To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Christopher Warren Baker entitled "Small Town in the Global Economy: A Case Study of Development and Resistance in a Southern Appalachian Industrial Center." 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 Sociology.

Donald A. Clelland, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Associate Vice Chancellor
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SMALL TOWN IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY: A CASE STUDY OF DEVELOPMENT AND RESISTANCE IN A SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN INDUSTRIAL CENTER

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

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Christopher Warren Baker

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Mary Ann Baker.

Because of what mothers do.

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ABSTRACT

This project provides an critical interdisciplinary case history of development in Hamblen County, Tennessee from settlement to the present. Hamblen County represents a successful rural industrial center in the Tennessee Valley. The main goal is to understand how the global economy, the state, local elites, and community resistance combined to shape development and growth over this time period. The time periods covered coincide with phases of the global economy. Few studies of Appalachian communities look at the link between local development in the context of the changing global economic system. As such, this project offers a micro and macro approach to local development. This project also documents the long term role of the state and regional agencies in local development. Understanding local development requires documenting the role of the local political and economic elite in Hamblen County. Finally I look at local resistance to development and development policies in Hamblen County. As an exploratory study, this project offers a beginning point for comprehending the complex factors involved in development and how local people respond to micro and macro level social and economic change.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"If you don't have religion everyday,

then you don't have religion."

Tommy Smith, Hamblen County

Defining the Context of Development

Studies of development in Appalachian communities take a number of approaches. Most case studies of Appalachian communities focus on rural mountainous counties with a history of outside exploitative and extractive industries, and on local powerlessness. Another frequent characteristic of these approaches is to define the problems faced by communities within the narrow context of economic factors, state intervention, or local actors. The areas looked at have often experienced a long term lack of development due to a peripheral position in the national and world economy, power distribution, paternalistic state and federal policies, the denigration of culture and the environment, and the quiescence of local citizens.

Few critical studies exist on rural Southern Appalachian communities that experienced successful industrialization and sustained growth. Most of the studies of Appalachian communities emphasize one aspect of development such as the role of the state or local political dynamics and resistance. To date no projects within Appalachian studies look at the role of local development in the context of the changing dynamics of the global economy, of state and regional development, local power elites, and resistance by residents to development policies.

Most studies look at development for only a short duration. The failure to examine the main dimensions of development over time means that we have little understanding of how the fundamental elements of development interrelate and impact communities. Few studies have comprehensively looked at how the global economy and the changing role of the state impact local actions or how communities respond to state intervention or macro economic changes. Rarely has researched focused on understanding how the continuity of social relationships and culture within communities, often spanning generations, impacts development. Furthermore little scholarship exists on the role of local culture resisting exploitation or the negative effects of modernization (See Fisher 1993). Few studies have linked resistance to the shaping of long term development in successful counties.

This exploratory case study attempts to bring together data and approaches that are absent from previous research. It documents long-term development and resistance in a single county in the upper East Tennessee Valley. The study covers the history of Hamblen County, Tennessee from its early settlement to the present. The goal of case studies is to understand the totality of a phenomenon using multiple sources of data collection and evidence. I use a case study to understand the main forces behind local development. This study takes a critical interdisciplinary approach using data drawn from a number of research traditions in the social sciences including in depth interviews, participant observation, direct observation, and other primary and secondary sources.

This case study attempts to document the forces behind the industrialization of Hamblen County as an agrarian periphery to an industrial center. A historical approach allows us to better understand how both internal and external forces shape development over time. The purpose of the study is to understand the historical and contemporary forces that shape the development of Hamblen County. The project looks at four main dimensions of development in Hamblen County: 1) the impact of the transformation of the world economy, 2) the growth agenda of local economic and political elites, 3) the policies

of state and federal development agencies, and 4) the actions of local and regional groups and citizens engaged in resistance to the encroachment of growth by development policies.

The four dimensions represent the main arenas in which development is played out. The study seeks to understand how the county's development was shaped by the interplay between the forces of the world economy, state and regional development strategies, local political and economic actors, and local resistance to the growth policies behind development.

Hamblen County, Tennessee

Hamblen County is a rural county in the East Tennessee Valley. It is located in the heart of the valley that served as an important route to the West after the opening of the frontier in 1769. The county is known as the childhood home of Davy Crockett and part of the short lived State of Franklin. The State of Franklin represents one of the first attempts at the creation of an independent government by a frontier population. The county has a long history of individualism and local control. These traits drawn from frontier life were seen as the backbone of the American ethos or what has been termed "frontier democracy."

As a county in the fertile Tennessee valley, Hamblen County evolved as a successful agricultural region with an abundant water supply and road system. The county was a crossroads marketing center before from the frontier period to the Civil War. East Tennessee's stock driving economy connected Hamblen County in a commodity chain supplying pork, mules, and poultry to the plantation South (Baker 1991). The county's largest city, Morristown, became a railroad marketing center after the Civil War until the 1930s. After the Second World War, Hamblen County, Tennessee evolved as an industrial growth node and employment center.

Today, Hamblen County continues to expand its economic base and is characterized as a progressive county, although its citizens' voices of resistance to local power often are heard. This dissertation looks at the forces behind the successful development of Hamblen County.

The Context of the World Economy

The overarching perspective used to understand community development in this dissertation is the world-systems approach to the transformation of the capitalist world economy. Each period of development in Hamblen County is placed in the context of the changing labor and production relations of the world economy. The changing shape of global capitalism creates the conditions in which local development and labor relations occur. I am interested in documenting how local communities shape economic development within the transformation of the world economy. Making use of critiques from the world-systems perspective in the social sciences, this project focuses on the role of agency in shaping local development in the face of global changes. The goal is to understand how local and regional forces mediate the processes inherent in global transformation.

The movement of production processes around the globe is a defining feature of the world economy. The search for low wage labor pits region against region in the world economy. The most recent period of global capitalism is characterized by the expansion of commodity chains and production processes into regions in Latin American and into Pacific Rim countries. I explore how development in Hamblen County has been effected throughout its history by the transformation of the world economy, an more specifically, how the cycles of expansion and decline have shaped the context of development in Hamblen County.

World systems theorists argue that the changing world economy is constantly transforming as actors seek to restructure production processes to maximize profit. Looking at the construction of new linkages involved in today's economy Geriffi, Korzeniewicz, and Korzeniewicz (1994:1) argue that,

> "In today's global factory, the production of a single commodity often spans many countries, with each nation performing tasks in which it has a cost advantage. The components of the Ford Escort, for example, are made and assembled in fifteen countries across three continents. Capitalism today thus entails the detailed disaggregation of stages of production and consumption across national boundaries, under the organizational structure of densely networked firms or enterprises."

This most recent shift in global production processes is creating dramatic changes in core countries. One of the most important aspects of the changes is the restructuring of the labor force to face declining profits. In this project I am interested in understanding how local communities are affected by the intensification of the global division of labor in the contemporary period.

Hamblen County's development is broken down into four periods coinciding with phases of the world economy. The first period covers the years from settlement in the 1770s to the depression in the 1930s. During this period Hamblen County is part of an agricultural periphery providing surplus to the core national economy. The second period represents the period of economic hegemony in the world economy for the United States. This period from 1945 to 1969 witnesses wide scale industrialization and population expansion in Hamblen County. The third period between 1970 and 1985 reflects the relative decline of the United States as a global hegemon and the restructuring of industry in Hamblen County responding to competition and declining profits. The fourth period is between 1986 and 1995 and looks at the local response to the further internationalization of capital and the drive to sustain profits.

The contemporary era reflects the permanent downsizing of local industries and the increasing use of temporary labor and migrant workers in the United States. The enactment

of The North American Free Trade Agreement or (NAFTA) is intensifying the linkage between companies in the United States and Mexico. One of the goals of this research is to understand how changes in the world economy are shaping the labor force and communities in present day Hamblen County. I am interested in tracing how Hamblen County has responded to its incorporation into the geographical division of labor of the world economy between settlement and the present. How have industrial growth and the subsequent restructuring of production shaped local development in the county?

The effects of the world economy are mediated through local political, economic, and cultural structures. One of the weaknesses in using the world economy as a framework to understand a region is the variation between regions in the world economy (Wolf 1982; Nash 1981). To better understand development this project seeks to incorporate the framework of the world economy as one dimension shaping local development.

State and Regional Agencies

This project documents the role of the State of Tennessee and the East Tennessee Development District in assisting Hamblen County to create growth. The State of Tennessee represents an important actor in regional and local industrialization since the Second World War. The policies of the State provide an important tool for local planners. This study looks at the role of the state in development in Hamblen County. Hamblen does not have the economic infrastructure needed for large scale municipal projects or industrialization. I explore how local actors have used state agencies to create growth.

Hamblen County also has benefited from the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC). The ARC was created in 1965 to expand development in Appalachia. One of the main impacts of the ARC has been on the creation of transportation infrastructure and the

attraction of industry. Hamblen County is located in the East Tennessee Development District (ETDD). The ETDD works to create development projects ranging from industrial recruitment to municipal development. I am interested in understanding the role of the ETDD in Hamblen County since 1965, and more specifically, how the ETDD has assisted Hamblen County in attracting industry and other projects.

Another focus of this study is on the relationship between development agencies and local economic and political dynamics. I look at how State and federal agencies influence local participation in development. Specifically how are local communities and labor represented by the policies of the East Tennessee Development District and the State? What are the ways that their policies exclude the local participation of members of the community and labor force in issues of development?

Local Elites and the Growth Machine

Another dimension shaping local development is the role of local political and economic elites. The political economy of local growth is a give and take battle between local and outside actors for the use of public and private space. Individuals attempt to shape development in a way that maximizes individual or corporate profit. The growth machine is a group of local actors who mutually profit by development and expansion. The growth machine is interested in expanding communities through attracting corporations and population growth. Groups such as the Chamber of Commerce market local communities to companies and use public space to increase profit for individuals behind development projects. Projects often include the use of tax dollars, parks, neighborhoods, waste dump sites, and other public facilities. The groups that make up the growth machine are not necessarily allies, but their mutual concern for profit through increased growth creates solidarity around support for development (Molotch 1976).

Capitalists' actors and other agents of the growth machine must work within a prescribed cultural milieu to shape development. A goal of the growth machine is to make the community responsive to the needs of industry. This study looks at the role of culture in recruiting industry and civic development in Hamblen County. I am interested in documenting the role of culture in creating growth Hamblen County. How do local elites incorporate the region's people into the agenda to attract industry and to development the needed institutions to ensure growth?

This project looks at development policies in Hamblen county. I want to understand how community elites market the county to industry and shape community consensus around growth policies. The project specifically looks at the role of the Chamber of Commerce, city officials, and the media in enticing industry with subsidies, tax abatements, job training, and other advantages. I also examine how these groups respond to resistance to development by other local actors.

The Resistance to Development

This project explores the role of resistance to development policies in Hamblen County. I am interested in broadly looking at resistance as one of the factors that shape development. Resistance is seen as a form of participation in development. It is often opposition to projects that negatively affect communities. Groups outside the decision making process often resist policies that infringe upon values and property. Encroachment on community and cultural values by development projects often leads to resistance to the growth machine. In this project resistance is defined as local response to the efforts of local political and economic actors who shape growth for individual or company profit. Resistance is a multifaceted phenomenon that often is manifested culturally or politically. Communities use resistance to defend themselves against encroachment upon culture, the

environment, shared values, and quality of life. Development has an impact on communities in a number of ways.

The effects of development on communities can be negative to residents in communities. Municipal growth creates a number of problems faced by residents who are seen as being in the way of expansion. Often residents facing development are powerless to shape or stop projects that alter their way of life. Feagin (1988) argues that the negative effects of development are externalities that communities have to pay for and endure. Often the tax payers pay for projects that profit individuals and companies at the community's expense. The ability to create jobs have become an important legitimation for developers who profit from projects supporting growth. Other people in the community are negatively effected.

One of the most important externalities of development or uncompensated costs to communities is environmental degradation. The impacts of rapid industrialization, annexation, and population growth scar the environment and create hazards involved in waste disposal and pollution. I explore the response of communities to the externalities of development and the forms of resistance to growth policies in Hamblen County.

The problem of encroachment on community by development has a long history in Appalachia. Counties in the contemporary period are increasingly faced with few alternatives to exploitative industries and paternalistic state policies (Whisnant 1980; Fisher 1993; Ansley 1993; Gaventa 1987; 1990). This study takes as its starting point the idea that resistance is a multifaceted phenomenon. I look at how communities respond to development and the growth machine in order to understand the role of resistance in development over the long term. How has resistance to the development projects of the growth machine continued over time in Hamblen County?

The encroachment on cultural values often draws resistance to development. James Scott (1990) articulates that resistance to situations of power is often culturally based.

Groups disenfranchised by powerful actors respond by defending culturally defined values and beliefs. This project examines the role of culture in resistance to development. Resistance is often conceptualized as a response to extreme power and inequality by disenfranchised groups. This study looks at the role of resistance in development and participation in the context of a county that has experienced successful economic development.

Plan of Study

The second chapter overviews the methodology used in this dissertation. The chapter examines the advantages of using an exploratory historical case study to understand the role of multiple actors involved in resistance and development in Hamblen County. The third chapter looks at the theoretical perspectives used in this dissertation. The perspectives overviewed include the world systems perspective, community power studies, and studies on resistance and development in Appalachian studies. This section offers a critique of world systems theory that argues that the role of community and agency must be taken into account to understand how local development in the world economy occurs. The section also offers a critique and extension of studies of resistance, arguing that opposition should be conceptualized as an integral part of the development process and not just voices of oppressed people defending their culture.

The fourth chapter looks at the settlement patterns and early political economy of preindustrial communities in Hamblen County. The goal of this chapter is to identify the historically specific development patterns in the county in the context of regional and global economic transformation. It looks at the main agents behind modernization and the forms of resistance to growth prior to the industrial period. An important issue examined is the role of culture in shaping development and resistance. Finally the section views the

situation of preindustrial Hamblen County in relation to development in other areas in East Tennessee and Appalachia. This project is interested in understanding the nature of development in preindustrial Hamblen County and how it shaped the scope of later industrial development.

The fifth chapter documents the dramatic industrial transformation and population growth in Hamblen County as a rural industrial center. This section overviews the rise of the United States as a global hegemon following the Second World War, state industrial recruitment polices, and the nature of the furniture and chemical industries moving into Hamblen County. Next I trace the role of the local political and economic elite and boosters in shaping community activities around industrial hegemony and the local process of modernization. Finally the section documents the forms of labor resistance to industry.

The sixth chapter is about the decline of United States hegemony and the local effects of the restructuring on industry including the changing labor relations. This section looks at the shape of local politics in the 1970s. It documents the advent of the East Tennessee Development District and its role in shaping local development politics. The next section looks at community resistance to the intervention of development policies and looks at the types of resistance to federal and state development polices.

Chapter seven investigates the nature of the increasing international division of labor and the response of industry and communities to global restructuring in Hamblen County. It traces the actions of local boosters, and the community college to intensify industrial recruitment and retainment. Next I look at the changing program of industry to maximize profits including downsizing and the use of temporary and migrant workers. The section also examines the new situation faced by low wage workers and their communities in Morristown including rising poverty and gentrification. Finally, chapter seven documents the response of communities to growth policies and labor restructuring.

The last chapter analyzes the findings of this dissertation. It draws on the data from the dissertation to provide analytical account of the how development and resistance occur on a broad scale in Hamblen County. Chapter eight looks at the theory and policy implications from the findings of the project..

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

A broad range of previous theory and research has a direct bearing in my approach to the story of economic development in Hamblen County. Local development involves local decision-making and the exercise of power. This study, then, falls within the field that was once designated community power studies and which later evolved into the new urban sociology. We will review that literature for its insight.

Although the point is rarely made, local elites may be viewed as agents of a large modernization project. It is appropriate then to examine the literature of the modernization approach to development and in turn the criticisms of the approach as in the dependency and world-systems perspectives that emphasize external constraints to development. Knowledge of these contending perspectives is particularly appropriate in the case of an Appalachian study because variations of the modernization approach have been directly applied to the region by government agencies and because critics have produced a colonization model that is a variant of dependency theory. This literature has concrete bearing on our interpretation of the Hamblen County story. Finally, since dependency theory emphasizes that development is damaging to many note is taken of literature that focuses on instances of grass roots resistance to development.

Community Power and the Growth Machine

Early Perspectives on Community Power

The study of community power in sociology reflects a drive by sociologists to understand the changing relationship of communities to larger institutions in the 20th century. Numerous studies on the nature of power in the United States from the 1930s to the 1970s focus on the nature of development. The studies often have an underlying emphasizes on stratification, democracy, and decision-making. The early community studies provided the battleground for later debates on the nature of power for sociologists and political scientists. The purpose of many of the studies was to gain a general understanding of society and the effects of community on human behavior. The unit of analysis involved studying community as a totality (Bell and Newby 1971). Early community studies, including the work of the Lynds (1929; 1937); Vidich and Bensman (1968); Warner (1963) and others, found among other things that community change and the nature of stratification often reflected external factors outside of local culture. The studies that followed increasingly viewed change as the result of decisions made outside the community (Trounstine and Christensen 1982).

Vidich and Bensman's Small Town in Mass Society: Class Power and Religion in a Rural Community looks at the relationship of a community to mass society. They focus on the processes by which a small town is drawn into the central machinery, processes and dynamics of the total society (1968:xi). The community becomes the site or stage in which the central issues are played out (Bell and Newby 1971). Vidich and Bensman document the seemingly unanimity of opinions about issues addressed by decision makers (1968). The Lynds' study on community power documents how one family exercises inordinate control over a community through power based on economic holdings and domination over economic units (Lynd and Lynd 1929; Orum 1989).

The central focus of the debate on power occurred between the pluralist and elitist approaches. The elitist approach focuses on power as an aspect of social relationships embedded in the social structure, which is made up of social organizations and institutions (Hunter 1953; Mills 1956; Domhoff 1983). The most influential community power study is Floyd Hunter's study of community power in Atlanta, published in 1953. Hunter finds that a small, relatively economic elite, who represents the totality of power, are the leaders of the community. By using a methodology based on reputation for power, Hunter creates a list of 175 persons, whom he uses as judges to choose the top 40 people in positions of power in Atlanta. This method, called the reputational approach, documents the community power structure in Atlanta.

By using the opinions of his experts, Hunter ranks individuals according to their influence in the community, then interviews the list of 40 people. Hunter finds that the power structure of Atlanta is made up of policy-makers and policy executors. The two groups show strong ties and shared perceptions of influence. He discovers that the main leaders are united through interlocking corporate directorships, social groups, and other informal, exclusive arenas. The main thrust of Hunters argument is that wealth and business leadership represents the main sources of power in the community, and that access to decision making is rarely open to the public (Hunter 1953; Orum 1989).

A second approach to study of politics is the pluralist approach, which emphasizes that modern communities consist of different sectors dominated by separate individuals, who compete only on the issues in which they are interested. Theorists operating in the pluralist camp employ a methodology based on decisions, and denounce the idea that an elite group controls decision making. Pluralists critique the elitists camp for not studying actual issues. The assumption about decision making made by the pluralists is that power is distributed to a plurality of participants (Dahl 1961).

Robert Dahl's (1961) study of New Haven outlines a general theory of politics in the United States. The theory is based on the control of institutional sectors where groups invest in separate spheres to gain economic, social, or political power (Dahl 1961; Orum 1989). Dahl argues that participation in politics is limited because of disinterest. Polsby (1963) found that the chaotic nature of issues and decisions relates to the openness of the American political system. Pluralists focus on overt issues debated by the community. Issues are seen as independent of each other or part of the influence of powerful institutions.

Following the pluralists and elitists debate, many researchers are increasingly aware that the arena for elite participation is not only the local community, but also the region, state, nation, and world economy. Local decisions are not made independently of larger structures. Comparative studies on the role of economic dominant elites and formal political structures increasingly pointed to the expanding nature of local power to larger structures. Clelland and Form (1964) following the work of Schulze (1958), found that the economic elite and formal political structures bifurcate overtime with the integration of local economic units into national markets. Community power studies increasingly became oriented toward extra-community systems (Domhoff 1978).

The main critique of the pluralists approach to community power is that power is a complex phenomenon, which is not always observable (Trounstide and Christensen 1982). The study of overt decision making leaves out the role of elites in shaping issues that come to the political arena. To understand the nature of issues and nonissues, theorists studying communities have shifted the question from looking at overt issues and the main elities to what possible issues do not make it to the political arena and can therefore not be studied? In an effort to answer this question, a number of theorists have shifted the focus of inquiry to other aspects of political economy. The next generation of community power theorists broadened the scope of power to include other social institutions and influences over the

limitations of a single dimensional study of the wealthy and economic elite or the overt issues that arise in the political arena. New issues included the control of information and communication and other aspects of power previously untheorized.

In a study of Baltimore, Bachrach and Baratz focus on why some issues are deemed as important and others are organized out of the political arena. They see the elite's ability to control the issues that are debated as an important facet of power (1970). The influence of an elite group creates a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals, and institutional structures in short, a pervasive bias that is automatically mobilized in decision-making. The bias becomes the rules of game that operate to help those in preferred positions to defend and promote their own interests (Schattschneider 1960; Bachrach and Baratz 1970).

In a study of pollution control in Gary, Indiana, Crenson defines power as the ability of leaders to make pollution a non-issue. He looks at the degree of corporate control over issue creation in the community (1971). The domination of industry is seen as transferable from one issue to another even when the corporation does not exert direct power over the community (Trounstide and Christensen 1982). Drawing on these ideas a number of theorists have argued that power has more than one dimension. As will be shown in more detail later, power is considered the means to control and shapes the very wants of actors (Lukes 1974; Gaventa 1980). The expansion of the debate on community power to the control of other spheres of community life helps us understand the complex nature of how power effects issue creation. Next we look at the literature on urban development and the growth machine.

The New Urban Sociology: Power and the Growth Machine

The new urban sociology literature is concerned with the character of power and inequality in the city. The focus is on how the capitalist accumulation process and it's accompanying crisis tendencies and capital-labor struggles shape the development of cities (Stoecker 1994). Recent literature on the political economy of city development looks at the relationship between capitalist activities and local government officials, who through a concerted effort, drive to develop cities. City growth creates use value for capitalists. The main battle in urban areas is between capital and community in a fight over use values and exchange values. Communities fight for land's use value, that is, communal services, while capitalists fight for exchange value that provides profit for private citizens (Molotch 1976; Stoecker 1994).

Molotch argues that the community development literature ignores the prime driving force of city politics, which is growth (Molotch 1976; Logan and Molotch 1987). The need to market a city and develop a business climate supersedes the agenda of politics. Molotch draws on the need for communities to compete for resources and the desire of local capitalist to increase development to gain profit. He states, "The scarcity of development resources means that government becomes the arena in which land-use interest groups compete for public money and attempt to mold those decisions which will determine the land-use outcomes. Localities thus compete with one another to gain the preconditions of growth" (Molotch 1976:312).

Local government coalitions act as a capital consciousness agent in planning and urban development. The growth coalition is composed of capitalists or developers with fixed investment and local government officials who try to sell city space to corporations (Feagin 1988). Logan and Molotch, drawing from earlier community power approaches, argues that the growth coalition or machine creates public issues through a concerted effort based on the assumption that growth is good. The machine incorporates local politicians,

capitalists, the media, universities, utilities, and various community boosters into a consensus that eliminates any alternative vision of development (Logan and Molotch 1987).

Feagin (1988; 1989) argues another side of development by looking at the politics of development in Houston, Texas. He argues that Houston is an example of a free enterprise city with a growth machine made up of a state and capitalist elite who shape decision making at the neglect of services and infrastructure. Local government aid is used to create infrastructure for industry through bonds, low-taxes, and other handouts. Individual profit is created through the use of public services by the main actors in the growth coalition. The growth coalition creates growth through a pro-business climate and low regulation, taxes, and no zoning laws.

Feagin looks at the consequences of development in a free enterprise zone. The result of unchecked expansion and nonregulation is the creation of urban problems and social costs such as water pollution, toxic waste, and other infrastructure problems. The negative consequences of for-profit production on communities are what Feagin terms "externalities" (1988:39). Corporations use externalities to profit at the community's expense. City growth and the good business climate are legitimated as city expansion is equated with more jobs.

The power of the growth coalition over disenfranchised communities is due to the control of resources over local investment activity (Stoecker 1994). Yet the division of the growth coalition differs from community to community. Molotch argues that multinational corporations are not as involved in growth coalitions as local capitalists; other theorists point to the importance of the involvement of the corporations in local growth (Stoecker 1994).

The application of the growth machine idea to major cities in the United States provides a useful framework for understanding development. Next we examine macro theories of development in sociology.

Theories of Development in Sociology

The Modernization Perspective

Studies of macro social change in sociology and the social sciences focus on the role of modernization and economic growth in development. The most pervasive approach to development has been the modernization perspective. The modernization perspective is oriented toward integrating developing regions into the framework of world production processes and market in an effort to modernize. The perspective is an outgrowth of cold war politics and represents the desire to create growth in developing nations by incorporating them into the world economy and dynamics of the capitalist's structure. The assumption behind this approach to development is that through participation in the world economy undeveloped regions will grow in much the same way as the countries in the West.

The modernization perspective is a post World War II idea that is usually associated with core western countries' attempts to development former colonies in the third world. The modernization perspective reflects the 19th and 20th century western social sciences view that westernization is the path to progress for undeveloped regions in the world (Worsley 1992). The perspective has been the basis for policies that promote the ideas of opening up regions further for capitalist development to create local growth. The main approaches have been opening regions by developing infrastructure, markets, production zones, labor forces, and modern values. These approaches have been promoted in Third World nations and in less developed regions the first world such as Appalachia.

The work of such early sociologists such as Emile Durkheim and later Talcott Parsons represents the main background to the modernization perspective. Early theorists viewed traditional societies as pre-modern and on an inevitable path to developing a

complex social organization. Functional theorists Emile Durkheim focused on the idea that societies experience stages of growth that lead to a complex division of labor based on industry and commerce (Durkheim 1893). Modernization theory was applied to developing nations in the Third World in psychological, social, political, and economic forms beginning in the 1960s. Modernization theorists vary on which factor is crucial to development, but all see western standards and methods as the models to be imitated (Worsley 1992). The main thrust of the theory is a push for industrialization, moving from traditional agricultural to manufacturing societies. The main goal and measure of development is economic growth.

The modernization perspective, along with the social sciences in the West, holds to the nation-state as the unit of analysis for understanding how development occurs. Regions are conceptualized as semi-autonomous entities, which need to participate in the world economy to modernize. Underdevelopment is traced to factors within traditional societies and regions themselves and not to other historical, geographic, or economic factors. The problem is seen as the lack of development. Their increased connection to the modern world is seen as the solution.

The modernization perspective represents a mixture of sociological, psychological and economic orientations. Drawing from normative, most sociological accounts give greatest priority to the role played by the values, norms, and beliefs of people in shaping an orientation toward development. Social change follows changes in value orientation along with features such as the growth of urbanization, nuclear families, education, and democracy (Webster 1984).

The theoretical basis for the modernization perspective is the evolutionary structural functionalism of the sociologist Talcott Parsons. Modernization occurs when western modern social traits are diffused and internalized by "backward" societies. Parson's pattern

variables are used to create a framework where universals replace particularism, ascription replaces achievement, and diffuseness replaces specificity (Webster 1984).

Economic theories of modernization are usually associated with Rostow (1960), who created a development scheme based on a model of the British industrial revolution and applied it to what are described as traditional societies. Development is viewed as an endogenous process that occurs in a series of stages that is seen as universally valid for all types of societies. Traditional societies grow by taking on the ideas of economic progress, technology, and political institutions of western societies. The societies finally take off as the rate of investment overtakes the rate of population growth. The stages of growth include the traditional society, the preconditions for take off, the drive to maturity, and mass consumption, which is seen as the final stage and defined as success (Rostow 1960). Development occurs with a western orientation toward entrepreneurship and capital accumulation. The main assumption behind this line of reasoning is that these regions are undeveloped and simply need to modernize through westernization.

Other forms of modernization theory focus on political development (Blomstrom and Hette 1984). Cultural psychological theories emphasize transforming backward cultures by creating the right attitudes or motivations for development. These motivations include developing an entrepreneur attitude, a work ethic, and childrearing practices that are the basis for an achievement orientation. McClelland (1961) and others, following ideas from Max Weber, place the achievement motivation at the heart of economic growth (Webster 1984). The modernization perspective also advocates the expansion of education and the development of the mass media as means fro displacing a purely local orientation. The modern person is informed and participates as an autonomous citizen in a democracy (Inkles and Smith 1974).

Development theorists working within the modernization paradigm make the assumption that regions are underdeveloped simply because they are undeveloped. The

lack of development is seen as being caused by internal problems. Another major assumption is that underdeveloped countries have a dual economy. The two sectors of the dual economy include a small modern sector and a precapitalist "rural" sector. This assumption ignores the historical relationships between undeveloped regions and developed regions. Sociologists using ideas on exploitation from Marx and other theorists offer an approach to underdevelopment that suggests regions may not necessarily prosper from being part of the capitalist world economy. Instead underdevelopment is caused because of their relationship to the global economy. The next section looks at dependency approach to development.

The Dependency Model

The dependency model offers a critique of the modernization perspective and an analytical perspective on the cultural and economic imperialism of the West. Dependency theory originated in the 1960's, through the work of a number of academics and development economists in Latin America and the United States. At the center of the dependency model is a critique of the developmentalist approach to the Third World and underdeveloped regions in the first world. The developmentalist approach maintains that a lack of development could be attributed to a deficiency in appropriate modernizing values and lack of capitalist involvement (Webster 1984). Dependency theorists argue that a lack of development is due to the exploitation of undeveloped regions by developed regions.

The type of development in Latin American countries after World War II provided the basis for the dependency model. The work of Raul Presbisch and the United Nations Economics Commission for Latin America (ECLA) represented attempts to modify the problems that third world economies experience while participating in the world market. The "Prebisch-Singer thesis" claims that prices of primary exports fluctuate in the short

term and decline over time, therefore contradicting the theory of comparative advantage. Import substitution policies, including tariffs, were used to promote economic independence and growth. The policies had little impact on dependency (Blomstrom and Hette 1984).

The dependency approach evolved in the 1960s in an effort to address the failure of Latin American countries to modernize and develop integrated economies. It represents a critique of the Eurocentric approach taken by modernization theorists. Dependency theorists vary as to the nature of dependency. Most views hold to the idea that capitalist development and underdevelopment are part of the same process. They also agree that modernization theorists ignore the history of colonialism and the inherent link of underdeveloped regions to capitalist activities in developed nations within the international division of labor (Hall and Chirot 1982). Underdeveloped countries do not go through stages of development that emulate the West. Instead they have been systematically exploited by the West.

Dependency theory was introduced to a western audience by Andre Gunder Frank (1967). The dependency school shifted the unit of analysis of the study of capitalism and development from a deterministic focus on the internal dynamics of development in fully capitalist countries to the external problems faced by countries exploited in the capitalist system. Dependency theorists focus on the impact of unequal exchange and political relations on periphery regions. The main focus is on the nature of capitalist penetration into the region. Frank's model traces underdevelopment to a hierarchy of regions in the international division of labor based on capital accumulation through monopoly structures within the capitalist world economy. Capitalist relations are continually reproduced through a metropolis and satellite hierarchy. Metropolises exploit satellite areas by extracting economic surplus, both between countries and within countries, leading to conditions of underdevelopment (Blomstorm and Hettne 1984). Frank argues that the

regions that are the most underdeveloped and feudal-seeming today are the ones that had the closest capitalist ties to the metropolis in the past (1966:13).

Other dependency theorists document the inability of Third World countries to catch up through their integration into the world economy. Dependency takes different forms at different times and places in order to fit the needs of capital in the developed countries. Because multinational corporations provide technology and capital, while at the same time directing the flow of surplus out of the region. The result of dependency is uneven development, stagnation, or even regression. Cardoso and Faletto (1979), argue that the period of raw material exploitation and dependency was followed by a new dependency, which is based on core investment in technology and manufacturing in the contemporary period.

As Latin countries experience growth, dependency theorists restructure their argument. Frank updates his approach to incorporate new industrial sectors in developing regions as economically defective and vulnerable because of the dependence multinational corporations (1981). Cardoso (1979) documents development in Brazil through capital investment, pointing out that the dependent relationship does create some locally controlled manufacturing. He calls this situation dependent development. The idea of dependent development was applied by Evans (1979), who documents the transition of Brazil from a periphery to a semiperiphery zone. Brazil has evolved from a state of classical dependence to what Evans calls dependent development through the actions of a triple alliance of the state, local capital, and outside corporations. Other dependency theorists focus on the debt situation of Latin American countries to banks in the core and the importance of the international power structure (Chirot and Hall 1982).

Other formulations of the dependency argument include the work of Amin (1974, who articulates that wherever the capitalist mode of production enters into relations with precapitalist modes of production, primitive accumulation takes place, which transfers

value though low-wages to the capitalists. Amin articulates the central features of underdevelopment in Africa are explained as part of the expansion of the capitalist system and the development of peripheral capitalism. The structural features of underdevelopment include the unevenness of productivity between sectors of the economy, the articulation of the economic system, and domination from the outside (Amin 1974:15).

Periphery counties lack basic industry and infrastructure and are dependent on capital and consumer goods from core regions of the world economy. The result is the loss of the mobilizing effects between industries. The disarticulation of the economy is caused by dependence on capital and technology from core regions of the world economy (Amin 1974). Amin argues that a type of development occurs under these conditions for peripheral countries but only in relation to profit for capitalists, who are not interested in developing communities.

Dependency theorists continue to create formulations on the impact of the world economy on regions trying to develop through boom and bust cycles accompanied by stagflation and inflation. Accompanied by political unrest, these changes also create shifts in labor migration to urban areas and core regions. Dependency theorists maintain that regardless of industrialization, dependent regions such as Latin American continues to struggle due to exploitative relationships with capitalism and unequal development (Webster 1984). This situation has been especially true for Mexico since the late 1970s. Mexico's economy has faltered around the devaluing of the peso, a debt crisis, political unrest, and continually foreign owned industries. Increased industrialization and capital extraction often led to exploitative industries, along with an increasing wealth divide, and declining standard of living for poor and native populations (Cockcroft 1986; Barkin 1994).

The dependency approach has had an important impact on the study of marginal regions and on historical sociology in the United States. Later in this chapter I present an overview of dependency theory in Appalachian Studies.

The World-Systems Perspective

This dissertation uses the world-systems perspective (WSP). The perspective is used by social theorists as an analytical tool to understand the historical transformation of capitalism and the processes linking regions within the division of labor in the world-system. The WSP in historical sociology represents an extension of Latin American dependency theories, based on understanding development within a global context using a global unit of analysis and on Karl Marx's theories on capitalism.

The WSP attempts to systematically document the relationships of peripheral regions from the point of linkage to the larger forces of the capitalist system. Drawing from the dependency approach, world-systems theorists frame the actions of people in political and economic structures. Development of the regions around the world since 1600 occurred within the context of an expanding set of production processes which link the underdevelopment of the Third World to the development of the First World.

One of the main goals of the WSP is to question the division of the historical sciences into separate unrelated disciplines. The historical and holistic epistemology of the WSP is reflected in its underlying critical analysis of progressive 19th century social sciences, the artificial division between the idiographic and nomothetic forms of theorizing, and the division of social analysis into the economic, political, and socio-cultural spheres in the social sciences (Wallerstein 1991). The WSP has given rise to a comprehensive sociology of development that cuts across all world regions (Gereffi and Fonda 1992).

The main proponents of the theory, Immanuel Wallerstein and others, attempt to discover the historical processes underlying the capitalist world economy since the 16th century by studying large-scale macro social change using world-systems as units of analysis. Wallerstein traces the rise of a capitalist world-system i.e., as a world of its own, from the expansion of the West and the European world economy, through a 500 year period. Previously, numerous "world-systems" had co-existed on the face of the earth, usually in the form of empires. The WSP focuses on the the modern capitalist economy, that has expanded, with the incorporation of external areas into the world-system division of labor and production processes to emcompass the globe.

Regions in the system are linked through market and production activities and a global interstate system made up of nation states. The extraction of surplus through unequal development of regions and peoples within the world economy is seen as the driving force behind the growth of capitalism. Capitalist enterprises, located in core zones, are the major sources of capital in the world system as a whole. They organize production, transport, trade, and finance at the highest level in the system. Peripheral zones provide cheap labor, raw materials, agricultural products, investment opportunities, and markets for core enterprises. A significant portion of world surplus is shifted from the periphery to the core.

The world economy is defined as an effective division of labor constituted by a cross-cutting network of interlinked productive processes, or commodity chains, which create and recreate a social structure within the modern world economy (Wallerstein and Hopkins 1987).

An important concept used by world-systems theorists is the idea of commodity chains, which link production processes and regions together. Commodity chains are networks of combined production and exchange processes which provide imputs for finished commodities. At each link in each chain, some surplus is extracted and some

surplus is passed on. World systems theorists focus mainly on the process that links together households, enterprises, and states to one another with the world economy (Gereffi et al. 1994). Regions incorporated into the world economy provide production and economic activities, which become part of grid of global economic exchange structured to provide accumulation in the core. The incorporation of a region into the processes of the world economy involves the deepening of capitalist processes in the region, which includes mechanization, commodification, contractualization, economic/political interdependence, and polarization (Hopkins and Wallerstein 1987). Newly incorporated regions accept levels of remuneration at the bottom of the world-system hierarchy of wage levels (Wallerstein 1983).

Part of the exchange between the actors in the world-system occurs between zones with various levels of labor control. Labor as a commodity is exchanged between zones in an unequal exchange enforced by strong states over weak ones. Unequal exchange is a process involving core-periphery hierarchy, in which the underlying value of peripheral commodities, especially their embodied labor power, is greater than the market price. On balance international trade benefits the core. This uneven exchange leads to the uneven development and the peripheralization of the groups incorporated into the world economy (Emmanuel 1972; Wallerstein 1983).

The development or lack of development of a region is determined largely, by its position in the division of labor within the regional hierarchies of the world capitalist system. States are part of an interstate system which links worldwide accumulators of capital and the worldwide work force. States and regions are territories that play roles in the production process that are analagous to those of classes for Marx thus class struggle within the world system occurs between regions.

Regions within the world economy are classified as core, periphery, and semiperiphery. States are defined by their relationship to the processes and mechanisms

that define action within the world economy. Core states are the strongest and most organized. The core states have high-wage diversified production and are characterized by high-technology. They are involved in capital intensive production, are the centers of trade and finance, and have the highest level of capital accumulation. Core countries represent the industrialized countries of the West and Japan.

Peripheral states have economic activities that are coercive, low-tech, labor intensive, and involved in the exportation of primary products. Periphery states are militarily and organizationally weak, and have less diversified production and higher levels of labor exploitation. Peripheral countries are located in Africa, Asia, and South and Central America. These states, which are made up mainly of former colonies, have historically provided raw materials and labor to the core European states. The relationship between core and periphery states has enriched core states and created dependency for peripheral states. Culturally, the incorporation of these states into the world-system or westernization has stratified the people within various geographical locations.

Semi-peripheral countries contain elements of the other two positions in the world-system. They represent a peripheral zone for core countries and act as a core country for peripheral countries (Shannon 1989). Semi-periphery states are then the combination of both core and periphery distinctions. They represent an area of low-wage labor and resources for core areas. Semi-peripheries are zones that help the transfer of surplus value from peripheries to core areas. Semi-periphery zones include Latin American countries that have experienced development since decolonialization, but still remain dependent on core states (See Evans 1979). Semi-periphery areas are also found in core states, such as Appalachia in the United States (Shannon 1984).

For the world-systems theorists, exploitation takes place between capital and labor on a global scale. Exploitation between states and between regions produce a geographical division of labor. The geographical distribution of classes is unequal, with core states

containing a higher percentage of bourgeois and more full time wage proletarians than periphery states. Labor is incorporated into the world economy through the household that is a relatively stable structure where income pooling takes place. The household provides for both social and labor reproduction in the world economy. Wallerstein uses the term "semi-proletarian household" to explain the incorporation of households into the processes of the world economy. Households operating on this level contain superexploited workers who reproduce themselves by engaging in both subsistence labor and wage labor. Superexploitation occurs most often in peripheral societies (Shannon 1989).

As households are incorporated into the world economy, self-sufficient autonomous economic activities are replaced by partial wage and nonwage labor. The household is a means of survival for people and ensures a restructurable labor force for capital accumulators. A semi-proletarian household combines both wage or productive labor and nonwage or non-productive labor for household survival. Workers participation in non wage labor lowers the cost of labor for capitalists by ensuring the reproduction of a labor force at a low rate of remuneration. The majority of households in the history of the capitalist world economy up to today engaged in both wage and non wage labor for survival (Wallerstein 1983).

World-Systems theorists classify regions by the nature and intensity of exploitation that varies between regions (Shannon 1989). Regions are divided in the world economy by the modes of labor control. Periphery states have a higher percentage of their labor force involved in forms of coercive labor control. Peripheral areas provide labor and raw materials to core areas, which have larger amounts of higher paying wage labor. Workers in peripheral regions produce large amounts of surplus value in the form of coercive low wage and unpaid labor. The value produced by periphery workers, through cheap imported goods, supports the life style and increases the life chances of high wage workers

in the core. In other words, the growth of one region is enhanced by the dependency and exploitation of another.

Wallerstein describes consumption and development in these terms, "Development as the achievement of 'more' is the Promethean myth...And in fact, the scientific technological output of this capitalist system has created impressive consumption levels for about 10-20 percent of the world's population" (Wallerstein 1991:107). It is this critique of capitalism, one of its totality, which best helps us understand capitalism. The world-systems perspective adds another level to the understanding of capitalism, expanding Marx's analysis to global capitalism.

A broad historical understanding of development leads us to the root causes of underdevelopment. The orientation of growth taken by developmentalists must be understood within the context of how growth takes place. The Communist Working Group explains the difference between rich and poor countries,

> "India never became a copy of Britain. But parts of continental Europe, and the settler states USA, Canada, and Australia did. At a very early time in their development, these countries had the same prerequisites as Britain. They had developed a large domestic market which attracted capital. The rest of the colonies and South America did not follow this line. It was simply impossible for them to do so, since the exploitation and underdevelopment of these countries constituted the prerequisites for the growth of the rich countries" (1986:54).

The WSP offers a broad understanding of development, which covers all the social sciences. The methodology used by theorists using the world-systems framework varies, but much of the work uses a comparative framework. It is important to recognize that the WSP is a call for a debate about a new paradigm for the social sciences, and not a paradigm within historical social science (Wallerstein 1987:324). Social scientists can no longer study macrolevel social change without taking into account world-system processes.

The advancement of theory and methodology within the WSP is through comparison studies between regions in the world economy and the understanding of the processes which link regions to the world system division of labor. World systems theorists focus on the relationship between cities in the world economy. Central themes include the functional differentiation of activities and structured hierarchies among cities and towns on the regional level (Chase-Dunn 1985). World system theorists study cities by looking at the core-periphery division of labor, types of labor control, and interstate system in a framework of global cities. The main focus is on the uneven development of regions that is part of a global hierarchy of cities.

World system theorists maintain that national city systems have long been nested within a system of world cities (Chase Dunn 1984; 1985). Friedman and Wolf (1982) rank cities according to the degree of spatial domination they exert within a core, semiperiphery, or periphery region. City growth is also traced within the movement of long wave economic cycles (Howard 1989). The contemporary focus on the expansion and intensification of global capitalism has created interest in the role of cities as the accumulation and power centers of the global economy. Urban expansion and the emerging information society make cities the nexus of the new order of global capitalism (Knight 1989).

Researchers are beginning to utilize the world-systems perspective in a number of ways, but few case studies apply it to a micro study of community power and development. Next we look at critiques the WSP's macro analysis.

Critiques of the World-Systems Perspective on Community

This section examines the main critiques of the world systems perspective. The main critiques of the WSP are based on the inherent determinism of the model and its

functionalist systems logic (Aronowitz 1981; Stinchcombe 1982). Skocpol (1977) warns that the world systems theorists tend to create causes in history by asserting that things at a certain time and place had to be a certain way to bring about later states or developments that accord with the system. Marxists disagree with the position of class in the system. A number of Marxists disagree with Wallerstein's Adam Smithian view of capitalism based on trade or exchange over the Marxist focus on production (Brenner 1977; Skocpol 1977). Skocpol objects to the reduction of the state and its policies in the world system (1977).

The most important critique is that the model reduces diverse phenomena to processes involved in the growth of core capitalism and ignores the complex nature of societies. The role of the social science is to understand phenomena that are interrelated on a number of levels. Theorists point to the reduction of cultural diversity and periphery social change to regional economic factors (Swanson 1992; Ragin and Chirot 1984; Rosenberry 1990). Hall (1986) critiques the WSP approach to the incorporation process. He claims that the perspective fails to address the dramatic changes that occur from contact between states and indigenous societies as they become part of the world capitalist system. Wolf (1982) argues that the core and periphery distinction fails to deal adequately with the unique aspects and developments of peripheries and how peripheries affect the core.

Ethnographies using the world system framework offer a better understanding of the interplay between local and global dynamics. June Nash (1981) points to the problem of assuming a passive periphery by world systems theorists. Her work and others are call for the creation of ethnographies of local regions in the modern world-system. Tauxe (1993:6) argues that anthropologist should place individual case studies within the context of a world history of uneven development. These studies provide important accounts of how structures are generated and reproduced by real people breaking down the view of a capitalism-centered view of a single, unified and completely integrated world-system (Tauxe 1993). This approach suggests that the effects of regional restructuring are

negotiated at a local level and must be studied on this level to understand the actual dynamics of the world system.

Case studies looking at integrating American communities using a world systems framework are undertaken mainly by anthropologists and regional geographers (Tauxe 1993). Ethnographies have been used to trace the impact of the restructuring of American industry on local culture and identity and the effects of uneven development on rural areas. These studies look at community and corporate relations, from the perspective of local residents while maintaining a perspective based on global political economy (Nash 1981; 1989; Tauxe 1993; Wolf 1982). Nash's work provides a holistic approach to community development, culture, and power relationships. As an ethnography, her study of Tank Town (1989) reveals the vehicle for hegemonic control is found in the language of business that permeates all facets of life and culture. This study is significant because it documents the effect of an industry on a town within the context of the changing economy.

The WSP offers an important conceptual framework for understanding development. But as we have seen, development has to be analyzed on the macro and micro levels. Next we look at the perspectives on state and federal development approaches in Appalachia.

Appalachian Development Literature

The Regional Development Model

A large body of scholarly literature on development in Appalachia dates from the 1960s. Two broad theoretical models are presented in this literature to explain Appalachia's poverty, relationship to the United States economy, and distinctive characteristics. The approaches are the regional development model and the internal colonial approach. The two models explain Appalachian underdevelopment by offering

different understandings of the region. The two models tend to focus on different aspects of the region's culture, economy, and political system. This section looks at the explanations offered by the different approaches.

The regional development approach reflects the application of the modernization perspective to Appalachia. This model is based on centralized regional planning and has been applied to a multistate and multilocal level in Appalachia. The first project that used the regional development approach in Appalachia began in 1933 with the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). The next federal project is the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC). Both the TVA and ARC represent regional approaches to resource management by integrating federal, state and, local levels of government. This literature review focuses on the mainly on the ARC, since it plays the more important role in Hamblen County's development.

Both approaches begin with the federal, state and local acknowledgment of the serious problems in the region. The TVA was created during the depression in an effort to manage human and natural resources. The basis of the ARC is the Appalachian Regional Development Act passed by congress in 1965 (Bradshaw 1992). The ARC was designed mainly around the desires of local business groups and through the initiative of governors from several Appalachian states. The ARC is a multistate developmental agency which plans and coordinates state and federal programs. The programs carry out regional economic development activities at both the state and local levels (Clavel 1983).

Regional planners structure the region's infrastructure around economic expansion, and industrial recruitment. The ARC approach caters to capital led improvements to Appalachia by providing economic and social overhead, capital, job training, and regional population restructuring. The approach is based on creating growth centers, which are areas designed to provide industrialization and economic expansion. Growth areas are designed to attract surrounding rural populations who provide a labor force for industrial

expansion. The local level of the ARC is the local development district (LDD). The LDD idea involves multicounty units that are the main focus for the planning and coordination of the delivery of federal grant aid within each state (Bradshaw 1992). Totaling 69, the number of LDDs has remained the same in the 1980s. The LDD's goal is to reflect locally expressed interests, provide professional staff expertise, and what is described as the establishment of good relations between community and industry (Bradshaw 1992).

The ARC's basic assumptions about development are based on mainstream neo-classical economic and modernization theory. The central argument is those poor areas in Appalachia are undeveloped and need to be integrated into the national economy and world economy. Along the same lines, the approach is considered to be value-free and noncontroversial without effecting the existing structure of political and economic distribution of local LDD districts. The main portion of the funds has gone to reduce isolation through opening up mountainous areas and the valley through highway construction.

The ARC approach is to provide technical assistance for community leaders. Plunket and Bowman (1973), promote the idea that modernization occurs through co-opting the most progressive elements of local communities. Critics call the most progressive elements the capitalist elite power (Walls and Billings 1977). Plunket and Bowman argue that antimodern factions of the local power structure are detrimental to development. The ARC assists the modern factions of the community to expand industry and commerce (1973).

Sympathetic planners see the ARC as a promising innovator of planning in Appalachia (Raitz and Ulack 1984; Bradshaw 1992). Bradshaw claims the ARC contribution, "has been to emphasize the importance of political structures in the functioning and maintenance of such an agency" and that it has, "linked the 'topdown'

approach of many federal, state, and local governments and has brought about cooperation among a range of federal agencies" (1992:140).

To better understand how communities respond to development in Southern Appalachia we must look at case studies on power and resistance. These studies offer us another dimension of how development occurs.

Power and the Colonial Perspective on Appalachia

The most controversial studies on underdevelopment in Appalachia are by scholars and activists working in a number of activist organizations and the interdisciplinary Appalachian Studies Association. Much of the work centers on documenting and alleviating economic exploitation, political repression, and the loss of self sufficiency and local autonomy for Appalachian communities. The approach is a reaction to regional modernization, the loss of control, and the exclusion of local people in development decisions, and cultural and natural destruction.

The work of the these activists and theorists culminated into the Appalachian internal colonial model or perspective in the 1960s (Arnett 1978; Caudel 1962; Lewis et al 1978; Walls 1976; Gaventa 1980; Whisnant 1980). The colonial model is shared by other Appalachian theorists who focus on uneven development (Simon 1981; Batteau 1983) and by those who take a world systems approach (Dunaway 1994; Baker 1991; Stotik 1990; Shannon 1984).

The colonial model uses ideas from the dependency approach. Beginning in the late 1960's, Appalachian theorists started to unravel the exploitative history of Appalachian communities. The idea of an exploitative relationship between satellite and periphery areas used by the Latin American dependency theorists is applied to the mineral producing regions in Appalachia. The findings contrasted greatly with the commonly accepted view

that underdevelopment in Appalachia in due to the historical effects of isolation and the continuing existence of precapitalist modes of production. Over the next 20 years, Appalachian theorists documented the impact of outside ownership and dependency on contemporary poverty and underdevelopment in Appalachia.

Appalachian theorists are continuing to document the impact of the transformation of capitalism on the region (Gaventa 1987; 1990). The impacts include deindustrialization and economic stagnation in the 1970s and 1980s (Lewis and Horton 1980; Couto 1994; Garber 1990). Gaventa argues that because of changes in the economy, there is an increasing decline of the traditional manufacturing sectors. He refers to this change as the "Appalachianization of America." These studies share the idea that Appalachia's social problems are a product of, at least in part, historically based exploitative conditions in the region (1987).

Class based analyses in Appalachian studies tend to hold to many of the same ideas of the colonial model while also stressing the importance of internal forces. Many of the studies trace the change from a pre-industrial political economy to an exploitative capitalist economy in coal mining areas (Pudup 1989; Walls and Billings 1977; Billings et. al 1986; Banks 1980). Comparison studies look at urban areas in Appalachia comparing them to other regions in the United States and world economy (Salstrom 1995; Obermiller and Phillier 1994). Additional works using critical perspectives concentrate on the transformation of cultural hegemony from the old world to Appalachia (Cunningham 1987; Fischer 1989). We are only now beginning to study the historical transformation of local areas over long periods of time and understand the dynamics of how the policies created by regional developers and local elites affected a region with the diversity of Appalachia.

Critical studies of pre-industrial Appalachia are beginning to question the assumptions and mythology that Appalachia exhibited early egalitarian landownership patterns, a classless society, and a self-contained political economy (Dunaway 1994; Baker

1991; Stotik 1990; Fischer 1989). In an overview of studies on Appalachia, Walls and Billings note that, "We have substantial knowledge of kinship and community structure, cultural configurations, and demographic changes. We have much less complete knowledge of Appalachian patterns of social stratification and politics" (1977:134).

Studies of power in Appalachia have drawn a significant amount of attention to the extreme context of exploitation in the region. John Gaventa's (1980) ground breaking study sensitizes us to the hidden dimensions of hegemony and the nature of domination in Clear Fork Valley in East Tennessee. By using a historical case study model of three dimensional power, Gaventa documents the social and economic domination of the local coal industry in the Clear Fork Valley by a British multinational, the American Association, ltd. Gaventa's goal is to reveal the evolution of a culture of political silence and nonparticipation in the face of extreme economic exploitation. Why did resistance to extreme exploitation not occur? What are the hidden faces of power that keep it from occurring?

Instead of taking a cultural approach based on the distinctive differences between Appalachia and other Americans, mainly the middle class, Gaventa focuses on the effects of domination as the basis for understanding why a group of political actors did not take steps to dissolve the colonizing situation. He traces three dimensions of power. The first dimension of power, or the pluralists model, assumes people are able to participate in an open political system to articulate grievances and do so if they have the desire. A second dimension of power draws on the work of Bachrach and Baratz (1962); Lukes (1974); and Schattschneider (1960), which argues that power may work against the powerless through a mobilization of bias, which prevents actors from gaining access to the decision making process and prevents certain issues from arising for political debate.

Lukes (1974) and Gaventa (1980) add a third dimension of power in looking at the lack of participation and resistance to domination in the Clear Fork Valley. This conception

of power looks at the indirect mechanisms of power and incorporates the entire experience of the lives, community, and social institutions of coal miners. With the third dimension, Gaventa suggests that power not only limits action upon inequalities but it also serves to shape conceptions of the powerless about the nature and extent of inequalities. The elite or powerholders maintain a process of control that is based on information control, socialization, and withdrawal by local non-elite through repeated losses. The colonial situation is one in which the colonizers shape the very wants and values through the evolution of community consensus (Gaventa 1980). He says, "power influences, shapes or determines conceptions of the necessities, possibilities, and strategies of challenge in situations of latent conflict" (1980:15).

Power from this perspective becomes a part of the social construction of meaning through the creation of shared myths and beliefs and intimidation. Quiescence is not only the outcome of anticipated reactions from the second level of power, i.e., Bachrach and Baratz (1962), but also the outcome of hegemony through the control of the media and other institutions. The organization and the maintenance of power in the Clear Fork Valley occurred as the American Association gained control of the land. Then, as the power field changed overtime, the relationship between the corporation and the community changed forms (Gaventa 1980). The main change agents are essentially shifts in the world economy, such as the collapse of the economic boom of 1893, the depression, and the fight for worker's rights, e.g., labor laws and unionization. Steve Fisher (1981) argues that Gaventa's prescription for challenge overemphasizes outside factors and forces that destroy the power relationship.

Clearly one of the keys to Gaventa's approach is the inclusion of socialization institutions into the spectrum of power as well as his broad based historical analysis of how global forces changed the context of power. His exploration of the lack of challenge to massive inequality is driven by an overarching emphasis on the loss of control of the

community, the paternalism of its economic institutions, and the stark contrast to the political situation of preindustrial Appalachia to that of the industrial age. Gaventa's study and others on Appalachia offer a great deal to theorists who are interested in how the hidden forms of power occur in colonial situations.

On a larger scale, Appalachian theorists have argued that delinking from the capitalist system is the natural outcome of extreme exploitation by outside forces. They point out that delinking is not possible for a region like Appalachia because it is a part of the United States. Colonial theorists focus mainly on the areas most underdeveloped and in need of major structural transformation because of a colonial situation and historical situations of dependency. Scholars and activists have played an important role in documenting and participating in resistance to powerlessness in Appalachia.

The importance of activists' groups cannot be understated when it comes to understanding development and underdevelopment in Appalachia. The political atmosphere in the United States in the 1960's gave rise a number of organizations dedicated to documenting and stopping the misuse of the land and resources, outside control and ownership of the resources, and the destruction of indigenous culture and the powerlessness of local people (Whisnant 1980; Couto 1994; Fisher 1993). The faces of political action and resistance in Appalachia are revealed mainly by local grassroots organizations and concerned citizens protecting themselves against strip-mining, toxic waste, and other forms of community destruction often emanating from situations of powerlessness (Fisher 1993). It is obvious no regional voice exists in Appalachia, but rather many decentralized groups of communities that exhibit a variety of histories, political economies, and cultural behaviors.

Rural communities in Appalachia also exhibit a conservative approach to participating in institutions outside of the local context. Historically communities in Appalachia have avoided outside assistance due to the fact that many outside capitalist

agents, reformers, and researchers are responsible for the exploitation of the region. Development and resistance are processes of contradictions, of checks and balances defined by local nuances, and of personal choices somewhat independent of plans, economic indicators, or even any type of consciousness or praxis against or for the capitalist system. Next we will look at the critiques of the regional development approach by theorists in Appalachian studies.

Critiques of Regional Planning in Appalachia: Modernism and the Courthouse Gang

The application of the modernization perspective to Appalachia in the 1960s occurred in the wake of America's expanded consciousness of the extreme poverty beside of middle class wealth and affluence (Harrington 1969). Income in Appalachia stood at 65 percent of the United States level and unemployment was 40 percent for the region (Hansen 1966). The ARC strives to open the region for increased capitalist relations and to develop human capital. The growth center approach taken by the ARC reinforces the core-periphery relationship which dependency theorists point out as the basis for dependency for periphery areas.

The main criticisms of the ARC are it's supposed value-free top down approach, failure to address human capital, and in the reinforcing of local and regional capitalist power structures. Some theorists were blunt in estimating the agenda of the ARC. Richard Simon writing in Peoples Appalachia states, "The Federal government played a very large role in colonial expansion and has always had a role in the internal expansion of the United States economy. But it is only in the 1960s that the state has become directly involved, mainly in planning in internal imperialism e.g. the ARC in its highway investments and growth-center policy" (1972:1). Simon argues that the study of ownership and capital outflow in Appalachia are ignored by the ARC. The failure to report

the corporate profits as a source of regional development funds reveals the basic status quo mentality of the ARC.

Walls and Billings (1977) among others, find the value-free approach as misleading. The most ardent critique comes from theorists who view both local and regional development as out of the hands of most local citizens. When a community is stratified with an unequal control of economic and political resources then regional development agencies increase this polarization by further empowering local elites.

The increase in local power is what Primack (1978) points to as the rule of the courthouse gang. The ARC simply merges six or eight or ten local elites together in a single LDD, increasing further elite dominance of local politics (Primack 1978). The ARC sees the LDDs as a way to increase local control in regional decision-making. Instead critiques argue that the LDD allows local power brokers to legitimate private activities through the means of controlling development that is securing grants, recruiting industry, and maintaining consensus over resistance to growth policies. The increased power for elites obtained by controlling the mechanisms of development through the ARC helps form a monopoly over the public agenda of development. The growth machine (Molotch 1976; Feagin 1988) in Appalachia draws on federal and state resources. The growth machine incorporates the community through the media, volunteer agencies, job creation, vocational education, and other community support agencies.

Whisnant (1980) observes that the ARC often offers a false appearance of unanimity caused by the failure of the commission to use vetoes for projects. The regional growth approach eliminates alternative views of development from the public agenda. The recruiting body leads to the assumption of local uniformity of participation and need. He argues that the, "ARC's highway, industrial development, and vocational education programs (its earliest and largest) remain the most substantial evidence that instead of initiating and controlling enlightened and innovative development, the Commission acts

primarily as a rationalizer and facilitator of conventional private development" (1980:153). Another aspect of the ARC is its public information bureaus that shape the way local people receive information about development. Maggard suggests,

> "Stories which have frequently announced the success of such programs tend to be favored by press releases sent out by information bureaus of these agencies. As a result, crucial issues about such programs are not reported. The outlook of the people affected by them is rarely represented. The connection between such government spending and state subsidy for industry is rarely examined" (1983:76).

Other criticisms of the ARC are that the growth center approach produces unbalanced or uneven growth. Gaventa asserts that the down side of the growth center approach is the neglect of rural areas dependent on growth centers. The focus of the ARC is on building highways to connect rural regions with urban centers and not on rural reform (1980:127). With a predominant focus on infrastructure the ARC neglects the area of human services in Appalachia (Raitz and Ulack 1988). David Whisnant (1980) argues that the ARC is more connected to business interests than to the local people it was designed to serve. By catering to coal operators it ignores occupational health problems, human services, and other types of community development.

The idea that a development policy should strive to include those most affected in the decision making and emphasize all aspects of local quality of life is important themes to Appalachian scholars. Whisnant offers the most adamant critique of the paternalism and economistic approach of regional developers, mainstream economists, and capitalists behind modernism in Appalachia that he called federalism. He says of the contrast of federalism and the regions decentralized independent history, "regional development must finally be understood as a cultural drama rather than technocratic enterprise" (1980:267). This redefining of development to encompass all aspects of a community's experience are the first step toward changing participation within development and altering the negative effects of capitalism.

Whisnant argues that development in Appalachia is bound by the cultural values of planners and agency bureaucrats who control target populations who need development. Federalism and legitimacy of the top down approach by the ARC are maintained by local representation and concern for local values through the guise of value neutrality and through working with the local elite. This, argues Whisnant is to, "cover for the essentially autocratic agendas of the developers" (Whisnant 1980:268). These and other critiques of regional developers point to the inherent hegemony over local powerless actors that comes from top down, economistic industrial recruitment approaches to community development.

It is of course no coincidence that rural areas lacking infrastructure historically were the location for the most extreme forms of capitalist domination. The main criticisms of the ARC approach center on the reproduction of the conditions that existed for exploited Appalachian communities prior to the advent of the agency. Since the time of these studies in the 1970s and early 80s a number of changes have occurred restructuring regions and integrating regions in the world economy. Theoretically these changes, many of which are based on increased use of information and technology, make investing in human capital more important for sustained growth and alleviating poverty. New circumstances faced by communities in the 1990s are challenging the policies of regional planners used in the past based on stimulating economic growth. The expanding wealth divide in American and Appalachia points out the limited success of the programs designed to address the needs of human capital (Couto 1994:37). As in the 1960s, today we are still faced with the disturbing human cost of poverty and underemployment both inside and outside the mainstream economy. The actions of companies in the global economy through downsizing and geographic restructuring are assaulting and uprooting communities. As communities become uprooted there is a tendency for other pathologies to arise. This project focuses on how these problem's impact people on the local level. It is designed to

help us better understand the link between policy and the negative effects of capitalist development on local people.

In the 1980s the Reagan administration weakened the ARC that was left with programs mainly designed to assist in industrial recruitment (Bradshaw 1992). Job training and education increasingly are targeted for industries' needs and not the communities'. The top down approaches taken by the Reagan, Bush, and Clinton administrations on industrial recruitment and human capital programs continues along the lines of providing the conditions that create profit for industries, ignoring the plight of communities faced with the effects economic restructuring and problems related to the growth of the economy such as pollution and the concentration of local power.

Growth centered models do not focus on the negative consequences of growth nor do economic and political leaders seeking profit focus on disenfranchised elements of communities. The attempt to involve local people into development by the ARC largely failed because of the assumption that leaders in a county would or could assist in any meaningful way the various communities within a development district or county. The agenda of the ARC is to support the main agents of development not necessarily the various communities found in their jurisdiction. Richard Couto points out that the mainstream approach to development, "ties social capital to work and thus reinforces the short tether of the economy, work, and poverty" (1994:38). The plight of low-wage workers and underemployed workers continue as before in the new global economy.

On a larger scale, regional planners are in effect assisting industry to remain profitable in a changing global division of labor. Couto says of the current human capital approach by the While House secretary Robert Riech, "Reich does not take into account that we may have to stock the pond if we are to encourage people to fish for themselves" (1994:38). Critiques of successful human capital policies point to a lack of the political will to allocate the resources to support successful programs and to expand their enrollments

(Couto 1994:37- 8). The critiques of the modernization approach of ARC exposes a number of circumstances in need of addressing by regional planners.

Toward a New Perspective on Development

Few critical studies on Appalachia exist that look at local towns with successful industrial development. We have yet to approach development in the modern context with critical comprehensive studies of the local and regional politics of development and the effect of connection of local regions with the world-economy over time. As we have seen in this chapter, much of the focus of the critical literature on Appalachia is on the poorest parts of the area such as the Central Appalachian coal belt that has faced economic boom and bust cycles, outside control, environmental degradation, and heavy out/in migrations since the 1880s.

These critiques provide important insights on the problems in need of being addressed in Appalachia, not just by federal and local government but by communities. We know less about other Southern Appalachian area's struggles to development and maintain autonomy. The exclusion of the experiences of many areas from scholarly discourse is in part due to the diversity of Appalachian culture, geography, and political economy. But this literature ignores the geographic and economic diversity that leads to differing economics of scale and survival strategies (Halperin 1976; Williams 1993; Salstrom 1995). Likewise there have been few studies that apply the WSP to local development. The macro comparative approach of the WSP must be extended to incorporate community diversity and give a fuller explanation of the processes it proposes to explain.

This historical case study uses an interdisciplinary perspective to look at the political and economic transformation of Hamblen County from its frontier settlement to the contemporary period. We must understand that general models of dependency, labor

coercion, and surplus extraction must be applied to the historically specific circumstances of a locale. I start from the assumption that the processes of the world economy can and should be understood on a local, state, and regional levels, not just through international comparison of development indicators such as gross national product or corporate activity. To better understand development from the experiences of communities we need to take an analytical perspective that takes into account the role of local responses to development, the state, and the world economy. To understand local responses we must document the local context of development. To understand local development it is essential to document the main actors involved in growth or the growth machine. To view development from the bottom up or from the local peoples perspective, we must document the role of resistance to cultural encroachment (Fisher 1993) and resistance to the negative effects of development or externalities (Feagin 1988).

A more comprehensive view of development is accomplished by tracing how local development is related to regional and global changes. The study is designed to help theorists and activists to create a new vantage point for the study of development in communities in Southern Appalachia grounded in broader theoretical and geographical contexts. The study uses ideas from the community power literature in sociology to frame an approach to the local political and economic dynamics behind development in Hamblen County. The world-systems perspective is used as a framework to understand how the local context is interrelated to the changing forces in the economy. I am interested in how local actors respond to changes in the international division of labor and the constantly transforming production processes linking regional labor and commodity production. Drawing from the critiques of the WSP, this study attempts to trace the experiences of local development while maintaining an analytical perspective based on the global political economy (Tauxe 1993).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

The objective of this chapter is to explain the research methods employed in the collection and analysis of the data in this dissertation. The research technique used is a case study. This case study employs four methods for collecting data: interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and archival research. The chapter looks at the advantages and disadvantages of a case study, and overviews the four methods used in the dissertation.

Case Study Research

This dissertation employs a case study methodology to document the issues and actors involved in development in Hamblen County, Tennessee from the time of settlement to 1995. The goal of this project is to document the processes and real-life events involved in the industrialization, labor struggle, and community growth politics in Hamblen County. The focus of this research is the creation of fundamental sociological knowledge on the organizations, social networks, and shared meanings that shape industrial development and resistance in this Southern Appalachian county over time. Drawing on multiple sources of data this dissertation provides exploratory findings on a local community's response to the changing global economy and regional development policies. Since this project focuses on a long time span, the data provides an account of the historically specific issues of local development unfolding within the transforming world-

economy from settlement to 1995. The data are used to uncover the local patterns that evolve relating local decision-making to regional and global forces.

A case study is best defined as a detailed, in-depth, multifaceted investigation of a single social phenomenon (Orum et al. 1991). Case studies provide a method for understanding the totality of a phenomenon in its natural setting from the perspective of the actors, who create meaning from situations. A case study technique is best used when the research focus is on a real life phenomenon and where the researcher has little control over events. The technique is good for an in-depth analysis that requires multiple methods or sources of evidence. The use of multiple data sources is what Denzin (1978) refers to as triangulation. The advantage of using triangulation within a case study is that by using multiple methods a researcher has a variety of data, investigators, theories, and methods in which to draw from to document events and processes (Denzin 1978; Berg 1995). Case studies allow researchers to cross-reference facts with more than one data source. The use of multiple sources or triangulation makes possible stronger substantiation of constructs and hypotheses (Eisenhardt 1989).

The main criticisms of case studies are 1) researcher bias and 2) the case study does not allow us to generalize findings to other settings (Stoecker 1991; Yin 1989). The idea of the inability to generalize from a case study assumes that a representative set of cases must and is selected. Case studies generalize findings to theory (Yin 1989). Stoecker (1991) argues that case studies should not be confused with methods, which ask and seek to answer other research questions. This dissertation uses overlapping data analysis to take advantage of flexible data collection, which allows the researcher the freedom to make adjustments during the data collection process. The researcher can adjust to particular themes as they arise in the data collection (Eisenhardt 1989:539). To study development over a long time span, I use a variety of data collection methods as well as interdisciplinary Literature from a number of fields including anthropology, history, geography, economics,

planning, and sociology. Master's theses and dissertations on development in East Tennessee from the early 1920s to 1995 are important sources.

Ideally, case studies answer how and why research questions. This should not be generalized to mean case studies can only be a type of exploratory research. It means case studies provide answers to problems that cannot be studied adequately by other methods. Case studies answer questions that cannot be studied by using a survey approach (Yin 1989).

Case studies best provide a well-rounded perspective on groups in natural settings. They can be used to create theory. This dissertation attempts to create exploratory knowledge of development in a county in Southern Appalachia by incorporating a number of theories from development literature. A case study provides specific instances of actual historical processes (Stoecker 1991). I look at development in Hamblen County from a number of theoretical frameworks. The goal of the approach is to trace the historical specific circumstances and actors that have shaped its development.

A case study approach allows me to test and add to the literature on Appalachian and community development by looking at a concrete case. My research should increase the understanding of how development occurs, who is involved, and the types of power and participation in a community over time. Because my study is of macro social change in Southern Appalachia, it provides an exploratory, transhistorical overview of how development takes place and the processes and forces involved in a single community. By working within the literature on global capitalism, this concrete case study adds to studies on regional development.

Case studies best explain the causal links in real-life interventions that are too complex for survey research. Examples of such questions include documenting how development takes place or the study of powerful or disadvantaged groups. I am using a case study technique in this dissertation because it allows me to flush out the relationships

between industrial development, community power and participation, and resistance to development. I look at groups that cannot be reached effectively with a survey approach, such as migrant laborers, labor organizations, and political and economic elites. A case study approach was chosen because it can provide a holistic account of how development occurs, which includes the conflicts between actors and the impact of strategies that have been used in the past. The research frame or boundary of my study will be how groups and individuals relate to development.

Reliability in this study is approached by using multiple sources of data: interviewing, direct observation, participant observation, and archival sources. Reliability can be achieved by cross checking information because other researchers can reproduce the study. By using a case study protocol, including specific field procedures, I left a clear trail of data collection as evidence of the research. Additionally, key informants were asked to read drafts of the text to improve construct validity. Interviews followed lists of general questions and then followed up on questions that emerged as the research progressed (See Appendix A). Interviews and observations were recorded in a field journal and recorded onto a computer. The interviews are headed by description, type of interview, date, and number. No evidence of the identity of interviewees is on documents or interviews. Interviews and signed informed consent forms are kept separately from the dissertation at the author's home.

Methods of Data Collection

This study is a descriptive, in-depth account of development that used qualitative research methods. The goal of the research is to provide an account of the growth of a county over time. Triangulation is used to analyze and understand the events in the context of the emerging patterns of local development. It also allows me to incorporate the multiple

realities involved in the development issues. The research strategies used are; 1) field data collected through key informants, interviews, and direct and participant observation; and 2) analysis of published and unpublished data derived from primary and secondary sources.

Interviews

This case study uses both focused and open-ended interviews. Interviews were rarely used as the only source of information. Instead, interviews were used as one source within the triangulation of multiple methods. Interviews are used to complement other data sources as well as to lead to other sources of information (Healey et al. 1993). The persons chosen to be interviewed were individuals who had specialized information about events or positions related to development issues. Focused and open-ended formats were used to interview respondents. Focused interviews were conducted with political officials, corporate representatives, Chamber of Commerce representatives, college officials, development agency officials, community business leaders, journalists, community activists, and union representatives. Open-ended interviews were conducted with present and former factory workers, managers, police officers, store owners, students, secretaries, and agency workers.

Focused interviews were flexible with subsequent questions varying with the direction of the interview. The primary objective of the focused interview is to elicit a fundamental understanding what was involved in the experience of a particular situation (Merton et al. 1956). I chose to use focused interviews because they provide a researcher with the ability to clarify questions and probe interviewees in order to develop an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon (Healey et al. 1993). Depth interviewing provides a multi-dimensional self-revelatory report of how the situation under review was experienced by a particular agent (Merton et al. 1956). My analysis centered on gaining information on the respondent's experiences with development and resistance to development.

Open-ended interviews were conducted in a number of settings, including homes, businesses, and gatherings. Questions were related to the situation and the knowledge of the participant. Open-ended interviews allow a researcher to pursue new ideas and statements outside the range of standardized sets of questions. In my study, casual conversation often led to an overview of life in a factory or perception of a particular issue relating to development.

Open-ended interviews were conducted over a 23 month period from March 1993 to January 1995. Focused interviews were conducted within a 6 month period between September 1994 and January 1995. Focused interviews were set up using a letter of introduction with an informed consent form on the back, which states the intent of the study and the conditions for taping the interview (Appendix A-1). I scheduled approximately two focused interviews a week. The interviewees were telephoned a week before their appointment for confirmation. Prior to the interview, the interviewer explained the purpose of the investigation and the rights of respondents. The interview schedule provided a list of basic questions, which was used as a guide for both the focused and open-ended interviews. Interviews not recorded on tape were hand recorded during the interview or written up immediately following the interview. Most interviews were conducted at the office or home of the participants often during lunch time. Additionally, I also kept a field journal that provides detained illustrations of observations from interaction made in the field.

I gained access into the community as a Hamblen County native. By living in and having a working knowledge of the community, I was able to access resources, events, and set up interviews without difficulty. The key informant technique was used to choose the lists for focused interviews in this study. I was able to ascertain a list of the main actors involved in local industrial recruitment, development, civic groups, and political organizations by asking expert key informants in the community being studied and by

using secondary data sources. Data was collected from newspapers and other printed sources for five years prior to this project, which lead to the names of the main actors in these issues. Key informants were often people familiar to the author or were people recommended as experts on a subject. Participants were selected to ensure the inclusion of persons with characteristics that seem important in the context of the study.

Key informants offer advantages in studying issues related to development. As knowledgeable members of a community, key informants offer an insider approach of an event or relationships within a community. They incorporate the researcher into the community. As an insider, I chose key informants by their knowledge about the issues I want to document. Key informants offer a historical perspective and in-depth understanding on an issue. They also offer a researcher an expert to gain an understanding of explanations and ideas. Key informants offer specialized information that is unavailable through other sources, for instance, political positions.

Direct Observation

Direct observation was used in this study as a data gathering technique to understand community issues related to development. Since direct observation is an unobtrusive technique, it allows the researcher to follow the flow of events and observe behavior and interaction without interrupting by intrusion (Adler and Adler 1994). Direct observation allows a researcher to observe how people define a situation in a natural setting. I observed public debates as a non-participant at the Hamblen County municipal building. The debates concern a number of issues, including city council votes on beer in restaurants and a golf course at a local park. In other instances I was able to observe migrant workers. My everyday experiences in Hamblen County involved observing the community life of Hamblen County residents. I observed interaction at sporting events,

bars, factories, stores, and homes. I observed meetings at the Hamblen County Court house. Direct observation is used in my case study as part of a triangulation research design. It is an alternative source of information used for cross-check data gathered by other means. However, direct observation provides fundamental accounts of events and yields in depth analysis. I was able to corroborate events through newspaper accounts and interviews.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is used to document citizens' groups interested in issues linked to development. Specifically, I worked with two groups in Hamblen County: The Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network (TIRN), and Save Our Cumberland Mountains (SOCM). These two groups have chapters in Hamblen County. Both have a multicounty membership. I worked with the two groups for one year on a regular monthly basis. The main issues faced by the groups include the concerns of citizens, labor unions, and workers, and how these concerns translate into participation as issues in the development process. Other emerging developments include looking at how concerns are push out of the political arena. I interviewed members of the group on a one to one basis, as well as taking part in group activities.

I gained entry into TIRN and SOCM through key informants and then joining as a member. As an active member I was able to observe meetings and use my contacts to pursue further questions and interviews. The fact that I am a member of the community being studied helped in discussion and legitimated my membership as a citizen. Entry proved easy due to the mutual benefits of having a researcher involved in the meetings. Sites for the meetings include union halls and private residences. The two groups are open to the public, but participation requires that a person is a member. My access to the group

was open to the main events of the group in Hamblen County. Both groups are part of larger state-wide groups. Furthermore both groups overlap in membership.

Participant observation provides access to appropriate situations, which are needed to gather information and gain the insider's perspective (Jorgensen 1989). Participant observation is an open-ended, unobtrusive, and flexible method of data collection, which allowed me to focus on the defined problems and emerging solutions to the issues relating to development. Participant observation in this case is cross-checked with multiple sources of evidence, such as newspaper accounts and other archival sources. The information provided through the meetings was recorded in a log entry for each meeting. The types of information included dates, times, places, activities, and events. Field records provided a data base for further analysis and organization. Files developed over time that documented the emerging questions, facts, and actions taken by the groups.

After leaving the field, I have kept a close relationship with the people I worked with and have asked for help in writing the project up. By allowing participants to read and edit drafts of the project, I was able to correct errors and increase the validity of the research.

Archival Research

Archival research allows a researcher to document a phenomenon over a long period of time and identify relevant historical facts. For this project, archive sources were derived from the East Tennessee Development District (ETDD), and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Information from the ETDD and the TVA was obtained at their Knoxville offices and at the University of Tennessee Library.

Other sources of archival data collected in this dissertation include unpublished reports, theses, dissertations, manuscripts, and other documents. Much of this research

material was obtained at The University of Tennessee Library and the Morristown Hamblen County Library. This dissertation draws on a number of unpublished theses and dissertations relating to development in East Tennessee. The theses and dissertations come from several disciplines, including economics, agricultural economics, history, planning, geography, political science, education, and sociology.

Newspapers proved to be the most important source of information on development. I covered the newspapers in Hamblen County between 1945 and 1995. The newspapers included the Morristown Gazette or MG. Morristown Daily-Gazette and Mail or GM, and the Morristown Citizen Tribune or CT which is on microfilm at the Hamblen County library. The Morristown Gazette was covered from 1865 to 1922. The issues Morristown Daily-Gazette and Mail were covered from 1922 to 1975 on microfilm. The Morristown Citizen Tribune was covered from 1966 to 1995. These three newspapers provided running records of demographic trends, community development, political dynamics, industry, and labor in Hamblen County. I also used other regional newspapers to add additional perspectives of events related to development. The most imporant of these newspapers are the Knoxville New-Sentinel or NS and the Knoxville Journal or KJ.

Summary

This historical case study utilizes multiple data collection methods. The interviews direct the research and data collection, point out the main actors in development and resistance, and provide information on the government agencies and the process of decision making. Direct and participant observation allows a researcher to study the nature of groups in the political arena, and how issues of development are opposed and solved by agents within the community. Archival and secondary sources provide historical background and data on community growth and development.

CHAPTER IV

GOD'S CAPITALIST FRONTIER

To understand the development of a region it is necessary to trace how the local political and economic order developed overtime in the context of large scale economic transformation. Development in Southern Appalachia reflected its role as a periphery region to the United States economy before the Second World War. Communities varied greatly on the Appalachian frontier. The goal of this chapter is to the understand the role of local agency in shaping political and economic development in preindustrial Hamblen, County. This chapter is interested in tracing the ways communities resist the encroachment of undesired features of development and who is most involved in economic growth and modernization. I am also interested in documenting the context that existed in Hamblen County at the time of the industrialization before the Second World War.

A number of important studies on colonialism, power, and resistance in Appalachia focus on the negative transformation of preindustrial society by outside controlled industrialization (Lewis 1978; Gaventa 1980). These critical studies show how a number of these areas became later points of underdevelopment due to long term powerlessness. Inherent in most community studies on development in Appalachia is the characterization of community response and resistance to modernization as a defensive mechanism to preserve culture, community, and way of life in the face of extreme circumstances. This characterization offers us one view of the relationship between resistance and development.

The approach used in this project takes a broader definition of resistance. We are interested in documenting the impact of development on local communities and the response of these communities to encroachment and the power relationships behind growth

policies. Resistance is seen as a legitimate form of participation in the development process. We can broaden our understanding of the role of resistance in local economic and social change by studying large scale economic transformation from the perspective of local development. This chapter provides a historical account of the early development patterns in Hamblen, County in the period between settlement and 1945. The first section briefly looks at the transformation of the native people in present day Hamblen County. It documents the nature of settlement patterns and the resulting economic, cultural, and political order in frontier and antebellum Hamblen County to the Civil War in 1865. The section seeks to flush out the main forces behind frontier settlement and forms of stratification up to the Civil War. The next section documents the impact of the Civil War in Hamblen County. Then it looks at the nature of post war economic and political development in Morristown and Hamblen County. The chapter then traces the role of resistance in shaping quality of life in Hamblen County. Emphasis is on documenting how religion and culture shaped world view, educational institutions, and internal improvements in Hamblen County. Finally this chapter offers a theoretical reprise comparing development in Hamblen County and other areas in East Tennessee.

The Incorporation of the Cherokee into the World Economy

The incorporation of the Southeastern Native American societies in the world economy occurred after 1670 (Dunaway 1994; Stotik 1994). Present day Hamblen County was occupied mainly by the Overhill Cherokee before white settlement. The Cherokee lived in townships along the river system of East Tennessee and Southern Appalachian (Dykeman 1955:40; Davis 1995). Before 1600 the Native American clans were decentralized and characterized as an aggregate of politically small and widely scattered

villages (Satz 1979). The long distances between villages and townships facilitated decentralized, matrilineal political and cultural systems.

Contact with the Europeans transformed the Cherokee through disease, new crops, and the fur trade. Contact with the Europeans killed many of the Native people and weakened cultural traditions (Davis 1995). Before the end of the 1600s Virginia and Carolina trades began dealing with the natives on a regular basis. Incorporation into the world economy had dramatic change, disruption, and impact on Cherokee society (Dunaway 1994). The control of and alliance with the natives peoples was crucial to the domination of North American by the competing British, French, and Spanish powers. The declining Dutch control of the world economy led to a subsequent fight by the French and the British for world domination between 1600 and 1750. The Western Hemisphere was incorporated into the world economy as a peripheral region during this period (Dunaway 1994; Wallerstein 1980).

The incorporation of the Cherokees into commodity chains included trade in furs (deerskin), guns, slaves, and alcohol. The Cherokee economy was transformed into a putting out system providing raw commodities to British controlled trading houses in coastal centers. By the 1750s the Cherokees had lost economic and political autonomy and become dependent on world-system network of production (Dunaway 1994). The Cherokee influenced East Tennessee mountain culture significantly. Cherokee crops, medicines, and hunting and fishing techniques became the main means for survival for the early pioneers. Likewise the Cherokee adopted European settlers' plants, farm techniques, herding practices, and material culture (Davis 1995).

The first European settlers in present day Hamblen County gained access to the land through several treaties and land lease agreements with the Cherokees after the treaty of Paris in 1763 (Baker 1991). Present day Hamblen County is situated on the French Broad River basin, a location occupied by a number of Cherokee villages before white settlement.

By the turn of the 18th century the land around the French Broad and its tributaries was in the hands of white settlers (Dykeman 1955).

Development on the First Frontier

Hamblen County, Tennessee is located in the center of the East Tennessee valley. It is between the main city of Knoxville and cities to the northeast Johnson City and Bristol. The county, which is the 4th smallest in the state, has a land area of 112,000 acres or 175 square miles. The county was created in 1870 from parts of surrounding Jefferson, Grainger, and Hawkins Counties. The three large counties were broken up because of the difficulties of their respective county seats in serving the outlying populations. The disenfranchised citizenry created Hamblen County as an alternative to weak representation in their county seats.

The Hamblen County seat, Morristown, was established in 1855 on the main stage route, known as The Great Stage Road. The route ran through the East Tennessee Valley from Knoxville, Tennessee to Abingdon, Virginia. The Great Stage Road ran East to West, crossing in east Hamblen County. The Kentucky Road ran North to South from the Cumberland Gap to North Carolina and to the lower South. Hamblen County is roughly rectangular with the Nolichucky River forming the southeast boundary and the Holston River forming the northeast boundary.

The fertile river flood plains made upper East Tennessee the most prime land on the frontier. Settlement patterns were greatly influenced by the desire by some to make the land a commodity and by others as homesteads. The division of land on the Appalachian frontier reflected land speculation on the east coast. Individuals bought and sold private parcels, and states offered western lands in the form of land grants to revolutionary war veterans. The American frontier was opened for land speculation after 1763. Land

speculation became the most common means of making a fortune in the colonies (Bailyn 1986).

The selling of western lands reduced the American Revolutionary War debt. The lands were controlled by coastal states that had charters claiming ownership from sea to sea. The main speculators came from wealthy classes in North Carolina and Virginia who desired to populate the frontier to increase profit from land sales (Masterson 1955; Baker 1991). Land was sold off in parcels which Wallerstein says satisfied the large land speculators in "democratic" fashion (1989:232). Speculators made land deals with the Cherokees to gain large tracts of land between 1763 and 1785. These treaties were made under the authority of the British government. In 1783 the Great Land Grab act allowed speculators to obtain four million acres of land (Livermore 1968).

Tennessee frontier political leaders, including Andrew Jackson, William Blount, and John Sevier, all were land speculators who controlled government offices for the purpose of trading in land deeds and populating the frontier for profit. Daniel Boone, among other things, was a surveyor for a land company (Livermore 1968; Masterson 1951). William and John Blount controlled vast tracts in Grainger County in late 1800s. Grainger County exhibited large levels of tenancy in the frontier period (Baker 1991; Williams 1919; Fischer 1989).

The speculation of land determined the settlement patterns of the first settlers in Hamblen County. The first permanent settlement in Hamblen County dates to 1782. The first settlers in Hamblen County, Alexander Outlaw and William McFarland, had land grants along the Nolichucky River, an area that is known as the Bend of the Chucky. Alexander Outlaw was said to have quickly became a wealthy planter, owning 2,000 acres by 1786 (Henderson and Claborn 1995). Present day Morristown was settled by a Revolutionary War veteran Gideon Morris in 1787 along Turkey Creek. The county was named for Hezekiah Hamblen a lawyer and large land and slave owner from nearby

Rogersville. Almost all of the land in present day Hamblen County was claimed by settlement or by land grants by 1818. (CT July 11, 1986.)

At the same time the frontier population was the product of the quest for self determination. The most popular image of the frontier has been articulated by Frederick Jackson Turner. For Turner the frontier closed in 1900 and American democracy is a product of the frontier experience. Turner centered his thesis on the individualism and self-reliance that evolved on the frontier and antebellum road to the West (Turner 1894; Van West 1985). This image was criticized adamantly by Thomas Abernethy (1932), who saw the early Tennessee political economy as the by product of elite land speculators whose dominant concern was the control of public lands. These two approaches that seemingly contradict each point to the forces behind the settlement of East Tennessee and present day Hamblen County.

The settlers of the area that became Hamblen County were mainly English, Scotch-Irish, and German. The English made up the largest percentage of the settlers. The German settlers were the fewest, and the most isolated and self-contained in the county (Paye 1965; Brooks 1937). The settlement population was divided by religious affiliation and stratified by wealth ownership. Some were fleeing miserable circumstances to the frontier and a chance for self determination.

The earliest setters in Hamblen County were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Some were wealthy, educated slaveowners mainly from North Carolina and Virginia.[1] They fought the Cherokees, set up schools and churches, speculated in land, and dabbled in politics (Albernethy 1932). The Presbyterians desired educated clergy and sought internal improvements to expand commerce. Most of the Scotch-Irish and English settlers came with what they could carry. The Baptist and Methodists soon made up the largest component of the settlers in East Tennessee. Both were mainly of poor immigrant classes.

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[1]The first Presbyterian Church in Hamblen County was built by slave labor.

Some of the extremists were openly hostile to education for clergy calling educated ministers "man-made preachers." Most Baptist ministers were simply denied education and labeled as extremists. The Baptists factions supported denominational education for the common people and sojourned to the frontier to worship in freedom away from the aristocracy (Flener 1963; Taylor 1957).

The role of the poor immigrant in development in Hamblen County was unlike the richer leaders and land speculators who laid the foundation and government for frontier society. The poor emigrated after the revolution to Tennessee. They were the ones who, "Built upon the foundation and developed Tennessee economically, politically, and culturally" (Taylor 1953:10).[2]

East Tennessee's Baptists were ostracized and persecuted as dissenters from the Church of England in Virginia and North Carolina. (Taylor 1957). Some of the Baptists settlers in Hamblen County moved from Orange County, North Carolina where they were part of the Regulator Movement. The Regulator Movement was an uprising of oppressed Baptists and Quakers who opposed a tyrant government made up of wealthy merchants. North Carolina's government was controlled by Scotch and English merchants who funded lavish lifestyles by imposing extreme taxation and extortion on poor settlers. The poor were denied representation by sheriffs, clerks, lawyers, and the legislature. The Regulators were defeated by royal forces in 1771. The Colonial governor charged the Baptists and Quakers with being the prime movers of the movement and laid waste to homes, arrested, and executed members of the uprising (Taylor 1957:77). The ones not killed or taking a loyalty oath, fled to the Holston County in East Tennessee (Haywood 1891:51).

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[2]Tidence Lane settled in Hamblen County to preach at the Bent Creek Baptist Church in Whiteburg. He was the first moderator of the Holston Baptist Association. He described himself as "a patriot minister" with four sons who had fought in the Revolution (Taylor 1953:74).

Settlers in present day Hamblen County helped create two independent and illegal governments on the East Tennessee: the Watauga Association from 1772 to 1779 and the Independent State of Franklin from 1784 to 1788. These governments freed speculators and settlers from the control of land and taxation by the colonial state of North Carolina. North Carolina could not effectively defend the settlers from Indian aggression.

The State of Franklin was formed by settlers desiring to create a government to protect themselves. The State of Franklin was named in honor of Benjamin Franklin. The first draft of the constitution of the State of Franklin proposed a Declaration of Rights and support of the Freedom of the Press. This version of the proposal was supported by the religious faction intent on supporting the common man. It also called for the appropriation of land and taxes for public schools and universities. This proposal was rejected and a modified version of the North Carolina constitution was accepted instead. It would be 70 years before money for public education would be seriously debated again in Tennessee. In 1854, Andrew Johnson forced a bill through the legislature to tax property for free common schools. It was passed by legislators in East Tennessee and rejected by the slaveowning classes in West Tennessee (Eaton 1940; O'Steen 1976). A number of Hamblen County's descendants were present at the first General Assembly of the short lived state. The State of Franklin failed by 1787 as both North Carolina and Franklin claimed jurisdiction over territory and people in East Tennessee. The failure reflected the divergent actions and interest between land dealers and political leaders (Doughty 1975).

The settler's desire for religious and political freedom was shaped by the geography. Wallerstein argues that, "The frontiersmen thought of themselves as continuing the battle of 1776, with themselves as the 'oppressed colonists,' and with the east coast state governments in the role of tyrants formerly filled by George III. The Furthermore the economic geography of the situation was such as that it was easier to ship

their products by inland navigation northeast into British zones and southwest into Spanish zones than overland to the east coast states" (1989:232).

The goal of land speculators was to increase the frontier population to maximize profit. The population doubled among 1800 and 1820 with as many as 5,000 immigrants per year passing through Morristown on the road to the West. The main early settlements were Russellville, which is in the eastern section of Grainger County and Witt, which is to the South in Jefferson County, and finally Panther Springs, which is to the West in the Jefferson County faction. Morristown was a small postal stop on the Great Stage Road by 1833. It became the hub of the early decentralized agrarian sections of Hamblen County after the Civil War.

East Tennessee Valley farmers were incorporated into the processes of the world economy as a peripheral food production zone in the antebellum period between 1800 and 1865. The hinterland trade of the upper south and the Appalachian frontier was crucial to the survival of core intensive production in the United States North (Chase Dunn 1980). The American frontier states were a peripheral agrarian production zone for the development of the core economy. The economy of frontier and antebellum Hamblen County developed slowly but by 1820s a herd driving economy emerged which linked local farmers to the east coast and the plantation South.

The pre-Civil War population in Hamblen County settled around the fertile river flood bottom lands along the Nolichucky and French Broad rivers and on main routes inland. The waterways served mainly as an early mode of local transportation prior to the Civil War. The main land routes were turnpikes used both for wagon travel and stock trails for the driving of hogs, turkeys, horses, and mules. The coming of the railroads in the 1850s improved the East Tennessee economy but also increased the midwest's ability to provide grain and animals by long distance transportation. Stock driving continued into the 1880s (Burnett 1946; Baker 1991; Blackmun 1977).

The marketing of surplus food production incorporated small producers in Hamblen County into the world economy (Baker 1991). Corn, wheat, and swine were the main products driven, floated, and hauled by wagon and rail from upper south markets and to plantations in Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama. Farmers in the early antebellum period in present day Hamblen County took their goods overland to Knoxville, where they were shipped down river to northern Alabama and New Orleans. Riverboat traffic was abandoned when turnpikes unleashed an intensive overland stock traffic in the 1830s.[3]

Improved transportation lowered the prices and raised the standard of living of the local farmers, allowing them to market more and more crops (Paye 1965; Burnett 1946; Blackmun 1977). The marketing of food products increased as turnpikes replaced trails providing a land route from East Tennessee through Western North Carolina to South Carolina plantations (Lindstrom 1970; Hilliard 1972). Swine from East Tennessee were driven through the Cumberland Gap on the Wilderness Road to Shenandoah or Virginia Valleys to Philadelphia or Baltimore (Gray 1942).

The opening of the interior of the valley and its water ways stimulated trade. Settlers lived on diversified plantations with gristmills, sawmills, and small mines in each settlement. Small producers and tenants were incorporated into the world economy as primary producers by participating in the livestock economy. The economy expanded until the coming of the railroad in the 1850s.[4]

Settlers practiced diversified agriculture engaging in corn, wheat, and the raising of livestock. Tennessee had no enclosure laws and swine became heavy on hardwood mast (Owlsey 1945; Hilliard 1972). Most early settlers practiced a number of trades, including

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[3]The most important early route was the Buncombe turnpike in North Carolina open in 1827 (Blackmun 1977).

[4]Between 140,000 and 160,000 swine were driven through Asheville in 1849 with East Tennnessee supplying herds from Greene, Jefferson, and Cocke counties (Blackmun 1977).

trader, planter, soldier, and speculator (Dykeman 1955). Products were made for home use or as barter items for outside products from the East. Most farming was on a smaller scale. Farms sold or traded surplus production through a combined barter and cash economy. The mountain ranges shaped the nature of isolation for pre-industrial populations. They were cut off from the East Coast civilization by bad or no roads until the turn of the twentieth century, but farmers in the valley were not isolated from markets.

Food and work animals from Appalachia were important to the operation of plantations, especially between 1830 and the Civil War (Hilliard 1972; Grey 1942). Households provided surplus livestock collected by local drivers or sold animals driven locally to stock stands to passing drivers for cash exchange. The French Broad River basin became a heavy livestock driving region, which incorporated valley farmers into a commodity chain (Burnett 1946; Dykeman 1955).

The marketing of surplus corn production took place both locally and through stock stands. The marketing of livestock occurred once a year in the late fall and they were driven to the Southeast through North Carolina to Savanna or Charleston, or to the Northeast through the Virginia Valley to Baltimore and Philadelphia (Gray 1942; Blackmun 1977; Hill 1965; Dykeman 1955). Livestock from the mountains in the antebellum period was superior to Lower South swine raised on plantations because of the healthier climate and abundant free-range food, even after the 400 mile journey (Hilliard 1972; Owsley 1945). Tennessee, as a state, led the nation in the production of swine and corn in 1840.

Stock driving was a lucrative business in pre-Civil War East Tennessee. Intensive swine and stock production occurred along the French Broad River and at Dutch Bottoms in Cocke, Jefferson, and Greene Counties. Single droves of swine numbering in the thousands were driven from Jefferson and Cocke Counties to the South in the Fall (Burnett 1946; Gray 1942). Swine in Hamblen County were herded to livestock lots at depots then slaughtered and put on trains during the late antebellum period. Swine and wheat were

shipped on railroad cars at depots in Talbott, Russellville, and Whitesburg (CT October 20, 1985). East Tennessee provided wheat, flour, and bacon to the east and lower South by rail in the years before the Civil War (Gray 1942; Hilliard 1972).

Specialization and the changing land use that accompanied increased cotton production in the slave states in the 1840s increased need for swine from the upper South Sea island plantations in South Carolina, and Georgia imported increasing amounts of swine from Tennessee after 1830. Plantation specialization increased as deep south planters were incorporated into the national commodity chain. In his portrait of a South Carolina cotton planter in Tombie, Theodore Rosengarden (1986) describes the restructuring of the plantation and personal life changes of the planter in the world economy,

> "Land use changed conspicuously between 1845 and 1860. Pastures and livestock declined, cotton spilled over into previously planted in grains and vegetables, and more land than ever, including recent impoundments of salt marsh, were in production...Fruit orchards had almost disappeared" (1986:58).

The incorporation of cotton producing areas into the world economy increased cotton production at the cost of diversified farming. The effects on the Sea island plantation lifestyle were dramatic. Rosengarden describes the changes on lifestyle on Sea Island,

> "One effect of specialization was to deliver the profits of Sea Island commerce-the brokering, freighting, insuring, and financing of cotton- to middlemen in New York and Liverpool...It was objectionable in Grayson's view, for planters to purchase their pianos and pineapples from northern merchants, but unforgivable for them to buy cider pressed in Vermont, butter churned in New York, corn grown in Pennsylvania, and hogs raised in Tennessee, any of which could be grown at home" (1986:58)

As cotton became king southern planters were caught between trying to improve agriculture and livestock or planting cotton. John Henry Hammond, a South Carolina planter, raised cotton until the 1840s when he switched to corn only briefly in the "darkest days of the cotton prices." (Faust 1982:119). Hammond's largest expense was bacon that he first bought in 1843 and by 1847 had became completely dependent factorage houses for bacon. Factorage houses collected the herds from upper South drivers to sell to plantation overseers (Faust 1982).[5] In addition to swine were mules from East and Middle Tennessee. Mules from Tennessee became the main work animal on most deep South plantations in Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama (Grey 1942).

East Tennessee farmers were connected to the world economy through the trade in primary agricultural production. The social stratification in the East Tennessee valley in present day frontier and antebellum Hamblen County reflected land speculation, the diversity of the settlement population, and the nature of the agrarian economy. Social stratification was extreme on the early frontier. Indebted servants from the old world were important to the peopling and clearing of the frontier. David Hackett Fischer (1989: 751) found the top 10% of land owners holding up to 80% of the land in 1800 for counties that later made up Hamblen County. As the antebellum period progressed the immigrants who stayed in East Tennessee were able to live better than in the old county or on the coast. The pre-Civil War valley economy, unlike the economy of mountainous areas, did engage in capitalist based production (Dunaway 1989). Most settlers were small holders with no slaves. They were connected to the herding economy through debt to merchants and tenant farming.

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[5]Hammond experimented with improving strains of swine in the early 1840s. His attempts at breeding failed. The strenuous conditions of southern husbandry weakened the best cared for animals. Slaves often negatively effected husbandry by consuming young animals. Genovese (1972:599) writes that even on the best-managed plantations slave plundering was a normal feature of life and that in extreme cases stealing led planters to curtail hog raising.

Small farmers desired to market surplus to obtain store goods. Wealthier planters operated large plantations while engaging in stock driving, merchandising, and the renting and selling of land and slaves. Stores were situated at community centers provided and eastern wares as well as primary provisions. Store owners became the middlemen, who engaged in bringing imports to backwoods farmers through debt mechanisms and the barter system. Lawson Franklin built a number of stores on his property in Leadvale. The inventory of assets after his death found hundreds of notes owed to the estate by local farmers and businessmen. The estate was held notes worth over 175 thousand dollars (Hill 1966).

Wealthy planters were outnumbered by the small homesteaders whose world view reflected community and religion. Their approach to education reflected the hatred for the concentration of wealth and power on the coast and in the old county. Wealthy planters built and controlled private academies on the frontier. In 1833 the legislature set up county school districts but lands set aside for schools were sold off (Baker 1991).

Wealth did not produce status in East Tennessee's more isolated mountain communities. Status was based on family and religion (See Eller 1982). The valley economy created a situation where wealth coexisted with family and religion. The settlers of the valley were often looking for opportunity they lacked in the East or in Scotland or England. Wilma Dykeman describes the early settlers along the French Broad in present day Hamblen County,

> "Because of its barriers against the outside world and the 'money' poverty of the people, it came to called the land of do without. More accurately, it was the land of 'make do.' To a large extent it remains so today. From the passage of the first thin trickle of settlers, on through the growing stream before the Civil War...By any standard, most of the early settlers were poor" (1955:50).

The poorest of the population owned no tools and were landless upon arrival to the frontier. The renting of land created dependency owners for credit, tools, and seed. Tenants cleared land for owners and did other types of labor as part of their contract. Studies on land ownership show that 35 to 50% of households were landless up to the Civil War in the Hamblen County area. Both Jefferson and Grainger had above 50% of its heads of households landless in 1850 (Dunaway 1989; Baker 1991). A study of wealth concentration for Grainger County for 1850 and 1860 reveals that the top 20% of the population owned over 60% of the wealth (Winters 1987:571).

Community was the most important frontier resource. Community was based on family ties. Large families meant more labor. Individualism started with survival, which required reciprocity and hard work and at the same time self-reliance. Landless tenants arrived with little wealth and precarious and even desperate lives from the old county. The small amounts of mobility obtained by tenants, such as small land and livestock ownership are best seen in the context of the depressed situation in the old world (Soltow 1981). Political freedom also cannot be measured without a comparison with the powerlessness of landless populations in the old world.

The descendants of antebellum smallholders and tenants became post-war sharecroppers and eventually part of the army of low wage labor in industrial Appalachia. Tenants used store credit and increased debt to landlords to survive bad years. Over time, land was rented and subdivided to family members causing high population density which in turn re-enforced tight-knit family units that evolved around kinship and religion. These units served and still serve as a subsistence strategy that entails the sharing of tools, labor, and communal use of provisions. Families grew around the original settlements, passing land on to generations until soil exhaustion occurred which peaked just before the depression. Tenants usually were in debt, rented poor land, and constantly moved

(Dunaway 1989; Bailey 1983). Wage laborers lived on the farm and were incorporated as part of the community.

In a survey of the East Tennessee Civil War veterans, Fred Bailey found that of the veterans who were poor before the war, 69% of them had fathers who either rented land or hired out their labor (1985). On the eve of the Civil War, it was the cost of slaves that kept many East Tennessee men from owning them (Salstrom 1995). Slaves made up only 10% of the population in East Tennessee. In Jefferson and Hawkins Counties, the percentage was never above 12%, peaking in the period around 1818. Slave ownership was never below that number either, with a large population expansion from 1818 to just before the Civil War (Baker 1991; Paye 1965). Slave ownership led to differences in material wealth for owners and non-owners due simply to the increased production and the credit that could be gained from ownership of a slave. The owning of slaves freed children for private school, women from chores, and for some, did create a class structure (Dunaway 1989; Bailey 1983).

Planters combined extensive landholdings, slaves, and mercantile enterprises to create wealth. Communities evolved around the wealthy who prospered along travel routes by marketing. Issac Franklin was the first millionaire in Tennessee. He operated a plantation at Leadvale near South Hamblen County. Franklin owned a large home in Morristown and held over 200 slaves on the Leadvale plantation. On his property were several stores with large debts from tenants and small holders who owed to the estate when he was supposedly poisoned by his slaves for bad treatment (Hill 1965). Slave auctions were held in Hamblen County at a number of sites. One of the sites became, Bethel Colored School, the first black school in Morristown. This site was also the future location of Morristown College (Claborn and Henderson 1995).

Other planters such as Colonel John Talbot, for whom Talbot station was named after, were large slave owners. Talbot received several hundred acres of land as a

surveyor. Like most of the large land owners he gave land for churches in the area (Standard Banner June 11, 1992). Also near Talbot is the plantation, Arrowhill, which sat upon 2,200 acres of land. Here a lawyer, A.G. Watkins, became a state Representative and Congressman and like most others lost his fortune to the Civil War (CT September 6, 1992).

Morristown's population in a few short years over took that of the early frontier crossroads towns such as Dandridge and Rutledge and the early Hamblen County railroad communities of Whitesburg and Russellville. The main communities in Hamblen County were the early settlement centers of Panther Springs, Russellville, and Whitesburg. All were early stage and then rail stops that became flourishing trade centers with general stores, blacksmith shops, tanneries, and taverns on once bustling mainstreets. These communities never regained civic activity after the Civil War due in part to the rise of Morristown and in part to the devastation of the Civil War (GM February 15, 1959). The bypassing of the railroad thought Morristown also helped obscure Panther Springs and Whitesburg.

Morristown was laid out in the 1850s by early land owners along Turkey Creek. The Jefferson and Grainger county line was through the center of present day downtown Morristown. Morristown had 200 residents in 1855 with 74 lots. In the next 20 years stores, industries, and hotels were built and by 1860, it had 500 residents and 136 lots. Few slaves were listed in Morristown before the Civil War. Morristown had only a post office in 1833 (Brooks 1937). In 1870, Hamblen County was established with Morristown as its county seat. Morristown grew as a principal trading center for surrounding counties due to its proximity on the main rail line and as an axis crossroads. By 1911 it called itself the crossroads of Dixie.

The East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad were finished in 1856 from Georgia to Knoxville. This railroad was linked to Morristown by the competition of the East

Tennessee and Virginia Railroad in 1858. This railroad became the East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia Railroad in 1869 with a new line linking Morristown and Newport to North Carolina. Later it became the Southern Railroad and one of the central facilities behind the industrialization of the City. Growth intensified as the market expanded in upper East Tennessee. By the Civil War, Hamblen County was an active agricultural center.

In conclusion the region making up Hamblen County was an area of diversity in the frontier and antebellum periods. Many of its early settlers were seeking freedom and prosperity in a new country. The frontier was characterized by a political system based on small informal settlement patterns. Wealth inequality reflected large land speculation and a class of common folk made up of waves of poor immigrants who were able to gain political representation in Tennessee. The poor made up of free holders and tenants lived better in the booming frontier and antebellum economy than in the old world or in the colonies. This taste of freedom was the real frontier democracy. However in Hamblen County and East Tennessee the booming economy came to a sudden stop with the coming of civil war.

The Civil War in Hamblen County

The Civil War represented the intervention of the national economy in the affairs of East Tennessee. Southern planters desired to maintain control of the Federal state to expand peripheral capitalism and coerced labor through the creation of new slave states in the newly opened West. The North was an area of core capitalism that sought to maintain the union through a strong federal state. Chase-Dunn calls King Cotton the most, "successful peripheral capitalism in the whole of the world-system because its was less encumbered by precapitalist institutions than the Hispanics, Germanics, Slavs, or even the British, and French colonies had been" (1980:222). The Southern planters drive for

empire represented a challenge to the interests of core Northern and Western populations who, "only grudgingly made war to keep the Union intact" (1980:223).

East Tennesseeans faced an internal Civil War as a mountainous region on the edge of the southern empire. The war proved devastating to the economy and social structure of the upper South. East Tennessee voted to stay in the Union while the rest of the state voted to secede. East Tennesseeans voted 32,923 against secession and 14, 780 for secession. Karl Marx wrote from New York to the Vienna Press,

> "There, as in most of the border states, the mountainous country, east Tennessee, forms the real center of resistance to the slaveholder's party. On June 17, 1861, a General Convention of the people of East Tennessee assembled in Greenville, declared itself for the union, debuted the former governor of the state, Andrew Johnson, one of the most ardent Unionists, to the Senate in which lays bare all the means of deception, intrigue and terror by which Tennessee had been "voted out" of the union. Since then the secessionists have held east Tennessee in check by force of arms" (Marx and Engels 1961:74).

The main cities in the valley, including Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Morristown voted to secede the Union while the rural areas voted to maintain the Union. Morristown was a crossroads for troop movements between the Cumberland Gap to the North and Bulls Gap to the East. The region's farms provided an invaluable food supply for both armies during the war. East Tennessee experienced the most prolonged human suffering of any area during the Civil War (Bryan 1978; Dykeman 1955).

The conflicts in Morristown and surrounding counties divided local people, destroyed property, and impoverished survivors of the war (Harris 1989; Wilson and Snapp 1986). The upcountry was ravaged by fighting between locals and by outside armies. In other areas in East Tennessee it was the same. Carson and Alberta say of the little Tennessee Valley, "The only oneness in the Little Tennessee Valley during the War Between the States was that of suffering, anxiety and bitterness" (1975:153).

Hamblen County's loyalties were divided during the war. Morristown is described as a Confederate enclave in the midst of the Unionists region of East Tennessee in a state that was the last to join the Confederacy (Decade of Division 1993). The small majority farmers in rural Jefferson and Grainger Counties were Republican and supported the Union during the War. Large planters usually supported the Confederacy but this was not always the case. Morristown provided three companies of confederates.[6] The Confederates controlled East Tennessee and its large Union population many of who refused to defend the slavocracy. Unionists fled to Kentucky or conducted guerrilla warfare and sabotage on local infrastructure to stop the Confederate army for a three year period. Confederates forced local men and boys into the army by subscription and to take an oath to the Southern cause.

East Tennesseeans fought a local war between themselves that carried on after the war. A study of Jefferson County states, "As a general rule it can be said that the vast majority of the population of Jefferson County was not anti-slavery, but neither was it pro-confederate. As long as events remained under control the county's residents sought a course of moderation, but that was not to last" (Wilson and Snapp 1986:5).

Regardless of sentiment the populations of both sides experienced the extremes of war. Eric Foner looks at the Confederate occupation of Union families during the war. He writes,

> "Lying at the war's strategic crossroads, portions of upcountry Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi were laid waste by the march of opposing armies...in the internal Civil War, atrocities were committed on both sides, but since the bulk of the upcountry remained within Confederate lines for most of the war, unionists suffered more intensely. In East Tennessee hundreds were imprisoned by military tribunals and their property seized to the total imprisonment of the suffers" (1988:16).

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[6]The sentiments of Morristown's soldiers were still strong 30 years later when Confederate War Veterans still marched in Morristown parades.

Hamblen County and East Tennessee were strategically important points in the Civil War. The valley was the gateway to the South with the only railroad. The East Tennessee valley was the center of the Confederate livestock and grain supply. The battles in East Tennessee and present day Hamblen County were small skirmishes. Various regiments fought and camped in the area around Morristown and along the French Broad and Noilchucky Rivers. Both armies moved up and down the valley and occupied the area at different times of the war although the area was mainly in Confederate hands until 1865. Battles often occurred along the railroad. Troops being transported up and down the valley jumped off the trains at stops to ravage the countryside and then reboarded with their prizes.

In the beginning of the war local Union supporters burned numerous bridges along the East Tennessee and Virginia and the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroads in 1861 (Paye 1965). Fighting between local factions led to martial law in 1862. Morristown civilians were in a constant state of fear from violence until the end of the war. To preserve order, 25,000 Confederate troops were sent to East Tennessee in 1862. The Confederate army set up a government and passed a conscription law.

The armies of Union General Burnside and Confederate General Longstreet were stationed in East Tennessee by the Spring of 1863 and fought in the area until 1865. Longstreet's men were joined by Vaughn's brigade know as the Third Tennessee to fight for the Confederates in the East Tennessee theater (Lindsey 1974). The Union commander Gillem led troops against an often outnumbered Confederate army in East Tennessee. Temperatures in the Winter of 1864 got to 20 below zero and soldiers and population alike suffered.

Morristown and surrounding present day Hamblen County were the site of a number of battles between 1863-64. Longstreet set up his Winter headquarters with an army of 20,000 at Russellville in 1863. Longstreet commandeered the Cain mill in

Russellville. He used it to grind corn day and night for the Confederate army. Longstreet left the mill intact but other buildings were not as fortunate. One Methodist South Church was used as a stable with its windows burnt for firewood (CT March 16, 1986). Plantations were used as hospitals and headquarters throughout the area during the war.

Southern soldiers died from exposure and smallpox during the war. At Panther Springs 130 men are buried who died of smallpox. In downtown Morristown buildings were boarded up during the war as no attempts were made to carry on city government (CT July 11, 1986). Knoxville, which was a thriving business and marketing center before the war became a refugee center full of people who were shabbily dressed coming into town after spending months in caves and mountains (Bryan 1978).

Both armies took advantage of the harvest along the Nolichucky River. Troops in Morristown sent out supply wagons to secure grain. A Union officer at Knoxville noted that forage was good around the Nolichucky area. Union parties raided the farms in present day Hamblen county. Confederate General Longstreet wrote, "our wagons immediately on entering the fields were loaded to overflowing. Pumpkins were on the ground in places likes apples under a tree. Cattle, sheep, and swine, poultry, vegetables, maple-sugar, honey were all abundant for the immediate wants of the troops" (Toomey 1977:50). Both armies also robbed and confiscated provisions from local citizens. Soldiers took food from women caring for children as well as in charge of plowing and other farm work.[7]

A Confederate bridge builder wrote to his wife that coming back to Morristown after the war was not possible. He said, "This country is literally eaten up... Everything has been taken from the wealthiest citizens by the vandal foe and what formerly presented a paradise on earth is now a heap of desolation." (Partin 1963:245). Along with army

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[7]Women served as nurses and dug the graves of men from both armies and local friends and foe alike.

vandalism were the actions of bushwhackers, who roamed the countryside, breaking into shops, raiding smoke houses, hen houses, and deliberately destroying all growing produce. Bushwhackers are described as derelicts, delinquents, and roustabouts who robbed neighbors and kin alike (CT July 11, 1986).

Prices doubled as farmers tried to operate without seed, tools, and work animals. The armies keep locals from surviving while their men foraged at will. Confederate officers wrote that during the entire East Tennessee campaign the rebel command was badly supplied and suffered greatly for clothing (Lindsey 1974). Toomey describes the actions of officers,

> "After moving into the area between the Holston and French Broad Rivers, Confederate officers began to confiscate provisions to meet the needs of the men. In order to prevent citizens from hiding grain, Confederate commissary officers obtained, from the local thrasher, a list of the farmers in the area and amount of grain the teach had harvested. In addition to the grain, the army also sought vegetables, meats, and other supplies" (1977:51).

Rebel guerrillas continued to raid the area in 1864-65. The war became a personal local struggle between neighbors. The acts are described as follows,

> "When the confederates came on the ground, then was time for acts of brutality against their union neighbors, the political feelings in the valleys being about equally divided. When the turn came and Unionists were in authority, Confederate sympathizers were made to suffer in the same way, and so it went throughout the bloody strife" (Toomey 1977:52).

As the Union militia tried to run out the rebels they terrorized suspected Confederate families. Upper East Tennessee was under Confederate control in 1863-64. General John C. Breckinridge and his Troops pushed Union General Gillem's army from Bulls Gap to Morristown and then Strawberry Plains in the Fall of 1864. Breckinridge burned bridges and tore up train tracks creating a flood of refugees to Knoxville (Bryan 1978). One of the final actions of the war in East Tennessee was called Stoneman's last raid. General

Stoneman began in Knoxville on a series of raids east to purge the area of its war-making abilities. In an unusual act of war General Grant authorized General Stoneman to engage in an expedition to destroy but not to fight battles especially against anything like equal forces. Stoneman's army stole property and molested southern partisans as it passed through the various towns. Commander Grant followed Sherman's philosophy of total war based on paralyzing the enemy's economy and ability to supply its army. General Sherman wrote to Grant that it was useless to occupy Georgia and that its infrastructure should be destroyed to cripple the Confederate military (Van Noppen 1961). Total war destroyed the remaining Confederate strongholds and the possessions of citizens in the Hamblen County area.

As the Unionist took upper East Tennessee from the Confederates local soldiers in the Union got revenge. Bryan (1978:157) comments that this time Gillem's troops were particularly brutal, "for old personal memories stirred them to indiscretions they might not have otherwise have committed. While the Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan troops generally behaved with discipline and restrain, the Tennesseans adopted the practices of the guerrillas and bushwackers as they robbed, pillaged, and wantonly destroyed furniture, clothing and even food."

The war ended in East Tennessee by June of 1865. Returning Confederate prisoners found a bitter return from northern prisons. Following the war, Unionists remembered Confederate atrocities. A Union man from Morristown reported that "not a day passes but what some rebel receives his 400 lashes or its equivalent - the contents of a minnie rifle" (Quoted in Toomey 1977:54). In nearby Greeneville, reports of incidents of violence increased greatly after the war.[8] In New Market to the West of Morristown, Union veterans ordered "all dammed Rebels" leave the community immediately (Bryan 1978:174). The Unionists' Parsons Brownlow in Knoxville printed diatribes and a policy

[8]Ex-rebels were issued pardons and ordered to be left alone. In Greeneville on the Fourth of July hundreds of ex-confederates were whipped and booted through the street (Bryan 1978:175).

of violence in his Whig against returning Confederate veterans. A Morristown man, Bird G. Manard, complained bitterly that the paper was increasing hostility in this country (Bryan 1978).

Church life was interrupted as buildings were destroyed and neglected (Toomey 1977). The irony of race relations in East Tennessee was that after the war blacks and whites started new separate churches in Hamblen County and Morristown. Most of the churches had accepted blacks as members from their earliest days.[9] The Baptist Nolichucky Association took a stance against the abuses of slavery in the early 1800s. However its leaders suggested that black churches wanting to join the Association should join one of the Negro Associations that had recently evolved in East Tennessee after the war (Toomey 1977). The strong Unionist stance did not reflect an opposition to slavery (Bryan 1978). Many of the Unionists themselves had been slaveholders before the war. Col. Talbott who owned a large plantation and mill freed his slaves before the war started and fought for the Union.

The period of reconstruction was difficult for local people who received little relief outside of food. Harris offers, "The main difference was that the Unionist victims of the war in East Tennessee received northern aid, whereas the Confederates along Sherman's march suffered the full consequences of their rebellion. Even so, the Civil War aid in Tennessee was only life-sustaining and had no appreciable significance for postwar recovery" (1989:95). The strong Republican sentiment found in East Tennessee counties after the war must be filtered through a local lens. Most whites opposed the Republican platform supporting black rights. The Freedman's Bureau reported that East Tennessee as

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[9]Presbyterian camp meetings drew people from long distances. The services are described as follows, "Men and Women were segregated with the women usually on the right of the pulpit and the men on the left. Negroes were seated behind the pulpit, but their participation in the service often became undistinguishable from their white brethren as the shouting, singing, and excitement mounted into one ecstatic hullabaloo." Morristown Citizen Tribune July 11, 1986.

bitterly opposed to empowering freed blacks (Walker 1933; Foner 1986). In Hamblen County the first black teachers at Bethel Church were from the North. The first two teachers fled ex-confederates before a teacher stayed at the school.

The impoverished white population in East Tennessee feared blacks as labor competition. Andrew Johnson the reconstruction President from Greene County fought for the yeoman and poor whites to rule the post-war South against the power of the slave owning class. He saw no role for freed slaves in that process (Foner 1988:184).[10]

The devastation shaped the post-war culture as well as the future political economy of the upper South. The writer Sidney Lanier proclaimed, "pretty much the whole of life had been in not dying" (Quoted in Young 1981:3). The Civil War ended an era of strong agricultural growth which reached its peak in the decade before the War. The post war years were the beginning of another frontier period in Hamblen County. Commerce would begin again, but not in the same areas or under the same circumstances. The railroad created new towns, like Morristown, which became growth nodes that incorporated the production of the surrounding areas.

After the Civil War, Hamblen County's economy moved from decentralized locally controlled communities to one based on Morristown as an epicenter to market stock, and access outside goods, which started in the 1850s and intensified after the Civil War. Morristown grew under the newly created circumstances as a commercial center. In Hamblen County the community settlement areas along the river, and inland areas of Panther Springs, Russellville, and Talbott were soon over shadowed by and integrated into the growth of Morristown. The war destroyed commerce in heavily occupied Russellville. Before the Civil War, Morristown was said to be a "rabbit patch along Turkey Creek and that Russellville was a thriving community" (CT March 16, 1986).

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[10]Foner points out that Johnson in his reconstruction policy offered that state's might take the initiative of allowing freed blacks to vote. None of the states took the initiative.

By the 1870s, Morristown was centrally located in Hamblen County. It had a rail stockyard, railroad rolling stock. Morristown had an opera house by 1885. The railroad also brought two large, three story hotels to downtown Morristown in the 1870s. The hotels were political and social gathering places. Its lobby used for a waiting room for passengers for the Southern Railroad. Morristown's population was still small compared to the old commercial centers but this was not to last.

Economic Expansion and the Fight for Self-Determination

The outside colonization of Appalachia's resources began in the 1880s. Hamblen County remained mainly an agriculture center between 1865 and 1930. Development in Morristown stimulated the economy of the surrounding countryside. Morristown expanded as an agricultural market center becoming a rail center. It became the political center of Hamblen County when it was established in 1870. The City of Morristown existed as a corporation between 1855 and 1870. The populations making up Hamblen County desired representation. Morristown grew rapidly as the new county seat. Over the next 30 years economic growth accompanied a political battle between city and county factions to control the direction of the county. The ensuing nature of the struggle shaped the industrialization of the county until the Second World War. This section looks how development occurred after the Civil War.

The nature of conservative East Tennessee politics is the right to self-determination. It has been described in this way,

> "Tennessee's tradition of local autonomy grants an enormous latitude to those locally dominant and it can be highly plebiscitarian; it can also be repressive of those who are deviant or who make up minority elements. It permits a broad range of practices, both good and bad. It is, in short democracy in its broadest forms" (Greene and Holmes (1972:165).

The city charter called for the election of seven aldermen annually. The board of aldermen selected a mayor and recorder from its own membership. Voting and office holding required landownership until later in the century in Hamblen County (Paye 1965). The county was divided first into nine, then ten and finally twelve districts with one precinct in each district. This system was changed in 1909 to one with five civil districts having two or three precincts (Paye 1965). Two magistrates were selected from each of the civil districts and Morristown. A county court clerk was elected every four years. Early on magistrates held offices for long terms representing the most powerful men from the section of the county and the lack of qualified candidates. The county court had the power to appoint a number of positions that led to a strong political patronage. The magistrates appointed street commissioners and the superintendent of schools that hired several hundred people. The city council represented the city's patronage system that also hired a number of positions. Paye (1965) points out that several mayors and aldermen served on both the county court and the city council at the same time.

The post-war government was established by ex-soldiers from both sides in the decades following the war. The early focus was on internal improvements with a balance between the Confederate and Federal factions. Paye (1965) says these early divisions preserved peace and worked to the advantage of Morristown. The earliest issues were taxation and the building and laying out of streets and sidewalks. In the period before the Civil War plural office holding was common with few qualified candidates in Morristown. Political positions overlapped and office holding was passed around to qualified citizens. The county factions fought hard for control of political issues as the century unfolded.

Morristown politics reflected the will of a dominant county population before the depression. The diversified rural economy lent itself to a religious conservatism that was acted out as a belief in a, "strict interpretation of the laws of the land, in a balanced budget,

in a low tax rate, and in the fear of the lord. A man who has little to do with church work was often defeated before he started" (Paye 1965:59). There were also a few hundred in the city who were more liberal Republicans who supported and worked for internal improvements. Morristown entrepreneurs and boosters pressed for services for the city to create municipal and economic growth.

The media was an important factor in the election for public offices and the articulation of grievances. Early religious newspapers included the Religious Intelligencer and The Holston Methodist that represented church oriented activities just after the Civil War. Newspapers served both the Republican and Democratic parties and candidates that kept a balance between parties. Party politics was not often closely adhered to as a plurality of groups fought over issues. The Democratic side was represented by the Morristown Gazette and its replacement the Daily-Gazette and Mail. Debates were extensively carried out in the newspapers. Another paper was the short-lived Morristown Pilot that was one of five newspapers in Morristown and Hamblen County in the 1880s (Brooks 1936). Political candidates in Hamblen County to get elected had to pass through a scrutiny process (Paye 1965).

Taxation and a balanced economy were the main issues for most campaigns following the war. City residents supported the Confederacy and voted Democrat and county residents supported the Union and voted Republican. In the 1890s a split between the two parties created the bipartisan Citizens party that sought to run the city in a businesslike fashion. This party was opposed by the remaining factions of the Republican and Democratic party that formed the fusion party (Paye 1965).

The first battle over taxation for internal improvements came about over instances of aldermen in the city raising taxes to build streets. Two heated debates between Confederate and Federal factions in the 1870s occurred with the selling of bonds for internal improvements in 1876. The Hamblen County courthouse was built in 1876. The

acceptance of public expenditure for internal improvements was slow. Many residents opposed increased taxation, especially if it did not benefit them directly.

Growth was controlled by a conservative economy minded citizenry who, "would not long stand for a public debt" (Paye 1965:97). The issue of road construction arose again in 1886. This time the county court used prisoners from Hamblen and surrounding counties for road construction starting in 1886 and continuing until 1896. Bitter opposition to convict leasing was controlled until 1896 when using prisoners for labor was deemed unconstitutional. The fight for the continued support of convict labor led to the defeat of many of the incumbent magistrates in 1896 (Paye 1965).

The political battle for internal improvements took a new turn after 1900 as the city of Morristown began to transform into a city center with paved streets and electric lights. In the next decade Morristown embraced a number of internal improvements that attracted county population. In the beginning, county residents were hard to convince when it came to the need for internal improvements. A hard struggle for electric lights and a water plant in Morristown in 1888 changed how the county dealt with internal improvements. Paye describes it this way,

> "The only result seemed to be the improvements that were received. The struggle did cause ill-feelings for about a year, and it was beginning to convince the citizens in the county that the better life was to be found in the city. In the next few years, there was to be a great migration by the Hamblen into the city of Morristown. This migration was to help change the leaders of the county because they feared other losses of population and therefore the city would control the elections" (1965:85).

The city again was faced with the need for road improvements in 1910. Again convict labor was used to avoid raising taxes. This time, however, the city turned to leasing prisoners from Brushy Mountain prison. The need for new primary schools led to an increase in taxes and the first real issuing of bonds. Magistrates were again blamed for higher taxes and replaced in the following election. The nature of the Morristown political

arena reflected the progressive elements of the city toward fiscal growth and an ultraconservative view by county residents who had little need for the internal improvements that the city residents desired (Paye 1965). The population of the county started to move into the city steadily after 1900. From 1880 to 1920 the city population went from 1,350 to 5,875 while the county went from 8,937 to 9,181 (See Table 1 in Appendix B).

The first move by the city to change county politics was in 1903. City leaders led a campaign to create five civil districts and reduce the number of magistrates. The plan would give three magistrates each to the growing city precincts and only two to the remaining three precincts, including the East and South sections of the county that were the least progressive and rural. The growth districts were in the city and in the western part of the county.

The move to change county politics was dropped by a representative in 1903 after a bitter struggle. The issue arose again in 1909. This time it was proposed and passed that each district had two members on the county court with the city corporation district electing an extra delegate at large (Paye 1965). The East and South districts in the county fought to get back representation. A bill became law that created eight civil districts instead of five in 1927. It subdivided into nine districts and the city remained with four wards. After that date the county had 24 instead of the previous 13 magistrates. The growing western district was satisfied because it received three members and one from the city's ward system. The East and South districts now had eight members of the count and regained almost control of the county court (Paye 1965). Even with consciousness of progress almost every vote for a new internal improvement led to the replacing of the elected body that promoted the higher taxes (Paye 1965).

By 1920, the city had built a water and light plant, improved schools, streets and roads, and tried to create an industrial board. The economic expansion after the First

World War created the acceptance of internal improvements for education. The next step was a new high school. The mix of resistance in Morristown against the school was by the poorer communities who fought the taxes connected to internal improvements; and conservative businessmen who did not support public school or taxes (Paye 1965). The High School issue was strong because the Black High School had burnt down in 1922. The City of Morristown also educated the black population from Grainger County who paid Morristown to provide a school for its black population. The main problem was a high debt that already existed in the city. A bitter fight over the High School occurred until it was finally built in 1924 after a number of delays. The brunt of the High School resistance was carried out by a private academy trained Republican who had a strong political career in Morristown. He played on the city's high debt and was supported by poor districts who feared debt and had little experience with education (Paye 1965).

The period of internal improvements in Morristown lasted until 1920 with each issue a struggle. The depression created a situation of spending public money to create jobs. The first post-1929 project was a sewer system and then a city hall building. Local people accepted new facilities and other government projects out of necessity and at the same time began to see the positive result of investment that accompanied the debt (Paye 1965). Development often occurred in an after the fact manner. A new hospital in Morristown was proposed as early as 1915 supported by reformers and the poor. It was opposed by taxpayers and the elite who could afford medical care. The political candidates who tried to push through a city hospital were ousted. A smallpox epidemic in 1922 changed the people's perspective. The city bought and expanded the county's hospital. The hospital was already located in the city. The county had lost population and sold the hospital to the city (Paye 1965).

The county continued to be a constant hotbed of politics with officials elected who promoted a balanced budget. The overriding characteristic was the refusal by the county

population to change direct elections of public officials to appointments. The political goal of the farm communities was to maintain local direct control of decision-making and a balanced budget. The battle over internal improvements became the central force in the political arena. Politicians representing a stance on an issue received extreme scrutiny from other factions and the always present anti-tax coalitions. Politicians were careful to cater to the variety of local sentiments. Morristown's new mayor in 1916 is described as, "intelligent and progressive, yet conservative and sensible" (MG December 20, 1916).

The county's agricultural domination ended with the decline of farm prices in 1929 and the growth of the city population. Agrarian frontier democracy was in part a byproduct of the type of social organization required to survive on land in a diverse economy. The majority of voters in Hamblen County were classified as rural (under 2,500) until the 1930s. In 1900, 23% of the Hamblen county's population lived in an urban area and by 1920, 39% of Hamblen Countians were classified as urban (Allred 1924). The county factions controlled the election of officials and the county court until the late 1920s. Morristown expanded through annexations and in-migration from Hamblen and surrounding counties. By 1928, Morristown was a thriving trade center with 20 miles of paved roads, three banks, nine churches, a power station, and five modern school buildings. The county had 9,311 people and the city had 7,305 people in 1930 (See Table 1).

The growth of Morristown after the Civil War created the opportunity for merchants and politicians to market the city to outside industry. The city was advertised to outside industry by civic leaders beginning after 1900. The boosters also began a drive to create a city manager leading to a number of political showdowns before the depression in the 1930s.

The Boosters and the Boosted

The drive for economic growth solidified Morristown's business and civic leaders. The early recruitment of industry in Hamblen County was centered in Morristown where the city sought to help local manufacturing companies develop after the Civil War (Paye 1965). The boosters were politicians and local commercial businessmen who took matters into their own hands working around citizen support and nonsupport. The early boosters were more preoccupied with fundamental internal improvements that were important to the well being of their own businesses. However small these businesses they could only expand with the increased traffic and rents from population expansion. For the early boosters paved roads, electricity, city water and sewer, and a new city hall led to a growing city.

The booster's industrial recruitment goals were to draw on the resource base to encourage local and outside investment. Hamblen County had no marketable mineral or timber reserves for extractive industry. The early strategy was to try to tap into the diverse economy of the town to attack industry. As a small town, Morristown had little infrastructure to offer industry compared to larger valley commercial and industrial centers such as Knoxville and Chattanooga. The giving away of land or taxes to industry was not considered an option for the tax conscious citizens. This reality discouraged large companies and the situation found in company towns in East Tennessee during this period. Hamblen County until the late 1920s experienced slow, steady growth based not on one single industry. Most locals did not desire to become a company town and the boosters did so only in the context of their own advantage.

The Morristown Chamber of Commerce was one of the first in the state. The Chamber of Commerce was created in 1911 as the Board of Trade and was not incorporated until 1921 (Brooks 1937). It is described by contemporary members as disorganized but ambitious. The scope was limited because of an inability to afford trips

for recruiting. Board of Trade leaders were local businessmen who were volunteers, intent on marketing the town to industry. Early chamber members owned and developed local businesses and banking institutions. The Board of Trade built speculative buildings for industry as early as 1911. The goals also included, "keeping the necessary services ahead of our needs and maintaining a good work ethic in the labor force" (CT June 31, 1994). In 1915 the Board of Trade recommended the city expand water and light facilities to textile industries (CT April 17, 1994). The Board of Trade held picnics with local businessmen traveling to vacation sites in Hot Springs, North Carolina and Tate Springs, in Grainger County.

In the early period the Board of Trade was a small organization that could do only so much. It started out small but became aggressive overtime. Its early emphasis was on marketing the entire region. An advertising in Southern Opportunity Magazine in 1927 read, "Morristown Tennessee, Nationally Known Chicken Town, Ideal Advantages for Home Life, Favorable Conditions for Manufacturing, Rich Diversified Agriculture, Section of Interest to Tourists" (Howell 1927:5). Over time the advertising centered more on industrial recruitment. The same article anticipated the rush of furniture manufacturing establishments that would later come,

> "The Appalachian region contains the largest body of virgin soft texture hardwoods to be found in the United States, while stored in these mountain sides are seventy-five per cent of the minerals listed by the United States Geological survey, much of which is as yet untouched. Morristown is in the cotton region and raw materials for textile industries are easily available. The transportation facilities are excellent and markets in close accessibility" (Howell 1927:5).

The Chamber of Commerce advertised the advantages of Morristown for industry. It focused on Morristown's newly created infrastructure in the 1920's including schools, roads, power, storage space, and water filtering system. By 1924 the Chamber of Commerce was able to advertise 40 miles of paved roads and a motorized fire department.

It advertised the low-wage labor supply in Hamblen County. A pamphlet entitled, Reasons Why Morristown Should Interest You documented the advantages of labor and the railroad for industry,

> "The labor conditions in Morristown make it especially favorable to the manufacturer. Morristown is the geographic center of the richest commercial section of the Central Southern States. Railroads running in four directions, good freight rates and rich raw materials make Morristown exceptionally attractive to the manufacturer." (1924:1).

Other advertisements pointed to the areas more than 99% native born nonunion labor force. Along with no unions it was seen as an area where labor troubles are unknown (Howell 1927). The Chamber also represented the agricultural commerce of Morristown and indirectly farmers in the county. The Chamber advertised Morristown as both a jobbing and a retail center in the middle of six counties in East Tennessee. The City directory stated in 1924 that Morristown had a population of, "7500, with a suburban population which will make a total of 10,000. No foreigners. 75% native white, and about 25% colored" (Morristown City Directory August 1924).

The Chamber of Commerce not only recruited and highlighted local industry but attempted to restructure local government to further shape the conditions for industrial development. The Chamber of Commerce tried to alter the form of government in Morristown in 1926 and 1955. It strongly wanted a type of government that focused on economic development and growth (Paye 1965). The first proposal called for a city manager form of government limiting the power of the mayor and city council. The city manager would propose legislation that the city council would vote for. The city manager style of government would allow the Chamber of Commerce to professionalize decision making and coordinate development. Paye (1965:55) describes the two attempts,

> "The Chamber of Commerce felt that Morristown has grown to such a degree that the economic well-being of the community demanded a full-time experienced executive. They set up a five-man committee of the Chamber...to draw up the proposed framework of government. The Depression came, and, after that the Second World War. As a result, the idea was suspended for several years...In 1955, the Chamber of Commerce reopened its bid for a different framework of government. This time, however, it openly advocated abolishing the office of mayor but proposed keeping the city council...The Chamber pushed through the state legislature calling for a referendum on the proposal. On July 27, 1955 the measure was soundly defeated because the people did not wish to relinquish their direct control over the government."

The boosters had five opportunities to change its mayor and alderman form by 1955 while the county had not attempted to change its framework. The Chamber progressives tried to change the government with newly annexed populations but still failed in 1955. Paye comments, "it seems that the people are willing to accept progress in almost any field, but they refuse to change their institutions of government" (1965:115).

The Chamber was far from alone in promoting the community. The Kiwanis Club was organized in 1920. The organization had a membership composed of young progressive business and professional men in Morristown (Brooks 1936). The Rotary Club was established in the 1920s. Both clubs organized charity events but also provided needed community support for road improvements and other internal improvements. These clubs became a part of local civic unity. The Chamber of Commerce ground to a stop with the other institutions during the depression.

Industrial recruitment trips were usually done on a volunteer basis and at the expense of the member. The Chamber of Commerce was made up of small local businessmen that could not travel due to their own financial constraints. The Morristown Chamber of Commerce went from a disorganized entity to a contending, powerful force in Morristown politics by the depression. It was kept in check by watchful county districts for the first years of its existence. Later Chamber of Commerce leaders point to the difference in the early and later organization and the ability to finance recruiting missions.

The Economy of the Second Frontier

The era after the Civil War in East Tennessee was one of starvation and the fighting of factions for control to develop existing resources. As the area recovered, agricultural production and a railroad based commercial market integrated the city and county economically. In Hamblen County agriculture remained the dominate economic force along with a few diversified industries. The dominance of agriculture meant a lack of outside interference in local issues and politics by companies in the county at least until after the Second World War. The central location of the town as a marketing center created a thriving commercial zone. Agricultural products were driving and trucked to the railroad stockyards from four counties. Turkey and geese were driven from as far as Sneedville in Hancock County to the stockyards of Morristown (Claborn and Henderson 1995).

Industry in Morristown was developed slowly around a strong agricultural market center. Morristown expanded around a large surplus labor population in the surrounding counties that provided the stimulus for expansion. The seasonal farm calendar keep wages low for unskilled industry and provided a favorable setting for urban merchants and manufacturers. Workers could be paid less and the cost of reproduction was lower for part-time farm workers than fully proletarianized ones (Earle 1992; Wallerstein 1983).

Before World War Two small industries grew slowly. One of the largest non-agricultural employers in the County before the Second World War was the railroad (CT April 9, 1995). Southern Railway Company purchased the Knoxville and Bristol railway in the early 1900s. Boosters pushed to create a railroad between Morristown and Cumberland Gap in Grainger County. The passenger train was called the "Peavine." The locomotive whose engine was named "old Huldy" crossed the Holston on trussel bridges. It linked Morristown to a number of Hotels in Grainger County centered on mineral and

natural springs.[11] The hostelries supplied vacation spots for church camp meetings and picnics for simple folk and elaborate vacation spots for the elite (Sulzer 1975; Faulkner 1985). The trains hauled both freight and passengers until 1925 when the Southern Railway cut off passenger service. The Peavine left flatcars on the main line at Morristown for locals to load during the day. The train then picked up timber at the Richland Valley site in Grainger County. The train provided a cash income for isolated Grainger County residents until the era of truck farming (Faulkner 1985).[12]

The railroad helped expand industry in Morristown. Early industries drew on low wage nonunion labor throughout the South. In Morristown, low wage women's labor played a leading role in early industry and was a prelude to low-wage women intensive industries after World War Two. In 1879 there were 57 manufacturing establishments hiring 92 persons none of which were textiles (GM October 12, 1950). After 1900, the area slowly added textile and furniture industries. Along with a few others these made up the main manufacturing industries employing only a few hundred workers. On the other hand Knox County had 6,228 and Hamilton, 5,479 wage earners by 1900 (Wheeler and McDonald 1986).

By 1927, Morristown was described as having a hosiery mill, two rolling mills, a wagon factory, an ice plant, two marble plants a cannery, and two bottling plants employing 593 laborers (Howell 1927). In the Tennessee Valley, the production of hosiery increased 270% between 1909 and 1919 (Case 1925). Booster's in Morristown attempts to draw textile industries only met with limited success. The oldest continuous industry, Lea Wayne Knitting Mills, came to Morristown in 1927 and by 1935 had 200 employees of which 90% were women (CT June 12, 1994). Other mills hired both men

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[11]The Tate Springs Hotel in Bean Station accomodated 500 people. Other vacation spots included Avondale Springs and Shields Grove (Sulzer 1975:292).

[12]The trains were a window on the world for rural populations. The railroad carried in Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Billy Sunday, Ernie Ford, and Elvis to Morristown

and women. Morristown Knitting Mills employed 72 men and 101 women in 1935. The Charles M. Bacon Company came to Morristown in the 1930s hiring 350 workers of which 75% were women. The company was only in Morristown for a short time (Tennessee Valley Authority 1934:104).

Southern Appalachian mills and mines had an abundant supply of emigrant labor drawing from large mountain families who were accustomed to hard work, cash poor, and efficient. The establishments were small in number and decentralized factors disastrous to the cause of strikes (Case 1925). Morristown's mills were small employing mainly local nonunionized women. Working in a textile industry was one of a number of ways to create cash income in Hamblen County. This situation differs for textile company towns that attracted leached out mountain farmsteads in the poorer counties and were dependent upon the company to a greater extent for survival. Almost all of Morristowns early industries were locally owned and operated. Lea-Wayne Knitting Mills was started by local businessmen borrowing $10,000 from the First National Bank of Morristown (CT June 12, 1986).

The textile industry linked low-wage women's labor in Hamblen County to the United States economy exporting parts and finished products to markets on the East coast. The array of products included finished and unfinished hosiery, finished silk, and material products of wool, rayon cotton, and silk. Finished infant's hosiery was exported to chain stores all over the North and Southeast. The textile industries were small and facilitated truck farming as a cash source. The indigenous nature of the businesses made them part of a larger community.

The furniture industries in Hamblen County began also as small locally owned enterprises. It was even smaller than the textile industry in the pre-depression period. A small wood working company from Chattanooga was established in 1892 (Brooks 1937). The raw materials were of local origin as well as the consumption of many of the furniture

products. Industry that catered to furniture manufacturers such as the Morrison turning company advertised Morristown to other furniture companies to increase its own business. It would play an important role in bringing in new industry and accommodating the demand for parts. By 1927, Morristown had eight woodworking industries employing 484 laborers and an annual payroll of $135,000 (Howell 1927). Morrison Turning company hired 50. This number dropped during the depression but began to rise in the late 1930s. The Morristown Chair company hired 21 men in 1935. Furniture would play a major role in Morristown's future.

By the depression there were 18 industries employing less than 800 people in Hamblen County. Only 13% of the county's income came from the industry and service sector (Tennessee Valley Authority 1934:28). The TVA reported in 1934, that there were small hosiery mills that offered employment to women, but very little for men. This situation caused a large surplus of unemployed male workers during the depression in the county. The TVA report estimated 1000 able bodied idle men or 7.5% of the total population in Hamblen County in 1934, this being 30% of the adult male population unemployed at that time. The report pointed out that the present industries have been somewhat dependent upon cheap labor. Between 50 and 75% of the workers employed in industrial activities in Hamblen County are women, which, even in normal times, had always left a surplus of idle men. By the depression the Hamblen County trading area was over commercialized due to improved roads (Tennessee Valley Authority 1934:7, 24). Households adapted to the cash economy through what could be regionally produced and marketed.

Agrarian Dominance

Hamblen County is best characterized as a rural agricultural area between the Civil War and the depression with few industries and only small amounts of capital available for businesses. Small entrepreneurs came from the North mixed with local probusiness elements to try to create growth. Morristown with a railstop and a passenger and freight depot grew as a marketing and commercial center. Because of its small size and the early decentralized nature of the economy the growth was slow and steady (Paye 1965). The lack of a company town or dominant industry allowed decentralized economic activities to grow and compliment each other. Farmers benefited both from Morristown's marketing capabilities and as well as the control of county politics, taxes, and internal improvements until the depression. Farms were well located in the most productive areas in Hamblen County with the acreage under cultivation changing little between 1879 and 1939 (Hamblen County Soil Survey 1940:38).

Morristown became known as Chicken City in the first twenty years of the 20th Century due to its poultry packing facilities and marketing by railroad. The total value of chickens from Morristown went from 25,000 to 2,000,000 between 1900 and 1914. This great expansion occurred in part to a campaign by the Board of Trade, the poultry association, and the Farmer's club efforts to increase production (Miller 1914). Production of chickens and eggs expanded with the introduction of new equipment. The total number of poultry raised in Hamblen County went from 25,344 in 1880 to 98,921 by 1920 (Hamblen County Soil Survey 1940:17). East Tennessee became the main supplier of chickens and eggs to the east coast. The extent of production was regional and the market was far away. A report in Southern Opportunity magazine says:

> "In the vicinity of Knoxville are a large number of large hatcheries which each year ship baby chicks into every state within a radius of 1,000 miles, the estimated weekly shipments through the local post office each spring between 40,000 and 50,000. Morristown is one of the greatest poultry shipping centers in the South. A train load of poultry leaves there every

> Friday for eastern markets. In four months there were shipped from East Tennessee, on the Knoxville Division of the Southern Railway, 162 cars of eggs, containing 64,800 cases or 1,944,000 dozen eggs, worth $388,800 and 157 carts of live poultry containing 31,400,000 pounds, worth $565,200" (Sims 1926:4).

One of the largest companies was the Morristown Poultry Company that started in 1904. This company by 1950 was shipping 10,000,000 chickens to nine states. The company hired 50 men and 50 women. Peaking in 1919, the milk fed chicken industry amounted to $4,000,000 dollars annually until slowing after 1929. The Southern Railroad operated a poultry special once a week, delivering chickens and eggs from Morristown to the finest restaurants in New York, New England, Miami, and even Cuba. Morristown milk-fed chickens were served and advertised on railroad dining cars throughout the Eastern part of the United States (Morristown Chamber of Commerce Publication 1919:2). Even though it was a large market the chicken industry never made up over ten percent of the county's agricultural production (Hamblen County Soil Survey 1940:16).

Average farm size in Hamblen County declined from 1880 to 1940 (See Eller 1982). In 1880, there were 974 farms averaging 97.4 acres in size. The number of Hamblen farms continued to grow after the turn of the century. In 1940, there were 1,853 farms averaging 56.3 acres in size. According to the 1940, census 149 farms obtained their major income from livestock sold or traded, 505 from field crops sold or traded, 53 from dairy products sold or traded and 1,057 from farm products used by farm households. Of this number 1,129 farms were fully owner operated, 169 part owners, and 553 were tenant operated (Hamblen County Soil Survey 1940:16). Tenant farming after the Civil War remained constant for Hamblen County between 1880 to 1940 with 30 and 35% of the farms tenant operated. While a form of agricultural class distinction, tenants existed in several circumstances. Some were relatives of area landowners but most were not. Studies of tenantry in East Tennessee reveal they often lived a precarious existence.

For instance, McDonald and Muldowny (1982) document the refusal of the Tennessee Valley Authority to relocate tenants on lands flooded by the Norris Damn. Tenant farmers were displaced with little response unlike land owners who were the thrust of critiques against the displacing of residents by the TVA.

Hamblen farmers work what could be called the most fertile land in the Tennessee Valley. The Hamblen County tenant contract was as follows, "The landlord furnishes the tenant with a house, all of the work animals, and the seed, and the tenant furnishes the labor. Fertilizer bills is divided according to the sharing of the crop. The tobacco crop is commonly shared equally between the landlord and the tenant, but the corn and small-grain crops were generally shared two-thirds to the landlord and one-third to the tenant (Hamblen County Soil Survey 1940:19)

Tenants added labor power to cash crops and to local farmowners incorporating them into the world economy (Dunaway 1989). Agricultural exports from Hamblen County linked local farmers to the national economy. Five small canneries seasonally hired 75% women in 1934. The vegetable products varied from season to season and were linked to local agricultural production. Much of the agricultural production stayed in East Tennessee except for the chicken and egg business. The Stokely canneries in Newport drew truck crops from Hamblen and other surrounding counties with exports throughout the United States (Dykeman 1955). The canneries hired 700 men and women a season by 1927 (Ottinger 1927). Over 1200 acres of tomatoes were grown for canneries in south Hamblen County by 1940 (Hamblen County Soil Survey 1940:19).

The poultry and egg rail produce from Morristown was famous throughout the East coast. Surplus livestock from the county was consistently exported to Virginia and Jersey City and to Knoxville packers from the 1880s to the 1940s. It was estimated that only one out of five hogs were consumed on farms in 1940. Beef cattle were raised and sold to local buyers and shipped to New Jersey. The nature of agrarian capitalism in East Tennessee

was a response to diversified farming. The variety of activities was an adjustment of agriculture to an intricate distribution of soils differing from one another in their physical suitability for their various uses (Hamblen county Soil Survey 1940:3).

The Great Depression and soil exhaustion slowed a vibrant market economy in Hamblen County as had the Civil War. In 1929 the value of crops sold or traded was $396,282 and for livestock it was $414,436. By 1939 the crop value was $376,402 and livestock $293,532 (Hamblen County Soil Survey 1940:14). By the time of the Tennessee Valley Authoritys' study of the county in 1934, the farm situation was far removed from the agricultural prosperity that characterized the region in the prior decades. By the depression Hamblen farms were deteriorating with lowering incomes. The average per capita income in 1929 was $329 and $280 by 1940. (Hamblen County Centennial Celebration 1970:33).

Hamblen County had less soil erosion than many surrounding counties but still very little land under cultivation was properly tended or fertilized. The TVA had an important impact on saving the county's farmers after the depression. It provided jobs for workers on dams, electricity for industry and homes, and a number of tourists recreation parks. Hamblen County lost 12% of its land with the creation of the Cherokee reservoir with most the 294 Hamblen County families relocated in the County (Hamblen County Centennial Celebration 1970:33).

Morristown was a thriving smalltown surrounded by rural farmers before the depression. By the 20s, Morristown grew to be a large retail and wholesale center. Culturally its was a center for monthly stock bartering events drawing horse trades, cattle men, and fox hunters from all over the South. Jockey or Mule day as it was called was held on the first Monday of every month near downtown Morristown. It drew horse and mule traders from the rural hinterland. A horse track on the east side of town drew crowds to watch shows. Morristown also had a street carnival occupying several streets for one

week each year with minstrels and Ferris wheels attacking crowds from several counties (Trent 1989).

The experience of Hamblen County creates questions about the nature of industrialization before the modern period in Southern Appalachia. The next section works to help us understand the variations of development in Southern Appalachian political economy and how resistance shaped development in Hamblen County.

Democracy in its Broadest Form

This section looks at the nature of cultural life before the depression. The goal is to document how culture and religion shaped development. The origin of the political and cultural basis for agricultural development in East Tennessee reflects a wide array of forces. Religious life played an important role in democracy and balanced development starting in the frontier period. The divergent goals of the settler population led to a pluralist society with radically different ideas about development. Hamblen County politics after the Civil War reflected a checks and balance system of varying interests. The struggle over control of internal improvements shaped the political arena. The county conservatism counterbalanced and held in check the social and political control that accompanies modernization. The two great watersheds of agricultural production in Hamblen County ended with the Civil War and the depression.

The orientation of Hamblen county farmers was not necessarily anti-development. It was based on the desire for political representation. Increased taxes were a serious threat to farmers whose income rose by small increments. Politics were stratified along paternalistic lines with factions divided around a small local modernizing commercial elite, a large republican conservative county farm strata, and a poor and middle class city population all intent on controlling government spending. City reformers and merchants

desired personally to gain directly from internal improvements, modernization, and economic growth. Small communities in the county were linked by the desire to maintain representation of their individual interest.

The preindustrial quality of life in Hamblen County varied dramatically from Southern Appalachian mountain communities experiencing resource exploitation and heavy out-migration. The power of the farm communities made life better for farmers. The small size of the county made running water and providing roads easier. A standard of living index for 1925 rated Hamblen County tenth in the state. Even with a low tax base it provided services because of a higher population density. In 1925, Hamblen County was in the top 15 counties in the state for the number of paved roads. It was sixth for doctor to patient ratio and third for dentist to patient ratio in the state in 1925 (Allred 1929). More Hamblen County farmers were able to tap a local abundant water supply than in other rural East Tennessee counties. By 1930, 25% of its farms had piped water compared to 7% percent for Southern Appalachia as a whole and 10% for Knox County farms. Even more importantly the farms in counties directly surrounding Hamblen County had piped in water to less than 5% of their farms. Due to its small size and the use of convict labor Hamblen County had 70% of its farms located on improved roads in 1930. In East Tennessee, only Hamilton and Knox Counties had comparable amounts (United States Department of Agriculture 1970:141, 79).

Wheeler and McDonald (1986) argue that the poorest East Tennessee counties such as Sevier were worse off because they exhibited higher fertility rates and high out-migrations of workers to industrial centers at the turn of the century. To look at it another way development in poor rural counties was inhibited not only by high fertility and it's accompanying soil exhaustion, but the rise of exploitative industries in nearby industrial centers. The people leaving poorer isolated counties were young women and men and the most skilled and productive workers. Through in and out-migration the labor of the

Tennessee Valley transformed urban manufacturing centers. The rural masses experienced modernization with 12 hour days, and small subsistence wages to buy nonfarm goods. Many urban workers in the valley were refugees from the short-lived timber industries (Eller 1982; Brewer and Brewer 1975). In Hamblen County where a market for goods existed there was little out-migration.

The conception of labor from a world system perspective is the division between full proletarian labor involved in full-time industry and the part-time activities on the farm and in small industry of semiproletarian laborers in the poor counties and rural areas. Migration was necessary because of the lack of farmland. Valley counties in general had more land that could be destroyed by populations than the mountainous counties. Note that the slope of a hillside intensifies soil exhaustion and mountainous counties not only had less land to cultivate but more slope. Hamblen County's flood plains were replenished by yearly river flooding. Hamblen County did experience extreme soil exhaustion and poverty but not the same as near by Grainger or Sevier Counties that were greatly impoverished during the depression.

The TVA's main focus was the declining resource base in the valley. By the 1930s about 85% of the acreage of the Tennessee Valley experienced soil erosion. A number of factors structured how mountainous counties responded to environmental and population changes. The modernization of nearby county's affected rural mountainous counties in a number of ways. The impoverished circumstance of the dependent mountainous county's population was due to declining land availability, increasing soil depletion, and to a large amount of marginal land. Land was passed on to large families depleting available arable land. Soil exhaustion and population pressure were followed by the out-migration of the most productive populations to the urban growth nodes. In nearby Chestnut Hill in Jefferson County a study of out-migration shows that,

> "Those lucky children whose parents could affort to send them to boarding schools outside the community were among the first to leave Chestnut Hill for urban employment. The closing of opportunities for western migration coincided with aggressive recruiting by Carolina textile mill representatives between 1900 and the first World War. At one time twenty families from the area moved to a single mill village" (Luebke and Hart 1958:46).

Land conservation became even more impossible as previous generations lost jobs in the industrial centers and returned to the mountain farms in the late 1920s and 30s (Luebke and Hart 1958).

Industrial centers in the Tennessee Valley became growth nodes that attracted industry and workers. Textile and other industries increased infrastructure and population growth in Knoxville and other centers in the South. To surrounding rural mountainous counties this led to the dependency on the infrastructure of growth areas outside the county (Tennessee Valley Authority 1983). The result shaped the future of poorer mountain counties.

It is also important to remember the geographical circumstances of mountainous counties led to the path in which outsiders could gain control of land and labor resources and social and political domination after 1880 in Southern Appalachia. The nature of local resources shaped the post 1880s political economy of Appalachian counties. Coal and timber bound regions suffered from limited crop land and the cyclical nature of the industries. Families suffered greatly in these dangerous and exploitative occupations. For Hamblen County industrial takeoff occurred only after the depression and the end of agricultural dominance.

Religion and Balanced Growth

The nature of rural communities in Hamblen County was conservative and tightnit. A religious orientation, as we have seen, was a prerequisite for winning offices. In the

county the tremendous diversity of religious factions led to a plurality of political interests. In Morristown, larger churches werewell maintained and furnished due to large congregations. In the county, religion both accompanied and shaped community activities (Claborn and Henderson 1995). County church congregations were built and controlled by small communities. Local autonomy was characterized by various local factions divided by personal sentiment between community group members ignoring the actions of other nearby churches. The diversity within the Baptist and Methodist churches was revealed by the nature of spatial relations between churches. Each church community sought to control its own political destiny. The smaller churches were fiercely independent. In 1934, the Tennessee Valley Authority Report stated:

> "The location and number of the churches in the county, as well as the church membership, lead to the belief that fewer and better churches, as well as fewer denominations, would be of vast benefit to the people. The average church membership in the county in 135. It is obvious that if 135 people attempt to finance a church and its minister properly, the financial burden will be very heavy. The distribution of the churches throughout the county is, in general, in groups of two or more denominations at the same location, rather than with any regard for the geographical distribution of the people" (Tennessee Valley Authority 1934:30).

The TVA's critique of these odd customs says a lot about the forces of local culture and of modernization before the depression. Religion combined with successful agriculture strengthened democracy and local control of resources. There were 56 white churches and 13 black churches in Hamblen County in 1934. Of these, 25 of the white churches were Baptists. The largest church in Morristown, the First Baptist Church, had 1167 members in 1934. There were 14 Methodist Episcopal South Churches with 2095 members that were also more likely to live in or near Morristown. The First Methodist Church in Morristown had 711 members in 1934. In general, Morristown and the area in close

proximity to it had higher memberships. The Presbyterians had five churches with 691 total members in 1934.

While the overall average church membership for the county was 135, the Baptist had an average of 194 members and Presbyterians had an average of 173. Black churches had smaller memberships and were mainly in Morristown or Russellville. The smallest churches were often in the county where the TVA report stated, "Few records are kept and no interdenominational interchange of information and records is practiced. Few ministers know anything about churches other than the ones over which they preside" (Tennessee Valley Authority 1940:52, 53).

The role of religion in politics in East Tennessee is fascinating but we often fail to adequately acknowledge the link between religion and democracy as it as carried out by the early settlers. Church divisions reflected personal divisions within the communities themselves. Wilma Dykeman in a history of Tennessee gives a description of Baptist Democracy,

> "They, and their sires, had fought for civil and religious liberty, for the rights of the individual, the rights of the common people, and of the local church. They had thus either contracted or inherited a religious bias in the direction of individualism and local church independence, or Baptist democracy... Good men actually feared centralization, and the people in general had no taste for an aristocracy of any kind, ministerial or otherwise" (1975:124).

Tent revivals have been common in Hamblen County throughout its history. The Methodists held tent revivals in Hamblen County as early as 1800. The encampments were held at rented farm lands where entire families spent a few weeks listening to traveling preachers or men of the cloth. The crowd and preachers sometimes 'jerked' in convulsions during the meeting (Trent 1989:203). Social solidarity was created through the building and maintaining churches. Most county churches were small and simple in design reflecting the populist orientation of their membership (Claborn and Henderson 1995).

Studies of the role of religion in labor relations in Appalachian communities show a diverse set of circumstances. A number of extremes existed within the textile and coal towns. Studies on power and resistance show religion promoted both quiescence and opposition to outside control (Billings 1990). Strikes in Tennessee grew out of spontaneous protest against existing conditions not from organized labor (Works Progress Administration 1986:34, 35). Morristown's textile industries were nonunion and regionally or locally owned. Labor disputes did not occur but the company was under scrutiny to workers, the local bank, and community that they did not create of control. The diversified nature of industry meant the company had little direct strong influence on city politics.

The church was not part of a company and community arrangement or part of a division between labor and capital. This chapter reveals that politicians promoting growth catered to the lifestyle and ideas of the church populations prior to 1945. The conservative agricultural guard evolved within a context of religious fundamentalism. Religion played an important role in the maintaining a decentralized political system and balanced growth in Hamblen County prior to the Second World War.

Education in the New Era

The church provided a number of functions for the community. Scholars often overlook the fact that poor churches in Tennessee were also schools. The nature of political economy and religion on the frontier made private academies the main schools for local elite prior to the Civil War. The earliest settlers were well educated but not the waves of poor settlers that followed them. Few poor or subsistence farmers were educated until after the Civil War. Public schools were often seen as schools for the poor (Bailey 1982). Public funding for education in Tennessee remained low after the Civil War. The State of

Tennessee spent $1,800,000 on public education in 1900. Wisconsin with the same amount of population spent $5,500,000 for 1900 (Hart 1969:295). The Baptists used churches for school houses. They cherished revelation more than education (Dykeman 1975). The poor are described as having an understandable disdain for colleges because they were only accessible to the rich landowners (Albernethy 1932; Flener 1963). Rich Hamblen County families imported teachers from the North for their children throughout most of the 19th Century (Yates 1928).

The TVA reported Morristown and Hamblen County schools for both black and white children were comparable to any in the State in 1934 (Tennessee Valley Authority 1934:86). Private academies were built before the Civil War. The main school for the wealthy in the area was called the Academy that opened around 1850. Other wealthy planters sent their sons to nearby Greene and Washington Counties to bigger institutions such as Tusculum. By 1874, Hamblen County had both private and free public schools but many in the county attended only for a short time around the agricultural calendar.

Morristown High School began in 1887 with an enrollment of 287. Most elementary schools were log houses built on private property near communities. Children attended elementary school at churches during the week. Private academies were also church related. Schools in the city of Morristown included the Reagan High School for boys and the Masonic Female Academy. The Bethel Methodist Church for blacks was funded by northern capital.

The school board started with three commissioners for each of the nine civil districts until 1909 when the number of districts was changed to five. At that point one commissioner was then elected from each district. Communities in the county built their own high schools and colleges reflecting the spatial relations of the county. The county's high school was built in 1923 in Morristown and although the county schools were poor there were a number of them spread throughout the county. It was funded by both the city

and county. The county paid to send its best students. By 1928 there were four year high schools located at Witt, Russellville High School built in 1911, Whitesburg High School built in 1917, and Union College in Russellville built in 1899 to provide education at the least possible expense. The Lowland community held school in a Presbyterian Church until 1916 when it built its own two year State high school. In 1928 the city high school had 295 students and the county High Schools had 21 at Lowland, 40 at Witt, 38 at Whitesburg, and 54 at Russellville (Yates 1928). Morristown and Russellville had school trucks with the walk an average of one mile to school.

Yates (1928) states that the county high Schools had few records. They are described as disorganized, crowded, and under staffed. Most small schools had high fluctuations in the number of pupils that caused uneven enrollments. Witt school had only one teacher who was also the principal. He was paid $150 a month with no increases in eight years in 1928. Morristown schools paid teachers $143 a month while Russellville, Lowland, and Whitesburg paid teachers $105 a month. Elementary and high school pupils were housed together (Yates 1928).

Few students at Witt or Russellville High Schools went to college in the 1920s but most got two years of High School. Some went on to the new County High School in Morristown to finish four years. Yates found that per pupil expenditures increased sharply in the county throughout the 1920s. Equipment was lacking at all the county High Schools. One county teacher reported soliciting donations from city merchants for biology equipment (Yates 1928). Morristown High School had 1300 hundred indexed volumes while the Whitesburg High School had 275 volumes in 1927. Yates (1928:48) estimates that Morristown High School cost four times as much to build as the four county schools combined.

Most black schools were in the Morristown or Russellville districts. The post war era saw white fear of ex-slaves a dangerous situation for northern reformers. In Hamblen

County the outcome is described in the following manner, "These missionaries, coming South at a time when feeling was very high, when 'carpetbag' rule was at its height and Negro dominance was expected were not received very kindly" (Tennessee Valley Authority 1934:63). There were seven, one teacher black schools prior to 1920 in Hamblen County. Higher education for blacks in Morristown was supported mainly by Northern money.

A Methodist minister, Judson S. Hill, set up a school in 1881 know as the Morristown Normal and Industrial College that became Morristown College. The school focused on industrial education after 1900 in part supporting itself through retail sales. Brooms from the school were of noted quality and sold throughout the United States and Europe (Bryan and Wells 1981). Hill advertised industrial education to increase the labor value of blacks. Money for the school came from fund-raising with contributors including the names of Andrew Carnegie, the McCormicks, and Kelloggs. Industrial education was a safe form of education for blacks whereas one school supporter said they could, "avoid social questions; leave politics alone; continue to be patient" (Bryan and Wells 1981:67). The school peaked in the late 20s with 400 students. Education for blacks in the city was as good or better as for rural farmers in the county. The industrial focus of the black school was reflected black schools in the progressive era.

The successful agrarian economy, internal improvements, and political representation in Hamblen County before the Second World War were unique when compared to other counties in East Tennessee and Southern Appalachia. Next we look at the comparison of pre-industrial development in Hamblen County to case studies of development in other areas.

Theoretical Reprise

The intensification of the incorporation of Appalachia's labor force and resources into the world economy in the 1880s differentially affected each community. Case studies on the area provide a multiplicity of scenarios of development. Most case studies inherently focus on isolated mountainous regions or towns based on single industries often municipally developed to meet the needs of industry.

Pudup, (1989) in critiquing dependency models of arrested development, stresses the idea that a local elite did not suddenly emerge in 1880 when outside modernizing forces changed Appalachia's political economy. She argues that capitalist development required a stratum of local middlemen. In fact many of the studies draw on a great divide between an era of self-sufficiency to one of dependency after 1880 for Appalachian communities. Some studies do not acknowledge or focus on the pre-existing society in any length. However, since these early studies the diversity of Appalachia's communities has become more evident to scholars. This situation calls for a comparison study between nonmountainous and valley counties and between types of industries, company towns, and political systems.

Two broad scenarios are put forth in the case studies on development in Southern Appalachia. One is that the region was invaded by outside-owned companies centering the local labor base and political economy on single extractive industries such as coal or timber (Eller 1982; Gaventa 1980). The other focuses on large single industries that literally built and shaped towns and social institutions around the needs of production to a single company such as the situation in Kingsport or Alcoa also in East Tennessee (Ayers 1980).

Wheeler and McDonald (1986) argue after the Civil War valley counties grew and flourished over mountainous ones in East Tennessee because of a connection with the outside world through railroads and markets. Valley counties exhibited first the grooves of modernization. Hamblen, as a valley county, became a flourishing agricultural and

marketing center with a small locally owned and controlled manufacturing base prior to the depression. Compared to Chattanooga and Knoxville, Morristown had few industries but a busy local commercial market surrounded by self sufficient farmers. Its farmers had both access to markets for surplus and the quality of life attributed to a successful agricultural market and internal improvements.

In Hamblen County survival for most entailed locally controlled agricultural production and other types of work that mainly supplemented farm incomes. Politically this produced on open forum based on checks and balances to a much greater extent than in a company or single industry town. In Hamblen County, slow balanced development was a by-product of self-sufficiency and self-government. It has been demonstrated here that local entities provided strong communities that drew upon local resources.

The exploitative labor conditions of early industries in East Tennessee were in effect, intensified by the loss of local control of community and government. Under company town circumstances, political actions evolved first around the company and then the needs of the population. Marie Tedesco looking at the goals of the early Rayon plants in Elizabethton says of labor, "That the inhabitants of upper East Tennessee were expected to work for a pittance and to shun unions was not unexpected. Southern labor in general, and Appalachian and Piedmont labor in particular, was stigmatized as cheap and passive" (1989:5). Large textile industries recruited mountain people who would labor under poor conditions. Pay at the textile plants was 35 to 60 cents a day. Textile companies employed children for 12 hour days (Eller 1982).

Combined with political silence and low-wages was social control including military working and living conditions, all of which allowed textile companies in Appalachia to produce their own social order and provide the conditions to maximize profit. Powerlessness for a population occurs over time and operates through the domination of community and social institutions. Power relationships emanate from preconditions or

circumstances and overtime shape the issues of debate and the outcome of what is debated. Coal mining became an important early industry in mountainous East Tennessee counties after 1880. By 1920, Tennessee was producing 26 million tons of coal and employing 11,000 miners, with most miners nonunion and earning five dollars a day (Eller 1982).

Gaventa's analysis of a third level of power in the Clear Fork Valley in Middlesboro shows what happens when community institutions become the tools of outside dominant interests mediated by local cultural brokers. Companies appropriated local elites to maintain inequalities and protect outside interest. Company control of issues becomes the norm (1980).

In colonized areas in Appalachia the political arena and issues of development degenerated to a condition of local elite and company domination and worker and cultural quiescence. Dwight Billings describes the spatial and social order of textile and coal company town exploitation, "Mining camps and mill villages were typically located in isolated areas near the sources of coal or waterpower and peopled entirely by company employees and their families whose lives were segregated from other occupational groups and influences" (1990:15-16). The mill towns differed greatly from areas that had a diversified manufacturing base. The textile mill centers throughout the South exploited the Southern family labor system. The mills employed women and their children integrating whole families into mill village life. External paternal agents controlled and selected housing and childcare (Howell 1993).

Development occurred in mining towns in East Tennessee towns at a cost. Mining jobs created development near Chattanooga at Ducktown with the Burra Burra and United Consolidated companies producing ingot copper shipped out by rail. The workforce in 1872 included 158 men and eight children at the former, and 562 and 80 children and youths at the latter (Killebrew 1876).

The timber industries moved into East Tennessee mountain counties before 1900 and by the First World War the ownership of the contemporary Smoky Mountains was in the hands of large logging corporations. The timber industries employed landless farmers, small owners, and wage laborers. The Little River Lumber Company logged 80,000 acres in Blount and Sevier Counties (Eller 1982). Champion Fiber Company owned 92,000 (one-fifth of the present park) and Babcock Lumber Company logged the Tellico River System by 1905 (Brewer 1975). Companies wasted abundant virgin forest in the woods, at the mill, and in the finished products. Many of the early companies were fly-by-nights having no connection with the area they cut (Clark 1968). Michael Fromne says of the worker and the land, "Indeed, the only commodity cheaper than human life was land life" (1980:164). Thomas Clark comments that the, "wasteful harvest of virgin timber from 1800 to 1930 did more economic harm to the South than Grant, Sherman, and all the carpet baggers put together" (1968:106).

The virgin forest went to build cities, fine furniture, and houses and as pulp for paper. Single trees growing for hundreds of years often contained enough boards to construct a cluster of small houses (Brewer 1975). Loggers made two to three dollars a day while living in shacks and barracks. Some lived with their families. Carson and Alberta Brewer describe loggers and their families existence,

> "Some loggers lived with their families in 'shanty cars' at the camps. When the camp was moved, a railroad loader picked up the shanty cars, placed them on flat cars and moved them to the new campsites without even disarranging the furniture" (Brewer 1975:311).

In Hamblen County, less that 250 miles from Middlesboro, Alcoa, Ducktown, or Chattanooga a different circumstance occurred. Economic growth was slow and steady. Development issues in Hamblen County were highly debated, checked, and often opposed. The decentralized circumstances meant people in Hamblen County had to pay the taxes for

improvements. They collectively made difficult financial decisions over internal improvements. Frontier farmers in East Tennessee were conservative. Debt bondage existed both on the frontier and in the old country. Landless tenants were a constant reminder of bondage including the lack of voting rights. Farm income was seasonal and cyclically driven by changes in the world economy. Internal improvements were funded in a pay as you go manner. Hamblen County farmers refused to pay what for they deemed as unnecessary taxes for municipal expansion.

The small income for local producers guided internal improvements until after 1900. In the good price years between 1900 to 1919 and throughout the 20s the debate over internal improvements and city debt shifted with the desire for improvements by its new and old citizens, by industry, and the boosters. The issues of community conflict were aired and hotly debated. The county lost population to the city after 1900 and citizens slowly adapted new views on spending. The increased income from improved agriculture led to modernization. The constant replacing of elected officials proved discontent on an issue. Unlike the circumstances of the coal town, expressed grievances and conflict was the normal expected outcome on an issue of development in Hamblen County. Voters did not have to filter grievances through the company's power field or depend on a paternalistic city manager to make their decisions. Local hierarchies were subject to ever changing circumstances. The uncertain reactions of Hamblen County voters compare quite the opposite to the anticipated reactions of the powerless in the company towns.

Hamben County residents controlled the drive for professional government during the progressive era by resisting the city manager style of government that was common among company towns. Political autonomy accompanied economic diversity and the control of local production. The city manager plan of government was part of the attempt by reformers to destroy the local political machine during the progressive era. The county

court is the strongest political entity in Tennessee politics (Greene and Avery 1964). The city manager system was a response of cities to the power of the county court.

The city manager system solidified industrial recruitment and disenfranchised the local voters. Such was the case of Kingsport. A study of 51 cities with city manager types of government in the South in the 1920s found them mainly in manufacturing districts and along railroad towns. Many were in the Piedmont and half in towns with less than 30,000 people (Ayres 1980).

A look at the company town, Alcoa, built by the Aluminum Company of American near Knoxville in 1919 reveals that the city manager or commission could not, "sharpen a pencil without getting approval from a company official" (Parker 1978:203). Kingsport the progressive model city, built by Eastman in Upper East Tennessee began with a city manager form of government. The resulting political reality is described in this way,

> "The city manager plan had the distinct advantage for the businessmen of removing 'politics' from the administration of the city; the manager was appointed not elected. In fact, there were no important elected officials, because the city manager in turn appointed the heads of the finance, legal, police, fire, health and public works departments. This was important to the Improvement Corporation, for county and municipal politics in the region around Kingsport were characterized by intense individualism and bitter conflicts between parties, factions, families, and individuals" (Ayers 1980:213).

The supposedly progressive manager form of government helped businesses create growth in the city by silencing local people. The working class in Kingsport is described as living in shacks on nearby Long Island. The standard of living of the community, including high levels of pollution, was described by Kingsport's boosters as the blending of urban and rural life. One critic took this to mean, "that you have rural sanitation with city crowding" (Ayers 1980:219). The graft and paternalism that the progressive city manager system fought were hardly less progressive than the paternalism of a company town. Ayres (1980:213) describes a Kingsport election day as, " several of the leading

citizens usually spent part of an election day at the polling place to encourage the voters to cast their ballots properly."

Other towns recruited companies with give away tactics. Tedesco (1989) argues that because of the community consciousness of a declining, stagnate economy, tax breaks were given to two rayon companies for locating in the town of Elizabethan in Northeast Tennessee. By 1935 the companies had a tax exemption of $70,000 or 30% of the county's tax receipts (Wheeler and McDonald 1986).

Development took place in a give and take manner in Morristown and Hamblen County. The community was the main point of reference and within it the church the basis for community life. The Tennessee Valley consisted of a stable relatively homogenous population whose kinfolk had moved westward with one of the waves of settlers. In the Tennessee Valley, 98% of the church members were Protestant. Religion was a pillar of social cohesion, serving both essential spiritual and community needs. It reinforced the isolation homogeneity of the Tennessee Valley (Schaffer 1984:336). In some instances it solidified company paternalism as in the Clear Fork Valley and in others it decentralized the political arena into factions to the point of resembling anarchy, perhaps even pluralism and democracy. Hamblen County voters worked hard for the right to have bitter conflicts.

How do we explain the Appalachian region's diversity of experiences with industrialization? Is it as easy as modernization or the lack of modernization? We must concede that it is the type and concentration of industry that accounts for underdevelopment. World system theorists argue that we must account for varying modes of production that co-exist to differing degrees incorporating labor into the world economy (Wallerstein 1983). Industrial company towns and coal companies exported the profits of the resources and labor from the area creating fewer multiplier effects and often controlling the little social or material wealth that was locally distributed. Exploitation occurred is coal and textile workers many relationships to the company. The most flagrant source of

exploitation was through company stores (Gaventa 1980; Simon 1981). Hamblen County's agrarian populace created internal improvements that touched a greater amount of farmers, not industrial capitalists, before the Great Depression. Hamblen County grew from small industry and the produce of its local farming population until the Second World War. After the war heavy in-migration occurred for three decades. It early industries hired mainly women that facilitated local commercial and subsistence agricultural production. The rising smalltown incorporated the county into the central machinery of mass society and the world economy. Modernization changed the orientation of the rural people but not their desire for representation.

In the next three decades Hamblen County would gain large amounts of industry and labor in several furniture industries; and in 1948 a large chemical company, American Enka. A new set of economic and social circumstances was accompanied and shaped by a new political order with several groups pressing for growth led by industrialists, indigenous politicians professional politicians, and local and regional planners, and an expanding local labor force.

The early period was characterized by the drive over factions for local control over development. The county agricultural populations saw little need for many of the projects that did not effect them directly (Paye 1965). At the turn of the century the control of the issues of development reflected a give and take. The next chapter examines the takeoff of Hamblen County as an industrial center after the depression to the late 1960s. It looks at the resulting industrial and municipal growth, the main forces involved in the growth, and the movement of the county with in the world economy.

CHAPTER V

GLOBAL HEGEMONY AND SMALLTOWN GROWTH, 1945-1970

This chapter looks at the industrialization of Hamblen County from 1945 to 1969. It documents the incorporation of East Tennessee and the South into the world economy as the United States assumed its role as a world economic leader. The focus is on the local, state, and regional responses to the wide scale industrialization in Hamblen County. We are interested in understanding the role of the region in the United States economy. Inherent in local change is the role of the state. This chapter also looks at how the State of Tennessee fostered industrial and municipal development after the Second World War.

The chapter next examines the industrialization of Hamblen County. It looks at the nature of the furniture and chemical industries. It examines how economic expansion and industrialization transformed the political and cultural arena in Hamblen County. We want to know how expansion affected participation. This includes the role of industries in local politics and municipal development. This section looks at the nature of municipal and county growth including annexation, boosters, and urban renewal. Of importance are the changes brought on by political and civic boosters to community participation.

The next section looks at the regional shape of low wage labor in Hamblen County. We are interested in understanding the shape of labor migration, unemployment, and labor mobility in a wage sensitive labor shed. Finally this section looks at unionization and labor resistance in Hamblen County.

The Agrarians and the Color Writer in the World Economy

The rise of the United States to a hegemonic position of the world economy following World War Two changed the nature of the relationship of the Mountain South to the larger United States economy (Wallerstein 1987). The United States took the lead in the global economy controlling markets with little competition from the second World War until 1967. It declined as the hegemon or world leader with the rise of increased economic competition accompanied by Vietnam and Watergate. Wallerstein describes it this way,

> "Beginning in 1945, America, was, as we said, hegemonic, in every sense of the word. First of all, economically: in every sphere of production, commerce, and finance, U.S.-located enterprises were the most efficient in market terms, In order to profit maximally from this situation, the United States needed market outlets and uninterrupted production...the United States ensured uninterrupted production at home via a de facto social contract entered into by the large corporations and the major trade unions, which traded off increased real wages for the workers against social peace, increased productivity, and increased profits for the corporations, the cost of the trade-off being paid by third parties (consumer, and especially the nonunionized workers) through increased prices" (1987:19).

The Southern United States provided many of the nonunionized workers that fueled America's expansion after the Second World War. Industrial development became an obsession in every southern state and local government involving the energies of public officials and private citizens. Plants moved south to maximize profit in the rural hinterland. Industrialization in the South was based on wage sensitive industries. States advertised virgin natural resources and an abundant supply of low-wage workers. Southern industries employed few skilled industries. The industrialization in the Tennessee Valley between 1929 and 1950 centered on labor intensive exploitative industries. During this period 45% of the new manufacturing in TVA's Tennessee River Valley was in textile, shoes, furniture, and tobacco, all of which used low-wage labor. Ten city regions (including Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Bristol) accounted for 60% of all new manufacturing in the Tennessee Valley between 1929 and 1950 (Friedman 1955).

Industrial expansion in the Tennessee Valley shifted to rural growth areas such as Hamblen County after 1950.

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) played an important role in the development of the Tennessee Valley. The problems crossed state and geographical boundaries. Solving them required regional planning (Grey and Johnson 1991). By 1955, 90% of the valley farms had electricity (Whisnant 1980). The TVA focused mainly on industry. Between 1940 and 1946 the industrial use of TVA power increased 250% (Cole 1948). The initial thrust of the TVA was to provide a situation for industry with the profits used to offset the cost of extending lines and expand capacity. Looking at the situation after the War before the expansion one writer stated,

> "Just as a program of increased rural and domestic use was beginning to form a definite pattern, the national defense program started a new trend. This trend placed essential industries at the top of the power priority list. Before the end of the war, the TVA had become the number one producer of electric power in the nation, and the war industries were consuming seventy-five per cent of that production. The consequence of war, therefore, and not the increased use by domestic and rural consumers, seems to have provided the major stimulation for increased power capacity, for fifty percent of the increase in capacity from 1932 to 1942 could be attributed to the years 1940, 1941, and 1942" (Williams 1950:48).

The TVA extended power in areas where small power companies could not afford to expand. The TVA was also a federal and regional based industrial recruiter. Along with power the TVA also harnessed water supplies for industry. The TVA stimulated development in the Tennessee Valley at a much higher rate that occurred anywhere in the United States. Private industry invested over 750 million dollars to build waterfront plants along the Tennessee River between 1935 and 1959 (GM January 5, 1959). TVA programs created the conditions for modernization in East Tennessee. The TVA formula for locally controlled modernization was a constantly generating infrastructure around industry and improved agriculture.

Laborwise, the South had early industries based on women, children, and convict labor which along with its religious planter class strangled education and reinforced a doctrine of laissez faire that, "became almost a test of Southern patriotism" (Nicholls 1965:26). Development in the South reflected its relationship as a semiperiphery to the northeast United States core economy starting after the Second World War (Wallerstein 1987). Dependent development in both the Mountain and the deep South reflect the conditions of the region's social capital. Nicholls offers a modernization perspective on the South,

> "With scores of poor and ignorant farm workers continuing to stand in line for every new factory job, the social forces which would have favored an ever increasing investment in the quality of people and an everwidening spread of the benefits of progress were kept under control in the South. In the factory as on the plantation, the general Southern outlook continued to be conservative, paternalistic, and backward-looking" (1960:27).

East Tennessee reflected the labor tradition of the South. Nicholls articulates that the East Tennessee Valley developed around early industries because it had no colonial philosophy and economy to oppose industrial and urban development (1960:20-21). Wallerstein suggests that the uniqueness of Southern culture and the orientation of the agrarian response are best understood as a part of social changes experienced by regions linked to processes in the world economy. The southern agrarians pointed out the problems modernization would bring to the southern way of life (Cash 1954). Wallerstein writes of the agrarian's response to the New South boosters doctrine of industrialization,

> "The other possible line was that of the Southern agrarians. Catch up to what? was their watchword. We are conceding everything of value in an effort to "catch up", which, even if we try, will never really succeed. Even at the end of the horizon, there will be no true material equality, and our quality of life will have disappeared. Once again, this kind of claim to particularistic "agrarian" virtue had been put forward in every zone of the world-economy undergoing an intensification of its peripheralization" (1987:212).

East Tennessee as part of both Southern Appalachia and the South also drew descriptions from both the agrarian writers and the color writers who shaped an image of Appalachian people as distinctively selected from mainstream American. The color writers were journalist who selected images of culture, poverty, violence, and illiteracy to convey a portrait of mountain people in need of modernizing and legitimating the outside control of the regions' low-wage labor force and resources (Shapiro 1978; Lewis 1978). The cultural attack of mountain people by the color writers was based on the belief that Appalachia contradicted the nineteenth century American myth of uniform progress and cultural convergence. Missionaries came into the mountains to educate and socialize the backwoods population (Shapiro 1978). The goal of the modernizers was to civilize the independent and self-reliant mountaineers by harnessing their labor and environment. The incoming extractive industries facilitated the neglect of local human capital.

In the Hamblen County the emergence of commerce and lack of a colonial presence represented a divergent set of circumstances to the mountainous coal and timber regions. Modernization occurred through the participation of local communities. Hamblen County as a successful agrarian county experienced little out-migration. The post 1940s era was one of intensive out migration from Southern Appalachia's communities. In East Tennessee entire communities relocated to the textile mills in North Carolina, to the industrial North, or commuted to factories and nuclear plants in growth centers such as Knoxville or Oak Ridge. Other communities supplied migrants to help build TVA damns. Hamblen County became a rural industrial center attracting workers from surrounding counties. The industrialization of the area between 1945 and 1970 meant the full proletarianization of the labor force and harnessing of local culture to fit the needs of industry and municipal growth.

The emergence of the United States as a key player in the world system required that its periphery hinterland in the South be transformed to provide low cost materials, fuel,

and labor for its expansion (Wallerstein 1988). As we have seen in the previous chapter the timber, coal, and textile industries shaped many of East Tennessee's communities fueling the takeoff of the United States economy based on the development of infrastructure in the Northeast. After the Second World War a new set of industries developed in the South and in East Tennessee that shaped local development. The South's low wage labor fueled a higher standard of living in the core. Hamblen County saw an influx of furniture and chemical industries.

The Role of the State

Another main actor in the development of industry and the take off of Hamblen County was the State of Tennessee. Industrial recruitment programs in the South began before the depression. The State of Tennessee actively sought to recruit industry and prepare town governments and citizens to accommodate industry. Many of the programs offer tax favors or building subsidies to industry. Subsidies in this context refer to the methods used to attract industry, usually not outright payments, but rather the leasing of sites or plants at a low rental, tax exemption, and other devices, all of which have in common that the enterprise is not required to pay the full value of property transferred to it or services rendered (Moes 1962).

The State of Tennessee launched its industrial program in 1945 with the establishment of an industrial development division within the State Planning Commission. The State Planning Commission evolved out of the Tennessee Valley Commission set up in 1933. The division was removed from the State Planning Commission in 1953 and established as an independent agency, the Tennessee Industrial and Agricultural Development Commission (Greene and Avery 1962). The industrial development division

of the State Planning Commission by 1947 had 28 persons employed (Cobb 1984). By 1961 the Governor of Tennessee could advertise to industry,

> "That Tennessee's tax structure is purposely designed to encourage industrial growth. The State has a balanced budget, a AAA1 bond rating, no personal income tax, and no State property tax. Corporations are subject only to State franchise and excise taxes, unemployment compensation tax, and an annual report and fee. The State authorizes a reduction in use tax on machinery creating employment, and local taxes are reasonable" (Tennessee Department of Conservation and Commerce 1961:47).

The relationship between the community and industry was put forth as an important concern for attracting industry by state planners. Small communities found recruiting industry difficult. The Tennessee Industrial Planner, a newsletter developed to help communities attract industry, offered these words of rhetoric, "few communities realize that such development of local industries is a long arduous task, requiring the best in community leadership and much real effort in the assembly of basic economic data... subsidies, tax concessions, ballyhoo, and generalized statements-oral or printed will not attract the best industries. Industry selects a location affording the maximum advantages for profitable operation not solely because a town or city offers a few dollars annual savings on taxes or free use of a factory building" (Whitlatch 1947:1).

Regardless of this advice, many communities in Tennessee offered large concessions to industries. Subsidies to industry by Tennessee communities took place on a large scale. James Cobb traces some of the results of extreme boosterism in Tennessee. He finds that,

> "In Tennessee smaller industry-hungry communities engaged in extreme forms of industrial subsidization with little apparent regard for the state constitution's specific prohibition of such activities. A survey in 1937 of forty-one communities revealed some form of subsidy...Four of the acts permitted the use of public funds for industrial advertising and training programs as well as for hiring location brokers and collecting assessments from workers... The latter provision referred to one of the most controversial tactics used to finance new industry, that of forcing the workers to pay for

the plant at which they worked through 5 to 7 percent deductions from their salaries" (1984:6).

Industrial revenue bonds are mainly issued in the form of plant rental obligations. They offer poor rural communities the opportunity to compete for companies with offers of labor, utilities, and services. Companies receive low interest rentals and loans as well as exemption from state and federal ad valorem taxes (Cobb 1984).

The Industrial Building Revenue Bond Act was passed in 1951. It authorized communities to construct buildings for industrial tenants through revenue bond financing. The State of Tennessee recognized the dangers of giveaways and warned against tax-exempt revenue bonds for communities. Tennessee communities began to use bond financing along with local development corporations. Between 1945 and 1953, of 168 new plants in Tennessee, 41 were financed by municipal revenue bonds, 50 by local development corporations and 77 were provided by their own funds (Cobb 1984).

Another aspect of Tennessee's recruiting practices is its support for right-to-work laws also common in other southern states. The Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 offered states the right to ban the closed union shop that allowed no worker to be forced to join or pay union dues. Right-to-work laws also lengthened the time required to hear labor complaints' cases (Cobb 1984). Southern states make up the largest section of the country with right to work laws. Evidence suggests that right-to-work laws are associated with lower union membership and weaker unions as well as the slowing down drives (Carroll 1983). The outcome of right-to-work laws is the attracting of companies who seek to avoid unions.

Industries in Tennessee drew on subsidies and a largely nonunion workforce to create circumstances favorable for profit. In Hamblen County, this meant the recruiting of a number of industries leading to a large population expansion in the 1940s and 50s. Unlike many East Tennessee counties Hamblen had a large in migration of workers. Next we look at the shape of the industrialization in Hamblen County.

The Furniture Factory Regime in Hamblen County

Manufacturing employment in Hamblen County expanded steadily from 1940 to 1970. By the end of the Second World War the early furniture factories in Hamblen County expanded and soon welcomed a large influx of supporting industries. Rural counties in East Tennessee grew six times as fast as metropolitan areas between 1950 and 1973 (Goodman 1979). Knoxville lost a number of high paying low skilled jobs as firms choose to situate in rural valley counties like Hamblen (McDonald and Wheeler 1983).[14]

Manufacturing employment in the State of Tennessee surpassed agricultural employment in 1945. Hamblen County went from 19 manufacturing establishments in 1939 to 41 in 1947. In that year seven plants hired over 100 employees each. During this period value added for manufacturing went for 1,546 in 1939 to 6,115. Employment in manufacturing for East Tennessee expanded after 1945 with 140,000 employees compared to 63,000 in Middle Tennessee and 55,000 in West Tennessee (Department of Conservation and Commerce 1961).

Hamblen County led East Tennessee in the number of new low-wage industries between 1945 to 1966 (Lineback 1970:64). Most of Hamblen County's large low-wage firms were furniture or furniture related industries by 1966. Other low-wage firms included poultry processing, hosiery mills, a bakery, and a paper company (See Table 2). For Hamblen County the growth in manufacturing plants was composed of both new and expanding plants. Between 1940 and 1948, Hamblen County had 11 new manufacturing plants. According to the TVA, Hamblen County led East Tennessee and the Tennessee Valley in new plants between 1940 and 1948. Of these plants, four were textile industries and five were furniture plants (GM February 14, 1949).

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[14]The restructuring of the textile industry in Knoxville resulted in a lower quality of life for former workers. In a survey of workers at the closed Brookside Mills, Peake (1958:59) found overall that the worker's new jobs paid less wages than at Brookside and women's paid declined significantly.

The period of the largest increase of plants was from 1953 to 1958. During this period seven new factories were added along with 23 expansions. Most of which were furniture plants. By 1958, there were 2,625 persons employed in the furniture industry (Morristown City Directory 1959). Hamblen County was one of four counties in Tennessee with 1,000 or more employees in the furniture and fixtures category by 1960. The others included Jefferson, Hamilton, and Davidson (Tennessee Valley Authority 1961). Fourteen furniture plants located in Hamblen County between 1937 and 1966 (Lineback 1970).

Manufacturing employment in Hamblen County surpassed the United States average by the 1950s. The county had a manufacturing employment rate that was 72% of the United States rate in 1940, 121% of the United States rate in 1950 rate, and 140% of the United States rate in 1960 (Brown 1966:22). Agriculture in the county declined rapidly after 1950. Agricultural employment in Hamblen County went from 45% of residents in 1940 to 28% in 1950, and 13% by 1960 (Brown 1966:38).

The largest employment category went from women intensive textile industries to men intensive furniture factories. In 1940, textiles made up 50% of manufacturing employment. This changed to 19% in 1950. The furniture, lumber, and wood employment category went from employing 29% of manufacturing employment in 1940 to 50.7% in 1950. The chemical industry along with the furniture, lumber, and wood products industry made up over 80% of manufacturing employment in Hamblen County in 1950 (See Table 3). The situation of textile industries in Hamblen County reflects a small number of establishments. The rayon industry expanded with the addition of American Enka in 1949. The textile industries expanded and then remained constant but were overshadowed by the furniture and chemical industries. The furniture industry employed 2,625 of a total 4,394 people employed in manufacturing and had an annual payroll of

$8,500,000 in 1959 (Morristown City Directory 1959). Furniture made up 54% of the total manufacturing industries by 1960 (See Table 3).

Hamblen County's textile mills continued uninterrupted after the second World War. In Knoxville the decline of old line industries such as textiles, in the 1950s, left an economic slump due to the large concentration and dependency of the city on the mills (Wheeler and McDonald 1983:96). Morristown textile industries such as Interwoven and the Morristown Knitting Mill continued to hire mainly women after 1950. Interwoven mills employed 110 women and 30 men in 1950. Morristown Knitting mills employed 130 women and 20 men in 1950 (GM October 5, 1950).

Many of the early furniture industries started out in the late 1930s and expanded after the War. Most were locally owned with some owned by northern businessmen. Small furniture industries grew along with large ones. Novelty Furniture started out with 10 employees in 1942 and had 100 by 1950. Novelty Furniture started making truck bodies and then expanded to make custom cabinets. Other small plants such as Clyde Furniture produced between 400 and 500 tables per day with 62 employees in 1950. Clyde Furniture made tables that were sent all over the United States. Larger firms such as Gluck Brothers, which made bedroom furniture, went from 150 employees in 1939 to 350 employees in 1950 (GM October 5, 1950). Modern Upholstered Chair Company was established in 1940 having 540 employees in 1968. Morristown Chest Company was established in 1943 and had 194 employees in 1968. Forest Products began in 1946 and had 505 employees by 1968 (East Tennessee Development District 1968).[15] In 1961, Hamblen County gained ten new plants and three expansions of existing plants. Most of the plants were furniture or furniture related industries (GM January 19, 1961).

Several of the industries overlapped in ownership, parts, and products. Morrison Turning Company became the largest Turning plant in the country hiring 120 employees by

[15]The East Tennessee Development District will be refered to as ETDD here after.

1950, supplying furniture parts all over the county. As a supplier of furniture parts, Morrison advertised Morristown to furniture plants to have customers nearby. Gluck Furniture was established in Morristown in 1939 after it's Brooklyn owners heard of Morristown's excellent labor force and raw materials from Morrison Turning Plant. Most factory owners came to Morristown with small amounts of capital. The furniture industries grew slowly. New technology was introduced through expansions and the creation of new industries. Several furniture plant owners developed a flake board plant that produced parts for furniture, hiring 50 workers in 1960 with $500,000 in local stock. The group traveled to Germany where the machine was produced. Flakeboard went into kitchen cabinets, dinettes, bedroom furniture, and wall paneling. The furniture industries needed service companies to fix problems. The building of a tool and die company was supported by the community in a bond vote in 1961. Before the company was set up broken die from Morristown furniture plants were sent to Nashville slowing production (GM July 17, 1961).

The geographic concentration of furniture and parts industries in Hamblen County fueled the expansion of complimentary industries. The linking of production processes and decisions is part of the constant geographical recomposition of commodity chains in the world economy. The basis of the system is on process and mutability (Hopkins and Wallerstein 1994). Market monopoly is achieved through the reconstruction of finance, production, and distribution. Braudel tells us that the nature of capitalism is for large accumulators to seek to avoid the normal operations of the market, in other words a free market, and strive to create monopolies through combining various processes. Furthermore, the key to monopoly is not specialization but the combination of specialized services, processes, and linkages. The goal is to control the market niche to create surplus production or what can be extracted from the combination of the various processes (Wallerstein 1991).

For Hamblen County the furniture industries were built through individual initiative and the increased attractiveness of the area for wage sensitive industries. Lineback offers this commentary on the snowball growth of furniture industries in Hamblen County,

> "The increase in the manufacturing base of Morristown has enhanced many of the vertical linkages which have also been attractive factors for the furniture industry. A number of related, but independent manufacturing and commercial establishments have located in the city and have direct linkages to the furniture plants. Foam rubber, batting, upholstering, and mattress and box springs companies are the major related manufacturers, although numerous smaller establishments depend directly or indirectly on the furniture industries. These linkages have helped to increase the locative attractiveness of Morristown for additional furniture companies, as well as for expansions of the companies already established there" (Lineback 1970:74).

Hamblen County's largest manufacturing industry, Berkline, started in 1937 in a building with 20,000 square feet and less than 20 employees. Berkline was established in Morristown, because of the availability of low-cost labor, nearby raw materials, and accessible transportation facilities (Crooke 1967). In 1950, Berkline had warehouses in Springfield, Massachusetts, Minneapolis, Seattle, Los Angeles, and other points. In the same year it employed 424 men and 63 women and 30 salesmen. The largest product was the platform rocker. Berkline made 900 rockers a day in the 1950s. Berkline came to Morristown after its owner met the city's mayor on a train. The mayor advertised a cheap, trainable labor force and abundant materials for industry (Haun 1989). Berkline's Morristown plant began as a branch plant with other plants in Massachusetts and Georgia. The Morristown plant became the largest plant over time.

Berkline went from 30 chairs a day to 12,000 between the years of 1937 to 1960 making it the largest manufacturer of upholstered chairs in the world (GM November 1, 1960). Berkline's early slogan was, "We Seat the South", which was eventually changed to, "Don't Just Recline, Berkline." Morristown gained notoriety for the rockers made at Berkline. The rockers were advertised nationally on television shows in the 1950s. Today the rockers are advertised on the television show, "The Price is Right" (Haun 1989).

Berkline was Morristown's largest continuous industry until it was sold in the 1990s. Berkline had 1600 employees in 1963 and 2,000 by the late 1980s.

Hamblen County is one of a cluster of counties in East Tennessee and North Carolina that make furniture. Nearly 90% of the employment of furniture industries in the Tennessee Valley region were in firms producing wooden household furniture. Tennessee was the South's third largest producer of furniture and other finished lumber products in 1960. Thomas Clark points to the combination of the South's forest and its furniture industries in the 1950s. He writes,

> "Furniture manufacturers operated plants in all the southern states. Little fellows produce crude furniture for modest homes; regional craftsmen supply an astonishing number of cedar chests each year; and pencil manufacturers follow the rock and cedar ridges in search of suitable wood... In Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee the big manufacturers made in Stanleyton, Basset, and Martinville, Virginia; High Point North Carolina; Morristown, Tennessee, and Louisville competes with that made in the East and along the Great Lakes. As television had become available to everybody, the chair manufacturing industry has thrived. Three major companies in Morristown supply a nation with seats to sit before home screens" (1968:108).

By 1960, 40% of the Southern region was involved in growing trees. Southern forests provided 39% of the nation's lumber and 56% of its pulpwood in 1960 (Clark 1968). Morristown furniture industries use lumber and materials mainly from the South. Clyde Furniture used gum trees for the making of tables. The destination of parts for rockers at Berkline illustrates the composition of the commodity chain involved in the creation of furniture in Morristown. Berkline uses gum and oak lumber as well as cotton, rayon, and artificial leather upholstery all from the South. Metal springs and hardware used in the chairs came from nearby Jefferson County, and as far away as Chicago, and Detroit. Foam rubber used at the plant comes from Shelton, Connecticut. Gluck Brothers used wood from Tennessee including elm, oak, and gum lumber and upholstery from Memphis. Tennessee Furniture Industries shipped products to major department stores

such as Marshall Fields and R.H. Macy among others (GM October 5, 1950). Morrison Turning Plant used gum from North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Arkansas; and ash, oak, walnut, maple, and sycamore lumber from Tennessee and Kentucky.

Wages for the furniture, upholstery, and other wood industries in the Southeast and East Tennessee represented low hourly rates compared to the nation but high wages compared to its agricultural past. In 1945 workers in the furniture industry, wood and upholstered groups' averaged 60 cents an hour in the Southeast compared to with 76 cents an hour for the national average. Nearly 80% of the wood-furniture workers in the Southeast earned less than 65 cents an hour (Division of Conservation and Commerce 1961:21). At the same time, the South saw a rise in income with its new industrialization. Income gains followed the incoming industry. Hamblen County's average per capita income rose from 223 dollars in 1939 to 904 dollars in 1947 or 305%. Hamblen County industry paid 11,417 in salaries in 1947. Median income in Hamblen County rose to 2,046 or 66.5% of the United States. average in 1950 to 3,932 or 69.4% of the United States average in 1960 (Brown 1966).

American Enka

The main employer in the county however was not a furniture manufacturer but a Dutch owned chemical company, American Enka. The largest foreign owned company in Hamblen County for more than 30 years was American Enka starting production in 1948 and selling out to another multinational company BASF in 1989.

The Nolichucky and the French Broad river flood plains were an important resource to western settlement as both fertile land and a travel route on the first frontier for the Europeans. It was the center of the Cherokee hunting grounds that ran along the rivers in East Tennessee. The Cherokee and northern tribes camped along the rivers and traveled

inland on deer trails. For the white man its fertile bottoms foster successful diversified farming that continues today.

The Lowland plant was built five miles from Morristown on the Nolichucky River and was the second Enka plant to settle in the Southern Appalachian mountain area. The first was in Buncombe County, North Carolina, established in 1928. Both plants settled in the area because of the water supply. Hamblen County agreed to provide water from the city and a highway leading to the plant (Hill 1966; Dykeman 1955). Construction of the 720 acre plant began in 1946. American Enka required eight rail spurs on the Southern Railroad (GM March 2, 1949). In his biography of Herbert S. Walters, Howard L. Hill describes the requirements for the plant and the size of the operation in terms of the area,

> "The water problem was especially interesting. It happens that the Enka filtration system produces water which is almost 100 per cent pure, and it amounts to forty to sixty million gallons per day form the Nolachucky River. Out of this it filters 15-16 m.g.d., which is six times as much filtered water as the City of Morristown used per day. The Enka filtered water is, of course, absolutely safe for drinking purposes ..." (1966:54).

The rayon industry became a major part in the recovery of the Tennessee economy after the depression. By 1939, rayon and allied products were the major industry in the State. The American Enka Corporation was established in 1828 by the AKU (General Rayon Union) of Arnhem in the Netherlands. AKU owned the largest amount of shares of Enka with interest in 35 companies around the world in 1966 (Hill 1966). American Enka became the largest employer in Hamblen County with 1,500 employees by 1949. American Enka's Lowland plant expanded by 400 in 1957 with a staple fiber rayon plant. In 1963 a nylon plant was built adding 800 employees. Chemical and Allied industries expanded from .8 percent of the industrial labor force in Hamblen county in 1940 to 15.1% in 1950, and 25% in 1960 (See Table 3). Enka wages totaled $2,500,000 in 1950. By 1970 it produced more than 250 million pounds of yarns and fibers annually in four

separate plants hiring 4400 East Tennessee workers with a payload of $25 million (Morristown Chamber of Commerce Publication 1970). Peak employment at Lowland was about 5000 in 1973 and less than 2,600 employees before it was sold in the late 1980s.

Enka as a multinational competing in the rayon industry transformed its processes to fit the decline of products and new areas.[16] From 1952 to 1962 it produced filament rayon shipping out high tenacity yarn for tire cord. The rayon production was overshadowed by rayon staple, plastic coated wire, cable, and nylon. The production of nylon at Enka began in 1954. By 1962 the plant had a production capacity of 45 million pounds of nylon annually (GM January 24, 1962). The nylon facility produced textile nylon for hosiery, tricot fabrics, raschel nets and laces, taffetas, and yarns for other apparel industrial. The plant also produced heavy denier rayon for use in tires, carpets, upholstery, auto seats belts, ropes and cordage (Department of Conservation and Commerce 1961).

The production of rayon staple followed expanding United States consumption throughout the 1960s. The annual consumption of rayon staple fiber increased about 300 million pounds in the decade of the 1960s or a 75% increase. Consumption of other man made fibers increased by more than 3 billion pounds during this time. The rayon fiber market started to declined in 1970 (United States Tariff Commission 1971:4-5).

American Enka became one of a number of powerful actors in the development of Morristown after 1950. The emerging local growth coalition centered its goal on expanding business opportunities for development. The goal of city planners centered on industrial recruitment, urban renewal, and the requirements of expansive fiscal growth between 1950 and 1970. The resulting forces of development created a new milieu in

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[16]In 1962 American Enka's sister plant in North Carolina produced nylon and rayon filiment yarn. At Lowland there was hayon staple plant, and a rayon staple yarn plant. Other plants included Rocky Hill, in Connecticut which produced rayon staple. Other Enka plants producing plastic-covered wire and cable were in North Windham, Connecticut, West Acton , Massachusetts, and Gardena, California Morristown. Daily Gazette and Mail January 24, 1962.

which individuals struggled for representation and the right to decision-making. Hamblen County began to receive state and regional grants in the early 1960s for urban renewal. By 1965, the ARC created larger access to resources which local leaders incorporated into the development process.

Development and the Growth Machine

The growth machine is based on the notion that political, economic, and cultural actors have a stake in creating industry and commercial growth (Molotch 1976). Expansion of industry and services increases profitability for a number of local and outside actors. Those interested in promoting growth include financial institutions, publishers, builders, realtors, and a number of other entrepreneurs. The division of public resources for competing investors. Groups strive for representation in how public resources are divided.

This section looks at how industry, state and federal grants, and local politics shape development in Morristown and Hamblen County. Molotch articulates that in city development, "growth elites must squarely face the constraints that nature and the world economy hand them, but then move heaven and earth to maximize the possibilities that are nevertheless possible" (1988:35). Development in a smalltown is slow due to the lack of resources needed to attract industry. Local leadership plays an important role in creating growth. The association is articulated by mainstream economists in this way, "Entrepreunership has contributed to local development, whether in its classical role as effector of new business enterprises which create income, or whether by 'boosterism'--the support of, and the creation of enthusiasm for improvements in local infrastructure, cultural access, or amenities" (Postma 1981:17).

The post-war Hamblen County growth coalition or growth machine is a product of professional planning and consistent political control in the 1950s and 60s in Morristown. The Chamber of Commerce went from a small group of businessmen to a well organized group of agencies with overlapping memberships. The Chamber of Commerce appealed to the sentiment of local people to expand industry and commerce. The boosters courted the religious factions after the war. In 1947 the keynote speaker at the Chamber of Commerce annual banquet talked about integrating community and industrial recruitment (GM October 10, 1947).

Continuity leadership played an important role in the growth machine. A progressive mayor served seven terms through most of the 50s until 1966. The Chamber of Commerce expanded its web of agencies around a tight agenda. Rural community solidarity worked well in promoting Morristown. The Chamber of Commerce sent out packets of information about Morristown. It invited 2000 people to see the city in 1959 in what it termed as an 'old fashioned welcome' (GM September 6, 1959).

The population growth for Morristown was high between 1940 and 1960. The city population went from 8,050 in 1940 to 13,019 in 1950. The population was 21,267 in 1960. Morristown's population increase was 61% between 1940 and 1950 and a 63.4 percent rise between 1950 and 1960 (See Table 1). Between 1940 and 1950 the number of households in Morristown went from 2,193 to 3,871 households or a 36% increase. Between 1950 and 1959 the number of households increased from 3,871 to 5,200 or an increase of 26%. Over 2000 people were annexed into Morristown from Hamblen County between 1950 and 1960 (Morristown City Directory 1959).

The regional farm population was transformed into factory operatives in Morristown's factory and they needed houses and services. By the 1950s Morristown was firmly the political and economic center of Hamblen County. Over the next 20 years Morristown expanded to become a regional manufacturing and employment center. It

would struggle to keep up the services required by rapid expansion in industries and population. Morristown's population expansion was much higher than the State average between 1940 and 1970.

Many people objected to the first wave of increased bond payments and higher taxes for incoming industry in 1939. During the depression the tax rate had been 2.25 per 100 dollars and dropped to 1.80 from 1942 to 1944. By 1947 the tax rate reached 2.70, by 1951 2.75 per 100 dollars (GM April 16, 1951). With a high tax rate the people continued to vote out open supporters of increased taxation but over time at least in the city the people grew to accept growth (Paye 1965:110-111). Sales tax increases also accompanied growth and helped pay for the increase in services. Sales tax in Hamblen County increased 177.3% between 1950 and 1960. This increase was the fourth highest in the state (GM October 13, 1960). Between 1949 and 1959 the city was faced with a bond issue every year for new school construction due to the increased population (GM June 28, 1959).

The airport became an important component of the industrial recruitment in the 1950s. High taxes made selling the idea difficult. Opponents pointed to the large city debt. The voters approved the referendum by just 49 votes. The Morristown Municipal Airport was dedicated in September 1953. It was leased out to a group of private citizens know as the, Morristown Flying Service, Inc. The airport was used for commercial traffic for a few years (Paye 1965).

In 1964, a survey committee was formed to look at solutions for the crowded city and county schools. Due to what the newspaper termed the population explosion. Estimates for Fall 1964 enrollments at Morristown's high schools exceeded space available (GM April 9, 1964). Morristown's expansion increased revenues dramatically. The budget expanded to meet the growth spending. Revenues increased from $404,311 to $1,491,964 between 1947 and 1962 or a rise of 269% (Bureau of Public Administration 1966). The city's annual budget went from $594,200 to $1,664,156 between 1955 and

1961. County resident's continued to be reluctant to support a tax on debt or bonds to pay for improvements (Paye 1965). The city increased its bonded debt from 1955 to 1963 from $1,981,000 to $4,721,000 with $1,363,000 spent on schools and $870,000 spent on the industrial park. Statements in the paper were understandable. One call for a reassessment argued that, "The city has been spending money like a drunken sailor" (GM July 13, 1956). Taxes increased as spending increased. In 1961 the tax rate in the city was $4.00 per $100. Home builders asked the city not to hike the property taxes any higher in fear of an exodus from the city in 1963 (GM March 3, 1963).

The 1950s saw tremendous local growth and an accompanying budget expansion which by 1961 created a large deficit in the general operating funds of some $260,471 dollars. This situation was reversed starting in 1966 with a pay as you go administration, a re-evaluation of real estate property assessment, and continued industrial growth. By 1966 the balance was $329,512 in the opposite direction. The situation was changed due to tax restructuring. It provided the opportunity for the city to change its bond rating. The city received a higher "A" bond. The "A" rating was up from its previous Baa rating. The higher rating was due to the city's debt management and strong growth (Tennessee Municipal League 1967:5). The improved bond rating helped the city meet a general obligation bond in 1967 of $650,000 for a number of new schools. The city tried a number of ways to gain revenues in the 1960s.

To shift the debt the city created legal beer permits which were issued starting in 1962. Resistance sprang up immediately by the fundamentalist church population. The First Christian Church wrote in the newspaper that it is, "deeply in sympathy with the council's efforts to raise revenue... but that it goes on record of opposing the selling of beer in grocery stores" (GM March 12, 1963). By 1965, the 17 cent tax on beer had brought in $60,000 dollars into the city. The cleaning up of bootleggers was cited as one of the main reasons for the ordinance (GM November 7, 1965). The tax rate was keep at

3.75 from 1963 to 1966 (GM August 2, 1966). This was the highest effective tax rate in the State of Tennessee for the year of 1966 according to the Tennessee Taxpayers Association (GM November 21, 1967). The city appraised property so high in January of 1968 that a group of resident's protested the appraisals at a mass meeting where they were reported to have complained loudly. The group filed a lawsuit challenging the appraisal. The group won a reappraisal (GM January 21, 1970). The city also tried to raise money by increasing the number of taxpayers. This often led to resistance to annexation by county residents.

Annexation and City Expansion

One of the issues of development that caused the most controversy was annexation. The State of Tennessee made annexation easier for counties with constitutional changes in 1953 and the standardization of procedures for annexing in 1955. Annexation was done by an ordinance passed by the city council. It left the burden of proof of the unreasonableness or reasonableness on the affected citizen. By the 1970s, Tennessee was second in the nation in acquiring a new population for municipalities by this method. This method was changed in 1974 making the municipality responsible (Van Dervort 1985).

Morristown annexed 5,461 acres of county land between 1947 and 1965 (See Map 1 in Appendix C) There were a number of bitter struggles by those effected. Local grass root politicians in the city opposed annexation because they feared the loss of control of expanding wards. City teachers feared the effects of overcrowding and expanded services to the incoming county students. The people in the annexed areas opposed annexation due to high city taxation and having to change schools (Paye 1965:74). County residents opposed the changing balance of power and the loss of control over hiring. Proponents advertised the increased services. Many of the supporters fell out of political favor with the

voters. The city expanded around its parameters. The East Main Street section was annexed specifically for an industrial park in 1961 (See Map 1).

The battle over annexation led to bitter struggles in city council meetings between the city and residents faced by annexation. Usually on passing the vote for annexation the supporting aldermen were voted out of office. Citizens fiercely opposed annexations but over time with each fight the city increased its ability to complete the process. A compromise on the control of schools was met over the annexation of an area in the western part of the county. The city paid the county to educate the students while the county controlled the school's hiring and property (Paye 1965). The owners of annexed property fought the city usually to no avail. Over 175 angry home owners fought annexation at several hearings throughout 1966 (GM July 19, 1966). Another incidence of annexation was the drive by Russellville residents to incorporate and become the second city in Hamblen County in 1960. The proposal was defeated 117-80 by the farm population due to a fear of city taxes and power concentration. They stated that it, "Could not give us anything that would help us" (GM March 16, 1960). Strong resistance to annexation occurred in 1970 when 240 acres making up Sunset Hills, Westview, Echo Hills, and other areas to the West were annexed. These protests also proved futile (GM March 8, 1970).

Morristown's population increase caused a problem with providing services. Annexation caused the city to have to expand fire stations in the early 1960s. By 1968, the East Tennessee Development District reported that Hamblen County industry lacked access facilities. It also pointed to a lack of sewer facilities in rapidly growing areas near the city limits, severe traffic congestion leading to employment centers, and insufficient water services existed because of separate utility districts (ETDD 1968:314). The sewage system was restructured with Federal grant assistance in 1959. The new system cost the City of Morristown 650,000 with the Federal government paying 250,000. The city took that

opportunity because the State Public Health Department had insisted for years that Hamblen County quit dumping sewage into Cherokee Lake (GM May 8, 1959).

The transformation of Morristown into an industrial center required the contribution of its population.

The New Boosters

The civic component of selling Morristown to industry and directing growth means that leaders incorporate companies, workers, and community into creating an atmosphere conducive for growth. Community spirit became a tremendous form of advertisement for Morristown. Charity organizations went side by side with other community improvement agencies such as the Boy's Club. The Boys Club went from 60 members in 1950 to 600 in 1960 (GM May 8, 1959). Employees volunteered for projects to better serve the community while supporting company solidarity. The main charity organization was the Community Chest. The Community Chest became the United Fund. Morristown boosters sought to show off Morristown as a progressive center while catering to local culture. Downtown merchants celebrated urban renewal in 1965 with a huge 'hullabaloo' staring Minnie Pearl, Archie Campbell, and Ralph Haley (GM July 2, 1965).

The expansion of Morristown led to a larger number of volunteers as boosters. The United Fund represented a variety of agencies. It had 28 agencies by 1965. The United Fund grew substantially in Morristown after the Second World War. Most years saw large increases. In 1961 the $94,632 total was 20% higher than the total for 1960 (GM August 21, 1961). The progressive spirit was an important component of community growth. The American Legion, the Moose, and the Elks clubs were strong in Morristown. The organizations took on a number of roles in development. The American Legion sponsored a survey of sewage and electric conditions in Morristown in 1947. National

Shriners Conventions were also held in Morristown with 8,050 conventioneers in 1940 and 13,016 conventioneers in 1950.

The function of the United Fund campaign was social solidarity as well as charity. The beautification committee worked to clean up areas of town. One of the early goals was to deal locally with the flooding at Turkey Creek. The Morristown Beautification council promoted 'cleanliness' for the town. Consensus on development ment pointing out the direction of changes. One Beautification Campaign theme revolved around the theme 'know your town.'

The United Fund solidified workers and community. Awards were given to companies who meet the year's goal. One hundred percent awards pitted company against company incorporating unions, workers, and company. Company representatives were photographed with 100% awards displayed in the newspaper (GM November 11, 1962). Company's announced the names of employees who led in the campaign. In 1965 the fabrication shop at Enka gave more than 100% of their 'fair share.' (GM October 17, 1965). Recognition included trophies and outstanding citizenship awards. Total amounts of contributions were compared for each plant. Of the three companies who hit their total goal in 1965 the per capital amount was 20 dollars for each employee (GM October 31, 1965).

The benefits of American Enka's United Fund drive went to several counties reflecting the regional labor market. American Enka allocated money to Campbell, Hancock, Sevier, Claiborne, Jefferson, Hawkins, Knox, Grainger, Greene, Cocke, and Hamblen Counties in 1965. Hamblen County received $27,861.15 of the total $41,860.48 raised (GM November 14, 1965). Other community services included education. American Enka sponsored 37 college scholarships in five counties in 1959 (GM January 21, 1959). The company had several company softball teams in the 50s and 60s. Company picnics drew over 1,000 people. American Enka directly helped the Lowland

community around its plants by offering its fire fighting equipment and forming the Lowland Community Club for the improvement of the area.

The drive for company and community solidarity led to corporate hegemony based on mutual benefits for both. The relationship between values and hegemony is described by June Nash,

> "The value system, or ideology, that sustained corporate hegemony emphasizes rationality, individualism, competition, mobility and equal opportunity. The principle mode of dialogue between management and employees is cast in terms related to the market. Survival of industry is accepted as a responsibility of labor and community leaders as well as management in order to maintain a competitive position in a world market. In return, the corporation is expected to stabilize employment levels and redistribute some of the profits through the United Way Fund and Taxes" (1989:13).

Community spirit was incorporated into city improvements creating centralized goals for community involvement. The Morristown Beautification council along with the Chamber of Commerce was active in promoting the city in national Cleanest City contests in the 1950s and 60s. Morristown entered and won distinguished achievement awards for the National Clean Up, Paint Up, Fix Up eight times between 1952 and 1964 for cities in the 10,000 to 25,000 size. The drive incorporated all garden, civic, fraternal, patriotic, social, literary, and religious organizations in the city (GM February 16, 1961).

The spirit of the community service made it a better place to live but also a better place to put an industry. The community activities of companies must be factored into their negotiations for resources with the community. Berkline contributed directly to the civic drives. For instance it donated a piano to the Morristown Recreation Center in 1959 which according to the write up was available to all citizens of Hamblen County (GM March 8, 1959). Berkline also obtained a piece of land from the city in 1961 for $2,500 that the Daily-Gazette and Mail stated was worth four times that amount. The front page story was titled, "Berkline Corp. Gets Land for Token Sum." The city council noted after the

approval of the sell that Berkline had been in Morristown for about 26 years and employs 1500 persons (GM August 6, 1961). After Berkline's expansion with office buildings on the site, its owners stated, "We are the largest contributor to the United fund in Hamblen County. Berkline and employees contribute in excess of 10% of the total United Fund budget" (GM August 13, 1961).

The civic groups behind development were soon accompanied by professional planners. Planners coordinated efforts at industrial recruitment and urban renewal.

The Politics of Professional Planning and Industrial Recruitment

The Chamber of Commerce participated in an attempt to form a regional Chamber of Commerce in 1947. Member's pointed out that there was no machinery to promote industry in the region. The points of emphasis were highways, tourism, and industrial recruitment (GM July 18, 1947). This plan never panned out but support for industries was met with approval by city residents. Job creation became more and more of a priority after the war. There was community support for most bond issues. In reality the votes were light with only one out of eight voters casting a ballot for or against industrial bonds for the Morristown Molding plant in 1959 (GM September 24, 1959). The city voted to build a plant for a thread-producing company in 1948 to be paid back over a 25 year period.

In 1959, the people approved by referendum an extension of sewage lines to build a shipping company. With these successes the commercial leaders began trying to create an industrial board that could attract industry full-time. The citizens again voted against the loss of control. Paye describes the response, "It would be empowered to negotiate deals with the approval of the citizens. Opposition sprang up immediately. The people still

wanted direct control over all actions that might effect them. Most of the citizens demanded that that power should still rest with the city council..." (1965:96).

The Chamber of Commerce set up its own industrial development program to meet the needs of recruitment. The professionalization of industrial recruitment occurred as the programs were expanded to include a continuous contact schedule with prospective companies (GM March 11, 1959). The change to a systematic approach differed to previous attempts to recruit industry that was usually by businessmen who could not afford the time to travel (Paye 1965). The new organization of the Chamber of Commerce split it into organized committees. It contained seven main divisions including agriculture, commerce, civic, educational, government, and an internal affairs division. Other committees included the retail merchants, tourist, recreation, wholesale council, and the industrial development board (GM February 24, 1959).

In 1961 the drive for professional government by the commercial elite was further strengthened by the voting in of a city administrator by the city council. The city administrator was qualified to conduct city municipal business. With the complexity that accompanied rapid growth came the need for an executive head who was, "responsible to the council for the efficient orderly and businesslike administration of the city's affairs" (GM January 18, 1961). The city administrator was brought in from outside the area. The city council stressed that the city administrator is held accountable to the council. The change in the city charter was recommended by the president of Chamber of Commerce who appealed to the tax payers by pointing out a city administrator would bring government efficiency and allow citizens to," receive a better value for their dollar" (GM January 18, 1961). The drive for professional planning in Morristown led to a change in the city charter after 50 years of local resistance because of the changing requirements for fiscal management in Morristown. The change was accompanied by increased activity in industrial recruitment. Local voters closely watched the city administrator and the city

council. In 1967 voters rejected proposed pay raises for the city council. A newspaper editor summed up the sentiment by commenting, "Voters Take City Council to the Woodshed" (GM June 28, 1967).

American Enka was brought to Hamblen County through the actions of Herbert Walters who was a descendent of Issac Franklin the area's largest antebellum capitalist. Walters' developed a number of business interests included contracting, concrete, and natural gas. Walters was a strong Democrat and statesmen. In his early career he was the State Highway Commissioner. He offered the company city water and was instrumental in bringing a State highway by the plant in 1949. Walters used his many interests to go on to become a United States Senator in 1963 (Hill 1966). Enka was represented on the Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors by its Director of Plant Industrial Relations by 1959.

The recruitment of industry in Morristown was controlled by a watchful public eye who refused to cater to industry but supported jobs. Wilma Dykeman explains the relationship between American Enka and local culture,

> "The combination of Scotch-Irish employees and Dutch employers was, especially in the early days, interesting. The latter were precise, honest, inclined to be dictatorial; and they didn't like credit. They had put sixteen million dollars in the bank before they bought an acre of land in 1928 and they had no commitments, either in North Carolina or Tennessee, when their plants were built they had had no land given them and no tax exemptions. The Dutch believed that debts of that sort are never paid, and they wanted to know precisely where they stood at all times. The less rigid, more emotional, thoroughly democratic Scotch-Irish natives watched these Hollanders and waited, laughed a little at the military hierarchy in the executive branch, liking the solid integrity that grew on the community" (Dykeman 1955:273).

Regardless of the attempt to make industry pay its own way, Hamblen County residents competed with the privileges other areas offered to companies. Small plants in the area pushed for concessions. They often appealed directly to the public. One example of the silent debate between communities was in a November 1968 story in the Daily

Gazette-Mail that read, "Morristown Industrialist Threatens to Move Plant to Another Town If Rezoning Request is Denied." The incident occurred at a planning commission meeting where a Morristown furniture industry owner said he would entertain an offer to move his plant to another town that had offered him a tax-free location. The company asked the city to rezone a property near the Central Business District to build a warehouse. The owner stated, "I'd like to feel... that you aren't trying to discourage old industry that's already here" (GM November 13, 1968). The city fulfilled the request.

The main types of subsidies to industries came in the form of bonds. During the 20 year period the company had to pay back the city for the building, known as the amortization period, companies had no property taxes in Hamblen County. In 1961 this included five companies (GM December 17, 1961). One of the main projects of the industrial recruiters was the development of two industrial parks in Morristown. The first park called the, East Tennessee Valley Industrial District, was originally laid out with 42 plots on 2,000 acres in the East end of Morristown in 1962 (Good 1973). The city sold $900,000 in bonds at 3.859 interest for the first park in 1961 (GM September 20, 1961). The park was developed by the city that included surveying and grading. The facility offered rail spur, water electricity, gas, and sewer lines. It was well located for transportation in near proximity of a highway, railroad and was one of four public industrial parks in East Tennessee with an airport within 10 miles or less. Morristown was one of 34 counties with an industrial park by 1968. Of the park s 24 were in incorporated areas with populations less than 40,000. Hamblen County's industrial park was one of only six industrial parks in East Tennessee with 400 acres or more in 1969 (Good 1973).

Of the industrial parks in East Tennessee, Hamblen County's was the most concentrated in furniture and furniture related industries in 1969. Morristown's average site size in 1969 was 12 acres. The industries in the park tended to be small in the first years. The largest early plant was Shelby-Williams that started with 400 employees in

1963. Woodcraft had 30 employees in 1965, and E.R. Carpenter started with just 15 employees in 1965. Larger companies began to locate in the park in the late-1960s. National Cash Register started with 350 employees on 20 acres in 1967. Forest Products began in 1967 with 150 employees on 25 acres. Lear Siegler making seat springs for automobiles located in 1968 with 325 employees (Good 1973). By 1975 the park had 120 available acres with 300 acres occupied.

Public industrial parks represented 56% of the industrial parks in East Tennessee in the 1960s. The main goal of public industrial parks is to attract manufacturing firms that will employ surplus labor. Private parks on the other hand are built for individual profit. Good (1973) found that the private parks in East Tennessee filled quicker due to this motivation. Another factor was the size of the park. As a large park Hamblen Counties filled slower than other parks in East Tennessee with less space (Good 1973). The main goals of public parks are to increase industry, control development, and offer a consistent land price to companies. The first industrial park in Hamblen County was combined with a second in 1978. Another component of the development of Hamblen County growth during this period was urban renewal.

Urban Renewal, Slum Clearance, and the Origins of Federalism

The first outcome of industrialization and population growth is the expanded need for services. Morristown combined urban renewal and federal housing with slum clearance. In 1958 the city drew up an urban renewal plan that stated that population increase had far exceeded increases in housing, that city services have not been expanded enough to meet the new needs, and that educational and recreational facilities have lagged behind the population increase. Concerning industrial growth the plan stated that commercial and residential land use had not been effectively directed to accommodate

industry (Morristown Regional Planning Commission 1958:75). The most pressing problem related to urban renewal in Morristown centered on alleviating flood problems and improving the downtown area for stores to compete with nearby Knoxville.

In 1957, 40% of housing in Morristown was substandard. Substandard refers to homes without piped inside water, inside toilets, or electricity. Some 20% of homes in Morristown were dilapidated. The main area in Morristown designated for renewal was the Rheatown area that surrounds the downtown section. Rheatown contained a number of older structures and was prone to flooding along with the rest of the downtown area. The plan called for condemning unsafe structures and at the same time building much-needed new affordable housing for Morristown's expanding low-wage labor force. Morristown used the assistance of the Public Housing Program set up under the 1954 Housing Act that offered small cities aid to eliminate substandard and dilapidated housing.

A group of merchants and politicians worked to include a number of projects in the urban renewal plan. The Chamber of Commerce formed a downtown committee made up of two bank presidents, two insurance brokers, one newspaper owner, five merchants, and the mayor (de Ropp 1972:10-11). The committee feared the competition of outlying shopping centers including a new plaza in West Morristown. The committee publicized the fear that the opening of a new road, 11E to Knoxville, would draw Morristown shoppers away from the city and eventually close the downtown area. The downtown committee organized a plan of action and advertised a mock version of a new downtown to residents, civic organizations, and urban renewal officials.

The downtown committee included the head of the Chamber of Commerce, and the mayor. It drew support from State Senators. Federal money for downtown expansion was obtained through Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The money for renewal came from 75% federal funds and 25% local funds. Downtown committee members overlapped with the Chamber of Commerce Industrial Board (de Ropp 1972). The

renovation of downtown was the first major project involving federal money in Hamblen County. It became the first project to incorporate planners and community leaders who utilized a number of problems to gain control over development decisions. The dependence on federal funds increased the ability of the growth machine to sell its ideas to the public. The advent of professional planning in Morristown solidified several leaders in government and the business community. The main group was centered in the Chamber of Commerce and its industrial board.

The opposition to urban renewal was in the community as well as among committee members. The project was organized by designating various committees to work on components of the problem. Committees were formed to look at parking, access, remodeling and renovation, and planned expansion (de Ropp 1972:16). The solidification of the grants and presentations created a force able to overcome diversity. The growth machine shaped prevailing attitudes toward a situation that was conducive to the project. One of the main actors in local politics, Herbert Walters, had investments in the new shopping center West of downtown and offered little help. Another of the main actors who owned a bank downtown signed up only after the committee threatened a boycott of his bank (de Ropp 1972). The tactics were successful because of the combination of different supporters.

The support of downtown renewal by local residents was a response to the flooding of Turkey Creek that was a constant hazard for homes and businesses. Ironically the creek flooded while the issue of downtown renewal was being debated (de Ropp 1972). Morristown's Main Street and the surrounding area flooded in 1933, 1949, and 1962. Floods moved houses and destroyed farm land. People had to be evacuated with six to eight feet of water in many homes. In 1962 the flood became the deciding factor in turning the minds of voters to support the urban renewal project. The 1962 flood caused $500,000 in damages. TVA was consulted for a recommendation on flood control. Along

with the floods, urban decay in Morristown's downtown central business district drew attention from local merchants and residents in proximity to downtown. The main problems for downtown merchants included flooding, parking shortages, cracked sidewalks, dilapidated signs, and poor traffic circulation due to poor arterial streets and rail spurs located in the downtown area (de Ropp 1972:12-13).

The part of the plan that varied from common sense was the proposal for the building of a second level sidewalk as part of the renovation program. The idea for a Sky Walk was articulated by a State Planning Commission member, Herbert Bebb, who designed a second level Sky Walk on both sides of downtown. The result was the building of a Sky Walk canopy. It was completed in 1965 with the intention of making second story commercial space available. However, over time the downtown second story buildings were left unused making the Sky Walk controversial. Today few of the businesses use the second story or the Sky Walk. In recent years destroying the Sky Walk has been debated. Additionally the downtown theater, the Princes, is out business and many of the businesses did not renovate as expected. Department stores have come and gone in downtown Morristown. Yet the downtown district continues to draw customers and like every downtown it continues to fight for customers (de Ropp 1972).

The main supporters of the Sky Walk were criticized for the wasting of money and the building of a white elephant. The growth coalition went on to further solidify positions within the community. Grants for urban renewal played an important role in creating a situation where professional planners intervened in shaping community decision making. The use of federal funds allowed developers to sell the community what many felt it did not need (de Ropp 1972). One editorial offered a citizen's account of the local government spending, "... it all goes for taxes to build five-lane boulevards through lumber yards, subsidize low-rent housing better than our own who can't afford better...and or other

useless projects such as the concrete monument to stupidity that masquerades under that the name of Sky Mart" (GM September 14, 1969).

Urban renewal also meant the building of low rent housing to replace dilapidated homes. By 1963 the Morristown Housing Authority managed 270 low rent homes with 1063 residents at three locations. There were still over 200 families on the waiting list for low rent families. The building of low rent housing could not keep up with the demand in the 1960s. The city reported 1700 substandard dwellings in 1966.

Resistance to the creation of low rent housing by people in nearby neighborhoods was strong. The proposed development of the Lon Price Homes drew objections of homeowner residents in the area who feared lower property values. One offered that it was as much as anything the "People that will live in them that we object to" (GM April 7, 1965). By 1967 there were 470 public housing units in the community. Local residents resisted the idea of welfare paid at the public's expense. The main organization for charity was a United Fund agency that was governed by church and community leaders (League of Womens Voters 1969:38). Civic charity was usually in the form of food and toy baskets at Christmas. It was to provide temporary help only. The frontier mentality made kinship and community the foremost institutions for survival in Hamblen County and East Tennessee. There was agreement on the importance of funding the county poorhouse for those who could not help themselves. Many people in Hamblen County had only grudgingly accepted the policies of the new deal and were not ready for public housing and blamed federal intervention for welfare (Paye 1965).

The influx of workers and urban renewal were part of number of changes in Morristown in the 1950s and 60s. The population increase created a large rise in retail sales in the early 1960s. Retail sales in Morristown rose 41 percent between 1958 and 1963 (Barker 1973). Total sales went from $128,176 in 1958 to $191,806 in 1967 (Freeman 1971:33). There were a total of 233 retail establishments in Morristown in 1958.

Retail establishments increased to 277 by 1963 and 294 by 1967. The only retail group to decline during this period were food stores. There were 48 food stores in 1958 expanding to 57 in 1963, and declining to 50 by 1967. Total sales in food in Morristown declined from $10,636 in 1963 to $10,100 in 1967 (Freeman 1971:33). The decline could be attributed to the coming of chain food stores such as Kroger and the White Store during this period. The Kroger in Morristown is described as one of the most modern food stores in the eastern section of the United States during that period (Freeman 1971:64). Kroger was a unionized store. It closed in Morristown in the late 1970s.

The urban renewal project reshaped downtown Morristown making it a stronger retail center by 1970. Retail sales downtown expanded with increased sales for merchants, shops filled up, parking space became available, and some merchants renovated.
The general appearance of Morristown's central business district compared favorably to most cities its size despite the failure of the Sky Walk to stimulate mass development of second level office and shopping spaces (Freeman 1971:61). By saving downtown, the merchants and politicians made the central Business District competitive with the newly constructed Plaza that had a J.C. Penneys, Parks Belk, and Sears (Freeman 1971). The growth of retail trade in Morristown was balanced with other centers to the South at Radio Center and North at Buffalo Trail.

Smalltown Labor in the Regional Economy

The transformation of agricultural workers into factory operatives occurred quickly in Hamblen County between 1945 and 1969. The placing of plants in the Tennessee Valley by the TVA was at advantageous points in centrally located rural areas that become growth nodes to attract outlying rural workers after the depression. Hamblen County has rivers and lakes on its borders and an abundant supply of interior streams and creeks. The county

is a crossroads for two highways and railroads. As a growth node Hamblen County became an industrial center attracting labor from surrounding rural counties. The industries drew skilled labor from a large pool of dispersed candidates who commute to use their skills.

The large number of wage sensitive industries concentrated in one area means that wages were kept in check with little variation between industries. Most workers were low-wage operatives whose jobs were interchangeable. Workers in the region based their decision to commute, move, or change home by proximity to family and community. The furniture industries paid very similar wages and keep a close watch on the wages incoming industries offered workers.

American Enka came to Hamblen County in search of access to raw materials and productive laborers. Wilma Dykeman describes the situation of farmers turned factory operatives,

> "As for the workers, they had never been factory laborers before, and the Dutchmen who came to run this industry saw that learning the rayon processes would be easier if other processes did not have to be unlearned. Here again, they owned their own homes and farms too; they were a settled people..." (1955:273).

American Enka paid the highest wages in the area when it located in Hamblen County. Thus it was able to choose the top skilled and management workers. Skilled workers were chosen first. The company started receiving applications for jobs at Lowland in 1947 by advertising jobs for high school graduates between the age of 18 to 35. Production workers made up the bulk of its labor force. When it started to look for production workers in 1948 American Enka advertised jobs for qualified people aged 23 to 25 with a grammar school education (GM June 23, 1948). Formally educated or not the workers were more than satisfactory. In 1950 with one year of operation the company

received an award from Liberty Mutual insurance company for 1,065,448 man-hours without an accident (GM January 3, 1950).

The nature of the furniture shops made most workers in the area operatives in low paying jobs. Hamblen County was one of four counties in East Tennessee with more than 21 low-wage manufacturing establishments in 1966. Hamblen County's 24 low-wage establishments made up 60% of its work force employing 5,448 workers in same year. Almost all of the low wage industries were established after 1940. Nonskilled labor made up the largest part of the jobs in the furniture industry (Lineback 1970:58,64,69).

The surrounding counties created a large unskilled low wage labor pool from which industry might draw workers. The unemployment figures reflected low-skilled operatives who were out of work. Unemployment estimates for Hamblen County for 1970, show over 50% of the unemployed workers were operatives (Hamblen County Planning Commission 1974:55). As a growth center, fewer of Hamblen County's workers were employed outside the county than migrated into the county for jobs. Estimates for 1970 show 8.9% or 1,167 of Hamblen workers traveled to other counties for employment while 4,974 commuted to Morristown. Of this population 39% went to Jefferson County and 10.2% went to Grainger County. Both of these counties like Hamblen had furniture factories hiring mainly operatives. Of the workers coming into Hamblen County most were from border counties. The distribution of border counties included, 28.3% from Jefferson, 17.3% from Grainger, 17.3% from Cocke, 10% from Greene, and 17.3% from Hawkins Counties. Knox County provided only 1% percent of the total 4,974 (Hamblen County Planning Commission 1974:55).

The heavy population growth of Hamblen County between 1940 and 1970 reflected its role as an in-migration county. For the 1950-1960 decade, 86 of Tennessee's 95 counties experienced a net out-migration. During this decade all of the closest counties around Hamblen experienced net out-migrations. Hamblen County industry drew workers

from nine counties (See Map 2). Studies looking at the occupational distribution of workers in Hamblen County show that the county received about one out of five out-migrants of the nine counties (Howard 1969:1,3). Hamblen County represented one of ten designated urban node counties in East Tennessee with 10,000 or more people in 1967 (Crooke 1967).

Factories in Hamblen County draw labor for operative jobs by selecting from the region's labor pool. The concentration of branch plants meant many of the skilled workers were transferred to the county from other plants in areas outside the region. A sample survey in 1968 looking at local and migrant workers who had moved into Hamblen County found 55% were from surrounding counties and 22% were from out of State (Howard 1969:19). The sample found that the occupational distribution for local residents was 40% factory workers, 26% trades, 12% in semi-professional jobs, and that only 1.2% worked professional jobs (Howard 1969:19). The study also found that most of the workers who migrated to Hamblen County to live from surrounding counties worked in factories as operatives. This population made up 43% of incoming workers, and workers in the trades accounted for 23%. Those coming in from outside the region were more likely to work in professional jobs making up 10%, where semi-professional jobs made up 29%, and the trades made up 22%. Only 25% of those from outside the region worked in factories. Those from outside the East Tennessee region had higher education attainment, level of living, and income (Howard 1969:19).

Howard (1969) surveyed the reasons workers moved to Hamblen County. Most workers coming from out of the region were transferred to a branch plant in Hamblen County. Workers from nearby counties cited a higher paying job as the reason for moving to Hamblen County (Howard 1969:38). The ETDD found in 1968 that, "Employment concentration in Hamblen County reveals a labor market leadership. Numerous jobs in various fields are available in Hamblen County to supply the needs of the labor force, and

there are only limited job opportunities in the counties surrounding Hamblen (1968:55). The second most important reason for moving to Hamblen County for persons from surrounding counties because they had relatives in the county (Howard 1969:40). A more in-depth case study of mobility of workers from isolated Hancock County to Morristown found that,

> "From Hancock County, the stream of migrants flowed to Morristown. Several families had moved there to obtain work or in order for the head of the household to be closer to his place of employment. Information gained from persons interviewed revealed that most of the families moving to Morristown had relatives there already. There were a few cases of elderly parents who moved into Morristown to be closer to their children. However, even having jobs and relatives in Morristown was not enough to lure some from Hancock County. Many who worked in Morristown chose to drive the approximately thirty-five miles of mountainous road twice daily rather than to move" (Brinkley 1966:20).

The regional labor supply created a circumstance where local factory operatives worked side by side with workers who traveled from regions with few opportunities. Evidence suggests that many of the factory workers continued to use multiple subsistence strategies for survival while working at the factories in Morristown. Multiple subsistence strategies reproduce the labor force allowing workers to accept lower rates of remuneration (Wallerstein 1984). Factories moving to the South lowered their labor bill by incorporating workers with a number of household subsistence activities. Low-wage laborers survived due to a number of circumstances. Hancock County, for instance, had no manufacturing establishments in 1966. The cost of living is low in an agricultural county. Part-time cash crop farming also continued to play an important role in the survival of households in East Tennessee as workers came to factories. Crooke found 39 of a group of 129 factory workers who were recently full-time farmers continued to farm part-time to reproduce their household and to produce cash crops. The part-time agricultural work included both tobacco and food production (Crooke 1972).

The labor base around Morristown was mainly low skilled and low-wage. The estimated labor supply available to Morristown in 1958 for a 30 mile radius was made up of 4,394 total workers with 2,446 unskilled men and 1,189 unskilled women workers and 538 men and 121 women who were considered skilled. Only 80 men and 20 women were considered professional or managerial (Morristown City Directory 1959:6). In 1965, the Department of Employment Security estimated that the agency received applications from less than 100 skilled workers, 250 semi-skilled workers, and 1,800 unskilled workers (Smith 1965:13).

The large number of unskilled workers offered industry a large labor surplus that could replace operatives at any of the factories. Most of the surplus was from outside of Morristown in surrounding counties. The Morristown Chamber of Commerce in 1965 made it a point to state that "Hamblen County is not classified as a depressed area; however, all five counties surrounding Hamblen County are so classified" (Smith 1965:14).

Crooke's (1967) study of Berkline reveals the nature of low-wage jobs and the regional labor force. Of commuters working at Berkline over one-half lived within seven miles of the company and almost 19% drove 30 or more minutes to work (Crooke 1967). The study reveals that low-wage labor intensive industries had a stake in keeping down the pay of the regional labor force. Crooke's survey found,

> "As the case stands at present, the nature of the low-wage industries indicates a reluctance to raise wages. Nonetheless, the time has come for higher-wage industry to establish in East Tennessee, especially in light of such a dynamic labor supply...Increasing competition for labor between industries of all wage levels is a threatening factor to low-wage industry, particularly to corporations like Berkline which have far flung labor sheds. To an even greater degree, the location of new industry or expansion of existing plants poses a serious problem to the low-paying industry in East Tennessee" (1967:42).

Evidence suggests that opportunity for local skilled workers was influenced by the large number of low skilled jobs in Hamblen County. Leuthold and Howard (1972) found that out-migration of skilled labor from Hamblen County was high in the 1960s. Professionals left because of a lack of demand for their services. The study states,

> "The mobility of professional persons was quite pronounced, particularly for men. Some mobility of professional men has been necessary, since only 3 percent of the residents of the County were professional workers, compared to 11 percent of those reared in Hamblen County. The various specialities of professional men may mean that mobility is often necessary. Never the less, 43 percent of the men and 31 percent of the women who were reared in Hamblen County and who were professionals had migrated to other states; these percentages were over twice the rate of all those reared in the county who migrated to other states" (1972:8).

The evidence suggests that occupational chances were limited for those with skills and higher education in Hamblen County. The migrants from the surrounding less developed surrounding counties were dependent on Hamblen County as an industrial base, and retail and service center. The ETDD points out that the growth of node counties created dependency for rural areas whose workers must commute to jobs and for retail trade (1968:13). Furthermore it was not the bringing in of new plants but the expansion of old plants that made up the bulk of manufacturing employment in rural Tennessee counties in the 1960s (Gunter 1975). The multiplier effect of industry was reinforced by commuting laborers who spend money in Morristown expanding its infrastructure while neglecting their own county. This further strengthened the growth node and weakens the periphery counties.

Labor Resistance in Hamblen County: Anything So Rash as a Strike

The solidarity between company and community in Hamblen County produced a situation with very few labor and management disturbances. The percentage of non-

unionized workers in Hamblen County reflected the South's orientation toward unionization. Most of the furniture factories were wage sensitive and had established in Morristown due to the availability of nonunion workers. Low-wage workers often changed factory jobs with their pay or job changing very little. The higher paying industries such as American Enka were more susceptible to unions and the demand of workers. American Enka became the largest unionized shop in Hamblen County hiring 15% of the total work force in 1950. The union represented employees at American Enka from the opening of the plant in 1949. The wage sensitive furniture plants fought unions and with a few exceptions keep unions out of the industry.

Union organizers began to step up activity in the county in the late 1940s. One of the earliest attempts to organize was in 1947. A petition by the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the United Furniture Workers of American (UFWA) was dismissed by Gluck Brothers. The petition at the furniture plant was dismissed because the union failed to file an anti-communist affidavit even after it had been voted in by the workers (GM November 23, 1947). Following the incident an advertisement in the Daily Gazette and Mail read, "If I were a communist I would ferment strikes and create just as much Industrial confusion and uncertainty as possible. I would scatter biased propaganda misrepresenting businessmen and destroying truth in business" (GM January 6, 1948).

Morristown was one of a number of East Tennessee cities and towns with a Klan presence after the war. Klan activity was also reported in other areas in East Tennessee during this period. Other local areas included Chattanooga, Clinton, Knoxville, and Maryville (KJ June 9, 1975). Marches and demonstrations were held from 1949 to 1975. McCarthyism was a strong force in the South and Hamblen County in the 1950s. The Ku Klux Klan was a strong anti-communist and anti-union organization. Klan activity occurred in July of 1949. Circulars were distributed on July 4. On July 8 a parade of over 1500 Klansmen started at the Morristown racetrack moving through downtown

Morristown to Cherokee Park. The parade was a regional meeting of members from Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Local people watched as the head of the Klan from Atlanta, Dr. Samuel Green and leaders from the Knoxville klavern burnt crosses, initiated 135 new members, and had a fish fry in the rain. The Klan attacked the threat of communism in church and schools (GM July 9, 1975). The imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan visited Morristown in February of 1950. His speech was on anti-communism. He said that "I have been in East Tennessee for the past several days and have made a general survey of klaverns in this section. I wish to commend them all upon their excellent organization and continued growth..." and that, "the un-American Activities Committee was doing a wonderful job and should be congratulated" (GM February 9, 1950). Senator Joseph McCarthy visited Hamblen County in October of 1950 (GM October 5, 1950).

The Klan joined workers in forcing CIO organizers to leave towns all over the South including Tennessee (Griffith 1994). The hardest Southern shops for the CIO to organize were mill towns where local official's accosting CIO organizers. The organizers were often detained for questioning by local authorities (Griffith 1994). By 1946 the Tennessee CIO organizer claimed the general failure of Operation Dixie in its efforts to unionize shops in the state. He stated the drive was stalled and that, "There is a certain amount of defeatism" (Griffith 1994:41).

The American Enka plant at Lowland was a union shop from the beginning of plant operations in 1949. The company and the union members were seemingly intent on keeping order. Union representatives pushed to strike the plant due to its comparative low wages. Just one year into operation Enka production employees and the company became involved in a labor and union struggle that shaped how a generation of Morristown workers and residents viewed unionization. For five months, 700 workers were involved in a bitter labor dispute with management. The strike lasted from March to August of

1950. The CIO and AFL became embattled in a dispute over the representation of Enka's employees. A number of violent episodes led to court trials and the involvement of federal troops. The State of Tennessee's right-to-work law eventually led to the ending of the strike as the company rehired strike breaking employees and hired new workers to replace the remaining strikers.

The CIO's campaign in the South was to use Southerners as organizers in an effort to insulate the CIO from being seen as radical, un-American, or alien to the Southern way of life. Only rank and file workers could carry the message into the plant (Griffith 1994). The American Enka strike occurred due to the solidification of the production workers over demands orchestrated by local union leaders. The strike was based on a contract dispute over a number of changes that the company and union were able to work out. The 1949 contract proposal between the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA-CIO) and American Enka was altered in 1950 with almost 40 new demands by the union and five by the company. The 700 Enka production workers made an average of $1.38 cents an hour. The union wanted a wage increase as well as increased benefits. The company agreed to almost all of the demands. The union focused on the particular reality of the East Tennessee plant. A union spokesman articulated, "The time is long overdue for the Enka Corporation to meet the standards established by organized employees of companies such as American Viscose Corporation, Celanese Corporation and others in the industry" (GM March 29, 1950).

Union demands refused by the company included adequate grievance procedures wages equal to the rayon industry average; hospital and surgical insurance for employees and their dependents, shift work premiums of five cents and ten cents as hour, a thirty minute lunch period, arbitration of work load dispatches, adequate seniority clauses covering promotions, lay-offs and recall separation pay for workers displaced by technological changes, and honest and fair no-strike and no-lock out clause, paid pensions,

removal of restrictions on pay for holidays and several lesser proposals (GM March 31, 1950).

The company was against demands that had nothing to do with increased productivity. In the 1949 contract it offered higher wages instead of paid lunches and other nonproductive concessions. The company claimed the union wanted to strike and was unwilling to negotiate with the company. The union asked for an outside arbitrator to negotiate with the company and the company refused. The number of strikers was 700 in the beginning. The company reported the number of returning employees in the newspaper each day in large letters on the front page.

The company ran newspaper ads commenting on the strike, the union, and the company's relationship with the community almost daily as the strike continued. The Daily-Gazette and Mail along with the Knoxville News-Sentinel in general supported the company. However the Daily-Gazette and Mail made an effort to practice balanced journalism and offered the workers and the union the opportunity to respond openly within the paper before the community. None-the-less the company ran an almost continuous commentary on the strike in the paper. One article was entitled, "We Believe the Matters Herein Set Forth Are of Interest To The People Of This Community." It offered the company's response to a letter from the union's international representative (GM April 9, 1950). The paper offered little commentary besides descriptions of events and the conferring of company and union dialogue.

The newness of the plant made the idea of a strike hard to believe in a growing high wage company in the South. Additionally the plant was planning to expand. The strike slowed Enka's expansion and angered supporters of development. The company appealed to the community over the strikes' threat to job creation in the community. The company drew heavily on community and company solidarity to state its case. The company focused on community and jobs in an article it ran in the first days of the strike in April.

The Knoxville News-Sentinel repeated the company's statement in an article entitled, "Enka Strike Seems Rash." The company was cited as saying,

> "Almost no sooner than the American Enka Corporation plant near Morristown gets to going, now comes, of all things, a strike. The CIO Union with a cluster of outside organizers on the scene pulls the workers and pickets the plant. Enka spent several millions to locate this plant in East Tennessee and is paying out many thousands weekly in pay rolls. It was planning to spend some more millions expanding further, but now the strike threatens to foil that, so a spokesmen for the company says, We make no attempt to judge in these columns the issues between the company and the union. But we do think the latter might have refrained from anything so rash as a strike as peremptorily as it seems to have done. We believe it menaces the future of the workers as well as the rest of the community that had welcomed this big new industry with the new opportunities for employment it brought" (NS March 30, 1950).

The company appealed to the low local wages and the union appealed to the higher union wages at other plants. The company in a letter to the newspaper pointed out that it's, "wage rates are much higher than those paid generally in this area" (NS March 30, 1950). The union's response to the company's claims was to reaffirm the idea that a wasteful strike was not necessary. The union pointed to the higher paying rayon plants in Virginia and West Virginia as examples of low wages at the Lowland site in Hamblen County. The low-wage labor force in the area offered the company a strong stance. The union also was hindered by a battle between CIO and AFL officials to control the union. The police issued six warrants for CIO strikers who beat up a AFL official in the County on a recruitment drive.

The strike was played out around the Enka Highway in front of the plant. Pickets were kept day and night by the strikers and their families between March and August of 1950. Picketers frequently parked their cars along both sides of the road leaving a small middle lane for passage to the plant. The company issued passes to salaried employees not involved in the strike (GM May 14, 1950). The employees started to return on May 18 with 25 people crossing the picket line. By May 23, 60 workers returned to work (GM

May 24, 1950). An injunction was granted on May 12 against the TWUA-CIO prohibiting union members from interfering with persons wishing to enter or leave the company. The injunction claimed that cars were stopped and searched and that employees were molested by strikers and not allowed to enter the plant.

The strikers violated the injunction almost immediately. Over 30 cars were stoned on the way to the plant by some 200 picketers hurting six people on May 25. On the same day the plant physician was rundown by a picket and injured. Also five men were arrested for violating the injunction. The strikers also scattered a box of roofing nails on the Highway. The next day over 60 State Highway patrolmen were called in to assist local law enforcement officers to help enforce the injunction while the picketers threw eggs. The strikers threw instead of rocks because officers held machine guns at intersections on the Newport Highway. Nearby a squad of State Highway Patrol cars sat with flat tires. Strikers threatened an attorney as he entered the plant and on his way out, "received a dozen eggs on his light tan suit and the side of his car" (GM May 26, 1950).

Strikers and their family's protested on the picket lines. A reporter described the scene this way, "A loud speaker was again used this morning and the group gathered at the tent across the highway from Enka know as the recreation center for strikers, was churning with a crowd of men and women estimated at from 200 to 300. Babes in arms added a touch of domesticity to the scene" (GM May 26, 1950). The injunction forbid strikers and union leaders from engaging in death threats and other types of phone harassment, highway obstruction, and interfering by loud and boisterous conduct and language with the complaint's right to the quiet and peaceful enjoyment of their property (GM May 26, 1950).

A restraining order was issued limiting the number of pickets to six that were to remain ten feet apart. On the same day 65 workers reported for work at the plant. The Governor reported that union strikers, "are warning non-strikers that the workmen won't

leave the plant alive today" (GM May 25, 1950). On May 28 the CIO asked the United States attorney general and a Senator to investigate alleged violations against union members. The CIO complained of wholesale arrests, searching without warrants, violation of freedom of speech, not permitting strikers on public highways, and other acts in violation of civil rights. The Local 1054 of the TWUA-CIO filed a $500,000 damages suit against American Enka. On May 29 over 300 national guard troops were called to Morristown from Knoxville, Lenoir City, and Etowah due to an eruption of violence after two days of relative calm. There were two dynamiting instances at the homes of the plant workers. A strike breaker's garage was dynamited in Cocke County and the yard of another was dynamited in Whitesburg. The next day over 300 strikers picketed and turned two cars on their side. The actions were described by a reporter as a,"churning mass" (GM May 29, 1950). The Highway Patrol was ordered to push back the strikers while workers passed to the plant. Workers jammed into 20 cars and taxied to and from the plant. The workers left the plant to return home as the picketers escaped the highway patrol and chased the 20 speeding cars through a nearby field, outrunning the picketers to safety. The strikers keep a radio broadcast until the wires were cut by an Enka employ.

America Enka took advantage of the right to work laws and regional labor force to break the strike, advertising for 250 new employees the day after the night of the renewed violence. The advertisement read,

> "The American Enka Corporation is hiring new employees to take the place of employees on strike who have not returned to work. The corporation will continue to hire new employees. Men and women of Hawkins, Cocke, Jefferson. Hawkins, Grainger and Greene Counties who wish Jobs at American Enka corporation should apply at the plant. Enka's wages and working conditions with liberal insurance arrangements are of the best" (GM May 29, 1950).

The next day buses brought workers to the plant. The same day 250 workers crossed the picket line and one picketer was arrested. Over 391 guardsmen were at the site

with 20 military trucks and jeeps. The guards took over the employee kitchen. About 50 new job applicants arrived that day and 100 the next beside 345 National Guard Troops (GM May 30, 1950). As the strike began to slow a Daily Gazette-Mail reporter said, "Only a handful of strikers and pickets were to be seen at the picket line. There were the six regular pickets, much older men than yesterday, minus placards and raincoats, looking sad but faithful in the continuous trickle of rain" (GM May 31, 1950). The State Troops were replaced by the National Guard made out of local armory troops on June 7.

The union held a mass meeting with between 500 and 700 people listening to union leaders from Nashville, New York, and Atlanta. The local CIO leader was on trial for the assault and battery of an AFL recruiter. American Enka and the CIO met on June 2 with little progress. The company refused to negotiate with the union because of a National Labor Relations Board requirement that an election be held to determine which union would represent the workers. Both unions claimed the right to negotiate. The company continued to blame the strike for the delayed expansion of its new plant that would hire 300 hourly production workers.

Violence continued to occur throughout the month of June. Cars were shot at and stoned and returning worker's homes were dynamited. The union picketers continued to ambush workers on the way to and from work. Returning workers began to carry guns and fire back at the strikers. One man taking his wife to work at the plant fired 20 rounds at the pickets. The National Guard was again called in as strikers barricaded the road on June 22. The strikers chased cars through a nearby field again. The workers arrived at the plant on foot (GM June 22, 1950). Some 70 strikers along with the local CIO leader were picked up and were released over shootings the next day. The AFL opted out of the negotiations and the CIO issued a statement challenging the company to negotiate.

The company continued to hire strike breakers. American Enka had 478 employees back on the job by June 23 and by July 24, 674 workers had returned. The company

advised in the newspaper, "would it be fair for the company in their circumstances to force these employees to permit the CIO union to act as their bargaining agent " (GM June 26, 1950)? The union continued it demands. A spokesman stated, "the company thinks we ought to get paid less because we are hillbillies" and that "workloads ought to be decided by an nonpartial arbitrator not a bunch of management stooges" (GM July 13, 1950). The company offered jobs to its remaining employees who had not participated in violence.

With full production resumed, American Enka offered a raise for night shift workers, paid lunch periods, and improved benefits. These were its original offering to the union that were rejected in March. The union attempted a few last efforts to gain higher wages and benefits. It pointed out the higher wages by the Viscose company in plants in Virginia and West Virginia and the Celanese Corporation in South Carolina and Georgia. The company resumed full production on August 10. The state estimated the strike cost the taxpayers $305,000 by June of 1950.

Following the strike in September of 1950, American Enka held "Fun Week" for its new and old employees. Fun Week consisted of five days of games, entertainment, and eats. For five days 800 people met to picnic, play softball, and get prizes with other workers from their shift. On stage at Fun Week was the country music radio station WNOX and the local 'hillbilly stars' Bonnie Lou and Buster (GM September 6, 1950). Company and worker solidarity were never challenged again at the Lowland plant.

The Enka strike alerted the community to outside union agitators. It became difficult for outside union officials to infiltrate into the community and company relations after the strike. American Enka officials continued to fight against unions and used the great strike in its favor. There were five attempts by the union to re-establish at American Enka between 1951 and 1962. In an upcoming union election in 1962 the company stated, "For the past 12 years our people at Lowland have made it very clear they don't want anything to do with unions" (GM August 14, 1962). Interviews with former employees

show that negotiations after the strike were orderly. One company representative stated, "I think there was a fear that no one wanted the big strike on either side" (Interview, American Enka Plant Official, March 16, 1995). Over 3300 American Enka production employees at the North Carolina plant went on strike in May of 1962. The Morristown Lowland plant's 1780 employees voted in the United Textile Workers Union of America (UTWA) AFL-CIO in 1963 (GM May 29, 1962).

Attempts to unionize or maintain unions in the furniture industries usually failed. Union drives often appeared incompetent to the public. Gluck Brothers and Berkline had unions for only a few years. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, AFL-CIO and the United furniture Workers, AFL-CIO represented the plants. Gluck Brothers brought a petition to bring to an end the representation of its employees by the United Furniture Workers in 1959. The company's open letter to the newspaper stated, "We no longer have a union and you and I are free to go ahead and work out any problems we may have without union interference. In plain words the union ran out on the employees at our plant and quit, without an election" (GM August 6, 1959).

Unions continued to fight for representation among themselves that also led to defeats. Berkline responded to the presence of union organizers by pointing to the solidarity between its workers, the company, and the community. With a union election coming up Berkline issued a statement to the community in 1959 saying,

> "Outside union organizers have moved into our community. They are a attempting to organize the Berkline Corporation and disrupt the harmonious relationships that have existed over the years between the company and our employees, as usual their tactics are to promise them anything and everything. These organizers say that our employees need a union in order to gain all of the benefits they are already receiving" (GM May 31, 1959).

Berkline officials' responded that the company was the highest paying furniture industry in town. It offered paid vacations, hospital and life insurance, and free vaccines.

Also Berkline, as it had done in the past, pointed out to the community its contribution to general community welfare. This time Berkline pointed to its scholarships. The unions lost the election with 703 votes for no union out of 1018 voters in 1959. The Union of Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was decertified carrying 19 votes and the Union of Electrical Workers was rejected with 225 votes (GM May 31, 1959). In the same month the United Textile Workers of American and the United Mine Workers were rejected at American Enka. The vote was 808 for no union, 545 votes for the Textile Workers of American, and 50 votes for the United Mine Workers of a total of 1486 votes (GM May 24, 1959).

The only other major strike in Hamblen County was a walkout at Magnavox in February 1961 in a dispute over sick leave. Over 1400 workers went out on strike when a shop steward was not reinstated after a sick leave (GM February 8, 1961). Workers picketed at the courthouse and at the plant. Cars were rocked at roadblocks near the plant, tire slashed, and dynamite set off. In the end 202 strikers were fired (GM February 23, 1961).

The Chamber of Commerce's intentions of maintaining peace in the labor market for industrial recruitment can be seen in its response to the Magnavox strike. On February 23 1961, the Chamber of Commerce issued an editorial in the newspaper saying that it had eight active prospects who visited the area in the last three months and that the labor factor was a major factor in the decision to local in Morristown. Good relations in the Morristown labor market area would require a "responsible productive labor force..." and that the, "locals working at Magnavox cannot afford another labor flare up like Enka" (GM February 23, 1961).

The labor relations in Morristown were exceptionally quiet except for the Enka strike. Local companies battled unions by offering pay increases to production workers to halt union organizing efforts. Company paternalism played a role in union organizing and

negotiations. The National Labor Relations Board cited Shelby-Williams for unfair labor practices in June of 1967. The board ordered the company to discontinue announcing wage increases in a manner calculated to hinder the efforts of any labor organization. The company claimed the across the board wage hikes were announced because of a labor shortage in Morristown (GM June 27, 1967). Small plants were the hardest to organize. The UTWU-CIO lost two elections at Forenta, a small furniture company with 140 workers. In 1963 the vote was 41 to 26 and in 1965 the vote was 93-38 (GM November 10, 1962). Workers represented by the United Rubber Workers went on strike at the Henrite Rubber Molding company in 1966 for increased wages, holidays, holiday pay, union security, and for the company to acknowledge who had union eligibility within the plant. The union asked for an 8 cent raise for men and a 13 cent raise for women. The union claimed the company refused to take out union dues from workers' paychecks. Remembering the Enka strike the picketers reported, "We don't what any violence and we aren't going to have any on the picket line (GM March 3, 1966).

Unionization remained a controversial issue after the strike at American Enka. Most plants in Hamblen County remained ununonized. In the 1970s another wave of activity would follow economic restructuring. Workers in low wage plants experienced a rapid decline in their standard of living as companies adjusted to declining profits. By 1976, The United Textile Workers Union represented four plants with 5,680 members in Morristown including, America Enka.

Summary

United States hegemony over the world economy after the Second World War led to the restructuring of Hamblen County as a growth node in the semiperiphery South. Branch plants searching for low-wage labor relocated to Hamblen County in search of

lower wages. The rising standard of living in the eastern United States was fueled by lower wages in South. Development transformed Hamblen County through full-scale industrialization, population growth, and the expansion of infrastructure.

The State of Tennessee played a vital role in shaping industrial recruitment, annexation, and labor policy during this period. Key features of state policy spurring development brought out in this chapter include development grants and annexation policies. The State of Tennessee assisted the county to recruit industry through company tax abatements, right-to-work laws, and other subsidies to industry.

In conjunction with the state, a local growth alliance or growth machine developed and began to shape local policy around industrial recruitment and the expansion of Morristown. The expansion of Morristown restructured the county's political base away from decentralized groups in the county to the development of industrial and infrastructure in Morristown. Development created a large tax burden for the county that remained high until the 1960s. During this period professional planning changed the structure of government around urban renewal and industrial recruitment. Civic groups centered around the Chamber of Commerce structured participation in development.

Industrialization reflected the large number of furniture industries and American Enka. Between 1945 and 1970 Hamblen County served as a rural industrial base and growth node attracting indigenous and outside industry centered on low-wage labor. The large number of wage sensitive furniture plants shaped industrial development around maintaining a low-wage labor force drawn from surrounding counties. It was found in this chapter that the concentration of low-wage industry in the county shaped unionization by keeping out unions. The large in-migration of workers from other counties created a situation where local labor competed with outside migrants. It was also found that workers continued to maintain part-time agriculture to supplement low wages creating profit for industry and making the area attractive for plants. Furthermore the concentration of branch

plants in Hamblen County led to a lack of labor mobility for professional and skilled workers from the area. It was found that the growth node allows companies to choose from a large labor pool keeping wages down.

Resistance to development occurred on a number of fronts. Communities on the fringes of Morristown responded vocally to annexation. State policy was changed to require that individuals have the burden of proof and not the county in annexation decisions. Most areas were annexed but almost all struggled with the city council. Labor resistance followed along expected lines in Hamblen County as a mainly nonunion county in the South. The main exception was the American Enka strike in 1950. This strike became violent as the union and company refused to settle grievances. State intervention and right-to-work laws effectively ended the strike as workers legally crossed the picket lines. The force used by the state effectively contained strikers. The strike served as a reminder for workers and unions for the next 20 years in Hamblen County. Outside of a few instances there was little union activity during that period.

The next chapter looks at the decline of the United States as the hegemonic leader of the world economy and the changing shape for development in Hamblen County.

CHAPTER VI

U.S. HEGEMONIC DECLINE AND THE SMALLTOWN, 1970-1985

This chapter looks at the changes that occurred in Hamblen County from 1965 to 1980, a period that is characterized by the decline of the United States as the world hegemon. The decline occurred because the United States lost its domination over production processes in the world market. Increased competition from abroad created declining profits for companies and their subsequent restructuring around the globe. The first section traces the nature of the United States decline and its impact on Morristown's industry. Next it looks at the declining position of labor in the 1970s. The next section documents the role of the Appalachian Regional Commission and the East Tennessee Development District in Morristown's development. This section focuses on the types of local participation in the commission and it's changing emphasis toward industrial recruitment. The third section records the responses of communities to the changing political and economic circumstances. The emphasis is on the response of local people to the increased activities of developers and planners to shape the development process. The last section of this chapter looks at the changing local balance of power.

Responding to Hegemonic Decline

The Local Crisis

According to Wallerstein, there are no long run monopolies in the capitalist world economy due to the logic of competition (1991). World systems theorists argue that the post-United States hegemonic era of global capitalism is the continuation of uneven

capitalist development in a period of economic stagnation. One of the trends of the transnationalization of capital is the growing importance of production decisions on a global scale (Chase Dunn 1989). The restructuring includes the movement of companies from the rustbelt in the Northeast to the Sunbelt in the United States and to other low cost sites around the world (Chase Dunn 1989). This shift to the periphery created industrialization in the periphery that often occurred at the expense of areas in the core (Frobel et al.1980; Ross and Trachte 1983).

Studies of the transformation in rural American (Nash 1989; Tauxe 1993) and in the Appalachia South (Gaventa et. al 1990) reveal a number of important effects on community and labor relations due to the geographical restructuring of production processes and the intensification of labor competition on a global scale. The shifting of production processes from core countries to semiperiphery and periphery regions means a situation of dependent development for the new production zones of the world economy (Evans 1979). Dependent development reflects the movement of plants searching for a larger profit squeeze.

The result of the geographic restructuring is to lower the value of low wage labor in the core. Communities in the Appalachian South fought to preserve the favorable cost conditions as jobs began to go overseas. Shop closings in the Southern textile, apparel, shoes, and chemical industries reflected the increasing transformation of the world labor market. Areas such as Hamblen County that had earlier provided cheaper labor within the core, now competed with labor on the periphery of the world-economy. Plants in the South that had expanded in the 1940-1960 period, contracted leading to layoffs and closings. The result was an increase in unemployment rates and the destruction of communities.

Wallerstein overviews the building of the Japanese-owned Saturn plant to Middle Tennessee in the context of the United States decline and changing global faces,

> "If by reindustrialization anyone thinks it is possible to restore the economic situation of 1950-1970, that person is living in a fantasyland. A recent colloquy in the U.S. Congress illustrates this. When a Michigan congressmen complained that the Japanese automobile industry was responsible for unemployment in Michigan, a Tennessee congressmen retorted that the same industry was responsible for new employment in his state...What the Tennessee congressman failed to add was that this new employment was of the variety that the U.S. automobile industry had traditionally offered Nigeria-assembly plants. The wage bill was lower, the tax revenue (for the United States) was lower, and the percentage of profits reinvested in the United States was lower" (1987:22).

The Appalachian South experienced a decline of industrial jobs starting in the 1970s. By the 1980s there was a reversal of job growth (Harrison and Bluestone 1981; Gaventa et al. 1990; Couto 1994). Hamblen County's industries experienced the effects of declining profits and layoffs by the mid-1970s. A number of plants shifted the locus of their investments and personnel to other sites. Throughout the 1970s the unemployment rate reflected the changes in the world economy. The county's unemployment rate was 3.6% in 1950 and 5.3% in 1960 reflecting the high rate of industrialization and the expanding economy. The unemployment rate in Hamblen County was 4.7% in 1970. In 1974 the unemployment rate went from 5.9% to 10% in the same year (GM December 8, 1974). In 1975 and 1976 massive layoffs and plant closings inflated the unemployment rate that remained high until the end of the 1980s (See Table 4).

Both high and low wage industries declined as a result of economic restructuring in Hamblen County during this period. American Enka, the county's largest employer, restructured its work force causing layoffs and the permanent loss of jobs in the 1970s and 80s. Employment at American Enka peaked at 5,000 workers in the late 1960s. The company hired less than 3,000 workers in Hamblen County by 1980 (Newman 1981). The first layoff at the Lowland plant of 183 workers was due to decreased orders in October 1974 (GM October 15, 1974). The scaling back in low-wage manufacturing which accompanied economic downturn had an impact on low-wage workers in Hamblen

County. The furniture plants, already vulnerable to the fluctuations of the housing industry, declined throughout in the 1970s. Furniture employment in Hamblen County went from 54% of the total manufacturing labor force in 1960 to 38% in 1970 (See Table 3).

Hamblen County's furniture plants experienced large layoffs and closures throughout the 1970s. The branch furniture factory Henrite closed it's Morristown plant in October of 1974 leaving 90 people out of work (GM October 9, 1974). Magnavox laid off 300 workers in Morristown in November of 1974. Many of the workers the company had just recently hired. Lea Industries closed six regional plants with 114 employees from Morristown left without work on the same day as the Magnavox layoffs (GM November 22, 1974). Branch furniture plants reflected changes in both the local and regional economies. Magnavox also closed all of its plants for a month in 1974 laying off 5,000 workers in Tennessee and North Carolina (GM December 6, 1974). Modern Upholstered Chair company went out of business in December of 1976 leaving 250 employees without jobs. The company's owner had been in the furniture factory business in Morristown since 1938 (GM December 10, 1976).

The next section looks at the desperate actions of local workers to the impact of global restructuring.

The Crisis of Labor: Not So Much Antiunion, but Antiunion Card and Organization

The standard of living of workers deteriorated during the period of economic stagnation beginning in the early 1970s. The support of unions increased briefly in Morristown in the 1970s as low wage workers fought to maintain their standard of living. By the end of the decade economic stagnation led to the declining ability of labor to negotiate due to competing labor forces in the world economy. Unions began to decline in

the late 1970s behind the increased concentration of corporate wealth, capital mobility, and the resulting deindustrialization. Low-wage workers in the semiperiphery, who provided the labor power for a rising United States standard of living in the period of United States hegemony, were faced in the 1980s with global labor competition. Union membership in the United States went from 40% to 15% of the total work force between the mid-1950s and 1980s (Ansley 1993).

Morristown's furniture factories experienced serious economic hardships in the 1970s. Income figures show a large lag in income for Morristown when compared to the State of Tennessee between 1969 and 1979. Mean family income for Hamblen County increased from $7,936 to $17,432, a 119.7% increase between 1969 and 1979. At the same time, the State of Tennessee's overall mean family income increased at a rate of 169.6% from $7,298 to $19,674 between 1969 and 1979. The same was true with per capita income where Hamblen County had a growth rate of 130.8% from $2,582 to $5,960 between 1969 and 1979. The per capita increase for the state however went from $2,896 to $7,080 or a 340% increase during the same period (ETDD 1986:6,7).

Low-wage earners faced with rising inflation increased the drive for unionization in Morristown in the 1970s. The economic recession crippled worker's ability to make real progress. By the end of the decade unions were weaker than at the beginning of the decade. The declining earning power of wages made workers more friendly to union organizers. The struggle between companies and unions in wage sensitive industries in Morristown in the 1970s were bitter. Union organizers continued to struggle for small furniture plants that fiercely resisted unionization. Small plants involved long union campaigns. Owners of small plants aggressively resisted unionization. Morristown Foam worker's rejected the United Textile Workers of America (UTWA) by a 101-38 vote in August of 1972 after a two month union campaign. Workers at Morristown Foam rejected the UTWA again in December of 1973. This time the union lost by only 11 votes with 96

against and 85 for the union (GM December 9, 1973). The independent union Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America (ICW) won an election and struck the plant in 1974.

The UTWA was active in Morristown. It was voted down by a 413 to 264 vote at Forest Products in September of 1972. The National Labor Relations Board charged that during the election, "the people didn't have a free choice. The workers were threatened, coerced, and promised a lot of things the company can't deliver" (GM September 28, 1972). Two years later the union was voted in at Forest Products by a 376 to 246 vote. An UTWA representative stated, "We have our eye on several other industries in Morristown." He also charged that, "The management of Forest Products spent thousands of dollars campaigning against the union" (GM September 1, 1974). Other companies did the same. A chicken processing plant in Morristown, Burnetts Produce, was sued by the UTWU because its security guard assaulted a union organizer handing out leaflets in front of the plant. The union won the ensuing election 108 to 50. Burnetts Produce publicly announced that it was going out of business due to declining profits (GM August 13, 1974). It did not go out of business. Burnetts Produce hired local low wage workers until the late 1980s when migrant workers entered the job market.

The International Association of Bridge, Structures, and Ornamental Iron Workers, AFL-CIO (Local 715) struck at the Jeffrey manufacturing plant in 1974. The union accused Jeffrey of the harassment of union workers for threatening to discharge workers if they failed to return to the job. Jeffrey got a restraining order against the union after it stepped up efforts for a strike at it's Morristown plant. Union representatives pointed out that the paid holidays and insurance at the company's Ohio plant were not available for workers in Morristown. Magnavox battled union organizers at its plant after increasing jobs in Morristown in 1974. The company stated they were, "Not so much anti union but anti union card and organization" (GM March 12, 1974).

Larger plants were more likely to be unionized. The local United Mine Workers, Local 1617, struck the Lear Siegler plant in May of 1974 with 500 members meeting at a rally at the recreation center to reject the companies offer. The company responded it was unable to absorb the three million asked for by the workers. All but a handful voted against rejecting the offer. Other higher paying industries unionized. Employees at Shelby-Williams passed the United Mine Workers Union by a vote of just 272 for 253 against. American Enka workers went out on strike in October of 1976 over a wage dispute. Over 2100 workers walked out even though the company was in the grips of declining profits due to an unstable fiber business. The company had just announced the loss of two million dollars (GM October 15, 1976). The strike was short and the last one at the Lowland Enka plant. The company threatened layoffs due to the troubled state of the fiber industry. Soon afterward the company began laying off workers.

Union activity in Hamblen Counties furniture industries declined by the late 1970s. By the mid-1980s strikes were a thing of past except. Unions continued to be concentrated at larger companies. By 1988, none of the unions polled by the Department of Economic and Community Development had struck in the past 15 years, including the UTWA union (Department of Economic and Community Development 1988). The rise in unemployment and the antiunion stance of the Reagan era effectively ended the ability of unions to bargain. The period of economic domination of the world economy during the in the 1950s and 1960s allowed low wage workers in the semiperiphery to raise wages over time. This period was followed by an era of complex changes in the labor market and unionization leaving low wage workers in a fight for survival.

This chapter next examines the Appalachia Regional Commission and its local development district the East Tennessee Development District.

The Federal Response

The Appalachian Development District

The idea that regional planning can raise the standard of living of rural people in the United States was applied to Appalachia in the 1960s by the Appalachian Regional Commission. Regional planning is based on the assumption that only by approaching an area as a region can problems such as poverty and economic underdevelopment be solved (Glass 1972:14). The goals of the ARC are to develop infrastructure, attract business, train workers, and provide technical assistance.

The Economic Development Administration (EDA) was the predecessor of the ARC. The EDA was created by the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. The Appalachian Regional Commission evolved from the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. The State of Tennessee created Economic Development Districts from the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 (Hyatt 1970).

The ARC set up 40 Local Development Districts in Appalachia with four districts in Tennessee Appalachia. As Economic Development Districts, the districts were eligible for several classes of grants. These included the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Departments of Justice, Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare (Carnathan 1973). The main function of the development district is to aid communities to obtain federal grants for local movements and to meet the needs of industry. Meeting these requirements involve providing information to applicants, reviewing applications, promoting projects, and obtaining projects (Glass 1972:108).

The creation of local development districts in 1965 created new partnerships between capitalists, local entrepreneurs, political officials, and state and regional agencies. The assistance offered by the development districts included meeting the requirements of companies, assisting with federal grants, and assessing local needs. The development districts help communities meet the needs of companies by acting as go-between for local

communities and incoming plants. The ARC represents a new phase in state intervention in industrial recruitment.

The approach of the ARC is patterned on the idea of stimulating private investment much like regional planning in developing nations. The ARC was not designed to be a new agency but a coordinating body bringing resources together. The ARC program strategy was based on a report by its predecessor, the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, suggesting that judicious placement of public investments could result in inducing private investors to establish industrial enterprises, thereby creating employment opportunities (Carnathan 1973:70).

Looking at the role of the ARC and Appalachian Development, Thomas Shannon argues that ARC policies reflect the new position of Appalachia in the world economy as an industrializing semiperiphery area. The industrialization of Appalachia involved the opening of satellite industrial plants specializing in low-wage, low-skilled operations. The ARC plays the role of a state manager operating to satisfy local, federal, and state interests. Shannon argues that in the early days the ARC reflected a mix of pressures from state managers and had to make it appear to be responsive to mass needs. Thus it provided general benefits to the population of the region. In the final analysis he says, "Thus the ARCs efforts generally reinforced Appalachia's developing pattern of satellite, low-wage industrial plants and took as a given that development has to proceed by creating a favorable climate for corporate investment in such plants" (Shannon 1984:149).

The next section looks at the specific relations between the ARC and Hamblen County. I am interested in understanding how ARC policies shape development and participation.

The East Tennessee Development District

This section documents the East Tennessee Development District (ETDD) and its relationship to Hamblen County's growth and politics. Hamblen County is in the ETDD that is the largest of the Tennessee development districts. Compared to the other development districts in the state, the ETDD is characterized by diversity in land use, topography, economy, social structure, and urbanization (Glass 1972:46). The ETDD is made up of 16 counties. The district organization office of the ETDD is in Knox County. Knox County is the largest county in the district. The ETDD has broad responsibility for the development of the physical, economic, and social environment in the 16 district counties (ETDD 1978:30). The role of the local development district is to coordinate state, federal, and local agencies. Of the ETDD counties, Hamblen was one of the designated growth centers or what was initially called non-development areas. Another goal of the ETDD is to provide technical assistance in planning including a number of undefined services like providing contacts. The industrial recruitment function of development district was not as important in the initial period but by the 1980s provided the main function of the ETDD (Glass 1972:109).

Hamblen County is the main employment center for the northeast part of the ETDD. It also draws employees from Hawkins and Hancock Counties in the Northeast Development District. Only Hamblen and Scott Counties had less than 10% of their population commuting to other counties in 1965. Over 30% of Grainger County workers commuted to other counties in 1965. The periphery counties suffer from a low tax base. Periphery areas become bedroom communities due to their relationship to the growth node areas and lack of infrastructure. The industrial tax base means that growth node areas, with the assistance of the ARC's array of grants, are able to provide regional medical centers, libraries, colleges, and job training besides being an industrial center (Glass 1972).

The ETDD breakdown of counties includes Redevelopment Areas. Redevelopment counties are the most rural and least developed. They became in effect satellite counties to the Nonredevelopment Areas of Knoxville, Oak Ridge, and Morristown. The ETDD non-redevelopment areas, including Hamblen County, all had vocational training facilities by 1968. The ETDD strategy pointed to the lack of vocational training and the regions educational system as a main problem in its inception in 1965. The area's low skill level is seen as the main reason for the concentration of low-wage industries. The ETDD points out that education levels vary greatly between counties with Redevelopment counties having the lowest spending and attainment. The low education level makes conditions right for low wage industries. Hamblen County had higher rates of high school graduates than nearby Redevelopment counties such as Grainger County. Hamblen County's low-wage industries do not retain skilled labor in the area with high out-migration of skilled workers.

The ETDD reported in 1968 that the, "The majority of the existing industries in the District require only minimum skills, and as a result, the wages paid by the industries are low and value added, small" (ETDD 1968:196). Hamblen County as a rural growth center fuels the expansion of low-wage industries more than any other ETDD growth node. The low wages and high number of jobs led to less over all growth in payrolls in Morristown's industries (ETDD 1968:119).

ARC policy shapes local development by its approach to participation in the development district. The State of Tennessee Planning Commission set up its own development districts to coincide with the development districts of the ARC. The State was historically inactive in regional development until the 1960s except for the TVA's Office of Tributary Development Program.[17] The inclusion of county officials in the State of Tennessee development districts required that the 1935 State and Regional Planning Act be

[17]The State Planning Commission created 23 regional commissions in the first 15 years of its existence beginning in 1935. Of these 13 were municipal and 10 were county regions. Of the 10 county regions only 3 involved more than 1 county (Glass 1972:52).

amended because it provided that elected officials could not be in the majority on any regional development coalition. The inclusion of local leaders in the development coalition was a requirement for the Economic Development Act of 1965 and the Appalachian Regional Development Act (Glass 1972; Hyatt 1970).

The inclusion of the industrial board and mayor changed the nature of local participation in development in Tennessee. Representation on the ARC board was limited to one member from each county and municipality plus one additional representative from each county who was a member of a local agency dealing with industrial development. The municipal representative was appointed by the mayor, and the two county representatives were appointed by the county judge for four-year terms (Carnathan 1973:188). One of the effects of regional planning is that elected officials and industrial recruiters became the main local agents and representatives behind development. Other parties influenced by development decisions must then seek to participate in the process as outsiders. The regional approach of the ARC organized industrial recruitment so the Development District representatives were better able to assist local managers in decisions on industrial recruitment and back up projects with federal money. Local managers became important actors backed by federal money.

Local participation in decision making was shaped by ARC representatives and the ARC board. The initial approach of the ARC was to increase modernization and professional planning in an attempt to breakdown the gridlock of local control. The new network was described as a "combined local, state, and federal effort to break this vicious cycle of deficiencies by forming an effective regional structure which could combine the political and financial abilities of existing government units with ability to design, operate and implement programs across jurisdictional lines" (Glass 1972:56).

The ARC, from its inception, stressed the importance of local participation in development districts. The local community was responsible for its own development and

must meet the agency with a plan backed by local support, money, and infrastructure. Studies found that local people participated in directly through elected officials and seldom participated directly in the planning of projects. In an effort to localize decisions, project initiation comes from the district and not the state. This approach allowed local directors to put money where it was needed or at least where the local board believed it was needed. Studies by the ETDD in the 1970s revealed direct public participation began and end through the supporting or opposing the actions of local leaders involved in creating projects with the assistance of the ARC. Local representation on the ARC staff represented a top down process where the mayor and County judge appointed local development district members.

The East Tennessee Development District made several attempts to create public participation in the 1970s. In 1971 it adopted a policy of holding well-publicized meetings. The ETDD distributed monthly and annual reports, news releases, and brochures. These attempts were designed to help local governments and other organizations with communications and media relationships. Since the ETDD emphasized local participation it sought to assist people who took initiative within each community. Citizens were invited to participate through media releases.

Studies on participation by the ETDD in the 1970s found most local people who participated in the ETDD had a cause or a project to emphasize. Few local people were interested in development. Other findings were that the citizen's conferences attracted the professional conference goer and that developing self-sustaining citizen organizations would be difficult at best. Concerning participation the ETDD writes that traditionally the more articulate and better financed interests have had little or at least have much less difficulty in being heard. To address this the ETDD initiated a public meeting approach with the following results:

> "There are some obvious difficulties with public meetings. Frequently such meetings are held too late in the planning process and the public feels that the basic decisions have already been made. If meetings are held early in the planning process, the public may feel that there is insufficient information or response. In the typical public meeting, those heard are government staffs, engineers, other 'authorities' working on a particular project or plan, or organized groups reading from carefully prepared statements" (ETDD 1978).

The key to understanding local participation in development after 1965 was the requirements for local citizens and communities to accept if not participate in the acquiring of local grants. Theoretically ETDD representatives try to involve local county residents. Morristown was a regional leader in seeking to use the grants for economic and industrial growth.

The fight for local autonomy in Hamblen County continued to shape the battles over the issues of development in the 1970s and 1980s. However the economy created broad changes in the lives of workers and companies.

Hegemonic Decline

The New Growth Agenda

Local politics in Morristown intensified in the 1970s. In 1961 the city administrator style of government was selected by the City Council in Morristown to handle the increased requirements of officials and planners to manage city growth. The ARC's guidelines require that local governments take the initiative to access grants through the ETDD and other federal agencies. To recruit industry it required that communities participate and became developmentally oriented in an effort to prepare the community for accommodating industry. The ETDD approach stressed a progressive consensus oriented attitude by the community. In Morristown one of the changes that occurred in the 1970s was the shift in the local political arena as the industrial board of the Chamber of Commerce became an

important political position due to its position as a ETDD representative. Federal grants became more urgent in the mid-1970s as the need for new industry increased reflecting the economic stagnation of hegemonic decline and declining profits in the furniture industries.

The growth machine was further strengthened in the 1970s when a new local newspaper, the Morristown Citizen-Tribune, became the only newspaper in town. The Tribune offered a new emphasis centered on growth within the region. The paper's backers overlapped with the local boosters including the Chamber of Commerce, the industrial board, and the Mayor's office. The decline of the old guard paper the Morristown Daily Gazette and Mail accompanied the rise of the Citizen Tribune. The Daily Gazette and Mail was the oldest paper in Morristown and the oldest continuously run paper in upper East Tennessee.

The decline of smalltown newspapers reflected the corporate ownership of local newspapers (Marger 1993). The struggle between the new progressives and the conservative guard spilled over into the media. The rise of a new newspaper oriented toward development coincided with the decline of the old guard newspaper. The new newspaper the Citizen Tribune took a regional development approach to news gathering and community service. The agenda setting function of the new paper was not corporate ownership per se but the inclusion of community solidarity into a paper supporting the development agenda of the Chamber of Commerce.

The paper played an important role in the balanced growth of Morristown. It presented the city budget for public inspection, printed stories on the opposition to government actions while supporting improvements. The Daily-Gazette Mail was a single family owned and edited paper. The Daily Gazette-Mail had little circulation outside the Morristown and Hamblen County region. The subtitle of the paper for many years read the words, "Independent and Undominated." The paper as a hometown publication represented local residents' points of view. The paper freely ran controversial letters to the

editor. During the expansion period its subtitle changed to, "Your paper-devoted to the Progressive Upbuilding of Morristown and Hamblen County" (GM July 8, 1949).

The Tribune's emphasis on industry recruitment shape how events are interpreted by Morristown public. The powerful emphasis on growth through the media shapes public perception of development projects. Sally Maggard suggests that the role of the media is, "to bring people their concepts, symbols, images of heroines and heroes, emotional charges, definitions of public values, and directional information. As a result, the media is a potential resource for people who want to reinforce the prevailing social order" (1983:68). The decline of the old guard newspaper signaled a shift in how the public perceives development after 1975 in Morristown.

A new approach to industrial recruitment in Morristown followed the collapse of the old guard newspaper and deepening economic crisis. The Chamber of Commerce began a campaign to diversify industry in Morristown in the early 1970s. This effort intensified as the decade passed. At its annual banquet in 1972, members point out the need to increase the recruiting of other types of industries other than furniture (GM January 12, 1972). Expansion in the 1960s brought in a number of new plants and the Chamber of Commerce prepared for further industrial growth. During their 1972 banquet, the Chamber of Commerce advertised the addition of 28 new plants creating 5,000 jobs and 50 plant expansions creating 8,000 jobs in the 1960s. The Miss America was the honored guest at the banquet (GM January 23, 1974). The Chamber of Commerce and the Industrial Board politically were countered by an ultraconservative faction as in the past. Only now the farmers were factory workers and the ability to make direct decisions about taxes and spending was slipping away with the coordinated efforts from the new growth coalition.

In 1974 the Chamber of Commerce had programs in community development, human resources, economic affairs, and internal affairs. The Chamber of Commerce sought to increase the facilities to expand industry. The Morristown Industrial

Development Board of the Chamber of Commerce developed a plan for a second industrial park in west Hamblen County in 1974. With an unemployment rate of 14% and the first industrial park filled up, the board recommended a new park for industry. The industrial recruiters had recently visited Chicago and talked to a number of industries that might locate at the park. The Industrial Board member stated that 27 industries had looked at Hamblen County in 1974.

At the proposal hearings, residents protested that the industrial board had not taken the matter before the county commission as require. The Chamber of Commerce acted autonomously and the response of local voters was to refuse the park even with the increased need for jobs (GM December 11, 1974). The result was that the park took three tries for ratification. The park was defeated twice in city wide referendums. The first vote was 2,885 for and 1,700 against the park with a two-thirds majority required for passing. The third time the Chamber of Commerce proposed a plan to put the park in West Hamblen County on 314 acres costing 1.7 million dollars. The park passed by a 66% majority on the third try (Newman 1981). Governor Winfield Dunn approved ARC funds for an industrial park in Hamblen County on December 22, 1974. The new 670 acre park is called the Morristown Airport Industrial District. To facilitate development of plants in the park the city of Morristown received $1 million in ARC funds to build a water system, pumping substation, a sewer line, a railroad lead track, and a county road (Newman 1980:10).

The declining economy in 1975 and 1976 led to an increased drive to obtain public funds and grants. In 1975 the high unemployment rate qualified Morristown for additional funds to stimulate economic growth. The Economic Adjustment Act offered funds to distressed cities who can show a community effort to help itself with local economic and industrial development. The Chamber of Commerce took an aggressive stance to create the required community participation by the ARC for obtaining federal grants. A citizen

participation plan helped secure the grants. A group of citizen representatives participated in an all day conference including the Chamber executive industrial promoters, school officials, Black leaders, and representatives from religious, medical, and recreational groups (GM May 4, 1975). The city received a grant to build an income producing gas storage facility in the East Tennessee Valley Industrial park in 1975. The selling of the gas was predicted to provide revenues of at least $50,000 a year. The money was spent on local economic development. The grant was obtained by the Chamber of Commerce, the ETDD, and the Economic Development Administration. Morristown received Community development funds for five years during the economic recession. Most of these funds went to build infrastructure for further expansion.

General calls for participation in the granting process drew little local interest. Local participation in federal programs was hindered by the distrust of the city manager system in Hamblen County. The people did not like the idea that public officials knew what was best for them. The public was apathetic and ignored the city officials even when consulted. After a grant was obtained by the city Economic Development Administration questionnaires were given to local residents asking community members what areas of local development should receive the $657,000 in federal community development funds for 1978. Only 50 questionnaires were returned. Of the returned questionnaires, 12 were from County residents and 38 from City residents (CT October 20, 1976). The majority of the money went for the expansion of infrastructure.

In 1976 a Public Improvements Program study by the Department of Housing and Urban Development cited the need for a new elementary school on the West side of town due to an expected annexation. The report also stated the need for two fire stations and equipment including six new fire trucks for the new stations and to replace obsolete ones. Replacing declining infrastructure became a major task of the city. The ETDD reported that the, "Main streets of Morristown must be enlarged and traffic facilities modernized, as to

provide easier access to the employment centers. In addition, general traffic improvements are needed at various places throughout the city" (ETDD 1968:326). The airport was also cited as needing major improvements. It was expanded through a federal grant in 1975. Money from the grant went to build a connector route between Interstate 81 and U.S. Highway 11-E. The expansion gave the airport 5,700 feet of paved runaway. The airport was a site for Southern Airways for a brief time but has had few commercial airlines except for small private flying services.

One of the main projects the city and county combated was the new landfill that would cost an estimated $500,000. In 1972 the city and county negotiated a deal over the use of the landfill where the county residents paid for use of the city operated landfill. This action was taken to meet the new sanitary landfill regulations by the state (GM January 10, 1972). The population and industrial expansion in the 1950s and 60s rapidly consumed the landfill and by 1975 both the city and county struggled to deal with solid waste.

By the late 1970s the industrial recruitors in the city were responding to the crisis by using state and federal grants and assistance to aggressively recruit foreign and domestic industry to Hamblen County. Next we look at the response of developers to the changing economy in the 1980s.

Industrial Recruitment in the 1980s

The drive to recruit industry in Hamblen County intensified in the late 1970s as the economic crisis deepened. Hamblen County increasingly operated as a semiperiphery zone bringing in new plants as old ones left or closed. Large increases in manufacturing meant cyclical growth for Hamblen County between 1970 and 1985. Like most of the country Hamblen County's unemployment rate began to rise again 1979 peaking at 15.4% in 1982 (See Table 4). Deindustrialization in the 1980s negatively affected many rural Appalachian

areas as regions in the United States began to compete with other regions in the world (Gaventa 1987; Ansley 1993). As a rural growth node Hamblen County was in a relatively better position to attract industry than poorer rural towns. The move to rural America by both foreign and American companies in the 1980s also reflected larger trends of long term growth in rural areas. Metro areas declined rapidly in the 1980s while rural areas provided lower rates of profit for companies (O'Malley 1994; Knapp 1995). Increasingly important concerns for plant location include lower living cost, rural recreational facilities, and a lack of crime.

Morristown offers infrastructure, political stability, low labor costs, and hard workers to European companies choosing a site for branch production plants. The move to rural America has been made possible by the new international division of labor where:

> "Not only more or less labor-intensive industries, but also raw material, energy, and pollution-intensive production is transferred to places with cheap labor if these places also provide otherwise favorable conditions. Not only are investment, capacities, and production increased at new locations, but existing production is closed down at locations which have become obsolete for the expansion and accumulation of capital, and is reestablished at other locations" (Frobel et al 1977:84).

Morristown leaders responded to the crisis of deindustrialization by seeking to recruit higher wage plants from Germany and other parts of Europe to replace its declining low wage furniture factories. New companies moved branch plants to rural Hamblen County to escape higher wages in core areas in Europe, Japan, and North America. Industrial recruiter's desired to bring in more international companies to Morristown to continue to diversify industry. The boom and bust cycles of the furniture industry and the continued high unemployment rate after 1975 made recruiting industry important for fiscal growth and jobs. Morristown provided an idea location for branch plants looking for lower labor costs and rural quality of life. The growth coalition began an aggressive plan

to solicit plants for a new industrial park. Efforts were intensified to use federal grants to build infrastructure to make relocation easier for companies.

The town offered companies a rural quality of life to incoming companies and their families. The balanced climate, surrounding lakes, proximity to urban areas, and low crime rates appeal to plant managers coming to rural East Tennessee. The design and building of speculative buildings began in Morristown with the first industrial park in the early 1960s. Speculative buildings are built by the city for future industry. The buildings are leased by the city to companies. Parks have access to gas, rail services, UPS postal service, and a number of trucking companies. Morristown's first industrial park was filled by the late 1980s. The second park called Morristown Airport Industrial District (MAID) had water, sewer, and rail facilities. The first park East Tennessee Valley Industrial District offers gas, power, water and sewer.

With the help of state recruiters local leaders began to take the initiative with trips to Europe to talk to prospective companies about locating in Morristown in the late 1970s. The recruiting trips were paid for by private and city funds. The city advertised the parks to multinational industries. One of the ads for the park reads, "A 25,000-sq. ft. one-story speculative building with 20' to 25' ceiling height. Sprinkler system installed. Gas, power, water, and sewer to building. Has four truck loading docks and situated on six-acre site. Will be finished to specifications of tenant. For sale or lease" (Tennessee Industrial News, May 1976:5). The German piston maker Mahle began operations in Morristown in 1978. The Morristown plant was the first in the United States. Mahle is the largest piston maker in Europe with 300 million in annual sales. In 1978 Mahle had eight plants in Germany, 10,000 employees, and 14 affiliated or licensed manufacturing plants on four continents (CT December 13, 1976). American branch plants such as Rockwell from Chicago and Anchor Brush from Indiana located in Morristown. The reasons the

companies gave for locating in Morristown were lower costs and a higher quality of life (Tennessee Industrial News, May 1977:1).

The industrial board of the Chamber of Commerce pushed to sell the right image of Morristown to companies. One prospect said of the dignitaries selling the town to his company, "We had three dignitaries who came up and preached us a sermon you wouldn't believe... they put on a dog and pony show complete with slides of the area's schools and churches that had Illinois families begging to go to Morristown" (Newman 1980:14). The quality of life dimension is an important component of accommodating the company managers. A recruiter stated that Morristown offers foreign companies a, "Good housing stock and debt-free country club, an important attraction to industry executives" (Newman 1981:10).

A representative for the high paying plant Rockwell stated reasons for their location as railroad service funded by the ARC and power by the TVA. He also said, "This is the only air conditioned forge plant in the United States" (Newman 1981:16). Rockwell moved from Chicago where it was zoned and located near subdivisions. The industrial park provided the services the company needed and the recruiters found the company.

The Rockwell manager also spoke of the work ethic and community attitude. The manager interviewed personally liked the sports program but missed a wide variety of good restaurants. Mahle's spokesmen praised the fire and police protection and other services. Transportation facilities as well as proximity to markets played a role. Available high skilled labor and trainable labor were also mentioned by Rockwell a company using mainly high skilled workers. The manager stated, "I worried some about available skills... but the problem was not so great as I had anticipated" (Newman 1980:17-18).

The industrial board advertises Morristown's updated parks and highways. Panther Creek State Park and other regional tourist attractions provide enticement for incoming plant employees. In the competitive search for industry Morristown recruiters

expanded its offerings to companies. Morristown boosters took advantage of the state's pro-business approach to industry. The Governor set up the Tennessee Industrial Task Force to help foreign industries who are locating in Tennessee. Two of Morristown's industrial recruiters were on the task force. Mahle was the first company assisted by the program. The program was designed to, "cut red tape and avoid unnecessary delays between the time the plant is announced and the start of operations" (Tennessee Industrial News, January 1977:1).

The State of Tennessee's policies allowed recruiters to advertise other advantages of Morristown to industry. Hamblen County did not yet have to offer local giveaways to stay competitive in the 1980s. The State of Tennessee offers companies a number of advantages up front. The pro-business climate offers tax exemptions on finished goods, no sales tax on industrial and pollution-control machinery, and a high regressive sales tax. Over 49% of the state's tax revenue comes from sales taxes. Tennessee's State government expenditures per capita and school revenues are among the lowest in the nation (Garber 1990:179). A Morristown industrial recruiter stated,

> "We offer many incentives, but we don't give away taxes. We're interested in companies. But we also want them to contribute to the community. Tennessee has no personal income tax. The state is in the process of phasing out a one percent use tax on industrial machinery and equipment and phasing in an investment tax credit which will give companies a tax break on one percent of the cost of newly purchased equipment and machinery. The state does not levy taxes on raw materials used in manufacturing. And Tennessee has a uniform tax evaluation, assuring an industrialist that his property will be equitably assessed wherever he locates in the state" (Newman 1981:10).

The industrial board chairman stated, "There's a great deal of controversy about give away programs in the Sunbelt... We don't give away anything. We haven't in the past, and we don't plan to in the future. We depend on good schools, good roads, good sewers, good community services, And those come from property and sales taxes" (Newman 1981:10). Preparing for industrial recruitment in the 1980s increasingly became

a search for multinational corporations. Morristown leaders aimed at expanding existing industry and at diversifying the industrial base in the 1970s and 80s.

The new growth machine was countered by working class politics in the 1970s in Morristown. The response of local workers and citizens to the changing patterns of local and state government was to rebel against their declining standard living, loss of autonomy, and the intervention of the state into local affairs.

Resistance

Working Class Politics

The conservative farmers and large local working class were led by one of the few charismatic mayors in Morristown's history in the 1970s. The mayor served three terms between 1971 and 1977. During this time he represented working people by supporting labor unions and publicizing development policy. He was in favor of balanced growth and against increased debt. During his terms he often countered the growth machine and came to represent local sentiment against outside intervention into local affairs.

The recruitment of industry overlapped with the union and labor's struggles over wages. The mayor seized the struggle of the working class and drew support by defending the working class. As a small business owner his discourse was on the local level. He openly called for higher wages in Morristown's furniture factories on the local country music radio station. He owned a business in Cocke County and assisted Enka strikers in the 1950s. He was on picket lines in the 1960s negotiating with workers and leaders at a number of strikes (Interview, Former Mayor, May 12, 1995).

In his attacks on the furniture plants he compared the wages of the new high paying industries in Morristown in the late 1960s. Five high wage companies situated in Morristown between 1967 and 1970 providing 3,030 new jobs. The new companies

supply parts for automobiles. Hamblen County had six fortune 500 companies by the 1970s . The furniture companies were beginning to feel pressure for higher wages. Hamblen County, as a semiperipheral area, began to take its place on the global assembly line as a supplier of parts for multinationals. The restructuring changed local politics as the wage battles became part of the battle for political control.

The battle over wages affected industrial recruitment. Incoming plants contacted plants already in the area about the labor force and community. Berkline as a labor intensive, large low-wage furniture factory fought to keep out higher wage industries. Referrals from existing industry are important to industrial recruitment. One company, Chrysler Air -Temp, contacted Berkline after making a decision to move a plant to Morristown. The company pulled out at the last minute due to Berkline's description of an incompetent labor force. Many of Chrysler Air-Temp managers had already bought houses in Morristown. The mayor gained a copy of the letter and read it over the radio. The letter was also printed in the newspaper.

Berkline expanded its plant in Livingston, Tennessee instead of Morristown after the incident with Chrysler Air-temp. The city council and the populists questioned why the company had not expanded in Morristown. The company responded that it has something to do with the political climate in Morristown. The spokesmen said, "We (Berkline) strongly feel that growth of the community is dependent upon the cooperative efforts of business, industry, as well as public officials. Friction and dissent among groups can only work to the detriment of community improvement and progress." (GM February 14, 1972). The mayor responded to the Berkline spokesman,

> "He also says that we don't have any skilled labor here. I say we have one of the best vocational schools in Tennessee or in any other state, and if they will pay anything close to skilled labor wages people will stay in Morristown instead of going up north... Livingston is on the Kentucky state line in middle Tennessee, and I say it's a poverty area. We're on the Kentucky border in East Tennessee, and I say we're in a poverty area. All they have to do is check with the Morristown Housing Authority and see how many people

are trying to get into the low income homes here..." (GM February 14, 1972).

Berkline also expanded its production to other countries during this period. It acquired a Canadian firm and established Berkline of Canada. By 1972 it had licensing agreements in Mexico, Great Britain, Venezuela, and Japan (Tennessee Industrial News, June 1973:1). The company expanded to take advantage of the changing global division of labor with lower labor forces and cheaper sites. The new multinational corporations in Morristown paid more than Berkline and other wage sensitive furniture industries. The mayor's response to Berkline symbolized the era,

> "Anytime that we can get a plant like NCR or Lear Siegler or Jeffrey or Union-Camp or Roadway, City Council will do anything in our power to help them locate here, but we don't want any more industry that wants twenty years free taxes and takes advantage of our working people. I say when a man worked 32 years in one plant and just makes $2.21 an hour, that's not much progress. And I'd like to say...that he didn't make that until I became Mayor" (GM February 14, 1972).

Most of the city council votes were four to one against the populist mayor (CT February 11, 1974). He often oriented his comments toward accountability in government and the high cost of the projects to tax payers. He called for the parking of city cars at night for public service employees during the gas shortage. City council meetings drew large crowds with local supporters cheering the mayor. The crowd clapped and cheered during and after the meetings. At one meeting after being turned down in one of the many disputes over appointments the mayor threatened once again to negotiate for a union for city employees if the council did not appoint an assistant police chief as the new police chief (CT March 6, 1974).

The mayor also was part of a massive community response against a proposed regional prison during his term. The agenda of local and state developers led to a confrontation with local residents on the right to choose how local development would occur in Morristown.

A Picket Line For Democracy: Resistance to the Encroachment of Development

Development strategies in the 1960s and 70s led increasingly toward regional based decision making in East Tennessee and Appalachia. Regional growth led to industrial development of Hamblen County and made it a candidate for other regional services. Led by Governor Winfield Dunn the State of Tennessee decided to use the developing infrastructure of growth centers to facilitate minimum security prisons. The idea was that nonviolent offenders could be integrated into a growing community.

The overcrowding of Tennessee's prisons the early 1970s led Governor Winfield Dunn to propose building a number of minimum security facilities in the eastern part of the state. The state was faced with prison closings, riots due to overcrowding, and escapes that became headline issues (GM February 1, 1973). The state appropriated money for new prisons and tried to place them in a number of East Tennessee counties. Two of the selected sites, Marion County and Morristown, resisted the state's efforts with violent protest. The Morristown facility was offered to a number of counties including nearby Greene County that refused the prison facility just weeks before the state came to leaders in Morristown.

Hamblen County was chosen as a site after a local realtor and a Chamber of Commerce Industrial Board member negotiated with the State Corrections Commissioner to put the prison in East Hamblen County near Walters State Community College. The contract to built the prison, was signed and it was built despite a large vocal opposition to locating the facility in Morristown. The Morristown Chamber of Commerce's industrial board entered two bids to the state to build the prison in Morristown because it would be a great opportunity for jobs. In February of 1973, the State Corrections Commissioner met with a local realtor and industrial board member to draw a proposal for a regional minimum security prison in Morristown. The four million dollar prison was originally to be built on 53 unoccupied acres of the city industrial park. State officials were authorized to build a

minimum security prison in Morristown. For over two years the prison was the center of a continuous picket line of local and regional citizens near the construction site.

Angered by the undemocratic behavior of local industrial recruiters and the intervention of the state in local domain the picketers and other local residents put up a sometimes violent fight against the State of Tennessee and Governor Winfield Dunn. The prison was completed in the Fall of 1975 and sold to the city but has never been used as prison.

The proposal to the city council mitigated a debate over the prison between two groups. The anti-prison camp included the old guard newspaper the Daily-Gazette and Mail, the populists mayor, and a large Morristown following. Many of the group's leaders lived near the site. The pro-prison faction of state officials included Governor Winfield Dunn, the Tennessee Commissioner of Corrections, the Morristown Citizen Tribune, and the industrial board of the Chamber of Commerce. The local supporters represented Morristown's growth coalition. The prison was another step in development and growth.

The two newspapers were divided on the issue. Both offered different accounts of the incident. The Citizen-Tribune argued that the mayor was contacted before the deal was made with the State Corrections Commissioner by the Chamber of Commerce and later said he had not been contacted. The Daily-Gazette and Mail and the mayor claimed the deal was made before the voters heard of it and that he was not contacted prior to the deal. The Chamber of Commerce eventually was forced to join in a mass opposition against the prison that included approximately 80% of Morristown's population (GM March 4, 1973).

In March of 1973, the State Corrections Commissioner announced that the state had taken an option on 50 acres of land east of Morristown at $2,000 an acre. The initial confrontation between the commissioner and the city council was described as ending with the commissioner being "viciously attacked by the Mayor and Aldermen" (GM March 4, 1973). In the next two years the prison's foundation was built while the town exploded

with state hearings, demonstrations, marches, and a continuous picket line near the site entitled 'a picket line for democracy.' The mayor used the prison as an issue in his re-election campaign in April of 1973. Local residents made the prison site a gathering place of interest throughout the Summer of 1973. The crowd consisted of local land owners, American Enka employees, politicians, teens, and people from all over the region who came to see the spectacle. Throughout the summer people increasingly voiced complaints as the prison debate became more pronounced.

The State Corrections Commissioner advertised the corrections jobs and the importance of Morristown's infrastructure and industry to support the prisoners. The governor sent letters to local people in Morristown explaining the importance of Morristown as an industrial center. One letter to a local professional soliciting support read, "Morristown is ideally located to receive the inmates from the upper Eastern part of our state, because it is among the most progressive and promising growth centers of our State..." (Letter from Governor Winfield Dunn to a Morristown Doctor, Private Collection) In debates at the site the State Corrections Commissioner argued that Morristown could provide a Junior College, abundant industry, and a vocational school to people on work release (GM October 5, 1973).

The city council and the county court were strongly opposed to the prison and tried a number of tactics to fight it. They proposed a bill to allow a local governing body by a three-fourths vote to prevent the construction of a penal institution in their area. This bill failed. The city council demanded the actions of the industrial board be looked at by officials in Nashville. The city council mobilized and sent a number of witnesses to Nashville. They charged that the State of Tennessee was guilty of improprieties in the way the property for the site was sold. A house investigation occurred over the legality of the purchasing of 47 acres at $97,000. The witnesses claimed the realtor involved in purchasing the land had acted inappropriately. The realtor who worked on the negotiations

had been Governor Dunn's campaign manager in Morristown. The court found in favor of the state and local officials. They had not acted illegally but the publicity created an outcry by local people led by politicians. The realtor lost money on the deal in the end.

The mayor said at the hearing, "Frankly, its a way worse than communism what they've tried to do... They've slipped around and bought this land without us knowing about it... But they won't move to somewhere else... We were the tenth site the state looked at but now the state says we were the preferred site" (GM October 5, 1973). The hearings got the point across that the industrial board had acted without the permission of the city council or the people. The county court confronted the head of the Chamber of Commerce who initiated the negotiations on February 9, 1974. The county court asked the Chamber of Commerce in a published letter if it had invited the State Corrections Commissioner to Morristown, the Chamber of Commerce's position on the prison, and if it would consider persuading the state to abandon the plans (GM February 8, 1974). The Chamber of Commerce denied the assertions but asked the state to reconsider. The state carried out its plans that led to repeated uprisings at the site.

The Daily-Gazette and Mail reported hundreds of calls about the prison. The number was 30 to 1 against the prison (GM March 7, 1973). The city council voted five to zero to kill the proposal that would have given the state the 53 acres. The city council moved to inform the state that the land was not available. The mayor presented a petition of more than 1,000 names opposing the prison at the city council meeting (GM March 7, 1973). Demonstrations were held at High School auditoriums. The mayor read an account of Marion County's success in dealing with a proposed prison by getting a private act passed through the legislature. He recommended that the county close the access road to the site (GM March 4, 1974).

The county court met on March 10, 1974 to try to close the road to the prison. The last minute resolution was withdrawn after a county attorney warned of possible lawsuits

against the city from closing the road. Locals started to picket the road at the site. On March 9 a group of protesters dug a ditch six feet deep and six feet wide across the road to the prison. Then they turned a hearse over on its top and pushed a vehicle in the ditch. Over 200 people held a vigil throughout the night around the ditch. Most of the protesters had left by the morning. The newspaper report described the scene the next day as 30 to 40 men, women, and children next to a mechanical shovel and a large freshly dug ditch (KJ March 12, 1974). The ditch came be called, Miller's Ditch, after a local landowner named David Miller. David Miller later would become a state representative.

The State Corrections Commissioner blamed the mayor for the civil disobedience who said, "I would like to take credit but I think its the people who are against it" (GM March 11, 1974). The next day on March 12 the state obtained a restraining order to prohibit the mayor and the Hamblen County Court Chairman from interfering with the construction of the proposed regional prison. The state officially purchased 50 acres on March 26 1973 at $2,000 an acre. The strength of the group in opposition was evident as the Chamber of Commerce asked Governor Dunn to reconsider on March 27 since the city council had learned of the project after the negotiations. Another mass meeting was held on March 29 with Senator Ken Porter from Cocke County on hand. A letter was sent to the governor showing 7,500 of 10,000 Hamblen households had signed a petition opposed to the prison (GM March 29, 1974). Another letter claimed that the real estate was appraised too high and the money above the actual value was a payoff from the Governor. The State Corrections Commissioner assured the community, "I'm sure the Regional Corrections Center will be well accepted by the community when it is built" (CT February 1, 1974).

The city council proposed a bill to the State Senate allowing a town the size of Morristown to block construction of the prison. The bill made it to the Senate and was voted down ten to nine by a senator from McMinnville who wanted to block a prison in his home Marion County. Since the measure applied only to Hamblen County the bill was

defeated. A senator from Knoxville feared the bill would undermine the regional corrections program. The Senator representing Morristown after the defeating of the bill stated, "The principle as I see it is not this particular county. It's the right of local people to determine what they want for themselves" (CT February 1, 1974). The state had already spend $610,000 at the site by that date.

The site became a continuous battle for the next months. Five protesters were arrested on May 29 on an injunction obtained by the state to keep protesters from destroying private property. Local picketer's enjoyed themselves at the picket line. A man who called himself 'Bondo Jones' performed on site. Bondo commented that "Just like country music we are here to stay" (CT February 15, 1974). One picketer who was a janitor at the Morristown-Hamblen Hospital whittled cedar wood at his post on the picket line. After the state alleged violence by the picketers at the site, he carved weapons for display. He whittled objects such as a wooden knife, scoop, spoon, canoe, chain, and a walking stick. His works included a figurehead of Winfield Dunn with no ears because, "He won't listen." He also carved versions of Dunn's financial assistant and Davy Crockett (GM September 1, 1974).

Laid off workers from Enka were among the protesters. The site represented the opportunity for an alternative channel to vent anger at the emerging political and economic changes. Factory workers used the site as way to express anger over low wages. One man interviewed said, "A prisoner working the going rate is better off not having to pay room and board than a man on the outside working to support a family" (GM October 5, 1973). The picket line offered the chance to participate in a protest against the encroachment of the local political boundary by the state. One picket sign read, "Mr. Tax Payer, I'm Important, Dunn's Got 10 Troopers Watching Over Me, Who's Watching Your Highways" (GM June 19, 1974)?

The picketers called themselves (CAPP) Citizens Against the Proposed Prison. The protesters virtually tormented the state police as had the American Enka Strikers in 1950. The state issued a restraining order against the mayor and the county court chairman in June of 1973. The complaint read that 20 persons had acted in concert to delay construction of the proposed regional prison by slashing the tires of state vehicles and by placing sharp objects in the road leading to the prison, spraying red paint on Tennessee Bureau of Investigation (TBI) cars, firing shots into a construction trailer, digging a ditch with a mechanical shovel, and procuring breach of contract with persons dealing with the state regarding site and construction (GM June 26, 1974).

On April 17, nine persons were arrested at the site for violating the restraining order. Among these was a Criminal Court Judge campaigning for re-election. He handed out re-election cards to 300 picketers the day before. Bondo Jones was also arrested along with several farmers who lived near the site (CT April 10, 1974). Signs at the picket line referred to Governor Dunn and the local developers involved in bringing the prison to Morristown. One protester held a sign saying tar and feather the governor, the industrial recruiter, the realtor, and the past Chamber of Commerce President (GM March 13, 1974).

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) became part of the group of prison resisters after the state began construction of the foundation. Morristown was the home of one of several rural KKK organizations in East Tennessee. Both Knoxville and Chattanooga had small KKK memberships. Membership in the KKK declined in Tennessee from 12,000 in 1968 to 1,000 in 1978. There were few incidences of activity in East Tennessee after the 1950s with one exception in 1968 when members from the Morristown and Maryville Klans marched on Riverside Drive in Knoxville to protest the Highlander Folk Center (NS July 24, 1978).

Klan members held demonstrations against the prison in Morristown. On May 6 the KKK had its first public exposure in Morristown since the 1940s rallying against the

prison and burning a 15 foot cross with 60 gallons of diesel fuel (GM May 6, 1974). The rally was attended by KKK leaders from Morristown, Knoxville, and Jefferson County. The Citizen Tribune used the awkward presence of the KKK against the protesters in editorials and stories even though many residents and picketers objected to the being identified with the organization. A leader at one rally claimed he was from Strawberry Plains in nearby Jefferson County. He further identified himself to one Citizen Tribune reporter as the Grand Kilgrapp of the Realm of Tennessee, United Klans of America Inc., of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (CT April 18, 1974).

In the weeks to come huge parties were held at the site. The state filled in the ditch with bulldozers. In September 2,000 people had a barbecue roasting two whole hogs and 150 chickens. By that time the full-time pickets were limited to 10 by the state injunction. The mayor proudly displayed 14,000 signatures against the prison obtained through CAPP by September of 1974 (GM September 26, 1974). The sentiment over the prison by locals was based on relinquishing local control. A letter to the state from CAPPs on August 18, 1974 stated, "the state government had responded with complete disregard for local residents" (GM August 18, 1974).

The Daily-Gazette and Mail reported on October 7 that the state had spent $134,000 on prison extras in Morristown. This amount included the bill for the state police. Ray Blanton won the race for Governor in November of 1974. Weeks before Blanton in a campaign visit to the protest site blasted Governor Dunn for building the Morristown facility. The KKK marched on the following Saturday handing out pamphlets in a 100 car motorcade through Morristown to the prison site where members on horseback burnt crosses.

The prison controversy continued into 1975. Ray Blanton earlier in his campaign for Governor suggested that the prison may have to be used for something else if objections continued. The city proposed to buy the land and use it for future expansion of

Walters State Community College. Walters State Community College expected the continued expansion of its student body for the upcoming Fall term from 2,300 students to between 2,600 and 3,000 new students (KJ June 9, 1975). The county court rejected the state's offer to sell the land to Morristown for $212,000. Governor Blanton stated that, "The prison may be completed after all if not purchased by WSCC" (GM September 16, 1975).

The construction company building the prison poured concrete in cellblocks in May of 1975 claiming they had no choice because the building was still under contract by the state. The company openly stated to the public that after the concrete is poured to form the cellblocks the state will be locked into the construction of a detention type center because it will cost more to change the structure than to start over (CT May 20, 1975).

The situation at the site after this was described as 'volatile' as roadblocks and rallies continued in the Summer of 1975. The Ku Klux Klan marched again on June 5. On June 6 dynamite charges were set off blowing up two utility poles feeding power to the site (KJ June 9, 1975). The mayor called for Governor Blanton to end construct before someone gets killed. The Citizen Tribune reported that the "Mayor Warns of Explosives in the Prisons Future" and quoted him as saying, "There's too much dynamite around here (CT September 17, 1975). State prison inmates in Nashville called a general strike refusing to eat or work due to overcrowding on the same day of the dynamiting incident. By the end of September the foundation of the building was complete. The town won its fight to not have the prison. The prison was sold to the city after the voters chose to buy the building from the state in a margin of 3,899 for and 1,882 against on January 16. Today after much remodeling the building is vacant except for one section. Fittingly the section is used by the public defenders office.

The extreme resistance to the prison represented civil disobedience development policy. The blocked channels created by the situation led to a spontaneous response by

local people a reaction to being disenfranchised from the decision making process. The response to state encroachment follows a long history of struggle for gaining local autonomy in Hamblen County. The role of local developers in the prison controversy represented a new struggle between professional developers and groups resisting development strategy.

Summary

This chapter has examined the impact of the United States economic decline on Hamblen County in the 1970s and early 1980s. Semiperiphery regions such as Hamblen County lost manufacturing plants to lower cost zones while attracting foreign and domestic plants searching for lower production costs. The troubled economy effected furniture and chemical industries in the county with high levels of unemployment, plant closings, and declining company profits. Local union activity increased in the mid-70s and declined significantly by the 1980s. The labor force experienced declining gains in income as plants restructured.

The response of state and federal agencies during this period increasingly centered on industrial recruitment. Hamblen County was designated a Nonredevelopment Area and a growth node. The ETDD faced budget cuts in the 1980s. The new approach by the ETDD was a response to the increased mobility of plants. The structure of the local participation in ETDD projects increasingly began to reflect local elites during the 1980s.

The period also saw an increased effort by the local growth machine to market Hamblen County to global and national firms. The city created a new industrial park in 1978 to assist in attracting industry. It also had to respond to the increased services required to meet the needs of industry and population expansion.

The response of local residents to industrial decline and restructuring, state intervention, and the increasing power of the Chamber of Commerce in local government affairs was symbolized through violent controversy over a proposed prison and by the actions of a charismatic mayor in the 1970s. Resistance to the policies of the growth machine followed a similar pattern of local support for balanced growth and an intense desire for autonomy, accountability, and the ability to choose by local residents in Hamblen County. The next chapter examines the contemporary period in Hamblen County.

CHAPTER VII

LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER, 1985-1995

This chapter looks at development and resistance in Morristown and Hamblen County from 1985 to the present. I am interested in exploring why Hamblen County has remained relatively well off and continues to expand.

The chapter first documents the changing economic milieu and the efforts of Morristown's leaders and Chamber of Commerce to recruit and maintain industry and the changes experienced by industry in an expanding global labor market. It also looks at the role of the local boosters, and Walters State Community College in attracting industry to Hamblen County.

The next section looks at the impact of the changing global labor market on workers and community in Hamblen County. It documents the rise of temporary workers and the politics companies are using to lower the cost of labor. Inherent in the new relations between labor and management is the reality of company relocation to other parts of the global economy.

Finally, the last section looks at the growing migrant labor population in Hamblen County. The section documents the resistance to development in Hamblen County during the period. The issues explored include the politics of the Hamblen County landfill, the attempt by developers to build a golf course at a local park and the resistance to the course, the issue of alcohol and development, and the resistance to a proposed industrial park. This section focuses on how residents respond to being outside the development decision making process.

Marketing a Smalltown in the 1990s

Industrial Recruitment: We Told the City's Story

The intensification of the globalization of production is marked by increased competition faced by American industry. Imports and exports accounted for 16% of the United States economy in 1983 rising to 25% of its economy in 1993 (Elliot and Shapiro 1993). The expansion of imports and exports and the further movement of companies is intensified by the passing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) opening markets between the United States, Canada, and Mexico. This section documents the nature of industrial recruitment and community integration into development strategies in Hamblen County. Emphasis is on the role of recruiters, civic boosters, and job training in the recruiting and accommodating of industry in the period between 1985 to 1995.

The call to diversify industry in Morristown in the 1970s began a new era of searching for multinational corporations to operate side by side with the furniture industries. Many of Morristown's branch plants expanded production in other areas in North America. Development activities increasingly centered on industrial recruitment in Morristown by the 1980s. Local leaders responded to economic crisis by aggressively and often successfully using state and federal grants to expand and diversify the industry base of Hamblen County. Over this time period the Chamber of Commerce began to effectively integrate civic and municipal resources to strengthen industrial recruitment. The Chamber of Commerce successfully attracted branch plants in the late 1980s following the deep recession and high unemployment figures of the 1980s.

One of the key political features of growth centered development is that the promise of growth and jobs is essential to the election to office. In 1995 Morristown's retiring mayor held office for 14 of the 18 previous years (CT April 27, 1995). The ARC's approach to growth is the instigating of projects along with local officials. The continuity of growth sympathetic political leadership allows the containing of dissent among factions

struggling for political power and the smooth operation of industrial policy and policies that boost public worthy civic programs (Molotch 1976; Feagin 1988).

The cyclical nature of the furniture industry and the impact of mass layoffs and unemployment in Morristown led to stepped-up activity to recruit industry and shape local sentiment on growth. The Morristown Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors grew to 30 members in 1992. The Chamber of Commerce moved into a new building in September of 1994. The community gave $196,000 in contributions of the $450,000 project (CT September 14, 1994). In 1994 the Chamber of Commerce's budget was over $350,000. The Chamber of Commerce's goal is more and more to try to recruit small industries with less than 500 workers. The intensification of industrial recruitment is in an effort not to compete with existing industry and to reduce the impact when a plant leaves for lower wages. In the 1990s, the Chamber Industrial Board continued its recruitment efforts in Europe and expanded to Japan in an effort to bring companies to Morristown. The Chamber of Commerce's recruiting plans for the near future include going to Pacific Rim countries.

The Chamber Industrial Board stays in quarterly contact with over 300 companies (Interview, Chamber of Commerce Executive Vice President, November 8, 1994). Job creation in the 1990s occurred through both new plants and the expansion of local industries. Over 70% of job growth for 1993 came from the expanding of local industry (CT February 27, 1994). The expansion of existing industry created 60 new jobs whereas new companies created 300 in 1992 (CT February 26, 1993). The Chamber of Commerce actively recruits customers for existing industry making it easier for companies to expand. The main goals of recruiters are to draw and keep industry by maintaining low taxes and providing services. A Chamber of Commerce representative stated, "We are working toward expanding industry through calls and mail. When we get a new company, we recruit customers and suppliers. We want them to use a forklift instead of a truck to supply

transportation for companies" (Interview, Chamber of Commerce Executive Vice President, November 8, 1994). One recruiter described the philosophy of Morristown's Industrial Board this way, "People always want more recreational facilities. We invest in things that are profitable for the community. People don't want to even hear about these. The tax base is low. It's our trademark to invest in growth. Not sexy political decisions. With sales, industry, and commerce come lower taxes" (Interview, Former Mayor, November 14, 1994).

In the 1990s the East Tennessee Development District (ETDD) continues to assist Morristown to recruit industry. The ETDD can provide only certain services to leaders because Morristown is not a metropolitan area or a poverty area (ETDD 1994:1). The ETDD maintains an industrial land data base on all developed parks in the region and provides referrals to companies. Morristown is too small, for instance, to use Economic Development Administration grants but can use ETDD data in a number of ways (Interview, Executive Vice President of Morristown November 8, 1994). Morristown is eligible for the Tennessee Industrial Infrastructure Program (TIIP). TIIP provides infrastructure grants for industry. Morristown officials use TIIP grants for expansion of existing industries and in building the Morristown Airport Industrial District industrial park. The ETDD does little to recruit industry for Morristown. Instead it assists the city to accommodate industry after a prospect is found (Interview, East Tennessee Development District Representative, January 25, 1995).

Morristown recruits industry by pooling the town's civic pride as a resource in a coordinated effort to sell the city. This approach along with the pro-business tax structure of the State of Tennessee and rural lifestyle of Hamblen County creates a situation conducive to industrial development. The increasing competition for plants in the United States in the 1990s makes enticements more alluring to cities and companies. Morristown was second choice for the location of a $100 million dollar plant by the Whirlpool

Corporation in April of 1994. The Whirlpool Corporation is the world's number one manufacturer and marketer of major home appliances. The Whirlpool corporation spokesmen stated labor cost and central location as major factors in the decision. Giveaways to the company, however, probably played the major role in the decision. After reviewing 53 sites in the United States and Mexico, Whirlpool selected Tulsa, Oklahoma over second place Morristown because of the state's quality job training program. Enticements to the company included cash back based on annual payroll for hiring workers. Additionally, the spokesmen suggested the decision might have been made easier when, "Voters in Tulsa County also approved a county sales tax increase, making funds available to Whirlpool to offset 25 percent of construction costs for the $100 million facility" (Vining 1994:719). This example provides evidence that Morristown's long-standing refusal to provide giveaways to industry put it at a disadvantage with other locals for higher paying companies.

The company was impressed with Morristown's delegation. The Whirlpool spokesmen offered, "Morristown should be extremely proud of what they have to offer the business community" (CT April 7, 1994). Morristown was selected as a finalist because the company was impressed with the town's environmental regulations on air, emissions and disposal of hazardous wastes (Vining 1994:719). The site selectors also focused on business climate, worker attitude and skills, and overall satisfaction.

The size of Morristown makes recruiting industry more complicated for the Chamber of Commerce. The chairman of the industrial board said that, "Most industry has to maintain a financial relationship with the major centers. Banks are not big enough to build big buildings. The major banks are branches. Who in Morristown has $750,000 (Interview, Chamber of Commerce Industrial Board Chairman, December 14, 1994). To solve this problem the Chamber of Commerce industriously and aggressively pushes Morristown on a global scale. The strategy is described by a top recruiter,

"Morristown is not known. Texas never heard of us. No one ever heard of a town this size. You don't have the money to do massive advertising campaigns... We became active in contacting programs through the nation and world. Direct mail campaigns to establish the name. Industrial magazines and so forth. Also hundreds of volunteers. We took trips to Chicago, New York, Boston, Cleveland, Cincinnati. We advertised Morristown, Tennessee highways, work force, power, and the transportation system. We told the city's story" (Interview, Chamber of Commerce Industrial Board Chairman, December 14, 1994).

The Role of Multinationals in Morristown

Six of the twenty largest employers in Morristown were foreign owned companies in 1994. Foreign companies make up two of the top four largest employers and four of the top ten (See Table 5). This situation changed with the significant downsizing of BASF in 1995. Most foreign owned companies, however are small with eight of the 14 foreign owned companies employing below 400 workers (See Table 6) The largest company in Hamblen County for over 30 years, American Enka, sold its operation to the German Chemical company, BASF in 1985. BASF is the second largest chemical company in the world with 130,000 employees in Europe, the United States, South American, Asia, and Africa (Leonard and Nauth 1990). BASF has one of the worst environmental records of any company in the United States. Additionally BASF gained a reputation for union busting with companies in the United States located mainly in right-to-work states (Leonard and Nauth 1990). Ironically the Lowland site remained a union shop while BASF purged unions in it's United States operations in the early 1990s (Gottlieb 1992). The company's reputation created problems for locating plants in the United States. The State of South Carolina encouraged BASF to build a 200 million dollar plant near Hilton Head. A coalition of outside agitators, local residents, and Southern gentry opposed the plant in fear of damage to the coastline.

BASF experienced dramatic drops in income, losses, and zero economic growth due to decreasing demand in both its German plants and it's North American division in the early 1990s. BASF started to sell its unprofitable plants and cut the payroll of the North American operations by 1993. BASF invested 580 million that year in existing profitable business and newly acquired operations. A spokesman commented, "Only low-cost producers can survive as major players in the global chemical industry" (Wall Street Journal April 9, 1993).

BASF sold the Lowland rayon staple plant to Lenzing Fibers, an Austrian Corporation in 1992. Lenzing has manufacturing plants in Indonesia, Austria, and the United States (CT July 23, 1995). The Lowland plant was put up for sale and began to close operations in 1994. BASF permanently terminated 850 employees in June of 1994 due to the declining market for polyester, nylon hosiery, and staple production (CT October 17, 1994). Some employees were offered early retirement while others were terminated with just a few years before retirement. Many of the employees at BASF started working at Enka in the 1950s. BASF negotiated with Allied Signal and The Wellman Corporation in 1993 but neither bought the Lowland site. Fran Ansley offers a description of the impact of the new era on the ability of communities and workers to respond to economic crisis,

> "The legal responses to plant closings have taken place against a remarkably unfavorable backdrop. The prevailing rules that governed employment in the era of deindustrialization offered few protections to workers facing mass layoffs, and display an ideological orientation that was notably hostile to notions of managerial accountability to, or participation in, decision making by employees or communities" (1993:1785).

The Wellman Corporation could not reach an agreement with the United Textile Workers of America, Local 815. On October 31, 1995, 808 of 900 eligible union members voted against the Wellman Corporation's proposal that took away seniority rights, vacation pay, and personal days. The union leader stated, "These are things we've had for years

and we're not going to take it" (CT October 31, 1993). Many of the union voters lost their jobs. BASF sold its polyester chip and bicomponent staple plants to Intercontinental Polymers, Inc. (IP) in 1995. Employment at BASF was 300 workers at the time of the sell. IP rehired all but 165 of BASF's remaining employees (CT August 3, 1995).

The closing of the plants one at a time helped stabilize the rate of unemployment. The closing of BASF led to a fear of large plants by many leaders in the community. Multinational industries in Morristown are mainly from European countries. Companies from Japan are Toyoda TRW and Tuff Torq. Toyoda TRW and BASF are Fortune 500 companies in Morristown (See Table 6).

Most of the multinationals are located in the Morristown Airport Industrial Park (MAID). The park is 80% full in 1995. The Japanese industries are small, hiring mainly skilled labor. At Tuff Torq, employees are integrated into the company through Japanese style management. All company employees receive a key the plant, have the same benefits package, and no reserve parking is allowed at the plant. Tuff Torq is used as a model industry by the Chamber of Commerce in its industry promotions. Tuff Torq spent two million dollars of its own money to remodel the building it occupies in the industrial park. The high tech company is a dramatic change from the woodworking industries in Morristown. The labor process is described by the manager this way, "a small number of operators will be running a large number of machines. Workers will have little personal handling or moving of products. Automatic machinery will gauge without the operator having to touch the product" (CT February 22, 1990).

Another foreign owned industry in Morristown is from France. Howmet makes ceramic cores for engines, hiring 395 employees in 1995. Howmet hires mainly female workers because of the detail work involved. The company is one of the highest paying industries for women in Morristown. The company used the training facility at Walter's State Community College for plant startup. Employees received training, orientation,

benefits, and process training from the city. The former personnel manager stated the benefits appealed to the women as much as the higher salary; and that the company did not have to advertise for employees but, "When I would put up a sign on the door saying we are accepting applications. For a three day period I got 2,500 applications" (Interview, Howmet Personnel Manager, December 20, 1994). The company started taking applications for its Morristown facility in 1985. Local workers applying for 30 line jobs lined up outside the employment office around the building and, "up to second street behind the employment office" (CT December 11, 1985).

The German company Mahle continues to expand in Morristown in the 1990s with 987 employees in 1995 and an additional 150 new employees later in the year. Mahle makes pistons for the major United States auto makers. It opened its Morristown operation in 1978, with its first expansion in 1986. Mahle's newest expansion in Morristown is part of a global expansion. The company's plant in Morristown recently enlarged its training facilities for technical education. Workers from its new plant in Mexico are trained alongside local workers at the Morristown plant. Workers from the Mahle plant in Mexico learn English at Walters State Community College and then go back to the Mexico plant (CT September 14, 1994). The new Mahle plant in Mexico is a result of the need for parts suppliers near the Chrysler, General Motors, and Ford car plants operating in Mexico (CT February 19, 1995). High wage factories in Morristown continue to draw skilled and educated workers from the surrounding counties. A manager at Mahle described the labor force and hiring practices in this way, "We got college graduates who can't find a job. Archeology, physics - a lot of talented people working cheap for what they know" (Interview, Mahle Manager, January 7, 1994). Mahle machine operators make $10.50 an hour. This is in the top five salaries for factory workers in Morristown.

The new foreign owned plants offer advantages to workers. The largest and highest paying plants in Morristown's plants continue to hire mainly operatives. Berkline,

Morristown's oldest and largest furniture plant was sold to the Masco Corporation in 1994. Berkline expanded in 1993 and with the pull out of BASF in 1994, became the largest employer in Morristown with 2,489 employees (See Table 5).

The new milieu for industrial recruitment in Morristown in the 1990s reflects consistent political leadership based on industrial recruitment and greater competition between regions for increasingly global companies. Next we look at civic involvement and development between 1985 and 1995 in Morristown. Emphasis is on the local initiatives used to market the county to industry and how organizations, workers, and local residents fit into industrial recruitment and development

The New Civic Booster

The intensification of civic activities accompanied the growth of the Chamber of Commerce in the late 1980s. Civic involvement expanded over previous eras with the growth agenda reflected in the charities and clubs oriented toward community improvement. Civic involvement creates social solidarity centering on supporting the community in projects lead by the growth coalition. Small business owners who survive on community solidarity donate time to civic functions. They receive exposure and increased customers from economic expansion.

The incorporation of community into industrial recruitment is an important of the growth machine. Nash (1989:15) describes how rural local values relate to economic and political power relationships,

> "Hegemonic control is found in all societies where unequal social relations are successfully reproduced without the constant use of force. The existing power structure is able to incorporate threatening elements in such a way that the configuration of cultural traits is not disturbed. This requires an appeal to central values taken as axiomatic in the society."

The axioms present in East Tennessee's culture reflects the combination of a Christian evangelical world view and hard work ethic. The idea of the volunteer, so potent in Tennessee lore, is reinvented in the drive to promote industrial growth. The labor force and communities were potent tools in attracting industry in Morristown in the past. By 1994 the city has grown to over 100 clubs and organizations (CT July 31, 1994). Many activities are devoted to community services. The drive to attract companies shapes the approach of leaders to community improvements.

The United Way offers an example. The 40th United Way campaign in 1994 set a goal above one million dollars for the first time (CT August 7, 1994). The 1994 United Way campaign at Lenzing Fibers kicked off with the recognition that employees in three different companies contributed over two million dollars to the United Way in the preceding 30 years (CT September 25, 1994). Industries and their employees are incorporated into the campaign creating solidarity and community integration. For the 1994 campaign leaders put together a group of loaned executives from local industries (CT August 7, 1994). Beginning in the 1990s different industries and businesses are designated as pacesetter firms to head the contribution drives. Special awards are given for contributions of $1,000 or more to the United Way.

Other activities for volunteers include collecting litter and clothing for charity. The Chamber maintains a keep American Beautiful recycling and litter cleanup program drawing over 4,000 volunteers at various events (CT January 22, 1995). The Keep American Beautiful campaign conducts litter campaigns to keep up appearances. Volunteers for the campaign picked up 117,071 pounds of litter in 1994 Volunteers also collected 3,958.50 pounds of reusable clothing to distribute among the poor (CT January 22, 1995).

The Chamber of Commerce and the Morristown community collected over $30,000 to give to the families of the Tuff Torq company in Kobe after an earthquake in January of

1994. Other civic organizations continue to expand and change with the times. Employees of companies in Morristown are encouraged to contribute to projects such as the adopt a class program. This project headed by the local United Auto Workers (1617) deducts donations from employee paychecks to improve the quality of a public school (CT January 26, 1994). The Kwianis Club celebrated its 75th year in Morristown in 1994 with its first woman President.

The Chamber of Commerce's small business council gives 110% awards to workers chosen by their colleagues. Other activities incorporating local citizens include, Sportfest. Sportsfest is a Chamber of Commerce program with 23 events and 7,008 participants. The local participation at the event was described as, "larger than cities twice our size" (CT June 3, 1995). Anthropologists looking at the relationship between the corporation and community find that competition plays an important role in the consolidation of industry and community. Nash (1989:13) says, "Sports competitions provide a universal meeting place for management and workers where they project a universalized form of competition in games involving professionals or their own children." Sporting events in Morristown are important cultural activities that incorporate the family into the company and provides an opportunity to express shared values. The softball leagues continue to expand and attract large followings. Company sponsors continue to provide equipment to workers especially during up economic up turns. American Enka, for instance, ended support for worker's sports teams in the 1970s as it began to loss its share of the market.

The Role of the Community College in Development

The State of Tennessee increasingly is using job training as a tool to attract industry in conjunction with community colleges. Traditionally the state's job training programs

offer companies advantages for using public facilities. Robert Goodman documents how the state entices companies,

> "In 1976, Texas claimed it could save a firm up to $2,000 in training cost for every worker it trained. Tennessee's Department of Education made similar claims for its training program, suggesting companies could benefit further by being able to set higher productivity quotas for its state trained workers. The department also claimed companies could save an additional $200 to $400 per worker through worker 'turnover' during the state-paid training period, rather than after a plant went into operation" (1979:28).

The need for an educated work force is changing the nature of how community institutions such as community colleges relate to industry. Many of the new jobs in the production sector of the economy require higher levels of education in the 1980 and 90s. It is estimated that 25% of the United States work force lack the basic reading, writing and math skills necessary in today's job market. Rural areas with underfunded and relatively low education spending often found themselves unprepared to provide skilled workers (Knapp 1995). Morristown responded to this situation by changing the mission of its junior college in the 1990s. This section looks at the role of Morristown's community college Walters State Community College (WSCC) in facilitating development and industrial recruitment in the current period. Specifically it attempts to examine how is it changing to accommodate industrial recruitment and training.

The new mission of the community college in the information age firmly places it as part of growth coalition. Aronowitz and Di Fazio (1994) argue that as technological change, large scale labor market restructuring, and capital flight have eroded the position of millions of clerical and industrial workers, colleges have reexamined their mission to educate virtually all who seek post secondary education. The historical role of education as a sorting device for industry is further intensified with a shift to industrial job training. Goodman argues, "But with the state now shifting more directly to industry job training,

the remnants of an objectivity that separates public and industrial education is being further eroded" (1979:29).

The community college increasingly sees itself as a bridge between industry and the community. The new approach is described by an ARC planner, "The college must see itself as an integral, active part of the community and the community must see the college as an equally integral part of it..." and "the community college must actively seek out relationships with industry, universities, and community, and must not wait for industry to come to it..." (Hoffman 1989:16).

Beginning in the 1980s one of the goals of the Chamber of Commerce was to try to embrace the above philosophy to accommodate the needs of industry and the labor force in Morristown. The new approach to job training provides vocational and technical training at Walters State Community College. The original mission of the college was to provide an open and affordable regional junior college for residents in Hamblen and surrounding counties. In the 1990s large increases in adult students reflect a growing emphasis for site vocational training. The shift to a vocational emphasis further integrates the services of the college with industry and local growth initiatives. Customized training of employees at junior colleges is cheaper for companies than providing in-house training for employees (Pincus 1989).

Walter State Community College was created in 1970 to meet the needs of area students in a 30 to 40 mile radius. Branch sites in a number of surrounding counties assist students in obtaining degrees and transferable credits. The general curriculum at Walters State Community College offers associates of science degrees and university parallel programs . The changing emphasis of the college to community and public services was followed by the expansion of its student body. From 1990 to 1994 the Walters State Community College student body went from 2,000 students to 5,000. Over one half of the increase of students at the college is adult students receiving technological and vocational

training. The creation of the Institute for Business and Industry in 1991 is based on a commitment of the college to job training for industry. State of the art equipment and other resources are increasingly directed to coordinate the delivery of educational services packaged to meet the unique and exacting needs of industry. It provides training under contract with companies for analysis and improving production processes, services to small businesses, specialized courses to meet the particular needs of industry, and wage surveys for delivery areas (Walters State Community College Catalog and Handbook 1994:37).

Walters State Community College offers a number of placement services for industry and job information for employees. The jobs are temporary, part-time and full time skilled and unskilled employees. The Federal Job Training Partnership Act or (JTPA) is administered at Walters State Community College. JTPA offers job training for unemployed and disadvantaged people. The JTPA placed over 1,000 people into jobs in Morristown 1993. Other courses and seminars provide management training (CT February 26, 1993).

The President of Walters State Community College has been on the Chamber of Commerce board of directors and an industrial recruiter. The new approach of the college and community is to provide services to companies. A representative of the college offered, "We create a package to show to industry...training at Walters State is also part of the package to entice industry " (Interview, President Walters State Community College, November 3, 1994). The integration of Walters Sate Community College into the growth coalition is shaping the mission of the college in the new era. However the effects of restructuring on the local labor force and communities are complex. The drive to attract industry and maximize profit can not offset the impact of restructuring on workers and communities. To maintain profit levels many companies have shifted to contingent labor, union busting, and employing migrant workers. The next section looks at the changing conditions of labor and communities Morristown.

Survival in the 1990s: The Impact on Workers and Community

The Disposable Worker

The long slide of labor's ability to participate in decision making, to slow job loss, or negotiate benefits and wages are the backdrop for a new leaner work force in the 1990s. The job market is increasingly composed of comparatively lower wages and less job security as companies restructure and service industries grow. A lower quality of life is the result of changing times for Morristown's traditional low educated and semi-skilled manufacturing labor force. The flip side of Morristown's new high wage foreign companies are a growing class of temporary workers, an expanding service economy, and a new population of migrant agricultural workers.

This section looks at the underside of the new economy for workers and communities facing the impacts of a broad set of changes leading to crisis for Morristown's large working class. It focuses on the struggle to slow falling rates of profit and the impacts of downsizing on workers and communities. Even in the face of an expanding Tennessee economy the ability of workers to survive is becoming ever more difficult.

The new flexible work force is the outcome of technological changes widening the gap between high tech information jobs and low skilled jobs. Partial and permanent unemployment has increasingly become a mode of life for larger segments of the population in advanced industrial societies (Aronowitz and Di Fazio 1994). For many localities the decline of sustainable employment is an outcome of development strategies. Ansley (1993) refers to development in this form as 'the race to the bottom'. Furthermore, service industries are becoming a larger part of the work force offering mainly low wage, unskilled, and entry level positions. George Ritzer (1995) argues in the McDonaldization of America that the service economy represents a transition to a new standardized and automated society shaping social relationships and infiltrating every social institution.

Beside a loss of authenticity is a real threat to the quality of life of workers' families and communities.

The distribution of occupations for Hamblen County in 1990 shows that 28% of workers are employed as operatives and laborers and 11% of workers are employed in the rising service occupations. The census reveals that 17% of workers in Hamblen County are in the professional and managerial occupations and that 26% are in technical sales and administrative support occupations. The smallest categories are precision production, craft, and repair jobs that employed 14% of workers while less than 2% of workers were engaged in farming occupations in Hamblen County in 1990.[18] Hamblen County workers engaged in the service industries and as laborers and operatives represent 40% of the total work force in 1990. Many of these workers are facing an uncertain future as their once secure jobs are being replaced technology, jobs paying lower wages, and temporary positions.

In Morristown, the high wages in the skilled and semi-skilled plants differ sharply with small furniture and woodworking plants and the new service economy. Plants with union shops are being negatively effected by global shifts in production. The rise of temporary workers in the late 1980s reflects a new approach to employment practices by companies. The contingent work force is made up of temporary, part-time, and subcontracted workers. Temporary workers often work only the prescribed time a company needs extra workers. Temporary workers have no affiliation with the company except for day to day contract. Increasingly workers are identifying with an occupation and not a company (Belous 1989).

The use of temporary workers increased 175% in the 1980s (Belous 1989). The number of temporaries in the United States rose 250,000 workers in 1993 alone (Elliot and

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[18]U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1990. U.S. Census of Population: 1990 Social and Economic Characteristics. Tennessee. Final Report CP (2)-44. Washington, D.C.; Government Printing Office.

Shapiro 1993:622). The National Association of Temporary Services estimates that the temporary industry increased 23% in same year (CT May 11, 1994). On average temporary workers earn less, have less job security, receive fewer benefits, and offer companies the ability to control workers (Belous 1989). The increase of temporary workers accompanies the further decrease in unionization in the United States. In 1993 unions make up only about 11% of the private industry work force in the United States. Economists increasingly are viewing unions as a 20th century phenomenon (Coffee 1993). One critique says of the use of contingent workers,

> "It has emerged as a permanent strategy for cheapening the work force and weakening the bargaining power of labor. It threatens the economic security of all workers by dragging down wages and increasing wage-income inequality. It weakens the public purse through lost tax revenues and higher public welfare cost for contingent workers who are more likely to depend upon public assistance. It increases the burden on good employers who are forces to subsidize the poor employment practices of others" (duRivage 1993:85).

Companies are creating new labor-management teams in the drive to meet competitive markets. Work force flexibility allows companies to adapt to erratic market demand (Belous 1989). Companies are moving toward the situation of maintaining a small core of full-time workers and using temporaries to facilitate boom and bust periods. Temporaries are often used in times of high production demand. Proponents of industry say temporary jobs allow some worker's flexibility and a chance to gain skills.

A contingent labor force decreases the company's responsibility for the reproduction of the labor force. Companies are turning to contingent labor because they do not have to provide benefits or job security. Some critics see the increase in flexibility as more than a way to trim short run costs. They point out that it can mean trapping workers into accepting lower standards of employment. Flexibility means that,

> "By classifying workers as "part-time," "temporary," or "independent contractor," employers can shift the burden of fringe benefits and job transition to individual

> workers and their families. They can pay workers lower hourly wages, exclude them from better-compensated permanent jobs, save on health and pension cost, weaken labor unions, and, in the case of independent contractors, avoid payroll and unemployment insurance taxes" (du Rivage 1993:85).

Temporary agencies are expanding in Morristown to use temporary workers by factory and service industries. The industry using the largest number of temporary workers in Morristown is small, low-wage furniture plants. Due to the regional nature of the labor force temporary agencies advertise for workers in Morristown and surrounding counties.

New high wage companies in the region deplete the labor pool for the most skilled workers. An interview with a temporary employment agency manager in Morristown revealed the cyclical and regional nature of temporary work. The owner of the temporary employment agency stated, "We have a hard time now. There are not a lot of temporaries. Clayton is hiring in Jefferson County. Older companies are hiring. We have a hard time getting quality temporaries" (Interview, Temporary Agency Manager, April 28, 1995).

There are five temporary employment agencies working in Morristown. They vary by size and type of employment. One of company focuses on temporary to permanent jobs. The temp to permanent company places 84% of the 1,200 yearly workers into full-time positions (Interview, Temporary Agency Manager, April 28, 1995). The owner offered that she overbid to avoid bad jobs and situations. Most temporary agencies focus on short assignments instead of assisting workers to get full time jobs.

Two of the temporary firms in Morristown are branch agencies. Cobble Personnel is based in Knoxville with a branch in Morristown. It offers industrial services but also TECHstaff, Accounting Personnel Services, and Medical Staffers. Cobble is recognized as one of the fastest growing companies in Knoxville. Cobble serves over 1,200 companies in East and Middle Tennessee (CT September 4, 1995). Another branch agency, Manpower, provides mainly temporary workers to industry. Companies using temporaries

are mainly low-wage industries in Morristown. Some firms employ temporaries on a 90 day basis. Companies often hire temporary workers for 90 days then terminate them to avoid paying unemployment insurance or hiring them full-time. A local bakery hiring 160 workers uses temporaries on a continuous basis (CT October 26, 1993). Advertised positions for temporary workers in Morristown include positions in inventory control, warehouse workers, cabinet assemblers, inspectors, woodworkers, and general laborers. The advertised jobs pay between $5 or $6 dollars an hour.

Companies also use temporaries to fill in for vacationing permanent workers. But instead of having to pay extra to hire permanent employees, companies use temporary workers in swing shift positions. Advertisements for assemblers are often for second and third shifts at $5 dollars an hour (CT August 16, 1994). Full-time workers often refuse to work shifts even with higher pay. Most temporary jobs advertised in Morristown are for machine operators. Temporary jobs advertised include data entry, customer service, sewers, and carpenters. Very few of the large high paying industries are using temporary workers. Temporary's used at Mahle do hard and unwanted jobs. A manager stated, "They quit the next day. They do hard jobs like carrying pistons" (Interview, Mahle Manager, January 7, 1994).

The movement of companies to the South is changing the relationship between labor and management in Morristown branch plants. I look next at the changing politics of this shifting production.

The Politics of Downsizing

One of the uses of temporary workers has been reduce labor cost by displacing full time workers. This section looks at examples of the downsizing of industry in Morristown and the ramifications of the new economy for the labor force. It also overviews the

response of community and regional groups to the abuses of industry. Labor flexibility and downsizing have become a permanent feature of the Morristown labor market. Temporary workers are a key feature in the effort of companies to increase profits and lower the cost of production.

John Gaventa's study on the movement of the Allied Seat Belt Company in Knoxville, Tennessee documents the impact on workers when companies downsize in the new global assembly line. The company used its plants to bargain for lower wages and benefits for its workers. In the 1980s, the Allied Seat Belt Company in Knoxville set up branch plants in Greenville, Alabama and on the Maquiladora border in Mexico. The company used blackmail to lower the wages and weaken the union in Knoxville and then in Greenville. Finally it set up a plant in Mexico where, "the wages are minuscule, compared to those in the United States. Workers in this plant, as in others along the Mexican boarder, work nine and one-half hour days for about $3.50 a day, or 37 cents an hour, one-sixteenth of the wages workers received for comparable work in Knoxville" (1990:89). The integration of the Knoxville plant into the geographical division of labor negatively effected the standard of living of workers in Knoxville.

Companies are downsizing and relocating causing negative effects on workers, unions, and community. In Morristown the most blatant example is the General Electric company. In 1988 the General Electric plant in Morristown was one of the highest paying industries in Morristown. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Union (IBEW) attempted to organize the plant in June of that year. The union was defeated by a three to one vote after the company held a counter campaign reinforcing company and employee solidarity (Yount and Williams 1990). The company laid off 100 people at the General Electric warehouse a week later offering to the laid off workers a promise of being called back in the Spring. Instead General Electric moved the warehouse to a site near

Knoxville and set up a contract with an independent contractor, USCO to supply workers for wages at $6 to $8 dollars an hour (Yount and Williams 1990).

The laid off General Electric workers were not rehired. Many of the replaced workers tried to gain employment through the local temporary agencies. Most found the wages lower and no job security in the new labor market. The laid off workers also tried to seek assistance through jobs training programs. The laid off employees began to hold public meetings on temporary workers replacing permanent workers. They formed a group called Citizens Against Temporary Services (CATS). The group found that General Electric was attempting to use Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) funds to train temporaries to do the same jobs that the permanent employees at the former plant (SOCM Sentinel November 1989). CATS held a march in Morristown to publicize the need for fair labor laws in Tennessee. Yount and Williams describe the findings of the group,

> "After nine months of frustrating attempts to find out if tax dollars from the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) program were being allocated to GE in Mascot, CATS at last got hold of the contract that showed that GE would get $200,000 in JTPA funds to train new workers. GE had insisted that the warehouse was solely USCO, but CATS showed that GE was directly involved in the warehouse, that the Morristown workers had not been offered the new jobs. CATS finally got the Department of Labor to declare the GE/USCO warehouse in Macot ineligible for JTPA funds" (1990:78).

CATS became a part of another community group, Save Our Cumberland Mountains (SOCM) an East Tennessee based organizations. SOCM with the assistance of The Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network (TIRN), pressured state legislators to set up a committee looking at the issue of abuses and a committee to look at Labor Laws in Tennessee. Two hearings were held in October 1989 in Morristown with between 500 and 700 people attending supporting CATS. Members pointed to the lack of protection for workers. The temporary agency stated that this case was unusual (SOCM Sentinel November 1989). The publicizing of the issues was problematic for SOCM. Prior to the

October hearing members complained that the Morristown newspaper had not covered the CATS story (Yount and Williams 1990).

SOCM and TIRN fought the negative effects of geographic restructuring on labor. TIRN continued its fight against labor abuse in Morristown in 1993 with a number of rallies against the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). TIRN and local Representative Jim Cooper denounced the NAFTA proposal for not addressing the inability of countries to force NAFTA to comply with domestic laws. TIRN members argued that the commissions set up by President Clinton would not allow individual countries to protect their own standards. TIRN held a rally on October 10 with a 90 car motorcade through Morristown. The motorcade was given a police escort through Morristown. The motorcade ended up at the College Square Mall where TIRN members, union leaders, and visitors from several states and Mexico spoke on the reality of the proposal. Signs on the motorcade read, "Not This NAFTA." The newspaper stated, "A larger crowd turned out than was expected" (CT October 10, 1993). The protesters pointed out the devastating effects of the Mexican plants along the Maquiladoras. One protester spoke of, "children playing in green slime which was running from chemical plants" (CT October 10, 1993).

A professor from Mexico City gave a speech pointing out the Mexican government, "never asked us about NAFTA" (CT October 10, 1993). Local union leaders argued that, "This agreement will affect us - it will cost American jobs while not helping Mexican workers, it will hurt the environment, and it will let many United States laws be open to attack as trade barriers" (CT October 10, 1993). The groups have worker's exchange programs where members go to Mexico to see the effects of unregulated companies on Mexican workers and communities; and workers from Mexico come to see the work force in the United States.

There are other examples of plants downsizing and moving out of Morristown. Lear Seating is the third largest employer in Morristown and one of the highest paying

industries. The company applied for Federal Trade assistance in 1993 after laying off employees, claiming the jobs had been adversely affected by imports from foreign competitors (CT March 15, 1993). Another plant using trade assistance is Anchor Advanced Products, a maker of cosmetic packaging. In September of 1994 the company applied and qualified for assistance from the United States Department of Labor's NAFTA-Transitional Adjustment Assistance Program for its employees lay off on December 8, 1993. Jobs at Anchor Advanced Products were affected by trade with Mexico making the company's laid off employees eligible for retraining, job search, and relocation allowances. The Department of Employment Security sent the workers notices of the program eight months after they had been laid off (CT September 18, 1994).

Anchor Advanced Products is the world's largest maker of toothbrushes. A month before petitioning for the NAFTA aid, Anchor acquired Mid-State Plastics a company headquartered in Seagrove, North Carolina. The company stated that the additional company will boost its annual sales over $160 million and rising total employment to 2,200 (CT July 3, 1994). Anchor Brush hires several female temporary workers in Morristown. Anchor Brush is based in Knoxville and operates five plants in the United States and one in Mexico.

Other high paying plants in Morristown downsized in the 1990s. Shelby-Williams laid off workers in Morristown after setting up a branch plant in Mississippi. The company is a high paying union shop making auto seats for automobiles. Shelby Williams was established in 1964 in Morristown and grew to almost 1,100 employees by 1990. In the same year the company set up a branch plant in Mississippi. The Morristown branch plant hires 660 employees in 1995 (See Table 5).

Workers in the low-wage job sector are faced with a declining standard of living n the 1990s. The JTPA program and the rise of temporary agencies in Morristown are the main outlets for low-wage laborers. Job placement once handled by agencies such as the

Douglas-Cherokee Economic Authority is changing as low-wage workers attempt to survive in the new high tech and temporary environment. An agency representative stated that,

> "We have traditionally referred people for jobs. In the old days when the furniture factories were here, people with low skills and the poor could just walk down here to Modern or one of the other factories and get hired. Since the rising need for skilled and educated workers, it has shut down an avenue for the low skilled workers. Now we give them food and clothing. They come back with their bills" (Interview, Douglas Cherokee Economic Authority representative, April 6, 1995).

The rise of temporary agencies is accompanied by the decline of the higher paying furniture factories that traditionally hired lower-skilled and educated workers. Economists rate the fundamental problem faced by Tennessee counties as the inadequacy of basic education (Quindry and Vickers 1992). The education gap in the low-wage work force, once less of a problem for the high concentration of assembly workers in Hamblen factories, is now a barrier for many workers. In 1994 an estimated 11,000 adults in Hamblen County did not have a high school diploma with 6,000 of these having less than a ninth grade education. A literacy council volunteer remarked, "These people in the past have worked for low wages in non-skilled positions...Now most of the traditional employers for non-skilled persons require a diploma or GED and a math test to be considered for a job" (CT November 18, 1994). Many of the temporary positions require a GED except for the most basic manual labor jobs.

Responses by industry to the situation of education include literacy classes held in factories by the Hamblen County Adult Education Program. The program is made up mainly of volunteers. The Chamber also runs a literacy program providing assistance to people for general education degrees and basic literacy (CT January 25, 1995). The "Learn to Read" program offers a video series provided as a public service by the Citizen-Tribune and Walters State Community College.

Job training programs offer little assistance for the problems of lower educated workers. One agency staff representative stated, "they get no extra points for placing the unemployed. People who do not have a skill or a craft are not helped. We call it creaming" (Interview, Douglas-Cherokee Economic Authority representative, April 6 1994). The job training programs supply workers for industry. The jobs program takes the best candidates while the remaining workers become part of an unskilled under-class.

Economic change has created a new situation of dependency and poverty for low-wage workers and poor communities in Hamblen County.

The New Faces of Poverty

The new leaner economy and the increasing wealth divide are the basis for a new poverty in Hamblen County and the nation. Morristown's poverty rate was 15.8% of the population in 1969 and 13% in 1979 (ETDD 1986). The rate was 13.9% of the population in 1995. This is near the national rate (CT July 28, 1994). Since the 1960s programs designed to assist the needy have been heavily used in Morristown. Traditionally, the food stamp program helped mainly the elderly and single women. The working poor are less likely to accept assistance. After the new wave of plant closing Morristown's outreach director warned in an advertising to the public, "Recently a large number of jobs in the Morristown area have been lost...most people do not realize that they could be two or three weeks away from homelessness" (CT September 23, 1994).

The increases in land values and rising food prices in turn create higher living expenses for low-wage workers struggling to survive. A representative from the Douglas-Cherokee Development Authority agency describes the changing class divide,

> "Housing development costs more for instance. Groceries are more expensive. Development costs go to the poor in the community. We have not renovated the

> old areas around East High School. All the land development has gone to new subdivisions. The poor are being pushed to the old community which is dilapidated...It's a subtle tug of war of the poor versus the rich in Hamblen County...If you look at the agenda, you will see that the Chamber's description is 85% job recruitment and economic development" (Interview, Douglas Cherokee representative, April 6, 1994).

The median price of real estate climbed in Hamblen County in the 1990s. For instance in 1992, with low interest rates, the average price of a home in Morristown went from $60,000 in 1991 to $76,000 in 1992 (CT October 23, 1992). The middle and managerial class are moving away from the center of Morristown. Housing development in Hamblen County is concentrated in large subdivisions to the west of town and along the lake front. Large developers can get loans and annex land for city facilities to build middle class housing. A growing number of declining neighborhoods, housing projects, and trailer parks have accompanied a large expansion of middle class housing. It is more difficult to renovate old housing for owners and developers. In the city center of Morristown and in the older county areas, such as Russellville, housing is declining. Other areas such as Witt and Roe Junction have been scarred by the landfill and the accompanying lower property values. The divide between the working class and the middle class is increasingly being intensified by geographical segregation. The City of Morristown reported in July of 1995 that it could not act on the growing number of decrepit trailer parks because it did not have a building inspector to enforce the ordinance codes. Descriptions of the trailers include bare plywood floors, no air conditioning, frozen pipes, and windows nailed shut (CT July 21, 1995).

Responses to community poverty such as programs giving free food are received better than the food stamp program. The Douglas-Cherokee Economic Authority began distributing surplus food to local people in Morristown in 1981 as the then President Reagan stated, "The government cannot sit by and watch" (CT February 14, 1995). Staple food commodities were distributed to 2,000 people through the Neighborhood Service

Center between 1981 and 1995. Originally the service was to be temporary. In 1983, the program was renamed the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program. The federal funding for the program was cut in 1995. The director said, "The commodity program had been extremely popular and was helping more people than the food stamp program in the Lakeway Area" and that, "canceling distribution could have a devastating economic and psychological impact on recipients" (CT February 14, 1995).

Morristown built its first homeless shelter in 1994 reflecting an era of rising rural homelessness. The shelter is a response by local ministries to the rising number of homeless people in Morristown beginning the early 1990s. In 1992 the estimated county homeless population increased to 550 people. This number was 88% higher than in 1991. An estimated 400 people are homeless in Morristown in 1995. In 1994, The Ministerial Association Temporary Shelter (MATS) began a campaign to solicit donations from 7,000 local church members. The shelter held a grand opening with community volunteers, and business and church representatives. Other money comes from the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) which contributed over $30,000 to Morristown to supplement local emergency food and shelter programs in 1994 (CT March 28, 1994). This money is part of its food distribution program for high-need areas across the country. Other changes in Hamblen County include the decline of agricultural labor due to the rise of service industry. Next we look at the influx of migrant workers into Hamblen County.

Migrant Labor in Hamblen County

The changing context of the work force in Hamblen County in the 1990s reflects the restructuring of the labor force. The passing of NAFTA means the further integration of multinationals in Morristown with plants in Mexico. It also has increased migrant farm

workers from Mexico into Southern Appalachia. An expanding migrant population is coming each year to work in Hamblen County's agribusinesses.

The agricultural labor force in Hamblen County and surrounding counties is declining in the contemporary period due to economic expansion and industrialization opening up a labor intensive agricultural low-wage job sector. This sector is being filled by migrant workers from Mexico and other Latin American counties. The disappearance of the tenant farmer and farm wage labor represents the employment of local labor in the factory system and expanding service economy since the 1960s. Massive labor migrations to the United States from Mexico reflect a number of circumstances driving migrant workers to immigrate to Southern Appalachia.

As Southern Appalachia and East Tennessee continue to industrialize the percentage of its population employed in agriculture has declined steadily. The mobility of labor across the United States border from Mexico and Guatemala has accompanied the increased need for agricultural workers. Since late 1970s the number of migrant laborers working in Hamblen and surrounding counties has grown significantly. Groups of single men and families plant, tend, pick, and process tomatoes and cut tobacco from May to October along the Nolichucky River in Hamblen, Cocke, and Jefferson Counties.

Most of the migrants in Hamblen County are sojourners from the interior of Mexico and Guatemala. Many are native Mayan Indians from the State of Michocan. The Maya are the largest group of indigenous people in North and South America, numbering four million (Burns 1993). The agricultural laborers are hired out by labor contractors who provide housing and transportation (Landreth 1991). The causes of the migrations are economic crisis, changes in land availability, and the devaluing of the peso. Dollars from the United States provides household income and acts as a buffer against crop failure, landlessness, irregular income, and local unemployment (Alarcon 1992:305).

The ramifications of the internationalization of capital are the reorganizing of local, regional, and international systems of production, distribution, and consumption (Barkin 1994). The changing role of native Latin American populations in the world economy creates dramatic shifts in productive, social, and economic structures for local populations (Wolf 1982). The migration of Latin Americans to the United States is a result of unequal land distribution, decreased domestic production, and a reliance on income from increased export production. Natives who historically were pushed to marginal land in mountainous regions now engage in multiple subsistence activities for household survival. Money from yearly migrations to the United States supplement family income including small scale farming, petty commodity production, and low-wage manufacturing jobs (Cockcroft 1986; Alarcon 1992:305).

Mexico's era of self-sufficiency in the 1960s increased the standard of living of its rural peoples. The following period of the internationalization of capital altered this growth in the 1970s with a debt crisis and low value of the peso. The shifting global market place led to economic restructuring and the integration of Mexico's food production into the world market. The intensification of production for profit slows basic food production and increases export crop production (Barkin 1994). Ironically, poverty in Mexico is the result of a successful agricultural growth strategy that reorients local production toward agricultural exports and animal feed away from small-scale production. The exporting of food creates a serious natural resource disequilibria, unemployment and underemployment, and an inadequate food supply (Barkin 1994). The dependency threatens the ability of the economy to provide for basic needs. The expansion of the market means the production of nonbasic food crops demanded by core countries is the only way to increase profit (Barkin 1994). Natives respond to this loss of self-sufficiency by migrating to the United States.

The Latin American debt crisis since 1970 has been accompanied by declining small farm production. Mexico's further incorporation into the global market is based on

monocropping for both domestic production and exports. Barkin (1994:77) points out the impact on local villages,

> "Even rural communities that have been able to preserve cooperative forms of production find that their decisions about how and what to produce are affected definitively by national and international market forces beyond their control and, often, even unknown to them. The reemergence of a polarized agricultural structure is the result of official decisions to accede to international pressures to encourage commercial agricultural production, both for wealthy consumers in Mexico and for export, at the expense for basic food production by the majority of the countries small-scale farmers."

Rural workers increasingly become sojourners to satisfy basic needs as villages require more income sources. The process of commodification in the world economy creates a situation where traditional petty commodity agricultural sectors are dependent on a number of subsistence strategies for survival, including wages from core regions. By combining subsistence strategies, migrants produce a larger rate of profit for core capitalists and cheaper commodities for the global market (Boswell and Jorjani 1982; Wallerstein 1983). Uneven development between regions in the world economy produces the migration of low-wage peripheral workers to minimum wage jobs in high-wage core labor markets. The expansion of manufacturing and service jobs in Hamblen County opens up the traditional agricultural labor market for migrant laborers. Migrants in the United States operate in a split-labor market designed to maintain a separate low-wage sector based on ethnicity and nationality (Bonacich 1979).

Migrant workers travel along the Appalachian migrant stream picking oranges in Florida and Texas and apples, tobacco, strawberries, and tomatoes in Tennessee and North Carolina. Migrants live and work regionally in the tomato fields in Cocke, Hamblen, and Jefferson Counties. They are also hired out to work in tobacco, strawberries, hay, and other cash crops. The supply of housing for migrants has become critical as the numbers have expanded (Landreth 1991; Newport Plain Talk August 10, 1994). The majority of the migrants live in rural areas in Cocke County where services are located. Morristown

provides shopping and entertainment. Most of the earnings of the workers are sent back to their villages. Many workers are young men who are along way from home for the first time.

An estimated 21,000 migrants come to in the State of Tennessee every year (Freeman 1993). Over 5,000 migrant workers come to Hamblen, Cocke, Jefferson, and Greene Counties throughout the growth and harvesting season between May and October. In Hamblen County the migrant population works at two main locations. The largest agribusiness is Harloff Farms where between 800 and 1200 migrants pick and process tomatoes from May to September. Another business is a chicken processing plant, Burnett's Produce, near downtown Morristown. Harloff Farms provides living quarters for workers and is the largest employer in the area. Harloff Farms began in 1991 with 600 workers. The owner consolidated several bottom land farms on the border of Hamblen and Cocke Counties. Harloff Farms ships picked and processed tomatoes to Texas and Florida. The absentee owner runs a second tomato plant in Florida.

Burnetts Produce was founded in 1948 with 500 employees. The plant is a last stop for unemployed and unskilled workers in Morristown who usually work less than a day or a week without quitting. Since the late 1980s migrant laborers are the main work force at Burnetts Produce with some workers staying throughout the winter months. Migrants do not mind food processing or hard work unlike locals who find easier work in the service industries. The plant manager articulates, "Mexicans make 'excellent' workers without whom the business could not operate" (CT January 15, 1993). Labor turnover at the plant before the arrival of migrant workers was a constant with a yearly 1,200 people hired for 250 jobs. Most local workers sent to the plant from the unemployment agency work less than a day or week. Before the arrival of the migrants an estimated 10 to 12 employees quit at the plant per day (CT January 15, 1993). Burnetts Produce's total

employment is 385 workers in 1994 including 174 men and 211 women most of which are migrants.

An undetermined amount of the migrant workers are illegal aliens in Hamblen County. Some estimates place the number as high as 50% of the workers who do not have the proper documentation. Raids on the farms usually deport workers back to Latin America. Raids at Burnetts Produce by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) produced illegal aliens in 1993, 1994, and 1995. The first raid in 1993 arrested and deported 53 aliens and the second in 1994 arrested and deported 65 illegal aliens, which was the most in state history (CT January 14, 1993; CT September 29, 1994). Ten illegal aliens were arrested at Burnett's Produce and 16 at Harloff Farms in 1995. This raid was part of an INS operation netting a total of 2,002 illegal aliens in the Eastern United States (CT June 22, 1995). Despite the raids Burnett's Produce continues to operate mainly with migrant labor.

The increased exposure of migrants in Hamblen County represents a change which many locals are not prepared. Petty crimes and auto accidents by migrants appealing in the media create a visual image of lawlessness among migrant workers (Landreth 1991). Young drivers sometimes do not have a license or are able to understand English. Alcohol related crimes and social problems attributed to the workers have steadily risen in Hamblen County. Morristown's Sheriff responded to the growing migrant alcohol problem by saying, "I believe we need to have somebody talk to the Hispanics about drunk driving because they're killing innocent people...Its the employers who could help" (CT October 22, 1995).

The response from the community to the migrants has been negative. A Morristown Citizen-Tribune writer summed up the general public's sentiment toward migrant workers this way, "Many local people seem to fear the Mexicans and say they would feel safer if the migrant workers would return to their homeland" (CT July 23,

1993). Editorials from local citizens offer the same message. One woman writes, "When are we going to reach our quota of them? Or is it that some of these money hungry factories would rather pay them less wages than give the people who have lived in this town all their life a job?...This is not right, God help those money grabbing fools who sold out this town for profit" (CT August 17, 1994).

The impact of development in the 1990s in Morristown reflects a new leaner and contingent work force, declining communities, and migrant workers. Other changes have created negative impacts on communities due to expansion and environmental hazards. The next section looks at the response of communities to the negative impacts of growth and to development policies encroaching on culture and way of life.

Resistance and the Externalities of Growth

The Growth Machine and the Landfill

One of the outcomes of rapid development is the need for expanded services. Communities pay for the services regardless of who benefits. The social costs of development are negative consequences of for-profit production. The negative consequences of growth are often shifted to third parties especially powerless individuals and communities (Feagin 1988). The main losers are those who are directly affected by the problems. Other losers are the taxpayers who have to pay to clean up the environmental pollution at dump sites and other areas affected by pollution. Molotch (1988:27) argues that in cities, "environmental degradation affects everyone, particularly the poor, who tend to live and work nearest the pollution and congestion." The winners, the growth machine and the companies they support, most gain from the development. Whoever is affected by the problems of growth must compete with the growth coalition to change the situation. Individuals often are no match for well organized political and economic coalitions.

This section looks at the externalities of growth in Morristown. It documents the battle over the city and county dump by local residents, that occurred from the early 1970s to 1994. As an externality of growth the dump was used for industry and city and county garbage often illegally. The residents around the sites depend on well water. Some of them have struggled for over 50 years to get city water piped to the area. This section documents the struggle by residents of communities around the landfill for city water and the response of political leaders and the utility district.

Development has an impact on the distribution of services to residents in cities and rural areas alike. In Hamblen County, the landfill waste site began in a rural area around the Witt and Roe Junctions communities on the outskirts of Morristown. The residential makeup in the two areas is scattered along narrow county roads and at a few major residential clusters. The division is mountainous with poor soils. Most of the land around the dump sites is hilly or mountainous but large farms are also in the area. Both Witt and Roe Junction were early farming and population centers with a plentiful water supply until the coming of industry after to the Second World War. The South Witt District is a rural area with relatively fewer voters or wealthy residents. As an older area, it contains older housing and infrastructure. The South Witt District contains the only area in Hamblen County with a concentration of open salvage and junk yards. The division is also isolated from open space and recreation facilities.

The running of water lines to the areas around the landfills was deemed too costly for the district even though promises of water were made by the 1950s. The population around the landfills uses mainly well water. The contamination of these wells over the years has led to a number of problems for the communities. Due to their isolation the Roe Junction and Witt communities rely heavily on wells for water. In fact, 90% of rural Tennessee residents get their drinking water from ground water sources including springs or wells. A report on rural populations in East Tennessee points out that, "Lacking wide

economic choices, rural people cannot readily leave their homes if their water supplies are poisoned, and even where available, hook ups to 'city water' can be prohibitively expensive" (Highlander Center Staff 1993:1). In Hamblen County, only 9% of its residents rely on wells; however, residents around the landfills virtually depend on ground water with well water making up 45% and 32% of the water supplies of the two areas around the landfill (Norris 1993).

Historically the small dump sites reflect the limited requirements a rural population. This situation started to change in the 1950s with the population growth. The original dump was two miles from Morristown. The site was an unregulated and open dump. The condition of the city dump became a focus of the Pilot Club as early as 1949. The open dump gave off a foul odor, was a health menace, and attracted children who played at the site. The Morristown Pilot Club's Public Affairs Committee called for a more modern, efficient, and sanitary garbage disposal system in a newspaper article entitled Civil-Minded Women Ask For New Disposal Plant. The article read, "Some of the enlightened citizens of Morristown think that something should be done about this situation" (GM October 31, 1949). The rapid population growth in Morristown stressed the landfill although little was done until the requirements of regulatory agencies in the late 1960s.

Residents inquired about an application for grant money from the Farm-Home Administration to run water to the Roe Junction community as early as 1970. By 1972 the county was aware that its landfill would not be able to meet the requirements of the State. It asked the city to share its landfill. The city council passed an amendment for the joint city-county use of the Morristown Sanitary landfill because the county landfill would not meet the new requirements by the state. The county paid a yearly cost to the city of $16,500. The councilmen who voted against the deal claimed the city's landfill would have a reduced life (GM January 7, 1972).

The extended use, poor preparation, and neglect of the site led to an outcry of residents in the Roe Junction Community in 1974. In October of 1974, Morristown paid $25,000 of a $1.4 million dollar damage suit filed against the city by 14 plaintiffs all residents of Roe Junction community. The residents sought to close the landfill permanently, claiming the city was operating a nuisance and that seepage from material placed in the landfill polluted streams and springs on their properties. The state gave the city approval to use the landfill until the summer of 1975. The persons who received settlements from the city lost their right to sue the city in the future. The city manager claimed, "lawsuits in connection with the landfill had cost the city $30,000 to $50,000 and the city was being forced to move the operation across a highway to a more suitable location...Garbage collection and landfill operations cost the city $281,000 a year on the average" (CT February 1, 1976).

In 1976 the city gave a year notice of the termination of its contract with the county to use the city owned and operated landfill at the Roe Junction community. The city terminated its contract with the county allowing it to use the city's landfill after the law suits against the city in hopes of re-establishing a new contract later (CT October 29, 1975). The county began to search for another site at Cherokee Lake and an a property at Sulfur Springs road near Roe Junction in 1977 (CT March 10, 1978).

The county began to use the nearby Jefferson County landfill until it could construct a new landfill at the Sulfur Springs site. The city was given nine months to find a new landfill site or a new method of disposal at the old site. The state claimed evidence introduced at the hearing by the Solid Waste Division of the State Health Department showed that the soil at the present location did not meet state requirements for landfills (CT August 31, 1977).

The county allowed the city to use its new landfill. The county looked into the possibility of extending water to the site and the area, but no action was taken. In 1974 the

city planning commission reported that the lack of water utilities for the south division had limited the region's growth and that only the extreme southern and northeastern areas of Hamblen County and the eastern part of the county were without public water (CT March 22, 1977). Resistance did not surface again until 1977 when property owners next to the closed site claimed the city agreement to restore the site after its contract ran out had not been honored and the city had defaulted its contract (Hamblen County Planning Commission 1978:108).

In the Roe Junction and Witt communities there are five sites all together. There were three operating waste disposal entities and two closed sites by the end of the 1980s. In 1985 the City of Morristown landfill handled approximately 121 tons of waste per day. Of this, approximately 50% is commercial waste. Tidi-Waste Systems is the main company handling waste, although there is a small amount of city and private hauling. The landfill suffers from a shortage of cover material, does not meet all state regulations, and has a remaining life of only two years. The Hamblen County landfill is adjacent to the Morristown landfill. It handles mainly residential and industrial waste. The city charged 70 cents per cubic yard for dumping fees to industries using its landfill (ETDD 1985:30, 31). The city estimated landfill cost of $146,000 per year in 1985. The old Hamblen County site was extended by the Solid Waste Disposal Board in 1989.

The largest new landfill is on the site of the old landfill. The new site was expanded and upgraded into other untouched portions of the landfill. Adjacent to this site is another facility that opened in 1990. This facility is operated by the City and County as a baling facility and a burning unit. The industrial landfill was created by Tidi-Waste a Morristown company belonging to a local member of the Chamber of Commerce and the chairman of the Morristown Utility Commission (CT July 31, 1994).

Tidi-Waste Systems was cited for dumping illegally in Jefferson County before it began operations in Hamblen County (Norris 1993:2). The illegal dump in Jefferson

County was closed in 1983. Tidi-Waste Systems began operations in Morristown in 1985 as Lakeway Sanitation Land Spreading Company and Lakeway Recycling and Landfill, Inc. Tidi-Waste Systems proposed an industrial landfill near the major landfills for commercial, industrial, and demolition types waste on 32 of the 75 acres. The permit was issued in 1989 after the proposal was modified. The industrial landfill continues to operate as a facility burning waste. The company was later cited by the city for burning illegal waste on site.

Opposition by local residents sprang up immediately, contesting proposals for all three of the landfills. Norris (1993:1) describes the situation with Tidi-Waste Systems,

> "Operators of this present landfill were found in violation of their permit when it was discovered that they were burning much of their waste on-site before landfilling it. Citizens called attention to the problem, state officials investigated and found that although they did have an air pollution control permit, visible emissions were in excess, and Lakeway had not applied for a permit by rule through the solid waste division."

Groups calling themselves "Citizens Against Dumps in Hamblen County" and "Witt Citizens Against the Dump" opposed the new domestic landfills (Norris 1993). Resistance to the industrial landfill sprang up from surrounding citizens concerned about sinkholes, ground water runoff, and property value (Norris 1993:10). The resistance was ineffective and all three proposals were passed. The addition of the facilities was an effort to maximize the land use of the existing facilities since these landfills were an extension of the old landfills.

The area's population of about 536 households was completely rural and a low income working class community (SOCM Annual Report 1994). The area's population had little clout in city or county politics except collectively. The area had a relatively high unemployment rate at 7.6%. Of those employed, 41% were employed in industry (Norris 1993). The residents around the landfill continued to rely mainly on surface sources for

their water supply. The resulting intensification of waste disposal in the area from population growth created additional seepage in wells, run off onto adjacent properties, and other hazards.

The residents alone could continue to fight to bring water to the area or to control illegal activities at the landfills. The illegal dumping of toxic waste at the Hamblen County was exposed in 1992. Representatives of a Morristown company, Recticel, and Tidi-Waste Systems were charged on 14 counts of illegal treatment, storage, and disposal of hazardous wastes in the Hamblen County landfill. The chemicals dumped at the site from 1975 to 1992, were on the EPA's lists of chemicals most dangerous to the public health. The company also illegally dumped industrial waste on a site in Greene County. The 120 55-gallon garbage dumpsters unearthed at the landfill were filled with illegal hazardous industrial waste. Ironically, the same chemicals were unearthed in 1990 with no one charged. The case was the largest prosecution for environmental violations even brought in the State of Tennessee (CT September 9, 1992). The company pleaded guilty under a plea bargain and paid $750,000 in fines (CT July 13, 1994).

The city did not act on the situation. In the summer and fall of 1993 a group of residents began to seek to bring water lines to residents in the area around the landfills. A regional group Save Our Cumberland Mountains (SOCM) became involved in the fight for water and the monitoring of landfill violations. SOCM had worked for a number of years to clean up the landfills in Hamblen and other counties in East Tennessee. Citizens began to act on the situation. One member found low-levels of radiation with Geiger counters. They also monitored the landfills for illegal dumping at nights.

Members of SOCM and other concerned citizens went door to door in Roe Junction asking people about their water. Residents complained about hazardous waste in their wells. Community members complained of high cancer rates and illnesses that they linked to landfill contamination (SOCM Sentinel November 1994:1,4). Over the next 15 months

SOCM members fought to bring piped in water to the area from the Witt Water Utility District and expose the situation to the media and residents of Hamblen County.

The process took a number of steps. First, the decision to try to target the Witt district was based on expediency. The Roe Junction area is in the Witt Utility District's jurisdiction but the city has lower water rates. Citizens who had paid to have wells dug now fought to have water piped (SOCM Sentinel November 1994). The first public appearance of the group was at a public Solid Waste and Superfund meeting where members tried to get officials to test the water in the community. The citizens received very little response from the officials. The next step was to try to confront utility district officials and expose the situation.

SOCM members took jars of contaminated water to a city council meeting. The goal of the group became to raise the consciousness of the Witt Utility District. One of the main political and economic actors in Hamblen County was a longtime member of the district's board owning large tracts of land in the district of which he had developed. He was active in both city and county politics as a former Morristown Chamber of Commerce president, hardware distributor, and deacon at the largest church in Morristown, the First Baptist Church. The protesters over the next weeks appealed to his influence on the board at a number of public functions. Nine members picketed on Highway 25-E in front of the hardware distributorship on the same day as the Farm /City Day Promotion Tour. The journalist's description of the protesters was, "They carried American flags and placards and chanted, Ho! Ho! Ho! We want clean water in Roe Junction! as the bus carrying Farm/City Day tour participants rolled into the business" (CT November 9, 1993).

In December the group held a vigil and public meeting for water. They sang outside the First Baptist Church in below freezing weather. Members prayed for water and that their community be released from the bondage that lasted for thirty years. The protesters asked the deacon, "Are you going to let these little children in our community die

because they do not have clean water" (CT November 9,1993)? The SOCM members saw it as a matter of justice proclaiming they had been called the 'culls' of Hamblen County, demanding they be treated with respect. An article in the the SOCM Sentinel proclaimed, "The words of Amos will ring true in Hamblen County: Justice will 'flow down like mighty waters and righteousness like an everflowing stream'" (SOCM Sentinel January 1994).

The Witt Utility District refused to consider running the lines due to the cost. Local residents monitored the closed dumps finding trucks going in at night and dumping leaves at a closed site. After being confronted with the situation, the Morristown City manager responded to the allegations of illegal dumping and contaminated wells by saying, "We have the legal right to dispose of leaves at this location...and that the Health Department ruled in 1975 that at least two thirds of the wells in Hamblen County has some level of bacteria or lead in them. This is not new news to anyone in the city or county government" (The Constitution September 17, 1993). Members complained of threats and harassment. SOCM members traveled to Nashville to appear before the Tennessee Utility Management Review to request an investigation of the Witt Utility District for inconsistencies in billings for residences and the large business interest in the area including the hardware distributorship. They also wanted to know why the district was not turned over to the city if it could not service the entire district (SOCM Sentinel May 1994).

In March 40 SOCM members including members from Hamblen County went to Nashville to hold a press conference and lobby for passage of an Environmental Justice bill. They held a mock court indicting the Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation Commissioner for aiding and abetting environmental criminals and bad actors, and lacking the will to protect the health, safety, and environment of Tennessee's citizens. To these allegations SOCM members added the refusal to use the Bad Boy law currently on the books to deny solid waste permits to bad actors, and opposing Senate Bill

1499/House Bill 1463 or the Environmental Justice Bill passed in 1994. The members emphasized that the Department of Environment and Conservation was guilty of granting waste permits to companies with past records of violations. SOCM members and other witnesses offered a number of examples of violators (SOCM Sentinel March 1994).

The Roe Junction community received news from the Witt Utility District that they were seeking a grant from the Farmers Home Administration for assistance. Again the Witt District backpedaled citing the expense of running the lines and the need for new equipment. Members started collecting petitions asking for a full investigation of the Witt Utility District in January and February of 1994. The investigation centered on why there was $800,000 of investment into the district and only 55 miles of pipelines and extremely high water rates. Meetings were held at Witt Elementary School. Members began to talk about setting up a meeting with the Governor and going before the Tennessee Utility District Review Board to request an investigation of the Witt Utility District. With renewed pressure the Utility District decided to run the water lines in the Fall of 1994 (SOCM Sentinel November 1994).

The Farmers Home Alliance awarded a $225,000 grant to the Witt Utility District. Residents had to sign up for hook ups. The price for a hook up was reduced from $450 to $150. The members had to act immediately because the grant agreement required 67 signatures by November 1. Members set up a water relief fund soliciting $3,750 in funds for residents unable to afford hookups (SOCM Sentinel November 1994). Donors included individuals and organizations with bankers, churches, ministers, and anonymous contributions along with companies in Witt Utility District (SOCM Sentinel November 1994). Members went door to door handing out information.

The Roe Junction Community fought for water for over 30 years. The Hamblen County Commissioner stated he was, "Happy to see the water coming...It was a very needed project" (CT November 1, 1994). Ironically the city was cited for dumping

syringes and body shop waste in the land fill in June of 1994. The state also rejected the cities plan for closing the old landfill and the opening up of the new section on the adjacent property. The proposal was approved by the Knoxville Division of Solid Waste but the proposal was then refused by the permit Review Committee of the Division's Nashville Central Office. Local officials stressed that the information about the paint was taken from the daily inspection report. The proposal was also rejected because the city refused to meet state requirements for a one foot clay trap. The city manager stated, "The state keeps changing the rules...that additional foot throughout the landfill could mean a year off the life of the landfill" (CT June 14, 1994). A council member responded that the state's report was "knit picking" (CT June 14, 1994).

In the end a SOCM member stated, "It don't take nobody big to win-just a few poor people" (SOCM Sentinel March 4, 1995). The Witt Utility District promised water to the Roe Junction community in 1958. Over 30 years later residents banded together forcing the district to run the pipes. The actions of a small rural community against developers and politicians reveal how power is asserted to maintain conformity to development based growth even in the face of blatant violations of laws and rights. A Highlander Center report pointed to the casual attitude toward citizens' concerns by officials working for the state and in Hamblen County. The report commented, "Citizen comments at a hearing on the waste Management landfill were not recorded, while Hamblen residents were not warned of ground water contaminants for two years, despite complaint about well water quality" (Highlander Center Staff 1993:25).

The struggle of communities and individuals with the politics of waste disposal is also shaped by regional agencies. The ETDD plays an active role in assessing the needs of solid waste management for East Tennessee communities in its district. The ETDD supports integrated management of landfills and assists local political actors in meeting state regulations.

By having local political actors as the main participants on ETDD boards the agency assists the local elite in overcoming resistance to groups opposing the encroachment of landfills and violations of laws such as the situation at the Hamblen County landfills. A look at ETDD board activities in its annual meetings reveals the approach taken by its board members, "Solid waste was a topic at all the meetings. Of particular interest was the completion of sixteen county solid waste plans, problems common to more than one jurisdiction and too extensive regulation by state government" (ETDD Annual Report 1994). The problems of waste disposal faced by local communities in East Tennessee are intensified by regional agencies assisting local growth coalitions to overcome community resistance. The ETDD, while providing important assistance in the management of solid waste for counties, fails to help communities within local districts solve their problems.

Development and the Fight Over a Golf Course

One of the issues that is an exemplar of the growth machine's ability to create and promote a growth agenda is the struggle by the City of Morristown to put an 18 hole golf course at Panther State Park despite the resistance of a number of groups. Developers and politicians in Morristown fought to build a 200 acre golf course at the 1,400 acre Panther Lake State Park beginning in 1994. The proposed 18 hole Jack Nicklaus course became a point of controversy when a number of local and regional individuals and groups arose to oppose the course. The city's stance supported by the local newspaper eventually carried the project to the planning stage where the site was found to be in appropriate for the course. The chronology of the issue provides an important study of people's resistance, the power of the growth machine, and media coverage of issues of development. Although the original plans for the park called for a golf course many local residents opposed not being included in the discourse on the project.

The Morristown course was one of four planned golf courses in State parks in Tennessee. The proposed courses were approved by the General Assembly in 1994 for $20 million in state funds to build four courses with $5 million spent on each site. Opponents to the course complained the encroachment of the golf course on the soccer fields and other development already at the park. Opponents also were concerned with the environmental effects of the golf course on the park. The 18 hole course was proposed even after a 1988 feasibility study showed the park could only hold a 9 hole golf course (CT December 11, 1994). A struggle between opposing groups and local developers and politicians ensued.

The announcement of the course in October of 1994 was a surprise to many in the community. On October 20 a delegation of angry park users attended a strategic meeting at the park. A poll taken at the meeting showed 332 people were opposed and 16 in favor (NS October 30, 1994). In the next months public debate of the golf course increased. Critics of the course included a number of groups. One of the most active, The Izacc Walton League, called the plan bad government at its worst. This group had members inside and outside of Hamblen County. The league called it 'pork barrel' politics for a few legislators at a time the state is facing a fiscal crisis (NS April 2, 1995). Other critics were local youth soccer teams and their parents.

The main political support was a State Representative and the Chamber of Commerce that had worked with state planners in the 1960s to develop the park. The original master plan was to have an 18 hole golf course. The Chamber of Commerce ran an ad on the front paper of the paper advertising its support for the project (CT November 17, 1994). The paper rallied support for the course in 1994 and 1995. The main argument for development of the golf course was that the park does not bring in enough money to pay for itself, and a golf course would generate income for the park. Proponents argued

that the park generates 28% of its operating budget and that other parks with golf courses generate as much as 82 to 92% of their incomes (The Constitution November 25, 1994).

One editorial written by the newspaper editor was entitled, "We Need a Golf Course." It advised two of the State Representatives who had not supported the course, "To actively work for the golf course and the continued, and proper, development of Panther Creek State Park" (CT December 14, 1994). Another front-page headline article read, "The Citizen Tribune had received additional assurances that an 18-hole golf course can be a positive, progressive step for Morristown and Hamblen County, and not the boondoggle claimed by opponents of the project" (CT December 11, 1995). The paper appealed to the community not to miss the opportunity to develop by opposing the course. One headline read, "Other State Parks Want Golf Course." It further stated that, "influence campaigns have been launched over the past couple of weeks to solicit support for a change in the location of the proposed golf course-moving the golf course from a hostile atmosphere in Morristown to a more friendly environment at a state park in middle Tennessee" (CT December 8, 1994). The political leaders also pointed to the parks growth. As one of the ten most visited parks in the state, Panther Creek State Park has over 900,000 visitors. The number of visitors to Panther Creek State Park increased substantially in the 90s. An article warned that the Panther Creek State Park generated only $97,797 while expenditures were $336,237. The article pointed out that staff cuts had occurred at other parks in the state with no golf facilities. State Parks having golf courses were in good fiscal shape. Panther Creek was ranked 26th among the 50 parks in income generation in 1994 (CT December 11, 1994).

The resistance to the golf course drew public meetings scheduled by newly elected politicians. A meeting was held at Walters State Community College. An estimated 400 to 500 people showed up to oppose or support the course on December 14, 1994. The opposition had a petition signed by 2,300 people. Supporters for the course were on hand

including the mayor, chamber of commerce president, businessmen, and sportsmen. The opposition was a coalition of lawyers, park users, the American Youth Soccer Organization, and players, a college professor, bikers, hikers, and residents and non-residents of Hamblen County. The main reason for the opposition was cited as the increased traffic, spoiling hiking and biking trails, possible pollution from the golf course, interference with local development, and disruption of wildlife. Another complaint was that the city had not informed the public about the course. One protester said, "It seems that some people cut a deal, without asking any one of us what we want for the park" (CT December 14, 1994). An editorial in the Knoxville New-Sentinel explained that, "opposition to a golf course at Panther Creek is not new. A ground swell of opposition met state plans for the course in 1989. This time the plans have been carefully hidden from public view" (NS December 4, 1994).

Part of the opposition was later appeased when the state assured them that the golf course would not endanger the existing facilities. The soccer players were convinced that much of their opposition has been based on misconceptions of the original map showing the golf course covering existing areas already developed in the park. The board of directors of the Morristown Youth Soccer Organization withdrew its opposition after receiving assurances from the state that the design would not negatively impact the use of the soccer fields or swimming complex. The board stated, "Our board voted to take no stance on the golf course issue...we don't oppose it, but also do not support it....we don't wish to become politically involved in this issue" (CT December 21, 1994).

The city emphasized the site at the park was still to be chosen. On December 21 the golf course contract was approved with a site still unconfirmed. The approval meant the developer could do a preliminary site testing to determine if a golf course is warranted at each of the four proposed locations (CT December 21, 1994). Opposition continued from groups outside the area. An Oak Ridge group, Tennessee Citizens for Wilderness

Planning, alleged the city had made unwise planning and acted in violation of state law in writing and approving the contracts (CT January 27, 1995).

The opposition to the course slowed in the Spring of 1995 with the developers constant exposure in the newspaper. The Izzac Walton League continued its critique of the park as did the Knoxville News-Sentinel. The paper ran editorials on the waste of state money the courses represented. The league was concerned about the state's political and economic role, but also about the local situation. Izzac Walton members pointed out that there were 26 public golf courses within a 50 mile radius of Panther Creek State Park and Morristown has a new Millhouse course three miles from the park (NS December 4, 1994).

By January of 1995 the community accepted the course as a done deal. Politicians praised the community for not opposing the course. On March 6, 1995, the Tennessee State building Commission announced that Panther Lake State park would not be the site of an 18-hole Jack Nicklaus signature golf course. It was decided that the terrain would be too costly to change. The developer emphasized the opposition to the course was not the deciding factor in the decision to ask for a substitution. Instead the area delineated for the golf course had an abundance of rock, both exposed and subsurface, a lack of topsoil, and numerous areas of severe slope. The course would have been too expensive with steep fairways and un-enjoyable for the intended user (CT March 6, 1995).

The original feasibility study in 1988 pointed to many of the same problems. The desire to create development led local politicians and developers to push a project even though sufficient opposition existed to create doubt in peoples' minds in Hamblen County. The ability to sway opinion by the growth coalition convinced the community that a golf course could and should be built at the small and already heavily used park. Some factions of the community struggled to maintain autonomy from developers. One of the main issues is that the city did not announce its plans to the citizens of the county. This theme reoccurs in the struggles over development in Morristown. Residents again seemed conscious of the

maneuvering of political actors to push projects through without dealing with local participation. The development firm representative stated that his company had never faced opposition of the magnitude as it had in Morristown (CT December 14, 1994).

Hamblen County residents continue to fight for their autonomy and defend their cultural roots. The age old battle over the legalization of alcohol re-emerged in 1994 attracting one of the largest demonstrations since the prison rallies in the 1970s. The outcome shifted the political milieu back to the conservative politics of the Christian Coalition.

The Fight Over Alcohol and Development

Another recent issue concerning development in Hamblen County is the legalization of beer in restaurants. The long standing debate over legalization is part of the image outsiders have of southern mountain life. Notions of Appalachia as a persisting frontier reflects the image of feuds and illegal whiskey production. Yet we know little about the role alcohol plays in local politics. Only recently have theorists in Appalachian Studies began to understand the ethnocentric nature of a long standing perception by mainstream America of local Appalachian feuding and moonshining. Works on cultural change are expanding our awareness of the dramatic cultural and economic realities behind the status of alcohol in rural areas in Appalachian communities (Waller 1988; Shapiro 1977).

Moonshining in Appalachia started as a sideline for farmers, but grew as its market expanded with prohibition. The changing nature of prohibition and the opening of roads after 1917 led to the increased marketing of corn liquor providing income for small farmers. In 1956, 89 of 95 of Tennessee counties were dry. Southern Cocke County, on Hamblen County's border, is seen as the moonshine capital of Tennessee and the origin of 75% of illegal whisky in East Tennessee. Agents captured 40 stills a month in Cocke

County as part of a Tennessee region producing some 25,000 gallons of illegal whiskey a week in 1956. As the major producer in the state the Cocke County region was mainly responsible for the loss of $3.3 million in state tax dollars in 1956. The illegal whisky went to local areas such as Knoxville and Morristown, and to northern states, Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois (Durand 1956). According to Durand, the full-time moonshiner is a product of the growing national demand for whisky. Specialization changed the making of whisky as part of farming life to making it in large quantities for resale. Durand found that most of the stills in Cocke County were commercial and produced 500 to a 1000 gallons.

The bootlegging industry in Hamblen County maintained a strong business until the 1970s. In Hamblen County after failing in 1968, the city voted in liquor stores in 1972 to replace the illegal selling of liquor and add additional tax moneys to pay for services. Protests arose immediately with 500 signatures the next day after the announcement in a group called Volunteers Opposing Liquor Sales (VOL). A full page add read, "Christians for Legal Control." The vote was 2,720 for and 2,640 against. This vote compared to the 1968 vote that was 2,131 against and 1,116 for liquor stores in town (GM November 6, 1972). In the next month 29 taxi cabs and 12 clubs were raided. The passing of legal liquor and beer sales led the growth coalition to fight for liquor and beer by the drink.

The next action took place in May of 1994 when a retiring mayor and three city council members voted four to one against their constituency to serve beer in restaurants with several hundred protesters outside the municipal building. The ordinance originally included the selling of beer from 6 a.m. to 2 a.m. seven-days a week was changed to between 8 a.m. and 12 a.m. with no beer on Sunday. The ordinance was slipped past the public and religious opposition allowing only a few days to prepare to oppose the ordinance.

The protesters included ministers and people from a number of resident churches. The newspaper described the situation this way, "Faced with the implied threat of divine

retribution, four of Morristown's five-member city council rejected emotional appeals and approved changes to the existing beer ordinance that will permit restaurant beer sales" (CT May 18, 1994). The member voting against the ordinance, who was the first woman council member in Morristown, stated that she supports beer in restaurants in theory but feels, "the public was not adequately of the proposed changes" and of the people she spoke to, "the overwhelming majority of them opposed beer sales in restaurants" (CT May 18, 1994).

Ministers at the city council meeting frustrated by the vote and that the city council had ignored them started chanting, 'Votem Out', 'Votem Out." Sixteen of the protesters were ministers, many of who were inside at the meeting before the vote. Signs held up at the municipal building by children read, "For the drunkard and the glutton come to poverty" and "Wine is a mocker strong drink is raging and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise" and "alcohol kills" (CT May 18, 1994). Opponents pointed to the increased family problems and deaths due to alcohol. The protesters sang patriotic songs and hymns as they jammed the municipal building, spilled over into hallways, onto the yard, and across the street. Just before the vote the crowd kneeled in a mass prayer. Many responded with tears at the vote (The Constitution May 20, 1994). This mattered little to retiring politicians using this chance to promote growth one last time.

This vote was held around election time and candidates used the issue for support. The outgoing mayor and the newspaper argued that the passing of the ordinance would entice restaurant chains and trendy sports restaurants that had expressed interest in Morristown looking to serve wine, beer, and liquor with meals (CT May 10, 1994). One of the city council members not retiring ran for mayor but lost. The new mayor promised in his campaign that the mayor and city council should do their utmost to vote for what was the best for all of Morristown's citizens but, "however occasionally an issue arises when I truly believe the people have a right to vote. Some of these issues that I'm referring to are:

1) Beer sold in Morristown Restaurants 2) Liquor by the drink 3) Annexation of County Property" (CT February 5, 1995). At the same time the new mayor candidate also publicized that he supported the recruiting of industry.

The growth agenda's desire for large restaurants is in conflict with the conservative Christian coalition. For many fundamentalists alcohol represents the negative side of modernity. Many of the protester's at the rally against alcohol were children and entire Sunday school classes. The battle over alcohol and development in East Tennessee is widespead. Nearby Pigeon Forge in Sevier County is one of the largest tourists centers in the United States with no alcohol sales. The town draws thousands of tourists yearly in family oriented entertainment. Development in Morristown continues to reflect the struggle over the legalization of alcohol. The issue is more than just legalization but the actual power to chose to legalize the substance. The fight for the right to chose is one of the main causes of resistance to development. Next we look at the fight over the protection of land from a proposed industrial park.

Condemnation Without Representation: The Continuing Fight Over The Land

The 200 year battle between land speculators and farmers to control the land in Hamblen County was continued in 1995 when the city council announced a new industrial park in the South District of Hamblen County encroaching on several farms. The new park was by the Morristown City Council covering 2,400 acres in Hamblen and Jefferson Counties. The proposed park effects 60 landowners on 88 parcels of land (CT October 27, 1995). The city council vote for the park happened in the same fashion as other city council votes, that is, without prior public knowledge. The city council voted four to one for the park. Landowners found out about the city's plans to confiscate their land from the newspaper the next day. Some of the farms go back over five generations and were among

the first European settlers in Hamblen County. Other farms on the proposed site have been operating for over 80 years.

The park was promoted due to the high unemployment rate in Hamblen County due to plant closings. The site was selected due to its proximity to the interstate (CT October 24, 1995). The city administrator commented that, "If we stay still, then we will get lost in the shuffle, jobs and technological change" and that, "Industry will not buy existing buildings and abandoned buildings after plants close, even the speculative buildings in the industrial parks. Currently there are no buildings available" (CT October 24, 1995). Resistance to the park sprang up immediately. One woman commented that, "It's like looking in the obituary column and finding out you've lost your husband" (CT October 24, 1995). The farm population formed a group and hired lawyers to fight the City of Morristown. The group is entitled, Stop The Industrial Park or (STIP). Over 400 people showed up at a local Baptist Church to support the group and develop a strategy to protect the land from the city. The farmers expressed outrage at the church meeting. Most were especially struck by the city's desire to condemn the land of farmers who refused to sell their land for development. Comments by the crowd included, "We need to condemn the city council of Morristown" and "Thats condemnation without representation" (CT October 27, 1995).

STIP attended a press conference held by the city to announce the park on October 24. The group was turned away and later jammed into the office of the city administrator to voice opposition to the proposed park (NS October 24, 1995). Again the actions of the growth machine created resistance to a project. The method of proposing and passing proposals used by the city angered local residents. The city council member voting against the park argues that the city council voted without proper notification to the public. The lack of proper notification of the public was also the case in the voting in beer in restaurants. Members of STIP stated that, "plans were leaked to people who bought land

in the proposed area and now stand to reap huge profits from its sale" (NS October 24, 1995).

On November 14 Jefferson City's city council approved in one vote the annexing of 7,200 acres in its own county to prevent Hamblen County from putting the park on the land through eminent domain. A Jefferson City council member conducted a study of the region in two days and held a "special" city council meeting. He found that 1,550 people in Jefferson County would be impacted by the park (CT November 14, 1995). The Morristown City Council eliminated the Jefferson County portion of the proposed industrial park on November 22 focusing on Hamblen County parcels instead (CT November 22, 1995). Some of the land owners in Hamblen County agreed to sell the land to the city. Others maintained a strong resistance to the park and condemnation of their land. The mayor argued that the city would only condemn land in extreme cases. Other city council members argued that the city should not encroach on the farmers and should put the park only on available land (CT November 22, 1995). The Hamblen County Commission also was opposed to the proposed industrial park. It asked the Morristown City Council to consider other county locations for the park (CT November 21, 1995). A local farmer argued at the same city council meeting, "I think you are all God-fearing and decent people and we respect those people's right to sell it they want to, but please respect those people who don't want to sell" (CT November 22, 1995).

The park is a reminder of the impact of industrial recruitment on the community. The drive to expand again is challenging residents in South Hamblen County. The undemocratic methods of the growth machine are behind another spirited resistance to development. Farmers are attempting to protect the continuity of five generations against development decisions made outside of their will.

Summary

This chapter has looked at the contemporary context of development in Hamblen County. The changing economy is having a dramatic impact on local communities in the 1990s. The mobility of industry has increased the number of multinationals in Hamblen County while other plants have continued to downsize. The diminishing role of state and regional agencies has meant local efforts are being stepped up to accommodate industry. The local community college is intensifying its efforts to provide comprehensive worker training programs designed to meet the needs of industry.

Economic changes are having a devastating impact on low-wage workers and their families in Hamblen County in the 1990s. The rise of a flexible, temporary, and contingent work force is increasingly meaning lower pay, few benefits, and less job security for many factory operatives and service workers in Morristown. Companies are using temps to lower wage bills, adapt to changing production, and purge unions in the 1990s. A new underclass of low-wage and lower educated workers outside of the main stream economy has emerged in Hamblen County. Hamblen County's large population of low educated workers are being squeezed out of the new high paying and high technology based economy. The new era is symbolized by declining neighborhoods, increased homelessness, dependency, and an increasing wealth divide. The findings of this section show evidence that training programs designed to assist industry offer little to the least educated workers, their families, and communities.

The final section looked at a few of the main issues faced by residents in Hamblen County. The nature of resistance to development projects and the negative effects of growth was experienced by members of the community who were disenfranchised by the local power structure and state and regional agencies. Resistance to development policies in the 1990s reflects many of the same situations that occurred in previous decades. The continuing debate over decision making influenced three of the actions of resistance. Local

people responded by protesting the passing of beer in restaurants, a proposed golf course, and a proposed industrial park. The Morristown City Council and the Chamber of Commerce promoted and passed these projects without local input creating strong community response. The issues involve mainly the protection of local cultural values against encroachment. Other issues included the encroachment of the city on citizens around the city and county landfills. Evidence suggests that the city ignored the concerns of the residents and also ignored illegal dumping activities. The externalities of development faced by the residents includes exposure to toxic waste at the dump and other types of water contamination. The powerlessness of the residents in decision making is evident in the long struggle to obtain water from the South Witt Utility District. Another important issue was the proposing of an industrial park by the Morristown City Council on 2,400 acres of land in Hamblen and Jefferson Counties. Strong resistance occurred as the City of Morristown proposed to take several large farms. Jefferson City responded to the threat by annexing the proposed land in its county. The farmers in Hamblen County responded to the encroachment by organizing church members and appealing to the community for support.

The next and final chapter analyzes the findings on development and resistance in this dissertation and discuss the implications of the study for policy and theory.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter offers a summary of the dissertation's findings. It looks at the role of the major areas covered in the project in shaping development in Hamblen County. Specifically we are interested in the exploratory findings on the role of the world economy, local elites, the state, and resistance in shaping development in Hamblen County over time. The section looks at how global economic changes are mediated by local structures in Hamblen County and the role of state and regional agencies in shaping development and participation. Lastly this chapter overviews the main forms of resistance found in this project. It focuses on the role that the various forms of resistance played in development in Hamblen County. Implications for further research and policies are presented at the end of the chapter.

The Impact of the World Economy on Local Development

The findings of this dissertation show that the processes of the world economy play a central role in shaping development in Hamblen County. The cycles of growth and decline in the world economy have structured Hamblen County's agrarian production and industrialization as the county's relationship to other regions has changed.
The context of development in the county in the frontier and antebellum periods reflects the outcome of land speculation and religious oppression in the American colonies. Early landowners in Hamblen County obtained land grants for parcels in Tennessee as payment for service in the Revolutionary War. The majority of the population, consisting of

Baptists and Methodists, represented waves of poor immigrants settling on the frontier. The original settlers were land speculators, planters, and fundamentalists fleeing persecution.

The settler population was incorporated into commodity chains due to the location of the county as an agrarian cross roads. The area was not economically isolated except in the early frontier period. The county was part of a periphery zone connected through stock driving to the lower South and East coast economy in the antebellum period. The economic system of the South created a need for live stock from the upper South. The driving of stock represented one of the most important ways to engaged in cash transactions. Locally large planters, small holders, and tenants were incorporated into the stock driving economy by supplying surplus corn and swine production to stock drivers. Slave ownership and other forms of wealth created important class distinctions.

The early development patterns revealed a number of autonomous and decentralized communities linked through main roads and the railroad by the 1850s. The increasing wealth of the valley up to the 1850s coexisted with tenant farming. The situation of the food supply in the United States began to be altered as the mid-west opened up and began to ship agrarian product by rail. The Civil War closed a period of rapid economic growth for Hamblen County's population. The Civil War represented the intervention of the national economy into local affairs in Hamblen County. The Civil War destroyed the economy of much of East Tennessee.

The study shows that during the Civil War, Hamblen County became a zone in the occupied territory of the upper South for both the confederate and union armies. Hamblen County's agrarian production became part of the food supply of both armies during much of the duration of the war. Morristown evolved after the Civil War as a rail town leading to its centralization as an agricultural marketing center. Industry in Hamblen County, before the depression in the 1930s, reflected local ownership and female intensive textile and

canning factories. Morristown became know as Chicken City after 1915 due to the area's extensive poultry exporting economy. The area grew slowly around agriculture.

The findings of this dissertation show that the impact of the world economy was mediated by local political and economic control of social institutions. Unlike many regions in East Tennessee the county's population resisted the outside control and paternalism of companies. The drive for local control and low taxes by farm populations effectively kept out exploitative industry and helped create slow balanced growth. The depression and the downturn of the world economy slowed agricultural growth in the 1920s in Hamblen County.

Morristown continued to develop as a rail center until after the Second World War. Hamblen County was further incorporated into the world economy as a rural industrial center after the Second World War. The rise of the United States as a global hegemon between 1945 and 1969 shaped the direction of industrialization of Hamblen County. The county became a growth node providing an industrial center for the incorporation of the surrounding rural labor force into the processes of the global economy. The concentration of low-wage furniture industries and the chemical plant American Enka after the war created a rapid influx of workers from surrounding counties. The industrialization of the semi-peripheral South provided low wage labor to fuel the increasing standard of living of Americans during this period. Wages in Morristown's branch plants were lower than other regions in the United States and core regions of the world economy.

The study shows that the transformation of the world economy between 1970 and 1985 had a dramatic impact on Hamblen County. Declining profits led to crisis for its furniture industries. The decline of the United States as a world hegemon was followed by an increase of production on a global scale. Hamblen County experienced wide-scale plant closings, unemployment, layoffs, and downsizing in the 1970s. The restructuring of industry continued into the 1980s as plants continued to expand their production facilities

into other areas of the Southern United States and the world economy in an effort to maximize profit. Companies in Hamblen County continued efforts to squeeze profit and stay competitive by further shifting production to low wage zones, lowering wages by creating a flexible labor force, and using migrant workers in a split labor market in the period between 1985 and 1995

The importance of adopting a global perspective is highlighted by the findings of this project. The findings reveal that the context of local development is shaped by global changes in production processes and technology. The constantly changing geographical division of labor effects industry and labor on the local level. To prepare for the next century development policy must take into account these changes on local communities and workers.

The Growth Machine

The response of local entities to global shifts is varied. How these changes affect an area has to do with local response to changing macro economic circumstances. The drive by local elites to market the county and expand growth reflects a long battle. This dissertation demonstrates that the county evolved as an agrarian center with a political arena controlled by local communities. The religious basis for community participation created an open political system compared to surrounding counties that embraced a paternalistic city manager system. Hamblen County residents resisted voting in a city manager until the 1960s.

County politics represented a continuous struggle to retain autonomous decision making by local factions. The period of rapid industrialization between 1945 and 1969 saw a growth coalition in the county evolve around urban renewal. Growth led to rationalization and professionalization of government but also fiscal crisis due to rapid

expansion of population and the accompanying need for services. The rapid expansion of population and industry heavily strained the infrastructure of the county during the 1950s and 60s. The growth machine used successful development to further its power. The city manager style of government led to the further centralization of government beginning in 1965 with the advent of the East Tennessee Development District.

The main approach of the growth machine in Morristown has focused on creating the conditions for industrial recruitment. The city built two industrial parks between 1961 and 1978. It plans to add a third in 1996. The growth machine also has undertaken a job training program centered at Walters State Community College. The company centered approach to job training defines human capital in relation to company requirements and not the need of the workers or their communities.

This study documents a number of pitfalls to the approach taken by the state and local labor retraining programs in Morristown. The approach taken by the state through the JTPA and other assistance programs is to cater to the needs of industry directly. The effect of "creaming" the best laborers off the top leaves the remaining low-skilled workers to face uncertainty and remain part of the new working poor in the low-wage job sector. The findings also show that temporary industries weaken the ability of the labor force to negotiate with capital. The study offers evidence that temporary workers have been used to break unions and to replace unionized workers in Morristown.

Hamblen County's approach to development has been relatively successful compared to other rural areas in Southern Appalachia. The management of city debt and well organized boosters are evidence of a progressive civic approach. The county's education system has been upgraded and is considered above average for the state. However there is evidence of a growing wealth divide in Morristown in the contemporary period. In the 1980s and 90s the drive to stay competitive and successful has led to the further eroding of the ability of workers and communities to defend themselves against

economic deprivation. According to local officials the ability of lower skilled and educated workers to obtain sustainable employment has eroded significantly in the modern economy. The decline of older areas of the county has been accompanied by the development of lakefront development and subdivisions away from the city center. The deterioration of older areas of Morristown coincides with the declining position of low-wage workers bound too temporary and service industries. Many of these workers who once obtained jobs in factories now receive assistance or chose other avenues for survival. Increasingly the economic survival of the working class is in jeopardy. The response of developers to these problems has been the continued recruitment of industry. Evidence suggests that these policies are not able to solve the complicated problems faced by communities and workers in the 1990s.

The State and Regional Context

The role of the State of Tennessee in development began in the 1920s and 30s. Promotion campaigns to attract industry were stepped up in the 1940s with the passing of right to work laws. This dissertation shows that right-to-work laws keep down unionization and the ability of unions to resist company demands. The American Enka strike in 1950 was ended when workers crossed picket lines. The company used right to work laws to entice employees to return to work and weaken the union's ability to continue a successful strike.

The State of Tennessee's approach to development is to offer concessions to industry up front. The State's high sales tax and low corporate tax entice companies to locate in Tennessee counties. Hamblen County developers are able to draw from the state wide concessions to industry. A number of other ramifications of the state's approach to industrial recruitment are the low spending on education and other services found in the

state. The focus on industry in spending neglects the non-job needs of the most vulnerable segments of the population. Low spending on public education effects low-wage and low-skilled workers increasing the divide between high skilled workers and temporary and unskilled workers.

The ARC is one of the few examples of the combination of the federal, state, and local levels of the government. Widner (1990) and Bradshaw (1992) point out that it has appeared to have accomplished its goals since 1965. Widner (1990:149) says, "It is a rare instance in our federal system in which the three levels of government can work together in a genuine partnership that cuts across the functional agency bureaucracies and set priorities, engage in problem solving, and implement programs and projects in collaboration."

Critics argue that it is doubtful that the ARC and the local development districts made up of important businessmen and elected officials can be representative of the people's needs (Primack 1978). As we have seen the ARC's approach to modernization is based on the growth model. Development is concentrated at growth centers that theoretically trickles down to rural areas (Friedman 1966). Planners promoting the growth center idea often assume that the results are uniform across the region. Theorists trying to evaluate the success of the ARC find comparing regions and states in Appalachia difficult due to the differing priorities and implementation plans (Moore 1994; Widner 1990). Even more important the assumptions of regional planners ignore the industrial, cultural, and political diversity found within rural Appalachian. Subsequently the effects of the global division of labor provide a different set of circumstances faced by each community.

One of the findings of this dissertation is that the situation of Hamblen County limits its ability to attract large companies or large federal block grants. The lower relative poverty rate of Hamblen County makes it unable to receive redevelopment funds from the ARC. For example nearby Knoxville receives community development block grants from the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for urban renewal (NS July 6, 1995).

Hamblen County is too small to be a major growth center but too large to be a satellite county. Its response is an all out effort to utilize the resources it has to create the conditions as a growth center. Morristown developers commented that they did not wish to be a satellite to nearby Knoxville. Morristown is a seen by developers and regional planners as a well managed town.

The context of Hamblen County's development is structured by its growth center strategy. Today counties are competing with each other for grants that bring companies to an area. Counties are competing with each other for industry. The growth centered approach began with the policies of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the 1930s. The TVA prepared the region for incoming low-wage plants. At that time the region had a set of common problems and the goals of the TVA effected each locality positively by assisting in flood control and agricultural reform. This is no longer the case for regional planners. Now local communities compete with each other through the use of local, state, and regional agencies.

Findings for this dissertation suggest that the drive to compete for companies swings the emphasis of programs designed to assist in development away from workers and communities. Evidence suggests efforts by the growth machine in job training and education are based on the needs of companies. The declining position of low-wage and lower educated workers in the job market is intensifying the plight of the underclass.

Richard Couto (1994) argues that state giveaways undermine wages and social capital of established production centers. Evidence abounds that the gains of new production areas are temporary because other areas are preparing to underbid them. Couto recommends that development should emphasize investment in education and training for all workers and quality of life factors rather than just lower labor costs. He emphasizes the building of social capital (1994:213).

Another main finding of this dissertation is that the ARC approach to local development shapes the political arena. Contrary to the opinions of its supporters, the ARC does not appear to be an apolitical set of agencies. The cases represented in this dissertation reveal that it is a very potent force behind powerful local actors. Issues related to the ARC are the representation of people pushed outside the mainstream economy by temporary jobs, plant closings, and layoffs. The ETDD's approach to job creation does not differentiate between types of jobs. An ETDD representative interviewed stated when asked if the ETDD tries for certain types of jobs, "No, just job creation. There is value in virtually any job. Second job households. We let other people bring in the good jobs...It is extremely rare when anyone objects to an industry locating within a community" (Interview, East Tennessee Development District representative, January 25, 1995).

Critics of the new flexible work force point to the limiting choices for women in part-time and temporary jobs. du Rivage states that, "Involuntary part-time jobs, long-term temporary assignments, and the growing numbers of women in two part-time jobs are poor options for people who need and want full-time work" (1992:92). Robert Reich (1993:10) criticizes the probusiness approach to the problems of these workers, "Recent economic developments have led to a growing problem of job loss accompanied by a difficult transition to a new job. The subsequent costs to workers, the economy, and government are considerable. To date, federal policies have responded to this new dynamic in a piecemeal, limited fashion." The regional development approach to human capital centers on the needs of industry. It ignores the effects of the world economy on local communities and workers. This project calls for a shift back to community centered development based on local needs.

Another important issue involving the ARC is its role in assisting the local power coalition to overcome the resistance of communities to the development agenda of local powerful elites. The ETDD did not provide support to the Roe Junction community in its

resistance to the city and county actions concerning the Hamblen County landfill. The stated goal of the ARC board is developing centralized landfill planning and waste management.

Resistance and Participation

Appalachian scholars often define "resistance" as a reactionary attempt at the protection of community, way of life, and local control (Fisher 1993). This approach is understandable considering the historical circumstances of many Appalachian communities. However the diversity of Appalachia leaves us many other stories of resistance. The findings of this dissertation are that resistance must be broadly defined. The findings reveal that struggles over the issues of development in Hamblen County are often responses to the externalities of development that are shaped by the transformation of the world economy and the local political and economic elites striving for gain.

Another cause of resistance is the encroachment on cultural values. This dissertation reveals that the defense of ways of life and community is the main factor behind resistance. Cultural support or resistance is one of the main factors in determining the success of a development policy or project. Local resistance occurs when cultural values are threatened infringed upon. The effect of a development policy on cultural values plays an important role in the community's decision to resist the policy or action. Infringement on the environment is often one of the reasons that local people resist development. Another important aspect of resistance is being disenfranchised from the decision making process.

The basic nature of the frontier in Hamblen County left citizens cynical of centralized decision making. The area exhibited wealth and land inequality as did much of Southern Appalachia. Yet democratic social institutions were a part of the basic fabric of

political life. Today mass participation in government is reestablished only when property, basic values, and quality of life are threatened by decisions made outside of the community. The findings show that the public expects accountability and when it cannot obtain it, groups in Hamblen County respond in other ways. The historical understanding that this dissertation reveals is that locally controlled sustainable growth requires the checks and balances of public participation and that citizens do in fact desire to control development.

The findings of the dissertation show that many of the problems faced by local residents in development occur when they become disenfranchised from the decision making process. A number of incidences in Hamblen County reveals that this situation often leads to abuse by elected leaders and local economic elites who use power to control the process in their favor. One of the main examples of overt resistance to development has been when the city council acts without local input into the decision making process. This situation is revealed by the actions against the prison site in 1975, the golf course and beer in restaurants in 1994, and against a proposed industrial park in 1995.

All of these situations and others involve protest against elected leaders, city developers, and the Chamber of Commerce. The study shows that groups involved in resistance to development are diverse. Issues often bring together coalitions of land owners, church groups, sports organizations, and in extreme cases, groups like the Ku Klux Klan. The resistance to the proposed prison created a county wide coalition that silenced the Chamber of Commerce and helped lead to the political defeat of a governor.

The protest against the proposed golf course in 1994 and 1995 reveals the ability of local planners to overcome resistance to projects. Even in the face of a poorly envisioned plan the community was ready to accept the golf course due to the power of the media and politicians. The passing of an industrial park by the city council in 1995 led to a large outcry by farmers who are losing family land. Again the city council did not ask the public its view of the idea. Again extreme resistance arose to face the situation.

The debate on the legalization of alcohol is over 100 years old in Hamblen County. Serving alcohol is important to developing establishments in the area and supported by the growth machine. Cultural resistance to alcohol is another example of the drive for the control of community in Hamblen County. The resistance to the passing of alcohol in eating establishments in 1995 was also in part resistance to the city council not asking for local input into the decision making process.

Other examples of protest and resistance to development policies involve the encroachment on quality of life, the environment, and health by development. The externalization of the negative consequences of development to communities is revealed in the landfill controversy in Hamblen County. The Witt and Roe Junction communities battled for clean water for over 30 years against domineering state and local officials. The long political campaign to get water piped to households with contaminated wells reveals the extent of political control of members on the Witt utility district and the irrelevance of the situation to city planners. The members of the community were called the culls of Hamblen County by politicians.

Additionally the Roe Junction and Witt communities experienced harm from the illegal dumping of toxic waste by Morristown industry and a waste management company. The inability of these communities to defend themselves in a political arena led to the increased illegal dumping of toxic chemicals at the land fill sites by the Morristown industry and waste management. The groups who held power in city politics were able to successfully force local communities to accept their illegal actions.

Hamblen County does not have a colonial past. Local communities fought the denigration of culture and environment by outside exploitative industries and a paternalistic city manager political system. However, the ability to resist encroachment on culturally prescribed values plays an important role in the political and economic balance of development in Hamblen County. The findings of this dissertation reveal a continuous

struggle by communities and groups to fight the concentration of power in the hands of development agency participants, local planners, and the dominant economic elite in Hamblen County.

In Hamblen County we find that people do resist development if it threatens them. The county's long history of voting against development policies that are undemocratic continues to be a main tool for the accountability of local voters. The give and take of political participation termed by planners as nonmodern behavior and the cause of 'gridlock,' is actually an important form of accountability over the actions of policy makers. The inclusion of local people inevitability will and should complicate the development decision-making process. This complication is a different problem. The results of the historical analysis of resistance reveal that the balanced growth of the county is a product of a long tradition of participation and resistance. Hamblen County residents desire both development and accountability. Support for and resistance to development is a common activity throughout the county's history. The hard working labor force and town boosters attract industry and have improved the quality of life for citizens of the county. At the same time local people expect to be a part of decision making and to control the outcome of development.

Implications for Theory

The results of this dissertation show the importance of understanding the totality of development. Few studies have comprehensively approached how local development occurs. Interdisciplinary case studies using multiple methods from the social sciences offer a perspective that is larger in scope. The framework used here draws on the work of economists, political scientists, geographers, historians, sociologists, planners, and education theorists. This approach to community development offers a more

comprehensive view of the interrelationship between the economy, the state, culture, and local politics. Furthermore this orientation helps us to better understand how local agency mediates the impact of changing macro economic structures. World systems theorists should seek to identify the micro level responses to global change in order to understand the how local diversity mediates the impacts economic change on communities.

Additionally studies looking at local power and resistance must come to terms with larger macro economic changes in order to better understand the actions of the growth machine and resource use. Resistance needs to be refined to comprehend the totality of forces that impact communities. Changing global relations and state policies are often important components of the encroachment on communities. Lastly resistance must be theorized in a way that incorporates the actions of citizens as more than passivity toward exploitative relationships. Resistance should also be understood as a part of a historical set of on going relationships between local people and the forces of development. Resistance is a form of participation and as such it shapes how communities develop.

Policy Implications and the Contemporary Context

This exploratory study is the first step in understanding community development in a larger context. This study calls for subsequent studies to extend our understanding of the nature of local development and political actions as part of the complex dynamics involving state, local, and federal actors and policies. The main thesis of the project is that local development policies must be understood as part of larger economic transformations and hence improving these policies requires taking into account the transformation of the world economy and shifting role of state planners. I argue that to understand development and its effect on communities and workers an inclusive model of development must be articulated. Furthermore the model must include all communities within the county. The traditional top

down model neglects the problems of residents who are outside of the political arena. John Friedmann writes that,

> "Central, hierarchical planning is inappropriate to this task. What is needed is a form of concerted planning that brings together major regional actors in a set of loosely linked networks: organized civil society, cooperatives, labor unions, private enterprise, universities, political parties, and the local state. This form of planning is designed to make proposed solutions isomorphic with the complexity of the problem itself" (1991:174).

This project provides significant documentation that when communities are outside of the political arena they are vulnerable to powerlessness and the negative effects of industrialization. The contemporary situation of communities in the United States as silent and irrelevant actors in the development process have led to a number of negative implications for the future of democracy and sustainable development. The consequences of silence can be seen in the wealth divide, the destruction of aging communities, and the inability of workers to survive in the contemporary economy.

Ideally the solutions to future development questions must address the larger context to be effective over time. By understanding resistance in this manner we can go on to theorize about the importance of open participation in development by breaking down barriers to communities in the decision making process. Ideally the reinvention of government should allow communities the ability to continue to develop industry and a local economy without nondemocratic, exclusionary tactics. Additionally we should support the development of policies creating self-determination for populations outside the economy. The problems faced by communities can only be understood with the inclusion of representatives from communities in the policy making dialogue.

To sum up we need to focus on the incorporation of community into human capital programs to assess the needs of individual areas and slow the effects of uneven development on local communities. Policy making can and should be responsive to the

negative consequences of development as well as the needs of industry. The inclusion of community involves the breaking down of barriers faced by local communities to participation. Local government needs to increase participation in decision-making. It also needs measures of accountability beyond job creation and municipal expansion. Quality of life is defined by other measures such as life style, health, and cultural values that are deemed important by communities; and as we have seen their protection can be a point of extreme controversy.

Regional and state agencies need to be responsive to the local concerns of all members of a community. When local people are left out of development policies they are more vulnerable to welfare dependency and poverty. Development policy must also be made responsive to changes in the world economy on local workers. Economic planning and job training are ways to face downsizing and plant closings. Other methods can be envisioned to protect workers and communities from economic dislocation.

Furthermore, alliances across issues and regions have an important impact on problems faces by communities. We need to support exchanges between regions and groups who share similar experiences. New forms of dialogue can occur at colleges and universities and at local sites in communities. Many of the issues of development looked at here, involving education, work, environmental, and social problems can be better solved when their victims not only have a better say in government but also a more comprehensive picture of what is occurring. By transforming experience into dialogue, communities can engage in self created solutions. Community participation in development reduces dependency and creates democracy.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Informed Consent

Chris Baker of the University of Tennessee, Sociology Department has explained to me the nature of the research he is conducting on development and industrial recruitment in Hamblen County, Tennessee. This research is to help us better understand the role of local communities in development. The interviews center on the participant's involvement in industrial recruitment, labor relations, and development. The interviews will help provide a better understanding of the dynamics of development in Hamblen County. I am consenting to an approximately one hour long interview and understand that risks from involvement in this research are expected to be minimal. I understand that only with my permission will a tape recorder be used.

I understand the purposes of the research and that any information obtained will be treated in a strictly confidential manner. This means that participants names or identity will not appear on any document except the informed consent document. It will also be used only for the purposes of the research explained to me. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without penalty or prejudice. I also understand that I may refuse tape-recording of all or part of the interview and that all tapes, transcripts, and informed consent forms will be stored under lock and key at the home of Chris Baker.

Date_____ Signature_____

Dear

Professors Donald A. Clelland and John Gaventa of the Sociology Department at the University of Tennessee have approved a project studing community development in Hamblen County, Tennessee. This project is designed to help us understand the process of development and industrial recruitment. The data obtained in this project will be used to complete my doctoral dissertation at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville.

I am conducting this research and would appreciate your cooperation in completing an interview. The interview will take approximately one hour. With your permission, the interview will be tape recorded and transcribed. Tapes will be transcribed onto a computer using the data processing program Ethnograph. Ethnograph allows researchers to categorize and file information for analysis.

The audio tape recording, the file generated by ethnograph, and this signed consent form will be secured under lock and key in the project director's home. They will be accessible only to the project director and his investigator advisor. Upon the completion of this project, the recordings and the Ethnograph files will be destroyed and the informed consent will be kept for three years.

***Please Note:** Your participation in this project is completely voluntary. You may request and be granted that the interview stop at any time. You may refuse to be recorded or parts of the interview not be recorded. You may also request to withdraw from the project at any time without fear of penalty or prejudice. Individuals participating in this project will not be identified in the completed report or in any publications which result from this research. You are assured of complete confidentiality of your identity during and after the completion of this project. I will be happy to answer any questions that you may have about the research project at any stage of the research. I will call your office in a few days to arrange an appointment.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Chris Baker
Office: 901 McClung Tower/Knoxville, TN 37996 Phone 974-6021
Home: 351 Laurel St./Morristown, TN 37813 Phone 581-7352

APPENDIX B

TABLES

Table 1: Morristown and Hamblen County Population 1880–1990

Year	City	County (Total)
1880	1,350	10,107
1890	1,999	11,418
1900	2,973	12,728
1910	4,007	13,650
1920	4,875	15,056
1930	7,305	16,616
1940	8,050	18,611
1950	13,019	26,967
1960	21,267	33,092
1970	20,138	38,969
1980	21,422	49,300
1990	21,385	50,480

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1883. Tenth Census of the United States. Population 1880 U.S. Government Printing Office. U.S Bureau of the Census. 1893. Eleventh Census of the United States. Population. 1890. U.S. Government Printing Office. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1903. Twelfth Census of the United States. Population U.S.Government Printing Office. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1931. Fifteenth Census of the United States. U.S. Government Printing Office. U.S.Bureau of the Census. 1941. U.S Census of Population: 1940 General Social, and Economic Characteristics: Tennessee. Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1951. General Census of Population, Social, and Economic Characteristics: 1950 Tennessee. Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1961. U.S. Census of Population: 1960 Social, and Economic Characteristics: Tennessee. Final Report PC (1)-44C Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970. Census of Population, Social, Economic Characteristics: Tennessee. Final Report PC (1) -44C Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1982. U.S. Census of Population: 1980. Housing. Tennessee. Ph C80-3-44.Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office. U.S.Bureau of the Census. 1991. U.S. Census of Population . 1990. Housing: Tennessee. CPH-1-44 Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office.

Table 2: Major Manufacturing Plants in Hamblen County, 1966

Firm Name	Year Founded	Number of Employees
American Enka Corp. (3 plants)	1948	2700
Berkline Corp.	1937	1860
Gluck Bros., Inc.	1938	550
Modern Upholstered Chair	1940	540
Morristown Chest Co.	1943	194
Galbreath Bakery, Inc.	1943	194
Forest Products Corp.	1946	110
Hamblen Hosiery Mills, Inc.	1947	505
Tennessee Furniture Industries, Inc.	1947	173
Burnett Produce Co.	1948	500
Lea-Wayne Knitting Mills, Inc.	1950	150
Dixie Cabinet Co.	1953	133
Henrite Products Corp.	1960	133
Mohawk Furniture Corp.	1960	165
Forenta, Inc.	1961	170
Morristown Manufacturing Co.	1961	100
Jeffery Manufacturing Co.	1962	230
Magnavox Co. of Tennessee, Inc.	1964	1200
Shelby-Williams of Tennessee, Inc.	1964	300
Union Bag Camp Paper Corp.	1966	150

Source: East Tennessee Development District. Overall Economic Development Program 1968. Knoxville: East tennessee Development District. Pp. 73-74.

Table 3: Percent of Total Manufacturing Employment by Industry Group, Hamblen County, 1940-70

Industry Group	1940	1950	1960	1970
Furniture, Lumber, and Wood Products	29.0	50.7	54.0	38.7
Primary and Fabricated Metal Industries	.2	.5	.7	2.7
Machinery, Electrical, and Non-Electrical	.5	10.1	1.9	12.5
Other Durable Goods	1.4	1.4	8.3	5.3
Food and Kindred Products	10.4	6.6	5.4	3.3
Textile Mill Products	50.6	19.8	9.2	3.5
Printing, Publishing, and Allied Products	3.8	2.8	2.6	2.2
Chemical and Allied Industries	.8	15.1	25.0	24.1
Other Non-Durable and Unspecified Manufacturing	3.3	1.7	.4	7.6
Total Manufacturing Workers	1,087	2,472	4,728	6,895

Source: U.S.Bureau of the Census. 1941. U.S Census of Population: 1940 General Social, and Economic Characteristics: Tennessee. Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1951. General Census of Population, Social, and Economic Characteristics: 1950 Tennessee. Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1961. U.S. Census of Population: 1960 Social, and Economic Characteristics: Tennessee. Final Report PC (1)-44C Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970. Census of Population, Social, Economic Characteristics: Tennessee. Final Report PC (1) -44C Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office.

Table 4: Hamblen County Unemployment Rate, Selected Years, 1950–1993

Year	Unemployment Rate
1950	3.6
1960	5.5
1969	3.2
1970	4.7
1974	5.9
1975	14.0
1976	7.2
1977	7.9
1978	7.5
1979	9.6
1980	11.3
1981	12.1
1982	15.4
1983	13.8
1984	9.4
1985	9.5
1986	10.5
1987	8.2
1988	7.0
1989	5.6
1990	6.0
1991	9.3
1992	7.5

Source: East Tennessee Development District. 1970. Census Summary. Knoxville: East Tennessee Development District. East Tennessee Development District. 1979. Economic Statistics. Knoxville: East Tennessee Development District. East Tennessee Development District. 1983. Economic Statistics. Knoxville: East Tennessee Development District. East Tennessee Development District. 1994. Economic Statistics. Knoxville: East Tennessee Development District.

Table 5: Twenty Largest Employers, Hamblen County, 1994

Firm Name	Number of Employees	Home Country
Berkline Corp.	2489	United States
B.A.S.F.	1435	Germany
Lear Seating	1044	United States
Mahle, Inc.	987	Germany
Anchor Advanced Products	860	United States
Universal Bedroom Furniture	815	United States
Shelby Williams	660	United States
Lea Industries	600	United States
Lenzing Fibers	564	Austria
Howmet Corporation	395	France
Burnett Produce	385	United States
Foamex, LP	380	Belgium
Norris, Inc.	300	United States
Triangle Pacific	300	United States
Volunteer Fabricators	300	United States
Jeffery Chain	275	United States
AT&T Global Information Solutions	275	United States
Anchor Advanced Products	270	United States
General Electric	235	United States
Wallace Hardware	203	United States

Source: Morristown Chamber of Commerce. 1994. Industry Directory Morristown Area Chamber of Commerce.p. 9.

Table 6: Foreign-owned Companies in Hamblen County, 1994

Firm Name	Number of Employees	Home Country
B.A.S.F.	1435	Germany
Mahle, Inc.	987	Germany
Lenzing Fibers	564	Austria
Howmet Corporation	395	France
Foamex, LP	380	Belgium
Toyoda TRW Automotive, Inc.	169	Japan
Lin Pac Flexible Pkg.	145	United Kingdom
Form Rite	140	Canada
Carmvac International, Inc.	133	United Kingdom
Berg Industries	85	United Kingdom
Tuff Torq	56	Japan
Colortech, Inc.	39	Canada
Stapeco, Inc.	5	Canada

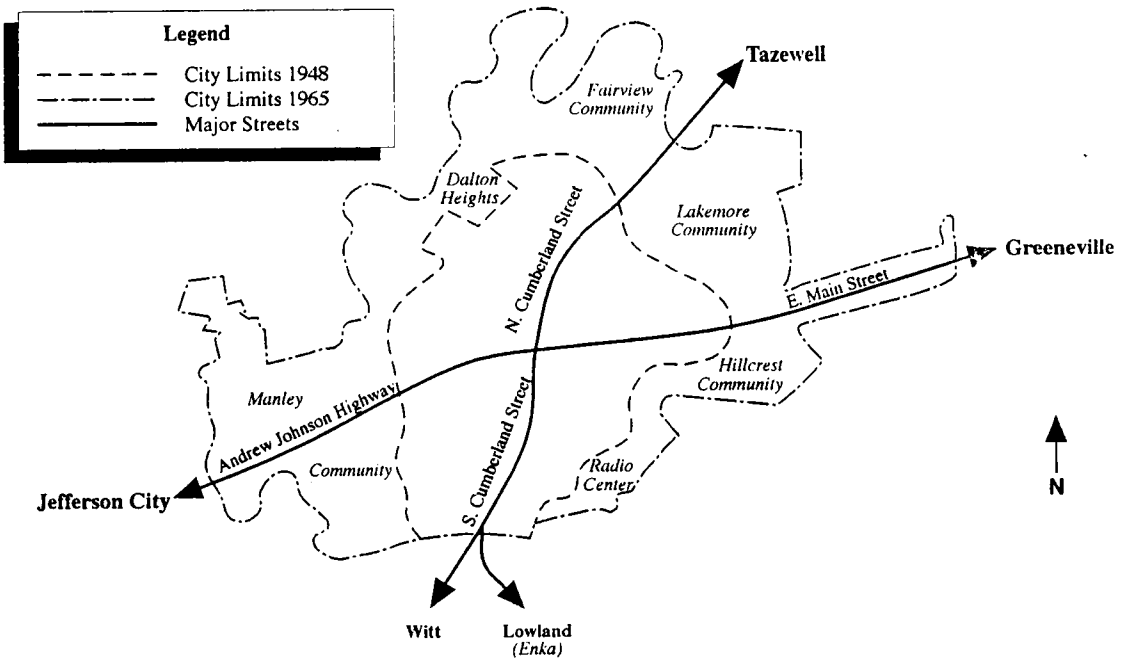
Source: Morristown Chamber of Commerce.1994. Industry Directory. Morristown Area Chamber of Commerce. Pp.10-11.

APPENDIX C

MAPS

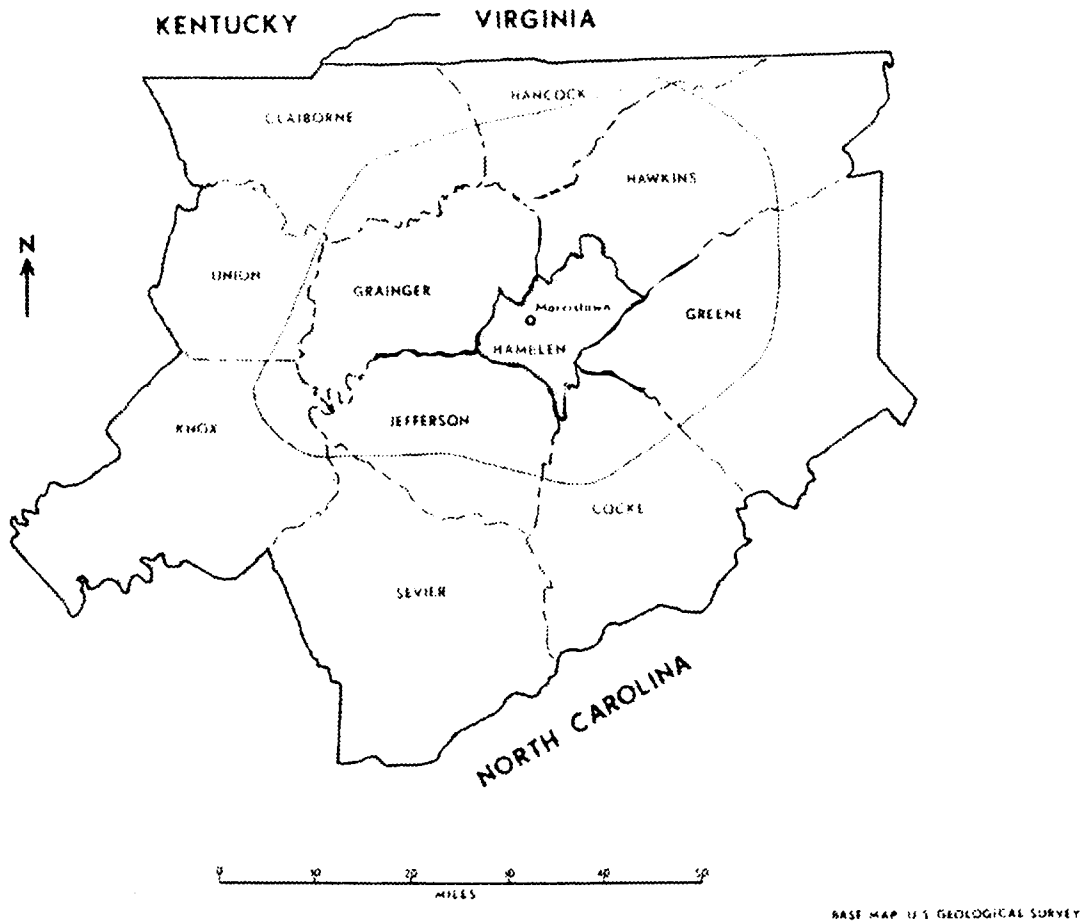
Map 1: Map of Morristown, Tennessee

Source: Burall, Paye. 1965. A Political History of Morristown and Hamblen County. Unpublished Master's Thesis. The University of Tennessee at Knoxville. p.140.



Map 2: Map of Labor Shed

Source: Crooke, Jonas Boyd. 1967. The Labor Characteristics of Low-Wage Manufacturing Industries in East Tennessee: The Berkline Corporation. Unpublished Master's Thesis, The University of Tennessee at Knoxville. p.24.



VITA

Chris Baker was born in Oak Ridge, Tennessee on October 7, 1962. He attended Morristown East High School, graduating in 1980. He received an Associate of Science degree at Walters States Community College in Morristown in 1985 and a Bachelor of Science degree in Sociology from East Tennessee State University in Johnson City in 1987. The following August he began the masters program in Sociology at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. He received a Master of Science degree in Sociology in December of 1991. He entered the Ph.D. program in Sociology at the University of Tennessee in the following Spring and graduated in December of 1995.

Chris Baker is a member of a the following organizations: American Sociological Association (ASA), the Southern Sociological Association (SSS), the Appalachian Studies Association (APA), and the Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP).