

## Communities Left Behind: Can Nonviable Places Become Smart?

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**Abstract:** Endogenous community development receives much attention as an economic development strategy for rural areas. The literature suggests that endogenous development is more likely to occur in "smart communities"—communities characterized by empowered individuals, skilled leadership, innovative institutions, social capital, and sense of place. This paper provides an overview of the characteristics of "smart communities" and suggests issues for further research. Research topics suggested include defining and measuring qualitative factors associated with endogenous development, determining which qualitative factors are changeable over time, understanding the roles of history and path dependency in community development, and determining if communities "made smart" have better economic development experiences.

One of my fields of study in graduate school was United States economic history. I am no longer a practicing economic historian; however, I maintain an interest in the subject, especially the economic history of rural America. Part of my continuing education on this topic involves visiting the historical landmarks, battlefields, museums, and antique shops of rural communities. On vacations and business trips, I avoid interstate highways in hopes of happening upon historical jewels such as the No Law West of the Pecos Museum or the site of the nation's first daylight bank robbery.

These past twenty-five years of traveling on America's back roads have led to two observations regarding the state of rural America. First, small towns have become more similar in appearances. The crossroads markets have been replaced by sterile convenience stores and main street cafes have been supplanted by fast food franchises. The architecture of residential and commercial buildings also has become similar over time, much the result of the proliferation of mobile homes and strip malls anchored by WalMart-like stores. This homogenization of small towns has made rural America a less interesting place to visit and a more difficult place to find a good chicken fried steak dinner.

My second observation is that small towns have become less similar in terms of their economic vitality and quality of life. Many rural communities appear to be prosperous and desirable locations to operate businesses and raise families. Such communities in the rural South are pleasant surprises to non-Southerners whose perceptions of small-town southern life were formed by movies such as "Coal Miner's Daughter," "Norma Rae," and "In the Heat of the Night."

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Numerous other small towns, on the other hand, greet visitors with abandoned main street buildings, deteriorating public infrastructure, and low quality of housing. As a regional scientist, I wonder what activities support these declining communities and what forces contributed to their present state. As an individual and parent, I also can't help but wonder why people remain in locations that appear to offer so little.

These "communities left behind" provide, in my opinion, one of the more interesting topics for regional science research. Regional scientists have contributed much to our understanding of the factors associated with the economic decline of these places. Our theories and empirical studies provide significant insights into the debilitating effects of the restructuring of economic activity; deregulation of the financial, communication, and transportation industries; introduction of new technologies; and integration into the world economy (Henry, Drabenstott, and Gibson 1988; Kale 1989; Barkley 1995; Smith 1996). Our research also has contributed significantly to policy makers' understandings of the efficacy of alternative economic development initiatives. A wealth of literature exists on the potentials for, and pitfalls of, economic development strategies such as industrial recruitment, entrepreneurship and small business development, alternative agriculture, business retention and expansion, and infrastructure and human capital development (Barkley 1993; Blakely 1994; Galston and Baehler 1995).

Regional scientists have been, however, less successful in understanding why specific economic development strategies and programs work well in some communities but fail in others. As a result, many regional scientists believe that a change in research directions is needed if we are to offer significant new insights into policies for enhancing the economic well-being of declining rural areas. A research area that has received much attention is endogenous community development or "growth from within" (see, for example, Coffey and Pol  se 1984; Doeringer and Terkla 1990; Flora et al. 1992; Green et al. 1993; McDowell 1995). Proponents of "growth from within" argue that community economic vitality depends on the community's ability to adapt to, and take advantage of, changing conditions. This adaptive efficiency, in turn, is attributable to characteristics of the local political, economic, and social environments. Thus local economic development prospects may be enhanced by encouraging and enabling changes in the characteristics of these local environments.

Is "growth from within" a promising strategy for communities left behind? Before I address this question, I believe it would be useful to identify and describe some of these rural places left behind. I could provide names and details for rural South Carolina communities left behind, some within a short drive of here. But since the South Carolina legislature is discussing the elimination of tenure at its state universities, I will refrain from being that specific. Instead, as examples of rural places left behind, I have selected the 181 nonmetro counties in the South with 1995 per capita incomes less than 60 percent of the national average. Obviously per capita income is an imperfect measure of economic well-being, and

this sample does not capture all rural areas with depressed economic conditions (Hansen 1995). Yet I believe we can agree that these counties are representative of rural areas that would benefit from additional economic development research and extension programs.

These 181 low-income rural counties share a number of characteristics. First, they are generally small and remote. Only 70 of the counties are adjacent to metropolitan areas and only 50 had populations greater than 15,000 in 1990. Low population densities and small-scale markets limit the competitiveness and growth potential of area businesses. And remoteness from urban areas diminishes the benefits from spillovers of metropolitan growth (Henry, Barkley, and Bao 1997).

Second, as expected given the selection criterion, these counties have exceptionally high unemployment rates, incidences of poverty, and reliances on transfer payments as a share of total personal income (Appendix Table A). These measures of economic well-being generally do not reflect economies suffering from temporary setbacks. Many of the counties also were classified by the USDA as persistent poverty counties based on high poverty rates for every census year starting in 1960 (Cook and Mizer 1989).

However, it is the diversity of these communities left behind that complicates research programs focused on understanding and assisting these places. The low-income counties are dispersed in clusters throughout the South (Figure 1), with geographic concentrations in Appalachia, the Mississippi Delta, the old Cotton Belt, Texas border towns, and the Texas-Oklahoma plains. The racial composition of the resident populations of these geographic clusters are dissimilar. The Appalachian counties are predominately white, the Mississippi Delta and old Cotton Belt counties generally are more than 50 percent black, the Texas border towns have large Hispanic populations, and Native Americans are represented in the Oklahoma counties.

The economic specializations of these counties are also quite diverse. The USDA (Cook and Mizer 1989) classifies 37 of these counties as farming-dependent, 32 as manufacturing-dependent, 45 as government-dependent, 18 as mining-dependent, and 11 as service-dependent. Only 38 of the counties are classified as having multiple areas of specialization.

In sum, the communities left behind are an eclectic group with different economic histories, industrial bases, institutions, and social structures. It is well recognized among regional scientists that economic development efforts must take into consideration the distinct characteristics of these subsets of communities. Yet the current political environment is such that support is unlikely for the breadth of programs needed to address the diversity of these rural areas. At the same time, welfare reform legislation and the devolution of government programs have placed greater burdens and responsibilities on local institutions. The employment generation capabilities of these rural areas must be enhanced significantly if the local job markets are to absorb many of the residents on welfare. And local tax bases must be expanded to support public programs required by devolution and a more demanding citizenry.

The characteristics and conditions of the southern counties left behind may be viewed as strong supporting evidence for a "triage" assistance strategy rather than new "place-oriented" development programs. And most regional scientists would not recommend the extensive use of state or federal funds for traditional economic development programs for these counties. Yet many of the places left behind are not ready to "throw in the towel" and participate in an orderly and systematic depopulation. I learned this fact the hard way after suggesting a "triage" strategy in a public meeting in a rural county in South Carolina. Fortunately, candid comments from the audience regarding my intellect were cut short by a scheduled coffee break.

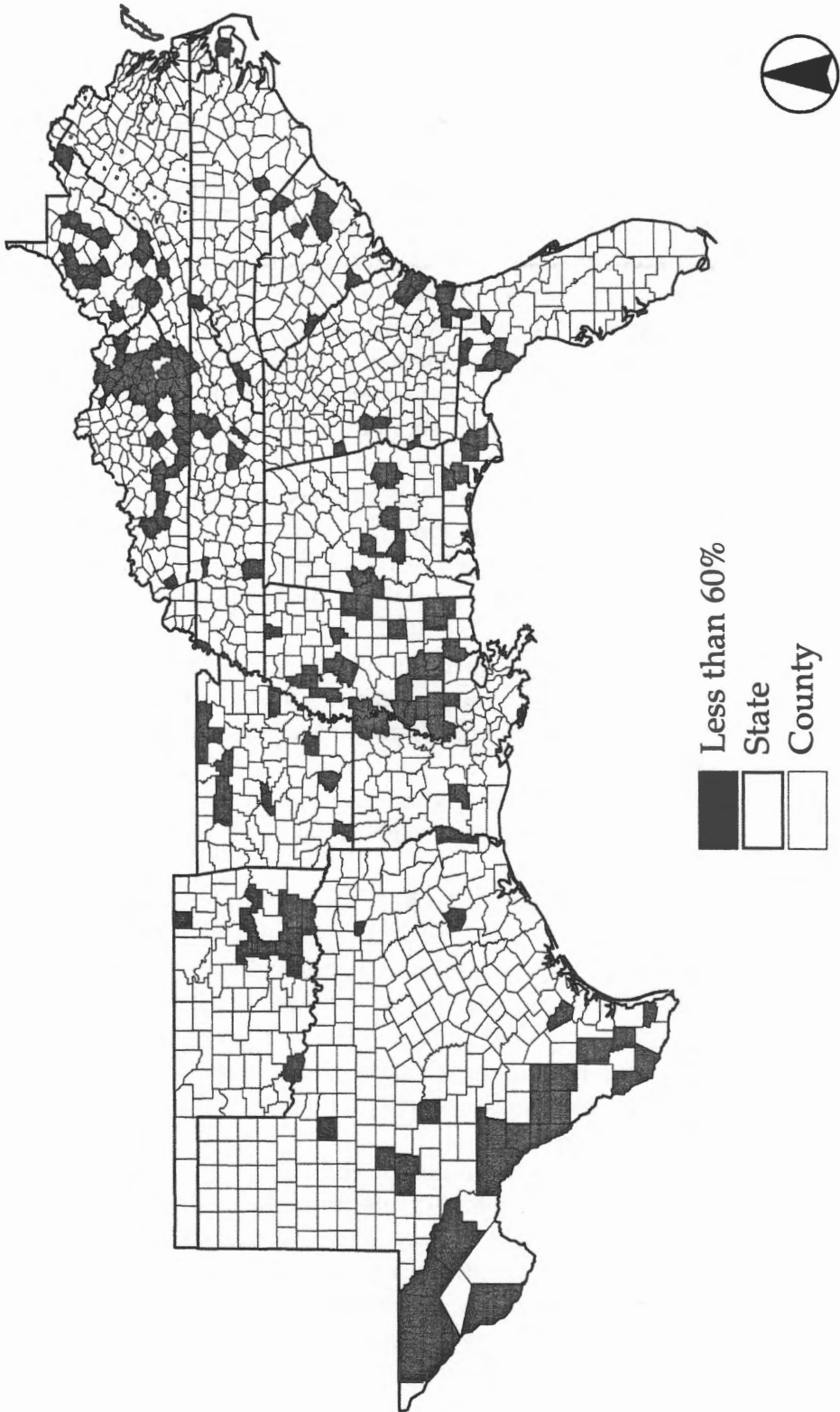
This experience in rural South Carolina taught me that some of these communities left behind are very interested in improving local economic opportunities, and they are willing to commit local resources to the effort. For places such as these, what are the prospects for economic development?

An interesting perspective on this issue is provided by the Mulkey, Malecki, and Burkhardt (1993) functional community approach to rural development policy. The functional approach, based on the central place hierarchy of urban places, divides all rural communities into three groups: nonviable, lucky, and smart. "Nonviable" communities are those that have become obsolete in the sense that the economic base is no longer of sufficient size to support the population and central place functions that evolved in more prosperous times. Examples include communities impacted by mine closings, the loss of textile jobs, and military base consolidations. These communities will be characterized by high levels of unemployment and poverty until they adapt to their new circumstances through extensive out-migration or they get lucky or become smart. "Lucky" communities are those where external forces or events contributed to new economic activities to replace or supplement their traditional or former base. Such fortuitous events might include the development of a retirement community, designation of a national park nearby, or construction of a new interstate highway interchange. And "smart" communities are those with the indigenous abilities and responses to adapt to, and take advantage of, changing economic conditions and grow from within.

At first glance, this rural community typology appears to offer little promise for the communities left behind. Most of the 181 southern counties would be buried deep in the nonviable category, and prospects for moving into the "lucky" or "smart" categories do not look good. Dwight Billings (1988), for example, suggests that a supportive environment for endogenous development is not likely to evolve in areas historically dependent upon mining or plantation agriculture. And Tomaskovic-Devey (1991) argues that in the South, state and local industrialization strategies focused on branch plant recruitment have done little to develop the local leadership and entrepreneurship necessary for endogenous development.

But rural counties do shift among categories over time. In 1970, 370 southern nonmetro counties had per capita incomes less than 60 percent of the U.S. average. Many of the 189 counties that moved above this arbitrary income threshold did so

Figure 1: Southern Counties with Per Capita Incomes Less than 60% of the United States Average, 1995



as a result of market forces and the convergence process predicted by neoclassical economic theory. Other counties were simply lucky and stumbled upon a new economic structure. But perhaps a few of these 189 southern counties "got smart" between 1970 and 1995.

Can nonviable communities "get smart" over time, or are the development opportunities of these places predestined by their economic and social history and subject to change only by some capricious event of good fortune? Recent publications on "growth from within" strategies and qualitative factors related to endogenous economic development suggest that communities may be able to influence their destiny. But this literature reminds me of a group of blind men describing an elephant. We concur that there is something before us, but we are not in complete agreement regarding what it is. For example, consider the following statements regarding the key to endogenous community development.

Individual empowerment is the foundation for collective action for community economic development. (paraphrased, Wilson 1996).

"Culture is a fundamental factor shaping the nature and achievable pace of a region's development...Cultural capital may sometimes be the key catalyst." (Batten 1993, pp. 110 and 111).

"Skilled local leaders are the bedrock of successful rural communities." (MDC Inc. 1992, p. 37).

"Institutions form the incentive structure of a society, and the political and economic institutions, in consequence, are the underlying determinants of economic performance." (North 1994, p. 359).

"...communities who bring a strong level of social capital to the process will be more likely to succeed over the long-term..." (Gaventa 1995, p. 61).

So there you have it. "Smart" communities have empowered individuals, skilled leadership, innovative institutions, cultural capital, and social capital. Other publications add local knowledge, entrepreneurial values, networks, sense of place, social entrepreneurs, and gatekeepers to this list of desirable characteristics (Malecki 1998). Or, if these attributes are highly interrelated (in other words, different parts of the same elephant), then we may refer to them as components of a more holistic concept such as a "supportive environment for endogenous development."

I believe this recent attention by regional scientists to "growth from within" provides many interesting insights into differences between nonviable and smart communities. I am not, however, ready to conclude that this area of inquiry is "pragmatic"—where pragmatic refers to the ability to develop specific local policies that make nonviable communities smart. The determination of the practical value of these interesting ideas would benefit from additional scholarly work in four interrelated areas.

First, it would be helpful if we were able to develop a common vocabulary and proxy variables for the various qualitative factors hypothesized to be associated with a supportive environment for growth from within. In the literature, one finds references to institutional capacity, institutional embeddedness, institutional thickness, and institutional learning. This proliferation of jargon in the "growth from within" literature limits the usefulness of the information to researchers and practitioners.

And how can we measure concepts such as social capital, individual empowerment, or institutional capacity? Without measures for the qualitative factors, how precisely can we determine if local efforts to enhance social capital or institutional capacity are successful? Or for cross-sectional analysis, can we state that community A's environment for growth from within is preferred to that in community B rather than simply observe that A and B are different?

Assessments of the qualitative factors associated with endogenous development also must distinguish between beneficial and detrimental forms of these factors. The literature suggests that, like the "force" in the "Star Wars" trilogy, some components of the endogenous growth environment may be instruments of good as well as evil. For example, Robert Putman (1993) notes that some forms of social capital encourage social inequalities, and Ben Marsh (1987) and Roger Bolton (1992) argue that a strong sense of place can retard a community's ability to adapt to new circumstances. And in a fascinating case study of two rural Maryland communities, Meredith Ramsay (1995) documents how local social structures and institutions thwarted community economic development efforts.

Regional scientists have had only limited success in providing measures for qualitative concepts such as local quality of life or the quality of the local business environment. But interesting ideas are provided in the recent literature regarding potential measures for the qualitative concepts associated with the environment for "growth from within." Rural sociologists, for example, are investigating the potential for measuring social capital through such proxies as the number, size, and diversity of local organizations, and the extent of cooperation and networking among local and outside organizations (Hobbs 1995). And as a proxy for sense of place, Roger Bolton (1996) suggests the propensity to out-migrate in response to adverse events. Thus high out-migration rates may indicate communities with a weak sense of place.

Steve Deller suggests that significant new insights into potential measures for the subjective factors associated with endogenous community development will require that we move beyond our quantitative, market-based models and explore alternative research methods that address qualitative non-market issues. Such an approach will require greater discourse and cooperation among academic disciplines than currently exists. For instance, Roger Bolton (1996) proposes that an understanding of sense of place alone would benefit from an integration of the engineering literature on "networks," the economics literature on "adoption externalities," and the sociology literature on "social relations." This call for greater

interdisciplinary research is made in almost every regional science association presidential address. Yet the fact that interdisciplinary research is not an original idea does not diminish its importance in understanding "growth from within."

A second research issue is to determine which of the components of our supportive environment for endogenous development are changeable in the short run or the long run and what are the determinants of change. In an excellent review of the literature, Edward Malecki (1998) finds checklists for a supportive environment and flow charts with recommended linkages and feedbacks between the players and components. These lists and flow charts contain large numbers of "actors, factors, and flows"—many more of these than are currently available in nonviable places.

So where do the nonviable communities begin given that limited resources precluded them from accomplishing all that is prescribed in the literature? Can we identify the more relevant components of the supportive environment and the more promising strategies for augmenting these components?

A suggested starting point for addressing such questions is the specification of production function relationships (Bolton 1995, 1997). For example, the "quality" of the supportive environment for growth from within may be related to the availability of local attributes such as leadership quality, density of networks, sense of place, institutional capacity, and so on. Similarly, these components of the environment may have their own production functions identifying inputs and input-output relationships. Obviously a production function's framework is too limited to capture all the synergies and reciprocities inherent in a supportive environment. However, such a perspective would encourage us to investigate complementarity and substitutability among factors, returns to factor availability, threshold effects, potential constraints, and necessary conditions for positive "input-output" relationships.

Part of this research area also will involve identifying important components of the supportive environment that are for all practical purposes unchangeable because the determinants of these components are exogenous or historically predetermined. However, identification of the difficult-to-change factors and flows will be a valuable contribution to local economic development policy. Communities deficient in these components may not be good candidates for "growth from within" if such factors are critical to success. These communities may be better served by focusing their limited economic development resources on alternative development strategies.

Third, as has been noted often in the recent literature, we need to give greater attention to the roles of history and path dependencies in our research on regional economic development (Pred 1986; Aiken 1995; Nelson 1995). Bailey and Coffey (1994) argue that the components of our supportive environment for "growth from within" are both the culmination of historical and evolutionary processes and precursors for the future. Thus attempts to change this environment must be grounded in an understanding of why the current environment evolved

and the finite paths for change that are available given the community's history and social structure.

For most of the rural places left behind, the current leadership, institutions, and interest groups evolved to promote and perpetuate a specific way of life—often a way of life that favored only a few individuals (Billings 1988). A research issue before us is to determine the process by which a new social structure is established that is better able to take advantage of current and future economic opportunities. Can the appropriate new environment result from tweaking the old through current programs such as strategic planning, consensus building, leadership training, and institutional capacity building? Or, does the establishment of a conducive environment for growth from within require the creative destruction of the existing social structure before the necessary changes can be accommodated (Olson 1982)? With respect to the leadership component of the growth environment, Tomaskavic-Devey (1991, p. 112) is not optimistic that working through the existing system is a viable alternative. He states "Do not focus development strategies on existing rural economic leadership...this group is part of the problem, not the solution to rural economic development."

We also need to determine if desirable changes in the local environment for economic development occurred primarily as a result of the introduction of an outside culture. For example, Niles Hansen (1998) suggests that the conservative practices of businesses in southern France were radically transformed only after the arrival of a large IBM plant and immigrants from North Africa. Do rural communities left behind require similar external stimulants in the form of retirees moving to the area or the addition of a new branch plant operation?

Another potential exogenous force for change might be new laws and regulations. Economic historian Gavin Wright (1987) argues that the southern economic and political leadership abandoned their emphasis on regional isolation and the perpetuation of low wages only with the passing of federal minimum wage legislation. Can we identify other changes in laws and regulations that have been beneficial or detrimental to the evolution of supportive environments for local development?

Also, is a nonviable place's potential for "getting smart" enhanced or reduced if it is proximate to "smart" communities? Nearby "smart" communities may provide positive spillovers through demonstration effects and adoption externalities. Alternatively, backwash effects may exist if the "smart" community attracts resources away from nearby nonviable places. The potential for spillover and backwash effects from nearby places is a research area in which regional scientists have much to offer.

Finally, additional research is needed to determine if nonviable communities "made smart" have better economic development experiences than nonviable communities that muddle through relying on their existing economic environment. Recent studies by Tomaskovic-Devey (1991) and Leatherman and Marcouiller (1996) suggest that the benefits of a "growth from within" strategy for

rural areas may be quite limited. We should not be surprised by these research findings. Almost ten years ago, Bill Coffey (1990, p. 75) cautioned that the "local development approach can begin to make a difference only in those circumstances where the social and economic potential for development already exists." Thus an important area of research is to identify the local and regional characteristics associated with the potential for development.

Analysis of the development consequences of promoting growth from within in nonviable rural areas probably will require an increased reliance on case studies, an approach that has been very valuable in providing insights into the workings and development of industrial districts. However, these case studies must not be limited to the "feel good" stories of communities that were successful in changing from nonviable and dying to smart and growing. Valuable insights also are provided in studies of nonviable communities that tried to become smart but failed and nonviable communities that became smart but did not develop economically. Case studies of communities where endogenous development efforts failed will provide useful information on communities' potentials for change and the efficacy of alternative "growth from within" strategies in different types of communities.

In summary, the question before us is not whether rapidly growing rural areas have different economic environments from nonviable areas. Recent research documents important differences. The relevant questions are: can conducive environments for growth from within be developed in the communities left behind and, if so, do these new environments significantly enhance the economic development prospects of these places? I do not believe these questions have been adequately researched. Yet the current rural development literature is replete with directives to focus attention and resources on institutions, leadership, social capital, etc. And community development outreach programs are providing much greater attention to the environment for endogenous development. For example, a forthcoming training program by the Heartland Center allocates one day each to the development of social capital and community leadership.

Can the "growth from within" strategy live up to all that is being promised? Or, like the growth center paradigm of the past, is "growth from within" just another intuitively attractive idea with limited practical relevance for the nonviable places?

Regional scientists have much to contribute to this topic, and I anticipate that members of the Southern Regional Science Association will take an active role in this research area because of our traditional focus on applied research and rural problems. And I am pleased to note that an excellent organized session on social relationships and economic development was held on Thursday. I look forward to more presentations on this topic in future meetings.

## APPENDIX TABLE A

Selected Characteristics for Southern Counties with  
Per Capita Incomes Less Than 60% of the U.S. Average, 1995.

	Transfer Payments Share of Personal Income 1993	Unemployment Rate 1990	Total Resident Population 1990	Percent Non-White Population 1990*	Percent Population Below Poverty Level 1989	Per Capita Income 1995
UNITED STATES	17.0%	6.2%	249,403,447	19.9%	13.1%	\$23,196
01 000 ALABAMA	19.6%	6.8%	4,048,368	26.5%	18.3%	\$19,209
01 011 Bullock, AL	32.2%	8.1%	11,016	72.4%	36.5%	\$13,144
01 063 Greene, AL	33.8%	10.5%	10,154	80.6%	45.6%	\$12,907
01 085 Lowndes, AL	30.7%	11.7%	12,661	74.8%	38.6%	\$12,472
01 087 Macon, AL	33.6%	14.3%	24,882	86.2%	34.5%	\$13,605
01 105 Perry, AL	36.8%	7.5%	12,706	64.6%	42.6%	\$12,401
01 119 Sumter, AL	30.5%	10.6%	16,167	70.6%	39.7%	\$13,073
01 131 Wilcox, AL	38.4%	14.2%	13,501	68.9%	45.2%	\$15,094
05 000 ARKANSAS	21.8%	6.7%	2,354,282	17.4%	19.1%	\$18,097
05 013 Calhoun, AR	26.9%	11.0%	5,818	25.1%	15.6%	\$12,764
05 049 Fulton, AR	33.6%	8.3%	10,077	1.1%	26.3%	\$12,530
05 073 Lafayette, AR	30.4%	10.6%	9,591	38.7%	34.7%	\$13,348
05 077 Lee, AR	36.9%	14.9%	12,995	58.1%	47.3%	\$11,537
05 079 Lincoln, AR	25.3%	7.9%	13,718	37.2%	26.2%	\$11,405
05 101 Newton, AR	31.4%	9.3%	7,681	1.3%	29.6%	\$11,272
05 105 Perry, AR	28.4%	7.4%	7,963	2.3%	20.3%	\$13,860
05 121 Randolph, AR	28.2%	7.6%	16,559	1.4%	20.4%	\$13,889
05 129 Searcy, AR	36.8%	9.1%	7,811	0.8%	29.9%	\$13,305
05 135 Sharp, AR	36.2%	11.4%	14,137	1.6%	21.8%	\$13,637
05 137 Stone, AR	30.5%	8.5%	9,826	1.4%	26.0%	\$13,679
12 000 FLORIDA	18.4%	5.7%	13,019,115	17.4%	12.7%	\$23,031
12 013 Calhoun, FL	33.2%	6.3%	11,033	16.9%	18.8%	\$12,622
12 029 Dixie, FL	36.0%	8.3%	10,657	10.0%	27.4%	\$12,707
12 041 Gilchrist, FL	29.0%	6.6%	9,745	10.1%	17.5%	\$12,888
12 047 Hamilton, FL	30.7%	8.5%	10,977	41.3%	27.8%	\$12,198
12 059 Holmes, FL	35.2%	6.7%	15,810	6.8%	24.6%	\$12,456
12 067 Lafayette, FL	23.0%	4.5%	5,617	17.6%	23.8%	\$12,375
12 077 Liberty, FL	34.7%	3.5%	5,584	19.3%	16.6%	\$12,856
12 125 Union, FL	22.7%	4.9%	10,280	25.1%	15.8%	\$9,944
12 133 Washington, FL	36.6%	5.8%	16,966	17.3%	21.9%	\$13,618
13 000 GEORGIA	14.9%	5.6%	6,506,247	29.3%	14.7%	\$21,726
13 039 Camden, GA	13.3%	4.4%	30,801	24.4%	11.5%	\$13,636
13 049 Charlton, GA	26.5%	7.6%	8,493	28.2%	18.3%	\$13,176
13 061 Clay, GA	33.6%	10.1%	3,347	60.9%	35.7%	\$13,275
13 149 Heard, GA	23.5%	5.3%	8,682	14.6%	19.1%	\$13,886
13 179 Liberty, GA	17.9%	6.0%	52,838	45.2%	17.2%	\$12,113
13 183 Long, GA	20.3%	8.7%	6,321	25.9%	23.7%	\$11,002
13 191 McIntosh, GA	29.9%	6.5%	8,615	43.4%	22.3%	\$13,406
13 197 Marion, GA	24.5%	10.3%	5,578	41.7%	28.2%	\$13,122
13 263 Talbot, GA	26.1%	9.3%	6,539	62.7%	24.9%	\$13,530
21 000 KENTUCKY	19.8%	7.2%	3,692,528	8.1%	19.0%	\$18,863
21 011 Bath, KY	28.5%	9.6%	9,712	3.3%	27.3%	\$13,025
21 013 Bell, KY	38.7%	14.0%	31,467	2.9%	36.2%	\$13,746
21 025 Breathitt, KY	39.3%	15.0%	15,665	0.2%	39.5%	\$12,934
21 031 Butler, KY	30.2%	6.3%	11,233	0.7%	23.8%	\$13,239
21 045 Casey, KY	28.8%	7.5%	14,182	0.5%	29.4%	\$12,244
21 051 Clay, KY	39.5%	14.2%	21,680	1.6%	40.2%	\$12,015
21 053 Clinton, KY	39.2%	9.6%	9,158	0.4%	38.1%	\$12,005
21 057 Cumberland, KY	37.3%	8.3%	6,769	4.6%	31.6%	\$11,854
21 061 Edmonson, KY	28.9%	10.8%	10,347	1.8%	27.0%	\$12,042

APPENDIX TABLE A (Continued)

	Transfer Payments Share of Personal Income 1993	Unemployment Rate 1990	Total Resident Population 1990	Percent Non-White Population 1990*	Percent Population Below Poverty Level 1989	Per Capita Income 1995
21 063 Elliott, KY	35.7%	17.6%	6,444	0.0%	38.0%	\$9,229
21 065 Estill, KY	32.9%	13.7%	14,680	0.6%	29.0%	\$12,724
21 069 Fleming, KY	23.8%	6.5%	12,284	1.8%	25.4%	\$13,666
21 087 Green, KY	27.4%	4.7%	10,367	3.7%	21.6%	\$13,460
21 095 Harlan, KY	37.6%	14.1%	36,532	3.5%	33.1%	\$12,560
21 099 Hart, KY	26.7%	8.4%	14,914	7.6%	27.1%	\$13,525
21 109 Jackson, KY	36.8%	12.4%	11,986	0.4%	38.2%	\$11,398
21 119 Knott, KY	36.1%	15.5%	17,929	0.9%	40.4%	\$12,073
21 121 Knox, KY	36.3%	12.6%	29,673	1.4%	38.9%	\$12,361
21 127 Lawrence, KY	34.2%	16.9%	14,010	0.6%	36.0%	\$12,285
21 129 Lee, KY	42.0%	14.0%	7,428	0.5%	37.4%	\$11,706
21 131 Leslie, KY	34.2%	12.2%	13,621	0.1%	35.6%	\$13,329
21 133 Letcher, KY	36.5%	13.8%	26,998	1.0%	31.8%	\$12,924
21 135 Lewis, KY	32.4%	9.5%	12,997	0.2%	30.7%	\$11,477
21 143 Lyon, KY	25.9%	8.2%	6,642	7.4%	14.3%	\$13,114
21 147 McCreary, KY	47.5%	20.3%	15,630	1.4%	45.5%	\$10,841
21 153 Magoffin, KY	40.6%	18.4%	13,113	0.5%	42.5%	\$11,283
21 165 Menifee, KY	33.1%	12.6%	5,115	2.5%	35.0%	\$11,349
21 169 Metcalfe, KY	27.0%	5.7%	8,961	2.8%	27.9%	\$13,752
21 175 Morgan, KY	33.2%	12.6%	11,690	1.3%	38.8%	\$9,996
21 183 Ohio, KY	29.2%	11.5%	21,088	1.1%	23.6%	\$13,621
21 189 Owsley, KY	54.5%	17.2%	5,032	0.3%	52.1%	\$10,637
21 197 Powell, KY	29.8%	15.0%	11,651	0.7%	26.2%	\$12,336
21 201 Robertson, KY	26.9%	7.9%	2,114	0.0%	24.8%	\$13,449
21 203 Rockcastle, KY	31.1%	12.1%	14,822	0.4%	30.7%	\$12,712
21 205 Rowan, KY	25.3%	10.7%	20,421	2.7%	28.9%	\$12,653
21 231 Wayne, KY	34.4%	9.2%	17,486	2.2%	37.3%	\$12,167
21 235 Whitley, KY	36.2%	14.2%	33,334	1.0%	33.0%	\$13,914
21 237 Wolfe, KY	44.8%	15.6%	6,464	0.0%	44.3%	\$11,391
22 000 LOUISIANA	21.7%	9.5%	4,217,357	32.7%	23.6%	\$18,997
22 003 Allen, LA	34.3%	11.5%	21,207	23.1%	29.9%	\$13,246
22 035 East Carroll, LA	40.4%	24.0%	9,645	65.2%	56.8%	\$12,848
22 065 Madison, LA	38.5%	15.6%	12,411	60.0%	44.6%	\$13,773
22 091 St. Helena, LA	28.0%	13.7%	9,859	52.1%	34.4%	\$13,465
22 123 West Carroll, LA	33.5%	11.9%	12,087	17.3%	27.4%	\$12,966
22 125 West Feliciana, LA	20.5%	6.8%	12,915	43.9%	33.8%	\$12,035
28 000 MISSISSIPPI	22.5%	8.3%	2,577,258	36.6%	25.2%	\$16,716
28 005 Amite, MS	30.7%	9.0%	13,264	45.2%	30.9%	\$11,421
28 009 Benton, MS	30.7%	15.1%	8,027	39.3%	29.7%	\$12,769
28 015 Carroll, MS	25.0%	10.1%	9,237	39.8%	28.5%	\$13,156
28 019 Choctaw, MS	28.9%	9.7%	9,083	30.4%	25.0%	\$12,644
28 021 Claiborne, MS	29.9%	20.3%	11,371	82.5%	43.6%	\$11,843
28 029 Copiah, MS	29.7%	9.4%	27,641	50.8%	32.0%	\$13,484
28 037 Franklin, MS	33.3%	13.3%	8,344	36.6%	33.3%	\$12,162
28 039 George, MS	25.7%	10.4%	16,721	10.1%	24.4%	\$13,654
28 041 Greene, MS	30.0%	10.9%	10,252	22.0%	26.8%	\$11,479
28 051 Holmes, MS	42.4%	15.8%	21,563	76.0%	53.2%	\$12,152
28 055 Issaquena, MS	20.2%	10.0%	1,908	56.3%	49.3%	\$10,668
28 061 Jasper, MS	28.8%	10.4%	17,096	50.8%	30.7%	\$13,895
28 063 Jefferson, MS	49.8%	25.5%	8,600	86.2%	46.9%	\$10,479
28 065 Jefferson Davis, MS	32.3%	11.7%	14,005	54.8%	33.3%	\$12,425
28 069 Kemper, MS	29.4%	11.2%	10,327	57.3%	35.1%	\$13,405
28 077 Lawrence, MS	33.0%	7.6%	12,460	33.4%	27.9%	\$13,806
28 091 Marion, MS	32.6%	10.8%	25,512	30.5%	29.6%	\$13,274
28 103 Noxubee, MS	32.0%	15.5%	12,608	68.6%	41.4%	\$12,539

APPENDIX TABLE A (Continued)

	Transfer Payments Share of Personal Income 1993	Unemployment Rate 1990	Total Resident Population 1990	Percent Non-White Population 1990*	Percent Population Below Poverty Level 1989	Per Capita Income 1995
28 109 Pearl River, MS	27.4%	8.6%	38,821	15.3%	21.5%	\$13,705
28 111 Perry, MS	30.7%	9.2%	10,848	23.2%	29.1%	\$11,987
28 119 Quitman, MS	37.4%	11.8%	10,426	59.2%	41.6%	\$12,290
28 125 Sharkey, MS	35.5%	10.1%	7,030	66.7%	47.5%	\$12,116
28 133 Sunflower, MS	27.0%	10.8%	35,035	66.9%	41.8%	\$11,693
28 135 Tallahatchie, MS	35.7%	13.3%	15,191	58.8%	41.9%	\$11,460
28 147 Walthall, MS	33.9%	9.9%	14,382	42.6%	35.9%	\$12,511
28 157 Wilkinson, MS	36.6%	16.8%	9,698	67.8%	42.2%	\$11,965
37 000 NORTH CAROLINA	16.2%	4.6%	6,656,659	24.8%	13.0%	\$21,079
37 093 Hoke, NC	23.5%	7.1%	22,925	58.0%	21.1%	\$12,334
37 173 Swain, NC	32.3%	10.7%	11,296	29.6%	27.6%	\$13,399
37 177 Tyrrell, NC	28.7%	10.9%	3,856	40.4%	25.0%	\$13,712
40 000 OKLAHOMA	20.0%	6.7%	3,147,046	17.9%	16.7%	\$18,601
40 005 Atoka, OK	32.8%	11.0%	12,757	18.8%	31.1%	\$11,372
40 023 Choctaw, OK	33.3%	10.7%	15,312	28.6%	32.7%	\$13,316
40 029 Coal, OK	38.7%	11.2%	5,742	17.2%	27.4%	\$11,081
40 061 Haskell, OK	34.0%	10.4%	10,948	15.8%	27.1%	\$13,296
40 063 Hughes, OK	37.9%	11.2%	12,973	20.2%	26.9%	\$12,996
40 069 Johnston, OK	34.1%	10.5%	10,023	18.5%	28.5%	\$12,069
40 091 McIntosh, OK	36.1%	10.0%	16,775	24.0%	23.8%	\$13,565
40 105 Nowata, OK	27.5%	6.8%	9,941	19.8%	20.9%	\$13,894
40 107 Okfuskee, OK	35.7%	10.1%	11,568	32.3%	29.4%	\$12,639
40 127 Pushmataha, OK	38.8%	11.8%	10,974	16.5%	30.2%	\$12,531
40 141 Tillman, OK	28.9%	10.9%	10,322	23.9%	22.9%	\$13,208
45 000 SOUTH CAROLINA	18.4%	5.4%	3,498,928	31.2%	15.4%	\$19,037
45 005 Allendale, SC	32.2%	11.0%	11,741	69.0%	35.8%	\$13,708
45 027 Clarendon, SC	30.6%	8.1%	28,463	56.9%	29.0%	\$13,678
45 061 Lee, SC	28.2%	9.0%	18,441	62.9%	29.6%	\$12,397
45 65 McCormick, SC	25.9%	8.5%	8,868	58.9%	22.8%	\$13,018
45 069 Marlboro, SC	28.8%	9.5%	29,748	51.9%	26.6%	\$13,171
45 089 Williamsburg, SC	28.1%	7.4%	36,757	64.4%	28.7%	\$13,111
47 000 TENNESSEE	17.8%	6.3%	4,890,644	17.2%	15.7%	\$21,060
47 007 Bledsoe, TN	24.7%	7.7%	9,683	4.6%	19.2%	\$13,424
47 067 Hancock, TN	40.1%	10.6%	6,742	2.2%	40.0%	\$11,479
47 083 Houston, TN	30.7%	8.7%	7,002	4.0%	18.7%	\$13,403
47 091 Johnson, TN	35.5%	8.3%	13,804	1.0%	28.5%	\$11,948
47 095 Lake, TN	33.0%	9.1%	7,113	23.8%	27.5%	\$11,342
47 121 Meigs, TN	25.7%	6.9%	8,092	2.6%	22.3%	\$13,652
47 129 Morgan, TN	31.6%	11.3%	17,335	2.2%	20.2%	\$12,373
47 151 Scott, TN	36.1%	10.1%	18,375	0.6%	27.8%	\$13,896
47 175 Van Buren, TN	21.9%	11.5%	4,851	0.6%	19.2%	\$12,277
47 181 Wayne, TN	22.2%	4.6%	13,966	1.5%	18.7%	\$13,128
48 000 TEXAS	15.0%	7.0%	17,045,646	25.1%	18.1%	\$21,118
48 025 Bee, TX	27.3%	10.0%	24,962	22.1%	27.4%	\$13,681
48 047 Brooks, TX	34.9%	12.1%	8,182	17.5%	36.8%	\$11,673
48 095 Concho, TX	30.3%	4.0%	3,059	11.1%	25.8%	\$13,512
48 109 Culberson, TX	22.4%	11.2%	3,407	29.6%	29.8%	\$10,508
48 127 Dimmit, TX	36.6%	13.7%	10,390	26.9%	48.9%	\$9,948
48 131 Duval, TX	36.7%	14.9%	12,862	20.8%	39.0%	\$10,989
48 137 Edwards, TX	21.8%	4.6%	2,285	7.5%	41.7%	\$11,196
48 141 El Paso, TX	21.8%	10.0%	596,267	24.1%	26.8%	\$13,702
48 163 Frio, TX	28.5%	8.1%	13,545	32.7%	39.1%	\$10,962

APPENDIX TABLE A (Continued)

	Transfer Payments Share of Personal Income 1993	Unemployment Rate 1990	Total Resident Population 1990	Percent Non-White Population 1990*	Percent Population Below Poverty Level 1989	Per Capita Income 1995
48 173 Glasscock, TX	8.4%	2.2%	1,443	19.9%	22.3%	\$13,110
48 229 Hudspeth, TX	22.2%	3.5%	2,912	19.5%	38.9%	\$10,010
48 269 King, TX	10.4%	2.0%	354	10.5%	7.3%	\$13,604
48 271 Kinney, TX	33.9%	6.8%	3,132	12.3%	28.6%	\$10,554
48 283 La Salle, TX	28.4%	11.0%	5,277	32.4%	37.0%	\$10,248
48 323 Maverick, TX	35.7%	21.0%	36,800	35.5%	50.4%	\$8,428
48 335 Mitchell, TX	29.2%	6.7%	7,945	20.5%	23.3%	\$13,709
48 351 Newton, TX	28.5%	12.0%	13,524	23.1%	26.5%	\$13,529
48 371 Pecos, TX	22.2%	8.7%	14,615	35.3%	29.6%	\$11,436
48 377 Presidio, TX	31.7%	10.3%	6,734	16.5%	48.1%	\$9,539
48 379 Rains, TX	24.6%	5.9%	6,725	6.2%	15.0%	\$13,599
48 389 Reeves, TX	22.4%	11.7%	15,767	3.0%	28.8%	\$11,409
48 427 Starr, TX	39.2%	18.8%	40,870	38.7%	60.0%	\$6,992
48 431 Sterling, TX	18.5%	2.3%	1,429	12.9%	14.3%	\$13,244
48 465 Val Verde, TX	26.3%	12.3%	38,636	30.9%	36.4%	\$12,077
48 471 Walker, TX	20.5%	7.0%	50,882	31.3%	22.3%	\$13,574
48 489 Willacy, TX	33.3%	15.0%	17,696	21.9%	44.5%	\$10,029
48 505 Zapata, TX	33.4%	14.4%	9,330	28.4%	41.0%	\$10,840
48 507 Zavala, TX	36.3%	19.7%	12,176	47.1%	50.4%	\$8,293
51 000 VIRGINIA	14.4%	4.3%	6,213,836	22.9%	10.2%	\$24,010
51 021 Bland, VA	21.7%	3.6%	6,530	4.2%	10.0%	\$13,682
51 105 Lee, VA	35.0%	10.3%	24,442	0.4%	28.7%	\$13,556
54 000 WEST VIRGINIA	27.0%	9.6%	1,792,450	3.7%	19.7%	\$17,733
54 001 Barbour, WV	35.9%	13.1%	15,686	2.3%	28.5%	\$12,542
54 013 Calhoun, WV	38.5%	13.9%	7,890	0.7%	32.0%	\$11,854
54 015 Clay, WV	38.4%	19.8%	9,953	0.0%	39.2%	\$11,737
54 017 Doddridge, WV	26.1%	11.5%	7,005	0.8%	23.0%	\$12,546
54 027 Hampshire, WV	25.5%	7.8%	16,596	1.7%	18.2%	\$13,791
54 043 Lincoln, WV	34.8%	16.4%	21,372	0.2%	33.8%	\$11,893
54 047 McDowell, WV	48.3%	21.9%	34,991	13.1%	37.7%	\$12,590
54 063 Monroe, WV	32.3%	10.8%	12,398	1.5%	21.0%	\$13,540
54 085 Ritchie, WV	31.8%	11.9%	10,246	0.3%	26.0%	\$13,466
54 087 Roane, WV	32.7%	16.1%	15,019	0.0%	28.1%	\$13,030
54 089 Summers, WV	43.8%	13.6%	14,110	5.4%	24.5%	\$12,555
54 091 Taylor, WV	33.8%	12.6%	15,115	0.8%	22.9%	\$13,040
54 097 Upshur, WV	27.9%	9.6%	22,890	1.1%	21.2%	\$13,661
54 101 Webster, WV	42.5%	20.3%	10,692	0.0%	34.8%	\$11,583
54 105 Wirt, WV	30.0%	13.3%	5,171	0.0%	22.0%	\$12,535
54 109 Wyoming, WV	37.2%	16.4%	28,957	1.0%	27.9%	\$13,087

\*Non-white population includes Black; American Indian, Eskimo, Aleutian; Asian &amp; Pacific Islander; and Other

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