

Outdoor Drama

Filling Seats When the Sun Sets

by Louise Lockwood

On July 5, 1937, *The Lost Colony*, the nation's first outdoor drama, opened on Roanoke Island, at Manteo, North Carolina. Paul Green, the Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright from Chapel Hill, called his new play a "symphonic drama." Green blended music, dance, and drama into a new American genre—*theater under the stars*, just as the Greeks had done it. The play celebrated the 350th birthday of Virginia Dare, the first European child born in America.

On that sultry July evening 45 years ago, the smell of an Independence Day celebration still drifted over Roanoke Sound, out into the Atlantic. Two thousand people jammed into the new Manteo amphitheater, then a long, hot drive from anywhere. President and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt made it for opening

The Unto These Hills amphitheater will be full when the summer stars shine.

night. But Green, like the Greeks, wanted more than Presidents and first ladies. Fishermen, shopkeepers, and housewives joined theater buffs and dignitaries to witness a drama of heroes and heroines, of courage and perseverance. Strongly influenced by the traumas of the Depression and by the New Deal philosophy, Green wanted to offer a sense of hope and of history for ordinary people, those who would

Louise Lockwood, an Asheville native, is completing a Masters in Public Administration at North Carolina State Cultural Resources (pp. 15, 18, and 19) and the Institute of Outdoor Drama (P. 20).

never set foot on Broadway or view opera through binoculars. *The Lost Colony* and the movement it has spawned represents a success far beyond what even Green could have envisioned.

Except for an intermission during World War II, *The Lost Colony* has not missed a season. Its success stimulated an outdoor drama boom, first in North Carolina and then throughout the country. Today, 56 such dramas dot the American landscape, staging productions from pirate ships and Indian villages and wagon trains. North Carolina, which leads the nation with 10 outdoor dramas, also serves as an administrative base for this genre through the Institute of Outdoor Drama at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.¹ In 1982, almost two million people attended one of these 56 "symphonic dramas," 230,000 of them in North Carolina.²

These outdoor offerings, says Richard Coe, drama critic for *The Washington Post*, are "the

least spotlighted but most broadly active segment of American theater." It has brought the performing arts, as Coe puts it, to "places not generally associated with theater, or, for that matter, anything else."

Public funding always has been a crucial part of this effort to bring drama to the people. The Works Progress Administration (WPA), the New Deal agency that supported thousands of artists and writers through the Depression, paid for the amphitheater at Manteo and in 1937 the salaries of 13 professional actors. But the WPA funding ended in the late 1930s and then came the war-year performing hiatus. *The Lost Colony* needed a financial boost to keep its momentum, and the N.C. General Assembly responded with a grant of \$10,000.³

In 30 years, this modest investment of state funds has grown 20-fold. From FY 78 through 82, North Carolina spent \$213,580 a year on the 10 dramas, all of which are run by non-profit organizations.⁴ The General Assembly appro-

Table 1. Outdoor Dramas in North Carolina—Five Year Fiscal Summary (N.C. FY 1978-1982)

Ranked by Average State Subsidy Per Paid Admission (1978-82)	Name of Drama	Location	Year Started	Source of Funds (N.C. FY 1978-1982) ¹			
				Department of Cultural Resources ²	Legislators' Special Bills ³	Governor's Contingency and Emergency Fund ⁴	Five Year Total
1.	Liberty Cart	Kenansville	1976	\$108,599	\$ 95,000	0	\$203,599
2.	Sword of Peace	Snow Camp	1974	84,052	45,000	0	129,052
3.	From This Day Forward	Valdese	1968	11,538	30,000	5,859	47,397
4.	Strike at the Wind	Pembroke	1976	65,615	60,000	0	125,615
5.	Listen and Remember	Waxhaw	1965	0	15,000	0	15,000
6.	First for Freedom	Halifax	1976	11,000	0	24,000	35,000
7.	Horn in the West	Boone	1952	42,400	125,000	19,000	186,400
8.	Blackbeard	Bath	1977	7,500	30,000	17,057	54,557
9.	Unto These Hills	Cherokee	1950	115,518	50,000	11,000	176,518
10.	The Lost Colony	Manteo	1937	83,763	0	11,000	94,763
Totals for all ten dramas:				\$509,985	\$470,000	\$87,916	\$1,067,901

¹A five-year period is used because of the wide fluctuation of funding levels from year to year. See text regarding impact of special-bill funding.

²Annual expenditure ledgers, N.C. Department of Cultural Resources, sections labeled "Aid-to-Outdoor Drama" and "Aid to Professional Theater", pp. 947-949 (FY 78), 1012-1014 (FY 79), 1179-1181 (FY 80), 1231-1233 (FY 81), and 1243-44 (FY 82); *Certified Budget 1977-79 Biennium*, budget code 18441, Dept. of Cultural Resources, 1360 Grants-in-aid to arts, line 6438; *Certified Budget 1979-81 Biennium*, budget code 18441, Dept. of Cultural

Resources, 1350 Theatre Arts, line 6446.

³Chapter 986 of the 1977 Session Laws and publications of the legislature's Fiscal Research Division: for FY 78, *Highlights of 1977 Session*, pp. 65-68; for FY 79, *Summary of Appropriations and Revenues: 1977 General Assembly (1978 Session)*, July 10, 1978, pp. 35-38; for FY 80, *Summary of 1979 Legislative Fiscal Actions*, pp. 55-61; for FY 81, *Legislative Budget Actions: 1980-81*, pp. 44-47; for FY 82, *Legislative Budget Actions: 1981-82 (Supplement)*, 1981 *General Assembly (Fall Session)*, pp. 41-51.

⁴Listing of transfer of funds from the Governor's

priated \$9 of every \$10, using two funding channels: 1) almost \$5 of every \$10 to the Department of Cultural Resources (DCR), which distributes the funds to all 10 dramas; and 2) over \$4 of every \$10 directly to specific plays, using funding vehicles called "special appropriations bills."⁵ The Council of State allocates the other \$1 of every \$10 through the Governor's Contingency and Emergency Fund (because of inclement weather or other circumstances beyond the control of the organization).⁶ Since FY 78, 44 percent of the outdoor drama funds have come through special bills—where legislators allocate the state funds remaining after the major appropriations bill has passed, usually to pet projects in their own districts.⁷ Consequently, state support fluctuates widely from year to year—both in total amount and in the amount to each production. (See Table 1 for funding levels and source of funds for each drama.)

North Carolina's 10 outdoor dramas affect

Level of State Subsidy		
Average Annual State Funding (FY 1978-82) (Rank in State)	Average Annual Paid Admissions (1978-82) ⁵ (Rank in State)	Average State Subsidy Per Paid Admission (1978-82)
\$ 40,720 (1)	5,098 (7)	\$7.98
25,810 (4)	6,915 (6)	3.73
9,479 (8)	3,155 (8)	3.00
25,123 (5)	8,505 (4)	2.95
3,000 (10)	1,100 (10)	2.73
7,000 (9)	2,720 (9)	2.57
37,280 (2)	22,609 (3)	1.65
10,911 (7)	6,970 (5)	1.57
35,304 (3)	102,069 (1)	.35
18,953 (6)	78,550 (2)	.24
\$213,580	237,691	\$.89

Contingency and Emergency Fund, as recorded in the following documents, all published or located in the State Auditor's Office: for FY 78, *Annual Report and Supplement Information*, p. 48 (Schedule A-7, p. 31); for FY 79, *Annual Report and Supplement Information*, p. 25 (Schedule A-7, p. 7); for FY 80, FY 81, and FY 82, State Auditor's Office ledger sheet, Account Code 19001.

⁵Institute of Outdoor Drama files. For more information, contact Mark Sumner, director, 202 Graham Memorial, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

their communities in markedly different ways. The "big three"—*The Lost Colony* at Manteo, *Unto These Hills* at Cherokee, and *Horn in the West* at Boone—have been playing for 30 years or more and are solid tourist attractions, drawing 20,000 to 100,000 paid admissions a year. Five of the remaining seven—staged from Valdese in the west to Bath in the east—began as historical commemorations, part of the national Bicentennial in 1976 (see "year started" column, Table 1). Generally, the groups starting the seven smaller productions expected their plays only to run for two or three years. Strong community response and state support, however, have helped them continue. Today, each of the "little seven" attracts from 1,000 to 8,500 people a year while offering a historical dimension as an integral part of community life in Alamance, Beaufort, Burke, Duplin, Halifax, Robeson, and Union counties.

The outdoor dramas contribute to the artistic and economic life of the state in several important ways. The big three have evolved into indispensable ingredients in the booming tourist economies in Cherokee, Boone, and Manteo/Nags Head. At the same time, they provide an important opportunity for North Carolinians (and others) to learn of significant cultural and historical events and to participate in professional theater, sometimes leading to careers on the stage. The little seven contribute to the cultural and educational life of the state and especially to a sense of community in areas with modest artistic resources. And in all ten productions, ticket prices remain low and the outdoor atmosphere high—a combination that continues to attract farmers and secretaries, casual tourists and history-conscious families.

Brief case studies of a major drama, *Unto These Hills*, and of a minor one, *From This Day Forward*, show how valuable the outdoor dramas are in economic and cultural terms. These two profiles, together with Table 1, also explain the type of financial investment the state has in these dramas. Finally, these two reviews suggest that Paul Green's populist vision has not gone unattended.

Unto These Hills

In 1946, a group of businessmen and community leaders from North Carolina's 11 westernmost counties formed Western North Carolina Associated Communities. Aware that *The Lost Colony* had become a major tourist attraction on Roanoke Island, the group wanted an outdoor drama to attract visitors to the mountains. The businessmen located the drama in Cherokee because of its location at the entrance of the Great Smoky Mountain National Park. They hoped that tourists visiting

the park would spend at least one night in western North Carolina.

Kermit Hunter's story of the Cherokee Indians opened in 1950 in a drama established in part through a \$35,000 appropriation from the General Assembly. *Unto These Hills* documents the Cherokee story, from the tribe's first encounter with DeSoto's soldiers in 1590 to the "Trail of Tears" march to Oklahoma in 1838, when the federal government forced the Indians off their land. The latter part of the play recounts the martyrdom of the Cherokee brave, Tsali, whose sacrifice enabled many Cherokees to remain in the North Carolina mountains.

The play immediately succeeded as a tourist attraction, just as conceived. Since "Mountainside Theater" emerged from a blackberry bramble on the edge of Cherokee, more than 3000 motel rooms have sprung up along with tourist attractions ranging from the authentic Oconaluftee Indian Village to souvenir shops hawking plastic tomahawks. "When the drama opened," says Jim Cooper, who operates the local Holiday Inn, "there were less than 150 motel rooms in Cherokee—and that's being generous—and less than 20 souvenir shops."

Tourism in the Cherokee area now goes well beyond *Unto These Hills*, yet the play's impact remains significant. One shopkeeper says his business jumps 15 to 25 percent when the play opens and declines by a comparable amount when it closes. Cooper of the Holiday Inn agrees: "My business picks up immediately upon the opening of the drama and drops immediately upon the close of it. We provide bus service to the drama every night, six days a week. We fill up one bus, sometimes two."

Whatever one thinks of some of the more blatantly commercial development in Cherokee, *Unto These Hills* clearly is a moneymaker. The

play has a payroll of \$225,765 and provides valuable experience for a cast of 130. Among its alumni are Ben Jones, who plays Cooter in *The Dukes of Hazzard* television series, and Louise Fletcher, who played Nurse Ratchet in the film *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. The Institute of Outdoor Drama, using a 1979 survey of nine of the nation's largest outdoor dramas, estimates that *Unto These Hills* brings more than \$7 million a year to the Cherokee area each season, about half from out-of-state visitors. Even using a more conservative figure of \$940,000 from out-of-state visitor revenues (a figure derived from a cost-benefit study)⁸, the state has fared well indeed with its modest investment to the play.

In FY 82, the state subsidy to *Unto These Hills* totaled \$73,800, the largest amount ever granted to this play. This \$73,800 may have helped bring at least \$940,000 (to use the conservative figure) from outside North Carolina into the state's economy—a cool return of 1174 percent, not bad with inflation running below 10 percent. *Unto These Hills* ranked third in total state funding received between FY 78 and 82 but ninth in average state subsidy per paid admission, 1978-82 (see Table 1).

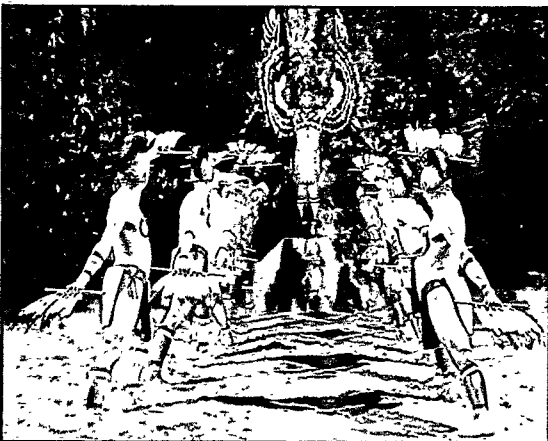
Except for the \$35,000 allocated by the state to help launch this production, *Unto These Hills* has received very little state money for 30 years. "This has all changed within the last five years," says Carol White, business manager for the drama. "After 30 years [of productions], the equipment is beginning to wear out. We have had to spend more on replacement in the last three years than the entire theater cost in 1948-1949. Inflation has resulted in an enormous increase in our operating expenses. We're doing less advertising, but it's costing two to three times what it formerly did. Our income has not kept up with the increase in costs."

In 1982, *Unto These Hills* raised its average ticket price from \$5 to \$6, much to White's regret. "Outdoor drama is mass entertainment," White explains. "The relationship of ticket price to attendance is something like a pyramid. When you raise the price of a ticket, you cut off the base of the pyramid."

From This Day Forward

Launched by a high school teacher, *From This Day Forward* "opened" in 1959, at a church supper in Valdese. With funds from the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the play became a more formal teaching vehicle, and in 1968 a community theater presentation. The play has neither drawn a large number of tourists nor been a significant economic shot in the arm for Valdese. Like the other six smaller outdoor dramas, however, the play makes a cultural, educational, and historical contribution. It has

The Eagle Dance from *Unto These Hills*



become a part of the community's life.

The play fills an educational gap by telling the history of Valdese, a story until recently virtually unmentioned in the history books. The play recounts the story of the Waldensians, a group of French-Italian Protestants who immigrated to America in 1893 and established the town of Valdese (the "W" in Waldensians became a "V" in Valdese). It acquaints the audience with 15th century religious persecution, the troubles of a simple folk amidst European power struggles, the dream of a Utopia in the Blue Ridge, and the harsh reality in the hardscrabble uplands of Burke County early in the 20th century. Like other outdoor dramas, the play inspires. From their hard lot, the residents of Valdese took advantage of American religious freedom and economic opportunity to create a successful industrial community in the foot of the Blue Ridge.

Besides serving as a "living" history book, *From This Day Forward* exposes young people to the theater. Elementary, secondary, and college students make up half of the cast. Several players have later become students at the N.C. School of the Arts in Winston-Salem. Lynn Lockrow, the play's first technical director, now holds the same position for *The Lost Colony*.

"Dr. Janet Carroll, artistic director for the drama, has had a big influence on youth," says Steve Masten, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Outdoor Theater Charitable Trust Fund, which sponsors the play. "She's gotten them charged up and turned on to drama." Adds John Heilman, a businessman, a board member, and an actor in the play, "The drama has shown young people another way to make a living."

Finally, the drama has contributed to Valdese's sense of community. Every February 17, for example, the church holds a supper to commemorate the day in 1848 when the Waldensians in Italy were granted religious freedom. "Used to be not many people came to the February 17 supper," Heilman says. "Now reservations are required because the church cannot accommodate all who want to attend. The young people used to pooh-pooh the idea of being Valdensians. The play has turned all that around."

The community recognizes the value of the play. The town contributes \$5,000 a year, office space for the business manager, rent-free land for the amphitheater, and maintenance for the parking lot and grounds. The Lions Club takes up tickets; the Pilot Club runs a gift shop; and the Rotary Club operates the concession stand. Individual citizens contribute time and money as well. Despite this concerted community effort and modest state support (see Table 1), the play



From *This Day Forward* cast members play bocci.

may not survive. A visitor to Valdese must stay in Hickory or Morganton, where businesses have yet to capitalize on the play. Cheryl Kendrick, business manager for the drama, says the play may have to cut back from its five-week run. Even then, more advertising will be necessary.

From This Day Forward has not enjoyed the commercial success of *Unto These Hills*, but the Valdese drama sprang from different aspirations, and it, too, has succeeded in its own way. The state has supplied modest funding support, \$8,047 in 1982. From a stockbroker's point of view, the \$8,047 investment proved less than successful, for the play in 1982 probably brought in only \$6,650 into the area from out-of-state.⁹ Educators and community leaders see this small contribution from the state's fiscal budget as money well spent. *From This Day Forward* ranked eighth in total state funding received between FY 78-82 and third in average state subsidy per paid admission, 1978-82 (see Table 1).

State Support for a Democratic Vision

Both the state and host communities derive significant economic, cultural, artistic, educational, and community benefits from outdoor drama. Moreover, the productions in North Carolina depend on state support—if ticket prices are to remain low, in keeping with Paul Green's vision of democratizing theater. But state funding for outdoor drama currently appears fragmented and somewhat unpredictable.

Prior to 1977, state funding for outdoor dramas through the Department of Cultural Resources was minimal. The Theatre Arts Division, created by the legislature in 1973, received about \$75,000 a year from FY 74-77, which had to cover administrative costs and grant awards to all professional theater,

including outdoor dramas. Because so few funds were available through DCR, professional theater groups had begun to lobby their legislative delegations with increasing vigor for special-bill funding. In the process, they had begun to compete sharply with each other. In 1977, in an effort to reduce the competition for state funds, theater groups coordinated their lobbying activities. They sought, with the assistance of DCR, special-bill funding for the Theatre Arts Division, which could distribute the funds outside the highly charged political arena of pork-barrel politics. The legislature passed a bill, appropriating \$210,000 for FY 78 and for FY 79.¹⁰

The 1977 legislative action, however, did not dissuade legislators from securing funds for individual dramas in their own districts. The special bill appropriated money to DCR but included a mandatory allocation table with specific line items for eight plays (six outdoor dramas, one of which no longer exists). The line items for specific outdoor dramas totaled \$100,000 for FY 78 and \$70,000 for FY 79 or 40 percent of the total appropriated in the special bill (\$170,000 of the total \$420,000). And this action seemed to spur more special bills for individual dramas. The total of special bills for individual dramas jumped from \$70,000 in FY 79 to \$140,000 in FY 80, declined to \$45,000 in FY 81, and then leaped again to \$145,000 in FY 82. From FY 78 to 82, 84 percent of the special-bill funds went to 5 of the 10 dramas. *Liberty Cart*, which ranked seventh in average annual paid admissions, received \$95,000 in special-bill funding. In addition, *Liberty Cart* got \$60,000 through earmarked line items in the legislature's appropriation to DCR (\$30,000 in both FY 80 and FY 81).¹¹ Adding the \$60,000 in earmarked funds to the \$95,000 from special bills, *Liberty Cart* received 31 percent of all

special-bill and earmarked funds (FY 78-82). This resulted in a whopping \$7.98 average state subsidy per paid admission for *Liberty Cart* (1978-82), more than twice as much subsidy as any other drama (see Table 1). This production is staged in Kenansville, a town in the legislative district of Sen. Harold Hardison (D-Lenoir). Hardison chairs the Senate Appropriations Committee and ranked second in effectiveness among state senators in the latest rankings by his fellow legislators, lobbyists, and capital correspondents in *Article II*.¹²

Liberty Cart may have gotten more than its share of state money because a powerful legislator wants an outdoor drama to prosper in his district. But even if that is the case, does such a pattern mean that special-bill and earmarked, line-item funding are bad ideas? Legislators control the budget process and inevitably some special bills emerge through their deliberations; pork-barrel politics is a part of the American political system. From the point of view of arts advocates, better to have funds go to outdoor dramas and other arts projects than to a pet highway project or a horse arena. "Cultural activities are popular things for legislators to take home to help their local groups," explains Secretary of Cultural Resources Sara Hodgkins. "I think it's wonderful. I welcome money from anywhere we can get it because we have great needs. Legislators feel strongly about their local groups and want to appropriate funds to help them."

Secretary Hodgkins makes a critical point, for outdoor drama has in large measure lived up to Paul Green's democratic vision. Prices are low and dress is casual. Audiences range from Mississippi cotton farmers to New York opera buffs. Outdoor drama offers the first and only theatrical experience for some, a broadening cultural experience for others.

"Outdoor drama has done a lot for theater," says Judy Chavis, director of the Theatre Arts Section within DCR. "It's taken away the elitist atmosphere of red carpets and posh seats. It's made people feel more comfortable with theater, given them an incentive to try theater in other settings. State funding has made it possible for outdoor drama to continue on a personal level. It's allowed the dramas to expand and grow professionally. It's allowed them to improve technically, artistically, and to reach new audiences."

North Carolina's outdoor dramas have brought the arts to ordinary folks. The "big three" have been an important economic stimulus to their communities and to the state. The smaller ones play an important role in the lives of their communities. It is likely that some could not survive without continued state support—

After the opening performance of *The Lost Colony* in 1937, Eleanor Roosevelt speaks with the drama's creator Paul Green (l.) and producer D. B. Fearing.



“Outdoor drama has . . . taken away the elitist atmosphere of red carpets and posh seats. It’s made people feel more comfortable with theater, giving them an incentive to try theater in other settings.”

and that those that did survive would be diminished and less accessible because of higher prices. These are sound reasons for the state to support outdoor drama.

In 1937, Paul Green, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, fishermen, families, and friends revived a Greek tradition on Roanoke Island, North Carolina, and seeded the American theatrical repertoire with a new genre. That

opening night success spawned a movement that today attracts more people during its production season than does any other type of American drama. Outdoor drama—an art form born and bred in North Carolina—must continue to be nourished. As the state assists more artistic enterprises in surviving and prospering, so does the state fulfill the populist vision of one of its most prominent sons, playwright Paul Green. □

FOOTNOTES

¹The Institute of Outdoor Drama, formed in 1963, is a research agency within the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Before the Institute’s formation, the UNC Department of Drama assisted with outdoor dramas throughout the country.

²The Institute of Outdoor Drama.

³Chapter 953 of Session Laws of 1945.

⁴See Table 1—“Source of Funds” section and footnotes 3-5 for explanation of funding figures.

⁵To receive funds from the Department of Cultural Resources (DCR), the drama’s non-profit sponsoring organization (for example, the Cherokee Historical Association for *Unto These Hills*) applies to DCR. The non-profit sponsor must also submit an annual audit report to DCR. A special bill appropriation goes directly to the individual drama without any review, evaluation, or monitoring by any office in the administrative branch. These funds go for operating budgets and for capital improvements.

⁶To receive funds from the Governor’s Contingency and Emergency Fund, the sponsoring organization applies to the Department of Cultural Resources, which in turn passes the application along to the Council of State, the body which must approve expenditures from this fund. The Council of State consists of the secretary of state, state auditor, state treasurer, attorney general, commissioner of agriculture, commissioner of insurance, commissioner of labor, superintendent of public instruction, lieutenant governor, and governor.

⁷See chart on page 8 for a summary of all special-bill funding for the arts since 1977.

⁸One could argue that the drama might have operated without the state support of \$73,800 and hence could have brought in the \$940,000 without any state investment. In the next paragraph of the text, the business manager of the drama explains the importance of the state funds to the play’s ability to stay solvent. Consequently, it appears safe to assume that the state subsidy of \$73,800 did indeed play a critical role in bringing in the \$940,000. The \$940,000 figure results from the estimates explained below. Sources for the different estimates follow the calculations, all based on 1982 figures:

Out-of-state admissions (81,561) ^a x average ticket prices (\$6)	= \$489,366;
Percent increase in local business during play seasons (10%) ^b x out-of-state admissions (81,561) x average amount spent per person (\$50) ^c	= 407,805
Percent of out-of-state admissions who will return to N.C. (1%) ^d x out-of-state admissions (81,561) x average amount spent per person (\$50)	= 40,780
	<u> </u>
	\$937,951

Sources: a. license plate tallies kept by *Unto These Hills*; b. estimates by local businesses; c. estimates by Institute of Outdoor Drama; and d. author’s estimate.

⁹The \$6,650 results from the same process shown in footnote 8. The figures are:

700 admissions x \$4 per ticket	= \$2,800
10% x 700 x \$50	= 3,500
1% x 700 x \$50	= 350
	<u> </u>
	\$6,650

¹⁰HB 947, Chapter 986 of the 1977 Session Laws.

¹¹During FY 78-82, only *Liberty Cart* (\$60,000) and *Sword of Peace* (\$30,000) received any earmarked, line-item funds for outdoor drama. All other appropriations for outdoor dramas went to the Theatre Arts Section within DCR and were not designated for any specific drama. Ralph Scott, a state senator in 1951-57 and 1961-78 and a member of the Advisory Budget Commission in 1961-64, 1967-71, and 1973-76 (chairman); was a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee in 1977-78. Scott represented Alamance County, the home of *Sword of Peace*, when this drama got its earmarked funds (FY 78 and FY 79). Source for these earmarked figures is Fiscal Research Division, N.C. General Assembly.

¹²Article II: A Guide to the N.C. Legislature 1981-82, N.C. Center for Public Policy Research, June 1982, p. 214.