes the conditions as follows: in remote areas (which constituted the majority of our subject area) "there was nothing approaching sanitation. Shoes were little worn around the home. People would suffer diet deficiency, hookworm, typhoid, and tuberculosis."

Bowman (1938, 22-23) gives a very similar description of the general conditions in the region, where she found "people living almost without roads, schools, modern conveniences, doctors or nurses, where typhoid fever, hookworm, and childbirth took their yearly toll along with frequent epidemics." Other common problems noted: a lack of sanitation, poor ventilation in the cabins, poorly cooked food, and very little variety in the food served.

Ironically, the introduction of the first large-scale, area-wide industry, logging, only exacerbated the conditions of many of the poor inhabitants. Prior to the 20th century, timber harvests were kept low by the rough terrain and inaccessibility of the region even though steam-powered saws were employed on a considerable level in other, more accessible forests after the 1820s. Logging in the Smoky Mountain Region was predominantly engaged in for clearing-for-farmland sake or on a very limited basis by small-scale operations for the extraction of expensive cabinet woods: cherry and walnut, etc. By the 1880s however, the logging railroad, cable skidding, and the band saw meant that the forests of the Southern Appalachians were prime for exploitation. By the turn of the century, outside logging interests began to buy large holdings of mountain land (tens of thousands of acres each), and massive clear-cutting efforts began (Frome 1966, 161-170).

The Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force (1983, 82) describes one means by which the logging companies were able to acquire such huge holdings at the expense of the small farmer. Title searches were understandably conducted by the companies on land in which they were interested. What they discovered was that many farmers had title to

only a small percent of the land they cultivated and used, thus providing ease of acquisition for the logging owners. Therefore, the farmers not only lost all of their untitled land but the lumbering efforts that followed were exploitive and incredibly wasteful, so that by the 1930s only a "legacy of devastation" remained. By that time the timber resources were exhausted and few long-range benefits were provided to the host counties (The Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force 1983, 74).

Frome (1966, 161-170) and The Smoky Mountain Historical Society (1986, 103-128) describe in greater detail the destruction that was imposed on the forests of the region by the large logging enterprises. Once the logging camps and railroads were built to provide machinery and accessibility, clear cutting of the forests began. Unfortunately, no efforts were made to regenerate the forests but instead, tree tops and branches were left scattered as litter, sparks from the wood-fired locomotives started conflagrations, and then the rains washed away the remaining ashes and exposed soil, leading to even more destruction, waste, and environmental degradation. "In all, the Little River Company [a typical operation] left a wasteland where a forest had been. No consideration was paid to wildlife, water quality, or forest regeneration" (The Smoky Mountain Historical Society 1986, 123).

The effect of all these factors was that a region characterized by poverty, isolation, and small-scale, subsistence agriculture was left under even worse conditions. The residents still had large families, even less marginal land from which to subsist, and the one dominant resource of the region was virtually obliterated. Even where

second growth was occurring, it was always of inferior quality as the first trees to repopulate an area are predominantly ones of significantly less commercial value.

Further evidence of the general state of conditions of the population is provided by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in their Agricultural - Industrial Survey of 1934. In Sevier County, Tennessee the TVA survey (1934, 87) characterizes the general farm conditions by stating that only a very small percent of the farm houses had conveniences and in many instances all over the county, the barn was a better structure than the house. In such instances, the houses were typically little more than shacks or cabins in poor repair. In Swain County, North Carolina, the TVA (1934, 154) observed that the majority of households were also in very bad financial condition. The great lumbering industries were gone and all that the residents had with which to support themselves was five to ten acres of poor land on steep mountain slopes. For these farmers, "the standard of social life is very low [and] the majority of these people are forced to live in a deplorable condition."

In Graham County, North Carolina, similar conditions were noted (TVA 1934, 154). Over half of the houses in the county were in a poor state of preservation and built in the pioneer plan - log cabins. The description of these cabins consists of vertically planked walls, shuttered windows, crude and hand-made doors, no paint, and with a cook stove that was usually fashioned out of an old oil drum or some other cylindrically shaped iron or steel structure.

Essentially, the conditions that observers in 1934 or thereafter

found deplorable, merely become more and more typical the further into the past one explores. It is only by comparisons that such subjective judgments can be made. What is unusual about the Southern Appalachian region is that such conditions persisted on a wide-spread basis for so long. The main point to be stressed here is that the persistent base-line conditions were for the most part at a primitive, subsistence, and marginal level. The activities of the large-scale lumbering industry did not create any lasting benefit to the residents of the region and the early tourist industry was too small and scattered to effect much real impact as well.

The Economic Impact of Early Tourism

For the most part, then, the economy of this region remained predominantly one of subsistence agriculture. "The lack of large cultivable tracts of land resulted in the acquisition of small holdings for farming purposes and in dispersed settlement patterns. This agricultural pattern in which 'no discernible product or combination of products dominates the economy' was sustained on a subsistence basis in the region until the last decade" (Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force 1980, 1).

One of the first incursions into the Southern Appalachians occurred when wealthy South Carolinians from Charleston went to Flat Rock, North Carolina (in Henderson County, which is just outside our subject area) during the summer months to escape the heat, mosquitoes, and disease characteristic of the coastal plain. According to Dykeman

(1955, 182), these South Carolinians brought

> "more than carriages full of handsomely dressed ladies and gentlemen, well trained servants, wagonloads of household furnishings, trunks, pantry provisions and the niceties of Charleston and Europe - bringing also a way of life, pleasant, well-founded in money from plantation and shipping and merchant enterprises, and impossible for the residents in the mountains of Western North Carolina or East Tennessee to imitate where farms were limited, money was scarce and trade was almost nonexistent. They were, then, these seasonal residents of their mountain Charleston, a little world set apart from the other settlements on the French Broad [River] and its tributaries."

For the Flat Rock Community the only influence was through provision of a summer market for farm and garden products such as fruit, vegetables, poultry, and dairy goods. These transactions provided the farmers with otherwise very scarce currency.

The Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force (1980, 25) concurs with this view of early tourism in the Western North Carolina Mountains. "For many years, it was a seasonal industry without a large infrastructure. Boarding houses and a few large inns supplied a retreat from steamy summer weather for coastal residents. Several resort towns, such as Flat Rock and Blowing Rock, were established and second homes were built in these areas. At this point in its development, the recreation industry exerted little influence over the local agrarian economy."

Early roads were what allowed the initial social and economic incursions into the area, and the first of these in Western North Carolina was the Buncombe Turnpike which was completed in 1827. This Greeneville to Greenville toll road followed the French Broad River Valley proceeding southeast from Tennessee to Asheville and Buncombe County and thence over the Saluda Gap to South Carolina. The route effectively connected Kentucky and Tennessee with markets in South Carolina and Georgia and as a result great herds of cattle and swine and flocks of turkeys were herded down the road to the coast. Consequently, numerous stands and inns were opened along the route to accommodate this traffic as well as the tourist traffic proceeding in the opposite direction (Tessier 1992, 35; Swaim 1981, 9-19; Allen 1960, 153).

"During fall and winter as many as 175,000 hogs alone passed down to Augusta and Charleston, while in the summer these two Southern cities sent great entourages of servants and fine carriages. They came for the cool mountain climate and to bathe in healthful spring water" (Swaim 1981, 9-16) All along the route, inns and taverns served as both stock "stands," housing the drovers and feeding the animals, and as stage stops for tourists and travelers (Allen 1960, 153). The first hotel near the route was opened at Sulphur Springs in 1827, four miles west of Asheville, and by 1848 it could accommodate up to 200 guests as well as their servants and carriages. Other summer resorts followed and many doubled as stock "stands" in the fall and winter (Swaim 1981, 9-16).

Interestingly though, Swaim (1981, 16) points out that "on the

whole the stock drives had a much larger impact on the local economy than did the early tourist trade." The reason for this is that the stands accommodated many thousands of animals in addition to possibly a few hundred people. Therefore, food for the passing animals provided income to farmers who sold to the stands. Further, the profits generated by the stands allowed their owners to purchase goods from town, which could subsequently be sold to the farmers, who now had previously unavailable resources. This corn trade had the effect of providing accessibility to goods and as a result the stands also became stores for the local farming communities. This level of activity came to an end, however, because of the Civil War and the railroad.

The railroad finally made its way into the region in 1882 and brought many southern planters, made prosperous by tobacco production, to the mountains of Asheville, North Carolina. As was true with many other cities, the completion of the railroad through Asheville brought a significant increase in economic activity and a rapid growth in the population, which expanded from 2610 to 11,500 between 1880 and 1890 (Allen 1960, 52-56). Hotels were built, locals established boarding houses, and summer residents began to appear in greater numbers. According to Swaim (1981, 38-39), however, much of the growth during the late 19th century took place as a result of the bright-leaf tobacco boom that expired in the late 1890s. By 1883 there were 4 warehouses in Asheville selling 1.5 million pounds of tobacco; by the height of the boom, seven million pounds were being sold. Additionally, there were three factories turning out plug, twist, and pipe tobacco.

Swaim (1981, 85) clearly identifies the post railroad boom as

being largely an urban (Asheville) phenomenon. As for the surrounding county: tourists, wealth and business "came to rural Buncombe thinly if at all." The tobacco boom and several waves of logging provided temporary boosts to the rural economy but neither "provided a stable alternative to the traditional pattern of subsistence farming. Those with marginal ties to the land were freed for 'public work' at new industries in town."

Blackmun (1977, 293-294) concurs that up to 1880, South Carolinians in Western North Carolina had at best only a slight effect on the region, while Tessier (1992, 53) notes the same level of impact for the subsequent period. By 1890 Asheville may have had many of the trappings of modern civilization: water, electricity, telephones, and paved streets; but "everyday farmlife had changed very little [and] in the country, oxen still pulled homemade ploughs."

A similar situation could be found on the Tennessee side of the mountains where a few resort hotels attracted the social elite but otherwise had minimal effect on the local economy or population. In Sevier County, the Smoky Mountain Historical Society (1986, 1-3) notes that by 1900 "the traditional life was still dominant and change seemed very far away. There they cleared the land, raised livestock and reared children, and lived not vastly different lives from those of their forebears a century before." This despite the fact that there were five resort facilities in the county associated with mineral springs and noted for their scenic settings.

Martin (1994, 166) provides additional evidence for East Tennessee. Although tourists first came to Sevier County in the 1890s

to “immerse themselves in the ‘health restoring’ cold waters of...Henderson Springs, tourism did not have a major impact on the local employment pattern until after the establishment of the national park in 1934.” The local population was “dependent principally upon agriculture and chronically underemployed.”

In Blount County we do not find such direct references to early tourist impacts but an indirect inference is available. In Dunn’s history of Cades Cove (1988, 63-89, 183), we find a rather isolated mountain community whose most important road and link to the outside world ran past the Montvale Springs Hotel on its way to Maryville and Knoxville. The cove’s land is described as very fertile and in combination with the communal lifestyle allowed surplus production. Consequently, every fall a train of wagons left the cove with a variety of crops headed for the regional market of Knoxville, thus providing for the main part of the typical family’s cash earnings. Ironically, no mention is made of any produce being raised for or sold to the resort hotel, although Montvale Springs did have a store which the cove residents patronized - presumably with earnings from the Knoxville market.

Based on the preceding evidence, therefore, it appears that for the vast majority of the subject region, at most only a minimal economic impact was derived from tourism in what can best be described as an archaic era (Asheville, North Carolina does present one notable exception to this in the early 20th century but that will be addressed in the more detailed analyses pertaining to specific county areas). During the days of resort hotels and railroads, tourist activity was

limited and the primary economic activity of the region was subsistence agriculture. With the introduction of the automobile in the early 20th century, tourist activity did not expand dramatically in the Southern Appalachians because most mountain roads were in very poor condition and frequently impassable. As Peattie (1943, 320) noted, "only in recent years have roads been improved. Previously, inaccessibility kept most visitors away".

The Creation of the National Park

The events that produced truly dramatic change in the region - converting it into a major tourist attraction - were the creation of the national park and accessibility provided by improved roads for motoring tourists who no longer consisted of a small affluent class. Brown (1990, 14) and Simpson et al. (1956, 12) identify the first efforts to create a national park in the Southern Appalachians as having begun in Asheville in 1899 with the formation of the Southern Appalachian Conservation Association. The group consisted of nature lovers and promoted the idea of a park as a means of conserving the forested mountains from the depredations of lumbering. Although the efforts of this organization resulted in the U.S. Senate passing a bill appropriating $5,000,000 for the establishment of a park in 1902, both private and public lumbering interests proved too strong in opposition and the bill was defeated in the House of Representatives. Conservation as a cause did not yet generate much support. As the group's efforts were to no avail, it disbanded in 1905.

Campbell (1960, 16) identifies the successful effort to create a national park as originating in Knoxville, Tennessee in 1923 with the creation of the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association. The difference between this campaign and the prior one was that, according to Brown (1990, 5-6) and Dunn (1988, 242), conservation and preservation were not enough; the effective promoters of the park were those desiring tourism and development for Knoxville and Asheville. In short, the successful counterargument against the dominant lumbering interests was the promise of potentially greater economic benefit through tourism. Dunn (1990, 242) states that this was the rationale used by Colonel Chapman, a Knoxville park movement leader and prominent spokesman, to argue for a national park in the Smoky Mountains as opposed to yet another national forest. Chapman noted that two national forests already existed in East Tennessee and these had brought neither "prestige" nor "advertising." A national park, however, could be expected to "bring nationwide attention and commerce to Knoxville."

Based on these more convincing lobbying efforts, Dr. Hubert Work, the Secretary of the Interior, established the Southern Appalachian National Park Committee to visit the mountainous Southeast and recommend a possible site or area. In addition to several other locations, the committee toured the Great Smoky Mountains in August 1924 and on December 13, 1924 recommended two National Parks - Shenandoah and the Great Smokies (Campbell 1960, 22-25).

Unlike national parks in the West which were created from land that was already under federal ownership, the problem with establishing

an Eastern National Park, was the land was all privately owned. In the case of the Great Smoky Mountains, over 85% of total park acreage was owned by just 18 timber and pulpwood companies, while the rest consisted of 1,200 small farms and 5,000 lots and summer homes occupied by 4,200 individuals and an unknown number of tenants (Campbell 1960, 12; Brown 1990, 40; Frome 1966, 161-170; The Smoky Mountain Historical Society 1986, 237-241).

Based primarily on the fund-raising, revenue appropriating, and land-acquisition efforts of Colonel Chapman and the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association in Tennessee; Great Smoky Mountains, Inc. and State Senator Mark Squires in North Carolina; Arno Cammerer, the assistant director and later director of the national park service; and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the park became a reality. In 1925 a federal bill was signed authorizing national parks in the Great Smoky Mountains and Shenandoah, and in 1926 a bill was signed designating that with 150,000 acres turned over to the federal government, the Smoky Mountain Park was officially established and to be administered by the Secretary of the Interior. In 1927 the states began appropriating funds for land acquisitions and establishing land buying commissions. The 1927 bills also established the power of the newly appointed park commissioner to seize land via condemnation proceedings by right of eminent domain (Raitz et al. 1984, 247; Dunn 1988, 246; Brown 1990, 58; Campbell 1960, 36, 51-54).

While the original intent was for the states of Tennessee and North Carolina to purchase all the park land and deed it over to the federal government, the states were not able to generate sufficient

funds because not enough grassroots support materialized. Of the 507,554 acres purchased at a cost of $12,664,462, Tennessee and North Carolina provided $4,095,696 - only about $1,000,000 of which was raised by private subscription, the federal government supplied $3,503,766 - of which about one third was from TVA owned Fontana property turned over to the park, and the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial donated $5,065,000. Though many of the private owners concluded land sales uneventfully with the park authorities, some lumber companies and individuals held out and fought legal battles all the way to the state supreme courts. Ultimately, in spite of the tremendous difficulties associated with generating the funds and acquiring the lands, the Great Smoky Mountains National Park was officially established on June 15, 1934 and was formally dedicated by President Roosevelt on September 2, 1940 (Frome 1966, 202; Brown 1990, 17; The Smoky Mountain Historical Society 1986, 237-241, Campbell, 1960, 59, 96).

As might have been expected, speculation on land in and around the park began as early as 1926. Out of North Carolina's total purchases, 69,579 acres were from four speculators who had offered the resident farmers a low price for their land and suggested the government would offer even less. Inevitably, the people displaced by the formation of the park had difficulty finding comparable land since much of that outside the park had been driven up in price (Frome 1966, 202; Brown 1990, 55; The Smoky Mountain Historical Society 1986, 237-241).

The Blue Ridge Parkway

In addition to the establishment of the national park in the region, a compatible federal project that began during this period was the creation of the Blue Ridge Parkway which was to connect the Great Smoky Mountains National Park with the Shenandoah National Park. This parkway was a product of the National Industrial Recovery Act of June 18, 1933, which "authorized the Public Works Administrator to prepare a comprehensive program of works which would include construction, repair, and improvement of public highways and parkways. The basic principle underlying all these acts was to provide for the construction of parkways in a manner that would protect yet make available for public enjoyment the outstanding points of scenic beauty along the route" (Jolly 1969, 20).

Although the planning and surveying for a pleasure road to follow the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountains, so as to attract tourism and economic growth, began as early as 1909, with construction of the first stretch occurring in 1912, the project had to be abandoned during World War I. The concept, however, was revived two decades later as a way to utilize public works to stimulate income and employment in a region characterized by squalor and misery. High population growth rates in the region coupled with little arable land and erosion meant that income levels were little better than destitution. Further, the lumbering interests, which practiced a "cut out and get out" form of resource extraction, left behind a cut-over, burned-out, and washed-out land in addition to the poverty and illiteracy (Jolly 1969; 13, 51-52).

With so much potentially at stake, both Tennessee and North Carolina lobbied heavily to get the route out of Virginia, which was guaranteed the section immediately south of the Shenandoah National Park. Harold Ickes, the Secretary of the Interior and Director of the Public Works Program, who had the responsibility of designating the remainder of the route appointed a commission to recommend the best course for it to follow. Although the commission advocated a route through Tennessee, Ickes notified both states that a hearing would be held in Washington, D.C. on September 18, 1934 from which a final decision would be made. The hearing was to be conducted in a debate format to allow both sides one and a quarter hour each to present the case that the route through their state was the superior one, followed by a fifteen minute rebuttal each, with which to refute the other side's claims and offer final arguments. Ickes, who had the final choice, designated himself the judge and timekeeper (Jolly 1969, 57-78).

One point of which numerous partial and impartial observers reminded Ickes was that the project was national, not just one for the states of Virginia, Tennessee, or North Carolina, so national interests in deciding the best route and not local desires should be paramount. Finally, after considerable anxiety on the part of all interested parties, Ickes made his decision on November 10, 1934. To the jubilation of North Carolina and the bitter disappointment of Tennessee the present route through North Carolina was approved for a variety of reasons. First, Tennessee already had a recognized and well established entrance to the park at Gatlinburg and giving Tennessee the

sole entrance to the park would have been discriminatory against North Carolina. Second, North Carolina had a more scenic route and fewer rivers to bridge. Third, the North Carolinian route went through sixty miles of the Pisgah National Forest thus eliminating right-of-way problems there. Fourth, if the Tennessee route had been chosen, Asheville would have been bypassed and the long-established tourist industry there would have been destroyed. Fifth, Tennessee had already received millions of dollars in federal funds through TVA projects while North Carolina had received nothing comparable "to provide employment and benefits for her citizens" (Jolly 1969, 84-90).

Although construction began in 1935, the Parkway was not actually completed until 1969 with the exception of the Linn Cove Viaduct; this final portion was not finished until 1987 (Buxton and Beatty 1986, 37,73). Along with the creation of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the Blue Ridge Parkway and the nation-wide construction of an improved roadway system led to a new era of tourism in the region. This new era was delayed by the Great Depression and World War II, but the seeds were already sown back in the 1920s. Interestingly, in spite of the tremendous popularity of the national park as well as the considerable expansion of tourism in general that has occurred in the past 40-50 years, numerous locations in our subject area have undergone dramatically different development patterns. In order to get a better understanding of the evolving nature of tourism and the impacts that result therefrom, the individual destinations will be analyzed next.

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PART II

TOURISM IN EAST TENNESSEE

CHAPTER 6

TOURIST DEVELOPMENT IN EAST TENNESSEE

Sevier County

The history of modern tourism in Sevier County, Tennessee begins with Gatlinburg. This community was first settled in 1805 and was originally known as White Oak Flats until a post office was reestablished there in Ransom Gatlin's store in 1860. The office was subsequently named Gatlinburg and in time the whole community acquired this name[4]. From the arrival of the first pioneers and into the early 20th century, life in this mountain community was mostly that of self-sufficiency; the roads into the area were all but impassable and the community remained virtually isolated (Foscue 1945; Trout and Griffin 1984, 23-23; Greve 1931, 40, 80).

This isolation combined with a growing population on limited arable land meant that output per capita consistently decreased. This problem was compounded by the pressures of large families and inheritances to force farms into smaller average sizes. Thus, less land per capita meant more intensive use of that which was available causing yields to drop even lower (Smoky Mountains Historical Society 1986, 80-97).

The arrival of large-scale lumbering in the early 20th century, however, offered only temporary economic relief to the area because by 1909 so much of the best wood had been taken that lumbering began to

decline. Additionally, a drop in lumber prices in 1920 resulted in layoffs and decreasing logging wages. Also, the nearest logging railroad in the area was not built into Gatlinburg, but rather into nearby Elkmont from Townsend in Blount County. Logging roads, though, did provide the first real transport facilities into the area as the wagon road from Sevierville followed a stream bed and crossed it many times. This older road was subject to flooding during rainy periods and frequently washed out (Foscue 1945; Trout and Griffin 1984, 39; Smoky Mountains Historical Society 1986, 90-96).

During this period, Sevier County's transport capabilities in general were fairly limited. Prior to 1917, most travel in the county was done on foot. Only the Sevierville Pike to Knoxville was a gravel road; all the remaining roads were dirt and mostly in very poor shape: existing as either dry and dusty or impassable mud. Only in 1917, was a railroad line completed to Sevierville from Knoxville but was never extended further (Smoky Mountains Historical Society 1986, 54-79).

In addition to the temporary impact of logging, one other influence occurred in Gatlinburg prior to the creation of the park to significantly improve the living standards of the community on a more permanent basis. This was the establishment of the Pi Beta Phi Settlement School in 1912. Pi Beta Phi was a fraternity of women determined "to open a mountain school somewhere, to devote their energies and their means, so far as they could command them, to the work of broadening the restricted lives of these fellow-countrymen of theirs" (Greve 1931, 104). Gatlinburg was selected from several communities under consideration because it seemed "after careful study,

as the community most in need of help anywhere in the Southern Appalachians" (Frome 1966, 231). An example supporting this view comes from one social worker for the school in the early 1920s reporting on what life was like in Sugarlands (just north of Gatlinburg and later absorbed by the park) as part of her extension work. The teacher was invited to have Sunday dinner with one family who could only serve the food on lard-pail lids; the other food to be served rested in three broken dishes. The four adults sat on the only chairs available while the children stood and "chickens picked crumbs underfoot while the meal progressed." The walls of the cabin were blackened with smoke but the little girls had fastened bright blue bows to them "to brighten the cheerless atmosphere" (Frome 1966, 231).

Although the fraternity initially encountered indifference and some outright opposition to the intrusion of outsiders, financial aid and the persuasive efforts of certain influential locals resulted in a land purchase and the formal establishment of the school. The benefits of the Settlement School, however, extended far beyond dramatically increasing the traditional educational opportunities of the community. The school established a local newspaper; promoted progressive agriculture and sound home economics; and pursued health education both in and out of school to combat among other things: hookworm, rotten teeth, and a deficiency of outhouses. Perhaps the most significant undertaking by the school, though, was the revival of mountain crafts and establishment of a market for the work. "There were older craftspeople around who had for years earlier supplied the needs of their families and friends, but had long since put their skills on the

shelf. The old ways of doing things by hand were becoming faint memories" (Trout and Griffin 1984, 61-65). Elderly people were encouraged to dust off old implements and teach young women weaving and basketry. The school also set up courses in blacksmithing, woodworking, and carpentry so boys could learn salable skills in the face of limited farm opportunities. In 1923 Pi Beta Phi craft sales reached $1,000. In 1926 the Arrowcraft Shop was opened in Gatlinburg and additional goods were shipped to Pi Beta Phi outlets across the country. This activity not only provided local income and support for the school - by the late 1920s already over 100 families were participating - but allowed for the timely development of a craft industry which could ride the crest of the wave of tourism which increased dramatically after the creation of the park (Greve 1931, 102-115; Trout and Griffin 1984, 61-65; Frome 1966, 243; Dykeman and Stokely 1978, 164).

By the 1920s, tourists began to discover Gatlinburg, an event which provides our subject region one distinguishable example of the first stage of the Butler Model - the exploration stage. Prior to 1920, Gatlinburg was unknown as a tourist destination, although the first hotel was built in 1916 by Andrew Huff. This ten-room extension of his house, known as the Mountain View Hotel, was created by Huff to accommodate not only traveling salesmen but particularly lumbermen coming to buy from his sawmill. By the early 1920s, though, a small but growing group of hikers and photographers from Knoxville had formed the Smoky Mountains Hiking Club and began frequenting the Gatlinburg area. The hiking club stayed at Huff's establishment and had breakfast

there before hiking in the mountains and in order to accommodate the expanding business, Huff began building a new hotel in 1922 (Foscue 1945; Trout and Griffin 1984, 81; Durman 1987).

As stated previously, the decline and displacement of lumbering, the creation of the national park, and accessibility afforded by better roads were the true catalysts for tourist development in the region. Not only was the park officially established in 1934, but by December of that year Chapman Highway, or U.S. 441, was completed from Knoxville to Gatlinburg offering a much faster and easier route to the park's primary entrance point (Trout and Griffin 1984, 101).

Although the Great Depression and World War II caused the initial expansion of tourism to be rather slow and hesitant, Gatlinburg nevertheless pursued this development diligently. By 1930 when Huff's new hotel was completed, Greve (1931, 117-136) observed the town's businesses consisted of only two hotels, three craft shops, one wood working shop, one cafe, one general store, the Settlement School, an old mill and tea room, one barber shop, one church, and the post office. During the 1930s not only was tourism beginning to expand, but the CCC camps set up in the park for construction of trails and bridges, reforestation, and restoration of pioneer buildings meant that local merchants were able to supply goods and services to this program as well (Trout and Griffin 1984, 95-97). In 1934 the TVA Agricultural-Industrial Survey (1934, 87-91) noted that the Arrowcraft Shop operated by Pi Beta Phi was doing about $25,000 worth of business a year and that other businesses in Gatlinburg consisted of three hotels, one large general store, two tourist camps with 17 cabins, five restaurants

and cafes, five craft shops, three wood working shops, one barber, one beauty shop, two churches, one other general store, and the Huff Lumber Company.

In 1939 tens of thousands of requests to the Gatlinburg Business Men's Information Bureau for brochures showed that many people intended to visit Gatlinburg on their way to the New York Worlds Fair. In this year also, the Gatlinburg Tourist Bureau was established to advertise and promote the destination. By 1940 the Gatlinburg Chamber of Commerce replaced the Business Men's Bureau but the entry of the United States into the Second World War brought a drastic decline in visits to the area[5] - the low point being 1943 (Trout and Griffin 1984, 105-107).

It was in this period, however, during a 1940 visit to Gatlinburg and the national park, that Ernie Pyle (1955, 15) observed that there were about forty businesses in town, about half of which were owned by four families, which reaped most of the profit. Quite impressed by what he saw, Pyle noted that the locals held onto their land and "they had the ability themselves, with almost no experience, to do the necessary job of building for and satisfactorily serving a million tourists a year." The four families not only owned the four key businesses - three large hotels and a huge general store - but each also owned tourist courts, filling stations, gift shops, restaurants, etc. As Pyle noted further (1955, 16), the hotels were staffed by locals and "nobody is out of work who wants to work. Even the people out in the hills live off the tourists, through their weaving, basketry, and woodwork."

By 1945 Foscue still noted only four hotels in town and these

were still all locally owned. Nonetheless, tourist development began to be pursued at an accelerated rate as visitations increased rapidly after the war. Trout and Griffin (1984, 115-122) provide some indication of the changes that took place during the late 1940s and early 1950s. The Chamber of Commerce was reactivated in 1946 and tourist promotion was placed under the control of a professional manager. Conventions began to be successfully pursued; the first annual Craftsman's Fair was held in 1948 to promote the arts and crafts of the Southern Appalachians and in 1951 the 43rd annual Governor's Conference was hosted. In order to attract larger groups for future conferences, the Civic Auditorium was opened in 1955 along with a golf course near Pigeon Forge. In 1950 a promotional motorcade of 15 automobiles decorated with bumper stickers and banners proclaiming the mountain hospitality and cool mountain air of Gatlinburg was escorted by the highway patrol to and through the sweltering lowlands of the deep South and Florida.

In 1945 the town was incorporated because of the needs of a more sophisticated city management to handle the expected growth. In 1952 the city began to appropriate local tax money to support a city advertising department because by then 90% of local businesses were dependent on tourism. In 1949-50 a new water system was built, followed in 1955 by a sewage plant. In 1955 heavier power lines were also installed to meet the growing demands for electricity. Further, a planning commission was established in 1952 to respond to the requirements of even greater levels of expected growth (Trout and Griffin 1984, 115-122).

Sevier County's tourist industry, of which Gatlinburg was still the sole tourist destination, had grown in 1956 to consist of 39 lodging enterprises of which eight were classified as hotels and the rest as motels, camps, and trailer courts (see Table 6.1). By 1959 the number of lodging places had grown to 44 of which six were classified as hotels and 37 as motels and tourist courts (County Business Patterns Reports, 1956 and 1959.

As Trout and Griffin (1984, 130) observe, during the 1960s, as with the previous decade, economic prosperity made Gatlinburg "even more attractive, accessible, and affordable." Cheap gas, low unemployment, and incomes boosted by the high levels of effective demand during the Vietnam War years resulted in increasing visitation by members of the middle class and their families and construction of accommodations and attractions boomed accordingly. In 1966 Nathan et al. (1966, 35-40) recorded that lodging establishments had grown to consist of 3,762 units and accommodations for 13,700 persons. By 1971 Trout and Griffin (1984, 130) report that this figure had reached 19,000.

Table 6.1 Lodging Establishments in Gatlinburg, 1930-1966

Year	Hotels/ Motels etc.
1930	2
1934	3
1956	39
1959	44
1966	60

Sources: Greve (1930), TVA Survey (1934), County Business Patterns (1956-1966)

One curious aspect of this period of development are the different views of the local craft industry by contemporary observers. Young (1968, 545) quotes the director of the Pi Beta Phi School, Marion Prince, as stating that there were over 60 weavers working in their homes at that time. Frome (1966, 243) states that "by the 1960s more than 1,000 looms were busy in the Gatlinburg area producing about $1,000,000 worth of coverlets, towels, table linens, handbags, and petticoats." On the other hand, Nathan et al. (1966, 37) note that the craft industries "appear to be of marginal economic importance compared to the tourist serving industries." Undoubtedly, the craft-generated income provided funds to numerous families. When income sources were scarce and farming families were living at a subsistence level, this was an extremely important supplemental source of currency. As the tourist industry boomed, cheap foreign-made facsimiles flooded the stores, middle-class tourists with less discretionary income came to dominate the destination, and more numerous employment opportunities became available. Consequently, the craft industry continued to exist and apparently grow, but ceased to represent the significant component of the local economy that it had been in the past.

What is even more curious about this period of tourist development in Sevier County is that it probably would still fall under the involvement stage as defined by Butler. Nathan et al. (1966, 36-38), as had Pyle (1955, 15-16) 25 years before, reported that the handful of local families who owned the land had continued to retain ownership of the businesses. Each family owned several motels, restaurants, and stores as well as some of the land on which other

enterprises were operated. Further, "the 'establishment' in Gatlinburg [did] not welcome competition for its customers from 'outsiders' or competition for its labor force from any other industries" (Nathan et al. 1966, 38). The result per Nathan's study was that the local economy depended almost entirely on tourism, and growth and development resulted in financial success for a small number of landowning families. Outside investors attempting to develop felt they had to overcome obstacles and a lack of cooperation while the rest of the population had only the options of low-paid seasonal work or factory work in Sevierville or Knoxville. Knoxville, in neighboring Knox County, was certainly the largest potential employment market in the region with populations and total employment as listed in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Knox County Statistics

Year	Population	Total Employment
1990	N/A	163,586
1988	337,347	N/A
1980	319,694	141,632
1970	276,293	104,023
1960	250,523	89,351
1950	224,120	78,419

Sources: Census of Population and Annual Bulletin of Vital Statistics

In 1971 Bartholomew et al. (1971, 1), who had been hired by the Gatlinburg city commission to prepare a comprehensive planning report, made the same observation on ownership. "A major portion of land and businesses are owned by the same few families who for generations made

their homes there as mountain farmers."

In spite of this, by the mid 1970s the third stage of Butler's Model - the development stage - could finally be discerned. Dobson (1975) undertook to discover whether ownership changed during the tremendous growth from 1930 to 1973 and noted that by the early 1970s outside capital was definitely beginning to be noticeable in the businesses there. Though no motel chains had existed in Gatlinburg until the 1960s, the local banks' legal lending limits of $150,000 meant that locally-owned motel construction was decreasing while outside-owned construction was increasing. Additionally, the newer chain establishments were larger, with consistent quality and national reservation systems which attracted newcomers, while repeat visitors went to the smaller and older, locally-owned units, but in decreasing numbers (Dobson 1975; 76,120-123). Dobson also noted increased second home construction in the region whereas Nathan et al. (1966, 40) observed several years previously that at most 75-100 homes had been completed out of a potential of 500-1350 in subdivision developments.

The numbers of seasonal dwelling units in absolute numbers and as percentages of total dwelling units are provided by state and county in the U.S. Census of Housing and listed in Table 6.3. As of 1970, Sevier County did not have a large number of seasonal housing units but already had a higher percentage of total units as compared with its neighbor, Blount County, and the State of Tennessee. During the 1980s the rate of growth of seasonal housing for Sevier County was 307% compared to 127% and 191% for Blount and Tennessee respectively. By 1990, almost 10% of Sevier's housing was in the form of seasonal units,

while Blount and Tennessee both remained under 2%.

Table 6.3 Seasonal Housing, 1970-1990

Year	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
1970	204	2.0%	140	0.6%	3,633	0.3%
1980	831	4.7%	319	1.0%	10,575	0.6%
1990	2,270	9.4%	626	1.7%	23,389	1.2%

Source: Census of Housing

During this time, even though Gatlinburg continued to grow[6], it had in fact become as Martin (1944, 169) observed, overdeveloped and overpriced, so tourism spilled over to Pigeon Forge and development in the county continued at a rate that can only be associated with a development stage. Not surprisingly, Pigeon Forge in its desire to encourage and accommodate a tourist boom in their community, passed a zoning plan in 1969 wherein "the city council zoned the strip only for tourist and recreational businesses with but a few exceptions for general business lots" (Martin 1994, 169). Meanwhile, in Gatlinburg in 1973, an aerial tramway was built to promote skiing in Ober Gatlinburg, a mountainside skiing-skating-dining establishment (Trout and Griffin 1984, 132) and by 1976 more than 32,000 sleeping accommodations were available in the county in hotels and motels (Sevier County Saga 1976).

As stated previously, for many years after the creation of the National Park, Gatlinburg was the sole destination of the county. As of 1956, the only "attractions" in Pigeon Forge were a small zoo, a drive-in theater, two campgrounds, and a golf course for Gatlinburg conventioneers. Additionally, construction had begun on a theme park

to be called "Rebel Railroad" (Martin 1994, 167). By 1959, only 110 motel units were available[7] and this only increased to 898 units provided by 16 motels - three of which were chain motels - by 1969 (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 Lodging Establishments in Pigeon Forge, 1962-1993

Year	Hotels/ Motels etc.	Chain Affiliated	Total Units
1962	4	0	206
1966	12	2	564
1970	18	4	898
1974	27	8	1,596
1978	30	9	1,983
1982	34	9	2,948
1986	38	12	3,759
1990	55	16	5,275
1993	62	20	6,155

Source: On request from the Pigeon Forge Department of Tourism

As development spilled over from Gatlinburg at an accelerated pace in the 1970s, Pigeon Forge's motel unit count grew to 1,983 during the decade while the number of motels grew to 30, of which 9 belonged to chains. Also during this time period, the theme park Gold Rush Junction was built in 1963 and in 1976 was purchased by the Herschend family, owners of Silver Dollar City in Branson, Missouri, who undertook to upgrade the attraction over several years and change its name to Silver Dollar City as well (Dahl 1981). By 1977, per the U.S. Department of Commerce's *Intercity Water Supply Plan* (1980), total existing accommodations for the cities of Gatlinburg and Pigeon Forge were 26,052 and 13,401 respectively[8].

In spite of the level of activity, by the end of the 1970s the real growth in Pigeon Forge was yet to come, while Gatlinburg was busy dealing with traffic congestion created not only by tourists but also hot-rodders who found Gatlinburg to be a tempting place to cruise and hold meetings. One partial solution to the traffic and parking problems came in 1980 with the inauguration of the trolley system and free parking lots outside of town (Trout and Griffin 1984, 132-133).

For Pigeon Forge, however, the first big push in development came in 1982 as a result of the Worlds Fair held in nearby Knoxville. While only 78 motel units were added for the 1980 season and none were added for the 1981 season, a full 887 were constructed for the 1982 season - a 43% increase over the previous total. But this was only the beginning. In 1983 a large Factory Merchants Outlet Mall was opened and although experimental according to Leon Downey, Pigeon Forge's Director of Tourism, it proved to be a major success and attraction. In 1986 the owners of Silver Dollar City, the Herschend family, teamed up with Dolly Parton to upgrade their amusement park, renamed it Dollywood, and gave it a new country music and Smoky Mountain theme. By 1987 the number of motels had grown to 43, of which 13 were affiliated with chains and accounted for a total of 4,148 units.

In 1988 the third and fourth outlet malls had opened in Pigeon Forge and in the Winter of 1989-1990 the Pigeon Forge/Gatlinburg area introduced Winterfest. This was an attempt to establish a winter season above and beyond Gatlinburg's ski season which is frequently plagued by a lack of weather cold enough to manufacture snow. The idea of Winterfest was to string millions of Christmas lights along each of

the commercial strips, encourage as many businesses as possible to remain open after the October foliage season, and advertise to attract tourists from November through February. While simple in concept, the festival proved to be quite successful; the gross receipts for Pigeon Forge for only the four months of November 1992 to February 1993 exceeded the receipts for the entire year of 1986.

Meanwhile, construction of new lodging establishments and attractions continued unabated. According to the Gatlinburg Chamber of Commerce, their new convention center was completed in the fall of 1989 and includes over 100,000 square feet of exhibition space in the great hall plus a multitude of smaller conference rooms. This structure is also adjacent to the W.L. Mills Civic Auditorium, which was constructed in the mid-1950s, and has a seating capacity of 2,000 persons theater style and 1,200 for dining. By 1993 the lodging units available in Gatlinburg consisted of 7793 units: 6,298 in hotels and motels, 601 in condominiums and 894 in chalets. Additionally, Gross Tax revenues continued to climb (see footnote 6) and city coffers were further augmented by a hotel/motel tax introduced on May 17, 1978 and a restaurant tax imposed on August 2, 1989. Smith (March 6, 1994) also reported that although most of Gatlinburg's property is fully developed, construction continues there as well with "several motels being remodeled and a new Microtel [motel] going up. What commercial property is still available is being developed...with the most significant project being the redevelopment of the former Mountain View Hotel property. The property is being turned into a Gatlinburg Theme Park, a project that will include amusement rides, a video arcade and

concessions, and several entertainment facilities."

In Pigeon Forge by 1993, there were 62 motels providing 5,807 units and an additional 371 units provided by 15 cottage, condominium, and chalet enterprises able to provide nightly accommodations for 35,000 visitors. Of the 62 motels, 20 represent chain affiliations and all these figures are in addition to innumerable restaurants, miniature golf courses, arcades, go-cart tracks, water parks, bungee-jumping towers, helicopter rides, and assorted other amusements and shopping emporiums. In the spring of 1992, a new factory outlet mall opened and along with the others already in existence provide Pigeon Forge with its most important revenue source; as of 1993 a full 44% of gross revenue was generated at the outlet malls.

Construction also continues on more lodging units as new hotels and motels are built every year or older ones are renovated and given additional rooms. Two examples of this trend are provided by Smith (August 1, 1993) in her reports on Ken Seaton, founder of the Pigeon Forge based Family Inns of America motel chain and the Collier family, Pigeon Forge's "first family of pancake houses and owners of various other properties."

> "A $20 million addition is planned for Seaton's newest property, Family Inns Twin Malls. At seven stories, the Twin Malls property is Pigeon Forge's tallest motel. The new addition - to be developed in phases over the next five years - will include a small convention center, restaurants, and possibly some music theaters. Another $20 million expansion is planned for the Grand Resort Hotel and

> Convention Center in Pigeon Forge and will include a grand ballroom, 100 additional guest rooms and music theaters. And in October [1993], a $5 million project will get under way to add third levels to two of Seaton's Family Inns and his Smoky Shadows Motel and Conference Center in Pigeon Forge."

The Collier family also plans to invest in additional development and

> "will break ground [in August 1993] on a $6.2 million hotel and restaurant project with Carlson Hospitality Groups, Inc., parent company of the Radisson chain. The project includes a 138-room, seven-story Country Inn with meeting facilities for more than 300 people...and in November, construction will begin on a Country Kitchen next door to the Country Inn."

In addition to development in Pigeon Forge proper, cabin and chalet construction is expanding rapidly in Wear Valley, a scenic and pastoral valley just east of Pigeon Forge and bordering the National Park. In summary, Smith (March 6, 1994) reports that "Pigeon Forge is seeing the county's biggest boom in construction, with more than $50 million in projects under development there". The biggest investment, in fact, is very likely the impetus for much of the continuing and accelerating surge of development that is occurring in the city - the first theater on Music Road, which opened in the spring of 1994.

The idea behind this project is to provide something for everyone in Pigeon Forge. Already existing are the games, rides and amusements for young people and children and the outlet malls for adults. The

intent in offering country music is to provide an attraction for older adults such as those who flock to Branson, Missouri. Combining this attraction with Winterfest would also have the effect of turning the area into a year-round resort. In order to initiate this process, the Dollywood Company has proposed to invest $20 million to build three music theaters over the next three years, the first at a cost of $6 million. Corresponding with this construction, a four-lane Music Road would be built in a "Show Business Zone" on the northern part of town. The idea is that with this core of theaters and infrastructure in place, more theater investment will be attracted and growth of this nature will continue for years.

Tourist related growth should also continue in the rest of the county as well, as Pigeon Forge becomes overdeveloped and crowded and activity in turn spills over to Sevierville and other less developed parts of the county. Sevierville already is experiencing steady construction of motels and Smith (1993, 1994) reported that a "major amusement development company" has taken options and made earnest payments on some 2,000 acres in the northeastern part of Sevier County along the Knox County border. Although nothing has been confirmed on the intended use of the site or who exactly the developer is, the belief is that a major theme park will be created and of all the possible amusement development companies contacted by Smith, only the Walt Disney Company has not flatly denied any involvement[9]. Any physical development is not likely to begin soon, however, as the company has requested a third extension on the options until 1995.

Ultimately then, Sevier County appears to be in the midst of a

prolonged period of rapid tourist development. Realizing immediately its unique position as being effectively the gateway to the park, Gatlinburg plunged into the work of providing accommodations and advertising for visitors in what can be considered an involvement stage from the late 1920s until the early 1970s. Although the magnitude of development seemed high in sheer numbers of lodging establishments, this first stage was confined to and concentrated in Gatlinburg and consisted of development under the ownership of a few local families who had not relinquished ownership of their land.

By the early 1970s ownership in the Gatlinburg area was beginning to shift to outside investors and development began to spread out to Pigeon Forge. During the 1980s, growth occurred at a very rapid pace, fueled heavily by outside money, and continues unabated in what is no less than a full-blown development stage from which the resort communities are now attractions in themselves - destinations separate and distinct from the national park. For our purposes then, we will summarize the stages as follows. The first stage or exploration stage occurred during the 1920s and lasted until the latter part of the decade. The second stage or involvement stage occurred from the late 1920s until the early 1970s, with the 1950s through the early 1970s witnessing heavy tourist-industry growth. The third stage or development stage began in the early 1970s and is continuing in the present with the heaviest growth occurring after 1981.

Blount County

Although adjacent to each other and with each contributing similar amounts of land to establish the national park, the histories of tourist development in Sevier and Blount seemingly could not be more different. Whereas Sevier County pursued tourism to the exclusion of other industries, Blount County has scarcely pursued tourism at all, choosing rather to court industrial development as well as provide workers for the readily accessible industrialization occurring just north in neighboring Knox County. This has occurred in spite of the fact that Blount County has an entrance to the park at Townsend, Tennessee, which leads to the very popular loop road at Cades Cove. It is also true though, that the Cades Cove road can be reached by the Little River Road out of Gatlinburg, so a journey through Townsend is not mandatory in order to enjoy this part of the park. In any event, tourism in Blount County effectively begins and ends with Townsend.

Some of the reasons for the divergence of Blount County's economy are provided by Burns (1957). First, although Maryville, the county seat and largest town, suffered considerable damage during the Civil War, substantial progress occurred after the war following the "influx of monied Quakers." They "practically took over the business section of town and rebuilt it. They also acquired a great deal of property in Maryville west of Cates Street and completely changed the character of the town. These people became some of Maryville's most valued citizens and did much toward building a bigger and better Maryville" (Burns 1957, 258). Second, Blount County had the good fortune of being on a

significant north-south railroad - the Knoxville and Augusta Railroad. This railway was completed to Maryville in 1868 and in 1900 an extension was built to Walland to connect with the Little River Railroad. Another railroad was finished in 1901 through the western part of the county - the Louisville and Nashville Railroad - and in 1906 a branch line of this was completed to Maryville (Burns 1957, 236-237).

The third major influence on Blount County's economy was the establishment there of a major aluminum manufacturing enterprise, Alcoa. In 1902 Alcoa began building a railroad to the south and southwest for its dam-building operations. Seven dams to generate power were built by Alcoa on the Little Tennessee River and its tributaries over the course of 35 years beginning in 1910. Alcoa began purchasing land in Blount County in 1913, and the South Plant or reduction unit was begun in 1914. Two other plants were begun in 1917, the Carbon Plant and the Sheet Mill or West Fabricating Plant. The city of Alcoa was incorporated in 1919 just north of Maryville and additional construction occurred during the inter-war years. The Aluminum Powder Plant was begun in 1929 and the North Fabricating Plant was started in 1939, and by 1942 was said to be the largest factory under one roof in the world, covering 54 acres. By this time the Alcoa works had become the largest aluminum center in the world, churning out 1.6 billion pounds of aluminum for the American effort in World War II while employing 12,000 workers. Although employment levels dropped over the subsequent decades, by 1960, 6,000 were employed at Alcoa and 70% of these workers lived in Blount County which had a population of

only 57,525. "The social and economic influence of the Aluminum Company and its power holdings on Blount County and the surrounding counties is far reaching and cannot be overestimated" (Burns 1957, 232-233; Tindell 1973, 36-37; Thomas 1994).

In contrast to these developments, tourism in Blount County has involved significantly less development and impact and is essentially located in Townsend. Although several lodging establishments exist near Knoxville's McGhee Tyson Airport in Blount County, Sparks (1988) points out that tourism is not a major source of business for the airport and those motels that are located near it. Almost all the visitors to the national park travel by road and go to Gatlinburg/Pigeon Forge rather than fly in for their vacations, leaving the airport involved mostly with business travel.

This impression of the local airport travel is confirmed by the demographic study performed by Prospective Resources, Inc. (1991), who sampled travelers in the airport. According to this survey the national average for airport usage is 60% business and 40% leisure. For Knoxville's airport the total usage is split into 69% business and 31% leisure. When segregated into residents versus nonresidents, however, the split is much more skewed. For Knoxville residents airport usage is 50% each for business and leisure while nonresidents' usage is 82% business and only 18% leisure. Further, leisure can represent people visiting friends or family anywhere in the Greater Knoxville Region.

While Blount's tourism can be said to be concentrated in Townsend, it was not pursued by that town to any degree as in

Gatlinburg/Pigeon Forge. As of 1954, Granger (1954) writes that only about 100 sleeping units existed for tourists, along with six restaurants all of which had been built and run by people who moved to Townsend and became locals. Accessibility was still a problem because the principal road into town, paved Highway 73, was not yet completed through Townsend to the national park. Ten years later Yarbrough (1965) reported very little growth had yet occurred, although Townsend, like Pigeon Forge at that time, was desirous of growth and looked for capital to expand and attract more tourist dollars. At that time only 170 motel units were available in town.

By the 1970s, growth was still only a future possibility although the potential seemed somewhat closer to being realized. In 1972-1973 at least ten motels and cabin rental establishments, and five camping trailer parks could accommodate 2,000 and 1,000 respectively, The Smoky Mountains Passion Play opened in June of 1973, and plans were being made in 1977 to develop a theme park and golfing/resort complex called Smokyworld. Surprisingly, very little became of these efforts. By 1979, not enough capital was attracted to make Smokyworld a reality and by 1985 only 12 motels existed in town. Further, the Passion Play never generated enough ticket sales to make it profitable. It survived on contributions and grants until it permanently closed in 1993 ("Townsend on Threshold..." 1972; Glenn 1973; Reed 1990; Fowler 1993; Shields 1985; Yarbrough 1977).

While neighboring Pigeon Forge was entering into its period of explosive growth in the mid 1980s, Townsend was still a small, quiet community billing itself as "the peaceful side of the Smokies."

Continued lack of a sewage system meant that potential lodging investors were hesitant to build in an area where large amounts of additional land would be necessary for septic systems. At this time, however, Silence (1986) reported that the community had come to accept and appreciate its undeveloped character and decided to sanction that quality. Thus, in the summer of 1986, the Townsend City Council adopted a zoning ordinance which was aimed at "avoiding the carnival-like atmosphere of Pigeon Forge" and controlling any growth that might spill over from Sevier County. The restrictions were specified to limit building height, require certain amounts of green space around each building, and limit the number and sizes of signs pertaining to businesses.

Currently fewer than 20 motels and inns have been built in Townsend and at most another sixteen exist in the rest of the county. A golf course has been built on the land where Smokyworld had been planned and this property also began to be developed in 1990 as a residential community, known as Laurel Valley, for retirees and second homes for baby-boomers (Reed 1990; *Maryville-Alcoa Area Telephone Book* 1994; *Maryville-Alcoa Yellow Pages* 1993).

Nonetheless, after prior false starts and with considerable difficulties yet to overcome, Townsend may be on the verge of more rapid development. In 1992, J.L. Goins was hired as the new Blount County Tourism Director so that the Smoky Mountains Visitors Bureau might finally begin promoting tourism more heavily. This would be in contrast to the minimal efforts of the Chamber of Commerce and County Administration which previously had concentrated on industrial

development. One of the first efforts being pursued is the introduction of the Smokies Spring Festival for the first week in May of 1994; this is to be an annual event extended by a week each year until it is eventually six weeks in length. The plan is that this festival will be to Townsend what Winterfest is to Sevier County with its corresponding season-prolonging capabilities. Another effort underway in Townsend is the creation of the musical "Christy" in the outdoor amphitheater left vacant by the demise of the "Passion Play." The County Commission has authorized the Industrial Development Board to borrow $300,000 for the project which opened on July 1, 1994. This partial funding for the $1 million production is based on expectations of future hotel/motel tax revenues and part of the funds are being spent on refurbishing the outdoor theater - renamed the Smoky Mountain Amphitheater - into what is promised to be one of the best in the country. Townsend also receives advertising from the television version of "Christy" which was filmed there and began airing in April 1994[10] (Garland 1994; Stiles 1994; Mason 1994).

In spite of these efforts to bring about more tourist development in Townsend, major obstacles still exist. The lack of a sewage system and a four-lane road to and through the community are seen as major physical shortcomings. These, however, can be overcome with money from a sympathetic state government and State Senator Carl Koella is a prominent land owner along the principal road through the valley. Koella has also stated that "sooner or later, I'm going to introduce legislation designating Townsend as a premier type resort city" (Fowler 1994).

Another obstacle to be overcome is the conflicting views of the local populace, which currently consists of three groups. One group is comprised of people who reside in Townsend and prefer to see it remain peaceful and a quiet place to live. Another group consists of those that are already enjoying the returns from the existing tourist development and do not wish to see any competition, further development, or overdevelopment occur. The final group is comprised of those that have idle land in the area and wish to see it developed. This small but influential group is being restrained by the first two groups and the zoning ordinance which is alleged to have been applied on a discriminatory basis. Thus any efforts by the Tourist Bureau to promote tourism are applauded by one group and resisted by others leaving Blount County/Townsend in what can only be described as a low-level involvement stage. Eventually, more development is foreseen as the inevitable wave of the future but its pursuit is not being undertaken with any of the concerted vigor of Sevier County.

Overall Economic Patterns

Tourism in Sevier County has passed through the first three stages of Butler's Model. An exploration stage from the early to late 1920s; an involvement stage from the late 1920s to the early 1970s, with quite rapid growth occurring after the early 1950s; and a development stage from the early 1970s to the present, with extremely rapid growth occurring after 1981. Blount's tourist economy, in contrast, has remained at best at a low-level involvement stage in a

county that is much more industrialized. In order to more accurately evaluate the impacts of these stages, however, they need to be placed into a larger economic context.

Table 6.5 shows employment in Sevier and Blount Counties and the state of Tennessee by major categories as reported in the census years from 1930 through 1950. Sevier County was predominantly but decreasingly agricultural, while Blount County depended heavily on manufacturing - the vast majority being accounted for by the Alcoa works. For Sevier County, the manufacturing that did exist was 29% from textiles and 25% from woodworking and furniture production. Tourism as defined in these tables consists of establishments dealing in lodging, food and drink service, and recreation and amusements.

Table 6.5 Industrial Mix 1930-1950

Census Year	Total Employment	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Tourism	%
Sevier:							
1930	5,986	4,068	68.0%	473	7.9%	72	1.2%
1940	6,151	3,672	59.7%	674	11.0%	163	2.6%
1950	7,568	2,996	39.6%	1,348	17.8%	455	6.0%
Blount:							
1930	10,836	3,333	30.8%	3,967	36.6%	207	1.9%
1940	12,257	2,772	22.6%	5,474	44.7%	207	1.7%
1950	16,596	2,132	12.8%	6,980	42.1%	544	3.3%
Tennessee:							
1930	958,209	376,623	39.3%	134,540	14.0%	25,365	2.6%
1940	941,714	313,029	33.2%	172,416	18.3%	29,233	3.1%
1950	1,135,646	247,372	21.8%	239,427	21.1%	43,359	3.8%

Source: Census of Population

Fortunately, after 1950 the U.S. Department of Commerce began to provide overall economic statistics by county more frequently than the Decennial Census. As of 1956 its *County Business Patterns* report lists detail by industry, but with employment figures as of mid-March pay periods. While this may be an accurate sampling date for many industries, it will result in understating the level of tourist employment in a seasonal destination such as Sevier County. Another cause of underreporting is that self-employed people are excluded. During the tourism involvement stage, this could be significant; further, it restricts the reporting of agricultural activity.

As can be seen in Table 6.6, Blount County remained predominantly a manufacturing area through the late 1960s. Total manufacturing employment fell during the late 1950s and early 1960s as Alcoa scaled back operations, but manufacturing still represented between 55-60% of total county employment throughout the period. The numbers for tourism in Blount County are probably overstated, since eating and drinking establishments consistently accounted for at least 80% of the total. For Sevier County, the figures are indicative of a more tourist-oriented economy but as of mid-March very little activity in this industry would have occurred when compared to the months of June through October. During this latter period the tourist related employment would have risen dramatically.

While actual farm labor numbers are not available for 1956 through 1968, the number of farm operators is listed in Table A.1 (Appendix A). The population statistics were obtained from *Tennessee Vital Statistics* as provided by the Tennessee Department of Health and

Environment. What is evident from these numbers is that Sevier County was still more agrarian but it was also experiencing a faster percentage decline in this area. While these numbers are not particularly illuminating, they provide some indication of the trend in agriculture; more material on this subject will be presented in Chapter 7 when the effects and impacts of tourist development in East Tennessee are considered.

Table 6.6 Industrial Mix 1956-1968

Year	Total Employment	Manuf.	%	Tourism	%
Sevier:					
1956	1,985	779	39.2%	369	18.6%
1959	1,975	713	36.1%	362	18.3%
1962	2,166	729	33.7%	361	16.7%
1965	3,130	1,072	34.2%	600	19.2%
1968	3,345	1,009	30.2%	662	19.8%
Blount:					
1956	13,334	9,109	68.3%	292	2.2%
1959	10,854	6,321	58.2%	399	3.7%
1962	10,314	5,788	56.1%	386	3.7%
1965	12,941	7,687	59.4%	580	4.5%
1968	13,615	7,661	56.3%	505	3.7%
Tennessee:					
1956	672,978	289,161	43.0%	29,333	4.4%
1959	706,715	290,764	41.1%	30,683	4.3%
1962	751,980	313,816	41.7%	33,955	4.5%
1965	864,567	367,329	42.5%	39,050	4.5%
1968	1,028,825	439,404	42.7%	46,978	4.6%

Source: County Business Patterns

As noted, the *County Business Patterns* report does have underreporting limitations but a better source is available for the period from 1969 to 1991. The Bureau of Economic Analysis which supplies the Regional Economic Information System (REIS) provides this information which is listed in Tables A.2-A.3 (Appendix A) and depicted graphically in Figures 6.1-6.5. These reports provide county and state income and employment statistics by major industrial categories. Although they do not provide a separate category for tourist industry employment such detail is available under income classifications. In any event, with a county such as Sevier which has such a large portion of its economy devoted to tourism, the magnitude of employment in the retail and service industries is quite revealing.

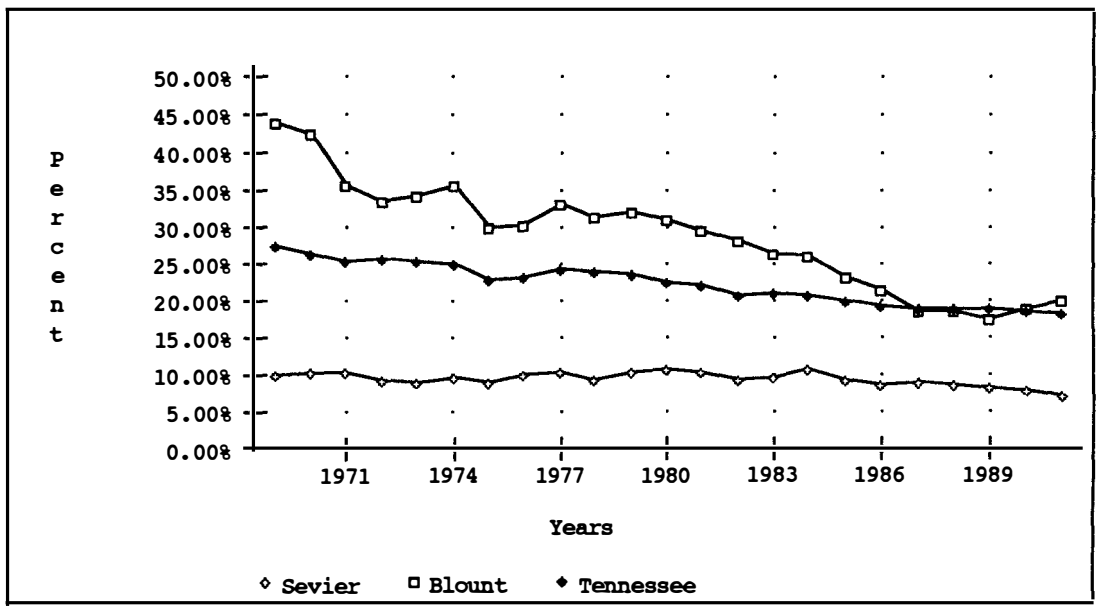


Figure 6.1 Percent Manufacturing Income - Tennessee

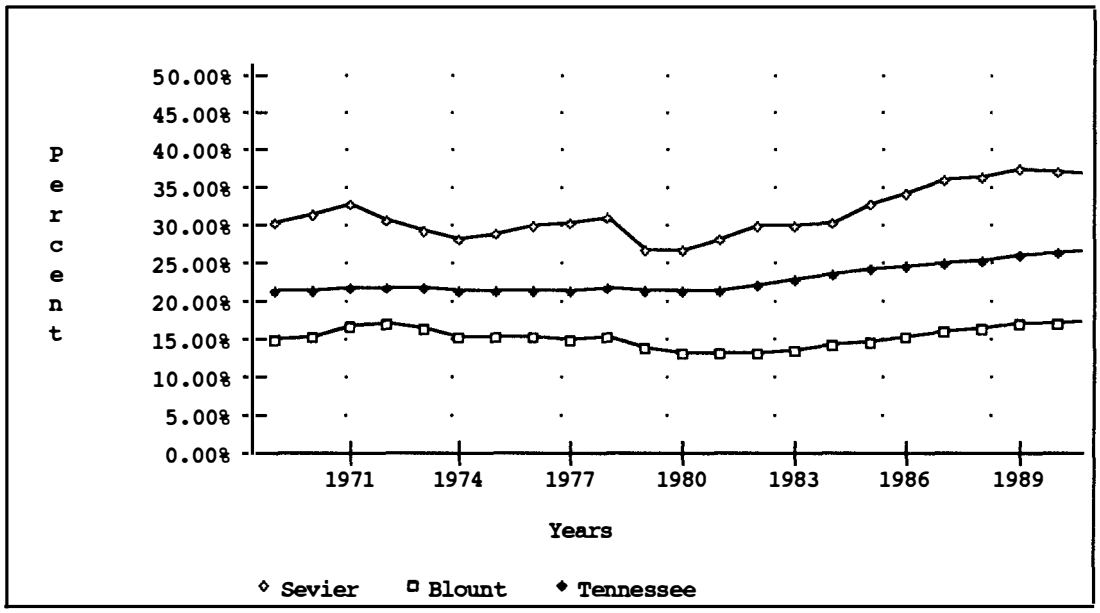


Figure 6.2 Percent Retail/Service Income - Tennessee

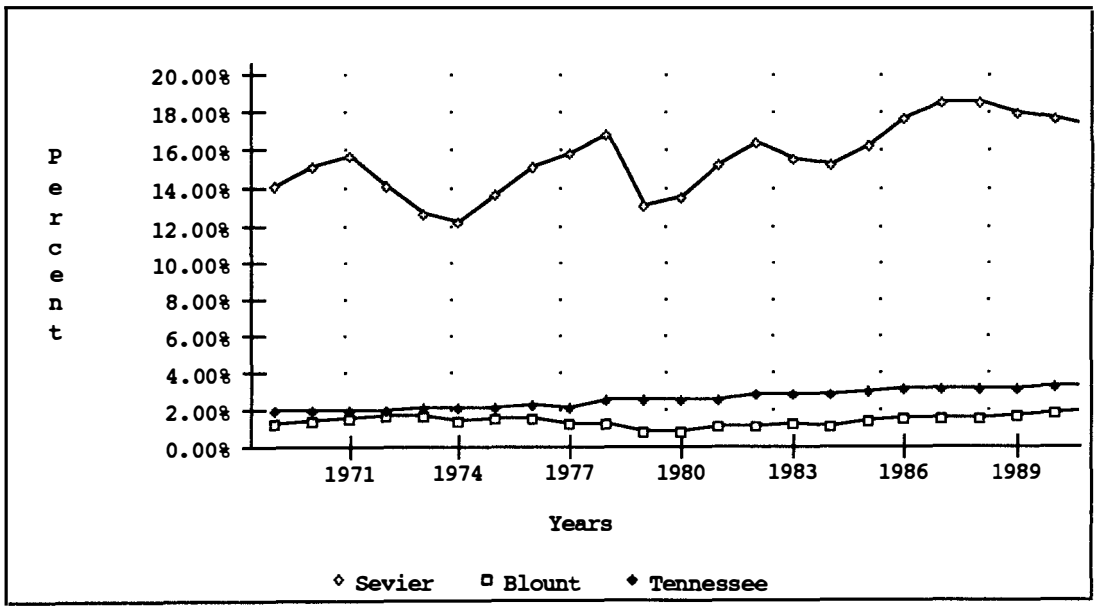


Figure 6.3 Percent Tourism Income - Tennessee

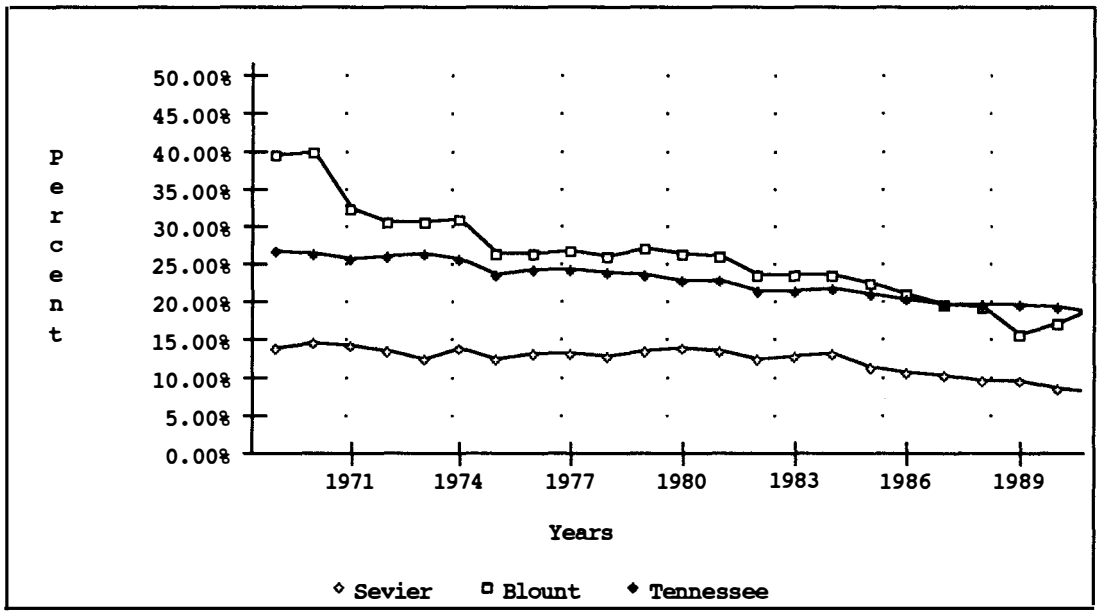


Figure 6.4 Percent Manufacturing Employment - Tennessee

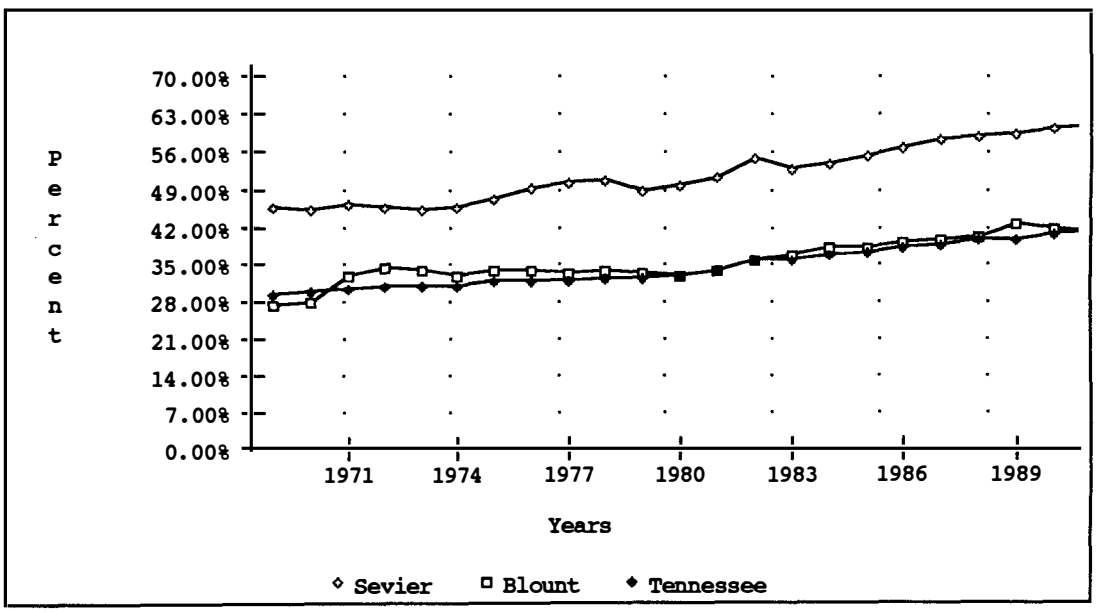


Figure 6.5 Percent Retail/Service Employment - Tennessee

From Tables A.2-A.3 (Appendix A) and Figures 6.1-6.5, it is apparent that Sevier County has much more income and employment derived from tourism than its neighbor, Blount, or the rest of the state (tourism income on Table A.2 is defined in the same way as in Tables 6.5 and 6.6: that is, as income derived from establishments dealing in lodging, food and drink service, and recreation and amusement). While the percentage of tourist income per se may not have increased much over time, several things should be noted. First, these numbers are per resident. They also represent at best seasonal earnings. That is, workers who come in from neighboring counties are not included in the statistics. Thus, even for partial year employment, the tourist income is a much higher percentage of total income for Sevier than Blount or Tennessee. Second, even with Tennessee's significantly lower percentage levels of tourism income, the tourist industry is still recognized as one of the state's most important industries. Third, the tourist income is exclusive of the significant retail portion of these resorts attractions. While retailing may not be a tourist activity in many communities, in places such as Gatlinburg and Pigeon Forge, the specialty stores and outlet malls are a major tourist draw and revenue source. This is apparent from the correspondingly higher percentages of income and employment derived from the total services/retail segment of the economy of Sevier County. It is not surprising to find the employment percentages to be much higher than those for income because, again, the earnings are at best seasonal while job numbers cannot reflect this.

Another cause for the lack of increasing tourism income is that

as development stages proceed, more outside activity and imports will characterize the destination, not just in capital and physical imports, but in labor also. This aspect was emphasized in the late 1980s, in *Knoxville News Sentinel* articles that reported worker shortages were plaguing the summer resort season and that experiments in busing workers in from neighboring counties were attempted although they did not prove to be overly successful due to long rides, traffic, and waits for the buses. One contributing factor was that after the 1970s, labor demand from the tourist industry had grown beyond the supply of local young people seeking summer jobs, while the students from neighboring communities and counties did not need to travel as far to seek employment because of the proliferation of fast-food outlets and local shopping establishments (Thomas 1987; Thomas 1988; Bonds 1990).

Smith (1989 45-48) also points out that although prices rose from 1981 to 1989 (36.4% for the CPI per the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1992) the minimum wage held steady at $3.35. Since most tourism jobs are low or minimum wage as well as seasonal, a failure to show income-share increases is not only expected but likely to be a prolonged trend. In any event, job growth for service and retail industries does show a persistent increase in Sevier County. This is apparent not only in the percentage shares: up from 45% to 60% in Sevier as opposed to 27% to 41% and 29% to 41% for Blount and Tennessee respectively but also in total percentage increase. In Sevier County the increase in these jobs was 288% while only 133% for Blount and 118% for Tennessee.

Additionally, it can be noted that total job growth for Sevier

was equal to 192.5%, of which the growth of the service/retail segment accounted for 68.6%. Manufacturing for this county - the largest single employer in Sevier is a textile manufacturer - continued to decline in importance. For Blount and Tennessee, however, job growth has been only 55.3% and 55.2%, of which service/retail accounted for 66.2% and 63.1% respectively. While the percentage job gains accountable from service/retail are comparable in all three cases, the much faster rate of growth in Sevier more clearly suggests the magnitude of the tourist boom.

In Blount County, the percentage share of the manufacturing base decreased during the period reported, with Alcoa undertaking further cutbacks while many new workers, part of a general population increase, very likely commuted to the larger employment market in Knoxville for nonmanufacturing jobs. By 1989-1990 this trend may have been reversed, however, with the opening of a new automobile-parts manufacturing operation in Blount - Nippondenso. This Japanese-owned operation is Blount's second largest manufacturing complex after Alcoa and is one of East Tennessee's largest manufacturers; it opened in 1989, with three plants on 138 acres. It also had announced one expansion in 1992 to nearly double its existing facilities, followed by another expansion in 1994. Thus, even though Alcoa's employment level was down to 2,100 in 1994, Nippondenso is expected to increase its level from 1,250 to 1,317 by the end of 1994 (Thomas 1990; "$20 Million Set to Expand..." 1992; Chamis 1994; Thomas 1994).

Blount County appears to be a microcosm of Tennessee, especially following the recent decline of its rather dominant manufacturing

sector to one comparable to the state in general. Agriculture in all three counties appears to have reached similarly low percentage levels of activity in the economies although in Sevier's case the overall decline is noticeably larger.

CHAPTER 7

IMPACTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN EAST TENNESSEE

Impacts on Labor

As noted previously, modern tourism began in East Tennessee in Gatlinburg in the 1920s. At the time tourism was in an exploration stage, and in a low-level involvement stage until the 1950s when the involvement stage emerged fully. In the initial years of tourism life in this region was one of poverty, isolation, and subsistence agriculture.

Unfortunately, frequent quantitative reporting of unemployment and labor statistics are not available until the late 1960s and early 1970s. Qualitatively at least, it is apparent that the introduction of tourism in Gatlinburg provided many farming families with a much needed source of supplemental or primary income to help the characteristically large families get by with decreasing farm resources per capita. Ultimately, many new jobs were created by this growing activity in a poor area where few were readily available otherwise. During this same period, Blount County did not pursue tourism but instead effectively pursued industrialization.

Although the quantitative labor and unemployment statistics do not supply information much before the advent of the development stage of tourism, other types of information reveal what effect the earlier stages had on the local population. As the population withdrew from

agriculture and tourism began to be a phenomenon outside the confines of Gatlinburg, the labor statistics not only become more relevant, but can also be contrasted with other counties in our subject region that are still in a comparable involvement stage. Additional topics such as immigration, population growth and labor force participation rates will also be addressed below.

Information on unemployment rates as provided by the Employment Security Commission is listed in Tables A.4-A.5 and depicted graphically in Figures 7.1-7.3. Table A.4 and Figure 7.1 show the annual average unemployment rates for Sevier and Blount Counties and the State of Tennessee. Blount and Tennessee which have fairly similar industrial mixes in their economies are, not surprisingly, fairly close on the average rates for every year. Sevier County, however, which was just entering the development stage as of 1973, had consistently higher rates of unemployment and continued this pattern after entering a period of very rapid growth after 1981.

For a seasonal view of unemployment, Table A.5 lists the rates for the four months of the year which categorize the levels of activity in the four seasons: January, when tourism was usually in its deep winter slumber but has since seen the introduction of Winterfest; April, when spring is well under way but still prior to the arrival of the tourist throngs; July, a peak summer month; and October, the height of the fall foliage season.

From Table A.5 and Figures 7.2-7.3 it is apparent that throughout the period, January (winter) in particular but also April (spring) reflect very high rates of unemployment in Sevier County, with the

rates dropping dramatically in July (summer) and October (fall). Blount and Tennessee, in contrast, do not reflect much if any seasonality and again are fairly close to each other in rates. Perhaps the most surprising aspect of these statistics is that even after Winterfest was introduced in the winter of 1989-1990, unemployment for January has remained amazingly high; perhaps not quite as high as in some years of the 1980s but still hovering around 20%. And this is in spite of the fact that Winterfest has been quite successful in attracting tourists and keeping businesses open.

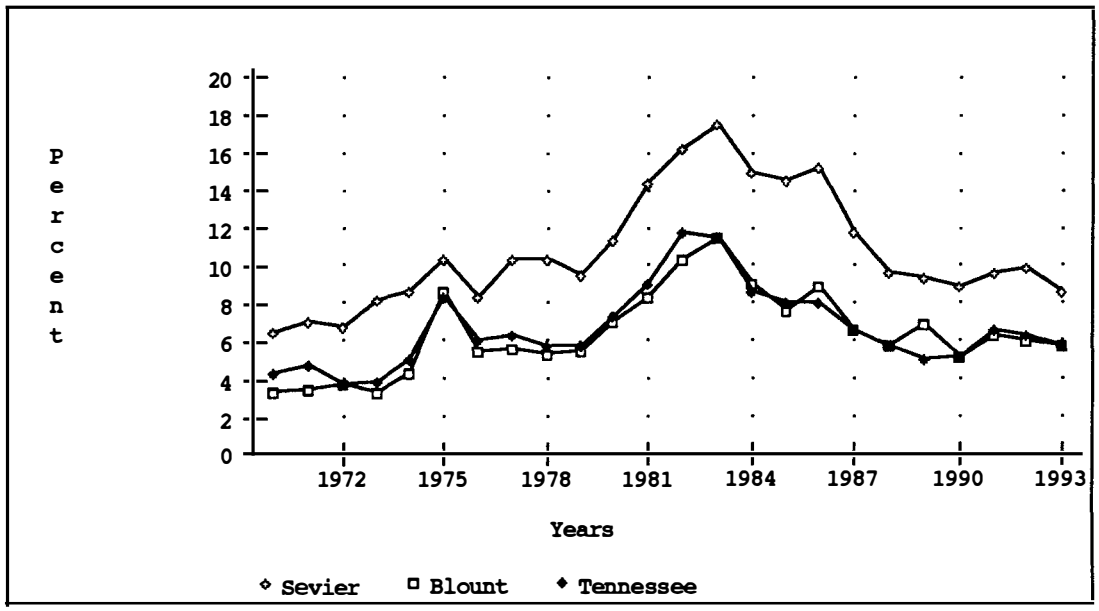


Figure 7.1 Annual Average Unemployment Rates - Tennessee

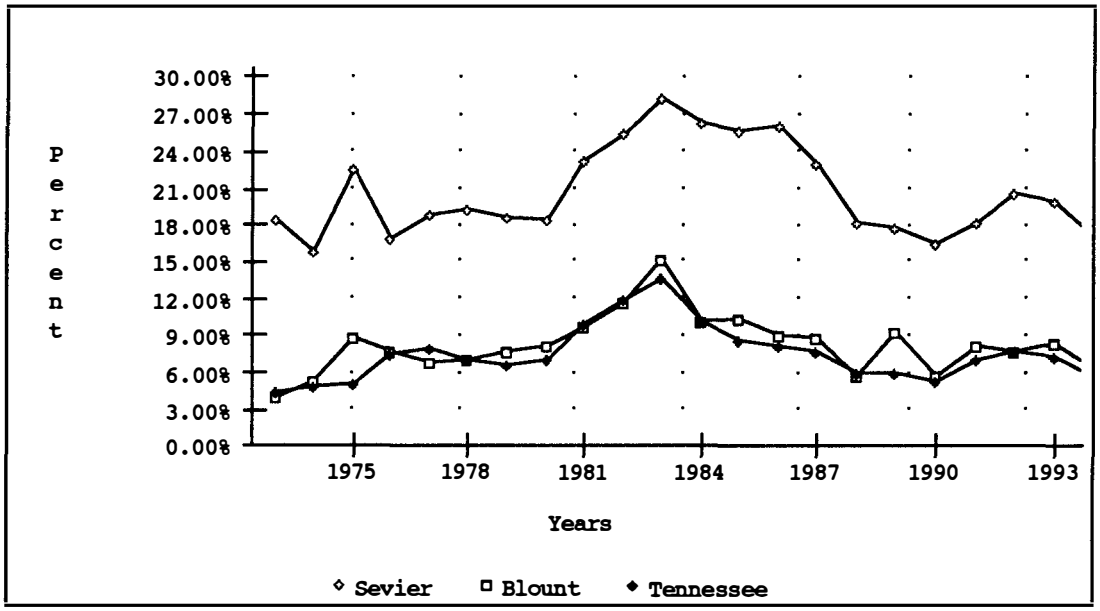


Figure 7.2 January Unemployment Rates - Tennessee

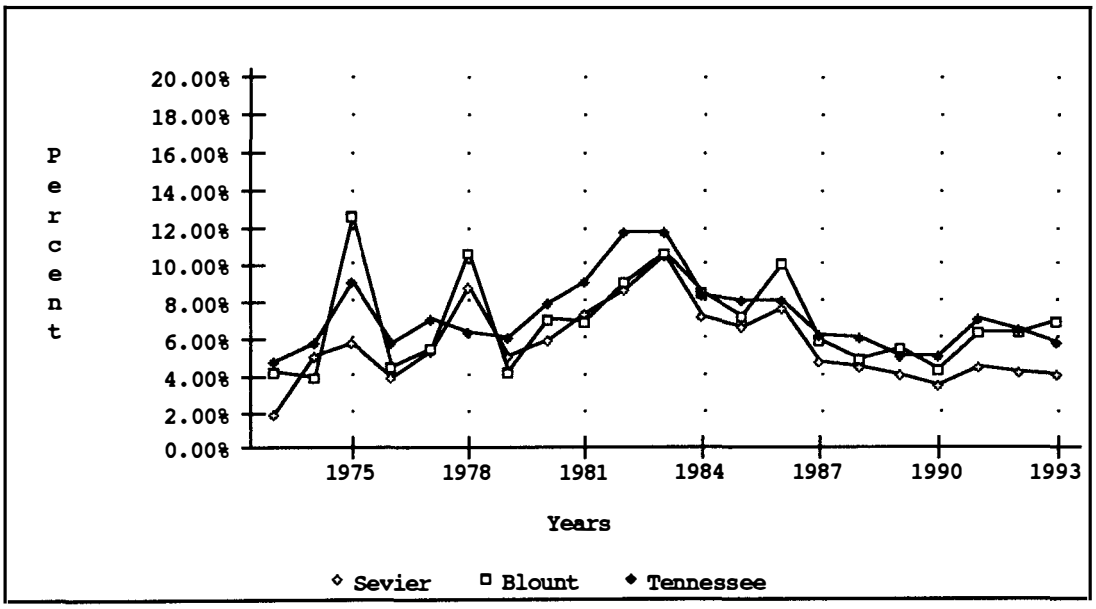


Figure 7.3 July Unemployment Rates - Tennessee

Other impacts on labor can be observed in earnings. In Tables A.2-A.3 income and employment components of the respective economies were provided. Dividing the income by industry as reported by the total number of employees gives annual earnings per employee by industry as listed in Table A.6 and depicted in Figures 7.4-7.511.

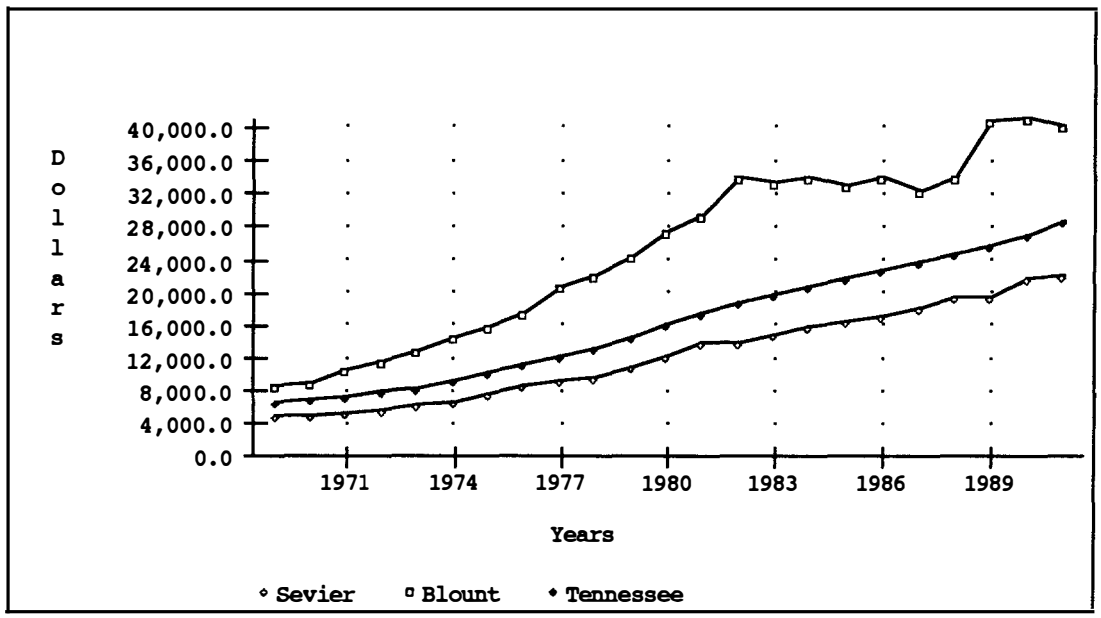


Figure 7.4 Manufacturing Earnings per Employee - Tennessee

From this detail we have a means of testing the suggestion made by the Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force (1983, 78) that the existence of a dominant, low-wage, seasonal industry can have the effect of helping to keep local wages low in low-wage manufacturing employment as well. Based on the detail it is apparent that Sevier's earnings per employee are lower in all sectors, but does this mean that tourism has been a causal factor? After all, Sevier's largest single employer does manufacture textiles - a typically low-wage manufacturing

industry - while the second largest employer, at least on an annual basis, is Dollywood - a theme park for tourists[12]. Blount County's manufacturing earnings are, not surprisingly, much higher with the presence of Alcoa and Nippondenso.

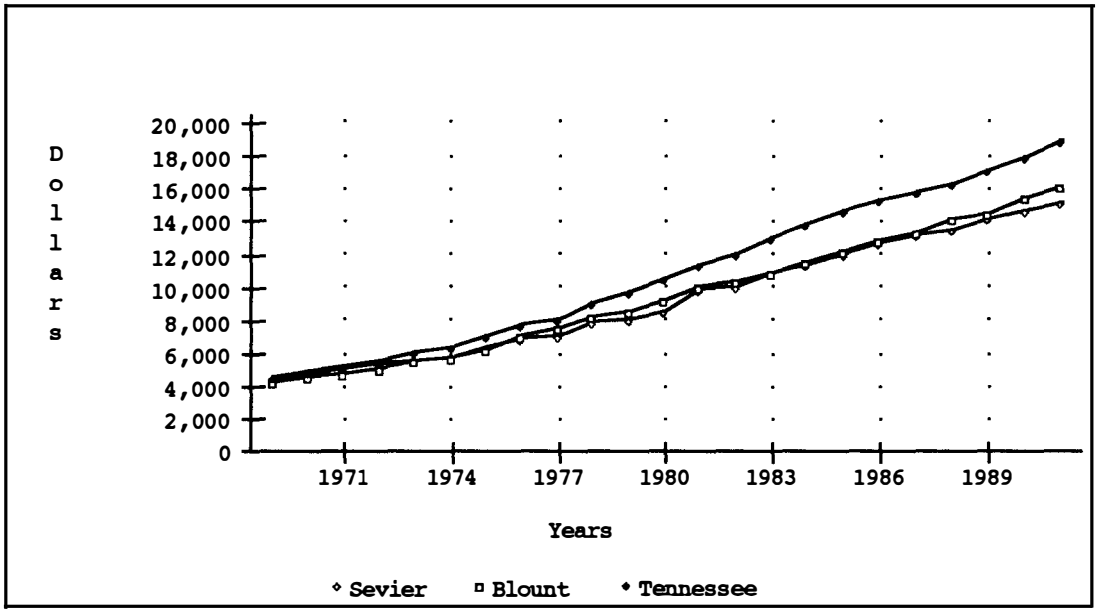


Figure 7.5 Retail/Service Earnings per Employee - Tennessee

What is also apparent from the detail, though, is that the magnitude of increases have been lower in all sectors in Sevier County than have been the case in Blount or Tennessee. This fact is confirmed by detail provided by the East Tennessee Development District in their *Economic Statistics* reports (1980-1989) where average weekly wages are reported for select industries in the region and shown in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Average Weekly Wages by Industry

Category	Sevier	Blount	East TN
1975			
All Industries	$114	$185	$164
Manufacturing	$139	$257	$180
Trade	$98	$114	$154
Finance	$138	$131	$153
Services	$109	$119	$133
1988			
All Industries	$247	$368	$349
Manufacturing	$330	$621	$392
Trade	$195	$261	$254
Finance	$304	$308	$389
Services	$218	$266	$303
Total Increase			
All Industries	$133	$183	$185
Manufacturing	$191	$364	$212
Trade	$97	$147	$100
Finance	$166	$177	$236
Services	$109	$147	$170

Source: East Tennessee Development District, *Economic Statistics*

While this may be indicative of a correlation between tourism and lower wages, direct causality is still difficult to establish. Nevertheless, wages in Sevier's economy are not only lower but increases over time have not matched those in other areas. The Task Force's assertion rests on the assumption that low-wage seasonal employment is a dominant factor, as explained in Chapter 3. There is, however, another contributing factor to this result: the mobility of the labor force. If workers could simply and easily relocate to an area with higher wages, then this effect would not be realized; employers would have to offer comparable wages.

Several factors prevent this ease of labor reallocation. First, the labor force does not consist exclusively of individual workers; workers are frequently part of families and have obligations that extend beyond their immediate person. As a result, the spouse of someone who has a more desirable non-tourist position - with year-round employment, benefits, and higher wages - would not be inclined to pursue a better supplemental position in another location. Additionally, as Smith's interviews indicate (1989, 59-77) many of Sevier's tourist industry employees are family members who support each other through the extended family network. Since this mutual support is necessary to ensure the economic viability of the members, relocation would result in a breakdown of the system and greater hardship for those remaining. Finally, relocation does not provide the obvious benefits that it did in prior decades. In the 1950s and 1960s, many people from Appalachia did move to the North to take advantage of the growing economy and proliferation of manufacturing jobs. By the mid-1970s and thereafter, this option was no longer as readily available. The recurrence of more severe and longer recessionary episodes; the structural transformation of the economy due to, among other things, a more open economy; and the trends toward corporate downsizing and the recommodification of labor (through an emphasis on part-time and temporary help) have all contributed greatly to prevent lower-paid members of working classes from improving their lot by seeking opportunity elsewhere. Essentially then, it may not be completely coincidental that Sevier's wages are low for the region.

Another aspect of earnings resulting from tourism is revealed in

proprietors' income as shown in Table A.7 and Figure 7.6. Given that tourism is generally viewed as being an industry of small businesses, it might be expected that proprietary income would be a significant aspect of earnings from this industry. Table A.7 and Figure 7.6 show that Sevier County not only has a higher percent of total income derived by proprietors, but it also has experienced a faster rate of growth as compared to Blount and Tennessee. For the period of 1969 to 1991 the respective rates of growth for these areas are: 811%, 656%, and 527%. During Sevier's period of very rapid growth after 1981 the respective rates are 166%, 106%, and 132%. What may in fact have kept these numbers from being even higher is that the period listed was primarily a development stage and subject to competition from large corporate investments as in chain motels and factory outlet stores.

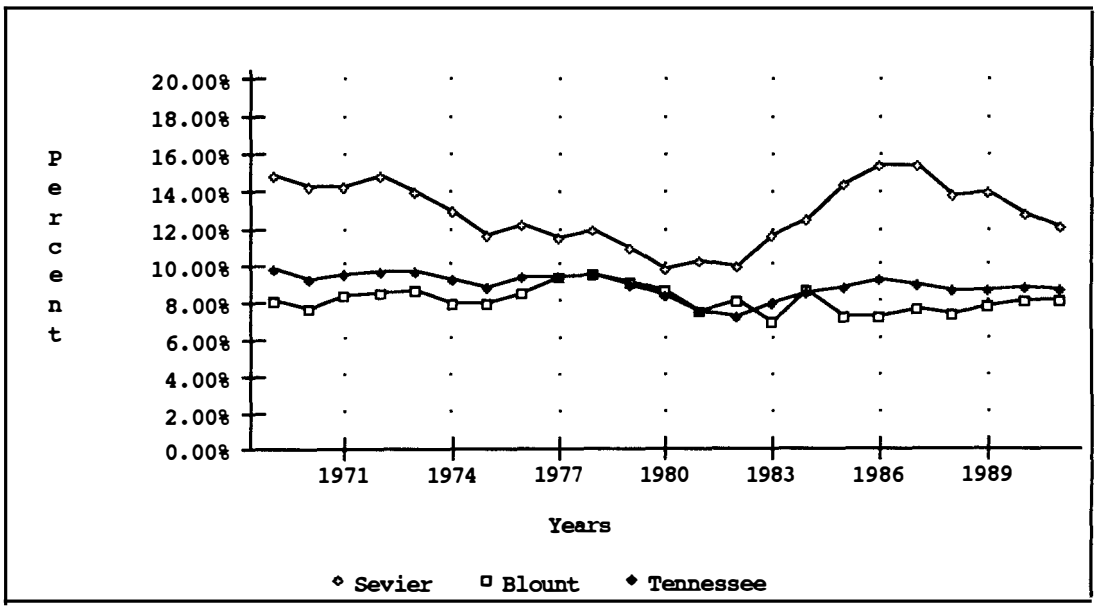


Figure 7.6 Percent Proprietors' Income - Tennessee

One final category of impacts on labor pertains to labor force participation rates as shown in Table A.8 and Figure 7.7. From this information it is evident that the service and retail nature of the tourist industry results in higher levels of labor force participation than in more diversified economies. Although Sevier's participation rates cannot be characterized as tremendously higher, they are at very least consistently higher. Therefore, as job growth has occurred in Sevier's economy along with rapid population growth (see below), higher percentages of the population have entered the work force.

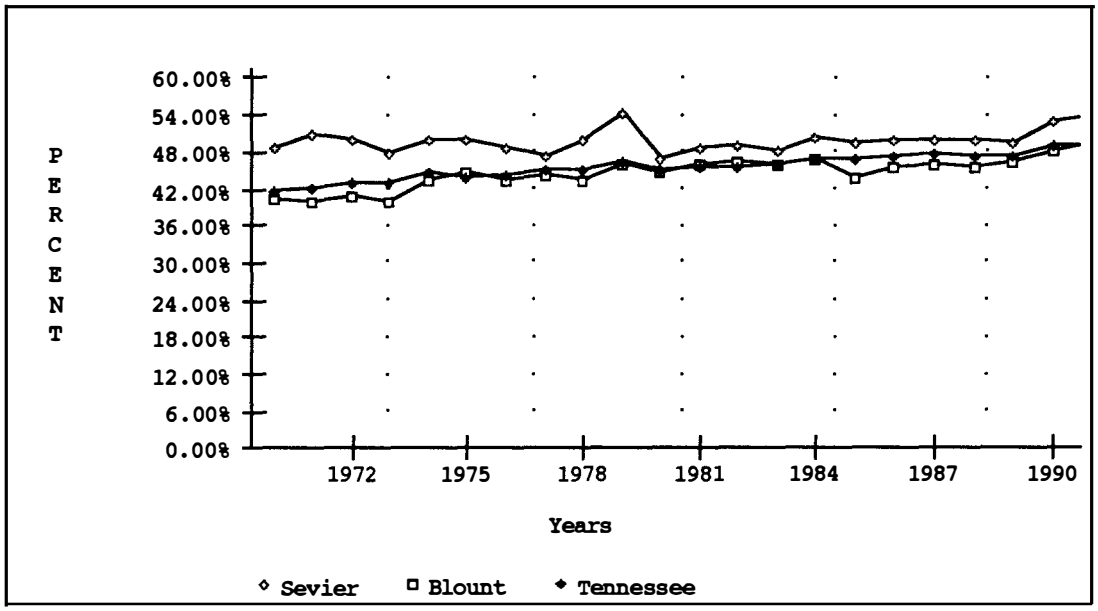


Figure 7.7 Labor Force Participation Rates - Tennessee

From an East Tennessee perspective, then, the growth of the tourist industry in Sevier County has created thousands of jobs for an area that was quite poor and in considerable need of income. Additionally, this industrial growth has provided the opportunity for

many small-scale entrepreneurs to invest in tourist enterprises and earn proprietary income. However, as will be shown in the next section, many of these investors were not natives of the county but outsiders in search of opportunity. And further, as the development stage progressed, the cyclical, low-wage nature of employment has resulted in persistently high seasonal unemployment and contributed to lower earnings per employee in Sevier's county-wide economy.

Impacts on the Populace

One result of the introduction of tourism into an otherwise undeveloped area of Sevier County was the creation of a market for the Settlement School's craft program and shop. According to the Smoky Mountains Historical Society (1986, 100-101) by 1930 the impact of this craft industry was such that it "contributed as much if not more to the economy of Sevier County than any other industry. Logging and farming were the early sources of income and women especially had no way to earn money for their families before Pi Beta Phi. For many farm families, the making and selling of craft items made the difference between getting by and real want." Greve in 1931 (112) directly observed the impact of the craft industry and noted that "there are few homes in the Burg today where the thud of the loom is not heard, and the sale of articles made by the women brings many comforts and luxuries to the people that otherwise they would not have."

Once the national park was created and the tourist industry became more established in Gatlinburg, it is apparent that most of the

direct benefit derived from this activity went to four families that owned and retained the land along the river road through town and built, owned, or leased the majority of tourist enterprises there. This ownership pattern continued until the early 1970s when tourism and job growth began to expand rapidly beyond the confines of Gatlinburg and the tourist industry proceeded into a development stage.

Changes in population numbers are presented in Table A.9 and summary Table 7.2. It is apparent that from 1930 until 1948 Blount County experienced the highest population increase with a 37.8% growth rate while Sevier followed with 25.0% and Tennessee had only a 20.7% growth rate. While each area experienced some periods of fluctuation, the general trend of population increases from 1948 to 1972 were: Sevier, 19.9%; Blount, 37.5%; and Tennessee, 27.3%. Apparently Blount's industrialization was more conducive to population growth while Sevier, during its rapidly evolving involvement stage, lagged behind even Tennessee's rate. For the years after 1972, however, a different pattern prevails. Here, the growth rates of 70.1% for Sevier as compared to 34.3% for Blount and 21.7% for a fairly consistent Tennessee, demonstrate a relationship between a tourist development stage and more rapid population growth.

Table 7.2 Population Growth

Years	Sevier	Blount	Tenn.
1930-48	25.0%	37.8%	20.7%
1948-72	19.9%	37.5%	27.3%
1972-91	70.1%	34.3%	21.7%

One explanation for this according to Smith (1989, 9-29) is that the tourist area attracted retirees and more affluent residents: managers, entrepreneurs, and developers. Additionally though, the county also became a more desirable place to live; with rapidly rising property values, more and better roads, and Interstate 40 nearby, many people could live there and also commute to Knoxville for employment. This trend equally suggests rising affluence in the county.

Although the Census of Population only began to report income distribution as of 1950, this still allows a view of Sevier County before the accelerated involvement stage. Table A.10 and Figures 7.8-7.13 show the change in distribution from 1950 to 1990.

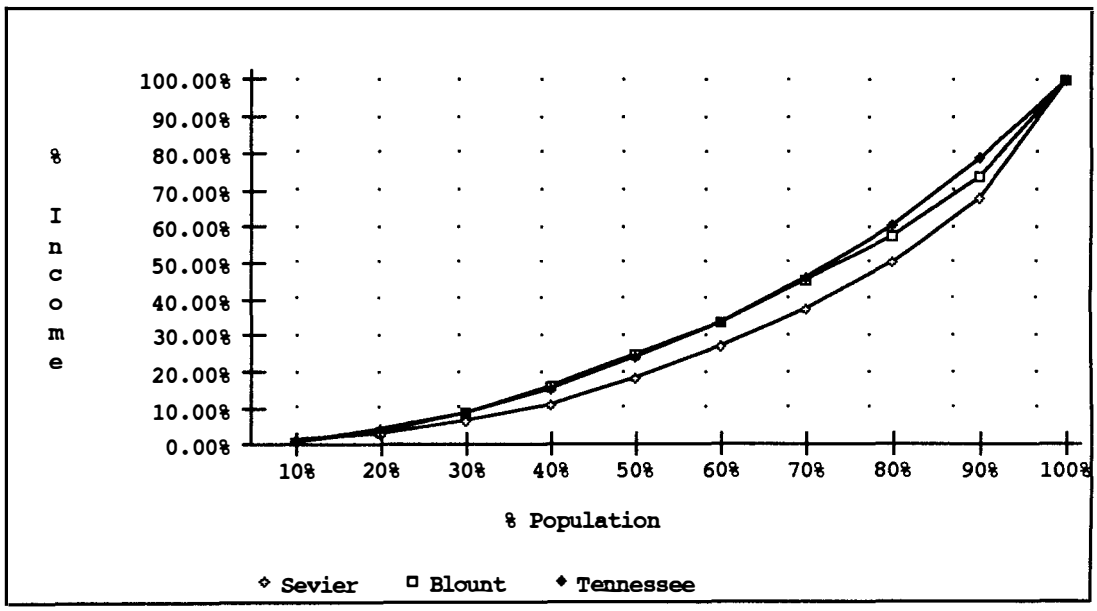


Figure 7.8 Lorenz Curves - 1950, Tennessee

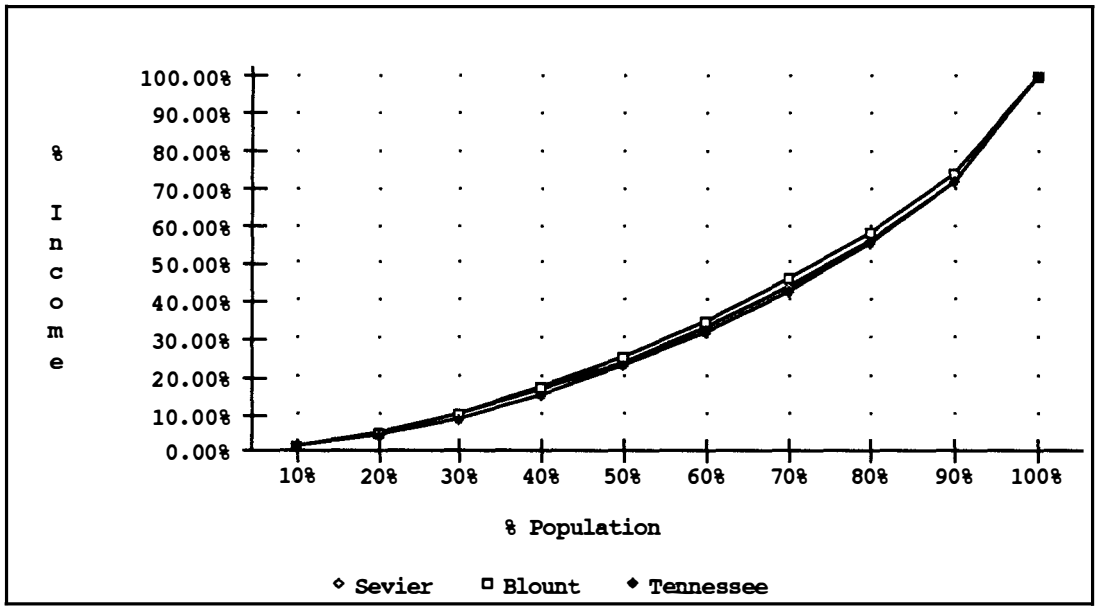


Figure 7.9 Lorenz Curves - 1970, Tennessee

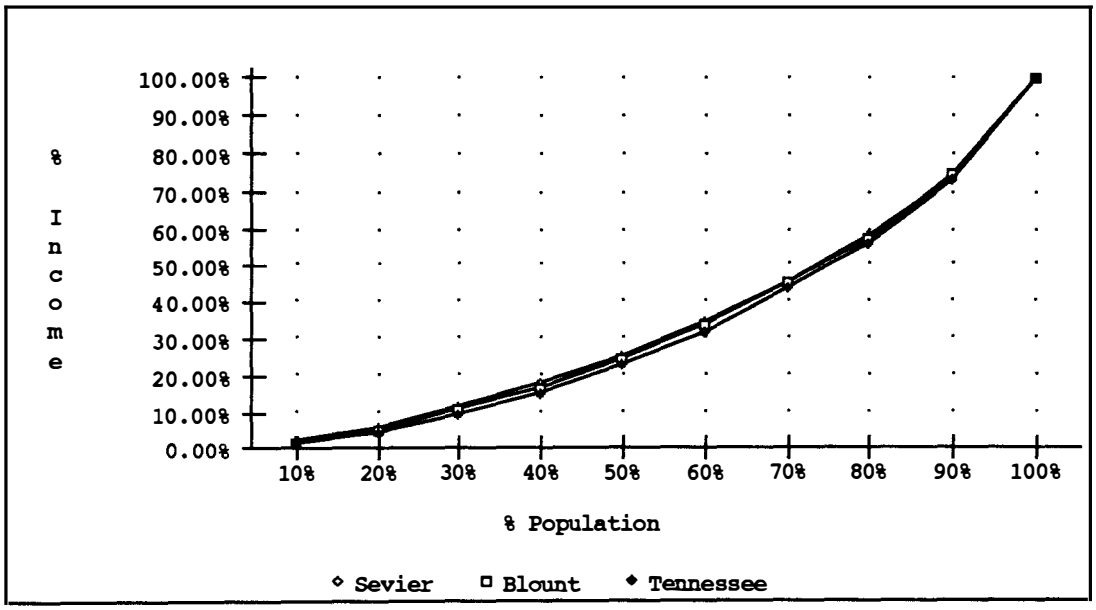


Figure 7.10 Lorenz Curves - 1990, Tennessee

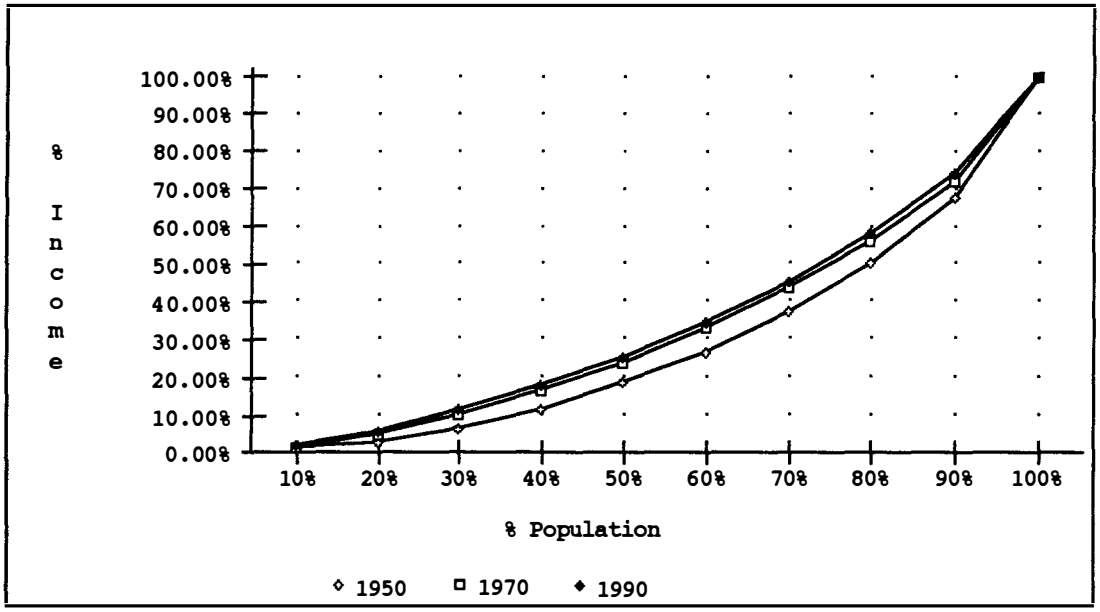


Figure 7.11 Lorenz Curves - Sevier County

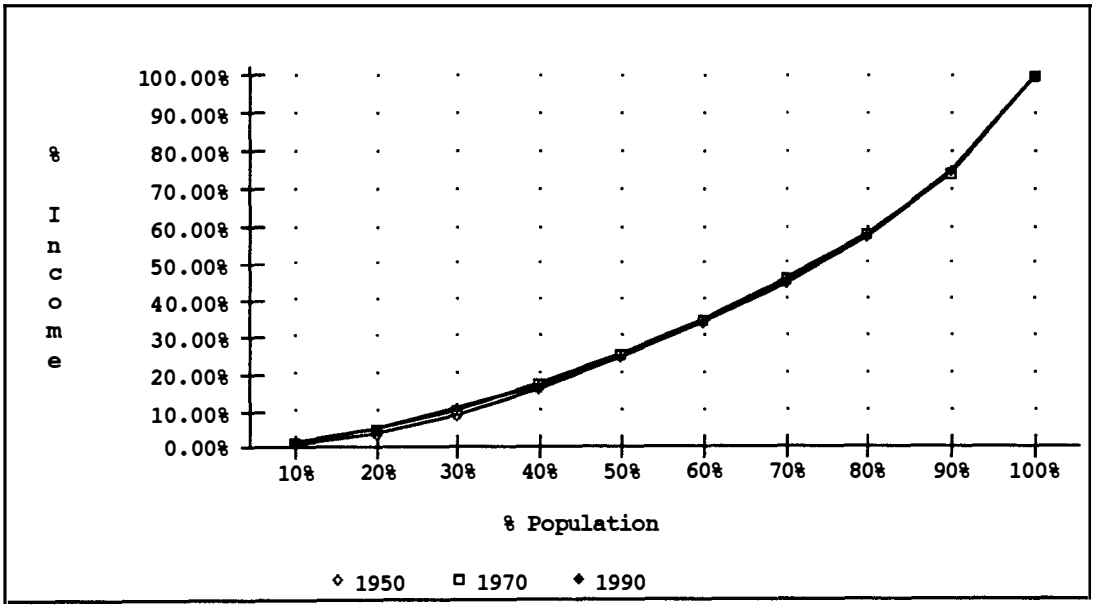


Figure 7.12 Lorenz Curves - Blount County

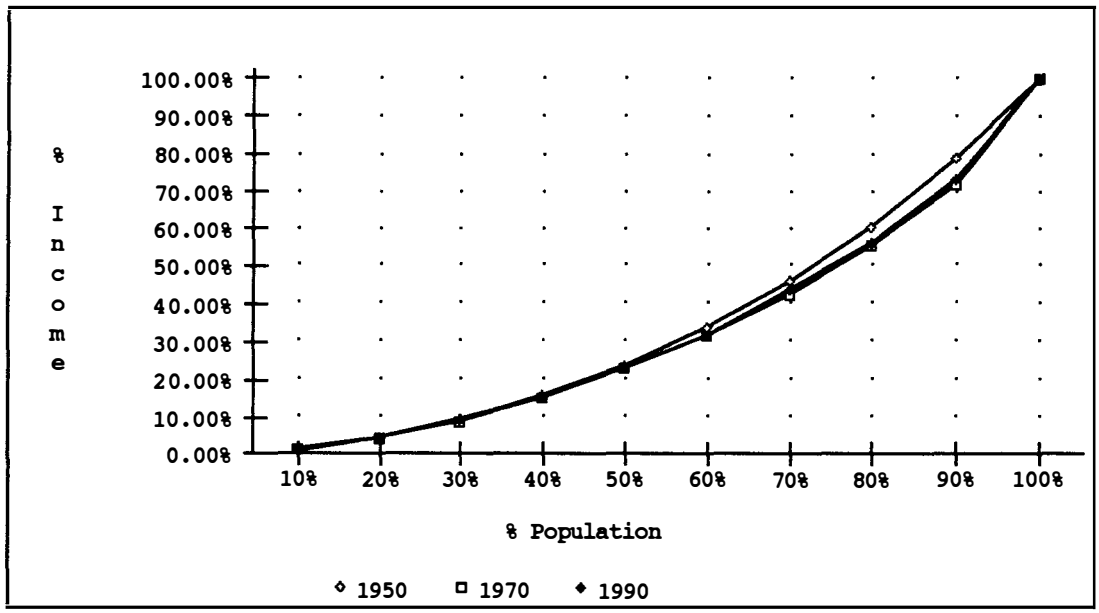


Figure 7.13 Lorenz Curves - Tennessee

In Sevier County as of 1950, the Lorenz Curves of Figure 7.8 clearly show that income was less equitably distributed than in Blount or Tennessee as a result of a larger segment of Sevier's population earning low levels of income. By 1970 the incomes began to appear noticeably more equitably distributed for Sevier, which had undergone almost two decades of an accelerated involvement stage, but Sevier still had higher percentages of families in the lower income groups and lower percentages in the upper income groups than either Blount County or Tennessee. Nonetheless, the Lorenz Curves of Figure 7.9 show that Sevier County was experiencing significant growth in the middle-income groups. As of 1990 the impression of equitable distribution becomes even more evident. At this point, the Lorenz Curves of Figure 7.10 are virtually identical. Clearly Sevier County has dropped in percentage of low income households, even below the other two areas, while

retaining lower percentages in the upper income levels, thus having a higher percentage of households in the middle income groups.

Although these statistics suggest that Sevier County has undergone a significant beneficial change and also experienced a closing of the gaps between its median and per capita incomes and those of Blount and Tennessee, the increase in population was instrumental in bringing this about. The clear indication of this is provided by the statistics for the number of persons below the poverty level. Although all three areas experienced a drop in the total numbers of people in this category from 1970 to 1980, followed by a subsequent increase in numbers from 1980 to 1990, Sevier County is the only one that actually experienced an increase in people below the poverty level of income from 1970 to 1990. The actual percentage changes for this period are: Sevier, +3.3%; Blount, -2.3%; and Tennessee, -10.9%.

Sevier's development stage has thus attracted many people in the middle income levels, and as Table A.11 shows, per capita income has also grown faster in Sevier County than the other two areas between 1969 and 1991. In spite of this, since 1970 Table A.11 and Figure 7.14 show that Sevier's per capita income has remained below those for Blount and Tennessee, while the poor of Sevier County not only remain so but are growing in absolute numbers if not percentage share of the population. In contrast to the development stage, the implication is that some improvement during the involvement stage was taking place in Sevier County. Income distribution was becoming more equitable from 1950 to 1970, while during this period rapid population growth was not occurring. It is also possible, although difficult to verify however,

that at least some of this apparent improvement is the result not only of increasing incomes but also the out-migration of the poorest, most economically marginal residents of the county for the sake of factory jobs in the North. Since clearer evidence for this is available and presented in the Chapter 8 on Western North Carolina, it would be reasonable to assume that at least some of this activity influenced Sevier's results as well.

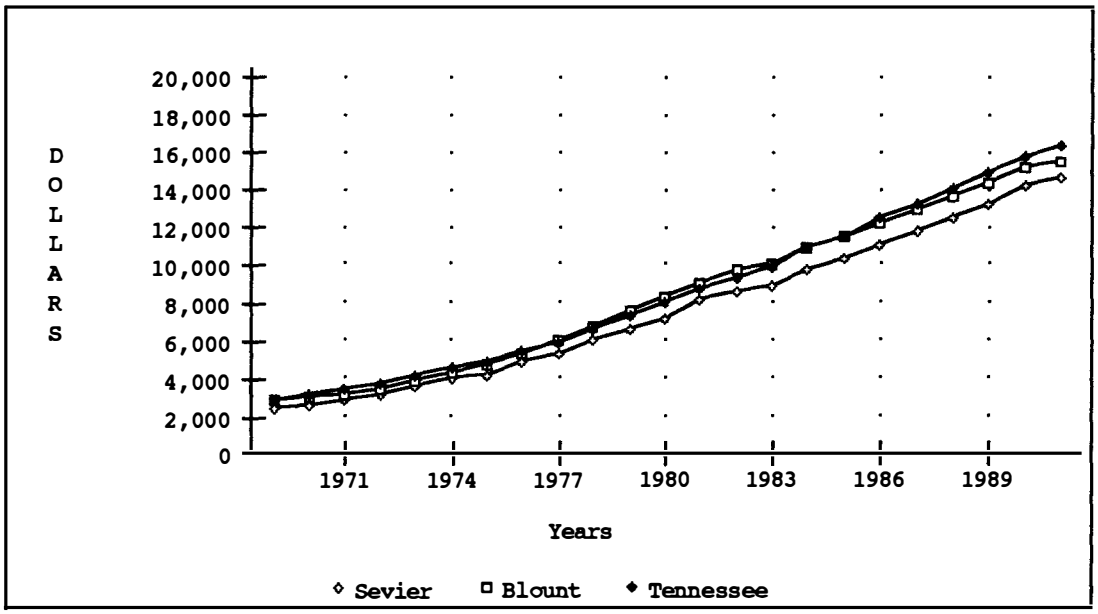


Figure 7.14 Per Capita Income - Tennessee

The combination of increasing poverty with cyclical unemployment would be expected to have adverse results in other measures of social welfare as well. From Table A.12 and Figure 7.15 levels of schooling completed are listed and reflect several trends. Blount county has consistently achieved the highest level of high school graduation rates and it exceeds Tennessee in share of population that has attended or

completed college. Sevier County, which experienced much higher levels of middle-income level immigration after 1970 had previously experienced consistently lower aggregate levels of educational attainment. Nonetheless, Sevier had also witnessed more rapid increases in the percentage of high school graduates from 1940 to 1970. For Sevier during this period, the numbers of high school graduates increased 577% while for Blount and Tennessee the rates were 400% and 263% respectively. Additionally, when comparing the changes in population not acquiring high school diplomas, the percentage increase was lower in Sevier (18.8%) than in Blount (28.7%) although both were higher than Tennessee (2.4%).

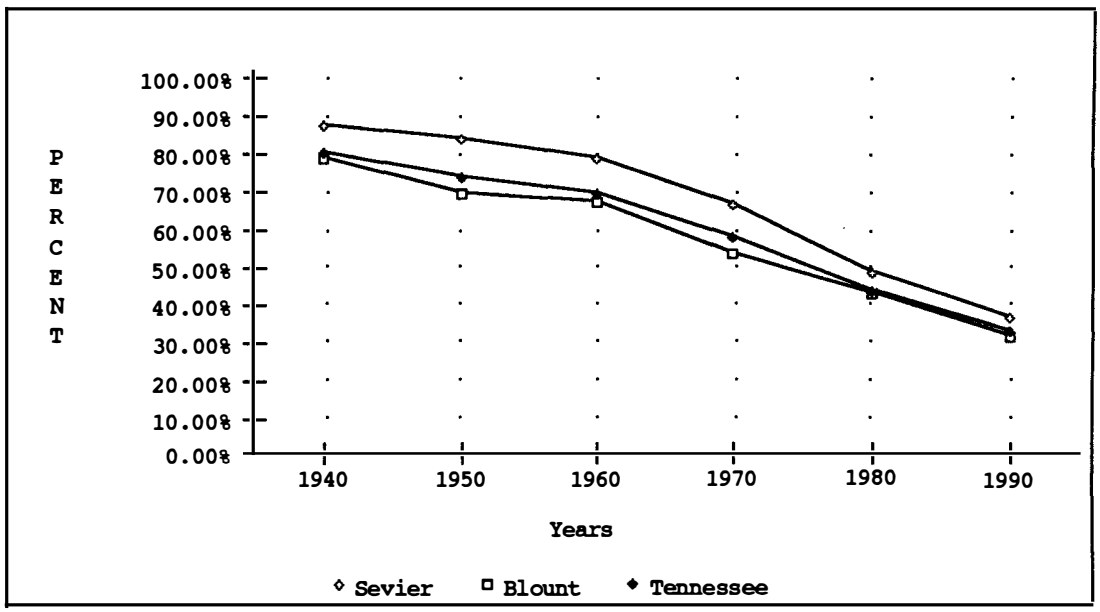


Figure 7.15 % of Population Without HS Diploma - Tennessee

After 1970 a somewhat different impression is presented. From 1970 to 1990 the percent changes in all those not completing high

school are: Sevier, +18%; Blount, -6.2%; and Tennessee, -16.6%. Additionally, the rates of increase for just those who get to high school but fail to graduate are: Sevier, 128%; Blount, 62%; and Tennessee, 37%.

This more recent contrast for Sevier is perhaps indicative of two aspects of the local economy. First, the benefits of finishing school are not particularly high since the probability of finding non-tourist employment can be rather low. As a result, the opportunity cost of staying in school can be rather high since income can be readily attainable from tourist employment. According to interviews by Smith (1989, 54-55) with high school drop-outs and school superintendents, the students see their parents readily gaining employment and earning money without the benefit of high school diplomas, while locally, little additional opportunity appears to exist from having acquired the degree. Additionally, to these young people, even the low tourist industry wages can seem like a lot of money, thus creating more incentive to abandon school work.

This detrimental tendency has drawn the attention of community leaders who have created a program in Sevier to help reduce the growing numbers of high school drop-outs. Funded by the Dollywood Foundation, the "buddy contract" program commits $500 to each student and his or her buddy upon completion of high school. The key to the program is that the money is used as an incentive to get the buddies to help each other overcome problems and obstacles and use peer pressure as a positive force (Smith 1989, 55).

Other indications of social welfare are participation levels in

social programs such as food stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) as shown in Tables A.13-A.14. In these tables as for unemployment, the months are intended to be indicative of the four seasons. From Table A.13 it is apparent that with food stamps (eligibility pertains to the people who qualify for, but do not necessarily receive benefits) a fairly cyclical phenomenon has occurred in all three regions although Sevier County consistently experiences greater amplitude. To consider overall increases in eligibility, we will take average eligibilities for 1971 and 1991. 1971 will be used since a couple of years may have been necessary for the new program to become known and fully utilized, and as a result it is the first year in which expected seasonality is clearly discernible. From 1971 to 1991 the rates of increase of food stamp eligibility have been: Sevier, 144%; Blount, 86% and Tennessee, 87%.

For AFDC participation (see Tables A.14 and 7.3), the years 1938-1951 do not provide much insight other than that Sevier had the highest participation rates per population after the late 1940s and also the highest rate of growth in participation from 1941 to 1951: Sevier, 128%; Blount, 96%; and Tennessee, 71%. This would not be unexpected however, as during this period Sevier's residents had lower incomes and the tourist involvement stage had not yet achieved rapid growth. From 1952 to 1972, when Sevier's involvement stage began to flourish, seasonality is still not discernible, but rates of growth in participation are: Sevier, -10.3%; Blount, +32.4%; and Tennessee, +158%. For the years 1972 to 1991 seasonality becomes evident during Sevier's development stage, with April being the highest month of

incidence, and the rates of growth in participation are: Sevier, 103%; Blount, 32.9%; and Tennessee, 30.4%.

Table 7.3 Percent Change in AFDC Participation

Years	Sevier	Blount	Tennessee
1938-1951	128.0%	96.0%	71.0%
1952-1972	-10.3%	32.4%	158.0%
1972-1991	103.0%	32.9%	30.4%

A possible measure of social welfare not utilized in this study is Medicaid participation. The reasons that it is not reported are twofold. First, the major portion of Medicaid that would relate to economic development falls under AFDC eligibility - if a family qualifies for AFDC it automatically qualifies for Medicaid. Second, reporting differences between North Carolina and Tennessee do not allow for comparative analysis. In North Carolina no differentiation is made between the types of Medicaid benefits being distributed; thus benefits to the aged, blind, or disabled are aggregated with those for the economically disadvantaged under AFDC. Therefore, Medicaid will not be evaluated under the assumption that food stamps and AFDC provide adequate indications of social welfare programs.

One final indicator of social welfare is infant mortality as shown on Table A.15. All three areas had comparably high rates until about 1939 when rates for Blount and Tennessee dropped noticeably relative to Sevier's. This relationship continued throughout the 1940s until Sevier's rate took its sudden drop in 1951 after which the rates have been reasonably comparable. Since that time Blount appears to

have had somewhat lower rates and Sevier appears to have had the most fluctuation in rates. It might be difficult, however, to attribute any of this to changes in tourism, although tourism did much to open up Sevier County during the 1950s.

Impacts on Government

From Table A.16, government finances are summarized as per the *Compendium of Government Finances* as reported by the Bureau of the Census. The local government finances listed on these tables are summaries of all local governments (county, city, and township) within a county's borders, and the column listed as "All TN Counties" is simply a grand total of all the local governments throughout the state. Two points become evident from a review of this information. First, Sevier County has consistently kept its property taxes low in order to continue attracting new businesses. This is perhaps contrary to expectations, but the tourist growth has so far allowed the county to rely on gross business taxes, hotel/motel taxes, restaurant taxes, and sales taxes to finance the growing governmental activity. The reason sales taxes become important to Sevier is that with Gatlinburg and Pigeon Forge designated "premier resort cities", Sevier county generates a very high amount of sales tax per county resident. In return, and so as to provide property tax relief to these citizens, Tennessee refunds a large portion of the sales tax to finance growth in county services and infrastructure.

Regardless of these sources of revenue, though, Sevier County can

also be seen to show rapidly growing amounts of per capita debt outstanding over the reporting period. Although Blount County scaled back its debt between 1957 to 1962 and has maintained the lowest per capita level, Sevier's per capita debt has been growing consistently and keeping pace with an apparently rapidly growing consolidated state level. What is misleading about this is that until 1977 only debt outstanding was reported for the individual counties and not offsetting cash and securities, many of which are set aside for the specific purpose of debt retirement. Once this information is netted against debt outstanding, Sevier's growth in *net* per capita debt is greater than one third more than the other areas. From the detail related to 1982 and 1987 it becomes much more apparent that the resources necessary to finance the growth in government services and infrastructure during a tourist boom are in excess of those in other counties, in spite of the additional revenue sources available to Sevier. If nothing else this suggests that as the county strives for continued, rapid economic growth, Sevier's property taxes will be subject to upward pressure. Growing public indebtedness should eventually bring about the possibility of constraints on borrowing due to the accumulation of inordinate levels of debt.

As stated previously however, this occurrence will simply make housing costs for low-income residents all the more unaffordable. Currently, low property taxes are benefiting land owners and developers but the rate of development is driving up the price of land to unprecedented levels. Reagan (1988) and Martin (1994) furnish some examples of increasing land prices in Pigeon Forge during the tourist

boom. In 1964 real estate through Pigeon Forge sold for about $1,000 per acre. By the mid-1980s, the price was over $4,000 per square foot of frontage property. In 1990, 28 acres fronting Highway 66 were sold in Pigeon Forge for $6 million; 20 years prior the land would have gotten only $8,000. Although the outlet malls may supply some goods to shoppers at reasonable prices, land and housing have certainly been subject to considerable inflation and property taxes are inevitably going to face the same pressures.

In the meantime, lower-income residents already face a disproportionate share of the tax burden by having to face a very regressive sales tax in Tennessee. As of 1989 Tennessee derived a higher proportion of state and local tax revenues from sales tax than any state except Washington (Smith 1989, 55). Since the tax is also applied to food, it is all the more regressive and burdensome on the poor for whom payments for food represent a high portion of expenditure as compared to their low and seasonal wages.

Impacts on Agriculture

Table A.17 and summary Tables 7.4-7.6 list a collection of statistics on agriculture since 1900. Beginning with the earliest period, 1900-1920, before modern tourism entered the area, we can see that Sevier County actually increased in its quantity of farmland; its average farm size was comparable with the state; its ownership percentage was comparable with Blount County; but its values of equipment, livestock, and crops were significantly below the other two.

Sevier clearly was a less prosperous agricultural area while Blount farmers were decidedly more so.

Table 7.4 Percent Change in Farm Acreage

Years	Sevier	Blount	Tenn.
1930-50	-8.8%	7.3%	3.0%
1950-74	-44.2%	-37.7%	-29.3%
1974-87	-31.8%	-10.9%	-10.5%

From 1920 to 1950, when Sevier was in its low level involvement stage and Blount was benefiting from the development of the Alcoa works, both areas had lost significant amounts of farm land by 1930 due to the creation of the park. From 1930 to 1950, though, the amount of farmland lost was: Sevier 8.8%, and Blount 7.3%, while Tennessee gained 3.0%. From 1920 to 1950 Blount was the only one of the three to increase its number of farms and as a result, dropped considerably in average farm size. These farmers, however, were much more able to own their farms than those in Sevier or Tennessee and they acquired higher levels of motorization and amenities even though they did not maintain particularly high levels of per farm production. Blount's per farm livestock and crop production as a percentage of state averages went from 129.3% and 51.9% to 103.8% and 36.5% respectively for 1930 and 1950. The reason for the prosperity of these farmers undoubtedly lies with their much higher magnitude of not only off-farm work, but especially employment involving over 100 days effort.

Sevier County in contrast had not only dropped in number of farms but also in average size to well below the state average. The per-farm

level of production was still below the state averages and ownership of equipment and amenities also remained below the state averages, except in trucks. Sevier's per farm livestock and crop production as a percentage of state averages went from 109.8% and 44.2% to 73.4% and 51.9% respectively for 1930 and 1950. Also, off-farm employment was somewhat above the state average levels while ownership did not increase as much as the other two areas but did remain above the state average.

Table 7.5 Per-Farm Output as a Percent of State Averages

Years	Sevier	Blount
Crops:		
1930	44.2%	51.9%
1950	51.9%	36.5%
1974	39.1%	40.1%
1987	30.6%	39.3%
Livestock/Prods:		
1930	109.8%	129.3%
1950	73.4%	103.8%
1974	57.5%	92.8%
1987	51.2%	70.4%

From 1950 to 1974, when Sevier was in its high-level involvement stage and Blount was still predominantly manufacturing oriented, persistent losses of farmland occurred: Sevier 44.2%, Blount 37.7%, and Tennessee 29.3%. Corresponding with this loss of land, the numbers of farms also dropped throughout the period, matched by an increase in the average size of farms. Both Sevier and Blount consistently remained behind the Tennessee average in farm size, however.

Table 7.6 Percent of Farm Operators Engaged in Off-Farm Work

Years	Sevier	Blount	Tenn.
Any Work:			
1940	41.6%	46.0%	31.1%
1950	40.6%	59.7%	37.3%
1974	54.6%	58.3%	52.8%
1987	61.9%	61.0%	61.3%
Over 100 Hours:			
1940	21.0%	38.1%	17.4%
1950	26.3%	51.0%	22.5%
Over 200 Hours:			
1974	37.5%	47.8%	37.3%
1987	45.8%	46.7%	45.4%

Blount, during this period, continued to maintain its lead in ownership of equipment and amenities due to its ability to provide more, lengthier, and presumably well-paying off-farm work. This level of activity, though, peaked in 1954 and dropped unsteadily for the next twenty years. Concurrently, the area dropped slightly relative to the state in per farm output while ownership percentages remained fairly constant during this period. Livestock and crop production went from 104.8% and 36.5% to 92.8% and 40.1% respectively for 1950 and 1974.

For Sevier County, the ownership of equipment and amenities continued to lag behind the other two areas, although the gaps between them can be observed to narrow over the period. Although per farm production did not match the state or Blount, off-farm work rose significantly during the period, with a peak in 1969. Livestock and crop production went from 73.4% and 51.9% to 57.5% and 39.1% respectively for 1950 and 1974. Also for Sevier, ownership percentages increased unevenly through the period to match and exceed Blount's rate.

From 1974 to 1987, when Sevier was experiencing rapid population growth and a development stage, farmland acreage continued to drop: Sevier, 31.8%; Blount, 10.9%; and Tennessee, 10.5%. The number of farms also continued to drop in Sevier, but not Blount, so that Blount experienced a larger drop in average size. Both predictably remained well below the state average, with Sevier maintaining the lowest average size. By this time off-farm work had become rather consistent for all the areas, while ownership percentages also dropped more in Blount and Sevier than for the state. Additionally, per farm production continued to lag in both counties but especially Sevier. For Blount, livestock and crop production went from 92.8% and 40.1% to 70.4% and 39.3% respectively for 1974 and 1987. For Sevier, the corresponding rates of per farm output are 57.5% and 39.1% to 51.2% and 30.6% respectively for 1974 and 1987.

The obvious implications are that development is predictably hard on agriculture. Sevier County has experienced the highest levels of farmland loss during the period with the involvement stage appearing to account for the greatest part of this. A closer look reveals that the losses amounted to the following acreage per time periods: 22,136 from 1950 to 1959; 20,276 from 1959 to 1969; and 27,530 from 1969 to 1974. The last few years of the involvement stage and the period moving into a development stage account for the largest portion of farmland losses as developers were buying up land in anticipation of the flurry of activity to come. Furthermore, the average size of the farms has been kept well below the state averages resulting in per farm output continuing to drop relative to the state. Very likely, some of the

best farmland has been absorbed by development and/or the rising price of farmland has prevented farmers from accumulating new acreage.

The existence of significant off-farm employment for farm operators has shown itself to be quite beneficial to Blount County, but the census reporting fails to show to what degree this might have been available to the operators' families. Sevier County's improvements in ownership of equipment and amenities during the involvement stage suggests that this may have been consequential as well.

Summary

The statistical information gives the impression that the involvement stage - even if ownership was concentrated in the hands of a few Sevier families - proved to be more beneficial to the community at large than did the much more rapid growth associated with the development stage. It is also apparent that an economy characterized by a greater mix of activity including more manufacturing proves to be more desirable than an economy strongly devoted to tourism or predominantly low-wage, service/retail oriented.

The seasonality of tourism produces cyclically high unemployment as well as higher average unemployment rates. Although more proprietary income becomes available through the small-scale entrepreneurial potential of tourism, the low-wage seasonal nature of tourism employment contributes to lower earnings for all local workers. The potential for rapidly growing entrepreneurial activity and return on investment has further impacts in attracting new residents. As the

tourist activity becomes more vigorous, managers, developers, retirees, and commuters desiring to take advantage of rising land values and profits migrate to the resort area. This results in a rapidly improving income distribution while those remaining at the bottom levels are not elevated but rather grow in absolute numbers if not percent of total.

This growing poverty combined with low-wage seasonal employment results further in greater incidences of welfare spending for items such as food stamps and AFDC and also creates an atmosphere where educational attainment is not pursued. A lack of real alternative opportunities coupled with readily available employment for those without high school diplomas has resulted in growing numbers of drop-outs which can only further aggravate the poverty situation of the region. These have been reversals of some of the trends that occurred during the involvement stage.

Government, meanwhile, has been busily gearing up for the additional services and infrastructure required by the tourist boom by debt financing, apparently on the promise of future tax revenues from gross taxes, hotel/motel taxes, restaurant taxes, and sales taxes. This is being done while property taxes are kept down in order to continue attracting investment at an accelerating rate. The growing debt, though, must eventually be offset by higher property taxes, as tourism growth is projected indefinitely - requiring correspondingly more services and infrastructure - and a borrowing constraint is bound to materialize. Concurrently, rising land prices and the eventuality of rising property taxes will make housing costs ever more unaffordable

for those employed by the tourist industry.

For agriculture, the trend has been one of displacement. More development has meant less farmland, fewer and smaller farms, and less output per farm. Although any development, such as Blount's manufacturing, has had this effect, the impact on Sevier, with its dramatically rising land prices has been more noteworthy.

In the final analysis, an article by Thomas (1993) sums up Sevier County's situation. In spite of the tremendous tourist boom that has taken place there (see Table A.18 for a listing of revenues generated since 1980) Sevier County is officially recognized as depressed by the State of Tennessee. "The county where tourism development has been booming since the early 1980s, where hordes of tourists create unbelievable traffic jams and spend tons of money, where property values have skyrocketed along a commercial strip stretching from Interstate 40 through its three biggest towns, remains among the 18 counties in Tennessee that are labeled the state's poorest." This designation is a result of average unemployment rates over 12% and per capita incomes of less than 75% of the state's average over the previous decade. Quite simply, a great deal of money is being spent in Sevier County on tourism, while many of the natives and residents receive very little benefit but incur a disproportionate share of the costs.

APPENDIX A

TABLES FOR EAST TENNESSEE

Table A.1 Agriculture 1940-1969			
	Resident Farm	Total	Percent of
Year	Operators	Population	Population
Sevier:			
1940	3,087	23,361	13.2%
1945	2,951	24,767	11.9%
1950	2,968	23,377	12.7%
1954	2,395	23,411	10.2%
1959	2,065	24,031	8.6%
1964	1,979	25,234	7.8%
1969	1,364	22,291	6.1%
Blount:			
1940	2,704	41,294	6.5%
1945	3,540	44,858	7.9%
1950	2,795	55,030	5.1%
1954	2,700	60,460	4.5%
1959	1,961	56,856	3.4%
1964	1,381	60,187	2.3%
1969	1,155	62,573	1.8%
Tennessee:			
1940	224,584	2,923,461	7.7%
1945	220,632	3,075,815	7.2%
1950	215,050	3,301,719	6.5%
1954	186,253	3,461,796	5.4%
1959	137,503	3,523,599	3.9%
1964	118,498	3,798,000	3.1%
1969	83,547	3,985,000	2.1%
Sources: Census of Agriculture and			
Tennessee Vital Statistics			

Table A.2.1 Sevier County Incomes (000s):

Year	Total	Agri.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%	Tourism	%
1969	69,788	3,329	4.8%	6,955	10.0%	21,232	30.4%	4,752	6.8%	5,848	8.4%	9,890	14.2%
1970	75,798	3,174	4.2%	7,906	10.4%	23,847	31.5%	5,110	6.7%	5,828	7.7%	11,482	15.1%
1971	85,425	2,853	3.3%	8,897	10.4%	28,109	32.9%	5,740	6.7%	6,217	7.3%	13,398	15.7%
1972	98,466	4,227	4.3%	9,126	9.3%	30,301	30.8%	7,777	7.9%	7,492	7.6%	13,850	14.1%
1973	116,067	5,331	4.6%	10,537	9.1%	33,763	29.1%	9,539	8.2%	9,212	7.9%	14,738	12.7%
1974	129,954	3,663	2.8%	12,654	9.7%	36,714	28.3%	10,505	8.1%	10,419	8.0%	16,002	12.3%
1975	144,828	2,976	2.1%	13,011	9.0%	41,997	29.0%	10,102	7.0%	12,413	8.6%	19,857	13.7%
1976	176,408	5,229	3.0%	17,452	9.9%	52,648	29.8%	12,831	7.3%	13,941	7.9%	26,513	15.0%
1977	199,011	3,705	1.9%	20,325	10.2%	60,541	30.4%	13,761	6.9%	15,820	7.9%	31,571	15.9%
1978	238,075	4,513	1.9%	22,274	9.4%	73,820	31.0%	18,473	7.8%	18,119	7.6%	39,972	16.8%
1979	264,376	4,974	1.9%	27,202	10.3%	70,938	26.8%	18,278	6.9%	19,890	7.5%	34,473	13.0%
1980	300,910	3,604	1.2%	32,279	10.7%	80,220	26.7%	16,890	5.6%	22,331	7.4%	40,708	13.5%
1981	346,306	5,072	1.5%	35,194	10.2%	97,084	28.0%	15,327	4.4%	25,661	7.4%	52,790	15.2%
1982	376,393	4,619	1.2%	35,316	9.4%	112,587	29.9%	18,418	4.9%	24,297	6.5%	61,646	16.4%
1983	399,635	774	0.2%	39,092	9.8%	119,093	29.8%	21,079	5.3%	27,745	6.9%	61,867	15.5%
1984	446,076	4,955	1.1%	47,053	10.5%	135,674	30.4%	25,764	5.8%	28,675	6.4%	67,850	15.2%
1985	474,493	4,063	0.9%	44,511	9.4%	155,213	32.7%	28,130	5.9%	32,172	6.8%	77,383	16.3%
1986	520,782	1,801	0.3%	44,861	8.6%	178,184	34.2%	34,475	6.6%	34,944	6.7%	91,676	17.6%
1987	567,127	2,618	0.5%	50,439	8.9%	205,079	36.2%	35,024	6.2%	39,176	6.9%	105,342	18.6%
1988	617,285	2,970	0.5%	53,003	8.6%	225,268	36.5%	34,702	5.6%	43,497	7.0%	114,649	18.6%
1989	663,470	3,164	0.5%	54,557	8.2%	248,822	37.5%	35,533	5.4%	47,434	7.1%	119,353	18.0%
1990	732,205	3,154	0.4%	56,770	7.8%	270,929	37.0%	40,711	5.6%	52,075	7.1%	129,294	17.7%
1991	777,282	2,860	0.4%	56,426	7.3%	284,595	36.6%	38,234	4.9%	55,802	7.2%	133,635	17.2%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table A.2.2 Blount County Incomes (000s):

Year	Total	Agri.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%	Tourism	%
1969	182,225	2,934	1.6%	79,712	43.7%	27,008	14.8%	8,714	4.8%	10,956	6.0%	2,215	1.2%
1970	196,920	2,719	1.4%	83,571	42.4%	30,075	15.3%	9,229	4.7%	11,812	6.0%	2,685	1.4%
1971	203,373	2,124	1.0%	72,410	35.6%	34,240	16.8%	9,128	4.5%	12,449	6.1%	3,280	1.6%
1972	223,138	3,731	1.7%	74,573	33.4%	37,872	17.0%	9,691	4.3%	14,151	6.3%	3,857	1.7%
1973	260,956	4,973	1.9%	89,316	34.2%	42,611	16.3%	10,753	4.1%	16,949	6.5%	4,472	1.7%
1974	299,847	4,066	1.4%	106,296	35.5%	45,821	15.3%	13,557	4.5%	19,743	6.6%	4,363	1.5%
1975	323,284	1,623	0.5%	96,758	29.9%	49,475	15.3%	14,327	4.4%	23,259	7.2%	4,851	1.5%
1976	371,669	2,962	0.8%	112,089	30.2%	57,657	15.5%	16,986	4.6%	25,935	7.0%	5,566	1.5%
1977	431,290	1,766	0.4%	142,471	33.0%	65,262	15.1%	19,766	4.6%	30,291	7.0%	5,433	1.3%
1978	497,071	2,555	0.5%	156,178	31.4%	76,408	15.4%	22,643	4.6%	34,849	7.0%	6,595	1.3%
1979	568,032	3,670	0.6%	181,092	31.9%	79,289	14.0%	25,279	4.5%	39,174	6.9%	5,213	0.9%
1980	647,990	5,220	0.8%	199,742	30.8%	84,755	13.1%	23,710	3.7%	43,281	6.7%	5,784	0.9%
1981	714,661	6,727	0.9%	210,130	29.4%	94,073	13.2%	24,921	3.5%	47,816	6.7%	7,784	1.1%
1982	779,965	6,710	0.9%	219,256	28.1%	102,921	13.2%	25,540	3.3%	51,429	6.6%	8,952	1.1%
1983	812,105	4,652	0.6%	214,965	26.5%	111,494	13.7%	27,703	3.4%	55,047	6.8%	10,150	1.2%
1984	889,231	6,590	0.7%	231,919	26.1%	127,639	14.4%	34,681	3.9%	58,444	6.6%	10,764	1.2%
1985	944,098	5,002	0.5%	218,517	23.1%	137,281	14.5%	36,322	3.8%	63,281	6.7%	13,022	1.4%
1986	1,009,096	3,522	0.3%	215,954	21.4%	153,811	15.2%	48,402	4.8%	68,662	6.8%	15,227	1.5%
1987	1,079,874	5,229	0.5%	201,186	18.6%	171,652	15.9%	52,132	4.8%	73,877	6.8%	16,753	1.6%
1988	1,155,844	4,782	0.4%	215,502	18.6%	189,845	16.4%	52,382	4.5%	80,260	6.9%	17,878	1.5%
1989	1,228,937	5,262	0.4%	214,754	17.5%	210,830	17.2%	55,137	4.5%	86,302	7.0%	20,976	1.7%
1990	1,309,265	5,509	0.4%	247,525	18.9%	225,888	17.3%	59,255	4.5%	95,704	7.3%	23,841	1.8%
1991	1,382,070	5,354	0.4%	277,773	20.1%	241,059	17.4%	49,556	3.6%	102,554	7.4%	28,214	2.0%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table A.2.3 Tennessee Incomes (000s):

Year	Total	Agri.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%	Tourism	%
1969	11,431,171	285,888	2.5%	3,127,817	27.4%	2,437,145	21.3%	626,523	5.5%	1,494,847	13.1%	222,312	1.9%
1970	12,380,844	297,352	2.4%	3,270,401	26.4%	2,647,727	21.4%	625,970	5.1%	1,633,264	13.2%	254,852	2.1%
1971	13,595,664	295,965	2.2%	3,440,696	25.3%	2,936,841	21.6%	742,278	5.5%	1,805,990	13.3%	270,852	2.0%
1972	15,276,726	356,481	2.3%	3,900,415	25.5%	3,308,995	21.7%	852,232	5.6%	2,037,631	13.3%	310,952	2.0%
1973	17,471,136	525,294	3.0%	4,410,122	25.2%	3,774,938	21.6%	986,949	5.6%	2,230,236	12.8%	369,287	2.1%
1974	19,293,785	347,812	1.8%	4,829,187	25.0%	4,107,875	21.3%	1,086,681	5.6%	2,484,806	12.9%	399,690	2.1%
1975	20,838,212	272,044	1.3%	4,747,472	22.8%	4,438,317	21.3%	1,090,183	5.2%	2,781,366	13.3%	449,376	2.2%
1976	23,494,395	390,502	1.7%	5,458,386	23.2%	5,015,977	21.3%	1,220,956	5.2%	3,032,958	12.9%	522,185	2.2%
1977	26,077,015	315,788	1.2%	6,320,838	24.2%	5,548,034	21.3%	1,313,212	5.0%	3,434,140	13.2%	539,272	2.1%
1978	29,756,385	334,441	1.1%	7,088,552	23.8%	6,486,419	21.8%	1,588,650	5.3%	3,961,614	13.3%	776,841	2.6%
1979	33,340,760	367,463	1.1%	7,808,063	23.4%	7,187,785	21.6%	1,718,607	5.2%	4,352,960	13.1%	862,738	2.6%
1980	36,867,564	221,502	0.6%	8,212,012	22.3%	7,880,420	21.4%	1,682,619	4.6%	4,812,163	13.1%	946,380	2.6%
1981	40,941,734	385,409	0.9%	8,990,004	22.0%	8,709,753	21.3%	1,654,125	4.0%	5,163,143	12.6%	1,057,400	2.6%
1982	43,140,597	278,592	0.6%	8,941,334	20.7%	9,534,050	22.1%	1,695,164	3.9%	5,274,475	12.2%	1,215,162	2.8%
1983	45,955,468	-86,132	-0.2%	9,583,402	20.9%	10,555,258	23.0%	1,798,881	3.9%	5,531,171	12.0%	1,302,577	2.8%
1984	51,022,553	353,976	0.7%	10,525,520	20.6%	12,001,855	23.5%	2,161,230	4.2%	5,839,751	11.4%	1,427,397	2.8%
1985	54,593,593	258,585	0.5%	10,871,254	19.9%	13,200,127	24.2%	2,430,411	4.5%	6,328,951	11.6%	1,636,343	3.0%
1986	59,101,943	134,650	0.2%	11,431,977	19.3%	14,509,121	24.5%	2,860,203	4.8%	6,686,426	11.3%	1,811,833	3.1%
1987	63,509,019	301,534	0.5%	12,031,637	18.9%	15,908,681	25.0%	3,087,689	4.9%	7,310,317	11.5%	1,989,746	3.1%
1988	68,274,676	377,022	0.6%	12,944,823	19.0%	17,389,453	25.5%	3,227,589	4.7%	7,859,233	11.5%	2,159,015	3.2%
1989	72,777,512	395,101	0.5%	13,803,220	19.0%	18,856,266	25.9%	3,318,386	4.6%	8,186,760	11.2%	2,297,628	3.2%
1990	77,555,153	399,009	0.5%	14,358,149	18.5%	20,458,834	26.4%	3,310,257	4.3%	8,825,274	11.4%	2,586,128	3.3%
1991	81,623,360	380,310	0.5%	14,869,563	18.2%	21,750,397	26.6%	3,243,229	4.0%	9,141,959	11.2%	2,675,174	3.3%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table A.3.1 Sevier County Employment:											
Year	Total	Agri.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%
1969	10,589	1,223	11.5%	1,453	13.7%	4,850	45.8%	982	9.3%	1,229	11.6%
1970	10,855	1,224	11.3%	1,576	14.5%	4,942	45.5%	977	9.0%	1,169	10.8%
1971	11,745	1,192	10.1%	1,673	14.2%	5,455	46.4%	1,069	9.1%	1,159	9.9%
1972	12,168	1,166	9.6%	1,631	13.4%	5,568	45.8%	1,235	10.1%	1,267	10.4%
1973	13,328	1,138	8.5%	1,656	12.4%	6,022	45.2%	1,379	10.3%	1,431	10.7%
1974	13,813	1,141	8.3%	1,941	14.1%	6,307	45.7%	1,419	10.3%	1,537	11.1%
1975	13,919	1,297	9.3%	1,741	12.5%	6,611	47.5%	1,271	9.1%	1,639	11.8%
1976	15,438	1,393	9.0%	2,058	13.3%	7,608	49.3%	1,298	8.4%	1,716	11.1%
1977	16,849	1,471	8.7%	2,220	13.2%	8,481	50.3%	1,384	8.2%	1,863	11.1%
1978	18,373	1,461	8.0%	2,328	12.7%	9,366	51.0%	1,622	8.8%	2,008	10.9%
1979	18,243	1,430	7.8%	2,496	13.7%	8,872	48.6%	1,607	8.8%	2,100	11.5%
1980	18,849	1,408	7.5%	2,648	14.0%	9,438	50.1%	1,425	7.6%	2,202	11.7%
1981	19,167	1,356	7.1%	2,566	13.4%	9,869	51.5%	1,400	7.3%	2,156	11.2%
1982	20,366	1,334	6.6%	2,550	12.5%	11,139	54.7%	1,409	6.9%	1,937	9.5%
1983	20,749	1,386	6.7%	2,646	12.8%	10,990	53.0%	1,524	7.3%	2,033	9.8%
1984	22,291	1,332	6.0%	2,949	13.2%	12,000	53.8%	1,715	7.7%	2,047	9.2%
1985	23,236	1,282	5.5%	2,684	11.6%	12,906	55.5%	1,813	7.8%	2,192	9.4%
1986	24,656	1,200	4.9%	2,596	10.5%	13,984	56.7%	1,952	7.9%	2,268	9.2%
1987	26,856	1,138	4.2%	2,789	10.4%	15,616	58.1%	1,921	7.2%	2,358	8.8%
1988	28,103	1,130	4.0%	2,731	9.7%	16,583	59.0%	1,884	6.7%	2,464	8.8%
1989	29,473	1,142	3.9%	2,824	9.6%	17,473	59.3%	2,088	7.1%	2,575	8.7%
1990	30,780	1,116	3.6%	2,612	8.5%	18,554	60.3%	2,196	7.1%	2,714	8.8%
1991	30,971	1,087	3.5%	2,547	8.2%	18,829	60.8%	2,080	6.7%	2,731	8.8%
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System											

Table A.3.2 Blount County Employment:

Year	Total	Agri.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%
1969	23,167	1,403	6.1%	9,187	39.7%	6,393	27.6%	1,374	5.9%	2,441	10.5%
1970	23,640	1,403	5.9%	9,399	39.8%	6,591	27.9%	1,400	5.9%	2,440	10.3%
1971	21,291	1,350	6.3%	6,898	32.4%	7,053	33.1%	1,231	5.8%	2,413	11.3%
1972	21,224	1,314	6.2%	6,485	30.6%	7,320	34.5%	1,193	5.6%	2,554	12.0%
1973	22,780	1,261	5.5%	6,948	30.5%	7,679	33.7%	1,315	5.8%	2,813	12.3%
1974	23,831	1,259	5.3%	7,361	30.9%	7,846	32.9%	1,479	6.2%	3,016	12.7%
1975	23,239	1,357	5.8%	6,103	26.3%	7,923	34.1%	1,456	6.3%	3,179	13.7%
1976	24,196	1,435	5.9%	6,371	26.3%	8,166	33.7%	1,537	6.4%	3,285	13.6%
1977	25,583	1,504	5.9%	6,828	26.7%	8,608	33.6%	1,601	6.3%	3,510	13.7%
1978	27,113	1,474	5.4%	7,049	26.0%	9,216	34.0%	1,772	6.5%	3,750	13.8%
1979	27,584	1,512	5.5%	7,436	27.0%	9,184	33.3%	1,795	6.5%	3,833	13.9%
1980	27,540	1,552	5.6%	7,289	26.5%	9,118	33.1%	1,688	6.1%	3,806	13.8%
1981	27,445	1,507	5.5%	7,151	26.1%	9,368	34.1%	1,693	6.2%	3,839	14.0%
1982	27,429	1,544	5.6%	6,467	23.6%	9,859	35.9%	1,785	6.5%	3,848	14.0%
1983	27,717	1,669	6.0%	6,490	23.4%	10,275	37.1%	1,678	6.1%	3,787	13.7%
1984	29,051	1,651	5.7%	6,809	23.4%	11,099	38.2%	1,812	6.2%	3,840	13.2%
1985	29,463	1,593	5.4%	6,623	22.5%	11,257	38.2%	1,827	6.2%	3,922	13.3%
1986	30,474	1,597	5.2%	6,381	20.9%	11,985	39.3%	2,119	7.0%	4,167	13.7%
1987	32,004	1,559	4.9%	6,264	19.6%	12,829	40.1%	2,325	7.3%	4,274	13.4%
1988	33,263	1,545	4.6%	6,373	19.2%	13,435	40.4%	2,460	7.4%	4,393	13.2%
1989	33,797	1,587	4.7%	5,276	15.6%	14,500	42.9%	2,585	7.6%	4,499	13.3%
1990	34,827	1,552	4.5%	6,010	17.3%	14,549	41.8%	2,484	7.1%	4,645	13.3%
1991	35,997	1,493	4.1%	6,937	19.3%	14,892	41.4%	2,200	6.1%	4,655	12.9%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table A.3.3 Tennessee Employment:

Year	Total	Agri.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%
1969	1,787,959	136,432	7.6%	477,107	26.7%	526,820	29.5%	89,744	5.0%	275,343	15.4%
1970	1,781,899	138,452	7.8%	469,878	26.4%	534,165	30.0%	85,826	4.8%	276,108	15.5%
1971	1,812,443	135,823	7.5%	466,304	25.7%	554,386	30.6%	92,110	5.1%	279,921	15.4%
1972	1,918,874	134,653	7.0%	497,852	25.9%	594,390	31.0%	100,077	5.2%	294,572	15.4%
1973	2,020,553	132,166	6.5%	530,193	26.2%	626,172	31.0%	109,887	5.4%	303,665	15.0%
1974	2,051,955	134,614	6.6%	525,958	25.6%	635,223	31.0%	111,387	5.4%	316,520	15.4%
1975	1,978,869	130,886	6.6%	466,141	23.6%	626,592	31.7%	101,603	5.1%	322,975	16.3%
1976	2,048,384	129,528	6.3%	494,003	24.1%	652,596	31.9%	101,993	5.0%	325,881	15.9%
1977	2,132,573	129,797	6.1%	515,908	24.2%	684,783	32.1%	108,372	5.1%	338,053	15.9%
1978	2,227,333	122,532	5.5%	531,884	23.9%	721,861	32.4%	119,768	5.4%	355,351	16.0%
1979	2,277,054	123,698	5.4%	536,559	23.6%	740,888	32.5%	121,938	5.4%	363,594	16.0%
1980	2,256,794	124,884	5.5%	513,447	22.8%	746,484	33.1%	111,693	4.9%	369,432	16.4%
1981	2,256,186	119,641	5.3%	516,839	22.9%	766,216	34.0%	107,503	4.8%	357,926	15.9%
1982	2,219,572	119,317	5.4%	477,564	21.5%	791,963	35.7%	105,190	4.7%	345,991	15.6%
1983	2,243,997	127,151	5.7%	482,137	21.5%	810,945	36.1%	103,489	4.6%	343,667	15.3%
1984	2,350,976	123,511	5.3%	507,783	21.6%	862,639	36.7%	116,080	4.9%	345,404	14.7%
1985	2,408,026	115,672	4.8%	503,690	20.9%	905,361	37.6%	123,870	5.1%	349,150	14.5%
1986	2,485,433	114,976	4.6%	502,166	20.2%	951,727	38.3%	132,945	5.3%	356,554	14.3%
1987	2,585,100	109,578	4.2%	509,024	19.7%	1,007,827	39.0%	139,809	5.4%	368,284	14.2%
1988	2,677,494	108,350	4.0%	522,974	19.5%	1,061,653	39.7%	143,110	5.3%	373,855	14.0%
1989	2,746,168	112,169	4.1%	535,971	19.5%	1,098,196	40.0%	145,570	5.3%	376,949	13.7%
1990	2,783,726	109,682	3.9%	532,863	19.1%	1,135,260	40.8%	140,389	5.0%	384,823	13.8%
1991	2,775,268	104,981	3.8%	516,835	18.6%	1,150,077	41.4%	135,338	4.9%	386,778	13.9%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table A.4 Annual Unemployment Rates:			
Year	Sevier	Blount	Tennessee
1970	6.5	3.3	4.3
1971	7.0	3.5	4.7
1972	6.7	3.7	3.7
1973	8.2	3.3	3.9
1974	8.7	4.3	5.1
1975	10.4	8.6	8.4
1976	8.3	5.4	6.0
1977	10.4	5.6	6.3
1978	10.3	5.3	5.8
1979	9.5	5.4	5.8
1980	11.3	7.1	7.3
1981	14.4	8.3	9.1
1982	16.3	10.4	11.8
1983	17.6	11.5	11.5
1984	14.9	9.0	8.6
1985	14.6	7.6	8.0
1986	15.3	8.9	8.0
1987	11.8	6.6	6.6
1988	9.7	5.7	5.8
1989	9.4	6.9	5.1
1990	8.9	5.2	5.2
1991	9.7	6.3	6.6
1992	9.9	6.1	6.4
1993	8.7	5.7	5.7
Source: Tennessee Employment Security Commission			

Table A.5 Unemployment Rates by Month:				
Year	Mo.	Sevier	Blount	Tennessee
1973	1	18.4	4.0	4.4
1973	4	6.9	3.1	3.9
1973	7	1.9	4.2	4.7
1973	10	2.5	3.0	3.5
1974	1	15.7	5.2	4.9
1974	4	8.8	3.8	4.2
1974	7	5.1	3.9	5.7
1974	10	3.3	3.7	4.9
1975	1	22.5	8.7	5.1
1975	4	9.4	8.5	8.9
1975	7	5.7	12.6	9.0
1975	10	5.4	6.6	7.2
1976	1	16.8	7.7	7.4
1976	4	8.0	5.4	6.0
1976	7	3.9	4.5	5.8
1976	10	4.3	4.9	5.4
1977	1	18.9	6.8	7.8
1977	4	11.1	5.9	6.2
1977	7	5.3	5.5	7.0
1977	10	4.6	4.0	5.5
1978	1	19.3	7.0	7.0
1978	4	9.9	4.2	5.2
1978	7	8.8	10.7	6.3
1978	10	5.6	4.4	4.9
1979	1	18.6	7.7	6.6
1979	4	8.9	4.4	4.7
1979	7	5.1	4.2	6.0
1979	10	4.9	5.4	5.3
1980	1	18.4	8.0	7.0
1980	4	10.8	6.1	6.1
1980	7	5.9	7.0	7.9
1980	10	6.8	6.1	7.6
1981	1	23.3	9.7	9.8
1981	4	13.7	7.8	7.8
1981	7	7.4	6.9	9.1
1981	10	7.8	6.8	9.2

Table A.5 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Sevier	Blount	Tennessee
1982	1	25.3	11.6	11.8
1982	4	15.6	9.1	11.0
1982	7	8.7	9.0	11.8
1982	10	10.5	9.3	11.7
1983	1	28.2	15.0	13.6
1983	4	17.0	11.6	12.0
1983	7	10.5	10.6	11.8
1983	10	9.4	8.3	10.1
1984	1	26.2	10.1	10.0
1984	4	14.2	8.5	9.6
1984	7	7.2	8.5	8.4
1984	10	7.4	7.9	7.5
1985	1	25.7	10.2	8.6
1985	4	12.8	7.9	7.9
1985	7	6.6	7.2	8.0
1985	10	8.6	6.6	7.4
1986	1	26.1	9.0	8.2
1986	4	14.1	7.7	8.2
1986	7	7.6	10.1	8.1
1986	10	12.5	9.0	8.1
1987	1	22.9	8.7	7.7
1987	4	11.0	8.8	7.2
1987	7	4.8	5.9	6.2
1987	10	4.8	4.8	5.4
1988	1	18.2	5.7	5.9
1988	4	9.6	6.9	5.9
1988	7	4.4	4.9	6.1
1988	10	3.8	5.0	5.3
1989	1	17.7	9.2	5.9
1989	4	8.4	7.8	5.0
1989	7	4.0	5.5	5.1
1989	10	4.9	4.8	4.6
1990	1	16.4	5.7	5.3
1990	4	8.0	5.0	4.8
1990	7	3.4	4.3	5.0
1990	10	4.3	4.6	5.2

Table A.5 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Sevier	Blount	Tennessee
1991	1	18.1	8.0	7.1
1991	4	9.3	5.0	5.9
1991	7	4.5	6.4	7.1
1991	10	4.5	6.0	6.2
1992	1	20.5	7.7	7.6
1992	4	8.8	5.5	6.1
1992	7	4.2	6.3	6.5
1992	10	4.1	5.3	5.2
1993	1	19.9	8.4	7.3
1993	4	9.5	6.6	6.5
1993	7	4.1	6.9	5.7
1993	10	4.8	4.9	4.6
1994	1	17.1	6.4	5.6
1994	4	7.5	4.9	4.7

Source: Tennessee Employment Security Commission

Table A.6.1 Sevier County Earnings by Employee:						
Year	Total	Agri.	Manuf.	Svcs/ Retail	Constr.	Gov't
1969	6,591	2,722	4,787	4,378	4,839	4,758
1970	6,983	2,593	5,016	4,825	5,230	4,985
1971	7,273	2,393	5,318	5,153	5,370	5,364
1972	8,092	3,625	5,595	5,442	6,297	5,913
1973	8,709	4,685	6,363	5,607	6,917	6,437
1974	9,408	3,210	6,519	5,821	7,403	6,779
1975	10,405	2,295	7,473	6,353	7,948	7,574
1976	11,427	3,754	8,480	6,920	9,885	8,124
1977	11,811	2,519	9,155	7,138	9,943	8,492
1978	12,958	3,089	9,568	7,882	11,389	9,023
1979	14,492	3,478	10,898	7,996	11,374	9,471
1980	15,964	2,560	12,190	8,500	11,853	10,141
1981	18,068	3,740	13,716	9,837	10,948	11,902
1982	18,481	3,463	13,849	10,107	13,072	12,544
1983	19,260	558	14,774	10,836	13,831	13,647
1984	20,011	3,720	15,956	11,306	15,023	14,008
1985	20,421	3,169	16,584	12,026	15,516	14,677
1986	21,122	1,501	17,281	12,742	17,661	15,407
1987	21,117	2,301	18,085	13,133	18,232	16,614
1988	21,965	2,628	19,408	13,584	18,419	17,653
1989	22,511	2,771	19,319	14,240	17,018	18,421
1990	23,788	2,826	21,734	14,602	18,539	19,188
1991	25,097	2,631	22,154	15,115	18,382	20,433
Adapted From REIS Data						

Table A.6.2 Blount County Earnings by Employee:						
				Svcs/		
Year	Total	Agri.	Manuf.	Retail	Constr.	Gov't
1969	7,866	2,091	8,677	4,225	6,342	4,488
1970	8,330	1,938	8,891	4,563	6,592	4,841
1971	9,552	1,573	10,497	4,855	7,415	5,159
1972	10,513	2,839	11,499	5,174	8,123	5,541
1973	11,455	3,944	12,855	5,549	8,177	6,025
1974	12,582	3,230	14,440	5,840	9,166	6,546
1975	13,911	1,196	15,854	6,244	9,840	7,316
1976	15,361	2,064	17,594	7,061	11,051	7,895
1977	16,858	1,174	20,866	7,582	12,346	8,630
1978	18,333	1,733	22,156	8,291	12,778	9,293
1979	20,593	2,427	24,353	8,633	14,083	10,220
1980	23,529	3,363	27,403	9,295	14,046	11,372
1981	26,040	4,464	29,385	10,042	14,720	12,455
1982	28,436	4,346	33,904	10,439	14,308	13,365
1983	29,300	2,787	33,122	10,851	16,510	14,536
1984	30,609	3,992	34,061	11,500	19,140	15,220
1985	32,044	3,140	32,994	12,195	19,881	16,135
1986	33,113	2,205	33,843	12,834	22,842	16,478
1987	33,742	3,354	32,118	13,380	22,422	17,285
1988	34,749	3,095	33,815	14,131	21,293	18,270
1989	36,362	3,316	40,704	14,540	21,330	19,182
1990	37,593	3,550	41,186	15,526	23,855	20,604
1991	38,394	3,586	40,042	16,187	22,525	22,031
Adapted From REIS Data						

Table A.6.3 Tennessee Earnings by Employee:						
Year	Total	Agri.	Manuf.	Svcs/ Retail	Constr.	Gov't
1969	6,393	2,095	6,556	4,626	6,981	5,429
1970	6,948	2,148	6,960	4,957	7,293	5,915
1971	7,501	2,179	7,379	5,297	8,059	6,452
1972	7,961	2,647	7,834	5,567	8,516	6,917
1973	8,647	3,975	8,318	6,029	8,981	7,344
1974	9,403	2,584	9,182	6,467	9,756	7,850
1975	10,530	2,078	10,185	7,083	10,730	8,612
1976	11,470	3,015	11,049	7,686	11,971	9,307
1977	12,228	2,433	12,252	8,102	12,118	10,159
1978	13,360	2,729	13,327	8,986	13,264	11,148
1979	14,642	2,971	14,552	9,702	14,094	11,972
1980	16,336	1,774	15,994	10,557	15,065	13,026
1981	18,146	3,221	17,394	11,367	15,387	14,425
1982	19,436	2,335	18,723	12,039	16,115	15,245
1983	20,479	-677	19,877	13,016	17,382	16,095
1984	21,703	2,866	20,728	13,913	18,618	16,907
1985	22,672	2,236	21,583	14,580	19,621	18,127
1986	23,779	1,171	22,765	15,245	21,514	18,753
1987	24,567	2,752	23,637	15,785	22,085	19,850
1988	25,499	3,480	24,752	16,380	22,553	21,022
1989	26,501	3,522	25,754	17,170	22,796	21,718
1990	27,860	3,638	26,945	18,021	23,579	22,933
1991	29,411	3,623	28,770	18,912	23,964	23,636
Adapted From REIS Data						

Table A.7 Proprietors' Income (000s):						
		% of		% of		% of
Year	Sevier	Total	Blount	Total	Tenn.	Total
1969	10,330	14.8%	14,622	8.0%	1,125,082	9.8%
1970	10,812	14.3%	14,930	7.6%	1,145,673	9.3%
1971	12,169	14.2%	17,054	8.4%	1,292,697	9.5%
1972	14,527	14.8%	19,027	8.5%	1,479,276	9.7%
1973	16,284	14.0%	22,393	8.6%	1,690,227	9.7%
1974	16,898	13.0%	23,732	7.9%	1,764,330	9.1%
1975	16,859	11.6%	25,482	7.9%	1,832,262	8.8%
1976	21,566	12.2%	31,787	8.6%	2,190,492	9.3%
1977	22,910	11.5%	40,646	9.4%	2,434,127	9.3%
1978	28,270	11.9%	47,396	9.5%	2,825,939	9.5%
1979	28,966	11.0%	51,793	9.1%	2,988,871	9.0%
1980	29,443	9.8%	55,939	8.6%	3,060,715	8.3%
1981	35,444	10.2%	53,641	7.5%	3,043,772	7.4%
1982	37,500	10.0%	63,191	8.1%	3,092,600	7.2%
1983	46,500	11.6%	56,617	7.0%	3,620,502	7.9%
1984	55,784	12.5%	76,222	8.6%	4,318,822	8.5%
1985	68,325	14.4%	68,392	7.2%	4,803,111	8.8%
1986	80,375	15.4%	72,999	7.2%	5,421,941	9.2%
1987	87,281	15.4%	81,999	7.6%	5,668,458	8.9%
1988	84,968	13.8%	84,781	7.3%	5,930,809	8.7%
1989	92,395	13.9%	96,214	7.8%	6,328,109	8.7%
1990	93,482	12.8%	105,796	8.1%	6,793,574	8.8%
1991	94,156	12.1%	110,574	8.0%	7,050,867	8.6%
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System						

Table A.8 Labor Force Participation Rates:			
Year	Sevier	Blount	Tennessee
1970	48.5%	40.3%	41.8%
1971	50.9%	39.7%	41.8%
1972	49.8%	40.6%	43.1%
1973	47.7%	39.7%	43.1%
1974	50.0%	43.4%	44.6%
1975	50.1%	44.7%	43.9%
1976	48.4%	43.5%	44.3%
1977	47.4%	44.2%	45.2%
1978	49.7%	43.4%	45.1%
1979	54.5%	46.2%	46.6%
1980	46.8%	44.9%	45.3%
1981	48.8%	46.0%	45.6%
1982	48.9%	46.4%	45.5%
1983	48.2%	46.2%	46.1%
1984	50.2%	47.0%	47.1%
1985	49.6%	44.0%	46.8%
1986	50.0%	45.7%	47.2%
1987	49.9%	46.1%	47.6%
1988	50.1%	45.7%	47.2%
1989	49.6%	46.4%	47.3%
1990	52.8%	48.3%	48.9%
1991	53.7%	49.3%	49.2%
Source: Tennessee Employment Security Commission			

Table A.9 Population by Year:			
Year	Sevier	Blount	Tennessee
1930	20,480	34,116	2,623,353
1931	20,480	34,622	2,650,540
1932	20,480	35,128	2,677,727
1933	20,480	35,634	2,704,914
1934	20,480	36,141	2,732,102
1935	20,480	36,647	2,759,290
1936	20,480	37,153	2,786,477
1937	20,480	37,659	2,813,665
1938	20,480	38,165	2,840,852
1939	20,480	38,672	2,868,039
1940	23,361	41,294	2,823,461
1941	23,642	42,007	2,953,934
1942	23,923	42,720	2,984,400
1943	24,205	43,432	3,014,869
1944	24,486	44,145	3,045,345
1945	24,767	44,858	3,075,815
1946	25,048	45,570	3,106,289
1947	25,329	46,283	3,136,755
1948	25,610	46,996	3,167,230
1949	23,297	53,546	3,255,147
1950	23,377	55,030	3,301,719
1951	23,386	56,388	3,341,739
1952	23,394	57,745	3,381,759
1953	23,402	59,103	3,421,780
1954	23,411	60,460	3,461,796
1955	23,419	61,818	3,501,818
1956	23,428	63,175	3,541,833
1957	23,436	64,533	3,581,853
1958	23,444	65,890	3,621,867
1959	24,031	56,856	3,523,599
1960	24,251	57,525	3,567,089
1961	24,251	57,525	3,567,089
1962	24,388	58,020	3,634,000
1963	24,722	58,890	3,694,000
1964	25,234	60,187	3,798,000
1965	26,476	59,259	3,845,000
1966	26,780	61,216	3,883,000
1967	27,122	61,380	3,892,000
1968	22,202	62,324	3,975,000
1969	22,291	62,573	3,985,000

Table A.9 (Continued)

Year	Sevier	Blount	Tennessee
1970	28,241	63,744	3,924,164
1971	28,718	64,821	3,990,000
1972	30,700	64,600	4,031,000
1973	31,700	67,400	4,095,000
1974	32,600	68,700	4,129,000
1975	32,200	69,600	4,188,000
1976	34,600	70,900	4,214,000
1977	35,800	72,900	4,299,000
1978	37,000	75,500	4,357,000
1979	37,800	75,800	4,380,000
1980	41,418	77,700	4,591,120
1981	43,253	79,129	4,636,018
1982	45,083	80,486	4,680,958
1983	46,922	81,845	4,725,907
1984	46,102	81,098	4,716,832
1985	45,014	81,100	4,809,345
1986	45,815	81,882	4,855,651
1987	46,638	82,687	4,904,479
1988	47,489	83,541	4,956,346
1989	48,368	84,436	5,011,194
1990	51,043	85,969	4,877,185
1991	52,228	86,775	4,907,600

Source: Tennessee Vital Statistics

Table A.10.1 Income Distribution 1950; Families:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tennessee	%
Total	5,390		12,785		549,890	
Less than $500	1,125	20.9%	1,335	10.4%	53,045	9.6%
$500 to $999	950	17.6%	1,160	9.1%	53,195	9.7%
$1,000 to $1,499	850	15.8%	1,110	8.7%	57,185	10.4%
$1,500 to $1,999	665	12.3%	1,480	11.6%	61,665	11.2%
$2,000 to $2,499	560	10.4%	2,110	16.5%	64,150	11.7%
$2,500 to $2,999	300	5.6%	1,465	11.5%	50,900	9.3%
$3,000 to $3,499	260	4.8%	980	7.7%	49,910	9.1%
$3,500 to $3,999	150	2.8%	650	5.1%	37,080	6.7%
$4,000 to $4,499	95	1.8%	490	3.8%	29,125	5.3%
$4,500 to $4,999	55	1.0%	345	2.7%	20,280	3.7%
$5,000 to $5,999	60	1.1%	460	3.6%	29,285	5.3%
$6,000 to $6,999	45	0.8%	195	1.5%	15,880	2.9%
$7,000 to $9,999	50	0.9%	195	1.5%	16,175	2.9%
$10,000 and over	60	1.1%	120	0.9%	12,015	2.2%
Not Reported	165	3.1%	690	5.4%	0	0.0%
Median Income	1,316		2,228		2,389	
Source: Census of Population						

Table A.10.2 Income Distribution 1960; Families:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tennessee	%
Total	6,148		14,667		893,622	
Less than $1,000	1,048	17.0%	1,545	10.5%	109,021	12.2%
$1,000 to $1,999	1,184	19.3%	1,412	9.6%	117,904	13.2%
$2,000 to $2,999	946	15.4%	1,659	11.3%	115,285	12.9%
$3,000 to $3,999	844	13.7%	1,642	11.2%	110,201	12.3%
$4,000 to $4,999	702	11.4%	1,849	12.6%	99,115	11.1%
$5,000 to $5,999	484	7.9%	1,895	12.9%	90,616	10.1%
$6,000 to $6,999	304	4.9%	1,475	10.1%	70,556	7.9%
$7,000 to $9,999	434	7.1%	2,176	14.8%	111,619	12.5%
$10,000 and over	202	3.3%	1,014	6.9%	69,305	7.8%
Median Income	2,890		4,582		3,949	
Source: Census of Population						

Table A.10.3 Income Distribution 1970; Families:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tennessee	%
Total	7,926		17,972		1,024,446	
Less than $1,000	334	4.2%	577	3.2%	39,588	3.9%
$1,000 to $1,999	514	6.5%	872	4.9%	67,447	6.6%
$2,000 to $2,999	657	8.3%	1,131	6.3%	64,626	6.3%
$3,000 to $3,999	649	8.2%	1,220	6.8%	72,557	7.1%
$4,000 to $4,999	714	9.0%	1,218	6.8%	74,828	7.3%
$5,000 to $5,999	832	10.5%	1,239	6.9%	80,224	7.8%
$6,000 to $6,999	697	8.8%	1,398	7.8%	78,421	7.7%
$7,000 to $7,999	726	9.2%	1,482	8.2%	77,226	7.5%
$8,000 to $8,999	620	7.8%	1,680	9.3%	75,796	7.4%
$9,000 to $9,999	552	7.0%	1,355	7.5%	65,548	6.4%
$10,000 to $11,999	633	8.0%	2,102	11.7%	110,205	10.8%
$12,000 to $14,999	470	5.9%	1,939	10.8%	99,277	9.7%
$15,000 to $24,999	401	5.1%	1,462	8.1%	92,668	9.0%
$25,000 to $49,999	97	1.2%	250	1.4%	21,181	2.1%
$50,000 or more	30	0.4%	47	0.3%	4,854	0.5%
Median Income	6,377		7,898		7,447	
Per Capita Income	2,156		2,523		2,469	
Number of Persons						
Below Poverty Level	6,410	22.8%	10,671	17.0%	836,405	21.8%
Source: Census of Population						

Table A.10.4 Income Distribution 1980; Families:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tennessee	%
Total	12,054		22,433		1,252,226	
Less than $5,000	1,287	10.7%	1,895	8.4%	128,723	10.3%
$5,000 to $7,499	934	7.7%	1,788	8.0%	102,337	8.2%
$7,500 to $9,999	1,331	11.0%	1,885	8.4%	108,384	8.7%
$10,000 to $14,999	2,380	19.7%	3,860	17.2%	218,963	17.5%
$15,000 to $19,999	2,204	18.3%	3,499	15.6%	204,256	16.3%
$20,000 to $24,999	1,641	13.6%	3,321	14.8%	169,910	13.6%
$25,000 to $34,999	1,436	11.9%	3,924	17.5%	190,042	15.2%
$35,000 to $49,999	566	4.7%	1,633	7.3%	86,086	6.9%
$50,000 or more	275	2.3%	628	2.8%	43,525	3.5%
Median Income	15,208		17,466		16,564	
Per Capita Income	5,657		6,544		6,213	
Number of Persons						
Below Poverty Level	6,205	15.1%	9,722	12.7%	736,471	16.5%
Source: Census of Population						

Table A.10.5 Income Distribution 1990; Families:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tennessee	%
Total	15,116		25,379		1,356,342	
Less than $5,000	467	3.1%	913	3.6%	69,001	5.1%
$5,000 to $9,999	1,130	7.5%	1,673	6.6%	103,006	7.6%
$10,000 to $14,999	1,713	11.3%	2,209	8.7%	126,610	9.3%
$15,000 to $24,999	3,742	24.8%	5,260	20.7%	264,926	19.5%
$25,000 to $34,999	3,197	21.1%	4,714	18.6%	243,002	17.9%
$35,000 to $49,999	2,789	18.5%	5,338	21.0%	262,463	19.4%
$50,000 to $74,999	1,433	9.5%	3,752	14.8%	192,279	14.2%
$75,000 to $99,999	373	2.5%	878	3.5%	51,513	3.8%
$100,000 to $149,999	197	1.3%	368	1.5%	26,039	1.9%
$150,000 or more	75	0.5%	274	1.1%	17,503	1.3%
Median Income	26,340		30,277		29,546	
Per Capita Income	10,848		12,674		12,255	
Number of Persons						
Below Poverty Level	6,623	13.2%	10,424	12.4%	744,941	15.7%
Source: Census of Population						

Table A.11 Per Capita Personal Income:						
		%		%		%
Year	Sevier	Growth	Blount	Growth	Tennessee	Growth
1969	2,504		2,879		2,933	
1970	2,660	6.2%	3,086	7.2%	3,145	7.2%
1971	2,857	14.1%	3,169	10.1%	3,390	15.6%
1972	3,125	24.8%	3,467	20.4%	3,737	27.4%
1973	3,578	42.9%	3,901	35.5%	4,222	43.9%
1974	3,966	58.4%	4,386	52.3%	4,592	56.6%
1975	4,191	67.4%	4,695	63.1%	4,891	66.8%
1976	4,845	93.5%	5,288	83.7%	5,427	85.0%
1977	5,295	111.5%	5,985	107.9%	5,924	102.0%
1978	6,104	143.8%	6,755	134.6%	6,669	127.4%
1979	6,587	163.1%	7,560	162.6%	7,355	150.8%
1980	7,222	188.4%	8,314	188.8%	8,010	173.1%
1981	8,156	225.7%	9,112	216.5%	8,848	201.7%
1982	8,637	244.9%	9,830	241.4%	9,285	216.6%
1983	8,956	257.7%	10,082	250.2%	9,862	236.2%
1984	9,791	291.0%	11,000	282.1%	10,886	271.2%
1985	10,292	311.0%	11,574	302.0%	11,577	294.7%
1986	11,132	344.6%	12,266	326.1%	12,471	325.2%
1987	11,824	372.2%	12,936	349.3%	13,277	352.7%
1988	12,588	402.7%	13,655	374.3%	14,156	382.6%
1989	13,219	427.9%	14,389	399.8%	14,992	411.1%
1990	14,255	469.3%	15,189	427.6%	15,869	441.1%
1991	14,610	483.5%	15,587	441.4%	16,478	461.8%
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System						

Table A.12.1 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1940:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tennessee	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	10,268		19,221		1,497,856	
No Schooling	485	4.7%	802	4.2%	62,453	4.2%
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	2,552	24.9%	3,300	17.2%	262,198	17.5%
5 or 6 Years	2,244	21.9%	3,479	18.1%	269,253	18.0%
7 or 8 Years	2,820	27.5%	5,411	28.2%	434,133	29.0%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	885	8.6%	2,169	11.3%	182,608	12.2%
4 Years	519	5.1%	2,006	10.4%	150,672	10.1%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	401	3.9%	1,139	5.9%	71,665	4.8%
4 Years or More	222	2.2%	806	4.2%	45,916	3.1%
Not Reported	140	1.4%	109	0.6%	18,958	1.3%
Median School Years	7.0		7.9		7.7	
Source: Census of Population						

Table A.12.2 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1950:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tennessee	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	11,195		26,425		1,756,800	
No Schooling	340	3.0%	515	1.9%	48,215	2.7%
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	2,710	24.2%	3,870	14.6%	273,455	15.6%
5 or 6 Years	1,790	16.0%	3,760	14.2%	250,785	14.3%
7 or 8 Years	3,555	31.8%	7,045	26.7%	473,490	27.0%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	1,015	9.1%	3,330	12.6%	251,480	14.3%
4 Years	960	8.6%	4,205	15.9%	253,510	14.4%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	445	4.0%	1,960	7.4%	101,055	5.8%
4 Years or More	280	2.5%	1,355	5.1%	71,660	4.1%
Not Reported	100	0.9%	385	1.5%	33,150	1.9%
Median School Years	7.7		8.6		8.4	
Source: Census of Population						

Table A.12.3 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1960:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tennessee	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	12,724		30,115		1,911,755	
No Schooling	375	2.9%	593	2.0%	48,532	2.5%
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	2,326	18.3%	3,878	12.9%	233,554	12.2%
5 or 6 Years	1,827	14.4%	3,406	11.3%	227,106	11.9%
7 or 8 Years	3,957	31.1%	7,734	25.7%	509,922	26.7%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	1,572	12.4%	4,738	15.7%	311,688	16.3%
4 Years	1,499	11.8%	5,756	19.1%	348,200	18.2%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	702	5.5%	2,090	6.9%	127,709	6.7%
4 Years or More	466	3.7%	1,920	6.4%	105,044	5.5%
Median School Years	8.3		8.9		8.8	
Source: Census of Population						

Table A.12.4 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1970:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tennessee	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	15,992		36,013		2,127,946	
No Schooling	295	1.8%	517	1.4%	37,126	1.7%
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	1,790	11.2%	2,820	7.8%	165,438	7.8%
5 to 7 Years	2,385	14.9%	4,668	13.0%	306,062	14.4%
8 Years	3,724	23.3%	5,688	15.8%	342,238	16.1%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	2,485	15.5%	5,814	16.1%	388,650	18.3%
4 Years	3,514	22.0%	10,033	27.9%	546,481	25.7%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	1,044	6.5%	3,634	10.1%	173,969	8.2%
4 Years or More	755	4.7%	2,839	7.9%	167,982	7.9%
Median School Years	9.0		11.2		10.6	
Source: Census of Population						

Table A.12.5 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1980:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tennessee	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	25,130		47,762		2,692,256	
Grade School:						
0 to 4 Years	1,992	7.9%	2,848	6.0%	162,801	6.0%
5 to 8 Years	6,624	26.4%	10,158	21.3%	582,282	21.6%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	3,720	14.8%	7,480	15.7%	435,256	16.2%
4 Years	7,848	31.2%	15,944	33.4%	852,715	31.7%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	2,619	10.4%	5,919	12.4%	320,029	11.9%
4 Years or More	2,327	9.3%	5,413	11.3%	339,173	12.6%
Source: Census of Population						

Table A.12.6 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1990:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tennessee	%
Grade School:						
0 to 8 Years	6,944	20.4%	8,878	15.3%	500,929	16.0%
High School:						
No Diploma	5,655	16.6%	9,410	16.2%	532,985	17.0%
Graduate	11,038	32.4%	19,193	33.1%	942,865	30.0%
College:						
No Degree	5,372	15.8%	9,617	16.6%	531,012	16.9%
Associate Degree	1,380	4.1%	2,595	4.5%	130,284	4.2%
Bachelor's Degree	2,597	7.6%	5,517	9.5%	330,742	10.5%
Graduate Degree	1,085	3.2%	2,773	4.8%	170,249	5.4%
Source: Census of Population						

Table A.13 Food Stamp Eligibility - Persons:				
Year	Mo.	Sevier	Blount	Tenn.
1968	1	N/A	N/A	N/A
1968	4	N/A	N/A	N/A
1968	7	675	2,068	135,437
1968	10	723	1,778	128,349
1969	1	750	2,031	132,087
1969	4	904	1,896	142,327
1969	7	737	1,859	133,874
1969	10	751	1,843	133,702
1970	1	1,218	2,055	152,985
1970	4	2,025	3,573	246,359
1970	7	2,359	4,267	290,387
1970	10	2,199	4,307	324,159
1971	1	2,702	4,603	352,796
1971	4	2,430	4,600	349,764
1971	7	2,074	4,201	325,912
1971	10	1,911	4,237	308,437
1972	1	2,122	4,578	321,701
1972	4	2,174	4,651	331,033
1972	7	1,982	4,661	331,141
1972	10	2,198	4,801	335,367
1973	1	2,978	5,105	357,014
1973	4	2,822	4,784	350,192
1973	7	2,242	4,507	337,535
1973	10	2,164	4,005	334,597
1974	1	2,835	4,676	356,088
1974	4	3,919	4,840	367,447
1974	7	3,437	4,497	353,949
1974	10	3,580	4,962	361,134
1975	1	4,385	6,426	465,603
1975	4	4,556	6,813	485,591
1975	7	3,890	6,747	458,530
1975	10	3,821	6,527	455,247
1976	1	4,703	6,925	467,172
1976	4	3,422	6,583	435,957
1976	7	2,835	6,068	409,961
1976	10	2,763	6,084	407,472
1977	1	3,770	6,597	442,445
1977	4	3,110	6,184	419,235
1977	7	2,496	5,538	405,932
1977	10	2,580	6,815	395,546

Table A.13 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Sevier	Blount	Tenn.
1978	1	3,301	6,518	421,962
1978	4	2,991	6,131	417,146
1978	7	2,490	5,621	403,669
1978	10	2,454	5,621	403,730
1979	1	3,950	6,689	483,564
1979	4	4,031	7,153	507,949
1979	7	3,532	6,949	521,477
1979	10	4,116	7,329	562,365
1980	1	5,463	8,261	621,137
1980	4	5,685	8,698	657,365
1980	7	5,278	8,807	678,656
1980	10	5,043	9,109	681,547
1981	1	6,082	9,515	700,037
1981	4	5,810	9,427	690,210
1981	7	4,899	8,666	668,925
1981	10	4,719	8,390	653,348
1982	1	5,672	8,792	672,021
1982	4	5,159	8,166	661,015
1982	7	5,868	7,373	635,160
1982	10	3,867	7,515	628,311
1983	1	5,161	8,460	662,469
1983	4	4,806	8,064	637,304
1983	7	3,788	7,200	591,088
1983	10	3,929	7,151	580,640
1984	1	5,018	7,619	592,762
1984	4	4,570	7,371	577,490
1984	7	3,549	6,490	534,463
1984	10	3,480	6,418	518,876
1985	1	4,449	6,899	534,561
1985	4	4,301	6,647	532,354
1985	7	3,390	6,067	499,958
1985	10	3,593	6,147	496,577
1986	1	4,656	6,546	516,185
1986	4	4,687	6,650	515,974
1986	7	3,729	6,334	498,179
1986	10	3,931	6,429	501,557
1987	1	4,936	6,800	518,886
1987	4	4,748	6,772	513,298
1987	7	3,566	5,956	488,694
1987	10	3,565	5,799	484,731

Table A.13 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Sevier	Blount	Tenn.
1988	1	4,508	6,130	500,232
1988	4	4,328	5,999	501,005
1988	7	3,407	5,708	488,229
1988	10	3,480	5,787	492,298
1989	1	4,428	6,328	506,694
1989	4	4,260	6,549	508,789
1989	7	3,624	6,153	497,076
1989	10	3,654	6,415	502,654
1990	1	4,826	7,190	526,167
1990	4	4,804	7,195	533,358
1990	7	4,188	6,810	535,590
1990	10	4,319	7,002	557,271
1991	1	5,868	7,926	601,867
1991	4	5,784	8,309	624,017
1991	7	5,099	8,081	626,231
1991	10	5,460	8,506	651,811

Source: Tenn. Dept. of Human Services, *Statistics*

Table A.14 AFDC Participation:				
		Sevier	Blount	Tenn.
Year	Mo.	Children	Children	Children
1938	1	151	218	20,758
1938	4	190	366	26,316
1938	7	195	566	27,870
1938	10	187	560	27,166
1939	1	176	544	26,609
1939	4	177	529	25,926
1939	7	184	528	25,888
1939	10	182	543	25,942
1940	1	N/A	677	34,451
1940	4	304	666	35,214
1940	7	299	639	35,922
1940	10	307	625	36,234
1941	1	313	638	36,232
1941	4	312	627	36,097
1941	7	308	603	35,797
1941	10	303	596	35,251
1942	1	305	588	34,870
1942	4	300	603	34,741
1947	4	403	740	35,084
1947	7	425	789	36,293
1947	10	460	856	38,184
1948	1	464	924	39,909
1948	4	474	930	41,116
1948	7	489	982	42,011
1948	10	549	998	43,696
1949	1	578	1,090	46,066
1949	4	605	1,160	48,946
1949	7	652	1,224	51,761
1949	10	707	1,322	55,593
1950	1	727	1,404	60,318
1950	4	745	1,460	65,314
1950	7	777	1,403	67,979
1950	10	735	1,388	67,156
1951	1	736	1,288	65,166
1951	4	690	1,220	63,642
1951	7	720	1,166	59,765
1951	10	677	1,145	57,538

Table A.14 (Continued)				
		Sevier	Blount	Tenn.
Year	Mo.	Persons	Persons	Persons
1952	1	840	1,485	74,571
1952	4	853	1,537	73,977
1952	7	786	1,498	71,788
1952	10	735	1,471	71,355
1953	1	726	1,494	72,142
1953	4	N/A	N/A	N/A
1953	7	N/A	N/A	N/A
1953	10	N/A	N/A	N/A
1954	1	673	1,527	74,538
1954	4	728	1,533	77,009
1954	7	696	1,557	78,569
1954	10	698	1,555	79,816
1955	1	597	1,531	77,866
1955	4	592	1,438	77,858
1955	7	566	1,359	75,620
1955	10	491	1,275	72,370
1956	1	479	1,239	71,054
1956	4	467	1,172	70,891
1956	7	435	1,158	70,352
1956	10	430	1,186	69,320
1957	1	392	1,186	69,148
1957	4	394	1,203	70,404
1957	7	396	1,158	68,821
1957	10	408	1,171	68,518
1958	1	424	1,236	69,911
1958	4	439	1,231	73,046
1958	7	421	1,308	74,586
1958	10	473	1,385	75,774
1959	1	522	1,443	77,953
1959	4	499	1,452	80,550
1959	7	510	1,429	80,815
1959	10	514	1,414	80,641

Table A.14 (Continued)				
		Sevier	Blount	Tenn.
Year	Mo.	Persons	Persons	Persons
1960	1	539	1,435	80,926
1960	4	546	1,487	82,460
1960	7	530	1,446	81,186
1960	10	510	1,421	80,754
1961	1	509	1,397	81,802
1961	4	529	1,393	83,504
1961	7	545	1,378	84,555
1961	10	496	1,443	85,065
1962	1	510	1,472	84,852
1962	4	545	1,452	85,405
1962	7	525	1,445	83,531
1962	10	500	1,430	82,342
1963	1	490	1,433	81,517
1963	4	510	1,402	81,190
1963	7	534	1,323	80,210
1963	10	508	1,223	77,683
1964	1	511	1,167	77,054
1964	4	551	1,147	77,245
1964	7	489	1,169	76,009
1964	10	494	1,135	75,520
1965	1	477	1,113	76,034
1965	4	495	1,083	77,299
1965	7	465	1,077	77,813
1965	10	465	1,105	79,083
1966	1	526	1,079	81,670
1966	4	538	1,025	83,666
1966	7	423	997	82,601
1966	10	441	1,034	84,031
1967	1	468	1,100	86,006
1967	4	481	1,115	89,231
1967	7	491	1,122	91,023
1967	10	467	1,168	94,046

Table A.14 (Continued)				
		Sevier	Blount	Tenn.
Year	Mo.	Persons	Persons	Persons
1968	1	495	1,213	97,043
1968	4	485	1,231	98,925
1968	7	496	1,219	100,354
1968	10	466	1,136	104,093
1969	1	511	1,203	108,892
1969	4	481	1,231	112,896
1969	7	422	1,272	112,493
1969	10	428	1,336	119,617
1970	1	496	1,443	127,959
1970	4	553	1,652	142,311
1970	7	611	1,795	153,570
1970	10	624	1,935	163,269
1971	1	674	1,944	171,443
1971	4	689	2,044	177,864
1971	7	693	2,019	181,275
1971	10	693	2,064	185,525
1972	1	711	2,019	188,882
1972	4	752	2,019	190,335
1972	7	720	1,952	186,507
1972	10	703	1,940	185,500
1973	1	757	2,060	190,264
1973	4	738	1,976	192,575
1973	7	766	1,872	190,983
1973	10	717	1,836	191,795
1974	1	725	1,727	189,834
1974	4	682	1,820	192,008
1974	7	660	1,597	191,354
1974	10	662	1,734	194,839
1975	1	744	1,773	203,626
1975	4	782	1,776	203,759
1975	7	849	1,904	209,215
1975	10	863	1,858	211,124

Table A.14 (Continued)				
		Sevier	Blount	Tenn.
Year	Mo.	Persons	Persons	Persons
1976	1	918	1,883	212,027
1976	4	828	1,809	209,059
1976	7	798	1,656	203,089
1976	10	827	1,630	201,478
1977	1	868	1,679	202,991
1977	4	786	1,593	185,962
1977	7	668	1,502	175,516
1977	10	615	1,378	170,245
1978	1	621	1,372	166,957
1978	4	645	1,452	165,303
1978	7	581	1,446	159,901
1978	10	586	1,428	158,504
1979	1	632	1,516	159,628
1979	4	667	1,528	157,871
1979	7	637	1,516	154,812
1979	10	677	1,571	154,767
1980	1	751	1,634	158,223
1980	4	800	1,788	162,304
1980	7	782	1,879	162,221
1980	10	747	1,994	170,977
1981	1	785	2,084	174,519
1981	4	806	2,149	175,141
1981	7	813	2,067	172,388
1981	10	676	1,623	142,512
1982	1	732	1,644	147,938
1982	4	706	1,596	146,677
1982	7	602	1,441	144,802
1982	10	637	1,476	147,264
1983	1	732	1,606	152,362
1983	4	718	1,574	154,331
1983	7	653	1,551	151,805
1983	10	633	1,581	152,959

Table A.14 (Continued)				
		Sevier	Blount	Tenn.
Year	Mo.	Persons	Persons	Persons
1984	1	759	1,551	153,618
1984	4	779	1,507	153,894
1984	7	635	1,416	151,246
1984	10	622	1,429	151,745
1985	1	718	1,468	153,647
1985	4	771	1,554	156,075
1985	7	664	1,526	154,748
1985	10	695	1,588	156,695
1986	1	813	1,557	159,277
1986	4	862	1,693	162,614
1986	7	752	1,607	162,256
1986	10	815	1,726	168,708
1987	1	945	1,837	178,033
1987	4	994	1,881	183,051
1987	7	836	1,802	179,982
1987	10	862	1,749	181,833
1988	1	910	1,730	182,272
1988	4	1,040	1,713	187,495
1988	7	889	1,577	186,209
1988	10	904	1,731	190,709
1989	1	974	1,756	193,600
1989	4	1,006	1,896	196,616
1989	7	935	1,866	195,623
1989	10	921	2,077	201,817
1990	1	1,056	2,183	206,382
1990	4	1,184	2,230	211,452
1990	7	1,095	2,246	214,768
1990	10	1,180	2,286	222,428
1991	1	1,381	2,439	231,242
1991	4	1,523	2,670	243,461
1991	7	1,486	2,699	249,372
1991	10	1,473	2,732	255,458
Source: Tenn. Dept. of Human Services, *Statistics*				

Table A.15 Infant Mortality Rates:			
Year	Sevier	Blount	Tennessee
1930	50.3	61.7	74.9
1931	69.2	57.5	66.7
1932	74.8	71.3	67.3
1933	84.1	54.8	69.1
1934	66.7	56.5	73.5
1935	60.6	74.5	62.1
1936	50.8	61.2	67.9
1937	54.3	60.4	60.7
1938	79.4	56.8	62.9
1939	57.3	48.9	53.5
1940	65.2	48.7	53.2
1941	72.4	54.7	54.0
1942	76.3	45.8	46.4
1943	55.9	38.9	44.6
1944	69.3	43.9	44.9
1945	54.2	41.1	47.4
1946	54.5	39.1	38.8
1947	43.2	28.7	36.6
1948	62.1	35.4	37.7
1949	54.8	33.5	40.5
1950	60.7	31.1	36.2
1951	35.8	23.4	34.1
1952	38.2	25.0	33.2
1953	40.2	24.0	30.3
1954	29.5	23.0	30.5
1955	41.4	26.0	29.1
1956	39.4	35.1	27.8
1957	27.6	26.2	29.1
1958	24.6	25.9	30.7
1959	34.3	25.0	30.3
1960	28.9	23.8	29.3
1961	21.5	24.8	28.9
1962	20.3	21.6	28.4
1963	27.2	29.9	27.9
1964	26.8	34.3	28.2
1965	16.0	26.9	27.7
1966	26.4	18.9	26.0
1967	23.1	21.0	24.3
1968	22.3	15.2	23.1
1969	11.5	22.1	21.9

Table A.15 (Continued)

Year	Sevier	Blount	Tennessee
1970	17.4	30.1	21.3
1971	23.1	17.8	20.6
1972	26.8	24.3	21.0
1973	4.3	22.0	20.3
1974	12.5	17.9	17.3
1975	8.7	16.5	16.1
1976	10.6	27.4	16.1
1977	12.4	7.9	15.3
1978	17.4	7.0	14.8
1979	19.4	7.1	13.5
1980	17.4	13.5	13.4
1981	8.4	14.1	12.6
1982	9.0	8.3	12.0
1983	9.0	13.9	12.7
1984	8.5	12.8	11.8
1985	5.1	11.0	11.3
1986	10.1	9.3	11.0
1987	12.0	15.7	11.7
1988	8.3	8.0	10.8
1989	13.4	4.6	10.8
1990	13.6	9.6	10.3
1991	4.4	1.8	9.9

Source: Tennessee Vital Statistics

Table A.16.1 Local Government Finances as of 1957 ($000):						
	Sevier	Per Capita	Blount	Per Capita	All TN Counties	Per Capita
Population	23,436		64,533		3,581,853	
Revenue:						
General	637	27.18	4,202	65.11	197,364	55.10
Prop. Taxes	280	11.95	1,872	29.01	116,814	32.61
Utilities	63	2.69	1,684	26.10	147,955	41.31
Ins. Trust	0	0.00	0	0.00	3,369	0.94
From Own Sources	700	29.87	5,886	91.21	348,688	97.35
InterGov't	1,312	55.98	2,788	43.20	141,158	39.41
Total Revenue	2,012	85.85	8,674	134.41	489,846	136.76
Expenditures:						
Direct General	2,309	98.52	7,723	119.68	346,687	96.79
Utilities	49	2.09	2,048	31.74	204,676	57.14
Ins. Trust	0	0.00	0	0.00	4,369	1.22
Total Expenditures	2,358	100.61	9,771	151.41	555,732	155.15
Capital Outlays	753	32.13	3,069	47.56	166,570	46.50
Debt Outstanding	3,969	169.35	11,857	183.74	N/A	
Source: Census of Governments						

Table A.16.2 Local Government Finances as of 1962 ($000):						
		Per		Per	All TN	Per
	Sevier	Capita	Blount	Capita	Counties	Capita
Population	24,388		58,020		3,634,000	
Revenue:						
General	896	36.74	3,367	58.03	513,338	141.26
Prop. Taxes	442	18.12	2,465	42.49	175,749	48.36
InterGov't	1,343	55.07	2,936	50.60	193,542	53.26
General Rev.	2,239	91.81	6,303	108.63	706,880	194.52
Expenditures:						
Total Expenditures	2,978	122.11	6,388	110.10	749,691	206.30
Capital Outlays	993	40.72	869	14.98	176,997	48.71
Debt Outstanding	4,823	197.76	6,978	120.27	1,261,468	347.13
Source: Census of Governments						

Table A.16.3 Local Government Finances as of 1967 ($000):						
		Per		Per	All TN	Per
	Sevier	Capita	Blount	Capita	Counties	Capita
Population	27,122		61,380		3,892,000	
Revenue:						
From Own Sources	2,181	80.41	4,108	66.93	760,392	195.37
Prop. Taxes	856	31.56	2,847	46.38	240,489	61.79
InterGov't	2,410	88.86	4,469	72.81	343,099	88.15
General Rev.	4,591	169.27	8,577	139.74	1,103,491	283.53
Expenditures:						
Total Expenditures	5,814	214.36	8,518	138.77	1,268,604	325.95
Capital Outlays	2,090	77.06	1,092	17.79	300,072	77.10
Debt Outstanding	8,910	328.52	5,218	85.01	1,723,554	442.85
Source: Census of Governments						

Table A.16.4 Local Government Finances as of 1972 ($000):						
		Per		Per	All TN	Per
	Sevier	Capita	Blount	Capita	Counties	Capita
Population	30,700		64,600		4,031,000	
Revenue:						
From Own Sources	3,978	129.58	8,795	136.15	1,335,272	331.25
Prop. Taxes	1,263	41.14	4,502	69.69	386,388	95.85
InterGov't	3,600	117.26	7,731	119.67	540,329	134.04
General Rev.	7,578	246.84	16,526	255.82	1,875,601	465.29
Expenditures:						
Total Expenditures	7,125	232.08	17,499	270.88	2,075,618	514.91
Capital Outlays	1,470	47.88	4,109	63.61	391,992	97.24
Debt Outstanding	9,906	322.67	16,653	257.79	2,494,420	618.81
Source: Census of Governments						

Table A.16.5 Local Government Finances as of 1977 ($000):						
	Sevier	Per Capita	Blount	Per Capita	All TN Counties	Per Capita
Population	35,800		72,900		4,299,000	
Revenue:						
General Rev.	12,803	357.63	15,459	212.06	1,468,532	341.60
Prop. Taxes	3,846	107.43	8,287	113.68	608,533	141.55
Utility Revenue	11,708	327.04	15,390	211.11	1,080,361	251.31
From Own Sources	24,511	684.66	30,849	423.17	2,548,893	592.90
InterGov't	6,690	186.87	14,645	200.89	986,232	229.41
Total Revenue	31,201	871.54	45,494	624.06	3,535,125	822.31
Expenditures:						
General Exp.	20,812	581.34	37,027	507.91	2,460,875	572.43
Utility Exp.	13,412	374.64	13,950	191.36	1,100,608	256.01
Capital Outlays	3,825	106.84	9,825	134.77	497,308	115.68
Total Expenditure	34,224	955.98	50,977	699.27	3,561,483	828.44
Debt Outstanding	22,374	624.97	31,680	434.57	3,517,322	818.17
Source: Census of Governments						

Table A.16.6 Local Government Finances as of 1982 ($000):						
	Sevier	Per Capita	Blount	Per Capita	All TN Counties	Per Capita
Population	45,083		80,486		4,680,958	
Revenue:						
General Rev.	25,363	562.58	28,408	352.96	2,552,442	545.28
Prop. Taxes	5,546	123.02	11,962	148.62	894,594	191.11
Utility Revenue	26,698	592.20	33,212	412.64	2,376,293	507.65
Other Revenue	0	0.00	470	5.84	123,048	26.29
From Own Sources	52,061	1,154.78	62,090	771.44	5,051,783	1,079.22
InterGov't	11,236	249.23	18,164	225.68	1,332,176	284.59
Total Revenue	63,297	1,404.01	80,254	997.12	6,383,959	1,363.81
Expenditures:						
General Exp.	35,581	789.23	47,877	594.85	3,834,439	819.16
Utility Exp.	27,242	604.26	32,546	404.37	2,473,636	528.45
Capital Outlays	4,732	104.96	6,033	74.96	708,950	151.45
Total Expenditure	62,823	1,393.50	80,423	999.22	6,308,075	1,347.60
Debt Outstanding	45,304	1,004.90	70,662	877.94	5,194,985	1,109.81
Cash & Securities	6,724	149.15	37,680	468.16	2,694,521	575.63
Net Debt	38,580	855.75	32,982	409.79	2,500,464	534.18
Source: Census of Governments						

Table A.16.7 Local Government Finances as of 1987 ($000):						
	Sevier	Per Capita	Blount	Per Capita	All TN Counties	Per Capita
Population	46,638		82,687		4,904,479	
Revenue:						
General Rev.	35,678	765.00	73,657	890.79	3,775,236	769.75
Prop. Taxes	6,969	149.43	18,412	222.67	1,212,886	247.30
Utility Revenue	42,442	910.03	44,953	543.65	3,149,782	642.23
Other Revenue	0	0.00	1,150	13.91	241,990	49.34
From Own Sources	78,120	1,675.03	119,760	1,448.35	7,167,008	1,461.32
InterGov't	14,626	313.61	25,068	303.17	1,865,524	380.37
Total Revenue	92,746	1,988.64	144,828	1,751.52	9,032,532	1,841.69
Expenditures:						
General Exp.	50,166	1,075.65	98,468	1,190.85	5,657,840	1,153.61
Utility Exp.	49,496	1,061.28	43,629	527.64	3,267,300	666.19
Capital Outlays	9,557	204.92	7,014	84.83	1,001,062	204.11
Total Expenditure	99,662	2,136.93	142,097	1,718.49	8,925,140	1,819.79
Debt Outstanding	67,313	1,443.31	86,702	1,048.56	8,817,347	1,797.82
Cash & Securities	21,396	458.77	60,861	736.04	5,739,579	1,170.27
Net Debt	45,917	984.54	25,841	312.52	3,077,768	627.54
Source: Census of Governments						

Table A.17.1 Agricultural Statistics, 1900:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	3,193		2,161		224,623	
Average Acres	78.1		128.6		90.6	
Total Acres (000s)	249,233		277,982		20,342,058	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,827	57.2%	1,233	57.1%	114,929	51.2%
Part Owners	241	7.5%	216	10.0%	13,652	6.1%
Managers	15	0.5%	5	0.2%	1,286	0.6%
Tenants	1,110	34.8%	707	32.7%	94,756	42.2%
Per Farm Values						
Equipment	42		85		68	
Livestock	178		283		271	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table A.17.2 Agricultural Statistics, 1910:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	3,469		2,460		246,012	
Average Acres	82.6		93.2		81.5	
Total Acres (000s)	286,370		229,169		20,041,657	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,851	53.4%	1,636	66.5%	120,081	48.8%
Part Owners	416	12.0%	138	5.6%	24044	9.8%
Managers	3	0.1%	21	0.9%	826	0.3%
Tenants	1,199	34.6%	665	27.0%	101,061	41.1%
Per Farm Values						
Equipment	66		114		87	
Livestock	295		429		433	
Crops	333		485		491	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table A.17.3 Agricultural Statistics, 1920:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	3,450		2,601		252,774	
Average Acres	80.0		106.4		77.2	
Total Acres (000s)	276,104		276,679		19,510,856	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	2,143	62.1%	1,592	61.2%	129,532	51.2%
Part Owners	340	9.9%	231	8.9%	18,550	7.3%
Managers	8	0.2%	8	0.3%	807	0.3%
Tenants	959	27.8%	770	29.6%	103,885	41.1%
Per Farm Values:						
Equipment	162		253		212	
Livestock	470		753		642	
Crops	838		1,237		1,259	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table A.17.4 Agricultural Statistics, 1930:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	2,931		2,417		245,657	
Average Acres	76.8		81.6		73.3	
Total Acres (000s)	225,061		197,176		18,003,241	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,521	51.9%	1,550	64.1%	109,853	44.7%
Part Owners	279	9.5%	228	9.4%	21,673	8.8%
Managers	15	0.5%	7	0.3%	611	0.2%
Tenants	1,116	38.1%	632	26.1%	113,521	46.2%
Per Farm Values:						
Equipment	147		261		186	
Livestock	375		464		410	
Crops	170		200		385	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	303		357		276	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table A.17.5 Agricultural Statistics, 1940:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	3,422		3,010		247,617	
Average Acres	65.0		65.0		74.7	
Total Acres (000s)	222,450		195,730		18,492,898	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,855	54.2%	2,144	71.2%	128,591	51.9%
Part Owners	363	10.6%	225	7.5%	18,852	7.6%
Managers	3	0.1%	11	0.4%	439	0.2%
Tenants	1,201	35.1%	630	20.9%	99,735	40.3%
Per Farm Values:						
Equipment	160		228		199	
Livestock	319		368		396	
Crops	128		92		231	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	182		214		196	
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	45.8		48.4		47.0	
Farms with:						
Trucks	278	8.1%	307	10.2%	17,727	7.2%
Tractors	66	1.9%	207	6.9%	10,967	4.4%
Automobiles	1,010	29.5%	1,436	47.7%	78,800	31.8%
Electricity	185	5.4%	757	25.1%	40,519	16.4%
Telephones	120	3.5%	177	5.9%	32,468	13.1%
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	1,425	41.6%	1,386	46.0%	76,932	31.1%
Over 100 Days	718	21.0%	1,147	38.1%	43,057	17.4%
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table A.17.6 Agricultural Statistics, 1945:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	3,078		3,747		234,431	
Average Acres	68.4		51.1		75.9	
Total Acres (000s)	210,543		191,576		17,788,997	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	2,092	68.0%	2,999	80.0%	139,072	59.3%
Part Owners	262	8.5%	170	4.5%	17,615	7.5%
Managers	3	0.1%	6	0.2%	390	0.2%
Tenants	721	23.4%	572	15.3%	77,354	33.0%
Per Farm Values:						
Equipment	278		337		345	
Livestock	491		435		628	
Crops	384		151		557	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	412		403		484	
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	48.6		47.6		48.6	
Farms with:						
Trucks	391	12.7%	463	12.4%	24,659	10.5%
Tractors	190	6.2%	519	13.9%	21,892	9.3%
Automobiles	897	29.1%	1,844	49.2%	86,355	36.8%
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table A.17.7 Agricultural Statistics, 1950:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	3,148		2,946		231,631	
Average Acres	65.2		62.0		80.0	
Total Acres (000s)	205,290		182,692		18,534,380	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	2,034	64.6%	2,374	80.6%	134,670	58.1%
Part Owners	494	15.7%	333	11.3%	28,851	12.5%
Managers	3	0.1%	7	0.2%	377	0.2%
Tenants	617	19.6%	232	7.9%	67,733	29.2%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	400		281		770	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	499		706		680	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	1,277	40.6%	1,760	59.7%	86,467	37.3%
Over 100 Days	828	26.3%	1,501	51.0%	52,230	22.5%
Farms with:						
Trucks	781	24.8%	747	25.4%	55,284	23.9%
Tractors	401	12.7%	787	26.7%	48,025	20.7%
Automobiles	1,297	41.2%	1,680	57.0%	99,075	42.8%
Indoor Plumbing	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%
Electricity	1,882	59.8%	2,662	90.4%	165,541	71.5%
Freezers	147	4.7%	248	8.4%	12,426	5.4%
Telephones	91	2.9%	791	26.8%	43,541	18.8%
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table A.17.8 Agricultural Statistics, 1954:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	2,577		2,847		203,149	
Average Acres	69.4		61.3		86.9	
Total Acres (000s)	178,777		174,490		17,654,324	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,899	73.7%	2,388	83.9%	119,434	58.8%
Part Owners	292	11.3%	309	10.9%	30,392	15.0%
Managers	7	0.3%	8	0.3%	384	0.2%
Tenants	379	14.7%	142	5.0%	52,939	26.1%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	630		323		1,008	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	537		631		713	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	1,291	50.1%	2,032	71.4%	93,652	46.1%
Over 100 Days	1,291	50.1%	1,722	60.5%	58,318	28.7%
Farms with:						
Trucks	941	36.5%	893	31.4%	67,548	33.3%
Tractors	696	27.0%	1,278	44.9%	69,847	34.4%
Automobiles	1,411	54.8%	1,888	66.3%	104,971	51.7%
Indoor Plumbing	916	35.5%	1,573	55.3%	73,706	36.3%
Electricity	2,246	87.2%	2,763	97.0%	184,783	91.0%
Freezers	326	12.7%	847	29.8%	35,773	17.6%
Telephones	326	12.7%	1,497	52.6%	61,544	30.3%
Televisions	466	18.1%	916	32.2%	50,123	24.7%
Average Age of Farm Operator	N/A		N/A		N/A	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table A.17.9 Agricultural Statistics, 1959:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	2,355		2,140		157,688	
Average Acres	73.8		75.5		102.0	
Total Acres (000s)	173,812		161,556		16,081,285	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,576	66.9%	1,711	80.0%	96,474	61.2%
Part Owners	472	20.0%	312	14.6%	28,453	18.0%
Managers	2	0.1%	5	0.2%	367	0.2%
Tenants	305	13.0%	112	5.2%	32,394	20.5%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	741		506		1,551	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	1,125		1,475		1,458	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	1,282	54.4%	1,352	63.2%	74,371	47.2%
Over 100 Days	896	38.0%	1,161	54.3%	50,412	32.0%
Farms with:						
Trucks	964	40.9%	919	42.9%	68,981	43.7%
Tractors	769	32.7%	1,199	56.0%	74,087	47.0%
Automobiles	1,425	60.5%	1,592	74.4%	100,902	64.0%
Freezers	704	29.9%	1,091	51.0%	66,396	42.1%
Telephones	1,110	47.1%	1,568	73.3%	80,509	51.1%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	51.6		53.1		51.4	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table A.17.10 Agricultural Statistics, 1964:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	2,286		1,501		133,446	
Average Acres	74.8		80.7		114.4	
Total Acres (000s)	170,997		121,131		15,266,213	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,582	69.2%	1,226	81.7%	85,373	64.0%
Part Owners	443	19.4%	204	13.6%	26,213	19.6%
Managers	1	0.0%	10	0.7%	358	0.3%
Tenants	260	11.4%	61	4.1%	21,502	16.1%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	872		671		2,117	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	1,154		2,073		1,843	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	1,234	54.0%	928	61.8%	64,944	48.7%
Over 100 Days	940	41.1%	821	54.7%	46,981	35.2%
Farms with:						
Trucks	1,003	43.9%	924	61.6%	73,598	55.2%
Tractors	912	39.9%	1,034	68.9%	77,700	58.2%
Automobiles	1,514	66.2%	1,228	81.8%	96,749	72.5%
Freezers	1,072	46.9%	1,169	77.9%	86,308	64.7%
Telephones	1,191	52.1%	1,215	80.9%	86,747	65.0%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	53.1		54.1		52.6	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table A.17.11 Agricultural Statistics, 1969:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	1,943		1,573		121,406	
Average Acres	75.6		89.8		124.0	
Total Acres (000s)	146,924		141,280		15,056,907	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,602	82.4%	1,296	82.4%	93,222	76.8%
Part Owners	255	13.1%	213	13.5%	19,039	15.7%
Managers	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%
Tenants	86	4.4%	64	4.1%	9,145	7.5%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	944		1,025		1,905	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	1,668		3,268		3,228	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	1,259	64.8%	1,053	66.9%	75,178	61.9%
Over 200 Days	751	38.7%	768	48.8%	47,040	38.7%
Farms with:						
Trucks	1,062	54.7%	1,008	64.1%	76,440	63.0%
Tractors	1,141	58.7%	1,251	79.5%	85,157	70.1%
Automobiles	1,202	61.9%	1,099	69.9%	75,002	61.8%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	54.5		55.0		53.0	

Source: Census of Agriculture

Table A.17.12 Agricultural Statistics, 1974:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	1,335		1,162		93,659	
Average Acres	86.0		98.0		140.0	
Total Acres (000s)	114,648		113,750		13,103,224	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,080	80.9%	931	80.1%	71,357	76.2%
Part Owners	197	14.8%	179	15.4%	16,457	17.6%
Tenants	58	4.3%	52	4.5%	5,845	6.2%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	1,927		1,980		4,933	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	2,894		4,670		5,031	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	729	54.6%	677	58.3%	49,440	52.8%
Over 200 Days	500	37.5%	555	47.8%	34,964	37.3%
Farms with:						
Trucks	957	71.7%	903	77.7%	68,193	72.8%
Tractors	984	73.7%	997	85.8%	71,580	76.4%
Automobiles	867	64.9%	805	69.3%	60,416	64.5%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	55.5		55.4		53.3	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table A.17.13 Agricultural Statistics, 1978:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	1,157		1,065		86,910	
Average Acres	87.0		97.0		146.0	
Total Acres (000s)	100,863		103,593		12,680,809	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	867	74.9%	768	72.1%	61,666	71.0%
Part Owners	229	19.8%	231	21.7%	19,112	22.0%
Tenants	61	5.3%	66	6.2%	6,132	7.1%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	2,854		3,992		7,576	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	4,853		7,034		8,482	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	685	59.2%	664	62.3%	53,627	61.7%
Over 200 Days	481	41.6%	492	46.2%	38,586	44.4%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	54.3		55.3		52.0	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table A.17.14 Agricultural Statistics, 1982:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	1,176		1,219		90,565	
Average Acres	80.0		91.0		138.0	
Total Acres (000s)	94,172		111,029		12,474,931	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	877	74.6%	842	69.1%	64,182	70.9%
Part Owners	235	20.0%	299	24.5%	19,864	21.9%
Tenants	64	5.4%	78	6.4%	6,519	7.2%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	4,051		4,652		9,372	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	3,898		7,967		9,220	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	701	59.6%	766	62.8%	54,964	60.7%
Over 200 Days	520	44.2%	585	48.0%	39,278	43.4%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	54.4		53.9		52.3	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table A.17.15 Agricultural Statistics, 1987:						
	Sevier	%	Blount	%	Tenn.	%
No. of Farms	953		1,185		79,711	
Average Acres	82.0		86.0		147.0	
Total Acres (000s)	78,192		101,397		11,731,386	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	671	70.4%	793	66.9%	57,161	71.7%
Part Owners	211	22.1%	312	26.3%	17,698	22.2%
Tenants	71	7.5%	80	6.8%	4,852	6.1%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	2,690		3,462		8,805	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	5,887		8,090		11,489	
Equipment	19,037		20,641		22,700	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	590	61.9%	723	61.0%	48,882	61.3%
Over 200 Days	436	45.8%	553	46.7%	36,187	45.4%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	55.1		55.4		53.8	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table A.18 Gross Tax Revenues for Sevier County			
Year	Pigeon Forge	Gatlinburg	Total
1980	50,829,810	118,456,300	169,286,110
1981	62,424,220	136,094,500	198,518,720
1982	72,692,468	161,212,200	233,904,668
1983	77,469,922	145,254,300	222,724,222
1984	99,427,156	157,830,100	257,257,256
1985	114,399,048	168,162,300	282,561,348
1986	168,198,800	185,361,500	353,560,300
1987	N/A	196,602,600	N/A
1988	241,150,600	202,886,900	444,037,500
1989	290,269,620	208,378,529	498,648,149
1990	338,968,868	222,535,488	561,504,356
1991	379,591,349	236,068,139	615,659,488
1992	416,775,030	245,212,261	661,987,291
Sources: Chambers of Commerce and Gatlinburg Finance Office			

THE EVOLVING ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TOURISM ON THE GREATER SMOKY MOUNTAIN REGION OF EAST TENNESSEE AND WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA

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L. Alex Tooman

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PART III

TOURISM IN WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA

CHAPTER 8

TOURIST DEVELOPMENT IN WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA

Coordinated Efforts

One notable difference between East Tennessee's tourist development and that of Western North Carolina (WNC) has been the exertion of a more coordinated approach to development in the mountain counties of WNC. Whereas the communities of East Tennessee have charted their paths independently, the communities of WNC have formulated organizations to promote development for overall benefit to the region. As stated in Chapter 5, both areas undertook vigorous efforts to bring about the creation of the national park and both competed in earnest over the proposed route of the Blue Ridge Parkway. Once these efforts had been fulfilled, tourism in East Tennessee became rapidly concentrated in Sevier County through efforts in those communities, while WNC leaders decided that the region would be best served by planning and projects that were addressed from a regional perspective.

The first and foremost organization to be established after World War II was the Western North Carolina Associated Communities (WNCAC) in 1946. Comprised of communities in the eleven westernmost counties of North Carolina, WNCAC was dedicated to the "upbuilding" of that mountainous region. "'Upbuilding' to WNCAC has meant the undertaking of specific projects of general value to the entire area, economically,

socially, educationally, and aesthetically. It has been much more a doing than a talking organization" (Simpson et al. 1956, 1).

Full membership in WNCAC went to the Chambers of Commerce (or another civic organization if a chamber did not exist) in each community of the eleven westernmost counties in North Carolina, with associate membership made available to Western Carolina College (subsequently renamed Western Carolina University), the Cherokee Reservation, and the Fontana Village resort area of Graham County. The self-selection of these eleven counties in this organization was for practical reasons. The area had a general orientation to Asheville with respect to trade, banking, services, the media, etc., plus the area was small enough that personal acquaintances and confidence would not be stretched too thinly. A key aspect, though, was the inclusion of Asheville with the provision that all members be acknowledged as equal so as to not permit Buncombe County (of which Asheville is part) to dominate the group (Simpson et al. 1956, 4-11).

Over the course of the years, several projects stand out as significant accomplishments for WNCAC. From its inception the group lobbied for years to see the completion of the Blue Ridge Parkway (see Chapter 5). For other projects, WNCAC saw its role as a selector and initiator to be followed by the turning over of operations to another group. Two major programs that followed this prescription in the Cherokee Reservation were the outdoor drama "Unto These Hills" in 1948 and the authentically recreated Oconaluftee Indian Village in 1951. The motives behind the efforts were to attract national park visitors over to North Carolina and induce them to stay longer, expand tourism

in the region, and increase employment in the Cherokee Reservation as well as the greater mountain area (Simpson et al. 1956, 16-28).

Concurrent with the desire to increase tourist business in the region, WNCAC also saw the need for more and better tourist accommodations. "It is fair to say that, outside of the Asheville-Hendersonville area, there were no large-scale tourist facilities. There were no large resort hotels, no major resort center, few if any large, modern tourist courts, few really adequate eating places" (Simpson et al. 1956, 35). The tourist businesses that had been established were informal, small-scale, supplemental to whatever primary livelihood existed, and unorganized. The WNCAC helped organize the Western North Carolina Tourist Association (WNCTA) in 1949. The constituent members of this group belonged to their county tourist and travel departments and if one did not exist, the WNCTA helped them start one (Simpson et al. 1956, 35).

Although the efforts of the WNCTA may seem commonplace and uninspired today, many of the ideas introduced had to be disseminated diplomatically in an isolated and independent mountain area during the late 1940s and early 1950s. There were issues regarding matters of courtesy, neatness, and services to tourists, not just in one's own establishment but in recommending others as well. Additionally, the matter of rates was regularly addressed by the WNCTA; not in any attempt to set rates, but rather by way of inducement to list rates and stick to them. This practice was encouraged so as to avoid the negative word-of-mouth publicity that would accrue to the entire region if price gouging occurred because rates were being unreasonably raised

during peak seasons. "Involved here, of course, was what might be called a 'higher selfishness', through which the whole area could be expedited, and through which increased numbers of tourists next year could be attained" (Simpson et al. 1956, 38-39).

Another organization which was established in WNC to promote community participation and interaction and to effectively address a variety of regional concerns was Western North Carolina Tomorrow (WNCT). This organization was created in 1979 and was designed to "provide a framework through which individuals and organizations meet to examine problems and possibilities; to encourage greater citizen participation in the process of regional growth and development; and to share information" (WNCT 1993). WNCT participated in the efforts to bring about the completion of the Blue Ridge Parkway and also played a significant role in the development and passage of North Carolina's Mountain Ridge Protection Act. Motivation for this bill was created by a large, high-rise, mountain-top development in Avery County. The act was promoted to protect major ridges from subsequent unsightly and "unwise" construction (WNCT 1993).

Another, more recently established and strictly tourist-oriented organization, is Smoky Mountain Host of North Carolina (SMH)[13]. This organization was created in July 1990 in order to coordinate efforts with the Chambers of Commerce of the seven westernmost counties of North Carolina and thereby provide more promotional and lobbying clout. Members of SMH have to be members of their local Chambers of Commerce and state participation was provided in the form of a new building which SMH can occupy as long as they support themselves. The efforts

specifically undertaken by SMH include mailings of guides, maps, and brochures all across the USA, to every AAA travel office and also abroad; purchasing multi-page advertisements in magazines such as *Southern Living*; and also lobbying in Raleigh to instigate more efforts to attract foreign tourists to North Carolina. While advertising by tourist boards to attract visitors is hardly an innovation, the ability of SMH to project images of a variety of member areas in large eye-catching displays is generating more response and requests for information than SMH had anticipated. It appears that consolidated efforts not only generate more tourist activity, but development is diffused over a larger area and is not overly concentrated in a few pockets of intense commercialization.

Of the development that did occur in the study area of WNC, two distinct forms are observable. In the northern three counties - Buncombe, Haywood, and Swain - tourism was pursued in a more conventional sense: lodging establishments, eateries, specialty shops, and amusements, with some second home development. In the southern three counties - Macon, Jackson, and Transylvania - tourism of a rather different nature evolved where seasonal-home development became the dominant characteristic of the local tourist industry. As a result of this dichotomy the former group will be designated the northern-rim counties and the latter as the southern-rim counties. Outside of either group is Graham County which has remained fairly undeveloped in both senses and as such will be considered a single member of its own group, to provide the comparison of less development.

Buncombe County

The rise of tourism in Buncombe County occurred in two distinct eras. Whereas in other areas the archaic period witnessed low levels of effective demand and few facilities scattered across the mountainous landscape, in Buncombe County the tourist industry was concentrated.

Initially, Asheville recovered very slowly from the Civil War. Prior to the arrival of the railroad in the early 1880s, Asheville was only a "crossroads village with hogs running wild in the streets and wagons loaded with corn and wood mired in the mud around Pack Square" (Ready 1986, 39). By 1868 Asheville consisted of six stores, a post office, four taverns, and fewer than 1,200 inhabitants. It was described as a pretty country town in 1870 and a visitor remarked "that the chief occupation seemed to be the 'manufacture of illicit corn whiskey' and its open sale on Court Square" (Ready 1986, 39).

Subsequent to the arrival of the railroad in 1882 Asheville became a rail hub for the South, and as many as 30,000 summer visitors frequented the stately hotels and boarding houses that were built. This activity coupled with a tobacco boom (see Chapter 5) attracted a rapid influx of new residents to Asheville: a population of 2,610 in 1880 grew to 5,000 in 1885 and 11,500 by 1890. This increase in residents and concentration of summer visitors meant that there was a significant increase in demand for fruits, vegetables, and dairy products from local farmers (Tessier 1992, 52; Langley and Langley 1975, 34-43).

Although the tobacco boom expired by 1890 and Asheville's prosperity subsided somewhat, tourism continued to grow and attract not only large numbers of visitors to enjoy the scenery and cool mountain summers, but also in 1888 the first well-known sanitarium was built for the influx of sick people who were attracted to Asheville's mountain climate as a cure for tuberculosis. As of 1890 Asheville boasted thirteen hotels with three under construction and at least forty rooming houses. At this time the prosperity of the city allowed it to advertise two electric light systems; a gas works; a phone system; two fire companies; a public library; a school system with eight public, six private, and two industrial schools; fifteen miles of watermain; and five miles of electric trolley lines with two more under construction. Asheville was only the second city in the United States to be able to claim such an amenity as the electric trolley (Allen 1960, 55-56; Swaim 1981, 38; Dykeman 1955, 1984; *Asheville City Directory* 1890; *Asheville, North Carolina* 1920).

The "proliferation of lovely hotels" and health spas, the increasing population and city amenities, and the increasing number of fashionable tourists resulted in Asheville seeing itself as a "place for the wealthy and favored" (Gaines 1981). In the late 1880s George W. Vanderbilt visited the Battery Park Hotel in Asheville and was so taken by the area that he decided to build a large estate there. Although land prices quickly increased when a lawyer began purchasing property on his behalf, eventually 100,000 acres were acquired.

Construction on the 250-room Biltmore House began in 1890 employing thousands of laborers for five years, and predictably all

this activity created a unique and substantial impact on the surrounding region. Vanderbilt created a new community, Biltmore Village, to house the workers, while land adjoining the property increased considerably in value. Vanderbilt's influence, however, extended far beyond the direct and predictable impacts of employment and income (Dykeman 1955, 210-227; "Biltmore Estate" 1994).

Vanderbilt realized that the local markets provided no produce outside the traditional growing season, so he had greenhouses built and sold the surplus to neighboring towns. This activity not only established standards of freshness and quality but also kept prices high so that local farmers' reaction quickly changed from resentment to imitation. Additionally, the estate established herds of, and set standards for, purebred animals in an area, where as was typical of the Southern Appalachians, quality of breeding was very low. The Biltmore Dairy still exists (Dykeman 1955, 210-227).

Dr. Carl Schenk from Germany was invited to the estate to establish the first forestry school in America. The objectives of this school were to learn and teach about careful management and profitable lumbering of forest resources so as to reverse the exploitive, wasteful, and destructive measures previously practiced. Other related topics pursued by the school were proper layouts for forest roads, fire protection, and paths (Dykeman 1955, 210-227).

Further, the estate was instrumental in establishing a local cottage and handicraft industry in the area. The actual impetus and spirit came through the efforts of two northern women, Misses Yale and Vance, who while visiting one summer promoted interest in woodworking

and weaving such that with Mrs. Vanderbilt's assistance, the Biltmore Homespun Shop was created (also still in existence). The work of creating articles for the shop was performed off-site as well as on, requiring Misses Yale and Vance, to travel through the countryside promoting home handicraft production, delivering wool and raw materials to the homes, assisting in production and techniques, and finally picking up the finished product for sale at the shop. The motivation behind this effort, as was the case with Pi Beta Phi's effort in Gatlinburg, was to assist mountain women and girls who otherwise had very limited opportunities (Dykeman 1955, 210-227).

Finally, the Vanderbilt legacy continues today in the form of two well known tourist attractions in the Asheville area, one publicly and the other privately owned. In 1913 Vanderbilt began efforts to have his substantial forest holdings transferred to the federal government for preservation as a national forest. Although he died in 1914 before this was fully accomplished, Mrs. Vanderbilt completed the transfer two years later and this land came to constitute a large portion of Pisgah National Forest. In addition, the Asheville Chamber of Commerce, realizing the tourist potential of the Biltmore House with its paintings, antiques, and gardens, persuaded the Vanderbilt heirs to open the estate and its 12,000 acres of landscaped gardens and forests to the public. This was accomplished in 1930 (Allen 1960, 80-82; Dykeman 1955, 210-212; Asheville Chamber of Commerce 1960).

The investment and development precipitated by such people as Vanderbilt, George Pack, Col. Frank Coxe, and E.W. Grove combined to cause a continued increase in tourism, which made "the 1910-1930 era...

the most spectacular in Asheville's history" (Swaim 1981, 42). By the turn of the century Asheville had a population of 14,694 and was attracting 50,000 summer visitors a year, not including those staying in the sanitariums. In 1910 the city directory lists 22 hotels in Asheville along with 165 rooming houses to accommodate the dramatic influx of visitors. The number of large hotels also continued to increase. In 1912 the Langren opened followed by the Grove Park Inn in 1913. Part of this phenomenal growth was due to a shift in promotional efforts on the part of advertisers. Rather than aim exclusively at the very rich and the tubercular, advertisements were directed to the upper-middle class. Consequently, by 1920 an estimated 250,000 annual visitors were attracted to the Asheville area, and in 1924 two more large hotels were established: the New Battery Park Hotel and the George Vanderbilt Hotel followed by the Asheville-Biltmore Hotel in 1925 (Swaim 1981, 42; Langley and Langley 1975, 57).

Realizing the importance of having city services and amenities maintained at a level commensurate with the social standing of the annual visitors and new residents, the city of Asheville invested heavily in these areas. By 1911 there were ten miles of paved streets, a water supply and sewage system, telephone exchanges, electric light and gas plants, an opera house, a fire department, and the electric street car system. By 1920 there were 52 miles of paved streets in the city and 132 in the county, over 65 miles of sidewalks, 20 miles of electric streetcar service, a school system with 16 public and 14 private schools, and a fire department that was completely equipped with motor trucks. The city also spent large sums on public parks; on

landscaping by planting trees, shrubs, and flowers around town; and in new construction: a municipal golf course, a city/county plaza, a city hall, and a courthouse.

The two rather predictable consequences of this accelerated development were that real estate speculation would boom in the county and that the city's debt would grow substantially. Both in fact did occur during the 1920s; a real estate boom in Buncombe paralleled one occurring in Florida and the city borrowed heavily during this decade to pay for the increased construction and services even though tax collections began to drop after 1922. As a result, Asheville was not only issuing bonds to finance public works but also to pay debts on assessment bonds. In 1929 city indebtedness totaled over $16 million and by 1930 equaled $18.8 million (Ready 1986, 85-88).

In spite of this ominous trend the city made no effort to curtail spending even after the real estate boom collapsed in 1926 as result of a hurricane that struck Florida and destroyed or severely damaged the properties of investors who had also invested in Asheville. The loss of income in Florida caused land prices in Buncombe County to plummet and Asheville's largest bank, the Central Bank & Trust Co., with over $18 million in deposits, found itself "holding millions of dollars in real estate loans secured by badly depreciated paper" (Ready 1986, 88; Quinn 1993). Fearful of the catastrophic consequences that foreclosures would produce on the local economy, bank officers convinced the city officials to leave over $6 million on deposit at the Central Bank while they continued to operate on the proceeds of short-term notes. The municipal deposits, as all others at the Central, were

thus secured with real estate notes stated at inflated pre-1927 prices (Ready 1986, 88).

Subsequent to an audit in 1928, state bank examiners declared the bank insolvent and notified city officials, but otherwise kept the report a secret. Amazingly, no alleviating measures were undertaken. The city continued to issue more debt obligations and the Central Bank continued to operate on the basis of the city and county government deposits and falsified books. On November 9, 1930 municipal indebtedness reached $23.6 million and two days later the Central Bank and ten cooperating banks in six surrounding counties all closed. Consequently, the city and county governments and school systems lost over $8 million in deposits in these banks; without these funds and unable to sell more bonds, Asheville defaulted on all its debts (Ready 1986, 88; Tessier 1992, 58).

The impact of this debacle was not only very sudden and traumatic but also was to be felt for over fifty years. All city officials resigned and the former mayor and a bank officer committed suicide and one bank official failed in his suicide attempt. New issues of indebtedness were negotiated to replace the old bonds, and conditions were imposed on the city to limit future indebtedness and city services. Final payments on these bonds were not made until October 28, 1976. (Ready 1986, 88-92).

As might be expected, subsequent to this period, the tourist industry declined rapidly. All through the 1930's the depression produced ruined tourist seasons for an economy strongly oriented toward this industry. Further compounding this problem was the diversion of

potential tourists to the Chicago World's Fair in 1933 and the polio outbreaks in the south in 1935 (Ready 1986, 92-93). An additional blow came as a result of a growing trend during the 1920's wherein government agencies (federal, state and local) came to realize that health care was a social obligation and so built hospitals and sanitariums. "As a result, Asheville and other popular health resorts were less frequented. By 1928 most of the sanitariums around the city were forced to close and the number of patients from other places became negligible" (Van Noppen and Van Noppen 1973, 383).

The 1930s, then, clearly represent a transitional period; the older era of the large hotels with the affluent visitor was effectively brought to a close, and the new era, of the automobile and the middle-class visitors, was slow in developing. Although Asheville's leaders were very active in efforts to create the national park and the Blue Ridge Parkway for the sake of promoting tourism, the prolonged depression followed by World War II brought about the termination of tourism as Asheville knew it and consequently, the demise of many of the old hotels. Four hotels, however, were actually revitalized during the war as Asheville was chosen to be a redistribution station to provide rest and relaxation for troops, and the Grove Park Inn served as a wartime internment facility for special prisoners of war (Davis 1946; Quinn 1993).

In summary then, Asheville's first era of tourist development occurred from about 1880, with the arrival of the railroad, until 1930, with the advent of the Great Depression and the financial collapse of the banks and city. The period from 1910 to 1930 also represents the

portion of this period during which development reached a much higher level of growth. Since this era of activity was continuous for almost fifty years and occurred when local economies were not nearly as integrated with larger regions or the nation, and since it witnessed a rather abrupt end followed by a decade and a half of stagnation and decline, 1930 will be considered the transition year from the archaic period preceding it to the modern one following it.

Surprisingly, the rapid economic expansion that occurred in the post war years and which helped fuel Gatlinburg's meteoric rise as the preeminent destination in the Smoky Mountain region during the era of the automobile, failed to penetrate most of Western North Carolina.

> "Unfortunately, for most areas of Western North Carolina the physical and political impediments of the past prevented participation in this boom. Both physical and political isolation from the rest of the state slowed and hindered the construction of roads and other transportation facilities in the mountain region. The political power base of the state remained in the East and Piedmont. With the state's assumption of responsibility for the road systems and principal funding of the school systems, many of Western North Carolina's needs were relegated to a lower priority. When state monies were allocated to the region, they could not go so far because the construction of roads and facilities in the mountains is more costly" (Quinn 1993, 6-7).

This lack of funding and few improvements in the post war years meant that any of the expansion that reached the Western North Carolina

mountains did so "more slowly and with less impact than the rest of the state" (Quinn 1993, 7).

In conjunction with the decline of tourism in Asheville followed by a very slow revival thereof, employment alternatives were introduced in the area but as Gaines (1981) notes, these other industries all paid low-wages: textiles, wood working, furniture and leather goods. The largest of these, the American Enka Corporation, began construction of a rayon plant west of Asheville in Hominy Valley in 1927 and by 1934 the TVA Industrial-Agricultural Survey reports employment there of almost 2,500. Other concurrent industrial development noted by the TVA in 1934 were Beacon Manufacturing Company, which made fancy cotton blankets and employed 1,300, and Sayles-Biltmore Bleacheries, a finishing and dying operation for cotton and rayon materials, which employed 475 (TVA 1934, 25; Asheville Chamber of Commerce 1960, 4).

During this period, despite the declining tourist trade, the handicraft industry continued to provide income and opportunity for many families in the area. In order to preserve and develop handicrafts of the Southern Appalachians, a number of small cooperatives and craft schools formed together to create the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild as a non-profit membership corporation in 1930. Other functions assumed by the Guild were ensuring the quality of production and offering facilities for exhibiting and marketing the products of members. "Within a radius of one hundred miles of Asheville [including the Phi Beta Phi School in Gatlinburg] more than six thousand people earn all or a substantial part of their living from their crafts" (Allen 1960, 61).

Thus, the old tourist era was gone and the large hotels were no longer the major attraction of the past and were otherwise gradually being demolished - by 1950 the city directory lists only twelve hotels in Asheville with 2,382 rooms. Therefore, the county was certainly in a prolonged period best described as an involvement stage that was greatly hampered by the duration of the Great Depression, World War II, shortages of state funding in the post-war years, and finally Asheville's own resource limitations due to debt retirement constraints. The city directory of Asheville for 1950 also lists thirty-two hotels throughout the entire county.

In spite of the limitations and many years of depressed activity Asheville's involvement stage began to flourish by the late 1940s due to its prominent position on the few principal roads through the region. Although the numbers of hotels continued to decline - nine in Asheville and twenty-eight in the county in 1955, and eight in Asheville and twenty-two in the county in 1960 (Asheville City Directory) - the numbers of small-scale, family-owned establishments increased dramatically as seen in Table 8.1.

An article in the *Asheville Citizen* ("Motor Courts Become...") in 1951 reported that in 1946 only eleven motor courts existed with 321 rooms. By 1951, fifty-three courts had 978 rooms. In 1955 there were fifty-six motels and tourist camps which grew to seventy by 1960, only three of which were chain affiliated. Although growth began to flatten somewhat during the 1960s new small establishments continued to be built while hotels continued to decline. According to the city directory, in 1965 only thirteen hotels were in the county while over

seventy-five motels existed, and by 1970 only eleven hotels were in service but eighty-five motels were available, only six of which were chain affiliated.

Table 8.1 Lodging Establishments in Buncombe County 1955-1970

Year	Hotels	Motels/ Courts	Chain Motels
1946	N/A	11	0
1955	28	56	0
1960	22	70	3
1965	13	75	N/A
1970	11	85	6

Sources: Asheville City Directory (1955-1970), Asheville Citizen (1946)

Although heralded as a significant revival of tourism in Asheville in 1951, this initial proliferation of small motor courts in the county did not provide Asheville with anything resembling the tourist industry of the older era, including convention business. Becton (1967) reminisced about the historical hotels that were part of a great era in Asheville's history when tourists came and stayed all summer, while the contemporary scene witnessed very little hotel activity downtown, and motel growth on the outskirts attracted visitors whose stay was at best fairly short and presumably involved little local expenditure.

By the early 1970s Becton's view was more widespread in Asheville as the aging tourist courts were becoming less attractive and tourists and conventioneers were flocking in great numbers to nearby areas such as Gatlinburg and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Asheville

knew it had the potential, but needed more investment to bring about a genuine tourist revival. Also enhancing this possibility per Ready (1986, 95) was the completion of the interstate highway through the mountains in 1966.

Determined to jump-start modern tourism in Asheville, the city was able to approve by an overwhelmingly favorable vote a Civic Center bond issue in 1971 ("Full Scale Hotel Planned..." 1971). With genuine convention capability planned for the near future, large-scale tourist investment was quickly attracted. In March 1973 a 300-room Hilton was opened with an eighteen hole golf course and eight tennis courts (Pritchard 1973). Also in 1973, property was purchased downtown for a 312-room hotel aimed at the convention business (Cowles 1973).

All in all, by May 1973 Waters was able to report that Asheville had entered a period of rapid growth in its tourist industry with approximately 1,250 rooms planned or under construction. The investments representing this growth were all large-scale corporate/chain efforts (Holiday Inn, Hilton, Days Inn, Rodeway Inn, etc.) and in spite of many of the old courts closing, Asheville's room count by the fall of 1974 was expected to be 3757, made available by sixty hotels and motels (Waters 1973). By 1975 the city directory does list sixty hotels/motels of which eleven were chain affiliated. According to Opie Shelton, then Executive Vice-President of the Asheville Area Chamber of Commerce, these major new developments "will help Asheville re-enter the lucrative convention and tourist business as a real competitor. It is all part of the dawn of a new day in the economic life of this area" (Waters 1973).

Thus the Civic Center, with auditorium capacity of 2,600 and arena capacity of 7,500, provided the spark necessary to revitalize Asheville's flagging tourist industry (see Table 8.2). Once the initial chain investors began to build and a climate of expansion was established, tourism growth was fairly consistent but not as rapid as that of Sevier County, Tennessee nor as concentrated as it was there. Unlike Gatlinburg and Pigeon Forge, with almost all growth occurring just along one commercial strip, Asheville experienced a more balanced and distributed growth along the highway corridors and principal roads, and in the city as well as on the outskirts.

Based on the unit counts (or rooms available) compared to numbers of establishments in Table 8.2, it is apparent that the average size of the businesses had been increasing, with chains representing a higher percentage of total units. This continued until the early 1990s when smaller enterprises such as bed and breakfasts and small inns began to repopulate the industry. Prior to that time the smaller and older locally-owned motels and tourist courts had succumbed to age and the appeals of chain merchandising.

Other information suggests this growth was not exclusively related to larger size of establishments. Although numbers of small establishments are difficult to acquire - the County/Chamber of Commerce does not count those with fewer than five rooms because the County Occupancy Tax does not apply - from 1990 to 1993 approximately fifty-five to seventy-five rooms had been opened that were in properties offering two to four rooms. This suggests that perhaps twenty to twenty-five additional new small-scale establishments opened

during a period when large-scale enterprises appeared to dominate the market (Asheville Chamber of Commerce).

Table 8.2 Lodging Establishments in Buncombe County 1982-1993

Year	Lodging Establ.	Chain Affiliated	Total Rooms	Chain Rooms
1982	47	14	3,491	2,207
1984	60	15	3,908	2,403
1986	64	17	4,145	2,601
1988	77	22	4,491	3,248
1990	86	26	5,133	N/A
1993	94	26	5,217	N/A

Sources: Asheville Chamber of Commerce (1990-1993)[14], Asheville City Directory (1982), and North Carolina Accommodations Directory (1984-1988).

Restaurants have also increased business substantially, with total sales of $164 million in 1992 representing a 59% increase over 1985's level. Restaurant activity, in fact, significantly exceeds the total for lodging in Asheville (which totaled $59.2 million in fiscal year 1992-3) for two reasons. First, even though Asheville is a small city, the county population as of 1990 was over 175,000 and unlike Gatlinburg and Pigeon Forge where nonresidents dominate, Asheville's residents do frequent local eating establishments whereas lodging remains almost exclusively a visitor's requirement. Second, one of the principal tourist attractions of the area, the Blue Ridge Parkway, attracts tourists who do not spend a great deal of time or money. The study cited by Buxton and Beatty (1986, 236-237) reports that 85% of parties visiting the North Carolina high country on the Blue Ridge

Parkway spent less than $10 while length of stay was one day or less for almost 70% of visitors. Apparently, most of the visitors to the North Carolina Blue Ridge Parkway are North Carolinians who may purchase gas and/or food and go home after a short drive.

Nonetheless, Buncombe county's tourist industry is a principal source of revenue to the local economy and Buncombe's tourism greatly exceeds that of any of its neighbors, as shown in Table 8.3. Growth, therefore, has been the persistent pattern there. This has been further assisted by the fact that in 1991 the feature-length movie *The Last of the Mohicans* was filmed in the surrounding region. While depicting upstate New York "the film's credits and promotional material have advertised the set locations throughout the North Carolina mountains" again showcasing these mountains to a national audience (Quinn 1993, 2). Additionally, in the 1980s Rand McNally named Asheville the best small city in the United States in which to live (Smith, 1993).

Table 8.3 Travel Expenditure by County 1988-1993 ($Millions)

County	1988	1989	1990	1991	1993
Buncombe	227.9	250.4	257.0	269.3	361.0
Graham	17.6	17.3	10.1	10.6	21.2
Haywood	52.1	52.7	55.1	56.3	54.4
Jackson	20.2	24.3	32.5	36.1	36.9
Macon	24.0	26.6	56.4	58.8	37.2
Swain	24.9	26.9	24.8	26.5	28.6
Transyl.	15.2	15.7	33.8	35.0	19.7

Sources: North Carolina Department of Commerce, Travel and Tourism Division (1988-1991) and *North Carolina County Rankings* (1993)

In summarizing Asheville's tourist development, a very active archaic period extended from 1880 to 1930 with the final two decades witnessing a rapid increase in activity. This period will be addressed separately in the chapter dealing with impacts. Subsequent to 1930, the tourism industry collapsed in Asheville during the Great Depression and World War II followed by a limited revival brought on by small-scale, mom-and-pop, tourist court establishments. This period, which was unquestionably an involvement stage, continued until the early 1970s. At this point in the process, Asheville's commitment to revive large-scale tourism by building the Civic Center produced the spark to bring this into realization. From the early 1970s until the early 1990s, large-scale corporate investment dominated the local tourist market.

By comparison with Asheville's earlier period this would seem to represent the evolution to a development stage. One qualification to this designation, however, needs to be made - something almost all those who attempted to apply the Butler model have invariably faced. When comparing this period to Asheville's preceding one it appears to be a development stage; when comparing Asheville's development stage to the one in Sevier County, Tennessee, it is obviously not quite the same thing. A concentration of tourism in a small economy and geographic area did not occur and plenty of opportunity still existed for new small-scale enterprises to penetrate the market. Additionally, tourism did not represent the dominant economic sector in Buncombe but rather was a major sector in a larger more diversified economy. As Townsend did not wish to have its community develop the "carnival-like"

atmosphere of Pigeon Forge, neither has Asheville approached this even with a sizable tourist market. Thus, 1973 on will be designated a development stage but not in an intense and concentrated sense.

Haywood County

Although first settled in the 1790's, the county itself was not officially formed until 1808. "For a hundred years after the first settlements, the county on account of lack of transportation facilities and communication, was isolated from the great business centers of the country, and therefore, confined to the slow but sure business policies of a strictly primitive people" (Allen 1977, 72-73). As a result agriculture was the chief occupation in the county at least until 1906 when the Champion Fibre Pulp Mill was constructed and boosted lumbering as a large and profitable industry. Heavy lumbering continued until 1929 when much of the land had been cut over and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park absorbed most of what virgin timber remained. (Allen 1977, 102).

The railroad was completed through Waynesville in 1882 and though it was on the same line as Asheville and also attracted a number of visitors, Waynesville's tourist industry never rivaled that of her neighbor to the east. Although exact comparisons of numbers of hotels, total capacity, and numbers of annual visitors are difficult to make, other comparisons can provide an idea of the relative magnitude of the Haywood and Buncombe tourist industries. Whereas Asheville by 1920 had twenty miles of electric street car tracks, fifty-two miles of paved streets and over sixty-five miles of sidewalks, in Haywood county by

the late 1910s, "roads were deplorable in the county. Number 10 highway, the main road in the county today [1937], was literally a sea of mud during the rainy season" (Reeves 1937, 92). Another indication is population growth. If tourist activity and population growth were correlated in those counties as they were in Sevier in its later era, relative magnitudes of the former could also be inferred. Asheville's population grew from 2,610 in 1880 to 14,694 in 1900 to over 50,000 by 1930. Haywood, in contrast, only reached a population level of 1,307 by 1900, and 2,414 by 1930 although both Asheville and Waynesville had the benefit of the railroad's influence at virtually the same time. Another indication of the correlation between tourism and population growth is provided by Asheville which only realized a population growth of 3,000 between 1930 and 1950 when tourism suffered a serious decline. (Langley and Langley 1975, 99-100; Allen 1977, 168).

The point made here is that the archaic period for Haywood County and the rest of Western North Carolina's counties in this period have been effectively covered in Chapter 5. Buncombe County during this period represented a much higher and concentrated level of development, and will therefore be the one to be addressed separately under impacts.

As in Asheville, however, the first era of tourism in Haywood county came to a close as a result of the Great Depression. With fewer and fewer guests arriving, hotels were forced to close down, leaving them outdated and rundown by the 1940's. Tourist homes and motor courts replaced the aging hotels as automobiles replaced the railroad (Farlow et al. 1993, 84). Also, as in Buncombe county, which had textile, woodworking, and furniture industries to provide an alternate

source of income, Haywood County had the benefit of the large Champion Fibre Pulp Mill which was started in 1906 and complemented in 1920 with a finishing plant. By 1934 the operation was employing over 1,600 workers, and prior to the establishment of the park it created the opportunity to provide raw materials for the mill and so provide income from lumbering (TVA 1934, 3-4; Allen 1977, 176).

Lumbering like tourism, however, suffered a dramatic decline by 1930, though for different reasons. In TVA's survey (1934, 175-178) the agricultural report observed that Haywood's hardwood and spruce timber was once among the richest in Western North Carolina, but that the extractive efforts of the preceding fifteen years had reduced that wealth "to practically nothing". Not only were the removal methods described as ruthless but subsequent forest fires seriously hampered second growth. Most of the standing timber that remained was preserved in the National Park and lumbering in the county "settled down to a small, but steady production" (TVA 1934, 3-4). Ultimately over one-third of Haywood County would come under federal ownership via the National Park, Pisgah National Forest and Shining Rock Wilderness ("Haywood County Profile" 1994).

Other boosts to the local economy included a $20 million dam and power plant that were completed on the Pigeon River in 1929, and in 1941 the Dayton Rubber Company, Dayco, started a plant which employed 225 workers two years later. The Dayco operation and Champion's continued to grow so that by 1959 they employed over 1,200 and 3,000 workers respectively (Allen 1977, 201; Waynesville City Directory 1959).

Haywood's post-war tourist industry, then, was able to develop in an economy that was fairly diverse, with agriculture and manufacturing both present. In what seems to have been the first step in development of modern tourism, Mr. and Mrs. Bob Hall built three small frame cabins for rent to tourists in 1946, in the Maggie Community which was later renamed Maggie Valley. Shortly thereafter, a major impetus to growth in tourism occurred - as anticipated by the WNCAC - as a result of the annual summer production of the outdoor drama in Cherokee. This potential was further enhanced by the fact that during the prior year the road from Waynesville over Soco Gap to Cherokee was paved. (Upchurch 1968, 13; "Maggie Valley's Growth..." 1953).

Subsequent to 1950, tourist growth in the county became more pronounced. A brochure listing accommodations in Maggie Valley in 1951 only listed five motels and five cottages/cabins. By 1954, a similar brochure was able to list fifteen motels, eight tourist courts and nine cottages. In 1959 the Waynesville City Directory (at this time apparently not including Maggie) lists three hotels, four lodges, seven tourists courts, and ten guest homes with a combined room count of 527. Of these, the largest establishments - the hotels and lodges - accounting for 57% of all rooms.

In 1962 the Waynesville City Directory listed three hotels, four lodges, ten motor courts, and ten guest rooms offering at least 551 rooms in Waynesville, but there were also thirty-four more motor courts in the rest of the county. Of this thirty-four the majority were in Maggie Valley because it was growing to be the prominent tourist area of the county partly as a result of the opening of Ghost Town in the

Sky in 1961. This mountain-top theme park, according to Farlow et al. (1993, 18) ushered in tourism to the quiet country town of Maggie and turned it into the more bustling Maggie Valley (see Table 8.4). The Waynesville City Directory also stated that there were six golf courses operating in the county at that time.

Table 8.4 Lodging Establishments in Maggie Valley 1966-1972

Year	Hotels/ Motels Etc.	Capacity
1966	42	3,200
1970	37	3,600
1972	38	4,000

Source: Directory of Accommodations

By 1966 a Directory of Accommodations in Maggie Valley listed thirty motels, four resorts and eight cottages with a 3,200 person capacity. The Directory for 1968-1970 listed twenty-eight motels, three resorts and six cottages but with a capacity of 3,600. Some of the older and smaller courts and camps were predictably giving way to newer and larger facilities. This trend continued to 1972 when twenty-six motels, five resorts and seven cabins provided accommodations for 4,000.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s several other tourism enhancing efforts materialized or were undertaken. In 1968 Interstate Highway 40 was completed through the county (Farlow et al. 1993). In the early 1970s the Cataloochee ski area was moved to its present location and expanded considerably. In addition, the first second-home

development was established in the Maggie Valley area.

Consequently, tourism did expand at this time, but not in any way approximating the levels achieved in Buncombe and Sevier counties. The Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force (1980, 4) observed that Haywood county had as yet been only minimally affected by the land development boom but that some recreational and speculative development had begun as of 1979. The Chamber of Commerce confirmed this view by noting that although the first second-home development went up in the early 1970s, none others followed until the 1980s. Details of seasonal-housing development are listed in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5 Seasonal Housing, Haywood County 1970-1990

Year	Seasonal Housing Units	% of Total Housing
1970	612	4.1%
1980	914	4.5%
1990	2,655	11.1%

Source: Census of Housing

From this detail it is obvious that most activity has occurred after 1980, which was also the case with conventional lodging as listed in Table 8.6. The expansion of lodging establishments suggests something of the nature of tourism growth during the 1980s and 1990s. Although the numbers of all lodging establishments, including chain motels, continued to increase in the early 1990s, enterprises tended to be small. After the late 1980s more businesses had been created, but the average size continued to decline due to the addition of small

inns, motels, and bed and breakfast establishments. For all intents and purposes, Haywood county is still in the midst of a prolonged involvement stage. The level of activity may have increased considerably when comparing the years prior to and after the early 1980s, but the persistence of small scale units suggests that large amounts of external capital and domination by large outside investors is yet not a requirement of participation in Haywood's tourist industry.

Table 8.6 Lodging Establishments in Haywood County, 1979-1994

Year	Maggie Valley	Rest of Haywood	Chain Motels	Total Units	Average Size
1979	25	16	1	858	20.4
1982	35	18	2	1,150	20.9
1988	48	27	2	1,616	21.0
1994	65	36	7	1,912	17.7

Sources: North Carolina Accommodations Directory (1979-1988) and Gateway (1994)

The magnitude of tourist expenditure is also consistent with this developmental designation. Since Buncombe County is in at best a qualified development stage and still creates tourist expenditures of at least five times that in Haywood County (see Table 8.3), then Haywood is all the less likely to be considered in Butler's third stage.

Recently the large manufacturing corporations of Haywood County have scaled back employment. From employment levels of 3,000 and over 1,200 respectively in the 1960's, Champion and Dayco have reduced their

employment levels to 1,878 and 897 respectively by 1993 (Haywood County Profile 1994). Dayco reduced its employment by 400 in 1989 and Champion reported in June 1994 that it planned to engage in additional employment cutbacks of 20% in the upcoming year due to losses incurred as a result of depression in the paper industry ("Champion to Slash..." 1994; O'Conner 1990). One attempt by the county to boost tourism as an offset to such trends was the creation of the Folkmoot Festival in 1984. This popular annual festival held from late July to early August involves performances by dance troops and musicians from around the world beginning with an international parade down Waynesville's main street and culminating in International Festival Day ("Haywood County Profile" 1994).

In summary, modern tourism began in Haywood county as in Buncombe after 1930. The Great Depression and World War II hampered initial expansion but an involvement stage did subsequently proceed on a prolonged basis with an accelerated rate of growth occurring after the early 1980s. However, the prevalence of small-scale units, low levels of tourism when compared to Sevier or Buncombe Counties, and only a recent emergence of a seasonal-home market suggests that the involvement stage is still the best characterization.

Swain County

Of all the counties in this research, perhaps Swain County is the most unique. Of the approximately 335,000 acres of land comprising the county, 214,318 were appropriated to form the national park. Additionally, 29,405.8 acres of the 56,572.8 acre Cherokee Indian

Reservation held in trust by the U.S. government - the Qualla Boundary - are within Swain County including the town of Cherokee. Originally known as Painttown, Cherokee became North Carolina's gateway to the national park and also the county's principal source of tourism. In its entirety, however, public or government ownership of land in Swain amounts to 273,201 acres comprising the national park, Cherokee reservation, national forest, or TVA projects, so that 81% of all county land is not in the tax base. The federal government does provide revenue in lieu of taxes but at a rate much lower than use or market value rates. Further, when considering all forms of ownership, by 1979 a full 94% of the county was owned by entities not resident in the county (Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force 1980, 80 and "Land Ownership Profile: Swain County"; "Cherokee Tourist Development Plan" 1945; *Overall Economic Development Plan* 1976, 62).

This loss of land has created some unique problems and characteristics within the county. The single largest loss of land was for the sake of the national park which entailed the dislocation of hundreds of families and the elimination of large scale lumbering as an industry. From TVA reports of neighboring counties, however, it can probably be assumed that the latter would have occurred anyway. Nonetheless, with thousands of workers left unemployed and with few resources at their disposal the majority of farmers in Swain County in 1934 were subsisting on five to ten acres of poor land on steep mountain slopes. At that time Swain was one of the poorest counties in an impoverished region. Farmers had practically no cash income and what little could be derived from acid wood and pulpwood provided just enough

money to pay taxes and obtain "a few bare necessities of life" (TVA 1934, 154). Even in 1916 when Swain was fully engaged in heavy lumbering , it ranked fourth from last among North Carolina's counties in per capita income and much of the food stuffs consumed in the county had to be imported due to limited availability of arable farmland (Latshaw 1916, 29).

Apart from a brief episode of large-scale lumbering, industrial activity in Swain County has remained at a minimum. The arrival of the railroad in 1884 simply allowed the pursuit of extensive timber harvesting. In 1903 the W.R. Ritter Company began purchasing large tracts of Smoky Mountains land and in 1909 began operations with their first large-scale saw mill. By 1916, twelve of the sixteen factories in the county were involved with producing or working wood, and there were also three hotels at that time in Bryson City (Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force 1980, 77-78; Latshaw 1916, 25).

By 1926 large-scale lumbering had been eliminated through the purchase of land to create the national park. In 1934 there were still three hotels in Bryson City but only eight manufacturing establishments with a total employment of 130: one wood-turning company, one ice plant, and six portable saw mills. Those displaced workers who did not remain behind to engage in subsistence farming migrated to take up textile jobs in North Carolina's Piedmont or in northern factories. Nevertheless, with the creation of the national park came the promise of tourism and in 1936, the first tourist court was built in Bryson City (TVA 1934, 53, 115-118; Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force 1980, 77-78; Thomasson 1965, 64-56).

Another unusual aspect related to Swain's loss of land occurred when the TVA dam at Fontana created a lake in the 1940s which inundated almost 7,400 acres of Swain, and displaced even more families. As a compensatory gesture to the county, a new road was proposed through the southwestern end of the national park from Bryson City to Tennessee. This would have produced two park entrances in Swain and effectively made Bryson City a crossroads town boosting the potential for tourism considerably. Although the road was begun for a few miles outside of Bryson City, continued funding was never appropriated leaving the non-Indian residents of the county feeling betrayed with their "Road to Nowhere" and finding themselves outside the principal tourist corridor associated with the park (Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force 1980, 77, 86-87; Swain County Genealogical and Historical Society 1988, 12).

Perhaps the most unique aspect of Swain County in comparison to the rest of the study area is the presence of the Cherokee Indian Reservation. Although parts of the reservation lie in other counties of WNC, particularly Jackson, the majority of it is in Swain County as is its largest town with the greatest tourist development, Cherokee. This community sits at the North Carolina entrance to the national park - across the park from Gatlinburg on route 441 - and is also situated less than one mile from where the Blue Ridge Parkway connects with 441 just inside the national park.

While Gatlinburg on its side of the park embraced tourism quickly and experienced rapid growth after World War II, Cherokee's development began later and experienced much slower growth. Contributing factors to this divergence were first, the lower levels of development in North

Carolina in general and second, the higher levels of poverty in Swain County, even compared to its neighbors. Equally important, was the unique system of property rights associated with the reservation. According to this system, the reservation lands have never been allotted to tribal members so that property rights are not defined in the same sense as they are in all surrounding privately owned lands. Instead, the land is held in trust by the U.S. government and made available to individual tribal members under "possessory holdings" (Finger 1991, 46-52; *Overall Economic Development Plan* 1976, 64-65).

Possessory holdings permit enrolled tribal members - those with recognized blood quantum levels that are at least 1/16th Cherokee - to possess and use a given plot of land. Possessory rights also permit transferability of the land but only to other enrolled individuals. Finally, possessory rights can be inherited if the descendant has the necessary level of blood quantum. This provision of the tribal charter was amended in 1986, by allowing "a person with an insufficient degree of Cherokee blood for enrollment [to] still enjoy the benefits of his enrolled parents' estate" for one generation (Finger 1991; 11, 173-174).

The consequences of this system is that possessory rights, although limited in terms of transferability still provide the owners with the concept of inalienable, non-temporary ownership. Ownership, however, cannot be transferred to outside interests so that the only way to attract investment is through lease arrangements. Under these provisions, non-tribal members can obtain leases for property up to at most 25 years with the possibility of renewal once for another 25 years. Although the allocation of land at the time of tribal incorporation was

based on family size and the desire to farm, fragmentation due to inheritance or sale within the tribe have reduced holdings in many cases. Further, Cherokees who were "acculturated" and had achieved higher levels of economic success were able to acquire additional or better tracts of land from other Cherokees. In other words, those who were originally awarded or were able to acquire land along the Oconaluftee River, near the entrance to the park, were able to enjoy much higher returns from their holdings as tourist properties than those with land that allowed only a minimal existence in the mountains (Finger 1991, 103-104; *Overall Economic Development Plan* 1976, 70; Davis 1955, 31).

What this system provided was a way to attract some investment, through leases, and then by non-renewal to obtain full ownership. While this was an important reason for the lower rate of growth it also resulted in very high levels of locally-operated, tourist-related small business[15].

This process is confirmed by several sources. Nahory (1954) reported that in the mid-1950s leases were only available for five years to outside investors and that this had kept the quality and extent of tourism down. Nathan et al. (1966, 17) found that a decade later, when leases could only be gotten for ten years, the Indian ownership of small businesses had increased from less than 25% in the mid-1950s to 60% by the mid-1960s. *The Overall Economic Development Plan* (1976, 189) also reported that by the mid-1970s, when leases were available for 25 years, Indian ownership of all small businesses was 63.4% and for lodging establishments specifically was 93%, representing 92% of all units.

Thus, Swain County entered its period of modern tourism after the creation of the park with an economy consisting mostly of very poor subsistence farmers, in a region not well supported by its state, and with land ownership at the park's gateway nontransferable to outside investors. Nonetheless, tourism did expand, although not at the pace achieved in Gatlinburg. In 1945 the "Cherokee Tourist Development Plan", observed that there were seven lodging establishments on the reservation offering 129 beds and that some of these businesses were "distinctly substandard." Also providing for tourists were nine restaurants, only one of which was of a "high order." The standards of living on the reservation were described as extremely low due primarily to a lack of sufficient spendable income per family, and tourism was viewed as the one great opportunity to materially improve the Cherokees' economic status.

It was in order to facilitate this process for the Cherokees and also provide similar benefit for neighboring regions that the WNCAC was formed and proceeded immediately to initiate projects that would attract tourists and generate incomes. The outdoor drama "Unto These Hills" opened on July 1, 1950; the recreated eighteenth century Oconaluftee Indian Village opened in August 1952; and in this year also the tribe purchased a large private collection of Cherokee artifacts with which to create the Museum of the Cherokees. A large new facility for the collection was opened in 1976 (Finger 1991, 137-138, 170; Connor 1982, 29-35). As a result of these efforts, tourist development did expand in the county as listed in Table 8.7.

Table 8.7 Lodging Establishments in Swain County, 1945-1976

Year	Hotels/ Motels Etc.
1956	10
1962	11
1966	15
1971	18
1976	33

Source: County Business Patterns

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s growth in the tourist sector was rather subdued. In 1956, the first light industry was established on the reservation. Saddlecraft, later renamed The Cherokees was created to manufacture moccasins and craft items for local shops and nationwide. In spite of several attempts to attract manufacturing, limited land and restricted ownership prevented much development in this sector. Gulick (1960, 21) observed that outside of tourism and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, non-farming opportunities did not exist on the reservation. The Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force (1980, 85) observed twenty years later that 27% of the labor force was employed in manufacturing but that these were all in low-wage industries: textiles, furniture, and wood working, and that very little job growth had occurred in the previous ten years. In 1994 *Business North Carolina* listed the largest employers in the county as being Barclays Manufacturing and Tuckaseigee Mills - both in textiles - with a combined employment of 606.

With an emphasis on tourism other measures were undertaken to benefit the Indian community. In 1955 the Qualla Arts and Crafts Mutual, Inc. was created "continuing a reservation crafts program begun

in the 1930's" (Van Noppan and Van Noppan 1973, 370). Additionally, in order to adequately provide services and infrastructure for the growing tourist economy a tribal levy was imposed on all retail sales in the reservation. This was essentially a sales tax that was entirely retained by the Cherokees with no funds forwarded to the state of North Carolina. In 1952 the levy rate was 3%, in 1970 it was raised to 4%, and in 1976 raised again to 5%. (*Overall Economic Development Plan* 1976, 28-29).

From Table 8.8, growth in tourist development can be observed for the more recent years. From this listing it is apparent that tourist growth continued after the early 1970s with a fairly rapid increase in the number of businesses, but with a general decline in average size even though chains had become more prominent by the mid-1990's.

Table 8.8 Lodging Establishments in Swain County, 1979-1994

Year	Cherokee	Bryson City	Chain Motels	Total Units	Average Size
1979	23	19	1	1,092	26.0
1982	28	20	2	1,426	29.7
1988	52	23	3	2,012	26.8
1994	65	27	7	*1,619	*24.9

* Cherokee Only

Sources: North Carolina Accommodations Directory (1978-1988),
Cherokee Visitors Guide and Directory (1994),
WNC Telephone Book (1994)

The growth observable since the early 1980s can be attributed at least in part to two tourist enhancing measures. First, large-jackpot bingo was introduced on the reservation in 1982. The game is offered on

eighteen weekends of the year: fifteen of which offer fifteen games of $5,000 each and a regular game of $50,000, plus on three weekends of the year there are fifteen games with $10,000 jackpots and a super game paying $100,000. Although established by outside investors in 1982, the game was purchased by the tribe in 1987 as the original owners were bound for prison. Each game attracts on average 3,000 players, who travel an average 600 miles each way, and play bingo almost every night of the week back home. Additionally, the bingo revenues are divided between the winners, the tribe, and Tomahawk Gaming, the group that manages the games, such that the tribe receives an average $1 million a year. These proceeds then are used for medical care, which includes assistance for the elderly, and education for tribal members (Smith 1993; Hemphill 1989; "Cherokee...Group Tour Planning Guide" 1992, 12).

The second effort to promote tourism in the area was the creation of the Smoky Mountain Railway. Created from the expired Norfolk-Southern freight line between Dillsboro and Murphy, North Carolina, Governor Martin in 1988 directed the state to purchase the line and introduce tourist excursions through the scenic mountains and the Nantahalah Gorge. Although freight service has continued on the line, by 1989 full-scale weekly tourist operations were available providing a new experience for tens of thousands of tourists as well as drawing potential customers to the new train depots in Dillsboro and Bryson City. As of 1990, Dillsboro (in Jackson County) had added five new businesses and Bryson City had opened six, plus most businesses had extended their hours to accommodate the last excursion of each day (Steinberg 1990).

From Table 8.9 the magnitude of second-home development can be observed and superficially at least does not seem to be particularly significant. Negative growth in the 1970's was followed by growth in the 1980's that is high in rate but not in absolute numbers - at least not compared to our other tourist counties. What is significant in Swain County is the corresponding minimal availability of private land; what may be a small market in a neighboring county could rapidly create inaccessibility of housing for locals where 94% of the land is owned by non-residents.

Table 8.9 Seasonal Housing, Swain County 1970-1990

Year	Seasonal Housing Units	% of Total Housing
1970	265	8.5%
1980	254	5.2%
1990	951	16.8%

Source: Census of Housing

In spite of this, other mitigating factors suggest that Swain continues to be in a prolonged involvement stage. First, the businesses are still predominantly small, and chains, although beginning to appear, are not dominant. Second, the area in which tourism is most concentrated and developed is in the Indian Reservation where Cherokees own most of the businesses and continue to own all of the land. Thus, for our purposes Swain is characteristic of a northern-rim county - tourism based on conventional lodging, eating, and amusement enterprises and less dominated by second-home development - but it will be

considered to be in an involvement stage and one with a clearly heightened level of activity since the early 1980s.

One aspect that should affect this designation in the near future is adoption by the Cherokee Reservation of legalized gambling or gaming. Since the federal government passed a law in 1988 allowing Native Americans to offer gaming on their reservations, several have set up casinos and attracted large numbers of tourists and gambling revenues. The Cherokees also submitted a proposal to the state of North Carolina to pursue this activity, and although the state cannot outright refuse to permit this activity, the governor of North Carolina effectively stifled progress on this matter citing a fundamental opposition to all gambling. While the situation persisted in a stalemate, the Cherokees believed that a viable source of increased income was being forfeited, providing other regions with a greater opportunity to capitalize on this newly acquired right. Another reason the Cherokees believed valuable time was being wasted on establishing the official permission to proceed with gaming is that once acquired, new casinos will require heightened levels of infrastructure. Wider and improved access roads, an upgraded waste and sewage system, and housing for an increased labor force, will all have to be developed in conjunction with or preceding the growth in this new segment of the tourist industry. This suggests that maintaining slow growth in this sector is the only way to insure that necessary public endeavors and planning can keep pace. The efforts to proceed with this new attraction, however, had been effectively prevented by an uncooperative state[16].

The matter was finally resolved during the week of August 7, 1994

when Governor Hunt signed a compact with the Cherokee allowing gambling on the reservation. Although the belief is that the first casino could be built in 90 days, the condition for getting the governor's approval was that games of chance - card games, roulette wheels, dice, etc. - would not be permitted, but rather as yet unspecified games of skill and dexterity would be offered. This was not quite what the tribe had in mind but they felt that by refusing to accept these terms more valuable time and money would be wasted. Consequently, producers of electronic games are being solicited for offers to manufacture the equipment. Further, the compact with North Carolina is only for seven years and by then a new governor might be inclined to approve more conventional gambling (Delozier 1994)[17].

In the meantime, the tribe expects to make substantial sums of money from their new attraction: from $100 million to $200 million annually, about 70% of which would go to the tribe. Of these funds, half would go toward improving schools, infrastructure, medical facilities, and other public facilities, while the other half would be split among the members. If the upper-end figure is achieved, the tribe believes that each member could be paid up to $20,000 annually for doing nothing - those under age 18 would have their money placed in a trust account until they become of age. The influx of that much new revenue from the one source suggests that many additional visitors would be drawn to the area and have a substantial spillover effect on the entire region. In fact, the Cherokees expect that the area's current level of about ten million tourists should increase to fourteen million per year (Delozier 1994; Kauffman 1994).

Unquestionably, when gaming does materialize on the reservation considerable tourist growth should occur in the entire region pushing Swain and perhaps its neighbors into a genuine development stage. Until that time, however, it seems more appropriate for now to consider it as being in a prolonged involvement stage with the expectation of continued growth and a transition to the next stage in the near future.

Overall Economic Patterns

Indications of tourism relative to the overall economies is provided by Tables B.1-B.5 in Appendix B and Tables 8.10-8.11. From the detail in Tables B.1 and 8.10 it is evident that from 1930 to 1950 tourism was still more advanced in Buncombe County with higher percentages of total employment being derived from tourist activities than in the other counties or the state. Manufacturing was also well developed at a level just below the average for the state, but agriculture was already of minor importance to the county's economy. For Haywood tourism was of lesser importance - at an employment percentage comparable to the state average - but this was offset by the consistently high levels of manufacturing provided by the Champion and Dayco plants in an otherwise smaller economy. Agriculture also continued to be a significant sector in Haywood's economy with levels just under the state employment averages. For Swain County tourism was increasing in percentage terms but continued to be quite small in an absolute sense. Agriculture was still the dominant economic activity and manufacturing, while limited in 1930 and 1940, experienced a 200% increase in employment by 1950.

Table 8.10 Industrial Mix - Northern Rim, 1930-1950

Census Year	Total Employment	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Tourism	%
Buncombe:							
1930	36,766	5,865	16.0%	6,098	16.6%	2,167	5.9%
1940	36,291	4,324	11.9%	8,296	22.9%	2,103	5.8%
1950	45,143	3,910	8.7%	10,092	22.4%	2,353	5.2%
Haywood:							
1930	8,415	3,119	37.1%	2,456	29.2%	167	2.0%
1940	9,325	2,751	29.5%	3,130	33.6%	213	2.3%
1950	12,277	2,599	21.2%	4,849	39.5%	291	2.4%
Swain:							
1930	3,122	1,709	54.7%	183	5.9%	52	1.7%
1940	2,319	1,023	44.1%	177	7.6%	71	3.1%
1950	2,652	831	31.3%	542	20.4%	91	3.4%

Source: Census of Population

From Tables B.2 and 8.11 detail for the period from 1956 to 1968 is available. From this information it is apparent that manufacturing activity as a percentage of total employment increased significantly for all the counties and the state in general. Haywood County, not unexpectedly with its two large establishments, had a rate substantially above the state average. Buncombe County with a greater emphasis in textiles was just below the state average rate but experienced growth in manufacturing employment of 61% as compared to the state average of 46%. Swain also had growing levels of manufacturing in its economy but as an indication of its becoming one of the few WNC locations with a high concentration of tourism, displayed heightened percentage levels of employment in this sector.

For Haywood and Buncombe virtually no change is apparent from the rates of employment for tourism, but these figures are clearly understated due to the March 12 reporting date and the omission of proprietors. Detail on agriculture for this period is available from Table B.3 and in all three cases shows a uniform drop to minimal rates of activity. Not surprisingly, the largest drop occurs in Swain where subsistence agriculture was becoming less viable an alternative as the 20th century advanced and many of the poorest families migrated out of the county in search of employment opportunities elsewhere.

Table 8.11 Industrial Mix - Northern Rim, 1956-1968

Year	Total Employment	Manuf.	%	Tourism	%
Buncombe:					
1956	28,590	12,035	42.1%	1,498	5.2%
1959	31,396	13,324	42.4%	1,582	5.0%
1962	33,794	15,408	45.6%	1,645	4.9%
1965	39,517	17,409	44.1%	2,104	5.3%
1968	44,476	19,370	43.6%	2,143	4.8%
Haywood:					
1956	7,221	4,844	67.1%	161	2.2%
1959	8,015	5,366	66.9%	192	2.4%
1962	7,989	5,197	65.1%	235	2.9%
1965	9,606	5,334	55.5%	353	3.7%
1968	9,978	6,226	62.4%	320	3.2%
Swain:					
1956	963	394	40.9%	123	12.8%
1959	978	387	39.6%	96	9.8%
1962	968	425	43.9%	86	8.9%
1965	1,319	671	50.9%	107	8.1%
1968	2,217	1,268	57.2%	N/A	0.0%

Source: County Business Patterns

From 1969 to 1991 annual information is provided by REIS as these counties emerge from lower levels of tourist activity to expanded ones after the mountains of WNC were "rediscovered" by tourists in the early 1970s. Tables B.4 and B.5 provide detail on incomes and employment respectively for a variety of economic sectors while Figures 8.1-8.5 highlight some of the more important aspects of these comparative economic trends.

For Buncombe and Swain Counties tourism began to show a marked increase in activity after the early 1970s. In the former case large-scale developments were promoted subsequent to the construction of the Civic Center. For Haywood County it was not until the 1980s that accelerated development became more characteristic.

For Buncombe County during this period the impression is that of a fairly mixed economy that has slightly less than the state average in manufacturing income and employment but noticeably more so in retailing and services. In the manufacturing sector greater diversification came to characterize Buncombe County which still maintained considerable involvement with textiles. Per *Business North Carolina* the largest employers in Buncombe as of 1994 were BASF Fibers with 1,700 employees, ITT Automotive with 1,300, Eaton with 930, and Kearfott Guidance with 800. Buncombe's tourist industry, while significantly larger in absolute terms than those of its neighbors, does not register as overly important from an income-only perspective. The exclusion of retail shopping from this total certainly understates it to some degree as do all the factors listed in Chapter 6 which explained Sevier County's seemingly lower-than-expected rates of tourist income. Essentially,

these could also explain Buncombe's higher rate of retail/services income and employment.

The one county that does have the decidedly highest level of tourist orientation is Swain County because of the concentration of tourist businesses in the Cherokee Reservation. From the graphs of northern-rim activity it is apparent that Swain has low levels of manufacturing but consistently the highest rates for tourism and retail/services in income and employment of all the listed areas. For Haywood County the opposite holds true. Here rates for tourist income and employment in retail/services is noticeably low while income and employment from manufacturing are, along with Transylvania County, the highest of those listed.

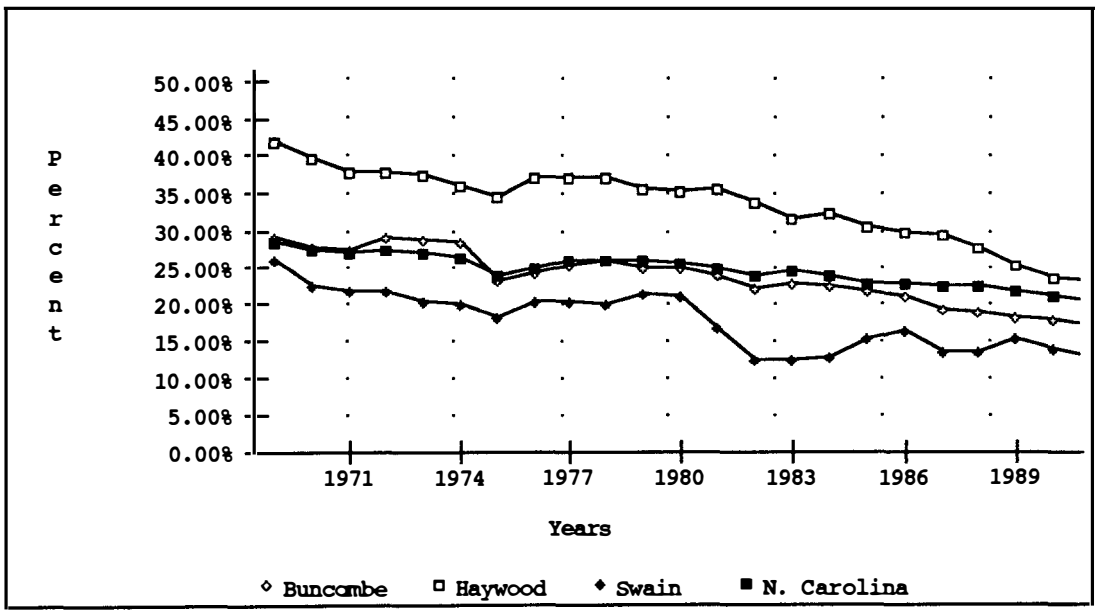


Figure 8.1 Percent Manufacturing Income - Northern Rim

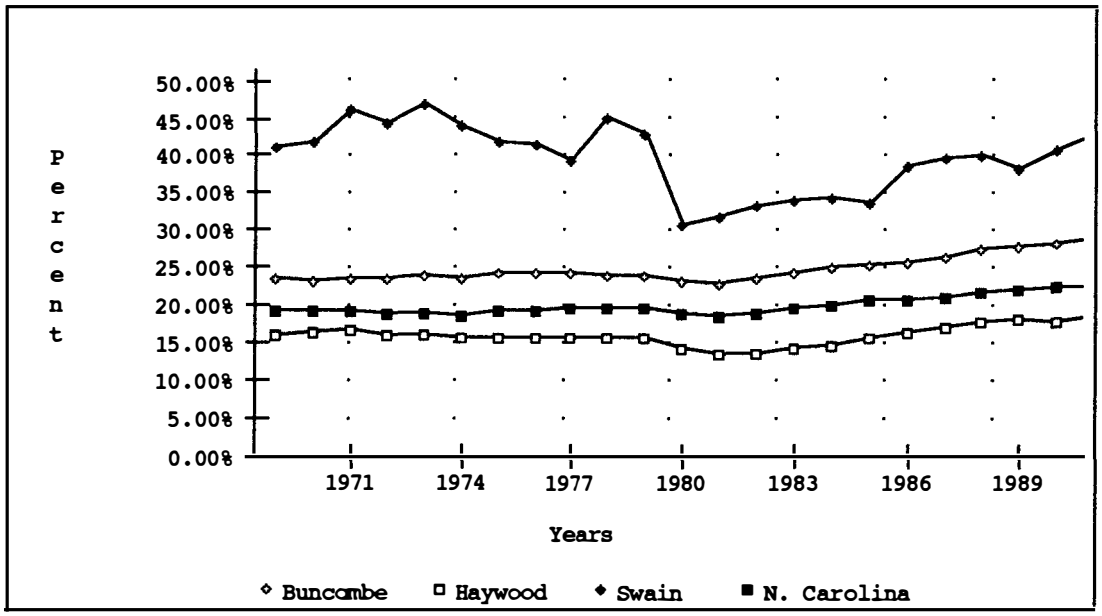


Figure 8.2 Percent Retail/Services Income - Northern Rim

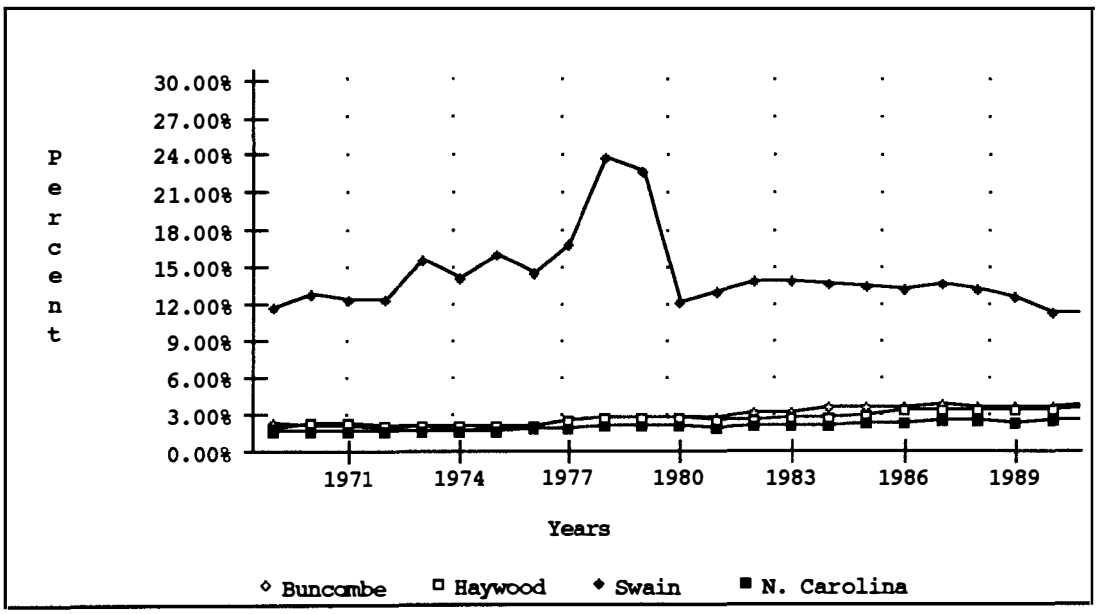


Figure 8.3 Percent Tourism Income - Northern Rim

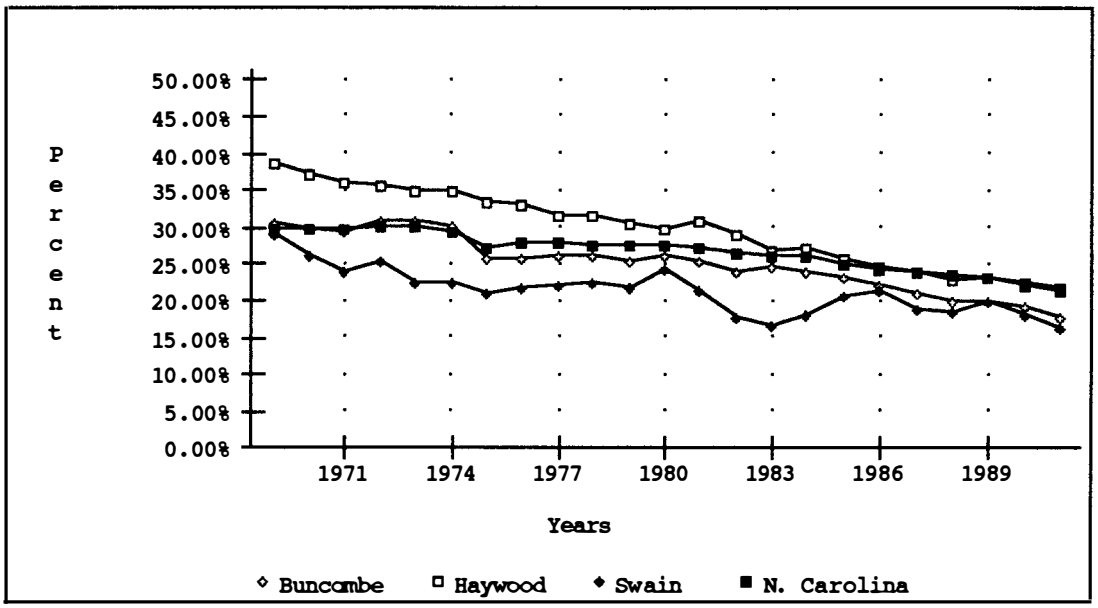


Figure 8.4 Percent Manufacturing Employment - Northern Rim

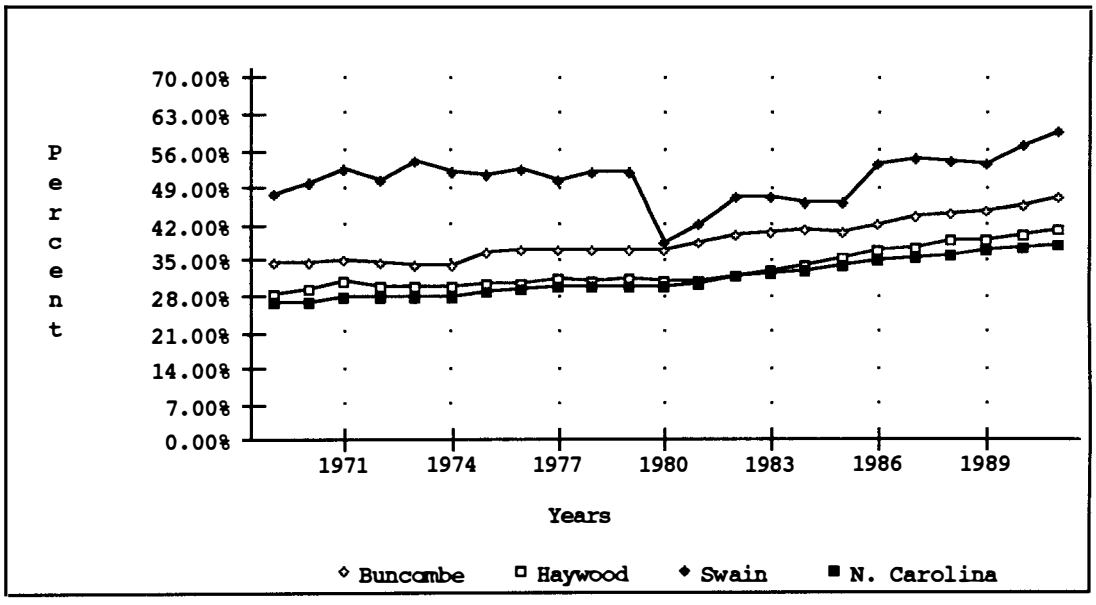


Figure 8.5 Percent Retail/Services Employment - Northern Rim

For the northern rim of counties then, we have a considerable variety of economies as well as a difference in magnitude and concentration of tourism. At one extreme is Swain County which is very tourist oriented particularly after the early 1970s, in an otherwise small economy. Tourism and retail/services reflect high percentages of income and employment while low levels of manufacturing are evident. Also in Swain County we find higher levels of government income relative to employment when compared to the other areas. This is possibly due to the prevalence of low-wage employment in the rest of Swain's economy and the influence of the Bureau of Indian Affairs which employs many Cherokees.

In Haywood County we find significantly higher levels of manufacturing because of two dominant businesses and considerably less importance due to tourism even though growth in the latter accelerated in the 1980s. For Buncombe County we find the largest economy of the region not dominated by any sector or businesses although retail/services and tourism are second only to Swain's in percentage levels of income and employment.

Southern Rim

Macon County

Macon County, in the southern rim of counties, represents the heart of the second home/retirement tourist market in WNC, particularly due to the community of Highlands. Tourism in the southern rim is therefore, quite distinct from that of the northern rim. Although

tourism also began here in the nineteenth century, 1929-1930 followed by the Great Depression again represents the transition period from archaic to modern eras.

Interestingly, the popular story concerning Highland's creation centers around two men from Kansas, Samuel Kelsey and Charles Hutchinson, who were looking for the ideal location for a mountain resort. The method they utilized to pick the location was to draw two straight lines on a map: one from Chicago to Savannah, Georgia and the other from New York City to New Orleans. The intersection of these lines would lie midway between all these populous regions and was in the heart of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Macon County, North Carolina. They believed that the proximity to major population centers and the attraction of beautiful mountain scenery with a mild climate would attract enough visitors to justify an investment. The two then purchased 1,440 acres to create a new community called Highlands in 1875 and effectively established the location of Main Street with the use of a pocket compass. An advertising campaign was quickly followed by brochures mailed around the country and in 1883 Highland's population had reached 300 - representing eighteen states and territories - with 325 lots of the original 506 having been sold (McIntosh 1983, 35; Raitz et al. 1984, 239).

Considering the remoteness and limited accessibility at the time it is remarkable that such a venture would succeed and continue to grow albeit slowly. One reason for this growth was that a subsequent advertising campaign was undertaken in 1887 highlighting testimonials of those who had bought land and built there. (McIntosh 1983, 37-39).

Elsewhere in the county, however, remoteness and inaccessibility combined to perpetuate the isolated mountain, subsistence lifestyle. As late as 1934 the TVA survey stated that agriculture in the county produced little surplus, with the average farmer producing for his own needs and no more. Any additional cash income that was derived came from hewing crossties and from other timber resources (TVA 1934; 4, 132-138).

Although at the time of their study, the TVA found lumbering to be the predominant industry of the county as elsewhere in the region, it was in decline. After the railroad arrived in Franklin in 1906 portable saw mills and band saw mills were quickly established to exploit these resources. Once an area had been clear-cut, local farmers would practice twice-yearly burnings believing the range would be improved for free roaming livestock that grazed on new sprouts and buds. This indiscriminate burning kept the soil continuously subject to erosion and resulted in stream siltation as well. In part to offset these practices and impose more scientific management on forest resources, the newly established Forest Service began buying lands after 1911 for the Nantahalah National Forest which came to constitute almost one half of the county - 152,738 acres (Macon County Historical Society 1987, 66-67).

By 1934 TVA reported the largest employer in the county to be the W.M. Ritter Lumber Company, which was working timber rights purchased from the Forest Service, but carrying an employment of only 180 (TVA 1934, 53). Continuing this tendency in 1949 the Franklin Chamber of Commerce reported that the region's largest lumber company, Zickgraf

Hardwood, only employed 100 people ("Franklin, North Carolina; A Guide..." 1949).

Thus Macon County by the late 1920's and early 1930's was a region predominated by subsistence agriculture, a small lumber industry, a small second home community in Highlands, and very limited manufacturing. In 1929 the Craig P. Gilbert Co., Inc. surveyed Franklin, Macon's largest town, and reported industrial employment of less than fifty in a creamery, a cannery and a newspaper ("Industrial Survey..." 1929). In 1934 the TVA survey listed a total of ten manufacturing establishments in the county with employment of 177 (including two small wood-working companies in Highlands).

Regarding tourism, however, two factors other than the onset of the Great Depression really serve to establish this period as the transition from early to modern tourism. First, in 1929 a country club and golf course which gained national attention by being frequented by the famous golfer Bobby Jones, who maintained a summer home nearby, were opened in Highlands. According to Patterson (1983) this marked the real beginning of Highlands's widespread popularity. Second, accessibility was improved greatly as the paved road from Franklin to Highlands was completed (McIntosh 1983, 113-5,183-4; Patterson 1983; McRae 1981).

Even though tourism and summer home construction proceeded slowly from this point and for several decades, the initial growth was noticeable. In 1928 McIntosh (1983, 190) reported that there were only about 100 summer homes in Highlands. In 1941 the Franklin Press ("Highland Goes Forward...") stated that the summer population had more than doubled in the preceding ten years to reach 2500 and that an

additional twenty homes per year had been built in the prior three years. Subsequent to the early 1940's very little information regarding development in Macon County is available until the early 1970's when tourists rediscovered the mountains of WNC. As stated earlier in this chapter, state resources were not equitably directed toward this region while less was achievable per dollar spent.

One indication of this tendency is revealed in Table 8.12 where Macon County and its neighbors are shown to have had a very low level of paved road mileage as of 1961. Limited accessibility combined with low visitation levels produced a period of very limited tourist growth for the region and Macon County for almost three decades. Another indication is population growth. Between 1950 and 1970 population declined as workers left for jobs in cities. In the 1970's this trend was reversed as people rediscovered "the joys of country living" ("Things are Changing" 1983).

Table 8.12 Paved Roads in WNC, 1961

County	Paved Miles	Unpaved Miles	% Paved
Buncombe	420.3	539.0	43.8%
Graham	45.0	124.7	26.5%
Haywood	146.7	287.7	33.8%
Jackson	83.0	349.4	19.2%
Macon	111.0	423.5	20.8%
Swain	74.3	109.0	40.5%
Transylvania	91.7	217.9	29.6%

Source: Van Noppen and Van Noppen (1973)

By all indications, during the period from the early 1940's to the late 1960's very little changed in Macon County. Agriculture was still the dominant source of income while manufacturing and tourism were both very small in scale. Even by 1994 manufacturing was not a significant sector. At this time the county's largest employers are Cooper-Belden, an appliance manufacturer with employment of 250; C.R. Industries, producer of mechanical seals, with employment of 200; and Zickgraf Products, maker of hardwood flooring, with employment of 175 (Business North Carolina 1994). Additionally, as seen in Table 8.13, conventional tourism did not grow during this period. According to the County Business Patterns, for each year, about 80% of the tourist businesses were very small scale - employing three or less workers - while the other couple of enterprises employed less than twenty workers.

Table 8.13 Lodging Establishments in Macon County, 1949-1972

Year	Hotels/ Motels Etc.
1949	13
1956	13
1959	14
1962	13
1967	12
1973	13

Sources: County Business Patterns (1956-1973)
"Franklin, NC; A Guide..." (1949)

From Table 8.14, the number of lodging enterprises that have been established in the most recent two decades can be observed. Between 1978 and 1982 virtually all of the growth occurred in Franklin and was a

result of new motel construction. The more substantial increase from 1982 to 1988 was again predominantly due to growth in Franklin. Highlands' increase, however, from eight to fifteen businesses was mostly in the form of bed and breakfasts. From 1988 to 1994 most of the growth occurred as cottage and cabin rentals and some bed and breakfasts. The small-size tendency is clearly exemplified by the decrease of units per establishment which has been dropping throughout the period listed.

Table 8.14 Lodging Establishments in Macon County, 1978-1994

Year	Franklin	Highlands	Chain Motels	Total Units	Average Size
1978	8	7	1	371	25.7
1982	18	8	2	531	20.4
1988	31	15	2	788	17.1
1993	46	30	2	660 *	14.3

* Franklin only

Sources: North Carolina Accommodations Directory (1978-1988)
Franklin and Highlands Chambers of Commerce (1993)

Prior to the 1970's little or no comment occurred in the local press or literature about retirement/second home development. Once the boom began in the 1970's, however, there was considerable commentary particularly in Highlands. In 1982, Harenza and Fischback observed that after years of population out-migration, from 1973-1978 there was a net in-migration into Macon of mostly older, retirement age people. As a result, the major source of income growth during this period was from transfer payments - mostly social security. According to *The Franklin*

Press publication *Macon on the Move* ("Things are Changing..." 1983) this could have both good and bad aspects. The advantage was that this type of purchasing power was recession proof but the disadvantages were that it was not inflation proof and also that older people would not spend as much because they no longer had to establish households.

The other principal point of discussion was the extent to which outsiders were beginning to dominate the county. From 1970 to 1980 Hammersby and Henderson (1983) reported that over 90% of Macon's population growth was due to immigration while the average for the state was 50%. In *Nantahalah Power Line* ("Macon County; Learning ..." 1982) the Macon County tax office estimated that 65% of all property owners on the tax rolls were out-of-state residents. In 1985 Gillis reported that of this large percentage of out-of-state land owners, most were from Florida and their proportion was rising.

Some indication of the magnitude of this growth is provided in Tables 8.15-8.16. Essentially, Highlands has become a sizable second home community and this mostly residential construction has given rise to a very active real estate market. In Highlands alone there are twenty realty offices as of 1994 (*Real Estate Buyers Guide*). Further, the summer population estimates have grown to 15,000 in 1983 and 20,000 in 1986 (Patterson 1983; Sexton 1986). This level of part-time residency occurs in an area with a permanent population of about 2,000, according to the Highlands Chamber of Commerce.

The level of recent development is further indicated by county tax records and the Census of Housing. According to detail provided by the county assessor's office, of the 3,480 total taxable construction

records in Highlands and Highlands Township, 2,328 or 67% have been built from 1970 to 1993. For the county as a whole the Census of Housing provides seasonal housing records since 1970 as listed in Table 8.16. As can be seen from this, the quantity of seasonal housing has increased dramatically in the last two decades.

Table 8.15 Construction in Highlands, 1983-1993

Year	Construction Totals
1983	$6,990,000
1984	$5,293,000
1985	$4,040,000
1986	$5,086,620
1987	$5,175,390
1988	$4,766,700
1989	$4,678,400
1990	$3,326,500
1991	$5,241,900
1992	$4,668,270
1993	$7,031,870

Source: "Construction in Highlands..." (1993)

Macon County was unquestionably in an involvement stage from 1929 to 1970 when few lodging establishments existed and the second home market had not yet boomed. Even until the late 1970's, few businesses offered accommodations although the Highlands residential area began to grow rapidly. This would still seem to suggest an involvement stage. After the late 1970's, however, a profusion of small cottage/cabin rental and bed and breakfast establishments developed along with the explosion in vacation homes in the county, suggesting the possibility of a different stage. With almost one half of the county unavailable for

development due to federal ownership and well over half of the tax bills going to nonresidents, the indication is that a development stage has been underway since the late 1970's. This is clearly a different type of development stage, fueled principally by second-home construction rather than conventional motels and amusements. Even though the businesses remain small, the indication is that Floridians and other outsiders make up the majority of investors and ultimately the resources of the county are no longer in the hands of local residents. Thus, like Buncombe County, so too will Macon following the late 1970s be identified as in a qualified development stage. The reason to label it so will become more apparent when Macon is compared to her southern-rim neighbors.

Table 8.16 Seasonal Housing, Macon County, 1970-1990

Year	Seasonal Housing Units	% of Total Housing
1970	2,060	24.4%
1980	3,528	26.4%
1990	5,977	34.8%

Source: U.S. Census of Housing

Transylvania County

Transylvania County is typical of the southern-rim counties in that a significant portion of its annual tourist industry is derived from second-home use as well as being a retirement destination. Unlike the other southern-rim counties, however, Transylvania has managed in the post-war period to attract two large unionized manufacturing plants

as generators of higher paying employment. The expectation would be that this would have a considerable effect on comparative economic indicators.

Tourism, though it existed, was still in its infancy in 1934 when TVA surveyed the county. According to their report the two main arteries through the county and the principal town of Brevard were not used to any great extent by vacationers while the secondary or feeder routes were narrow and rough, and muddy under inclement conditions. The tourist industry itself consisted of one hotel, about twenty boarding houses, three tourist camps, one nine-hole golf course, and ten summer camps for children. TVA summarized by stating that the great hope of the people is in the development of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park so more tourists could be attracted to the region and that "it is important for this county to develop what is known as the 'tourist' business" (TVA 1934; 2-3, 59, 117-119, 162).

Other businesses in the county at the time of the TVA survey were one cotton mill with 100 employees, two tanneries, a tannic acid plant, and two large lumbering companies - one on the verge of closing and one with only six to eight years of timber resources remaining. In fact, both tanneries, the tannic acid plant and the larger lumbering company - with resources remaining - were all owned by the same "northern capitalists" who paid their employees in script tradable only at the lumber company store (TVA 1934; 10-11,57).

The county's land resources in 1934 were described as being 25% cultivated and 75% forest. Of the wooded regions only 20% remained virgin, 73% was either recently cut over or of young second growth, and

7% was woodland pasture. As a result, much of the northern part of the county was acquired by the federal government and included in the Pisgah National Forest. In summarizing the general conditions of the local population under these economic circumstances, the TVA reported that the majority of people were very poor (TVA 1934; 1, 156).

By 1939, however, this situation began to change. In this year the Ecusta Paper Division of Olin Industries built a plant in Transylvania County to become the first large-scale producer of cigarette paper and other lightweight papers in the U.S. After merging with the Mathieson Chemical Corporation the new company also built a cellophane producing plant next to the paper operation in 1951. By the end of that year, employment in both Ecusta plants had risen to 2,000, and by 1958 employment was up to 2,350 ("Transylvania Makes Fine ..." 1961).

Also in 1958, E.I. Dupont de Nemours opened a plant in Transylvania which was to be the nation's first full-scale producer of hyper-pure silicon with an initial employment level of 265. Ironically, by 1961 Dupont was forced to permanently cease production of silicon because world-wide overcapacity of this material had occurred as a result of the exploding transistor technology market. Rather than close this plant down, however, Dupont converted it to produce x-ray film; this effort having been completed by 1964. After experiencing years of growth in this industry, employment at Dupont had reached 1,300 by 1977. Growth had also continued at the Ecusta plants so that by 1979 employment was over 2,800 ("Transylvania Makes Fine..." 1961; "Dupont President Visits..." 1977; Olin News 1979).

Meanwhile, during this period of industrialization, tourism grew very slowly as can be seen from Table 8.17. From the end of World War II until the early 1970's tourist development was very limited and virtually all of the businesses were small-scale. From 1956-1962 all but one had fewer than four employees while the one exception had fewer than twenty employees. In 1967 all but three had under four employees and in 1972 all but four had under seven. In these cases the larger businesses still had fewer than twenty employees.

Table 8.17 Lodging Establishments in Transylvania County, 1956-1972

Year	Hotels/ Motels Etc.
1956	11
1962	12
1967	17
1972	11

Source: County Business Patterns

From 1978-1988 tourism did not expand in Transylvania county although a dozen summer camps for children continued to be a consistent segment of the industry there. From 1988 to 1994 some noticeable growth took place in the form of bed and breakfasts and cabin/cottage rentals but essentially these businesses remain small-scale and are few in total numbers as shown in Table 8.18.

As seen in Table 8.19, second home development has also expanded recently in Transylvania, but as with conventional tourist-lodging establishments, not to any degree comparable to that of Macon county.

Thus if Macon county is defined as being in a development stage with its much higher levels of second home construction and several times more lodging establishments, then Transylvania county with its slower growth and lesser magnitudes would have to be considered as still being in an involvement stage. One partial explanation for this may be the much higher degree of industrialization and correspondingly higher levels of income available to residents which allows them to retain more control of local resources and limit development. As of 1994 Ecusta and Dupont still operated with 1,600 and 1,400 employees respectively (Business North Carolina 1994).

Table 8.18 Lodging Establishments in Transylvania County, 1978-1994

Year	Hotels/ Motels Etc.	Chain Motels	Total Units	Average Size
1978	8	0	189	37.8
1982	7	0	176	25.1
1988	10	0	248	24.8
1994	25	0	N/A	N/A

Sources: North Carolina Accommodations Directory (1978-1988), Summertime in Transylvania (1994)

Table 8.19 Seasonal Housing, Transylvania County 1970-1990

Year	Seasonal Housing Units	% of Total Housing
1970	451	6.4%
1980	935	9.1%
1990	1,792	13.9%

Source: U.S. Census of Housing

Further, in February 1991 the county commissioners passed a subdivision ordinance to "provide for orderly growth, promote environmental quality, coordinate future road right-of-way, address water and sewer requirements, provide proper land records and promote development design that allows for proper emergency response" ("How to Subdivide..." not dated). The essence of this ordinance is that the larger the subdivision development, the more restrictions for proper rights-of-way and road construction, etc. are applicable, while more design submissions and approvals are required by the County Planning Department. Thus large-scale development is specifically targeted for limits and restrictions.

By all indications then, tourism, while promoted in Transylvania County, is not pursued with great vigor. Rather, a lower-keyed approach is pursued coupled with a subdivision ordinance to keep growth slower and more controlled. If Macon County, with a similar but proportionately larger tourist industry, can be considered in a development stage, then Transylvania remains in an involvement stage but with the advantage of much more manufacturing to diversify the economy.

Jackson County

Jackson county, sandwiched between Macon and Transylvania, is also typical of the southern-rim counties with its higher degree of second-home development and fewer conventional lodging establishments. The principal distinctions between Jackson and its neighbors, however, is that Jackson has not experienced the extensive growth of Macon's tourism nor the industrialization of Transylvania. As a result it should

provide interesting contrasts with its southern rim neighbors.

Jackson County was formed out of a section of Macon county in 1851. The Murphy Branch of the Southern Railway - out of Asheville and Waynesville - was completed through the county in the 1880's. The railroad brought about the creation of the towns of Sylva and Dillsboro (Sylva to be subsequently designated as the county seat). In the southern part of the county the first major settler in the Cashiers region was Col. John Zachary, who purchased a large tract of land from the U.S. government in 1838 for $.05 an acre. Seventeen years later, part of this tract was sold to General Wade Hampton for $5.00 an acre. Subsequently, Hampton built the High Hampton Inn which was destroyed by fire in 1932, after which the present structure was created (Bird 1970).

As with Macon county, however, modern tourism cannot be said to have begun prior to the late 1920's. Conditions of county roads in the early twentieth century were described as awful (Bird 1970) and although wealthy southern planters had built second homes in the mountains of southern Jackson around Cashiers, Arthur (1973) in 1914 observed at most "now a few homes of these people are scattered along the highland roads."

TVA in its 1934 survey observed that tourism was only beginning to be developed. The principal manufacturing employer at that time was the Mead Corporation which had converted a tannery in Sylva to become the Sylva Paperboard Company in 1928. As of 1934, the plant employed 171, and by 1955 it was the largest manufacturer in the county with 300 employees. Other prominent industries in the county in the 1930's were lumbering, to supply the Sylva plant and Champion in Haywood County,

plus education. In 1929 the state normal school in Cullowhee received a new charter and was authorized to offer four-year curricula thus becoming Western Carolina Teacher's College. Subsequently, the size and importance of this institution continued to grow: in 1951 post-graduate and other programs were added to the curricula; in 1967 it was renamed Western Carolina University; and in 1972 it became a constituent institution of the University of North Carolina (Jackson County Genealogical Society 1992, 22-23; Bird 1970; Jackson County Historical Society 1987, 164-166; TVA 1934, 3, 50-55).

Modern tourism was in its infancy. In the mid-1930's the rebuilt High Hampton Inn could accommodate 110 guests and offered an 18-hole golf course. The Fairfield Inn at Sapphire - just a few miles down Route 64 from Cashiers - could also accommodate 100 guests and was built in 1890 by the Toxaway Company which had purchased large forested tracts in Jackson and Transylvania counties. Otherwise a few tourist camps and boarding houses provided for visitors while the majority of people depended on agriculture as a livelihood (TVA 1934, 61-62).

As Table 8.20 shows, the number of tourist establishments in Jackson county up to the early 1970's did not undergo any appreciable growth. In 1956 no lodging establishments were listed separately because they represented too small an amount of employment for itemization (any industry below a minimum level of employment is not reported). Further, the limited increase in numbers of establishments was matched by their small size; the majority employed less than four workers each, while the remaining two or three businesses employed fewer than twenty people. This limited growth in the county occurred in spite of the fact that a

championship golf course was built in Sapphire in 1956 and that ski slopes were opened there in 1966.

Anticipating the market potential of the area in 1972, the Sapphire Development Corporation, a subsidiary of Realtec, Inc., acquired Sapphire Valley including the inn and golf course, and obtained a four million dollar loan to develop condominiums in the area. Realtec also proceeded at this time to develop choice lots east of the inn under the Holly Forest Association (Jackson County Historical Society 1987; 132, 169-172).

Table 8.20 Lodging Establishments in Jackson County, 1956-1972

Year	Hotels/ Motels Etc.
1956	N/A
1962	14
1968	18
1972	15

Source: County Business Patterns

This activity drew the attention of Fairfield Communities, Inc., a resort development corporation, which acquired Sapphire Valley in 1980, including the inn, golf course, ski area, and 5,300 acres. More development subsequently took place on this property such that another golf course was added in 1982 and by 1987 there were 8,000 owners of condominiums, houses, and lots in Sapphire (Jackson County Historical Society 1987, 32).

From Table 8.21 it is apparent that tourism has not entered a period of high growth in Jackson County. Of the numbers of units

available in Cashiers, 130 are provided by the High Hampton Inn, while the Sapphire Valley Resort went from a high of 370 in 1982 to 206 in 1988 and 165 in 1994. Apparently, this is a result of sales of housing units rented separately from the inn. Actual growth in the numbers of lodging businesses, as in the other southern-rim counties, is due to newly established bed and breakfasts and cabin/cottage rentals of generally smaller unit counts.

Table 8.21 Lodging Establishments in Jackson County, 1979-1994

Year	Cashiers Area	Total Units	Rest of County	Total Units
1979	6	378	8	130
1982	5	525	8	129
1988	10	446	17	290
1994	14	373	13	N/A

Sources: North Carolina Accommodations Directory (1978-1988), Cashiers, NC Accommodations Directory (1994), WNC Telephone Book (1994)

From Table 8.22 it is clear that seasonal or second-home growth took place at an accelerated rate after 1980. Although the growth rate for this decade is 214%, the actual magnitude of unit count along with that of conventional lodging establishments suggests that Jackson County is not really comparable to Macon County in overall growth and like Transylvania would still have to be considered in an involvement stage.

What was once Jackson's largest employer - the Mead paper plant - ceased operations in 1974 but was purchased and reopened by the Dixie Container Corporation with an employment level of only 86 (Jackson County Historical Society 1987, 164-166). Although manufacturing has

not become a dominant sector in Jackson County, other companies also exist to provide some level of employment, for example: Buster Brown Apparel with 408 employees, Cashiers Plastics with 135 employees, and Cashiers Structural Foam with 120 employees (*Business North Carolina* 1994; "Jackson County Business..." 1985).

Table 8.22 Seasonal Housing, Jackson County 1970-1990

Year	Seasonal Housing Units	% of Total Housing
1970	591	8.1%
1980	887	7.4%
1990	2,783	19.8%

Source: U.S. Census of Housing

In summary, Jackson County is typical of the southern-rim counties in its greater development of second-home construction, for which it is appropriate to consider it as being in an involvement stage. It is also similar to Transylvania County in the limited development of other tourist facilities. Unlike Transylvania, however, Jackson has an education oriented service industry with Western Carolina University, but also has a dramatically smaller manufacturing sector when compared to Transylvania's Ecusta and Dupont operations.

Overall Economic Patterns

Relative levels of tourist activity within these economies is shown by Tables 8.23-8.24, Tables B.1-B.5 in Appendix B, and Figures 8.6-8.10. For the period from 1930 to 1950, Tables B.1 and 8.23 show

that Macon County had the smallest amount of tourist development, both in an absolute employment sense and percentage-wise compared to total county employment. Macon also had the lowest levels of manufacturing and the highest rates of agricultural employment. Jackson is also a county that was predominantly agricultural but now has more manufacturing and slightly more tourist employment. In Transylvania County we find the highest levels of manufacturing percentages of all the reported areas, appreciably less agricultural employment, and only slightly higher levels of tourist employment than the other two southern-rim counties.

Table 8.23 Industrial Mix - Southern Rim, 1930-1950

Census Year	Total Employment	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Tourism	%
Macon:							
1930	4,420	2,905	65.7%	316	7.1%	64	1.4%
1940	3,791	2,034	53.7%	174	4.6%	80	2.1%
1950	4,684	2,035	43.4%	560	12.0%	113	2.4%
Jackson:							
1930	5,643	3,279	58.1%	523	9.3%	97	1.7%
1940	4,647	2,250	48.4%	535	11.5%	107	2.3%
1950	5,580	2,016	36.1%	1,064	19.1%	156	2.8%
Transylvania							
1930	3,094	1,144	37.0%	536	17.3%	66	2.1%
1940	3,767	846	22.5%	1,397	37.1%	101	2.7%
1950	4,805	770	16.0%	1,959	40.8%	163	3.4%

Source: Census of Population

From Tables B.2 and 8.24 we can observe that all manufacturing activity displayed increased importance from 1956-1968 with Transylvania maintaining the highest rates and having a very manufacturing oriented economy with the presence of the Ecusta and Dupont plants. Although most of the tourist employment in Transylvania was suppressed by the Census Bureau (information that could identify a specific business is not reported), that which is listed plus previously reported information make it apparent that little or no growth occurred in this sector. From Table B.3 we can see that agriculture, which was already of diminished significance, dropped to very low levels of activity.

For Macon and Jackson Counties the tables list very similar statistics. Manufacturing was maintained at a level of about a 40% of total employment, which is low for the listed areas, while tourism showed higher percentage levels of employment but fairly low absolute numbers when compared to some other counties. Agriculturally, the counties displayed similar drops in activity with Jackson experiencing the larger decline.

For the period after 1968, Tables B.4 and B.5 list income and employment detail while Figures 8.6-8.10 summarize some of the more pertinent data. During this period Transylvania County's economy continued to be dominated by manufacturing and the two large producers there. As a result, and similar to Haywood County, the retail/service sector displays lower percentages of income and employment, although the employment rates become more typical of the southern rim by the late 1980s.

Table 8.24 Industrial Mix - Southern Rim, 1956-1968

Year	Total Employment	Manuf.	%	Tourism	%
Macon:					
1956	1,528	619	40.5%	86	5.6%
1959	1,828	754	41.2%	N/A	0.0%
1962	1,714	711	41.5%	98	5.7%
1965	1,714	579	33.8%	97	5.7%
1968	2,358	944	40.0%	N/A	0.0%
Jackson:					
1956	1,931	753	39.0%	N/A	0.0%
1959	1,640	679	41.4%	112	6.8%
1962	1,710	649	38.0%	115	6.7%
1965	2,599	1,257	48.4%	N/A	0.0%
1968	2,575	1,020	39.6%	237	9.2%
Transylvania:					
1956	3,667	2,740	74.7%	N/A	0.0%
1959	4,010	2,926	73.0%	N/A	0.0%
1962	3,715	2,538	68.3%	N/A	0.0%
1965	4,404	2,910	66.1%	107	2.4%
1968	5,947	3,644	61.3%	N/A	0.0%

Source: County Business Patterns

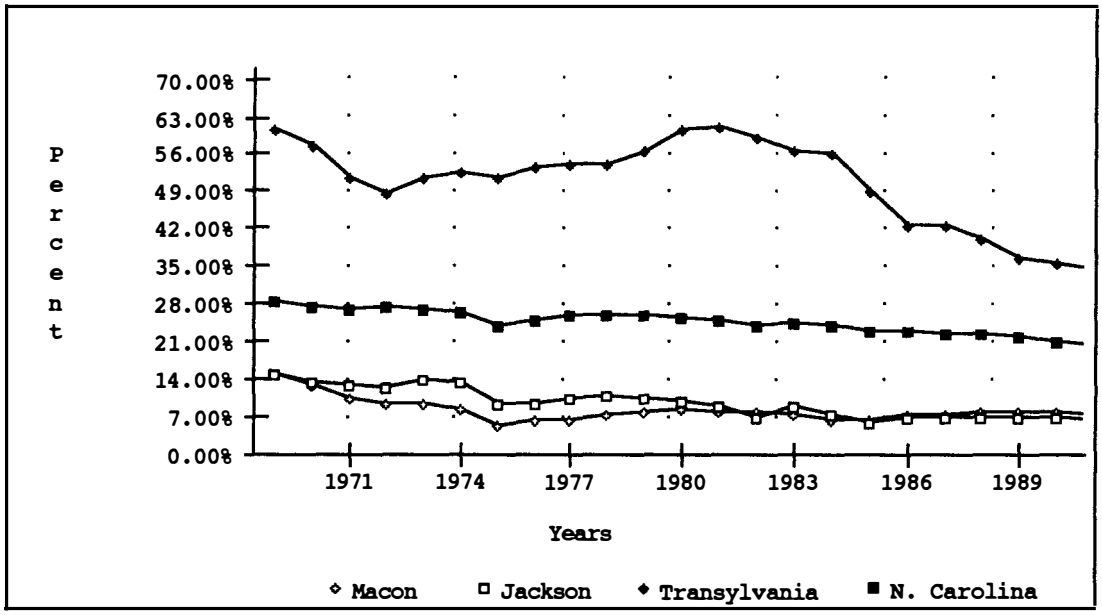


Figure 8.6 Percent Manufacturing Income - Southern Rim

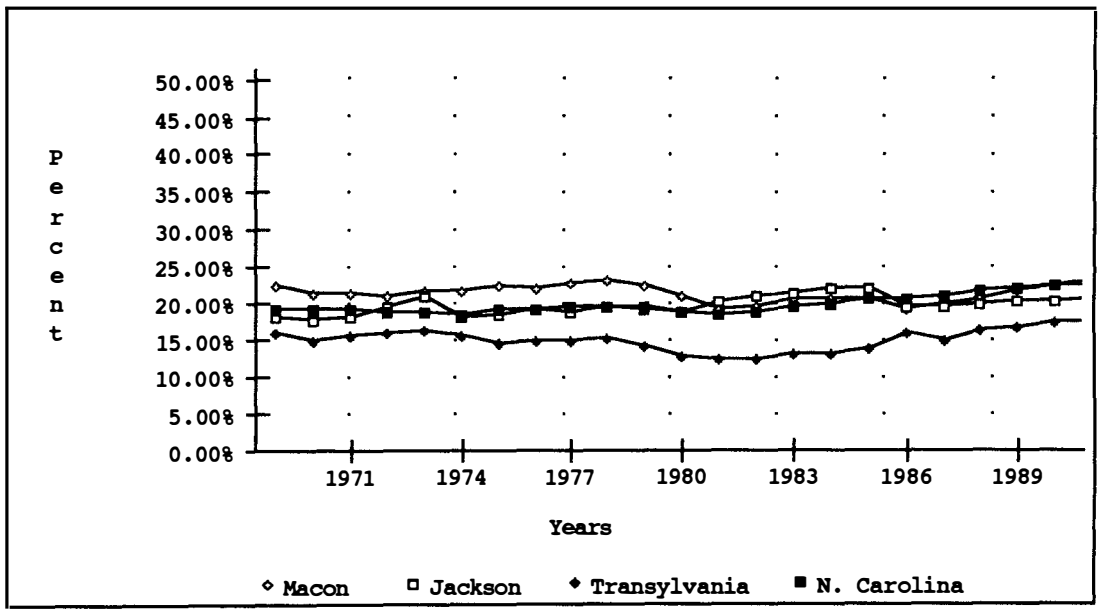


Figure 8.7 Percent Retail/Services Income - Southern Rim

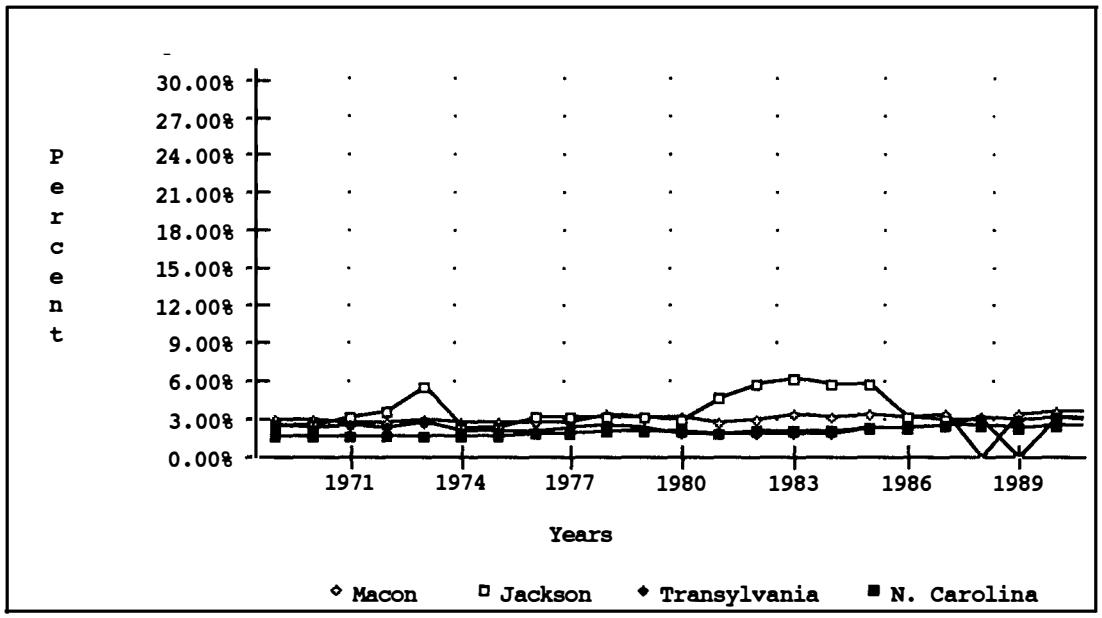


Figure 8.8 Percent Tourism Income - Southern Rim

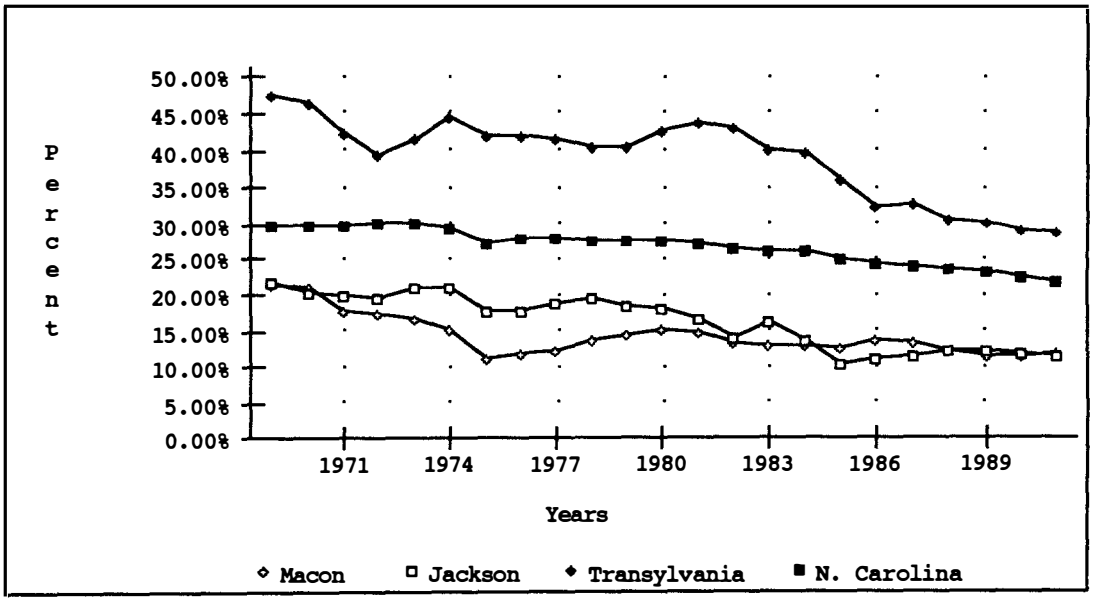


Figure 8.9 Percent Manufacturing Employment - Southern Rim

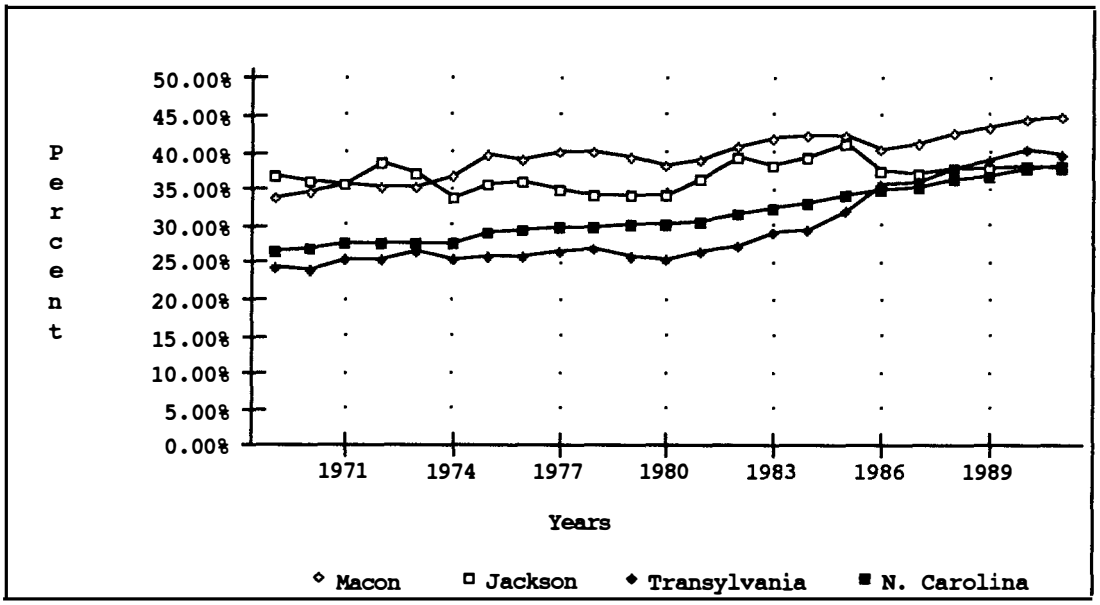


Figure 8.10 Percent Retail/Services Employment - Southern Rim

For Macon and Jackson Counties during this period most of the graphs show very similar rates of income and employment. Manufacturing is at fairly low levels and below the state averages in both income and employment. Macon displays somewhat higher income and employment levels in retail/ services which is most likely a result of its greater magnitude of seasonal-housing development as well as more conventional tourist establishments. The seasonal-housing activity would also account for Macon having very high percentages of income and employment determined by the construction industry - second in rates only to Graham County, but much larger in absolute numbers. For Jackson County perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic is the level of government income and employment. Jackson represents the highest levels of all listed regions probably due to the existence of Western

Carolina University on its small mountain economy.

Other than a couple of jumps in tourist income percentages for Jackson County, the rates for the three southern-rim counties are reasonably close and over the state average with Transylvania reflecting in general slightly less than the other two. In absolute terms the income figures are surprisingly close for these counties with the economic differences between them reflected by: Macon's larger seasonal-home market and greater construction activity, Transylvania's consistently higher level of manufacturing, and Jackson reflecting the presence of a sizable publicly funded university boosting government spending.

Graham County

Graham County, North Carolina represents the area where the least amount of tourist development has taken place within the subject region. Although adjacent to the park, no motor entrances are available from this remote section. The county still does not have four lane access to its largest community and county seat, Robbinsville, and 90% of the land has a slope of 30 degrees or more, mostly forested. (Graham County Historical Society 1992, iv; "Graham County Needs..." 1988). In short, the Graham County Historical Society (GCHS) (1992, iv) states that "Graham County is North Carolina's last frontier."

The economic history of Graham County in the 20th century is one of lumbering, agriculture, small businesses, and reservoirs. Agriculture however is very limited by the fact that only 6% of the land

is described as cultivable. Business and industry have not been easily attracted due to the lack of direct access to the four-lane highway system in WNC and the dams to create the reservoirs were all completed in the first half of this century (GCHS 1992, iv; "Graham County Needs..." 1988).

Even though able to boost employment at the time of construction, the dam building efforts were all completed before 1950 providing few jobs since. In 1916 a subsidiary of Alcoa began the Cheoah Dam. In 1925 the Santeetlah Dam was built and in 1945 TVA completed the Fontana Reservoir. In 1907 and 1916 the railroad entered the county to serve lumbering companies but according to the TVA survey of 1934 the railroad only moved freight and lumber so that the means of human transport was by automobile (or animal power) and for this, the highway system was described as being in its infancy. Only twelve miles in the county had an asphalt surface, thirty-eight miles were gravel, and the remaining 171 miles were mostly in poor condition: partially impassable during fair weather and completely impassable during poor weather. Further, the only industry of importance was lumbering - 50% of the county's land area was held by large lumbering companies, which were practicing ruthless and wasteful extractive measures so that vast areas were cut over with "no thought of future welfare of the county and its people". As a result, the TVA estimated that the timber resources would be exhausted in nine years. (TVA 1934; 4-5, 50, 57).

The largest of these lumber companies, the Bemis Hardwood Lumber Company, began operations in 1927 after having purchased the holdings of the Whiting Manufacturing Company which had begun operations in 1910.

For many years "Bemis was the only industry in the county...at a time when work was needed by many through the depression" (GCHS 1992, 9; Housley 1957). In 1971, however, Bemis sold the timber holdings which supported the sawmill at auction and the mill then became totally dependent on U.S. Forest Service timber which was sold via bidding. The Forest Service itself began buying land in 1921 so that today the Nantahalah National Forest covers 120,000 acres or over 60% of the county. By 1990 the remaining Bemis asset, the sawmill, was also sold by auction and the Bemis company ceased to exist (GCHS 1992, 9).

Other industries that have established themselves in Graham County have typically enjoyed less durability than Bemis. Fontana Mills opened a plant to make carpeting in Robbinsville in 1957 and grew to employ 400, but closed in 1971. In 1972 ACI Electronics - American Components, Inc. - opened a plant to produce small electrical components and it closed in the mid 1980's after employing eighty at its peak (Graham County Centennial 1972, Inc. 1972, 99-101; "Graham County Needs..." 1988). Graham currently does have some industrial base, however, with its largest employers being the Stanley Furniture Company with employment of 540, and American Uniform with employment of 180 (*Business North Carolina* 1994).

Agriculture continues to be practiced, though it too provides only limited income for a few families. According to the GCHS, early agriculture had been classified as subsistence but more recently it had become at best a part-time business because only a few farms were capable of supporting a family. "The majority of land is government owned and leaving only a small amount of land available or suitable for

cultivation, making it necessary for most farmers to seek other sources of employment" (GCHS 1992, 14).

In the tourist sector, limited development is again the primary characteristic. From the TVA survey, we are told that the tourist industry in 1934 was hampered by poor roads, lack of means of transport, and meager hotel facilities. Only one small hotel, the Tapoca Inn, actually offered first class accommodations while the rest of the county could only offer four hotels, in considerably worse shape, providing a total of forty-three rooms, plus a few camps and cottages located around the shores of Lake Santeetlah (TVA 1934; 4, 61).

In 1946 after the formation of Fontana Lake, the resort community of Fontana Village was formed. By 1972 this solitary large-scale development in Graham had 300 cottages and a lodge for vacationers (Graham County Centennial 1972, Inc. 1972, 70). The magnitude of tourist development in Graham is listed in Table 8.25.

Table 8.25 Lodging Establishments in Graham County, 1978-1994

Year	Hotels/ Motels Etc.	Total Units	Average Size
1978	7	508	72.6
1982	7	420	60.0
1988	9	491	54.6
1994	8	N/A	N/A

Source: North Carolina Accommodations Directory (1978-1988), WNC Telephone Book (1994)

To account for the large number of units in comparison to the small number of businesses we need to note the capacity of the Fontana

Village Resort. For example, of the 491 units in 1988, 360 or 73% were all located at this resort with a 33 unit lodge, a 94 unit inn and 233 cottages. Otherwise, the business sizes prove to be fairly small. Prior to 1978, no specific detail is available other than to infer that minimal development had taken place. From 1956 to 1972 the County Business Patterns report listed only from seven to twelve service related businesses of all types in the entire county and of these all but one had fewer than seven employees.

With conventional tourism still in its infancy, it is not unexpected to observe that vacation home development has also not achieved high levels of activity as shown in Table 8.26. While the rate of increase and percent of total housing may be high by 1990, the actual magnitude of activity is still rather low when compared to levels in neighboring counties.

Table 8.26 Seasonal Housing, Graham County 1970-1990

Year	Seasonal Housing Units	% of Total Housing
1970	262	10.4%
1980	105	2.9%
1990	901	21.8%

Source: U.S. Census of Housing

By every indication and measure, Graham County is still in the midst of a low-level involvement stage. Lack of accessibility, no major entrance to the park, and very rugged terrain have kept all forms of development to a minimum. While these same characteristics have also

applied to other areas in WNC, some have overcome the constraints to create a more active tourist trade. For Graham, the wait for more development of all types continues, and for its tourism, an involvement stage is the most appropriate designation.

Overall Economic Patterns

From Table B.1 and 8.27 we can see that from 1930 to 1950 Graham already had the lowest levels of total employment for the study area counties and that agriculture was a major economic sector. For tourism, low levels of activity were augmented by the development of Fontana Village after 1946. The existence of this one large business in an area with little or no related activity resulted in the suppression of tourist employment detail between 1956 and 1968 on Tables B.2 and 8.27. From our previous detail, however, it is apparent that very little total development took place in Graham County in this sector during that time period. Manufacturing did show a sizable increase in percentage activity, while overall, Graham's total employment levels continued to be the lowest of those reported. During this time frame agriculture declined as elsewhere but maintained the highest percentages of all the counties as well as being above the state average.

From Figures 8.11-8.15 and Tables B.4 and B.5 the period of 1969 through 1991 show Graham County continuing to be the least developed of the region. Although some of the tourist income data is suppressed (again to prevent disclosure of a single dominant business), that which remains clearly shows a low level of activity. This aspect is further supported by the lowest percentage rates of income and employment in

retail/services of all listed areas. Although not a dominant sector, agriculture continues to be more important in Graham than in the other counties while manufacturing employment if not income has maintained itself above state averages. All in all though, the primary aspect of Graham County's economy is its size or lack thereof. Given it's less developed nature and low levels of total activity including tourism, it will serve as an example of what might have occurred in the counties had tourism not been pursued.

Table 8.27 Industrial Mix - Graham County, 1930-1968

Year	Total Employment	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Tourism	%
1930	1,709	935	54.7%	169	9.9%	23	1.3%
1940	1,436	620	43.2%	96	6.7%	24	1.7%
1950	1,857	683	36.8%	318	17.1%	110	5.9%
1956	546			224	41.0%	N/A	0.0%
1959	672			330	49.1%	N/A	0.0%
1962	580			N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%
1965	797			N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%
1968	1,108			520	46.9%	N/A	0.0%

Sources: Census of Population 1930-1950 and County Business Patterns 1956-1968

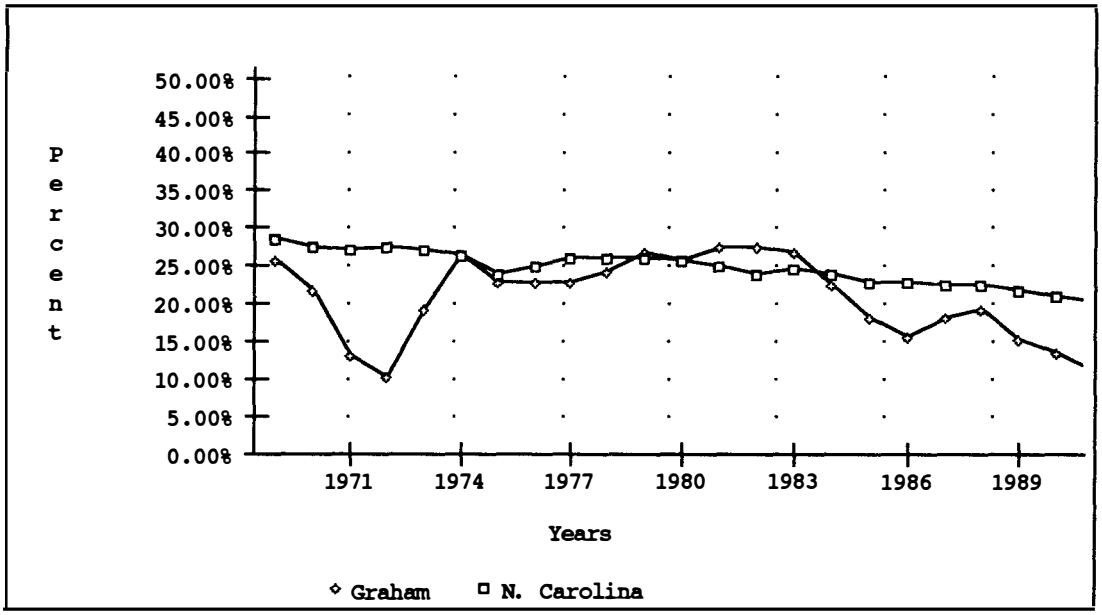


Figure 8.11 Percent Manufacturing Income - Graham and N. Carolina

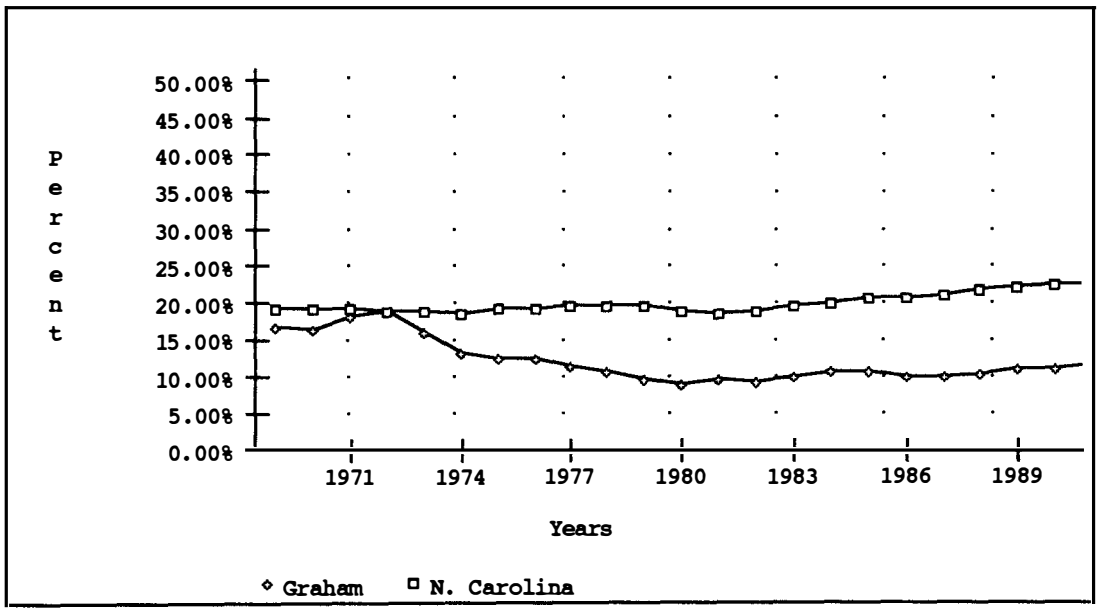


Figure 8.12 Percent Retail/Services Income - Graham and N. Carolina

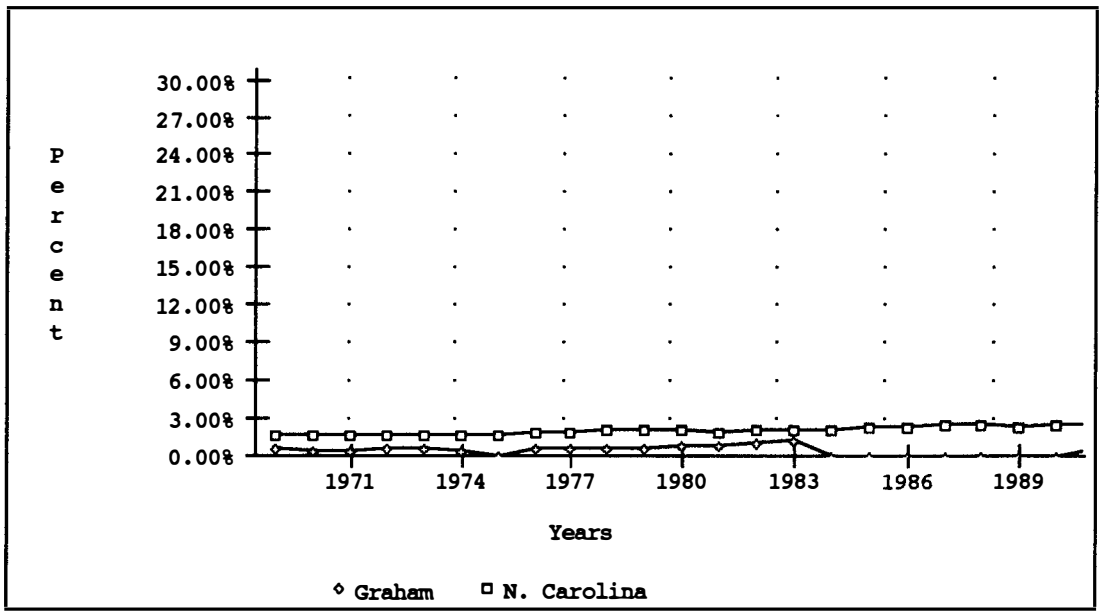


Figure 8.13 Percent Tourism Income - Graham and N. Carolina

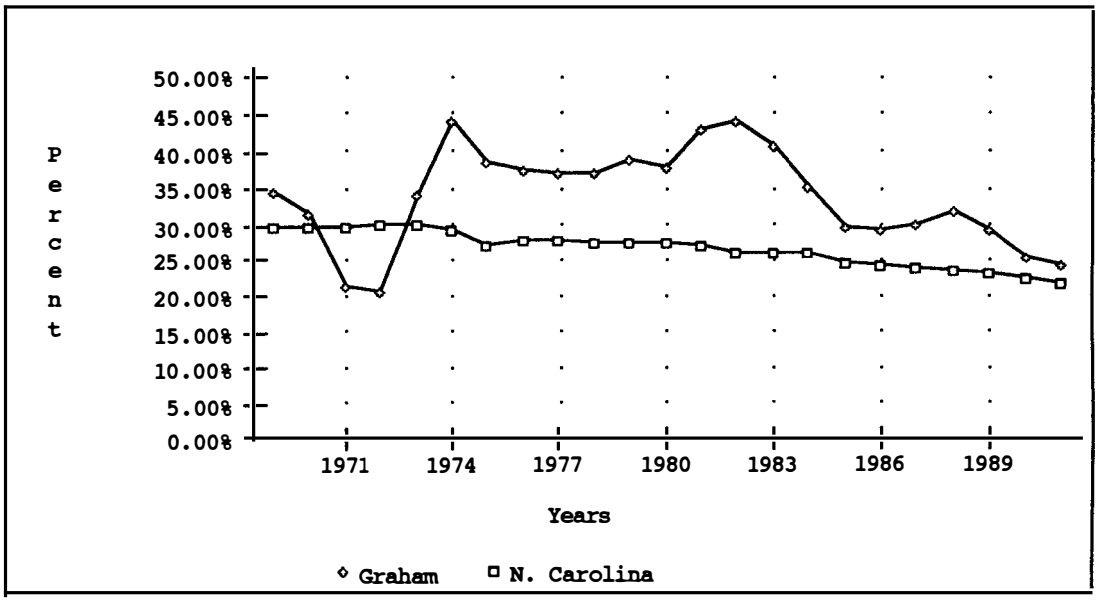


Figure 8.14 Percent Manufacturing Employment - Graham and N. Carolina

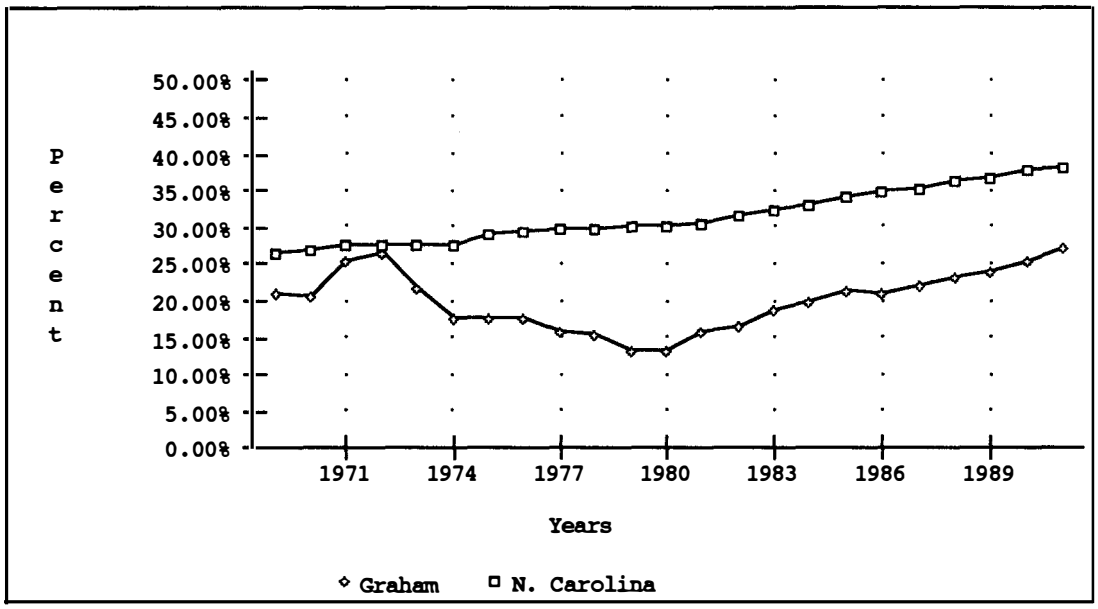


Figure 8.15 Percent Retail/Services Employment - Graham and N. Carolina

CHAPTER 9

IMPACTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA

Buncombe in the Archaic Period

Based on the information covered in the previous chapter on Buncombe County, we found that in this one area during the archaic period there developed both concentrated and high levels of tourist activity particularly from 1910 to 1930. At that time the number of summer visitors had increased to over a quarter of a million per season, and tourism had become a leading industry. Due to the level of activity and general status of the clientele, there were several interesting results. Although quantitative information is lacking from which to evaluate the impacts, qualitative information is available.

One of the most obvious initial impacts from this activity was the advanced level of city services and amenities in the Asheville area, even before overspending led to the debt crisis in the latter 1920s. Public utilities, paved streets, an electric trolley system, and a well-stocked library (as listed in detail in the previous chapter) all testify to the benefits of new wealth being brought into a remote mountain region.

Equally noticeable to the TVA surveyors (1934, 11) was the impact of this influx of visitors and money on the local farming community.

> "Good farms do exist near centers of industry, but particularly near tourist centers, where people prosper...

> In the cities and towns where 'the highest type' of tourism and recreational attractions have been developed, where hundreds of thousands of visitors come each year; where these are located it is easy to note the beneficial influence they have on the rural community over a wide area in all directions."

Clearly, the ability of local agriculture to provide the produce and foodstuff for the multitude of seasonal visitors as well as occasional boarders resulted in higher levels of prosperity as compared to farms in other areas. The essence of this situation is that a sizable sector was able to participate in the growing economy and greater involvement resulted in noticeably higher levels of local wealth.

The negative aspect of this period was that during the 1920s the real estate boom and the overzealousness of local officials to promote ever more development resulted in fiscal crisis and unmanageable debt. While directly related to external factors and unsound policies, the episode demonstrates the potential precariousness of an overemphasis on large-scale, rapid-development tourism. Alternatively, higher levels of local involvement are also demonstrated during this period with its corresponding benefits, but unfortunately, the more integrated nature of modern economies makes the achievement of these levels of involvement probably more difficult than was possible prior to 1930.

Impacts on Labor

Unemployment

As in Tennessee, frequent, detailed labor force statistics are not available until the most recent decades. For North Carolina this reporting began in the late 1960s at which point all counties were still in clearly defined involvement stages. From Table B.6 and Figures 9.1-9.3 we can observe the annual average unemployment rates for the respective counties and North Carolina. For the northern rim it is obvious that Swain County, with its small economy heavily involved with tourism, the average annual unemployment rates are not only the highest but also higher during its more rapid period of tourism expansion. Haywood County with a manufacturing-oriented economy surprisingly does not fare as well as Buncombe which has a higher proportion of its economy involved with tourism and which entered into its development stage after the early 1970s. Buncombe's advantage, however, is that it has a larger, more diversified economy of which tourism is a significant but not dominant sector. Consequently, Buncombe and North Carolina averages track fairly closely.

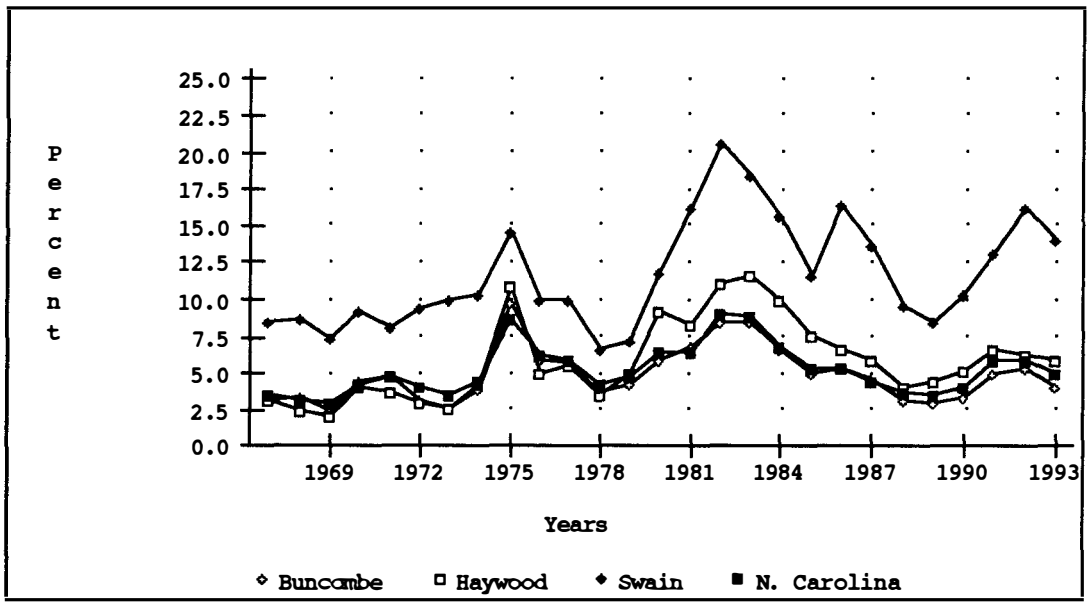


Figure 9.1 Annual Average Unemployment Rates - Northern Rim

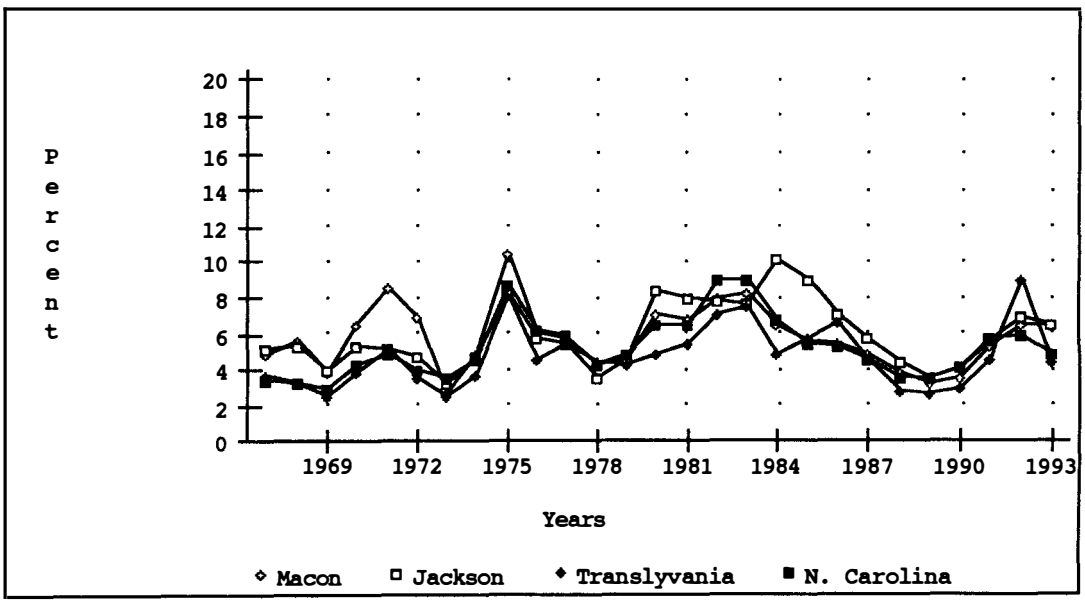


Figure 9.2 Annual Average Unemployment Rates - Southern Rim

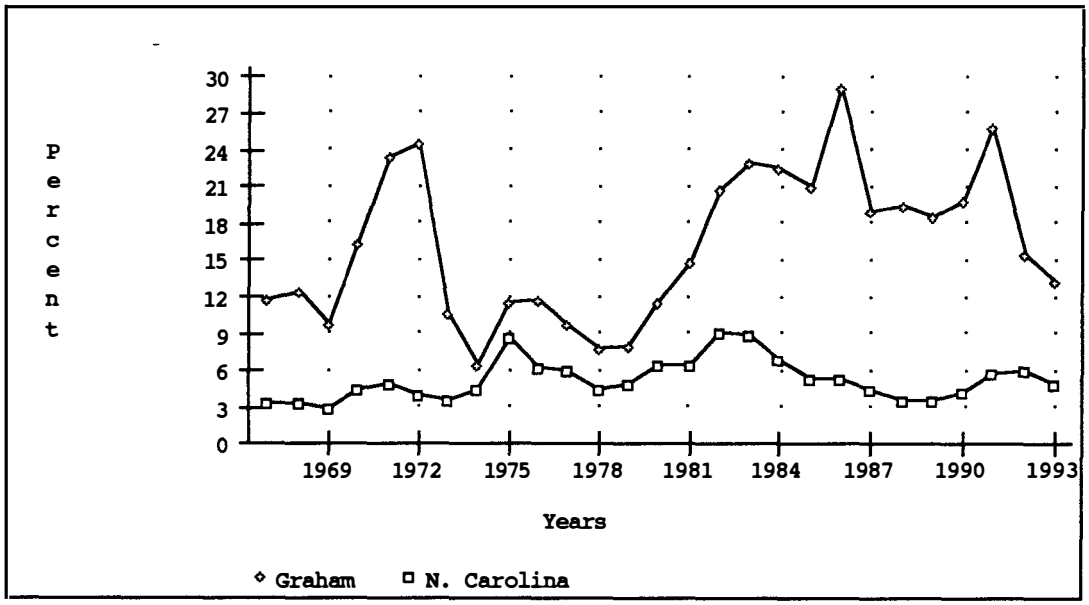


Figure 9.3 Annual Average Unemployment Rates - Graham and NC

For the southern rim the unemployment rates track fairly closely with each other and with the state averages, with Macon experiencing somewhat higher rates up to the mid 1970s after which seasonal-home construction began pushing Macon into a development stage. By the late 1970s Jackson's annual unemployment rate was, with the exception of two years, only slightly higher than the others while Transylvania with its manufacturing emphasis consistently had the lowest rates. For the least developed county, Graham, we find the highest levels of annual unemployment, even significantly above those for Swain which experienced the next highest levels of all the counties.

A seasonal view of unemployment is provided in Table B.7 which lists the unemployment rates for the months of the year corresponding to the four seasons, while Figures 9.4-9.9 graph the rates for each

county based on the months with the extremes in tourist activity: July, during the peak summer season, and January during the depths of the off-season. Of the northern-rim counties Swain again experiences the highest degree of seasonal variation, and as a result very high unemployment rates during the off-season. Surprisingly, after 1980, the peak season unemployment rates also were higher for Swain particularly during the recessionary periods of the early 1980s and early 1990s. For Haywood and Buncombe, very little seasonality is apparent from the data but Haywood again has somewhat higher rates of unemployment after the early 1980s at which time tourism experienced more accelerated levels of growth in that county. For Buncombe the rates are again comparable to the state averages.

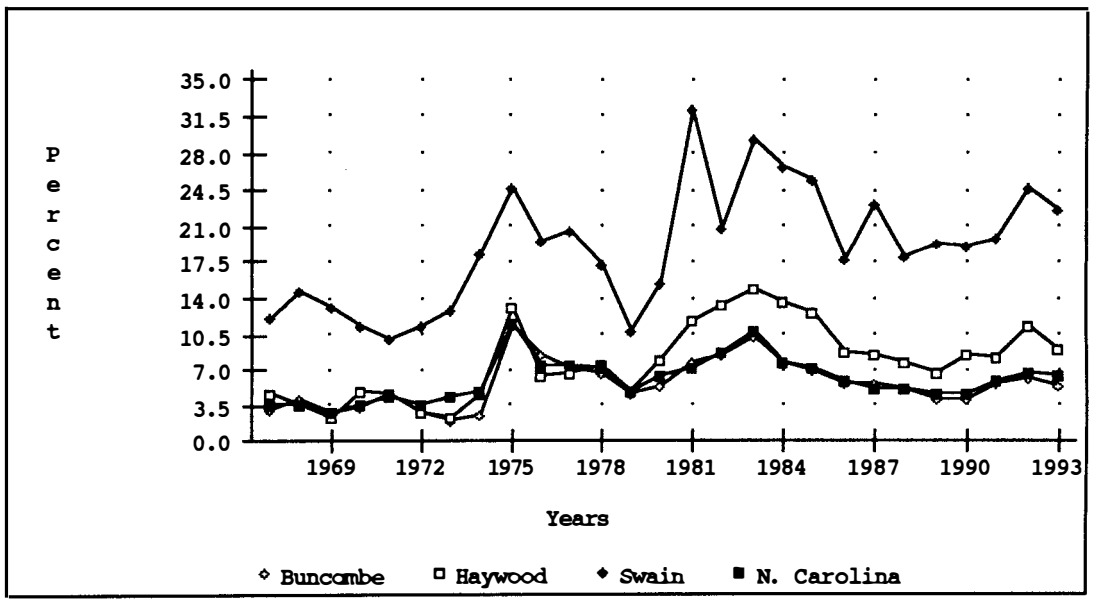


Figure 9.4 January Unemployment Rates - Northern Rim

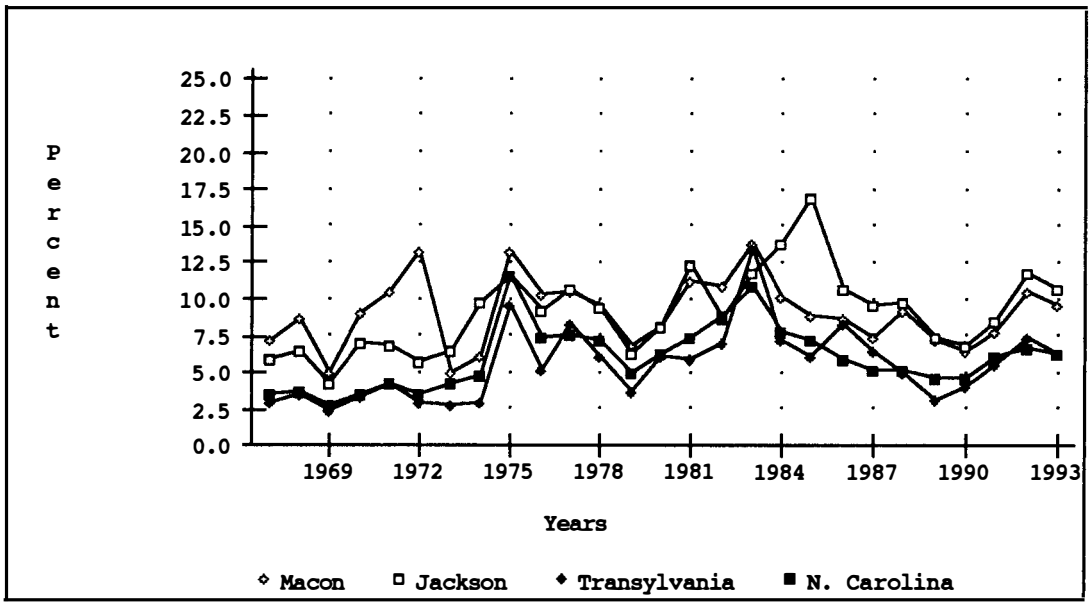


Figure 9.5 January Unemployment Rates - Southern Rim

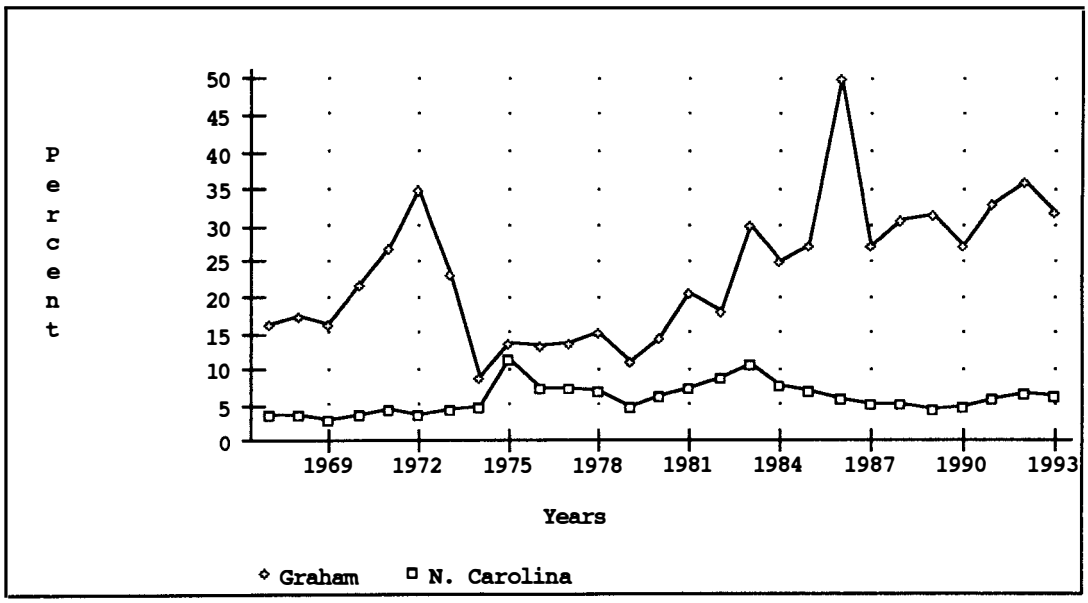


Figure 9.6 January Unemployment Rates - Graham and North Carolina

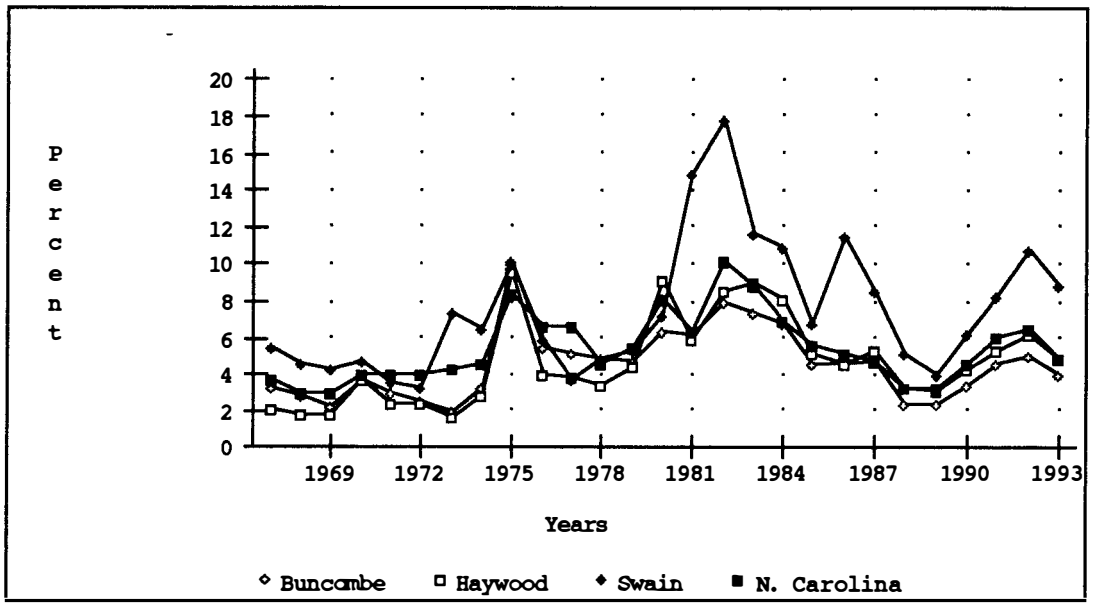


Figure 9.7 July Unemployment Rates - Northern Rim

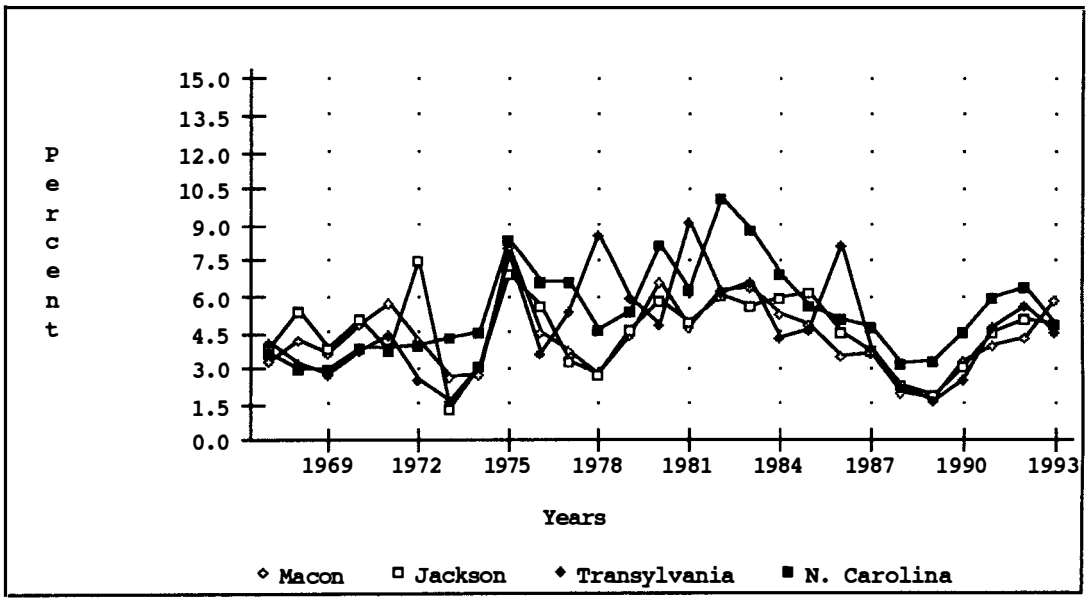


Figure 9.8 July Unemployment Rates - Southern Rim

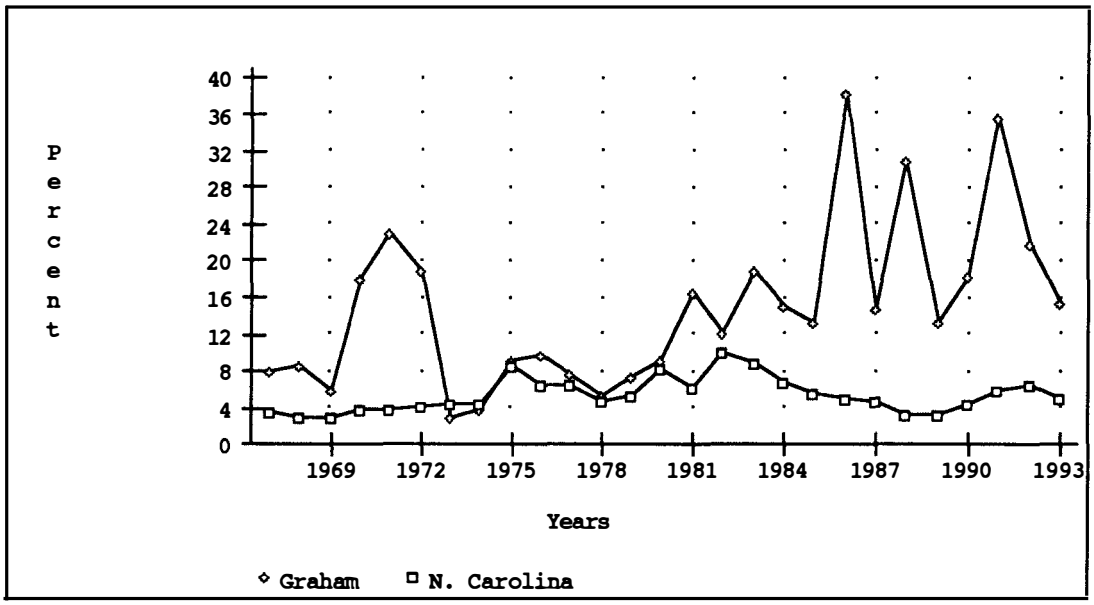


Figure 9.9 July Unemployment Rates - Graham and North Carolina

For the southern rim some seasonality is evident in Macon and Jackson Counties with little or none evident in Transylvania. To see this observe that in Figures 9.5 and 9.8 Macon and Jackson's January unemployment rates are consistently higher than Transylvania's by a point or two while the July rates are all quite close except for three atypically high rates for Transylvania. For Graham County we again find the highest unemployment rates regardless of month and also observe seasonality as a persistent trend.

Labor Force Participation

With regard to labor force participation, Table B.8 and Figures 9.10-9.12 show that for the northern rim, Buncombe County has maintained rates very close to the state averages. This is also true

in Swain. The only real divergence in the northern rim is Haywood which has consistently maintained lower rates of participation but with the gap closing somewhat by 1984 when Haywood's involvement stage experienced more rapid growth.

From Figure 9.11 it is apparent that only Jackson County experienced a higher than average participation rate from 1973 to 1983 while otherwise its rates and those for Macon (especially prior to 1983) and Transylvania (especially from 1973-1991) have been below the state average. For Macon, some increase in participation occurred after 1983 by which time conventional tourism began to expand more rapidly in the county. For Graham Figure 9.12 displays the greatest movement of all the counties with the tendency being well below the state average.

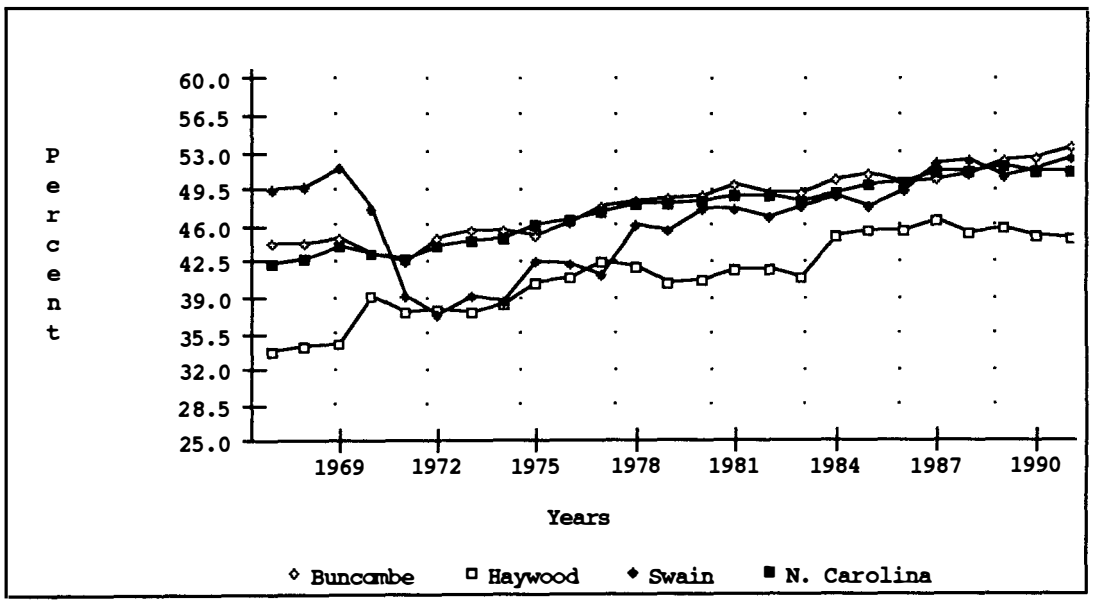


Figure 9.10 Labor Force Participation Rates - Northern Rim

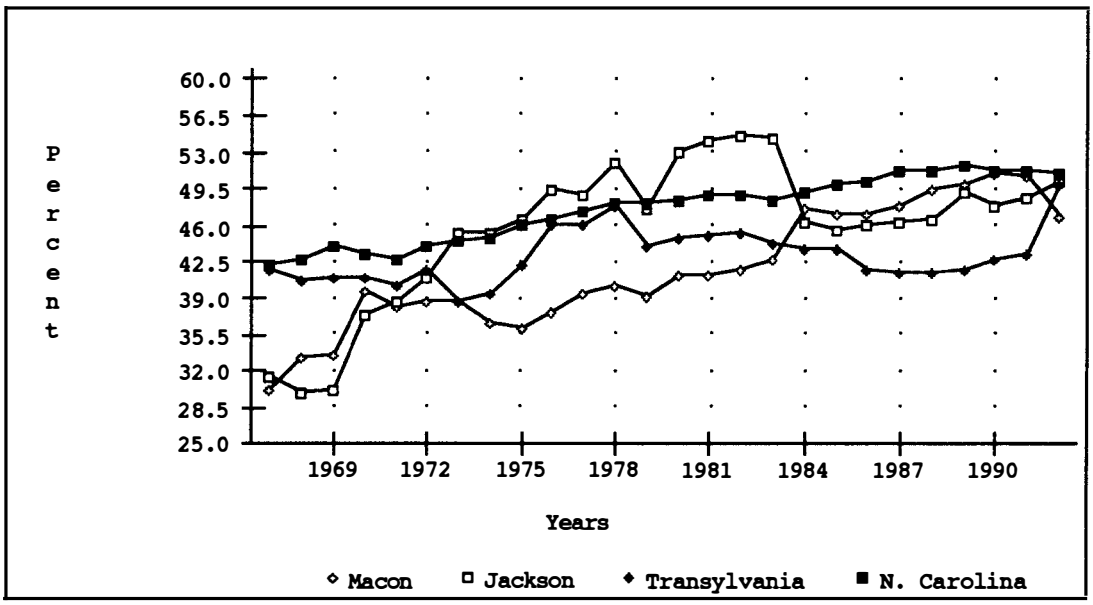


Figure 9.11 Labor Force Participation Rates - Southern Rim

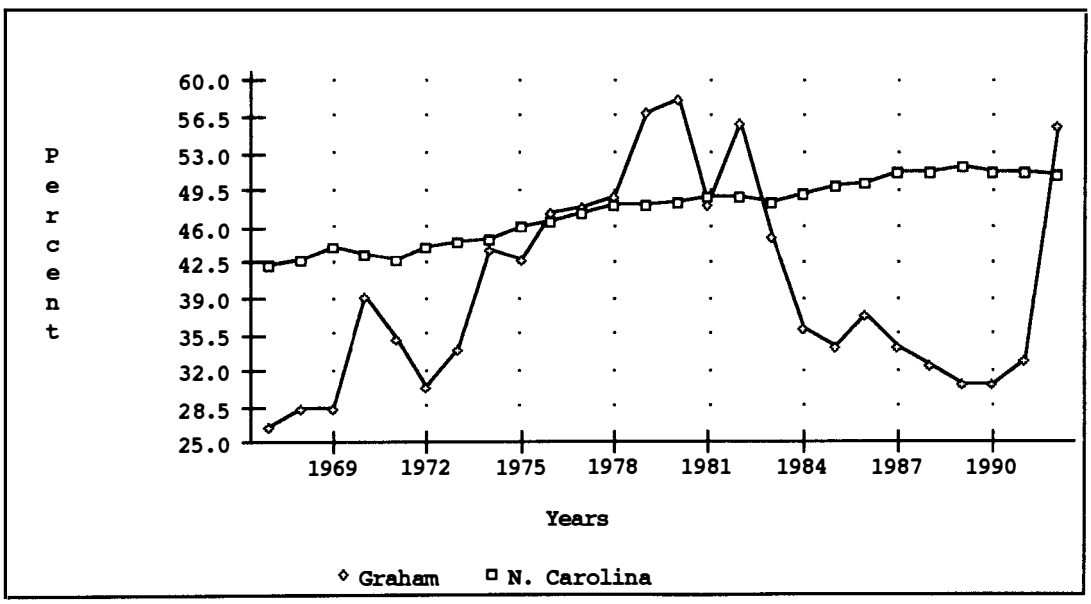


Figure 9.12 Labor Force Participation Rates - Graham and NC

Earnings per Employee

With more or less economic activity oriented toward tourism we would expect the effects to be manifest on earnings per employee by industry as observed in East Tennessee. From Table B.9 and Figures 9.13-9.18 we can see earnings by employee, as defined in Chapter 7, by the major economic sectors. For the northern rim it is obvious that Haywood enjoys the highest manufacturing earnings per employee; these effects apparently do not spill over to other sectors. Buncombe, however, has the highest rates for all the other categories except agriculture and is very close to the state average for manufacturing and services/retail. Swain on the other hand not only has low services/retail earnings but its manufacturing earnings are very low as suggested by the Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force.

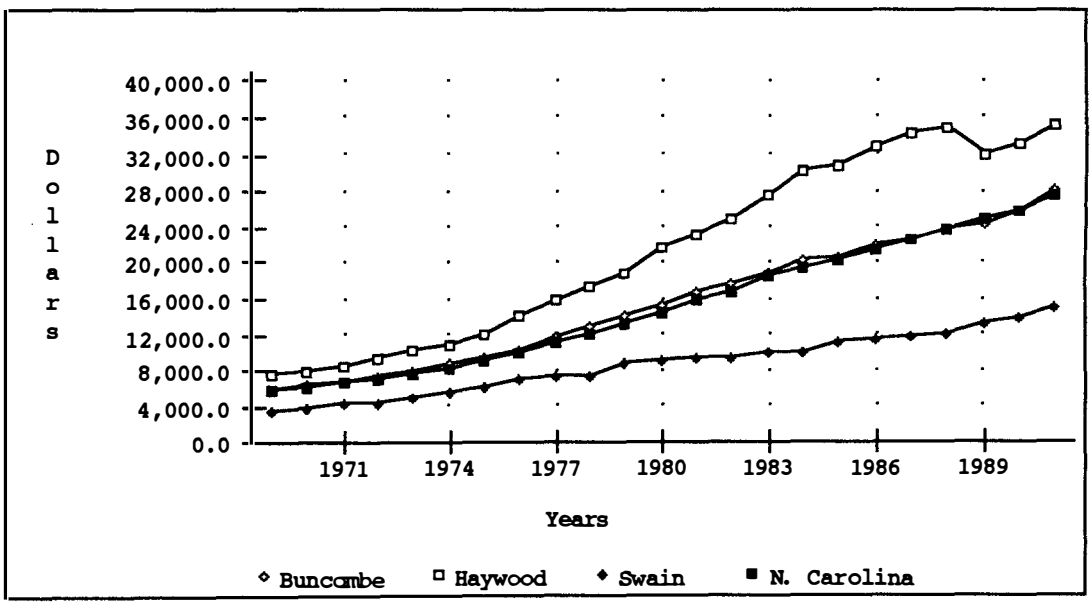


Figure 9.13 Manufacturing Earnings per Employee - Northern Rim

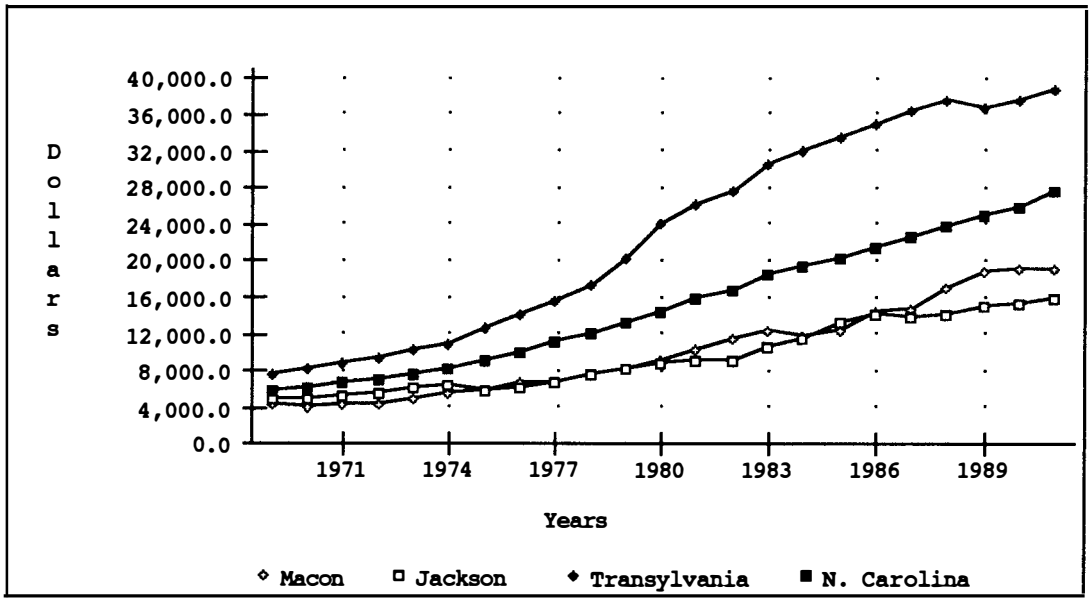


Figure 9.14 Manufacturing Earnings per Employee - Southern Rim

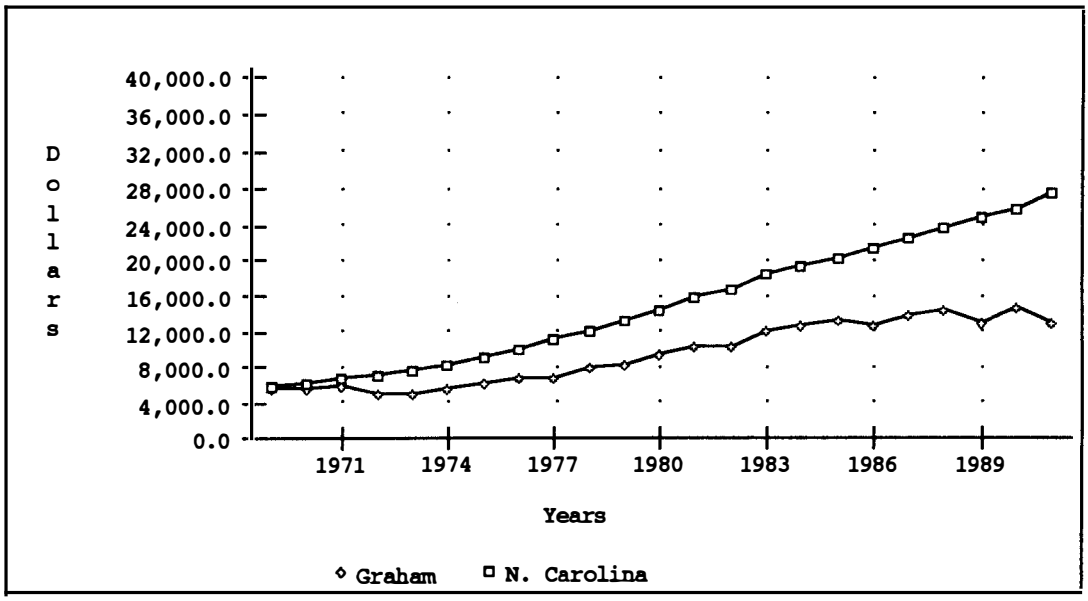


Figure 9.15 Manufacturing Earnings per Employee - Graham and NC

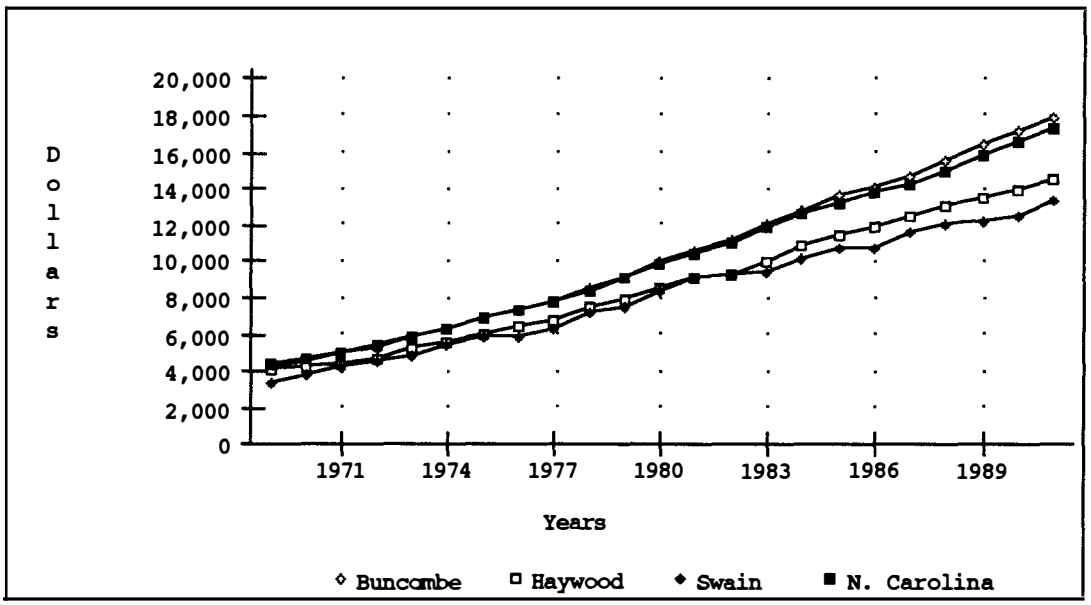


Figure 9.16 Retail/Service Earnings per Employee - Northern Rim

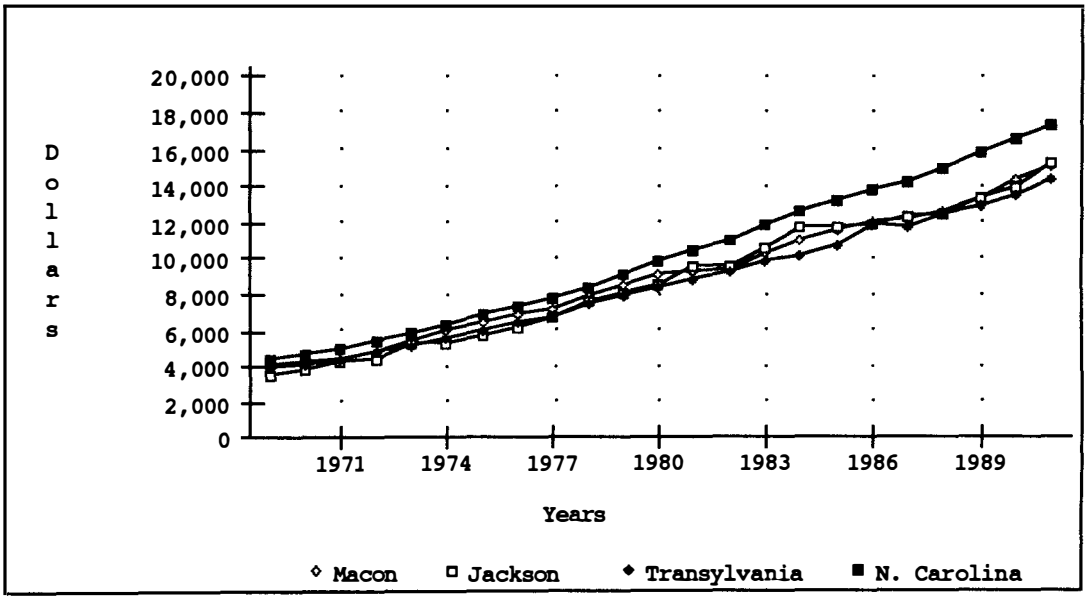


Figure 9.17 Retail/Service Earnings per Employee - Southern Rim

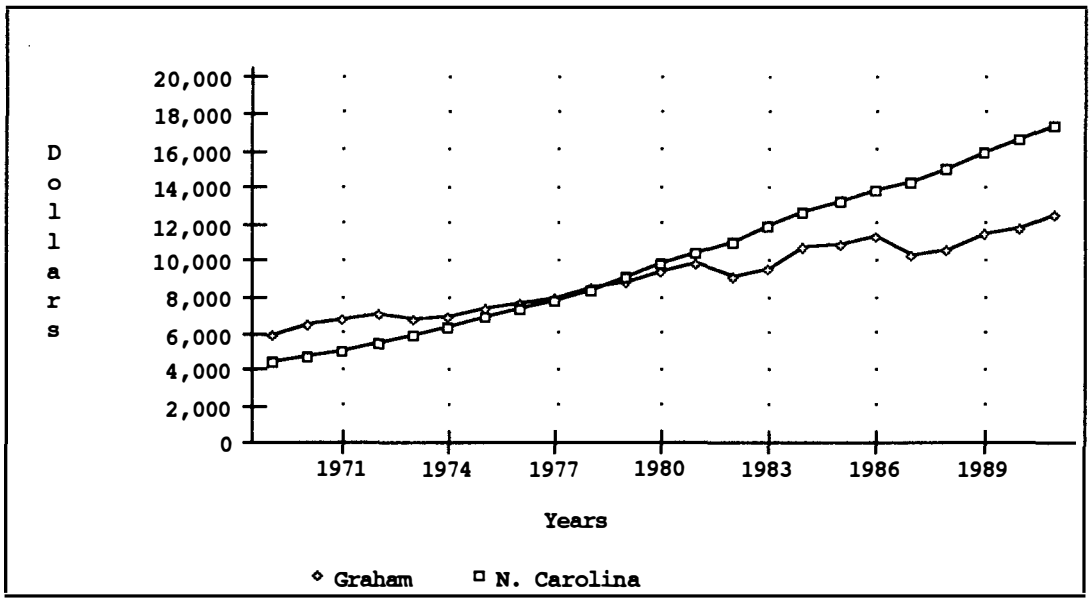


Figure 9.18 Retail/Service Earnings per Employee - Graham and NC

In the southern rim of counties Transylvania also benefits from large-scale manufacturing by having the highest manufacturing earnings per employee of all the listed areas. Again this does not translate to higher earnings in other sectors as the service/retail sector in the southern rim has very consistent rates below the state average. For Macon and Jackson, the absence of large-scale manufacturing results in earnings that are somewhat better than those of tourist-oriented Swain or less-developed Graham. Graham fares about as well as Swain with very low manufacturing and service/retail earnings per employee. One outcome that seems rather surprising from this detail is that for Macon County, where seasonal-home construction occurs at very high levels, construction earnings per employee are at the lowest level of those listed.

The possible effect of tourism helping to keep wages low can be further evaluated with the summary detail provided in Table 9.1. Therein we find the earnings per employee as listed in Table B.9 but with the addition of changes in the earnings from 1970 to 1991.

Table 9.1 Changes in Earnings per Employee

Year	Bunc.	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Trans.	N. Car.
Manufacturing:								
1970	6,324	8,017	3,940	5,608	4,221	4,063	8,206	6,225
1991	28,080	35,214	14,884	12,976	18,978	15,756	38,854	27,484
Change	21,756	27,197	10,944	7,368	14,757	11,693	30,648	21,259
Services/Retail:								
1970	4,534	4,226	3,808	6,407	4,208	3,797	4,165	4,762
1991	17,921	14,486	13,332	12,432	15,134	15,309	14,401	17,372
Change	13,387	10,260	9,524	6,025	10,926	11,512	10,236	12,610

Based on this detail, the wages in Swain County are not only low but increases over time have been lower than in all the listed areas with the exception of Graham County. Predictably, the counties with a manufacturing emphasis - Haywood and Transylvania - have had the greatest increases in that sector, while Buncombe with its diverse economy exceeds the state average for both categories and has the greatest increase in service/retail earnings.

Proprietors' Income

The expectation is that in economies with a proliferation of small businesses, proprietor's income would represent a higher percentage of total income earned and entrepreneurship would thereby be

encouraged. From Table B.10 and Figures 9.19-9.21 we can see that Swain County in the northern rim clearly has a greater rate of proprietary income than either Buncombe, with its much larger economy, or Haywood with its manufacturing plants. Buncombe, in fact, is below the state average while Haywood is very close to the average.

For the southern rim Transylvania County, with its manufacturing economy, is below the state average while Jackson is consistently very close to the average. For Macon with its more developed tourist and seasonal-home market, a much higher rate of proprietary income is evident, with a downward trend reversed in the 1980s when conventional tourism experienced higher rates of growth in the county. For Graham, we find that a small undeveloped economy also produces high percentages of proprietary income. Since 1984 in fact, the highest rates belong to Graham County.

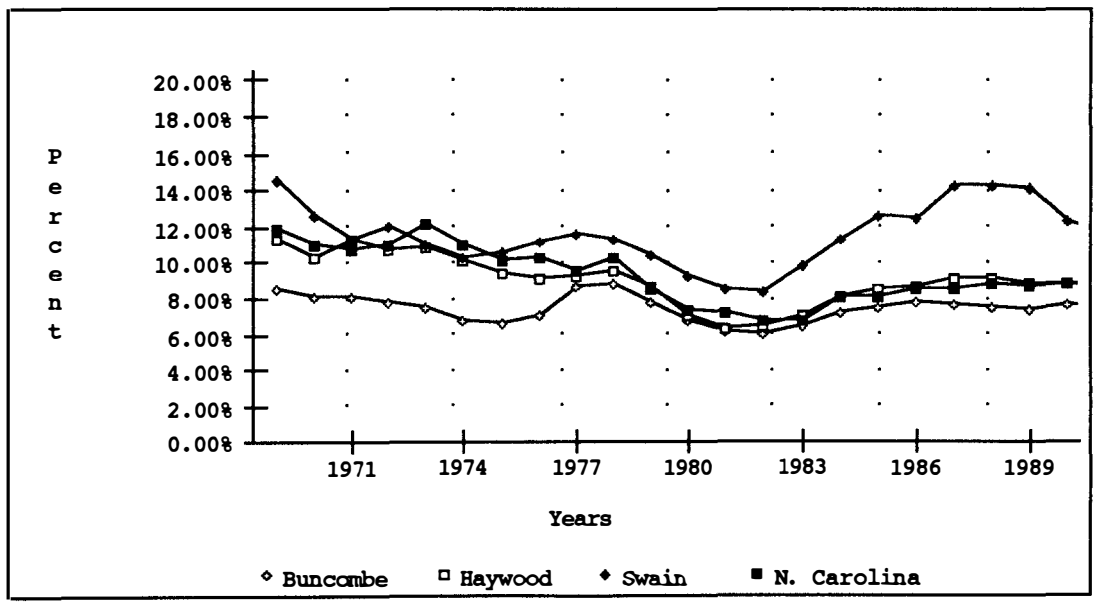


Figure 9.19 Percent Proprietors' Income - Northern Rim

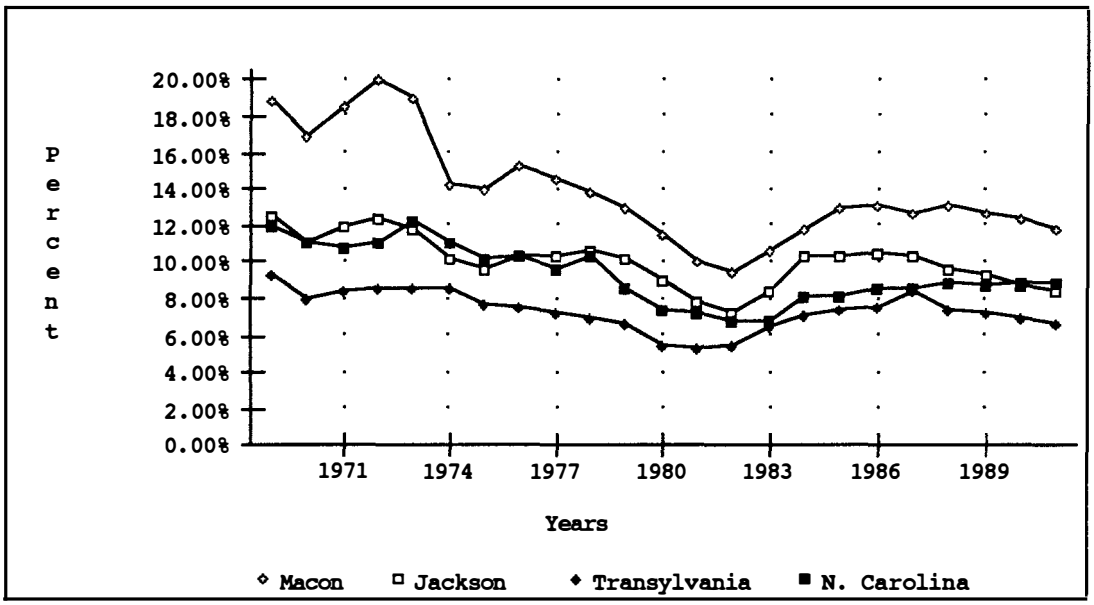


Figure 9.20 Percent Proprietors' Income - Southern Rim

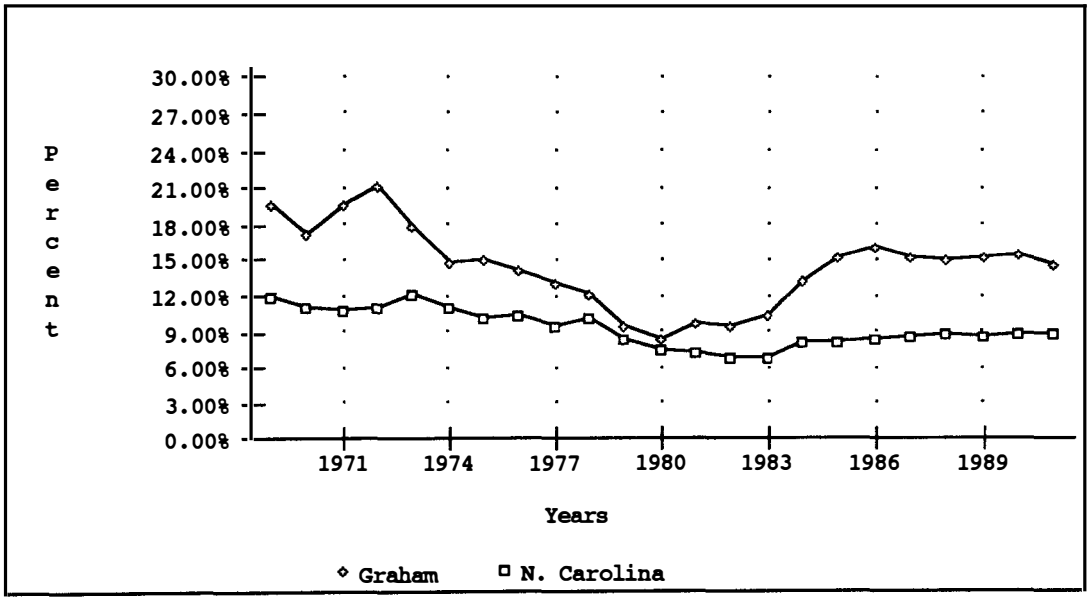


Figure 9.21 Percent Proprietors' Income - Graham and North Carolina

Impacts on the Populace

Changes in Population

From information previously reviewed, there appears to be a direct correlation between levels of tourist development and population growth. Buncombe County's population grew quite rapidly during its tourist boom prior to 1930 and the population of Sevier County, Tennessee also grew very quickly during its development stage. In Table B.11 the population figures for the North Carolina counties are listed from 1930 - the beginning point of modern tourism in the area - to 1992.

From summary Tables 9.2-9.3 we can also see the general trends in population growth for the area. In the northern rim Buncombe's population increased at a fairly steady rate during the entire period regardless of the level of tourist development. In this instance the correlation does not seem to hold, but as observed in other instances the larger, more diverse economy of Buncombe seems to dampen the effects of tourism as Nathan et al. suggest.

For Haywood County there appears to be no relationship between population growth and the tourist industry but rather with the development of the manufacturing sector. In Swain County, the expectation would be that the limited amount of privately held land and the concentration of tourism on the Cherokee Reservation would limit population growth even though tourism experienced rapid growth and became a dominant industry after 1970. From 1930 to 1970 the population growth rate was negative due to out-migration resulting from

the absence of opportunity in the county. From 1970 to 1992 the growth rate became 42.8%, which suggests a correlation with tourism, but in absolute numbers the population merely returned to where it had approximately been in 1930.

Table 9.2 Population Growth - Northern Rim

Years	Buncombe	Years	Haywood	Years	Swain
1930-50	26.40%	1930-60	40.30%	1930-60	-32.10%
1950-73	21.00%	1960-92	21.50%	1960-92	42.80%
1973-92	19.70%				

For the southern rim the indication was that seasonal-home development went hand in hand with an influx of retired people into the communities, particularly in Macon County which also experienced the largest increase in conventional tourism. For Macon in fact, all this activity occurred after 1970. From 1930 to 1970 the population growth rate was fairly low. From 1970 to 1992 that growth rate increased to a rate much higher than its neighbors. In Jackson County, seasonal-home development and conventional tourism were not as highly developed as in Macon and the population increases were correspondingly more modest. In Transylvania County the period of 1930 to 1970 involved heavy manufacturing development and during this period the population grew at the highest rate listed for all areas. From 1970 to 1992 when growth in manufacturing tapered off and tourism was just beginning to expand, the population grew at a level close to the state average. For Graham County the lack of development has corresponded with a lack of population growth for the entire period from 1930 to 1992.

Table 9.3 Population Growth - Southern Rim, Graham, and NC

Years	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	Graham	N. Car.
1930-70	15.20%	23.20%	104.80%	12.00%	60.10%
1970-92	56.10%	27.20%	33.70%	8.40%	34.70%

Incomes

Table B.12 lists family incomes by range and poverty figures as reported by the decennial census and Figures 9.22-9.39 plot the corresponding Lorenz Curves. For the northern rim, Figures 9.22-9.27 show when the three counties are compared to a North Carolina average, only Swain demonstrated an improvement in its equity of income distribution, especially from 1950 to 1970. Swain also had a much higher percentage of families in the lowest income groups in 1950 when tourism was entering its early level of development. Further as in Sevier County, Tennessee, the higher levels of tourist development after 1970 did not bring about a reduction of distributional equity but rather the influence of the population increase probably helped to enhance it. For Buncombe and Haywood Counties, all the curves correspond very closely with the state averages.

From a poverty perspective Swain, with its heavy emphasis on tourism and accelerated growth after the early 1970s, experienced a 29.1% rise in absolute numbers of persons living under poverty from 1970 to 1990 (see Table 9.4). This occurred even though Swain was still in an involvement stage and the percentage incidence of poverty declined slightly for the county. For Haywood and Buncombe, absolute poverty levels declined 15.6% and 20.7% respectively although their tourism increased also during this period but not as a dominant sector.

For the southern rim, all of the Lorenz Curves show some improvement toward the state average from 1950 to 1970. For Transylvania in 1970 the curve actually pushed above the state average only to drop back down by 1990 when manufacturing incomes had decreased in percentage importance. For Macon and Jackson as with Swain, the curves show the most improvement from 1950 to 1970 before rapid tourist development and higher rates of population growth. From 1970-1990 Transylvania surprisingly fares the worst with an absolute level of poverty increasing by 2.7%. Macon, with its higher level of tourist activity, shows a decrease of poverty by 10.8% although during the 1980s when tourist growth had reach its highest levels, poverty in Macon increased by 10.7%. For Jackson, with less manufacturing and less tourism than its two neighbors, the poverty statistics show the most improvement - a decrease of 27.9%.

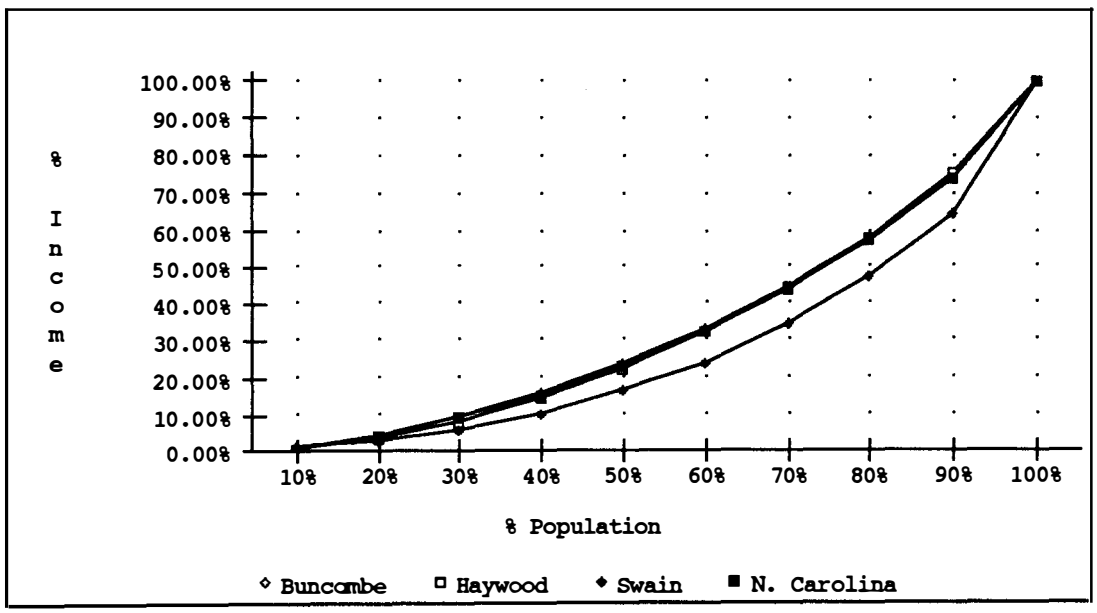


Figure 9.22 Lorenz Curves - 1950, Northern Rim

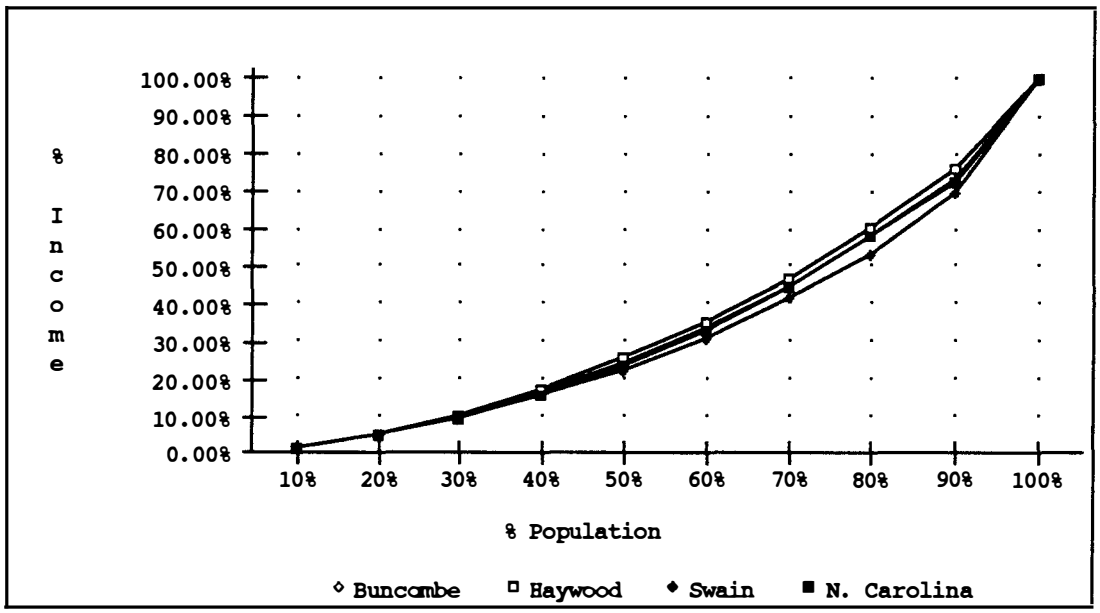


Figure 9.23 Lorenz Curves - 1970, Northern Rim

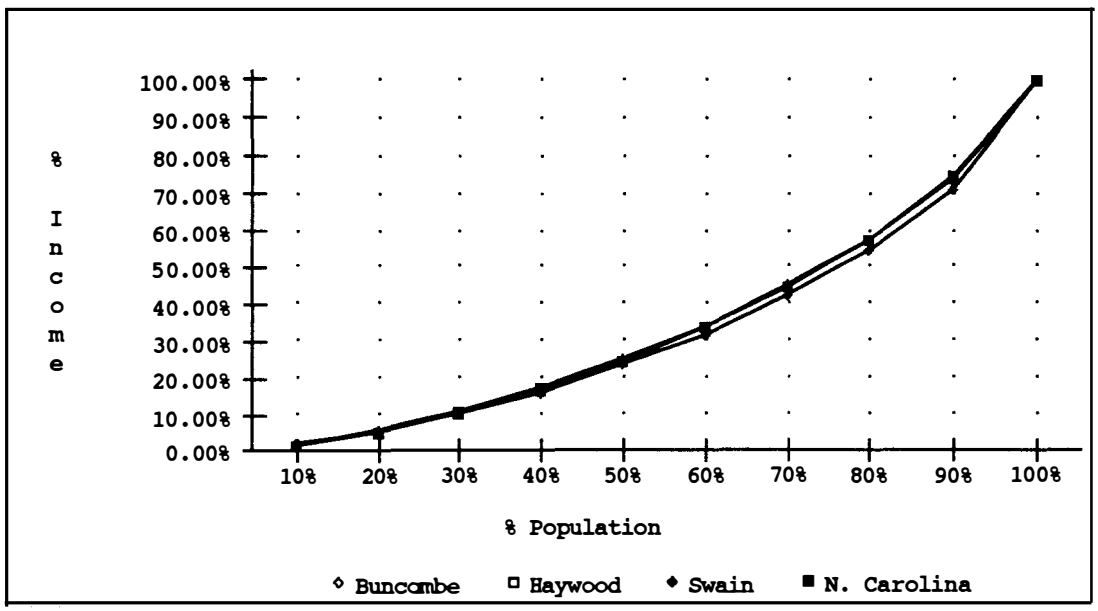


Figure 9.24 Lorenz Curves - 1990, Northern Rim

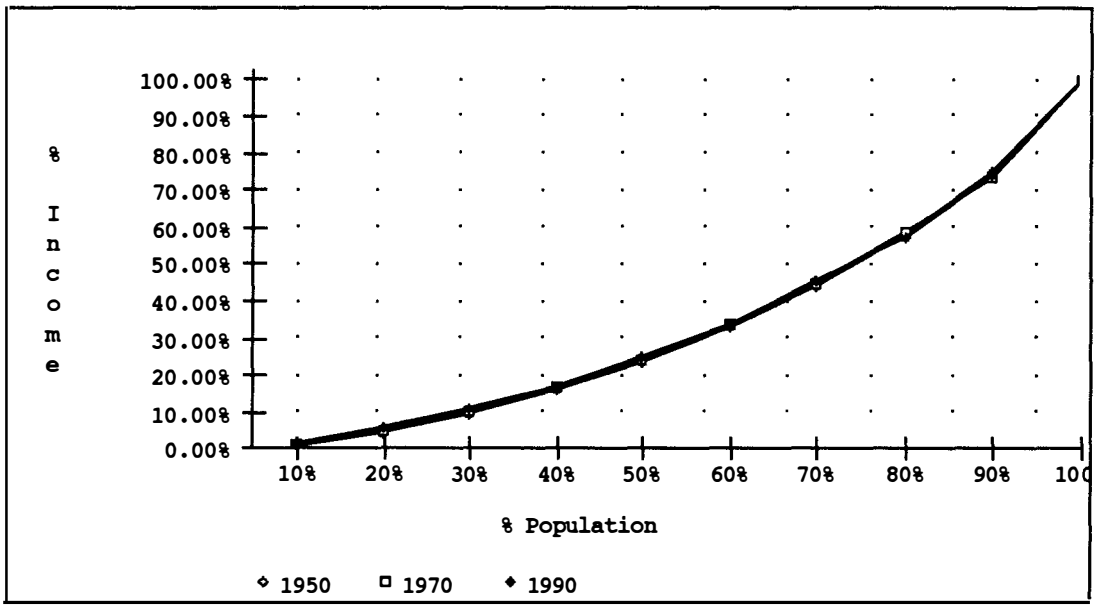


Figure 9.25 Lorenz Curves - Buncombe

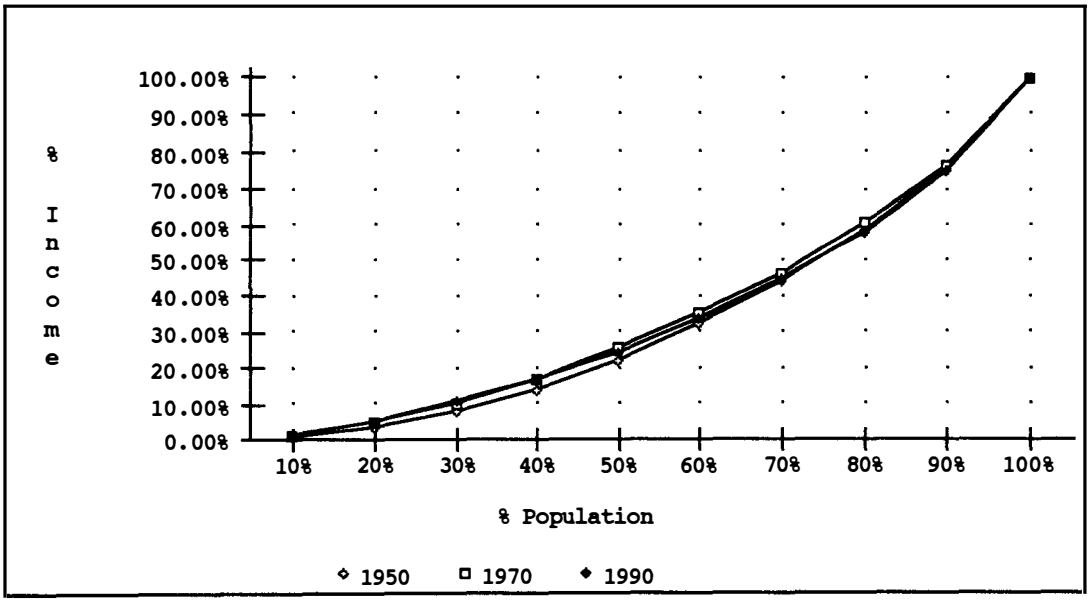


Figure 9.26 Lorenz Curves - Haywood

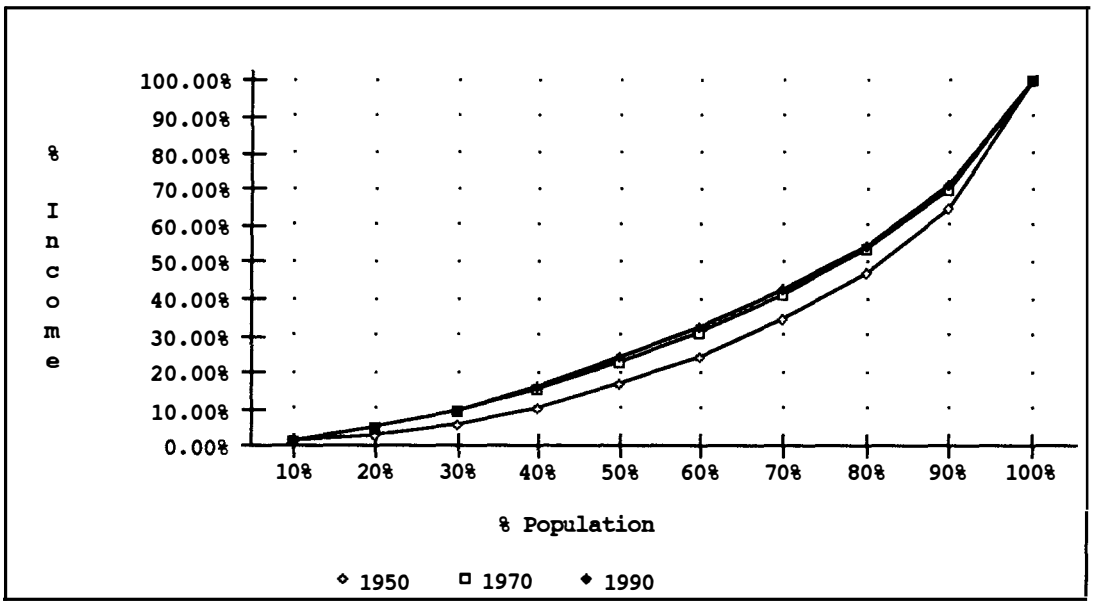


Figure 9.27 Lorenz Curves - Swain

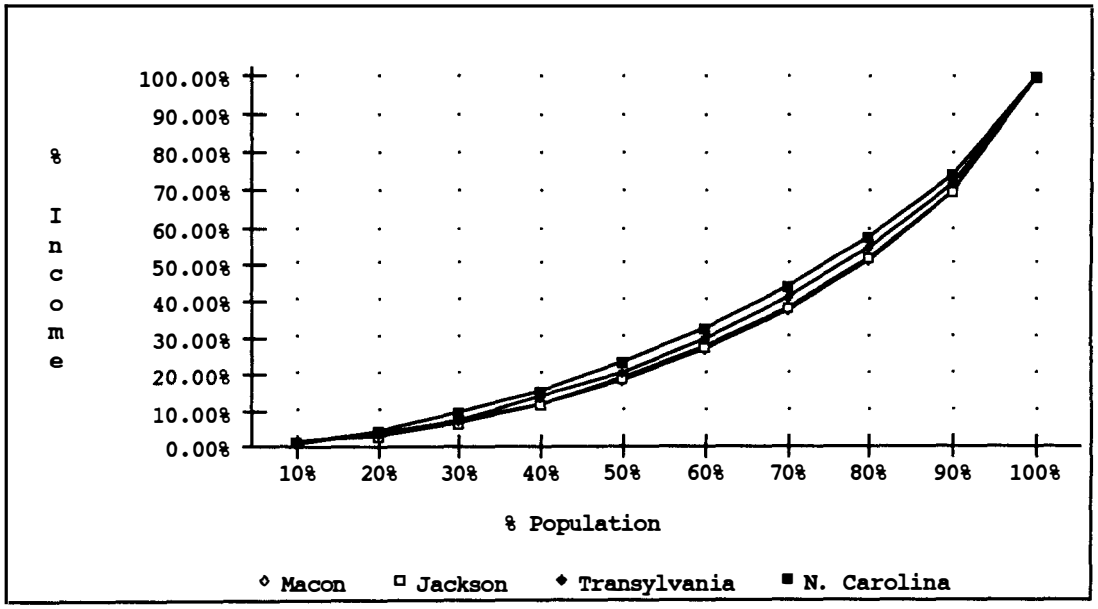


Figure 9.28 Lorenz Curves - 1950, Southern Rim

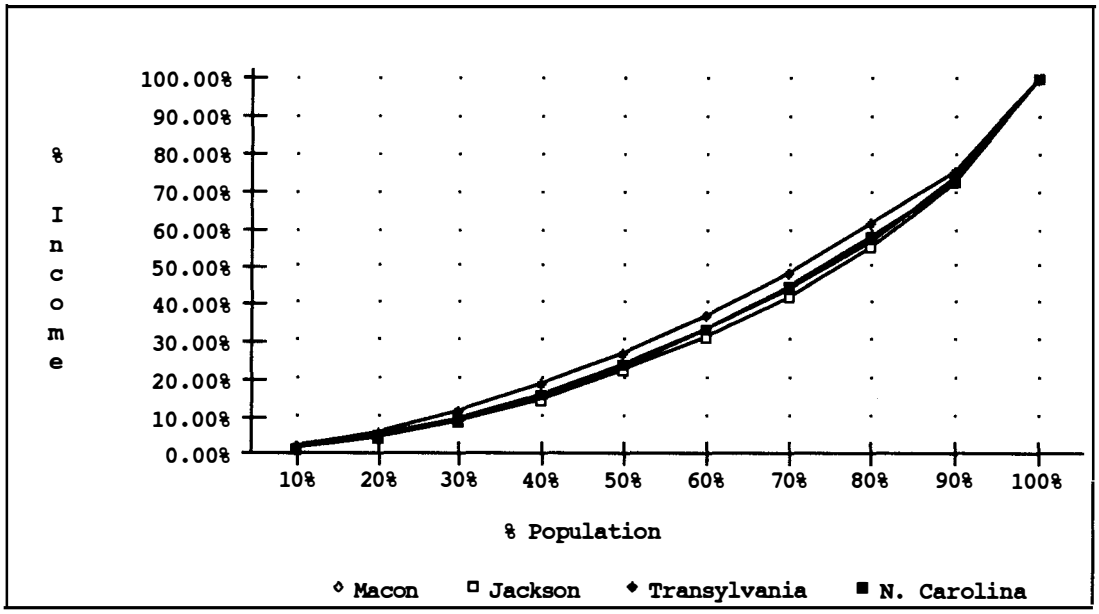


Figure 9.29 Lorenz Curves - 1970, Southern Rim

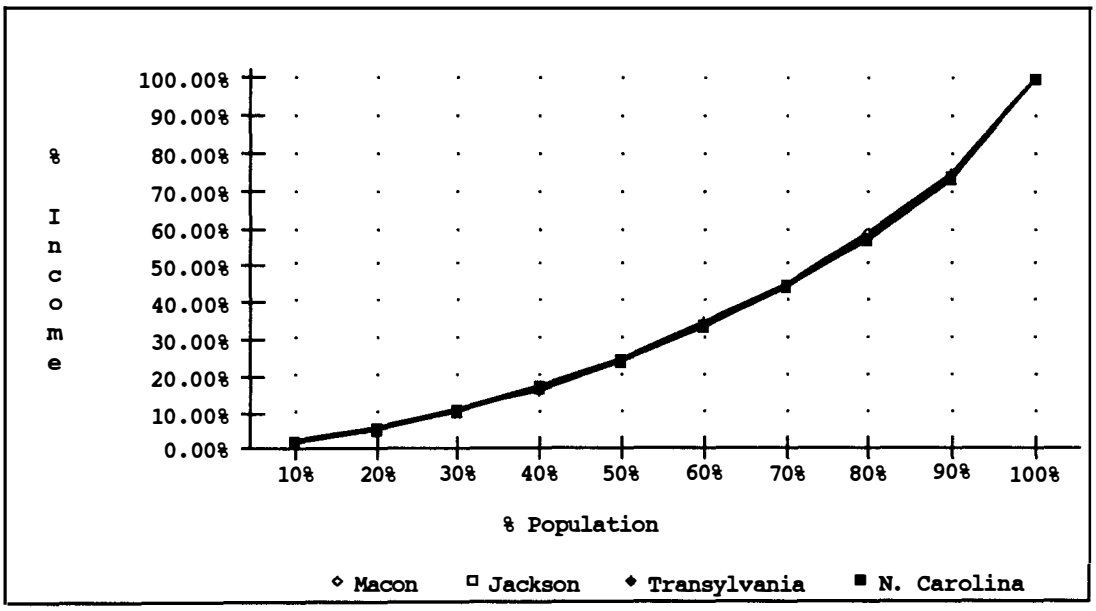


Figure 9.30 Lorenz Curves - 1990, Southern Rim

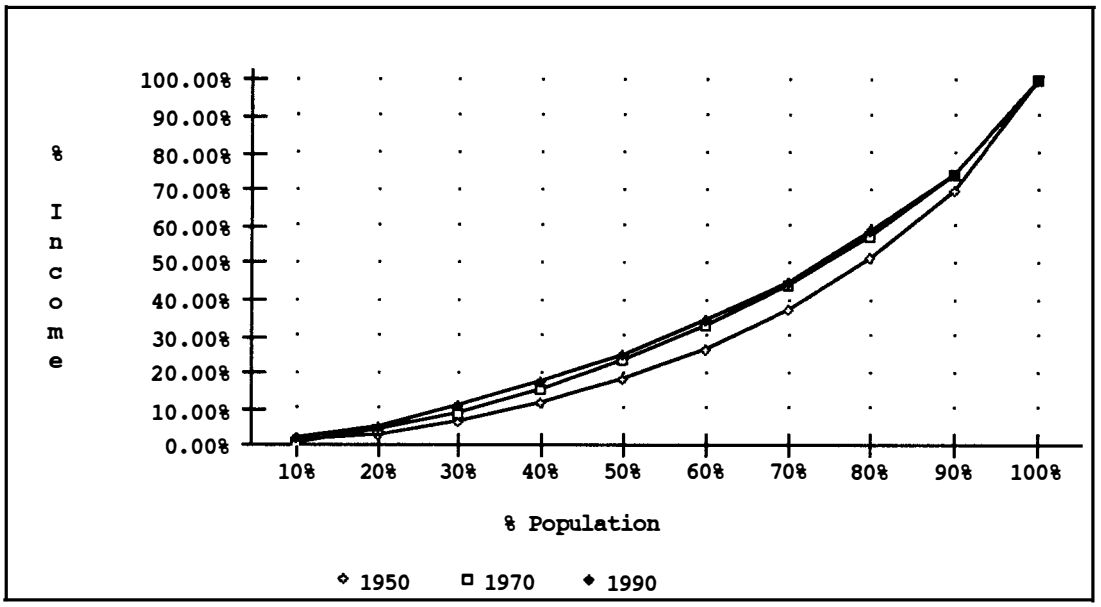


Figure 9.31 Lorenz Curves - Macon

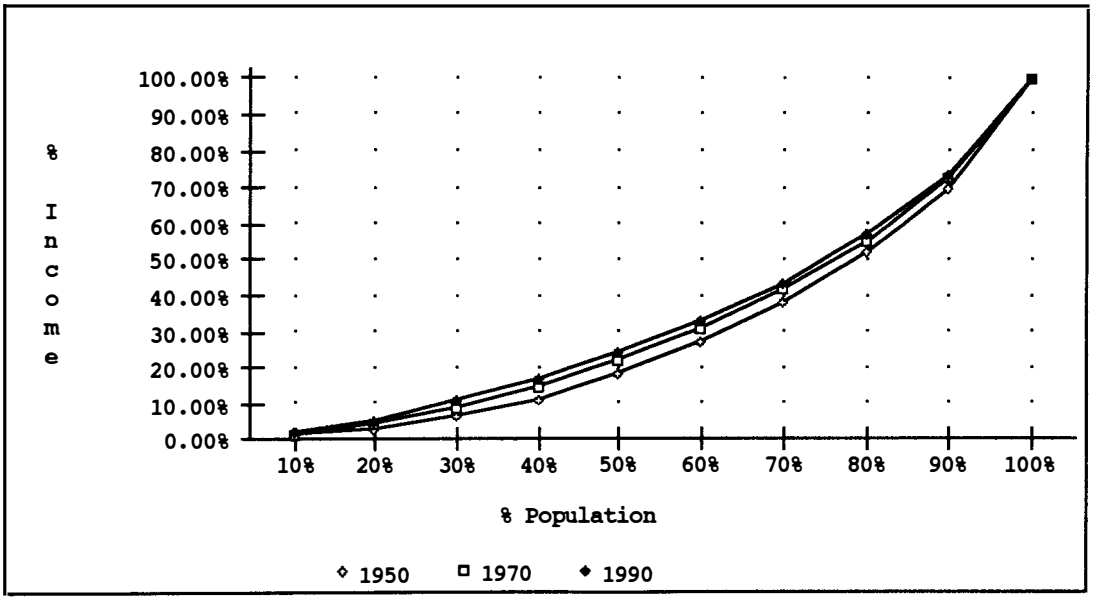


Figure 9.32 Lorenz Curves - Jackson

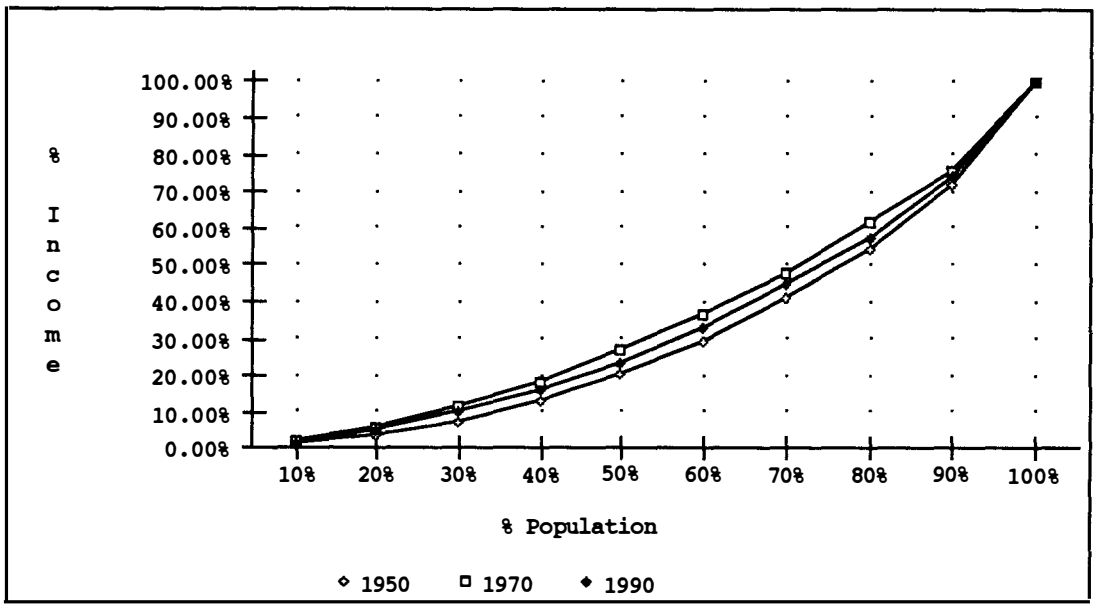


Figure 9.33 Lorenz Curves - Transylvania

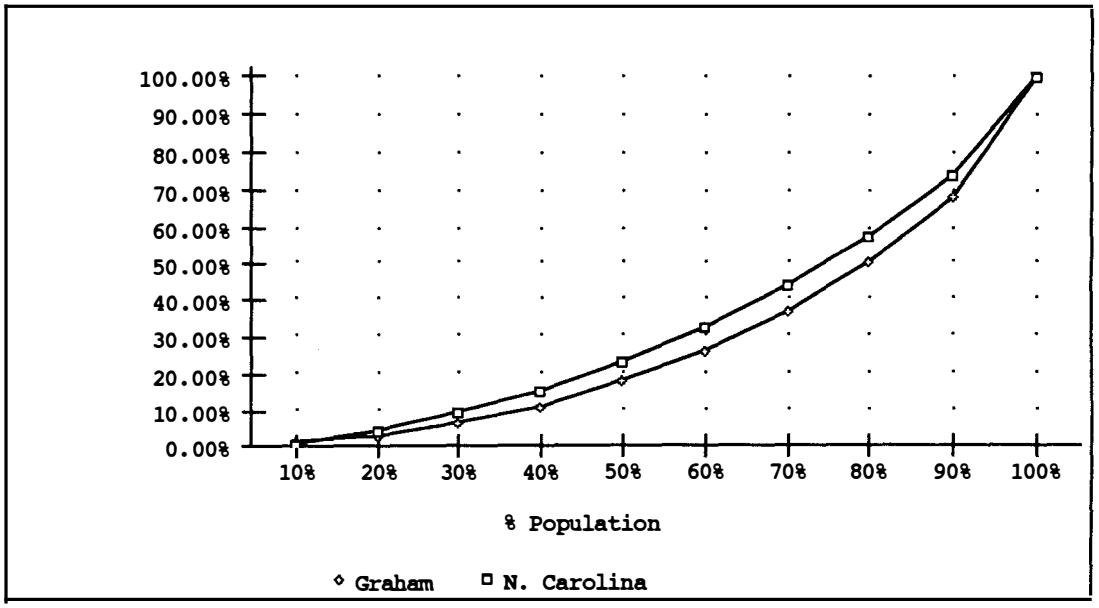


Figure 9.34 Lorenz Curves - 1950, Graham and North Carolina

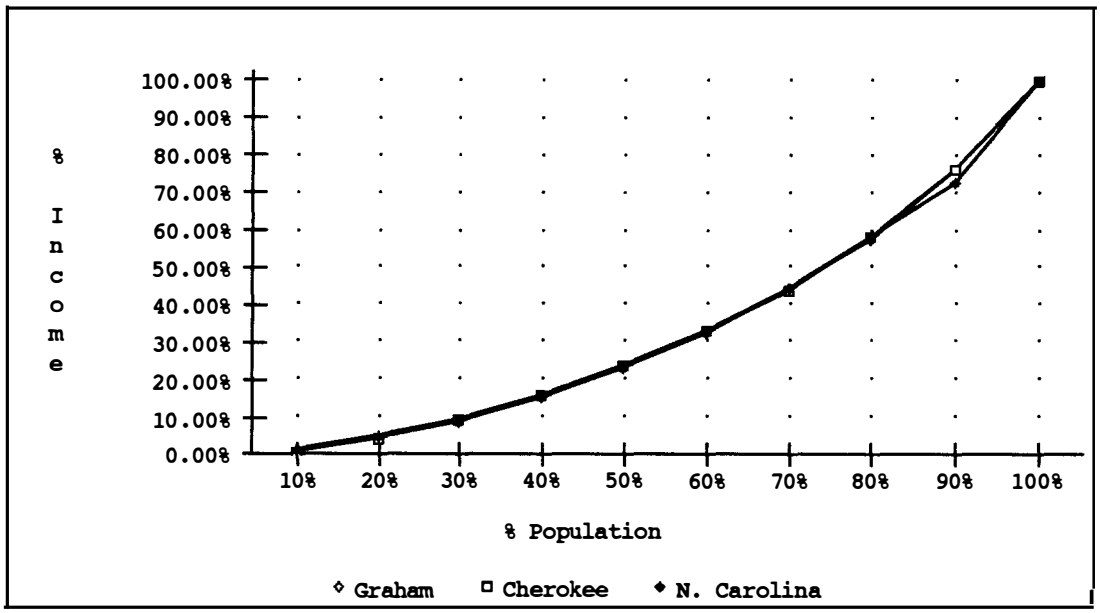


Figure 9.35 Lorenz Curves - 1970; Graham, Cherokee, and N. Carolina

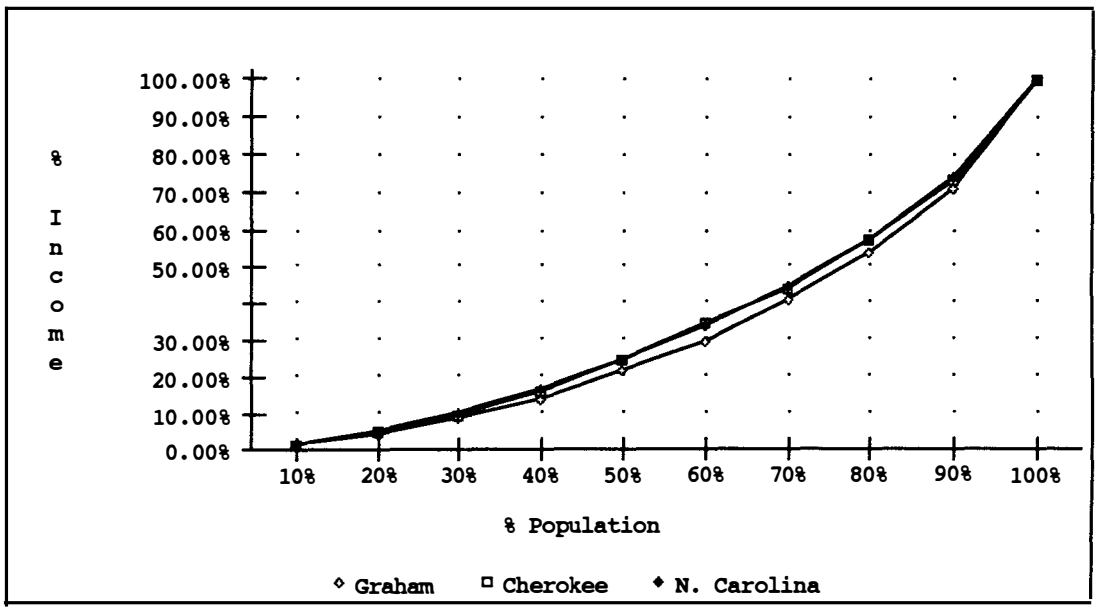


Figure 9.36 Lorenz Curves - 1990; Graham, Cherokee, and N. Carolina

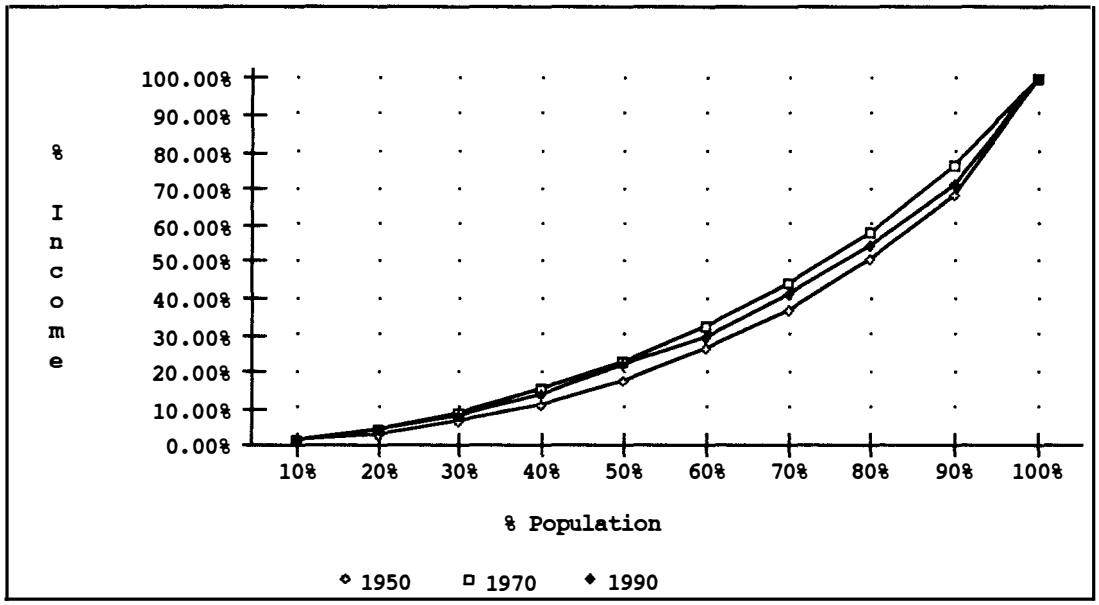


Figure 9.37 Lorenz Curves - Graham

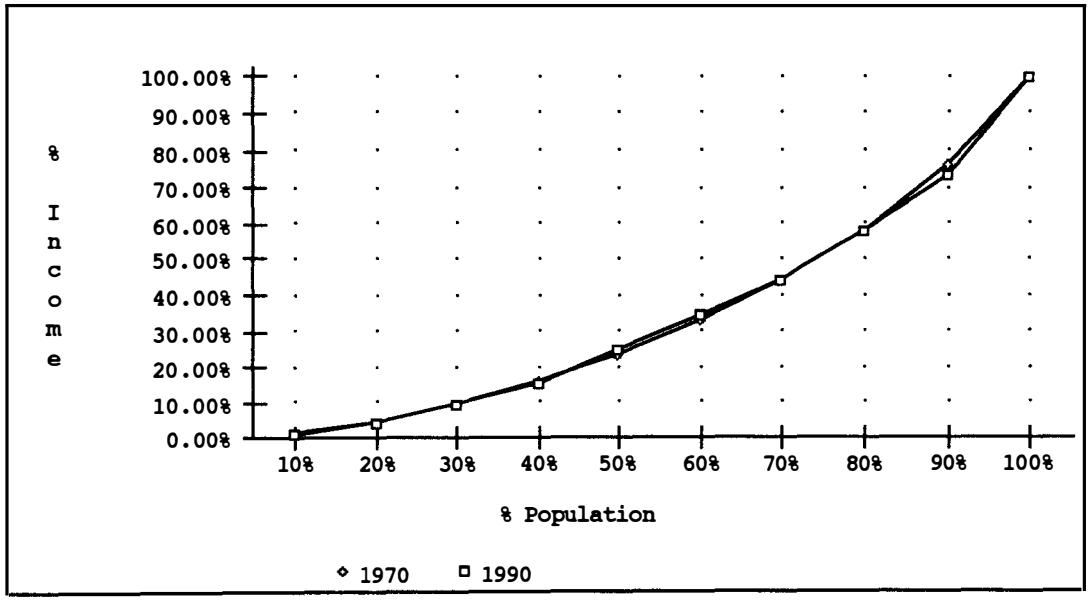


Figure 9.38 Lorenz Curves - Cherokee Reservation

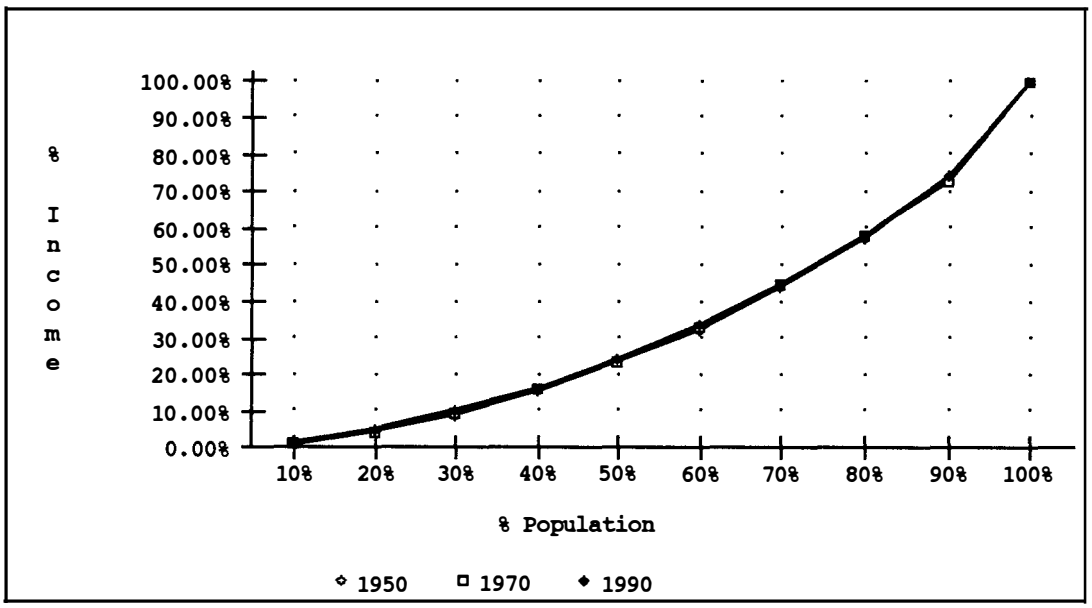


Figure 9.39 Lorenz Curves - North Carolina

In Graham County, income distribution improved noticeably from 1950 to 1970 but fell back during the next two decades to be below the state average curve as unemployment during this period reached very high levels. Although absolute levels of poverty decreased in Graham from 1970 to 1980 the overall change from 1970 to 1990 was an increase of 7.4%. One explanation for the consistent increases in income distribution from 1950 to 1970 for the counties which were experiencing very little development at that time is that many of the poorest families left the region to pursue greater economic opportunity in northern factories or in the Piedmont. Table B.11 shows evidence of fluctuating or declining populations in these counties as this out-migration occurred. Correspondingly, any offsetting immigration was undoubtedly undertaken by those with higher income levels.

For the Cherokee Indian Reservation, where most of Swain's tourist activity occurs, from 1970 to 1990 the Lorenz Curves are virtually equal to the state average. Further, absolute levels of poverty, while increasing over the period, do not do so at the level experienced by Swain County. After witnessing a decrease in poverty of 14.6% from 1970 to 1980, the total increase in poverty from 1970 to 1990 is only 10.4% as shown on Table 9.4.

Table 9.4 Changes in Absolute Levels of Poverty 1970-1990

Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Macon	Jackson	Trans.	Graham	Cherok.	N. Car.
-20.70%	-15.60%	29.10%	-10.80%	-27.90%	2.70%	7.40%	10.40%	-16.70%

Table B.13 and Figures 9.40-9.42 show that the tourism-dominated and less developed counties experience lower levels of per capita income. In the northern rim, Buncombe County is just over the state average and Haywood is below it in spite of its high manufacturing earnings. Swain, however, lags considerably below any of these levels. In the southern rim Transylvania is also close to, but below the state average, while Macon and Jackson each have incomes below these. For Graham, the rates are closest to, but even below those for Swain County.

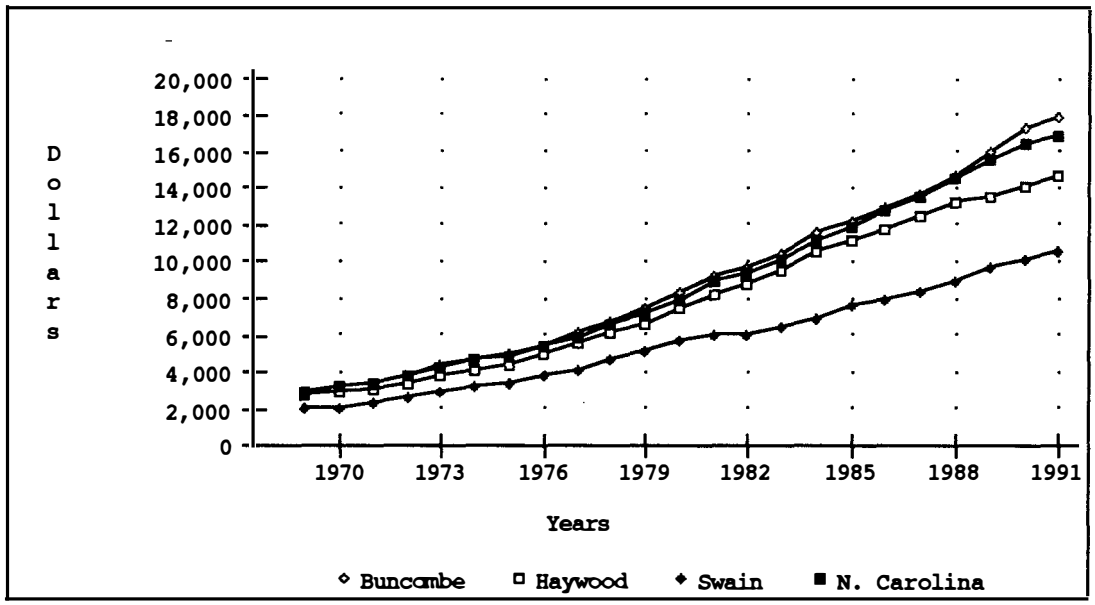


Figure 9.40 Per Capita Income - Northern Rim

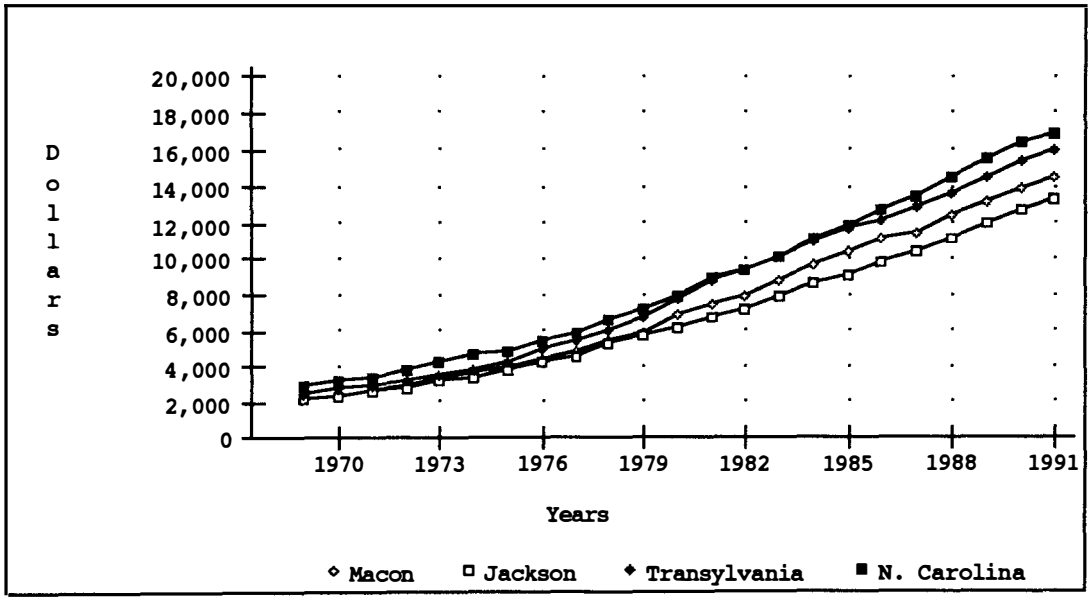


Figure 9.41 Per Capita Income - Southern Rim

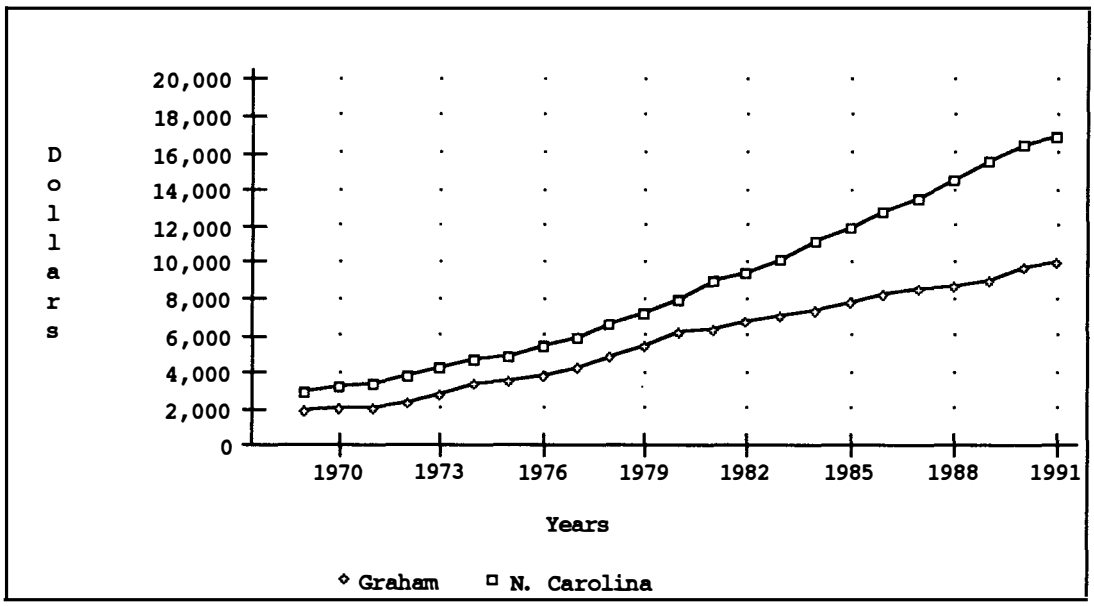


Figure 9.42 Per Capita Income - Graham and North Carolina

Education

Another indication of social welfare is the level of schooling completed as listed in Table B.14 and summarized in Figures 9.43-9.45. From this information it is apparent that all counties have shown improvement in scholastic attainment based on percentages of total population. However, when viewed as changes in absolute levels of those not achieving high school diplomas, and in comparison of the counties to each other, predictable patterns emerge.

In the northern rim, based on the former analysis, Buncombe county achieved population percentage levels with high school diplomas better than the state average while Haywood was right at that average. Swain at worst finds itself about a point higher than the state average.

From Table 9.5 we can see that based on the latter analysis, the percent change in the absolute levels of population without a high school diploma dropped considerably for Swain from 1950 to 1970, but again, this is at least in part due to out-migration. In the next two decades Buncombe and Haywood displayed much more improvement in this area, even over the state averages as seen in Table 9.7. Apparently, as with East Tennessee, a heavier reliance on tourism with its lower benefits and higher opportunity costs of completing school produces less incentive to achieve higher scholastic levels.

Table 9.5 Percent Change Without HS Diploma - Northern Rim

Years	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain
1950-70	-10.20%	2.39%	-21.41%
1970-90	-32.66%	-31.98%	-2.79%

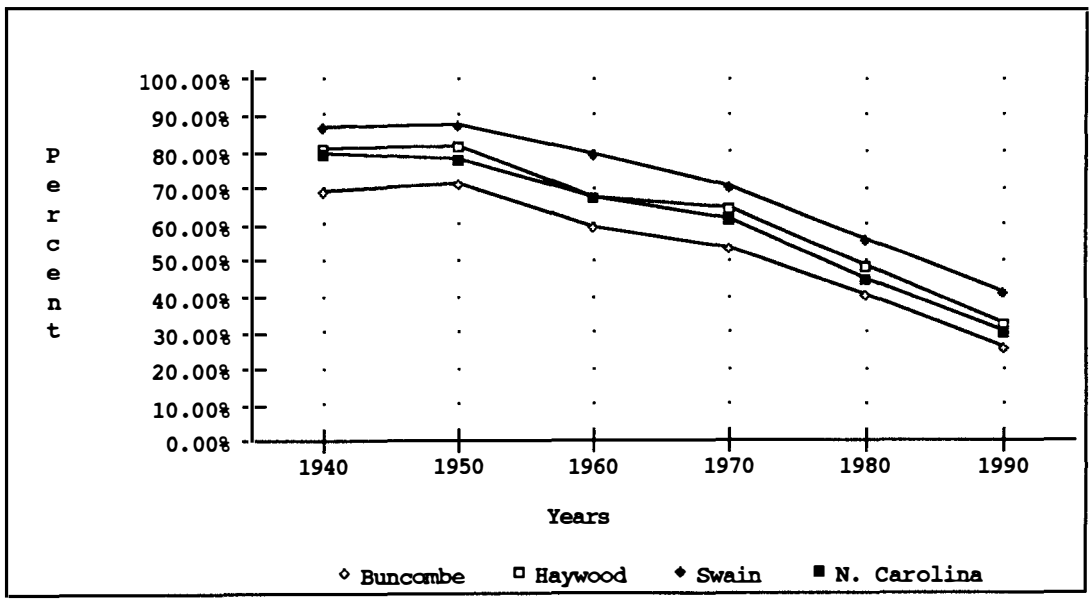


Figure 9.43 - % of Population Without HS Diploma - Northern Rim

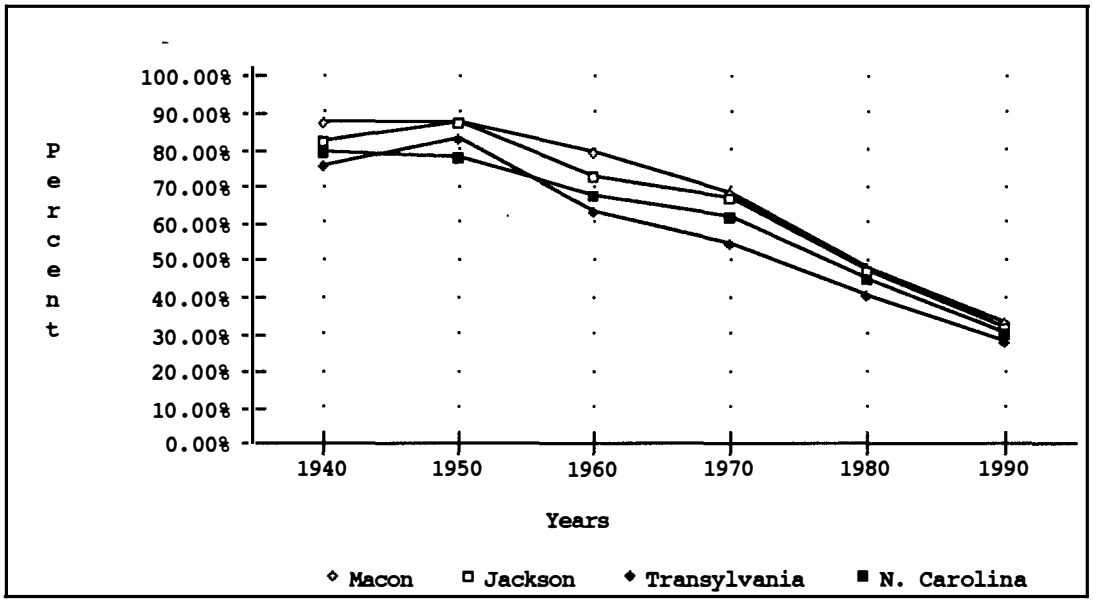


Figure 9.44 - % of Population Without HS Diploma - Southern Rim

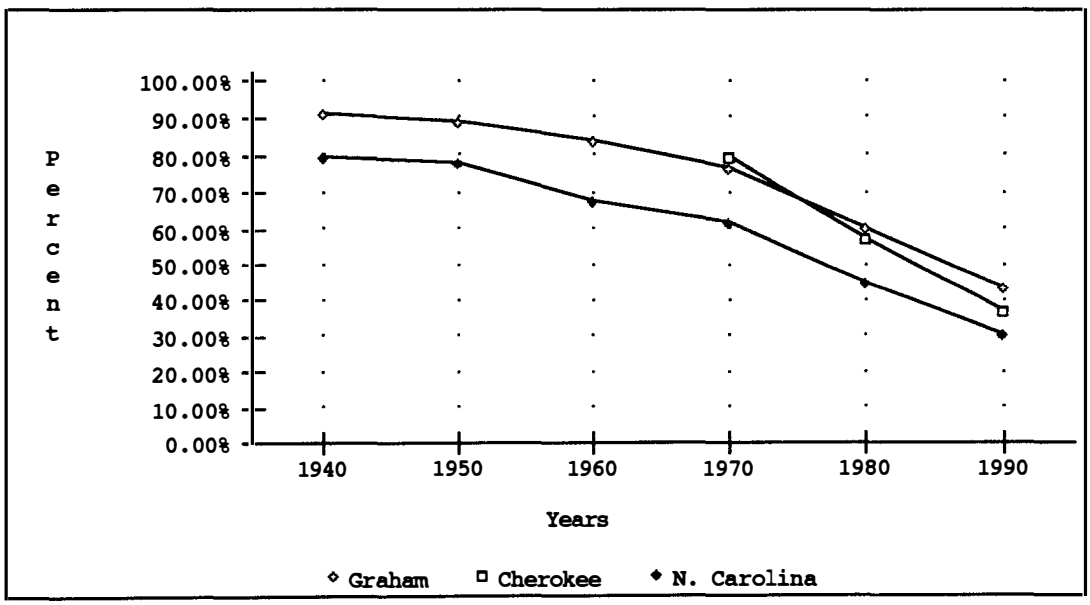


Figure 9.45 - % of Population Without HS Diploma - Graham, Cherokee, and North Carolina

For the southern rim the percent of the population without high school diplomas tends to be fairly close to the state average for all three counties especially after 1970 with Transylvania displaying the lowest rates. With regard to changes in absolute numbers of those without high school diplomas (Table 9.6), only Jackson's results exceed those for the state averages. Interestingly, Transylvania does not match Haywood's results although both have a similar manufacturing emphasis.

Table 9.6 Percent Change Without HS Diploma - Southern Rim

Years	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.
1950-70	-4.33%	-11.13%	-7.55%
1970-90	-12.91%	-28.53%	-14.29%

For Graham County and the Cherokees the percent of population without high school diplomas is predictably worse than state averages although noticeable improvement has occurred in remedying this, particularly by the Cherokees. Regarding the changes in absolute numbers of those without high school diplomas (Table 9.7), Graham shows surprisingly better than average percent decreases of non-graduates while the Cherokees show an overall increase. For Graham, these results could be indicative of a very low opportunity cost to completing the education; little development provides limited potential for drop-out employment. Further, although the benefits of completing school may not seem higher than in a county like Sevier or Swain, the only possibility of relocating and avoiding the highest unemployment rates of the study area is provided by acquiring a diploma. For the

Cherokees, the results tend to reflect those predictable of a tourist-oriented economy, where lack of alternative opportunity creates disincentives to educational achievement.

Table 9.7 Percent Change Without HS Diploma - Graham, Cherokee, & NC

Years	Graham	Cherokees	N. Car.
1950-70	-1.40%	N/A	3.50%
1970-90	-25.18%	14.85%	-21.53%

Social Welfare Spending

Two measures of social welfare spending that give an indication of economic health are food stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). For the study area of WNC none of the counties effectively participated in the program until 1975. From that time until 1980 the reports were prepared quarterly by the North Carolina Department of Social Services but based on the mid-quarter months of February, May, August, and November. Additionally, the department did not publish data for several years during the early 1980s and the only information available from that decade onward is based on fiscal years only, not monthly or quarterly.

Given these data limitations Table B.15 lists the detail for food stamp participation in the WNC counties from 1975 to 1993. It is apparent that seasonality affects participation levels in all the areas. In order to compare the counties to each other, the rates of change in food stamp participation is listed in Table 9.8.

Table 9.8 Percent Change in Food Stamp Participation 1975-1993

Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	Graham	N. Car.
-5.90%	8.00%	5.20%	46.90%	-5.70%	66.90%	-5.80%	18.10%

From this data some different results are achieved when compared to the previous statistics. Here the counties that typically fall short of state averages - Swain and Graham - both exceed the average, and Graham along with Buncombe and Jackson obtained reductions in their rates. Whereas Swain registered the lowest positive rate, Macon and Transylvania, both with very high rates of population increases experienced the highest percentage increases of food stamp participation.

For AFDC participation, the same reporting irregularities apply as with food stamps, but in addition, the North Carolina Department of Human Services also did not report information from 1965 through 1969. Table B.16 lists the detail by month and fiscal year when available and Table 9.9 summarizes this for statistical comparison.

From Table B.16 it is not readily apparent that seasonality applies to AFDC participation in the WNC region. Unfortunately little is also discernible from Table 9.9. The counties which demonstrated more favorable overall percent changes in AFDC participation relative to state averages were Haywood, Swain, and especially Jackson, while the remaining counties experienced worse percent changes. Of these results the counties with probably the most unexpected results are Swain and Buncombe although certain inconsistencies exist between changes in AFDC and food stamps for Graham County as well.

Table 9.9 Percent Change in AFDC Participation

Years	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain
1938-1949	91.0%	119.9%	136.6%
1951-1971	-10.4%	4.9%	-36.6%
1971-1993	340.0%	117.4%	188.5%

	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.
1938-1949	126.7%	91.2%	61.1%
1951-1971	-82.4%	30.9%	67.4%
1971-1993	785.2%	22.4%	325.0%

	Graham	N. Car
1938-1949	209.5%	84.8%
1951-1971	-76.8%	187.5%
1971-1993	443.1%	100.4%

Part of the difficulty with these statistics revolves around the programs to which they relate and the inclination of the local population to avail themselves of these benefits. As in East Tennessee, the independent mountain people of WNC still maintain extended family ties and support systems while the recent history of self-sufficiency produced a disinclination to accept welfare "handouts". In Macon and Transylvania counties the larger influx of population may have affected this tendency as may have the more urban environment of Buncombe County. Conversely, Swain County has a significant percentage of Cherokees, who already receive federal support payments as enrolled tribal members on the reservation. In essence then, food stamp and AFDC participation when combined do not provide any particularly insightful information; most of the counties performed about as well as or better than the state averages. Macon and Transylvania, in contrast appear to have had the highest percentage

increases in participation over the averages.

Another statistic that does not provide much useable information is infant mortality. From Table B.17 the detail since 1930 suggests that each county's rates until the present essentially equaled or was superior to the state averages. The only times and places where that might not have occurred was in Swain and Graham Counties in the most recent few years. The difficulty with attributing too much to this is the short time frame of applicability and the fact that in counties with lower populations and birth levels, even small changes in absolute numbers of infant deaths can dramatically affect the mortality rates.

Impacts on Government

The effects of the respective development efforts on the finances and debt of the local governments since 1957 is listed in Table B.18. In the northern rim, Buncombe began the period with the highest amount of per capita debt of all the listed areas. Although the debt grew substantially in the early 1970s, to still be the highest per capita rate, it was quickly brought down to the 1957 levels in five years. Since that time, Buncombe's gross debt has grown substantially but on a net basis - after offsetting the debt with cash and securities - the per capita debt is below 1957 levels and far below the state average.

For Haywood County the trend has simply been one of gradually increasing indebtedness, but always conservatively at per capita levels below the state averages. In Swain County a different trend can be observed. Here the per capita debt levels began at rather low levels

and stayed below the state averages until 1972 when the local government debt had tripled. Surprisingly, during the next five years the debt almost quadrupled again lifting the per capita debt to over four times the state average. During the 1980s Swain's debt continued to grow, tripling again between 1982 and 1987, even from a net debt perspective. Consequently the net per capita debt as of 1987 was over three and one-half times the state average. Apparently, as with Sevier County in Tennessee and Buncombe in its archaic period, an economy with an overemphasis on tourism leads to very high levels of local government indebtedness.

With regard to property taxes, Buncombe consistently maintained rates somewhat above state averages while Haywood's were kept below the average. Swain's, however, have stayed well below the average and as of 1987 were less than one third the state's per capita level. With a high level of indebtedness and little land in the tax base, the expectation would be that per capita property tax levels would have to rise sharply in Swain County. As a result, housing costs would increase significantly in an area with growing levels of poverty and limited space available for affordable housing.

For the southern rim of counties a very consistent trend is observed with all three counties maintaining low levels of indebtedness and per capita levels well below the state averages. Of the three counties, Macon has the lowest level with a negative net indebtedness, and Jackson's is the highest but still at per capita levels of only just over one-third the state average. All three counties have also managed this while keeping property taxes at or below the state per

capita average, with Jackson posting the most recent lowest rates.

For Graham County the results are similar to those for the southern rim, particularly Macon. Property taxes have been kept well below the state averages and indebtedness has also been kept not only low but negative when netted. With little economic activity and few prospects, the local government is conservatively accumulating resources apparently until they can be put to more productive use.

Impacts on Agriculture

Table B.19 lists agricultural statistics per the U.S. Census since 1930 when modern tourism began for the WNC counties. Summary tables will be provided by topic, however, to facilitate analysis.

From Tables 9.10 and 9.11 we can see the percent changes in farm acreage and average farm sizes. For the northern rim, Buncombe and Haywood statistics are close to the state averages. In Haywood the farmland loss occurred at a fairly consistent rate; for Buncombe the largest single percent drop occurred between 1969 and 1974 when Buncombe began to enter its development stage. In Swain the percent losses have been virtually the highest of the counties with decreases occurring in similar fashion as in the southern rim and Graham.

Table 9.10 Percent Change in Farm Acreage

Years	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	Graham	N.Car.
1930-50	-2.16%	4.05%	-41.80%	0.99%	-3.04%	-20.76%	-13.75%	6.99%
1950-69	-33.71%	-32.75%	-75.17%	-57.08%	-71.48%	-65.05%	-52.36%	-34.08%
1969-87	-30.59%	-28.97%	-46.28%	-54.44%	-50.52%	-17.77%	-62.04%	-25.81%

For these counties the high rate of farmland loss in the 1950s and 1960s was due to factors beyond development because that had not yet become a reality. Instead, the decrease was frequently due to farmers abandoning their small holdings for the sake of factory jobs in the North or those in the Piedmont. Based on the population figures for these two decades in Table B.11, these counties experience at best fluctuating population levels or outright population decreases as subsistence farmers were forsaking their minimal lifestyle and pursuing the greater opportunities made available by factory work elsewhere. This view is supported by Pomeroy and Yoho (1964, 9) who state that much of the loss in farm acreage occurred among smaller ownerships which contributed to the increasing farm size over this period and that "much of the abandoned land reverted to forest."

Table 9.11 Average Farm Size

Years	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	Graham	N.Car.
1930	59.2	75.4	79.6	70.6	62.4	86.1	69.8	64.5
1950	52.9	59.9	58.8	57.9	56.6	45.6	54.9	67.0
1969	51.6	85.6	64.6	80.5	67.2	53.8	52.3	106.6
1987	87.0	87.0	92.0	81.0	77.0	73.0	51.0	159.0

For the last two decades listed in Table 9.10 the loss of farmland in Macon, Jackson, and Swain, was much more likely attributable to second-home and tourist development as well as housing for the growing populations and retirees. In Graham, farmland continued to disappear as fewer off-farm opportunities existed after the demise of lumbering, and the small farms there have limited

potential in supporting an entire family.

Corresponding to the loss in farmland and increasing average size of farms between 1950 and 1970, Table 9.12 shows that the ownership percentages also increased during this period, supporting the view that small marginal farmers or tenants would be more likely to forsake their vocation. During the 1970s and 1980s, however, development and land speculation in the mountains would have pushed up the price of land considerably so that increases in holding size would more likely correspond with decreases in ownership percentage. Although this may also have been the general tendency for the state average, it is also true that the state's increase in farm size was larger than that for our counties while the state's decrease in ownership was smaller. Among our subject counties Swain achieved the highest average farm size but at the lowest ownership rate.

Table 9.12 Farm Ownership Percentages

Years	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	Graham	N.Car.
1930	60.7%	58.9%	71.2%	66.6%	65.5%	68.5%	57.7%	41.4%
1950	80.7%	71.6%	77.7%	78.7%	82.6%	80.6%	82.1%	49.2%
1969	85.9%	80.7%	80.9%	87.6%	90.2%	84.2%	83.1%	63.3%
1987	71.5%	64.6%	57.0%	63.2%	73.5%	64.3%	75.5%	58.5%

Based on the detail in Tables 9.13 and 9.14 it is evident that the small-sized mountain farms with below average crop and livestock production not only promoted abandonment of agriculture but motivated those remaining in WNC agriculture to pursue off-farm labor. In all listed years the amount of off-farm work has been significantly above the state averages at all levels of effort, but the consistent trend

toward increasing off-farm employment reversed itself in the last two decades. Although the statistics and information do not provide an indication of why this might have occurred, one possibility is that the widespread stagnation or decline in manufacturing employment - in WNC as opposed to the state average - limited these farm operator's off-farm prospects whereas the increase in female dominated tourist/retail/service opportunities permitted the spouse to generate supplemental family income.

In spite of the higher amounts of off-farm employment, the relative small size of the WNC farms and their lower average levels of output compared to the rest of the state resulted in equipment and amenity levels generally below the state averages. Of our counties, the ones consistently with the highest levels of modernization are Transylvania, Haywood, and Buncombe which have been able to provide not only more off-farm manufacturing employment but also at higher wages.

Table 9.13 Per-Farm Output as a Percent of State Averages

Years	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	Graham
Crops:							
1930	43.8%	54.4%	34.7%	35.5%	32.5%	55.8%	31.5%
1950	19.2%	22.3%	2.8%	5.1%	6.1%	10.5%	16.8%
1969	22.8%	32.5%	10.5%	12.2%	10.7%	26.4%	15.8%
1987	23.3%	20.6%	23.9%	19.3%	19.5%	49.1%	N/A
Livestock/Prods:							
1930	12.2%	164.0%	75.3%	90.2%	85.1%	97.8%	94.2%
1950	19.3%	159.2%	39.2%	99.7%	53.8%	77.5%	46.5%
1969	84.5%	52.0%	20.1%	80.3%	14.9%	33.9%	9.4%
1987	29.4%	23.2%	56.8%	26.3%	9.0%	28.2%	10.7%

Table 9.14 Percent of Farm Operators Engaged in Off-Farm Work

Years	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	Graham	N. Car.
Any Work:								
1940	47.8%	40.3%	59.3%	43.6%	45.0%	51.1%	61.7%	24.8%
1950	51.8%	40.3%	50.8%	58.6%	54.7%	60.8%	57.0%	33.7%
1969	65.3%	61.0%	67.5%	61.0%	69.2%	71.8%	60.9%	53.4%
1987	58.8%	60.0%	60.8%	60.1%	63.2%	67.3%	60.5%	53.8%
Over 100 Hours:								
1940	38.7%	32.9%	42.3%	27.2%	30.1%	40.4%	47.1%	14.5%
1950	43.0%	20.6%	38.3%	39.2%	39.1%	52.7%	38.6%	20.8%
Over 200 Hours:								
1969	45.0%	40.6%	46.9%	35.0%	44.6%	59.4%	37.2%	29.9%
1987	41.7%	48.6%	40.5%	43.1%	49.6%	51.0%	38.8%	36.6%

The one unexpected transition among these counties occurred with Swain between 1964 and 1987. Even though Swain had been the county with the least modernized farms up to 1964, by 1987 it had achieved the highest level of per-farm, dollar-value of equipment, although still well below the state average. What had also occurred in Swain was that the least amount of land had become concentrated under the fewest owners resulting in the highest average farm size and most output per farm. In addition, we also find that Swain has the lowest ownership percentage and the oldest farmers which suggests the greatest difficulty exists in establishing new farms. Certainly one of the most significant factors involved with Swain's situation lies with the high percentage of land precluded from use by the federal government. Nonetheless, growing tourism, especially after gaming's impact manifests itself, will only serve to put additional pressure on this economic sector.

Summary

From an unemployment perspective, a high concentration of tourism as a dominant sector of the economy produced high seasonal and annual average unemployment rates as witnessed in Swain County. Conversely, a more diversified economy or more emphasis on manufacturing resulted in lower unemployment rates and significantly less seasonality. This aspect was observed to varying degrees in all the remaining counties but Graham which as the least developed county consistently experienced the highest unemployment rates during all seasons and years.

Based on labor force participation data it is indicated - although not as strongly in WNC as in East Tennessee - that more tourism results in higher rates of participation. Buncombe and Swain with the highest amounts of tourism from an absolute and proportional sense respectively, have rates closest to the state average. All the other areas, particularly Graham have rates less than the average.

The types of industry operating in the local environment and magnitudes thereof also have some impact on earnings per employee. As per Transylvania and Haywood Counties, heavy concentrations of large-scale manufacturing produced earning levels well above the state average in that sector but with no spill-over effects in other local sectors. A heavy concentration in tourism, however, does seem to have the effect of contributing to lower manufacturing wages as found in Swain County. This effect was also experienced where low levels of development with corresponding high rates of unemployment occurred in Graham.

A heavier emphasis on tourism in an economy also produces the result of higher percentages of income being derived by proprietors as found in Swain and Macon Counties. Thus we find the potential for more small-scale entry into the market and greater opportunity for entrepreneurship. The larger the economy or the greater emphasis on manufacturing tends to produce the opposite results as observed in Buncombe, Haywood, and Transylvania, where earnings tend be derived more as employees, and establishments tend to be larger and corporate owned. In contrast, an economy with a low level of development like Graham also produces high rates of proprietary income.

Regarding population levels, higher rates of development tend to correspond with higher rates of population growth. For Haywood and Transylvania manufacturing created the attraction; in Swain and Macon it was tourism and seasonal/retirement-home development. In counties such as Buncombe and Jackson, steady growth without a dominant industry produced corresponding population increases while the lack of development in Graham generated very little population growth.

With income distribution, we found that all the counties but Graham achieved levels as defined by a Lorenz Curve to be quite close to the state averages with most improvement occurring from 1950 to 1970 in Swain, Macon, Jackson, and Graham Counties. Much of this improvement, however, is a result of the out-migration of the poorest families and offsetting immigration of higher-income groups. Based on levels of poverty, however, considerable differences between the counties exist. Swain, the Cherokee Reservation, and Graham not only have the highest rates of poverty as a percentage of the population but

also experienced increases in absolute levels of poverty, although the reservation did so at levels significantly lower than Swain County. For the rest of the counties except Transylvania, absolute levels of poverty decreased with Jackson County demonstrating the largest drop.

Based on per capita income, Graham with the least developed economy, and Swain with the greatest tourist orientation, have by far the lowest levels. Conversely, the highest levels belong to Buncombe with its larger, more diverse economy, and Transylvania and Haywood with their high levels of manufacturing income.

On the subject of educational attainment, all listed areas showed significant improvement in reducing the percent of the population without high school diplomas. Specifically, those areas that had rates least in line with state averages were Swain, Graham and the Cherokees. In reducing the absolute numbers of those without high school diplomas, Swain and the Cherokees again had the least success in matching the state averages followed by Macon. Graham, surprisingly, had made very impressive progress in reducing this statistic, whereas Transylvania unlike Haywood had shown little improvement.

In the subject of social welfare spending and infant mortality, very little can be inferred. Macon and Transylvania displayed the highest overall percent increases in participation of AFDC and food stamps although social attitudes and population changes could have considerable relevance in this statistic. With infant mortality none of the counties showed any significantly divergent trends away from the state averages although Swain and Graham did have some inordinately high rates in just the most recent few years.

In the government sector all the subject counties of WNC have maintained sound fiscal policies with low or negative levels of net indebtedness except Swain. Since 1972 Swain's debt has increased many times while property taxes have been kept low. Consequently the upward pressure on property taxes and housing costs is sure to increase in the future in an area with a small property tax base and growing levels of poverty in a tourist-oriented economy.

In the agricultural sector tourism has contributed to the loss of farmland and decrease in ownership percentages predominantly during the last two decades. The general tendency of mountain farms to be small has forced many operators to seek local off-farm employment which has been more beneficial in counties with larger manufacturing bases. Unfortunately, recent declines in manufacturing positions have been matched by declining off-farm employment percentages, which have to some extent been offset by increases in tourism and service/retail opportunities for the farmer's spouses, but at lower wage levels. Ultimately, this and the continued growth in tourism and its pressures on land use coupled with the below-average, per-farm output and declining ownership means that farmers in WNC will find maintaining their vocation to be an ever more daunting prospect.

Ultimately, the levels and types of tourism within an economy do correspond with generally predictable effects. As Nathan et al. suggested, tourism does not constitute a viable stand-alone industry but rather offers beneficial supplemental income within a more diverse economy. In Buncombe we can see this effect even as the county proceeded through the various stages. With tourism as an important but

not dominant industrial sector, Buncombe consistently ranked highest or very close to state averages among all the analyses. Haywood likewise, although very similar to Transylvania in manufacturing levels, had a higher degree of tourism and also rated higher among a majority of the comparisons.

For Swain County, the major emphasis on tourism produced results which did not compare well with the other counties except Graham. In this instance it might be inferred that the pursuit of tourism produced results at least better than no development, but seemingly at a cost of much higher public indebtedness. From a life-cycle perspective, since Swain has not entered into a development stage it is difficult arrive at additional conclusions, but it must also be remembered that the lack of better results in Swain's involvement stage can be directly related to its having been the poorest county in a poor region and therefore stood the most to gain from any development.

For the southern-rim counties less noticeable differences can be detected in the tourism of seasonal-housing. In many of our analyses all three counties produced quite similar results. All in all though, if any one of the three can be said to have produced the best social welfare results, it would probably have to be Jackson County with its economy less concentrated on manufacturing or tourism but more on education. Transylvania was able to produce high levels of manufacturing income but otherwise did not exceed its neighbors in many other categories and in general did not match Haywood which had a higher level of tourist activity.

For Macon, the development stage it entered did not produce any

dramatic results as with Sevier County in Tennessee. Again, this is a different type of tourism and based more heavily on seasonal-home construction. How long this stage can be maintained and the effects of its possible demise are the subjects of future research. This will also be the case with the Cherokees and the effects of gambling on the surrounding region, as they will most likely be propelled into a development stage in the near future and experience many subsequent economic and social changes.

APPENDIX B

TABLES FOR WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA

Table B.1.1 Industrial Mix 1930-1950							
	Total						
Census Year	Employment	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Tourism*	%
Buncombe							
1930	36,766	5,865	16.0%	6,098	16.6%	2,167	5.9%
1940	36,291	4,324	11.9%	8,296	22.9%	2,103	5.8%
1950	45,143	3,910	8.7%	10,092	22.4%	2,353	5.2%
Haywood							
1930	8,415	3,119	37.1%	2,456	29.2%	167	2.0%
1940	9,325	2,751	29.5%	3,130	33.6%	213	2.3%
1950	12,277	2,599	21.2%	4,849	39.5%	291	2.4%
Swain							
1930	3,122	1,709	54.7%	183	5.9%	52	1.7%
1940	2,319	1,023	44.1%	177	7.6%	71	3.1%
1950	2,652	831	31.3%	542	20.4%	91	3.4%
Graham							
1930	1,709	935	54.7%	169	9.9%	23	1.3%
1940	1,436	620	43.2%	96	6.7%	24	1.7%
1950	1,857	683	36.8%	318	17.1%	110	5.9%

* Includes those working in establishments dealing in lodging, food and drink service, and recreation and amusements.

Source: Census of Population

Table B.1.2 Industrial Mix 1930-1950							
	Total						
Census Year	Employment	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Tourism*	%
Macon							
1930	4,420	2,905	65.7%	316	7.1%	64	1.4%
1940	3,791	2,034	53.7%	174	4.6%	80	2.1%
1950	4,684	2,035	43.4%	560	12.0%	113	2.4%
Jackson							
1930	5,643	3,279	58.1%	523	9.3%	97	1.7%
1940	4,647	2,250	48.4%	535	11.5%	107	2.3%
1950	5,580	2,016	36.1%	1,064	19.1%	156	2.8%
Transylvania							
1930	3,094	1,144	37.0%	536	17.3%	66	2.1%
1940	3,767	846	22.5%	1,397	37.1%	101	2.7%
1950	4,805	770	16.0%	1,959	40.8%	163	3.4%
North Carolina							
1930	1,141,129	499,923	43.8%	245,913	21.5%	22,154	1.9%
1940	1,208,690	405,923	33.6%	325,539	26.9%	28,667	2.4%
1950	1,463,352	360,097	24.6%	408,952	27.9%	41,272	2.8%
* Includes those working in establishments dealing in lodging, food and drink service, and recreation and amusements.							
Source: Census of population							

Table B.2.1 Industrial Mix 1956-1968					
	Total				
Year	Employment	Manuf.	%	Tourism*	%
Buncombe					
1956	28,590	12,035	42.1%	1,498	5.2%
1959	31,396	13,324	42.4%	1,582	5.0%
1962	33,794	15,408	45.6%	1,645	4.9%
1965	39,517	17,409	44.1%	2,104	5.3%
1968	44,476	19,370	43.6%	2,143	4.8%
Haywood					
1956	7,221	4,844	67.1%	161	2.2%
1959	8,015	5,366	66.9%	192	2.4%
1962	7,989	5,197	65.1%	235	2.9%
1965	9,606	5,334	55.5%	353	3.7%
1968	9,978	6,226	62.4%	320	3.2%
Swain					
1956	963	394	40.9%	123	12.8%
1959	978	387	39.6%	96	9.8%
1962	968	425	43.9%	86	8.9%
1965	1,319	671	50.9%	107	8.1%
1968	2,217	1,268	57.2%	N/A	0.0%
Graham					
1956	546	224	41.0%	N/A	0.0%
1959	672	330	49.1%	N/A	0.0%
1962	580	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%
1965	797	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%
1968	1,108	520	46.9%	N/A	0.0%

* Includes those working in establishments dealing in lodging, food and drink service, and recreation and amusements.

Source: County Business Patterns

Table B.2.2 Industrial Mix 1956-1968					
	Total				
Year	Employment	Manuf.	%	Tourism*	%
Macon					
1956	1,528	619	40.5%	86	5.6%
1959	1,828	754	41.2%	N/A	0.0%
1962	1,714	711	41.5%	98	5.7%
1965	1,714	579	33.8%	97	5.7%
1968	2,358	944	40.0%	N/A	0.0%
Jackson					
1956	1,931	753	39.0%	N/A	0.0%
1959	1,640	679	41.4%	112	6.8%
1962	1,710	649	38.0%	115	6.7%
1965	2,599	1,257	48.4%	N/A	0.0%
1968	2,575	1,020	39.6%	237	9.2%
Transylvania					
1956	3,667	2,740	74.7%	N/A	0.0%
1959	4,010	2,926	73.0%	N/A	0.0%
1962	3,715	2,538	68.3%	N/A	0.0%
1965	4,404	2,910	66.1%	107	2.4%
1968	5,947	3,644	61.3%	N/A	0.0%
North Carolina					
1956	878,773	455,061	51.8%	25,941	3.0%
1959	943,827	467,685	49.6%	28,822	3.1%
1962	1,010,353	503,646	49.8%	32,266	3.2%
1965	1,161,866	561,906	48.4%	41,098	3.5%
1968	1,371,887	665,384	48.5%	50,880	3.7%
* Includes those working in establishments dealing in lodging, food and drink service, and recreation and amusements.					
Source: County Business Patterns					

Table B.3.1 Agriculture 1940-1969			
	Resident Farm	Total	% of
Year	Operators	Population	Population
Buncombe			
1940	5,426	108,953	5.0%
1945	5,710	114,300	5.0%
1950	4,266	124,403	3.4%
1954	4,303	131,054	3.3%
1959	3,059	129,648	2.4%
1964	2,471	136,440	1.8%
1969	2,433	143,930	1.7%
Haywood			
1940	3,119	34,752	9.0%
1945	2,891	38,200	7.6%
1950	2,784	37,631	7.4%
1954	2,818	38,834	7.3%
1959	1,914	39,555	4.8%
1964	1,749	40,560	4.3%
1969	1,309	41,559	3.1%
Swain			
1940	1,617	12,211	13.2%
1945	1,068	12,500	8.5%
1950	925	9,921	9.3%
1954	758	8,960	8.5%
1959	493	8,506	5.8%
1964	401	8,164	4.9%
1969	209	7,900	2.6%
Graham			
1940	818	6,418	12.7%
1945	891	6,700	13.3%
1950	759	6,886	11.0%
1954	757	7,086	10.7%
1959	587	6,470	9.1%
1964	596	6,489	9.2%
1969	379	6,553	5.8%
Sources: Census of Agriculture and Information			
Services, North Carolina Center for Health and			
Environmental Statistics			

Table B.3.2 Agriculture 1940-1969			
	Resident Farm	Total	% of
Year	Operators	Population	Population
Macon			
1940	2,243	15,887	14.1%
1945	2,350	17,050	13.8%
1950	2,276	16,174	14.1%
1954	1,896	16,297	11.6%
1959	1,203	15,027	8.0%
1964	985	15,298	6.4%
1969	702	15,723	4.5%
Jackson			
1940	2,565	19,336	13.3%
1945	2,430	20,300	12.0%
1950	2,260	19,261	11.7%
1954	1,813	19,223	9.4%
1959	1,137	17,892	6.4%
1964	825	19,399	4.3%
1969	543	21,308	2.5%
Transylvania			
1940	1,010	12,250	8.2%
1945	1,273	13,650	9.3%
1950	1,092	15,194	7.2%
1954	968	16,448	5.9%
1959	533	16,286	3.3%
1964	435	17,787	2.4%
1969	323	19,458	1.7%
North Carolina			
1940	278,276	3,571,623	7.8%
1945	287,412	3,782,300	7.6%
1950	288,508	4,061,929	7.1%
1954	267,906	4,270,311	6.3%
1959	190,567	4,519,088	4.2%
1964	148,202	4,779,663	3.1%
1969	119,386	5,042,625	2.4%
Sources: Census of Agriculture and Information Services, North Carolina Center for Health and Environmental Statistics			

Table B.4.1 Buncombe County Incomes (000s):

Year	Total	Agri.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%	Tourism	%
1969	435,847	7,046	1.6%	127,264	29.2%	102,940	23.6%	22,923	5.3%	52,194	12.0%	10,050	2.3%
1970	467,824	7,865	1.7%	130,050	27.8%	107,957	23.1%	24,238	5.2%	57,499	12.3%	10,497	2.2%
1971	508,339	7,169	1.4%	139,947	27.5%	119,334	23.5%	26,086	5.1%	63,450	12.5%	11,000	2.2%
1972	576,066	6,844	1.2%	168,372	29.2%	136,445	23.7%	30,247	5.3%	71,030	12.3%	11,492	2.0%
1973	657,470	6,377	1.0%	191,509	29.1%	158,284	24.1%	40,610	6.2%	76,364	11.6%	13,743	2.1%
1974	723,610	4,480	0.6%	206,638	28.6%	170,765	23.6%	42,179	5.8%	85,072	11.8%	13,092	1.8%
1975	757,981	7,275	1.0%	175,684	23.2%	183,948	24.3%	38,490	5.1%	93,799	12.4%	14,235	1.9%
1976	845,852	6,882	0.8%	204,681	24.2%	204,845	24.2%	47,913	5.7%	102,408	12.1%	19,043	2.3%
1977	955,989	10,311	1.1%	243,020	25.4%	230,668	24.1%	53,264	5.6%	115,113	12.0%	25,228	2.6%
1978	1,079,119	7,728	0.7%	280,290	26.0%	260,062	24.1%	60,792	5.6%	127,447	11.8%	29,950	2.8%
1979	1,190,586	8,637	0.7%	298,841	25.1%	285,489	24.0%	63,530	5.3%	136,103	11.4%	32,895	2.8%
1980	1,345,281	8,496	0.6%	337,184	25.1%	311,837	23.2%	62,340	4.6%	150,683	11.2%	36,444	2.7%
1981	1,498,670	12,243	0.8%	357,208	23.8%	341,257	22.8%	61,702	4.1%	160,595	10.7%	41,071	2.7%
1982	1,582,212	17,486	1.1%	350,781	22.2%	370,626	23.4%	57,187	3.6%	170,206	10.8%	50,409	3.2%
1983	1,721,338	13,577	0.8%	395,743	23.0%	416,407	24.2%	60,638	3.5%	178,658	10.4%	56,010	3.3%
1984	1,912,504	14,136	0.7%	432,659	22.6%	475,391	24.9%	77,264	4.0%	197,109	10.3%	68,243	3.6%
1985	2,057,074	15,467	0.8%	444,871	21.6%	522,223	25.4%	92,259	4.5%	213,701	10.4%	74,452	3.6%
1986	2,198,406	14,192	0.6%	464,054	21.1%	565,749	25.7%	106,065	4.8%	229,082	10.4%	81,531	3.7%
1987	2,340,842	16,560	0.7%	455,423	19.5%	618,873	26.4%	116,947	5.0%	244,711	10.5%	88,634	3.8%
1988	2,540,135	17,169	0.7%	483,924	19.1%	701,927	27.6%	126,268	5.0%	267,269	10.5%	90,775	3.6%
1989	2,776,829	19,020	0.7%	507,851	18.3%	774,715	27.9%	132,308	4.8%	292,105	10.5%	100,382	3.6%
1990	3,037,255	22,282	0.7%	539,042	17.7%	852,186	28.1%	139,943	4.6%	319,576	10.5%	110,071	3.6%
1991	3,186,900	22,420	0.7%	543,620	17.1%	926,389	29.1%	136,186	4.3%	336,425	10.6%	124,352	3.9%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table B.4.2 Haywood County Incomes (000s):

Year	Total	Agri.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%	Tourism	%
1969	114,130	4,090	3.6%	47,649	41.7%	18,394	16.1%	3,641	3.2%	9,879	8.7%	2,317	2.0%
1970	120,245	3,751	3.1%	47,623	39.6%	19,818	16.5%	3,612	3.0%	10,694	8.9%	2,813	2.3%
1971	129,850	4,548	3.5%	49,283	38.0%	21,605	16.6%	4,101	3.2%	12,083	9.3%	3,051	2.3%
1972	144,411	4,588	3.2%	54,811	38.0%	23,446	16.2%	5,725	4.0%	13,784	9.5%	3,222	2.2%
1973	164,574	5,626	3.4%	61,590	37.4%	26,746	16.3%	7,712	4.7%	14,772	9.0%	3,554	2.2%
1974	178,353	5,594	3.1%	64,453	36.1%	28,040	15.7%	7,180	4.0%	16,443	9.2%	3,670	2.1%
1975	196,203	5,062	2.6%	67,928	34.6%	30,787	15.7%	7,315	3.7%	18,233	9.3%	4,297	2.2%
1976	223,175	4,481	2.0%	82,793	37.1%	34,886	15.6%	8,901	4.0%	19,798	8.9%	4,864	2.2%
1977	248,855	5,061	2.0%	92,869	37.3%	39,500	15.9%	9,111	3.7%	22,115	8.9%	6,301	2.5%
1978	279,415	6,361	2.3%	103,968	37.2%	43,757	15.7%	10,197	3.6%	24,457	8.8%	7,516	2.7%
1979	304,578	6,436	2.1%	108,563	35.6%	47,751	15.7%	10,894	3.6%	27,067	8.9%	8,417	2.8%
1980	346,930	4,673	1.3%	122,412	35.3%	49,905	14.4%	10,736	3.1%	30,538	8.8%	9,466	2.7%
1981	386,255	5,287	1.4%	137,810	35.7%	53,018	13.7%	11,163	2.9%	33,369	8.6%	9,967	2.6%
1982	409,593	7,855	1.9%	139,145	34.0%	55,819	13.6%	10,922	2.7%	35,753	8.7%	10,977	2.7%
1983	443,875	6,773	1.5%	141,523	31.9%	63,446	14.3%	15,838	3.6%	36,761	8.3%	12,257	2.8%
1984	494,023	9,025	1.8%	160,130	32.4%	72,250	14.6%	17,905	3.6%	39,615	8.0%	13,243	2.7%
1985	523,284	10,420	2.0%	160,666	30.7%	82,093	15.7%	21,782	4.2%	43,794	8.4%	16,139	3.1%
1986	557,997	8,645	1.5%	168,051	30.1%	92,228	16.5%	20,910	3.7%	47,955	8.6%	18,967	3.4%
1987	587,584	10,991	1.9%	173,978	29.6%	100,072	17.0%	22,789	3.9%	51,374	8.7%	19,911	3.4%
1988	619,879	10,134	1.6%	172,190	27.8%	110,858	17.9%	23,662	3.8%	57,075	9.2%	21,170	3.4%
1989	635,960	7,873	1.2%	161,084	25.3%	115,182	18.1%	24,486	3.9%	60,601	9.5%	21,660	3.4%
1990	663,375	9,325	1.4%	157,227	23.7%	119,080	18.0%	23,562	3.6%	66,714	10.1%	23,128	3.5%
1991	697,578	9,463	1.4%	162,722	23.3%	128,857	18.5%	22,993	3.3%	68,308	9.8%	25,022	3.6%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table B.4.3 Swain County Incomes (000s):

Year	Total	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%	Tourism	%
1969	17,278	283	1.6%	4,536	26.3%	7,123	41.2%	483	2.8%	3,673	21.3%	2,024	11.7%
1970	18,192	220	1.2%	4,117	22.6%	7,616	41.9%	511	2.8%	3,772	20.7%	2,356	13.0%
1971	21,332	254	1.2%	4,637	21.7%	9,857	46.2%	586	2.7%	4,366	20.5%	2,655	12.4%
1972	24,304	357	1.5%	5,341	22.0%	10,759	44.3%	753	3.1%	5,494	22.6%	3,035	12.5%
1973	26,839	248	0.9%	5,460	20.3%	12,559	46.8%	878	3.3%	5,680	21.2%	4,208	15.7%
1974	29,845	154	0.5%	5,955	20.0%	13,126	44.0%	1,048	3.5%	6,431	21.5%	4,204	14.1%
1975	34,207	381	1.1%	6,223	18.2%	14,287	41.8%	1,147	3.4%	6,943	20.3%	5,537	16.2%
1976	38,341	341	0.9%	7,765	20.3%	15,907	41.5%	1,493	3.9%	7,680	20.0%	5,553	14.5%
1977	41,961	448	1.1%	8,498	20.3%	16,546	39.4%	1,966	4.7%	9,008	21.5%	7,123	17.0%
1978	48,185	330	0.7%	9,573	19.9%	21,663	45.0%	1,853	3.8%	9,572	19.9%	11,424	23.7%
1979	53,542	380	0.7%	11,543	21.6%	23,045	43.0%	1,724	3.2%	8,943	16.7%	12,203	22.8%
1980	58,680	209	0.4%	12,424	21.2%	18,055	30.8%	1,485	2.5%	15,552	26.5%	7,159	12.2%
1981	63,303	278	0.4%	10,733	17.0%	20,200	31.9%	1,968	3.1%	14,603	23.1%	8,228	13.0%
1982	65,239	629	1.0%	8,175	12.5%	21,662	33.2%	1,837	2.8%	14,086	21.6%	9,097	13.9%
1983	70,605	829	1.2%	8,910	12.6%	23,847	33.8%	2,257	3.2%	15,386	21.8%	9,879	14.0%
1984	77,417	719	0.9%	10,002	12.9%	26,652	34.4%	2,709	3.5%	15,795	20.4%	10,621	13.7%
1985	84,837	1,403	1.7%	13,174	15.5%	28,485	33.6%	2,691	3.2%	16,854	19.9%	11,504	13.6%
1986	88,773	1,451	1.6%	14,669	16.5%	34,273	38.6%	3,469	3.9%	13,491	15.2%	11,773	13.3%
1987	93,735	2,562	2.7%	12,877	13.7%	37,352	39.8%	3,422	3.7%	15,665	16.7%	12,835	13.7%
1988	100,974	2,757	2.7%	13,732	13.6%	40,516	40.1%	3,567	3.5%	17,800	17.6%	13,504	13.4%
1989	108,728	2,818	2.6%	16,682	15.3%	41,638	38.3%	3,568	3.3%	18,999	17.5%	13,680	12.6%
1990	113,591	2,330	2.1%	15,976	14.1%	46,156	40.6%	3,180	2.8%	20,666	18.2%	12,809	11.3%
1991	121,632	2,353	1.9%	15,866	13.0%	52,196	42.9%	3,425	2.8%	21,172	17.4%	13,854	11.4%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table B.4.4 Graham County Incomes (000s):

Year	Total	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%	Tourism	%
1969	13,056	648	5.0%	3,344	25.6%	2,175	16.7%	1,387	10.6%	1,868	14.3%	81	0.6%
1970	13,888	615	4.4%	3,045	21.9%	2,268	16.3%	1,486	10.7%	2,065	14.9%	58	0.4%
1971	13,603	613	4.5%	1,783	13.1%	2,483	18.3%	1,577	11.6%	2,063	15.2%	52	0.4%
1972	14,539	895	6.2%	1,483	10.2%	2,770	19.1%	1,386	9.5%	2,312	15.9%	104	0.7%
1973	17,687	689	3.9%	3,400	19.2%	2,845	16.1%	1,866	10.6%	2,441	13.8%	126	0.7%
1974	21,666	625	2.9%	5,759	26.6%	2,898	13.4%	2,006	9.3%	2,786	12.9%	116	0.5%
1975	23,010	834	3.6%	5,301	23.0%	2,908	12.6%	1,711	7.4%	3,102	13.5%	N/A	0.0%
1976	25,921	692	2.7%	5,958	23.0%	3,210	12.4%	2,477	9.6%	3,424	13.2%	153	0.6%
1977	28,945	768	2.7%	6,632	22.9%	3,320	11.5%	3,736	12.9%	3,791	13.1%	206	0.7%
1978	33,500	861	2.6%	8,169	24.4%	3,586	10.7%	5,267	15.7%	4,289	12.8%	236	0.7%
1979	38,705	598	1.5%	10,431	27.0%	3,773	9.7%	6,611	17.1%	4,469	11.5%	247	0.6%
1980	44,609	402	0.9%	11,497	25.8%	3,989	8.9%	8,691	19.5%	4,863	10.9%	340	0.8%
1981	44,843	787	1.8%	12,286	27.4%	4,327	9.6%	3,787	8.4%	5,070	11.3%	389	0.9%
1982	48,501	1,142	2.4%	13,348	27.5%	4,442	9.2%	3,909	8.1%	5,218	10.8%	509	1.0%
1983	50,253	947	1.9%	13,547	27.0%	5,022	10.0%	3,920	7.8%	5,516	11.0%	636	1.3%
1984	54,238	1,160	2.1%	12,121	22.3%	5,822	10.7%	5,620	10.4%	5,893	10.9%	N/A	0.0%
1985	56,458	1,656	2.9%	10,338	18.3%	6,046	10.7%	7,695	13.6%	6,464	11.4%	N/A	0.0%
1986	59,778	1,488	2.5%	9,407	15.7%	6,088	10.2%	9,323	15.6%	6,688	11.2%	N/A	0.0%
1987	61,703	2,151	3.5%	11,320	18.3%	6,203	10.1%	8,295	13.4%	7,264	11.8%	N/A	0.0%
1988	62,442	1,966	3.1%	12,057	19.3%	6,419	10.3%	6,402	10.3%	7,842	12.6%	N/A	0.0%
1989	64,199	1,852	2.9%	9,887	15.4%	7,114	11.1%	6,494	10.1%	8,447	13.2%	N/A	0.0%
1990	69,307	1,961	2.8%	9,518	13.7%	7,598	11.0%	7,570	10.9%	9,256	13.4%	N/A	0.0%
1991	73,041	1,915	2.6%	8,097	11.1%	8,640	11.8%	7,955	10.9%	9,545	13.1%	518	0.7%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table B.4.5 Macon County Incomes (000s):

Year	Total	Agri.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%	Tourism	%
1969	35,324	1,908	5.4%	5,320	15.1%	7,906	22.4%	3,126	8.8%	3,490	9.9%	1,097	3.1%
1970	37,886	1,940	5.1%	4,922	13.0%	8,092	21.4%	3,188	8.4%	3,627	9.6%	1,139	3.0%
1971	42,990	2,371	5.5%	4,622	10.8%	9,213	21.4%	4,205	9.8%	3,933	9.1%	1,204	2.8%
1972	49,491	2,901	5.9%	4,758	9.6%	10,496	21.2%	6,653	13.4%	4,381	8.9%	1,400	2.8%
1973	58,897	2,962	5.0%	5,468	9.3%	12,819	21.8%	8,333	14.1%	4,890	8.3%	1,796	3.0%
1974	64,873	836	1.3%	5,479	8.4%	14,121	21.8%	7,167	11.0%	5,731	8.8%	1,853	2.9%
1975	70,771	1,264	1.8%	4,065	5.7%	15,981	22.6%	6,083	8.6%	6,535	9.2%	1,985	2.8%
1976	81,324	1,777	2.2%	5,307	6.5%	18,043	22.2%	8,169	10.0%	7,241	8.9%	2,329	2.9%
1977	91,959	1,753	1.9%	6,103	6.6%	21,003	22.8%	9,369	10.2%	8,255	9.0%	2,625	2.9%
1978	105,047	1,850	1.8%	7,906	7.5%	24,488	23.3%	9,894	9.4%	9,454	9.0%	3,580	3.4%
1979	119,906	2,251	1.9%	9,602	8.0%	27,138	22.6%	11,346	9.5%	10,342	8.6%	3,886	3.2%
1980	139,500	2,569	1.8%	11,632	8.3%	29,409	21.1%	10,750	7.7%	11,676	8.4%	4,440	3.2%
1981	159,531	2,982	1.9%	12,950	8.1%	30,602	19.2%	11,461	7.2%	12,815	8.0%	4,549	2.9%
1982	173,763	3,237	1.9%	13,647	7.9%	34,262	19.7%	12,064	6.9%	13,528	7.8%	5,228	3.0%
1983	195,207	3,128	1.6%	14,933	7.6%	40,685	20.8%	14,502	7.4%	14,552	7.5%	6,525	3.3%
1984	220,020	3,832	1.7%	14,652	6.7%	45,473	20.7%	18,088	8.2%	15,881	7.2%	7,086	3.2%
1985	237,081	4,930	2.1%	15,406	6.5%	49,297	20.8%	19,241	8.1%	17,910	7.6%	7,909	3.3%
1986	254,880	4,532	1.8%	19,720	7.7%	49,174	19.3%	22,119	8.7%	19,198	7.5%	8,230	3.2%
1987	262,700	4,849	1.8%	20,028	7.6%	52,148	19.9%	23,598	9.0%	20,539	7.8%	8,923	3.4%
1988	286,366	2,888	1.0%	23,022	8.0%	59,709	20.9%	25,366	8.9%	22,732	7.9%	N/A	0.0%
1989	308,061	2,593	0.8%	24,121	7.8%	66,781	21.7%	26,251	8.5%	24,657	8.0%	10,818	3.5%
1990	330,474	2,839	0.9%	25,661	7.8%	74,360	22.5%	26,823	8.1%	26,534	8.0%	12,002	3.6%
1991	346,823	2,656	0.8%	26,341	7.6%	80,118	23.1%	25,835	7.4%	28,060	8.1%	12,637	3.6%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table B.4.6 Jackson County Incomes (000s):

Year	Total	Agri.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%	Tourism	%
1969	46,730	753	1.6%	6,967	14.9%	8,547	18.3%	1,864	4.0%	10,322	22.1%	1,241	2.7%
1970	50,658	672	1.3%	6,718	13.3%	8,987	17.7%	1,704	3.4%	11,729	23.2%	1,325	2.6%
1971	57,754	787	1.4%	7,475	12.9%	10,460	18.1%	1,985	3.4%	13,485	23.3%	1,834	3.2%
1972	66,675	1,019	1.5%	8,440	12.7%	13,172	19.8%	2,778	4.2%	15,081	22.6%	2,495	3.7%
1973	77,688	1,471	1.9%	10,727	13.8%	16,435	21.2%	3,053	3.9%	16,902	21.8%	4,366	5.6%
1974	83,090	190	0.2%	11,388	13.7%	15,037	18.1%	3,378	4.1%	19,202	23.1%	1,999	2.4%
1975	92,803	785	0.8%	8,720	9.4%	17,225	18.6%	3,411	3.7%	21,743	23.4%	2,223	2.4%
1976	103,834	958	0.9%	9,797	9.4%	19,916	19.2%	4,466	4.3%	23,666	22.8%	3,300	3.2%
1977	114,348	1,135	1.0%	11,749	10.3%	21,783	19.0%	4,638	4.1%	26,846	23.5%	3,561	3.1%
1978	130,445	1,603	1.2%	14,368	11.0%	25,485	19.5%	5,292	4.1%	30,068	23.1%	4,222	3.2%
1979	142,889	1,696	1.2%	15,263	10.7%	27,764	19.4%	6,056	4.2%	33,010	23.1%	4,490	3.1%
1980	159,914	1,714	1.1%	16,382	10.2%	30,051	18.8%	5,926	3.7%	36,421	22.8%	4,958	3.1%
1981	177,645	1,486	0.8%	15,982	9.0%	36,412	20.5%	6,788	3.8%	38,817	21.9%	8,374	4.7%
1982	191,302	2,148	1.1%	13,647	7.1%	40,547	21.2%	8,346	4.4%	40,192	21.0%	10,982	5.7%
1983	209,478	2,541	1.2%	18,991	9.1%	44,933	21.4%	9,907	4.7%	41,115	19.6%	13,205	6.3%
1984	232,424	2,137	0.9%	17,383	7.5%	51,424	22.1%	12,279	5.3%	44,437	19.1%	13,342	5.7%
1985	244,159	2,280	0.9%	15,089	6.2%	53,869	22.1%	14,153	5.8%	49,269	20.2%	14,059	5.8%
1986	259,943	1,988	0.8%	17,962	6.9%	51,136	19.7%	15,504	6.0%	53,830	20.7%	8,143	3.1%
1987	277,395	1,698	0.6%	18,809	6.8%	54,263	19.6%	18,142	6.5%	58,455	21.1%	8,410	3.0%
1988	298,476	1,026	0.3%	21,549	7.2%	59,651	20.0%	18,240	6.1%	62,756	21.0%	9,259	3.1%
1989	322,568	1,210	0.4%	23,376	7.2%	66,077	20.5%	19,240	6.0%	67,538	20.9%	N/A	0.0%
1990	345,644	825	0.2%	23,419	6.8%	70,204	20.3%	19,751	5.7%	75,108	21.7%	10,996	3.2%
1991	363,222	826	0.2%	23,539	6.5%	75,624	20.8%	18,936	5.2%	79,080	21.8%	11,628	3.2%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table B.4.7 Transylvania County Incomes (000s):

Year	Total	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%	Tourism	%
1969	50,035	715	1.4%	30,232	60.4%	8,007	16.0%	4,490	9.0%	3,969	7.9%	1,294	2.6%
1970	54,369	607	1.1%	31,291	57.6%	8,235	15.1%	5,990	11.0%	4,362	8.0%	1,335	2.5%
1971	57,314	617	1.1%	29,599	51.6%	8,989	15.7%	6,656	11.6%	4,749	8.3%	1,485	2.6%
1972	65,844	570	0.9%	32,116	48.8%	10,531	16.0%	6,337	9.6%	5,380	8.2%	1,558	2.4%
1973	72,309	480	0.7%	37,190	51.4%	11,967	16.5%	5,641	7.8%	5,879	8.1%	2,065	2.9%
1974	80,878	1,188	1.5%	42,509	52.6%	12,699	15.7%	7,012	8.7%	6,535	8.1%	1,782	2.2%
1975	92,683	951	1.0%	47,571	51.3%	13,698	14.8%	9,216	9.9%	7,515	8.1%	1,947	2.1%
1976	110,044	1,059	1.0%	58,780	53.4%	16,455	15.0%	12,591	11.4%	8,161	7.4%	2,462	2.2%
1977	122,120	866	0.7%	66,094	54.1%	18,427	15.1%	9,218	7.5%	9,265	7.6%	2,763	2.3%
1978	136,399	611	0.4%	73,520	53.9%	20,954	15.4%	8,275	6.1%	10,532	7.7%	3,401	2.5%
1979	157,089	977	0.6%	88,659	56.4%	22,210	14.1%	8,044	5.1%	11,680	7.4%	3,636	2.3%
1980	183,881	494	0.3%	111,787	60.8%	23,401	12.7%	7,526	4.1%	12,433	6.8%	3,625	2.0%
1981	209,562	1,474	0.7%	127,523	60.9%	26,001	12.4%	7,463	3.6%	13,271	6.3%	3,993	1.9%
1982	224,497	2,836	1.3%	132,838	59.2%	28,400	12.7%	7,822	3.5%	13,885	6.2%	4,457	2.0%
1983	245,523	3,627	1.5%	138,977	56.6%	32,316	13.2%	8,472	3.5%	14,520	5.9%	4,920	2.0%
1984	271,789	3,730	1.4%	152,337	56.0%	36,035	13.3%	11,013	4.1%	15,915	5.9%	5,471	2.0%
1985	293,468	4,504	1.5%	143,464	48.9%	40,875	13.9%	12,306	4.2%	17,551	6.0%	7,148	2.4%
1986	306,522	4,031	1.3%	130,938	42.7%	48,961	16.0%	15,207	5.0%	19,225	6.3%	7,440	2.4%
1987	326,513	6,620	2.0%	138,877	42.5%	49,373	15.1%	15,493	4.7%	20,123	6.2%	8,191	2.5%
1988	347,016	5,179	1.5%	139,141	40.1%	57,541	16.6%	16,879	4.9%	21,760	6.3%	10,963	3.2%
1989	371,524	6,368	1.7%	136,252	36.7%	62,877	16.9%	17,167	4.6%	22,900	6.2%	11,191	3.0%
1990	395,185	6,071	1.5%	139,932	35.4%	69,649	17.6%	16,244	4.1%	24,988	6.3%	12,624	3.2%
1991	411,714	6,507	1.6%	141,197	34.3%	72,422	17.6%	15,501	3.8%	28,034	6.8%	12,497	3.0%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table B.4.8 North Carolina Incomes (000s):

Year	Total	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%	Tourism	%
1969	15,125,538	713,541	4.7%	4,304,097	28.5%	2,912,085	19.3%	808,159	5.3%	2,182,011	14.4%	248,930	1.6%
1970	16,484,235	721,458	4.4%	4,565,355	27.7%	3,160,726	19.2%	855,111	5.2%	2,373,963	14.4%	279,031	1.7%
1971	17,877,635	686,761	3.8%	4,873,250	27.3%	3,450,973	19.3%	948,104	5.3%	2,591,175	14.5%	296,580	1.7%
1972	20,198,346	807,301	4.0%	5,552,138	27.5%	3,857,537	19.1%	1,156,372	5.7%	2,933,962	14.5%	330,442	1.6%
1973	23,028,445	1,224,801	5.3%	6,227,330	27.0%	4,356,635	18.9%	1,333,490	5.8%	3,200,001	13.9%	389,225	1.7%
1974	25,343,969	1,162,231	4.6%	6,697,808	26.4%	4,745,828	18.7%	1,361,710	5.4%	3,637,093	14.4%	412,420	1.6%
1975	27,198,445	1,101,537	4.0%	6,503,717	23.9%	5,224,194	19.2%	1,302,886	4.8%	4,033,108	14.8%	494,627	1.8%
1976	30,464,922	1,178,129	3.9%	7,597,940	24.9%	5,880,934	19.3%	1,480,917	4.9%	4,301,883	14.1%	565,972	1.9%
1977	33,556,387	874,547	2.6%	8,724,459	26.0%	6,537,848	19.5%	1,590,896	4.7%	4,758,884	14.2%	659,450	2.0%
1978	38,087,406	1,156,482	3.0%	9,942,249	26.1%	7,444,238	19.5%	1,848,786	4.9%	5,248,763	13.8%	793,222	2.1%
1979	42,185,752	758,290	1.8%	11,043,851	26.2%	8,263,857	19.6%	2,062,516	4.9%	5,661,651	13.4%	901,370	2.1%
1980	47,182,976	639,482	1.4%	12,149,015	25.7%	8,970,633	19.0%	2,104,872	4.5%	6,309,009	13.4%	976,426	2.1%
1981	53,012,719	1,035,555	2.0%	13,327,150	25.1%	9,829,678	18.5%	2,135,256	4.0%	7,020,607	13.2%	1,069,522	2.0%
1982	56,226,563	1,049,840	1.9%	13,438,824	23.9%	10,578,831	18.8%	2,095,227	3.7%	7,561,661	13.4%	1,162,579	2.1%
1983	61,218,184	582,411	1.0%	15,002,596	24.5%	12,029,755	19.7%	2,389,316	3.9%	8,013,909	13.1%	1,347,486	2.2%
1984	68,908,201	1,256,910	1.8%	16,493,129	23.9%	13,845,508	20.1%	3,083,201	4.5%	8,709,645	12.6%	1,509,142	2.2%
1985	74,414,312	1,102,738	1.5%	17,099,195	23.0%	15,380,950	20.7%	3,694,187	5.0%	9,529,780	12.8%	1,751,366	2.4%
1986	80,516,809	1,084,807	1.3%	18,348,493	22.8%	16,828,427	20.9%	4,294,288	5.3%	10,248,286	12.7%	1,942,944	2.4%
1987	86,722,768	1,395,024	1.6%	19,634,627	22.6%	18,395,019	21.2%	4,555,382	5.3%	11,026,220	12.7%	2,150,458	2.5%
1988	94,357,013	1,637,120	1.7%	21,088,161	22.3%	20,649,804	21.9%	4,896,615	5.2%	11,874,614	12.6%	2,349,489	2.5%
1989	101,943,909	1,807,493	1.8%	22,236,204	21.8%	22,551,141	22.1%	4,985,670	4.9%	12,903,128	12.7%	2,493,547	2.4%
1990	108,998,850	2,002,434	1.8%	22,847,930	21.0%	24,572,933	22.5%	5,229,667	4.8%	13,847,903	12.7%	2,761,119	2.5%
1991	113,483,389	2,118,808	1.9%	23,296,535	20.5%	25,741,784	22.7%	4,941,033	4.4%	14,545,919	12.8%	2,893,045	2.5%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table B.5.1 Buncombe County Employment:											
Year	Total	Agri.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%
1969	69,893	1,909	2.7%	21,328	30.5%	24,162	34.6%	4,085	5.8%	8,670	12.4%
1970	69,092	1,819	2.6%	20,565	29.8%	23,812	34.5%	3,918	5.7%	8,857	12.8%
1971	69,571	1,695	2.4%	20,375	29.3%	24,219	34.8%	3,821	5.5%	8,974	12.9%
1972	74,708	1,564	2.1%	23,098	30.9%	25,556	34.2%	4,056	5.4%	9,410	12.6%
1973	79,549	1,538	1.9%	24,539	30.8%	27,005	33.9%	5,029	6.3%	9,653	12.1%
1974	78,583	1,555	2.0%	23,612	30.0%	26,790	34.1%	4,880	6.2%	10,023	12.8%
1975	73,022	1,709	2.3%	18,900	25.9%	26,823	36.7%	4,261	5.8%	10,235	14.0%
1976	76,049	1,987	2.6%	19,678	25.9%	28,155	37.0%	4,857	6.4%	10,345	13.6%
1977	79,802	2,026	2.5%	20,762	26.0%	29,731	37.3%	4,977	6.2%	10,917	13.7%
1978	82,820	2,033	2.5%	21,469	25.9%	30,501	36.8%	5,326	6.4%	11,354	13.7%
1979	83,889	2,193	2.6%	21,304	25.4%	31,231	37.2%	5,304	6.3%	11,293	13.5%
1980	84,200	2,212	2.6%	21,942	26.1%	31,311	37.2%	4,850	5.8%	11,657	13.8%
1981	84,423	2,266	2.7%	21,423	25.4%	32,481	38.5%	4,786	5.7%	11,337	13.4%
1982	82,711	2,326	2.8%	19,789	23.9%	33,026	39.9%	4,382	5.3%	11,367	13.7%
1983	85,524	2,397	2.8%	20,960	24.5%	34,697	40.6%	4,439	5.2%	11,461	13.4%
1984	90,355	2,213	2.4%	21,436	23.7%	37,033	41.0%	5,110	5.7%	12,112	13.4%
1985	93,756	2,017	2.2%	21,702	23.1%	38,276	40.8%	5,953	6.3%	12,626	13.5%
1986	95,377	1,833	1.9%	21,053	22.1%	40,318	42.3%	6,136	6.4%	12,732	13.3%
1987	96,863	1,705	1.8%	20,253	20.9%	42,218	43.6%	6,433	6.6%	12,264	12.7%
1988	101,843	1,668	1.6%	20,236	19.9%	45,211	44.4%	6,738	6.6%	12,902	12.7%
1989	105,440	1,563	1.5%	20,932	19.9%	47,169	44.7%	6,914	6.6%	13,398	12.7%
1990	108,563	1,523	1.4%	20,781	19.1%	49,447	45.5%	7,039	6.5%	13,879	12.8%
1991	109,544	1,518	1.4%	19,360	17.7%	51,692	47.2%	6,825	6.2%	13,860	12.7%
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System											

Table B.5.2 Haywood County Employment:

Year	Total	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%
1969	16,039	1,294	8.1%	6,209	38.7%	4,518	28.2%	630	3.9%	2,077	12.9%
1970	16,018	1,239	7.7%	5,940	37.1%	4,689	29.3%	581	3.6%	2,124	13.3%
1971	15,893	1,162	7.3%	5,693	35.8%	4,880	30.7%	590	3.7%	2,202	13.9%
1972	16,494	1,081	6.6%	5,905	35.8%	4,934	29.9%	799	4.8%	2,361	14.3%
1973	17,128	1,066	6.2%	5,999	35.0%	5,104	29.8%	934	5.5%	2,416	14.1%
1974	17,038	1,081	6.3%	5,968	35.0%	5,056	29.7%	890	5.2%	2,499	14.7%
1975	16,936	1,211	7.2%	5,661	33.4%	5,113	30.2%	863	5.1%	2,558	15.1%
1976	17,992	1,404	7.8%	5,925	32.9%	5,421	30.1%	969	5.4%	2,554	14.2%
1977	18,609	1,447	7.8%	5,890	31.7%	5,881	31.6%	967	5.2%	2,691	14.5%
1978	19,074	1,462	7.7%	6,021	31.6%	5,874	30.8%	1,064	5.6%	2,787	14.6%
1979	19,081	1,524	8.0%	5,791	30.3%	5,987	31.4%	1,057	5.5%	2,878	15.1%
1980	18,701	1,505	8.0%	5,597	29.9%	5,813	31.1%	954	5.1%	2,983	16.0%
1981	19,135	1,503	7.9%	5,937	31.0%	5,864	30.6%	964	5.0%	3,015	15.8%
1982	19,045	1,492	7.8%	5,544	29.1%	6,046	31.7%	996	5.2%	3,059	16.1%
1983	19,123	1,565	8.2%	5,148	26.9%	6,327	33.1%	1,205	6.3%	2,978	15.6%
1984	19,576	1,483	7.6%	5,313	27.1%	6,638	33.9%	1,243	6.3%	2,936	15.0%
1985	20,252	1,404	6.9%	5,184	25.6%	7,150	35.3%	1,450	7.2%	2,976	14.7%
1986	20,771	1,325	6.4%	5,112	24.6%	7,709	37.1%	1,344	6.5%	3,135	15.1%
1987	21,214	1,270	6.0%	5,082	24.0%	7,975	37.6%	1,489	7.0%	3,158	14.9%
1988	21,546	1,234	5.7%	4,921	22.8%	8,444	39.2%	1,484	6.9%	3,181	14.8%
1989	21,609	1,172	5.4%	5,010	23.2%	8,492	39.3%	1,530	7.1%	3,215	14.9%
1990	21,271	1,128	5.3%	4,721	22.2%	8,523	40.1%	1,474	6.9%	3,283	15.4%
1991	21,556	1,113	5.2%	4,621	21.4%	8,895	41.3%	1,409	6.5%	3,310	15.4%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table B.5.3 Swain County Employment:											
Year	Total	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%
1969	4,341	46	1.1%	1,265	29.1%	2,080	47.9%	55	1.3%	642	14.8%
1970	4,026	50	1.2%	1,045	26.0%	2,000	49.7%	58	1.4%	611	15.2%
1971	4,427	55	1.2%	1,058	23.9%	2,330	52.6%	77	1.7%	641	14.5%
1972	4,634	58	1.3%	1,175	25.4%	2,340	50.5%	101	2.2%	739	15.9%
1973	4,810	64	1.3%	1,083	22.5%	2,590	53.8%	118	2.5%	732	15.2%
1974	4,675	66	1.4%	1,044	22.3%	2,420	51.8%	141	3.0%	775	16.6%
1975	4,704	75	1.6%	988	21.0%	2,427	51.6%	130	2.8%	781	16.6%
1976	5,164	85	1.6%	1,124	21.8%	2,718	52.6%	173	3.4%	805	15.6%
1977	5,250	88	1.7%	1,160	22.1%	2,640	50.3%	248	4.7%	860	16.4%
1978	5,751	94	1.6%	1,298	22.6%	2,982	51.9%	195	3.4%	908	15.8%
1979	5,947	105	1.8%	1,294	21.8%	3,093	52.0%	174	2.9%	991	16.7%
1980	5,659	115	2.0%	1,364	24.1%	2,172	38.4%	144	2.5%	1,621	28.6%
1981	5,250	121	2.3%	1,124	21.4%	2,227	42.4%	211	4.0%	1,278	24.3%
1982	4,992	123	2.5%	880	17.6%	2,350	47.1%	185	3.7%	1,159	23.2%
1983	5,386	130	2.4%	896	16.6%	2,540	47.2%	182	3.4%	1,371	25.5%
1984	5,645	123	2.2%	1,016	18.0%	2,612	46.3%	215	3.8%	1,344	23.8%
1985	5,745	120	2.1%	1,181	20.6%	2,661	46.3%	186	3.2%	1,242	21.6%
1986	5,983	112	1.9%	1,270	21.2%	3,203	53.5%	223	3.7%	780	13.0%
1987	5,888	107	1.8%	1,100	18.7%	3,216	54.6%	212	3.6%	873	14.8%
1988	6,256	105	1.7%	1,149	18.4%	3,381	54.0%	213	3.4%	983	15.7%
1989	6,388	100	1.6%	1,266	19.8%	3,412	53.4%	186	2.9%	1,004	15.7%
1990	6,445	95	1.5%	1,155	17.9%	3,693	57.3%	176	2.7%	1,021	15.8%
1991	6,553	94	1.4%	1,066	16.3%	3,915	59.7%	192	2.9%	989	15.1%
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System											

Table B.5.4 Graham County Employment:											
						Svcs/					
Year	Total	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%
1969	1,772	71	4.0%	609	34.4%	369	20.8%	188	10.6%	383	21.6%
1970	1,713	82	4.8%	543	31.7%	354	20.7%	183	10.7%	382	22.3%
1971	1,442	92	6.4%	308	21.4%	364	25.2%	196	13.6%	341	23.6%
1972	1,479	102	6.9%	305	20.6%	392	26.5%	142	9.6%	347	23.5%
1973	1,932	116	6.0%	662	34.3%	420	21.7%	163	8.4%	359	18.6%
1974	2,340	136	5.8%	1,029	44.0%	416	17.8%	156	6.7%	392	16.8%
1975	2,272	183	8.1%	877	38.6%	399	17.6%	202	8.9%	409	18.0%
1976	2,362	222	9.4%	882	37.3%	418	17.7%	233	9.9%	424	18.0%
1977	2,622	247	9.4%	969	37.0%	419	16.0%	351	13.4%	451	17.2%
1978	2,750	260	9.5%	1,017	37.0%	421	15.3%	402	14.6%	485	17.6%
1979	3,219	264	8.2%	1,252	38.9%	425	13.2%	631	19.6%	470	14.6%
1980	3,245	263	8.1%	1,232	38.0%	424	13.1%	716	22.1%	446	13.7%
1981	2,804	253	9.0%	1,210	43.2%	440	15.7%	311	11.1%	437	15.6%
1982	2,940	245	8.3%	1,296	44.1%	487	16.6%	338	11.5%	431	14.7%
1983	2,778	251	9.0%	1,131	40.7%	525	18.9%	283	10.2%	440	15.8%
1984	2,729	231	8.5%	963	35.3%	545	20.0%	371	13.6%	456	16.7%
1985	2,632	217	8.2%	780	29.6%	556	21.1%	473	18.0%	445	16.9%
1986	2,563	199	7.8%	753	29.4%	536	20.9%	466	18.2%	449	17.5%
1987	2,733	186	6.8%	823	30.1%	601	22.0%	479	17.5%	465	17.0%
1988	2,631	179	6.8%	842	32.0%	610	23.2%	350	13.3%	460	17.5%
1989	2,598	171	6.6%	767	29.5%	623	24.0%	364	14.0%	484	18.6%
1990	2,554	164	6.4%	650	25.5%	648	25.4%	385	15.1%	494	19.3%
1991	2,560	160	6.2%	624	24.4%	695	27.1%	393	15.4%	494	19.3%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table B.5.5 Macon County Employment:											
Year	Total	Agri.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%
1969	5,665	470	8.3%	1,200	21.2%	1,913	33.8%	536	9.5%	820	14.5%
1970	5,568	428	7.7%	1,166	20.9%	1,923	34.5%	529	9.5%	818	14.7%
1971	5,766	381	6.6%	1,018	17.7%	2,061	35.7%	649	11.3%	827	14.3%
1972	6,157	335	5.4%	1,053	17.1%	2,169	35.2%	841	13.7%	872	14.2%
1973	6,724	307	4.6%	1,111	16.5%	2,365	35.2%	1,036	15.4%	868	12.9%
1974	6,398	282	4.4%	968	15.1%	2,354	36.8%	866	13.5%	887	13.9%
1975	6,226	361	5.8%	695	11.2%	2,463	39.6%	743	11.9%	886	14.2%
1976	6,649	436	6.6%	791	11.9%	2,593	39.0%	868	13.1%	864	13.0%
1977	7,295	473	6.5%	891	12.2%	2,923	40.1%	954	13.1%	891	12.2%
1978	7,673	497	6.5%	1,031	13.4%	3,078	40.1%	986	12.9%	942	12.3%
1979	8,081	529	6.5%	1,153	14.3%	3,172	39.3%	1,053	13.0%	980	12.1%
1980	8,440	547	6.5%	1,280	15.2%	3,239	38.4%	985	11.7%	1,026	12.2%
1981	8,559	545	6.4%	1,248	14.6%	3,327	38.9%	1,045	12.2%	1,025	12.0%
1982	8,926	568	6.4%	1,179	13.2%	3,633	40.7%	1,108	12.4%	1,016	11.4%
1983	9,426	574	6.1%	1,213	12.9%	3,950	41.9%	1,254	13.3%	1,050	11.1%
1984	9,818	526	5.4%	1,257	12.8%	4,140	42.2%	1,409	14.4%	1,070	10.9%
1985	10,011	483	4.8%	1,240	12.4%	4,227	42.2%	1,430	14.3%	1,116	11.1%
1986	10,058	438	4.4%	1,371	13.6%	4,062	40.4%	1,463	14.5%	1,146	11.4%
1987	10,381	403	3.9%	1,355	13.1%	4,254	41.0%	1,524	14.7%	1,176	11.3%
1988	11,034	392	3.6%	1,344	12.2%	4,708	42.7%	1,578	14.3%	1,248	11.3%
1989	11,420	372	3.3%	1,292	11.3%	4,971	43.5%	1,633	14.3%	1,298	11.4%
1990	11,589	359	3.1%	1,336	11.5%	5,160	44.5%	1,659	14.3%	1,321	11.4%
1991	11,774	352	3.0%	1,388	11.8%	5,294	45.0%	1,607	13.6%	1,343	11.4%
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System											

Table B.5.6 Jackson County Employment:											
Year	Total	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%
1969	6,600	147	2.2%	1,422	21.5%	2,416	36.6%	265	4.0%	1,812	27.5%
1970	6,589	136	2.1%	1,327	20.1%	2,367	35.9%	253	3.8%	1,920	29.1%
1971	6,946	124	1.8%	1,388	20.0%	2,483	35.7%	246	3.5%	2,006	28.9%
1972	7,668	112	1.5%	1,480	19.3%	2,946	38.4%	370	4.8%	2,123	27.7%
1973	8,448	105	1.2%	1,762	20.9%	3,147	37.3%	414	4.9%	2,248	26.6%
1974	8,382	109	1.3%	1,747	20.8%	2,842	33.9%	461	5.5%	2,381	28.4%
1975	8,484	191	2.3%	1,485	17.5%	3,020	35.6%	424	5.0%	2,531	29.8%
1976	8,924	260	2.9%	1,578	17.7%	3,215	36.0%	486	5.4%	2,590	29.0%
1977	9,207	303	3.3%	1,710	18.6%	3,208	34.8%	445	4.8%	2,751	29.9%
1978	9,691	333	3.4%	1,904	19.6%	3,317	34.2%	462	4.8%	2,853	29.4%
1979	10,068	360	3.6%	1,866	18.5%	3,422	34.0%	534	5.3%	3,005	29.8%
1980	10,276	375	3.6%	1,831	17.8%	3,513	34.2%	493	4.8%	3,074	29.9%
1981	10,572	391	3.7%	1,756	16.6%	3,830	36.2%	578	5.5%	3,037	28.7%
1982	10,827	399	3.7%	1,518	14.0%	4,266	39.4%	745	6.9%	2,941	27.2%
1983	11,146	419	3.8%	1,789	16.1%	4,250	38.1%	787	7.1%	2,884	25.9%
1984	11,189	396	3.5%	1,523	13.6%	4,402	39.3%	854	7.6%	2,901	25.9%
1985	11,113	366	3.3%	1,140	10.3%	4,589	41.3%	910	8.2%	3,040	27.4%
1986	11,506	343	3.0%	1,268	11.0%	4,309	37.5%	928	8.1%	3,185	27.7%
1987	11,964	328	2.7%	1,357	11.3%	4,422	37.0%	1,050	8.8%	3,362	28.1%
1988	12,576	319	2.5%	1,522	12.1%	4,765	37.9%	1,053	8.4%	3,380	26.9%
1989	12,988	301	2.3%	1,559	12.0%	4,933	38.0%	1,116	8.6%	3,508	27.0%
1990	13,174	293	2.2%	1,532	11.6%	5,042	38.3%	1,135	8.6%	3,509	26.6%
1991	13,060	291	2.2%	1,494	11.4%	4,940	37.8%	1,087	8.3%	3,608	27.6%
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System											

Table B.5.7 Transylvania County Employment:											
Year	Total	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%
1969	8,355	260	3.1%	3,963	47.4%	2,017	24.1%	839	10.0%	821	9.8%
1970	8,219	245	3.0%	3,813	46.4%	1,977	24.1%	859	10.5%	838	10.2%
1971	7,979	221	2.8%	3,358	42.1%	2,025	25.4%	922	11.6%	833	10.4%
1972	8,605	199	2.3%	3,366	39.1%	2,177	25.3%	933	10.8%	871	10.1%
1973	8,775	192	2.2%	3,632	41.4%	2,325	26.5%	751	8.6%	920	10.5%
1974	8,903	184	2.1%	3,950	44.4%	2,264	25.4%	776	8.7%	970	10.9%
1975	8,986	207	2.3%	3,771	42.0%	2,302	25.6%	927	10.3%	1,028	11.4%
1976	9,865	242	2.5%	4,148	42.0%	2,547	25.8%	1,109	11.2%	1,042	10.6%
1977	10,263	250	2.4%	4,247	41.4%	2,700	26.3%	882	8.6%	1,133	11.0%
1978	10,545	255	2.4%	4,256	40.4%	2,817	26.7%	856	8.1%	1,242	11.8%
1979	10,803	299	2.8%	4,379	40.5%	2,778	25.7%	742	6.9%	1,452	13.4%
1980	10,960	320	2.9%	4,663	42.5%	2,778	25.3%	711	6.5%	1,342	12.2%
1981	11,172	353	3.2%	4,895	43.8%	2,961	26.5%	669	6.0%	1,184	10.6%
1982	11,237	376	3.3%	4,810	42.8%	3,069	27.3%	636	5.7%	1,240	11.0%
1983	11,348	400	3.5%	4,552	40.1%	3,276	28.9%	649	5.7%	1,346	11.9%
1984	12,018	378	3.1%	4,772	39.7%	3,544	29.5%	751	6.2%	1,354	11.3%
1985	11,823	348	2.9%	4,273	36.1%	3,786	32.0%	792	6.7%	1,276	10.8%
1986	11,583	322	2.8%	3,755	32.4%	4,111	35.5%	888	7.7%	1,278	11.0%
1987	11,697	310	2.7%	3,803	32.5%	4,206	36.0%	868	7.4%	1,220	10.4%
1988	12,195	305	2.5%	3,703	30.4%	4,603	37.7%	920	7.5%	1,269	10.4%
1989	12,395	283	2.3%	3,714	30.0%	4,838	39.0%	907	7.3%	1,235	10.0%
1990	12,776	279	2.2%	3,726	29.2%	5,176	40.5%	852	6.7%	1,293	10.1%
1991	12,696	282	2.2%	3,634	28.6%	5,029	39.6%	795	6.3%	1,383	10.9%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System

Table B.5.8 North Carolina Employment:											
Year	Total	Agricul.	%	Manuf.	%	Svcs/ Retail	%	Constr.	%	Gov't	%
1969	2,452,407	198,238	8.1%	733,770	29.9%	650,238	26.5%	128,688	5.2%	419,389	17.1%
1970	2,461,173	192,772	7.8%	733,363	29.8%	663,742	27.0%	128,068	5.2%	410,559	16.7%
1971	2,482,963	184,206	7.4%	735,182	29.6%	683,302	27.5%	132,508	5.3%	403,385	16.2%
1972	2,593,615	174,433	6.7%	777,903	30.0%	716,634	27.6%	149,148	5.8%	416,481	16.1%
1973	2,711,024	174,143	6.4%	812,927	30.0%	750,130	27.7%	158,458	5.8%	429,215	15.8%
1974	2,738,335	177,519	6.5%	803,890	29.4%	758,109	27.7%	152,862	5.6%	452,642	16.5%
1975	2,640,728	169,106	6.4%	722,381	27.4%	763,282	28.9%	135,713	5.1%	469,170	17.8%
1976	2,747,614	180,249	6.6%	765,905	27.9%	807,780	29.4%	140,670	5.1%	465,994	17.0%
1977	2,846,477	169,322	5.9%	790,360	27.8%	846,421	29.7%	146,326	5.1%	489,280	17.2%
1978	2,947,229	155,517	5.3%	816,898	27.7%	881,724	29.9%	159,499	5.4%	506,084	17.2%
1979	3,044,337	163,610	5.4%	837,981	27.5%	912,677	30.0%	168,106	5.5%	508,773	16.7%
1980	3,047,298	150,719	4.9%	839,547	27.6%	914,960	30.0%	159,930	5.2%	524,625	17.2%
1981	3,074,284	155,629	5.1%	839,922	27.3%	938,473	30.5%	158,438	5.2%	523,194	17.0%
1982	3,044,653	146,750	4.8%	799,545	26.3%	965,031	31.7%	151,255	5.0%	522,513	17.2%
1983	3,136,340	153,718	4.9%	816,735	26.0%	1,015,635	32.4%	159,724	5.1%	529,190	16.9%
1984	3,305,341	141,827	4.3%	856,476	25.9%	1,092,180	33.0%	186,811	5.7%	540,677	16.4%
1985	3,409,355	126,007	3.7%	845,237	24.8%	1,162,264	34.1%	208,042	6.1%	551,119	16.2%
1986	3,512,476	112,289	3.2%	853,696	24.3%	1,219,651	34.7%	220,381	6.3%	565,861	16.1%
1987	3,645,854	104,469	2.9%	872,086	23.9%	1,289,460	35.4%	227,426	6.2%	577,520	15.8%
1988	3,799,006	103,384	2.7%	889,697	23.4%	1,377,045	36.2%	237,600	6.3%	591,678	15.6%
1989	3,878,549	95,098	2.5%	892,063	23.0%	1,427,321	36.8%	238,083	6.1%	612,751	15.8%
1990	3,926,513	94,273	2.4%	880,522	22.4%	1,480,271	37.7%	238,791	6.1%	612,201	15.6%
1991	3,883,533	96,415	2.5%	847,629	21.8%	1,481,786	38.2%	223,876	5.8%	610,198	15.7%
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System											

Table B.6 Annual Average Unemployment Rates (%):								
Year	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Car.
1967	3.2	3.1	8.4	11.6	4.9	5.1	3.7	3.4
1968	3.3	2.3	8.6	12.4	5.6	5.3	3.2	3.2
1969	2.4	2.0	7.4	9.7	3.8	4.0	2.5	2.9
1970	4.5	4.0	9.1	16.3	6.4	5.3	3.8	4.3
1971	4.7	3.6	8.1	23.3	8.5	5.1	5.1	4.8
1972	3.2	2.9	9.4	24.5	6.9	4.7	3.5	4.0
1973	2.5	2.6	10.0	10.6	2.7	3.3	2.5	3.5
1974	3.9	4.3	10.2	6.3	4.8	4.7	3.7	4.5
1975	9.8	10.8	14.5	11.5	10.4	8.3	8.1	8.7
1976	5.8	5.0	10.0	11.7	6.0	5.8	4.5	6.2
1977	5.7	5.5	9.9	9.7	5.7	5.4	5.4	5.9
1978	3.6	3.5	6.7	7.7	4.3	3.6	4.4	4.3
1979	4.3	4.9	7.2	7.9	4.6	4.6	4.3	4.8
1980	5.9	9.1	11.8	11.4	7.0	8.4	4.9	6.5
1981	6.8	8.3	16.2	14.8	6.8	7.9	5.5	6.4
1982	8.4	11.1	20.6	20.7	8.0	7.8	7.1	9.0
1983	8.4	11.6	18.3	22.9	8.3	7.7	7.5	8.9
1984	6.6	9.9	15.6	22.4	6.5	10.2	4.9	6.8
1985	4.9	7.6	11.5	20.9	5.6	9.0	5.7	5.4
1986	5.3	6.6	16.4	29.2	5.5	7.0	6.6	5.3
1987	4.6	5.9	13.6	18.9	4.8	5.8	4.6	4.5
1988	3.2	4.0	9.6	19.3	3.8	4.4	2.8	3.6
1989	2.9	4.4	8.5	18.5	3.3	3.6	2.6	3.5
1990	3.3	5.2	10.2	19.9	3.6	4.1	3.0	4.1
1991	4.9	6.6	13.1	25.9	5.3	5.6	4.6	5.8
1992	5.3	6.3	16.2	15.5	6.4	6.9	8.9	5.9
1993	4.1	5.8	14.0	13.3	6.4	6.4	4.4	4.9
Source: North Carolina Employment Security Commission								

Table B.7 Unemployment Rates by Month (%):

Year	Mo.	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Car.
1967	1	3.0	4.5	12.1	16.1	7.1	5.9	3.0	3.5
1967	4	3.2	3.4	7.7	10.5	4.7	6.2	3.9	3.9
1967	7	3.2	2.1	5.5	8.0	3.3	3.9	4.1	3.6
1967	10	3.4	2.5	8.7	11.7	4.8	4.2	3.5	2.7
1968	1	4.2	3.6	14.6	17.3	8.6	6.4	3.5	3.7
1968	4	3.8	2.0	7.7	9.5	5.7	6.4	3.7	3.5
1968	7	2.8	1.7	4.5	8.6	4.2	5.4	3.2	3.0
1968	10	2.6	1.8	8.2	14.7	4.4	3.1	2.5	2.6
1969	1	2.7	2.3	13.1	16.2	4.9	4.2	2.3	2.8
1969	4	2.4	1.9	5.9	7.0	3.2	3.1	2.8	3.2
1969	7	2.2	1.7	4.3	5.9	3.6	3.9	2.7	3.0
1969	10	2.4	2.1	7.3	9.4	3.6	4.7	2.1	2.6
1970	1	3.4	4.9	11.2	21.8	9.0	6.9	3.3	3.5
1970	4	3.3	3.9	7.8	17.3	7.0	5.8	3.7	3.9
1970	7	3.6	3.6	4.7	17.8	4.9	5.1	3.8	3.9
1970	10	3.5	3.5	7.9	19.3	6.1	5.3	3.3	3.6
1971	1	4.7	4.5	10.1	26.9	10.4	6.8	4.2	4.3
1971	4	3.7	3.4	4.8	23.0	7.9	4.8	4.9	4.4
1971	7	3.0	2.3	3.5	23.0	5.7	3.8	4.4	3.9
1971	10	3.0	2.9	7.1	29.5	9.4	4.9	4.0	3.0
1972	1	2.8	2.7	11.3	34.9	13.2	5.7	2.9	3.5
1972	4	2.8	2.6	6.3	23.9	8.0	4.0	3.0	3.0
1972	7	2.5	2.3	3.2	18.7	4.2	7.5	2.5	4.0
1972	10	1.8	1.3	3.5	9.2	4.8	2.3	2.1	2.3

Table B.7 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Car.
1973	1	2.1	2.4	12.8	23.2	5.0	6.4	2.7	4.3
1973	4	1.3	1.5	5.7	14.1	1.3	1.9	1.5	3.1
1973	7	1.9	1.6	7.4	3.0	2.6	1.3	1.7	4.3
1973	10	1.4	2.4	5.1	1.7	1.3	1.7	1.3	2.7
1974	1	2.6	4.7	18.2	8.7	6.1	9.8	2.9	4.8
1974	4	2.3	3.5	11.3	6.1	5.7	4.4	2.2	3.3
1974	7	3.2	2.8	6.5	3.8	2.7	3.1	3.1	4.5
1974	10	4.7	2.9	5.0	3.9	6.2	2.7	4.2	4.6
1975	1	11.4	13.1	24.8	13.6	13.3	11.5	9.5	11.5
1975	4	11.7	13.9	16.4	10.4	16.3	11.1	9.9	10.0
1975	7	10.1	9.6	10.0	9.0	8.0	6.9	7.7	8.4
1975	10	7.8	7.0	7.0	8.2	6.5	5.1	5.9	6.3
1976	1	8.4	6.3	19.5	13.1	10.2	9.2	5.1	7.4
1976	4	6.2	5.2	9.2	13.1	5.4	5.3	4.4	5.9
1976	7	5.4	4.0	5.9	9.8	4.5	5.6	3.6	6.6
1976	10	5.0	3.9	8.0	10.0	6.1	4.0	7.2	5.9
1977	1	7.2	6.7	20.5	13.7	10.4	10.7	8.3	7.5
1977	4	6.2	5.4	11.7	10.8	6.4	5.6	5.3	6.0
1977	7	5.2	3.8	3.6	7.7	3.7	3.3	5.4	6.6
1977	10	4.3	4.9	5.7	6.8	3.6	3.0	4.7	4.9
1978	1	6.8	7.5	17.2	15.0	9.5	9.4	6.1	7.1
1978	4	3.4	3.1	6.2	7.6	3.5	2.8	4.3	4.5
1978	7	4.8	3.4	4.8	5.4	2.8	2.8	8.6	4.6
1978	10	2.6	2.5	3.9	3.9	4.0	2.2	3.3	3.1

Table B.7 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Car.
1979	1	4.7	4.8	10.7	11.2	6.8	6.2	3.7	4.9
1979	4	4.6	4.0	6.3	7.1	4.7	3.6	3.5	4.5
1979	7	4.7	4.4	5.3	7.2	4.4	4.6	6.0	5.4
1979	10	4.2	5.4	4.8	6.3	3.7	3.8	4.2	4.8
1980	1	5.4	8.0	15.5	14.4	8.0	8.1	6.0	6.3
1980	4	5.0	8.9	10.7	12.3	6.4	6.4	5.0	5.7
1980	7	6.3	9.1	7.2	9.1	6.6	5.8	4.8	8.1
1980	10	6.0	6.3	10.0	9.7	4.8	5.8	4.6	6.4
1981	1	7.7	11.9	32.1	20.5	11.2	12.3	5.9	7.3
1981	4	7.3	8.0	20.0	15.1	6.3	7.0	5.2	6.1
1981	7	6.1	5.9	14.8	16.4	4.7	5.0	9.1	6.3
1981	10	5.8	6.1	9.9	10.6	4.7	4.7	5.0	5.9
1982	1	8.6	13.4	20.9	17.9	10.8	8.7	7.0	8.8
1982	4	8.5	12.4	23.6	15.1	8.2	8.7	5.8	8.3
1982	7	8.0	8.5	17.8	12.1	6.3	6.1	6.2	10.1
1982	10	7.9	9.2	16.4	14.1	6.9	6.6	7.3	9.0
1983	1	10.4	14.8	29.4	30.1	13.7	11.7	13.4	10.8
1983	4	8.8	15.1	22.7	25.5	9.5	9.5	7.8	9.8
1983	7	7.4	9.0	11.6	18.8	6.4	5.6	6.6	8.8
1983	10	6.5	7.8	11.9	17.3	5.5	4.7	5.6	7.1
1984	1	7.8	13.6	26.7	24.9	10.1	13.7	7.2	7.7
1984	4	6.6	11.8	18.1	19.3	7.5	10.7	5.0	6.7
1984	7	6.7	8.1	10.9	15.0	5.3	5.9	4.3	6.9
1984	10	6.3	7.8	9.7	12.0	4.9	4.8	4.3	6.4

Table B.7 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Car.
1985	1	7.0	12.5	25.4	27.3	8.8	16.9	6.1	7.1
1985	4	5.2	8.5	13.5	24.5	5.5	10.1	5.3	5.2
1985	7	4.6	5.2	6.7	13.3	4.9	6.2	4.6	5.6
1985	10	4.0	4.9	6.8	19.7	3.9	5.7	6.7	4.6
1986	1	5.6	8.8	17.7	49.8	8.7	10.6	8.2	5.9
1986	4	5.1	6.0	20.6	22.9	5.1	7.1	5.5	5.1
1986	7	4.6	4.6	11.5	38.1	3.5	4.5	8.2	5.1
1986	10	5.4	6.1	11.5	20.3	5.1	4.9	6.1	5.1
1987	1	5.7	8.5	23.1	27.3	7.4	9.6	6.5	5.2
1987	4	4.5	6.3	16.3	19.8	4.9	5.7	4.6	4.3
1987	7	4.7	5.3	8.5	14.7	3.6	3.8	3.9	4.7
1987	10	3.8	4.1	7.2	13.8	3.1	4.0	2.9	3.9
1988	1	5.1	7.8	18.0	30.9	9.1	9.8	4.9	5.1
1988	4	2.9	3.6	9.4	17.3	3.1	4.1	2.4	3.4
1988	7	2.4	3.3	5.1	30.8	2.0	2.3	2.2	3.2
1988	10	3.4	2.9	5.9	16.2	3.1	3.1	2.6	3.8
1989	1	4.1	6.6	19.3	31.6	7.1	7.4	3.2	4.5
1989	4	3.4	4.7	9.7	18.4	4.4	3.9	2.7	4.1
1989	7	2.3	3.1	4.0	13.3	1.8	1.9	1.7	3.3
1989	10	2.5	3.2	5.0	8.8	2.1	2.2	2.5	3.1
1990	1	4.1	8.5	18.9	27.1	6.5	6.8	4.1	4.6
1990	4	3.0	5.1	9.6	17.6	3.0	3.5	2.9	3.6
1990	7	3.4	4.2	6.1	18.1	3.3	3.1	2.5	4.5
1990	10	3.1	3.6	6.8	19.8	3.2	3.3	3.1	4.4

Table B.7 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Car.
1991	1	5.7	8.1	19.7	33.2	7.7	8.5	5.5	6.0
1991	4	4.5	6.2	12.9	23.9	5.6	5.3	4.2	5.6
1991	7	4.5	5.3	8.2	35.5	4.0	4.5	4.7	6.0
1991	10	4.4	6.4	9.6	22.9	3.6	3.8	4.0	5.1
1992	1	6.2	11.4	24.7	35.9	10.5	11.7	7.3	6.7
1992	4	4.9	6.0	13.9	23.9	5.8	6.0	4.8	5.3
1992	7	5.0	6.1	10.7	21.8	4.3	5.1	5.6	6.4
1992	10	4.2	4.6	8.5	18.6	4.7	4.7	4.3	5.0
1993	1	5.5	8.9	22.7	32.0	9.6	10.7	6.3	6.3
1993	4	4.5	6.3	14.6	23.0	6.9	6.9	5.1	5.3
1993	7	3.9	4.9	8.8	15.4	5.8	4.8	4.5	4.9
1993	10	3.2	5.3	9.3	15.9	3.9	4.5	4.1	4.3

Source: North Carolina Employment Security Commission

Table B.8 Labor Force Participation Rates:								
Year	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Car.
1967	44.3%	33.6%	49.4%	26.5%	30.1%	31.5%	41.7%	42.1%
1968	44.3%	34.4%	49.7%	28.3%	33.1%	29.9%	40.7%	42.7%
1969	44.7%	34.6%	51.4%	28.2%	33.4%	30.2%	40.9%	44.1%
1970	43.2%	39.0%	47.5%	39.2%	39.8%	37.5%	41.0%	43.3%
1971	42.5%	37.5%	39.1%	34.9%	38.1%	38.8%	40.1%	42.8%
1972	44.7%	37.9%	37.4%	30.5%	38.6%	40.9%	41.7%	44.0%
1973	45.5%	37.7%	39.0%	33.9%	38.7%	45.2%	38.6%	44.6%
1974	45.6%	38.3%	38.6%	43.7%	36.5%	45.4%	39.3%	44.9%
1975	45.1%	40.5%	42.4%	42.7%	36.0%	46.5%	42.3%	46.0%
1976	46.3%	41.0%	42.4%	47.3%	37.6%	49.4%	46.1%	46.7%
1977	48.0%	42.5%	41.3%	47.8%	39.4%	49.0%	46.0%	47.3%
1978	48.3%	42.0%	46.1%	49.0%	40.2%	52.1%	47.9%	48.0%
1979	48.6%	40.3%	45.5%	56.9%	39.2%	47.7%	44.1%	48.1%
1980	48.8%	40.7%	47.6%	58.2%	41.2%	53.0%	44.8%	48.4%
1981	50.0%	41.7%	47.7%	48.2%	41.2%	54.0%	45.1%	49.0%
1982	49.2%	41.8%	46.9%	55.8%	41.6%	54.6%	45.3%	48.8%
1983	49.3%	40.9%	47.8%	45.0%	42.8%	54.2%	44.4%	48.3%
1984	50.4%	45.1%	48.9%	36.1%	47.5%	46.4%	43.8%	49.2%
1985	50.9%	45.5%	47.9%	34.2%	47.1%	45.7%	43.8%	49.8%
1986	50.1%	45.6%	49.5%	37.3%	47.0%	46.0%	41.7%	50.2%
1987	50.5%	46.5%	51.9%	34.3%	48.0%	46.4%	41.6%	51.2%
1988	51.0%	45.3%	52.3%	32.5%	49.4%	46.6%	41.4%	51.2%
1989	52.2%	45.8%	50.8%	30.6%	50.0%	49.2%	41.8%	51.6%
1990	52.6%	45.1%	51.5%	30.7%	51.0%	48.0%	42.8%	51.2%
1991	53.6%	44.9%	52.5%	33.0%	50.6%	48.7%	43.3%	51.1%
1992	52.1%	48.6%	53.1%	55.5%	46.7%	50.2%	50.0%	51.0%
Adapted From North Carolina Employment Security Commission Data								

Table B.9.1 Buncombe County Earnings by Employee:						
				Svcs/		
Year	Total	Agri.	Manuf.	Retail	Constr.	Gov't
1969	6,236	3,691	5,967	4,260	5,612	6,020
1970	6,771	4,324	6,324	4,534	6,186	6,492
1971	7,307	4,229	6,869	4,927	6,827	7,070
1972	7,711	4,376	7,289	5,339	7,457	7,548
1973	8,265	4,146	7,804	5,861	8,075	7,911
1974	9,208	2,881	8,751	6,374	8,643	8,488
1975	10,380	4,257	9,295	6,858	9,033	9,165
1976	11,122	3,464	10,402	7,276	9,865	9,899
1977	11,980	5,089	11,705	7,759	10,702	10,544
1978	13,030	3,801	13,056	8,526	11,414	11,225
1979	14,192	3,938	14,027	9,141	11,978	12,052
1980	15,977	3,841	15,367	9,959	12,854	12,926
1981	17,752	5,403	16,674	10,506	12,892	14,166
1982	19,129	7,518	17,726	11,222	13,050	14,974
1983	20,127	5,664	18,881	12,001	13,660	15,588
1984	21,167	6,388	20,184	12,837	15,120	16,274
1985	21,941	7,668	20,499	13,644	15,498	16,925
1986	23,050	7,742	22,042	14,032	17,286	17,993
1987	24,167	9,713	22,487	14,659	18,179	19,954
1988	24,942	10,293	23,914	15,526	18,740	20,715
1989	26,336	12,169	24,262	16,424	19,136	21,802
1990	27,977	14,630	25,939	17,234	19,881	23,026
1991	29,092	14,769	28,080	17,921	19,954	24,273
Adapted From REIS Data						

Table B.9.2 Haywood County Earnings by Employee:						
				Svcs/		
Year	Total	Agri.	Manuf.	Retail	Constr.	Gov't
1969	7,116	3,161	7,674	4,071	5,779	4,756
1970	7,507	3,027	8,017	4,226	6,217	5,035
1971	8,170	3,914	8,657	4,427	6,951	5,487
1972	8,755	4,244	9,282	4,752	7,165	5,838
1973	9,608	5,278	10,267	5,240	8,257	6,114
1974	10,468	5,175	10,800	5,546	8,067	6,580
1975	11,585	4,180	11,999	6,021	8,476	7,128
1976	12,404	3,192	13,974	6,435	9,186	7,752
1977	13,373	3,498	15,767	6,717	9,422	8,218
1978	14,649	4,351	17,268	7,449	9,584	8,775
1979	15,962	4,223	18,747	7,976	10,307	9,405
1980	18,551	3,105	21,871	8,585	11,254	10,237
1981	20,186	3,518	23,212	9,041	11,580	11,068
1982	21,507	5,265	25,098	9,232	10,966	11,688
1983	23,212	4,328	27,491	10,028	13,144	12,344
1984	25,236	6,086	30,139	10,884	14,405	13,493
1985	25,839	7,422	30,993	11,482	15,022	14,716
1986	26,864	6,525	32,874	11,964	15,558	15,297
1987	27,698	8,654	34,234	12,548	15,305	16,268
1988	28,770	8,212	34,991	13,129	15,945	17,942
1989	29,430	6,718	32,152	13,564	16,004	18,849
1990	31,187	8,267	33,304	13,972	15,985	20,321
1991	32,361	8,502	35,214	14,486	16,319	20,637
Adapted From REIS Data						

Table B.9.3 Swain County Earnings by Employee:						
				Svcs/		
Year	Total	Agri.	Manuf.	Retail	Constr.	Gov't
1969	3,980	6,152	3,586	3,425	8,782	5,721
1970	4,519	4,400	3,940	3,808	8,810	6,173
1971	4,819	4,618	4,383	4,230	7,610	6,811
1972	5,245	6,155	4,546	4,598	7,455	7,434
1973	5,580	3,875	5,042	4,849	7,441	7,760
1974	6,384	2,333	5,704	5,424	7,433	8,298
1975	7,272	5,080	6,299	5,887	8,823	8,890
1976	7,425	4,012	6,908	5,852	8,630	9,540
1977	7,993	5,091	7,326	6,267	7,927	10,474
1978	8,379	3,511	7,375	7,265	9,503	10,542
1979	9,003	3,619	8,920	7,451	9,908	9,024
1980	10,369	1,817	9,109	8,313	10,312	9,594
1981	12,058	2,298	9,549	9,070	9,327	11,426
1982	13,069	5,114	9,290	9,218	9,930	12,154
1983	13,109	6,377	9,944	9,389	12,401	11,222
1984	13,714	5,846	9,844	10,204	12,600	11,752
1985	14,767	11,692	11,155	10,705	14,468	13,570
1986	14,838	12,955	11,550	10,700	15,556	17,296
1987	15,920	23,944	11,706	11,614	16,142	17,944
1988	16,140	26,257	11,951	11,983	16,746	18,108
1989	17,021	28,180	13,177	12,203	19,183	18,923
1990	17,625	24,526	13,832	12,498	18,068	20,241
1991	18,561	25,032	14,884	13,332	17,839	21,407
Adapted From REIS Data						

Table B.9.4 Graham County Earnings by Employee:						
Year	Total	Agri.	Manuf.	Svcs/ Retail	Constr.	Gov't
1969	7,368	9,127	5,491	5,894	7,378	4,877
1970	8,107	7,500	5,608	6,407	8,120	5,406
1971	9,433	6,663	5,789	6,821	8,046	6,050
1972	9,830	8,775	4,862	7,066	9,761	6,663
1973	9,155	5,940	5,136	6,774	11,448	6,799
1974	9,259	4,596	5,597	6,966	12,859	7,107
1975	10,128	4,557	6,044	7,288	8,470	7,584
1976	10,974	3,117	6,755	7,679	10,631	8,075
1977	11,039	3,109	6,844	7,924	10,644	8,406
1978	12,182	3,312	8,032	8,518	13,102	8,843
1979	12,024	2,265	8,331	8,878	10,477	9,509
1980	13,747	1,529	9,332	9,408	12,138	10,904
1981	15,993	3,111	10,154	9,834	12,177	11,602
1982	16,497	4,661	10,299	9,121	11,565	12,107
1983	18,090	3,773	11,978	9,566	13,852	12,536
1984	19,875	5,022	12,587	10,683	15,148	12,923
1985	21,451	7,631	13,254	10,874	16,268	14,526
1986	23,323	7,477	12,493	11,358	20,006	14,895
1987	22,577	11,565	13,755	10,321	17,317	15,622
1988	23,733	10,983	14,319	10,523	18,291	17,048
1989	24,711	10,830	12,890	11,419	17,841	17,452
1990	27,137	11,957	14,643	11,725	19,662	18,737
1991	28,532	11,969	12,976	12,432	20,242	19,322

Adapted From REIS Data

Table B.9.5 Macon County Earnings by Employee:						
Year	Total	Agri.	Manuf.	Svcs/ Retail	Constr.	Gov't
1969	6,235	4,060	4,433	4,133	5,832	4,256
1970	6,804	4,533	4,221	4,208	6,026	4,434
1971	7,456	6,223	4,540	4,470	6,479	4,756
1972	8,038	8,660	4,519	4,839	7,911	5,024
1973	8,759	9,648	4,922	5,420	8,043	5,634
1974	10,140	2,965	5,660	5,999	8,276	6,461
1975	11,367	3,501	5,849	6,488	8,187	7,376
1976	12,231	4,076	6,709	6,958	9,411	8,381
1977	12,606	3,706	6,850	7,185	9,821	9,265
1978	13,690	3,722	7,668	7,956	10,034	10,036
1979	14,838	4,255	8,328	8,555	10,775	10,553
1980	16,528	4,697	9,088	9,080	10,914	11,380
1981	18,639	5,472	10,377	9,198	10,967	12,502
1982	19,467	5,699	11,575	9,431	10,888	13,315
1983	20,709	5,449	12,311	10,300	11,565	13,859
1984	22,410	7,285	11,656	10,984	12,837	14,842
1985	23,682	10,207	12,424	11,662	13,455	16,048
1986	25,341	10,347	14,384	12,106	15,119	16,752
1987	25,306	12,032	14,781	12,259	15,484	17,465
1988	25,953	7,367	17,129	12,682	16,075	18,215
1989	26,976	6,970	18,670	13,434	16,075	18,996
1990	28,516	7,908	19,207	14,411	16,168	20,086
1991	29,457	7,545	18,978	15,134	16,077	20,894

Adapted From REIS Data

Table B.9.6 Jackson County Earnings by Employee:						
				Svcs/		
Year	Total	Agri.	Manuf.	Retail	Constr.	Gov't
1969	7,080	5,122	4,899	3,538	7,034	5,696
1970	7,688	4,941	5,063	3,797	6,735	6,109
1971	8,315	6,347	5,385	4,213	8,069	6,722
1972	8,695	9,098	5,703	4,471	7,508	7,104
1973	9,196	14,010	6,088	5,222	7,374	7,519
1974	9,913	1,743	6,519	5,291	7,328	8,065
1975	10,939	4,110	5,872	5,704	8,045	8,591
1976	11,635	3,685	6,208	6,195	9,189	9,137
1977	12,420	3,746	6,871	6,790	10,422	9,759
1978	13,460	4,814	7,546	7,683	11,455	10,539
1979	14,192	4,711	8,180	8,113	11,341	10,985
1980	15,562	4,571	8,947	8,554	12,020	11,848
1981	16,803	3,801	9,101	9,507	11,744	12,781
1982	17,669	5,383	8,990	9,505	11,203	13,666
1983	18,794	6,064	10,615	10,572	12,588	14,256
1984	20,773	5,396	11,414	11,682	14,378	15,318
1985	21,971	6,230	13,236	11,739	15,553	16,207
1986	22,592	5,796	14,166	11,867	16,707	16,901
1987	23,186	5,177	13,861	12,271	17,278	17,387
1988	23,734	3,216	14,158	12,519	17,322	18,567
1989	24,836	4,020	14,994	13,395	17,240	19,253
1990	26,237	2,816	15,287	13,924	17,402	21,404
1991	27,812	2,838	15,756	15,309	17,420	21,918
Adapted From REIS Data						

Table B.9.7 Transylvania County Earnings by Employee:						
Year	Total	Agri.	Manuf.	Svcs/ Retail	Constr.	Gov't
1969	5,989	2,750	7,629	3,970	5,352	4,834
1970	6,615	2,478	8,206	4,165	6,973	5,205
1971	7,183	2,792	8,814	4,439	7,219	5,701
1972	7,652	2,864	9,541	4,837	6,792	6,177
1973	8,240	2,500	10,240	5,147	7,511	6,390
1974	9,084	6,457	10,762	5,609	9,036	6,737
1975	10,314	4,594	12,615	5,950	9,942	7,310
1976	11,155	4,376	14,171	6,461	11,353	7,832
1977	11,899	3,464	15,563	6,825	10,451	8,177
1978	12,935	2,396	17,274	7,438	9,667	8,480
1979	14,541	3,268	20,246	7,995	10,841	8,044
1980	16,777	1,544	23,973	8,424	10,585	9,265
1981	18,758	4,176	26,052	8,781	11,155	11,209
1982	19,978	7,543	27,617	9,254	12,299	11,198
1983	21,636	9,068	30,531	9,864	13,054	10,788
1984	22,615	9,868	31,923	10,168	14,664	11,754
1985	24,822	12,943	33,575	10,796	15,538	13,755
1986	26,463	12,519	34,870	11,910	17,125	15,043
1987	27,914	21,355	36,518	11,739	17,849	16,494
1988	28,456	16,980	37,575	12,501	18,347	17,147
1989	29,974	22,502	36,686	12,996	18,927	18,543
1990	30,932	21,760	37,556	13,456	19,066	19,326
1991	32,429	23,074	38,854	14,401	19,498	20,270

Adapted From REIS Data

Table B.9.8 North Carolina Earnings by Employee:						
Year	Total	Agri.	Manuf.	Svcs/ Retail	Constr.	Gov't
1969	6,168	3,599	5,866	4,478	6,280	5,203
1970	6,698	3,743	6,225	4,762	6,677	5,782
1971	7,200	3,728	6,629	5,050	7,155	6,424
1972	7,788	4,628	7,137	5,383	7,753	7,045
1973	8,494	7,033	7,660	5,808	8,415	7,455
1974	9,255	6,547	8,332	6,260	8,908	8,035
1975	10,300	6,514	9,003	6,844	9,600	8,596
1976	11,088	6,536	9,920	7,280	10,528	9,232
1977	11,789	5,165	11,039	7,724	10,872	9,726
1978	12,923	7,436	12,171	8,443	11,591	10,371
1979	13,857	4,635	13,179	9,055	12,269	11,128
1980	15,484	4,243	14,471	9,804	13,161	12,026
1981	17,244	6,654	15,867	10,474	13,477	13,419
1982	18,467	7,154	16,808	10,962	13,852	14,472
1983	19,519	3,789	18,369	11,845	14,959	15,144
1984	20,848	8,862	19,257	12,677	16,504	16,109
1985	21,827	8,751	20,230	13,234	17,757	17,292
1986	22,923	9,661	21,493	13,798	19,486	18,111
1987	23,787	13,353	22,515	14,266	20,030	19,092
1988	24,837	15,835	23,703	14,996	20,609	20,069
1989	26,284	19,007	24,927	15,800	20,941	21,058
1990	27,760	21,241	25,948	16,600	21,901	22,620
1991	29,222	21,976	27,484	17,372	22,070	23,838

Adapted From REIS Data

Table B.10.1 Proprietors' Income (000s):								
		% of		% of		% of		% of
Year	Buncombe	Total	Haywood	Total	Swain	Total	Graham	Total
1969	36,986	8.5%	12,921	11.3%	2,509	14.5%	2,547	19.5%
1970	37,938	8.1%	12,355	10.3%	2,296	12.6%	2,402	17.3%
1971	40,855	8.0%	14,684	11.3%	2,420	11.3%	2,661	19.6%
1972	45,046	7.8%	15,523	10.7%	2,915	12.0%	3,087	21.2%
1973	48,864	7.4%	17,783	10.8%	2,977	11.1%	3,162	17.9%
1974	49,081	6.8%	18,092	10.1%	3,048	10.2%	3,183	14.7%
1975	50,222	6.6%	18,428	9.4%	3,630	10.6%	3,426	14.9%
1976	59,816	7.1%	20,245	9.1%	4,306	11.2%	3,667	14.1%
1977	82,657	8.6%	22,950	9.2%	4,897	11.7%	3,774	13.0%
1978	95,180	8.8%	26,520	9.5%	5,458	11.3%	4,094	12.2%
1979	92,928	7.8%	26,448	8.7%	5,612	10.5%	3,669	9.5%
1980	91,308	6.8%	24,569	7.1%	5,402	9.2%	3,708	8.3%
1981	92,806	6.2%	24,601	6.4%	5,426	8.6%	4,322	9.6%
1982	95,068	6.0%	26,692	6.5%	5,464	8.4%	4,554	9.4%
1983	110,811	6.4%	31,025	7.0%	6,981	9.9%	5,175	10.3%
1984	138,764	7.3%	39,848	8.1%	8,715	11.3%	7,189	13.3%
1985	153,029	7.4%	44,528	8.5%	10,732	12.7%	8,640	15.3%
1986	171,075	7.8%	48,359	8.7%	11,149	12.6%	9,644	16.1%
1987	178,233	7.6%	53,576	9.1%	13,336	14.2%	9,412	15.3%
1988	190,569	7.5%	56,213	9.1%	14,397	14.3%	9,371	15.0%
1989	205,810	7.4%	55,937	8.8%	15,356	14.1%	9,814	15.3%
1990	229,809	7.6%	57,997	8.7%	14,091	12.4%	10,656	15.4%
1991	236,588	7.4%	59,599	8.5%	14,061	11.6%	10,608	14.5%
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System								

Table B.10.2 Proprietors' Income (000s):								
		% of		% of		% of		% of
Year	Macon	Total	Jackson	Total	Transyl.	Total	N. Carol.	Total
1969	6,636	18.8%	5,839	12.5%	4,614	9.2%	1,796,710	11.9%
1970	6,423	17.0%	5,617	11.1%	4,282	7.9%	1,817,762	11.0%
1971	7,927	18.4%	6,868	11.9%	4,758	8.3%	1,927,907	10.8%
1972	9,908	20.0%	8,206	12.3%	5,658	8.6%	2,224,427	11.0%
1973	11,151	18.9%	9,173	11.8%	6,130	8.5%	2,815,883	12.2%
1974	9,202	14.2%	8,405	10.1%	6,942	8.6%	2,775,169	11.0%
1975	9,850	13.9%	8,926	9.6%	7,018	7.6%	2,762,869	10.2%
1976	12,382	15.2%	10,613	10.2%	8,282	7.5%	3,141,931	10.3%
1977	13,319	14.5%	11,768	10.3%	8,793	7.2%	3,213,838	9.6%
1978	14,502	13.8%	13,800	10.6%	9,390	6.9%	3,896,204	10.2%
1979	15,585	13.0%	14,521	10.2%	10,492	6.7%	3,576,822	8.5%
1980	16,072	11.5%	14,287	8.9%	9,894	5.4%	3,487,468	7.4%
1981	15,931	10.0%	13,850	7.8%	11,170	5.3%	3,839,203	7.2%
1982	16,292	9.4%	13,852	7.2%	12,359	5.5%	3,793,110	6.7%
1983	20,680	10.6%	17,516	8.4%	16,039	6.5%	4,120,991	6.7%
1984	25,871	11.8%	24,018	10.3%	19,277	7.1%	5,605,624	8.1%
1985	30,482	12.9%	25,084	10.3%	21,506	7.3%	6,047,760	8.1%
1986	33,369	13.1%	27,015	10.4%	23,051	7.5%	6,818,853	8.5%
1987	33,123	12.6%	28,632	10.3%	27,353	8.4%	7,430,364	8.6%
1988	37,496	13.1%	28,290	9.5%	25,517	7.4%	8,278,360	8.8%
1989	39,093	12.7%	29,800	9.2%	26,808	7.2%	8,870,980	8.7%
1990	40,675	12.3%	29,939	8.7%	27,081	6.9%	9,592,175	8.8%
1991	41,014	11.8%	30,581	8.4%	27,151	6.6%	9,960,784	8.8%
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System								

Table B.11 Population by Year:

Year	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Carol.
1930	98,413	28,333	11,590	5,860	13,717	17,568	9,617	3,170,276
1931	102,554	28,939	11,624	6,011	13,825	18,008	9,627	3,217,000
1932	105,628	29,266	11,561	6,096	13,782	18,396	9,707	3,244,000
1933	103,787	29,091	11,564	5,990	13,801	18,226	9,614	3,275,000
1934	104,641	29,373	11,561	6,102	13,920	18,417	9,707	3,306,000
1935	111,734	30,169	11,564	6,206	14,020	19,170	9,688	3,417,000
1936	113,938	30,448	11,549	6,304	14,006	19,398	9,696	3,457,000
1937	115,976	30,766	11,562	6,364	14,116	19,684	9,745	3,492,000
1938	117,836	31,015	11,557	6,410	14,097	19,876	9,817	3,527,000
1939	108,105	34,286	12,105	6,374	15,737	19,212	12,188	3,534,000
1940	108,953	34,752	12,211	6,418	15,887	19,336	12,250	3,571,623
1941	110,245	35,652	12,320	6,506	16,202	19,631	12,614	3,621,791
1942	111,206	36,356	12,420	6,611	16,426	19,815	12,928	3,662,000
1943	112,133	36,840	12,401	6,600	16,595	19,961	13,098	3,702,000
1944	113,293	37,419	12,500	6,727	16,935	20,333	13,333	3,742,000
1945	114,300	38,200	12,500	6,700	17,050	20,300	13,650	3,782,300
1946	110,858	35,460	12,415	6,553	16,201	19,732	12,487	3,640,645
1947	113,213	36,213	12,678	6,692	16,545	20,152	12,753	3,718,000
1948	114,680	35,283	10,894	7,494	16,114	17,838	14,069	3,798,000
1949	121,522	37,457	10,136	6,839	16,130	19,249	15,090	4,003,775
1950	124,403	37,631	9,921	6,886	16,174	19,261	15,194	4,061,929
1951	126,359	37,985	9,638	6,945	16,210	19,250	15,563	4,123,218
1952	127,924	38,268	9,412	6,992	16,239	19,241	15,858	4,172,249
1953	129,489	38,551	9,186	7,039	16,268	19,232	16,153	4,221,280

Table B.11 (Continued)

Year	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Carol.
1954	131,054	38,834	8,960	7,086	16,297	19,223	16,448	4,270,311
1955	132,619	39,117	8,734	7,133	16,326	19,214	16,743	4,319,342
1956	134,184	39,400	8,508	7,180	16,355	19,205	17,038	4,368,373
1957	135,749	39,683	8,282	7,227	16,384	19,196	17,333	4,417,404
1958	137,314	39,966	8,056	7,274	16,413	19,187	17,628	4,466,435
1959	129,648	39,555	8,506	6,470	15,027	17,892	16,286	4,519,088
1960	130,448	39,759	8,377	6,435	14,957	17,876	16,456	4,569,305
1961	131,950	39,960	8,320	6,449	15,042	18,258	16,787	4,621,948
1962	133,447	40,161	8,267	6,462	15,128	18,640	17,122	4,674,485
1963	134,943	40,362	8,217	6,473	15,214	19,018	17,462	4,727,095
1964	136,440	40,560	8,164	6,489	15,298	19,399	17,787	4,779,663
1965	137,940	40,761	8,114	6,501	15,382	19,782	18,125	4,832,251
1966	139,438	40,960	8,057	6,515	15,465	20,164	18,461	4,884,887
1967	140,938	41,159	8,004	6,527	15,562	20,546	18,792	4,937,456
1968	142,434	41,361	7,953	6,539	15,639	20,927	19,130	4,990,036
1969	143,930	41,559	7,900	6,553	15,723	21,308	19,458	5,042,625
1970	144,819	41,667	7,873	6,563	15,796	21,645	19,695	5,075,000
1971	148,000	42,500	9,200	6,500	16,400	22,400	20,000	5,201,500
1972	148,800	43,300	9,400	6,300	17,000	23,300	20,100	5,297,100
1973	150,500	43,400	9,200	6,400	17,200	23,900	20,600	5,384,700
1974	152,400	43,800	9,400	6,500	17,600	24,400	21,200	5,464,400
1975	153,400	44,500	9,900	6,700	18,100	24,300	21,700	5,538,200
1976	153,800	44,900	10,200	6,700	18,300	24,600	22,000	5,597,900
1977	155,800	44,900	10,300	6,900	19,000	25,000	22,500	5,674,000

Table B.11 (Continued)

Year	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Carol.
1978	158,200	45,700	10,300	6,900	19,500	24,600	22,800	5,745,400
1979	159,900	46,200	10,300	7,100	20,200	25,100	23,200	5,807,900
1980	161,214	46,536	10,312	7,216	20,311	25,893	23,495	5,896,621
1981	161,905	46,738	10,452	7,164	21,113	26,235	23,757	5,955,529
1982	163,664	46,895	10,630	7,187	21,674	26,397	24,091	6,018,425
1983	163,787	46,655	10,749	7,176	22,049	26,557	24,257	6,076,836
1984	165,330	47,135	10,866	7,277	22,530	26,741	24,631	6,164,259
1985	167,123	47,344	10,846	7,271	22,758	26,702	24,948	6,254,695
1986	168,418	47,762	10,951	7,268	22,643	26,275	25,404	6,322,809
1987	169,574	47,205	10,931	7,252	22,722	26,513	25,404	6,405,440
1988	171,015	47,276	10,809	7,168	22,854	26,607	25,516	6,482,851
1989	173,135	47,115	11,156	7,257	23,218	26,795	25,605	6,568,250
1990	175,173	46,950	11,287	7,195	23,545	26,884	25,562	6,648,689
1991	176,714	47,775	11,191	7,241	24,062	27,404	25,940	6,739,959
1992	180,223	48,323	11,244	7,115	24,656	27,537	26,338	6,836,977

Source: North Carolina State Center for Health and Environmental Statistics

Table B.12.1 Income Distribution 1950; Families						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
Total	30,665		9,015		2,100	
Less than $500	2,610	8.5%	955	10.6%	525	25.0%
$500 to $999	2,365	7.7%	910	10.1%	375	17.9%
$1,000 to $1,499	2,600	8.5%	955	10.6%	330	15.7%
$1,500 to $1,999	3,060	10.0%	795	8.8%	235	11.2%
$2,000 to $2,499	4,100	13.4%	900	10.0%	200	9.5%
$2,500 to $2,999	3,345	10.9%	790	8.8%	105	5.0%
$3,000 to $3,499	2,490	8.1%	930	10.3%	70	3.3%
$3,500 to $3,999	1,990	6.5%	625	6.9%	35	1.7%
$4,000 to $4,499	1,645	5.4%	590	6.5%	40	1.9%
$4,500 to $4,999	1,255	4.1%	375	4.2%	35	1.7%
$5,000 to $5,999	1,700	5.5%	510	5.7%	25	1.2%
$6,000 to $6,999	845	2.8%	185	2.1%	10	0.5%
$7,000 to $9,999	865	2.8%	215	2.4%	35	1.7%
$10,000 and over	565	1.8%	75	0.8%	30	1.4%
Not Reported	1230	4.0%	205	2.3%	50	2.4%
Median Income	2,498		2,439		1,189	
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.12.2 Income Distribution 1950; Families						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
Total	3,530		4,220		3,685	
Less than $500	775	22.0%	985	23.3%	505	13.7%
$500 to $999	735	20.8%	710	16.8%	530	14.4%
$1,000 to $1,499	495	14.0%	670	15.9%	560	15.2%
$1,500 to $1,999	445	12.6%	555	13.2%	435	11.8%
$2,000 to $2,499	310	8.8%	410	9.7%	375	10.2%
$2,500 to $2,999	210	5.9%	260	6.2%	345	9.4%
$3,000 to $3,499	165	4.7%	195	4.6%	240	6.5%
$3,500 to $3,999	110	3.1%	105	2.5%	155	4.2%
$4,000 to $4,499	60	1.7%	60	1.4%	105	2.8%
$4,500 to $4,999	35	1.0%	60	1.4%	80	2.2%
$5,000 to $5,999	55	1.6%	80	1.9%	150	4.1%
$6,000 to $6,999	65	1.8%	30	0.7%	65	1.8%
$7,000 to $9,999	10	0.3%	30	0.7%	40	1.1%
$10,000 and over	10	0.3%	15	0.4%	25	0.7%
Not Reported	50	1.4%	55	1.3%	75	2.0%
Median Income	1,232		1,289		1,741	
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.12.3 Income Distribution 1950; Families						
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%		
Total	1,620		653,920			
Less than $500	390	24.1%	55,585	8.5%		
$500 to $999	285	17.6%	49,920	7.6%		
$1,000 to $1,499	235	14.5%	60,705	9.3%		
$1,500 to $1,999	215	13.3%	72,300	11.1%		
$2,000 to $2,499	155	9.6%	80,055	12.2%		
$2,500 to $2,999	60	3.7%	61,630	9.4%		
$3,000 to $3,499	95	5.9%	57,515	8.8%		
$3,500 to $3,999	45	2.8%	42,540	6.5%		
$4,000 to $4,499	35	2.2%	36,045	5.5%		
$4,500 to $4,999	15	0.9%	26,050	4.0%		
$5,000 to $5,999	25	1.5%	35,190	5.4%		
$6,000 to $6,999	5	0.3%	18,065	2.8%		
$7,000 to $9,999	20	1.2%	18,520	2.8%		
$10,000 and over	10	0.6%	13,635	2.1%		
Not Reported	30	1.9%	26165	4.0%		
Median Income	1,255		2,471			
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.12.4 Income Distribution 1960; Families:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
Total	33,500		10,473		2,001	
Less than $1,000	2,520	7.5%	1,004	9.6%	421	21.0%
$1,000 to $1,999	3,364	10.0%	1,182	11.3%	409	20.4%
$2,000 to $2,999	4,216	12.6%	1,145	10.9%	352	17.6%
$3,000 to $3,999	4,888	14.6%	1,166	11.1%	279	13.9%
$4,000 to $4,999	4,201	12.5%	1,055	10.1%	169	8.4%
$5,000 to $5,999	3,898	11.6%	1,235	11.8%	125	6.2%
$6,000 to $6,999	2,852	8.5%	1,003	9.6%	90	4.5%
$7,000 to $9,999	4,710	14.1%	1,743	16.6%	112	5.6%
$10,000 and over	2,851	8.5%	940	9.0%	44	2.2%
Median Income	4,419		4,701		2,484	
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.12.5 Income Distribution 1960; Families:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
Total	3,871		4,168		4,009	
Less than $1,000	880	22.7%	686	16.5%	434	10.8%
$1,000 to $1,999	682	17.6%	766	18.4%	466	11.6%
$2,000 to $2,999	614	15.9%	636	15.3%	520	13.0%
$3,000 to $3,999	546	14.1%	542	13.0%	475	11.8%
$4,000 to $4,999	334	8.6%	435	10.4%	636	15.9%
$5,000 to $5,999	280	7.2%	336	8.1%	469	11.7%
$6,000 to $6,999	146	3.8%	214	5.1%	216	5.4%
$7,000 to $9,999	243	6.3%	371	8.9%	533	13.3%
$10,000 and over	146	3.8%	182	4.4%	260	6.5%
Median Income	2,608		2,994		4,172	
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.12.6 Income Distribution 1960; Families:						
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%		
Total	1,549		1,091,656			
Less than $1,000	388	25.0%	126,803	11.6%		
$1,000 to $1,999	249	16.1%	134,365	12.3%		
$2,000 to $2,999	262	16.9%	144,411	13.2%		
$3,000 to $3,999	171	11.0%	146,748	13.4%		
$4,000 to $4,999	163	10.5%	129,241	11.8%		
$5,000 to $5,999	145	9.4%	112,765	10.3%		
$6,000 to $6,999	53	3.4%	87,065	8.0%		
$7,000 to $9,999	89	5.7%	134,406	12.3%		
$10,000 and over	29	1.9%	75,852	6.9%		
Median Income	2,525		3,956			
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.12.7 Income Distribution 1970; Families:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
Total	39,340		11,624		2,049	
Less than $1,000	1,188	3.0%	338	2.9%	63	3.1%
$1,000 to $1,999	1,814	4.6%	759	6.5%	195	9.5%
$2,000 to $2,999	2,104	5.3%	798	6.9%	208	10.2%
$3,000 to $3,999	2,625	6.7%	827	7.1%	261	12.7%
$4,000 to $4,999	2,847	7.2%	822	7.1%	267	13.0%
$5,000 to $5,999	3,556	9.0%	1,042	9.0%	161	7.9%
$6,000 to $6,999	3,233	8.2%	1,019	8.8%	183	8.9%
$7,000 to $7,999	3,105	7.9%	1,097	9.4%	170	8.3%
$8,000 to $8,999	3,190	8.1%	1,003	8.6%	144	7.0%
$9,000 to $9,999	2,735	7.0%	912	7.8%	78	3.8%
$10,000 to $14,999	8,291	21.1%	2,311	19.9%	128	6.2%
$15,000 to $24,999	3,751	9.5%	579	5.0%	181	8.8%
$25,000 to $49,999	745	1.9%	102	0.9%	10	0.5%
$50,000 or more	156	0.4%	15	0.1%	0	0.0%
Median Income	7,742		7,189		5,189	
Per Capita Income	8,781		7,687		6,097	
Number of Persons						
Below Poverty Level	22,938	16.1%	7,380	17.9%	2,340	29.9%
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.12.8 Income Distribution 1970; Families:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
Total	4,485		5,197		5,147	
Less than $1,000	361	8.0%	281	5.4%	81	1.6%
$1,000 to $1,999	338	7.5%	464	8.9%	266	5.2%
$2,000 to $2,999	434	9.7%	466	9.0%	242	4.7%
$3,000 to $3,999	400	8.9%	528	10.2%	303	5.9%
$4,000 to $4,999	384	8.6%	411	7.9%	337	6.5%
$5,000 to $5,999	489	10.9%	480	9.2%	431	8.4%
$6,000 to $6,999	438	9.8%	443	8.5%	410	8.0%
$7,000 to $7,999	387	8.6%	412	7.9%	479	9.3%
$8,000 to $8,999	289	6.4%	343	6.6%	510	9.9%
$9,000 to $9,999	293	6.5%	290	5.6%	385	7.5%
$10,000 to $14,999	526	11.7%	765	14.7%	1,249	24.3%
$15,000 to $24,999	114	2.5%	243	4.7%	385	7.5%
$25,000 to $49,999	17	0.4%	61	1.2%	69	1.3%
$50,000 or more	15	0.3%	10	0.2%	0	0.0%
Median Income	5,666		5,934		8,048	
Per Capita Income	6,243		6,897		8,460	
Number of Persons						
Below Poverty Level	4,303	27.3%	5,507	28.8%	3,240	16.9%
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.12.9 Income Distribution 1970; Families:						
	Graham	%	Cherokee	%	N. Car.	%
Total	1,766		715		1,292,466	
Less than $1,000	134	7.6%	74	10.3%	44,260	3.4%
$1,000 to $1,999	146	8.3%	67	9.4%	70,298	5.4%
$2,000 to $2,999	128	7.2%	86	12.0%	73,770	5.7%
$3,000 to $3,999	213	12.1%	118	16.5%	83,990	6.5%
$4,000 to $4,999	157	8.9%	100	14.0%	92,459	7.2%
$5,000 to $5,999	140	7.9%	58	8.1%	103,686	8.0%
$6,000 to $6,999	145	8.2%	33	4.6%	100,265	7.8%
$7,000 to $7,999	141	8.0%	40	5.6%	100,136	7.7%
$8,000 to $8,999	141	8.0%	52	7.3%	98,503	7.6%
$9,000 to $9,999	93	5.3%	38	5.3%	88,761	6.9%
$10,000 to $14,999	263	14.9%	49	6.9%	287,385	22.2%
$15,000 to $24,999	65	3.7%	0	0.0%	116,154	9.0%
$25,000 to $49,999	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	26,430	2.0%
$50,000 or more	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6,369	0.5%
Median Income	5,750		N/A		7,774	
Per Capita Income	6,207		N/A		8,872	
Number of Persons						
Below Poverty Level	1,667	25.4%	1,900	55.0%	996,309	20.3%
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.12.10 Income Distribution 1980; Families:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
Total	45,196		13,583		2,862	
Less than $5,000	3,718	8.2%	1,360	10.0%	511	17.9%
$5,000 to $7,499	3,528	7.8%	1,190	8.8%	406	14.2%
$7,500 to $9,999	3,702	8.2%	1,394	10.3%	369	12.9%
$10,000 to $14,999	8,648	19.1%	2,648	19.5%	714	24.9%
$15,000 to $19,999	8,176	18.1%	2,148	15.8%	368	12.9%
$20,000 to $24,999	6,512	14.4%	1,959	14.4%	258	9.0%
$25,000 to $34,999	6,771	15.0%	1,979	14.6%	126	4.4%
$35,000 to $49,999	2,772	6.1%	700	5.2%	77	2.7%
$50,000 or more	1,369	3.0%	205	1.5%	33	1.2%
Median Income	16,795		15,469		10,982	
Per Capita Income	19,279		17,458		12,878	
Number of Persons						
Below Poverty Level	20,333	12.9%	7,170	15.6%	2,611	25.9%
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.12.11 Income Distribution 1980; Families:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
Total	6,211		6,372		6,604	
Less than $5,000	753	12.1%	730	11.5%	537	8.1%
$5,000 to $7,499	833	13.4%	612	9.6%	505	7.6%
$7,500 to $9,999	684	11.0%	749	11.8%	441	6.7%
$10,000 to $14,999	1,446	23.3%	1,409	22.1%	1,082	16.4%
$15,000 to $19,999	1,108	17.8%	1,091	17.1%	1,184	17.9%
$20,000 to $24,999	527	8.5%	765	12.0%	1,052	15.9%
$25,000 to $34,999	520	8.4%	645	10.1%	1,151	17.4%
$35,000 to $49,999	176	2.8%	204	3.2%	495	7.5%
$50,000 or more	164	2.6%	167	2.6%	157	2.4%
Median Income	12,684		13,640		18,019	
Per Capita Income	16,438		16,825		19,983	
Number of Persons						
Below Poverty Level	3,467	17.2%	4,395	19.3%	2,927	12.9%
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.12.12 Income Distribution 1980; Families:						
	Graham	%	Cherokee	%	N. Car.	%
Total	2,068		1,206		1,583,490	
Less than $5,000	286	13.8%	247	20.5%	139,928	8.8%
$5,000 to $7,499	227	11.0%	200	16.6%	124,322	7.9%
$7,500 to $9,999	240	11.6%	166	13.8%	136,365	8.6%
$10,000 to $14,999	480	23.2%	333	27.6%	285,644	18.0%
$15,000 to $19,999	390	18.9%	162	13.4%	276,633	17.5%
$20,000 to $24,999	221	10.7%	46	3.8%	224,286	14.2%
$25,000 to $34,999	146	7.1%	41	3.4%	241,893	15.3%
$35,000 to $49,999	49	2.4%	11	0.9%	104,167	6.6%
$50,000 or more	29	1.4%	0	0.0%	50,252	3.2%
Median Income	12,642		9,849		16,792	
Per Capita Income	14,856		10,596		19,513	
Number of Persons Below Poverty Level	1,413	19.6%	1,623	34.0%	839,950	14.8%
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.12.13 Income Distribution 1990; Families:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
Total	49,499		14,247		3,163	
Less than $5,000	1,498	3.0%	481	3.4%	190	6.0%
$5,000 to $9,999	3,014	6.1%	1,159	8.1%	449	14.2%
$10,000 to $14,999	4,436	9.0%	1,498	10.5%	520	16.4%
$15,000 to $24,999	9,660	19.5%	3,337	23.4%	857	27.1%
$25,000 to $34,999	10,321	20.9%	2,706	19.0%	565	17.9%
$35,000 to $49,999	10,547	21.3%	2,687	18.9%	320	10.1%
$50,000 to $74,999	6,686	13.5%	1,712	12.0%	189	6.0%
$75,000 to $99,999	1,859	3.8%	410	2.9%	34	1.1%
$100,000 to $149,999	905	1.8%	134	0.9%	4	0.1%
$150,000 or more	573	1.2%	123	0.9%	35	1.1%
Median Income	30,889		26,820		19,533	
Number of Persons Below Poverty Level	19,363	11.4%	5,855	12.7%	3,020	27.6%
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.12.14 Income Distribution 1990; Families:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
Total	7,299		7,091		7,640	
Less than $5,000	275	3.8%	217	3.1%	293	3.8%
$5,000 to $9,999	678	9.3%	655	9.2%	514	6.7%
$10,000 to $14,999	870	11.9%	835	11.8%	693	9.1%
$15,000 to $24,999	1,702	23.3%	1,707	24.1%	1,732	22.7%
$25,000 to $34,999	1,575	21.6%	1,395	19.7%	1,191	15.6%
$35,000 to $49,999	1,301	17.8%	1,247	17.6%	1,593	20.9%
$50,000 to $74,999	684	9.4%	678	9.6%	1,100	14.4%
$75,000 to $99,999	120	1.6%	228	3.2%	313	4.1%
$100,000 to $149,999	36	0.5%	69	1.0%	143	1.9%
$150,000 or more	58	0.8%	60	0.8%	68	0.9%
Median Income	25,655		25,826		30,613	
Number of Persons						
Below Poverty Level	3,837	16.5%	3,969	16.7%	3,328	13.5%
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.12.15 Income Distribution 1990; Families:						
	Graham	%	Cherokee	%	N. Car.	%
Total	2,200		1,677		1,824,465	
Less than $5,000	185	8.4%	177	10.6%	71,942	3.9%
$5,000 to $9,999	365	16.6%	249	14.8%	113,149	6.2%
$10,000 to $14,999	307	14.0%	270	16.1%	154,241	8.5%
$15,000 to $24,999	488	22.2%	507	30.2%	343,884	18.8%
$25,000 to $34,999	382	17.4%	275	16.4%	339,062	18.6%
$35,000 to $49,999	264	12.0%	145	8.6%	381,495	20.9%
$50,000 to $74,999	174	7.9%	35	2.1%	282,765	15.5%
$75,000 to $99,999	9	0.4%	12	0.7%	78,296	4.3%
$100,000 to $149,999	14	0.6%	0	0.0%	38,391	2.1%
$150,000 or more	12	0.5%	7	0.4%	21,240	1.2%
Median Income	19,654		17,121		31,548	
Number of Persons Below Poverty Level	1,790	24.9%	2,097	33.7%	829,858	13.0%

Source: Census of Population

Table B.13.1 Per Capita Personal Income:								
		%		%		%		%
Year	Buncombe	Growth	Haywood	Growth	Swain	Growth	Graham	Growth
1969	3,007		2,760		2,088		1,927	
1970	3,218	7.0%	2,876	4.2%	2,047	-2.0%	2,120	10.0%
1971	3,436	14.3%	3,055	10.7%	2,329	11.5%	2,081	8.0%
1972	3,872	28.8%	3,339	21.0%	2,583	23.7%	2,294	19.0%
1973	4,370	45.3%	3,790	37.3%	2,923	40.0%	2,758	43.1%
1974	4,749	57.9%	4,068	47.4%	3,190	52.8%	3,325	72.5%
1975	4,943	64.4%	4,414	59.9%	3,452	65.3%	3,458	79.4%
1976	5,500	82.9%	4,969	80.0%	3,776	80.8%	3,883	101.5%
1977	6,135	104.0%	5,547	101.0%	4,091	95.9%	4,217	118.8%
1978	6,823	126.9%	6,113	121.5%	4,667	123.5%	4,835	150.9%
1979	7,445	147.6%	6,594	138.9%	5,174	147.8%	5,466	183.7%
1980	8,342	177.4%	7,446	169.8%	5,689	172.5%	6,191	221.3%
1981	9,245	207.4%	8,272	199.7%	6,015	188.1%	6,246	224.1%
1982	9,669	221.5%	8,751	217.1%	6,079	191.1%	6,728	249.1%
1983	10,481	248.6%	9,540	245.7%	6,465	209.6%	6,980	262.2%
1984	11,535	283.6%	10,520	281.2%	6,978	234.2%	7,411	284.6%
1985	12,259	307.7%	11,103	302.3%	7,594	263.7%	7,722	300.7%
1986	12,990	332.0%	11,733	325.1%	7,894	278.1%	8,188	324.9%
1987	13,728	356.5%	12,510	353.3%	8,316	298.3%	8,466	339.3%
1988	14,765	391.0%	13,189	377.9%	8,988	330.5%	8,671	350.0%
1989	15,993	431.9%	13,541	390.6%	9,661	362.7%	8,919	362.8%
1990	17,327	476.2%	14,128	411.9%	10,072	382.4%	9,629	399.7%
1991	17,907	495.5%	14,674	431.7%	10,613	408.3%	9,919	414.7%
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System								

Table B.13.2 Per Capita Personal Income:								
		%		%		%		%
Year	Macon	Growth	Jackson	Growth	Transyl.	Growth	N. Car.	Growth
1969	2,228		2,181		2,526		3,006	
1970	2,381	6.9%	2,331	6.9%	2,756	9.1%	3,233	7.6%
1971	2,614	17.3%	2,580	18.3%	2,867	13.5%	3,438	14.4%
1972	2,908	30.5%	2,858	31.0%	3,276	29.7%	3,814	26.9%
1973	3,424	53.7%	3,254	49.2%	3,509	38.9%	4,278	42.3%
1974	3,694	65.8%	3,402	56.0%	3,819	51.2%	4,641	54.4%
1975	3,905	75.3%	3,815	74.9%	4,274	69.2%	4,914	63.5%
1976	4,446	99.6%	4,229	93.9%	4,997	97.8%	5,447	81.2%
1977	4,829	116.7%	4,572	109.6%	5,425	114.8%	5,920	96.9%
1978	5,385	141.7%	5,299	143.0%	5,972	136.4%	6,635	120.7%
1979	5,936	166.4%	5,703	161.5%	6,773	168.1%	7,271	141.9%
1980	6,840	207.0%	6,171	182.9%	7,819	209.5%	8,000	166.1%
1981	7,537	238.3%	6,778	210.8%	8,820	249.2%	8,900	196.1%
1982	7,997	258.9%	7,242	232.0%	9,333	269.5%	9,341	210.7%
1983	8,827	296.2%	7,885	261.5%	10,145	301.6%	10,073	235.1%
1984	9,743	337.3%	8,689	298.4%	11,078	338.6%	11,178	271.9%
1985	10,376	365.7%	9,147	319.4%	11,696	363.0%	11,897	295.8%
1986	11,194	402.4%	9,903	354.1%	12,124	380.0%	12,735	323.7%
1987	11,491	415.8%	10,475	380.3%	12,923	411.6%	13,541	350.5%
1988	12,446	458.6%	11,229	414.9%	13,688	441.9%	14,558	384.3%
1989	13,227	493.7%	12,067	453.3%	14,599	477.9%	15,527	416.5%
1990	14,015	529.0%	12,852	489.3%	15,465	512.2%	16,383	445.0%
1991	14,494	550.5%	13,327	511.0%	15,999	533.4%	16,848	460.5%
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis - Regional Economic Information System								

Table B.14.1 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1940:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	57,981		15,482		5,068	
No Schooling	1,969	3.4%	901	5.8%	262	5.2%
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	7,163	12.4%	2,756	17.8%	1,223	24.1%
5 or 6 Years	8,647	14.9%	2,879	18.6%	1,163	22.9%
7 or 8 Years	12,147	20.9%	3,297	21.3%	1,187	23.4%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	10,153	17.5%	2,689	17.4%	564	11.1%
4 Years	8,922	15.4%	1,527	9.9%	304	6.0%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	4,732	8.2%	806	5.2%	184	3.6%
4 Years or More	3,667	6.3%	546	3.5%	143	2.8%
Not Reported	581	1.0%	81	0.5%	38	0.7%
Median School Years	8.9		7.7		6.7	
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.2 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1950:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	71,005		18,595		4,525	
No Schooling	1,460	2.1%	530	2.9%	175	3.9%
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	7,295	10.3%	2,755	14.8%	955	21.1%
5 or 6 Years	8,845	12.5%	3,260	17.5%	930	20.6%
7 or 8 Years	15,245	21.5%	4,690	25.2%	1,310	29.0%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	17,675	24.9%	3,980	21.4%	600	13.3%
4 Years	7,425	10.5%	1,255	6.7%	175	3.9%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	6,080	8.6%	1,125	6.1%	150	3.3%
4 Years or More	4,805	6.8%	805	4.3%	205	4.5%
Not Reported	2,175	3.1%	195	1.0%	25	0.6%
Median School Years	9.2		8.0		7.3	
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.3 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1940:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	7,280		8,490		5,666	
No Schooling	269	3.7%	508	6.0%	191	3.4%
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	1,461	20.1%	1,914	22.5%	1,002	17.7%
5 or 6 Years	1,603	22.0%	1,661	19.6%	947	16.7%
7 or 8 Years	2,101	28.9%	1,736	20.4%	1,095	19.3%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	944	13.0%	1,191	14.0%	1,051	18.5%
4 Years	435	6.0%	664	7.8%	746	13.2%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	240	3.3%	401	4.7%	326	5.8%
4 Years or More	194	2.7%	239	2.8%	237	4.2%
Not Reported	33	0.5%	176	2.1%	71	1.3%
Median School Years	7.2		7.1		8.2	
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.4 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1950:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	7,815		9,120		7,335	
No Schooling	230	2.9%	390	4.3%	70	1.0%
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	1,425	18.2%	1,915	21.0%	1,180	16.1%
5 or 6 Years	1,540	19.7%	1,740	19.1%	1,140	15.5%
7 or 8 Years	2,535	32.4%	2,155	23.6%	1,940	26.4%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	1,085	13.9%	1,760	19.3%	1,780	24.3%
4 Years	425	5.4%	310	3.4%	355	4.8%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	305	3.9%	380	4.2%	460	6.3%
4 Years or More	250	3.2%	365	4.0%	340	4.6%
Not Reported	20	0.3%	105	1.2%	70	1.0%
Median School Years	7.4		7.4		8.1	
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.5 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1940:						
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%		
Pop. 25 Years & Older	2,665		1,649,820			
No Schooling	197	7.4%	95,414	5.8%		
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	774	29.0%	337,639	20.5%		
5 or 6 Years	615	23.1%	309,347	18.8%		
7 or 8 Years	529	19.8%	344,891	20.9%		
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	315	11.8%	226,448	13.7%		
4 Years	116	4.4%	152,816	9.3%		
College:						
1 to 3 Years	60	2.3%	88,864	5.4%		
4 Years or More	45	1.7%	67,036	4.1%		
Not Reported	14	0.5%	27,365	1.7%		
Median School Years	6.1		7.4			
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.6 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1950:						
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%		
Pop. 25 Years & Older	3,140		2,020,140			
No Schooling	130	4.1%	74,125	3.7%		
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	780	24.8%	351,210	17.4%		
5 or 6 Years	745	23.7%	333,125	16.5%		
7 or 8 Years	790	25.2%	448,035	22.2%		
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	350	11.1%	366,795	18.2%		
4 Years	175	5.6%	191,020	9.5%		
College:						
1 to 3 Years	70	2.2%	120,460	6.0%		
4 Years or More	70	2.2%	101,670	5.0%		
Not Reported	30	1.0%	33,700	1.7%		
Median School Years	6.7		7.9			
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.7 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1960:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	75,090		21,460		4,268	
No Schooling	1,582	2.1%	536	2.5%	135	3.2%
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	6,775	9.0%	2,407	11.2%	617	14.5%
5 or 6 Years	8,027	10.7%	3,194	14.9%	710	16.6%
7 or 8 Years	14,758	19.7%	4,609	21.5%	1,204	28.2%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	13,532	18.0%	3,756	17.5%	724	17.0%
4 Years	17,270	23.0%	4,394	20.5%	503	11.8%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	7,447	9.9%	1,430	6.7%	180	4.2%
4 Years or More	5,699	7.6%	1,134	5.3%	195	4.6%
Median School Years	10.4		9.1		8.0	
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.8 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1970:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	85,103		24,211		4,417	
No Schooling	823	1.0%	320	1.3%	87	2.0%
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	4,403	5.2%	1,809	7.5%	483	10.9%
5 to 7 Years	11,396	13.4%	5,084	21.0%	1,141	25.8%
8 Years	7,181	8.4%	2,054	8.5%	499	11.3%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	21,565	25.3%	6,312	26.1%	910	20.6%
4 Years	21,704	25.5%	5,835	24.1%	830	18.8%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	9,547	11.2%	1,533	6.3%	188	4.3%
4 Years or More	8,484	10.0%	1,264	5.2%	279	6.3%
Median School Years	11.6		10.3		9.1	
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.9 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1960:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	8,063		9,026		8,242	
No Schooling	178	2.2%	298	3.3%	191	2.3%
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	1,102	13.7%	1,302	14.4%	900	10.9%
5 or 6 Years	1,263	15.7%	1,570	17.4%	1,087	13.2%
7 or 8 Years	2,637	32.7%	2,096	23.2%	1,753	21.3%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	1,209	15.0%	1,311	14.5%	1,292	15.7%
4 Years	977	12.1%	1,385	15.3%	1,780	21.6%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	324	4.0%	490	5.4%	634	7.7%
4 Years or More	373	4.6%	574	6.4%	605	7.3%
Median School Years	7.9		8.1		9.5	
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.10 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1970:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	9,516		10,639		10,441	
No Schooling	149	1.6%	228	2.1%	175	1.7%
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	842	8.8%	1,098	10.3%	629	6.0%
5 to 7 Years	2,679	28.2%	2,373	22.3%	1,861	17.8%
8 Years	1,036	10.9%	1,038	9.8%	705	6.8%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	1,814	19.1%	2,337	22.0%	2,279	21.8%
4 Years	2,057	21.6%	2,037	19.1%	2,756	26.4%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	497	5.2%	647	6.1%	1,018	9.8%
4 Years or More	442	4.6%	881	8.3%	1,018	9.8%
Median School Years	9.2		9.7		11.4	
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.11 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1960:						
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%		
Pop. 25 Years & Older	3,139		2,307,171			
No Schooling	115	3.7%	70,827	3.1%		
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	691	22.0%	309,226	13.4%		
5 or 6 Years	676	21.5%	317,379	13.8%		
7 or 8 Years	789	25.1%	473,220	20.5%		
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	359	11.4%	392,302	17.0%		
4 Years	361	11.5%	436,194	18.9%		
College:						
1 to 3 Years	81	2.6%	163,131	7.1%		
4 Years or More	67	2.1%	144,892	6.3%		
Median School Years	7.1		8.9			
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.12 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1970:						
	Graham	%	Cherokee	%	N. Car.	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	3,597		1,401		2,646,272	
No Schooling	91	2.5%	50	3.6%	51,799	2.0%
Grade School:						
1 to 4 Years	566	15.7%	152	10.8%	212,732	8.0%
5 to 7 Years	976	27.1%	311	22.2%	485,335	18.3%
8 Years	381	10.6%	189	13.5%	233,367	8.8%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	742	20.6%	409	29.2%	645,089	24.4%
4 Years	622	17.3%	257	18.3%	572,928	21.7%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	75	2.1%	27	1.9%	221,396	8.4%
4 Years or More	144	4.0%	6	0.4%	223,626	8.5%
Median School Years	8.5		9.0		10.6	
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.13 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1980:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	101,638		29,543		6,127	
Grade School:						
0 to 4 Years	4,055	4.0%	1,963	6.6%	502	8.2%
5 to 8 Years	16,890	16.6%	5,965	20.2%	1,643	26.8%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	20,325	20.0%	6,374	21.6%	1,255	20.5%
4 Years	30,065	29.6%	8,829	29.9%	1,562	25.5%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	15,445	15.2%	3,694	12.5%	626	10.2%
4 Years or More	14,858	14.6%	2,718	9.2%	539	8.8%
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.14 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1990:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
Grade School:						
0 to 8 Years	11,992	10.0%	5,229	15.8%	1,395	18.9%
High School:						
No Diploma	18,559	15.5%	5,368	16.2%	1,638	22.2%
Graduate	35,723	29.8%	10,730	32.4%	2,134	28.9%
College:						
No Degree	21,394	17.9%	4,992	15.1%	994	13.5%
Associate Degree	9,238	7.7%	2,550	7.7%	496	6.7%
Bachelor's Degree	14,934	12.5%	2,810	8.5%	488	6.6%
Graduate Degree	7,975	6.7%	1,428	4.3%	244	3.3%
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.15 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1980:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	13,416		13,859		14,098	
Grade School:						
0 to 4 Years	760	5.7%	1,106	8.0%	708	5.0%
5 to 8 Years	3,323	24.8%	3,051	22.0%	2,567	18.2%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	2,305	17.2%	2,403	17.3%	2,467	17.5%
4 Years	4,023	30.0%	3,421	24.7%	4,489	31.8%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	1,610	12.0%	1,734	12.5%	1,879	13.3%
4 Years or More	1,395	10.4%	2,144	15.5%	1,988	14.1%
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.16 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1990:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
Grade School:						
0 to 8 Years	2,538	14.9%	2,399	14.8%	2,093	12.1%
High School:						
No Diploma	3,140	18.4%	2,657	16.4%	2,749	15.8%
Graduate	5,473	32.1%	4,641	28.7%	5,632	32.5%
College:						
No Degree	2,576	15.1%	2,473	15.3%	2,833	16.3%
Associate Degree	1,092	6.4%	817	5.1%	926	5.3%
Bachelor's Degree	1,511	8.9%	1,693	10.5%	2,091	12.1%
Graduate Degree	738	4.3%	1,489	9.2%	1,020	5.9%
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.17 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1980:						
	Graham	%	Cherokee	%	N. Car.	%
Pop. 25 Years & Older	4,324		2,210		3,403,219	
Grade School:						
0 to 4 Years	411	9.5%	N/A	0.0%	200,780	5.9%
5 to 8 Years	1,218	28.2%	713	32.3%	634,840	18.7%
High School:						
1 to 3 Years	966	22.3%	560	25.3%	701,398	20.6%
4 Years	1,140	26.4%	613	27.7%	947,017	27.8%
College:						
1 to 3 Years	328	7.6%	260	11.8%	468,761	13.8%
4 Years or More	261	6.0%	64	2.9%	450,423	13.2%
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.14.18 Years of School Completed, Age 25 & Older, 1990:						
	Graham	%	Cherokee	%	N. Car.	%
Grade School:						
0 to 8 Years	1,176	24.6%	487	14.0%	539,974	12.7%
High School:						
No Diploma	886	18.5%	789	22.7%	737,773	17.3%
Graduate	1,521	31.8%	1,117	32.2%	1,232,868	29.0%
College:						
No Degree	498	10.4%	574	16.5%	713,713	16.8%
Associate Degree	222	4.6%	335	9.7%	290,117	6.8%
Bachelor's Degree	266	5.6%	127	3.7%	510,003	12.0%
Graduate Degree	212	4.4%	42	1.2%	229,046	5.4%
Source: Census of Population						

Table B.15 Food Stamp Participation:									
Year	Mo.	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Car.
1968	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1968	5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1968	8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1968	11	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1969	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1969	5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1969	8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1969	11	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1970	2	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	66,983
1970	5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1970	8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1970	11	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	61,240
1971	2	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	69,539
1971	5	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	71,014
1971	8	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	71,342
1971	11	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	78,731
1972	1	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	N/P	78,139
1972	5	N/P	N/P	N/P	87	N/P	N/P	N/P	81,417
1972	8	N/P	N/P	N/P	116	N/P	N/P	N/P	86,637
1972	11	N/P	N/P	N/P	83	N/P	N/P	N/P	84,145
1973	2	N/P	N/P	N/P	118	N/P	N/P	N/P	83,240
1973	5	N/P	N/P	N/P	139	144	N/P	N/P	82,084
1973	8	1,922	N/P	N/P	133	136	N/P	N/P	83,070
1973	11	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table B.15 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Car.
1974	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1974	5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1974	8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1974	11	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1975	2	18,059	4,117	2,178	1,345	1,609	3,876	1,797	565,496
1975	5	20,429	4,391	1,845	1,406	1,437	3,388	1,426	565,033
1975	8	17,155	3,425	1,401	1,231	1,142	2,759	1,264	495,941
1975	11	16,915	2,708	1,525	1,071	1,191	2,612	1,189	480,905
1976	2	16,929	3,222	1,822	1,141	1,302	2,912	1,082	499,539
1976	5	15,061	2,803	1,384	957	1,087	2,271	1,313	469,808
1976	8	12,794	2,361	1,179	931	1,018	1,729	1,082	432,569
1976	11	12,925	2,436	1,291	938	1,203	2,112	983	442,591
1977	2	12,674	2,974	1,614	1,184	1,408	2,653	1,158	465,946
1977	5	10,047	2,367	1,034	907	1,126	1,806	763	421,543
1977	8	8,722	1,847	873	823	1,091	1,543	525	395,721
1977	11	10,438	2,106	763	919	1,007	1,375	861	391,744
1978	2	8,974	2,563	1,227	1,025	1,153	1,778	1,030	408,288
1978	5	8,645	2,112	939	774	886	1,343	715	384,774
1978	8	9,634	2,186	899	696	847	1,297	829	371,751
1978	11	8,978	2,336	933	703	926	1,404	883	366,989
1979	2	12,089	3,502	1,643	1,089	1,509	2,490	1,345	498,087
1979	5	12,199	3,468	1,533	993	1,559	2,154	1,176	509,921
1979	8	13,877	3,749	1,536	978	1,447	2,012	1,218	524,965
1979	11	13,094	4,006	1,537	1,106	1,507	2,185	1,336	540,387

Table B.15 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Car.
1980	2	14,205	5,310	1,960	1,311	1,948	2,716	1,626	601,446
1980	5	14,635	4,955	1,773	1,157	1,724	2,363	1,569	593,037
1980	8	15,071	4,575	1,573	1,066	1,598	2,099	1,582	594,484
1980	11	14,894	4,977	1,694	1,112	1,762	2,191	1,505	592,396
1981	FY	15,599	4,717	2,097	1,145	1,808	2,385	1,634	603,963
1982	FY	15,846	4,457	1,937	1,230	1,713	2,134	1,589	587,794
1986	FY	11,637	3,570	1,500	942	1,211	1,913	1,452	464,784
1987	FY	11,464	3,275	1,449	848	1,204	1,864	1,425	423,902
1988	FY	11,056	2,879	1,252	855	1,204	1,706	1,445	396,830
1989	FY	11,166	2,711	1,133	823	1,116	1,719	1,457	389,807
1990	FY	11,772	3,006	1,177	831	1,188	1,865	1,562	407,553
1991	FY	13,620	3,479	1,472	1,055	1,517	2,277	1,791	488,200
1992	FY	16,020	3,871	1,678	1,200	1,862	2,850	2,184	582,500
1993	FY	17,076	3,954	1,827	1,190	1,976	2,979	2,369	622,200

N/P = County Not Participating

Source: Statistical Journal, North Carolina Dept. of Human Resources

Table B.16 AFDC Participation:									
		Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Car.
Year	Mo.	Children	Children	Children	Children	Children	Children	Children	Children
1938	1	437	209	106	46	56	150	89	13,441
1938	4	695	246	117	47	77	175	88	18,881
1938	7	689	285	115	54	114	178	88	20,179
1938	10	627	265	111	54	113	182	96	20,445
1939	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1939	4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1939	7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1939	10	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1940	1	689	262	117	56	109	188	97	21,459
1940	4	737	279	117	54	117	209	96	22,774
1940	7	774	284	121	55	126	213	100	23,253
1940	10	817	286	124	53	124	215	102	23,426
1941	1	855	290	136	55	124	222	96	23,716
1941	4	830	290	132	58	124	204	103	23,672
1941	7	828	282	123	56	127	223	106	23,440
1941	10	863	284	124	61	128	216	104	23,296
1942	1	868	292	129	60	134	218	101	23,524
1942	4	896	302	136	60	131	216	106	23,521
1942	7	877	289	121	61	129	213	108	22,863
1942	10	862	302	117	60	130	215	105	21,958
1943	1	800	290	109	58	132	206	109	18,756
1943	4	804	274	92	53	127	206	112	19,699
1943	7	763	257	91	51	116	204	100	18,260
1943	10	693	226	84	50	112	192	98	16,970

Table B.16 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Buncombe Children	Haywood Children	Swain Children	Graham Children	Macon Children	Jackson Children	Transyl. Children	N. Car. Children
1944	1	662	221	81	46	95	176	91	16,439
1944	4	648	221	80	47	95	163	97	16,028
1944	7	615	184	77	32	88	138	103	15,565
1944	10	585	197	92	31	84	130	98	15,210
1945	1	571	211	89	37	95	139	93	15,509
1945	4	557	225	97	54	91	133	94	15,614
1945	7	540	209	101	70	87	125	84	15,545
1945	10	493	230	108	90	94	121	82	15,729
1946	1	509	259	117	97	107	144	96	16,787
1946	4	572	231	140	100	102	136	98	17,326
1946	7	630	262	139	90	96	124	95	17,321
1946	10	659	313	152	113	111	182	107	18,447
1947	1	711	352	158	114	124	182	123	19,831
1947	4	719	369	168	116	141	198	132	21,013
1947	7	770	373	187	116	157	211	125	22,240
1947	10	767	390	193	135	153	200	144	22,725
1948	1	798	409	212	151	144	236	138	24,268
1948	4	809	442	225	149	164	240	148	26,017
1948	7	772	470	239	149	109	246	131	26,628
1948	10	899	513	233	138	151	278	135	27,894
1949	1	1,020	573	242	144	151	295	132	30,205
1949	4	1,165	556	260	155	203	332	127	33,404
1949	7	1,202	545	265	174	222	326	149	35,101
1949	10	1,288	535	292	183	240	355	170	36,094

Table B.16 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Buncombe Persons	Haywood Persons	Swain Persons	Graham Persons	Macon Persons	Jackson Persons	Transyl. Persons	N. Car. Persons
1950	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1950	4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1950	7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1950	10	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1951	1	1,445	668	385	222	326	510	127	50,015
1951	4	1,616	695	397	254	351	556	130	55,962
1951	7	1,658	707	432	262	351	557	129	57,343
1951	10	1,698	708	427	261	354	577	132	58,218
1952	1	1,753	742	448	241	340	662	129	60,469
1952	4	1,745	797	460	262	389	643	139	62,360
1952	7	1,757	834	485	223	370	677	164	61,155
1952	10	1,692	878	493	240	346	714	162	59,848
1953	1	1,619	881	504	263	363	701	187	61,531
1953	4	1,707	901	510	282	368	677	203	65,422
1953	7	1,662	893	462	293	384	654	194	58,894
1953	10	1,739	855	472	268	390	699	207	60,831
1954	1	1,816	891	457	302	391	676	196	66,069
1954	5	1,818	897	460	311	413	718	191	70,835
1954	7	1,834	857	470	280	407	691	205	65,562
1954	10	1,835	911	505	283	390	734	N/A	67,270
1955	1	1,947	926	514	301	395	787	226	72,437
1955	4	1,937	936	500	311	425	775	234	76,075
1955	7	1,936	952	483	312	403	770	244	70,674
1955	10	1,964	905	522	256	396	781	242	71,375

Table B.16 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Buncombe Persons	Haywood Persons	Swain Persons	Graham Persons	Macon Persons	Jackson Persons	Transyl. Persons	N. Car. Persons
1956	1	2,045	874	517	239	411	801	245	78,487
1956	4	2,019	941	529	255	408	807	254	83,320
1956	7	2,033	911	524	271	388	788	247	79,277
1956	10	2,030	933	495	275	345	775	240	82,863
1957	1	2,022	934	494	257	346	829	244	74,396
1957	4	2,054	992	517	248	342	810	265	77,595
1957	7	1,926	913	498	262	345	778	265	72,151
1957	10	1,928	969	551	246	368	819	287	73,684
1958	1	2,179	1,057	556	234	360	850	271	89,519
1958	4	2,243	1,137	528	263	350	875	275	97,109
1958	7	2,247	1,102	498	270	337	907	280	95,041
1958	10	2,195	1,192	553	227	366	895	298	96,927
1959	1	2,265	1,241	549	266	353	869	342	101,738
1959	4	2,260	1,199	575	270	298	886	358	106,492
1959	7	2,076	1,148	552	262	315	850	339	100,718
1959	10	2,089	1,134	592	248	307	841	349	100,557
1960	1	2,101	1,160	594	233	286	857	376	104,147
1960	4	2,095	1,204	577	249	279	886	381	107,167
1960	7	1,994	1,122	520	209	273	904	388	102,205
1960	10	2,046	1,145	506	186	281	873	395	103,453
1961	1	2,195	1,222	544	193	251	910	411	109,005
1961	4	2,236	1,265	539	226	230	922	385	114,030
1961	7	2,165	1,203	507	193	209	874	353	110,791
1961	10	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table B.16 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Buncombe Persons	Haywood Persons	Swain Persons	Graham Persons	Macon Persons	Jackson Persons	Transyl. Persons	N. Car. Persons
1962	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1962	4	1,980	1,176	552	201	201	872	379	115,069
1962	6	1,975	1,120	536	192	196	825	358	111,534
1962	10	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1963	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1963	4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1963	7	1,918	1,039	519	222	185	800	266	110,358
1963	10	1,984	998	519	202	183	728	246	109,859
1964	1	1,922	980	525	246	193	733	223	113,294
1964	4	1,836	1,010	568	233	186	728	238	116,826
1964	7	1,670	875	454	191	174	598	227	106,659
1964	10	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1970	2	1,199	704	275	69	N/A	481	190	128,259
1970	5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1970	8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1970	11	1,163	724	258	63	53	501	201	143,168
1971	2	1,348	719	314	61	61	555	214	153,587
1971	5	1,463	749	273	61	62	601	222	159,601
1971	8	1,394	725	204	54	56	575	214	159,563
1971	11	1,546	724	248	56	63	571	212	164,120
1972	2	1,648	789	257	63	61	576	221	167,819
1972	5	1,802	729	235	82	57	600	193	170,325
1972	8	1,796	727	249	77	62	589	190	166,009
1972	11	1,872	658	245	66	66	577	166	160,408

Table B.16 (Continued)

Year	Mo.	Buncombe Persons	Haywood Persons	Swain Persons	Graham Persons	Macon Persons	Jackson Persons	Transyl. Persons	N. Car. Persons
1973	2	2,001	611	245	71	68	591	158	158,686
1973	5	1,979	619	241	86	62	550	163	151,381
1973	8	2,051	583	239	67	67	521	148	149,340
1973	11	2,169	504	244	67	55	514	155	150,615
1974	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1974	5	2,207	613	211	59	43	481	145	154,183
1974	8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1974	11	2,146	653	177	47	65	403	198	160,774
1975	2	2,362	677	219	56	63	442	255	176,792
1975	5	2,406	649	208	53	73	439	278	178,405
1975	8	2,710	686	187	75	54	432	304	186,408
1975	11	2,682	669	214	54	44	436	293	187,864
1976	2	2,723	656	260	50	35	427	310	188,747
1976	5	2,662	646	202	44	24	397	336	187,422
1976	8	2,845	686	212	57	29	390	314	191,334
1976	11	2,899	651	209	56	31	408	329	194,999
1977	2	2,962	720	201	47	33	394	350	199,396
1977	5	2,917	705	216	77	50	368	328	198,579
1977	8	2,788	642	211	75	43	333	350	195,481
1977	11	2,712	636	248	72	43	334	345	194,766
1978	2	2,801	660	321	62	55	347	364	199,580
1978	5	2,760	640	274	58	49	312	360	196,177
1978	8	2,702	639	238	59	56	291	395	192,187
1978	11	2,626	698	248	56	51	288	401	189,559

Table B.16 (Continued)									
		Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Car.
Year	Mo.	Persons	Persons	Persons	Persons	Persons	Persons	Persons	Persons
1979	2	2,701	740	275	69	79	319	415	192,792
1979	5	2,713	695	259	79	75	290	415	190,546
1979	8	2,585	683	279	89	71	315	384	189,355
1979	11	2,513	704	315	105	84	290	391	191,359
1980	2	2,557	751	336	103	102	317	443	195,310
1980	5	2,629	802	305	115	95	325	461	199,064
1980	8	2,514	773	304	142	103	329	482	196,427
1980	11	2,466	797	296	127	108	323	505	199,414
1981	FY	2,473	807	315	143	109	346	490	200,026
1982	FY	2,363	737	313	157	101	285	396	179,460
1986	FY	2,513	998	391	168	152	383	391	173,485
1987	FY	2,596	1,013	411	177	192	445	442	175,297
1988	FY	2,652	1,014	432	195	280	436	455	177,890
1989	FY	3,191	1,129	504	251	317	490	530	197,140
1990	FY	3,924	1,235	514	250	371	539	614	214,824
1991	FY	4,731	1,475	558	286	457	661	719	255,200
1992	FY	5,768	1,559	653	321	500	817	839	298,200
1993	FY	6,323	1,585	750	315	540	881	918	319,100
Source: Statistical Journal, North Carolina Dept. of Human Resources									

Table B.17 Infant Mortality Rates:

Year	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Carol.
1930	76.3	71.8	30.9	27.5	51.4	70.3	31.8	78.4
1931	64.1	48.4	61.1	40.6	74.9	64.1	27.1	73.0
1932	61.0	59.7	32.8	56.2	58.1	54.8	56.6	66.3
1933	70.1	63.9	45.1	74.4	48.1	53.8	64.3	65.8
1934	62.8	77.1	40.2	83.9	59.7	72.3	94.8	77.9
1935	63.1	53.1	50.7	57.1	36.1	76.8	39.4	67.9
1936	67.5	57.6	37.9	69.0	51.8	64.2	51.0	68.4
1937	67.3	49.8	41.6	62.1	41.0	64.3	71.2	65.2
1938	57.6	44.8	69.9	26.7	49.3	54.8	63.4	68.2
1939	69.6	50.4	43.5	51.7	50.6	49.7	54.5	59.0
1940	47.6	47.6	39.0	34.9	55.8	62.6	64.6	55.3
1941	57.4	47.7	40.7	74.3	47.8	89.7	33.7	59.5
1942	47.9	31.2	23.0	29.4	36.0	52.1	38.1	47.6
1943	46.5	42.3	42.4	13.6	36.7	40.8	51.5	45.1
1944	46.5	51.0	28.7	48.1	24.3	58.0	46.8	46.0
1945	37.1	30.3	17.7	40.7	22.8	53.5	35.2	43.0
1946	35.8	39.3	24.6	30.6	37.1	43.2	27.9	37.3
1947	31.0	32.3	17.0	43.3	30.5	31.4	16.1	35.2
1948	39.8	22.8	44.6	34.0	41.1	20.6	12.1	35.3
1949	33.1	35.1	31.4	29.4	41.8	33.4	14.9	37.9
1950	33.7	26.1	38.3	33.0	51.1	29.0	27.6	34.6
1951	29.5	16.9	25.0	17.1	24.9	22.4	19.0	32.8
1952	28.1	32.2	31.0	18.5	14.0	41.3	10.7	35.4
1953	26.2	24.9	26.2	42.4	17.3	21.3	20.5	32.6

Table B.17 (Continued)

Year	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Carol.
1954	21.2	20.1	16.0	17.2	27.9	26.2	26.9	30.1
1955	29.4	20.0	33.8	32.9	25.4	29.3	25.1	30.3
1956	25.5	23.6	35.4	35.7	20.0	22.2	17.6	30.9
1957	22.0	37.2	21.5	15.3	17.6	8.2	7.9	30.6
1958	30.5	33.7	36.0	13.2	16.0	26.0	28.8	32.6
1959	26.7	31.9	22.8	13.7	24.4	18.1	28.3	32.8
1960	25.7	26.3	4.6	26.3	18.8	31.9	23.7	31.6
1961	27.6	23.5	38.5	21.4	30.1	28.7	23.6	30.5
1962	25.5	26.9	19.9	29.2	37.2	21.0	22.5	30.3
1963	27.9	17.4	21.4	29.9	7.6	25.0	19.3	31.1
1964	26.8	16.7	46.5	13.8	18.9	15.2	17.2	30.2
1965	31.8	19.3	32.4	27.4	37.2	16.3	30.1	30.4
1966	27.5	28.4	41.0	24.6	57.4	29.9	25.8	29.0
1967	24.8	22.3	10.9	23.1	14.4	25.7	21.6	26.7
1968	26.9	23.2	28.8	39.7	20.0	7.5	28.7	26.3
1969	22.0	25.0	12.1	0.0	23.6	8.6	37.5	24.8
1970	21.6	24.6	23.0	31.7	12.1	24.3	31.0	24.1
1971	28.5	24.5	10.8	9.0	18.4	23.8	24.9	22.0
1972	27.2	22.6	25.5	30.0	0.0	18.2	21.6	22.6
1973	23.5	19.0	19.4	21.7	37.7	28.5	15.0	21.7
1974	24.7	16.6	28.9	0.0	11.6	27.2	19.4	19.4
1975	15.6	13.1	37.0	8.9	20.5	37.8	6.6	18.5
1976	22.3	7.5	26.8	0.0	16.6	10.3	23.6	17.8
1977	14.7	20.9	12.0	0.0	22.2	17.9	13.7	15.8

Table B.17 (Continued)

Year	Buncombe	Haywood	Swain	Graham	Macon	Jackson	Transyl.	N. Carol.
1978	13.4	11.4	26.5	28.0	8.8	16.9	10.1	16.6
1979	12.8	14.9	6.1	9.3	4.7	18.8	6.5	15.2
1980	14.0	16.0	12.0	0.0	27.4	12.8	3.6	14.4
1981	7.7	14.0	5.6	9.6	3.9	6.2	17.0	13.2
1982	14.9	17.2	33.1	0.0	13.3	6.8	0.0	13.7
1983	8.2	7.6	16.5	10.6	8.3	28.8	13.0	13.2
1984	10.6	5.8	11.9	9.8	8.1	7.9	25.2	12.5
1985	8.8	13.5	12.7	0.0	12.4	14.0	7.7	12.0
1986	8.5	2.0	6.1	0.0	12.7	18.5	7.8	11.6
1987	10.0	9.2	12.2	11.1	18.4	15.1	10.6	12.1
1988	10.6	9.4	14.9	0.0	4.2	3.4	6.6	12.6
1989	7.1	7.3	4.9	25.4	8.2	13.1	6.9	11.5
1990	11.6	7.3	10.1	27.0	4.2	9.1	7.1	10.6
1991	8.6	15.4	24.1	20.2	4.0	6.0	3.2	10.9
1992	5.1	5.7	28.2	21.7	11.5	10.1	13.1	9.9

Source: North Carolina State Center for Health and Environmental Statistics

Table B.18.1 Local Government Finances as of 1957 ($000):						
	Buncombe	Per Capita	Haywood	Per Capita	Swain	Per Capita
Population	135,749		39,683		8,282	
Revenue:						
General	6,426	47.34	1,819	45.84	217	26.20
Prop. Taxes	4,802	35.37	990	24.95	147	17.75
Utilities	1,288	9.49	393	9.90	18	2.17
Liquor Stores	5,044	37.16	0	0.00	0	0.00
Ins. Trust	34	0.25	0	0.00	0	0.00
From Own Sources	12,792	94.23	2,212	55.74	235	28.37
InterGov't	3,298	24.29	724	18.24	200	24.15
Total Revenue	16,090	118.53	2,936	73.99	435	52.52
Expenditures:						
Direct General	9,397	69.22	2,391	60.25	400	48.30
Utilities	1,117	8.23	306	7.71	5	0.60
Liquor Stores	4,295	31.64	0	0.00	0	0.00
Ins. Trust	77	0.57	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total Expenditure	14,886	109.66	2,697	67.96	405	48.90
Capital Outlays	1,439	10.60	326	8.22	119	14.37
Debt Outstanding	37,353	275.16	2,799	70.53	670	80.90
Source: Census of Governments						

Table B.18.2 Local Government Finances as of 1957 ($000):						
	Macon	Per Capita	Jackson	Per Capita	Transyl.	Per Capita
Population	16,384		19,196		17,333	
Revenue:						
General	402	24.54	518	26.98	553	31.90
Prop. Taxes	262	15.99	346	18.02	388	22.39
Utilities	118	7.20	19	0.99	45	2.60
Liquor Stores	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Ins. Trust	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
From Own Sources	520	31.74	537	27.97	598	34.50
InterGov't	219	13.37	422	21.98	302	17.42
Total Revenue	739	45.10	959	49.96	900	51.92
Expenditures:						
Direct General	559	34.12	873	45.48	894	51.58
Utilities	95	5.80	16	0.83	34	1.96
Liquor Stores	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Ins. Trust	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total Expenditure	654	39.92	889	46.31	928	53.54
Capital Outlays	158	9.64	123	6.41	286	16.50
Debt Outstanding	1,042	63.60	1,031	53.71	2,181	125.83
Source: Census of Governments						

Table B.18.3 Local Government Finances as of 1957 ($000):				
		Per	All NC	Per
	Graham	Capita	Counties	Capita
Population	7,227		4,417,404	
Revenue:				
General	161	22.28	195,449	44.25
Prop. Taxes	120	16.60	126,507	28.64
Utilities	10	1.38	51,621	11.69
Liquor Stores	0	0.00	61,733	13.97
Ins. Trust	0	0.00	425	0.10
From Own Sources	171	23.66	309,228	70.00
InterGov't	282	39.02	87,063	19.71
Total Revenue	453	62.68	396,291	89.71
Expenditures:				
Direct General	402	55.62	314,585	71.21
Utilities	11	1.52	52,759	11.94
Liquor Stores	0	0.00	51,266	11.61
Ins. Trust	0	0.00	434	0.10
Total Expenditure	413	57.15	419,044	94.86
Capital Outlays	91	12.59	105,680	23.92
Debt Outstanding	281	38.88	N/A	
Source: Census of Governments				

Table B.18.4 Local Government Finances as of 1962 ($000):						
		Per		Per		Per
	Buncombe	Capita	Haywood	Capita	Swain	Capita
Population	133,447		40,161		8,267	
Revenue:						
General	10,485	78.57	2,714	67.58	260	31.45
Prop. Taxes	7,228	54.16	1,327	33.04	175	21.17
Utilities	N/A		N/A		N/A	
Liquor Stores	N/A		N/A		N/A	
Ins. Trust	N/A		N/A		N/A	
From Own Sources	10,485	78.57	2,714	67.58	260	31.45
InterGov't	8,889	66.61	2,953	73.53	848	102.58
General Rev.	19,374	145.18	5,667	141.11	1,108	134.03
Expenditures:						
Direct General	19,214	143.98	5,568	138.64	1,117	135.12
Utilities	N/A		N/A		N/A	
Liquor Stores	N/A		N/A		N/A	
Ins. Trust	N/A		N/A		N/A	
Direct Exp.	19,214	143.98	5,568	138.64	1,117	135.12
Capital Outlays	2,374	17.79	261	6.50	99	11.98
Debt Outstanding	33,538	251.32	2,811	69.99	629	76.09
Source: Census of Governments						

Table B.18.5 Local Government Finances as of 1962 ($000):						
	Macon	Per Capita	Jackson	Per Capita	Transyl.	Per Capita
Population	15,128		18,640		17,122	
Revenue:						
General	524	34.64	653	35.03	844	49.29
Prop. Taxes	387	25.58	466	25.00	576	33.64
Utilities	N/A		N/A		N/A	
Liquor Stores	N/A		N/A		N/A	
Ins. Trust	N/A		N/A		N/A	
From Own Sources	524	34.64	653	35.03	844	49.29
InterGov't	1,068	70.60	1,571	84.28	1,060	61.91
General Rev.	1,592	105.24	2,224	119.31	1,904	111.20
Expenditures:						
Direct General	1,553	102.66	2,170	116.42	1,810	105.71
Utilities	N/A		N/A		N/A	
Liquor Stores	N/A		N/A		N/A	
Ins. Trust	N/A		N/A		N/A	
Direct Exp.	1,553	102.66	2,170	116.42	1,810	105.71
Capital Outlays	25	1.65	58	3.11	49	2.86
Debt Outstanding	707	46.73	1,146	61.48	1,885	110.09
Source: Census of Governments						

Table B.18.6 Local Government Finances as of 1962 ($000):				
	Graham	Per Capita	All NC Counties	Per Capita
Population	6,462		4,674,485	
Revenue:				
General	242	37.45	303,829	65.00
Prop. Taxes	135	20.89	192,471	41.17
Utilities	N/A		72,318	15.47
Liquor Stores	N/A		76,833	16.44
Ins. Trust	N/A		668	0.14
From Own Sources	242	37.45	453,648	97.05
InterGov't	617	95.48	336,079	71.90
General Rev.	859	132.93	789,727	168.94
Expenditures:				
Direct General	798	123.49	675,507	144.51
Utilities	N/A		65,705	14.06
Liquor Stores	N/A		64,898	13.88
Ins. Trust	N/A		595	0.13
Direct Exp.	798	123.49	806,705	172.58
Capital Outlays	7	1.08	130,398	27.90
Debt Outstanding	155	23.99	728,660	155.88
Source: Census of Governments				

Table B.18.7 Local Government Finances as of 1967 ($000):						
		Per		Per		Per
	Buncombe	Capita	Haywood	Capita	Swain	Capita
Population	140,938		41,159		8,004	
Revenue:						
From Own Sources	13,658	96.91	4,543	110.38	360	44.98
Prop. Taxes	9,561	67.84	2,351	57.12	251	31.36
InterGov't	15,393	109.22	4,480	108.85	1,252	156.42
General Rev.	29,051	206.13	9,023	219.22	1,612	201.40
Expenditures:						
Direct Exp.	32,586	231.21	9,502	230.86	2,043	255.25
Capital Outlays	7,929	56.26	1,739	42.25	874	109.20
Debt Outstanding	38,915	276.11	5,167	125.54	1,074	134.18
Source: Census of Governments						

Table B.18.8 Local Government Finances as of 1967 ($000):						
		Per		Per		Per
	Macon	Capita	Jackson	Capita	Transyl.	Capita
Population	15,562		20,546		18,792	
Revenue:						
From Own Sources	687	44.15	683	33.24	1,129	60.08
Prop. Taxes	438	28.15	544	26.48	841	44.75
InterGov't	1,498	96.26	2,103	102.36	1,401	74.55
General Rev.	2,185	140.41	2,786	135.60	2,530	134.63
Expenditures:						
Direct Exp.	2,156	138.54	2,644	128.69	2,309	122.87
Capital Outlays	92	5.91	38	1.85	153	8.14
Debt Outstanding	382	24.55	2,195	106.83	1,579	84.03
Source: Census of Governments						

Table B.18.9 Local Government Finances as of 1967 ($000):				
	Graham	Per Capita	All NC Counties	Per Capita
Population	6,527		4,937,456	
Revenue:				
From Own Sources	625	95.76	654,712	132.60
Prop. Taxes	492	75.38	280,542	56.82
InterGov't	579	88.71	536,667	108.69
General Rev.	1,204	184.46	1,191,379	241.29
Expenditures:				
Direct Exp.	2,179	333.84	1,225,362	248.18
Capital Outlays	1,105	169.30	219,888	44.53
Debt Outstanding	1,609	246.51	1,027,878	208.18
Source: Census of Governments				

Table B.18.10 Local Government Finances as of 1972 ($000):						
	Buncombe	Per Capita	Haywood	Per Capita	Swain	Per Capita
Population	148,800		43,300		9,400	
Revenue:						
From Own Sources	21,177	142.32	7,149	165.10	789	83.94
Prop. Taxes	14,092	94.70	2,721	62.84	521	55.43
InterGov't	24,248	162.96	8,053	185.98	1,979	210.53
General Rev.	45,425	305.28	15,202	351.09	2,768	294.47
Expenditures:						
Direct Exp.	45,316	304.54	13,692	316.21	2,868	305.11
Capital Outlays	4,983	33.49	399	9.21	618	65.74
Debt Outstanding	59,584	400.43	5,509	127.23	3,084	328.09
Source: Census of Governments						

Table B.18.11 Local Government Finances as of 1972 ($000):						
		Per		Per		Per
	Macon	Capita	Jackson	Capita	Transyl.	Capita
Population	17,000		23,300		20,100	
Revenue:						
From Own Sources	1,695	99.71	1,825	78.33	1,510	75.12
Prop. Taxes	894	52.59	920	39.48	1,011	50.30
InterGov't	2,502	147.18	4,179	179.36	2,619	130.30
General Rev.	4,197	246.88	6,004	257.68	4,129	205.42
Expenditures:						
Direct Exp.	4,925	289.71	5,832	250.30	4,285	213.18
Capital Outlays	1,134	66.71	643	27.60	175	8.71
Debt Outstanding	1,806	106.24	1,452	62.32	1,175	58.46
Source: Census of Governments						

Table B.18.12 Local Government Finances as of 1972 ($000):				
	Graham	Per Capita	All NC Counties	Per Capita
Population	6,300		5,297,100	
Revenue:				
From Own Sources	481	76.35	1,056,616	199.47
Prop. Taxes	284	45.08	472,883	89.27
InterGov't	1,314	208.57	990,435	186.98
General Rev.	1,795	284.92	2,047,051	386.45
Expenditures:				
Direct Exp.	1,730	274.60	2,086,859	393.96
Capital Outlays	36	5.71	317,755	59.99
Debt Outstanding	379	60.16	1,462,064	276.01
Source: Census of Governments				

Table B.18.13 Local Government Finances as of 1977 ($000):						
		Per		Per		Per
	Buncombe	Capita	Haywood	Capita	Swain	Capita
Population	155,800		44,900		10,300	
Revenue:						
General Rev.	39,741	255.08	13,152	292.92	1,131	109.81
Prop. Taxes	21,625	138.80	4,572	101.83	478	46.41
InterGov't	52,461	336.72	19,470	433.63	2,959	287.28
Total Revenue	92,202	591.80	32,622	726.55	4,090	397.09
Expenditures:						
General Exp.	89,580	574.97	34,055	758.46	11,435	1,110.19
Capital Outlays	12,578	80.73	4,092	91.14	7,450	723.30
Debt Outstanding	43,592	279.79	12,751	283.99	11,841	1,149.61
Source: Census of Governments						

Table B.18.14 Local Government Finances as of 1977 ($000):						
	Macon	Per Capita	Jackson	Per Capita	Transyl.	Per Capita
Population	19,000		25,000		22,500	
Revenue:						
General Rev.	2,519	132.58	3,216	128.64	4,106	182.49
Prop. Taxes	1,238	65.16	1,978	79.12	2,498	111.02
InterGov't	6,273	330.16	8,622	344.88	6,063	269.47
Total Revenue	8,792	462.74	11,838	473.52	10,169	451.96
Expenditures:						
General Exp.	8,147	428.79	12,804	512.16	10,343	459.69
Capital Outlays	1,982	104.32	2,764	110.56	779	34.62
Debt Outstanding	2,158	113.58	1,960	78.40	5,294	235.29
Source: Census of Governments						

Table B.18.15 Local Government Finances as of 1977 ($000):				
		Per	All NC	Per
	Graham	Capita	Counties	Capita
Population	6,900		5,674,000	
Revenue:				
General Rev.	600	86.96	1,905,186	335.77
Prop. Taxes	461	66.81	733,907	129.35
InterGov't	2,640	382.61	1,911,929	336.96
Total Revenue	3,240	469.57	3,817,115	672.74
Expenditures:				
General Exp.	3,358	486.67	3,872,079	682.42
Capital Outlays	1	0.14	553,015	97.46
Debt Outstanding	28	4.06	1,935,087	341.04
Source: Census of Governments				

Table B.18.16 Local Government Finances as of 1982 ($000):						
		Per		Per		Per
	Buncombe	Capita	Haywood	Capita	Swain	Capita
Population	163,664		46,895		10,630	
Revenue:						
General Rev.	62,834	383.92	24,970	532.47	2,206	207.53
Prop. Taxes	31,528	192.64	7,598	162.02	770	72.44
Utility Revenue	8,582	52.44	3,933	83.87	148	13.92
Other Revenue	7,698	47.04	1,403	29.92	536	50.42
From Own Sources	79,114	483.39	30,306	646.25	2,890	271.87
InterGov't	71,524	437.02	20,211	430.98	5,529	520.13
Total Revenue	150,638	920.41	50,517	1,077.24	8,419	792.00
Expenditures:						
General Exp.	131,630	804.27	43,989	938.03	7,075	665.57
Utility Exp.	11,298	69.03	3,976	84.79	164	15.43
Other Exp.	8,149	49.79	1,489	31.75	602	56.63
Capital Outlays	16,070	98.19	1,659	35.38	964	90.69
Total Expenditure	151,077	923.09	49,454	1,054.57	7,841	737.63
Debt Outstanding	76,403	466.83	20,186	430.45	13,984	1,315.52
Cash & Securities	29,554	180.58	10,648	227.06	1,932	181.75
Net Debt	46,849	286.25	9,538	203.39	12,052	1,133.77
Source: Census of Governments						

Table B.18.17 Local Government Finances as of 1982 ($000):						
		Per		Per		Per
	Macon	Capita	Jackson	Capita	Transyl.	Capita
Population	21,674		26,397		24,091	
Revenue:						
General Rev.	4,756	219.43	5,748	217.75	7,142	296.46
Prop. Taxes	2,277	105.06	3,204	121.38	4,276	177.49
Utility Revenue	1,315	60.67	149	5.64	461	19.14
Other Revenue	661	30.50	1,017	38.53	974	40.43
From Own Sources	6,732	310.60	6,914	261.92	8,577	356.03
InterGov't	7,580	349.73	12,482	472.86	9,198	381.80
Total Revenue	14,312	660.33	19,396	734.78	17,775	737.83
Expenditures:						
General Exp.	11,519	531.47	18,023	682.77	14,299	593.54
Utility Exp.	1,226	56.57	281	10.65	450	18.68
Other Exp.	693	31.97	1,115	42.24	1,090	45.25
Capital Outlays	294	13.56	1,791	67.85	709	29.43
Total Expenditure	13,438	620.01	19,419	735.65	15,839	657.47
Debt Outstanding	2,246	103.63	5,307	201.05	6,600	273.96
Cash & Securities	2,347	108.29	661	25.04	1,832	76.04
Net Debt	-101	-4.66	4,646	176.00	4,768	197.92
Source: Census of Governments						

Table B.18.18 Local Government Finances as of 1982 ($000):				
		Per	All NC	Per
	Graham	Capita	Counties	Capita
Population	7,187		6,018,425	
Revenue:				
General Rev.	1,250	173.93	2,551,047	423.87
Prop. Taxes	724	100.74	1,154,044	191.75
Utility Revenue	73	10.16	680,198	113.02
Other Revenue	0	0.00	245,516	40.79
From Own Sources	1,323	184.08	3,476,761	577.69
InterGov't	3,818	531.24	2,741,251	455.48
Total Revenue	5,141	715.32	6,218,012	1,033.16
Expenditures:				
General Exp.	4,910	683.18	5,010,100	832.46
Utility Exp.	122	16.98	945,268	157.06
Other Exp.	55	7.65	282,734	46.98
Capital Outlays	387	53.85	675,342	112.21
Total Expenditure	5,087	707.81	6,238,102	1,036.50
Debt Outstanding	302	42.02	4,397,577	730.69
Cash & Securities	463	64.42	1,976,796	328.46
Net Debt	-161	-22.40	2,420,781	402.23
Source: Census of Governments				

Table B.18.19 Local Government Finances as of 1987 ($000):						
		Per		Per		Per
	Buncombe	Capita	Haywood	Capita	Swain	Capita
Population	169,574		47,205		10,931	
Revenue:						
General Rev.	114,622	675.94	40,495	857.85	4,314	394.66
Prop. Taxes	53,551	315.80	9,705	205.59	943	86.27
Utility Revenue	12,655	74.63	6,103	129.29	206	18.85
Other Revenue	8,190	48.30	1,862	39.44	490	44.83
From Own Sources	135,467	798.87	48,460	1,026.59	5,010	458.33
InterGov't	104,309	615.12	28,813	610.38	11,653	1,066.05
Total Revenue	239,776	1,413.99	77,273	1,636.97	16,663	1,524.38
Expenditures:						
General Exp.	203,995	1,202.99	70,875	1,501.43	13,352	1,221.48
Utility Exp.	11,207	66.09	6,790	143.84	243	22.23
Other Exp.	9,195	54.22	2,121	44.93	469	42.91
Capital Outlays	30,810	181.69	5,575	118.10	1,192	109.05
Total Expenditure	224,397	1,323.30	79,786	1,690.20	14,064	1,286.62
Debt Outstanding	99,383	586.07	31,279	662.62	41,239	3,772.66
Cash & Securities	76,052	448.49	9,378	198.67	4,041	369.68
Net Debt	23,331	137.59	21,901	463.96	37,198	3,402.98
Source: Census of Governments						

Table B.18.20 Local Government Finances as of 1987 ($000):						
	Macon	Per Capita	Jackson	Per Capita	Transyl.	Per Capita
Population	22,722		26,513		25,404	
Revenue:						
General Rev.	10,518	462.90	11,288	425.75	12,524	492.99
Prop. Taxes	5,144	226.39	4,747	179.04	6,855	269.84
Utility Revenue	2,142	94.27	589	22.22	989	38.93
Other Revenue	728	32.04	1,138	42.92	1,076	42.36
From Own Sources	13,388	589.21	13,015	490.89	14,589	574.28
InterGov't	10,278	452.34	17,551	661.98	12,735	501.30
Total Revenue	23,666	1,041.55	30,566	1,152.87	27,324	1,075.58
Expenditures:						
General Exp.	18,916	832.50	29,782	1,123.30	23,605	929.18
Utility Exp.	2,030	89.34	1,259	47.49	2,262	89.04
Other Exp.	761	33.49	1,386	52.28	1,127	44.36
Capital Outlays	1,083	47.66	5,908	222.83	1,866	73.45
Total Expenditure	21,707	955.33	32,427	1,223.06	26,994	1,062.59
Debt Outstanding	1,748	76.93	11,536	435.11	10,437	410.84
Cash & Securities	4,571	201.17	2,761	104.14	6,688	263.27
Net Debt	-2,823	-124.24	8,775	330.97	3,749	147.58
Source: Census of Governments						

Table B.18.21 Local Government Finances as of 1987 ($000):				
		Per	All NC	Per
	Graham	Capita	Counties	Capita
Population	7,252		6,405,440	
Revenue:				
General Rev.	1,903	262.41	4,371,564	682.48
Prop. Taxes	725	99.97	1,792,006	279.76
Utility Revenue	105	14.48	1,724,797	269.27
Other Revenue	0	0.00	285,082	44.51
From Own Sources	2,008	276.89	6,381,443	996.25
InterGov't	5,671	781.99	3,830,473	598.00
Total Revenue	7,679	1,058.88	10,211,916	1,594.26
Expenditures:				
General Exp.	6,786	935.74	7,609,177	1,187.92
Utility Exp.	470	64.81	2,513,299	392.37
Other Exp.	122	16.82	349,622	54.58
Capital Outlays	202	27.85	1,576,582	246.13
Total Expenditure	7,378	1,017.37	10,472,098	1,634.88
Debt Outstanding	205	28.27	11,027,577	1,721.60
Cash & Securities	731	100.80	5,040,244	786.87
Net Debt	-526	-72.53	5,987,333	934.73
Source: Census of Governments				

Table B.19.1 Agricultural Statistics, 1930:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
No. of Farms	3,895		2,125		1,174	
Average Acres	59.2		75.4		79.6	
Total Acres (000s)	230,761		160,305		93,490	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	2,366	60.7%	1,252	58.9%	836	71.2%
Part Owners	540	13.9%	191	9.0%	22	1.9%
Managers	27	0.7%	5	0.2%	3	0.3%
Tenants	962	24.7%	677	31.9%	313	26.7%
Per Farm Values:						
Equipment	161		150		75	
Livestock	336		451		207	
Crops	399		496		316	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	389		341		110	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.2 Agricultural Statistics, 1930:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
No. of Farms	1,847		2,117		730	
Average Acres	70.6		62.4		86.1	
Total Acres (000s)	130,415		132,029		62,858	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,230	66.6%	1,386	65.5%	500	68.5%
Part Owners	182	9.9%	213	10.1%	39	5.3%
Managers	4	0.2%	4	0.2%	4	0.5%
Tenants	431	23.3%	514	24.3%	187	25.6%
Per Farm Values:						
Equipment	82		66		162	
Livestock	248		234		269	
Crops	323		296		508	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	125		128		255	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.3 Agricultural Statistics, 1930:				
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%
No. of Farms	692		279,708	
Average Acres	69.8		64.5	
Total Acres (000s)	48,299		18,055,103	
By Tenure:				
Full Owners	399	57.7%	115,765	41.4%
Part Owners	75	10.8%	25,680	9.2%
Managers	0	0.0%	648	0.2%
Tenants	218	31.5%	137,615	49.2%
Per Farm Values:				
Equipment	45		151	
Livestock	259		275	
Crops	287		911	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	83		92	
Source: Census of Agriculture				

Table B.19.4 Agricultural Statistics, 1940:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
No. of Farms	5,426		3,119		1,617	
Average Acres	45.8		50.9		56.5	
Total Acres (000s)	248,268		158,781		91,323	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	3,764	69.4%	1,996	64.0%	965	59.7%
Part Owners	439	8.1%	215	6.9%	80	4.9%
Managers	16	0.3%	7	0.2%	1	0.1%
Tenants	1,207	22.2%	901	28.9%	571	35.3%
Per Farm Values:						
Equipment	100		112		9	
Livestock	218		300		144	
Crops	91		127		28	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	187		155		52	
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	49.1		46.8		46.3	
Farms with:						
Trucks	484	8.9%	259	8.3%	49	3.0%
Tractors	83	1.5%	38	1.2%	5	0.3%
Automobiles	2,283	42.1%	754	24.2%	131	8.1%
Electricity	1876	34.6%	675	21.6%	101	6.2%
Telephones	354	6.5%	100	3.2%	12	0.7%
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	2,591	47.8%	1,258	40.3%	959	59.3%
Over 100 Days	2,102	38.7%	1,026	32.9%	684	42.3%
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.5 Agricultural Statistics, 1940:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
No. of Farms	2,243		2,565		1,010	
Average Acres	57.1		57.9		59.8	
Total Acres (000s)	127,996		148,404		60,409	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,537	68.5%	1,880	73.3%	668	66.1%
Part Owners	227	10.1%	157	6.1%	74	7.3%
Managers	2	0.1%	7	0.3%	2	0.2%
Tenants	477	21.3%	521	20.3%	266	26.3%
Per Farm Values:						
Equipment	61		47		89	
Livestock	201		180		197	
Crops	68		51		117	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	67		49		110	
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	48.7		48.1		50.0	
Farms with:						
Trucks	136	6.1%	199	7.8%	89	8.8%
Tractors	20	0.9%	12	0.5%	26	2.6%
Automobiles	357	15.9%	332	12.9%	322	31.9%
Electricity	249	11.1%	435	17.0%	271	26.8%
Telephones	68	3.0%	59	2.3%	21	2.1%
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	977	43.6%	1,155	45.0%	516	51.1%
Over 100 Days	611	27.2%	773	30.1%	408	40.4%

Source: Census of Agriculture

Table B.19.6 Agricultural Statistics, 1940:				
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%
No. of Farms	818		278,276	
Average Acres	50.5		67.7	
Total Acres (000s)	41,331		18,845,338	
By Tenure:				
Full Owners	503	61.5%	132,451	47.6%
Part Owners	75	9.2%	21,784	7.8%
Managers	0	0.0%	565	0.2%
Tenants	240	29.3%	123,476	44.4%
Per Farm Values:				
Equipment	27		163	
Livestock	172		323	
Crops	31		615	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	37		93	
Average Age of				
Farm Operator	46.8		46.1	
Farms with:				
Trucks	27	3.3%	19,279	6.9%
Tractors	0	0.0%	11,983	4.3%
Automobiles	118	14.4%	118,074	42.4%
Electricity	47	5.7%	71,196	25.6%
Telephones	5	0.6%	12,111	4.4%
Farm Operators				
Working Off Farm	505	61.7%	69,068	24.8%
Over 100 Days	385	47.1%	40,416	14.5%
Source: Census of Agriculture				

Table B.19.7 Agricultural Statistics, 1945:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
No. of Farms	5,710		2,891		1,068	
Average Acres	45.2		54.7		44.1	
Total Acres (000s)	258,003		158,113		47,052	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	4,459	78.1%	2,154	74.5%	889	83.2%
Part Owners	464	8.1%	275	9.5%	77	7.2%
Managers	18	0.3%	7	0.2%	2	0.2%
Tenants	769	13.5%	455	15.7%	100	9.4%
Per Farm Values:						
Equipment	157		147		64	
Livestock	335		472		218	
Crops	282		446		39	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	349		292		95	
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	50.1		49.1		48.3	
Farms with:						
Trucks	788	13.8%	362	12.5%	51	4.8%
Tractors	192	3.4%	106	3.7%	16	1.5%
Automobiles	2,501	43.8%	806	27.9%	218	20.4%
Electricity	2787	48.8%	1585	54.8%	245	22.9%
Telephones	592	10.4%	158	5.5%	35	3.3%
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	2,729	47.8%	968	33.5%	550	51.5%
Over 100 Days	2,543	44.5%	828	28.6%	442	41.4%
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.8 Agricultural Statistics, 1945:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
No. of Farms	2,350		2,430		1,273	
Average Acres	58.0		51.4		40.8	
Total Acres (000s)	136,238		124,875		51,901	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,787	76.0%	1,965	80.9%	1,025	80.5%
Part Owners	212	9.0%	233	9.6%	46	3.6%
Managers	1	0.0%	1	0.0%	2	0.2%
Tenants	350	14.9%	231	9.5%	200	15.7%
Per Farm Values:						
Equipment	101		100		178	
Livestock	298		272		308	
Crops	91		82		173	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	159		107		182	
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	49.7		50.4		48.0	
Farms with:						
Trucks	224	9.5%	235	9.7%	168	13.2%
Tractors	53	2.3%	28	1.2%	50	3.9%
Automobiles	467	19.9%	444	18.3%	486	38.2%
Electricity	590	25.1%	523	21.5%	480	37.7%
Telephones	73	3.1%	87	3.6%	59	4.6%
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	1,002	42.6%	1,155	47.5%	722	56.7%
Over 100 Days	737	31.4%	843	34.7%	677	53.2%
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.9 Agricultural Statistics, 1945:				
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%
No. of Farms	891		287,412	
Average Acres	45.1		64.8	
Total Acres (000s)	40,186		18,617,932	
By Tenure:				
Full Owners	695	78.0%	144,450	50.3%
Part Owners	73	8.2%	19,835	6.9%
Managers	0	0.0%	550	0.2%
Tenants	123	13.8%	122,577	42.6%
Per Farm Values:				
Equipment	85		266	
Livestock	239		502	
Crops	197		1,456	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	90		229	
Average Age of				
Farm Operator	47.6		46.6	
Farms with:				
Trucks	59	6.6%	30,489	10.6%
Tractors	15	1.7%	28,482	9.9%
Automobiles	169	19.0%	143,666	50.0%
Electricity	120	13.5%	107,982	37.6%
Telephones	9	1.0%	14,539	5.1%
Farm Operators				
Working Off Farm	461	51.7%	55,212	19.2%
Over 100 Days	395	44.3%	38,199	13.3%
Source: Census of Agriculture				

Table B.19.10 Agricultural Statistics, 1950:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
No. of Farms	4,266		2,784		925	
Average Acres	52.9		59.9		58.8	
Total Acres (000s)	225,773		166,791		54,408	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	3,441	80.7%	1,993	71.6%	719	77.7%
Part Owners	410	9.6%	392	14.1%	87	9.4%
Managers	15	0.4%	1	0.0%	1	0.1%
Tenants	400	9.4%	398	14.3%	118	12.8%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	303		356		45	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	611		503		124	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	2,211	51.8%	1,121	40.3%	470	50.8%
Over 100 Days	1,836	43.0%	573	20.6%	354	38.3%
Farms with:						
Trucks	974	22.8%	685	24.6%	77	8.3%
Tractors	289	6.8%	275	9.9%	7	0.8%
Automobiles	1,648	38.6%	1,000	35.9%	77	8.3%
Indoor Plumbing	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%
Electricity	3,544	83.1%	2,250	80.8%	462	49.9%
Freezers	228	5.3%	164	5.9%	37	4.0%
Telephones	558	13.1%	558	20.0%	1	0.1%
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.11 Agricultural Statistics, 1950:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
No. of Farms	2,276		2,260		1,092	
Average Acres	57.9		56.6		45.6	
Total Acres (000s)	131,712		128,018		49,809	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,791	78.7%	1,867	82.6%	880	80.6%
Part Owners	262	11.5%	218	9.6%	78	7.1%
Managers	2	0.1%	2	0.1%	1	0.1%
Tenants	221	9.7%	173	7.7%	133	12.2%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	81		96		166	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	315		170		245	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	1,333	58.6%	1,237	54.7%	664	60.8%
Over 100 Days	892	39.2%	883	39.1%	575	52.7%
Farms with:						
Trucks	496	21.8%	453	20.0%	302	27.7%
Tractors	91	4.0%	41	1.8%	47	4.3%
Automobiles	511	22.5%	474	21.0%	400	36.6%
Indoor Plumbing	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%
Electricity	1,551	68.1%	1,545	68.4%	872	79.9%
Freezers	71	3.1%	106	4.7%	41	3.8%
Telephones	96	4.2%	151	6.7%	55	5.0%
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.12 Agricultural Statistics, 1950:				
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%
No. of Farms	759		288,508	
Average Acres	54.9		67.0	
Total Acres (000s)	41,656		19,317,937	
By Tenure:				
Full Owners	623	82.1%	142,085	49.2%
Part Owners	83	10.9%	35,422	12.3%
Managers	0	0.0%	516	0.2%
Tenants	53	7.0%	110,485	38.3%
Per Farm Values:				
Crops Sold	266		1,580	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	147		316	
Farm Operators				
Working Off Farm	433	57.0%	97,339	33.7%
Over 100 Days	293	38.6%	59,868	20.8%
Farms with:				
Trucks	160	21.1%	55,374	19.2%
Tractors	20	2.6%	59,292	20.6%
Automobiles	200	26.4%	140,070	48.5%
Indoor Plumbing	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%
Electricity	510	67.2%	219,417	76.1%
Freezers	35	4.6%	16,154	5.6%
Telephones	20	2.6%	23,347	8.1%
Source: Census of Agriculture				

Table B.19.13 Agricultural Statistics, 1954:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
No. of Farms	4,303		2,818		758	
Average Acres	47.4		55.8		61.2	
Total Acres (000s)	203,910		157,287		46,368	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	3,507	81.5%	2,017	71.6%	575	75.9%
Part Owners	416	9.7%	382	13.6%	86	11.3%
Managers	9	0.2%	7	0.2%	0	0.0%
Tenants	371	8.6%	412	14.6%	97	12.8%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	437		703		116	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	788		494		196	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	2,492	57.9%	1,574	55.9%	470	62.0%
Over 100 Days	2,076	48.2%	1,311	46.5%	400	52.8%
Farms with:						
Trucks	1,229	28.6%	974	34.6%	131	17.3%
Tractors	615	14.3%	454	16.1%	51	6.7%
Automobiles	2,228	51.8%	1,244	44.1%	181	23.9%
Indoor Plumbing	2,998	69.7%	1,971	69.9%	481	63.5%
Electricity	4,025	93.5%	2,691	95.5%	686	90.5%
Freezers	727	16.9%	438	15.5%	71	9.4%
Telephones	1,098	25.5%	1,355	48.1%	40	5.3%
Televisions	1,057	24.6%	555	19.7%	35	4.6%
Average Age of Farm Operator	N/A		N/A		N/A	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.14 Agricultural Statistics, 1954:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
No. of Farms	1,896		1,813		968	
Average Acres	60.6		81.9		55.7	
Total Acres (000s)	115,000		148,505		53,962	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,587	83.7%	1,540	84.9%	738	76.2%
Part Owners	189	10.0%	155	8.5%	141	14.6%
Managers	3	0.2%	6	0.3%	2	0.2%
Tenants	117	6.2%	112	6.2%	87	9.0%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	150		210		203	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	484		239		668	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	1,201	63.3%	1,223	67.5%	643	66.4%
Over 100 Days	815	43.0%	941	51.9%	562	58.1%
Farms with:						
Trucks	682	36.0%	724	39.9%	339	35.0%
Tractors	161	8.5%	157	8.7%	195	20.1%
Automobiles	666	35.1%	714	39.4%	500	51.7%
Indoor Plumbing	1,101	58.1%	1,080	59.6%	645	66.6%
Electricity	1,712	90.3%	1,731	95.5%	895	92.5%
Freezers	181	9.5%	292	16.1%	179	18.5%
Telephones	155	8.2%	243	13.4%	101	10.4%
Televisions	160	8.4%	211	11.6%	162	16.7%
Average Age of Farm Operator	N/A		N/A		N/A	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.15 Agricultural Statistics, 1954:				
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%
No. of Farms	757		267,906	
Average Acres	49.2		68.2	
Total Acres (000s)	37,211		18,260,346	
By Tenure:				
Full Owners	609	80.4%	128,243	47.9%
Part Owners	85	11.2%	40,331	15.1%
Managers	0	0.0%	512	0.2%
Tenants	63	8.3%	98,820	36.9%
Per Farm Values:				
Crops Sold	548		2,230	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	154		476	
Farm Operators				
Working Off Farm	420	55.5%	110,866	41.4%
Over 100 Days	245	32.4%	67,397	25.2%
Farms with:				
Trucks	205	27.1%	80,246	30.0%
Tractors	25	3.3%	100,116	37.4%
Automobiles	280	37.0%	162,863	60.8%
Indoor Plumbing	440	58.1%	128,355	47.9%
Electricity	635	83.9%	251,182	93.8%
Freezers	125	16.5%	58,873	22.0%
Telephones	25	3.3%	45,155	16.9%
Televisions	55	7.3%	70,639	26.4%
Average Age of				
Farm Operator	N/A		N/A	
Source: Census of Agriculture				

Table B.19.16 Agricultural Statistics, 1959:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
No. of Farms	3,059		1,914		493	
Average Acres	59.7		75.6		79.6	
Total Acres (000s)	182,653		144,728		39,267	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	2,284	74.7%	1,370	71.6%	384	77.9%
Part Owners	511	16.7%	332	17.3%	71	14.4%
Managers	15	0.5%	5	0.3%	2	0.4%
Tenants	249	8.1%	207	10.8%	36	7.3%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	747		798		278	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	1,615		1,460		581	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	1,666	54.5%	1,084	56.6%	287	58.2%
Over 100 Days	1,384	45.2%	875	45.7%	234	47.5%
Farms with:						
Trucks	1,250	40.9%	971	50.7%	172	34.9%
Tractors	860	28.1%	653	34.1%	82	16.6%
Automobiles	1,915	62.6%	1,115	58.3%	207	42.0%
Freezers	1,155	37.8%	798	41.7%	157	31.8%
Telephones	1,594	52.1%	1,290	67.4%	92	18.7%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	52.9		52.3		53.4	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.17 Agricultural Statistics, 1959:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
No. of Farms	1,203		1,137		533	
Average Acres	72.5		71.7		68.9	
Total Acres (000s)	87,260		81,519		36,728	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	954	79.3%	872	76.7%	407	76.4%
Part Owners	189	15.7%	177	15.6%	87	16.3%
Managers	2	0.2%	4	0.4%	2	0.4%
Tenants	58	4.8%	84	7.4%	37	6.9%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	274		438		416	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	1,379		694		1,122	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	670	55.7%	670	58.9%	344	64.5%
Over 100 Days	471	39.2%	515	45.3%	302	56.7%
Farms with:						
Trucks	532	44.2%	561	49.3%	261	49.0%
Tractors	307	25.5%	212	18.6%	191	35.8%
Automobiles	536	44.6%	577	50.7%	391	73.4%
Freezers	416	34.6%	396	34.8%	166	31.1%
Telephones	251	20.9%	296	26.0%	235	44.1%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	54.7		54.5		53.9	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.18 Agricultural Statistics, 1959:				
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%
No. of Farms	587		190,567	
Average Acres	51.8		83.4	
Total Acres (000s)	30,388		15,887,724	
By Tenure:				
Full Owners	483	82.3%	91,393	48.0%
Part Owners	65	11.1%	38,758	20.3%
Managers	0	0.0%	491	0.3%
Tenants	39	6.6%	59,925	31.4%
Per Farm Values:				
Crops Sold	664		2,984	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	280		1,199	
Farm Operators				
Working Off Farm	295	50.3%	79,573	41.8%
Over 100 Days	218	37.1%	50,647	26.6%
Farms with:				
Trucks	245	41.7%	81,093	42.6%
Tractors	85	14.5%	102,732	53.9%
Automobiles	295	50.3%	134,084	70.4%
Freezers	180	30.7%	91,785	48.2%
Telephones	40	6.8%	67,437	35.4%
Average Age of				
Farm Operator	52.0		49.7	
Source: Census of Agriculture				

Table B.19.19 Agricultural Statistics, 1964:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
No. of Farms	2,471		1,749		401	
Average Acres	65.2		74.7		79.4	
Total Acres (000s)	161,159		130,667		31,840	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,851	74.9%	1,185	67.8%	326	81.3%
Part Owners	439	17.8%	388	22.2%	44	11.0%
Managers	8	0.3%	4	0.2%	1	0.2%
Tenants	173	7.0%	172	9.8%	30	7.5%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	1,047		1,172		399	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	2,435		1,605		438	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	1,261	51.0%	955	54.6%	220	54.9%
Over 100 Days	1,080	43.7%	780	44.6%	190	47.4%
Farms with:						
Trucks	1,272	51.5%	1,093	62.5%	157	39.2%
Tractors	896	36.3%	687	39.3%	101	25.2%
Automobiles	1,812	73.3%	1,188	67.9%	173	43.1%
Freezers	1,460	59.1%	1,070	61.2%	208	51.9%
Telephones	1,540	62.3%	1,278	73.1%	132	32.9%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	54.0		52.7		55.6	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.20 Agricultural Statistics, 1964:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
No. of Farms	985		825		435	
Average Acres	77.3		68.7		8,503.0	
Total Acres (000s)	76,147		56,687		37,089	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	810	82.2%	699	84.7%	333	76.6%
Part Owners	127	12.9%	88	10.7%	83	19.1%
Managers	2	0.2%	1	0.1%	0	0.0%
Tenants	46	4.7%	37	4.5%	19	4.4%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	418		481		1,283	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	2,122		376		1,393	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	527	53.5%	461	55.9%	279	64.1%
Over 100 Days	392	39.8%	374	45.3%	246	56.6%
Farms with:						
Trucks	549	55.7%	441	53.5%	267	61.4%
Tractors	304	30.9%	158	19.2%	169	38.9%
Automobiles	571	58.0%	451	54.7%	300	69.0%
Freezers	541	54.9%	385	46.7%	334	76.8%
Telephones	436	44.3%	319	38.7%	274	63.0%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	56.6		56.2		55.3	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.21 Agricultural Statistics, 1964:				
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%
No. of Farms	596		148,202	
Average Acres	49.9		97.0	
Total Acres (000s)	29,736		14,381,724	
By Tenure:				
Full Owners	498	83.6%	70,658	47.7%
Part Owners	61	10.2%	36,953	24.9%
Managers	0	0.0%	476	0.3%
Tenants	37	6.2%	40,115	27.1%
Per Farm Values:				
Crops Sold	681		5,141	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	133		2,059	
Farm Operators				
Working Off Farm	326	54.7%	62,994	42.5%
Over 100 Days	270	45.3%	41,040	27.7%
Farms with:				
Trucks	269	45.1%	84,014	56.7%
Tractors	163	27.3%	96,549	65.1%
Automobiles	381	63.9%	115,818	78.1%
Freezers	358	60.1%	101,286	68.3%
Telephones	252	42.3%	80,102	54.0%
Average Age of				
Farm Operator	53.0		50.9	
Source: Census of Agriculture				

Table B.19.22 Agricultural Statistics, 1969:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
No. of Farms	2,433		1,309		209	
Average Acres	61.5		85.6		64.6	
Total Acres (000s)	149,656		112,169		13,510	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	2,090	85.9%	1,056	80.7%	169	80.9%
Part Owners	279	11.5%	211	16.1%	29	13.9%
Managers	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%
Tenants	64	2.6%	42	3.2%	11	5.3%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	1,302		1,856		599	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	3,636		2,238		863	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	1,588	65.3%	798	61.0%	141	67.5%
Over 200 Days	1,095	45.0%	531	40.6%	98	46.9%
Farms with:						
Trucks	1,384	56.9%	822	62.8%	130	62.2%
Tractors	1,266	52.0%	732	55.9%	83	39.7%
Automobiles	1,466	60.3%	799	61.0%	125	59.8%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	54.8		54.7		55.2	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.23 Agricultural Statistics, 1969:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
No. of Farms	702		543		323	
Average Acres	80.5		67.2		53.8	
Total Acres (000s)	56,533		36,516		17,408	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	615	87.6%	490	90.2%	272	84.2%
Part Owners	74	10.5%	41	7.6%	43	13.3%
Managers	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%
Tenants	13	1.9%	12	2.2%	8	2.5%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	695		611		1,505	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	3,457		639		1,460	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	428	61.0%	376	69.2%	232	71.8%
Over 200 Days	246	35.0%	242	44.6%	192	59.4%
Farms with:						
Trucks	423	60.3%	322	59.3%	201	62.2%
Tractors	333	47.4%	195	35.9%	188	58.2%
Automobiles	376	53.6%	291	53.6%	213	65.9%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	56.9		55.7		54.2	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.24 Agricultural Statistics, 1969:				
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%
No. of Farms	379		119,386	
Average Acres	52.3		106.6	
Total Acres (000s)	19,846		12,733,751	
By Tenure:				
Full Owners	315	83.1%	75,625	63.3%
Part Owners	45	11.9%	25,889	21.7%
Managers	N/A	0.0%	N/A	0.0%
Tenants	19	5.0%	17,872	15.0%
Per Farm Values:				
Crops Sold	900		5,708	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	403		4,303	
Farm Operators				
Working Off Farm	231	60.9%	63,808	53.4%
Over 200 Days	141	37.2%	35,741	29.9%
Farms with:				
Trucks	204	53.8%	77,830	65.2%
Tractors	178	47.0%	89,219	74.7%
Automobiles	218	57.5%	82,938	69.5%
Average Age of				
Farm Operator	55.7		52.4	
Source: Census of Agriculture				

Table B.19.25 Agricultural Statistics, 1974:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
No. of Farms	1,526		943		111	
Average Acres	77.0		96.0		88.0	
Total Acres (000s)	116,871		90,977		9,810	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,207	79.1%	717	76.0%	88	79.3%
Part Owners	248	16.3%	173	18.3%	20	18.0%
Tenants	71	4.7%	53	5.6%	3	2.7%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	2,478		3,441		1,604	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	4,694		4,126		1,333	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	901	59.0%	546	57.9%	56	50.5%
Over 200 Days	687	45.0%	414	43.9%	44	39.6%
Farms with:						
Trucks	1,080	70.8%	691	73.3%	77	69.4%
Tractors	1,086	71.2%	637	67.6%	61	55.0%
Automobiles	1,005	65.9%	615	65.2%	77	69.4%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	53.0		54.5		56.9	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.26 Agricultural Statistics, 1974:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
No. of Farms	420		324		187	
Average Acres	82.0		66.0		86.0	
Total Acres (000s)	34,559		21,341		16,165	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	310	73.8%	265	81.8%	130	69.5%
Part Owners	97	23.1%	50	15.4%	44	23.5%
Tenants	13	3.1%	9	2.8%	13	7.0%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	1,524		1,410		3,134	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	4,419		966		2,540	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	241	57.4%	181	55.9%	120	64.2%
Over 200 Days	133	31.7%	114	35.2%	92	49.2%
Farms with:						
Trucks	319	76.0%	249	76.9%	164	87.7%
Tractors	297	70.7%	220	67.9%	137	73.3%
Automobiles	287	68.3%	220	67.9%	133	71.1%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	56.5		57.8		53.6	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.27 Agricultural Statistics, 1974:				
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%
No. of Farms	243		91,280	
Average Acres	65.0		123.0	
Total Acres (000s)	15,790		11,243,933	
By Tenure:				
Full Owners	192	79.0%	57,004	62.4%
Part Owners	44	18.1%	22,972	25.2%
Tenants	7	2.9%	11,304	12.4%
Per Farm Values:				
Crops Sold	2,259		14,426	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	498		8,812	
Farm Operators				
Working Off Farm	128	52.7%	37,945	41.6%
Over 200 Days	88	36.2%	24,242	26.6%
Farms with:				
Trucks	192	79.0%	64,464	70.6%
Tractors	174	71.6%	67,987	74.5%
Automobiles	180	74.1%	62,182	68.1%
Average Age of				
Farm Operator	57.3		52.9	
Source: Census of Agriculture				

Table B.19.28 Agricultural Statistics, 1978:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
No. of Farms	1,369		982		79	
Average Acres	81.0		91.0		96.0	
Total Acres (000s)	110,312		89,318		7,713	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,062	77.6%	673	68.5%	51	64.6%
Part Owners	249	18.2%	241	24.5%	21	26.6%
Tenants	58	4.2%	68	6.9%	7	8.9%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	3,750		4,284		2,497	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	7,273		5,399		3,177	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	810	59.2%	585	59.6%	51	64.6%
Over 200 Days	590	43.1%	444	45.2%	39	49.4%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	53.7		54.2		55.5	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.29 Agricultural Statistics, 1978:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
No. of Farms	378		256		185	
Average Acres	83.0		81.0		11.0	
Total Acres (000s)	31,290		20,847		20,558	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	270	71.4%	192	75.0%	112	60.5%
Part Owners	84	22.2%	52	20.3%	51	27.6%
Tenants	24	6.3%	12	4.7%	22	11.9%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	1,833		3,164		4,086	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	6,376		2,262		5,416	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	232	61.4%	165	64.5%	120	64.9%
Over 200 Days	151	39.9%	108	42.2%	87	47.0%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	54.1		55.7		52.2	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.30 Agricultural Statistics, 1978:				
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%
No. of Farms	202		81,706	
Average Acres	52.0		135.0	
Total Acres (000s)	10,517		10,998,652	
By Tenure:				
Full Owners	160	79.2%	43,773	53.6%
Part Owners	31	15.3%	26,235	32.1%
Tenants	11	5.4%	11,698	14.3%
Per Farm Values:				
Crops Sold	3,084		20,436	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	1,673		16,265	
Farm Operators				
Working Off Farm	114	56.4%	41,917	51.3%
Over 200 Days	69	34.2%	26,675	32.6%
Average Age of				
Farm Operator	55.3		51.1	
Source: Census of Agriculture				

Table B.19.31 Agricultural Statistics, 1982:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
No. of Farms	1,529		1,043		89	
Average Acres	73.0		78.0		N/A	
Total Acres (000s)	111,649		81,070		N/A	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	1,144	74.8%	701	67.2%	56	62.9%
Part Owners	296	19.4%	250	24.0%	25	28.1%
Tenants	89	5.8%	92	8.8%	8	9.0%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	5,328		4,846		2,270	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	9,438		6,012		6,146	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	913	59.7%	610	58.5%	54	60.7%
Over 200 Days	681	44.5%	482	46.2%	32	36.0%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	53.7		53.7		54.9	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.32 Agricultural Statistics, 1982:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
No. of Farms	429		275		204	
Average Acres	69.0		68.0		87.0	
Total Acres (000s)	29,769		18,576		17,730	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	291	67.8%	207	75.3%	127	62.3%
Part Owners	104	24.2%	51	18.5%	63	30.9%
Tenants	34	7.9%	17	6.2%	14	6.9%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	2,695		3,676		8,559	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	6,872		2,709		6,662	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	253	59.0%	153	55.6%	120	58.8%
Over 200 Days	172	40.1%	96	34.9%	81	39.7%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	55.1		57.2		52.3	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.33 Agricultural Statistics, 1982:				
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%
No. of Farms	197		72,792	
Average Acres	53.0		142.0	
Total Acres (000s)	10,507		10,320,832	
By Tenure:				
Full Owners	151	76.6%	40,913	56.2%
Part Owners	32	16.2%	23,184	31.8%
Tenants	14	7.1%	8,695	11.9%
Per Farm Values:				
Crops Sold	N/A		26,076	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	N/A		22,017	
Farm Operators				
Working Off Farm	123	62.4%	37,303	51.2%
Over 200 Days	77	39.1%	24,717	34.0%
Average Age of				
Farm Operator	53.8		51.7	
Source: Census of Agriculture				

Table B.19.34 Agricultural Statistics, 1987:						
	Buncombe	%	Haywood	%	Swain	%
No. of Farms	1,200		912		79	
Average Acres	87.0		87.0		92.0	
Total Acres (000s)	103,876		79,672		7,258	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	858	71.5%	589	64.6%	45	57.0%
Part Owners	273	22.8%	261	28.6%	26	32.9%
Tenants	69	5.8%	62	6.8%	8	10.1%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	5,648		4,982		5,785	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	10,441		8,235		20,152	
Equipment	13,832		16,667		20,196	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	705	58.7%	547	60.0%	48	60.8%
Over 200 Days	501	41.8%	443	48.6%	32	40.5%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	55.3		54.9		58.1	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.35 Agricultural Statistics, 1987:						
	Macon	%	Jackson	%	Transyl.	%
No. of Farms	318		234		196	
Average Acres	81.0		77.0		73.0	
Total Acres (000s)	25,753		18,069		14,315	
By Tenure:						
Full Owners	201	63.2%	172	73.5%	126	64.3%
Part Owners	94	29.6%	51	21.8%	56	28.6%
Tenants	23	7.2%	11	4.7%	14	7.1%
Per Farm Values:						
Crops Sold	4,689		4,718		11,898	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	9,330		3,192		10,000	
Equipment	12,601		13,130		18,001	
Farm Operators						
Working Off Farm	191	60.1%	148	63.2%	132	67.3%
Over 200 Days	137	43.1%	116	49.6%	100	51.0%
Average Age of						
Farm Operator	56.4		55.7		53.1	
Source: Census of Agriculture						

Table B.19.36 Agricultural Statistics, 1987:				
	Graham	%	N. Car.	%
No. of Farms	147		59,284	
Average Acres	51.0		159.0	
Total Acres (000s)	7,533		9,447,705	
By Tenure:				
Full Owners	111	75.5%	34,664	58.5%
Part Owners	25	17.0%	18,874	31.8%
Tenants	11	7.5%	5,746	9.7%
Per Farm Values:				
Crops Sold	N/A		24,239	
Lvstk/Prods. Sold	3,782		35,497	
Equipment	9,537		30,403	
Farm Operators				
Working Off Farm	89	60.5%	31,914	53.8%
Over 200 Days	57	38.8%	21,702	36.6%
Average Age of				
Farm Operator	56.5		53.3	
Source: Census of Agriculture				

PART VI

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

A common conception of tourism is that as an export industry the "three Gs" can be used to a destination's advantage: get them in, get their money, and get them out. Combined with the attractiveness of tourism as an industry that is easily pursued as an alternative to underdevelopment, it is not surprising that communities worldwide are vigorously embracing it. Based on the evidence presented in this research, however, the tourist industry demonstrates much greater complexity and varying effects; or, as Murphy (1985, 138) observes "tourism is an agent of change." Thus when a community embarks on a pursuit of tourism, it is apparent that tourism can greatly alter the local socio-economic environment. That which was initially pursued by locals for their own benefit can quickly become the domain of outside interests. Significant benefits can certainly accrue to some while a disproportionate share of costs will be born by others. Who actually participates in which share of this inequitable distribution may not be known for certain but the destination life-cycle model provides an indication. As an involvement stage proceeds to a development stage and the original locals relinquish ownership of the productive assets, outside investors will become the primary beneficiaries while those left with low-wage seasonal employment may find themselves in an economic environment that is not as promising as that which was envisioned. Further, tourism's potential to alleviate substantial poverty in the

face of underdevelopment, is limited. The implication is that the pursuit of tourism should be adopted with caution and with the knowledge that planning and control can be instrumental in achieving some measure of desired results.

It is apparent that tourist destinations can not only pursue different types of tourism - conventional motel/amusement/shopping establishments or an emphasis in seasonal housing - but that the destinations can also progress through diverse stages in the course of development, with dramatically different levels of activity and/or types of businesses involved with each. By way of example, Sevier County, Tennessee has clearly evolved through the first three stages of the Butler Model under conventional tourism while Macon County, North Carolina has done so as well, but with a concentration in seasonal-home development. Additionally, although Swain County, North Carolina and its neighboring counties are currently in only the second or involvement stage, the ability to offer the new attraction of gambling on the Cherokee Reservation could easily bring about a transition to the third or development stage in the near future. Historically, these counties have undergone this evolutionary process in modern times after the automobile and post-war prosperity made tourism affordable for the average working family. Buncombe County underwent an evolution of tourism during an earlier period, which was brought about by the introduction of the railroad. Once Asheville became accessible to large numbers of visitors by a faster and more affordable means of transportation, the tourist boom persisted until the bank failures and Great Depression signaled a close to the grandeur of a passing era.

Along with the diversity in types of tourism and in the evolutionary nature of the industry it is apparent that impacts also vary. In Sevier's example, where the greatest degree of differentiation between the stages was recognizable, the social welfare indicators demonstrated more beneficial results during the involvement stage. Perhaps this should be qualified based on results observed in North Carolina, where it was evident that some social welfare improvements were as a result of out-migration of the poorest residents rather than a significant improvement in many of their conditions during those involvement stages.

It is possible, however, that this qualification can itself be tempered. First it is not quite as evident in Sevier County as in WNC that as much out-migration occurred. Second, the involvement stage in Sevier from 1950 to 1970 corresponded with a fairly high concentration and magnitude of tourist activity, which provided additional income to a larger number of individuals. In WNC in contrast, many of the involvement stages involved lower levels of activity, spread over a larger geographic area so that fewer people could realize increases in income. Considering the isolation and poverty of many of the remote mountain areas of WNC, this in fact might account for the stronger evidence of out-migration.

An argument against the beneficial aspects of the involvement stage can be based on the example of Swain County, North Carolina. In this case, the involvement stage involved a heightened level of activity from the early 1970s to the present. Even with a high degree of local ownership, the low wage, seasonal nature of the industry meant that the

social welfare indicators displayed little or no improvement. Thus at best the involvement stage showed mixed results, whereas theoretically it is the most beneficial stage entailing local ownership, more local linkages, and slower but controlled growth.

The seemingly inconclusive evidence presented on the involvement stage actually brings to light other important factors to be considered. Essentially, the changing nature of the economy in general has served to make the involvement stage a less certain period of local benefit than it previously was. In Buncombe County's archaic tourist era, the economy was not only heavily agricultural but this sector was not well integrated into the larger economy. As a result the development of tourism meant that farmers were not only growing food for themselves and local communities, but also had the opportunity to supply produce to feed up to a quarter of a million visitors annually as well as occasionally take on boarders. This provided substantial supplemental income and accounted for the much higher level of prosperity noted by the TVA surveyors (1934, 11).

During Sevier County's involvement stage from the 1930s to the early 1970s, although agriculture was in the process of becoming more integrated with the economy and though the agricultural population and level of employment were in decline, it still represented a larger than state-average sector. Further, as noted by the Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force (1980, 1), subsistence agriculture persisted well into the 20th century. Thus, even though this agriculture at best only provided a poverty-level income, it still allowed for greater economic diversity and the opportunity for tourism to provide much-needed

supplemental income for many farming families. This effect from the development of Gatlinburg's craft industry was noted by Greve (1931, 112), and by Pyle (1955, 15) who observed that the local involvement stage involved high rates of growth while furnishing employment opportunities for anyone desiring it.

In Swain County since the early 1970s agriculture dropped from among the highest regional levels to very low levels comparable to those of neighboring counties and the nation at large. At this point even though tourism in an involvement stage was undergoing accelerated rates of growth, social welfare indicators failed to show noticeable improvement. Arguably then, the economy's integration of agriculture and reduction in that sector's employment can contribute to a lack of economic diversity which diminishes the income-benefit potential of an involvement stage. Unless the tourist economy is characterized by many, very small enterprises so that each family can derive proprietary income, the probable alternative is that a few families will possess an inequitable share of the productive assets leaving much of the rest of the population to earn low-wage and seasonal, but now, primary income.

Another recent economic factor which also renders the involvement stage more precarious is the speed with which large amounts of outside capital can be mobilized so as to rapidly bring about a development stage. Prior to the 1950s corporate investment in tourism was minimal. Since then chain motels have come to dominate lodging and cluster developments have overwhelmed many rural settings. If an involvement stage is to be perpetuated, measures *have* to be taken to keep these influences at bay or harnessed.

Sevier County offers the preeminent example within our study region of the development stage. Here the evidence indicates social welfare measures have not been lifted in spite of hundreds of millions of dollars in revenues being generated from a concentration of economic activity and flurry of exchange. Again, low wages and seasonality coupled with rising per capita public debt and prices, produce effects that prevent workers dependent on the industry from realizing the opportunity for improvement or advancement. Furthermore, both Sevier and Macon County, North Carolina show the development stage to involve a significant loss of resources by locals, particularly land, and that subsequently the resource base and economic, if not political control, falls into the hands of outside interests while economic diversity becomes minimized.

Can anything decidedly positive be noted about tourism? It was, in fact, evident that the possibility for deriving income as a proprietor was enhanced by tourism, and this also proved to be so during the development stage in Sevier County. Even with a concentration of corporate ownership, the variety of businesses able to serve a tourist destination permits entrepreneurs to establish many small enterprises within that market. What is not so clear from the evidence is who the proprietors are. Due to the higher prices and population influx associated with the development stage, it is not unreasonable to assume that native locals are generally not the ones enjoying this benefit but rather immigrants in search of profit opportunities and with the resources necessary to pursue them. Therefore, among the factors necessary for an involvement stage to be established and remain firmly

under the control of locals is not only capital but also a will to enterprise, i.e. the means and impetus must come from within and not be relied on to be supplied from without.

Another positive factor associated with tourism is that labor force participation is enhanced. The availability of low-skill jobs that tend to be dominated by women and teenagers means that people who otherwise might not find jobs, and would therefore not enter the work force, are able to find steady, if seasonal, employment. What this fails to provide, however, is year-round income with benefits for a family. As observed previously, tourism employment effectively provides supplemental income for a family. Because of this characteristic of tourism, it is possible to attribute the high levels of social welfare indicated in Buncombe County, North Carolina to the development stage observed there.

In this particular instance, the development stage occurred within a much larger and more diverse economy, so that tourism provided a supplemental income alternative to many families, rather than existing as a concentrated and dominant sector in a context of little alternative employment. This effect could also be seen when comparing Haywood and Transylvania Counties in North Carolina. Both had high percentages of employment devoted to manufacturing with correspondingly high rates of pay. Haywood County, however, showed higher levels of social welfare as a possible result of benefiting from the existence of a tourist involvement stage with greater levels of conventional tourist activity.

In essence, then, Nathan and Associates appear to have been correct in observing that tourism is best pursued as an industry capable

of producing supplemental income. This, however, necessitates a diversified economy. When this diversity does not exist and when underdevelopment forces communities to pursue the only economic alternative apparently at their disposal, then tourism needs to be understood for what it can realistically be expected to deliver.

With an involvement stage the residents maintain control of their resources and in order to perpetuate this, planning and restrictions on growth need to be imposed. This in turn can restrict growth of income, but the income is locally retained. So, although the effects may not be spectacular as in Swain County, economic improvement as in Sevier County can result. Additionally, even though Swain County failed to show much in the way of improvement, the Cherokees as depicted by Frome (1966, 306-307) and Davis (1955, 15) were in significantly worse condition than those on the reservation today, although poverty is still prevalent. In Frome's and Davis's depictions the vast majority of the Cherokees in the mid-1950s had no indoor plumbing and lived in very inadequate housing. Although the majority of the families had outdoor privies, most of these were not approved by the health department and were unsanitary. Consequently diseases of inadequate diets and lack of sanitation were prevalent. Further, Swain was decidedly the poorest county of the region well into this century and therefore provided the greatest developmental challenge for tourism to provide relief. While conditions on the reservation and in the county are currently far from ideal they have certainly improved from these levels with the help of tourist-generated incomes. Swain County also managed to display numerous instances of superior social welfare indicators over Graham County which

had not experienced much development of any kind.

Tourism by itself, though, has serious limitations as a cure for underdevelopment especially if rapidity of economic improvement is desired. Ironically it is most effective in an environment where it is least necessary. If undertaken as a developmental measure it must be understood for its limitations and what it can best provide. If slower growth is contrary to the developmental objective it can still provide numerous benefits through planning and control. Ultimately, it is not a panacea from which wealth and well being will be rapidly conferred on everyone within its scope. Conversely, it is not singularly detrimental to the interests of a community which might pursue it. Income can be derived and beneficial development can occur if an involvement stage is targeted and perpetuated. In order to help realize the beneficial aspects of tourism, several policy prescriptions and subsidiary benefits related to slower and controlled growth are offered below.

First, local ownership of productive resources needs to be effectively maintained. This can necessitate zoning and restrictions as occurred in Transylvania County, North Carolina, where second home development was limited by subdivision ordinances. Another technique for limiting growth and ensuring some measure of economic diversity is where farmland and open space is maintained by the purchase of development rights (PDR). Rosenow and Pulsipher (1979, 225-226) describe New York and New Jersey's first efforts at utilizing this tool "where farm owners are paid the difference between the value of the land for development purposes and its worth for farming. The owner may continue to farm the land (which remains on the tax roles), but the land

can never be developed for other purposes." Any participation by farmers was voluntary and the capital made available to them could be used to modernize their operations. Although the farmer sells the right to develop, all other rights and responsibilities are retained.

Stressing the importance of preserving farmland as a limited resource rather than viewing it as a commodity manufactured by and for the market, Steiner et al. (1994) discuss the subsequent expanded use of PDRs - by eleven states in which over 190,000 acres have been preserved - and the passage of the Farmland Protection Policy Act by the federal government. Under this measure, if federal monies are aiding a development project that threatens farmland, then an evaluation must be made of the lands being affected "to minimize the extent to which federal programs contribute to the unnecessary and irreversible conversion of farmland to nonagricultural uses" (Steiner et al. 1994; 44, 26-27).

Aside from avoiding the loss of productive assets, controlled and slower growth can have other benefits. If natural assets provide the attraction to tourists, then limiting the numbers of visitors and development will help ensure that the quality of the attraction can be preserved and not degraded in the course of a development stage and subsequent stages. Similarly, if a cultural attraction is drawing the tourists then limited growth will help maintain the character of this feature in the face of outside pressures. Summarizing per Murphy (1985, 151) "local involvement is seen as one way of controlling the pace of development, integrating tourism with other activities, and producing more individualistic tourist products...Furthermore, by emphasizing the

individual character of the destination, tourism can become a vital force against the world-wide homogenization of culture."

Howell (1994) cites additional advantages of limiting growth for the sake of cultural or heritage tourism. Resources are preserved, the visual aesthetics of an area are improved, and more social and cultural activities are developed, which improve the overall quality of life for the community. This is not only beneficial to visitors but also residents; the community becomes a more attractive place to live and is in a better position to attract new businesses and industry for greater diversification. Although mentioned specifically in the context of heritage tourism, these aspects would seem to lend themselves to a variety of kinds of tourism as long as the industry is managed for the benefit of the community and not outside investors.

If locals do not control and manage tourism for themselves then decisions will be made in distant board rooms with no consideration being given to community welfare. Controls, planning and outside investment, however, need not be mutually exclusive. On Grand Cayman Island, Weaver (1990) describes a situation where a development stage was the first to occur on the island and was effectively followed by an involvement stage. This occurred because outside developers and government officials realized that only through controlled development would the quality of the natural assets be preserved, and that coupled with measures to promote local participation in the industry, residents would be much more accommodating of the economic changes. A dissimilar situation was experienced in Antigua, where uncontrolled growth and no local involvement created excessive duality within the economy and

considerable resentment on the part of locals towards tourism and visitors. Thus, even if outside investment is desired for the sake of more rapid development, policies can still control growth and encourage local involvement.

One possibility for encouraging more local involvement would be to allow investment over a certain magnitude only if money is paid up front to fund loans and training programs to encourage local participation. Smith (1989, 73-77) suggests further that these funds could also be used to rebuild other aspects of a community's "human infrastructure" such as development of low-income housing, assistance to the homeless, and health and child care. Another option is offered by Mak (1993). He explores the possibility of requiring resort developers to help create non-tourist related jobs for every tourist development project. Under this approach, front-end cash payments could be required by every developer for every proposed hotel room or development unit, which would be used by the state to fund job training, business loans, and other incentive programs to encourage and facilitate economic diversity. A variation of this measure offered by Mak is that every resort development that would require a reclassification of land - from agricultural or rural to urban or residential - would require the developer to create one non-tourist job for every development unit.

Tourism is an industry with the potential to bring about some degree of beneficial economic development. Theoretically and empirically, an evolutionary process of development occurs when tourism is left to develop without planning or controls; the involvement stage appears to provide the greatest overall benefit. However, no stages

beyond the development stage were observed in the subject region. Growth rates could decline and possibly turn negative in the future as industry concentration reaches a peak, and local resources become overutilized and degraded. These potential effects should also be taken under consideration by communities. Ideally they can implement policies to ward off such unattractive outcomes and steer the local economy towards a more self-sustaining course.

The potential also exists for promoting local involvement and economic diversity as well as controlling growth for the sake of maintaining the long-term viability of the tourist industry. The desirable stage of development - the involvement stage - could be targeted and prolonged through policy measures. The trade-off implicit in this course, however, is that less development will be allowed to occur and less tourist-generated income will be realized. However, more income will be retained locally and greater economic diversity can also prevail. When workers are owners "rather than mere instruments, the level of personal investment increases as does the quality of the worker-customer contact" (Smith 1989, 75).

The issue of how much tourism is appropriate, then, is ultimately one of perspective. From an aggregate economic perspective, anything that will bring about increases in investment, production, jobs and income, hence higher GDP, is viewed as desirable, and large-scale, development-stage tourism certainly accomplishes this. From a local community perspective, however, retention of economic, social, cultural, and environmental resources along with the maintenance or enhancement of economic diversity is equally, if not more important, and smaller-scale,

involvement-stage tourism is more likely to facilitate this. Clearly a trade-off has to be made in order for the tourist industry to deliver that which is deemed most desirable.

NOTES

AND

REFERENCES

NOTES

1. Estimated values of multipliers for the Smoky Mountain region are as follows:

a) Nathan et al. (1966, 126-129):

North Carolina Counties:

Buncombe	2.50
Graham	1.58
Haywood	1.70
Jackson	2.16
Macon	1.74
Swain	1.90
Transylvania	1.83

Tennessee Counties:

Blount	2.19
Sevier	1.90

b) U.S. Department of the Interior (1988, 47-50):

Conservative estimate for park region 1.50

c) Stynes (1991):

For six counties adjacent to the park; three each in East Tennessee and Western North Carolina:

Employment Multiplier	1.60
Income Multiplier	2.00

2. There is no desire on the part of the author to demean any of the service positions created by the tourist industry. Rather, the idea is to evaluate the type of income-creating possibilities which might arise from the alternative courses of tourist development. If low-wage jobs are *all* that become available, then this could well be construed as an

adverse impact. This view, however, is based on income distribution and not the nature of the work performed. Some studies (e.g. Smith 1989) seem to suggest that servile positions in themselves are part of the costs of tourism. Michael Manning, the former Governor of Jamaica, offers a less biased view on service employment: "I've never been able to convince myself that there is any difference in taking an order from a superior in a dull factory or serving somebody a plate of food" (Lundberg 1980, 245).

3. While the lodging industry is only one component of tourism, it represents not only on average the largest single expenditure per tourist visit (U.S. Department of the Interior 1988, 57-53; Stynes, 1991) but also is most indicative of the evolutionary process over time. Initially, lodging and tourism were for the most part mutually inclusive; more recently amusements, recreations, and shopping have become their own separate and distinct attractions.

4. Ironically, Gatlinburg was not named after her most honored citizen. As the Civil War approached, East Tennessee, including Gatlinburg, was predominantly pro-union. Gatlin, however was not only a secessionist and pro-slavery but also very outspoken and overbearing. One night after a particularly bitter pro-confederate speech, he was visited by a band of masked men, given a severe beating, and ordered to leave the community; to which he complied, never to return (Greve 1931, 83-88).

5. Visitation figures for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park as provided by the National Park Service:

Year	Visitors	Year	Visitors	
1931	154,000	1973	7,892,100	
1932	300,000	1974	7,807,800	
1933	375,000	1975	8,541,500	
1934	420,000	1976	8,991,500	
1935	500,000	1977	9,173,600	
1936	639,284	1978	8,570,300	
1937	700,823	1979	8,019,800	
1938	706,563	1980	8,441,000	
1939	773,074	1981	8,330,900	
1940	875,086	1982	8,177,900	
1941	1,310,101	1983	8,435,500	
1942	728,706	1984	8,508,300	
1943	383,116	1985	9,319,000	
1944	534,586	1986	9,836,306	
1945	750,690	1987	10,209,800	
1946	1,157,930	1988	8,786,147	Count adjusted
1947	1,214,017	1989	8,338,000	down by a
1948	1,469,749	1990	8,151,769	reentry factor.
1949	1,539,641	1991	8,654,459	
1950	1,843,620	1992	8,931,690	
1951	1,945,100	1993	9,283,848	
1952	2,322,152			
1953	2,250,772			
1954	2,526,879			
1955	2,581,477			
1956	2,885,819			
1957	2,943,732			
1958	3,168,944			
1959	3,162,300			
1960	4,528,600			
1961	4,762,100			
1962	5,209,800			
1963	5,258,600			
1964	5,321,100			
1965	5,954,900			
1966	6,466,000			
1967	6,710,100			
1968	6,667,200			
1969	6,331,100			
1970	6,778,500			
1971	7,179,000			
1972	8,040,600			

6. Gross Tax receipts for the City of Gatlinburg as provided by the city finance office are as follows. The Gross Tax is imposed after-the-fact on all sales in the city, of which almost all are tourist related. The tax rates have been 0.5% from 6/21/55 to 11/5/56, 1.0% from 11/6/56 to 7/31/89, and 1.25% from 8/1/89 to the present.

Year	Gross Tax	Year	Gross Tax
1955	$15,451	1975	$668,337
1956	$32,480	1976	$776,705
1957	$70,714	1977	$900,257
1958	$71,960	1978	$979,605
1959	$84,938	1979	$1,073,296
1960	$91,990	1980	$1,184,563
1961	$94,650	1981	$1,360,945
1962	$111,375	1982	$1,612,122
1963	$123,753	1983	$1,452,543
1964	$146,935	1984	$1,578,301
1965	$169,476	1985	$1,681,623
1966	$196,069	1986	$1,853,615
1967	$202,575	1987	$1,966,026
1968	$251,016	1988	$2,028,869
1969	$284,263	1989	$2,356,594
1970	$340,139	1990	$2,797,210
1971	$386,221	1991	$2,972,318
1972	$441,310	1992	$3,065,153
1973	$497,815		
1974	$576,872		

7. Unless otherwise specified, all figures and information related to tourist development in Pigeon Forge were provided by the Pigeon Forge Department of Tourism and an interview with Leon Downey, CTP, Executive Director on September 28, 1993.

8. Details for these numbers are as follows:

	Gatlinburg	Pigeon Forge	Total
Motels	23,380	8,151	31,531
Campgrounds	1,172	5,250	6,422
Vacation Homes	1,500	0	1,500
Totals	26,052	13,401	39,453

9. Per a conversation with Amy Smith on September 21, 1993.

10. Unless otherwise specified the comments about Townsend for the time period 1993-1994 are based on personal conversations with Gil Heinsohn, co-chairman of the Springfest Planning Committee and Laurel Valley developer, on February 2, 1994, and J.L. Goins, Blount County Tourism Director, on February 16, 1994.

11. Unfortunately, this may not be the most accurate calculation of employee earnings by industry, but certain mitigating factors render it useful. First, historical wages by industry are not readily available over our subject area. Second, income figures would be predominantly distorted by the inflationary effect of proprietary income, but this component would be highest in the typically small-business industries, such as service and retail, of which Sevier has the highest percentage (see Table A.4). Third, this potential distortion is applicable to all the regions and in spite of Sevier's (probably) greater degree of inflation from this component it still falls behind the other two in earnings by employee.

12. Information provided by the Sevier County Chamber of Commerce by telephone on June 23, 1994.

13. Information on SMH was obtained in an interview with Lisa Davis, Membership Services Director, on June 14, 1994.

14. Unless stated otherwise, references to the Asheville Chamber of Commerce for information dated from 1990 to 1994 refer to summary tourist industry statistics provided on request.

15. Per conversations with David Redman, Director of Cherokee Tribal Travel and Promotion, and Larry Calicut, Tribal Finance Officer, on April 29, 1994.

16. Per interview with David Redman, Director of Cherokee Tribal Travel and Promotion on April 29, 1994.

17. Also per telephone conversation with David Redman, Director of Cherokee Tribal Travel and Promotion on August 15, 1994.

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VITA

L. Alex Tooman was born in Frankfurt, Germany on November 17, 1954. Although having spent most of his youth in Southwest Ohio, he graduated from high school at the American International School of Zurich, Switzerland in June 1972. The following September he entered Ohio State University and in March 1976 received the Bachelor of Science in Business Administration with majors in Accounting and Finance. Upon graduation he spent fifteen years in the private sector working as an accountant, eventually attaining the position of Accounting Manager for a textile manufacturer in Asheville, North Carolina.

In August 1991 he entered the University of Tennessee and in May 1995 received the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Economics. He is presently employed as a Graduate Teaching Associate in the Department of Economics at the University of Tennessee.