Tennessee Population Trends: 2000-2020

In this chapter—

4.1 Introduction

The number of people officially tallied in every decennial Census is used for a multitude of purposes. Whether determining the number of hospital beds necessary for an aging population, teachers needed to staff local schools, demand for new roads or sewer capacity requirements, it is important to know how many people there are. There are also important financial implications of population counts; many federal programs use Census figures as a basis for distributing funds to state and local governments. The number and geographic distribution of the population can also have important political ramifications, with Census counts forming the basis for allocating Congressional seats. For all of these reasons, the 2010 Census will be critical in establishing the number of people residing in the state of Tennessee.

What changes can we expect since the 2000 Census? One way to find out is through the use of population projections. Using the 2000 Census as a baseline, we present here state and county-level population changes from 2000 to 2020. From Census counts in previous decades, we know there are a number of demographic concerns that our nation and state will face in the coming years. Some of the demographic issues that will need to be addressed are the aging of the Baby Boom generation, increases in life expectancy, trends in the number of children born in Tennessee, and changes in migration patterns.

This chapter is comprised of two sections. Section I provides an overview of the history, purpose, uses and importance of the 2010 Census. Section II explores one of the uses of the Census data – population projections. Following an overview of the uses of projections and an explanation of the methodology used to create them, we report state and county population trends from 2000 to 2020.

4.2 2010 Census

History

The decennial census was mandated by Article 1 Section 2 of the United States Constitution to provide a count of all residents of the country every ten years. The constitution directs the census counts to be the basis for allocating seats in Congress. States generally use the results to allocate seats in their legislatures as well. Cities and counties use census data to establish school districts, plan infrastructure networks and provide for the safety of their citizens. The Founding Fathers viewed the Census as a way to fulfill the precepts of "equal representation."

Since the first census was conducted in 1790, demographers and statisticians of all types have built on the data to produce estimates and projections for a broad range of activities. Over the years, the tools and techniques of statisticians have grown more sophisticated, leading to greater precision and details about the lives of Americans, Tennesseans—your neighbors. However, even the most sophisticated techniques can draw misleading conclusions if the original data are inaccurate. In this case the original data—the basis for decisions, analysis, funding, and a myriad of governmental and academic studies—is the decennial census.

How the Census is Used

The 2010 census will determine over $3 trillion in federal government outlays to states and other local governments nationwide over the next 10 years. Underrepresentation of any group or location remains in place for the duration—allocations are not generally reliant on estimates, only the full count provided in the decennial census. The same situation applies to electoral districts. In many cases those very populations that are underserved by governments in general (those less educated and in poverty) are undercounted and as a result underrepresented in elected bodies. This underrepresentation can lead to a decline in the fortunes of those communities that are not fully counted on April 1, 2010.

Because the American Community Survey collects detailed economic and demographic data on a continuing basis, the 2010 Census will contain ten questions on a short form. Questions concerning race and gender have been asked on every census since 1790. Age questions followed soon after in 1800. In the late 1800's, questions about home ownership and the relationship of household members to one another appeared. The remaining questions about Hispanic Origin and other administrative details are more recent.

Race data are required by federal programs promoting equal employment opportunity and are needed to assess racial disparities in health and access to care, among other uses. Under the Civil Rights Act, race is used to assess fairness of employment practices. Data about race are needed to monitor compliance with the Voting Rights Act by local jurisdictions.

The U.S. Departments of Education and Health and Human Services are required by statute to use gender data to fund, implement, and evaluate various social and welfare programs, such as the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) and the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP). Laws to promote equal employment opportunity for women also require census data on gender. The U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs must use census data to develop its state projections of veterans' facilities and benefits.

The Department of Education uses census age data in its formula for allotment to states. States and localities use census age data to optimize school construction, teacher staffing, and even school bus routes. Under the Voting Rights Act, data on the voting age population are required for legislative redistricting. The U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs uses age to develop its mandated state projections on the need for hospitals, nursing homes, cemeteries, domiciliary services, and other benefits for veterans.

Homeownership rates have served as an indicator of the nation's economy for decades. The data are an integral component of the formula used by the U.S. Department of

4.2 2010 Census, continued

Housing and Urban Development to establish Fair Market Rents and also are essential for the Federal Housing Authority's mortgage insurance program. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services is required to profile the housing tenure of Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program households. The Bureau of Economic Analysis uses this information along with other census data to prepare the value of housing services for the national and regional accounts. The rate of homeownership is one of the integral components used by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to establish Fair Market Rents for different localities throughout the country. This information is used to allocate Section 8 and other federal housing program subsidies that assist American families to afford decent, safe, and sanitary housing.

Information about changes in the composition of the American family, from the number of people living alone to the number of children living with only one parent, is essential for planning and carrying out a number of federal programs. In federally funded nutrition and education programs, how the money is spent hinges, at least partially, on census data about relationship. Local health agencies plan and administer programs promoting the well-being of families and children using information on relationship.

Hispanic origin is used in numerous programs and is vital in making policy decisions. These data are needed to determine compliance with provisions of antidiscrimination in employment and minority recruitment legislation. Under the Voting Rights Act, data about Hispanic origin are essential to ensure enforcement of bilingual election rules. Data about Hispanic origin are also used to monitor and enforce equal employment opportunities under the Civil Rights Act.

The importance of reliable counts in the 2010 Census cannot be overstated. Respondents can rest assured that the information will be secure. The answers to questions are kept confidential for 72 years from the date of the census. After 72 years have passed, the Census Bureau transfers the information to the National Archives and Records Administration where they are made available to the public, mainly for genealogy research—yet another long term benefit to consider when promoting Census participation in the community.

4.3 Population Projections

Introduction

While the Census can help us understand the current number of people residing within our state, county or municipality, planning for the future requires anticipating the number of people to be served at some distant point in time. Many of the issues facing Tennessee are those that will need to be addressed throughout the nation, including the aging of the Baby Boom generation, increases in life expectancy, changes in the fertility rate, and migration.

As the Baby Boom generation (those born between 1946 and 1964) enters retirement, paying attention to both the number and age structure of the population will become even more essential. While the employment, housing and consumption patterns of this generation have been important for decades, the additional issues that will arise as they exit the workforce will be numerous. Finding an adequate supply of replacement workers, meeting the health care needs of a larger population of older adults, and anticipating changing demands for retirement housing are just some of the challenges that will be facing the nation – and Tennessee – in the coming years.

Not only will the percentage of older Tennesseans increase, but so will their life expectancy. Nationally, life expectancy for men and women has increased for decades. Gains in longevity have been seen across almost all age groups – not only will infants born today live longer, on average, than babies born in previous years, but so will adults. Though Tennessee's life expectancy gains have lagged behind the rest of the United States, they have still generally increased over time. A larger older population, along with an increase in life expectancy, will present unique planning challenges to the state and local communities.

Although the Baby Boomers needs' will certainly demand attention, it is also important to keep a careful eye on the number of children born in Tennessee. To understand birth trends, it is necessary to consider the total fertility rate (TFR), or the number of children a woman will have over her entire lifetime. At a TFR equal to 2.1, the number of children born will roughly replace their parents, and in the absence of migration, population growth will be equal to zero. Beginning with a TFR of 1.9 in 1990, the statewide fertility rate decreased to a low of 1.8 in 1996, and has been consistently increasing ever since – in 2006, the TFR was just under 2.1. Many counties that experienced a TFR lower than the state average saw gains in population only due to migration to the county. If these migration patterns change, some counties may be facing declining public school enrollment, and all of the possible school consolidation and restructuring that accompanies a loss of the under-18 population.

Population Projections Methodology

A good population projection relies on two things; an accurate count of the number of people at the beginning of a projection period, and a way to reliably predict the components of population change - births, deaths and migration. The approach used to generate the population projections in this chapter is the cohort component method. The basis for this approach is the construction of the cohort - in this case, groups of individuals who were born within the same 5-year period, disaggregated by sex and county of residence. After determining the initial population counts, the cohort component method relies on age-specific fertility, mortality and migration rates to predict the components of population change - births, deaths and migration. This method relies on the fact that demographic events are age-dependent - for example, the probability of dying generally increases with age. To determine the total number of individuals in a county at the end of each projection period, the number of anticipated births, deaths and migrants - as predicted by the cohort-specific rates - are added to the initial population at the beginning of each projection period.

There are many sources required for implementing the cohort component model.

4.3 Population Projections, continued

For the baseline data, the 2000 Census was used to determine the initial number of individuals in eighteen separate 5-year age groups, from ages 0-4 to 85 and over, though some amendments are needed to account for special populations. In this chapter, special populations are comprised of students enrolled in college, and individuals residing in group quarters (including nursing homes and prisons). Fertility and mortality rates vary widely throughout the state. In order to choose the rate that best predicts the number of births and deaths within each county, a variety of rates were considered, and the one that best predicted the number of births and deaths from 2000 to 2004 was the rate selected for the rest of the projection period. For fertility, the rates that were considered were the average county-level fertility rates from 1990-1994, 1995-1999, and 2000-2004, and average state level rates from 1991-1993, 1994-1996, 1997-1999, 2000-2002, and 2003-2005. For mortality, three life table survival rates were considered: state data for Tennessee from 1989-1991 (the last year in which the United States' National Center for Health Statistics released state-level life tables), national data for the United States for 1999-2001 created by the National Center for Health Statistics, and state data released by the Tennessee Department Health for 1995.

The migration component is the most volatile data used in the cohort component model. Not only is migration data - disaggregated by age and county - difficult to obtain, but the historic data may very poorly predict future trends. This is especially true in our current economic climate, where job changes, housing foreclosures and decreasing house values could significantly alter migration patterns. For this chapter, future migration is predicted in two steps. First, the rate at which each age group migrates – relative to all other age groups in the county – is constructed. Future migrants are calculated using data from the 1990 and 2000 Census, and Census Population Estimates Program's chapter of migration trends from 2000 to 2004.

Population Trends in Tennessee

Statewide trends

The statewide population total for Tennessee in 2005 was just under 6 million people, the 16th most populous state in the United States and the District of Columbia. In 2010, the population is projected to be 6.2 million, rising to 6.8 million in 2020. While Tennessee is growing, the rate at which it has grown has changed. From 1990 to 2000 the annual rate of growth was 1.67 percent - higher than both the 0.95 percent growth rate from 2000 to 2010 and the 1.01 percent annual rate anticipated for 2010 to 2020. The state's annual growth rate from 1990 to 2000 was also higher than the national average, which was 1.3 percent. The national rate is projected to decline between 2000 and 2010, to 0.98 percent, and decline further from 2010 to 2020, to 0.87 percent. From 2000 to 2020, the percent of the national population residing in Tennessee will consistently remain at 2 percent.

As the Baby Boom generation ages, the age distribution of the state will change. In 1990 the percent of the population greater than 65 was approximately 13 percent. This figure dipped to 12 percent in 2000, but will increase to 16 percent by 2020. The annual rates of growth for the population over 65 between 1990 and 2020 reflect these increases. Between 1990 and 2000 the over-65 population grew by 1.4 percent, increasing to 1.8 percent from 2000 to 2010 and 3.3 percent between 2010 and 2020. Population growth for those under 18 was 1.5 percent, 0.6 percent and 0.7 percent over the same three decades, similar to the 1.8 percent, 0.9 percent and 0.7 percent growth in the 18 to 64 group. The total population, along with changes in the percentage of those aged 65 and older, is summarized in Figure 4.1.

Another way to consider the changing population structure is through the use of dependency ratios. In this case, the total dependency ratio is defined as the population

4.3 Population Projections, continued

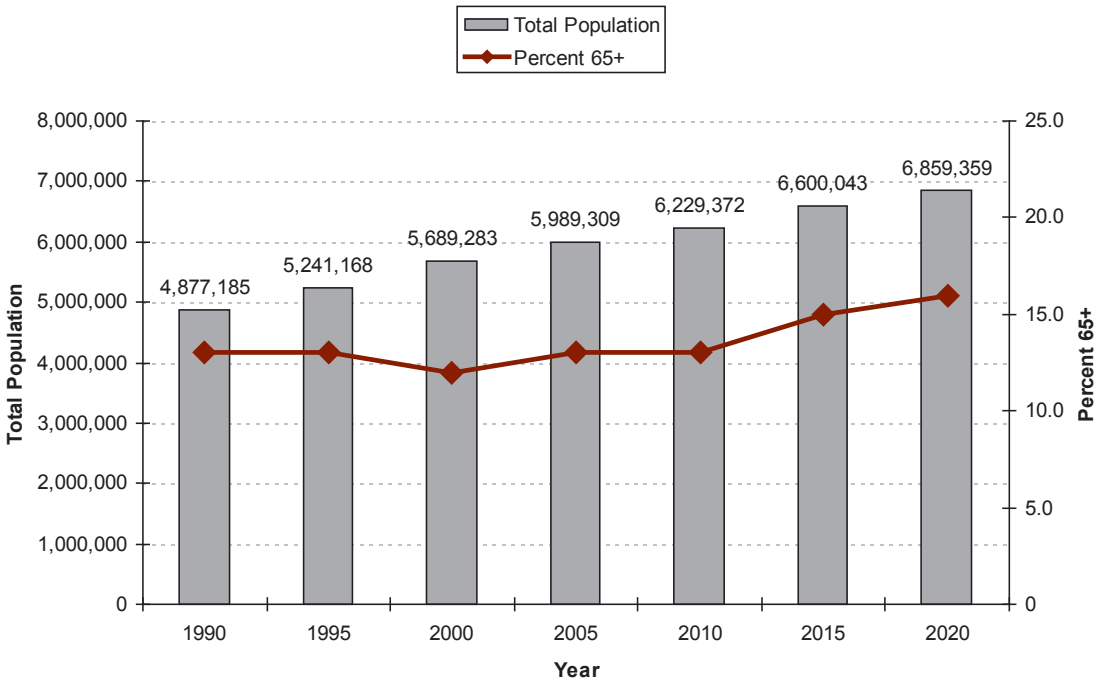
considered to be out of the labor force (the population under 16 or over 65 years of age) compared to the population in the labor force, per 100 persons. In 2000, the total dependency ratio was 52.1 – it will increase to 52.2 in 2010 and 57.1 in 2020. The component of the population most responsible for this growth is the elderly, not the youth. From 2000 to 2020 the child dependency ratio (the ratio of the under-16 population to the labor force population per 100 people) will decrease from 33.3 to 31.9, but the elderly dependency ratio (the ratio of the over-65 population to the labor force population per 100 people) will increase from 18.8 to 25.2. Age-related population changes are provided in Table 4.1.

County trends

While each county in the state of Tennessee saw population gains in the 1990s, if the current migration, fertility and mortality trends continue, some counties will experience population declines during the 2000s and 2010s. The total county population reported by the Census in 2000, the projected population for 2010 and 2020, and the population growth rate from 2000 to 2020 are reported in Table 4.2. In all, twenty-two counties are expected to have net population declines between 2000 and 2010, and twenty-three the following decade. Many of the counties that saw the largest net increase in population from 1990-2000 – Rutherford, Davidson, Knox and Williamson Counties – will continue to see similar growth in the future. In the 1990s, those counties that ranked at the bottom of the table in net change saw positive growth, whereas in the 2000s and 2010s counties experiencing the least change will record a net population loss. Between 2000 and 2020, Carroll, Lauderdale, Obion, Shelby, Sullivan and Weakley counties will record the largest population losses in the state. The highest and lowest ranked counties, in terms of total net population change, may be found in Table 4.3.

A somewhat different pattern emerges when

Figure 4.1. Total Population in Tennessee, with Percent of Population over 65



4.3 Population Projections, continued

Table 4.1. Age-related population characteristics from 2000 to 2020

Year	Percent of Population		Annual percent growth over previous decade				Dependency Ratios		
	Under 18	Over 65	Under 18	18 - 64	Over 65	Total Population	Total	Elderly	Child
2000	24.6%	12.4%	1.5%	1.8%	1.4%	1.7%	52.1	18.8	33.3
2010	23.8%	13.3%	0.6%	0.9%	1.8%	0.9%	52.2	20.2	32.0
2020	23.0%	16.0%	0.7%	0.7%	3.3%	1.0%	57.1	25.2	31.9

considering the percent of population change that will occur in the coming years. While Williamson and Rutherford counties still rank amongst the top five in terms of percent population change, so too do Sevier, Meigs, and Tipton counties between 1990-2000, and Fayette, Wilson and Bedford counties from 2000-2020. Of those counties that ranked the lowest in percent population change between 1990 and 2000, only Obion is continues to be in the bottom five between 2000 and 2020. It shares the lowest ranking with Pickett, Van Buren, Lake and Weakley between 2000 and 2010, and Polk, Lauderdale, Van Buren and Weakley the following decade. These rankings, and the percent population change, are listed in Table 4.4.

Population growth (and in some cases, decline), will not happen evenly across all age groups. In 2020, the average percent of the population age 65 and over is expected to be around 16 percent. However, the majority of counties in the state – almost three-quarters – will have greater than 16 percent of their population older than 65. The ten counties with the highest percentage of their population older than 65 are listed in Figure 4.2, along with the elderly dependency ratio. Cumberland County has the highest percent of their population over 65 and the highest elderly dependency ratio. For each county listed in Figure 4.2, over 20 percent of their population will be comprised of persons over 65.

Another way to measure the over-65 population is to calculate the rate at which this population group has been changing. Figure 4.3 shows the ten counties with the highest and lowest rates of population change for those over 65. While there are certainly differences in the percent of growth over the 20 year period, all counties but two will experience growth in this age group.

There are also notable differences in the share of each county's under 18 population. Figure 4.4. shows those counties with the highest percent of the population aged 18 and under in 2020, along with the child dependency ratio. Compared to the other six counties in the figure, Bedford, Williamson and Roberston counties have a higher percent of their population that is between 18 and 64. Only four counties – Lauderdale, Shelby, Bedford and Williamson – have the same or greater percent of their population under 18 than the state average. The large youth population in these counties significantly contributes to the total number of youth in the state.

The change in the under-18 population between 2000 and 2020 that counties can expect is found in Figure 4.5. Unlike the change in the over-65 population – which is due to increase in all but two counties – nearly forty percent will experience declines in the number of youth. This is largely attributable to falling fertility rates. At the state level, the fertility rate is high enough that births exceed deaths, allowing for natural increase even without the addition of migrants. Though many counties have experienced a recent increase in birth rates, these rates are still below what is needed to sustain population growth without additional migration.

4.3 Population Projections, continued

Table 4.2. Population projections for 2010 and 2020, with Census 2000 data

Location	Census 2000	Projected 2010	Projected 2020	Annual Percent Change 2000 to 2020
United States	281,421,906	308,935,581	335,804,546	1.0%
Tennessee	5,689,283	6,229,372	6,859,359	1.0%
Anderson	71,330	72,220	73,382	0.1%
Bedford	37,586	45,891	57,529	2.7%
Benton	16,537	16,098	15,784	-0.2%
Bledsoe	12,367	13,076	14,019	0.7%
Blount	105,823	123,830	151,018	2.1%
Bradley	87,965	95,755	104,536	0.9%
Campbell	39,854	41,212	43,379	0.4%
Cannon	12,826	13,446	14,317	0.6%
Carroll	29,475	28,620	28,398	-0.2%
Carter	56,742	60,732	67,605	1.0%
Cheatham	35,912	39,987	44,609	1.2%
Chester	15,540	16,093	16,661	0.4%
Claiborne	29,862	31,607	33,924	0.7%
Clay	7,976	7,969	8,097	0.1%
Cocke	33,565	35,858	39,289	0.9%
Coffee	48,014	53,078	60,017	1.2%
Crockett	14,532	14,160	13,573	-0.3%
Cumberland	46,802	54,251	65,343	2.0%
Davidson	569,891	641,948	736,606	1.5%
Decatur	11,731	11,283	10,975	-0.3%
Dekalb	17,423	19,038	21,579	1.2%
Dickson	43,156	48,096	54,281	1.3%
Dyer	37,279	37,831	37,735	0.1%
Fayette	28,806	38,848	54,051	4.4%
Fentress	16,625	17,371	18,342	0.5%
Franklin	39,270	41,779	45,531	0.8%
Gibson	48,152	48,054	48,684	0.1%
Giles	29,447	28,741	27,515	-0.3%
Grainger	20,659	23,274	26,761	1.5%
Greene	62,909	66,414	71,155	0.7%
Grundy	14,332	14,382	14,272	0.0%
Hamblen	58,128	61,368	64,053	0.5%
Hamilton	307,896	326,104	328,290	0.3%
Hancock	6,786	6,660	6,540	-0.2%
Hardeman	28,105	27,719	26,695	-0.3%
Hardin	25,578	25,953	26,590	0.2%
Hawkins	53,563	58,261	64,667	1.0%
Haywood	19,797	19,540	19,350	-0.1%
Henderson	25,522	26,691	27,999	0.5%
Henry	31,115	31,516	32,475	0.2%
Hickman	22,295	24,673	28,470	1.4%
Houston	8,088	7,853	7,506	-0.4%
Humphreys	17,929	17,952	17,764	0.0%
Jackson	10,984	11,100	11,606	0.3%
Jefferson	44,294	51,161	61,411	1.9%

4.3 Population Projections, continued

Table 4.2. Population projections for 2010 and 2020, with Census 2000 data, continued

Location	Census 2000	Projected 2010	Projected 2020	Annual Percent Change 2000 to 2020
Johnson	17,499	18,651	20,747	0.9%
Knox	382,032	425,233	471,912	1.2%
Lake	7,954	7,473	7,344	-0.4%
Lauderdale	27,101	26,250	24,078	-0.6%
Lawrence	39,926	41,485	42,825	0.4%
Lewis	11,367	11,425	11,471	0.0%
Lincoln	31,340	32,753	34,466	0.5%
Loudon	39,086	46,760	57,763	2.4%
Macon	20,386	22,170	24,848	1.1%
Madison	91,837	97,740	103,784	0.7%
Marion	27,776	27,827	27,504	0.0%
Marshall	26,767	29,231	32,323	1.0%
Maury	69,498	81,235	97,790	2.0%
McMinn	49,015	52,729	57,607	0.9%
McNairy	24,653	25,434	26,262	0.3%
Meigs	11,086	11,798	12,680	0.7%
Monroe	38,961	46,262	56,281	2.2%
Montgomery	134,768	154,663	167,895	1.2%
Moore	5,740	6,213	6,827	0.9%
Morgan	19,757	20,488	21,438	0.4%
Obion	32,450	31,094	28,034	-0.7%
Overton	20,118	20,813	21,963	0.5%
Perry	7,631	7,581	7,480	-0.1%
Pickett	4,945	4,747	4,544	-0.4%
Polk	16,050	15,453	14,199	-0.6%
Putnam	62,315	70,630	81,799	1.6%
Rhea	28,400	30,852	33,862	1.0%
Roane	51,910	53,550	56,776	0.5%
Robertson	54,433	64,972	78,938	2.3%
Rutherford	182,023	251,596	347,974	4.6%
Scott	21,127	22,173	22,890	0.4%
Sequatchie	11,370	13,848	17,243	2.6%
Sevier	71,170	86,374	106,928	2.5%
Shelby	897,472	910,776	875,972	-0.1%
Smith	17,712	19,104	20,968	0.9%
Stewart	12,370	13,168	14,032	0.7%
Sullivan	153,048	150,962	147,465	-0.2%
Sumner	130,449	155,925	190,388	2.3%
Tipton	51,271	58,187	66,124	1.4%
Trousdale	7,259	7,472	7,544	0.2%
Unicoi	17,667	17,663	18,252	0.2%
Union	17,808	19,546	21,844	1.1%
Van Buren	5,508	5,228	4,642	-0.8%
Warren	38,276	40,346	42,684	0.6%
Washington	107,198	116,527	128,443	1.0%
Wayne	16,842	16,782	16,820	0.0%
Weakley	34,895	31,686	25,974	-1.3%
White	23,102	25,282	28,620	1.2%
Williamson	126,638	174,485	241,933	4.6%
Wilson	88,809	109,234	136,792	2.7%

4.3 Population Projections, continued

Conclusion

Using population projections, we have a glimpse of how county population could continue to change over the next decade. The state of Tennessee will continue to see population gains, though over 20 percent of the state's counties will see population declines. These decreases will not occur evenly across all age groups. In almost all counties, increases in the over-65 population will continue due to the aging Baby Boom population, while many counties will experience declines in the percent of the population under 18. Knowing the net change in population, and the way this maps out across the age groups, can aid state, city and county leaders in their planning efforts. Counties experiencing overall growth may need to expand public utility capacity, housing or transportation systems. Areas that will have an aging population may benefit from more closely examining how anticipated changes in the number of students can impact public school funding, and how they will need to address the changing demands for healthcare .

There are several factors that could alter population counts. Recently, fertility rates have increased to their highest levels in over a decade, both at the state and national level. This is in contrast to the extremely low fertility rates of many developed nations, and it is unclear how long these high rates may continue. Mortality rates in Tennessee may also change in the coming decades. According to the Centers for Disease Control, Tennessee ranks third in the nation in terms of adult obesity in 2007, and in 2006 ranked sixth in the number of deaths attributable to smoking.[1] Because the leading causes of death in Tennessee – heart disease, stroke and cancer – are related to the behaviors associated with obesity and smoking, how these behaviors change may significantly impact future mortality rates.

Predicting future changes to migration is also a challenge, especially in the current economic climate. Declining house prices, rising unemployment and increasing foreclosures may all lead to decreasing migration, but some cities and counties have been impacted far more than others. In some cases, this might mean populations remain stable because potential migrants are not able to leave, resulting in population projections that would under-estimate the county total. Conversely, counties that have recently seen large outflows of migrants might suddenly have many fewer people able to move there, leading to over-estimates of the population. At least in the short term, the economy will no doubt impact migration in the state.

Although predicting fertility, mortality and migration changes is always difficult, population projections are only as good as the information used to create them. The data provided by the Census is critical in all aspects of planning, such as establishing state and federal funding guidelines, creating population projections, assessing future healthcare needs and planning future transportation projects. To make the Census as relevant and accurate as possible, it is imperative that each state resident is counted.

1 See Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "Chronic Diseases: The Leading Cause of Death," http://www.cdc.gov/NCCDPHP/publications/factsheets/ChronicDisease/pdfs/Tennessee.pdf.

4.3 Population Projections, continued

Table 4.3. Counties ranked, from highest to lowest, by net population change

Rank	County	Change 1990-2000	Rank	County	Change 2000-2010	Rank	County	Change 2010-2020
1	Shelby	71,142	1	Davidson	72,057	1	Rutherford	96,379
2	Rutherford	63,453	2	Rutherford	69,573	2	Davidson	94,658
3	Davidson	59,107	3	Williamson	47,847	3	Williamson	67,448
4	Knox	46,283	4	Knox	43,201	4	Knox	46,679
5	Williamson	45,617	5	Sumner	25,476	5	Sumner	34,463
91	Obion	733	91	Lauderdale	-851	91	Lauderdale	-2172
92	Van Buren	662	92	Carroll	-855	92	Obion	-3060
93	Pickett	397	93	Obion	-1356	93	Sullivan	-3497
94	Haywood	360	94	Sullivan	-2086	94	Weakley	-5711
95	Hancock	47	95	Weakley	-3209	95	Shelby	-34804

Table 4.4. Counties ranked, from highest to lowest, by percent population change

Rank	County	Percent Change 1990-2000	Rank	County	Percent Change 2000-2010	Rank	County	Percent Change 2010-2020
1	Williamson	5630.3	1	Rutherford	27.7	1	Fayette	39.1
2	Rutherford	53.5	2	Williamson	27.4	2	Williamson	38.7
3	Sevier	39.4	3	Fayette	25.9	3	Rutherford	38.3
4	Meigs	38.0	4	Wilson	18.7	4	Bedford	25.4
5	Tipton	36.5	5	Bedford	18.1	5	Wilson	25.2
91	Anderson	4.5	91	Pickett	-4.2	91	Polk	-8.1
92	Gibson	4.0	92	Obion	-4.4	92	Lauderdale	-8.3
93	Obion	2.3	93	Van Buren	-5.4	93	Obion	-9.8
94	Haywood	1.9	94	Lake	-6.4	94	Van Buren	-11.2
95	Hancock	0.7	95	Weakley	-10.1	95	Weakley	-18.0

4.3 Population Projections, continued

Figure 4.2. Ten Counties with Highest Percent of Population Over 65 in 2020

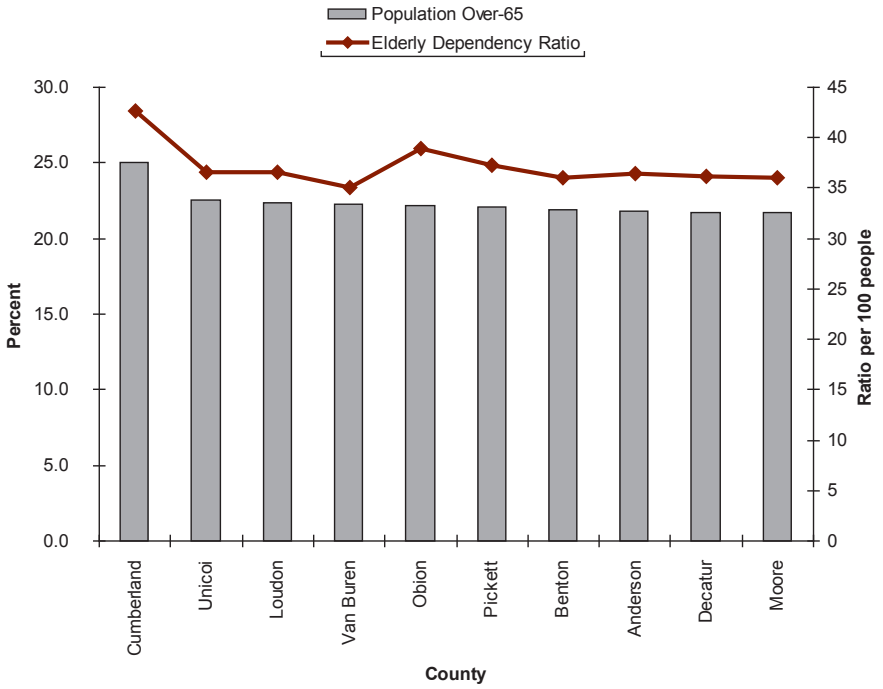
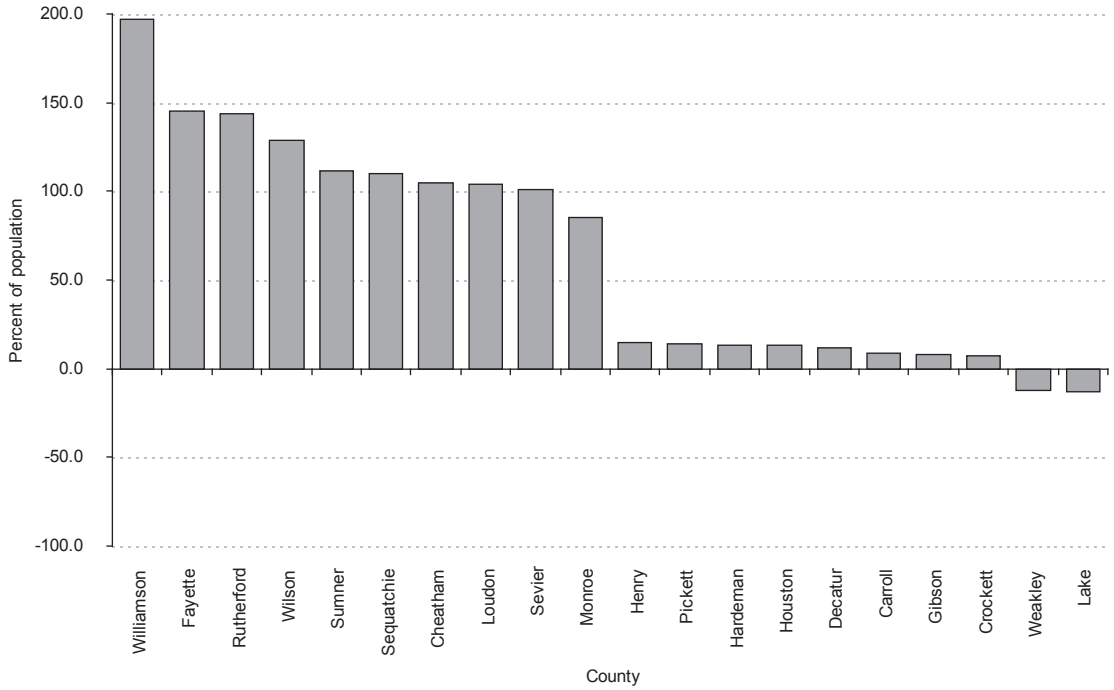


Figure 4.3. Counties with Highest and Lowest Percent Change in Over-65 Population, 2000 to 2020



4.3 Population Projections, continued

Figure 4.5. Counties with Highest and Lowest Percent Change in Under-18 Population, 2000 to 2020