To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Margaret D. Foraker entitled "A Socio-Spatial Analysis of Rural Poverty in East Tennessee." I have examined the final paper 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 Geography.

Charles S. Aiken

Charles S. Aiken, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Thomas Ball

Lydia M. Palsipher

Benita J. Howell

Accepted for the Council:

Vice Chancellor and Dean of
Graduate Studies

A SOCIO-SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF RURAL POVERTY IN EAST TENNESSEE

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Margaret D. Foraker
December 2004

Acknowledgements

I offer many thanks to my committee members. To Dr. Charles Aiken, my advisor, I especially value his guidance and intelligence on the subject of rural geography. I further appreciate his show of respect, patience, and compassion throughout my doctoral studies. Insights gained from both coursework and discussions with Dr. Lydia Pulsipher, Dr. Thomas Bell, and Dr. Benita Howell enhanced the content of and the incentive for this research. The committee members' encouragement, guidance, and wisdom were invaluable.

My experiences as a resident of rural America sparked my interests in the field of geography. I am grateful to my family and to my friends and fellow community members in both eastern Tennessee and southern Delaware for their support and contributions to my academic accomplishments. I offer a very special acknowledgement to my husband Donald and to my children, Ross and Tess. Their love and understanding made this project possible.

ABSTRACT

The incidence of poverty in rural areas is actually higher than that in urban places. This study fills a gap in geographic research by examining poverty in rural and small town communities in east Tennessee using the 1990 census. A cluster analysis of high poverty block groups identifies different categories of poor. Just as "who is poor?" varies across the United States, "who is poor?" in east Tennessee varies. The identity of the poor in rural east Tennessee is found to be contrary to popular images of poverty in Appalachia.

The massive reorganization of rural economies in recent decades is reshaping rural places and communities. Economic restructuring and social re-composition have directly affected employment and wage opportunities in rural areas, and have indirectly affected access to services such as affordable housing. The impact of the larger process of economic restructuring on urban environments and on urban neighborhood residents has been examined. There remains a need to examine the impact of these macro-level changes on rural communities and residents.

Within the context of rural economic and social change, this study provides a detailed examination of the characteristics and composition of the poor in rural east Tennessee. Case-study analyses of a sample of high poverty rural block groups sheds light on the effects of restructuring on the residents of small communities and rural places. With increased knowledge of the characteristics of the poor in rural east Tennessee, comes the opportunity to improve poverty alleviation policy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

I. **INTRODUCTION** 1
Statement of the Problem 2
The Study's Place within Rural Geography 4
What is Rural? 6
The Study Area 9
Historical Context of Rural East Tennessee 15
Rural Restructuring in East Tennessee 19
Organization of the Study 22

II. **THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ATTRIBUTES OF THE RURAL AND URBAN POOR** 25
Characteristics of the Poor 26
Rural and Urban Poverty in Appalachia 30
Rural Settlement Patterns 32
Theoretical Explanations of the Causes and Characteristics of the Rural Poor 35
Economic Restructuring and Rural Poverty 38
Selection of Variables 42

III. **THE RURAL POOR IN EAST TENNESSEE** 49
Block Group Analysis of the Rural Poor 52

IV. **THE TYPES OF RURAL POVERTY IN EAST TENNESSEE** 68
Types of Rural Poverty 68
Distribution of the Types of Poverty 72
The Open-Country Rural Poor 72
Cluster One: Open Country Mining 73
Cluster Two: Open Country Manufacturing 73
Cluster Three: Open Country Trade 74
Cluster Five: Open Country Agriculture 75
Cluster Eight: Open Country Employment Mix 75
The Small Town Rural Poor 76
Cluster Four: Small Town Public Assistance 76
Cluster Six: Small Town Social Security 78
Cluster Seven: Small Town Services 81

V. **ANALYSIS OF THE TYPES OF PLACES WHERE THE RURAL POOR ARE CONCENTRATED** 83
The Case Study Approach 83
Places of Residence of the Rural Poor 86

Open Country, Mining: Campbell County, Tennessee 86
Historical, Social, and Economic Context 89
The Morley Community 91
Open Country, Manufacturing: Johnson County, Tennessee 94
Historical, Social, and Economic Context 97
The Industrialization of Johnson County 98
The Butler Community 101
Small Town, Public Assistance: Sevier County, Tennessee 101
Economic Restructuring and the Feminization of Poverty 108
Historical, Social, and Economic Context 109
Work and Poverty in Sevier County 111
Housing Deprivation 115
The McMahan Neighborhood 119
The Future of the McMahan Neighborhood 126
Small Town, Services: Roane County, Tennessee 127
Historical, Social, and Economic Context 131
The Greenwood Neighborhood 133
The Future of the Greenwood Neighborhood 138

VI. **IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL ANTI-POVERTY POLICIES AND PROGRAMS** 142
Unique Federal Policies and Programs in Appalachia 142
Changing Attitudes Toward the Poor: Effects on Poverty Policy 145
Conclusion 149

LIST OF REFERENCES 152

APPENDICES 164

VITA 248

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
I-1.	Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Population of the United States	7
I-2.	Employment Trends in the Rural Counties of East Tennessee, 1970-1990	20
I-3.	Distribution of Employment by Industry, 1970-1990	21
II-1.	Comparison of Urban and Rural Poverty in the United States	27
II-2.	Social Characteristics of the Poor	28
II-3.	Poverty Rates by Appalachian Region	31
II-4.	Comparison of Poverty in Appalachia and the United States	32
II-5.	Location of Local Housing Authorities in Rural East Tennessee	33
II-6.	Correlation Analysis	43
II-7.	Characteristics of the Rural Poor	47
III-1.	Municipalities of Rural East Tennessee	53
III-2.	Ward's Hierarchical Analysis	58
III-3.	Cluster Membership for Each Block Group	60
III-4.	Distances Between Final Cluster Means	64
III-5.	Number of Census Block Groups in Each Cluster	65
III-6.	The Eight Types of Poverty in Rural East Tennessee	66
IV-1.	Municipalities with Public Assistance Poor Block Groups	79
IV-2.	Characteristics of Public Assistance Poor Block Groups	80
V-1.	Block Group 1 Census Tract 9501, Campbell County	88
V-2.	Block Group 3 Census Tract 9561, Johnson County	96
V-3.	Block Group 3 Census Tract 0808, Sevier County	106
V-4.	Block Group 6 Census Tract 302.02, Roane County	129

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
I-1.	Physical Divisions of East Tennessee	10
I-2.	Counties of Rural East Tennessee	11
I-3.	High Poverty Counties in Rural East Tennessee	13
I-4.	High Poverty Block Groups in Rural East Tennessee, 1990	14
III-1.	East Tennessee Distressed Rural Counties, 2000	50
III-2.	High Poverty Census Block Groups in Rural East Tennessee, 1990	51
III-3.	High Poverty Municipalities in Rural East Tennessee, 1990	56
IV-1.	Categories of Poverty in Rural East Tennessee, 1990	70
IV-2.	Small Town Poor Block Groups in Rural East Tennessee	77
V-1.	Case Study Sites	84
V-2.	Block Group 9501-1 Campbell County, Tennessee	87
V-3.	The Morley Grocery	92
V-4.	House in Morley, Tennessee	93
V-5.	House in Morley just off State Route 90 East	93
V-6.	Block Group 9561-3 Johnson County, Tennessee	95
V-7.	Business Climate in Butler, Tennessee	102
V-8.	Main Street Butler, Tennessee	102
V-9.	Housing in Butler, Tennessee	103
V-10.	Johnson County Industrial Park	103
V-11.	Block Group 0808-3 Sevier County, Tennessee	105
V-12.	Entrance to Dollywood, Pigeon Forge, Tennessee	110
V-13.	Entrance to Historic Sevierville, Tennessee	113
V-14.	Mobile Home Cluster near Sevierville	117
V-15.	Neighborhoods of Sevierville, Tennessee	120
V-16.	The McMahan Neighborhood of Sevierville, Tennessee	121
V-17.	New Salem Baptist Church	122
V-18.	View from Burden Hill	123
V-19.	Frog Alley, McMahon Neighborhood	124
V-20.	House in the McMahon Neighborhood	124
V-21.	Eastgate Homes on Burden Hill	125
V-22.	Robert Howard Village Homes on Burden Hill	125
V-23.	Block Group 302.02-6, Roane County, Tennessee	128
V-24.	Neighborhoods of Kingston, Tennessee	130

V-25. Entrance to Kingston, Tennessee 132
V-26. NAACP Building, Greewood Neighborhood 134
V-27. Braxton's Chapel, Greenwood Neighborhood 134
V-28. Kentucky Avenue 136
V-29. View of Interstate 40 from the Greenwood Neighborhood 136
V-30. Land Use in the Greenwood Neighborhood, Block Group 6 Census Tract 0303.02, Kingston, Tennessee 1998 137
V-31. Trailer Park in Paint Rock, Roane County, Tennessee 140

CHAPTER I
Introduction

> *Americans on average believe that 81.7% of all poor people live in cities. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, 42% live in central cities* (Americans' Attitudes Toward Poverty Poll, in Lavell, *et al.* 1995).

Poverty in the United States is not only concentrated in inner-city neighborhoods but also in rural and nonmetropolitan places (Brown and Hirschl 1995). Nevertheless, to many Americans poverty is an urban phenomenon. Despite the attention given to the rural poor during the Roosevelt administration in the 1930s and the Kennedy and Johnson administrations in the 1960s, rural poverty has never sustained public attention. Rather, the image of the inner-city welfare mother has come to represent the poor in the minds of the general public and many policy makers (Porter 1987). Such an image stems from the fact that the urban poor are more visible. Given the sheer scale and visibility of urban poverty, it is no wonder that most policies aimed at helping the poor focus on cities (Rural Sociological Society Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty, 1993; Porter, 1987). Ironically, rural and nonmetropolitan places continually fare worse than urban areas in a variety of social and economic indicators, including poverty. The 1990 rural poverty rate was 16.3 percent compared to an urban rate of 12.7 percent. The rates were higher than the 1980 rural and urban poverty rates of 13.2 percent and 12.1 percent respectively.

Increasing awareness that poverty is higher in rural areas has heightened concern in recent years. The plight of the more than nine million people living in

1995; Rural Sociological Society Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty 1993; Duncan 1992, 1996; Fitchen 1991). One conclusion reached by these studies is that much of the research on poverty focuses on the characteristics of poor individuals, such as low educational levels and lack of job skills. Studies fail to consider that the characteristics of the places where poor people reside may limit opportunities for upward socio-economic mobility. Except for research on inner-city ghettos, recent discussions of the types of places where poor people live are lacking. To effectively deal with the problem of rural poverty, it is not only necessary to understand who the rural poor are, but also the rural settings in which they live (Fitchen 1995). Are the characteristics and conditions of the rural poor the same as those of the urban poor? Are the characteristics and conditions of the rural poor in Appalachia the same as those of the poor in other parts of rural America? Moreover, are the poor the same throughout rural east Tennessee?

Statement of the Problem

The purposes of this study are to identify types of rural poverty areas in east Tennessee and to analyze their spatial variation. The primary hypothesis is that the poor of rural east Tennessee are diverse. Just as the term "poverty" may at first conjure up images of blighted inner cities, the term "Appalachia" is likely to evoke images of emaciated, poorly dressed white families sitting on the front porches of remote cabins. Such are the images portrayed in the political arena. President

Johnson's visit to rural Kentucky in 1964 made white Appalachia the "poster child" for the War on Poverty campaign. Similarly, President Clinton's "pockets of poverty" tour in 1999 included a stop in rural Kentucky, briefly recognizing the image of the rural poor before settling on the plight of the urban poor in Saint Louis, Missouri. Socioeconomic studies such as Harry Caudill's *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* further ifluence public images of Appalachia (1963). Popular fiction and movies, such as *Deliverance*, contrast the poverty and "ignorance" of hillbillies with the more astute qualities of modern city folk (1972). Contrary to the stereotypical image of the poor in Appalachia, I hypothesize that poverty in east Tennessee is not primarily the plight of white families living in remote homesteads in coves and hollows. Rather, I hypothesize that the rural poor are concentrated in a variety of places. The locations where poverty is found can be defined and classified on the basis of geographic, social, cultural, and economic indicators. I further hypothesize that a relationship exists between the characteristics of poor people and their places of residence. I expect the rural poor to vary from place to place according to the different economic characteristics of those places. As Billings and Tickamyer found (1993), I expect high poverty rates to be found throughout Appalachia among people of very different cultural backgrounds. Hence I will analyze economic factors in addition to social and cultural ones in my effort to understand poverty in the region. Examination of such economic factors as employment opportunities and changing economic structure is

expected to yield insight into the diversity of conditions found among the communities of rural east Tennessee.

The Study's Place within Rural Geography

In the post-World War II era geographical research was increasingly dominated by urban studies. Several factors contributed to this urban bias including a decreasing dependency on an agricultural economy, the increasing proportion of the total population in cities, and the increasing visibility of urban problems. The declining significance of rural geography led to what Cloke deemed a "paucity of geographical literature" on rural America (Cloke 1989, 166). However, the 1990s witnessed the return of a geographical focus in rural studies. Why is there a renewed interest in rural places? The answer lies in the many changes rural people and places have undergone during the last four decades.

After 1970, rural areas in the United States experienced considerable change (Johnson 1989, 1993). For the first and only time, during the 1970s, population growth in nonmetropolitan areas outpaced that in metropolitan areas. This brief period of growth was the result of net in-migration as more people moved into nonmetropolitan areas than left. The reasons behind this population reversal include the filtering of industries from metropolitan areas to the countryside to take advantage of cheaper land and labor costs and the attraction of city-dwellers to rural areas and to suburban, nonmetropolitan counties as the urban environment became perceived as

crowded, polluted, and unhealthy. At the same time, rural areas were becoming increasingly modern, offering many of the same conveniences and services as cities (Beale 1989).

During the 1980s more people once again left nonmetropolitan areas than moved to them. Migration was caused by the continuation of economic problems faced in rural areas. Agricultural employment declined as mechanization and farm consolidation increased. Rural manufacturing employment also declined as United States factories competed more with factories overseas (Mills 1995). Low wage, part-time, and seasonal employment in service industries replaced higher paying factory jobs. The industrial and occupational restructuring of the economy ate away at jobs and the economic security of many households in rural America (Brown and Hirschl 1995).

The study of rural social and economic change attracted the attention of geographers (e.g., Cloke and Thrift 1990). Just as economic changes in urban areas are linked to the social and economic marginalization of inner-city minorities, the decline in manufacturing in rural areas leads to increases in unemployment and income variations among local inhabitants (Wacquant and Wilson 1989; Kasarda 1985). The recent literature in rural geography states that research should move beyond just an awareness of the problems of regions and focus on social and economic differences within and between specific places. In addition, rural socio-economic differences should be studied within the broader context of global economic restructuring. For

example, Cloke and Thrift suggest that analysis of social classes is a way of understanding and assessing the effects of economic restructuring in rural areas (1990). Philo discusses a "neglected" aspect of geography when he argues that research should examine the ways local rural populations, especially the poor, women, children, and the elderly, are affected by structural changes (1992).

The recent literature in rural geography contributes to understanding of the characteristics and conditions of the rural poor and serves as a theoretical context for the analysis of poverty in rural areas. The studies identify some of the structural causes behind high rural poverty rates such as the shift away from manufacturing jobs to service jobs. Some suggest the need to probe more deeply into specific rural places in order to understand more clearly the needs of the poor. Increases in numbers of the rural poor may be attributed to such macro level causes as the restructuring of the national economy. Examination of specific rural localities, however, should reveal micro-level causes in local communities. My study bridges the macro-micro spatial divide.

What is Rural?

The terms rural and nonmetropolitan are often used interchangeably, but they are not the same. The Bureau of the Census does not define rural or nonmetropolitan. Hart states that 'rural' is what is left over after urban is defined and 'nonmetropolitan' is what is left over after metropolitan is defined (Hart 1995, 73). 'Urban' is defined by

the United States Census Bureau as any urbanized area and places with a population of 2,500 or more. Metropolitan is defined as one or more entire counties that have a city or population cluster of 50,000 or more. In 1990, although 75.2% of the United States' population was classified as urban, 37% (20.9 million) of the urban population was also classified as nonmetropolitan (Table I-1). In addition, 43% (26.5 million) of the rural population of the United States in 1990 was classified as metropolitan (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990). Thus, not all people in nonmetropolitan areas are rural and not all people in metropolitan areas are urban (Hart 1995).

In this study, I use an adaptation of the rural-urban classification scheme developed by Beale and Ross in 1987 and further refined by Brown and Hirschl in 1995. Beale and Ross used 1980 census data to classify metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties on the basis of population and degree of urbanization. They identified ten categories. Brown and Hirschl adapted the Beale and Ross categories to

Table I-1. Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Population of the United States

Population (millions)	Total	Urban	Rural
Total	248.7	187.1	61.6
Metropolitan	192.7	166.2	26.5
Nonmetropolitan	56.0	20.9	35.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990

four county types: metropolitan core (core counties of metropolitan areas with population 300,000 or more), metropolitan fringe (fringe counties of metropolitan areas with population 300,000 or more), other urban (metropolitan counties with smaller populations plus nonmetropolitan counties that have urban populations of 20,000 or more), and rural (nonmetropolitan counties that have urban population less than 20,000). The goal of this county classification system is to differentiate larger cities from smaller cities and rural areas (Brown and Hirschl 1995, 52). In my study, I define rural counties as ones with urban populations less than 20,000 regardless of metropolitan or nonmetropolitan status. Sevier County was added to the Knoxville Metropolitan Area after the 1990 Census. In 1990, Sevier County had a total urban population of only 18,000 and is classified as rural in my study. The largest place in Sevier County, Sevierville, had a 1990 population of 7,178.

My method of defining rural acknowledges the rural characteristics of many metropolitan counties and is, therefore, a useful definition. This definition of rural is supported by the United States Department of Agriculture's Rural Housing Service, which defines rural as "open country or rural towns with no more than 20,000 in population" (USDA 2003). The Rural Housing Service (formerly Farmers' Home Administration) provides affordable housing to low-income rural Americans. This agency's definition of rural is a very poignant one because it employs 20,000 as the boundary between rural and urban. However, no distinction is made between "open

country rural" and "small town rural." In my study, the variable "percent rural" is used as a measure of "open country rural" versus "municipal rural."

The Study Area

I selected East Tennessee as the study area for several reasons. First, it is within Appalachia, a region with a historical identity as a largely rural, poverty-stricken area. The poor of Kentucky and West Virginia, however, have received the most research and media attention. There remains a need to examine the poor in southern Appalachia, which is often portrayed as more prosperous. Second, east Tennessee includes varied topographic environments, starting with the Blue Ridge in the eastern edge of the region. In Tennessee the Blue Ridge is largely comprised of the Great Smoky Mountains (Figure I-1). West of the Blue Ridge is the Ridge and Valley, which includes the Great Valley of east Tennessee. This Ridge and Valley was a major route for European migration and settlement in the southern United States (Beaver 1986, 75). The major urban centers of east Tennessee, Knoxville and Chattanooga, lie within this region. To the west of the Ridge and Valley Province lies the Cumberland Plateau. The Plateau has some of the richest coal seams in the United States (Beaver 1986, 75) and its economic history lies in coal mining. East Tennessee includes 35 counties. However, based on my definition of rural, I omitted counties that had urban places of 20,000 or more. The region referred to in this study as *rural east Tennessee* includes 27 counties (Figure I-2).

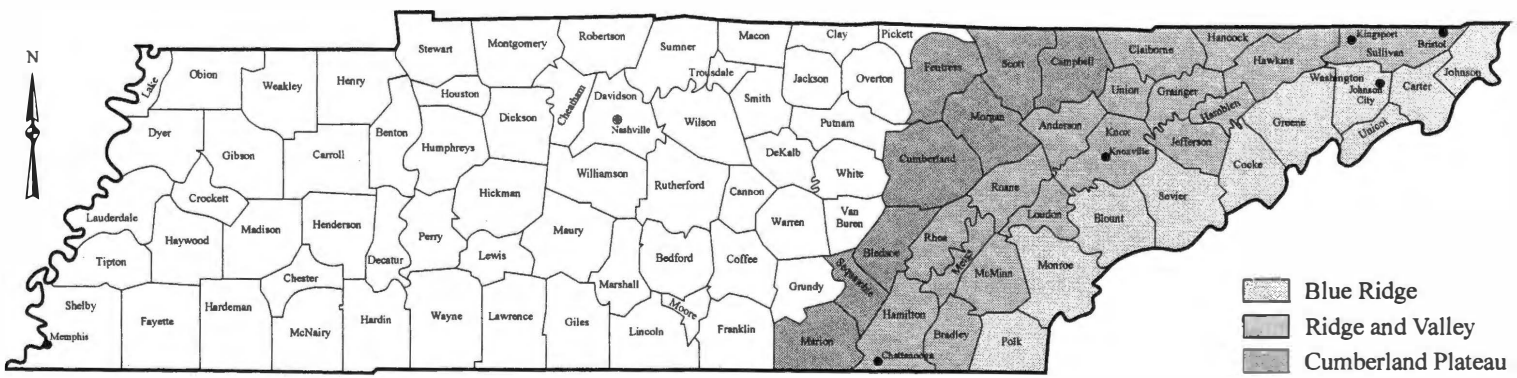


Figure I-1. Physical Divisions of East Tennessee

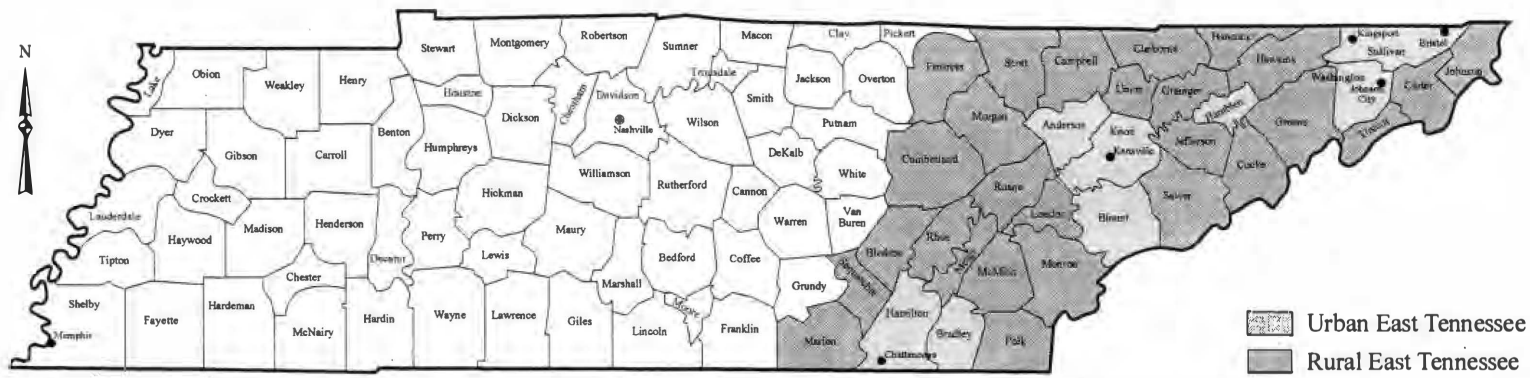


Figure I-2. Counties of Rural East Tennessee

The term "poor" refers to persons who fall below the official federal poverty thresholds. The Bureau of the Census adopted the threshold concept in the 1960s. It is based on the 1961 food plan designed by the Department of Agriculture and originally used by economist Mollie Orshansky to measure poverty. The food plan determines the amount of money a family of three needs to maintain an adequate diet. The poverty level is adjusted for family size. Because families of three or more persons typically spend one-third of their income on food, the poverty level for these families is calculated to be three times the amount of the average food plan. The poverty level is also adjusted annually to allow for changes in the cost of food. In 1990, the poverty threshold was $6,652 for a person living alone and $13,359 for a family of four (United States Bureau of the Census 1990).

The condition referred to as "high poverty" refers to a poverty rate of more than 20% (United States Bureau of the Census; Remaley 1992). Figure I-3 shows the spatial distribution of high poverty counties in rural east Tennessee. To discern the specific characteristics and settlement patterns of the poor in rural east Tennessee, the census block group, a smaller unit of analysis, is employed. Rural east Tennessee has 678 block groups. Of the 678, 303 have high poverty rates of 20 percent or more. A comparison between Figures I-3 and I-4 illustrates that a county may appear to be economically healthy, but beneath the apparent prosperity are hidden pockets with poverty rates much greater than the county average (Figure I-4). Block group analysis of the rural poor in east Tennessee reveals these "pockets" of poverty.

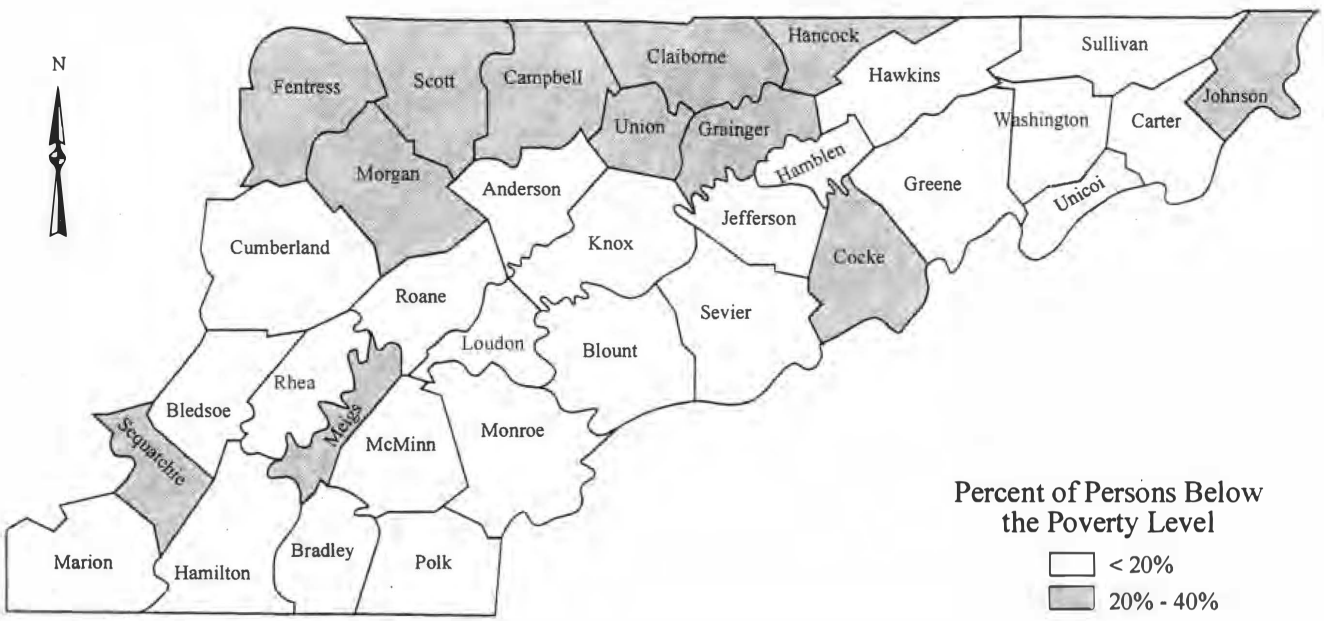


Figure I-3. High Poverty Counties in Rural East Tennessee

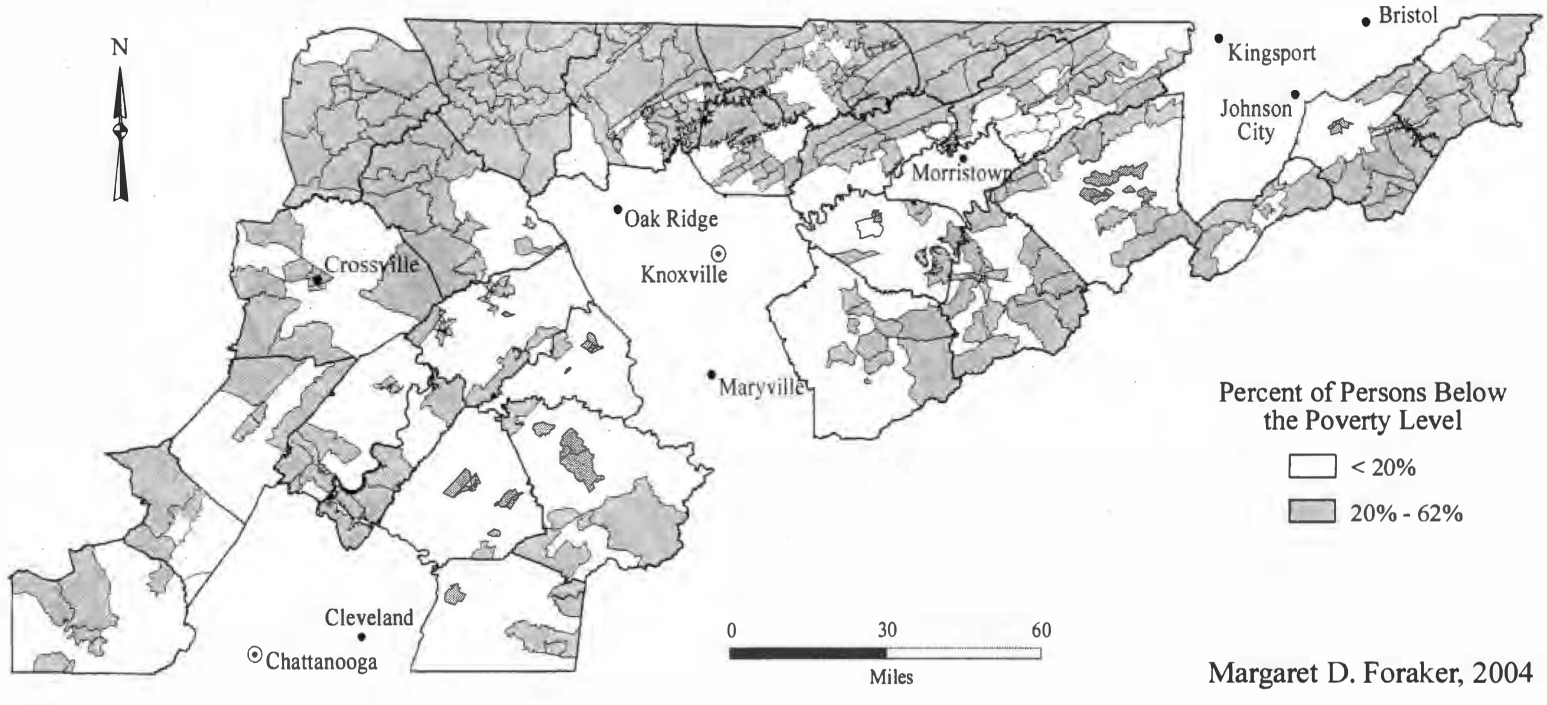


Figure I-4. High Poverty Block Groups in Rural East Tennessee, 1990

Historical Context of Rural East Tennessee

East Tennessee falls largely into the southern Appalachian region. The exceptions are the Cumberland plateau counties of Cumberland, Morgan, Fentress, Scott, Campbell, Claiborne, and Hancock which are identified with central Appalachia. The historical context provides insight into the causes and characteristics of the poverty identified in east Tennessee and establishes the basis for the economic heterogeneity of the region. The "economic and social diversity of communities in east Tennessee can be traced almost to the time of settlement" (Wheeler and MacDonald 1987, 4). The "settlement" of east Tennessee in reference to the coming of Europeans occurred in a sequence of waves, creating what Salstrom refers to as older Appalachia, intermediate Appalachia, and newer Appalachia (Salstrom 1995). Older Appalachia refers to the Valley and Ridge region which was largely settled between 1720 and 1830. European settlement of the Blue Ridge (intermediate Appalachia) region followed, the height of settlement occurred during the 1830s to 1870s. Newer Appalachia is comprised of the Appalachian Plateau region which experienced rapid settlement during the 1880s to 1920s. The economic heterogeneity of modern Appalachia can in part be explained by the region's "topographical differences," but the histories of the diverse sub-regions of Appalachia need also to be examined (Salstrom 1995, 76).

Until the nineteenth century, the Cherokee Indians dominated the region, living along the rivers of east Tennessee, west North Carolina, and north Georgia. European

influence began in the 1500s with the De Soto party which introduced diseases to the Mississippians, the ancestors of the Cherokee. European influence continued in the 1600s with Spanish fur traders in search of gold. The 1700s was characterized by the movement of European settlers to the region. From the late 1700s to the early 1800s, large waves of European immigrants came to southern Appalachia (Harshaw 1991, 54). Although the Scotch-Irish and Germans dominated this early European settlement period, they were soon joined by English, French, Swiss, and Welsh immigrants (Jones 1996, 169). The earliest settlers in the region laid claim to the best agricultural land found along the rivers in the Great Valley of east Tennessee (Wheeler and MacDonald 1989, 4). Later settlers were limited to land in the less fertile regions of the Cumberland Plateau and the Blue Ridge. As commercial and urban development expanded in the Valley of east Tennessee, communities in the Plateau and Blue Ridge regions remained more rural (Wheeler and McDonald 1989).

The upland regions of Appalachia are often considered to have been so isolated that culture and community failed to develop (Beaver 1984). However, Wilhelm portrays the mountains as "open" with gaps through the higher elevations which allowed for communication and interaction. According to Eller, the "natural, protective soil, good water, and abundant timber of the coves and hollows were ideal for the support of the cultural traditions and simple agricultural technology of the Scotch-Irish and German pioneers who settled the mountains" (Wilhelm 1975; Eller 1979, 86). More recently, Hsiung notes that the existence of public roads in upper east

Tennessee during the late eighteenth century supports the argument that the region was "not sealed off from the surrounding counties and states" (Hsiung 1997, 69). Though some interconnections were lacking, Hsiung argues the region was less isolated than previously noted by many popular assumptions (Hsiung 1997, 69).

That spatial connectivity characterized upland east Tennessee is supported by the development of the region's agricultural and commercial economy into the nineteenth century. Corn became a mainstay and, along with wheat and other crops that needed to be milled, fostered the development of intraregional economic connections. Perhaps more than milling, distilling operations and trade in alcohol linked upland east Tennessee with economies beyond the region's borders. Indeed, by 1830, the region "had what seemed to be a thriving economy firmly anchored within a broad geographical and commercial context. This economy fostered a general sense of connectedness and an attachment to the world beyond the mountains for most of the inhabitants" (Hsiung 1997, 88-89).

The turn of the nineteenth century into the twentieth century marked the "great transformation" of land ownership and resource control in Appalachia. Preindustrial Appalachia emerged into twentieth century capitalism. According to Beaver, "patterns of corporate exploitation were established that continue to dominate resource utilization" in the region (Beaver 1984, 82). The development of the lumber industry at the turn of the century was the early stage of the transformation to an economy dependent on the national markets. By 1880, the New England and Great Lakes

timber supplies were almost depleted, and the timber boom began in southern Appalachia (Beaver 1984, 81). Railroads began to be constructed in Appalachia. Not long after the railroad and timber companies arrived, their agents began buying mineral and timber rights from farmers and other landowners (Beaver 1984). Although coal had been mined for some time, at the turn of the twentieth century, the country was in the midst of rapid industrialization fueled by coal. Northern and eastern speculators "converged in the highlands to garner their mineral riches before the mountaineer was able to learn the meaning of his black gold" (Caudill 1962, 71).

Manufacturing companies began establishing factories in Appalachia between 1900 and 1930 (Beaver 1984, 84). The companies were attracted by the region's abundant, cheap labor force, cheap energy, and raw materials. "The development of timber, mining, and manufacturing industries touched every community, altered the fabric of social life and the political process, shifted the nature of the local economy, and produced major changes in the physical environment itself" (Beaver 1984, 74). Increased resort and recreational land speculation was heightened by the growing acquisition of land for national parks and other preservation purposes such as national forests. Transportation improvements during the latter half of the twentieth century contributed to increases in resorts and recreation in east Tennessee.

Rural Restructuring in East Tennessee

Economic restructuring and demographic changes are once again occurring in rural America. In the past, 'rural' was synonymous with farming and extractive industries such as mining and lumbering. But this is no longer the case. Since the 1950s, the rural economy of the United States has shifted from a dependence on agriculture and extractive industries, to one that is increasingly diverse. Rural labor markets are no longer primarily natural resource-based or agriculturally based (Marsden, et al. 1990). Only ten percent of the rural population of the United States lives on farms and the percentage of the workforce engaged in farming is less than two percent (U.S. Census of Agricultural National Agricultural Statistics Service 1997). Many rural households with farm incomes also receive salaries from off-farm work. The same is true of employment in mining (Marsden, et al. 1990).

In addition to the changes in farming and extractive industries, are ones in other sectors of the rural economy. Manufacturing employment is declining in importance as employment in services and trade are increasing in significance. Table I-2 illustrates the extent of rural east Tennessee's changing economy.

As is the case in much of rural America, agriculture is on the decline in Tennessee. In east Tennessee, employment in agriculture declined 25 percent between 1970 and 1990. Between 1980 and 1990, agricultural employment in east Tennessee declined 10.6 percent and mining employment declined 41.4 percent, while trade and services employment increased 42.4 percent and 42.0 percent respectively. Although

Table I-2
Employment Trends in the Rural Counties of East Tennessee, 1970-1990

Date	Total Employed	Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries	Mining	Manufacturing	Trade	Services
1970	188,034	12,692	3,348	75,702	27,283	38,154
1980	249,753	10,704	5,898	87,222	39,840	51,994
1990	307,152	9,573	3,457	98,109	56,723	73,842
Change 1980-1990 (%)		-10.6	-41.4	12.5	42.4	42.0
Change 1970-1990(%)		-24.6	3.3	29.6	107.9	93.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

manufacturing employment increased 15.2 percent between 1970 and 1980 and 12.5 percent between 1980 and 1990, the percentage of the workforce engaged in manufacturing dropped from 40.3 percent of total employment in rural east Tennessee in 1970 to 31.9 percent of total employment in 1990 (Table I-3).

Manufacturing has been an important source of income in many rural areas, especially in the Southeast (Understanding Rural America, 2000). The attraction of manufacturing industries to rural areas in east Tennessee and the larger Appalachian region served as a major economic development strategy for much of the twentieth century (Jensen, et al. 1998). However, changes are occurring. Increased transportation and communications improvements, and changing political and economic relationships mean that manufacturing companies are able to locate almost anywhere in world (Gaventa 1987). Rural areas in the United States are increasingly

Table I-3
Distribution of Employment by Industry, 1970-1990

Rural Counties of East Tennessee	Total employed	Percent in agriculture	Percent in mining	Percent in manufacturing	Percent in trade	Percent in Services
1970	188,034	6.7	1.8	40.3	14.5	20.3
1980	249,753	4.3	2.4	34.9	16.0	20.8
1990	307,152	3.1	1.1	31.9	18.5	24.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

competing with other countries for manufacturing jobs. Examples of manufacturing decline in rural east Tennessee include the following stories from Monroe and Johnson Counties. Numerous other examples could also be cited. "Japanese firm to close, sell Vonore plant: despite employee efforts, foreign competition too much," reads a headline in the January 30, 2002 *Knoxville News Sentinel*. The Monroe County plant has built refrigeration compressors since 1989. Closing the plant leaves 316 east Tennesseans unemployed. Mountain City Glove in Johnson County also recently closed its doors. This company had been in business since 1962 but cited low cost imports and escalating costs for American materials as reasons for closing. Johnson County has an established history as a manufacturing center and is identified as a "manufacturing county" by the Appalachian Regional Commission and the United States Department of Agriculture.

In tandem with changes in the primary and secondary components of rural east Tennessee's economy are changes in the services sector. Services increased its share of total employment from 20.3 percent in 1970 to 24.0 percent in 1990. The growth of service sector jobs in rural east Tennessee and other parts of rural America raises questions. Are the jobs paying adequate wages to support individuals and families? Do they provide a solid foundation for economic development? And, what are the impacts of economic changes on the rural poor and their places of residence?

Organization of the Study

Chapter II establishes a context for examining rural poverty in east Tennessee by identifying the characteristics of the rural poor in America and Appalachia. Economic restructuring is examined as it relates to understanding contemporary employment conditions and opportunities. The variables used in the analysis are identified in Chapter II. Rural poverty is related to demographic composition and local employment structure (Remaley 1994). Among the variables used in the analysis are the percent of persons 65 and over, the percent of female-headed households, and the percent of persons 16 and over who are employed in extractive industries, manufacturing, and trade, and services. The characteristics of places are important in understanding rural poverty in east Tennessee. In Chapter III, correlation analysis and cluster analysis are employed to identify types of poverty areas. The 1990 data for high poverty block groups, those with poverty rates of 20 percent and more, are

combined with county census data to establish the historical, social, and economic context of east Tennessee.

Chapter IV is an interpretation of the types of poverty identified by cluster analysis. Just as poverty is not evenly distributed across America, it is not evenly distributed in rural east Tennessee. Given the uneven distribution, rural poverty is best understood if statistical analysis is combined with field research. Analysis of a sample of high poverty areas in Chapter V provides explanations of the places where the rural poor live, and reasons for the spatial variation in rural poverty rates. A historical approach develops the socio-economic context of the rural poor. Techniques used include conversations with local officials and residents combined with the collection of local data not available from the Bureau of the Census. The areas sampled include different employment, social and cultural characteristics and different historical contexts. The areas vary according to the settlement patterns of the poor. I use the term *neighborhood* as a proxy for *block group*. The rural poor neighborhoods identified in this study range from rural hamlets and crossroads communities, to mobile home clusters, to concentrated populations in east Tennessee's small towns.

Chapter VI analyzes the history of policies and programs aimed at helping the rural poor and discusses future implications in meeting their various needs. The underlying basis for rural poverty policies and programs has traditionally been closely tied to agricultural policies (Rural Sociological Society Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty 1993). The majority of the rural poor today, however, are not farm residents.

The pervasiveness of rural poverty is due to the inability to earn a livable income. A result is the lack of affordable housing and healthcare. The challenge for policy makers is to develop programs that take into account the diversity among poor rural communities. Examining rural poverty from a geographic perspective offers new insight into the nature of the rural poor and their places of residence.

Chapter II
The Social and Economic Attributes of the Rural and Urban Poor

Just as no other rich country can show such extremes of wealth and poverty, so none has poverty in quite so many guises (The Pockets of Poverty World Tour, *The Economist*, July 8, 1999).

A large body of literature exists concerning the characteristics of the urban poor in the United States. Studies focus on the growing social, economic, and spatial isolation of urban ghetto residents and the development of the urban underclass (Wilson 1987). The studies on the urban underclass link inner-city poverty to de-industrialization and the economic restructuring of the United States' economy. Are the characteristics and conditions of the rural poor the same as those of the urban poor? Recently, scholars have begun to re-examine rural and nonmetropolitan poverty (Duncan 1992, Fitchen 1989, 1995, Rural Sociological Society's Task Force 1993, Davidson 1996). Part of this research examines the social characteristics of the rural poor, focusing on race, age, and family structure. Others look at the spatial distribution of rural poverty at the regional scale or county level (Cuoto 1995, Haynes 2000). Appalachia is a focus of much of the regional research.

This chapter examines the recent research on rural poverty to define the stereotypical characteristics of the rural poor. Studies have begun to question the similarities and differences between rural/nonmetropolitan poverty and urban/ metropolitan poverty. These studies use rural and urban interchangeably with nonmetropolitan and metropolitan. Heretofore, I use rural and urban. Although my definition of rural is not equated with nonmetropolitan, research on the characteristics of the nonmetropolitan poor is worthy of examination here. These studies provide a

context for understanding who is poor in rural east Tennessee. Are the poor in rural east Tennessee the same as those in other parts of rural America or Appalachia? In addition, theoretical explanations of the causes of poverty are reviewed. Many explanations of poverty lie within the context of either a cultural perspective or a structural perspective. Appalachian poverty, in particular, is often attributed to the unique culture of the region. Examining the research on these two approaches to poverty may provide insight into poverty in rural east Tennessee.

Characteristics of the Poor

Deavers and Hoppe focus primarily on the social characteristics of the rural poor—age, race, and household status (1992). Using data from the United States Bureau of the Census, the authors compare the characteristics of the poor by rural and urban status for 1973 and 1987 (Table II.1). The authors find that although poverty among the elderly decreased between 1973 and 1987, the elderly are more likely to be poor in rural areas. In addition, rural blacks had higher poverty rates in 1987 (44.1%) compared to whites (13.7%), but the majority of the rural poor in the United States are white. Compared to urban areas, the proportion of the rural poor in female-headed families is smaller. However, poverty is greater for rural families headed by women (Deavers and Hoppe 1992).

Deavers and Hoppe do not examine employment data by specific industry, but they include information on household employment such as number of workers per household. The authors find that the rural poor are different from the urban poor in

Table II-1. Comparison of Urban and Rural Poverty in the United States

	Urban		Rural	
	1973	1987	1973	1987
Poverty rate for total population	9.7	12.5	14.0	16.9
Whites	6.9	9.6	11.2	13.7
Blacks	28.2	30.7	41.1	44.1
Hispanics	20.3	27.6	29.1	35.6
Aged	12.7	11.1	22.5	15.6
Poverty rate for female headed households	36.9	36.7	39.2	44.8
With related children	51.8	53.2	52.9	60.3
Poverty rate for other households	4.3	6.4	9.6	10.6
With related children	5.5	9.6	11.6	14.7
Poverty rate for poor householders who worked full time	15.5	12.8	22.2	18.8
Poor households with 2 or more workers	15.7	15.9	26.1	23.4
with 1 worker	42	38.2	41.8	41.3

Source: Adapted from Deavers and Hoppe 1992, 13-15.

that they are more likely to work. Nearly two-thirds of rural poor households had one or more workers in 1987. The authors suggest that these householders remain poor because they are more likely to work part-time or in seasonal jobs. Earnings are not sufficient to keep them out of poverty (15).

In 1993, The Rural Sociological Society's Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty released a report for the United States. Using 1990 census data, the task force found that the rural poor are more likely to reside in married-couple households, but the poverty rate of female-headed households is increasing in rural areas (Table II-2). Forty-four percent of the rural poor in the United States live in married-couple households compared to 27 % of the central city poor. The proportion of the rural

Table II-2. Social Characteristics of the Poor

Poverty Rates	**Urban (central city) 1990**	**Rural 1990**
Poverty rate for total population	12.7	16.3
Whites	9.9	13.5
Blacks	30.1	40.8
Hispanics	27.8	32.0
Aged	10.8	16.1
Poverty rate for Female headed households	35.8	43.2
With related children	52.5	56.8
Poverty rate for married couple households	5.9	9.9
With related children	9.1	14.0
Groups Making up the Poor	**Urban**	**Rural**
Female headed households	45.1	30.3
With related children	26.7	17.0
Married-couple households	27.0	44.4
With related children	11.8	17.6
Whites	53.8	72.9
Blacks	41.2	23.6
Hispanics	24.7	5.4
Aged	9.3	14.0

Source: Adapted from The Rural Sociological Society's Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty 1993, 32.

poor who live in female-headed households increased from 22 percent in 1969 to 30 percent in 1990 (33). Whites also comprise a greater proportion of the rural poor. Nearly 73% of the rural poor are white. The elderly comprise a small portion of the poor, but the poverty rate for the elderly is higher in rural areas (16.1%) than in central cities (14.6%).

Using the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, Hirschl and Brown examine household characteristics and county data associated with poverty in rural and urban areas. The authors suggest that poverty is higher in rural areas and central cities because such places "have more people at risk of poverty" (1995, 230). A second inference is that differences in poverty can be explained by differences in economic opportunity. The authors set out to show that in addition to social characteristics, attempts to understand and explain poverty must also include variables that address economic opportunity. The authors include in their multivariate analysis such variables as race, age, and family status, educational level, unemployment rate, workforce experience, and gain or loss in manufacturing employment. Findings show that demographic characteristics such as household structure are strong determinants of poverty, but factors related to economic opportunity must also be examined (244).

The major theme in the literature on rural poverty in the United States is that although similar groups (women, elderly, young, minorities, and the poorly educated/low skilled) are more likely to be poor in both rural and urban areas, rural and urban poverty differ. From the studies, a social profile of the rural poor can be constructed. The rural poor are more likely to be white, living in married-couple

households, and working than the urban poor. There remains a need to examine local level poverty and to address differences within regions.

Rural and Urban Poverty in Appalachia

Analysis of Appalachian poverty adds to the profile of the rural poor, especially in terms of employment and income characteristics. Within Appalachia, differences between urban and rural poverty rates exist (Table II-3). Billings and Tickamyer examine poverty within the central Appalachian region. Using counties as the basic unit of analysis, the authors use a 1987 report on poverty from the University of Kentucky's Appalachia Center to support their argument that there is not "one" Appalachia but several (1993, 7). A great diversity exists in the region, including economic diversity. As Table II-3 shows, the counties of Central Appalachia have the highest poverty rates. In all three sub-regions, however, rural poverty is greater than urban poverty. The rural portion of Central Appalachia stands out with a poverty rate of 19.9, while the rural portion of Southern Appalachia has the lowest rate. The authors suggest that examination of local economic conditions can reveal the details behind these diverse poverty statistics. Opportunities to earn above poverty income, for example, may explain variations in poverty rates. The authors define the counties of central Appalachia in terms of dominant economic activities in order to address "economic distress" (14). The study concludes that counties with economies based on coal production have the highest poverty rates and counties based on manufacturing have the lowest.

Table II-3. Poverty Rates by Appalachian Region

Region of Appalachia	Urban	Rural
Central	12.4	19.9
Northern	8.8	12.7
Southern	10.7	12.4

Source: Billings and Tickameyer 1993, 10.

Billings and Tickameyer proceed by comparing and contrasting Central Appalachia, which includes portions of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia, with "non-Appalachia." Non-Appalachia is comprised of the counties in these states that are not included in their definition of Appalachia. Findings further support that within the Appalachian region a difference exists between rural and urban poverty (Table II-4). However, poverty is higher in Appalachia. In addition, Appalachia is characterized by higher unemployment rates and lower incomes compared to non-Appalachia.

Because poverty is higher in Appalachia for all groups (women, men, elderly, young, blacks, whites), Billings and Tickamyer suggest that the source lies in the "structure of the local economy, type of employment opportunities, and links to the larger economy" (15). In terms of employment opportunities in the region, the authors show that many jobs are low-paying, low-skill, and unstable. Mining and agriculture are cited as having frequent periods of unemployment and most manufacturing is low-wage. Although some counties may be gaining employment due to tourism and

Table II-4. Comparison of Poverty in Appalachia and the United States

Central Appalachia	Poverty % 1979	1989	Unemployment % 1986	Per Capita Income 1985
Non-Appalachia	15.1	15.28	7.9	$9,491
Appalachian Regional Commission counties*	18.9		11.0	$7,816
Rural Appalachian Regional Commission counties	20.2		11.6	$7,456
United States	12.4	13.5	7.0	$10,797

* The Appalachian Regional Commissions's definition of Central Appalachia is a group of counties in Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia.

retirement growth, most service jobs do not offer incomes adequate enough to keep workers above the poverty level (Billings and Tickamyer 1993, 16).

Rural Settlement Patterns

The residents of rural east Tennessee live in a variety of structures distributed in myriad places. The municipalities of east Tennessee and surrounding open country exhibit enough similarity to generate a composite, typical model of settlement patterns for the region. First, close to the towns' centers are found multi-family rental housing and many subdivisions comprised of single-family homes. Many single-family homes within the municipalities are renter-occupied and are parts of mixed-use neighborhoods.

A second dwelling situation is government-assisted housing concentrated in municipalities, many of which have local housing authorities (Table II-5). Table II-5

Table II-5. Location of Local Housing Authorities in Rural East Tennessee

Agency:	Municipality
Athens Housing Authority	Athens
Crossville Housing Authority	Crossville
Dayton Housing Authority	Dayton
Elizabethton Housing Authority and Development Agency	Elizabethton
Erwin Housing Authority	Erwin
Etowah Housing Authority	Etowah
Greeneville Housing Authority	Greeneville
Harriman Housing Authority	Harriman
Jefferson City Housing Authority	Jefferson City
Jellico Housing Authority	Jellico
La Follette Housing Authority	La Follette
Lenoir City Housing Authority	Lenoir City
Loudon Housing Authority	Loudon
Newport Housing Authority	Newport
Rockwood Housing Authority	Rockwood
Rogersville Housing Authority	Rogersville
Sevierville Housing Authority	Sevierville
South Pittsburg Housing Authority	South Pittsburg
Sweetwater Housing Authority	Sweetwater

Source: U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

documents the local public housing authorities in rural east Tennessee. There are 12,851 housing units serving 23,089 persons sponsored by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in rural east Tennessee. This housing assistance is supplied through a variety of programs. The Section 8 tenant-based program provides rental assistance in the form of vouchers (Appendix B contains the complete data set on government-assisted housing in east Tennessee). In this case, federal assistance travels with the tenant. Section 8 project-based assistance are dwellings for which tenants pay 30 percent of their adjusted income. Public housing is also prevalent in the municipalities of rural east Tennessee (Appendix B). In addition to the Department of Housing and Urban Development, federal funding is also administered by the Rural Housing Service (formerly the Farmers Home Administration), a division of the United States Department of Agriculture.

A third housing element in the region is the prominent use of mobile homes. The east Tennessee countryside is dotted with mobile homes. Some of the homes are standing alone, scattered across the landscape; some are adjacent to houses, located in front, side, and back yards. Others are clustered in trailer parks. For many persons mobile homes are an affordable housing option, especially in areas with high demand such as Sevier County. On the Cumberland Plateau, mobile homes are often the only affordable option in the housing market, and scattered single-site mobile homes are prevalent. Along the back roads, in the open country areas of rural east Tennessee, are found traditional style homesteads, single sited or in small clusters along highways and intersections.

Theoretical Explanations of the Causes and Characteristics of the Rural Poor

Duncan correctly states that most research on urban ghetto poverty explains it from either a cultural or a structural perspective (1996). Recent studies address rural and municipal poverty in light of these explanations. According to the cultural perspective, poor people lack the personal motivation or education and skills to take advantage of opportunities (Deavers and Hoppe 1992, 7). The culture of poverty theory, as originally posited by Oscar Lewis in 1966, hypothesizes that exclusion from the cash economy creates individual apathy, alienation, deviance, and community disorganization among the poor that ultimately becomes part of their lifestyle (Lewis 1966). In short, persistent poverty results from the characteristics of the individuals who are poor. The cultural theory has been translated into an explanation that emphasizes a cycle of poverty in which the poor pass the deviant culture along to their children (Rural Sociological Society 1993, 210).

Not surprisingly, early studies of Appalachian poverty place great emphasis on cultural explanations that blame the poor for their situation (Weller 1965, Harrington 1962, Fetterman 1967, Caudill 1963, Coles 1967). Harrington's *The Other America*, for example, attributes the poverty of Appalachia to the people of the region who hold onto their traditions (1962, 41). Weller states "the greatest challenge of Appalachia, and the most difficult, is its people" and refers to stereotypical Appalachians as individualistic and fatalistic (1965, 7). Each of these studies links poverty to the persistence of traditional values and institutions and advocates the need to change attitudes to comply with a more "modern outlook" (O'Connor 1992, 215-233).

Appalachia is viewed as a "region apart" from mainstream modern America. Lack of modernization and backwardness of the people explain the region's high incidence of poverty (Eller 1982).

The culture of poverty theory came to justify not only the high rate of poverty in Appalachia, but the policy strategies of the 1960s. Many of the programs begun in the 1960s War on Poverty were based on the cultural thesis and attempted to break the cycle of poverty by providing job and skill training to increase workplace attachment (Duncan 1996). The solution to poverty was felt to include changing the behavior of poor people. By the 1970s, the theory was strongly associated with a conservative argument against welfare (O'Connor 1992, 223). The theory continues to underlie the policy positions of those who are against income support programs, holding that they cause welfare dependency (Ibid.).

The structural perspective, the major competing view on poverty, states that poverty has material, structural causes. It challenges the cultural theory by focusing on the structural features of United States society (Deavers and Hoppe 1992, 8). People are poor because "racism, sexism, or the structure of the economy denies them opportunities and jobs" (Duncan 1996). The poor have little control over their situation. The larger socio-economic system is to blame because it denies access to adequate paying jobs and affordable housing. From this perspective, there are two ways to deal with the problem of poverty. One is to remove social, political, and economic inequality. The other is to accept that poverty exists and monetary assistance should be provided to the poor (Commissa 1998).

A rich literature on rural poverty has developed outside the field of geography (Duncan 1996, 1992; Rural Sociological Society Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty 1993, Fitchen 1991, Tickamyer and Duncan 1990). This literature is from a variety of social science disciplines, especially sociology and anthropology. Addressed are such issues as the growth in numbers of rural poor persons in America, declines in rural employment and earnings, and increases in poor single-parent families.

Unlike the literature of the 1960s, which attributed rural poverty in Appalachia to laziness, defeatist attitudes, and a resignation to living on welfare (e.g., Caudill 1963; Weller 1965; Fetterman 1967), the more recent studies attribute poverty in rural America to limited opportunities. A common theme is that the restructuring of the economy creates marginal, low-wage jobs that are at the root of poverty. In 1990, one in three rural poor persons worked 27 or more weeks (Lichter *et al.* 1994, 411). A family in which the head of the household works is twice as likely to be poor in rural than in urban areas (Deavers and Hoppe 1992). Many new jobs created in rural America are low-wage, part-time, and seasonal (Lichter and McLaughlin 1995; Lichter *et al.* 1994; Gorham 1992; Tickamyer and Duncan, 1990). In short, the jobs and the wages simply are not sufficient to keep people out of poverty. This reality is even harsher for single mothers because the jobs are not sufficient to support childcare (Rural Sociological Society Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty 1993; Goldberg and Kremen 1990). Indeed, Lewis, and later Fitchen, would come to see the individual characteristics of the culture of poverty formulation as reactions to limited

opportunities. As such, the culture of poverty is viewed as an outcome rather than a cause of poverty (Lewis 1966; Fitchen 1981).

Economic Restructuring and Rural Poverty

Although the structural theory of poverty is not currently popular in the neoliberal political arena, my investigation employs it. I use a combination of social and economic factors as a framework for the analysis of rural poverty in east Tennessee. My focus is on the structure of the local economy, including employment opportunities and local economic strategies. In addition, my study uses a "place" approach to develop a geographic theory of poverty. Richard Peet discusses the place approach and develops a geographic theory in "Inequality and Poverty: A Marxist-Geographic Theory" (Peet 1975). Peet argues that there is a need to deal with the forces generating poverty by focusing on the physical, social, and economic environment in which the poor live. The emphasis is on local infrastructure and institutions, especially the economy and labor market of the places where the poor live.

Except for inner city ghettos, few geographers, ironically, have taken a place approach when studying poverty. Exceptions include Aiken's study on ghetto towns in the Yazoo Delta of Mississippi and Remaley's research on poor neighborhoods in Knoxville, Tennessee (Aiken 1990, Remaley 1992). Shaw and Weinberg focus on the larger spatial distribution of poverty at the county and regional levels, but not at the local. Other researchers note that the characteristics of places are an important

component in understanding rural poverty (Browne and Warner 1991, Lichter and McLaughlin 1995, Fitchen 1995). Haynes specifically finds a relationship between the characteristics of the local labor market and poverty (1997). She examines labor market factors such as urbanization and education levels for their relationship to poverty. Haynes argues against a simplistic approach to the relationship between poverty and culture in Appalachia and discusses the need to examine the local economy to understand the incidence of poverty. If one is to consider the role of "place" in the incidence and perpetuation of poverty, a local-scale analysis needs to be employed. My study postulates that the rural poor in east Tennessee are concentrated in certain kinds of places and the characteristics of these places condition opportunities and impose structural constraints on residents (Brown and Warner 1991, Lichter and McLaughlin 1995).

Economic restructuring is often referred to as "structural adjustment" (Brodie 1994, 47). In the simplest economic terms, it refers to the liberalization of trade, decrease of state economic regulations, increase of private capital, and reduction of social spending (Brodie 1994, 47). In the United States, structural adjustment means the relocation of industries in search of cheap labor and resources, lower taxes, and less stringent environmental regulations. In the 1990s, in its attempt to retain private investment, the United States relaxed financial and environmental regulations and decreased spending for public welfare programs. The economic restructuring theory is largely concerned with urban and regional phenomena. It developed in the 1980s as a critique against regional studies (Marsden *et al.* 1990). It is important to realize that

economic restructuring is not just an urban phenomenon but that it also has a great impact on rural economies (Nelson 1999). Rural communities are suddenly competing, not only with urban areas, but with foreign places (Ilbery 1998).

Tickamyer and Duncan indicate a need for more community studies concerning the effects of economic restructuring on rural poverty. Socioeconomic characteristics of communities have impacts on economic success. They plead for more research on poor rural communities (Tickamyer and Duncan 1990). Duncan states that in rural America, economic restructuring decreases the number of "better paying" jobs with benefits in high-end manufacturing and extractive industries (1996). These jobs are replaced by ones in the trade and services sectors. Likewise, Lichter and McLaughlin argue that restructuring affects poverty in local areas directly in terms of wages paid and indirectly via changes in job opportunities and family structure (1995). Economic restructuring promotes a shift in employment toward low wage, part-time, and seasonal jobs for women (such as waitresses, cashier clerks, and hotel maids). The authors believe that poverty is increasingly a characteristic of female headed households. Lichter and McLaughlin critique county-level poverty studies for being too focused on metropolitan areas and for ignoring the indirect effects of economic restructuring (e.g., Brown and Warner 1991, Massey 1990).

Similarly, Albrecht and his co-authors state that economic restructuring in rural America is closely related to changes in family structure including increases in female-headed households (2000). The findings support the structural explanation for poverty in arguing that it is linked to the restructuring of the United States economy.

Poverty cannot be explained by "arguing that it reflects individuals' choices to drop out of the labor force, to form female-headed families, to collect welfare, or to acquire inferior education and skills for competing in the labor market" (Albrecht *et al.* 2000, 100). The authors suggest the need for more detailed regional studies and case studies of communities to explain the major economic and social processes that lead to poverty.

Fitchen discusses the socio-economic causes behind rural poverty (1996). She groups them into four categories: (1) economic stagnation and decline, (2) restructuring of manufacturing, (3) transition to service sector employment, and (4) transformation of the food production industry. Stagnant economies are discussed in relation to the high poverty found in the Yazoo Delta, Appalachia, and New Mexico. Too few jobs are compounded by racism or, as in the case of Appalachia, by declines in employment in extractive industries. The restructuring of manufacturing firms and employment contributes to high poverty in certain rural areas. The numbers of manufacturing jobs decline as a result of factory closings, increased automation, and the increased use of part-time and temporary employees. In certain areas of rural America, including much of rural Appalachia, manufacturing jobs are replaced by low-end service jobs (Fitchen 1996, 251). The shift has contributed to the rising numbers of "working poor" and "new poor". This is especially evident in places where tourism has become a major component of the local economy. Although unemployment may be low, as the number of service jobs increase, the earnings from them are not likely to help workers rise above poverty. Growing numbers of workers

are in need of assistance to secure such basic needs as housing and food (Fitchen 1996, 252). Fitchen discusses farm poverty in terms of large-scale agricultural operations in which migrant labor is important. In her earlier work, Fitchen examined the legacy of marginal family farm agriculture and its legacy of poverty in rural upstate New York (1981). Fitchen believes that research should focus on the diversity and similarity among rural places. We need to understand the places "where poverty is created and where poor people reside" (266).

Selection of Variables

Within the context of both statistical research and theoretical explanations for poverty, the rural poor are identified as a diverse group. The social and economic variables used in this study to identify the poor in rural east Tennessee are in Table II-6. Table II-6 shows the correlation results among the variables listed. The first two variables selected for my analysis are the percent of all persons below the poverty level and the percent of persons living in a rural area. Based on their strong association with rural poverty, the remaining variables fall into three categories. First, poverty is related to socio-demographic characteristics. The percent of persons age 25 and over with less than a high school education, the percent of persons age 65 and over, the percent of persons age 17 and under, the percent black population, and the percent of female-headed households were selected as variables that reveal the socio-demographic makeup of the poor in rural east Tennessee. The percent of persons age 65 and over was dropped from the analysis in favor of the percent of persons receiving

Table II-6. Correlation Analysis

Pearson Correlation (Percentages)	Below poverty	Rural	H.S. Grad	Aged 17& less	Aged 65 &over	Black	Female head hh	Mobile home/trail	Female Unempl	In agri	In mining	In manuf	In trade	In services	Owner occupied	Renter occupied	Same house	Social sec inc	Public Assist inc	Built 1939	No vehicle	Not compl plumbing	Cost burden	Female household w/child in workforce
Below poverty	1	-0.114	-0.243	0.121	0.034	0.194	0.313	-0.102	0.22	0.133	0.059	0	0.001	0.004	-0.252	0.256	-0.064	0.085	0.506	0.031	0.371	0.209	0.063	-0.153
Rural	-0.114	1	0.151	0.277	-0.392	-0.455	-0.613	0.592	-0.007	0.326	0.13	0.242	-0.272	-0.333	-0.263	**-0.709**	0.412	-0.316	-0.16	-0.133	-0.467	0.451	-0.149	-0.123
High school grad	-0.243	0.151	1	0.138	-0.114	-0.162	-0.211	0.141	0.018	0.014	0.044	-0.006	0.017	-0.116	0.008	-0.206	0.094	-0.18	-0.247	0.003	-0.328	-0.056	-0.019	0.022
Aged 17 & under	0.121	0.277	0.138	1	-0.535	-0.11	-0.141	0.34	0.153	0.107	0.222	0.183	-0.178	-0.212	-0.086	-0.269	0.106	-0.349	0.135	-0.196	-0.203	0.203	0.092	-0.085
Aged 65 & over	0.034	-0.392	-0.114	-0.535	1	0.102	0.21	-0.45	-0.141	-0.133	-0.124	-0.122	0.092	0.175	0.15	0.338	-0.048	**0.743**	0.077	0.275	0.458	-0.216	0.016	0.148
Black	0.194	-0.455	-0.162	-0.11	0.102	1	0.427	-0.342	0.031	-0.135	-0.103	-0.022	0.031	0.089	0.129	0.375	-0.196	0.121	0.236	0.181	0.414	-0.223	0.221	-0.063
Female headed households	0.313	-0.613	-0.211	-0.141	0.21	0.427	1	-0.366	0.109	-0.263	-0.058	-0.139	0.21	0.196	0.084	0.68	-0.31	0.219	0.406	0.081	0.545	-0.304	0.229	0.092
Mobile home/trailer	-0.102	0.592	0.141	0.34	-0.45	-0.342	-0.366	1	-0.014	0.197	0.088	0.255	-0.166	-0.365	-0.376	-0.525	0.233	-0.397	-0.148	-0.283	-0.447	0.264	-0.063	-0.1
Female unemployment	0.22	-0.007	0.018	0.153	-0.141	0.031	0.109	-0.014	1	0.128	0.007	0.003	0.018	-0.044	-0.162	0.105	-0.078	-0.062	0.146	-0.065	0.037	0.147	0.116	0.013
Employed in agriculture	0.133	0.326	0.014	0.107	-0.133	-0.135	-0.263	0.197	0.128	1	-0.138	0.171	-0.314	-0.274	-0.402	-0.347	0.157	-0.068	-0.027	0	-0.185	0.339	-0.078	-0.102
Employed in mining	0.059	0.13	0.044	0.222	-0.124	-0.103	-0.058	0.088	0.007	-0.138	1	-0.214	-0.137	0.079	0.096	-0.098	0.116	0.068	0.133	0.045	0.047	0.204	0.04	-0.113
Employed in manufacturing	0	0.242	-0.006	0.183	-0.122	-0.022	-0.139	0.255	0.003	0.171	-0.214	1	-0.523	-0.54	-0.244	-0.251	0.208	-0.199	0.072	-0.019	-0.127	0.209	-0.062	0.111
Employed in trade	0.001	-0.272	0.017	-0.178	0.092	0.031	0.21	-0.166	0.018	-0.314	-0.137	-0.523	1	0.103	0.23	0.278	-0.231	0.084	-0.078	-0.019	0.062	-0.293	-0.012	0.087
Employed in services	0.004	-0.333	-0.116	-0.212	0.175	0.089	0.196	-0.365	-0.044	-0.274	0.079	-0.54	0.103	1	0.155	0.348	-0.196	0.18	0.007	0.084	0.132	-0.233	0.013	-0.091
Owner occupied housing	-0.252	-0.263	0.008	-0.086	0.15	0.129	0.084	-0.376	-0.162	-0.402	0.096	-0.244	0.23	0.155	1	0.018	0.013	0.178	-0.238	0.068	-0.014	-0.397	0.141	0.103
Renter occupied housing	0.256	**-0.709**	-0.206	-0.269	0.338	0.375	0.68	-0.525	0.105	-0.347	-0.098	-0.251	0.278	0.348	0.018	1	-0.557	0.254	0.302	0.008	0.599	-0.476	0.155	0.045
Lived in same house in 1985	-0.064	0.412	0.094	0.106	-0.048	-0.196	-0.31	0.233	-0.078	0.157	0.116	0.208	-0.231	-0.196	0.013	-0.557	1	0.016	0.005	0.124	-0.19	0.314	-0.154	-0.044
Social security income	0.085	-0.316	-0.18	-0.349	**0.743**	0.121	0.219	-0.397	-0.062	-0.068	0.068	-0.199	0.084	0.18	0.178	0.254	0.016	1	0.204	0.326	0.408	-0.09	0.058	0.099
Public assistance income	0.506	-0.16	-0.247	0.135	0.077	0.236	0.406	-0.148	0.146	-0.027	0.133	0.072	-0.078	0.007	-0.238	0.302	0.005	0.204	1	0.066	0.561	0.128	0.139	-0.032
House built 1939 or earlier	0.031	-0.133	0.003	-0.196	0.275	0.181	0.081	-0.283	-0.065	0	0.045	-0.019	-0.019	0.084	0.068	0.008	0.124	0.326	0.066	1	0.153	0.108	-0.098	0.057
No vehicle present	0.371	-0.467	-0.328	-0.203	0.458	0.414	0.545	-0.447	0.037	-0.185	0.047	-0.127	0.062	0.132	-0.014	0.599	-0.19	0.408	0.561	0.153	1	-0.133	0.192	-0.01
Not complete plumb	0.209	0.451	-0.056	0.203	-0.216	-0.223	-0.304	0.264	0.147	0.339	0.204	0.209	-0.293	-0.233	-0.397	-0.476	0.314	-0.09	0.128	0.108	-0.133	1	-0.135	-0.114
Housing cost burdened	0.063	-0.149	-0.019	0.092	0.016	0.221	0.229	-0.063	0.116	-0.078	0.04	-0.062	-0.012	0.013	0.141	0.155	-0.154	0.058	0.139	-0.098	0.192	-0.135	1	0.049
Female household w/ child in workforce	-0.153	-0.123	0.022	-0.085	0.148	-0.063	0.092	-0.1	0.013	-0.102	-0.113	0.111	0.087	-0.091	0.103	0.045	-0.044	0.099	-0.032	0.057	-0.01	-0.114	0.049	1

Source: Data compiled from the U.S. Bureau of the Census

social security income. The analysis revealed a strong, positive correlation between the percent of persons age 65 and over and the percent of persons receiving social security ($r^2 = .743$).

Rural poverty is related to local employment and income structure, so the percent of persons aged 16 and over who are employed in agriculture, mining, trade, services, and manufacturing are included in the analysis. Another element revealed in the literature is the lack of research on the gender dynamics of poverty and employment in rural America. Measuring the workforce of women in rural east Tennessee should provide insight into such dynamics and further reveal the characteristics and patterns of the poor. The percent of female-headed households (with children) in the workforce was selected. Likewise, the percent of females age 16 and over who are unemployed was selected in favor of "percent of persons ages16 and over who are unemployed." A strong positive correlation between these two unemployment measures is revealed in the analysis. The percent of persons receiving public assistance income is used to indicate alternative sources of income.

A third group of variables is included in the study. General descriptions of the poor often fail to explore the relationship between poverty and local housing characteristics. Specific studies of poor rural communities hint at some of these characteristics. Fitchen (1989, 1995) and Duncan (2000), for example, examine the settings in which the poor live in rural communities. To generate a better understanding of the settlement patterns and diversity of living conditions of the poor in rural east Tennessee, variables measuring housing characteristics were selected.

The correlation analysis reveals a strong negative relationship ($r^2 = -.709$) between percent renters and percent rural because renter occupied housing units are more common in urban communities. The variable measuring the percentage of renter-occupied housing units was omitted from further analysis. The percent of owner-occupied housing units and the percent of housing units that are mobile homes are included. In addition, the percent of occupied housing units that are 'cost-burdened' is used as a measure of housing affordability. A housing cost that consumes 30% or more of a household's income is considered to be a burden and is commonly used as an indicator of the accessibility to affordable housing (Tennessee Housing Development Agency 1995). Other variables used in the analysis are the percentage of occupied housing units that lack complete plumbing and the percentage of occupied housing units with no vehicle available. The percent of persons age 5 years and over who lived in the same house 5 years ago is used as a measure of residential stability. Table II-7 lists the variables selected for the cluster analysis employed in Chapter Three.

Cultural explanations for poverty examine the failings of inner-city minorities that "promote" welfare dependency and the urban underclass. The culture of poverty theory dominated the early literature on poverty in Appalachia. New attention to poverty in Appalachia, however, focuses less on cultural factors and more on exploring a structural explanation. Recent studies indicate that rural poverty rates cannot be explained by a single factor. A combination of socio-demographic and economic factors must be examined. In east Tennessee declines in traditional

Table II-7. Characteristics of the Rural Poor

1	Below poverty (percent of all persons)
2	Rural (percent of all persons)
	Socio-demographic Characteristics
3	High school grad (percent of all persons age 25 years and over)
4	Age 17 & under (percent of all persons)
5	Age 65 & over (percent of all persons)
6	Black (percent of all persons)
7	Female householder families (percent of all families)
	Income and Employment Characteristics
8	Female unemployment (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)
9	Employed in agriculture (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)
10	Employed in mining (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)
11	Employed in manufacturing (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)
12	Employed in trade (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)
13	Employed in services (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)
14	Receiving social security income (percent of population)
15	Receiving public assist income (percent of population)
16	Female householder families w/children under 17 in the workforce (percent of all families)
	Housing Characteristics
17	Owner occupied (percent of all occupied housing units)
18	Renter occupied (percent of all occupied housing units)
19	Lived in same house 1985 (percent of population age 5 years and over)
20	Mobile home/trailer units (percent of all occupied housing units)
21	Home built 1939 or earlier (percent of all occupied housing units)
22	No vehicle present (percent of all occupied housing units)
23	Not complete plumbing (percent of all occupied housing units)
24	Cost burdened (percent of all occupied housing units)

economic activities including mining, agriculture, and forestry are replaced by increases in employment in the services sector, especially services related to tourism. Important questions pertain to east Tennessee's rural poor. What economic changes are occurring locally? How have the changes affected rural poverty in terms of who is poor, why they are poor, and where they live? How have such issues played out in east Tennessee's rural communities and small towns? What can be done to ameliorate the persistence of the poverty pockets?

Chapter III
The Rural Poor in East Tennessee

The rural poor are not a faceless mass. They are individual human beings (The National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, 1967: xiii).

Today, more than nine million Americans live in poverty in rural areas, and approximately one-third of these live in small communities with poverty rates of more than 40 percent (Duncan, 2000). Much of the research on rural poverty focuses on small-scale county or regional data (e.g., Cuoto 1995). While such data provide insight into the general spatial trends of poverty, they are limited in their ability to adequately address who the poor are and what their needs might be. Often non-poor county data mask high poverty areas—pockets of poverty, located within counties (Fitchen 1995). Identifying local high poverty areas is important because federal programs and resources focus on counties with high poverty rates. The Appalachian Regional Commission's latest (2000) *Distressed Rural Counties* map, which, in part, is based on high poverty, shows that many east Tennessee counties are not included (Figure III -1). Seven of the 27 counties in rural east Tennessee are distressed. However, a detailed analysis of poverty within supposedly non-poor counties reveals local places that are distressed (Figure III-2). Figure III-2 shows the rural high poverty census block groups in east Tennessee. The high poverty block groups have poverty rates of 20 percent or more. In general, block groups with poverty rates less than 20 percent are on the periphery of urban counties. Such a pattern surrounds the Chattanooga, Knoxville, and Bristol-Kingsport-Johnson City metropolitan areas. The greatest concentration of poverty is in the northern and western portions of east

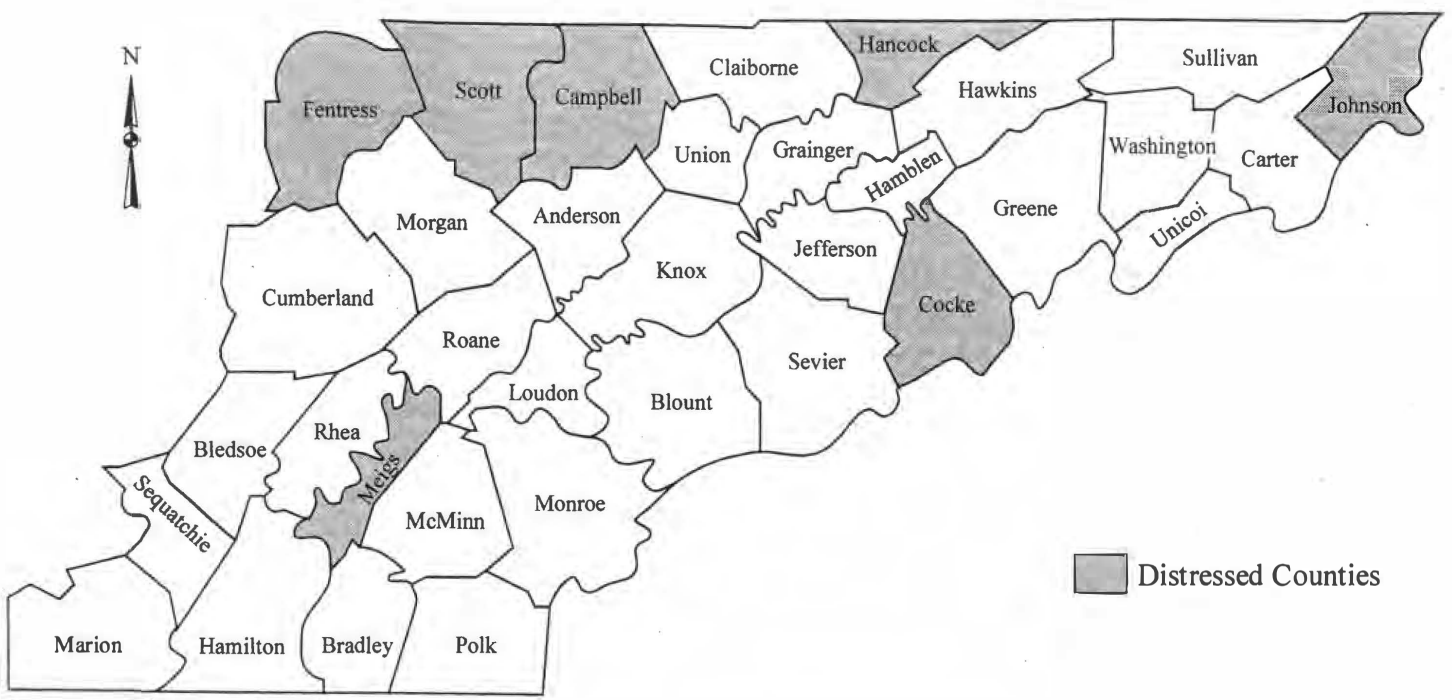


Figure III-1. East Tennessee Distressed Rural Counties, 2000

Source: Appalachian Regional Commission (based on U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics unemployment data, 1995-1997; U.S. Census Bureau poverty data, 1990; and U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis income data, 1995)

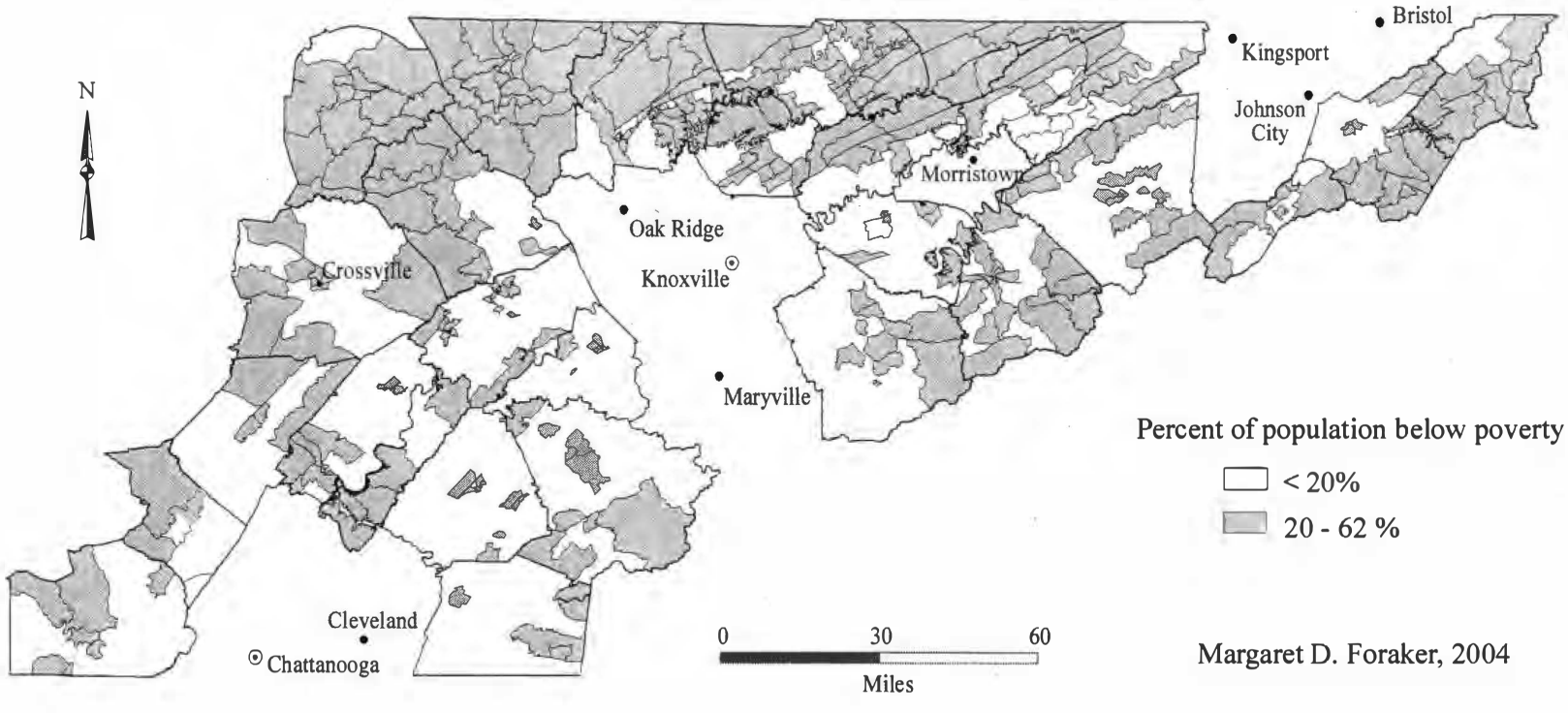


Figure III-2. High Poverty Census Block Groups in Rural East Tennessee, 1990

Tennessee, with the Cumberland Plateau counties of Fentress, Scott, and Campbell standing out. Many of rural east Tennessee's municipalities are "hidden" within the high poverty block groups.

Table III-1 lists the municipalities of rural east Tennessee along with poverty statistics. Forty-eight (53%) of the municipalities have poverty rates of 20 percent or greater. Figure III-3 shows the distribution of the high poverty municipalities and reveals the spatial correlation between the municipalities and high poverty block groups. Block group analysis reveals a concentration of poor in east Tennessee's municipalities.

Block Group Analysis of the Rural Poor

Using the 303 high poverty rural census block groups in east Tennessee, a cluster analysis was performed to classify them on the basis of the social, economic, and housing variables. Cluster analysis is a multivariate procedure used to identify groupings in data (Andenberg 1973). It is a good technique to use when data are not homogeneous. Because the study area is comprised of 303 high poverty block groups distributed throughout rural east Tennessee, the data are heterogeneous.

Cluster analysis can be used to group either cases or variables (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984). A cluster analysis of cases classifies a set of objects, such as high poverty block groups, into clusters based on selected variables. The objective is to group clusters that are similar but distinct. In this analysis, two methods for

Table III-1. Municipalities of Rural East Tennessee

Municipality	1990 Population	Poverty (#)	Poverty (%)
Jamestown city, Fentress County	1862	760	43.5
Sneedville town, Hancock County	1446	546	42.9
Tusculum city, Greene County	1918	760	40.4
Huntsville town, Scott County	690	193	33.6
La Follette city, Campbell County	7192	2345	33.1
Jellico city, Campbell County	2470	777	31.7
Mountain City town, Johnson County	2169	654	31
Benton town, Polk County	992	289	30
New Tazewell town, Claiborne County	1864	509	29.6
Rutledge town, Grainger County	878	209	28.8
Newport city, Cocke County	7123	1997	28.7
Crossville city, Cumberland County	6930	1905	28.6
Crab Orchard city, Cumberland County	876	249	28.5
Oneida town, Scott County	3502	961	27.9
Roan Mountain CDP, Carter County	1293	353	27.5
Tazewell town, Claiborne County	2150	566	27.3
Harriman city	7119	1868	26.9
Pikeville city, Bledsoe County	1771	457	26.6
Cumberland Gap town, Claiborne County	211	56	26.5
Orme town, Marion County	156	41	26.3
Monteagle town	1187	272	26.1
Wartburg city, Morgan County	932	207	26.1
Luttrell town, Union County	812	209	26
South Pittsburg city, Marion County	3295	806	25.9
Jefferson City city, Jefferson County	5494	1082	25.7
Maynardville city, Union County	1298	311	25.6
Tellico Plains town, Monroe County	710	173	24.4
Dunlap city, Sequatchie County	3731	886	24.3
Rockwood city, Roane County	5348	1211	23.5
Athens city, McMinn County	12054	2681	23.3
Decatur town, Meigs County	1361	291	23.3
Englewood town, McMinn County	1611	375	23.3
Winfield town, Scott County	540	122	22.9
Jasper town, Marion County	2780	616	22.4

Table III-1. Continued

Municipality	1990 Population	Poverty (#)	Poverty (%)
Baileyton town, Greene County	**296**	**66**	**22.3**
Graysville town, Rhea County	**1301**	**285**	**21.9**
Vonore town	**601**	**129**	**21.5**
Lenoir City city, Loudon County	**6147**	**1298**	**21.2**
Ducktown city, Polk County	**412**	**87**	**21.1**
Spring City town, Rhea County	**2199**	**437**	**21.1**
Banner Hill CDP, Unicoi County	**1762**	**370**	**21**
Dayton city, Rhea County	**5671**	**1090**	**20.8**
Philadelphia city, Loudon County	**474**	**98**	**20.8**
Harrogate-Shawanee CDP, Claiborne County	**2656**	**505**	**20.4**
Rogersville town, Hawkins County	**4149**	**811**	**20.4**
Elizabethton city, Carter County	**11931**	**2306**	**20.3**
Whitwell city, Marion County	**1622**	**328**	**20.3**
Etowah city, McMinn County	**3815**	**732**	**20**
White Pine town	1771	351	19.8
Oliver Springs town	3275	619	18.9
Sevierville city, Sevier County	7178	1301	18.7
Loudon town, Loudon County	4026	726	18.1
Caryville town, Campbell County	1750	313	17.9
Blaine city, Grainger County	1326	233	17.7
Allardt city, Fentress County	563	98	17.4
Kimball town, Marion County	1243	207	16.7
Greeneville town, Greene County	13532	2133	16.6
Oakdale town, Morgan County	248	41	16.5
Sweetwater city	5054	793	16.2
Winchester city, Franklin County	6305	960	16.2
Erwin city, Unicoi County	4970	782	16
Church Hill city, Hawkins County	4834	730	15.5
Copperhill city, Polk County	355	55	15.5
Pleasant Hill town, Cumberland County	474	58	15.5
Jacksboro town, Campbell County	1568	233	15.2
Madisonville town, Monroe County	3137	460	15.1

Table III-1. Continued

Municipality	1990 Population	Poverty (#)	Poverty (%)
Huntland town, Franklin County	885	126	14.3
New Hope city, Marion County	818	116	14.2
Watauga city	334	47	14.1
Powells Crossroads town, Marion County	1098	152	13.9
Surgoinsville town, Hawkins County	1499	205	13.7
Bulls Gap town, Hawkins County	673	90	13.4
Kingston city, Roane County	4552	586	13
Pine Crest CDP, Carter County	3830	430	12.9
Greenback city, Loudon County	600	77	12.8
New Market town, Jefferson County	1086	137	12.7
Pittman Center town, Sevier County	404	51	12.6
Niota city, McMinn County	769	96	12.5
Hunter CDP, Carter County	1249	146	11.7
Dandridge town, Jefferson County	1540	151	11.6
Parrottsville town, Cocke County	117	13	11.1
Pigeon Forge city, Sevier County	3168	334	10.9
Sewanee CDP, Franklin County	2184	129	10.7
Central CDP, Carter County	2635	259	9.8
Gatlinburg city, Sevier County	3355	312	9.3
Mount Carmel town, Hawkins County	4039	252	6.3
Seymour CDP	7080	411	5.9
Calhoun town, McMinn County	570	25	4.4
Fairfield Glade CDP, Cumberland County	2246	75	3.3
Baneberry city, Jefferson County	189	0	0

Source: United States Bureau of the Census

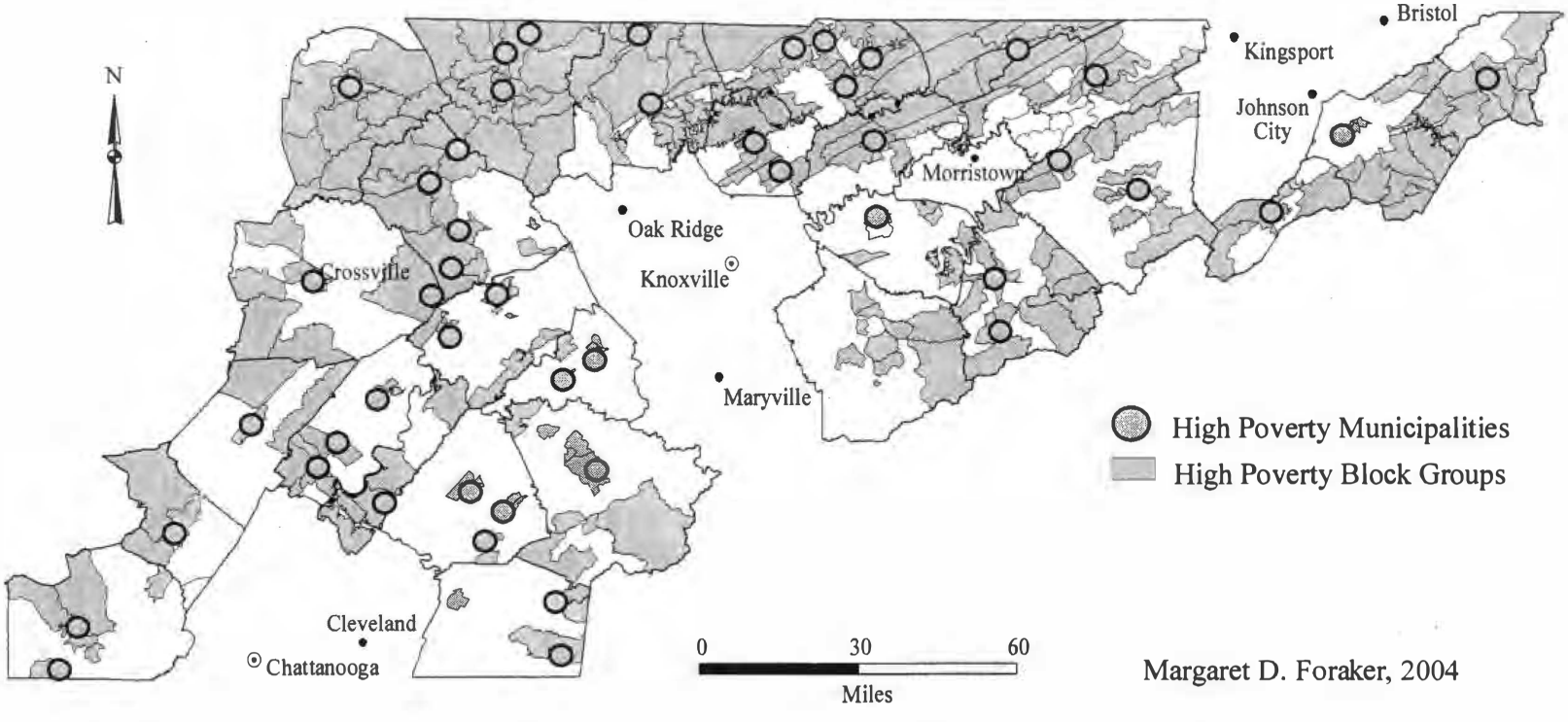


Figure III-3. High Poverty Municipalities in Rural East Tennessee, 1990

clustering high poverty block groups are used, Ward's hierarchical cluster analysis and K-means cluster analysis. Ward's hierarchical cluster analysis is a method that begins by finding the most similar pair of cases and joining them to form a cluster (*SPSS Base 9.0 Applications Guide* 1999). Other cases are joined into clusters and clusters are joined until all of the cases and clusters are in one cluster (Andenberg 1973). Because the final cluster contains clusters from earlier stages, the procedure is hierarchical. Hierarchical cluster analysis is not a good method to use with large data sets because a distance matrix is produced for every pair of cases. In a sense, too much output is produced (*SPSS Base 9.0 Applications Guide* 1999). However, a reasonable number of clusters can be interpreted from part of the output.

A portion of the agglomeration schedule produced by applying Ward's hierarchical cluster analysis to the 303 high poverty census block groups in rural east Tennessee is shown in Table III-2. The complete output for the analysis is in Appendix C. Table III-2 indicates at which stage block groups and clusters of block groups are combined. For example, in the first stage, case number 4 (block group 9651- 4 in Fentress County), is joined with case number 45 (block group 9651- 3 in Fentress County). The difference between these two block groups is smaller than that for any other pair of block groups. This analysis uses the squared Euclidean distance, which is shown in the column labeled *Coefficients.* The difference between coefficients at two adjacent stages can indicate the point at which a possible solution has been reached (*SPSS Base 9.0 Applications Guide* 1999). If there is a noticeable increase in the size of the difference between two coefficients, a solution has been

Table III-2. Ward's Hierarchical Analysis

Early Stages	Cases Combined into Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficients
1	4	45	78.45
2	61	184	184.1
3	63	100	291.744
4	183	203	403.406
5	78	236	516.855
6	160	253	630.526
7	167	271	744.599
8	75	272	876.219
9	99	113	1026.892
10	201	270	1178.237
Final Stages			
290	13	86	238936.38
291	24	62	244250.23
292	11	15	250474.94
293	2	3	257037.80
294	1	8	264074.97
295	11	79	271318.97
296	2	5	280359.31
297	18	31	289764.53
298	1	18	302724.28
299	2	11	315843.09
300	13	21	329277.69
301	1	2	368073.72
302	1	13	424509.06

reached. Examining the coefficients in this light is a subjective procedure. The researcher looks for a possible solution in the "final stages" because most of the block groups have been put into clusters. In the final stages, stage 290 and above, the coefficients are repetitive. The first noticeable increase in size of the difference appears between stage 295 and 296. At this stage of the analysis, eight clusters have been formed.

K-means cluster analysis is a more useful method of classifying data when working with 200 or more cases (*SPSS Base 9.0 Applications Guide* 1999). K-means cluster analysis requires that the researcher first specify the number of clusters. Ward's hierarchical cluster analysis was used to determine the number (eight) used in performing a K-means cluster analysis. Based on the number of clusters specified by the researcher, the K-means procedure estimates cluster means (*SPSS Base 9.0 Applications Guide* 1999). Each case is put into the cluster with the closest mean. With each addition of a case, the cluster means are recomputed. The process continues until no additional changes are made to the means.

The output generated by K-means cluster analysis is easily interpreted. *Cluster Membership for each Case* lists each block group along with the cluster number to which it belongs and its distance from the cluster center (Table III-3). For example, block group six in census tract 9507 in Campbell County (labeled as block group 470139507006) has the greatest distance from its cluster mean. It is least characteristic of the type of poverty represented by cluster 6. Block group 2 in tract 703 in Carter County (470190703002) is the most representative of cluster 6 because it

Table III-3. Cluster Membership for Each Block Group

Case Number	Block Group*	Cluster	Distance	Case Number	Block Group*	Cluster	Distance
1	470499652003	1	66.714	153	470259707001	8	29.657
2	471079702003	4	50.746	154	471079705001	8	29.006
3	470590902002	2	64.572	155	471239854002	5	39.415
4	470499651004	1	36.953	156	470259701003	8	32.045
5	470590901003	4	60.366	157	470139501003	1	30.458
6	470139507004	6	60.531	158	470190715001	2	31.221
7	470299806004	4	37.768	159	471079706004	7	31.89
8	470139503001	1	35.685	160	471399504001	2	39.873
9	471150503985	4	67.39	161	471439754003	6	48.109
10	470730502001	1	56.016	162	471291104005	2	49.044
11	470139507006	6	82.506	163	470190717001	8	31.325
12	470679602004	1	36.674	164	471519751003	6	64.37
13	470679601001	1	59.38	165	470890703004	6	51.935
14	470299805001	4	27.758	166	471150503987	1	41.488
15	471450302026	7	57.009	167	470259708003	8	24.824
16	470919564001	8	39.394	168	470575004003	8	33.101
17	470590910982	3	48.33	169	470190704001	7	35.062
18	471519754003	8	64.935	170	471450306001	1	56.098
19	471399501001	1	40.597	171	470575004001	1	29.192
20	470590901004	7	47.289	172	470299802003	7	44.028
21	471050602001	4	38.548	173	470259707002	8	28.771
22	470139501004	1	55.117	174	470919564003	8	29.322
23	471450305004	7	32.945	175	471439754001	4	47.096
24	470919562002	3	31.695	176	471450305003	6	31.135
25	471550808003	4	38.764	177	471550807004	1	36.538
26	471079702001	4	50.326	178	470259702002	7	37.212
27	470139506003	6	56.247	179	470299806001	6	43.232
28	470139507005	7	37.388	180	471450308006	7	45.396
29	470259709002	8	38.928	181	470139507003	1	63.287
30	470590912003	2	44.525	182	470590901002	6	64.512
31	470139510002	8	45.153	183	470575003001	8	25.26
32	470679603002	1	55.027	184	470139510001	8	36.171
33	471450308005	6	58.34	185	470259708001	5	23.379
34	470259701001	1	45.777	186	470919561002	8	44.864
35	470190716002	2	74.142	187	470299802002	6	47.479
36	471530601006	1	28.143	188	470499652002	3	22.762
37	470139506001	4	34.795	189	470590901006	8	33.772
38	471050602002	6	62.81	190	470890706001	6	31.753
39	470299804001	2	36.338	191	470139507001	6	47.14
40	470730503001	7	32.559	192	470890703002	6	60.378
41	471519750002	1	30.086	193	470259704001	1	42.483
42	470575001002	1	29.456	194	470190715002	3	38.488

Table III-3. Continued.

Case Number	Block Group	Cluster	Distance	Case Number	Block Group	Cluster	Distance
43	470259701002	5	40.749	195	470139509001	5	29.024
44	470139502002	1	47.007	196	470299805006	3	33.617
45	470499651003	3	26.196	197	471291101003	1	32.465
46	470919562001	1	45.196	198	470359703983	8	29.947
47	470679602003	8	42.101	199	470575001003	5	36.808
48	470499652004	8	23.233	200	471710802001	8	48.698
49	470499651002	8	40.72	201	471399502005	5	23.857
50	471519752001	1	34.655	202	470139506007	6	41.195
51	470259707004	5	35.493	203	470590914002	8	19.412
52	471519753002	8	41.362	204	471550810001	8	49.346
53	470679604001	3	49.271	205	471150501004	3	34.131
54	470259709004	8	36.77	206	470139505002	8	34.145
55	470259708002	5	50.973	207	471450307005	6	41.532
56	470139503002	1	38.434	208	470730503003	6	43.769
57	470139502003	1	52.217	209	470730504004	5	37.696
58	470139502001	8	59.64	210	471050601003	5	57.39
59	471439753001	8	32.778	211	471550806003	6	58.022
60	470190717003	3	30.616	212	471219601001	2	37.99
61	470499653002	8	24.772	213	470190703002	6	22.54
62	470139508002	5	39.81	214	470299806002	6	43.659
63	470499651001	8	32.14	215	470139504004	5	44.612
64	470139501002	1	41.055	216	471219603001	8	40.492
65	471450309001	7	39.118	217	471450302013	3	65.723
66	470499650001	5	32.234	218	471550811007	3	51.97
67	470359704003	6	25.942	219	470079532004	2	49.574
68	470259705001	5	50.502	220	471079702004	6	53.997
69	471519751004	7	54.152	221	471050602005	6	44.729
70	471291102003	1	29.262	222	470590915002	3	36.737
71	471730403002	1	31.21	223	470139504002	2	44.266
72	470575003002	8	34.757	224	470890709001	2	32.838
73	470259703003	5	25.358	225	471291105003	5	42.305
74	470919561003	2	36.981	226	471550811005	7	60.128
75	470299802001	6	43.604	227	471291104002	3	33.477
76	471730402023	3	58.508	228	470590903001	6	37.473
77	471530601001	1	31.717	229	471710803003	1	36.369
78	470919563002	1	27.021	230	471730403001	2	46.168
79	470890703003	7	59.205	231	471450303001	8	41.015
80	470190703001	7	28.897	232	471450304005	6	50.023
81	471239852003	7	67.496	233	471291103004	8	24.594
82	471239855006	5	43.288	234	470190713003	8	41.181
83	471150502004	6	48.549	235	471519751006	8	34.706
84	470730504003	5	36.725	236	470919563003	8	29.812

Table III-3. Continued

Case Number	Block Group	Cluster	Distance	Case Number	Block Group	Cluster	Distance
85	470139501001	1	41.738	237	471730402012	8	32.297
86	470730502002	5	36.418	238	470139505003	3	33.174
87	470299803981	5	28.764	239	471239854004	6	32.321
88	470299807002	3	39.642	240	471399504002	5	49.833
89	470359705002	6	52.154	241	470139508001	1	53.5
90	470259709001	8	43.439	242	471219602002	8	20.204
91	471239854001	3	39.762	243	470190716001	2	46.859
92	470299803982	2	32.718	244	471291105004	2	47.414
93	471079703002	7	35.67	245	470730507003	1	39.668
94	471530601004	6	34.897	246	471550807001	1	29.594
95	470299807004	8	42.378	247	471730401004	8	19.421
96	470890702002	5	33.523	248	470590914001	5	57.61
97	470259705002	2	25.404	249	471519754002	2	30.61
98	471450308003	1	61.914	250	470730502004	5	31.917
99	470079531001	1	24.331	251	471291102002	8	52.898
100	471519752002	8	19.123	252	471530601002	6	48.965
101	470139506002	7	48.208	253	470730501001	2	37.912
102	470359704002	6	36.785	254	471439752002	3	31.457
103	471519752004	1	35.047	255	471439750003	1	37.288
104	471079703001	7	38.307	256	470190713002	5	28.788
105	470359705001	6	42.998	257	470139504001	3	24.969
106	471291101004	1	51.205	258	470590910983	8	45.658
107	470575001001	2	33.748	259	471450304003	8	42.433
108	470359705003	6	44.506	260	470359708001	3	23.491
109	471519753001	5	36.226	261	471519751001	6	54.67
110	470730504002	5	43.43	262	470590905006	2	37.564
111	470590912002	2	56.985	263	471550806004	3	41.403
112	471239851004	8	37.732	264	471291101001	8	25.518
113	470919563001	8	22.066	265	471710804001	6	29.657
114	470499653001	5	38.41	266	470890702001	8	39.137
115	470499653003	3	40.568	267	471439753003	8	31.128
116	471519750003	3	31.217	268	470079530981	3	41.839
117	471219603002	1	30.491	269	471079705002	5	36.075
118	471239855003	5	51.608	270	470730504001	8	28.36
119	471450307003	7	40.994	271	471150502002	7	39.254
120	470299801001	5	34.592	272	470259709003	8	21.707
121	470139506005	8	41.971	273	471450307001	3	30.691
122	471550807002	5	38.583	274	471530601003	6	45.457
123	470679604002	8	47.1	275	471519751005	8	37.975
124	470919564002	2	33.673	276	470190717002	2	32.945
125	471291101002	5	50.528	277	471079707003	2	38.588
126	470190708003	6	40.538	278	471439753002	2	33.729
127	470299802004	3	44.276	279	471239852004	3	51.656

Table III-3. Continued

Case Number	Block Group	Cluster	Distance	Case Number	Block Group	Cluster	Distance
128	471710801002	1	37.127	280	470259707003	1	41.246
129	470299804002	1	36.726	281	470139511001	5	36.477
130	471730402011	8	32.934	282	471150503984	6	31.202
131	470139506004	7	35.217	283	470575003005	8	25.879
132	470730507001	1	53.789	284	470359707003	5	34.95
133	470299806005	6	33.697	285	471519754001	8	31.991
134	471730402013	8	37.996	286	471050602003	7	43.841
135	471050606002	6	33.443	287	471239855005	2	39.257
136	471450308007	6	41.579	288	471730401002	8	26.098
137	470190701002	6	55.68	289	471450304006	6	53.987
138	471439754002	6	43.09	290	470359704001	3	29.808
139	471710803002	1	49.901	291	470890708002	5	36.94
140	470299805004	8	22.841	292	471050602006	6	42.916
141	471730402022	1	50.355	293	471519750001	2	29.676
142	471519752003	5	35.374	294	470590908003	1	41.508
143	470259706003	2	35.547	295	470079531002	3	32.552
144	470499652001	2	23.467	296	470499650003	3	35.227
145	470590913001	1	33.904	297	471150502001	5	30.687
146	470890707004	1	47.585	298	471710802005	1	40.41
147	471710801001	3	32.258	299	470730503005	5	32.957
148	470139502004	5	47.897	300	470890701003	8	20.25
149	470299805002	8	35.487	301	471550809002	1	60.679
150	470259703001	1	39.265	302	470139509002	8	37.536
151	471239855001	8	26.967	303	470359707002	3	32.093
152	470359703981	5	34.132				

*This number is the Bureau of the Census' geographical reference identifying the State, County, Tract, and Block Group (the first two digits, 47, reference the state of Tennessee; the next three digits reference the county, followed by the four digit Census Tract or Block Numbering Area code which is followed by the three digit Block Group identifier.

has the least difference from the cluster mean. No block group will exhibit all of the characteristics of the cluster to which it belongs. Table III-3 indicates how similar or different each block group is to its cluster mean.

Table III-4, *Distances Between Cluster Centers*, shows the degrees of similarity among the clusters. For example, the means of clusters 6 and 7 are close (49.412). This indicates that cluster 6 is similar to cluster 7. However, it is less like cluster 1. The difference between the means of clusters 1 and 6 is 105.399.

Table III-5, *Number of Census Block Groups in Each Cluster,* indicates that the cases are not distributed evenly across clusters. Cluster 4 has only 10 cases while cluster 1 has 54. This indicates that there are more, poor block groups in rural east Tennessee of the type represented by cluster 1 than there are block groups represented by cluster 4.

Table III-4. Distances Between Final Cluster Means

Cluster	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1		61.465	40.957	88.016	52.458	105.399	99.623	37.769
2	61.465		39.94	103.627	39.494	99.801	118.726	41.551
3	40.957	39.94		89.544	56.914	94.228	105.528	32.323
4	88.016	103.627	89.544		104.202	55.229	49.17	87.352
5	52.458	39.494	56.914	104.202		104.969	110.591	45.224
6	105.399	99.801	94.228	55.229	104.969		49.412	92.338
7	99.623	118.726	105.528	49.17	110.591	49.412		102.409
8	37.769	41.551	32.323	87.352	45.224	92.338	102.409	

Table III-5. Number of Census Block Groups in each Cluster

Cluster	Number of Block Groups in the Cluster
1	54
2	30
3	32
4	10
5	41
6	47
7	23
8	66
Valid	303
Missing	0

The eight rural poverty clusters were given names. No single variable defines each cluster, but a primary difference among the eight categories is the local economic structure. In naming the eight types of poverty, I use the category's status as "rural" or "small town" in combination with the employment structure of a block groups' population (Table III-6). Employment data are a measure of the occupation category in which residents of a block group work, but residents may not work in the block group in which they live. Defining the employment characteristics of residents provides insight into the relationship between economic structure and poverty.

Table III-6 shows the characteristics of each cluster and how they are different and similar based on the variables used in the analysis. Some of the poor in rural east Tennessee fit a stereotypical description, but great variation exists. As we will see in

Table III-6. The Eight Types of Poverty in Rural East Tennessee

Cluster Category: Variables (Percent):	1 Open Country Mining	2 Open Country Manufacturing	3 Open Country Trade	4 Small Town Public Assistance	5 Open Country Agriculture	6 Small Town Social Security	7 Small Town Services	8 Open Country Mixed
Below Poverty	31.5	26.9	26.1	43.1	26.9	27.1	30.6	26.8
Rural	98.5	100	95.2	24.6	99.4	10.4	5	98.2
High School Graduates (ages 25+)	29.1	31.7	32.7	25.8	31.7	28.4	29	29.9
Ages 17 and less	24.4	23.8	24.4	27.4	25.3	21.4	20.8	24.3
Black	0.8	1	0.6	8.9	0.2	4.6	7.5	0.6
Female Householder Families	13.1	10.8	12.3	37.5	10.5	22.8	25	15.7
Mobile Home or Trailer	23.3	21.9	21.2	14.7	21.2	10.1	6.7	21.2
Female Unemployed	11.7	9.9	8.4	17.7	9	8.7	9.9	9.7
Employed in Agriculture (ages 16+)	5.2	5	3.8	0.9	5.3	1.2	0.9	3.5
Employed in Mining	3.8	1.1	1.2	0.7	2.6	1.1	1.3	1.7
Employed in Manufacturing	30.6	41.6	32.4	34.3	34.5	29.5	25.1	33.7
Employed in Wholesale/Retail Trade	16.9	13.8	20.6	23.3	15.7	21.2	20.1	17.3
Employed in Services	22.3	17.7	22.3	22.4	22	25.8	30.6	21.4
Owner Occupied Housing	40.7	39.2	45.1	30.2	41.9	51.8	50.7	43.7
Lived in Same House in 1985	63.2	67.1	63.5	50.5	65.2	55.4	54.1	61.4
Receiving Social Security Income	34	33.5	29.4	29.4	31.9	40.9	37.2	32.5
Receiving Public Assistance	15.2	12	12.1	28	12.7	14.8	15.3	15.1
Housing Built Pre-1940 (occupied)	11.5	15.2	11	8	14.9	14.9	17.2	11.6
Occupied Housing with No Vehicle	11.1	9.1	8	26.9	8.8	16.9	18.2	11.5
Occupied Housing with Incomplete Plumbing	9	9.6	5.1	1.7	7.6	1.4	0.6	4.9
Occupied Housing Cost Burden	27.4	11.2	15.8	36.9	18.9	36.9	38.3	41.1
Female Householder Families (with Children Under 5) in Workforce	30.2	72.5	67.1	49.4	37	73.4	28.6	58.4

Margaret D. Foraker 2004

Chapter IV, the stereotypical image of the poor in Appalachia is most like the cluster 'Open Country Mining.' The 'Open Country Mining' category is comprised of census block groups that are rural and whose inhabitants have low educational attainment. However, 'Small Town Public Assistance,' 'Small Town Social Security,' and 'Small Town Services' are not like the stereotypical image of the rural poor in Appalachia. The characteristics of the poor in these categories include concentration in municipalities, blacks, and female-headed households.

CHAPTER IV
The Types of Rural Poverty in East Tennessee

> *The generic term* poverty *hides more than it reveals. There are, in fact, many different types of poverty which have different causes and, of course, require different solutions* (Miller, H., 1965: 126).

Rural places are diverse and so is rural poverty. This study is based on the premise that it is important to understand this diversity in order to deal effectively with the rural poor. Cluster analysis using the rural high poverty block groups of east Tennessee yielded eight types of poverty (Table III-6). This chapter analyzes the spatial distribution of the eight categories and the social and economic differences among them.

Types of Rural Poverty

In examining the types of poverty in east Tennessee the division between the eight clusters is largely based on differences in local employment structure, housing tenure, family structure, age, and race (Table III-6). The analysis reveals that a large number of rural poor in east Tennessee are concentrated within municipalities. Twenty-eight percent of the rural poor in east Tennessee live in small towns. Seventy-two percent live in the open country. For the most part, "open country" block groups are pockets of poverty centered in small hamlets, crossroads communities, and mobile home parks. The eight categories are further distinguished from each other based on employment characteristics. Category one has the highest percentage engaged in mining, while category two has the highest percentage engaged in manufacturing. In

some cases, other variables define the poverty cluster, such as housing characteristics and types of transfer payments. These variables are particularly helpful in distinguishing the types of poor block groups in municipalities because the workforce characteristics are similar, i.e., largely in services. In poverty categories four, six, and seven, other social and economic characteristics are used to more clearly differentiate and define the poverty categories. Public assistance income, social security income, percent of persons aged 17 and under, percent female headed households, and percent black population are some of the data used to distinguish the three municipal poverty categories. Category four is identified by its minority population and public assistance income, category six is identified by its social security income, and category seven is identified by its social security income, minority population, and services employment.

In addition to statistical differences, case study analysis is also used to analyze each type of poverty. During the summers of 1998 and 1999, the high poverty census block groups of east Tennessee were explored. The block group map of the eight poverty categories was analyzed in the field (Figure IV-1). Field analysis added to the statistical results by allowing me to more clearly identify the differences and/or similarities among the poverty types. Subtle differences in the visible characteristics of the high poverty neighborhoods of east Tennessee are not revealed by the statistical analysis. For example, the three clusters: Small Town Public Assistance, Small Town Social Security, and Small Town Services appear to be almost similar. Case study analysis offers a means of refining the differences among these types of poverty. The

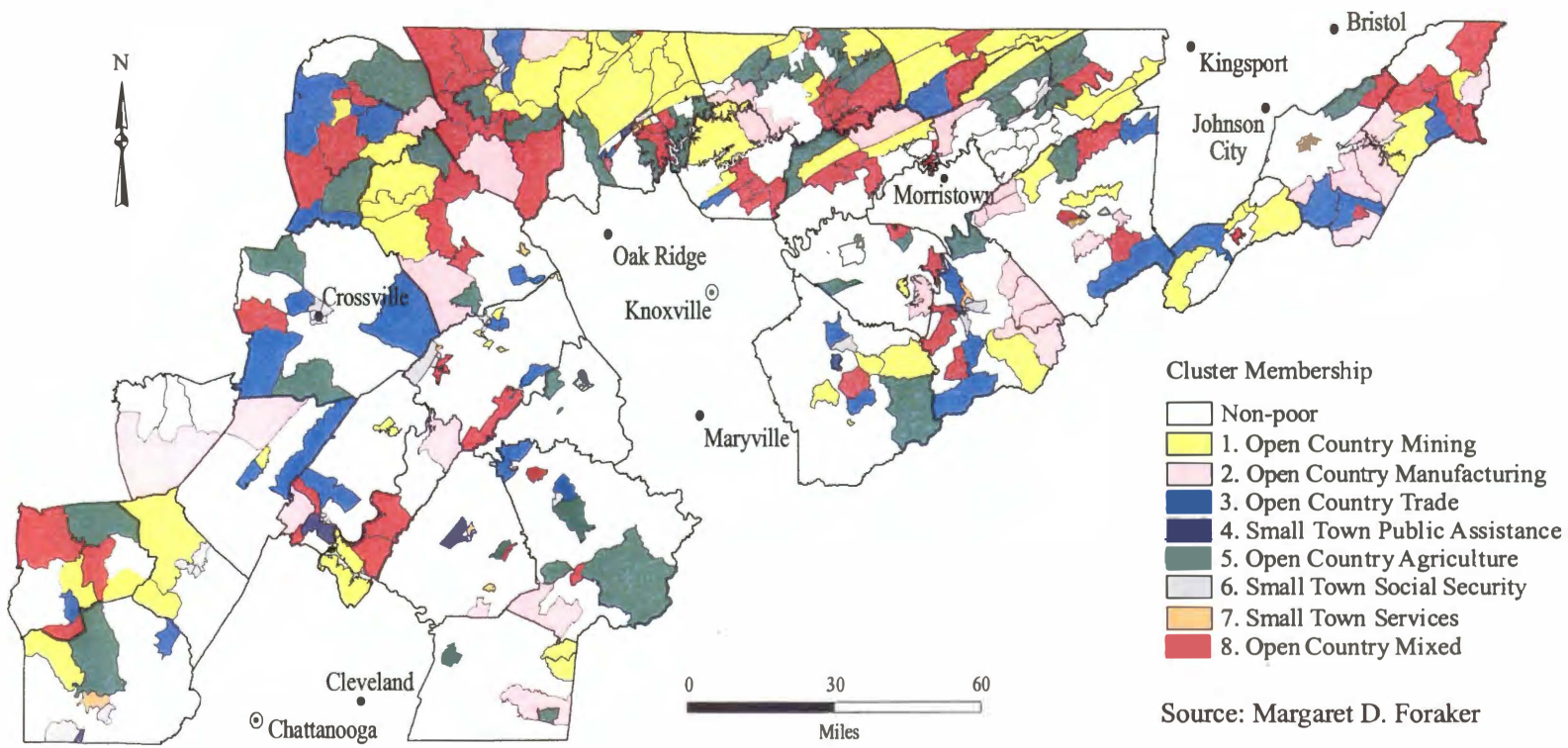


Figure IV-1. Categories of Poverty in Rural East Tennessee, 1990

Public Assistance cluster block groups have more multi-family housing units and in the statistics have a greater proportion of young persons and more persons receiving public assistance. The Social Security clusters have a greater proportion of persons receiving social security income and more elderly occupied housing units. The Services clusters have little or no public housing. The neighborhoods are occupied by more single family homes. Many of the neighborhoods are older and more established. While differences are evident in the statistical analysis, the differences were strengthened by visual analysis of the block groups. For example, housing style, quality, appearance, upkeep, and other contextual characteristics added to the data.

Based on a cluster's dependence on a particular occupation, four clusters can be distinguished among the open country poor: mining, manufacturing, trade, and agriculture. The fifth type of open country poor (cluster 8) is based on a mix of employment types. The three clusters of rural poverty in municipalities are characterized by high service and trade employment. The three clusters are similar in many respects, but the Public Assistance cluster stands out as having a much younger population, a greater proportion of female-headed households, a higher dependence on public assistance, and a higher proportion of blacks. The Social Security cluster and the Services cluster are similar, but the latter has a higher proportion of blacks and, based on site analysis, no public housing. The Social Security cluster has many public housing units occupied by the elderly, which makes this cluster different from the Public Assistance cluster. The public housing in the Public Assistance block groups is occupied by younger persons and households (often mother-only households).

Another difference between these two clusters is housing tenure. The Social Security cluster has a larger proportion of homeowners compared to the Public Assistance cluster.

Distribution of the Types of Rural Poverty

The map of the eight types of poverty reveals several patterns (Figure IV-1). The five open country types are concentrated in the eastern rim of the Blue Ridge and in the Cumberland Plateau in the western and northern portion of the east Tennessee. The three small town cluster categories of rural poverty are scattered throughout east Tennessee's municipalities. A concentration is in the central Ridge and Valley region where 53 of the 80 poor block groups in these clusters are located.

The Open Country Rural Poor

Seventy-four percent of all the rural poor block groups in east Tennessee are open country rural. They are: Open Country Mining, Open Country Manufacturing, Open Country Trade, Open Country Agriculture, and Open Country Mixed. Within these open country areas are small hamlets and crossroads communities with concentrations of poor as well as dispersed homesteads, mobile homes, and trailer parks. These block groups are 100 percent rural in that they fall outside of east Tennessee's municipalities.

Cluster One: Open Country Mining

Cluster one is comprised of fifty-four poor block groups, 17.8 percent of those in east Tennessee. Aside from the small town public assistance cluster, the rural mining cluster has the highest proportion of persons living below the poverty level (31.5%). The fifty-four block groups are largely located along the periphery of the region, especially in Morgan, Fentress, Scott, and Campbell counties on the Cumberland Plateau. Many of these poor block groups have high employment figures in the extractive industries, especially mining. However, the largest numbers of employed persons are engaged in manufacturing, trade, and services.

The rural mining cluster has the highest proportion (23.3%) of persons living in mobile homes and trailers. However, many of the other open country rural poor block groups are not far behind in terms of the percentage living in mobile homes. The housing units in this cluster also have one of the highest percentages of dwellings with incomplete plumbing (9%).

Cluster Two: Open Country Manufacturing

The block groups that make up the open country manufacturing cluster are scattered throughout the study area. The cluster is comprised of 30 block groups (9% of the total high poverty block groups). Half are located in the Blue Ridge region, especially in Johnson, Carter, Greene, and Cocke counties. Seven are located on the Cumberland Plateau, and eight are located in the Ridge and Valley region. The high concentrations in the Cumberland Plateau and the Blue Ridge may be an indication

that these counties are aggressive in recruiting manufacturing. However, changes are occurring as manufacturing plants leave seeking cheaper labor in Mexico and other foreign countries.

Manufacturing employment of the cluster's thirty block groups averages 42 percent while services is the second largest employment sector with 17 percent. Housing characteristics also help to identify this category. Mobile homes comprise 21.9 percent of the housing and 9.6 percent of the dwellings lack complete plumbing. The proportion of the population who has lived in the same house for the past five years is 67 percent, which is indicative of a relatively stable local population.

Cluster Three: Open Country Trade

The open country trade cluster is comprised of 31 poor block groups (11.2%). The block groups are divided among the three physical regions: 1/3 are scattered across the Cumberland Plateau counties, 1/3 are in the Ridge and Valley, and 1/3 are in the Blue Ridge. Among the five open country poverty categories, the trade cluster has the highest percentage of persons employed in the trade and services (42.9%). In addition, it has the highest percent of high school graduates (32.7%), the lowest rate of female unemployment (8.4), and the highest rate of home ownership (45.1%). This cluster also has the lowest percentage of housing units without access to a vehicle (8.0%). The spatial distribution of the block groups in this cluster, on the outskirts of small towns, indicates that these neighborhoods are extensions of service areas away from town centers. Of the five open country poverty clusters, the block groups of

cluster 3 have the highest percent urban population (4.8% urban) and the lowest percentage of poor (26.1%).

An open country trade block group in Cocke County has several business and housing concentrations. Businesses include an auto repair and parts shop, a farmer's co-op, a tire store, and a truck center. Housing in this block group includes older bungalow styles with mobile homes among them. In a Marion County open country trade block, a truck company is the center of a small crossroads community surrounded by farms interspersed with mobile homes.

Cluster Five: Open Country Agriculture

The open country agriculture cluster has 38 poor block groups, 26 of which are concentrated in the Ridge and Valley Province, especially in the northern portion. This category has the highest percentage of employed persons in agriculture (5.3%). The Tennessee average was 3.1 percent in 1990. However, manufacturing, trade, and services employ larger numbers.

Cluster Eight: Open Country Employment Mix

Approximately 23.1 percent of all poor persons in rural east Tennessee live in block groups that fall into the open country mixed cluster. The block groups are scattered throughout the study area. There is a noticeable concentration in the northern Cumberland Plateau region, including Fentress, Morgan, and Scott Counties. This cluster exhibits a mix of employment, housing, and social characteristics that

distinguish it from the other rural poverty clusters. This diversity is explained by the fact that in cluster analysis of a large number of cases the final cluster comprises the "left over" cases that did not fit into other categories. In addition, large block groups may contribute to the diversity. Based on site analysis of several block groups, especially on the Cumberland Plateau, some characteristics can be defined. Much of Scott County falls within this "mixed" category. The county has small crossroads communities along with wide expanses of open country. The business climate in the county has a bleak appearance with few services lining highway intersections.

The Small Town Rural Poor

Twenty-eight percent of the poor block groups of rural east Tennessee are scattered throughout the region's small towns (Figure IV-2). The majority of these poor block groups are in the Ridge and Valley region. These block groups are characterized by small percentages of the rural population in public assistance (24.6%), social security (10.4%), and services (5%).

Cluster Four: Small Town Public Assistance

The small town public assistance cluster is comprised of 10 poor block groups located in eight municipalities: La Follette, Athens, Greeneville, South Pittsburgh, Newport, Sevierville, Dayton, and Lenoir City. These block groups are characterized by poverty rates over 40 percent, except for one in Dayton, which has a poverty rate of 25.3 percent. Dayton experienced a 4.5 percent decline in poverty between 1980 and

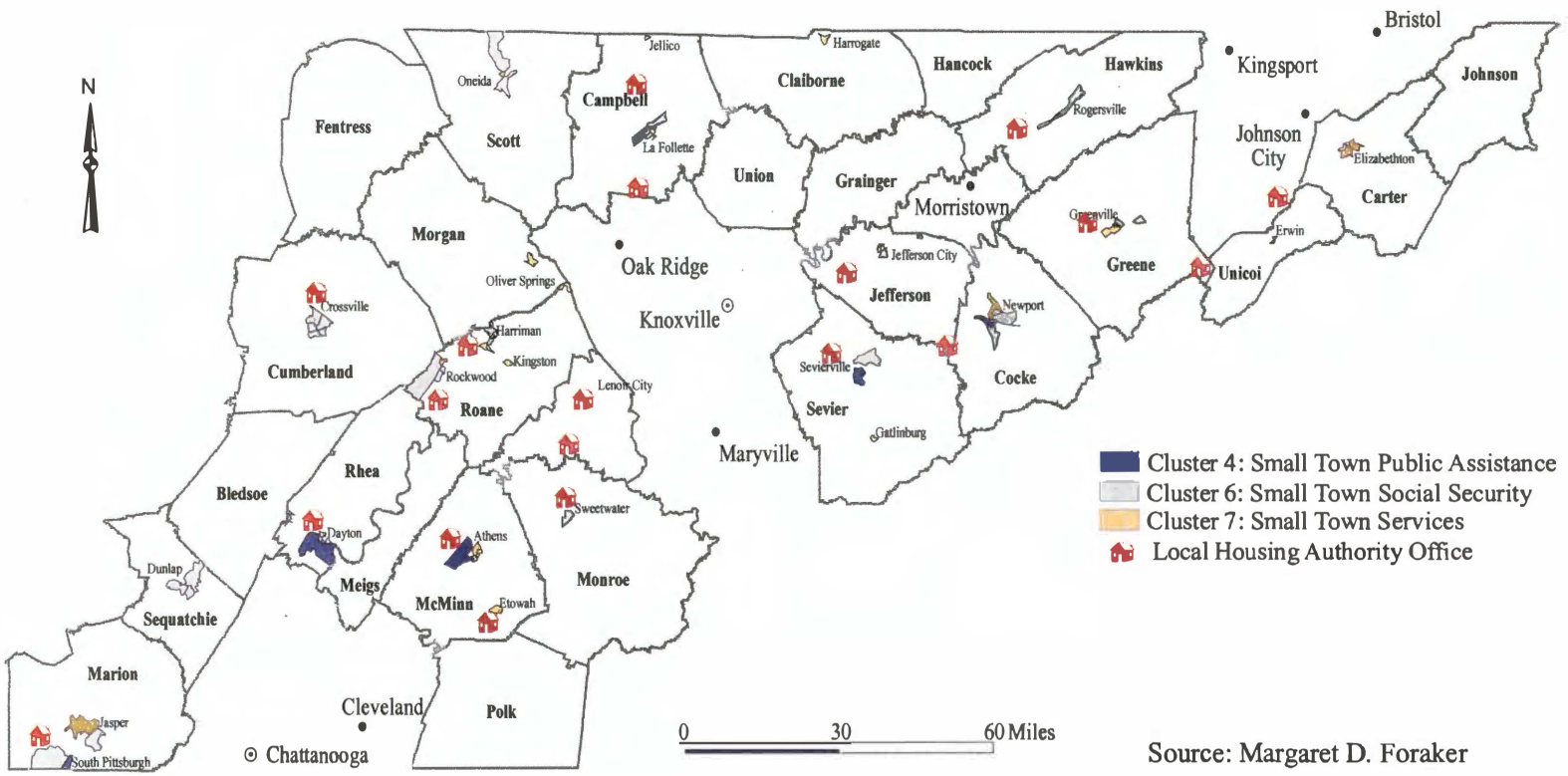


Figure IV-2. Small Town Poor Block Groups in Rural East Tennessee

1990 (Table IV-1). The poor block groups in the small town public assistance cluster are also identified by high percentages of persons ages 17 and under (a mean of 27.4%), low percentages of persons who are high school graduates (25.8%), and high percentages of black persons (8.9%) (Table IV-2). The block groups are also characterized by high percentages of female-headed households ranging from 27.6 in La Follette to 49 percent in Athens. Manufacturing, trade, and services are the principal employment sectors, but public assistance income is especially high in these block groups. The mean rate of households receiving public assistance is 28 percent. Twenty-seven percent of the occupied housing units in these block groups lack access to a vehicle.

Cluster Six: Small Town Social Security

Small town social security poor block groups are found in east Tennessee. This cluster is made up of forty-seven block groups containing 15.5 percent of rural east Tennessee's poor population. The cluster is characterized by high employment in the trade and services sectors (47%), and a high percentage of persons receiving social security (40.9%). Thirty-three percent of occupied housing units lack access to a vehicle. The block groups include public housing, which are occupied primarily by elderly residents. Some neighborhoods in these poor block groups include single family homes which are old and in established communities. These older homes, however, are visually well-kept and contrast with the unkempt single family homes in the small town public assistance block groups. Often broken toys, old appliances, and

Table IV-1. Municipalities with Public Assistance Poor Block Groups

	Poverty			Female Headed Households Families			Female Headed Households Families Below Poverty			Households Receiving Public Assistance		
Town:	**1980**	**1990**	**%Change**	**1980**	**1990**	**%Change**	**1980**	**1990**	**%Change**	**1980**	**1990**	**%Change**
Athens	2153	2681	24.5	530	819	54.5	242	371	53.3	432	537	24.3
Dayton	1141	1090	-4.5	205	312	52.2	78	137	75.6	225	280	24.4
LaFollette	2002	2345	17.1	415	562	35.4	133	288	116.5	462	622	34.6
Greenville	2330	2133	-8.5	637	820	28.7	228	234	2.6	480	622	29.6
Lenoir City	771	1298	68.4	275	442	60.7	45	158	251.1	248	238	-4.0
Newport	1868	1997	6.9	493	593	20.3	212	229	8.0	410	533	30.0
Sevierville	782	1301	66.4	185	417	125.4	47	148	214.9	175	248	41.7
South Pittsburg	700	806	15.1	218	224	2.8	93	86	-7.5	135	304	125.2

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census

Table IV-2. Characteristics of Public Assistance Poor Block Groups

1990 Percent-ages Town	Below Poverty	High School Grad	Age 17 & Under	Black	Female Headed House-holds	Employed In Manuf-acturing	Employed In Trade	Employed in Services	Owner Occupied Housing Units	Public Assist-ance	Occupied Housing Units with No Vehicle
La Follette	37.8	27.8	23.7	3.1	27.6	24.7	34.7	18.9	41.6	28.7	31.9
Athens	54.7	15.4	21	21.9	49	28.4	24.5	29.4	21	25.7	31
Green-ville	50.5	24.7	31.1	20	41.1	44.2	11.6	34.5	17.8	32.3	30.1
S. Pitts-burgh	47.8	14.3	31.9	27.7	46.3	38.5	13.8	13.8	23.4	56.3	61.7
Newport	48.6	22.9	24.3	0	36	28.3	20.8	31.5	34.3	34.1	26.4
Sevier-ville	40.4	22.2	29.9	2.2	44.1	14	34.8	21.5	28.5	24.2	18.2
Newport	44.1	36.2	26.1	8.2	33.3	42.8	19.5	21.2	27.6	25.6	22.6
Dayton	25.3	33.1	28.4	3.2	23.1	46.1	16.7	16.7	45.5	12.6	16.6
Athens	40.3	29.1	28.6	2.3	31.8	50.3	25.2	9	22.9	15.4	7.5
Lenoir City	41.1	32.8	28.6	0	42.4	25.6	31.2	27.8	39.2	25.3	22.6

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census

decrepit automobiles litter the yards of the public assistance block groups. Crossville in Cumberland County has several neighborhoods which are comprised of dwellings of elderly homeowners and rental units, and public housing complexes. Amenity retirement communities attracted elderly to the Crossville area. Growth in retirement villages and second homes began in the 1960s. The net migration to Cumberland County is among the highest in Tennessee. Population increased 27 percent in the 1990s.

Cluster Seven: Small Town Services

The small town services cluster is comprised of twenty-three block groups, which contain 8 percent of the poor population in rural east Tennessee. These block groups include neighborhoods undergoing residential and commercial gentrification. A poor neighborhood in Gatlinburg in Sevier County, for example, is in the process of transition to an affluent residential community. Large single-family homes are replacing traditional houses. As Gatlinburg continues to grow as a tourist destination, second home development increases. Other high poverty neighborhoods in small town services block groups have similar characteristics. In Sweetwater in Monroe County, is a neighborhood with a mix of older houses interspersed with new ones and dwellings that have been renovated. In Jasper in Marion County, the nicer homes are close to the town's old business district. The portion of the block group on the margin of the town includes unkempt houses and mobile homes. The causes of this pattern may vary, but the outcomes are similar. Other high poverty neighborhoods in the

cluster include detached homes with few or no rental units. In Roane County, the Greenwood neighborhood in Kingston is undergoing business and residential gentrification.

Rural east Tennessee is characterized by a diversity of physical landscapes and economic, social, and historical developments. As Salamon states, "rural situations are highly diverse" and may vary according "to the spatial distribution, economic activities, or ethnic origin of residents" (Salamon 1996, 197). The diversity of poverty found in rural east Tennessee is part of the consequences of broader socio-economic trends occurring throughout the region. Chapter Five spans the gaps among these social, economic, and historical trends and high poverty census block groups.

CHAPTER V
Analysis of the Types of Places Where the Rural Poor are Concentrated

> *The rural ghetto, if it is allowed to continue and expand, will be a powerful symbol of failure in America and of American culture* (Karl Stauber, quoted in *Newsweek*, September 10, 2001 reprinted in *Annual Editions*)

The broader changes and trends occurring at the national level, such as the economic shift from primary and secondary economic activities toward activities in the tertiary sector are played out at the local level in east Tennessee. What are the impacts of these changes on poor and low income residents? How is poverty affected? What is the influence of these changes on the geography of poverty? This chapter examines four high poverty neighborhoods in east Tennessee within the context of these questions. The findings from the quantitative analysis in the previous chapters are supplements to ethnographic local research.

The Case Study Approach

The case study approach in geography is a qualitative research method that starts with a single geographic unit such as a neighborhood or community. Data are gathered from a variety of sources in order to understand the specific case and its larger economic, social, and historical context. Case study analysis is not a substitute for quantitative methods but a means of providing quantitative data with "nuances and complexity unobtainable with large-scale analysis" (Salamon 1996, 199).

The case study strategy employed in this study begins with four, distinct, high poverty block groups in rural east Tennessee (Figure V-1). The four are small samples

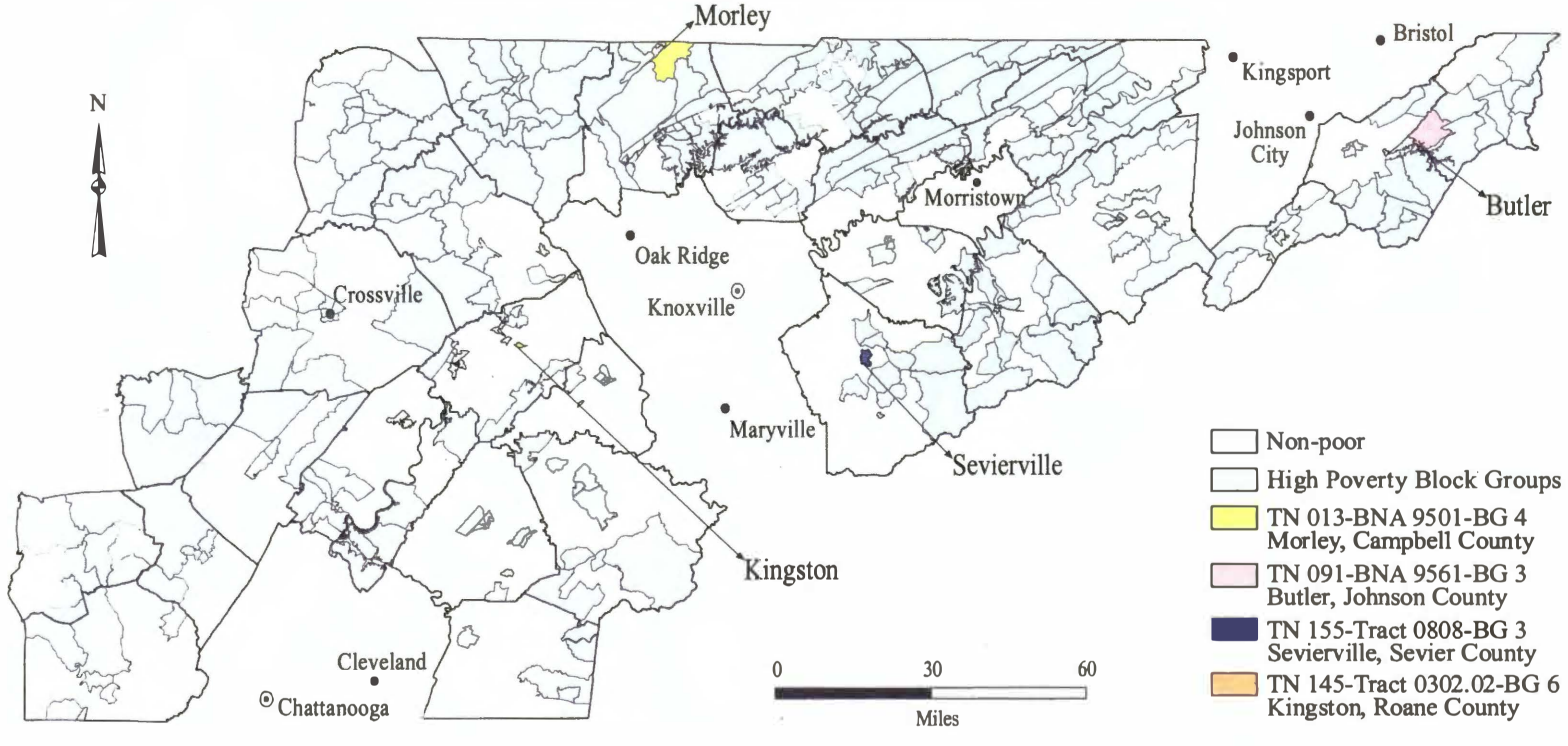


Figure V-1. Case Study Sites

of four of the eight poverty categories determined by the cluster analysis. The eight poverty categories can be organized into two rural types: open country rural and small town rural. Two case studies were selected from each rural type. Selection of the case study sites was determined by the desire to identify key differences between open country poverty and municipal poverty in rural east Tennessee. Evidence of rural municipal poverty, a previously little-studied phenomenon, indicates the distinctiveness of these categories from popular images of Appalachian poverty. Each study begins with an examination of a poor block group's relationship within its larger poverty cluster. The cases were carefully selected on the basis of poverty level, location, and site characteristics. The communities' economic histories, cultural traditions, and contemporary economic conditions are examined. I used local histories, local newspaper accounts, municipal statistics, census data, Chamber of Commerce records, housing authority data, informal interviews, and field surveys. These methods combine to make case study analysis a means of "ground truthing" the cluster analysis results. The position of the four census block groups within the larger context of economic restructuring is also examined. Economic restructuring is found to have profound effects in each case. Other similarities among the four cases are limited.

Places of Residence of the Rural Poor

Open Country Mining: Campbell County, Tennessee

The first case study is block group one in census tract 9501 in Campbell County Tennessee (Figure V-2). This block group, or neighborhood, exhibits many of the features of the open country mining poverty category (Table V-1). This category of rural poverty is found on the Cumberland Plateau of eastern Tennessee. Much of Campbell County lies in the Cumberland Plateau region although the southeastern part lies in the Ridge and Valley Province. Cumberland Mountain extends across Campbell County and is the escarpment marking the boundary between the Plateau and the Ridge and Valley Province. Block group 9501-1 lies in the Cumberland Plateau of northeast Campbell County. The region is characterized by a fairly rugged terrain, with high "mountains" interspersed with small creeks and river hollows. The population of the block group is largely confined to the valley of the Clear Fork River. Mining accounts for twenty-seven percent of the employed labor force of block group 9501-1. More than thirty-one percent of the neighborhood's 812 residents are below the poverty level (31.2%), and twenty percent of the occupied housing units lack complete plumbing. In addition, seventy-one percent of the residents live in the same house in which they lived in 1985.

The Clear Fork River begins near the community of Morley and runs north into southern Kentucky where it empties into the Cumberland River near Middlesboro. The Clearfork River valley lies in the large Appalachian coal field that extends from Alabama to Pennsylvania (Page 1986). In Campbell County, the Clearfork region is

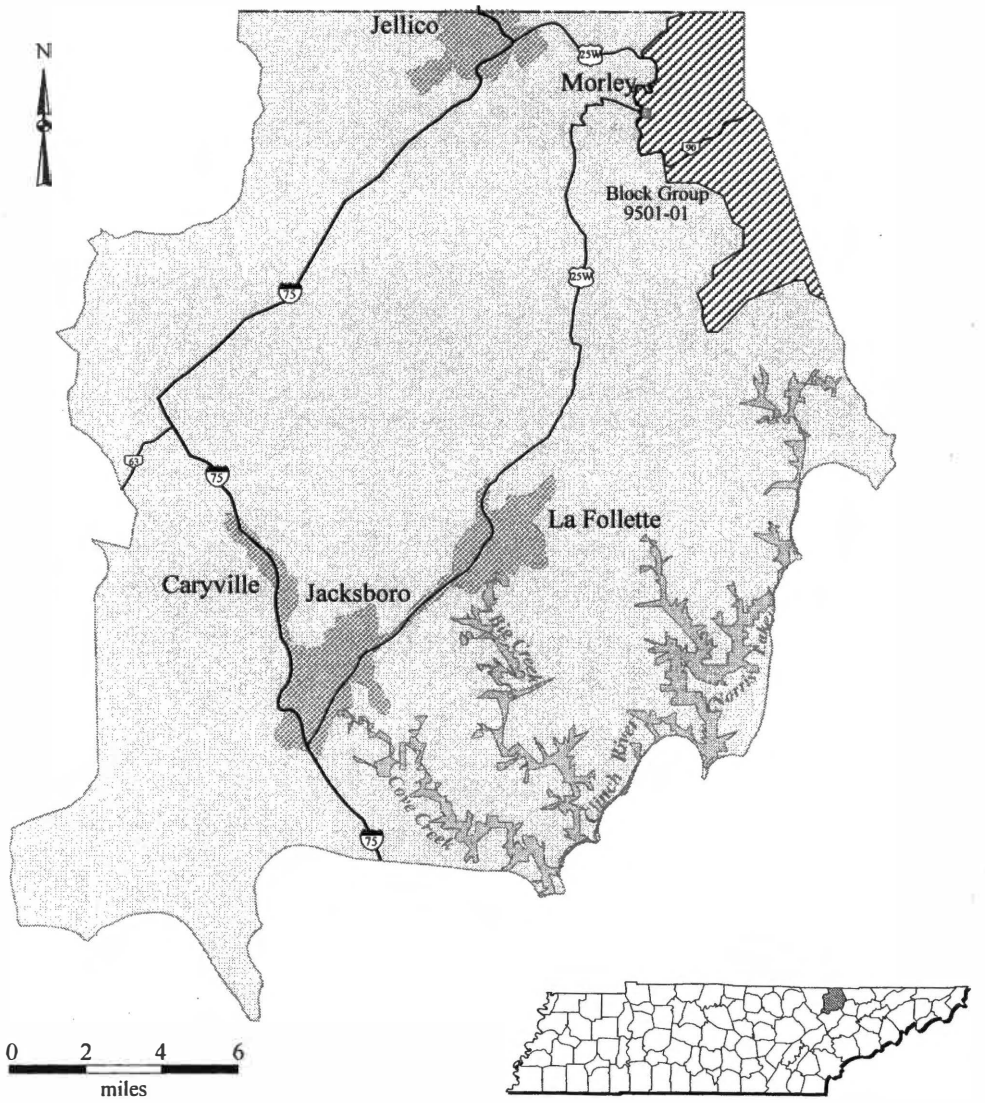


Figure V-2. Block Group 9501-1 Campbell County, Tennessee

Table V-1. Block Group 1 Census Tract 9501, Campbell County

Total Population	812
Below poverty (percent of all persons)	31.2
Rural (percent of all persons)	100
Socio-demographic Characteristics	
High school grad (percent of all persons age 25 years and over)	22.4
Age 17 & under (percent of all persons)	28.4
Age 65 & over (percent of all persons)	8.9
Black (percent of all persons)	0
Female householder families (percent of all families)	19.5
Income and Employment Characteristics	
Female unemployment (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	20
Employed in agriculture (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	0
Employed in mining (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	26.8
Employed in manufacturing (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	14
Employed in trade (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	9.8
Employed in services (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	29.1
Receiving social security income (percent of population)	34.6
Receiving public assist income (percent of population)	19.3
Female householder families w/children under 17 in the workforce (percent of all families)	36.5
Housing Characteristics	
Owner occupied (percent of all occupied housing units)	34.7
Lived in same house 1985 (percent of population age 5 years and over)	71
Mobile home/trailer units (percent of all occupied housing units)	32.8
Home built 1939 or earlier (percent of all occupied housing units)	7.1
No vehicle present (percent of all occupied housing units)	22.7
Not complete plumbing (percent of all occupied housing units)	19.6
Cost burdened (percent of all occupied housing units)	28.7

comprised of several small unincorporated hamlets and villages, such as White Oak, Tackett Creek, Anthras, and Morley.

Historical, Social, and Economic Context

Early settlers of Scotch, Irish, German, and English descent lived and farmed in the hollows of the Clearfork area. Prior to 1900, the area was sparsely populated, but by the turn of the century the need for coal increased as the United States rapidly industrialized. The popularity of the Clearfork Valley for coal mining increased. The region is close to the city of Knoxville, which was becoming a "major player as a coal marketing center" (Page 1986, 65).

Companies such as the New Jellico Coal Company and the Tennessee-Jellico Coal Company began buying the land and mineral rights in the Clearfork region. In some cases, the coal companies paid as little as $1.00 per acre because many residents were unaware of the real value of their land. In addition to the coal companies, the railroad arrived in the early 1900s. The Southern Railroad built a spur line from Jellico, which opened up the region to development. The coming of the railroad not only stimulated the coal industry but also spurred the timber industry. Timber was needed to build mine props and cross ties, and to construct the coal company buildings and camp houses for the miners. The "camps" or company towns consisted of business offices, houses for employees, and a company store (Page 1986, 67). Many of the miners were paid in scrip which could only be spent in the company store (Snodderly 2000).

The productivity of the Clearfork mines peaked with the increased demand for coal during World War I. The Great Depression resulted in a decline of mining activities, but the coming of World War II brought renewed growth. By the 1950s, however, machines began to replace manual labor in the coal mines. In addition to increased mechanization, local infrastructural changes and national changes in energy use contributed to a decline in the coal economy. By the 1950s, the national economy was moving away from heavy industry toward high technology and a post-industrial economy. Alternative, cleaner forms of energy were developed, which decreased the need for coal. Surface mining, or "strip" mining, also contributed to the decline of coal camps as the land surface was increasingly stripped in order to extract coal (Gaventa 1980, Shiflett 1991).

In the post WWII era, mining wages increased substantially, the result of unionization. Also, by the 1950s the "best" coal seams were mined out. Indeed, some argue that the decline of the region is the result of the increasingly high sulfur content of the un-mined coal. According to one former Morley resident, the Tennessee Valley Authority refused to buy high sulfur coal and this contributed to the decline of the communities of the Clearfork Valley (Snodderly 2000). The restructuring of mining by mechanization, increased use of strip mining, increased demands made by miners for higher wages and benefits and decreased national dependence on coal as a source of energy resulted in a loss of coal operations in the Clearfork area (Winchester 1986). These changes affected life in Clearfork and helped to set the stage for the current socio-economic condition of area residents.

The Morley Community

The hamlet of Morley is an old mining camp founded by the New Jellico Coal Company in the early 1900s. Located approximately 70 miles north of Knoxville, Morley is on the L & N Railroad. This unincorporated hamlet is known simply as the intersection of U.S. Highway 25 ("the big road" or "the Dixie Highway") and State Highway 90. State Highway 90, "the road to Eagan" or "the road across the mountain," was built by prisoners in the early 1920s (McDonald 1993, 173). These highways helped to open the area, and in the 1940s, the Tennessee Valley Authority provided electricity to Morley.

During the first half of the twentieth century, Morley was a busy place with several mining companies operating. Companies such as New Jellico Coal, Queen and Crescent, Red Moon, and Pic Coal had operations at Morley. As coal mining operations expanded in Morley, so, too, did company houses. At one time there were approximately 300 company houses in Morley (McDonald 1993, 173). As the coal community of Morley grew, other services developed to meet the needs of the residents. The Morley Missionary Baptist Church was built in 1931. In the mid-1920s, the L & N Railroad Depot at Morley was built to service a passenger train that ran between Jellico and Morley. The Depot was closed in the 1960s—as both coal mining and the local population decreased (Page 1986, 113). New roads were being built in the Clearfork Valley, and as the coal economy began to decline, these roads made it easier for people to migrate out of the region. Many left the company camps and settled in nearby towns, such as Jellico, Tennessee, or Middlesboro, Kentucky,

both of which had more opportunities. Other area residents became part of the great migration stream from rural Appalachia to the cities of the industrial north (Page 1986).

Once a busy, working, mining community, Morley today is simply a crossroads community comprised of a couple of general stores and few scattered houses (Figure V-3 – V-5). The younger generation of Campbell County "just cannot comprehend that this small community was once a bustling place—they just cannot picture it" (Snodderly 2000).

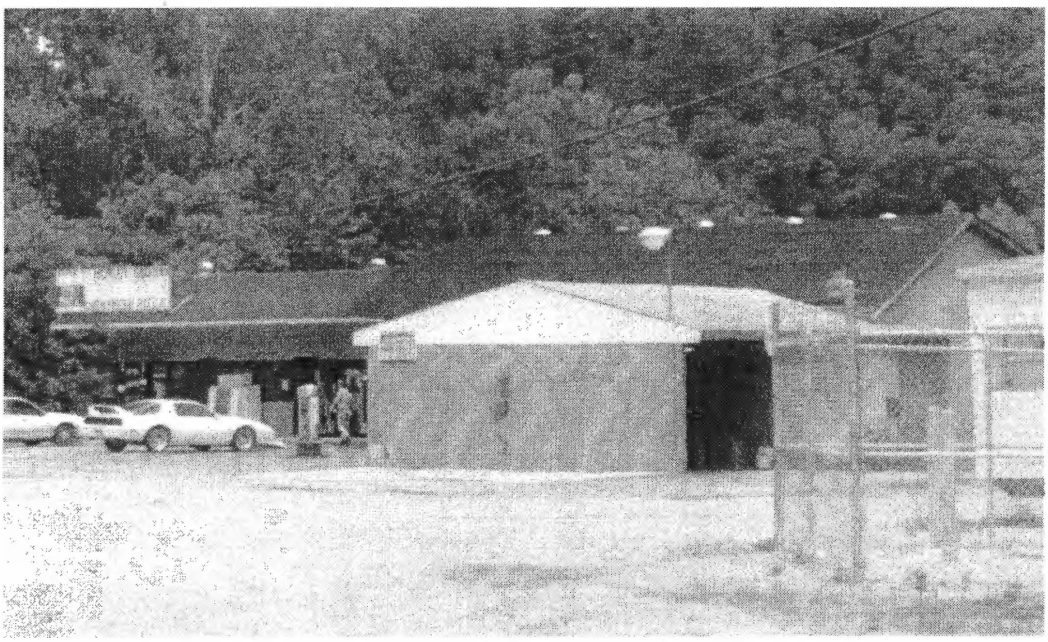


Figure V-3. The Morley Grocery. This is a multi-purpose store, offering groceries, pizza, video rentals, and gasoline and automobile repair services. Margaret D. Foraker 1999.



Figure V-4. House in Morley, Tennessee. Margaret D. Foraker 1999.



Figure V-5. House in Morley just off of State Route 90 East. Margaret D. Foraker 1999.

Open Country Manufacturing: Johnson County, Tennessee

Block group 9561-3 is in the Doe Valley region of southern Johnson County (Figure V-6). Within the valley lies the community of Butler. The community has a population of 1, 021 residents of whom 32.2 percent are below the poverty level (Table V-2). There is a high rate of home ownership (45.9 percent) and 67.8 percent of the population over the age of five lived in the same house in 1985. As one resident puts it, "many who live in this community have family here. . . they have roots here—grew up here" (Butler 1999). In the Butler community, forty-five percent of employed persons age sixteen and over work in manufacturing. Johnson County and its Doe Valley neighbor to the south, Carter County, have an established history as manufacturing centers. Those not working in Johnson County commute to jobs in Carter County. There are not many jobs in Butler today. "Unless you work in one of the small businesses, and there are only a few of them, you must have a car to get to work in Mountain City (the county seat) or Elizabethton (in neighboring Carter County)" (Butler 1999). The Butler case is a good example of ecological fallacy, as it raises concern about the validity of inferring census block group level characteristics from what is likely a regional pattern of manufacturing employment that spans the bounds of the block group and the county in which it is located. Many of the workers in manufacturing are employed in jobs outside the community. Nevertheless, inferences indicate the intimate dynamic between manufacturing employment outside of Butler and poverty in the community.

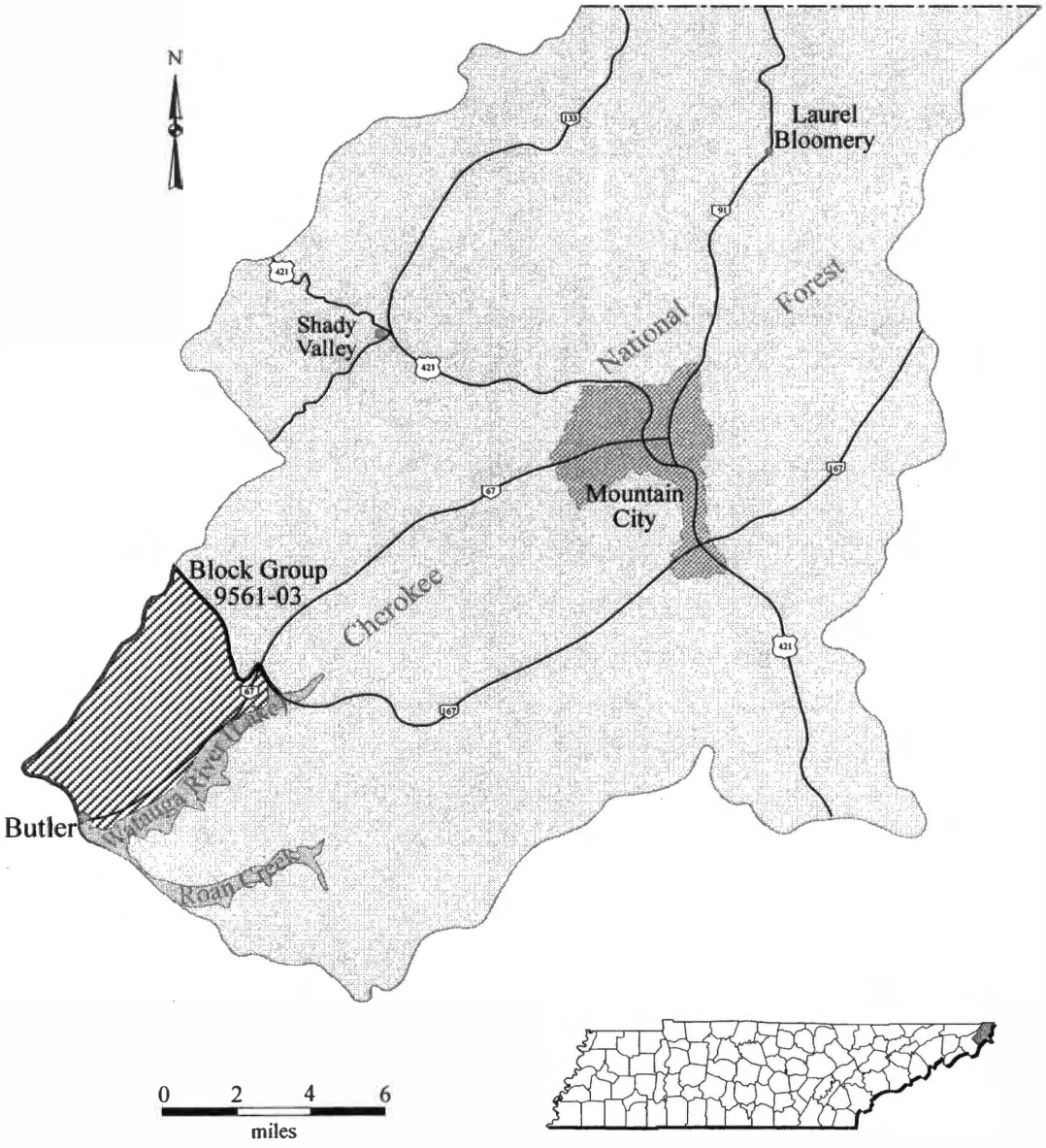


Figure V-6. Block Group 9561-3, Johnson County, Tennessee

Table V-2. Block Group 3 Census Tract 9561, Johnson County

Total Population	1021
Below poverty (percent of all persons)	32.2
Rural (percent of all persons)	100
Socio-demographic Characteristics	
High school grad (percent of all persons age 25 years and over)	23.4
Age 17 & under (percent of all persons)	20.6
Age 65 & over (percent of all persons)	22.4
Black (percent of all persons)	0
Female householder families (percent of all families)	13.7
Income and Employment Characteristics	
Female unemployment (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	0
Employed in agriculture (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	1.8
Employed in mining (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	0
Employed in manufacturing (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	44.6
Employed in trade (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	14.9
Employed in services (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	22
Receiving social security income (percent of population)	43.5
Receiving public assist income (percent of population)	5
Female householder families w/children under 17 in the workforce (percent of all families)	65.2
Housing Characteristics	
Owner occupied (percent of all occupied housing units)	45.9
Lived in same house 1985 (percent of population age 5 years and over)	67.8
Mobile home/trailer units (percent of all occupied housing units)	19.5
Home built 1939 or earlier (percent of all occupied housing units)	20.1
No vehicle present (percent of all occupied housing units)	6.4
Not complete plumbing (percent of all occupied housing units)	4.9
Cost burdened (percent of all occupied housing units)	41.7

Historical, Social, and Economic Context

The community of Butler in southwest Johnson County is often referred to as "new Butler" by local residents. The reference to "new" is used to distinguish the current community from "old" Butler, which now lies at the bottom of Watauga Lake. Old Butler was inundated by the Tennessee Valley Authority's Watauga Dam reservoir in 1948. The 200-300 residents were relocated to nearby Carderville. Carderville was renamed *Butler* in 1953 (Calhoun 1998, 3). Many residents of new Butler hold fond memories of old Butler. . . "Old Butler was more like a city. Butler today is very different" (Butler 1999).

Farming and mining were the dominant economic activities in Johnson County through the nineteenth century. The coming of the railroad to Johnson County at the end of the century sparked an increased movement away from farming and toward mining iron ore and lumbering. By 1910, the Virginia and Southwestern Railroad was connected to Mountain City and beyond to Shouns. The lumber industry boomed in Johnson County. Large lumber companies, such as the Great Northern Lumber Company of West Virginia, moved into the region and set up camps. In 1940, a flood destroyed the rail line and the railroad company refused to rebuild it. After the railroad was destroyed, both the lumber industry and the iron-ore industry declined (Johnson County Historical Society). Extractive industries still play a role in the county's economy, however. Lumber companies in Johnson County include Shouns Lumber and Mountain City Lumber. Maymead Company is a limestone mining company established in 1930.

As the lumber industry began its decline, farming in Johnson County increased in importance. The Butler/Doe Valley area became an important producer of green beans and burley tobacco early in the twentieth century. The farming of beans and tobacco helped Johnson County during the depression era. By 1948, Johnson County was the leading producer of green beans in Tennessee and was nicknamed the "green bean capital." However, after the Second World War, farming in Johnson County also began to decline. The trend toward mechanization and larger farms favored the flatter landscape of the Ridge and Valley and put Johnson County at a disadvantage. Beans could be more cheaply produced employing mechanical pickers. The rough topography of Johnson County was not suitable for large mechanized farms, and bean production declined. Farm prices began to fall, and with little prospects of making much money in farming, many younger Johnson Countians left (Smith 1969, 28).

The Industrialization of Johnson County

Johnson County began the shift towards manufacturing in 1958 with the establishment of an Industrial Commission (Smith 1969). The Commission's purpose was to attract industries in order to broaden the economic base of the county. Given the county's lack of rail transportation, the Commission focused on light industries as opposed to heavy ones (Smith 1969).

Industrial expansion in Johnson County has been unstable. Tew Knitting Mill, which produced seamless nylons, was the county's first industry. The Tew Mill closed less than a year later. In 1960, Leco Manufacturing Company opened in

Mountain City and was also short-lived. In 1962, Mountain City Glove opened in Johnson County. The company manufactured canvas work gloves and, at its height, employed 320 workers. In recent years, as more and more imported gloves made their way onto the American market, employees at Mountain City Glove were let go. In 2001, the company closed citing "low cost imports and escalating costs for American materials" as contributing to the demise of the plant (Houk 2001). Mountain City Glove was Johnson County's oldest manufacturing plant. In 1979, Levi-Strauss took over the Leco Manufacturing building. Nearly twenty years later, the company closed its doors, putting 500 people out of work. Bike Athletic, was in operation in Mountain City for nearly twelve years. In 2001, this company also cited foreign competition and closed. Its 131 employees were left jobless.

The effects of manufacturing closures are heightened by their related effect on retail businesses. When industries closed, "it left folks around here with very little money to spend. . . things started going downhill." Local retail stores such as Michael's dry goods store in Mountain City has been in business for over fifty years. As manufacturing companies closed, people had less money to spend on everyday items and retail businesses have also suffered (Houk 2001).

In 1980, 2,376 people in Johnson County worked in manufacturing. In 1999, there were 1,377, a decline of more than 44%. Since 1999, other companies have closed, including Burlington Industries and Thomasville Furniture in Johnson City. The cutbacks in manufacturing, especially in textiles and furniture production, are part of the larger, national trend, as companies find it more economical to move production

overseas. The abundant, non-unionized, lower wage labor force that enticed labor intensive manufacturing plants to locate in rural America during the 1970s and 1980s has given way to a new economic situation (Flora, et al. 1992). The trend toward a global market and the liberalization of trade policies between countries makes it increasingly difficult for rural areas and small towns in the United States to compete as low wage economies (Glasmeier and Leichenko 1996). The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), for example, reduces barriers to trade between the United States, Canada, and Mexico. Rural communities in the United States are competing with the lower wage levels characteristic of Mexico's labor market.

Laid off manufacturing workers are having to find alternative employment. One former worker of the Levi-Strauss plant in Mountain City opened a mobile restaurant that serves Thai food on Highway 67 in Butler. Not only are individuals having to come up with creative alternatives for their lost manufacturing jobs, community leaders are also dealing creatively with the issue. Officials in Johnson County recently agreed to pay a bounty of up to $100,000 to anyone who helps to bring a new industry to the county. The purpose of the bounty is to entice local residents to become more active players in their economic future. Many laid off workers have joined the ranks of those commuting each day to places of work outside of Johnson County.

The Butler Community

"Main Street" in Butler comprises a small grocery/convenient store and an even smaller variety store in addition to Butler Baptist Church (Figure V-7). The businesses line one side of the poorly paved and seemingly rarely traveled road. Connection to the wider world is indicated by the Frutopia vending machine and a sign advertising "Beanies" (beanie babies) for sale (Figure V-8). Just around the corner from the Baptist church is the Butler Post Office. In the distance, one sees a neatly lined residential street (Figure V-9). Houses along this street are mainly small single story homes (Figure V-10). Some have family gardens in the back yard. Some of the houses in Butler today were moved here from "Old Butler."

Small Town Public Assistance: Sevier County, Tennessee

Small town public assistance is a type of high poverty census block group found in eight of east Tennessee's small towns. The poor in the block groups are overwhelmingly women, children, and blacks. Each of the block groups (with one exception) has a poverty rate ranging from 40 percent to 62 percent. In the literature on poverty a rate of 40 percent or greater is referred to as "chronic" or "extreme" poverty and is usually found in inner-city ghettos. Except for inner-city ghetto studies, research on places of extreme poverty is scarce. Study of a block group in Sevier County brings attention to the problems of extreme rural poverty and female-headed households among the rural poor.



Figure V-7. Business Climate in Butler, Tennessee. A sign posted at the entrance of Butler illustrates the rural community's business climate. The businesses are dispersed along highway 67. Margaret D. Foraker 1999.



Figure V-8. Main Street Butler, Tennessee. Margaret D. Foraker 1999.



Figure V-9 . Housing in Butler, Tennessee. Margaret D. Foraker 1999.



Figure V-10. Johnson County Industrial Park. The Park draws labor from the Butler-Doe Valley region. Margaret D. Foraker 1999.

Census tract 808, block group 3 in Sevier County, Tennessee is located in the town of Sevierville (Figure V-11). The block group is characterized by an extremely high poverty rate among mother-only families. Many of the residents are young (29.9%), have low educational levels (22.2%), and received public assistance (24.2%) in 1990 (Table V-3). In addition, the block group has small, concentrated areas of blacks. The rather small black population comprises almost 50 percent of the county's black population.

Analysis of female-headed households within the context of particular places in which the rural poor live is important because research has not adequately addressed the issue. Why is poverty so high among female-householder families in Sevierville? What are the gender and class dynamics of this small Appalachian town that explain the high incidence of poverty?

The increased representation of women among the poor of Sevierville illustrates a growing trend in the United States toward the feminization of poverty. *Feminization of poverty* is a recent, and currently popular, term. Although women have always experienced more poverty than men (Pearce 1994, 266), the "feminization of poverty" refers to the fact that women who support themselves and their households are becoming the majority of the poor. This has been a trend in the United States since the mid-1970s (Goldberg and Kremen 1990, 9). By the early 1990s, gender had become a greater determinant than race of who was poor and who was not (Pearce 1994). Single parent female-headed households comprised 60% of poor households in the United States in 1998 (Mink 1998, 106).

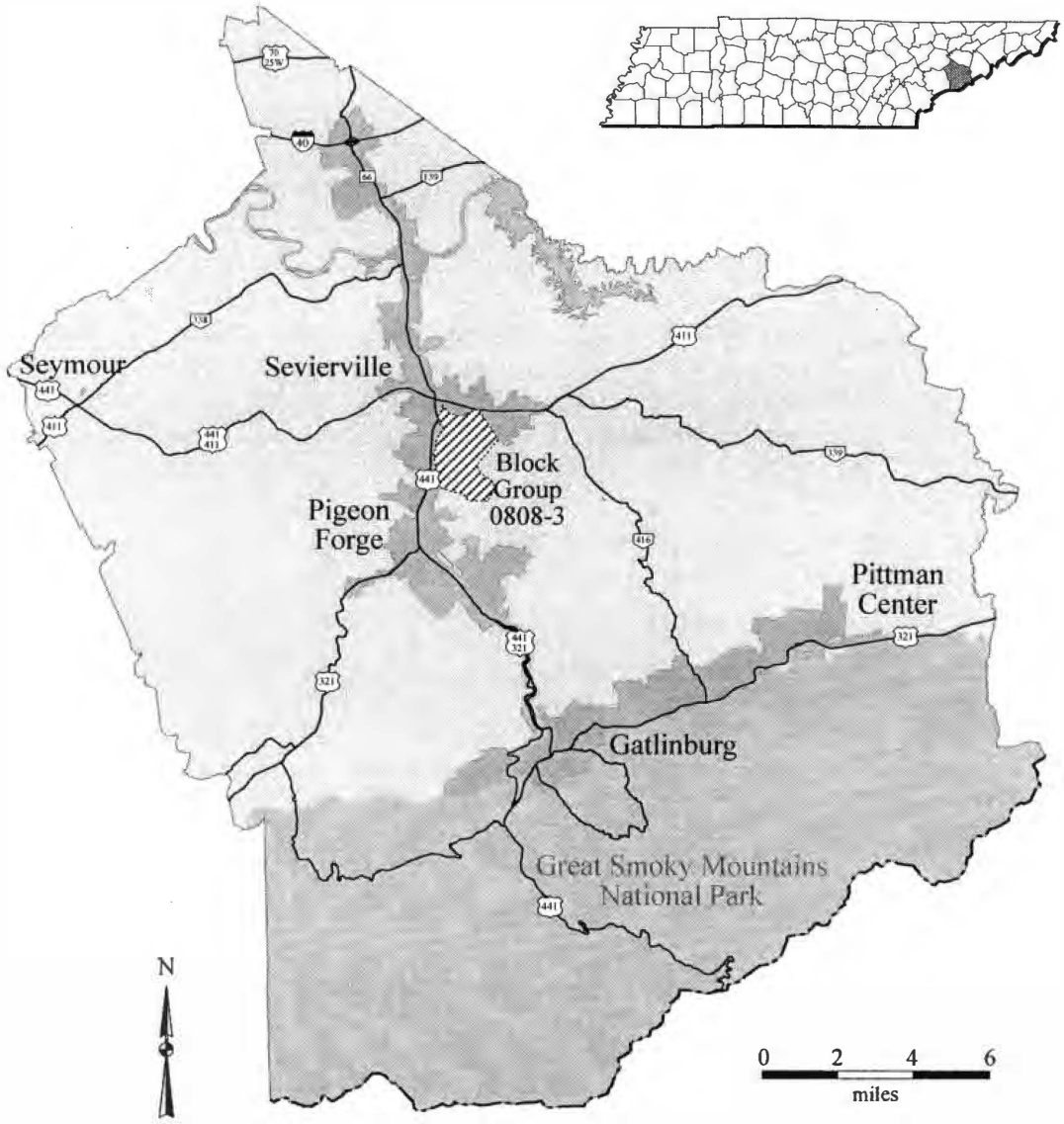


Figure V-11. Block Group 0808-3 Sevier County, Tennessee

Table V-3. Block Group 3 Census Tract 0808, Sevier County

Total Population	1502
Below poverty (percent of all persons)	40.4
Rural (percent of all persons)	37.7
Socio-demographic Characteristics	
High school grad (percent of all persons age 25 years and over)	22.2
Age 17 & under (percent of all persons)	29.9
Age 65 & over (percent of all persons)	8.9
Black (percent of all persons)	2.2
Female householder families (percent of all families)	44.1
Income and Employment Characteristics	
Female unemployment (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	8.3
Employed in agriculture (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	0
Employed in mining (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	0
Employed in manufacturing (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	14
Employed in trade (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	34.8
Employed in services (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	21.5
Receiving social security income (percent of population)	32
Receiving public assist income (percent of population)	24.2
Female householder families w/children under 17 in the workforce (percent of all families)	51.6
Housing Characteristics	
Owner occupied (percent of all occupied housing units)	28.5
Lived in same house 1985 (percent of population age 5 years and over)	50
Mobile home/trailer units (percent of all occupied housing units)	15.3
Home built 1939 or earlier (percent of all occupied housing units)	7.7
No vehicle present (percent of all occupied housing units)	18.2
Not complete plumbing (percent of all occupied housing units)	5.1
Cost burdened (percent of all occupied housing units)	4.3

As discussed in Chapter II, throughout the 20th century, poverty has usually been attributed to either individual failings (the cultural or culture of poverty perspective) or to social/structural inequities (the structural perspective). The culture of poverty theory emphasizes the "cycle of poverty" in which the poor are blamed for adopting and perpetuating deviant values, behaviors, and lifestyles that devalue work. In this cycle poor adults pass the deviant poverty culture to their children (Rural Sociological Society 1993, 210).

According to the structural perspective, people are poor because racism, sexism, or the structure of the economy denies opportunities, jobs, and housing. The poor have no control over their poverty; rather the larger socio-economic system is to blame. In feminist analysis, the socialist feminist perspective offers a structural interpretation of the causes of women's poverty. The socialist feminist standpoint considers the influence of both class and gender. It also acknowledges the importance of women's dual role in both production and reproduction. Socialist feminists argue that it is important to consider the issues of class and gender simultaneously to understand women's inequality and women's poverty (Sarvasy and Allen 1984; Little 1986; Hanson 1992).

According to the literature on the feminization of poverty, the causes, consequences, and experiences of poverty differ in significant ways for women and men (Mink 1998; Rural Sociological Society 1993; Goldberg and Kremen 1990; Pearce 1990; Tickamyer and Tickamyer 1988). While many women are poor for the same reasons that men are poor, there are three structural causes of poverty that are

unique to females: (1) women often are the sole providers for their children; (2) women are disadvantaged in the labor market; and (3) governmental policies (e.g., welfare policies) place women at a disadvantage. The fact that women are increasingly the sole providers for their children is related to the demographic changes that have occurred in the United States in past few decades. Demographic factors such as the rise in divorce and separation rates and the increase in the number of children born out of wedlock have increased the numbers of single mother families. Divorce is estimated to be the strongest predictor of poverty among single mothers and their children (Jones and Kodras 1990, 171).

Economic Restructuring and the Feminization of Poverty

Growth in the service sector represents a shift in employment toward jobs traditionally performed by women (Bakker 1994, 105). The shift from a goods-producing economy to service-based economy produces a restructuring of economic opportunities. It has gender implications in that the shift promotes the feminization of work and contributes to the "ghettoization of women" in low-wage, low-benefit, insecure jobs (Sarvasy and Van Allen 1984, 92). Although women are increasingly in the labor force, they continue to earn low wages. In 1997, full-time, year-round working women in the United States earned 74 cents for every dollar earned by men. If single working mothers earned as much as men, their poverty rates would be cut in half (from 25.3 percent to 12.6 percent). In Tennessee, the poverty rate would decline from 26.1 percent to 14.5 percent (AFL-CIO 1999). Sarvasy and Van Allen discuss

women's poverty as being the result of women's dual role (1984, 92). This refers to fact that women who work outside the home often must perform unpaid domestic work in the home, including childcare and housekeeping. Their domestic responsibilities often mean that their careers are interrupted due to childcare duties. The need for flexible hours translates into a decline in opportunities for promotion. This dual role is linked to women's lower wages and is indirectly linked to the feminization of poverty (Jones and Kodras 1990).

Historical, Social, and Economic Context

Consideration must be given to the social and economic dynamics of Sevierville in order to understand the incidence of poverty. Sevier County is well-known as the location of Pigeon Forge, Dollywood, Gatlinburg, and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park (Figure V-12). Gatlinburg and Pigeon Forge, which sit at the foot of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park have built their economies on tourism. Sevierville, however, was a well-defined, self-sufficient agricultural and commercial town prior to the opening of the National Park in the 1930s and, until recently, depended less on tourism.

Understanding the historical processes in the development of tourism explains the myriad problems facing the county and towns. The county's history is rooted in subsistence and commercial agriculture. Commerce was limited to grocery and general stores and small milling companies. There were few alternatives to farming until the Little River Lumber Company came to neighboring Blount County at the turn



Figure V-12. Entrance to Dollywood, Pigeon Forge, Tennessee. Margaret D. Foraker 1999.

of the century (Martin 1994, 165). Farmers began to supplement their incomes with wages earned in the lumber industry. The development of the lumber industry is associated with the early stages of Sevier County's transition to a modern economy, but the logging industry was short-lived as the forests were depleted. The movement to establish a national park in the Smoky Mountains gained momentum in the 1920s (Foscue 1946).

The creation of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in 1934 decreased logging jobs but increased tourism. The tourist industry experienced slow growth, however, until the Second World War when increases in leisure time and rising incomes led to a greater demand for recreation. Transportation developments in the

early 1950s opened the county, and, by the 1960s, development related to the tourism industry began springing up along U. S. Highway 441. Zoning laws were put in place which established the dominance of tourism (Martin 1994, 168). The main 441 highway strip through Pigeon Forge, for example, was zoned solely for tourism activities in 1969. In addition, restrictions on where manufacturing could be located were put into place. Manufacturing is a limited activity in the county, however, largely because community leaders simply did not seek to attract it (Martin 1994, 169).

Rising land values also helped to displace farmers from the central tourist strip. According to Martin, farmers whose land had been in the family for generations were suddenly faced with rising property taxes as land values increased. Farmers sold their land and retired or took jobs in the tourist industry. Rather than tourism becoming a supplement to farm income, in many cases it became the primary source of income. Agricultural employment dropped 95 percent between 1960 and 1992. In addition, between 1940 and 1992, there was a 75 percent decrease in the number of farms and a 67 percent decrease in farmland acreage (U.S. Bureau of the Census).

Work and Poverty in Sevier County

The promoters of tourism in Sevier County consider it to be a success and tourist development continues to escalate. Projects worth $403 million have been built since 1997, including more outlet malls and a plethora of music theaters. In the words of one Pigeon Forge leader, "the City's position is that the number one priority is

music theater development" (Chamis 1997, D1). Pigeon Forge's "Music Road," a 40 acre development that includes such theatres as the Louise Mandrell Theatre, is touted as the city's "industrial park" (*The Mountain Press* 1999). However, problems are surfacing. Tourism development may mean job growth, but it does not mean economic security for everyone. The structure of employment in Sevier County limits opportunities and earnings. Employment is characterized by low-wage, part-time, seasonal jobs. These jobs typically are not "career" jobs. They include retail clerks, food counter clerks, waiters/waitresses, entertainment workers, hotel clerks, and maids. All are jobs with little opportunity for upward mobility. Ninety percent of all households in Sevier County have at least one person working; 64 percent have at least two persons working.

The issue is not only that poverty exists in Sevier County but that the conditions of the poor are heightened by the county's reliance upon tourism as its economic base. High employment figures and low wage rates show that high poverty rates are more the result of low wages than the lack of employment opportunities. Many of the poor in Sevier County are the "working poor."

Sevierville has served as the county seat since 1795 and boasts its position as the eighth oldest town in Tennessee. In the words of one Sevierville resident, "Sevierville has history. It's where Sevier County began!" This statement implies that unlike the towns of Gatlinburg and Pigeon Forge, Sevierville has a "proper" historical lineage (Figure V-13). As the county seat, Sevierville functioned as the "service center" for residents, providing grocery markets, hardware stores, a hospital, and the

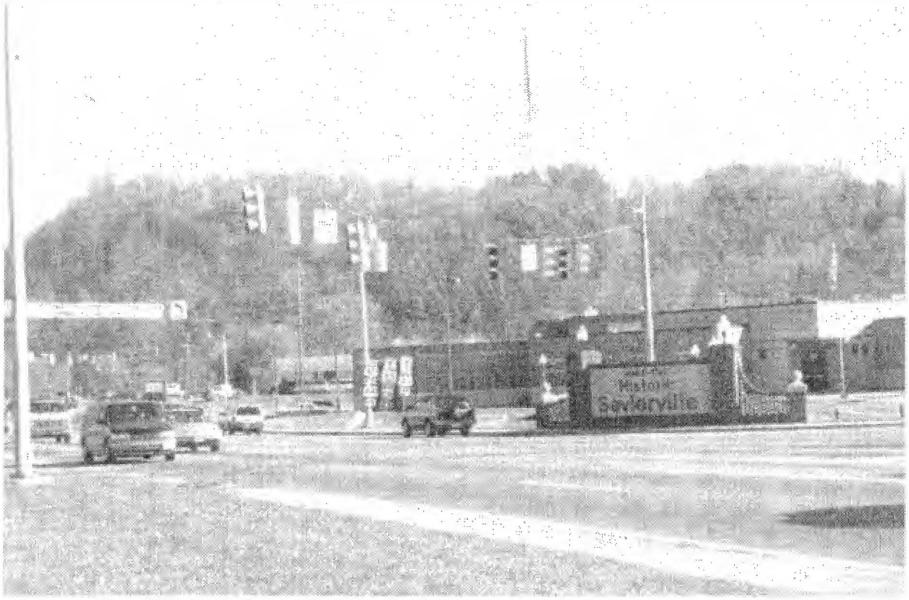


Figure V-13. Entrance to Historic Sevierville, Tennessee. Margaret D. Foraker 1999.

courthouse. While Gatlinburg and later Pigeon Forge chose to build their economies on tourism, Sevierville was attracting manufacturing companies. New Cherokee Textile Mills moved to Sevierville from Knoxville in the early 1950s and was the first major manufacturing plant in the county. In 2000, there were twenty manufacturing plants in Sevierville, and historically, there have been more people employed in manufacturing than in any other employment sector in Sevierville.

Changes have been occurring for years. In 2004, New Cherokee Mills closed, citing foreign competition. Sevierville has begun to focus on tourism development, as it increasingly spills over from Pigeon Forge and Gatlinburg. Mountainous Gatlinburg has little developable land left, and Pigeon Forge has developed into a sprawling strip of hotels, chain restaurants, amusement parks, outlet stores, and music theatres.

During peak vacation months, more than 88,000 cars travel Highway 66 into Pigeon Forge daily, and tourism development is flourishing along the highway strip. In recent years, music theatres, hotels, restaurants, and outlet malls have been locating along the State Highway from Interstate 40. Sevierville has added 30 new restaurants in just three years. According to the Sevierville planning director, the city does not have enough vacant land to meet future population needs. Only 18 percent of land in the municipality is available for development, and the tourist industry is expected to consume most of this (2000).

Commercial development in Sevierville is changing from serving the local population to providing services to tourists. This shift from goods producing to service producing means a restructuring of economic opportunities and a lowering of wage rates. Many of the "better paying" jobs, which are twelve-month and full-time including manufacturing, are on the decline and are being replaced by jobs in the service sector. Forty percent of the recent job growth in the town is in the retail sector and 23 percent in the services sector. In addition, many of the new jobs are gender-biased in that they comprise work that is traditionally performed by women.

The changes in Sevierville's employment structure have an impact on poverty. As the structure of the economy shifts towards tourism employment, there is a related trend toward increased poverty among female-headed households. The number of poor female headed households increased 215 percent between 1990 and 2000. The increase is the result of both the number of poor increasing "in place" and poor people moving into the town. As one official concedes, "families are drawn to the town by

all the job advertisements. But these families fail to consider that these jobs are paying at most $5.15 an hour, and it costs $500-600 a month in rent to live here. You just cannot make it on a minimum wage check" (Striebig 1997). The median income of employed females in Sevierville is just under $10,000. Although more women may be working in Sevierville, up 62 percent since 1980, they often cannot afford health insurance, adequate housing, or child care. Increasingly, they seek assistance for the most basic of necessities. A representative of the Sevier County Food Ministry located in Sevierville, a volunteer organization established in 1992 to provide food to families in need, states that the Ministry's recipients are typically single parents working in the tourist industry. Thirty-five percent are trying to get by on a minimum wage check (Striebig 1997).

Housing Deprivation

The number of poor in Sevier County has increased in recent years. Low earnings are obviously a burden, but an added burden is lack of affordable housing. Housing cost burdens exist for those persons spending 30 percent or more of their incomes for housing (Tennessee Housing Development Agency 1995). The more money spent on housing, the less is left over for other necessities such as food and clothing. The director of the Sevier County Food Ministry states that minimum wage pay, part-time work schedules, and a lack of affordable housing bring people to the food ministry . . . "Four hundred dollars for rent takes a big chunk out of a minimum wage check" (Dorwin 1997, A1). The Food Ministry serves approximately 550

families a week. According to the local Housing Authority, all of the assisted housing units in Sevier County are full. One apartment complex for low income persons was filled as soon as it opened in 1995. Federal funding cutbacks prevent the building of more government-sponsored housing (Sevierville Housing Authority).

Besides insufficient government-assisted housing, there is a lack of standard housing options which are affordable to low-income persons. Because homeownership costs have become prohibitive, many low and moderate-income households have turned to the rental market. As a consequence of rising demand, rents have increased and vacancy rates have dropped. In some areas of Sevier County rents increased as much as 80 percent between 1980 and 1990 (U.S. Census Bureau). In the county, huge tracts of land are being subdivided for single family homes, not apartments. Between 1983 and 1990, 2,677 single family homes were built compared to 412 multi-family units.

Proposals to build apartments are met with disdain. For example, the Municipal Planning Commission of Gatlinburg gave approval in 1997 for the development of 22 single family homes to be built in the Mills Park community. A proposal to build a 70 unit apartment complex in the neighborhood was deferred after residents of the community voiced their opposition to apartments.

The shortage of affordable rental housing led to the growth in the number of mobile homes in Sevier County between 1980 and 1990, an increase of 146 percent. But increasingly the problem of where to locate mobile homes has lessened the availability of this type of housing. For the most part, the poor are confined to areas of

the county that are "less developed" due to weaker real estate prices. Most mobile homes are in these areas. The location of affordable housing options used to be a function of distance from the main development corridor, but increasingly it is becoming impossible to locate mobile homes in any area of the county. An attempt by one mobile home company to build a mobile home park on land it owns in western Sevier County was met with extreme opposition by residents of a nearby subdivision. Some older, more established trailer parks in the county are turning into open-country "ghettos" as they become increasingly overcrowded (Fitchen 1991) (Figure V-14).

Against this background on housing needs for permanent residents, is a situation in Sevier County in which rental housing for the tourists is increasing (Smith 1989). The number of hotels and motels increased more than 26 percent with more



Figure V-14. Mobile Home Cluster near Sevierville. Margaret D. Foraker 1999.

than 40 establishments added between 1982 and 1993. In Pigeon Forge, the number of hotel and motel rooms increased 46 percent between 1990 and 1997, and the number of rental cabins for vacationers increased 517 percent, from 96 to 592.

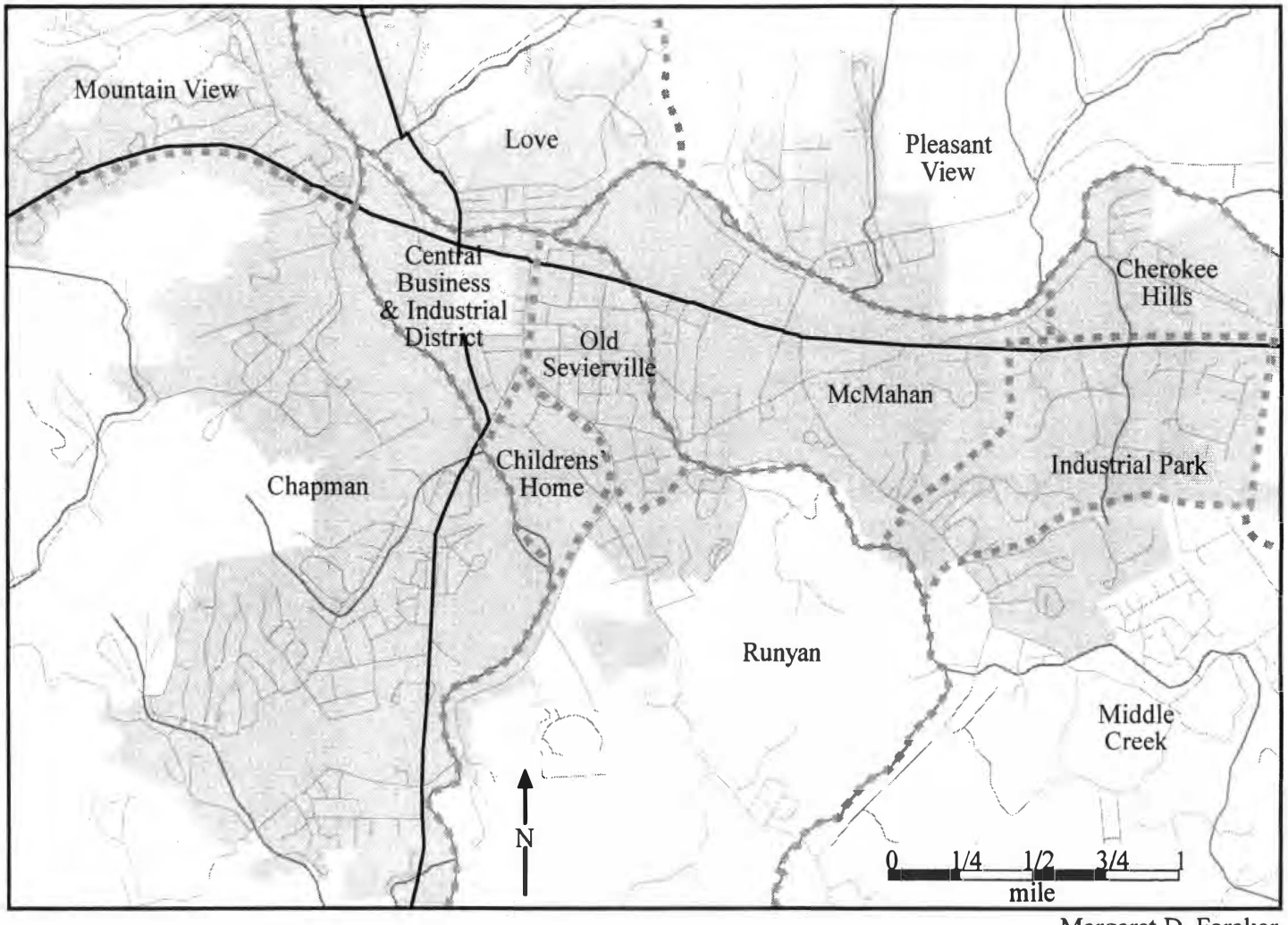
The county's low vacancy rate of 1.5 percent is further evidence of the need for housing. At the block group level, however, a high vacancy rate in Gatlinburg suggests that many residents cannot afford the housing available. Many rental units in Gatlinburg have been turned into condominiums and sold as second homes. Some are unavailable because "landlords prefer to rent to tourists who will pay hundreds of dollars per week" (Smith 1989, 67). Neighborhoods in Gatlinburg which once were stable working-class communities are becoming gentrified as houses are bought and turned into seasonal homes or rental properties for tourists.

Reduction of new multi-family housing, increasing conversion of rental property into condominiums, and rising costs make conditions worse for low-income residents in need of housing. One third of all renter households in Sevier County were cost-burdened in 1990. Residential construction in Sevier County is taking place without regard to the housing needs of the county's population. Housing deprivation in Sevier County has obvious political and class dimensions as developers build what will make them the most money. The irony is that there has developed a shortage of local workers because tourist jobs have little spatial association with where workers can afford to live. Increasingly, businesses have to bus low-wage employees to Sevier County.

The McMahan Neighborhood

Block group 808-3 for the most part, includes the McMahan neighborhood in eastern Sevierville (Figure V-15). This neighborhood is one of the older subdivisions in the town and it has always been among the poorest. Poor economic conditions stem in part from its poor physical conditions. Much of the land is low lying along Middle Creek and is prone to flooding. The soggy soils earned this creek-side area the nickname "Frog Alley" (Figure V-16). Adjacent areas, such as Burden Hill cannot be developed due to steep slopes. The Frog Alley and Burden Hill "sections" of the McMahan neighborhood have historically been an important part of the black community. McMahan and Burden are names of black families that have lived in this town for several generations. By the late 1800s, many members of the black community had learned brick making and are responsible for many of the brick buildings that define downtown Sevierville (Jones 1996).

Part of the black heritage of Sevierville is represented in New Salem Baptist Church in the McMahan neighborhood (Figure V-17). The church was built in 1886 by a local black mason, Isaac Dockery, and is the county's oldest brick church (Jones 1996). The families of the McMahan neighborhood also built a schoolhouse in Frog Alley and another on Burden Hill. In addition to the church and schools, there were two grocery stores serving the black community. In the mid-twentieth century, black families began leaving Sevierville to acquire better educations and to find employment. Sevierville did not have a black high school, and Sevier County's white high school was not integrated until 1963.



Margaret D. Foraker

Figure V-15. Neighborhoods of Sevierville, Tennessee

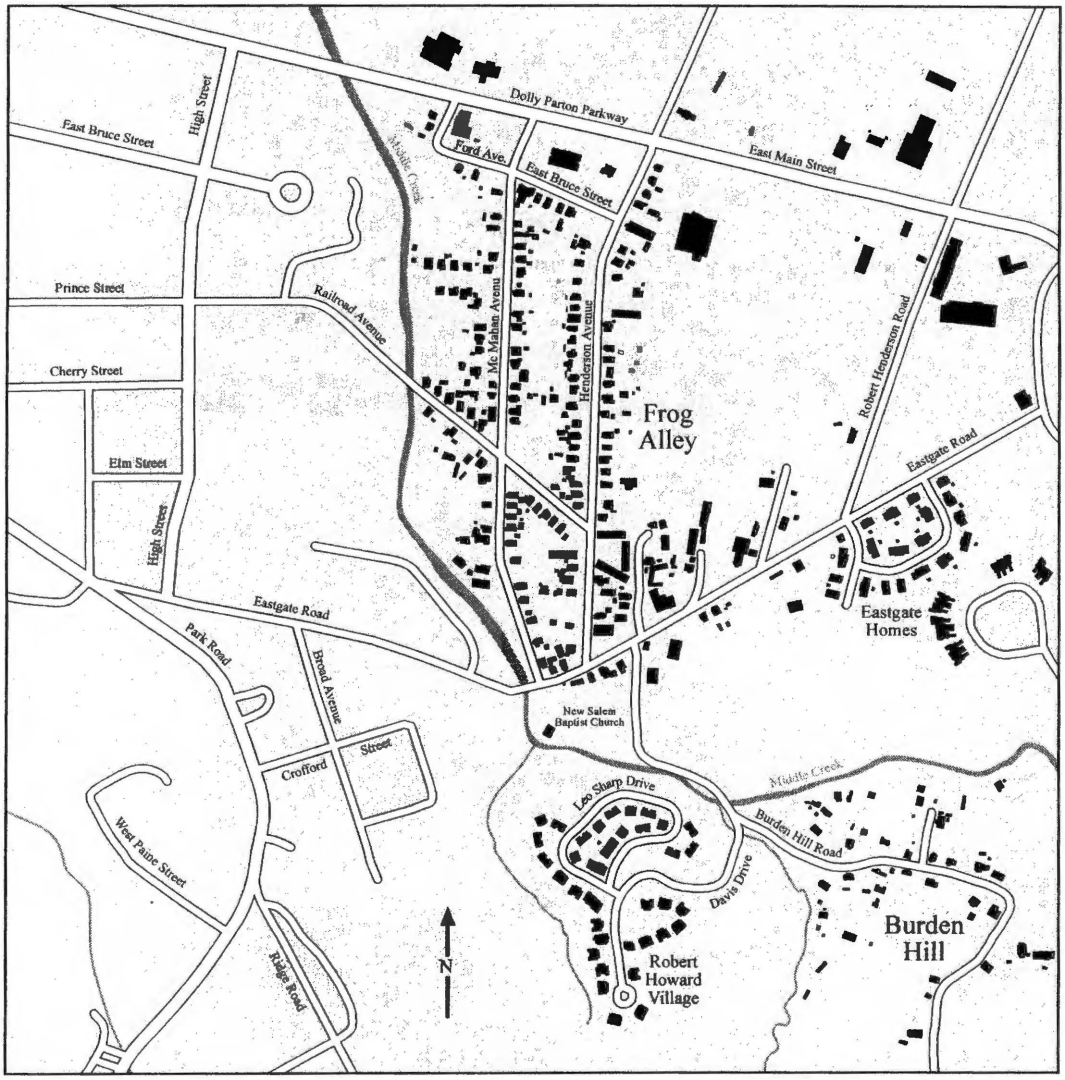


Figure V-16 . The McMahan Neighborhood of Sevierville, Tennessee



Figure V-17. New Salem Baptist Church. Margaret D. Foraker, 1999.

Frog Alley and Burden Hill have changed composition over the past few decades, losing their identity as a black community. While at the end of the nineteenth century, there were over 1,000 blacks living in Sevier County; now there are just over 200, many of whom are concentrated in the Burden Hill area. Many houses in the neighborhood are occupied by whites, even the church is now used by a white congregation. The Frog Alley section became a poor white neighborhood of renters, while Burden Hill became a racially integrated area of renter and owners.

The housing in the McMahan neighborhood consists mostly of small one to one and one-half story dwellings mixed with mobile homes. The mobile homes, which are increasingly an affordable housing option, are found largely on the Burden Hill side of the neighborhood. Burden Hill has relatively steep slopes and the few

roads are winding, unpaved, and difficult to travel (Figure V-18). Frog Alley is laid out in a linear fashion; its narrow tree-lined streets are dotted with small single family homes (Figure V-19, 20).

In both rural and urban communities, those choosing locations for public housing seek the path of least resistance; they choose neighborhoods that are politically weak (Aiken 1990, 226). In the late 1960s, because of its historical identity as a part of the black community and its emerging identity as a poor white community, a public housing complex, Eastgate Homes, was located at the eastern bound of the McMahan neighborhood (Figure V-21). Then, in 1984, a second public housing complex, Robert Howard Village, was built on Burden Hill (Figure V-22). Both projects are operated by the Sevierville Housing Authority and together comprise 145



Figure V-18. View from Burden Hill. Margaret D. Foraker 1999.



Figure V-19. Frog Alley, McMahan Neighborhood. Margaret D. Foraker, 1999.



Figure V-20. House in the McMahan Neighborhood. Margaret D. Foraker 1999.



Figure V-21. Eastgate Homes on Burden Hill. Margaret D. Foraker 1999.



Figure V-22. Robert Howard Village Homes on Burden Hill. Margaret D. Foraker 1999.

detached units. According to the Housing Authority, only four of the units are occupied by black families. White, single-mother families occupy the majority of the remaining units (Sevierville Housing Authority 2000).

The number of poor is on the rise in Sevierville, up 66 percent in the last decade. The growing number of poor means increasing competition for a limited number of low-cost housing units. As competition increased in the 1990s, rents increased 80 percent in Sevierville. Forty percent of the households in the McMahan neighborhood met the definition of housing cost-burdened. Only for those living in the public housing, is rent kept at 30 percent of income. There is a growing need and demand for affordable housing in Sevierville. The current waiting list for the public housing units in the McMahan neighborhood ranges from six months for the three and four bedroom units to two years for the one-bedroom units (Sevierville Housing Authority 2000).

The Future of the McMahan Neighborhood

Sevierville shows signs of becoming socially distressed as a result of a growing population of poor combined with an affordable housing shortage. Continued tourism development will result in additional low-wage, part-time, seasonal growth in the retail and services sectors. In order to meet their basic needs such as access to housing, healthcare, and food security, workers need better paying jobs. In addition to promoting economic diversity, Sevierville and Sevier County need to foster socio-cultural diversity. The index of segregation for Sevier County is 72.4. Although

blacks have lived in the community for many generations, they are underrepresented in the economy of the city (see, for example, Smith 1989).

The history of the McMahan neighborhood illustrates a type of *social filtering* as a once viable, albeit segregated and poor, black community slowly lost its black population and developed into a poor white neighborhood. The future of the McMahan neighborhood is a tenuous one—as commercial development proliferates along Middle Creek Road to the east and along Dolly Parton Parkway to the north. Overtime, as tourism increased first in Gatlinburg and then in Pigeon Forge, the poor in Sevier County were increasingly relegated to Sevierville. Now, as Sevierville, with approximately 50 percent of the county's poor population, seeks to promote tourism, it is increasingly faced with the problem of housing its poor.

Small Town Services: Roane County, Tennessee

Block group 6 in census tract 302.02 in Kingston in Roane County, Tennessee with a total population of 552, has a poverty rate of 43.8 percent (Figure V-23). Approximately 30 percent of the population is age 65 or over while 52 percent of the total population receives social security income (Table V-4). Nearly half of the workforce is employed in the trade and services sector; only 10 percent are employed in manufacturing. This high poverty block group is largely comprised of the Greenwood neighborhood, located in the heart of Kingston (Figure V-24). Kingston has long experienced growth in manufacturing employment, but increasingly the town is turning toward recreation and retirement development while especially promoting

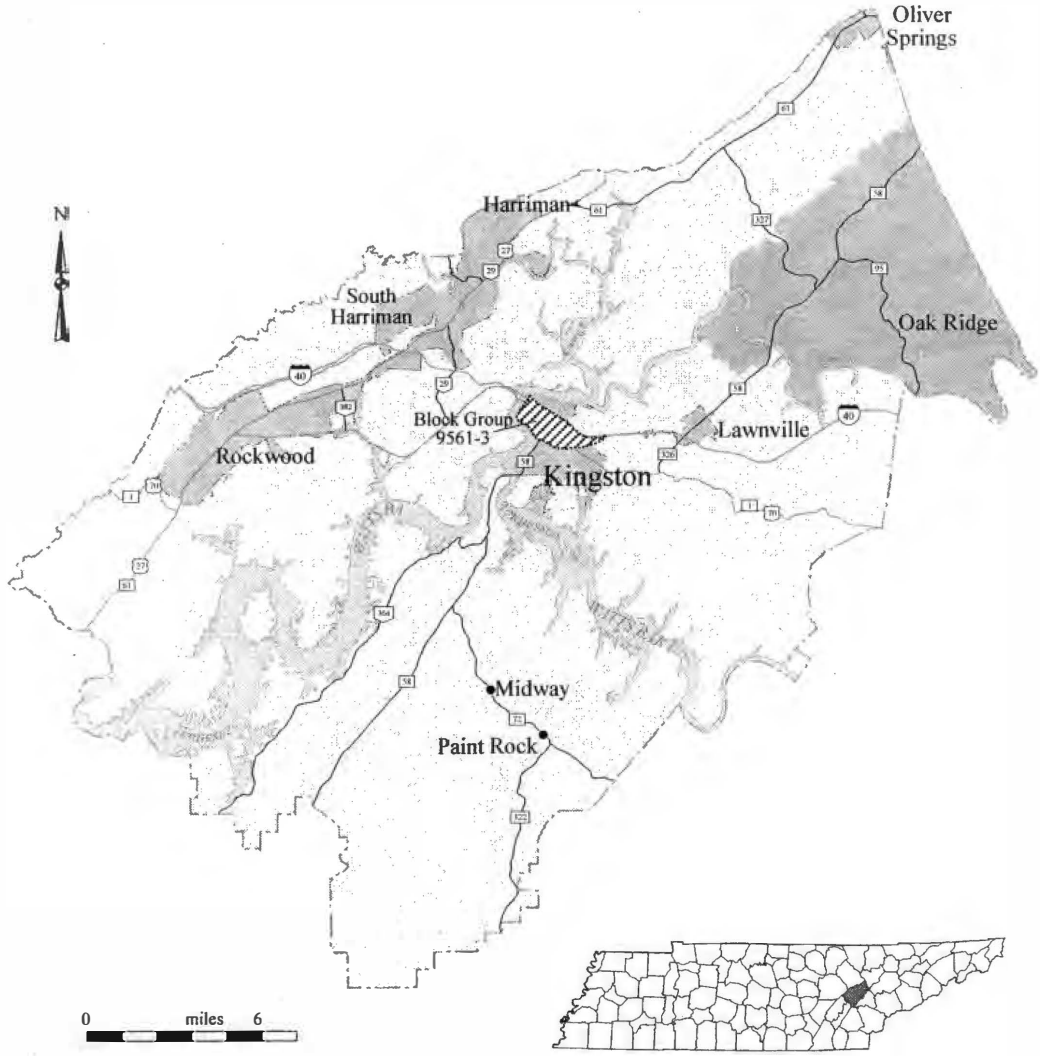
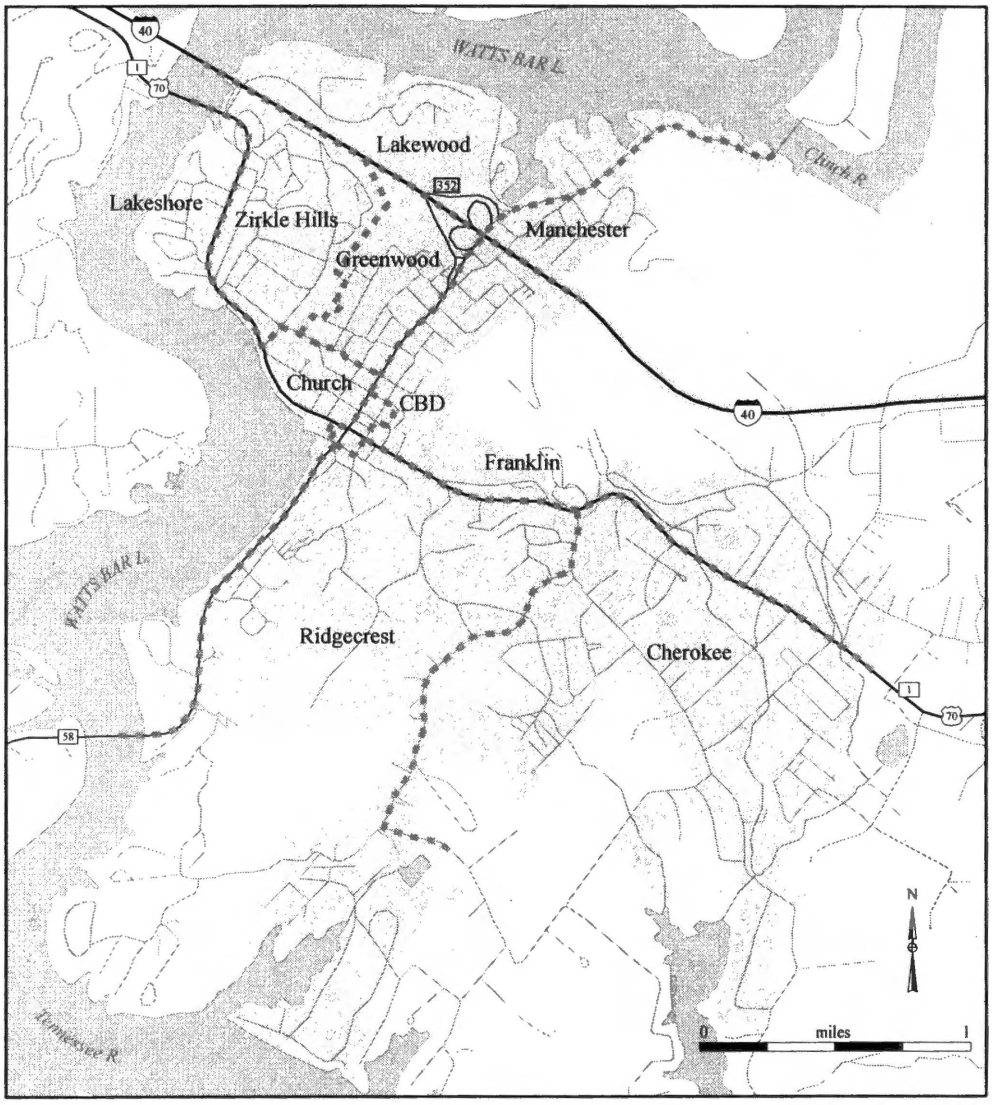


Figure V-23. Block Group 302.02-6 Roane County, Tennessee

Table V-4. Block Group 6 Census Tract 0303.02, Roane County

Total Population	552
Below poverty (percent of all persons)	43.8
Rural (percent of all persons)	0
Socio-demographic Characteristics	
High school grad (percent of all persons age 25 years and over)	36.1
Age 17 & under (percent of all persons)	14.3
Age 65 & over (percent of all persons)	29.7
Black (percent of all persons)	13.2
Female householder families (percent of all families)	25.5
Income and Employment Characteristics	
Female unemployment (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	0
Employed in agriculture (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	0
Employed in mining (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	0
Employed in manufacturing (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	10.1
Employed in trade (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	32.4
Employed in services (percent of employed persons age 16 and over)	14.9
Receiving social security income (percent of population)	52.8
Receiving public assist income (percent of population)	3.6
Female householder families w/children under 17 in the workforce (percent of all families)	0
Housing Characteristics	
Owner occupied (percent of all occupied housing units)	52
Lived in same house 1985 (percent of population age 5 years and over)	42.9
Mobile home/trailer units (percent of all occupied housing units)	17.8
Home built 1939 or earlier (percent of all occupied housing units)	6.3
No vehicle present (percent of all occupied housing units)	30.3
Not complete plumbing (percent of all occupied housing units)	0
Cost burdened (percent of all occupied housing units)	23.6



Margaret D. Foraker 2000

Figure V-24. Neighborhoods of Kingston, Tennessee

itself as an attractive place to retire. The town and the county both boast of being the "crossroads for Tennessee's growing tourism trade" due to their central location between Nashville, Chattanooga and Knoxville. But how does this neighborhood fit into the town's economic development plan? And, what effects does this plan have on the residents of the Greenwood neighborhood?

Historical, Social, Economic Context

The town of Kingston with a population of 5,000 is located on the Clinch River near its intersection with the Tennessee River. Established in 1799, Kingston boasts its status as one of the oldest towns in the state. For approximately seventy years, Kingston was the only town in Roane County and has played an important role in the economic growth of the region. Nevertheless, the town remained a small agricultural and trading center until the Tennessee Valley Authority completed Watts Bar Dam in the early 1940s. The dam, part of Roosevelt's New Deal programs in the Great Depression era, displaced residents from some of the best agricultural land in the region and created Watts Bar Lake which has over 783 miles of shoreline. Recreation, including boating, water skiing, and fishing, has become an important component of Kingston's economy (Figure V-25).

Tourism in Kingston is largely small-scale, based on attracting local residents and motorists from Interstates 40 and 75. According to the director of tourism, the town's main goal is to promote Kingston's small-town character, its historical importance, and its natural amenities. The creation of Watts Bar Lake in the 1940s



Figure V-25. Entrance to Kingston, Tennessee. View upon entering Kingston from the south on State Highway 58 along Watts Barr Lake. Margaret D. Foraker 2000.

prompted community leaders to promote Roane County as a place of natural beauty with numerous outdoor recreation activities. Visitation to the lake and the surrounding communities remained fairly small until Interstate 40 was completed in the 1960s. Watts Bar Lake received approximately 900,000 visitors in 1966 (Benhart 1966).

Increasing visitation to the lake contributes to the local economy and, as a result, economic changes are occurring. The number of restaurants and bars in Kingston grew by 50 percent between 1982 and 1992. In 1968, Roane County had 526 rooms for tourist; today, the town of Kingston alone has over 400 rooms, including chain motels, cabins, and bed and breakfast inns. In addition to increased recreation development over recent decades, Kingston has become an attractive place

to retire. The number of persons age 65 and over increased 114 percent from 1979 to 1999. The town's retirement function is hailed by many as Kingston's main "industry" (Sams 2000).

The Greenwood Neighborhood

The Greenwood neighborhood is chosen as a case study because of its high poverty rate and its historical situation as the location of the black community. It is also chosen because of its larger social, economic, and political context. Although the identification of this neighborhood as poor is likely to change in future censuses, this neighborhood is perceived by many to be the "poor side of town," and it continues to be identified as the "black community" even as changes in its social composition are occurring.

The Greenwood neighborhood has its origins in the early post-Civil War era when the land north of Kingston's center developed into an African American community comprised largely of freed slaves. Even today, many of the local, elderly residents in Greenwood identify themselves as descendents of former slaves (Bailey 2000). After the Civil War, the Freedman's Bureau opened a local office in Greenwood; its mission was to provide education to the black community. Louis Braxton, one of the few educated members of the community, helped to secure a teacher for the school, which building today houses an inactive chapter of the NAACP (Figure V-26). In addition to the neighborhood school, Braxton's Chapel, the first black church in Roane County, remains the heart of the local black community (Figure V-27).



Figure V-26. NAACP Building, Greenwood Neighborhood. Former Greenwood community school is now a local chapter of the NAACP. Margaret D. Foraker 2000.

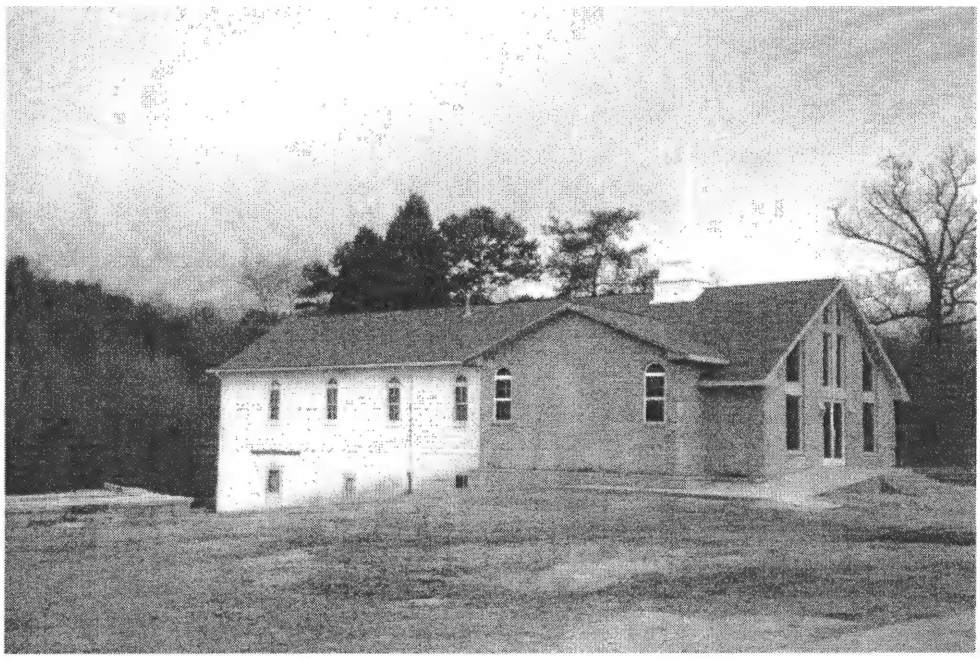


Figure V-27. Braxton's Chapel, Greenwood Neighborhood. Margaret D. Foraker 2000.

Prior to the building of Interstate 40, Greenwood was a small residential community. But, in the early 1960s, the Interstate increased development, especially along Kentucky Street. Kentucky Street is now Kingston's main thoroughfare and divides the neighborhood near its intersection with Interstate 40 (Figure V-28 and V-29). At issue in Greenwood are the ways in which Interstate 40 has brought the loss of quality of life, housing insecurity, and underlying elements racial discrimination. Although it is generally agreed that any approach to economic development should engender economic opportunities for all citizens, from the perception of the black residents of Greenwood, this has not been the case. The Greenwood neighborhood was identified as early as 1971 by the Local Development Board as containing the majority of the town's dilapidated housing units. The way was paved for developers to begin the process of buying property. In the words of one neighborhood resident, "many of us don't feel we have the power to refuse to sell. If you don't [sell], they ['the city'] file papers to condemn your property…so it is best to sell" (Greenwood 2000). Development continues to expand along Kentucky Street. Once lined with large, single-family homes, the street is now characterized by numerous fast food restaurants, motels, bed and breakfast inns, and gas stations designed to draw travelers, i.e., potential visitors, from the Interstate.

Since 1975, 33 percent of the residential properties in Greenwood have been re-zoned commercial, and the number of commercial properties has increased 200 percent (compiled from various zoning documents) (Figure V-30). In many instances,



Figure V-28. Kentucky Avenue. State Highway 58 (Kentucky Avenue) looking west toward Interstate 40. Margaret D. Foraker 2000.



Figure V-29. View of Interstate 40 from Greenwood Neighborhood. Margaret D. Foraker 2000.



Figure V-30. Land Use in the Greenwood Neighborhood,
Block Group 6 Census Tract 0303.02, Kingston, Tennessee 1998

houses have been torn down to make room for new commercial enterprises. Other houses have been converted into office space. While it might be expected that employment options would improve for local people, the Greenwood community complains that many of the new businesses hire workers from outside the neighborhood. Business owners claim that "no one from the neighborhood has ever applied" (Greenwood 2000). Many of the younger residents leave due to the lack of opportunity, a trend that began in the Second World War and has dramatically increased in recent years. It is difficult to stay in a place that offers few opportunities, so it is not surprising to learn that the black population of Greenwood declined 61 percent between 1975 and 2000. In addition to the encroachment of the new businesses into the Greenwood neighborhood, has been the recent in-migration of retirees, many of whom are from Knoxville (Sams 2000). "Elderly people come to Kingston for the peace and quiet and for the scenery." "The scenery is wonderful but it does not help our young people. There is nothing to keep our young here" (Greenwood 2000).

The Future of the Greenwood Neighborhood

The processes of change that are occurring in the Greenwood neighborhood of Kingston, Tennessee, are best understood within the larger processes of rural economic restructuring and social change. Many residents of Kingston have traditionally been employed in nearby industrial centers, such as TVA's Kingston Steam Plant. Department of Energy layoffs in Oak Ridge and other industrial layoffs

in the 1980s and 1990s have contributed to a growing trend toward a decline in local manufacturing. In Roane County, manufacturing employment declined from over 50 percent of all employed persons in 1970 to just 25 percent in 1990; meanwhile, retail and service employment increased approximately 30 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census).

Efforts to promote business attractions in order to increase traffic from Interstate 40 have worked to the detriment of Greenwood residents. Resistance to the wave of changes occurring in the neighborhood has come only rarely in the form of refusals to sell property. The attitude of Greenwood residents is largely one of resignation. Nothing can be done to stop the plan local leaders have for Kingston, so many residents who sold, moved down Route 58 to the community of Paint Rock. It is located "out in the county" several miles southeast of Kingston (Greenwood 2000). Paint Rock is comprised largely of rural poor whites living on marginal farmland. In this community there are a growing number of mobile homes of former Kingston residents (Figure V-31). In addition, there are two small apartment complexes inhabited in part by former Greenwood residents. The Paint Rock community has a church, a school, and a small retail center.

Greenwood's self-proclaimed "warrior" is a fifty-year-old African American woman who was born and raised in the community. Ms. Jones often takes on town officials at local meetings. Her tactics are two-fold: 1) be vocal at local public meetings; and 2) educate her neighbors in Greenwood of recent developments regarding the community. Part of her approach involves giving speeches in the black



Figure V-31. Trailer Park in Paint Rock, Roane County, Tennessee. Margaret D. Foraker 2000.

community aimed at motivating members of the younger generation to get involved in their community and to stand for opportunity in Kingston. Neither tactic is thought to make much difference, but Ms. Jones' efforts will continue until "she herself is squeezed out" (Greenwood 2000).

This study of a poor neighborhood in the town of Kingston reveals several needs. Kingston needs to foster socio-cultural diversity. The index of segregation for the town is 65. The town's black population, albeit a small one in that blacks are less than ten percent of Kingston's population, is not represented in the economy of the city. In fact, many work in businesses outside of Kingston in neighboring towns and counties. Economic opportunities require the use of automobiles to obtain jobs, an added burden to already strained finances.

The history of Greenwood illustrates a neighborhood in transition. This segregated but close-knit black community is slowly developing into a prime commercial district. Although the exact future of the Greenwood neighborhood is unknown, many residents will not hesitate to state that their community is dying and is likely to soon disappear. The decisions made by community leaders and local development officials have put this census block group at risk as a neighborhood. As the lakefront property to the north, east, and west of the neighborhood increasingly becomes up-scale housing developments and as the blocks surrounding Kentucky Street are increasingly made into service businesses, Greenwood residents will eventually be completely uprooted.

This study is undertaken with the basic premise that there is no single type of poverty or place where the rural poor reside. Rural areas are diverse and it is necessary to understand this diversity in order to effectively deal with the problem of poverty. We need to discern the relationships among the various issues associated with poverty. We need to seek the causes, characteristics, and context of poverty that exist in each particular location. This study reveals that counter to many popular images of the rural poor spread across the countryside in southern Appalachian, many of the poor in eastern Tennessee are concentrated in municipalities. Examination of extreme poverty neighborhoods need not be limited to inner-city ghettoes. Neighborhoods in small towns and hamlets in the rural countryside have interesting stories and important lessons for local officials and federal policy makers.

Chapter VI
Implications for Rural Anti-Poverty Policies and Programs

> *The national government has done little that really matters in eliminating the causes of rural poverty* (Rural Sociological Society Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty, 1996: 292).

Unique Federal Policies and Programs in Appalachia

In 1964, from the front porch of a small, eastern Kentucky home, President Lyndon B. Johnson declared a "War on Poverty" in rural America (Free 1997). Millions of dollars were soon spent on providing job training and improving housing quality, health care, and social services. Money and policies were especially aimed at Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Virginia, and North Carolina (Free 1997, Billings and Tickamyer 1993).

Johnson's War on Poverty was not the first time that federal and national attentions were drawn to the Appalachian region. In the depression economy of 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed a bill creating the Tennessee Valley Authority. TVA was to be more than "dams, water, and power lines" (Branscome 1977, 8). The agency was to address the region's underdevelopment. The agency's founding purpose was to develop "to the fullest potential the human and natural resources of the region" (21). The impact of the TVA on the economic development of east Tennessee and the larger Tennessee Valley region, however, remains questionable (Wheeler and McDonald 1988). As Branscome suggests, TVA got "off track" by the 1970s, becoming too concerned with power production (1977).

Historians William Bruce Wheeler and Michael J. McDonald argue that benefits from TVA's programs were not evenly distributed. In fact, their study suggests that communities of the Ridge and Valley received most benefits from TVA programs while the Cumberland Plateau and Blue Ridge communities were left behind. For example, TVA's agricultural policies, such as commercial farming, fertilization, and crop rotation, were largely confined to the larger farms of the Ridge and Valley. Given this local disparity, TVA's programs failed the region as a whole. Wheeler and McDonald state that improvements in navigation of the Tennessee River failed to boost the region's economy, and increased power production failed to promote manufacturing. Income earned from manufacturing in the TVA area increased from 15 percent in 1929 to only 20 percent of total income by 1950 (Wheeler and McDonald 1988, 37).

The economic development struggle in the Appalachian region is revealed in regional statistics. One in three Appalachian citizens lived in poverty in 1960 and per capita income was 23 percent lower than the national average (Wheeler and McDonald 1988, 37). The enduring high poverty levels and underdevelopment of Appalachia drew national attention in the 1960s. President Johnson's declaration of a *War on Poverty* in 1964 helped to spark the passage of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act and the 1965 Appalachian Regional Development Act, which created the Appalachian Regional Commission (Laing 1997, 2). The main purpose of the Appalachian Regional Commission was to promote the economic development of the region and to foster federal and state cooperation in helping the region to "meet its special needs" (2).

Since the creation of the Appalachian Regional Commission in 1965, much progress has been made. Such infrastructural improvements as new roads, water and sewer systems, schools, and healthcare facilities have benefited the lives of many area residents (Free 1997). Yet the endurance of high poverty levels in Appalachia and, in some places, increases in the number of rural poor, such as in Sevier County and Roane County, indicate a type of failure with policies and programs. As Laing points out, although progress was made in terms of improving the lives of area residents, not enough was done. Just as the Tennessee Valley Authority became narrowly focused on power production, the Appalachian Regional Commission became narrowly focused on highway construction (Laing 1997, 3). The Commission viewed Appalachia's underdevelopment as the result of its lack of integration with the rest of the nation. Much of the Commission's efforts and 63% of its funds were concentrated on increasing Appalachia's spatial connectivity via highway construction (3). Thirty years after the creation of the ARC, many Appalachian counties still have worse economic conditions compared to the rest of the United States. Many rural counties of Appalachia continue to be held back by a lack of jobs, underemployment, inadequate housing, and inadequate public services.

The Appalachian Regional Commission provides supplemental funds to aid the most distressed counties in the region. However, those counties that are deemed less distressed receive less assistance, and counties classified as the least distressed receive little or no assistance. Federal funding in Appalachia also has a regional bias. Bagi, Reeder, and Calhoun show that Southern Appalachia receives less federal funding

than Central and Northern Appalachia (2002). Earlier research by the same authors found that federal funding in Appalachia has an urban bias (Bagi, Reeder, and Calhoun, 1999). Rural Appalachia receives less federal funding than urban Appalachia and less funding than other rural areas nationwide. The authors further note that the Ridge and Valley region is less economically distressed than the rest of Appalachia and, therefore, "appears to require less federal funds." In addition, a study by Mencken on the effects of federal spending on local economic growth in Appalachia concludes that counties which receive the most public investment per capita experience greater income and employment (2000). The spatial distribution of the benefits of Federal spending in Appalachia, in particular in east Tennessee, may be questioned. As the block group map of high poverty shows, block groups in the Cumberland Plateau and Blue Ridge regions appear to be more economically distressed than those in the Ridge and Valley.

Changing Attitudes Toward the Poor: Effects on Poverty Policy

In 1996, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) was passed to "end welfare as we know it." This refers to handing welfare to the states in the form of block grants. Previously, the Federal government played a larger role in poverty relief. A discussion of the changing attitudes toward poverty and poverty relief provides insight into current policy debates.

From the early colonial days to the nineteenth century, an assumption in America was that poverty was due to a lack of jobs or an inability to work. As the

economy began to grow through the industrial period, this view began to change. The poor were thought to be lazy and thus responsible for their poverty. The Protestant work-ethic that prevailed emphasized the value of work. The poor individual could overcome poverty by working. This attitude led to greater emphasis placed on rehabilitation.

By the mid-nineteenth century institutionalizing the poor in alms houses (poorhouses) was viewed as the best method for dealing with poverty (Commisa 1998, 30). It was believed that charity and assistance were too available, which encouraged dependence and laziness. One of the goals of poorhouses was to make relief less desirable (Commisa 1998, 31). Poorhouses were to serve as a deterrent and, more importantly, they were to rehabilitate the poor. They were to teach the work ethic to the poor who were deemed able to work. By the late nineteenth century there developed a strong reaction against institutionalization of the poor. Settlement houses began replacing poorhouses. Settlement houses focused on prevention and rehabilitation. The goal was to teach the poor the skills they needed to get out of poverty. Poverty was viewed as the result of the economic structure rather than individual failings.

Mother's Pensions developed early in the twentieth century. The pensions provided cash grants for single mothers to help them care for their children. This applied to morally fit mothers, i.e., widows, as opposed to divorcees, and never-married mothers. This new approach recognized the need to provide aid that would allow mothers to care for children at home rather than put them in poor houses and

their kids in orphanages. Women who were viewed as worthy needed help to raise children. Proponents of Mother's Aid believed in gender differences and in the division of labor in which women were responsible for child care and housekeeping (Gordon 1994, 54). Mothers were expected to stay at home. Therefore, aid was not available for day care or job training. The rationale for this gender division is rooted in a stable working class and the nuclear family supported by a male (Garcia-Ramon and Monk 1996, 36).

As more mothers began to enter the workforce by the 1930s, society began to accept the idea of working mothers. Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) developed out of the new philosophy. At first, ADC included only widows who were deemed worthy of aid. Ultimately, "unworthy women," (i.e., divorced and never-married mothers), were accepted for ADC. The federal government became involved in welfare because of the economic crisis of the 1930s. Directors of federal programs felt that all single parents should be covered. The Social Security Act of 1935 created a stratified system of provision in which the Social Insurance programs were superior in payments and reputation. Public assistance was inferior, considered second rate, and stigmatizing (Gordon 1994, 5). Social Security and Unemployment Compensation were accepted by the public because individuals worked or attempted to work for aid. Public assistance was considered unearned. Its recipients were charged with taking charity without having worked for it.

By the late 1930s, the belief that welfare eroded individualism and personal responsibility developed. It was believed that most of the poor could get off relief if

they tried hard enough. In 1939, amendments were made to the Social Security Act. Widows were taken into the more acceptable or "worthy" category of the Social Insurance system. Aid to Dependent Children came to include divorced and never-married mothers (Commisa 1998, 47). The division between the deserving poor and the unworthy poor was heightened.

Under the "War on Poverty" system of the 1960s, ADC was renamed Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). President Johnson expanded on certain New Deal programs, hoping to create a "Great Society" in which poverty would supposedly become a thing of the past. The Great Society programs increased the role of the federal government in welfare. Some of the programs, e.g., Head Start, Job Corps, were based on the culture of poverty perspective. A culture of poverty prevents poor people from developing the skills and attitudes necessary to succeed in American society.

The 1996 Welfare Reform Act (PRWORA) replaced AFDC with Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and ended the entitlement status of welfare. As an entitlement, anyone eligible for AFDC could sue the government for aid. By ending the entitlement status, it was believed that poor people would become more self-sufficient and responsible. Temporary Assistance for Needy Families ends the federal responsibility for taking care of anyone in poverty. This reflects changes in attitudes about the poor and the causes of poverty. The poor were no longer viewed as being entitled to aid because poverty is due to individual failings. Under Republicans, federal policy retrogressed to the idea that the entitlement status of welfare caused

dependency. By ending it, the poor would become more independent and self-sufficient. The new welfare reform ignores the structural causes behind poverty and focuses on reducing dependency rather than reducing poverty.

"Families First" is Tennessee's welfare-to-work program, which was implemented in September 1996. It replaces Aid to Families with Dependent Children. The purpose of Families First is to help participants work and to punish those who do not. It imposes strict work requirement, time limits, and parental responsibilities on recipients. Adults have to sign a plan agreeing to work, to do volunteer work, or go to school 40 hours per week. Only then can they receive benefits for up to 18 months. Aid to Families with Dependent Children did not require work. Anyone who does not comply with the requirements loses his or her benefits.

Families First and the larger welfare reform policy focus on the labor market. The objective is to move people from welfare to work. For Families First to succeed there will have to be adequate paying jobs. The minimum wage is not high enough for a family to support children and pay for housing and healthcare. Policies that ease entry into a minimum wage workforce will not decrease poverty. They do not help the poor who are unable to work (e.g., children).

Conclusion

The differences among the poverty types identified in this study appear to be the result of a combination of the local economy and the characteristics of the people who live in the place. This spatial analysis examines differences within and among

rural areas of east Tennessee. The results contribute to our understanding of who is poor and where they live. The results indicate that individual characteristics, including race, gender, and level of education are important in defining the poor. Structural characteristics, such as economic opportunity, and rural restructuring, offer more explanatory significance in understanding the geography of poverty.

This study has implications for poverty policy. Current discussions regarding the alleviation of poverty focus on how to make poor people work. They fail to take into account the fact that many of the poor are working. A conclusion is that the programs to make work pay should include wages above the minimum. The success of policy debate is influenced by the different employment opportunities available in different places. Differences between poverty populations (and their places of residence) should be considered in order to match poverty programs and policies with the needs of a specific location and type of poverty population. Increasing the minimum wage, for example, will likely help those living in places with a high number of minimum wage jobs, such as Sevierville, and Kingston. But increasing the minimum wage will likely have little impact on the residents of Morley and Butler, places in which there are simply too few jobs. In sum, the fight against high poverty in rural areas must take into account spatial economic factors that shape individual places and circumstances (Tickamyer 1992, 61).

In 1999, some thirty-five years after President Johnson's visit to Appalachia, President Bill Clinton visited rural Kentucky. Once again, public attention was drawn to the social and economic problems of Appalachia. Unfortunately, the social and

economic philosophy behind this regional visit was to highlight the plight of the poor in America's cities. The goal of Clinton's "pockets of poverty" tour was to gain publicity for his New Markets Initiative, a policy aimed at viewing America's poverty areas as "emerging markets." Much like a developing country, the poor may be viewed as a market for products from the "other," more wealthy America. The success of yet another unique approach to poverty remains questionable.

References

Aiken, Charles S., 1987. "Race as a Factor in Municipal Underbounding," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 77 (4): 564-579.

Aiken, Charles S., 1990. "A New Type of Black Ghetto in the Plantation South," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 80 (2): 223-246.

Albrecht, Don E., Carol Mulford Albrecht, and Stan L. Albrecht, 2000. "Poverty in Nonmetropolitan America: Impacts of Industrial, Employment, and Family Structure Variables," *Rural Sociology* 65 (1): 87-103.

Aldenderfer, Mark S. and Roger K. Blashfield, 1984. *Cluster Analysis*. Sage University Paper Series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, 07-044. Sage Publications.

Appalachia Land Ownership Task Force, 1983. *Who Owns Appalachia*? Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press.

Bailey, Robert, Roane County Heritage Commission. Personal interview, May 25, 2000.

Bagi, Faqir, Richard J. Reeder, and Samuel D. Calhoun, 1999. "Federal Funding's Unique Role in Appalachia," *Rural Development Perspectives*, 14 (1): 14-21.

Bagi, Faqir, Richard J. Reeder, and Samuel D. Calhoun, 2002. "Federal Funding in Appalachia and Its Three Subregions," *Rural America*, 17 (4): 31-37

Bakker, Isabella, editor. 1994. *The Strategic Silence: Gender and Economic Policy*. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Brenner, J. 1987. "Feminist Political Discourse: Radical vs. Liberal Approaches to the Feminization of Poverty and Comparable Worth," *Gender and Society* 1(4): 447-465.

Brodie, Janine. 1994. "Shifting the Boundaries: Gender and the Politics of Restructuring," pages 46-60 in *The Strategic Silence: Gender and Economic Policy*, edited by Isabella Bakker.

Beale, Calvin L., 1989. "The Revival of Population Growth in Nonmetropolitan America," in *A Taste of the Country: A Collection of Calvin Beale's Writings*, edited by Peter Morrison. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press: 137-152.

Beaver, Patricia, 1984. "Appalachian Cultural Adaptations: An Overview." In *Cultural Adaptations to Mountain Environments*, Patricia D. Beaver and Burton Purrington, editors. Athens: The University of Georgia Press: 73-93.

Beaver, Patricia, 1986. *Rural Community in the Appalachian South*, Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press.

Benhart, John E., 1966. *Background for Planning: Kingston, Tennessee*, Knoxville: East Tennessee Office, Tennessee State Planning Commission.

Billings, Dwight B. and Kathleen M. Blee, 2000. *The Road to Poverty: The Making of Wealth and Hardship in Appalachia.* Cambridge University Press.

Brown, David L. and Mildred E. Warner, 1991. Persistent Low-Income Nonmetropolitan Areas in the United States: Some Conceptual Challenges for Development Policy, *Policy Studies Journal* 19(2): 22-41.

Brown, David L. and Thomas A. Hirschl, 1995. "Household Poverty in Rural and Metropolitan Core Areas of the United States," *Rural Sociology* 60(1): 44-66.

Browne, William P. and Louis E. Swanson, 1995. "Living with the Minimum: Rural Public Policy," *The Changing American Countryside*, Emery N. Castle, editor. The University Press of Kansas: 481-492.

Butler Residents, personal conversations Summer 1999.

Castle, Emery N., editor, 1995. *The Changing American Countryside*. The University Press of Kansas.

Calhoun, Russ, 1998. *Lost Heritage: the People of Old Butler, Tennessee and the Watauga Valley*. Johnson City, TN: Overmountain Press.

Catlett, Jan, Sevierville Housing Authority. Personal interview, March 15, 2000.

Caudill, Harry M., 1962. *Night Comes to the Cumberlands: a Biography of a Depressed Area.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Chamis, Eleni, 1997. "Sevier Tourism is Building." *Knoxville News Sentinel*, Knoxville, Tennessee: D1.

Cloke, Paul J., 1985. "Whither Rural Studies?" *Journal of Rural Studies* 1(1): 1-9.

Cloke, Paul J., 1987. "Concept, Theory and Rural Geography: a Special Issue," *Journal of Rural Studies* 3(4): 295-296.

Cloke, Paul J. and Nigel Thrift, 1987. "Intra-Class Conflict in Rural Areas," *Journal of Rural Studies*, 3(4): 321-333.

Cloke, Paul J., 1989. "Rural Geography and Political Economy," *New Models in Geography*, R. Peet and N. Thrift, editors 1: 164-197.

Cloke, Paul J., 1990. "Political Economy Approaches and a Changing Rural Geography," *Rural History* 1(1): 123-129.

Commisa, Anne Marie, 1998. *From Rhetoric to Reform: Welfare Policy in American Politics*. Westview Press.

Couto, Richard A., 1995. "The Spatial Distribution of Wealth and Poverty in Appalachia," *Journal of Appalachian Studies* 1(1): 99-134.

Crissman, James K. "Family Type and Familism in Contemporary Appalachia." *Southern Rural Sociology*, vol. 6: 29-44.

Davidson, Osha Gray, 1990. *Broken Heartland: The Rise of America's Rural Ghetto*. New York: The Free Press.

Dorwin, Pat, 1997. Sevier's Hungry Keep on Coming. *The Mountain Press*, Sevierville, Tennessee, page 1A.

Duncan, Cynthia M. and Ann Tickamyer, 1988. "Poverty Research and Policy for Rural America," *American Sociologist*, 19: 243-259.

Duncan, Cynthia M., editor, 1992. *Rural Poverty in America*. Westport: Auburn House.

Duncan, Cynthia M, 1996. "Understanding Persistent Poverty: Social Class Context in Rural Communities," *Rural Sociology* 61(1): 103-124.

Duncan, Cynthia M., 1999. *World's Apart: Why Poverty Persists in Rural America*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dunn, Durwood, 1988. *Cades Cove*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.

East Tennessee Development District, 1996. *Sevier County: Economic Statistics*. Knoxville, TN.

Ehrenreich, Barbara, and Frances Fox Piven. 1984. "The Feminization of Poverty: when the Family Wage System Breaks Down," *Dissent* Spring: 162-170.

Eller, Ronald D., "Land and Family: An Historical View of Pre-Industrial Appalachia." *Appalachia Journal*, 6(2): 83-109. Winter, 1979.

Eller, Ronald, 1982. *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachia South, 1880-1930*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Falk, William W. and Thomas A. Lyson, 1988. *High Tech, Low Tech, No Tech: Recent Industrial and Occupational Change in the South*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Fetterman, John, 1967. *Stinking Creek*. New York: Dutton.

Fitchen, Janet M., 1991. *Endangered Spaces, Enduring Places*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Fitchen, Janet M., 1992. "On the Edge of Homelessness: Rural Poverty and Housing Insecurity," *Rural Sociology* 57(2): 173-193.

Fitchen, Janet M. 1995. Pages in Castle, Emery N., editor, 1995. *The Changing American Countryside*. The University Press of Kansas.

Flora, Cornelia B. and James A. Christenson, editors, 1991. *Rural Policies for the 1990s*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Flora, Cornelia B., Jan L. Flora, Jacqueline D. Spears, Louis E. Swanson, 1992. *Rural Communities: Legacy and Change*. Ohio University/Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Folbre, Nancy. 1984. "The Pauperization of Motherhood: Patriarchy and Public Policy in the U.S.," *Review of Radical Political Economics* 16(4): 72-88.

Foscue, Edwin J., 1946. *Gatlinburg: Gateway to the Smokies*. Dallas: University Press.

Free, Karen, 1997. "Rural Housing in the U.S.," *Habitat World*, February/March 1997: 2-3.

Free, Karen, 1997. "Poverty Housing on the Rise in Appalachia," *Habitat World*, February/March 1997: 4.

Free, Karen, 1997. "Who's Poor in America and Why," *Habitat World*, April/May: 2-3.

Garcia-Ramon, Maria Dolors and Janice Monk, editors. 1996. *Women of the European Union: the Politics of Work and Daily Life*. London: Routledge.

Gaventa, John, 1980. *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Gaventa, John, 1984. "Land Ownership, Power, and Powerlessness in the Appalachia Highlands." *In Cultural Adaptations to Mountain Environments*. Patricia D. Beaver and Burton Purrington, editors. Athens: The University of Georgia Press: 142- 155.

Gaventa, John and Peter Wiley, 1987. "The Deindustrialization of the Tennessee Economy," Background information prepared for the Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Gaventa, John, 1988. *From the Mountains to the Maquiladoras: A Case Study Capital Flight and its Impact on Workers*. New Market, TN: Highlander Research and Educational Center.

Glasmeier, Amy K. and Robin M. Leichenko, 1996. "From Free Market Rhetoric to Free Market Reality: The Future of the U.S. South in an Era of Globalization," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 20: 601-615.

Gordon, Linda, editor, 1990. *Women, the State and Welfare*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Gordon, Linda, 1994. *Pitied but not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare 1890-1935*. New York: the Free Press.

Gorham, Lucy, 1992. The Growing Problem of Low Earnings in Rural Areas,□ *Rural Poverty in America*, Cynthia M. Duncan, editor. Westport: Auburn House.

Goldberg, Gertrude Schaffner and Eleanor Kremen, editors. 1990. *The Feminization of Poverty: Only in America?* Westport: Greenwood Press.

Goodwin, Joanne L., 1997. *Gender and the Politics of Welfare Reform*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Greenwood Residents, personal conversations, Summer 2000.

Halpern, Rhoda H., 1990. *The Livelihood of Kin*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Hanson, Susan, 1992. Geography and Feminism: Worlds in Collision? *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82(4): 569-586.

Harshaw, Lou, 1990. *Gatlinburg Places of Discovery*. Sykesville, MD: Greenburg Publishing Company.

Hart, John Fraser and John T. Morgan, 1995. "Spersopolis," *Southeastern Geographer* 35 (2): 103-117.

Holt, Edgar A., 1981. *Claiborne County*. Memphis, TN: Memphis University Press.

Hsiung, David C., 1997. *Two Worlds in the Tennessee Mountains: Exploring the Origins of Appalachian Stereotypes*. The University Press of Kentucky.

Ilbery, Brian, editor, 1998. *The Geography of Rural Change*. London: Longman.

Jensen, J. Bradford, 1998. "Birth and Death of Manufacturing Plants and Restructuring in Appalachia's Industrial Economy, 1963-1992." Appalachian Regional Commission.

Johnson County Historical Society. Personal interview June, 2000.

Johnson, Dirk, 2001. "Death of a Small Town," *Newsweek*, September 10, 2001. Reprinted in *Annual Editions, Geography 03/04*, 18th Edition, February 2003.

Johnson, Kenneth M. 1989. "Recent Population Redistribution Trends in Nonmetropolitan America," *Rural Sociology* 54(3): 301-326.

Johnson, Kenneth M. 1993. "Demographic Change in Nonmetropolitan America, 1980 to 1990," *Rural Sociology* 58(3): 347-365.

Jones, Jacqueline. 1992. *The Dispossessed: America's Underclasses from the Civil War to the Present. New York: Basic Books.*

Jones, John Paul III and Janet E. Kodras, 1990. "Restructured Regions and Families: The Feminization of Poverty in the United States," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80(2): 163-183.

Jones, Loyal, 1991. "Appalachian Values," in *Appalachia* by Bruce Ergood and Bruce Kuhre, eds. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.

Jones, Robbie D., 1996. "African American Builders of Sevier County, Tennessee." Sevierville, Tennessee: Smoky Mountain Historical Society.

Kamerman, Sheila, 1984. "Women, Children, and Poverty: Public Policies and Female Headed Families in Industrialized Countries," *Signs* 10(2): 249-271.

LaFollette Business and Professional Women's Club, 1976. *Historical Facts: Campbell County Tennessee and City of LaFollette*. LaFollette, Tennessee.

Lavelle, Robert, editor, 1995. America's New War on Poverty. San Francisco: KQED Books.

Levitan, Sar A., 1990. *Programs in Aid of the Poor*, fifth edition.

Lewis, Jane, editor, 1997. *Lone Mothers in European Welfare Regimes*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publications.

Lichter, Daniel T., 1989. "The Underemployment of American Rural Women: Prevalence, Trends and Spatial Inequality" *Journal of Rural Studies* 5 (2): 199-208.

Lichter, Daniel T. Gail M. Johnston, and Diane K. McLaughlin, 1994. "Changing Linkages Between Work and Poverty in Rural America," *Rural Sociology* 59(3): 395-415.

Lichter, Daniel T. and Diane K. McLaughlin, 1995. "Changing Economic Opportunities, Family Structure, and Poverty in Rural Areas," *Rural Sociology* 60(4): 688-706.

Little, Jo, 1987. Gender Relations in Rural Areas: the Importance of Women's Domestic Role," *Journal of Rural Studies* 3(4): 335-342.

Little, Jo, 1996. "Feminist Perspectives in Rural Geography: an Introduction," *Journal of Rural Studies* 2(1): 1-8.

Martin, C. Bren, 1994. "From Golden Cornfields to Golden Arches: The Economic and Cultural Evolution of Pigeon Forge, Tennessee." *Journal of the Appalachian Studies Association*, volume 6: 163 - 172.

McDonald, Miller, 1993. *Campbell County, Tennessee, USA: A History of Places, Faces, happenings, Traditions, and Things*. LaFollette, TN: County Services Syndicate.

Mencken, Carson F., 2000. "Federal Spending and Economic Growth in Appalachian Counties," *Rural Sociology* 65 (1): 126-147.

Mink, Gwendolyn, 1995. *The Wages of Motherhood: Inequality in the Welfare State, 1917-1942*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Mink, Gwendolyn, 1998. *Welfare's End*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Molnar, Joseph J. and Greg Traxler, 1991. "People Left Behind: Transitions of the Rural Poor," *Southern Journal of Agricultural Economics* July: 75-87.

Morley Residents, personal conversations, Summer 1999.

Nauman, Tesa, 1996. "Mills Park Houses Get Nod." *The Mountain Press*, Sevierville, Tennessee: 1A.

Nelson, Barbara, 1984. Women's Poverty and Women's Citizenship: Some Political Consequences of Economic Marginality." *Signs* 10(2): 209-231.

Nelson, Peter, B., 2001. "Rural Restructuring in the American West: Land Use, Family and Class Discourses," *Journal of Rural Studies* 17(4): 395-407.

Nelson, Peter, B., 1999. *Hegemony and the Rural: Economic and Cultural Perspectives on Restructuring in the 1900s.* Doctoral Dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle.

O'Connor, Alice, 1992. "Modernization and the Rural Poor: Some Lessons from History," *Rural Poverty in America*, Cynthia M. Duncan, editor. Westport: Auburn House: 215-233.

Page, Bonnie M., compiler and editor, 1986. *Clearfork and More*. Clinton, Tennessee: Clinton Courier-News, Inc.

Peet, Richard J., 1975. "Inequality and Poverty: A Marxist-Geographic Theory," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*.

Pearce, Diana, 1990. "Welfare Is Not for Women" pages 265-279 in *Women, the State, and Welfare* edited by Linda Gordon. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Philo, Chris, 1992. "Neglected Rural Geographies: a Review," *Journal of Rural Studies* 8(2): 193-207.

Pickel, Eugene M., 1971. *A History of Roane County, Tennessee to 1860.* Thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Porter, Kathryn H., 1989. *Poverty in Rural America: A National Overview.* Washington, D.C.: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

Precourt, Walter, 1991. "The Image of Appalachian Poverty," *Appalachia.* Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.

Pudup, Mary Beth, Dwight B. Billings, Altina L. Waller, editors, 1995. *Appalachia in the Making.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Remaley, Sue, 1992. *Knoxville's Poor Neighborhoods*: *Types of Poverty in an Appalachian City.* Master's Thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Roberts, Rebecca, 1995. "Agency, Regional Differentiation and Environment in Rural Conflict and Change," *Journal of Rural Studies* 11(3): 239-242.

Rural Sociological Society Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty, 1993. *Persistent Poverty in Rural America.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Salamon, Sonya, 1996. "Social Infrastructure: The Case Study," *Rural Development Research: a Foundation for Policy*, Thomas D. Rowley, David W. Sears, Glenn L. Nelson, J. Norman Reid, and Mervin J. Yetley, editors. Wetsport, CT: Greenwood Press: 197-212.

Salstrom, Paul, 1995. "Newer Appalachia as One of America's Last Frontiers" pages 76-102 in *Appalachia in the Making*, edited by Mary Beth Pudup, et al. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Sams, Beth, Roane County Visitor's Bureau. Personal Interview, January March 2000.

Sarvasy, Wendy and Judith Van Allen, 1984. "Fighting the Feminization of Poverty: Socialist Feminist Analysis and Strategy," *Review of Radical Political Economics* 16 (4): 89-110.

Sevierville Residents, personal conversations, Summer 1999 and Summer 2000.

Shelley, Jack and Jere Hall, editors, 1986. *Valley of Challenge and Change: the History of Roane County, Tennessee, 1860-1900.* Roane County Heritage Commission.

Shifflett, Crandall A., 1991. *Coal Towns: Life, Work, and Culture in Company Towns of Southern Appalachia, 1880-1960.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Shipler, David K., 2004. *The Working Poor: Invisible in America.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Smith, Michael, 1989. *Behind the Glitter: The Impact of Tourism on Rural Women in the Southeast.* Lexington, Kentucky: Southeast Women's Employment Coalition.

Smith, Ted C., 1969. *The Industrial Development of Johnson County, Tennessee.* Master's Thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Snodderly, Betty S., Chamber Administrator, Campbell County Chamber of Commerce, Jacksboro, TN (also former resident of the Morley mining camp. Personal Interview, June 9, 2000.

Stokes, Sharon, resident of Kingston, Tennessee's Greenwood neighborhood. Personal interview, June 23, 2000.

Streibig, Steve, Representative of the Sevier County Food Ministry. Telephone interview on April 1999.

Stumbo, Carol, 1986. "Married to the Land: Farming in Appalachia." *Appalachia Heritage*, vol. 14, no. 1, Winter: 8-15.

Tennessee Housing Development Agency, 1995. *Looking Forward: Action Planning for Housing and Community Development in Tennessee.* Nashville, TN.

Thomas D. Rowley, David W. Sears, Glenn L. Nelson, J. Norman Reid, and Mervin J. Yetley, editors, 1996. *Rural Development Research: a Foundation for Policy.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Tickamyer, Ann R. and Cecil H. Tickamyer, 1988. "Gender and Poverty in Central Appalachia," *Social Science Quarterly* 69(4): 874-891.

Tickamyer, Ann R. and Cynthia M. Duncan, 1990. "Poverty and Opportunity Structure in Rural America," *Annual Review of Sociology* 16:67-86.

Trout, Ed and Olin Watson. (n.d.). *A Piece of the Smokies*, Maryville, TN: Printers, Inc.

United States Bureau of the Census, *1990. Summary Tape File: Social and Economic Characteristics, Tennessee.*

U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960 – 1990. *General Population and Housing Characteristics- Tennessee.*

U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1945 - 1992. *Census of Agriculture- Tennessee.*

United States Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, Agricultural Bulletin No. 710. Washington, D.C., February 1995.

United States Department of Agriculture, Rural Development Rural Housing Service website http://www.rurdev.usda.gov/rhs/faqs/faq.htm 2003.

United States National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, 1967. *The People Left Behind, a Report.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Weller, Jack E., 1965. *Yesterday's People: Life in Contemporary Appalachia.* Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press.

Wilhelm, Gene, 1975. "Folk Culture History of the Blue Ridge Mountains." *Appalachia Journal*, vol. 2, no. 3, Spring: 192-222.

White, 1937. *Highland Heritage*. New York: Friendship Press.

Appendices

Appendix A

Cluster Analysis Input Data Set

Areaname*	Cluster	Total Populat-ion	Below Poverty**	Rural	High School Grad
TN 129 Tract 1102 BG 3	1	908	32.9	100	29
TN 173 Tract 0403 BG 2	1	663	32.7	100	28.5
TN 059 Tract 0908 BG 3	1	1032	20.3	100	38.3
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 2	1	1014	33.6	100	26.4
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 1	1	1043	32.1	97.9	39
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 3	1	689	24	100	26.2
TN 025 BNA 9704 BG 1	1	1279	24.4	100	29.3
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 2	1	1755	32.1	100	27.9
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 1	1	812	31.2	100	22.4
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 3	1	455	34.9	100	23.1
TN 143 BNA 9750 BG 3	1	1650	21.5	100	32
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 2	1	835	36.8	100	24.3
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 2	1	609	37.2	100	30
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 2	1	1110	37	100	33.5
TN 091 BNA 9562 BG 1	1	979	36.6	100	36.4
TN 171 Tract 0803 BG 3	1	1183	22.7	100	27.8
TN 013 BNA 9503 BG 2	1	894	34.9	100	24.4
TN 171 Tract 0802 BG 5	1	1092	20.2	99.2	29.7
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 1	1	1650	36.3	100	33.8
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 3	1	994	30.1	66.9	45
TN 025 BNA 9703 BG 1	1	1514	26.4	85.4	27.9
TN 073 Tract 0507 BG 1	1	673	27.3	100	21
TN 171 Tract 0801 BG 2	1	1074	27.5	100	26.8
TN 029 BNA 9804 BG 2	1	963	27.5	100	25.9
TN 089 Tract 0707 BG 4	1	669	26.6	100	26.7
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 3	1	1857	20.8	100	33.9
TN 173 Tract 0402.02 BG 2	1	540	26.7	100	27.2
TN 059 Tract 0913 BG 1	1	1047	26.6	100	34.3
TN 171 Tract 0803 BG 2	1	653	26.8	100	27.1
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 3	1	979	26.1	100	34.7
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 3	1	551	25	95.1	27.1
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 4	1	468	29.3	100	30.4
TN 007 BNA 9531 BG 1	1	1012	29.9	100	30.1
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 4	1	1073	29.6	100	37.3
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 4	1	650	25.2	100	28.5
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 7	1	851	25.7	100	26.1
TN 121 BNA 9603 BG 2	1	1573	28.3	100	27.8

Areaname*	Ages 17 and Less	Ages 65 and Over	Black	Female Householder Families
TN 129 Tract 1102 BG 3	24.1	12.7	0	16.2
TN 173 Tract 0403 BG 2	26.7	11.8	0	16.2
TN 059 Tract 0908 BG 3	26.7	9.9	0	6.8
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 2	32.1	11.8	0	19.2
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 1	29	13.8	0	13
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 3	22.1	9.6	0	6.4
TN 025 BNA 9704 BG 1	28.9	6.4	0	13.9
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 2	21	18.2	0.3	22.9
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 1	28.4	8.9	0	19.5
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 3	16.3	8.8	2.9	26.8
TN 143 BNA 9750 BG 3	21.8	18.3	5.4	17.9
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 2	25.5	23.5	4.4	15.1
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 2	28.7	15.9	0	18
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 2	20.6	16.1	0	3.9
TN 091 BNA 9562 BG 1	22.3	17.4	1.3	9.1
TN 171 Tract 0803 BG 3	23.2	13.8	0	7.6
TN 013 BNA 9503 BG 2	22.8	14	0	17.5
TN 171 Tract 0802 BG 5	21.8	18.7	0	16.6
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 1	30.7	8.2	0	17.7
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 3	20.9	8.5	3	15.8
TN 025 BNA 9703 BG 1	23.6	7.9	1.1	17.5
TN 073 Tract 0507 BG 1	25	9.2	0	18.9
TN 171 Tract 0801 BG 2	19.5	15.3	0.2	7.4
TN 029 BNA 9804 BG 2	21.5	14.3	0	11.6
TN 089 Tract 0707 BG 4	15.1	17.3	0	6.1
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 3	29.6	8.3	1	11.7
TN 173 Tract 0402.02 BG 2	21.3	9.3	0	8
TN 059 Tract 0913 BG 1	26.4	14.5	0	14.6
TN 171 Tract 0803 BG 2	15.3	21.4	0	3.6
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 3	28	16.4	0	5.1
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 3	18.9	16.3	0	8
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 4	24.8	20.3	0	15.6
TN 007 BNA 9531 BG 1	23.6	7.1	7.6	25.3
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 4	28.1	6.2	0	18.4
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 4	26.2	9.8	0	10.5
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 7	23.5	17.3	0.4	13.6
TN 121 BNA 9603 BG 2	25.9	10.2	5	15.6

Areaname*	Female Unemployment	Employed in Agriculture	Employed in Mining	Employed in Manufacturing
TN 129 Tract 1102 BG 3	6.7	3.1	1.4	34
TN 173 Tract 0403 BG 2	13.8	15.2	2.5	38.9
TN 059 Tract 0908 BG 3	0	7.6	0	42.2
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 2	27.1	8.8	2	35.3
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 1	0	4.6	4.9	42.8
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 3	16.4	4.7	0	27.7
TN 025 BNA 9704 BG 1	10.8	0	29.8	18.6
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 2	10.2	0.9	0.8	33
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 1	20	0	26.8	14
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 3	9.8	6.9	8.8	11.3
TN 143 BNA 9750 BG 3	8.9	2.3	1.1	36.6
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 2	13.3	0	13.5	15.5
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 2	4.6	7.5	5.4	31.3
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 2	0	12.1	1.4	34.5
TN 091 BNA 9562 BG 1	0	10	2.9	45.9
TN 171 Tract 0803 BG 3	5.3	12.3	0	26
TN 013 BNA 9503 BG 2	15.7	2.1	16.5	33.3
TN 171 Tract 0802 BG 5	10.2	2.3	0	32.8
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 1	11.7	3	8.4	32.6
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 3	39.2	3	0	31.1
TN 025 BNA 9703 BG 1	10.4	2.4	6.7	17.2
TN 073 Tract 0507 BG 1	26.7	5.7	0	34.4
TN 171 Tract 0801 BG 2	13.9	1.8	0	52.7
TN 029 BNA 9804 BG 2	17.2	8.4	0	43.5
TN 089 Tract 0707 BG 4	0	3.1	0	26.2
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 3	2.2	1.6	7.4	44
TN 173 Tract 0402.02 BG 2	0	8.9	0	17.1
TN 059 Tract 0913 BG 1	12.6	8.5	0	33
TN 171 Tract 0803 BG 2	2.1	3.9	0	37.2
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 3	13.8	2.1	11	25.4
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 3	12.6	0	3.2	30.6
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 4	8.2	9	0	33.1
TN 007 BNA 9531 BG 1	10.8	10.7	0.5	33.1
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 4	4.4	1.6	4.9	38.7
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 4	9.2	0	0	19.2
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 7	5.3	0	1.2	19.6
TN 121 BNA 9603 BG 2	2.8	4.2	1.3	37.9

Areaname*	Employed in Trade	Employed in Services	Receiving Social Security Income	Receiving Public Assistance
TN 129 Tract 1102 BG 3	17	9.9	31	15.3
TN 173 Tract 0403 BG 2	10.6	12.1	37.8	12
TN 059 Tract 0908 BG 3	4.2	25.8	24.4	6.6
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 2	20.5	15.3	40.5	8.9
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 1	7.7	23.6	32.4	23.1
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 3	7.5	22.1	28.4	18.1
TN 025 BNA 9704 BG 1	3	31.4	30.8	18.9
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 2	22	20.2	37.8	20
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 1	9.8	29.1	34.6	19.3
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 3	32.5	16.9	51.9	14.6
TN 143 BNA 9750 BG 3	11.5	17.7	37.2	8
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 2	23.3	24.5	51.9	22.9
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 2	17.7	21.8	44.9	16.2
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 2	20	13.8	36.5	15.1
TN 091 BNA 9562 BG 1	10.9	13.6	35.5	16.1
TN 171 Tract 0803 BG 3	17.5	20.4	27.5	14.4
TN 013 BNA 9503 BG 2	24.1	10.5	45.3	20.6
TN 171 Tract 0802 BG 5	9.7	23.6	39.7	12.6
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 1	9.3	27.4	17	22.5
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 3	19.3	21.1	23.9	18.7
TN 025 BNA 9703 BG 1	23.5	33.3	29.7	8.2
TN 073 Tract 0507 BG 1	20.5	27.9	37.2	18.2
TN 171 Tract 0801 BG 2	6	17.4	33.3	12.8
TN 029 BNA 9804 BG 2	20.4	13.8	34.7	13.8
TN 089 Tract 0707 BG 4	26.6	21.8	39.3	7.4
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 3	10.6	17.1	19.1	10.9
TN 173 Tract 0402.02 BG 2	22.3	22.9	23.6	0
TN 059 Tract 0913 BG 1	8	26.4	36.3	7
TN 171 Tract 0803 BG 2	9.8	22.8	45.3	9.4
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 3	10.7	29.9	37.6	17.3
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 3	19.4	28.6	28.4	11.1
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 4	5.3	8.3	32.4	11.9
TN 007 BNA 9531 BG 1	13.5	21.6	25.4	19.4
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 4	9.1	20.5	25.4	16.8
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 4	33.7	32.3	21.4	11.8
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 7	26.7	30.7	33.3	8.6
TN 121 BNA 9603 BG 2	18.5	16.8	33.5	12.8

Areaname*	Female House-holder Families in Workforce	Owner Occupied Housing	Lived in Same House in 1985	Mobile Home/ Trailer
TN 129 Tract 1102 BG 3	33.8	39.9	73.7	29.9
TN 173 Tract 0403 BG 2	42.4	30.5	67.4	27.7
TN 059 Tract 0908 BG 3	33.3	35.9	62.2	26
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 2	45.5	52.9	65.3	15.1
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 1	35.2	34.6	56.1	27
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 3	32.1	44.4	66.5	24.1
TN 025 BNA 9704 BG 1	37.9	46.8	73.4	20.4
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 2	36.3	50.3	57.7	12.5
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 1	36.5	34.7	71	32.8
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 3	0	55.4	61.5	26.8
TN 143 BNA 9750 BG 3	32	55.5	51.8	13.1
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 2	40.4	49.2	62.5	13.5
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 2	17.5	32.4	75.9	26.4
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 2	35.5	35	68.1	14.7
TN 091 BNA 9562 BG 1	15.8	22.3	69.5	18.3
TN 171 Tract 0803 BG 3	9.6	38.6	65.5	30.7
TN 013 BNA 9503 BG 2	47.8	32.2	74.1	29.9
TN 171 Tract 0802 BG 5	32.7	46.2	67.9	37.1
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 1	38.2	42.8	60.3	29
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 3	13.3	57.1	58.4	8.3
TN 025 BNA 9703 BG 1	35.2	52.5	43.4	28.6
TN 073 Tract 0507 BG 1	36.1	15.3	87.3	31.9
TN 171 Tract 0801 BG 2	39.5	28.3	69.7	33.7
TN 029 BNA 9804 BG 2	11.4	35.3	63	18.9
TN 089 Tract 0707 BG 4	24.4	41.3	40.5	41.7
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 3	39.3	62.9	54.5	13.6
TN 173 Tract 0402.02 BG 2	0	41.7	55.8	19.3
TN 059 Tract 0913 BG 1	36.4	31	73	22.8
TN 171 Tract 0803 BG 2	0	51.5	62	24.4
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 3	28.3	43.8	70	13.2
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 3	0	62.4	81.7	9.5
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 4	18.8	27.8	49.2	21.3
TN 007 BNA 9531 BG 1	28.6	38.9	57.5	17.4
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 4	28.6	48.8	63.3	30.2
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 4	42.6	44.4	57.1	24.9
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 7	14.9	56.8	56	18.9
TN 121 BNA 9603 BG 2	38.4	43.3	50.1	32.6

Areaname*	Home Built Pre-1940	Occupied Housing No Vehicle	Occupied Housing with Incomplete Plumbing
TN 129 Tract 1102 BG 3	4.9	10.6	13.7
TN 173 Tract 0403 BG 2	4.4	3	10.3
TN 059 Tract 0908 BG 3	18.7	1.8	3
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 2	17.8	17.5	26.4
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 1	6.1	14.1	7.2
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 3	4.6	8.6	4.6
TN 025 BNA 9704 BG 1	26.5	13.8	12.4
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 2	10.3	13.6	3.8
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 1	7.1	22.7	19.6
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 3	10.2	21.5	2.9
TN 143 BNA 9750 BG 3	23.4	11	1.2
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 2	24.9	36.5	0
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 2	17.6	6.8	5.9
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 2	22.2	16.1	11.4
TN 091 BNA 9562 BG 1	28.5	9.4	16.2
TN 171 Tract 0803 BG 3	6.3	9.4	3.4
TN 013 BNA 9503 BG 2	12.8	21.2	14.1
TN 171 Tract 0802 BG 5	3.4	10.9	1.7
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 1	2.9	14.2	8
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 3	7.3	5.6	0
TN 025 BNA 9703 BG 1	21.3	6.8	10.4
TN 073 Tract 0507 BG 1	14.7	16.4	24.5
TN 171 Tract 0801 BG 2	7.6	8.2	6.8
TN 029 BNA 9804 BG 2	15.3	15.8	8.9
TN 089 Tract 0707 BG 4	3.7	3	2.4
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 3	5.4	7.8	1.6
TN 173 Tract 0402.02 BG 2	0	4.4	7.4
TN 059 Tract 0913 BG 1	20.5	6.2	4.6
TN 171 Tract 0803 BG 2	16.7	12.3	2
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 3	17.4	14.8	15.1
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 3	3.3	6.4	9
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 4	5.3	11.8	12.1
TN 007 BNA 9531 BG 1	9.2	16.6	3.3
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 4	5.4	6.3	4.7
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 4	9.6	3	1.3
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 7	5.4	25.4	0
TN 121 BNA 9603 BG 2	7.5	5.1	4.8

Areaname*	Occupied Housing Cost Burden
TN 129 Tract 1102 BG 3	8.8
TN 173 Tract 0403 BG 2	18.5
TN 059 Tract 0908 BG 3	19
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 2	9.8
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 1	20
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 3	39.8
TN 025 BNA 9704 BG 1	26.4
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 2	19.3
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 1	28.7
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 3	24.3
TN 143 BNA 9750 BG 3	20.4
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 2	18.5
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 2	26.8
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 2	13.9
TN 091 BNA 9562 BG 1	5.7
TN 171 Tract 0803 BG 3	7.6
TN 013 BNA 9503 BG 2	17.4
TN 171 Tract 0802 BG 5	13.2
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 1	15.7
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 3	9.9
TN 025 BNA 9703 BG 1	27.8
TN 073 Tract 0507 BG 1	0
TN 171 Tract 0801 BG 2	14
TN 029 BNA 9804 BG 2	17.9
TN 089 Tract 0707 BG 4	9
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 3	25.8
TN 173 Tract 0402.02 BG 2	41.3
TN 059 Tract 0913 BG 1	8.3
TN 171 Tract 0803 BG 2	4.1
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 3	16.9
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 3	23.8
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 4	51.9
TN 007 BNA 9531 BG 1	12.3
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 4	25.4
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 4	22.9
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 7	34.3
TN 121 BNA 9603 BG 2	11.3

Areaname*	Cluster	Total Population	Below Poverty**	Rural	High School Grad
TN 057 Tract 5004 BG 1	1	1428	25.4	100	26.7
TN 145 Tract 0306 BG 1	1	793	25.6	100	34.9
TN 067 BNA 9603 BG 2	1	958	38.4	100	28
TN 013 BNA 9508 BG 1	1	976	22.1	100	26.6
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 1	1	1521	21.8	100	24.7
TN 013 BNA 9503 BG 1	1	812	48.4	100	27
TN 067 BNA 9602 BG 4	1	2200	46.7	100	27
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 1	1	884	47.2	100	22.8
TN 155 Tract 0809 BG 2	1	1413	20	76.4	26.1
TN 067 BNA 9601 BG 1	1	939	45.2	100	22.1
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 1	1	685	38.1	100	27.9
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 6	1	1036	37.9	100	25.9
TN 139 BNA 9501 BG 1	1	777	42.2	100	29
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 3	1	331	61.9	100	41.3
TN 073 Tract 0507 BG 3	1	913	21.8	100	33.7
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 4	1	830	41.1	100	22.4
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 4	1	1110	53.1	100	27.5
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 2	2	710	21.7	100	33.2
TN 091 BNA 9561 BG 3	2	1021	32.2	100	23.4
TN 129 Tract 1104 BG 5	2	647	26	100	40
TN 139 BNA 9504 BG 1	2	996	26.1	100	29.9
TN 025 BNA 9705 BG 2	2	799	30.1	100	26.5
TN 019 Tract 0716 BG 1	2	1188	22	100	27.5
TN 029 BNA 9803.98 BG 2	2	883	30.5	100	40.5
TN 129 Tract 1105 BG 4	2	585	21.9	100	45.3
TN 059 Tract 0905 BG 6	2	1288	21.2	100	29.9
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 1	2	1163	29.2	100	28.3
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 5	2	1311	20.5	100	20.4
TN 121 BNA 9601 BG 1	2	1167	23.4	100	33.7
TN 059 Tract 0912 BG 2	2	778	28.9	100	40.8
TN 019 Tract 0715 BG 1	2	954	26.1	100	23.8
TN 059 Tract 0912 BG 3	2	848	38.9	100	40.2
TN 059 Tract 0902 BG 2	2	1367	54	100	15.7
TN 107 BNA 9707 BG 3	2	867	20.9	100	42.1
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 1	2	667	20.4	100	34.4
TN 019 Tract 0716 BG 2	2	162	38.1	100	32
TN 173 Tract 0403 BG 1	2	755	22.6	100	35.2

Areaname*	Ages 17 and Less	Ages 65 and Over	Black	Female Householder Families
TN 057 Tract 5004 BG 1	20.5	14.2	0.6	15.1
TN 145 Tract 0306 BG 1	29.4	14	0	5.2
TN 067 BNA 9603 BG 2	23.7	17.7	2.6	12.7
TN 013 BNA 9508 BG 1	24.7	16.3	0	4.7
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 1	22	12.8	0	7.7
TN 013 BNA 9503 BG 1	33.3	9.4	0	6.1
TN 067 BNA 9602 BG 4	23.4	15.7	4.4	21.3
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 1	24.7	10.4	0	9.5
TN 155 Tract 0809 BG 2	25.5	7.3	0	11.2
TN 067 BNA 9601 BG 1	23.5	12.5	0	14.3
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 1	28	9.5	3.2	12.4
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 6	27.7	7.6	0	13.1
TN 139 BNA 9501 BG 1	36.4	12	0	6.7
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 3	16.3	8.5	0	5.8
TN 073 Tract 0507 BG 3	22.8	10.2	0	3.7
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 4	21.2	16.6	0	19.4
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 4	25.8	14.7	0	27.6
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 2	29.3	12.4	0	9.5
TN 091 BNA 9561 BG 3	20.6	22.4	0	13.7
TN 129 Tract 1104 BG 5	26.1	17.8	0	17.4
TN 139 BNA 9504 BG 1	26.1	19	0	2.2
TN 025 BNA 9705 BG 2	23.5	13.3	0	11.7
TN 019 Tract 0716 BG 1	17.6	11.8	0	13.5
TN 029 BNA 9803.98 BG 2	25.7	10.2	0	11.6
TN 129 Tract 1105 BG 4	17.3	18.8	0	6.5
TN 059 Tract 0905 BG 6	19.7	13.4	0	9
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 1	29.9	7.8	0	9.5
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 5	27.3	11.9	0	5.4
TN 121 BNA 9601 BG 1	20.1	12.9	0	9.5
TN 059 Tract 0912 BG 2	31.4	5.7	0	9.3
TN 019 Tract 0715 BG 1	29.8	12.1	0	7.5
TN 059 Tract 0912 BG 3	25.2	17.5	0	16.5
TN 059 Tract 0902 BG 2	14.9	8.7	5.6	12.6
TN 107 BNA 9707 BG 3	24.9	10.3	2	10.5
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 1	20.7	15.6	0	12.5
TN 019 Tract 0716 BG 2	30.2	22.2	0	17.9
TN 173 Tract 0403 BG 1	21.5	12.7	0	8.3

Areaname*	Female Unemploy-ment	Employed in Agri-culture	Employed in Min-ing	Employed in Manufact-uring
TN 057 Tract 5004 BG 1	6.9	7.1	2.4	38.3
TN 145 Tract 0306 BG 1	24.8	1.5	0	24
TN 067 BNA 9603 BG 2	9.8	33.1	1.8	36
TN 013 BNA 9508 BG 1	6.8	5.3	5.7	19.8
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 1	22	6.2	0	21.1
TN 013 BNA 9503 BG 1	18.3	0	6.7	39.5
TN 067 BNA 9602 BG 4	15.3	8.5	0.3	29.4
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 1	27.6	22.2	4.4	25.1
TN 155 Tract 0809 BG 2	24.9	1.1	0	5.8
TN 067 BNA 9601 BG 1	8.1	1.9	0	51.2
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 1	19	6.7	4.2	40.3
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 6	4.4	0	4.2	22.5
TN 139 BNA 9501 BG 1	12.4	0	1.5	44
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 3	23.8	5.9	5.9	18.4
TN 073 Tract 0507 BG 3	12.1	2	1.7	35.8
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 4	12.3	0	4	8.1
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 4	7.5	0.6	0	33
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 2	15.5	0	11	50.3
TN 091 BNA 9561 BG 3	0	1.8	0	44.6
TN 129 Tract 1104 BG 5	13.5	0	5.4	4.9
TN 139 BNA 9504 BG 1	4.4	0	0	47.4
TN 025 BNA 9705 BG 2	6.7	4.6	1.5	31.6
TN 019 Tract 0716 BG 1	20.7	3.2	0	63.7
TN 029 BNA 9803.98 BG 2	2.5	16.8	0	44.1
TN 129 Tract 1105 BG 4	24.2	0	0	38.7
TN 059 Tract 0905 BG 6	9.5	9.8	0	31.9
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 1	8.3	10.3	1.1	56.9
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 5	0	1.4	0	60.7
TN 121 BNA 9601 BG 1	7.4	7.1	0	23.9
TN 059 Tract 0912 BG 2	2.7	3.2	0	69.4
TN 019 Tract 0715 BG 1	6.9	2.8	0	40.6
TN 059 Tract 0912 BG 3	21.1	14.4	0	42.2
TN 059 Tract 0902 BG 2	1.2	5.7	0	39.9
TN 107 BNA 9707 BG 3	23.9	1.8	0	45.2
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 1	9.8	0	4	35.9
TN 019 Tract 0716 BG 2	29.2	30.5	0	47.5
TN 173 Tract 0403 BG 1	0	7.4	0	37

Areaname*	Employed in Trade	Employed in Services	Receiving Social Security Income	Receiving Public Assistance
TN 057 Tract 5004 BG 1	15.6	22.9	41	17.4
TN 145 Tract 0306 BG 1	34.8	24.7	32	7.7
TN 067 BNA 9603 BG 2	9.8	8.4	52.9	22.7
TN 013 BNA 9508 BG 1	15	28.9	34.4	13.1
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 1	25.9	21.1	30.8	9.2
TN 013 BNA 9503 BG 1	13.3	33.8	40.9	20.7
TN 067 BNA 9602 BG 4	12.5	27.9	35	29.7
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 1	7.3	24.7	26.3	15.9
TN 155 Tract 0809 BG 2	33	30.1	27.2	8.1
TN 067 BNA 9601 BG 1	15.8	25.8	31	37.1
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 1	14.8	12.4	27.8	13.4
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 6	17.2	20.2	33.1	13.5
TN 139 BNA 9501 BG 1	14.5	27.3	33.1	16.9
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 3	27.2	18.4	23.4	22.4
TN 073 Tract 0507 BG 3	9.9	29.9	37.7	8.7
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 4	38.4	29.3	45.5	21.7
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 4	27	24.8	36.8	22.6
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 2	6.8	16.8	39.4	17.9
TN 091 BNA 9561 BG 3	14.9	22	43.5	5
TN 129 Tract 1104 BG 5	19.3	8.1	43.5	15
TN 139 BNA 9504 BG 1	15.7	14.2	40.8	12.5
TN 025 BNA 9705 BG 2	9.5	25.1	32.8	12.8
TN 019 Tract 0716 BG 1	7.3	11.8	24.5	13.2
TN 029 BNA 9803.98 BG 2	14.6	16.1	30.9	8.7
TN 129 Tract 1105 BG 4	25.5	16.7	40.8	15
TN 059 Tract 0905 BG 6	25	25.6	26.7	3.5
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 1	6.6	6.3	25.6	7.4
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 5	6.8	10.5	26	13
TN 121 BNA 9601 BG 1	22.1	9.9	29.9	9.7
TN 059 Tract 0912 BG 2	4.1	10.8	20	14.8
TN 019 Tract 0715 BG 1	18.4	25.5	33.5	12.7
TN 059 Tract 0912 BG 3	4.4	21.9	33.3	14.7
TN 059 Tract 0902 BG 2	12.9	23.3	25.2	3
TN 107 BNA 9707 BG 3	9.8	19	29.4	1.8
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 1	13.5	21.1	39.5	14.7
TN 019 Tract 0716 BG 2	0	13.6	50	38.3
TN 173 Tract 0403 BG 1	17.5	12.5	35.5	19.7

Areaname*	Female House-holder Families in Workforce	Owner Occupied Housing	Lived in Same House in 1985	Mobile Home/ Trailer
TN 057 Tract 5004 BG 1	29.5	43	75.1	30.3
TN 145 Tract 0306 BG 1	28.9	54.8	50.8	15.8
TN 067 BNA 9603 BG 2	33.9	19.8	68.7	15.9
TN 013 BNA 9508 BG 1	50	49.3	67	18.2
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 1	38.2	38.4	64.1	23.5
TN 013 BNA 9503 BG 1	40.5	44.6	65	28.7
TN 067 BNA 9602 BG 4	43.9	37.2	64.6	16
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 1	23.4	12.2	60	21.5
TN 155 Tract 0809 BG 2	19	53.6	41.2	21.6
TN 067 BNA 9601 BG 1	29.8	17.5	69.8	22.9
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 1	37.9	17.3	56.5	21.3
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 6	42.9	40.8	64.1	38.6
TN 139 BNA 9501 BG 1	26.8	50.2	70.9	34.5
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 3	41.7	20.8	64.9	21.5
TN 073 Tract 0507 BG 3	49.2	37.6	62.5	37.5
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 4	14.3	58.1	68.5	13.1
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 4	42.9	38	58.3	12
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 2	61.9	32.9	70.2	14
TN 091 BNA 9561 BG 3	65.2	45.9	67.8	19.5
TN 129 Tract 1104 BG 5	70	53.3	78.3	28.1
TN 139 BNA 9504 BG 1	78.3	50.1	63.2	29.1
TN 025 BNA 9705 BG 2	70.6	38.6	56	17.7
TN 019 Tract 0716 BG 1	84.9	47.6	84.2	19.3
TN 029 BNA 9803.98 BG 2	61.5	23.6	68.4	26.3
TN 129 Tract 1105 BG 4	100	33.6	57.1	5.5
TN 059 Tract 0905 BG 6	85.7	45.6	68.9	10.3
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 1	60.4	27.3	63.9	28.7
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 5	70.2	32.1	72.7	24.8
TN 121 BNA 9601 BG 1	64.9	32.2	72.1	24.8
TN 059 Tract 0912 BG 2	51.6	19.5	45.5	41.8
TN 019 Tract 0715 BG 1	75.6	41.4	85.2	18.8
TN 059 Tract 0912 BG 3	59.6	25.7	56.5	17
TN 059 Tract 0902 BG 2	83.3	70.1	78.5	7.7
TN 107 BNA 9707 BG 3	85.3	59	71.7	10.2
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 1	74.1	33.2	75	37.7
TN 019 Tract 0716 BG 2	100	21.1	71	16.8
TN 173 Tract 0403 BG 1	46.5	29.9	79.6	25.6

Areaname*	Home Built Pre-1940	Occupied Housing No Vehicle	Occupied Housing with Incomplete Plumbing
TN 057 Tract 5004 BG 1	8.3	8.9	9.2
TN 145 Tract 0306 BG 1	1.9	3.3	1.9
TN 067 BNA 9603 BG 2	16.7	15	18.7
TN 013 BNA 9508 BG 1	8.6	0	1.8
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 1	9.2	9.6	12.4
TN 013 BNA 9503 BG 1	13.9	6.2	5.7
TN 067 BNA 9602 BG 4	16.9	18.8	13.5
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 1	11.1	3.2	24.6
TN 155 Tract 0809 BG 2	8.5	1.8	6.8
TN 067 BNA 9601 BG 1	21	14.9	38.4
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 1	9.9	3.2	21.6
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 6	7.8	6.3	3.1
TN 139 BNA 9501 BG 1	4.1	4.2	3.4
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 3	17	14.2	12.6
TN 073 Tract 0507 BG 3	11.6	13.3	3
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 4	16.3	22.9	18.6
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 4	10.9	17.6	4.4
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 2	19.9	12.3	20.6
TN 091 BNA 9561 BG 3	20.1	6.4	4.9
TN 129 Tract 1104 BG 5	27.4	10.8	8.1
TN 139 BNA 9504 BG 1	9.7	9.7	8
TN 025 BNA 9705 BG 2	21.4	14.3	17.7
TN 019 Tract 0716 BG 1	12.1	15.2	13.4
TN 029 BNA 9803.98 BG 2	30.8	12.3	15.4
TN 129 Tract 1105 BG 4	6.3	10.5	6.6
TN 059 Tract 0905 BG 6	11.8	6.3	4.5
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 1	17.6	5.4	14.1
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 5	10	6.8	10.2
TN 121 BNA 9601 BG 1	6.8	7.8	7.9
TN 059 Tract 0912 BG 2	21.5	5.9	10.1
TN 019 Tract 0715 BG 1	23	9.3	2.9
TN 059 Tract 0912 BG 3	32.7	10.1	7.4
TN 059 Tract 0902 BG 2	11.6	3.3	0.7
TN 107 BNA 9707 BG 3	14.6	3.5	2
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 1	3.2	7.3	8.5
TN 019 Tract 0716 BG 2	5.3	26.3	10.5
TN 173 Tract 0403 BG 1	11.6	2.3	14.8

Areaname*	Occupied Housing Cost Burden
TN 057 Tract 5004 BG 1	21.2
TN 145 Tract 0306 BG 1	16.9
TN 067 BNA 9603 BG 2	15.7
TN 013 BNA 9508 BG 1	13.6
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 1	13
TN 013 BNA 9503 BG 1	16.3
TN 067 BNA 9602 BG 4	23.1
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 1	0
TN 155 Tract 0809 BG 2	25.2
TN 067 BNA 9601 BG 1	14.9
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 1	14
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 6	23.6
TN 139 BNA 9501 BG 1	8.3
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 3	0
TN 073 Tract 0507 BG 3	22.1
TN 013 BNA 9501 BG 4	37
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 4	18.3
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 2	19.3
TN 091 BNA 9561 BG 3	41.7
TN 129 Tract 1104 BG 5	25
TN 139 BNA 9504 BG 1	17.7
TN 025 BNA 9705 BG 2	23.9
TN 019 Tract 0716 BG 1	13.5
TN 029 BNA 9803.98 BG 2	14.3
TN 129 Tract 1105 BG 4	31.2
TN 059 Tract 0905 BG 6	9.1
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 1	22.2
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 5	14
TN 121 BNA 9601 BG 1	11
TN 059 Tract 0912 BG 2	22
TN 019 Tract 0715 BG 1	21
TN 059 Tract 0912 BG 3	31
TN 059 Tract 0902 BG 2	6.3
TN 107 BNA 9707 BG 3	25.5
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 1	29.1
TN 019 Tract 0716 BG 2	50
TN 173 Tract 0403 BG 1	0

Areaname*	Cluster	Total Populat-ion	Below Poverty**	Rural	High School Grad
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 1	2	632	26.6	100	33.2
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 2	2	1348	20.9	100	33.8
TN 029 BNA 9804 BG 1	2	580	37.6	100	32.5
TN 073 Tract 0501 BG 1	2	1417	21.5	100	38.2
TN 089 Tract 0709 BG 1	2	1089	23	100	26
TN 007 BNA 9532 BG 4	2	1977	23.1	100	37.5
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 2	2	525	23	100	29.1
TN 025 BNA 9706 BG 3	2	831	26.7	100	31.6
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 2	2	883	28	100	16.5
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 2	2	1200	20.9	100	30.6
TN 171 Tract 0801 BG 1	3	564	26.6	100	35.7
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 2	3	1932	24.6	100	30.5
TN 007 BNA 9530.98 BG 1	3	982	21.1	100	33
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 1	3	1268	21	90.5	37.5
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 3	3	812	28.6	100	40.1
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 3	3	1722	28.6	72.6	43.4
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 4	3	1164	27.6	89.7	35.3
TN 123 BNA 9852 BG 4	3	1980	20.9	51.5	28.7
TN 059 Tract 0910.98 BG 2	3	1102	42.6	100	32
TN 035 BNA 9707 BG 2	3	1197	20	100	34.1
TN 049 BNA 9650 BG 3	3	1008	20.3	100	30.1
TN 067 BNA 9604 BG 1	3	756	36.1	100	28.9
TN 129 Tract 1104 BG 2	3	1050	22.9	100	44.7
TN 115 Tract 0501 BG 4	3	1047	23.7	100	35.4
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 1	3	551	21.4	100	29.2
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 1	3	1241	20.5	94.8	29.2
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 3	3	1711	33.9	100	29.2
TN 035 BNA 9708 BG 1	3	1651	21.3	100	29.3
TN 173 Tract 0402.02 BG 3	3	989	32.2	100	31.2
TN 091 BNA 9562 BG 2	3	730	41	100	37.4
TN 007 BNA 9531 BG 2	3	1153	20.3	100	28.4
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 1	3	864	30.7	98.3	29.2
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 6	3	911	24	100	27.7
TN 013 BNA 9505 BG 3	3	670	22.1	100	28.6
TN 143 BNA 9752 BG 2	3	1233	21.5	100	35.1
TN 019 Tract 0715 BG 2	3	1274	24.3	100	22.1
TN 029 BNA 9807 BG 2	3	650	30.8	100	20.5

Areaname*	Ages 17 and Less	Ages 65 and Over	Black	Female Householder Families
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 1	21.7	19.1	0	15.9
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 2	28.3	12.3	0	5.3
TN 029 BNA 9804 BG 1	21.9	16	0	10.6
TN 073 Tract 0501 BG 1	21.7	14.8	0	8
TN 089 Tract 0709 BG 1	24.8	9	8.4	13.3
TN 007 BNA 9532 BG 4	19.4	5.4	14.5	4.1
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 2	32.2	11.6	0	16.4
TN 025 BNA 9706 BG 3	22.5	15	0	7.7
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 2	16.1	17.7	0	16.1
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 2	23.8	15.1	0.3	11.4
TN 171 Tract 0801 BG 1	28.5	9.4	0	5.3
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 2	26.6	10	0	10.3
TN 007 BNA 9530.98 BG 1	27.4	8.2	0	6.9
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 1	23.2	12	0	9.6
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 3	25.9	14.3	0	11.7
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 3	27.4	11.2	0	16.9
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 4	21.3	13.7	5.4	7.3
TN 123 BNA 9852 BG 4	21.2	15.7	7	17.1
TN 059 Tract 0910.98 BG 2	31.5	7.4	0	17.2
TN 035 BNA 9707 BG 2	20.4	15.7	0	11.2
TN 049 BNA 9650 BG 3	23.6	14	0	9.2
TN 067 BNA 9604 BG 1	27.9	12	0	22.8
TN 129 Tract 1104 BG 2	23.4	10	0	9.7
TN 115 Tract 0501 BG 4	27.6	7	0	13.1
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 1	20	16	0.7	13.9
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 1	23.4	12.6	0	11
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 3	20.7	18.3	1.1	9.5
TN 035 BNA 9708 BG 1	25.9	11.3	0	12.5
TN 173 Tract 0402.02 BG 3	30.9	9.2	0	9.2
TN 091 BNA 9562 BG 2	28.6	9.3	2.1	16.4
TN 007 BNA 9531 BG 2	19.6	23.3	0.4	15
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 1	26.2	8.4	0	21.5
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 6	20.7	12	0	10.2
TN 013 BNA 9505 BG 3	21	11.5	0	21.8
TN 143 BNA 9752 BG 2	26.5	11.4	0	4.5
TN 019 Tract 0715 BG 2	23.7	11.5	0.5	10.8
TN 029 BNA 9807 BG 2	27.5	7.7	0	16.1

Areaname*	Female Unemploy-ment	Employed in Agri-culture	Employed in Min-ing	Employed in Manufact-uring
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 1	16.2	2	0	44.8
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 2	3.1	3.8	2.3	44.1
TN 029 BNA 9804 BG 1	6	3	0	46
TN 073 Tract 0501 BG 1	5.9	3	0	46.8
TN 089 Tract 0709 BG 1	8.8	1.2	0	38.4
TN 007 BNA 9532 BG 4	6.2	6.6	3	19.1
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 2	3.5	2.4	1.9	27.2
TN 025 BNA 9706 BG 3	21.2	0	0	51
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 2	3.5	0	0	40.5
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 2	15.4	6.3	1.4	32.9
TN 171 Tract 0801 BG 1	14.2	0	3	40.1
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 2	6.5	6.8	0.3	26.3
TN 007 BNA 9530.98 BG 1	11.9	11.4	0	51.9
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 1	8.7	2.2	1.3	26.3
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 3	1.2	9.5	0	34.4
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 3	6.4	1.3	3.3	35.5
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 4	6.9	2.2	0	49.1
TN 123 BNA 9852 BG 4	1.6	4.7	0	33.6
TN 059 Tract 0910.98 BG 2	14.2	1.7	0	50.2
TN 035 BNA 9707 BG 2	3.1	3	2.4	26.8
TN 049 BNA 9650 BG 3	3	2.8	0.4	36.8
TN 067 BNA 9604 BG 1	16.3	22.9	0	37.3
TN 129 Tract 1104 BG 2	11.8	3.3	6.8	19.7
TN 115 Tract 0501 BG 4	7	0	0.4	38
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 1	6.7	0	2.7	24.4
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 1	11.3	3	0.8	25.7
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 3	18.7	4.2	0	33.3
TN 035 BNA 9708 BG 1	8.1	1.4	4.7	27.2
TN 173 Tract 0402.02 BG 3	1	2	2	37.7
TN 091 BNA 9562 BG 2	11.9	4.1	0	31
TN 007 BNA 9531 BG 2	4.9	1.3	0	33.2
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 1	8.9	7.4	0	32.9
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 6	4.6	4.6	0	25.7
TN 013 BNA 9505 BG 3	15.2	0	6.7	23.2
TN 143 BNA 9752 BG 2	13	5.2	0	45.2
TN 019 Tract 0715 BG 2	6	1.2	1.2	31.5
TN 029 BNA 9807 BG 2	21.8	0	0	27.3

Areaname*	Employed in Trade	Employed in Services	Receiving Social Security Income	Receiving Public Assistance
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 1	13.9	12.3	37.8	7.9
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 2	12.4	18.2	32.7	8.5
TN 029 BNA 9804 BG 1	6	36	39.3	16.9
TN 073 Tract 0501 BG 1	17.9	11	40.4	8
TN 089 Tract 0709 BG 1	16.7	21.5	18.9	16.6
TN 007 BNA 9532 BG 4	20.4	22.7	27.1	15.8
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 2	24.8	16.5	38.6	1.1
TN 025 BNA 9706 BG 3	17.5	21.1	33.2	7
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 2	13.2	17.3	35.7	19.9
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 2	17.9	24	30	4.6
TN 171 Tract 0801 BG 1	28	10.8	39.6	17.3
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 2	14	31.8	30.1	10.8
TN 007 BNA 9530.98 BG 1	3.4	15.1	22.9	11
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 1	28.1	20.7	30.9	11.4
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 3	20.7	18.4	27.8	18
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 3	17.4	24	30.2	12.3
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 4	29.3	4.1	29.9	7.3
TN 123 BNA 9852 BG 4	21.5	23.9	32.1	11.4
TN 059 Tract 0910.98 BG 2	14.1	19.9	11.3	24
TN 035 BNA 9707 BG 2	19.1	22.7	34.5	6.8
TN 049 BNA 9650 BG 3	11.8	33.5	30.3	9.4
TN 067 BNA 9604 BG 1	14	16.9	37	17.6
TN 129 Tract 1104 BG 2	24.4	30.7	25	8.8
TN 115 Tract 0501 BG 4	23.7	19.7	17.1	11.1
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 1	25.8	23.1	33.6	10.6
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 1	30.3	22.2	31.2	7.4
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 3	14.4	22.9	40.7	13.9
TN 035 BNA 9708 BG 1	22.3	20.9	29.5	10.1
TN 173 Tract 0402.02 BG 3	27.6	12.3	23.8	15.5
TN 091 BNA 9562 BG 2	20.1	15.7	30.6	18.3
TN 007 BNA 9531 BG 2	16.7	26.6	42.1	12.6
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 1	25.7	17.1	13.8	6.7
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 6	26.7	32.2	20.7	15.4
TN 013 BNA 9505 BG 3	13.5	25.8	29.8	9.2
TN 143 BNA 9752 BG 2	17.7	10.1	31.4	12
TN 019 Tract 0715 BG 2	16.6	30.5	32.4	17.9
TN 029 BNA 9807 BG 2	33.1	24.9	23.7	16.3

Areaname*	Female House-holder Families in Workforce	Owner Occupied Housing	Lived in Same House in 1985	Mobile Home/ Trailer
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 1	72.7	36.1	70.3	17.7
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 2	73.1	35.7	55	32.9
TN 029 BNA 9804 BG 1	58.5	39.1	59.5	14.2
TN 073 Tract 0501 BG 1	86.1	37.6	64.8	31.1
TN 089 Tract 0709 BG 1	63	43.8	71.1	39.3
TN 007 BNA 9532 BG 4	75.5	35.5	38.7	17.4
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 2	86.7	65	58	8.9
TN 025 BNA 9706 BG 3	81.4	24.4	50.3	30.5
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 2	58.6	44.2	80.8	18.4
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 2	68.3	52.3	77.4	21.1
TN 171 Tract 0801 BG 1	80.6	51.7	50.5	18.2
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 2	70.1	57.2	59.3	15.3
TN 007 BNA 9530.98 BG 1	57.1	40.7	64.3	33.5
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 1	77.1	58.6	66.1	21
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 3	49	30.5	84.7	27.9
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 3	58.4	41.8	66.6	20
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 4	89.6	44.1	75.4	29.3
TN 123 BNA 9852 BG 4	55.1	37.5	58.7	11.7
TN 059 Tract 0910.98 BG 2	81.8	38.9	72.2	26.3
TN 035 BNA 9707 BG 2	80.7	35.6	69.5	24.8
TN 049 BNA 9650 BG 3	71.9	42.1	70.1	15.8
TN 067 BNA 9604 BG 1	59.6	25.4	63.2	19
TN 129 Tract 1104 BG 2	50.9	56.2	72.7	23.9
TN 115 Tract 0501 BG 4	47.5	52.6	54.8	13.5
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 1	69.4	44.2	58	30.8
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 1	70	54.1	56.6	13.8
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 3	57.5	40.4	64.8	15.8
TN 035 BNA 9708 BG 1	57.6	43.4	58.2	26.9
TN 173 Tract 0402.02 BG 3	78.4	54	73.6	29.2
TN 091 BNA 9562 BG 2	62.2	40.5	64.2	19.8
TN 007 BNA 9531 BG 2	61.3	57.4	60.6	7.7
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 1	72.7	35.1	44.1	35
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 6	71	41.1	63.8	34.7
TN 013 BNA 9505 BG 3	60	61.9	60.4	14.4
TN 143 BNA 9752 BG 2	58.2	47.7	64.2	32.2
TN 019 Tract 0715 BG 2	48.3	32.7	78.5	20.8
TN 029 BNA 9807 BG 2	83	38	71.8	27.8

Areaname*	Home Built Pre-1940	Occupied Housing No Vehicle	Occupied Housing with Incomplete Plumbing
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 1	14.3	7	9.8
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 2	8.7	9	7.6
TN 029 BNA 9804 BG 1	24	0	18.4
TN 073 Tract 0501 BG 1	10.6	7.2	12.6
TN 089 Tract 0709 BG 1	9.7	6.1	4.2
TN 007 BNA 9532 BG 4	13.2	7.5	5
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 2	13.1	15	7.5
TN 025 BNA 9706 BG 3	14.9	9.6	14.1
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 2	18.4	11.6	14.9
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 2	10.7	12.8	4.4
TN 171 Tract 0801 BG 1	3.8	5	3.3
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 2	7	5.2	6.6
TN 007 BNA 9530.98 BG 1	3.6	9.8	1.2
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 1	3.2	11.8	1.1
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 3	15.6	8.1	2.4
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 3	12.9	10	5.3
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 4	4.6	8.5	1.3
TN 123 BNA 9852 BG 4	9.7	9.3	0
TN 059 Tract 0910.98 BG 2	6.8	9	15.9
TN 035 BNA 9707 BG 2	8.6	4.6	4.7
TN 049 BNA 9650 BG 3	6.5	11.2	12.4
TN 067 BNA 9604 BG 1	13.5	7.7	16
TN 129 Tract 1104 BG 2	13.1	7.9	0
TN 115 Tract 0501 BG 4	13.7	7.7	1
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 1	4.7	12.6	0
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 1	8.7	3.8	4.9
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 3	14.7	12	4.7
TN 035 BNA 9708 BG 1	11.9	7.4	11.7
TN 173 Tract 0402.02 BG 3	4.3	9.8	6.4
TN 091 BNA 9562 BG 2	33.3	4.2	4.9
TN 007 BNA 9531 BG 2	14.3	14.8	0.3
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 1	4.1	2.2	6.9
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 6	10.9	6.3	2.6
TN 013 BNA 9505 BG 3	8.3	11	4.5
TN 143 BNA 9752 BG 2	3.8	6.9	1.7
TN 019 Tract 0715 BG 2	19.8	12.2	9.8
TN 029 BNA 9807 BG 2	19.8	6.8	16.7

Areaname*	Occupied Housing Cost Burden
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 1	28
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 2	8.8
TN 029 BNA 9804 BG 1	15.5
TN 073 Tract 0501 BG 1	16.9
TN 089 Tract 0709 BG 1	28.3
TN 007 BNA 9532 BG 4	11.9
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 2	16.9
TN 025 BNA 9706 BG 3	24.4
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 2	13.2
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 2	0
TN 171 Tract 0801 BG 1	15.4
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 2	23.1
TN 007 BNA 9530.98 BG 1	26.7
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 1	25.6
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 3	22.2
TN 151 BNA 9750 BG 3	24.4
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 4	24.1
TN 123 BNA 9852 BG 4	18.6
TN 059 Tract 0910.98 BG 2	11.6
TN 035 BNA 9707 BG 2	5.6
TN 049 BNA 9650 BG 3	25.3
TN 067 BNA 9604 BG 1	0
TN 129 Tract 1104 BG 2	16.4
TN 115 Tract 0501 BG 4	24.6
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 1	21.6
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 1	20.7
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 3	11.8
TN 035 BNA 9708 BG 1	18.6
TN 173 Tract 0402.02 BG 3	23.2
TN 091 BNA 9562 BG 2	16.8
TN 007 BNA 9531 BG 2	20
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 1	14.1
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 6	28.2
TN 013 BNA 9505 BG 3	20.5
TN 143 BNA 9752 BG 2	18.3
TN 019 Tract 0715 BG 2	7.6
TN 029 BNA 9807 BG 2	11.9

Areaname*	Cluster	Total Populat-ion	Below Poverty**	Rural	High School Grad
TN 145 Tract 0302.01 BG 3	3	429	23.1	100	30.9
TN 155 Tract 0806 BG 4	3	1569	21.2	78.3	39.6
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 3	3	1311	36.7	100	29.6
TN 059 Tract 0915 BG 2	3	897	23.1	100	27.5
TN 155 Tract 0811 BG 7	3	1073	23.1	70.2	52.7
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 1	4	1117	37.8	41.3	27.8
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 3	4	1250	54.7	6.1	15.4
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 3	4	1256	50.5	1.5	24.7
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 5	4	667	47.8	0	14.3
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 4	4	944	48.6	0	22.9
TN 155 Tract 0808 BG 3	4	1502	40.4	37.7	22.2
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 1	4	1708	44.1	33.8	36.2
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 1	4	2648	25.3	40	33.1
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 1	4	2142	40.3	49.7	29.1
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 1	4	943	41.1	35.7	32.8
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 4	5	679	23.6	100	44.1
TN 019 Tract 0713 BG 2	5	1241	21.5	100	36.2
TN 107 BNA 9705 BG 2	5	1101	21	100	31.6
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 3	5	1035	24	100	28.1
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 1	5	923	24.7	100	32.6
TN 013 BNA 9509 BG 1	5	1075	24.1	100	25
TN 139 BNA 9502 BG 5	5	1541	23.9	100	30
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 4	5	684	26.5	100	26.4
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 4	5	731	23.2	100	31.5
TN 035 BNA 9703.98 BG 1	5	1333	26.4	100	31.6
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 2	5	1264	26.2	88.9	25.2
TN 129 Tract 1105 BG 3	5	933	23	100	43.6
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 4	5	1052	21.7	100	38.3
TN 139 BNA 9504 BG 2	5	624	22.1	100	30.1
TN 105 Tract 0601 BG 3	5	336	23.5	100	28.8
TN 059 Tract 0914 BG 1	5	725	21.7	100	44.5
TN 089 Tract 0708 BG 2	5	673	20.4	100	31.2
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 1	5	1399	28.7	100	34.5
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 2	5	501	28.9	100	31.7
TN 049 BNA 9650 BG 1	5	936	33.5	100	28.5
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 2	5	526	35	100	23
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 4	5	711	36.1	100	23.8

Areaname*	Ages 17 and Less	Ages 65 and Over	Black	Female Householder Families
TN 145 Tract 0302.01 BG 3	21	15.4	0	4.7
TN 155 Tract 0806 BG 4	22.3	12.2	0	10.4
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 3	25.1	14.3	0	27.8
TN 059 Tract 0915 BG 2	18.1	16.9	0.9	4.8
TN 155 Tract 0811 BG 7	24.2	11.9	0	6.3
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 1	23.7	14.9	3.1	27.6
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 3	21	12.9	21.9	49
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 3	31.1	12.4	20	41.1
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 5	31.9	8.4	27.7	46.3
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 4	24.3	9.4	0	36
TN 155 Tract 0808 BG 3	29.9	8.9	2.2	44.1
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 1	26.1	13.5	8.2	33.3
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 1	28.4	10.9	3.2	23.1
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 1	28.6	10.7	2.3	31.8
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 1	28.6	9.7	0	42.4
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 4	20.2	17.1	3.5	7.8
TN 019 Tract 0713 BG 2	23.4	18.5	0	10.5
TN 107 BNA 9705 BG 2	22.4	13.5	0	12.7
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 3	24.5	12.4	0	15
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 1	25.5	15.6	0	8.3
TN 013 BNA 9509 BG 1	23.4	10.5	0	12
TN 139 BNA 9502 BG 5	27.4	13.8	0	13.4
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 4	24.3	10.8	0	17.6
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 4	21.8	15.3	0	24.9
TN 035 BNA 9703.98 BG 1	22.9	13.3	0	7.7
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 2	28	13.5	0	16.6
TN 129 Tract 1105 BG 3	24.3	10.5	0	6.7
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 4	25.7	13.7	0	3.4
TN 139 BNA 9504 BG 2	15.7	23.9	0	15.3
TN 105 Tract 0601 BG 3	18.2	17.9	2.4	0
TN 059 Tract 0914 BG 1	28.6	10.3	0	3.5
TN 089 Tract 0708 BG 2	20.2	10.8	0	5.9
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 1	30.5	10.4	0	18.9
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 2	26.7	7.4	0	9.6
TN 049 BNA 9650 BG 1	23.1	7.7	0	21.9
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 2	25.5	14.6	0	3.3
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 4	29.5	11.8	0	14.6

Areaname*	Female Unemploy-ment	Employed in Agri-culture	Employed in Min-ing	Employed in Manufact-uring
TN 145 Tract 0302.01 BG 3	0	0	0	26.5
TN 155 Tract 0806 BG 4	6.4	4.5	0	18.2
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 3	5.9	2.1	2.3	33.2
TN 059 Tract 0915 BG 2	8.9	8	0	40.4
TN 155 Tract 0811 BG 7	2.5	1.6	0	15.4
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 1	19.2	0	2.3	24.7
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 3	0	5.5	0	28.4
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 3	33.9	0	0	44.2
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 5	28.8	0	0	38.5
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 4	13.7	0	0	28.3
TN 155 Tract 0808 BG 3	8.3	0	0	14
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 1	23.7	0	0	42.8
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 1	10.2	0.9	2.3	46.1
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 1	27.9	3	0	50.3
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 1	11.5	0	2.5	25.6
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 4	19.9	4.9	0	51.7
TN 019 Tract 0713 BG 2	10.5	3.3	0	27.9
TN 107 BNA 9705 BG 2	7.9	1.5	0.4	46.7
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 3	7.4	1.5	1.5	47.2
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 1	4.1	4.3	9.2	42.2
TN 013 BNA 9509 BG 1	10.9	3.1	3.1	31.6
TN 139 BNA 9502 BG 5	4.7	4.3	0	44.2
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 4	3.6	0	10.7	15.3
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 4	4	0.4	6.9	15.8
TN 035 BNA 9703.98 BG 1	15.7	7.7	0	19.6
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 2	0	6.1	0	29.4
TN 129 Tract 1105 BG 3	13.7	1.7	2.3	18.2
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 4	3.5	4.9	0	47.2
TN 139 BNA 9504 BG 2	1.7	1.4	0	34.7
TN 105 Tract 0601 BG 3	0	0	0	42
TN 059 Tract 0914 BG 1	11.1	13.3	0	27.9
TN 089 Tract 0708 BG 2	4.2	4.3	0	29.9
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 1	6.1	7.3	0	30.5
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 2	20.3	17.3	0	47.4
TN 049 BNA 9650 BG 1	11.7	4	0	32.7
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 2	7.6	9.2	0	54.6
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 4	9.7	1.6	3.6	49.8

Areaname*	Employed in Trade	Employed in Services	Receiving Social Security Income	Receiving Public Assistance
TN 145 Tract 0302.01 BG 3	12.3	29.9	38	7
TN 155 Tract 0806 BG 4	17.8	30.4	23.2	3.3
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 3	22.5	24.8	37.1	18.3
TN 059 Tract 0915 BG 2	21.4	22	38	9.9
TN 155 Tract 0811 BG 7	25.9	30.4	23.8	4.1
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 1	34.7	18.9	38.9	28.7
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 3	24.5	29.4	37.8	25.7
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 3	11.6	34.5	32.8	32.3
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 5	13.8	13.8	24.9	56.3
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 4	20.8	31.5	29.9	34.1
TN 155 Tract 0808 BG 3	34.8	21.5	32	24.2
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 1	19.5	21.2	27.9	25.6
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 1	16.7	16.7	27.2	12.6
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 1	25.2	9	24.7	15.4
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 1	31.2	27.8	18.3	25.3
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 4	22.8	9.4	27.9	14.8
TN 019 Tract 0713 BG 2	20.9	17.4	31.4	10.1
TN 107 BNA 9705 BG 2	11.6	20.3	30.3	7.2
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 3	7.3	14.8	29.4	16.3
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 1	10.6	21.6	29.2	21.3
TN 013 BNA 9509 BG 1	17.5	24.8	29.9	11.4
TN 139 BNA 9502 BG 5	15.6	18.1	32.5	10.5
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 4	11.7	38.1	36.8	15.3
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 4	25.1	30.4	51.9	16.3
TN 035 BNA 9703.98 BG 1	21.4	27.8	32.4	9.9
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 2	18.9	28.1	33.8	9.9
TN 129 Tract 1105 BG 3	21.1	24.1	36.9	8.4
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 4	15.3	19.8	29.2	7.8
TN 139 BNA 9504 BG 2	11.7	32.4	48.9	9
TN 105 Tract 0601 BG 3	12.6	28.2	29.1	10.4
TN 059 Tract 0914 BG 1	21.3	21.6	26.1	8.1
TN 089 Tract 0708 BG 2	21.4	19.7	22.6	1.9
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 1	25.2	20.2	24.6	11.4
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 2	3.5	25.4	21.3	7.5
TN 049 BNA 9650 BG 1	20.1	24.6	31.2	16.7
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 2	7.2	20.8	41.5	21.5
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 4	15.3	19.3	32.2	26.3

Areaname*	Female House-holder Families in Workforce	Owner Occupied Housing	Lived in Same House in 1985	Mobile Home/ Trailer
TN 145 Tract 0302.01 BG 3	100	47.6	47.1	7.4
TN 155 Tract 0806 BG 4	63.7	52.2	55.9	23.1
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 3	61.5	52.8	65.2	15.4
TN 059 Tract 0915 BG 2	86.8	35.6	67.5	13.6
TN 155 Tract 0811 BG 7	56.1	52.4	50.7	10.5
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 1	48.7	41.6	47.5	16.2
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 3	23.7	21	40.9	5.5
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 3	43.8	17.8	35.2	5.5
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 5	45.7	23.4	48.4	12.1
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 4	55.4	34.3	51.5	5.2
TN 155 Tract 0808 BG 3	51.6	28.5	50	15.3
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 1	39	27.6	54.6	22.3
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 1	58.9	45.5	68.8	12.6
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 1	68.5	22.9	46.6	28.2
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 1	59.1	39.2	61.7	24.5
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 4	22.7	35.7	65.9	30
TN 019 Tract 0713 BG 2	39	52.3	62.6	24
TN 107 BNA 9705 BG 2	33.3	57.3	72.7	15.6
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 3	29.8	38.1	73.8	16.4
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 1	39.4	35.7	63.1	22.5
TN 013 BNA 9509 BG 1	32.6	59.4	58.9	7.3
TN 139 BNA 9502 BG 5	48.9	50.3	62.3	24.8
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 4	16.7	49	61.1	35.3
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 4	51.2	60.4	63.8	10.6
TN 035 BNA 9703.98 BG 1	53.2	44.9	57.4	23.6
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 2	34.1	39.5	65.8	24.7
TN 129 Tract 1105 BG 3	27.7	52.3	69.2	19.5
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 4	55.4	46.1	54.3	19.9
TN 139 BNA 9504 BG 2	38.9	62.1	70	14.7
TN 105 Tract 0601 BG 3	0	16.5	73.3	18.8
TN 059 Tract 0914 BG 1	0	21.2	59	13.4
TN 089 Tract 0708 BG 2	36.8	27.1	66.6	38.1
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 1	15.4	34.5	58.7	26.9
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 2	35.3	32	56.5	23.5
TN 049 BNA 9650 BG 1	34.8	44.7	59.5	16.1
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 2	50	14.5	68.9	17
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 4	52.3	43.3	60	22.9

Areaname*	Home Built Pre-1940	Occupied Housing No Vehicle	Occupied Housing with Incomplete Plumbing
TN 145 Tract 0302.01 BG 3	12.6	3.6	4.6
TN 155 Tract 0806 BG 4	11	5.5	3.1
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 3	10.4	12.4	2.3
TN 059 Tract 0915 BG 2	26.6	7.4	3.7
TN 155 Tract 0811 BG 7	10.2	1.7	3
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 1	15.8	31.9	0
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 3	7.2	31	0
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 3	7	30.1	1.3
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 5	0	61.7	0
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 4	5.4	26.4	2.5
TN 155 Tract 0808 BG 3	7.7	18.2	5.1
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 1	5.1	22.6	2.2
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 1	7.7	16.6	2.6
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 1	3.1	7.5	1.2
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 1	20.5	22.6	1.6
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 4	6	12.4	4.1
TN 019 Tract 0713 BG 2	23.1	10.8	5
TN 107 BNA 9705 BG 2	20.8	12.1	0.4
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 3	23.4	19.5	23.4
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 1	9.8	8.1	9.5
TN 013 BNA 9509 BG 1	3.7	5.6	4.7
TN 139 BNA 9502 BG 5	13.3	7.4	4.9
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 4	20.1	7.4	4.5
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 4	17.1	13.1	10.3
TN 035 BNA 9703.98 BG 1	7.1	6.2	0.8
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 2	5.9	10.7	5.9
TN 129 Tract 1105 BG 3	16.6	16.7	1.8
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 4	7.6	5.3	4.5
TN 139 BNA 9504 BG 2	44.6	13.8	1.3
TN 105 Tract 0601 BG 3	13.4	10.5	0
TN 059 Tract 0914 BG 1	35.6	3.5	1.7
TN 089 Tract 0708 BG 2	8.6	7.1	7.9
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 1	3.7	10.5	3.9
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 2	19.7	8	21.6
TN 049 BNA 9650 BG 1	4.5	9.1	10.3
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 2	22	16.5	18.4
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 4	14.7	11.9	15.4

Areaname*	Occupied Housing Cost Burden
TN 145 Tract 0302.01 BG 3	10.1
TN 155 Tract 0806 BG 4	24.3
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 3	16.4
TN 059 Tract 0915 BG 2	3.3
TN 155 Tract 0811 BG 7	11.8
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 1	31.8
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 3	24.3
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 3	63.6
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 5	40.9
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 4	11.5
TN 155 Tract 0808 BG 3	4.3
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 1	13.5
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 1	16.9
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 1	27.9
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 1	13.3
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 4	14.6
TN 019 Tract 0713 BG 2	10
TN 107 BNA 9705 BG 2	15
TN 057 Tract 5001 BG 3	18
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 1	16.3
TN 013 BNA 9509 BG 1	21.8
TN 139 BNA 9502 BG 5	15.5
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 4	13.5
TN 013 BNA 9504 BG 4	18.1
TN 035 BNA 9703.98 BG 1	30
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 2	17.3
TN 129 Tract 1105 BG 3	10.6
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 4	22.9
TN 139 BNA 9504 BG 2	20
TN 105 Tract 0601 BG 3	0
TN 059 Tract 0914 BG 1	10
TN 089 Tract 0708 BG 2	18.1
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 1	12.6
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 2	0
TN 049 BNA 9650 BG 1	39.9
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 2	0
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 4	21.2

Areaname*	Cluster	Total Populat-ion	Below Poverty**	Rural	High School Grad
TN 013 BNA 9508 BG 2	5	458	33.6	100	25
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 3	5	519	28.3	100	23.8
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 2	5	983	31.1	100	34.7
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 3	5	739	31.4	100	30.1
TN 029 BNA 9803.98 BG 1	5	877	31.1	100	30.6
TN 089 Tract 0702 BG 2	5	354	30.2	100	32.3
TN 025 BNA 9703 BG 3	5	1056	32.5	100	34.2
TN 025 BNA 9705 BG 1	5	1053	33.5	100	34.9
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 6	5	873	31.7	100	21.5
TN 151 BNA 9753 BG 1	5	1497	28.9	100	37.2
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 2	5	572	28	100	33.7
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 5	5	727	20.2	92.8	33.4
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 2	5	915	28.1	100	30.1
TN 013 BNA 9511 BG 1	5	525	20.8	100	25.5
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 3	5	1073	26.7	100	43.1
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 2	5	743	36.9	100	32.7
TN 035 BNA 9707 BG 3	5	1443	20.8	100	35.6
TN 029 BNA 9801 BG 1	5	1122	28.1	100	25.2
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 1	5	1739	20.2	93.6	35
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 5	6	974	23.6	0.6	44.4
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 2	6	1088	21.5	5.7	23.3
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 3	6	624	40.2	0	22.3
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 1	6	1469	21.3	26.3	37
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 4	6	487	31.6	14.2	32.2
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 7	6	450	23.8	0	30.2
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 2	6	1867	30.8	13.9	30.3
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 6	6	804	20.5	3.7	35.3
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 4	6	777	30.4	0	25.8
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 6	6	524	47	0	12.3
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 4	6	472	50.4	0	24.7
TN 171 Tract 0804 BG 1	6	1048	21.1	3.5	32.1
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 3	6	1322	23.6	35.9	30.7
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 5	6	887	23.1	0	27.2
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 4	6	985	23.1	0	29.2
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 2	6	459	37.7	0	38
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 5	6	959	22.4	33.4	30.8
TN 059 Tract 0903 BG 1	6	1365	22.8	0	25.9

Areaname*	Ages 17 and Less	Ages 65 and Over	Black	Female Householder Families
TN 013 BNA 9508 BG 2	23.4	11.1	0	8.9
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 3	20.6	13.5	0	0
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 2	21.2	15.3	2.1	0
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 3	22.9	7.6	0	11.6
TN 029 BNA 9803.98 BG 1	20.5	14.3	0	11.3
TN 089 Tract 0702 BG 2	34.5	8.5	0	8.2
TN 025 BNA 9703 BG 3	23.9	15.7	0	17.2
TN 025 BNA 9705 BG 1	24.2	16	0	10.7
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 6	32.6	10.4	0	17.3
TN 151 BNA 9753 BG 1	32.5	6.1	0.6	12.3
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 2	37.6	10.8	0.9	4.8
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 5	20.1	9.1	0	22
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 2	27.9	13	0	8
TN 013 BNA 9511 BG 1	23.8	19.4	0	6.5
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 3	31.4	12.2	0	11.3
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 2	32.4	8.1	0	6.6
TN 035 BNA 9707 BG 3	26.3	11.9	0	10.5
TN 029 BNA 9801 BG 1	21.8	14.3	0	8.8
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 1	26.6	8.1	0	3.7
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 5	27.8	16.2	0	29.4
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 2	23.2	14.1	0	7.7
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 3	27.2	19.1	0	13.5
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 1	29.1	15.6	0	8
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 4	27.3	6.8	19.9	10.6
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 7	14.4	25.1	0	27.6
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 2	27.3	10.8	0	13.9
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 6	14.1	23.4	0	17.4
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 4	22.5	16.7	0	29
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 6	22.1	15.1	0	19.3
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 4	18	31.6	0	28.2
TN 171 Tract 0804 BG 1	16	24	0	30.8
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 3	17.9	19.7	5.4	21.2
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 5	21.6	22	0	24.3
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 4	15.4	16.1	32.3	32.8
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 2	15	41.2	1.5	20.7
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 5	27.7	12.1	0.9	17.9
TN 059 Tract 0903 BG 1	19.6	13.3	3.3	20.9

Areaname*	Female Unemploy-ment	Employed in Agri-culture	Employed in Min-ing	Employed in Manufact-uring
TN 013 BNA 9508 BG 2	19.6	14.3	0	19
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 3	0	12.1	0	54.4
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 2	5.6	3.9	2.2	40.9
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 3	28.8	6.7	0	39.5
TN 029 BNA 9803.98 BG 1	0	8.3	0	41.6
TN 089 Tract 0702 BG 2	9	7.3	3	37.6
TN 025 BNA 9703 BG 3	0	1.5	11.9	30.1
TN 025 BNA 9705 BG 1	11.8	13.8	5.4	18.9
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 6	8.8	5.7	0	55.9
TN 151 BNA 9753 BG 1	6.1	0	24.6	41.3
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 2	16.1	4.2	5	10.1
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 5	14.5	7.7	0	44.2
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 2	16.7	8.1	0	9.7
TN 013 BNA 9511 BG 1	0	4	4	22.1
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 3	11.4	5.5	5.2	32.7
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 2	14	5.7	4.8	23.8
TN 035 BNA 9707 BG 3	7.4	3.5	2.8	26.1
TN 029 BNA 9801 BG 1	2.3	0	0	46
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 1	17.5	0.9	0	32.4
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 5	6.5	0	0	21.6
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 2	0	6.3	0	29.1
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 3	0	0	6.6	33.7
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 1	6.4	0	6.5	29.4
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 4	5	0	0	19.9
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 7	8.9	0	3.4	27.2
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 2	18.2	3.3	0	22.9
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 6	7.3	0	0	26.3
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 4	13.6	5.8	4.1	45.3
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 6	8.7	4.7	0	18.2
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 4	12.9	0	0	29.8
TN 171 Tract 0804 BG 1	16.1	0	0	30.5
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 3	10.2	4.4	0	38.7
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 5	4.7	0	0	13.1
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 4	0	0	0	36.4
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 2	10.1	0	0	15
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 5	6.2	0	0	18.8
TN 059 Tract 0903 BG 1	12.7	0	0.9	30.3

Areaname*	Employed in Trade	Employed in Services	Receiving Social Security Income	Receiving Public Assistance
TN 013 BNA 9508 BG 2	11.1	34.1	43	17.9
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 3	7	0	22.5	6.4
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 2	11.4	9.2	29.6	16.1
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 3	22.1	9.9	23.7	7.6
TN 029 BNA 9803.98 BG 1	23.3	13.6	37.4	15.9
TN 089 Tract 0702 BG 2	11.5	23	25.8	2.5
TN 025 BNA 9703 BG 3	17.5	22.8	28.5	5.9
TN 025 BNA 9705 BG 1	13.5	30.3	48.1	22.3
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 6	4.8	13.2	21.7	9.6
TN 151 BNA 9753 BG 1	6.9	20.8	21.8	16.4
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 2	22.7	38.7	45.7	22.6
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 5	17.8	18.4	21.4	8
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 2	21.4	31.3	30.7	4.6
TN 013 BNA 9511 BG 1	14.8	24.8	38.3	18.1
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 3	15.6	19.4	37.2	17.8
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 2	11	27.3	36.9	19.5
TN 035 BNA 9707 BG 3	21.2	19.4	33	11.5
TN 029 BNA 9801 BG 1	16.7	20	35.6	16
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 1	16.1	19.4	18.7	10.2
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 5	32.7	29	39.6	9.5
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 2	10.5	24.4	39.3	12.8
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 3	19.9	13.8	51.3	23.1
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 1	17.2	27.8	32.4	22.7
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 4	19.9	23.1	14.9	15.4
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 7	12.2	34	62.2	19.5
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 2	16.1	34.5	26.8	11.5
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 6	32.9	26.9	52.3	9.7
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 4	14.4	14.8	37.1	14
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 6	24.7	26.5	36.5	13.8
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 4	14	22.8	41.3	20.5
TN 171 Tract 0804 BG 1	26.2	30.8	50.6	15.3
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 3	15.1	26.5	42.1	13.5
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 5	34.9	15.9	33.4	8.2
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 4	19.1	18.6	38.8	18.2
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 2	23.6	45	60.3	9.9
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 5	22.6	30.9	37.3	9.3
TN 059 Tract 0903 BG 1	28.3	26.4	35.7	14.2

Areaname*	Female House-holder Families in Workforce	Owner Occupied Housing	Lived in Same House in 1985	Mobile Home/ Trailer
TN 013 BNA 9508 BG 2	53.8	34.9	77.3	17.3
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 3	20.7	55.4	71	34.6
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 2	31.8	24.5	71.8	26.7
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 3	43.3	36.9	69.7	23.7
TN 029 BNA 9803.98 BG 1	52.9	42.1	61.5	11.9
TN 089 Tract 0702 BG 2	53.6	42.1	72.1	20.6
TN 025 BNA 9703 BG 3	44	41.6	66.4	25.8
TN 025 BNA 9705 BG 1	24.5	51.7	72.9	19.2
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 6	28.3	34.8	78.6	31
TN 151 BNA 9753 BG 1	35.1	55.1	57.9	21.5
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 2	54.5	50.5	55.9	14
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 5	47.6	54	56.2	14.9
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 2	56.1	42.9	62.6	17.5
TN 013 BNA 9511 BG 1	22.7	22.1	75.2	17.5
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 3	53.2	57.1	76.3	15.5
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 2	20.7	27.3	68.4	20.8
TN 035 BNA 9707 BG 3	46.6	44.2	63.2	28.4
TN 029 BNA 9801 BG 1	30.9	32.7	56	22.3
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 1	50.7	49.9	55.3	18.1
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 5	59.1	47.3	74.5	9
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 2	50	52.2	50.3	14.7
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 3	88.6	61.7	61.7	8.9
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 1	77.9	35.9	52.9	15
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 4	64.3	54.5	54.7	16.8
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 7	69.2	62.6	62.7	0
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 2	56.7	50.6	43.3	16.7
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 6	100	61.9	60.4	11.5
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 4	69.6	48.8	40.7	19.3
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 6	83.3	69.7	49.3	3.3
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 4	100	45.9	55.1	10
TN 171 Tract 0804 BG 1	83.8	54.4	56.5	3.3
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 3	68.2	39	59.2	23.1
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 5	100	59.8	42.8	6.9
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 4	100	55.7	54.4	0
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 2	47.1	51.6	61.6	0
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 5	54	61.5	68.3	10.6
TN 059 Tract 0903 BG 1	55.1	38.6	44.1	4

Areaname*	Home Built Pre-1940	Occupied Housing No Vehicle	Occupied Housing with Incomplete Plumbing
TN 013 BNA 9508 BG 2	15.7	7.4	8.8
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 3	6.6	5	6.8
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 2	19.2	19.2	10.3
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 3	18.6	6	8.8
TN 029 BNA 9803.98 BG 1	15.4	8.6	10.7
TN 089 Tract 0702 BG 2	13.1	4.3	0
TN 025 BNA 9703 BG 3	16.6	7.3	11.1
TN 025 BNA 9705 BG 1	17.6	8.1	13.2
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 6	12.3	0	4.8
TN 151 BNA 9753 BG 1	8.8	11.1	8
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 2	18.3	10	0
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 5	14.9	6.7	2.3
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 2	13.6	5.1	9.1
TN 013 BNA 9511 BG 1	7	14.2	7.7
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 3	9.2	1.6	3
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 2	17.4	8.4	19.3
TN 035 BNA 9707 BG 3	5.4	1.1	13.2
TN 029 BNA 9801 BG 1	23.4	5.4	12.9
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 1	15.2	4.8	2.7
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 5	22.1	11.2	0
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 2	4.8	15.2	0
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 3	29.2	23.9	0
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 1	2.2	19.4	0
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 4	9	24.2	9
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 7	15.6	15	0
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 2	3.1	6.1	0
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 6	24.9	6.3	0
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 4	5.4	10.2	6.6
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 6	31	25	3.8
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 4	10	37.6	0
TN 171 Tract 0804 BG 1	27.5	15	0
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 3	3.7	14.1	3.7
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 5	28.3	14.3	2.6
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 4	25.3	35.6	2.2
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 2	16.6	25.4	3.4
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 5	2	3.8	1.2
TN 059 Tract 0903 BG 1	2.1	10.6	1.1

Areaname*	Occupied Housing Cost Burden
TN 013 BNA 9508 BG 2	27.3
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 3	8
TN 073 Tract 0502 BG 2	0
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 3	23.2
TN 029 BNA 9803.98 BG 1	13.8
TN 089 Tract 0702 BG 2	15.3
TN 025 BNA 9703 BG 3	20
TN 025 BNA 9705 BG 1	27.1
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 6	14.6
TN 151 BNA 9753 BG 1	18.6
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 2	25.7
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 5	9.9
TN 155 Tract 0807 BG 2	27.3
TN 013 BNA 9511 BG 1	19
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 3	20.2
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 2	19.1
TN 035 BNA 9707 BG 3	17.9
TN 029 BNA 9801 BG 1	8.6
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 1	18.8
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 5	15.9
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 2	23
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 3	12
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 1	11.6
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 4	40.9
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 7	20.1
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 2	34.5
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 6	20.9
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 4	23.6
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 6	22.1
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 4	16.2
TN 171 Tract 0804 BG 1	18.8
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 3	7.8
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 5	26.1
TN 107 BNA 9702 BG 4	36.2
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 2	15.2
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 5	3.8
TN 059 Tract 0903 BG 1	22.3

Areaname*	Cluster	Total Populat-ion	Below Poverty**	Rural	High School Grad
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 6	6	2155	20.4	2.9	31.4
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 3	6	1755	33.5	13.9	30.5
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 2	6	766	23.3	0	33.6
TN 019 Tract 0703 BG 2	6	1644	23.4	9.9	29.9
TN 155 Tract 0806 BG 3	6	1518	23.5	47.6	18.2
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 4	6	1233	22.1	2.2	20.9
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 5	6	822	38.2	0	36.8
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 1	6	1816	32.2	43.4	24.8
TN 145 Tract 0305 BG 3	6	998	25.2	15.3	24.2
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 4	6	1478	25.7	0	24.1
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 3	6	823	25.8	36.2	33.3
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 1	6	968	29.4	0	27.5
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 1	6	868	25.1	0	27.8
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 3	6	656	28.9	0	28.9
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 4	6	2374	20.8	21.8	34.5
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 5	6	628	27.3	16.1	33.1
TN 019 Tract 0708 BG 3	6	580	27.8	0	21.6
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 3	6	1041	20.9	21.8	32.1
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 3	6	813	26	4.9	34.2
TN 105 Tract 0606 BG 2	6	1006	27.1	0	30.4
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 2	6	584	25	10.1	16.1
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 7	6	1240	27	12	35
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 1	6	1076	24.4	37.5	20.7
TN 089 Tract 0706 BG 1	6	816	24.5	6.1	20
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 2	6	673	24.7	33.1	34
TN 019 Tract 0701 BG 2	6	653	27	0	20.2
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 2	6	520	24.4	0	19.9
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 2	6	1125	26.9	10	28.7
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 2	6	1336	29.7	8.8	30.7
TN 145 Tract 0302.02 BG 6	7	552	43.8	0	36.1
TN 145 Tract 0305 BG 4	7	1248	41.1	0	33
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 1	7	994	37.3	0	24.7
TN 155 Tract 0811 BG 5	7	459	22.9	0	15.1
TN 107 BNA 9706 BG 4	7	1354	26.1	12.4	29
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 5	7	1762	40.2	0	26.1
TN 107 BNA 9703 BG 2	7	923	30.4	0	16.9
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 3	7	987	28.2	14.2	36.8

Areaname*	Ages 17 and Less	Ages 65 and Over	Black	Female Householder Families
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 6	27.8	9.5	0	21.5
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 3	23.2	17.7	0	23.5
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 2	14	25.1	0	23.3
TN 019 Tract 0703 BG 2	18.7	20.1	12.7	27.4
TN 155 Tract 0806 BG 3	25.2	10.5	1	15.9
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 4	30.8	13.9	10.5	30.9
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 5	11.4	34.4	9.7	38.6
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 1	23.8	15.9	1.6	23.7
TN 145 Tract 0305 BG 3	16.8	15.9	2.3	20.9
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 4	11.7	12.7	8.5	30.1
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 3	30.3	13	0	10.5
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 1	17.3	19.5	0	12.7
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 1	17.4	19.7	23.3	38.6
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 3	20	23.6	0	24
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 4	20.7	18.4	10.1	22
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 5	28.7	17.2	0	15.3
TN 019 Tract 0708 BG 3	19.7	17.8	0	24.2
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 3	24.4	11.3	0	23.8
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 3	24	12.4	12.7	16.1
TN 105 Tract 0606 BG 2	23.2	23.7	10.4	20.2
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 2	14.9	23.1	10.3	31.8
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 7	27.8	14.6	18.6	18.9
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 1	25.2	20	0	14.8
TN 089 Tract 0706 BG 1	24.6	22.9	6.4	23.8
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 2	27.6	15.5	0	34.9
TN 019 Tract 0701 BG 2	9.6	36.4	0	14.6
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 2	12.7	18.7	14.6	32.9
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 2	26.5	18.7	1.3	34.5
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 2	22.2	17.2	0	28.1
TN 145 Tract 0302.02 BG 6	14.3	29.7	13.2	25.5
TN 145 Tract 0305 BG 4	28.5	14.9	15.1	35.5
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 1	21.1	21.6	11.6	19
TN 155 Tract 0811 BG 5	8.1	21.6	0	17.7
TN 107 BNA 9706 BG 4	20.2	20.1	5.2	21.2
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 5	29.2	15.6	0	34.9
TN 107 BNA 9703 BG 2	26.2	17.3	8.5	28
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 3	19.9	16.5	0	21

Areaname*	Female Unemploy-ment	Employed in Agri-culture	Employed in Min-ing	Employed in Manufact-uring
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 6	14.4	1	0.8	21.5
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 3	14.7	0	0	34.5
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 2	4.8	0	0	28
TN 019 Tract 0703 BG 2	12.6	0	0	28
TN 155 Tract 0806 BG 3	14.7	1	0	18.4
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 4	13.2	0	0	35.9
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 5	0	0	0	13.1
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 1	8.7	0	0	46
TN 145 Tract 0305 BG 3	6.4	0	0	28.6
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 4	7.9	1.4	0	11.4
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 3	0	0	8.1	37.9
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 1	27	8	0	28.8
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 1	10.4	0	0	34
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 3	4.3	0	5.3	20.2
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 4	6.5	1.2	0	28.6
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 5	0	0	0	21.4
TN 019 Tract 0708 BG 3	3.6	0	0	18.3
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 3	2.8	1.6	0	47.6
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 3	0	0	0	43.4
TN 105 Tract 0606 BG 2	16.4	1.4	0	43.5
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 2	11.4	5.6	0	62.8
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 7	17.5	0	2.1	36.7
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 1	3.7	0	3.9	33.9
TN 089 Tract 0706 BG 1	6.1	0	1.4	32.4
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 2	18.2	5.2	0	32.1
TN 019 Tract 0701 BG 2	3.7	0	0	19.7
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 2	5.4	4.4	7.9	19.7
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 2	9.3	0	0	50.5
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 2	18.2	0	0	24.7
TN 145 Tract 0302.02 BG 6	0	0	0	10.1
TN 145 Tract 0305 BG 4	12.8	4.3	0	33.8
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 1	14	0	0	21.8
TN 155 Tract 0811 BG 5	16.8	0	0	8.7
TN 107 BNA 9706 BG 4	6.1	0	0	40.8
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 5	3.7	0	0	16.2
TN 107 BNA 9703 BG 2	20.7	2.2	0	30.4
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 3	21	0	0	25.5

Areaname*	Employed in Trade	Employed in Services	Receiving Social Security Income	Receiving Public Assistance
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 6	25.2	23.1	23.3	7.5
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 3	18.9	25.8	36.6	6.8
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 2	25.8	29.7	37.5	14.2
TN 019 Tract 0703 BG 2	21	26.8	44.6	12.9
TN 155 Tract 0806 BG 3	20.3	34.1	34.7	8.3
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 4	16.7	20.7	30.2	15
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 5	19.7	38.4	49.3	32
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 1	21.1	19.1	34.9	21.8
TN 145 Tract 0305 BG 3	23.1	23.6	45.9	14.9
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 4	24.3	54.9	38.8	10.2
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 3	19.9	23.3	37.2	20.8
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 1	29.7	18.7	36.3	10.1
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 1	14	21.1	42.9	14.2
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 3	27.6	23	43.3	15.1
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 4	15.4	32	40.9	12.7
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 5	24.9	27.4	34.8	13.2
TN 019 Tract 0708 BG 3	21.4	31	39.5	13.3
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 3	19.1	20.5	33.9	13.2
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 3	11.4	24.6	38.5	11.5
TN 105 Tract 0606 BG 2	19.7	21.6	44.4	6
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 2	6.7	2.8	54.1	26.1
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 7	26.6	16.2	44.4	19.5
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 1	14.5	17	44.7	3.3
TN 089 Tract 0706 BG 1	20.3	29.1	55.4	19.9
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 2	29.9	13.8	41.5	13.5
TN 019 Tract 0701 BG 2	26	39.4	60.6	17.3
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 2	24.6	38.4	48.4	20.4
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 2	13.7	23.1	33.3	21.1
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 2	30.7	23.9	39.8	21.8
TN 145 Tract 0302.02 BG 6	32.4	14.9	52.8	3.6
TN 145 Tract 0305 BG 4	17.3	24.7	46	28.7
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 1	27.3	36.6	39.3	23.1
TN 155 Tract 0811 BG 5	26.2	52	34.5	0
TN 107 BNA 9706 BG 4	15.7	24.7	37.8	11.5
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 5	17.9	33.3	39.5	26.6
TN 107 BNA 9703 BG 2	13.8	30.8	32.8	19.9
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 3	17.1	30.5	34	8.6

Areaname*	Female House-holder Families in Workforce	Owner Occupied Housing	Lived in Same House in 1985	Mobile Home/ Trailer
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 6	59.9	42.2	51.1	30.8
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 3	62.3	46	50.6	10.5
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 2	100	45.5	69.5	6.3
TN 019 Tract 0703 BG 2	64.6	57.4	58.1	4.3
TN 155 Tract 0806 BG 3	69.7	34.8	46.1	35.2
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 4	64.8	55.4	41.2	11.5
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 5	100	35.6	48.6	0
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 1	64.8	50.8	60.2	15.2
TN 145 Tract 0305 BG 3	73.4	33.6	40.6	10.8
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 4	87.7	50.6	31.9	2
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 3	62.5	74.1	74.3	18.2
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 1	100	52.8	50.7	4.2
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 1	76.7	51.7	65.5	10.2
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 3	100	52	39.9	4.1
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 4	51.9	56.9	62.5	9.8
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 5	82.9	57.9	48.4	10.9
TN 019 Tract 0708 BG 3	52.2	40.5	70.6	4.7
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 3	52.5	53.4	52.2	31.2
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 3	47.9	72.3	69.8	0
TN 105 Tract 0606 BG 2	62.8	59.8	61.1	3.7
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 2	65.2	56.8	67.1	3.8
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 7	55.7	62.6	54.5	6.8
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 1	85.1	67.4	59	9.3
TN 089 Tract 0706 BG 1	56.3	45.9	56.4	7.1
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 2	82.9	51.8	62	37.9
TN 019 Tract 0701 BG 2	84	34.9	57.8	0
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 2	100	69.3	71	4.5
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 2	73.9	37.5	42.7	8.3
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 2	81.5	33.9	46.1	2.2
TN 145 Tract 0302.02 BG 6	0	52	42.9	17.8
TN 145 Tract 0305 BG 4	18.7	42.6	54.5	12.6
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 1	48.1	63.6	55.4	0
TN 155 Tract 0811 BG 5	0	37.1	35.3	0
TN 107 BNA 9706 BG 4	45	52.8	43.7	4.8
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 5	32.9	41.1	52.4	3.1
TN 107 BNA 9703 BG 2	18.1	58.9	53	0
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 3	12.5	61.2	71.1	7.9

Areaname*	Home Built Pre-1940	Occupied Housing No Vehicle	Occupied Housing with Incomplete Plumbing
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 6	4.1	4.6	0.6
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 3	3.2	11	2.8
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 2	26.7	20.1	0
TN 019 Tract 0703 BG 2	27.3	17.9	0
TN 155 Tract 0806 BG 3	8.7	7.7	0
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 4	9.6	18.1	0
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 5	22.4	36.3	0
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 1	18.3	13.4	6.2
TN 145 Tract 0305 BG 3	14.1	23.9	1.2
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 4	21	13.5	0
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 3	16.9	5.2	6.3
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 1	4.9	15.4	2.9
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 1	35	23.1	7.3
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 3	13.3	7.8	2.4
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 4	14.1	16.5	0.7
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 5	3	6	0
TN 019 Tract 0708 BG 3	0	29.4	0
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 3	3.3	14	0
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 3	7.1	3.4	0
TN 105 Tract 0606 BG 2	27.5	15.8	0
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 2	28.5	26.1	0
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 7	25.2	9	0
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 1	10.6	8.2	0
TN 089 Tract 0706 BG 1	9.1	27.5	0
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 2	13.1	8.6	0
TN 019 Tract 0701 BG 2	34.4	42.5	0
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 2	21.1	11.4	0
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 2	7.3	26.7	0
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 2	5.1	19.2	0
TN 145 Tract 0302.02 BG 6	6.3	30.3	0
TN 145 Tract 0305 BG 4	13.2	21.9	0
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 1	25.5	18.2	0
TN 155 Tract 0811 BG 5	1.4	16.9	0
TN 107 BNA 9706 BG 4	19.6	19.8	0
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 5	9.5	35	1.2
TN 107 BNA 9703 BG 2	11.9	30	0
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 3	3.7	12.7	2

Areaname*	Occupied Housing Cost Burden
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 6	25.8
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 3	25.6
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 2	16.4
TN 019 Tract 0703 BG 2	24.7
TN 155 Tract 0806 BG 3	16.2
TN 123 BNA 9854 BG 4	29.1
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 5	26.3
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 1	21
TN 145 Tract 0305 BG 3	17
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 4	18.1
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 3	25.5
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 1	9.1
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 1	21.5
TN 035 BNA 9705 BG 3	11.8
TN 115 Tract 0503.98 BG 4	13.2
TN 029 BNA 9806 BG 5	9.6
TN 019 Tract 0708 BG 3	19.7
TN 153 Tract 0601 BG 3	24.9
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 3	17.2
TN 105 Tract 0606 BG 2	15.3
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 2	41.5
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 7	15.8
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 1	20.1
TN 089 Tract 0706 BG 1	14.2
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 2	21.5
TN 019 Tract 0701 BG 2	9.6
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 2	23.6
TN 143 BNA 9754 BG 2	22.4
TN 035 BNA 9704 BG 2	19.5
TN 145 Tract 0302.02 BG 6	23.6
TN 145 Tract 0305 BG 4	26.9
TN 073 Tract 0503 BG 1	20.4
TN 155 Tract 0811 BG 5	10.1
TN 107 BNA 9706 BG 4	10.8
TN 013 BNA 9507 BG 5	27.2
TN 107 BNA 9703 BG 2	21.9
TN 145 Tract 0307 BG 3	15.2

Areaname*	Cluster	Total Populat-ion	Below Poverty**	Rural	High School Grad
TN 145 Tract 0309 BG 1	7	877	33.5	18.5	34.7
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 3	7	1567	32	0	18.8
TN 025 BNA 9702 BG 2	7	1150	25.2	0	34.8
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 2	7	252	29.8	0	34.4
TN 019 Tract 0703 BG 1	7	2441	31.9	18.3	28.1
TN 107 BNA 9703 BG 1	7	1052	29.5	0	34.6
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 6	7	712	25.1	0	31.4
TN 123 BNA 9852 BG 3	7	742	31.8	0	21.3
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 3	7	778	20.5	0	26.2
TN 019 Tract 0704 BG 1	7	2289	25.6	6.7	26.8
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 4	7	877	41.9	17.3	27
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 3	7	936	25.4	25.4	40.6
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 4	7	1015	27.5	0	31.1
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 4	7	458	33.4	0	25.3
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 2	7	1890	21	1.3	35.1
TN 013 BNA 9509 BG 2	8	1262	20	100	34.4
TN 089 Tract 0701 BG 3	8	1635	20.1	100	32.1
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 3	8	1584	21.1	100	31.5
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 1	8	2442	21	97.1	31.9
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 1	8	1054	21.2	100	38.6
TN 173 Tract 0401 BG 2	8	1229	20.5	100	28.4
TN 089 Tract 0702 BG 1	8	1073	21.1	100	26
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 3	8	931	21	100	30.3
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 5	8	1057	20.9	87.5	30.8
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 5	8	1155	20.8	100	24.8
TN 059 Tract 0910.98 BG 3	8	1461	21.3	100	31.2
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 1	8	805	20.7	100	28.4
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 3	8	663	21.3	100	33.2
TN 129 Tract 1102 BG 2	8	647	21.6	100	30.2
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 2	8	1227	29.9	100	27.2
TN 123 BNA 9851 BG 4	8	822	28.8	97.9	16.2
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 1	8	1772	28.8	100	33.2
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 2	8	811	32.6	100	23.6
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 1	8	864	30.7	100	26.3
TN 029 BNA 9807 BG 4	8	878	30.2	100	40.4
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 5	8	718	28.1	75.3	34.8
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 4	8	1469	26.8	99.5	26

Areaname*	Ages 17 and Less	Ages 65 and Over	Black	Female Householder Families
TN 145 Tract 0309 BG 1	17.7	23.8	8.2	19.1
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 3	14.7	8.4	3.2	19.2
TN 025 BNA 9702 BG 2	24.8	16.2	0	24.6
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 2	13.5	30.6	0	40.3
TN 019 Tract 0703 BG 1	20.7	15.9	5.9	24.8
TN 107 BNA 9703 BG 1	20.3	16.3	17.7	22.3
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 6	15.6	11.4	2.4	24.5
TN 123 BNA 9852 BG 3	27.5	14.6	42.5	26.4
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 3	20.8	19.2	0	16.2
TN 019 Tract 0704 BG 1	23.1	15.8	0	19.9
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 4	23.1	14.5	35	33
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 3	23.7	9.7	0	29.8
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 4	24.8	11.5	0	34.7
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 4	20.1	7.4	0	24.6
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 2	21.2	15.9	3.7	13.6
TN 013 BNA 9509 BG 2	30.2	9.3	0	11.5
TN 089 Tract 0701 BG 3	24.7	11.9	0.4	11.3
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 3	27.8	11	0.3	22.1
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 1	25.4	12.5	0.5	10.3
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 1	23.5	14	0	19.5
TN 173 Tract 0401 BG 2	30.3	8.6	0	5.7
TN 089 Tract 0702 BG 1	22.7	11.2	0	14.2
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 3	24.3	11.5	3.7	21.3
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 5	29.2	6.1	1	12.4
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 5	20.3	9.4	2.7	10.5
TN 059 Tract 0910.98 BG 3	20.3	8.9	0	13.8
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 1	25.6	14	0	8
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 3	24	15.7	0	19.8
TN 129 Tract 1102 BG 2	24.6	18.5	0	20.5
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 2	25.2	12.8	0	11.8
TN 123 BNA 9851 BG 4	31.1	15.6	0	10.7
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 1	23.3	13.8	0.5	24.1
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 2	21.6	13.9	0	8.9
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 1	25.5	7.5	0	8
TN 029 BNA 9807 BG 4	21.8	12.9	0	16.9
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 5	24	13.2	0	23.1
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 4	22.9	9.8	0	19.5

Areaname*	Female Unemploy-ment	Employed in Agri-culture	Employed in Min-ing	Employed in Manufact-uring
TN 145 Tract 0309 BG 1	13.9	3.1	3.8	22.2
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 3	18.2	2.5	0	14.2
TN 025 BNA 9702 BG 2	2.8	0	15.8	16.7
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 2	0	0	6.7	21
TN 019 Tract 0703 BG 1	9.7	0	0	32.7
TN 107 BNA 9703 BG 1	0	1.8	0	38
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 6	5.2	2.6	0	25.9
TN 123 BNA 9852 BG 3	4.8	1.5	0	26.8
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 3	13	0	0	15.9
TN 019 Tract 0704 BG 1	9.4	0.8	0	27.5
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 4	20.5	0	0	28.4
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 3	11.6	1	0	30.8
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 4	16.9	0	1.4	33.8
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 4	0	0	0	31.8
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 2	7.2	0	2.4	25.3
TN 013 BNA 9509 BG 2	9.6	2.2	9.6	24.3
TN 089 Tract 0701 BG 3	9.7	2.4	2.1	32.2
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 3	8.1	3.9	0.9	53.6
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 1	6.3	3.2	0	43.7
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 1	13.2	0	4.9	19.8
TN 173 Tract 0401 BG 2	8.3	2.3	0.6	33.6
TN 089 Tract 0702 BG 1	9	1.5	0	58.6
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 3	9.7	0.5	0	46.3
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 5	2.8	2.2	0	20
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 5	2.1	5.7	2.3	30.7
TN 059 Tract 0910.98 BG 3	13.4	3.1	0.9	44.8
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 1	6.9	4.6	0	20.4
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 3	4.9	2.5	0	18.9
TN 129 Tract 1102 BG 2	21.8	2.1	0	29.2
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 2	12.9	0.5	5.3	30.2
TN 123 BNA 9851 BG 4	4.9	8.8	0	36.4
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 1	8.4	6.1	1.6	33.6
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 2	7.1	12.5	1.4	44.4
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 1	3.3	14.4	1.8	40
TN 029 BNA 9807 BG 4	15.3	2.3	0	25.2
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 5	12.1	2.6	5.7	24.2
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 4	10.3	1.5	0	28.3

Areaname*	Employed in Trade	Employed in Services	Receiving Social Security Income	Receiving Public Assistance
TN 145 Tract 0309 BG 1	15.3	11.8	47.4	16.6
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 3	19.2	50.2	25.4	8.5
TN 025 BNA 9702 BG 2	13.3	40.5	32.2	12.9
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 2	19	46.7	50.3	20.4
TN 019 Tract 0703 BG 1	17.3	27.3	42	13.7
TN 107 BNA 9703 BG 1	20.9	21.5	31.2	8.6
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 6	19.9	25.4	35.2	11.5
TN 123 BNA 9852 BG 3	27.2	23.8	37.6	22
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 3	30	32.9	45.4	10.8
TN 019 Tract 0704 BG 1	25.8	27	34.9	9.8
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 4	5.9	45	35.2	11.1
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 3	14.6	35.1	26.4	16.8
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 4	16.2	15.9	27.3	25.7
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 4	27.8	26.7	30.9	36.7
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 2	21.8	27.5	36.8	4.4
TN 013 BNA 9509 BG 2	19.7	23.2	32.3	9
TN 089 Tract 0701 BG 3	20.4	19.1	30.5	9.6
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 3	13.6	13.1	29.2	11.4
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 1	13.6	25.7	25.2	14.3
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 1	13	14.4	34.5	17.8
TN 173 Tract 0401 BG 2	16	16.6	25.5	14.4
TN 089 Tract 0702 BG 1	4.3	23.7	26.4	11.5
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 3	20.6	20.4	31.1	15
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 5	14.7	29.8	26.8	19.4
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 5	13.6	14.3	24.6	19.4
TN 059 Tract 0910.98 BG 3	11.4	18	22.1	6.1
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 1	26.3	25.8	35.4	16.8
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 3	21.8	32.7	38.7	5.5
TN 129 Tract 1102 BG 2	14.4	14.8	45.3	27.5
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 2	16.4	17.7	27.3	20.9
TN 123 BNA 9851 BG 4	13.1	20.1	39.1	12.6
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 1	15.4	20.9	28.1	18.2
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 2	10.6	19.6	21.1	20.5
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 1	9.6	23.3	24	12
TN 029 BNA 9807 BG 4	28.6	24.7	33.7	16.3
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 5	24.2	23.8	34.3	21.4
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 4	27	18.9	25.6	15.8

Areaname*	Female House-holder Families in Workforce	Owner Occupied Housing	Lived in Same House in 1985	Mobile Home/ Trailer
TN 145 Tract 0309 BG 1	21.9	46.9	50.2	4.1
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 3	28.6	19.4	19.7	8.3
TN 025 BNA 9702 BG 2	45.5	58.2	54.2	19.1
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 2	50	36.8	61.5	0
TN 019 Tract 0703 BG 1	47.7	46	58.4	4.2
TN 107 BNA 9703 BG 1	10.3	67.9	65.7	5.1
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 6	48.5	53.9	61	0
TN 123 BNA 9852 BG 3	18.4	68.7	69.1	0
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 3	31.8	61.9	46.2	2
TN 019 Tract 0704 BG 1	47.6	65.9	64.6	1.4
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 4	13	46.1	49.4	11.8
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 3	36	33.5	73.8	8.5
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 4	39.5	51.2	47.1	12.9
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 4	0	27.8	56.9	20.7
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 2	42.7	71.7	58.7	10.5
TN 013 BNA 9509 BG 2	37.6	61	57.7	22.7
TN 089 Tract 0701 BG 3	59.8	42.6	56.3	30.3
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 3	69.7	49.7	58.6	32
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 1	38.2	49.9	64.7	20.2
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 1	58.8	43.2	69.5	15.6
TN 173 Tract 0401 BG 2	45.3	40.6	62.1	29.6
TN 089 Tract 0702 BG 1	74.4	39.9	67.7	33.5
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 3	62.3	44.6	55.6	19.4
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 5	68.2	49.5	78.6	17.9
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 5	49	46	54.9	18.5
TN 059 Tract 0910.98 BG 3	86.7	38.7	59.5	22.9
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 1	47.5	51.8	74.7	11.7
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 3	68.5	37.7	60.1	33.1
TN 129 Tract 1102 BG 2	100	35.8	67.5	23
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 2	50.7	46.6	58	16.4
TN 123 BNA 9851 BG 4	37.8	52	73.2	31
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 1	59.8	39.8	59.7	17
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 2	43.2	35.9	56.2	18.7
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 1	61.5	16.6	61.5	26.6
TN 029 BNA 9807 BG 4	68.4	25.2	61.5	31.6
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 5	47.7	58	64.4	27.4
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 4	45.5	47.4	65.3	22.7

Areaname*	Home Built Pre-1940	Occupied Housing No Vehicle	Occupied Housing with Incomplete Plumbing
TN 145 Tract 0309 BG 1	12.9	24.5	2.6
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 3	11.5	5.9	0
TN 025 BNA 9702 BG 2	10	14.3	0
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 2	32.1	27.1	0
TN 019 Tract 0703 BG 1	15.9	26.1	1.1
TN 107 BNA 9703 BG 1	18.6	15.9	3.5
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 6	53	11.4	0
TN 123 BNA 9852 BG 3	45.2	20.5	0
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 3	47.1	11	0
TN 019 Tract 0704 BG 1	6.5	13	2.1
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 4	14	18.3	0
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 3	7.3	8.4	0
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 4	7.5	15.4	1.6
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 4	18.2	19.1	0
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 2	5.5	3.6	0
TN 013 BNA 9509 BG 2	4.9	7.3	3
TN 089 Tract 0701 BG 3	3.3	4.4	0
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 3	14.4	11.1	0.6
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 1	10.8	8.8	5.2
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 1	17.6	10.5	3.9
TN 173 Tract 0401 BG 2	11.5	12.1	6.1
TN 089 Tract 0702 BG 1	15.5	1.9	1.3
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 3	18.9	10.7	0.8
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 5	6	5.8	6.8
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 5	12.9	13.2	7
TN 059 Tract 0910.98 BG 3	23.8	3.5	5.9
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 1	13.9	14.2	2.6
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 3	7.8	4.2	0
TN 129 Tract 1102 BG 2	24.1	7	12.6
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 2	10.1	15.2	4.4
TN 123 BNA 9851 BG 4	9.9	10.3	0
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 1	17.9	14.6	3.3
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 2	9.6	14.9	11.1
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 1	10.7	4	1.9
TN 029 BNA 9807 BG 4	17.2	2.2	2.5
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 5	8.4	14.1	0
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 4	11.1	6.1	9.5

Areaname*	Occupied Housing Cost Burden
TN 145 Tract 0309 BG 1	20.5
TN 089 Tract 0703 BG 3	12.2
TN 025 BNA 9702 BG 2	21.7
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 2	10.2
TN 019 Tract 0703 BG 1	24.8
TN 107 BNA 9703 BG 1	25.3
TN 145 Tract 0308 BG 6	21.2
TN 123 BNA 9852 BG 3	23.6
TN 105 Tract 0602 BG 3	14.3
TN 019 Tract 0704 BG 1	9.5
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 4	11.9
TN 029 BNA 9802 BG 3	19.9
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 4	15.3
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 4	11.1
TN 115 Tract 0502 BG 2	23.6
TN 013 BNA 9509 BG 2	13.5
TN 089 Tract 0701 BG 3	15.3
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 3	14.5
TN 073 Tract 0504 BG 1	9.9
TN 129 Tract 1101 BG 1	13
TN 173 Tract 0401 BG 2	12.2
TN 089 Tract 0702 BG 1	18.3
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 3	16.5
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 5	19.8
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 5	11.4
TN 059 Tract 0910.98 BG 3	3.8
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 1	23.9
TN 145 Tract 0304 BG 3	23.6
TN 129 Tract 1102 BG 2	6.1
TN 151 BNA 9752 BG 2	25.4
TN 123 BNA 9851 BG 4	9.6
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 1	17.1
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 2	0
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 1	11.1
TN 029 BNA 9807 BG 4	4.4
TN 013 BNA 9506 BG 5	35.1
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 4	14.3

Areaname*	Cluster	Total Populat-ion	Below Poverty**	Rural	High School Grad
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 2	8	1467	26.5	100	37.5
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 1	8	826	26.4	100	25.3
TN 067 BNA 9604 BG 2	8	915	28	100	28.7
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 1	8	839	27.5	100	25.2
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 3	8	754	27.3	100	30.3
TN 013 BNA 9510 BG 2	8	1181	38.9	100	36.8
TN 067 BNA 9602 BG 3	8	971	36.6	100	28
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 4	8	1608	36.5	100	23.7
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 1	8	926	42.9	100	30.2
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 3	8	959	42.6	100	34.9
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 2	8	734	39	100	21.6
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 2	8	746	36.5	100	23.4
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 1	8	732	34.8	100	22.9
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 2	8	902	33.7	100	31.9
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 1	8	1321	33.6	100	20.4
TN 151 BNA 9753 BG 2	8	769	36.1	100	33.9
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 4	8	1288	35.9	100	19.9
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 1	8	660	34.9	100	14
TN 013 BNA 9505 BG 2	8	920	23.7	90.5	34.9
TN 121 BNA 9603 BG 1	8	974	23.2	100	33.5
TN 145 Tract 0303 BG 1	8	1165	22.5	100	37.6
TN 171 Tract 0802 BG 1	8	1566	23.9	85.2	43.1
TN 059 Tract 0914 BG 2	8	1290	23.8	100	29.8
TN 155 Tract 0810 BG 1	8	1950	23.8	69.9	38.1
TN 129 Tract 1103 BG 4	8	1467	22.4	100	33.5
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 2	8	703	22.2	100	21.4
TN 121 BNA 9602 BG 2	8	2086	22	100	34.4
TN 173 Tract 0401 BG 4	8	1399	21.8	100	27.8
TN 019 Tract 0713 BG 3	8	743	22.3	100	26.6
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 6	8	1150	22.3	79.7	41.2
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 3	8	1359	22.2	100	29.1
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 1	8	651	25.9	100	37.8
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 3	8	964	25.7	100	31.9
TN 057 Tract 5004 BG 3	8	936	25.6	100	35.6
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 1	8	904	26.3	100	26.2
TN 107 BNA 9705 BG 1	8	908	26.2	100	29.2
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 3	8	969	26.2	100	27

Areaname*	Ages 17 and Less	Ages 65 and Over	Black	Female Householder Families
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 2	27.3	6.4	0	24
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 1	20.6	21.1	0	20.1
TN 067 BNA 9604 BG 2	23.1	16.8	0	5.4
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 1	24.7	9.9	0	26
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 3	20	15.8	0	21.3
TN 013 BNA 9510 BG 2	23.2	9.4	0	13.4
TN 067 BNA 9602 BG 3	28.6	14.8	0	9.4
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 4	23.5	12.3	0	17.9
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 1	25.7	15.2	0	23.4
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 3	30.7	8.6	0	19.1
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 2	24.7	13.9	0	15.3
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 2	24.3	19.2	0	11.6
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 1	28.7	16.4	0	17.3
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 2	22.9	12	0	10.7
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 1	24.4	13.7	0	14
TN 151 BNA 9753 BG 2	33.4	9.8	0	8.2
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 4	23	19.7	5.7	18.5
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 1	17.6	27.4	6.7	24.7
TN 013 BNA 9505 BG 2	30.1	11.3	0	14
TN 121 BNA 9603 BG 1	24.2	6.7	0	13.3
TN 145 Tract 0303 BG 1	28	11.6	0.6	5.8
TN 171 Tract 0802 BG 1	22.9	16.7	0	17.4
TN 059 Tract 0914 BG 2	25.7	15.7	2.8	9.9
TN 155 Tract 0810 BG 1	20.1	12.1	0	12.4
TN 129 Tract 1103 BG 4	24.2	15.1	0	18.3
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 2	23.5	15.8	0	19.7
TN 121 BNA 9602 BG 2	24.3	12.2	1.3	13
TN 173 Tract 0401 BG 4	25.4	9.2	0	12.9
TN 019 Tract 0713 BG 3	20.6	12.5	0	20.2
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 6	28.2	5.7	0	18.8
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 3	18.5	15.3	0.9	13.8
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 1	16.6	19.5	0	17.7
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 3	22.9	12.6	4.1	17.4
TN 057 Tract 5004 BG 3	29.5	6.3	0	25.8
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 1	20.9	13.9	3.4	22.2
TN 107 BNA 9705 BG 1	23.7	21.1	0	19.4
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 3	25.6	9.2	0	9.9

Areaname*	Female Unemploy-ment	Employed in Agri-culture	Employed in Min-ing	Employed in Manufact-uring
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 2	10.6	0	0	34.6
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 1	6.8	1.9	0	40.4
TN 067 BNA 9604 BG 2	10.8	8.6	0	29.2
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 1	9.9	4.8	0	27.6
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 3	8.9	2.3	0	33.3
TN 013 BNA 9510 BG 2	7.4	0	3.2	27
TN 067 BNA 9602 BG 3	5.6	1.4	0.7	35.5
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 4	7.9	1.8	1	26.9
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 1	9.4	3.7	0	49.1
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 3	25.9	4.7	7	29.6
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 2	16.8	17.1	0	33.9
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 2	2.5	1.6	1.2	34.4
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 1	20	0	0	48.8
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 2	11.4	3.5	0	38.5
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 1	15	3.4	2.8	34.6
TN 151 BNA 9753 BG 2	27.1	0	18.3	30.4
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 4	11.4	1.6	0.9	43.9
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 1	0	0	9.2	24.1
TN 013 BNA 9505 BG 2	7.9	1.4	2	20.1
TN 121 BNA 9603 BG 1	6.1	5.5	0	41.9
TN 145 Tract 0303 BG 1	6.8	15.9	0	37.6
TN 171 Tract 0802 BG 1	16.7	1.5	0	34.3
TN 059 Tract 0914 BG 2	14.5	6.2	0	41.5
TN 155 Tract 0810 BG 1	12.3	5.7	0	12.6
TN 129 Tract 1103 BG 4	6.9	1.3	0.4	26
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 2	8	3.6	0	41.7
TN 121 BNA 9602 BG 2	9	3	0.2	31.9
TN 173 Tract 0401 BG 4	6	4.5	0.7	32.7
TN 019 Tract 0713 BG 3	0	0	0	30.1
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 6	0	1.2	4.9	35
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 3	7.5	2.9	0	31.3
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 1	5.8	0	0	29.3
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 3	4.7	2	2.3	32.4
TN 057 Tract 5004 BG 3	6.6	1.3	0	37.1
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 1	9.9	2.7	1.2	27.7
TN 107 BNA 9705 BG 1	6.7	4.8	0	43.6
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 3	8.2	0	12.5	18.7

Areaname*	Employed in Trade	Employed in Services	Receiving Social Security Income	Receiving Public Assistance
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 2	26.1	19	21.9	7.7
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 1	21.1	17.4	40.4	16.3
TN 067 BNA 9604 BG 2	6.4	31.9	36.5	10.2
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 1	28.2	20.4	26	14.3
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 3	21.7	13.9	35.1	14.7
TN 013 BNA 9510 BG 2	23.8	15.2	31.9	18.1
TN 067 BNA 9602 BG 3	14.5	21.3	35.3	25.2
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 4	16.6	26.1	32.1	12.1
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 1	18.4	16.7	35.8	24.9
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 3	12.1	28.4	28.4	21.2
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 2	9.3	5.4	35.2	11.9
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 2	17.4	24.7	44.5	26
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 1	21.7	15.7	38.2	17.2
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 2	20.9	16.8	32.8	11.4
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 1	21.8	15.2	31.5	16.4
TN 151 BNA 9753 BG 2	13.9	16.1	42.7	15.9
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 4	9.2	23.8	39.7	24.4
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 1	19	27.7	53.2	34.5
TN 013 BNA 9505 BG 2	23.9	33.1	26.7	18.3
TN 121 BNA 9603 BG 1	18.2	12.1	19.2	14.8
TN 145 Tract 0303 BG 1	10.7	18	30.8	12
TN 171 Tract 0802 BG 1	7.7	26.2	41.2	11.3
TN 059 Tract 0914 BG 2	17.2	18.6	36.5	12.5
TN 155 Tract 0810 BG 1	36.7	20	25.1	1.9
TN 129 Tract 1103 BG 4	16.4	23.8	36	9.2
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 2	17.4	18.6	40.9	22.7
TN 121 BNA 9602 BG 2	10.4	23.5	29.5	8.4
TN 173 Tract 0401 BG 4	24.8	17.9	25.5	13.1
TN 019 Tract 0713 BG 3	8.8	42	40.3	19.8
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 6	9.8	19.7	26.9	11.6
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 3	22	18.9	42.1	15.8
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 1	20.3	17.6	35.3	10.1
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 3	16.1	26.5	31.2	5.5
TN 057 Tract 5004 BG 3	24.1	16.2	22	10.4
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 1	22.6	29.5	29.3	17.6
TN 107 BNA 9705 BG 1	13.6	21.8	44.2	15.1
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 3	21.2	30.6	25.1	9.6

Areaname*	Female House-holder Families in Workforce	Owner Occupied Housing	Lived in Same House in 1985	Mobile Home/ Trailer
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 2	35.9	39.7	53.7	32
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 1	41.9	44.8	59.7	22.3
TN 067 BNA 9604 BG 2	59.4	36.4	76.7	14.3
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 1	68.1	37.5	56.1	23.6
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 3	70.7	22.1	40.5	18.3
TN 013 BNA 9510 BG 2	25	44	65.3	20.1
TN 067 BNA 9602 BG 3	38.2	49.1	65	11.7
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 4	68.3	50.7	59.7	23
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 1	65.6	30.1	81.6	31.5
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 3	59.1	38.8	58.3	38.9
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 2	74.4	36.9	53.4	21.3
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 2	51.6	53.5	53.8	8.3
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 1	70	49.8	60.2	20.4
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 2	59.5	52.8	69.7	12.4
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 1	61.3	56.2	62.7	15.8
TN 151 BNA 9753 BG 2	62.5	40.9	63.9	18.9
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 4	54.5	42.5	60.9	13
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 1	50	47.4	62.9	1.8
TN 013 BNA 9505 BG 2	45.2	46.2	59.7	12.6
TN 121 BNA 9603 BG 1	61.4	26.4	68.1	31.3
TN 145 Tract 0303 BG 1	51.6	17.4	46.7	31.9
TN 171 Tract 0802 BG 1	42	62.1	74.8	9.3
TN 059 Tract 0914 BG 2	50	38.8	63.8	22.1
TN 155 Tract 0810 BG 1	75.3	46.5	63.2	20.8
TN 129 Tract 1103 BG 4	58.8	54	47.9	14.9
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 2	65.2	31.9	50.2	35.1
TN 121 BNA 9602 BG 2	50.5	40.6	52.6	20.7
TN 173 Tract 0401 BG 4	57	44.3	66.2	24.2
TN 019 Tract 0713 BG 3	51	59.7	75.2	17.7
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 6	68.6	41.6	49.3	24
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 3	50.9	52.1	54.6	14.6
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 1	50	43.8	73.2	37.1
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 3	59.2	49.6	60.2	9.9
TN 057 Tract 5004 BG 3	64.2	57.1	58.7	28.7
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 1	48.8	48.5	49.4	6.2
TN 107 BNA 9705 BG 1	52.5	54.5	57.3	7.4
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 3	62.7	58.7	63.9	15.6

Areaname*	Home Built Pre-1940	Occupied Housing No Vehicle	Occupied Housing with Incomplete Plumbing
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 2	10.3	10.9	3.3
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 1	22.8	13.8	3.9
TN 067 BNA 9604 BG 2	4.1	11.6	11.1
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 1	11.4	9.1	1.4
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 3	7.8	17.1	1.7
TN 013 BNA 9510 BG 2	3	6.9	6.8
TN 067 BNA 9602 BG 3	12.3	16.5	15.7
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 4	4.8	10.3	3.6
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 1	6.4	15.8	7.1
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 3	14.4	9.2	9.5
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 2	14.2	21	12.4
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 2	6.9	26	7.2
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 1	7.8	10.2	4.2
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 2	5.7	9.6	3.2
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 1	8.4	13	6
TN 151 BNA 9753 BG 2	27	14	20.3
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 4	8.6	20.1	3.8
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 1	26.5	40.3	1.8
TN 013 BNA 9505 BG 2	11.8	12.9	0
TN 121 BNA 9603 BG 1	9.3	9.5	2.3
TN 145 Tract 0303 BG 1	12.3	9.3	11.2
TN 171 Tract 0802 BG 1	31.5	14.6	8.1
TN 059 Tract 0914 BG 2	17.4	10.1	8.5
TN 155 Tract 0810 BG 1	9.8	5.2	3.5
TN 129 Tract 1103 BG 4	8.2	17.9	4.3
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 2	3.6	10.3	4
TN 121 BNA 9602 BG 2	9.9	9.2	6.2
TN 173 Tract 0401 BG 4	9.8	6.4	9.6
TN 019 Tract 0713 BG 3	17.1	24.2	10.2
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 6	5.3	10	6.6
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 3	15.8	9	2
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 1	10.6	9.4	1.8
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 3	2.3	7.7	0.5
TN 057 Tract 5004 BG 3	0	6.3	0
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 1	13.5	16.1	0.7
TN 107 BNA 9705 BG 1	13.4	20.9	1.2
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 3	9	5.8	5.5

Areaname*	Occupied Housing Cost Burden
TN 029 BNA 9805 BG 2	25.1
TN 123 BNA 9855 BG 1	14.7
TN 067 BNA 9604 BG 2	8.5
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 1	6.7
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 3	24
TN 013 BNA 9510 BG 2	7
TN 067 BNA 9602 BG 3	12.4
TN 049 BNA 9652 BG 4	15.1
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 1	17.3
TN 151 BNA 9754 BG 3	40.5
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 2	17
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 2	20
TN 143 BNA 9753 BG 1	6.4
TN 049 BNA 9653 BG 2	28.1
TN 049 BNA 9651 BG 1	22.4
TN 151 BNA 9753 BG 2	11.4
TN 025 BNA 9709 BG 4	17
TN 013 BNA 9502 BG 1	8.2
TN 013 BNA 9505 BG 2	9.5
TN 121 BNA 9603 BG 1	0
TN 145 Tract 0303 BG 1	21.9
TN 171 Tract 0802 BG 1	12.4
TN 059 Tract 0914 BG 2	10.2
TN 155 Tract 0810 BG 1	15.6
TN 129 Tract 1103 BG 4	21.1
TN 173 Tract 0402.01 BG 2	17.6
TN 121 BNA 9602 BG 2	17.2
TN 173 Tract 0401 BG 4	17.7
TN 019 Tract 0713 BG 3	14.3
TN 151 BNA 9751 BG 6	10.2
TN 091 BNA 9563 BG 3	18
TN 019 Tract 0717 BG 1	23.1
TN 025 BNA 9708 BG 3	21.9
TN 057 Tract 5004 BG 3	22.2
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 1	21.5
TN 107 BNA 9705 BG 1	15.5
TN 025 BNA 9701 BG 3	8.4

Areaname*	Cluster	Total Populat-ion	Below Poverty**	Rural	High School Grad
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 2	8	1030	25.3	100	26.3
TN 091 BNA 9561 BG 2	8	957	24.7	100	25.9
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 6	8	1017	24.6	100	31.3
TN 035 BNA 9703.98 BG 3	8	1803	24	100	31.8
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 3	8	1343	25.3	100	30.5
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 1	8	999	24.9	100	30.1
TN 013 BNA 9510 BG 1	8	983	24.7	100	30.2

Areaname*	Ages 17 and Less	Ages 65 and Over	Black	Female Householder Families
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 2	18.7	14	0	13.3
TN 091 BNA 9561 BG 2	23.2	14.1	0	9.1
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 6	17.3	9.2	0	34.3
TN 035 BNA 9703.98 BG 3	25.9	15.6	0	10.7
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 3	23.8	13.9	0.4	15.9
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 1	20.7	15.9	3	13.7
TN 013 BNA 9510 BG 1	24	10.6	0	12.7

Areaname*	Female Unemploy-ment	Employed in Agri-culture	Employed in Min-ing	Employed in Manufact-uring
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 2	8.3	1.8	0	35.6
TN 091 BNA 9561 BG 2	24.4	11.3	0	42.9
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 6	15.6	2.2	0	37.3
TN 035 BNA 9703.98 BG 3	13	3.8	2.1	26.9
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 3	3.8	0	1.4	40.8
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 1	15.8	2	0.4	39.3
TN 013 BNA 9510 BG 1	7.5	1.9	2.1	33.3

Areaname*	Employed in Trade	Employed in Services	Receiving Social Security Income	Receiving Public Assistance
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 2	13.1	32.3	37.6	21.1
TN 091 BNA 9561 BG 2	9.7	19.9	38.2	15.7
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 6	10.4	24.2	26.5	15
TN 035 BNA 9703.98 BG 3	27.1	25.3	36.4	5.6
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 3	13.4	21.7	34.6	11.8
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 1	16.9	18.9	32.5	15
TN 013 BNA 9510 BG 1	16.9	16.4	28.6	14.2

Areaname*	Female House-holder Families in Workforce	Owner Occupied Housing	Lived in Same House in 1985	Mobile Home/ Trailer
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 2	74.5	44.8	53.2	13.7
TN 091 BNA 9561 BG 2	75.4	29.8	71.5	26.7
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 6	77.6	46.1	56	12.7
TN 035 BNA 9703.98 BG 3	50	38.5	54.8	21.1
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 3	70.2	33.9	67.1	32.3
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 1	66.7	31	55.8	22.6
TN 013 BNA 9510 BG 1	81.3	63	69.3	18.8

Areaname*	Home Built Pre-1940	Occupied Housing No Vehicle	Occupied Housing with Incomplete Plumbing
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 2	3.2	19	2.3
TN 091 BNA 9561 BG 2	8.6	1.6	0
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 6	6.8	10.7	0
TN 035 BNA 9703.98 BG 3	7.7	12.1	4.7
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 3	19.9	6.8	9.1
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 1	17.3	14.5	5.5
TN 013 BNA 9510 BG 1	7.1	6.5	3.5

Areaname*	Occupied Housing Cost Burden
TN 025 BNA 9707 BG 2	16.8
TN 091 BNA 9561 BG 2	25.7
TN 059 Tract 0901 BG 6	20
TN 035 BNA 9703.98 BG 3	6.6
TN 091 BNA 9564 BG 3	19.4
TN 057 Tract 5003 BG 1	15.9
TN 013 BNA 9510 BG 1	28.8

*Areaname identifies the Tennessee County, Census Tract or Block Numbering Area (BNA), and Census Block Group (BG) number.

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, 1990.

Appendix B

Assisted Housing Inventory for Rural East Tennessee

Assisted Housing Inventory for Rural East Tennessee

County	City	Units Available	Housing Program	Persons Served
Bledsoe	Pikeville	40	Section 8 New Construction	43
	Pikeville	69	Section 8 New Construction	178
	Pikeville	10	Section 8 New Construction	10
	Pikeville	12	Public Housing	12
Campbell	La Follette	94	Public Housing	185
	La Follette	6	Public Housing	6
	Caryville	30	Public Housing	53
	Jacksboro	20	Public Housing	30
	Jellico	124	Public Housing	270
	Jellico	30	Public Housing	71
	Jellico	36	Public Housing	64
	Jellico	58	Public Housing	142
	Jacksboro	20	Section 8 New Construction	20
	Jacksboro	43	Section 8 New Construction	42
	La Follette	36	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	36
	Jellico	2	Section 8 Certificates + Vouchers	2
	Jellico	6	Section 8 Moderate Rehabilitation	6
	Jellico	123	Section 8 New Construction	133
	La Follette	50	Section 8 New Construction	54
	La Follette	50	Section 8 New Construction	132
	La Follette	50	Public Housing	92
	La Follette	70	Public Housing	83
	La Follette	50	Public Housing	54
	La Follette	72	Public Housing	182
Carter	Elizabethton	126	Public Housing	281
	Elizabethton	75	Section 8 New Construction	73
	Elizabethton	40	Section 8 New Construction	39
	Elizabethton	326	Public Housing	664
	Elizabethton	200	Public Housing	407
	Elizabethton	5	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	5
	Elizabethton	100	Section 8 New Construction	235
	Elizabethton	100	Section 236 project	230
	Johnson	10	Section 8 New Construction	10

County	City	Units Available	Housing Program	Persons Served
Carter	Elizabethton	177	Section 8 Certificates + Vouchers	421
	Elizabethton	148	Section 8 Moderate Rehabilitation	352
Claiborne	Tazewell	24	Public Housing	64
	Tazewell	40	Public Housing	67
	New Tazewell	60	Public Housing	100
	New Tazewell	24	Section 8 New Construction	26
	Tazewell	21	Section 8 New Construction	44
	New Tazewell	34	Public Housing	84
	New Tazewell	30	Public Housing	44
Cocke	Newport	8	Section 8 New Construction	8
	Newport	383	Public Housing	780
	Newport	28	Section 8 Certificates + Vouchers	55
	Newport	46	Public Housing	88
	Newport	87	Section 8 New Construction	162
	Newport	51	Section 236 project	83
	Newport	30	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	30
	Newport	8	Public Housing	8
	Newport	50	Public Housing	99
	Newport	71	Public Housing	138
	Newport	56	Public Housing	88
	Newport	40	Public Housing	87
	Newport	34	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	34
	Newport	40	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	40
	Newport	32	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	32
	Newport	112	Public Housing	255
Cumberland	Crossville	54	Public Housing	166
	Rockwood	49	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	49
	Crossville	10	Section 8 New Construction	10
	Crossville	7	Section 8 New Construction	7
	Crossville	24	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	24
	Crossville	20	Public Housing	38
	Crossville	49	Section 8 New Construction	101
	Crossville	75	Public Housing	149
	Crossville	56	Public Housing	99

County	City	Units Available	Housing Program	Persons Served
Cumberland	Crossville	51	Public Housing	111
Fentress	Jamestown	46	Public Housing	94
	Jamestown	35	Public Housing	37
	Jamestown	24	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	24
	Jamestown	24	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	24
	Jamestown	32	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	32
	Jamestown	24	Section 8 New Construction	26
	Jamestown	40	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	40
Grainger	Rutledge	24	Section 8 New Construction	24
	Rutledge	36	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	36
Greene	Greeneville	10	Section 8 New Construction	10
	Greeneville	16	Section 8 New Construction	16
	Greeneville	10	Section 8 New Construction	10
	Greeneville	79	Other FHA with Subsidy	197
	Greeneville	126	Public Housing	287
	Greeneville	14	Public Housing	35
	Greeneville	35	Public Housing	97
	Greeneville	100	Public Housing	149
	Greeneville	51	Section 8 New Construction	135
	Greeneville	46	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	46
	Greeneville	100	Section 8 New Construction	186
	Greeneville	113	Section 8 New Construction	111
	Greeneville	50	Public Housing	104
	Greeneville	14	Section 8 New Construction	14
	Greeneville	40	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	40
	Greeneville	325	Public Housing	676
Hancock	Sneedville	7	Section 8 New Construction	14
	Tazewell	9	Section 8 New Construction	9
	Sneedville	44	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	44
	Sneedville	45	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	45
Hawkins	Church H	50	Public Housing	88
	Bulls Gap	32	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	32
	Rogersville	44	Section 8 New Construction	43

County	City	Units Available	Housing Program	Persons Served
Hawkins	Rogersville	38	Public Housing	83
	Rogersville	50	Public Housing	84
	Rogersville	50	Public Housing	82
	Rogersville	40	Section 8 New Construction	39
	Rogersville	53	Section 236 project	86
	Rogersville	30	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	30
	Church H	26	Section 8 New Construction	45
	Kingsport	103	Section 8 New Construction	202
Jefferson	Jefferson City	30	Public Housing	86
	Jefferson City	2	Public Housing	2
	Jefferson City	47	Public Housing	69
	Jefferson City	28	Public Housing	28
	Dandridge	24	Section 8 New Construction	48
	White Pine	42	Section 236 project	92
	White Pine	18	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	18
	Jefferson City	30	Public Housing	80
	Jefferson City	62	Public Housing	129
	Jefferson City	36	Section 236 project	73
	Jefferson City	13	Section 8 New Construction	13
	Jefferson City	8	Section 8 New Construction	8
	Jefferson City	199	Public Housing	414
Johnson	Mountain City	83	Section 8 New Construction	179
	Mountain City	40	Section 8 New Construction	43
Louden	Lenoir City	138	Public Housing	321
	Lenoir City	40	Public Housing	94
	Lenoir City	68	Public Housing	158
	Lenoir City	108	Section 8 New Construction	265
	Lenoir City	72	Section 8 New Construction	71
	Lenoir City	20	Section 8 New Construction	20
	Lenoir City	1	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	1
	Lenoir City	1	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	1
	Loudon	50	Section 8 New Construction	54
	Loudon	8	Section 8 New Construction	8
	Loudon	24	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	24

County	City	Units Available	Housing Program	Persons Served
Louden	Loudon	121	Public Housing	205
	Loudon	50	Public Housing	74
	Loudon	71	Public Housing	128
County	**City**	**Units Available**	**Housing Program**	**Persons Served**
	Loudon	1	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	1
McMinn	Athens	70	Public Housing	171
	Athens	12	Public Housing	28
	Englewood	18	Public Housing	46
	Athens	45	Public Housing	84
	Athens	55	Public Housing	108
	Athens	50	Public Housing	54
	Athens	137	Public Housing	244
	Englewood	20	Public Housing	23
	Etowah	54	Public Housing	128
	Etowah	136	Public Housing	215
	Etowah	109	Section 8 Certificates + Vouchers	237
	Athens	34	Public Housing	54
	Athens	50	Section 8 New Construction	127
	Athens	50	Section 8 New Construction	103
	Athens	90	Section 8 New Construction	212
	Athens	100	Section 8 New Construction	216
	Athens	18	Section 8 New Construction	29
	Etowah	32	Public Housing	34
	Etowah	50	Public Housing	55
Marion	South Pittsburg	16	Public Housing	35
	South Pittsburg	20	Public Housing	48
	Monteagle	24	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	24
	South Pittsburg	50	Section 8 New Construction	54
	Jasper	37	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	37
	South Pittsburg	41	Public Housing	100
	South Pittsburg	45	Public Housing	81
	South Pittsburg	80	Public Housing	136
	South Pittsburg	10	Section 8 New Construction	10
		461	Section 8 Certificates + Vouchers	1050

County	City	Units Available	Housing Program	Persons Served
Meigs	Decatur	50	Public Housing	108
	Decatur	24	Section 8 New Construction	26
	Decatur	24	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	24
Monroe	Sweetwater	36	Public Housing	80
	Sweetwater	4	Public Housing	4
	Tellico	20	Public Housing	55
	Englewood	24	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	24
	Sweetwater	40	Public Housing	102
	Vonore	24	Section 8 New Construction	24
	Sweetwater	62	Public Housing	109
	Sweetwater	24	Section 8 New Construction	48
	Sweetwater	25	Section 8 New Construction	24
	Sweetwater	18	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	18
	Madisonville	27	Section 8 New Construction	49
	Madisonville	39	Section 8 New Construction	42
	Tellico	39	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	39
Morgan	Oakdale	12	Public Housing	12
	Oliver Springs	47	Public Housing	83
	Wartburg	30	Section 8 New Construction	73
	Wartburg	24	Section 8 New Construction	24
	Wartburg	45	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	45
	Wartburg	50	Public Housing	88
Polk	Benton	24	Section 8 New Construction	26
	Benton	48	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	48
Rhea	Dayton	50	Public Housing	136
	Dayton	111	Public Housing	242
	Dayton	50	Public Housing	59
	Dayton	34	Public Housing	69
	Spring City	40	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	40
	Spring City	26	Public Housing	43
	Dayton	7	Public Housing	7
Roane	Rockwood	124	Public Housing	246

County	City	Units Available	Housing Program	Persons Served
Roane	Rockwood	50	Public Housing	129
	Rockwood	74	Public Housing	125
	Harriman	85	Public Housing	196
	Harriman	15	Public Housing	33
	Harriman	60	Public Housing	106
	Kingston	10	Section 8 New Construction	10
	Rockwood	10	Section 8 New Construction	10
	Kingston	10	Section 8 New Construction	10
	Kingston	42	Section 8 New Construction	41
	Kingston	10	Section 8 New Construction	10
	Kingston	8	Section 8 New Construction	8
	Kingston	40	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	40
	Rockwood	125	Section 8 New Construction	123
	Rockwood	15	Section 8 New Construction	15
	Rockwood	126	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	126
	Harriman	70	Public Housing	136
	Harriman	94	Public Housing	175
	Harriman	136	Section 8 New Construction	147
Scott	Huntsville	20	Public Housing	32
	Huntsville	30	Public Housing	45
	Oneida	59	Public Housing	70
	Oneida	8	Public Housing	8
	Helenwood	30	Public Housing	67
	Oneida	50	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	50
	Oneida	42	Public Housing	100
	Oneida	50	Public Housing	93
	Oneida	39	Section 8 New Construction	42
	Oneida	24	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	24
Sequatchie	Dunlap	50	Section 8 New Construction	108
Sevier	Sevierville	48	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	48
	Sevierville	20	Section 8 New Construction	22
	Sevierville	34	Public Housing	94
	Sevierville	71	Public Housing	130
	Sevierville	40	Public Housing	114

County	City	Units Available	Housing Program	Persons Served
Sevier	Sevierville	10	Section 8 New Construction	10
	Sevierville	32	Section 8 New Construction	65
	Sevierville	36	Other FHA with Subsidy	63
	Pigeon Forge	100	Public Housing	281
Unicoi	Erwin	73	Public Housing	118
	Erwin	70	Public Housing	113
	Erwin	50	Section 8 New Construction	54
	Erwin	39	Section 8 New Construction	42
Union	Maynardville	6	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	6
	Maynardville	8	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	8
	Maynardville	40	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	40
	Tazewell	44	Low Income Housing Tax Credit	44
	Luttrell	50	Public Housing	132

Source: U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

Appendix C

Ward's Hierarchical Cluster Analysis Output

Stage	Cluster Combined		Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears		Next Stage
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	
1	4	45	78.45	0	0	116
2	61	184	184.1	0	0	68
3	63	100	291.744	0	0	68
4	183	203	403.406	0	0	35
5	78	236	516.855	0	0	31
6	160	253	630.526	0	0	155
7	167	271	744.599	0	0	56
8	75	272	876.219	0	0	65
9	99	113	1026.892	0	0	147
10	201	270	1178.237	0	0	21
11	117	300	1335.833	0	0	81
12	188	195	1498.667	0	0	37
13	282	295	1663.745	0	0	28
14	171	293	1830.055	0	0	127
15	212	303	1997.475	0	0	22
16	140	247	2165.012	0	0	45
17	233	242	2335.872	0	0	88
18	48	257	2507.978	0	0	52
19	122	152	2690.343	0	0	166
20	102	228	2873.9	0	0	183
21	185	201	3062.582	0	10	71
22	212	229	3253.96	15	0	174
23	156	241	3448.847	0	0	153
24	60	129	3650.913	0	0	85
25	42	87	3855.653	0	0	133
26	198	290	4062.589	0	0	66
27	31	302	4273.79	0	0	98
28	279	282	4490.803	0	13	86
29	260	288	4711.849	0	0	69
30	173	252	4933.071	0	0	182
31	78	151	5154.307	5	0	102
32	114	155	5375.692	0	0	40

Stage	ClusterCombined		Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears		Next Stage
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	
33	177	196	5598.938	0	0	166
34	213	265	5823.147	0	0	73
35	183	256	6050.176	4	0	149
36	73	116	6284.264	0	0	105
37	188	238	6521.311	12	0	167
38	94	134	6759.122	0	0	96
39	154	159	6999.294	0	0	124
40	114	284	7240.884	32	4	93
41	131	189	7483.884	0	0	141
42	254	268	7728.296	0	0	134
43	250	278	7973.988	0	0	104
44	145	276	8219.818	0	0	157
45	130	140	8472.631	0	16	174
46	158	194	8726.272	0	0	208
47	175	269	8981.95	0	0	169
48	181	296	9249.983	0	0	142
49	149	168	9520.305	0	0	57
50	72	283	9795.309	0	0	171
51	227	273	10071.768	0	0	114
52	36	48	10350.141	0	18	120
53	103	224	10629.604	0	0	175
54	70	71	10911.876	0	0	129
55	169	262	11194.522	0	0	153
56	67	167	11477.411	0	7	131
57	149	292	11760.844	49	0	235
58	118	287	12044.698	0	0	97
59	82	266	12330.499	0	0	134
60	96	294	12618.834	0	0	194
61	120	174	12911.914	0	0	71
62	77	235	13204.994	0	0	113
63	206	261	13498.67	0	0	79
64	80	153	13792.789	0	0	136
65	51	75	14097.686	0	8	162
66	198	246	14405.342	26	0	110

Stage	Cluster Combined Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Next Stage
67	46	92	14715.144	0	0	133
68	61	63	15026.787	2	0	224
69	260	297	15345.892	29	0	171
70	124	199	15665.905	0	0	170
71	120	185	15988.009	61	21	155
72	112	298	16310.852	0	0	92
73	40	213	16642.311	0	34	108
74	49	176	16973.797	0	0	151
75	43	68	17308.246	0	0	188
76	157	281	17644.105	0	0	142
77	119	172	17983.678	0	0	206
78	90	258	18323.447	0	0	106
79	133	206	18664.172	0	63	204
80	109	280	19006.348	0	0	207
81	117	237	19349.119	11	0	192
82	150	211	19694.031	0	0	148
83	267	274	20039.092	0	0	162
84	12	54	20385.535	0	0	177
85	60	222	20735.184	24	0	157
86	255	279	21088.906	0	28	178
87	66	197	21445.623	0	0	167
88	233	263	21803.348	17	0	131
89	104	161	22163.943	0	0	169
90	41	163	22526.133	0	0	105
91	84	144	22888.676	0	0	146
92	19	112	23253.586	0	72	158
93	114	291	26319.313	40	0	219
94	135	136	23986.502	0	0	222
95	47	164	24360.779	0	0	221
96	94	239	24741.221	38	0	200
97	107	118	25125.09	0	58	205
98	31	232	25511.746	27	0	180
99	148	178	25901.473	0	0	143

Stage	Cluster Combined Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Next Stage
100	205	299	26296.41	0	0	179
101	215	289	26692.99	0	0	160
102	78	191	27092.592	31	0	182
103	251	264	27493.889	0	0	203
104	231	250	27898.592	0	43	187
105	41	73	28306.641	90	36	191
106	90	216	28715.15	78	0	234
107	52	64	29127.691	0	0	185
108	40	214	29541.031	73	0	230
109	34	143	29958.654	0	0	146
110	170	198	30377.547	0	66	201
111	128	245	30796.934	0	0	127
112	24	248	31216.375	0	0	245
113	50	77	31640.867	0	62	207
114	225	227	32066.256	0	51	210
115	39	97	32497.1	0	0	154
116	4	208	32928.266	1	0	147
117	62	285	33361.449	0	0	202
118	86	230	33796.281	0	0	145
119	123	275	34238.129	0	0	188
120	36	121	34680.129	52	0	191
121	108	221	35123.098	0	0	215
122	95	204	35578.309	0	0	180
123	115	142	36034.141	0	0	194
124	154	190	36494.293	39	0	198
125	89	301	36955.875	0	0	148
126	7	93	37428.875	0	0	196
127	128	171	37905.285	111	14	175
128	79	165	38383.594	0	0	212
129	70	76	38863.328	54	0	144
130	28	126	39349.543	0	0	217
131	67	233	39836.258	56	88	224
132	85	193	40327.594	0	0	274

Stage	Cluster Combined Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Next Stage
133	42	46	40823.086	25	67	213
134	127	254	41320.004	0	42	220
135	180	286	41818.176	0	0	236
136	23	80	42318.262	0	64	173
137	217	223	42820.164	0	0	226
138	14	26	43330.395	0	0	199
139	53	110	43841.719	0	101	228
140	8	59	44355.676	0	0	218
141	131	138	44870.816	41	0	200
142	157	181	45387.516	76	48	202
143	148	259	45910.941	99	0	259
144	16	70	46434.563	0	129	211
145	86	210	46961.957	118	0	233
146	34	84	47490.016	109	91	227
147	4	99	48018.469	116	9	178
148	89	150	48548.461	125	82	259
149	139	183	49078.887	0	35	168
150	21	25	49613.57	0	0	186
151	49	65	50156.109	74	0	183
152	33	101	50700.809	0	0	232
153	156	169	51246.887	23	55	204
154	39	249	51801.777	115	0	181
155	120	160	52362.031	71	6	168
156	141	166	52925.055	0	0	193
157	60	145	53493.031	85	44	218
158	19	186	54063.145	92	0	241
159	218	219	54633.777	0	0	226
160	207	215	55208.023	0	101	230
161	179	220	55789.711	0	0	253
162	51	267	56373.75	65	83	242
163	38	202	56958.75	0	0	232
164	88	132	57545.012	0	0	229
165	58	137	58134.453	0	0	197

Stage	Cluster Combined Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Next Stage
166	122	177	58736.969	19	33	210
167	66	188	59352.785	87	37	237
168	120	139	59969.027	155	149	242
169	104	175	60586.789	89	47	195
170	55	124	61206.75	0	70	213
171	29	72	61832.418	0	50	216
172	147	260	62468.047	0	69	187
173	23	37	63107.52	136	0	217
174	130	212	63756.797	45	22	239
175	103	128	64412.289	53	127	265
176	17	209	65069.215	0	0	211
177	12	234	65729.844	84	0	231
178	4	255	66390.844	147	86	261
179	91	205	67053.859	0	100	219
180	31	95	67718.367	98	122	239
181	30	39	68390.063	0	154	227
182	78	173	69064.672	102	30	198
183	49	102	69741.125	151	20	246
184	11	27	70421.281	0	0	222
185	52	56	71102.391	107	0	229
186	21	69	71784.594	150	0	277
187	147	231	72467.336	172	104	260
188	43	123	73150.328	75	199	221
189	200	240	73838.227	0	0	236
190	22	57	74529.57	0	0	264
191	36	41	75222.586	120	105	235
192	117	146	75951.297	81	0	258
193	83	141	76684.906	0	156	257
194	96	115	77427.273	60	123	208
195	3	104	78170.313	0	169	243
196	6	7	78920.633	0	126	270
197	44	58	79675.648	0	165	254
198	78	154	80434.156	182	124	231
199	14	187	81212.203	138	0	250

Stage	Cluster Combined Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Next Stage
200	94	131	81995.008	96	141	250
201	105	170	82779	0	110	244
202	62	157	83565.852	117	142	237
203	1	251	84353.414	0	103	223
204	133	156	85142.242	79	153	244
205	107	243	85952.664	97	0	220
206	119	277	86776.336	77	0	243
207	50	109	87603.539	113	80	260
208	96	158	88444.688	194	46	233
209	98	244	89353.945	0	0	276
210	122	225	90288.148	166	114	240
211	16	17	91232.414	144	176	255
212	79	226	92188.438	128	0	295
213	42	55	93155.063	133	170	269
214	74	106	94140.469	0	0	257
215	15	108	95138.602	0	121	268
216	10	29	96136.961	0	171	266
217	23	28	97145.781	173	130	225
218	8	60	98155.969	140	157	269
219	91	114	99186.922	179	93	271
220	107	127	100228.02	205	134	247
221	43	47	101293.79	188	95	273
222	11	135	102373.04	184	94	252
223	1	162	103453.66	203	0	249
224	61	67	104561.02	68	131	262
225	2	23	105675.18	0	217	246
226	217	218	106827.87	137	159	245
227	30	34	107986.5	181	146	256
228	32	53	109147.98	0	139	248
229	52	88	110311.71	185	164	249
230	40	207	111489	108	160	264
231	12	78	112673.41	177	198	279
232	33	38	113862.45	152	163	254
233	86	96	115055.13	145	208	265

Stage	Cluster Combined Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Next Stage
234	82	90	116254.87	59	106	241
235	36	149	117470.58	191	57	262
236	180	200	118689.93	135	189	252
237	62	66	119917.3	202	167	275
238	81	192	121154.66	0	0	267
239	31	130	122393.63	180	174	258
240	122	125	123656.84	210	0	263
241	19	82	124936.73	158	234	284
242	51	120	126238.63	162	168	255
243	3	119	127580.2	195	206	261
244	105	133	128942.56	201	204	280
245	24	217	130323.5	112	226	263
246	2	49	131761.5	225	183	270
247	107	111	133206.09	220	0	285
248	13	32	134660.75	0	228	256
249	1	52	136200.45	223	229	274
250	14	94	137771.27	199	200	287
251	5	9	139355.11	0	0	296
252	11	180	140963.73	222	236	282
253	20	179	142604.36	0	161	267
254	33	44	144248.64	232	197	286
255	16	51	145970.22	211	242	272
256	13	30	147718.06	248	227	281
257	74	83	149465.97	214	193	275
258	31	117	151247.06	239	192	278
259	89	148	153048.27	148	143	283
260	50	147	154890.73	207	187	266
261	3	4	156763.73	243	178	279
262	36	61	158718.31	235	224	278
263	24	122	160680.89	245	240	271
264	22	40	162688.13	190	230	268
265	86	103	164719.78	233	175	285
266	10	50	166758.23	216	260	272
267	20	81	168837.77	253	238	289
268	15	22	170927.17	215	264	286

Stage	Cluster Combined Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Next Stage
269	8	42	173069.2	218	213	288
270	2	6	175278.3	246	196	277
271	24	91	177590.95	263	219	276
272	10	16	179910.77	266	255	288
273	18	43	182273.39	0	221	284
274	1	85	184642.72	249	132	294
275	62	74	187024.81	237	257	291
276	24	98	189530.14	271	209	291
277	2	21	192043.61	270	186	287
278	31	36	194606.98	258	262	280
279	3	12	197497.81	261	231	293
280	31	105	200606.86	278	244	283
281	13	35	203764.88	256	0	290
282	11	182	206966.8	252	0	292
283	31	89	210227.53	280	259	297
284	18	19	213588.97	273	241	297
285	86	107	217121.47	265	247	290
286	15	33	221018.61	268	254	289
287	2	14	224968.86	277	250	293
288	8	10	229083.13	269	272	294
289	15	20	233839.05	286	267	292
290	13	86	238936.38	281	285	300
291	24	62	244250.23	276	275	300
292	11	15	250474.94	282	289	295
293	2	3	257037.8	287	279	296
294	1	8	264074.97	274	288	298
295	11	79	271318.97	292	212	299
296	2	5	280359.31	293	251	299
297	18	31	289764.53	284	283	298
298	1	18	302724.28	294	297	301
299	2	11	315843.09	296	295	301
300	13	21	329277.69	290	291	302
301	1	2	368073.72	298	299	302
302	1	13	424509.06	301	300	0

Vita

Margaret D. Foraker grew up on the Delmarva Peninsula. Upon graduating from Cape Henlopen High School in Lewes, Delaware, she attended The University of Delaware where she received a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Anthropology in 1988 and a Master of Arts Degree in Geography in 1994. She moved to east Tennessee to pursue her interests in rural social and economic geography and received the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Geography from The University of Tennessee in 2004. Margaret is currently an assistant professor in the Department of Geography and Geosciences at Salisbury University in Salisbury, Maryland where she lives with her husband Donald and two children, Ross and Tess.

5897 7108 1
04/06/05 MAB