

**The Impacts and Outcomes of Welfare Reform across
Rural and Urban Places in Kentucky**

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Executive Summary

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Grant #99ASPE339A

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During the debates even before the passage of the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Reconciliation Act, there was concern over the impacts and outcomes surrounding welfare reform. Now, nearly five years later, we have begun to assess the various aspects of these policy changes, especially with an eye towards understanding the conditions surrounding caseload reductions, their effects, and the prospects of meeting work and lifetime limit goals—especially in the event of an economic downturn. In these assessments, however, far less attention has been directed at the impacts and outcomes for rural areas across the country. Adding to the growing body of knowledge surrounding welfare reform and its impacts, this research examines the differential impact for rural and urban areas as well as across rural areas in the state of Kentucky.

- Results from this research indicate that place matters and that rural/urban differences do make a difference in understanding cash assistance caseloads.
- While the national trend of cash assistance caseloads being increasingly characterized by those ‘hardest to serve’ (with multiple barriers) is evident in Kentucky and across rural/urban areas in the state, the extent of these changes varied at different rates for different places. This was particularly the case for rural areas that coincided with areas of limited economic opportunity.
- Patterns of assistance (such as length of time receiving K-TAP) further reflected the importance of rural/urban differences as well as differences across rural areas in Kentucky.
- Results from this research are suggestive of separate roles for the impact of national policy changes embodied in welfare reform and the impacts of the places where people live. In other words, possessing individual and household characteristics usually associated with employability may not be enough in all areas, especially in areas with fewer economic opportunities.
- Furthermore, with the diversity of rural areas, differences not necessarily evident at the state level or with a rural/urban dichotomy, became more evident when rural areas were examined in greater detail.
- Consequently, these results also emphasize the need for a national county-level database with detailed caseload characteristics in order to fully examine the impacts of place on welfare reform across rural America.
- Finally, these results are also suggestive of possible limits to meeting the goals of welfare reform. In other words, the overall caseload may appear to contain more room for reduction than it does if those with characteristics usually seen as the most employable are increasingly located in those areas with the least favorable economies.

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INTRODUCTION

Nationally, the U.S. has been seeing unprecedented economic growth and employment with a booming stock market, increases in income, and the lowest unemployment rates in memory. However, not all places have shared equally in these good economic times. Places such as Appalachia, the Mississippi Delta, border areas in the Southwest, and Indian reservations all have failed to see the fruits of the longest peace time economic expansion. While urban unemployment remained relatively unchanged in the first three quarters of 1998, rural unemployment increased slightly from 4.7 to 4.9 percent. Child poverty rates, declining in metro and suburban areas, have not seen these same declines in rural areas. Rather, they have been remaining constant despite the national economic boom. In other words, there are places across the country that “the economy forgot.”

Against this backdrop lies welfare reform. Some five years old in its implementation, this restructuring of the income support program in place for over thirty years shifted its emphasis from one focused on hardship alleviation to a focus on employment. Adult recipients are now faced with a new 60 month lifetime limit, participation in work or work-related activities, and sanctions in the form of benefit reductions for noncompliance without ‘good cause’. While early studies indicate that many former recipients of cash assistance are finding employment, far less is known about those who do not. Likewise, while many former recipients are finding jobs, many do so at low wage levels. Despite this, the numbers of recipients on food stamps or medicaid, like TANF caseloads, have been seeing dramatic declines.

Compared to urban areas, rural areas present both opportunities and challenges in meeting the intent of welfare reform while preserving family and child well-being. As Cook and Dagata (1997) point out, there are distinct rural challenges and contexts compared to urban areas, such as lower wages and higher unemployment. Some of the highest poverty and persistent poverty areas are found in rural areas such as Appalachia. These areas are likewise characterized by a disproportionately high dependence on welfare (Nord and Beaulieu, 1997).

While many are examining welfare reform and potential employment by analyses of individual characteristics of recipients, far fewer have examined this new policy in relation to the specific context of place. Poverty in rural America has historically been higher than both overall poverty rates and poverty rates in urban areas. Only in inner city areas is poverty more apparent. While some concerns are similar, poverty in rural areas carries a different face and a different context than that in urban areas. In some ways, rural poverty is tied to place in different ways with not only the presence or lack of local economic opportunities, but the impact of sparse population density and small community life on day to day decision making.

This research examines the differential impact and outcomes of welfare reform for TANF recipients across rural and urban areas in Kentucky using nonparametric and multivariate analysis at the individual, case/family, and county level. Home to some of the most distressed

parts of Appalachia, this analysis examines not only rural/urban differential outcomes, but also variations across the diversity of rural areas in the state.

Background

Welfare reform offers the opportunity for a better fit between goals of cash assistance and local conditions. The legislation altered the system of welfare provision wherein states are now given greater flexibility in designing programs better tailored to “respond more effectively to the needs of families within their own unique environments” (DHHS, 1997: Preamble). This combination, flexibility and a work-first approach, ties cash assistance provision more closely to local communities and economies than ever before.

A main objective of these changes is a focus on employment and thus earnings as a way out of poverty. However, places with limited economic growth and opportunities such as Appalachia offer unique challenges to meeting this potential. While the nation has seen unprecedented economic growth, this have not been evenly distributed across all places. There are differences in where the increases in jobs has occurred, differences in the types of jobs experiencing growth, differences in the earnings available from those jobs, and differences in the potential for economic advancement. And, while suburban areas have seen positive changes, this is less the case for inner city and rural areas.

Across the nation, many rural areas are facing different economic realities. And, these differences are further exacerbated for persistent poverty areas such as Appalachia. In 1997, the poverty rate in nonmetro counties was 15.9%, compared to 12.6% in metro counties (Dalaker, and Naifeh, 1998)¹. During the last three years, poverty levels in metro areas have been slowly decreasing. However, poverty levels in nonmetro areas have remained fairly constant (Dalaker, and Naifeh, 1998). Rural poverty is disproportionately found in the South, in the “core” of the Appalachian region, in the border counties of the lower Rio Grande Valley, and on Native American Indian reservations. Rural areas tend to have higher rates of persistent poverty, with 23% of all nonmetropolitan counties considered persistently poor counties.²

Nonmetro counties also have a higher percentage of their children in poverty than metro counties, with 22.7% of children in poverty in rural areas, and 19.2% in urban areas. (Dalaker, and Naifeh, 1998). Nonmetro children are also more likely to experience persistent, long term poverty conditions. Studies indicate that children in nonmetro areas who become poor are more likely than children in metro areas to stay in poverty for more than three years (Sherman, 1992). Nonmetro children in female-headed families are at even greater risk of persistent poverty. Fifty-five percent of rural children in female-headed households were in poverty in 1997. This figure was 66.4% for rural children under the age of six in female-headed households (Dalaker, and Naifeh, 1998). Among children in female-headed families who were ever poor between 1978 and 1982, 80% of those in nonmetro areas stayed poor for three years or more, compared to just 47% in metro areas (Sherman, 1992).

Even still, the impact of rural/urban differences extend beyond the presence and type of economic opportunities. In addition to rural areas tending to possess fewer economic opportunities compared to urban areas (ie. more minimum wage employment, fewer opportunities for advancement, lower incomes and higher unemployment), rural areas also vary

¹ The terms “rural” and “nonmetro” are used interchangeably to refer to the Office of Management and Budget’s 1993 definition of “nonmetropolitan areas,” unless otherwise indicated.

² Persistently poor counties are those that have had poverty rates of 20% or more from 1960 to 1990.

in relation to other important factors. The Rural Policy Research Institute suggests a useful framework for delineating some of the differentiating factors for rural and urban areas which could impact welfare reform (RUPRI Rural Welfare Reform Research Panel, 1999). These differences include factors such as lower educational levels with fewer opportunities for training, less access to and availability of formal child care as well as health care, and housing stock tends to be older, with poorer quality and rental property a much lower proportion of all available housing.

Interlocking all of these is the ‘friction of distance.’ Travel to work, school, grocery, child care, health care, and other services spans more miles over sometimes very difficult terrain. With public transportation a rarity (at times consisting of a single taxi serving several counties if any at all), personal ownership of a reliable vehicle is the only way to ensure access. And finally, in small communities, networks tend to be smaller and more integrated. While for some, this can serve as an informal system of support, informal support also requires reciprocation in kind of support. These same networks can also impede an individual as family reputations (beyond an individual’s particular actions) can make the difference between being hired for employment in the first place. Small networks can also diminish willingness to participate in programs for which there is a stigma attached regardless of need.

In part in response to issues such as these, prior research indicates how the characteristics of recipients in rural areas vary from that in urban areas. For example, rural recipients are more likely to be employed than their central city counterparts (Rank and Hirschl, 1988; Porterfield and McBride, 1997). Rural recipients are also more likely to be married (Nord, et al. 1998). The poor in rural America are already more likely to be among the working poor, a point which is supported by other research. Perhaps due to both a lack of program information and stigma related to reliance on public assistance, program participation is lower in rural areas and rural recipients usually have shorter spells on public assistance (Fitzgerald, 1995; O’Neill, et al. 1987; Osgood, 1977; Porterfield, 1998; Rank and Hirschl, 1993). Finally, rural women leaving assistance have lower earnings than their urban counterparts (Meyer and Cancian, 1998).

While most often investigations rely upon a rural/urban dichotomy, this dualism disguises a tremendous amount of diversity across rural areas. While many equate rural with agriculture, only 6.3% of the rural population lives on farms and farming accounts for only 7.6% of all rural employment (Mills, 1995). Instead, more than 90% of rural workers have nonfarm jobs (Mills, 1995).

Local economies in rural areas range from those dependent on manufacturing, services, or natural resources to those that are retirement destinations or recreation-oriented. In 1996, 23.3% of all rural workers were employed in the service sector (Economic Research Service, 1998). And, manufacturing jobs, traditionally the source of higher paying jobs in rural areas, have been decreasing. Between 1969-1992 rural manufacturing employment slipped from 20.4% to 16.9% (Parker, 1995). And finally, rural workers are more likely to earn minimum wage -- 12% in rural areas vs. 7% in urban areas (Parker and Whitener, 1997: 23).

Moving beyond a rural/urban dichotomy is important for capturing these and other differences across rural areas. The Rural Policy Research Institute Rural Welfare Reform Research Panel sought to begin to move beyond this dualism in assessing caseload changes in five states (RUPRI Rural Welfare Reform Research Panel, 1999). Using county-level administrative data for Mississippi, Missouri, Oregon, South Carolina, and Kentucky, this

analysis examined changes in caseloads from 1992 to 1997 for metropolitan, nonmetropolitan adjacent and nonmetropolitan nonadjacent counties (Urban Influence codes).

Results revealed considerable spatial variations not only between rural and urban areas, but across rural areas as well. While all areas across the five states experienced declining caseloads, these declines were not evenly distributed. For example, in two states the greatest declines were in metro areas with decreasing declines in rural areas. On the other hand, in two other states, metro areas had the lowest rates of caseload declines with increasing rates in rural areas.

Further analyses in Kentucky reveal even more variations across rural areas. Given the regional economic diversity in the state, to gain a better understanding of the differential distribution of caseload changes, the analysis conducted by RUPRI was extended by region in the state (Zimmerman and Veeraghanta, 1998; 1999c, 2000). Results of aggregate change in caseloads revealed that while those parts of the state with the greatest economic growth had seen greater caseload declines, some persistent poverty rural remote areas had also seen considerable caseload declines. Left unanswered is why this is the case.

Several conclusions can be drawn from previous research concerning rural poverty, assistance programs, and welfare reform. First of all, not all barriers to welfare reform lie with the individual. While nationally, economic prosperity and growth have been wide spread, not all areas have shared in these good times; rural areas especially. Second, not all areas are experiencing similar declines in TANF caseloads (see RUPRI Rural Welfare Reform Research Panel, 1999; Zimmerman, 1999b). And, just as not all urban areas are alike, the same is true of rural areas. Some rural areas, such as Appalachia, face particular barriers. Third, external barriers faced by rural recipients are also challenges faced by rural communities such as limits to economic opportunities, lower overall educational levels of residents, limited availability of rental housing, less access to health care services, transportation, child care, and the challenges of small networks and family reputation. Fourth, not only more limited than in urban areas, but the economic opportunities in rural areas more closely INTERACT WITH BOTH individual characteristics and community factors such as child care, transportation, and housing.

Finally, any solutions to these differences must be larger than simply moving away. First, those who want to move and are able to move, already do so. But, moving also means losing one of the unique qualities of rural areas, the networks of social support. Limited educational levels make questionable the ability to earn sufficient income to be able to be economically independent without those important support networks. And, with those networks missing, this leaves urban based services as the place to turn if crises are experienced by newcomers.

Failure to contextualize poverty is an error in any setting. However, because continuing issues of poverty are integrally linked to issues of place, both the causes and the solutions must be examined in the integration of people and place (see, Garkovich, Hansen, and Dyk, 1997).

The ability to respond to the opportunities in welfare reform is dependent upon the extent to which the differential impact of space and place-based contexts on outcomes for TANF recipients is examined. These types of analyses hold implications for policy and locally based programming; designing programs appropriate for that changing nature of local caseloads, responding to place-specific barriers and their impact on family and child well-being, and providing a policy and resource environment conducive to appropriate programming within local contexts.

CURRENT RESEARCH

This research examines the differential impact and outcomes of welfare reform for cash assistance recipients. The analysis examines not only rural/urban differences, but also variations across the diversity of rural areas. Three main areas focus this research:

- 1) What is the impact of differential economic opportunities across rural areas and compared to urban areas on the outcomes of welfare reform?
- 2) What is the impact of differential economic opportunities across rural and urban areas and in persistent poverty areas on family well-being.
- 3) What is the impact of differential economic opportunities on the composition of the remaining caseloads?

This research builds on the research base conducted in Kentucky by extending and refining prior analyses in the state. This includes both the state evaluation conducted at the University of Louisville (Cummings and Nelson, 1998, 1999a, 1999b) as well as exploratory analyses (Zimmerman and Veeraghanta, 1998; Zimmerman, 1999b; 1999c) and research currently being completed (Goetz, Debertin, and Zimmerman, 1998) at the University of Kentucky. This analysis builds upon both of these analyses by combining the spatial analyses of Zimmerman (1999c; 2000) with the more recent, more complete data and analyses of Cummings and Nelson (1999b) and employing more refined spatial delineations, as well as delineations tied to the nature of the local economy such as labor market areas.

As part of the state's comprehensive, three-phase evaluation plan, the first report on the linked administrative database was recently released (Cummings and Nelson, 1999b). This study presents not only a more detailed picture of differences across the state than previously available from the statewide phone surveys of former recipients, it also provides a look into the differential experiences of new and older cohorts on assistance and regional differences across the state.

However, while this study demonstrates differences by cities/rural/Appalachian parts of the state, research conducted by Zimmerman indicates that this *approach needs to be followed-up with more refined spatial delineations*. For example, using snapshot data, Zimmerman and Veeragantha (1998) found, for example, that while Appalachia as a whole had a decline in caseloads of 12.4 percent, less than that of the state at 13.9 percent decline, this aggregate disguised the wide variation within the region. Metropolitan counties in the region, for instance, reported a decline of 15.8 percent, greater than either the constituent region or the state.

Using annual data from 1993-1997, further examination revealed even more differences. For example, the labor market area associated with the far eastern town of Pikeville experienced declines in K-TAP cases well below both the region as well as the state (Zimmerman, 1999c; 2000). Meanwhile, the labor marked area associated with Somerset in the south central part of Appalachia had declines well above that of both the region and the state. Finally, while declines in caseloads are the lowest in the Appalachian region, within the region, patterns of decline for metro, adjacent rural, and remote rural counties exhibited similar patterns as that found in the other regions of the state.

These results indicate the usefulness of employing additional spatial delineations in assessing the impact of welfare reform across the state. These results also suggest utilizing a different definition of rural. The study conducted by Cummings and Nelson (1999b), for instance, only included the central city counties of the metro areas, assigning all noncentral city or nonAppalachian counties as rural. While this is an important starting place, as Zimmerman and

Veeragantha (1998) found, these designations also disguise a tremendous amount of variation. While the central city counties are critical, they are integrally linked with surrounding counties. Combined, these are the metropolitan areas as designated by the Office of Management and Budget. Moreover, remotely located rural counties had lower declines than those rural counties nearer the metro areas.

While these results are important, the data they relied upon were limited. The first study (Zimmerman and Veeragantha, 1998) utilized only snap shot data. These are data gathered for each county but only represents the caseload on a single particular day resulting in data whose representativeness of the overall caseload for any particular county is limited. For instance, the day the data were collected could more reflect seasonal variations, or recent changes such as layoffs. The second study (Zimmerman, 1999c; 2000) ameliorates some of this by using annual average monthly caseloads, clearly a better measure. However, this analysis only examines changes up until 1997, only one year beyond the implementation of welfare reform. Left unexamined are differences in the more recent time periods.

To examine the main research questions, this analysis focuses on the state of Kentucky. While Kentucky is home to a significant part of Appalachia which has not seen the limited growth of other parts of this impoverished region, Kentucky is also home to areas of economic prosperity and growth similar to that experienced by the nation as a whole. According to analyses of state TANF policy decisions, while state choices vary, Kentucky's policy choices under TANF also neither stands out for their restrictiveness nor for their leniency (Zedlewski, 1998; Zimmerman, 1999a; 1999d). Kentucky also is one of only a few states who did not seek a waiver under the prior AFDC system, providing for policy continuity over time. Finally, Kentucky is home to the second largest number of counties per land mass. These small sized counties predispose Kentucky to additional analyses which include the proliferate secondary economic and social databases now easily available. Combined with the economic diversity found across the state, this increases the possibility for potentially generalizable results, particularly in light of the absence of a national county-level TANF database.

METHODOLOGY

This analysis utilizes a 2-stage approach employing both nonparametric and multivariate statistical analyses, including t-tests for paired comparisons, as well as multiple logistic regressions.

The first stage of the analysis examines spatial differences as well as the level of change pre-post welfare reform. This serves both as a descriptive investigation and as a preliminary examination leading to the multivariate analysis. Specifically, this stage compares the caseload in the month of October from 1996 (earliest available) to 1999 (most recent available). Both the spatial distribution and rate of change is examined between rural/urban areas as well as across rural areas of the state. Change is calculated for each spatial delineation using both the aggregate percent change and the average percent change to check for the influence of disproportionately high population counties. Difference in composition is calculated using the percent distribution of the total caseload.

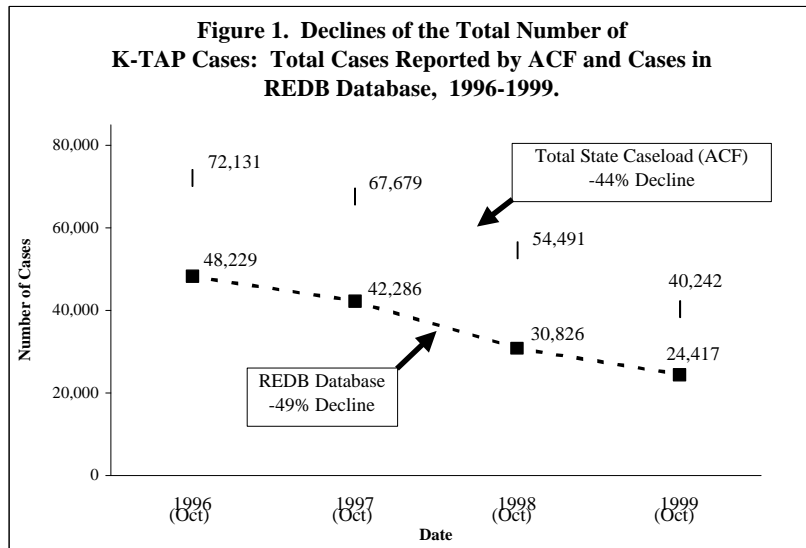
The second stage of the analysis employs multivariate analysis. Given that the dependent variables are dichotomous – e.g., each recipient either cycled on and off assistance during the thirty-nine month period -- multiple logistic regression procedures were used. Multiple logistic regression allows for estimating the odds of a certain event occurring, in this case cycling on and

off, remaining on for more or less than two years, or being a recent entrant to the K-TAP program.

Multiple logistic regression calculates parameter estimates that are similar in interpretation to those generated in multiple linear regression. The relationship of individual, location, and place characteristics to the particular pattern of assistance are addressed by examining the logits (log odds) of a particular outcome given a particular characteristic while controlling for the effects of other factors. Further, the multiple logistic regression model is fitted for each type of place, urban influence and region, to facilitate comparison of outcomes.

DATABASE

Primary data on welfare recipients are drawn from the linked administrative data or REDB (research and evaluation datasets) developed for the state evaluation. The data set includes records from three information systems: Kentucky automated Management and Eligibility System (KAMES), Kentucky Automated Support Enforcement System (KASES), and Department of Employment Services (DES). Measures included range from earnings, employment, participation in food stamps and medicaid, child support collection, and family structure.



This database has been linked by the University of Louisville, Urban Studies Institute. Data extraction was performed by staff at the Urban Studies Institute. The University of Louisville has a contract with the Cabinet for Families and Children to administer and link the constituent administrative datasources.

This data set is unique for many reasons. Among them, is that this data set contains only

those cases that either are (or were) subject to the work requirements under welfare reform. Figure 1 illustrates how the total caseload, as reported by the U.S Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, is larger than the numbers in our database. This is because, as mentioned earlier, not all cases are or have been subject to the work requirements.

Data are accessed at the individual level for thirty-nine months covering the period October 1996 through December 1999. During this period a total of 292,286 individuals (adults and children) or 94,970 cases were included in the REDB. This data was combined with county-level data on local community and economic characteristics from the Kentucky By the Numbers data set.

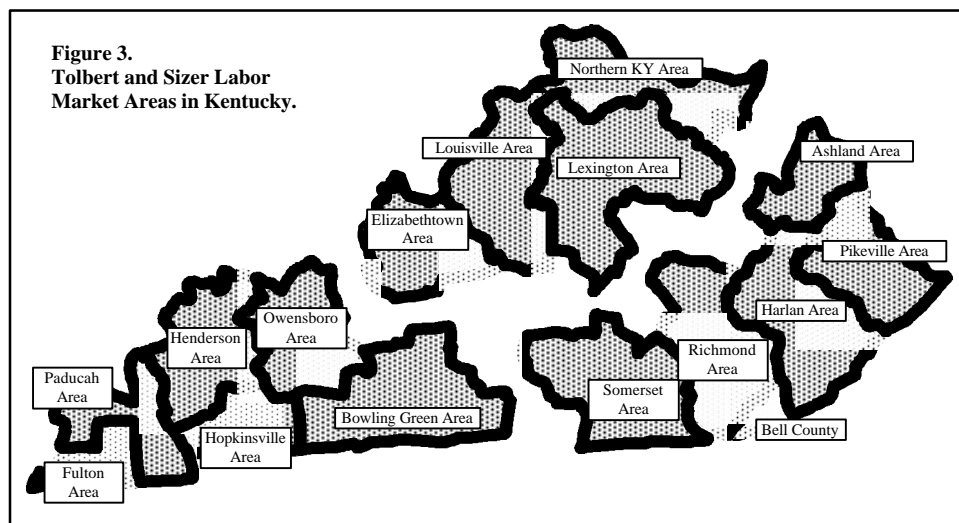
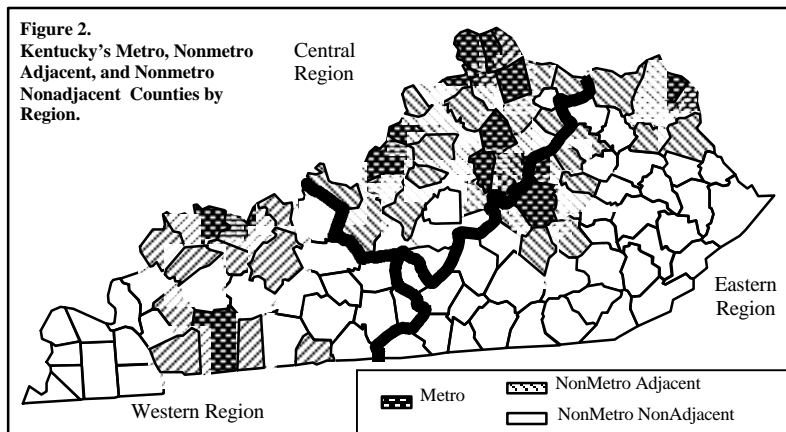
DEFINING PLACES

To assess the spatial differences across the state, this analysis builds upon previous research in Kentucky and moves from the most often used dichotomy of rural/urban or metropolitan/nonmetropolitan distinctions to more differentiated spatial assessment. In so doing, it extends and refines place-based knowledge of welfare recipients and the relationship to differential opportunities and constraints to employment by providing a comparative analyses not only between rural and urban areas but across the diversity of rural areas as well.

The analysis uses a combination of techniques to get as local as possible and do so in as rich a contextual fashion as possible. For example, as Deavers points out, one way to differentiate rural areas is by population size and adjacency to a metro area (1992). In Kentucky, most of the metro areas of the state are classified as small metropolitan by the USDA Economic Research Service Urban Influence codes (Ghelfi and Parker, 1997) with a population of fewer than 1 million population. Of these, the largest is the city of Louisville, located on the Ohio river. Counties in northern Kentucky, by contrast, are tied to the large metro area of Cincinnati. The southeastern part of the state, on the other hand, is home to remote rural areas with counties the farthest distance from a metro area.

The state of Kentucky is also a landscape of economic contrasts. In the central region of the state lies what is known as the “golden triangle.” Bordered by the cities of Louisville, Lexington, and Cincinnati, this is a region of economic growth and the highest incomes in the state. Eastern Kentucky, part of the heart of Appalachia, is home to steep mountainsides, a long history of extractive mining, and is an area of persistently high poverty with limited economic opportunities. Western Kentucky, by contrast, is a diverse region; home to a wide range of local economies including manufacturing economies, agriculturally-based economies, and mining, with the farthest western counties hugging the Mississippi river.

These contrasts form an important landscape for the implementation of welfare reform, offering different and distinct challenges and opportunities in each part of the state. And combined, these factors provide a strong basis for comparative analyses. Therefore, in



conjunction with the state's three regions, both Urban Influence county categorizations (Ghelfi and Parker, 1997) and Tolbert and Sizer's Labor Market Areas (1996) are used to examine welfare reform across both regions as well as across rural and urban areas of the state.

Urban Influence codes categorize nonmetro counties in this fashion but also differentiate between large and small metro areas. To facilitate analysis, these 9 county codes will be combined into three categories of metro (codes 1 and 2), nonmetro adjacent (codes 3-6), and nonmetro nonadjacent (codes 7-9). Figure 2 provides a map indicating metro/nonmetro adjacent/nonadjacent distribution of counties in the state (for the distribution of counties, see table 1).

While regional and metro/nonmetro adjacent/nonadjacent distinctions provide a useful starting point for examining changes in caseloads, regional delineations cross sect important distinctions in the local economies. To examine differences across local areas of the state, this analysis also utilizes labor market areas (Tolbert and Sizer, 1996). Using these, Kentucky is home to 16 labor market area. Figure 3 provides a map of these Labor Market Areas. Labor market areas are examined within their regional context. When a labor market areas crossed a regional boundary, the location of the largest population center determined in which region it was grouped. To facilitate analysis, labor market areas were given names based either on cultural understanding in the state (ie. Northern Kentucky) or based on the city/town with the largest population.

Table 1. Distribution of Counties in Kentucky by Spatial Delineations

Area		Number of Counties	Percent
Kentucky			
	Metro	22	18.3%
	NonMetro Adjacent	35	29.2%
	NonMetro NonAdjacent	63	52.5%
Total		120	100%
Regions			
	Western Kentucky	35	29.2%
	Central Kentucky	36	30.0%
	Eastern Kentucky	49	40.8%
Total		120	100%
Within Regions			
Western Kentucky			
	Western Metro	3	8.6%
	Western NonMetro Adjacent	9	25.7%
	Western NonMetro NonAdjacent	23	65.7%
Total		35	100%
Central Kentucky			
	Central Metro	14	38.9%
	Central NonMetro Adjacent	16	44.4%
	Central NonMetro NonAdjacent	6	16.7%
Total		36	100%
Eastern Kentucky			
	Eastern Metro	5	10.2%
	Eastern NonMetro Adjacent	10	20.4%
	Eastern NonMetro NonAdjacent	34	69.4%
Total		49	100%
Labor Market Areas			
Western Kentucky			
	Hopkinsville Area	3	8.6%
	Owensboro Area	6	17.1%
	Henderson Area	7	20.0%
	Bowling Green Area	10	28.6%
	Fulton Area	3	8.6%
	Paducah Area	6	17.1%
Total		35	100%
Central Kentucky			
	Louisville Area	11	23.9%
	Lexington Area	20	43.5%
	Northern Kentucky Area	10	21.7%
	Elizabethtown Area	5	10.9%
Total		46	100%
Eastern Kentucky			
	Richmond Area	8	20.5%
	Ashland Area	5	12.8%
	Somerset Area	9	23.1%
	Harlan Area	10	25.6%
	Pikeville Area	6	15.4%
	Bell County Area	1	2.6%
Total		39	100%