

Karen Tam

NORTH CAROLINA'S DEMOGRAPHIC DESTINY: The Policy Implications of the 1990 Census

by Ken Otterbourg and Mike McLaughlin

This article examines the results of the 1990 Census and explores the policy implications for North Carolina. Four major trends are examined: (1) the shift of North Carolina's population from primarily rural to primarily urban; (2) the aging of the North Carolina population; (3) the increase in the state's Asian and Hispanic populations; and (4) the drop in the state's poverty rate.

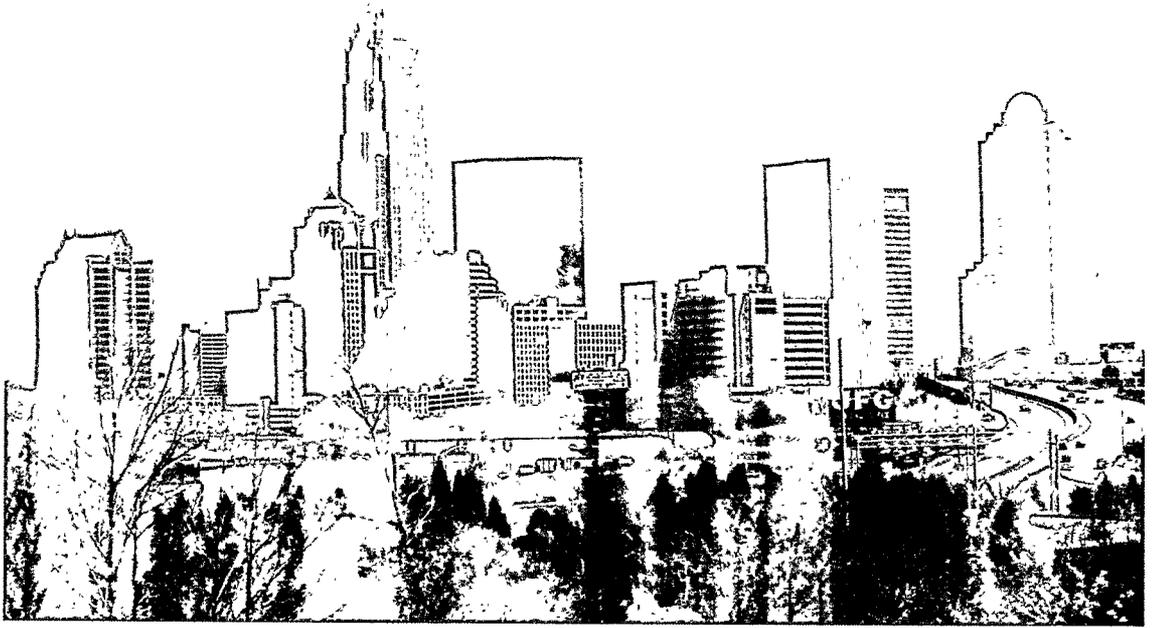
Among the most troubling trends evident in the census data is the widening prosperity gap between rural and urban areas. Predominantly rural counties had higher poverty rates, lower per capita incomes, and lower population growth than urban counties. A total of 19 rural counties lost population during the decade, while urban areas continued to grow. Meanwhile, North Carolina reached a milestone in moving toward a more urban society. By Census Bureau definitions, the state went from predominantly rural to predominantly urban during the 1980s, with 50.3 percent of its residents residing in areas the Census Bureau considers urban. How will the state address the growing rural-urban gap?

The graying of the state's population is another significant trend. Over the course of the decade, the number of North Carolina residents older than 65 jumped from 603,000 to 800,000, or from 10.2 percent of the population to 12 percent. Planners say even more important is the increase in the very old—those above 85. Their numbers increased by 54.8 percent, from 45,203 in 1980 to 69,969 in 1990. What new service demands will North Carolina's aging population place on state and local government?

North Carolina's Hispanic population became more than just an asterisk during the decade, increasing from 56,667 citizens in 1980 to 76,726 in 1990. The state's Asian and Pacific Islander population also increased. What do these changes in cultural diversity mean for North Carolina?

The state's poverty rate decreased during the decade, going from 14.8 percent to 13.0 percent, 26th in the nation and lower than most of the South. Can the poverty rate be cut further?

These are among the questions raised by the 1990 Census. In this article, Insight explores these questions and encourages the state to look for answers.



Chuck Burton

Charlotte, North Carolina's largest city, registered strong growth during the 1980s.

On January 6, 1993, North Carolina's double-digit population growth during the 1980s was recognized in two very different ways. The first occurred in Washington. It was there that Melvin Watt took the oath of office as a Democratic congressman from the state's new 12th Congressional District. The second was an announcement that the state would get a third area code carved out of the eastern half of the state that currently uses 919.

The newly added congressional district, drawn with an eye toward electing blacks to the U.S. House of Representatives, twists and snakes through parts of ten counties, from Gaston in the west to Durham in the east. A Charlotte lawyer, Watt is one of two African-Americans in the state's 14-member congressional delegation.

As for the area code split, it will happen along a line that starts in Person County, bobs and weaves south, and then makes an arc that ends near Morehead City. Come Nov. 14, 1993, telephones to the east will continue to use the 919 area code. Those to the west of that line will switch to a new code, 910. Southern Bell officials say the region's growth, along with demands for phone numbers for fax machines and cellular phones, made the change necessary.¹

There are ways other than counting congressional districts or area codes to get a sense of the change underway in North Carolina. Drive along

the coast and listen to the whir of circular saws ripping lumber for beach houses. Travel to downtown Charlotte and crane your neck to look at the city's skyscrapers, now among the tallest in the South. Or take a look at the U.S. Census.

Produced by a division of the U.S. Department of Commerce, the census is a once-a-decade look at America² and each of the 50 states. Each report is only a snapshot, but string them together and you get a sense of movement over time. It is—plain and simple—North Carolina by the numbers.

According to the census, North Carolina is still the nation's tenth most populous state, sandwiched between New Jersey, No. 9, and Georgia, No. 11.³ From 1980 to 1990, North Carolina's population grew 12.7 percent, from 5,881,766 to 6,628,637.⁴ It became wealthier, and its poverty rate dropped to 13.0 percent, just below the national average of 13.1.⁵

The state's population also grew older, with a median age in 1990 of 33.1, compared to 29.6 years in 1980.⁶ Long a state dominated by blacks and whites, North Carolina's "other" categories—primarily comprised of American Indians, Hispanics, and Asian-Americans—have climbed.⁷

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A North Carolina rural scene

And for the first time in the state's history, a majority of its residents live in areas the Census Bureau calls urban.⁸

That's the overview. At the county level, the uniformity fades. North Carolina's growth isn't evenly distributed, but instead is bunched—mainly in the state's middle—in the Piedmont. For every booming city, there is a rural county that lost population during the 1980s. Despite a poverty rate now slightly below the national average, nearly 830,000 North Carolinians still live below the federal poverty level of \$13,359 for a family of four.⁹

How did the Bureau of the Census learn all this? By asking questions. A lot of them. Census-takers are supposed to hit every household in the nation. Most households receive a short form with seven questions on the age, sex, race, and marital status of the people in that home. One of every six households received a long form with questions about education, employment, and housing conditions.¹⁰

It's from those responses that the Census Bureau assembles its portrait of the nation. While governments glean information from a host of other sources—tax returns, employment records, birth and death certificates—the census is the most complete compilation.

Who uses census information? It seems just about everybody. A business might decide to locate a restaurant in a certain community because the owners like the income level of that part of town. The U.S. government uses population figures to divvy up federal dollars for everything from highways to hospitals. And because membership in the U.S. House of Representatives is capped at 435,

North Carolina's recent gain of a twelfth seat came at the expense of one of the thirteen states that lost seats.

"If the only thing riding on the census was strictly the number of people in the country, it would have been easy to do," says William Tillman, the state demographer with the Office of State Planning, a division of the Governor's Office. But Tillman says because

"North Carolina's metro populations benefited from economic improvements during the 1980s, while more than 40 percent of the populations living in rural areas of the state did not."

—HAROLD HODGKINSON, DEMOGRAPHER

Table 1. N.C. Counties Which Lost Population in the 1980s or Are Projected to Lose Population in the 1990s

County	Population Loss	
	Actual 1980s	Projected 1990s
1. Alleghany	(0.03)%*	1.36%
2. Anson	8.48	7.28
3. Ashe	0.52	2.12
4. Bertie	3.03	2.43
5. Bladen	6.00	5.06
6. Caswell	0.06	(0.05)
7. Columbus	2.84	3.41
8. Duplin	2.34	1.50
9. Graham	0.29	0.93
10. Greene	4.55	5.41
11. Hertford	3.62	1.73
12. Hyde	7.87	5.69
13. Jones	3.00	9.77
14. Lenoir	4.25	4.29
15. Martin	3.35	3.48
16. Mitchell	(0.03)	1.37
17. Northampton	6.29	5.72
18. Richmond	1.42	0.18
19. Sampson	4.81	6.14
20. Tyrrell	2.99	3.60
21. Washington	5.43	4.94

* () indicates an increase in population

Source: 1990 Census and N.C. Rural Economic Development Center for population losses in 1980s, N.C. State Data Center projections for population losses in 1990s

financial issues are at stake for local governments, they cannot participate in the census except to point out perceived errors. Often, Tillman says, local government officials know more about the locations of new housing and populations than do the census-takers, but the census-takers must start each count from scratch.

The census has been controversial since its inception in 1790. President Washington wanted the survey to show the United States had a population of at least 4 million, enough to make the European powers think twice about meddling in the infant nation's affairs. To the first president's disappointment, the census only showed 3.9 million residents, including slaves. North Carolina's population was 393,751.¹¹

But such weighty controversies generally have been leavened by the value of the census as an information source. A careful examination of the census answers many questions, such as: What county in North Carolina has the highest percentage of old people? The retirement mecca of Polk County, with 24.6 percent of its residents over 65. Or, what county has the highest percentage of women? Edgecombe, at 54.3 percent. Or men? Onslow, home of Camp Lejeune Marine Corps Base and the New River Marine Corps Air Station, at 59.8 percent.

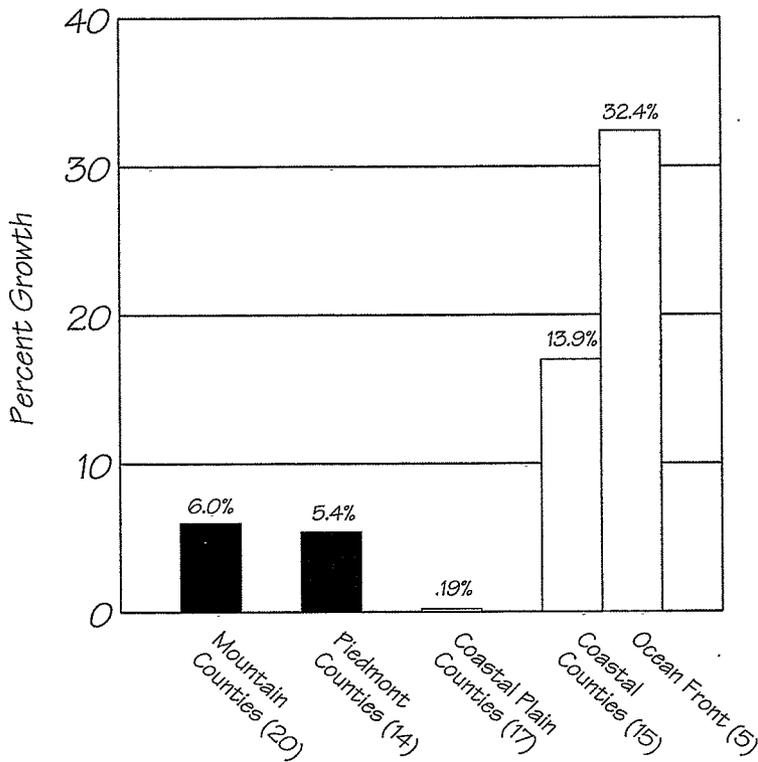
But the pages of numbers that make up the 1990 Census pose far more questions than they readily answer. Among the most challenging are: What do the census figures say about where North Carolina has been and where it is going? How does the state's performance on key indicators compare with the nation's? And, most importantly, what should state policymakers draw from the census figures in developing programs and strategies to solve the state's problems?

To narrow the focus, this analysis focuses on four key areas: North Carolina's rural-urban split; the aging of the state's population; the state's changing racial and ethnic make-up; and poverty.

Rural Versus Urban

Harold Hodgkinson, a demographer with the Center for Demographic Policy in Washington, sees the growing gap between rural and urban North Carolina as among the most important trends revealed in the census data. "We can sum up what has happened in North Carolina in one sentence," writes Hodgkinson. "North Carolina's metro populations benefited from economic improvements during the 1980s, while more than 40 percent of the populations living in rural areas of

Figure 1. 1980s Growth Rates for N.C. Rural Counties, by Region



Note: This chart uses the U.S. Office of Management and Budget designation of rural counties, as updated in 1993. By the OMB definition, N.C. now has 66 rural counties. Coastal counties with oceanfront also are included in the coastal region average.

the state did not. During the 1990s, new pressures will be brought on the state's fiscal and infrastructure resources, which will require new leadership to move ahead."¹²

It takes only about an hour to drive from downtown Charlotte, the heart of Mecklenburg County, to Wadesboro, the county seat in Anson County. But during the 1980s, these two counties seemed to grow further apart.

With its surging financial services industry leading the way, Mecklenburg added 107,163 residents from 1980 to 1990. The per-capita income of its residents—most of whom work in white-collar professions—is the second highest in the state at \$16,910 a year.¹³

The decade wasn't as kind to Anson County. Population in the predominantly blue collar rural county declined by 8.5 percent, a drop of 2,175 residents. The county's poverty rate approaches 18 percent and wages remain well below the state and national averages.¹⁴

Former County Commissioner Gene Russell of Ansonville says the people who are leaving Anson County are the very ones who should be securing its future—educated young workers. "You lose your income earners, and on the other hand, you keep your poor, your elderly, your indigent. You get a shift to a service-consuming population."

Russell describes a cycle in which fewer taxpayers must provide more services, which pushes

North Carolina's Urban Counties

(As defined by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget)



taxes higher. That, in turn, breeds resistance to the taxpayer investment in infrastructure needed to attract industry that would produce jobs. The lack of jobs prompts more young people to leave, and the cycle continues. "It's an exponential, negative thing on rural areas," Russell says.

Which Counties Are Growing?

Anson County was one of 19 rural counties that lost population during the 1980s. (See Table 1, p. 6.) No urban counties lost population. The state's metropolitan regions grew faster and more robustly than its rural sections, continuing a trend that began in the 1970s.¹⁵ All but four of the 19 rural population losers in the 1980s—Anson, Ashe, Caswell, and Graham counties—were in or near the Coastal Plain, the broad stretch of land between the Piedmont and the coast.

The gap between rural and urban isn't likely to be closed easily, but state policymakers say it's a problem that must be addressed. "With the pressures of global competition growing, the rural economy appears ill-prepared to cope with the challenges of a new economic era," says the N.C. Rural Economic Development Center in its *Rural Profile*, an analysis of census data and other re-

sources released in November 1992. The center's report depicts the rural/urban gap by comparing the numbers on a series of indicators. Here are just a few of them:

Population: Urban counties added more than 500,000 residents during the 1980s and grew by 17.4 percent; rural counties added fewer than 200,000 residents for a population increase of 7.3 percent.¹⁶

Income: In 1990, urban counties had a per capita income of \$17,818. Per capita income in rural counties was \$14,228. The gap? \$3,590.¹⁷

Poverty: The rural counties had a poverty rate of 16.4 percent in 1990. Urban counties had an average rate of 10.4 percent. All 25 counties with poverty rates exceeding 20 percent were rural.¹⁸

And lumping the rural counties together masks some real differences in the data. For example, growth rates during the decade ranged from a high of about 70 percent in Dare County to Anson's *decrease* of 8.5 percent. There are at least two big reasons some rural counties are thriving while others decline: the mountains and the coast. Both are drawing retirees and newcomers with the resources to make a difference in local economies.¹⁹ "Take the resort counties out and you really have a bleak picture," says Bud Skinner, the

rural center's senior researcher.

The phenomenon is particularly strong for rural counties along the coast, with a mean growth rate nearly twice that of the mountain and Piedmont regions. (See Figure 1, p. 7.) Heading east from the population centers of the Piedmont, the growth curve flattens out along the coastal plain, rises modestly across the coastal counties with rivers and sounds, and then skyrockets for counties with actual ocean frontage.²⁰

What Is Urban and What Is Rural?

Deciding what is rural and what is urban isn't always easy in North Carolina. Tobacco and cotton grow near the strip shopping centers in Wake County. Rural communities like Lizard Lick and McGee's Crossroads lie less than 20 miles from downtown Raleigh. In rural Watauga County, there is a night life to rival more metropolitan counties, thanks to the presence of Appalachian State University and the local ski industry.

The U.S. government doesn't help much. The Bureau of the Census uses one definition, while the U.S. Office of Management and Budget uses another.

The Census Bureau basically defines urban residents as those who live in cities and towns with

at least a population of 2,500 or in suburbs outside the municipal boundaries but considered urban because of population density. That breaks each county into rural and urban sections. Even in Mecklenburg County, with its 511,433 people, the census says about a tenth of these citizens, 50,594, are rural dwellers.²¹

OMB takes a different approach. It looks at commuting patterns, total population, and other indicators to decide if a county is part of a metropolitan area. Some counties, such as Onslow, are their own metro area. Others encompass a region, often built around several large cities, such as the 11-county Piedmont Triad, built around Greensboro, High Point, and Winston-Salem.

By OMB's definition, counties such as Stokes and Franklin are considered urban. The Census Bureau sees them as predominantly rural.²²

Richard Reid is the county planner for Franklin County, which lies to the north and east of Raleigh. He calls Franklin "exurban. We're not exactly suburban yet. When you drive around the county, it looks very open, very rural, but it's deceptive."

The Tar River splits Franklin County. South of the river, the county is becoming a bedroom community for people who commute to jobs in Raleigh and Rocky Mount. It's that proximity to

Downtown Farmville, North Carolina





Karen Tam

A Pitt County farm in what is now an "urban" county

jobs that helped Franklin grow by 21.1 percent in the 1980s, says Reid. Still, growth alone does not make for a healthy economy. Reid worries about the quality of that growth—viewing some of it as the scraps that fall from the table of neighboring urban counties. (See "A County Grapples with Growth," page 11, for more on the challenge facing Franklin County.)

The list of urban counties continues to grow. In January 1993, with a stroke of the pen, OMB made Pitt County an urban area. The same thing happened in Wayne, Edgecombe, Nash, Chatham, Johnston, Caldwell, Currituck, and Madison counties.²³

Until their conversion, many of these nine were among the most successful rural counties, registering strong growth during the 1980s. "There's a strange anomaly here," says Edward Bergman, the director of the Institute of Economic Development at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. "The most successful rural places no longer are. It's more than a matter of semantics. This urban rite of passage depletes the rural category of its stars."

The phenomenon could be referred to as the suburbanization of a previously rural state. Skinner says the rural decline in the 1980s marks a

sharp contrast with the 1970s, when country kept pace with the city. "There was some migration to rural areas, and the growth rates were equivalent," says Skinner. "People were talking about a rural renaissance."

Reversing the Decline of Rural Counties

During the 1990s, the state's rural areas are likely to find themselves in even more of a squeeze, says Skinner. Fewer and fewer families are earning their living from farming, and the old manufacturing jobs that helped to sustain these communities are drying up, says Skinner.²⁴ But the new information and financial services jobs aren't coming to town. And if they arrive, they don't always stay.

That's been confirmed recently by two of the state's most successful service sector businesses. Carolina Telephone & Telegraph Company announced in December 1990 that it was moving its headquarters and 400 jobs from Tarboro in Edgecombe County to a site just north of the Wake County line in Franklin County.²⁵ The phone company instantly became Franklin's single largest taxpayer while leaving Edgecombe with a hole

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Mike McLaughlin

Carolina Telephone & Telegraph's new headquarters—a coup for Franklin County, but a loss for Tarboro

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to fill in its local economy. And in late 1992, Southern National Corporation of Lumberton said it would move its North Carolina banking division to Winston-Salem.²⁶

As for the shift from agriculture, the U.S. Department of Agriculture defined 15 North Carolina counties as farm-dependent in 1979. By 1986, the number of North Carolina counties with farming as the principle source of income had shrunk to four—Gates, Greene, Jones, and Northampton, according to Robert Murphy, chief statistician in the N.C. Department of Agriculture.

Meanwhile, rural leaders on the losing end keep hoping for a white knight bearing jobs for their ailing economies. "I'm still optimistic," says Lee Allison, an Anson County commissioner. "We have a lot of unskilled workers here. We need some kind of high-tech industry to come in here."

But some experts say hopes of attracting high-tech industry with a low-skills work force are fading. That's why they preach work force preparedness as the key to a more prosperous future.

The community college system, these experts say, will become increasingly important as employers demand workers with more highly developed thinking skills and low-wage, repetitive motion jobs move offshore. That means more funding for the community college system and better

coordination with the public schools to develop the work force of the future. (For more on this issue, see Jack Betts, "Work Force Preparedness: Training 21st Century Workers on a Mid-20th Century Budget," *North Carolina Insight*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (September 1990), pp. 23-29.)

One program that links high school and community college curriculums to prepare students for technical jobs is called Tech Prep. The six-year program of academic and technical education started in Richmond County and now has expanded to 45 consortiums of local school systems and community colleges across the state. "It's part of a massive education reform movement," says J.W. Eades, associate director for federal vocational education in the N.C. Department of Community Colleges. Eades says the program has been successful in attracting federal funds, but it's too early to tell whether it will succeed in producing work-

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ers who can think on the job.

Skinner, of the Rural Economic Development Center, says work force preparedness is important, but more will be required to rebuild the state's sagging rural economies. "If you educate people, and there is no job to go to, they just leave," he says.

The rural center offers its own prescription for improving the rural economy. It includes: (1) refitting the rural manufacturing base to compete in the global economy; (2) nurturing job-creating small businesses through such efforts as the rural center's microenterprise loan program; and (3) tailoring job-training programs to the needs of rural communities, rather than training workers to join the exodus to the cities.

Sen. Marc Basnight, the President Pro Tempore of the N.C. Senate, represents the state's First Senatorial District, which includes several poor, rural counties as well as fast-growing Dare County. He recalled visiting Mattamuskeet High School in Hyde County last year. "Every senior I talked with was leaving after graduation," says Basnight.

But while the Rural Economic Development Center talks of microenterprise loans and other aids to small businesses, some rural counties are dreaming big. Lenoir County lies in the middle of North Carolina's Coastal Plain. Like Anson County, Lenoir County lost population—more than 2,000 residents, or about 4 percent—during the 1980s.²⁷

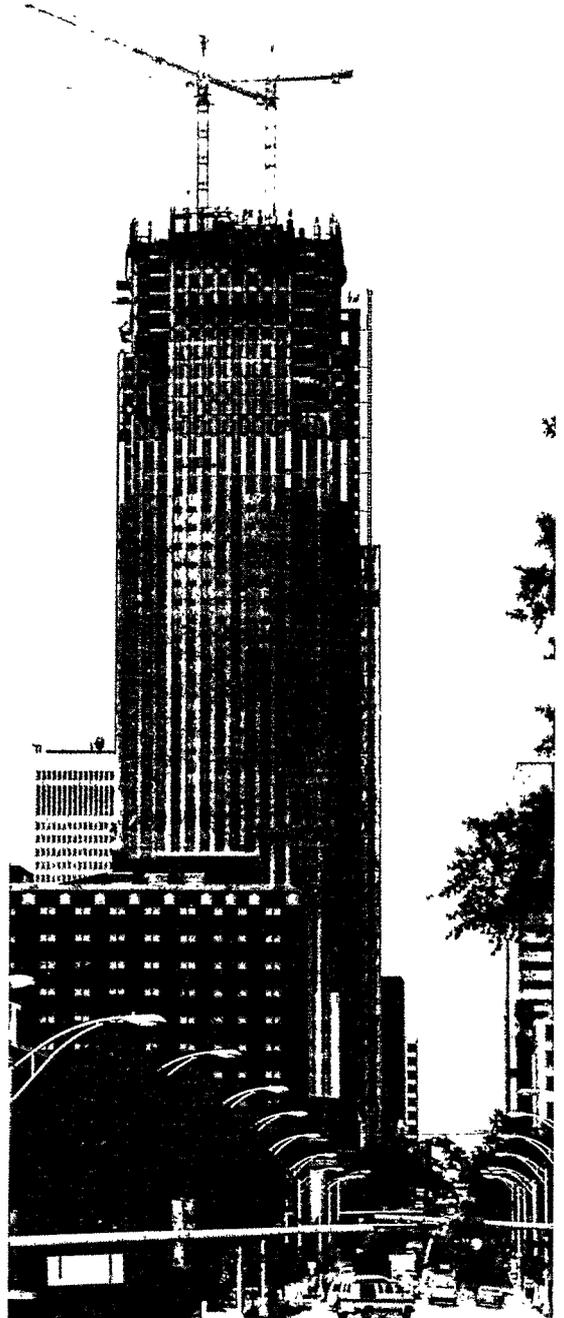
Yet officials in Lenoir aren't waving the white flag. They're testing the limits of the state's commitment to bringing jobs and growth to struggling rural areas through a big-ticket public works project called the Global Transpark. The idea is to build a huge air cargo airport and use it as a draw for luring industry to the area.²⁸ The price tag for the project could exceed \$150 million, but supporters believe it could draw as many as 28,000 jobs to the complex.

The success or failure of the air cargo project won't be known for years, but the importance of finding an answer to the state's rural dilemma will become even more critical in the decades to come. According to projections from the Office of State Planning, 20 counties will lose population during the 1990s. Another five will grow less than 1 percent.²⁹ (See Table 1, p. 6.)

For the state's 34 urban counties, the 1990s won't be all gravy. Growth has its costs in more traffic and crime, less open land, and greater service demands that must be paid for with taxes.

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Chuck Burton

Table 2. County-by-County Census Data on Population, Per Capita Income, and Percentages for Overall Poverty, Children in Poverty, People over 65, and People over 65 in Poverty

County	Population	Per Capita Income	Percent in Poverty	Percent of Children in Poverty	Percent of People Over Age 65	Percent of People Aged 65+ in Poverty
Alamance	108,213 (13) ¹	\$13,290 (16)	8.9 (93)	11.3 (90)	14.8 (29)*	15.9 (82)
Alexander	27,544 (65)	11,624 (38)	9.8 (84)* ²	11.6 (88)	11.0 (88)	24.5 (41)
Alleghany	9,590 (93)	10,237 (66)	20.1 (24)	24.8 (27)*	18.6 (7)	31.7 (7)
Anson	23,474 (70)	9,402 (86)	17.6 (38)	22.9 (33)	15.7 (23)	29.4 (16)
Ashe	22,209 (75)	9,545 (77)	18.4 (35)	21.2 (39)	17.1 (15)*	27.5 (28)
Avery	14,867 (84)	9,729 (75)	14.6 (51)	16.1 (61)*	14.7 (31)*	28.0 (25)
Beaufort	42,283 (48)	10,722 (54)	19.5 (29)	24.8 (27)*	14.9 (27)*	29.1 (18)*
Bertie	20,388 (78)	8,392 (98)	25.9 (3)	35.3 (5)	14.6 (33)	32.3 (6)
Bladen	28,663 (63)	9,497 (79)	21.9 (14)	28.0 (18)*	14.2 (47)*	31.1 (10)
Brunswick	50,985 (42)	11,688 (35)	15.4 (48)	21.3 (38)	14.7 (31)*	17.9 (74)*
Buncombe	174,821 (8)	13,211 (18)	11.4 (71)*	15.0 (68)	16.1 (21)*	15.8 (83)
Burke	75,744 (28)	11,604 (39)	10.1 (81)*	13.0 (79)*	13.0 (65)*	18.8 (69)
Cabarrus	98,935 (19)	13,522 (14)	8.1 (99)	9.7 (96)	13.2 (61)*	15.4 (85)
Caldwell	70,709 (29)	11,522 (42)	10.8 (77)	13.3 (77)*	12.1 (78)	20.5 (60)
Camden	5,904 (98)	10,465 (63)	16.1 (45)	19.5 (48)*	14.0 (50)*	18.9 (68)
Carteret	52,556 (40)	13,227 (17)	11.6 (70)	15.7 (64)	14.3 (40)*	11.9 (98)
Caswell	20,693 (77)	9,817 (73)	16.2 (44)	18.0 (52)	14.3 (40)*	34.5 (3)
Catawba	118,412 (12)	13,764 (12)	7.1(100)	8.9 (98)	12.0 (79)*	12.6 (96)
Chatham	38,759 (52)	13,321 (15)	9.7 (87)	11.7 (86)*	14.4 (38)*	19.8 (62)
Cherokee	20,170 (79)	9,258 (87)	20.4 (20)*	26.2 (22)	19.0 (6)	23.1 (48)
Chowan	13,506 (89)	10,606 (61)	17.7 (37)	23.6 (31)	17.6 (13)*	18.7 (70)
Clay	7,155 (97)	9,456 (83)	17.9 (36)	20.2 (44)	20.3 (5)	25.7 (37)
Cleveland	84,714 (23)	11,875 (31)	11.0 (75)*	14.1 (72)*	13.6 (58)	19.2 (67)
Columbus	49,587 (44)	9,134 (89)	24.0 (9)*	28.7 (14)	13.4 (59)*	37.8 (1)
Craven	81,613 (25)	11,619 (38)	13.6 (58)*	19.5 (48)*	11.2 (86)	17.9 (74)*
Cumberland	274,566 (4)	11,100 (48)	14.4 (53)*	20.1 (45)	6.1 (99)	19.7 (63)
Currituck	13,736 (88)	12,630 (23)	10.1 (81)*	13.4 (76)	12.4 (71)*	14.5 (88)

¹ () = rank, ²* asterisk denotes tie in rank

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Table 2, *continued*

County	Population	Per Capita Income	Percent in Poverty	Percent of Children in Poverty	Percent of People Over Age 65	Percent of People Aged 65+ in Poverty
Dare	22,746 (73) ¹	15,107 (6)	8.3 (97)* ²	8.3 (99)	12.5 (70)	10.5 (99)
Davidson	126,677 (10)	12,597 (24)	9.8 (84)*	12.4 (83)	12.0 (79)*	17.8 (76)
Davie	27,859 (64)	14,648 (9)	8.4 (94)*	6.6(100)	13.8 (53)	22.6 (52)
Duplin	39,995 (50)	9,406 (85)	19.1 (30)*	22.3 (34)	14.0 (50)*	28.1 (24)
Durham	181,835 (6)	15,030 (7)	11.9 (69)	15.3 (67)	10.7 (89)*	15.6 (84)
Edgecombe	56,558 (38)	9,530 (78)	20.9 (18)	28.4 (16)*	12.3 (74)*	29.0 (20)
Forsyth	265,878 (5)	16,151 (3)	10.5 (79)*	14.9 (69)	12.2 (76)*	14.6 (87)
Franklin	36,414 (56)	10,959 (50)	14.5 (52)	17.1 (56)*	13.4 (59)*	27.3 (29)
Gaston	175,093 (7)	12,477 (25)	10.6 (78)	14.1 (72)*	12.0 (79)*	17.5 (77)*
Gates	9,305 (95)	11,561 (40)	15.7 (47)	20.4 (41)*	14.6 (33)*	22.9 (49)*
Graham	7,916 (96)	8,877 (94)	24.9 (7)	34.9 (6)	16.1 (21)*	25.1 (39)
Granville	38,345 (53)	10,939 (51)	13.5 (60)*	16.9 (58)	12.4 (71)*	26.7 (32)
Greene	15,384 (83)	9,567 (76)	19.1 (30)*	27.8 (20)	12.3 (74)*	27.6 (27)
Guilford	347,420 (3)	15,373 (5)	10.1 (81)*	13.3 (77)*	11.9 (82)	13.2 (91)*
Halifax	55,516 (39)	8,980 (91)	25.6 (4)	36.5 (2)	14.3 (40)*	26.2 (34)*
Harnett	67,822 (31)	10,053 (68)	17.5 (39)	21.7 (37)	11.7 (83)*	26.1 (36)
Haywood	46,942 (46)	11,731 (34)	12.7 (64)	15.4 (66)	18.2 (10)	16.8 (79)
Henderson	69,285 (30)	13,702 (13)	10.5 (79)*	15.9 (63)	21.9 (3)	10.0(100)
Hertford	22,523 (74)	9,016 (90)	25.0 (5)*	36.4 (3)	14.6 (33)*	26.8 (30)*
Hoke	22,856 (72)	8,688 (96)	21.1 (17)	28.8 (13)	9.3 (95)*	28.2 (23)
Hyde	5,411 (99)	9,434 (84)	24.0 (9)*	36.2 (4)	16.6 (20)	23.4 (46)
Iredell	92,931 (21)	13,000 (20)	9.4 (91)*	11.7 (86)*	13.2 (61)*	16.7 (80)
Jackson	26,846 (66)	10,326 (65)	16.7 (42)	17.9 (53)	13.8 (53)*	22.3 (55)
Johnston	81,306 (26)	11,839 (33)	14.3 (55)	16.6 (59)*	12.6 (68)*	29.9 (12)*
Jones	9,414 (94)	8,832 (95)	20.2 (23)	24.7 (29)	14.3 (40)*	25.4 (38)
Lee	41,374 (49)	12,042 (29)	14.7 (50)	20.4 (41)*	13.1 (64)	18.5 (73)
Lenoir	57,274 (36)	10,647 (59)	20.0 (25)	28.0 (18)*	13.7 (56)*	26.8 (30)*
Lincoln	50,319 (43)	12,440 (26)	9.6 (88)*	12.8 (81)	11.7 (83)*	17.5 (77)*
McDowell	35,681 (57)	10,516 (62)	11.4 (71)*	11.9 (84)*	14.4 (38)*	18.6 (71)*

¹() = rank, ²* asterisk denotes tie in rank

Table 2, *continued*

County	Population	Per Capita Income	Percent in Poverty	Percent of Children in Poverty	Percent of People Over Age 65	Percent of People Aged 65+ in Poverty
Macon	23,499 (69) ¹	11,017 (49)	16.5 (43)	20.0 (46)	22.5 (2)	21.5 (58)
Madison	16,953 (81)	9,149 (88)	20.4 (20)* ²	22.2 (35)	16.7 (19)	36.0 (2)
Martin	25,078 (68)	9,486 (80)	22.3 (12)	28.9 (12)	14.5 (37)	31.0 (11)
Mecklenburg	511,433 (1)	16,910 (2)	9.6 (88)*	13.0 (79)*	9.3 (95)*	13.2 (91)*
Mitchell	14,433 (85)	10,219 (67)	16.0 (46)	17.1 (56)*	17.7 (12)	29.9 (12)*
Montgomery	23,346 (71)	10,695 (57)	14.4 (53)*	19.6 (47)	13.7 (56)*	21.0 (59)
Moore	59,013 (35)	14,934 (8)	11.1 (74)	16.6 (59)*	20.8 (4)	12.4 (97)
Nash	76,677 (27)	12,684 (22)	13.6 (58)*	17.2 (55)	12.4 (71)*	23.9 (44)
New Hanover	120,284 (11)	13,863 (11)	14.0 (56)	19.3 (51)	12.6 (68)*	13.2 (91)*
Northampton	20,798 (76)	8,244 (99)	23.6 (11)	32.7 (9)	16.8 (17)*	28.4 (22)
Onslow	149,838 (9)	10,713 (56)	12.1 (67)	16.1 (61)*	4.5(100)	19.3 (65)*
Orange	93,851 (20)	15,776 (4)	13.9 (57)	10.1 (93)	8.7 (97)	13.0 (95)
Pamlico	11,372 (90)	10,665 (58)	18.9 (32)	22.1 (36)	16.8 (17)*	23.3 (47)
Pasquotank	31,298 (59)	10,718 (55)	19.7 (26)*	26.8 (21)	13.9 (52)	22.4 (53)*
Pender	28,855 (62)	11,460 (43)	17.2 (40)	24.6 (30)	14.3 (40)*	22.8 (51)
Perquimans	10,477 (92)	9,821 (72)	21.5 (15)*	33.7 (7)	18.3 (9)	21.6 (57)
Person	30,180 (60)	11,158 (47)	13.0 (63)	17.3 (54)	14.2 (47)*	22.4 (53)*
Pitt	107,924 (15)	11,642 (36)	22.1 (13)	25.3 (25)	9.9 (93)	28.9 (21)
Polk	14,416 (86)	14,213 (10)	9.6 (88)*	9.9 (95)	24.6 (1)	14.4 (89)
Randolph	106,546 (16)	12,102 (28)	8.3 (97)*	10.0 (94)	12.2 (76)*	16.4 (81)
Richmond	44,518 (47)	9,841 (70)	16.8 (41)	23.0 (32)	14.2 (47)*	24.3 (42)
Robeson	105,179 (17)	8,878 (93)	24.1 (8)	31.7 (11)	10.7 (89)*	32.4 (5)
Rockingham	86,064 (22)	11,546 (41)	12.2 (66)	15.6 (65)	14.3 (40)*	20.3 (61)
Rowan	110,605 (14)	12,018 (30)	9.4 (91)*	11.6 (88)*	15.3 (26)	15.2 (86)
Rutherford	56,918 (37)	11,287 (45)	12.3 (65)	14.8 (70)	15.6 (24)	21.9 (56)
Sampson	47,297 (45)	9,480 (81)	20.7 (19)	25.2 (26)	14.3 (40)	31.2 (9)
Scotland	33,754 (58)	9,768 (74)	18.6 (33)	25.9 (24)	11.1 (87)	24.2 (43)
Stanly	51,765 (41)	11,265 (46)	11.0 (75)*	14.7 (71)	14.6 (33)*	18.6 (71)*
Stokes	37,223 (54)	12,181 (27)	9.8 (84)*	10.4 (91)*	11.5 (85)	29.3 (17)

¹() = rank, ²* asterisk denotes tie in rank

—table continues on next page

Table 2, continued

County	Population	Per Capita Income	Percent in Poverty	Percent of Children in Poverty	Percent of People Over Age 65	Percent of People Aged 65+ in Poverty
Surry	61,704 (33) ¹	11,342 (44)	11.4 (71)* ²	12.5 (82)	14.8 (29)*	22.9 (49)*
Swain	11,268 (91)	8,922 (93)	27.6 (2)	33.4 (8)	15.4 (25)	29.8 (14)*
Transylvania	25,520 (67)	12,737 (21)	13.5 (60)*	19.5 (48)*	18.5 (8)	13.1 (94)
Tyrrell	3,856(100)	7,884(100)	25.0 (5)*	32.2 (10)	17.6 (13)*	31.6 (8)
Union	84,211 (24)	13,135 (19)	8.4 (94)*	10.4 (94)	9.6 (94)	19.3 (65)*
Vance	38,892 (51)	10,457 (64)	19.6 (28)	26.0 (23)	13.0 (65)*	23.7 (45)
Wake	423,380 (2)	17,195 (1)	8.4 (94)*	9.2 (97)	7.8 (98)	13.9 (90)
Warren	17,265 (80)	8,502 (97)	28.2 (1)	37.1 (1)	17.9 (11)	32.6 (4)
Washington	13,997 (87)	9,827 (71)	20.4 (20)*	28.4 (16)*	13.8 (53)*	27.8 (26)
Watauga	36,952 (55)	10,628 (60)	21.5 (15)*	11.9 (84)*	10.6 (91)	19.4 (64)
Wayne	104,666 (18)	10,843 (52)	15.2 (49)	20.4 (41)*	10.3 (92)	26.2 (34)*
Wilkes	59,393 (34)	10,816 (53)	13.3 (62)	13.5 (75)	13.2 (61)*	29.1 (18)*
Wilson	66,061 (32)	11,641 (37)	19.7 (26)*	28.6 (15)	12.7 (67)	24.9 (40)
Yadkin	30,488 (61)	11,843 (32)	12.0 (68)	14.1 (72)	14.9 (27)*	26.5 (33)
Yancey	15,419 (82)	9,462 (82)	18.7 (34)	20.6 (40)	17.1 (15)*	29.8 (14)*
Statewide						
N.C.	6,628,637	\$12,885	13.0%	16.9%	12.1%	19.5%

¹() = rank, ²* asterisk denotes tie in rank

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Data

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These include everything from heavier demands on infrastructure like water and sewer systems and landfills, to more crowded courtrooms, to greater demands for social services.

Of the 750,000 additional people expected to reside in North Carolina by the end of the century, a third are projected to live in Wake and Mecklenburg counties, the state's two largest counties.³⁰ Mecklenburg's population is forecast to grow by 23 percent, from the 511,433 citizens counted in the 1990 Census to 629,593 at the turn of the century. Even more growth is forecast for Wake, which is projected to expand its population

by nearly 30 percent with the addition of 125,604 residents.

Less robust growth is forecast for North Carolina's other major population centers. Guilford, the state's third most populous county, will gain 25,710 residents, a growth rate of 7.4 percent. Cumberland, fourth, will add 24,096 residents, an 8.8 percent increase. Forsyth, fifth, will expand by 8.3 percent by the year 2000.³¹

But the growth boom is expected to continue for North Carolina's resort counties. Dare County on the northern coast, for example, will expand its population by some 42.5 percent, according to state forecasts, adding 9,670 residents to a 1990



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For now, mass transit equals bus service in a few large cities.

population of 22,746. Brunswick, the state's southernmost coastal county, will add 14,315 residents to end the century with a population of 65,300 citizens—a 28.1 percent increase.³²

The Consequences of Growth

Coping with these arrivals will be costly. For example, Wake County estimates its school enrollment in the year 2000 will be 102,000, a 46 percent increase. To meet that need, the school board endorsed a \$735.8 million bond proposal. About two-thirds of that package would be construction for the new students. That proposal was scaled back to a more politically palatable \$250 million, \$200 million of the total for schools—which the voters approved in June 1993. School officials say they will seek an additional bond vote in the future if enrollment projections hold true.³³

In Mecklenburg County, the situation is similar. School officials project about \$800 million in construction needs.

Wake County officials estimate that the first bond issue alone will push the county's property tax rate from 66 cents per \$100 of assessed value to 85 cents per \$100 by the 1996-97 fiscal year—not a pleasant thought for elected officials.

Also on the horizon for the state's high-growth regions: snarled traffic and the pollution that results from over-reliance on the internal combustion engine. For a state that had prided itself on

"To be competitive in the 21st Century as an urban metropolitan complex, you've got to have more than roads."

—MARTIN CRAMTON, DIRECTOR,
MECKLENBURG COUNTY PLANNING

clean air, it was a shock when the World Resources Institute claimed the Triangle—along with Fresno, Calif., and Houston, Texas—had the second worst air in the nation. Charlotte was tied for third.³⁴

Some researchers question the ranking, but one has only to watch the cars trickle along Interstate 40 or Interstate 77 during rush hour to get a sense that some of the state's traffic arteries are overburdened. One solution may be mass transit, now largely limited to bus service in some of the state's largest cities. But census figures indicate that few people ride the bus to work. Only in Mecklenburg and Orange counties did use of mass transit as a means of transportation to work exceed 3 percent.³⁵

Will the 1990s be a decade of major change in mode of transportation? Jim Ritchie, the director of the Triangle Transit Authority, is keeping his fingers crossed. It's his hope that by the year 2000, construction will have begun on some type of mass transit rail system in the Triangle and that developers will have begun shifting from suburban sprawl to more concentrated communities built along operating or planned mass transit corridors.

"That will take a new commitment [of tax dollars] to public transportation from the state," says Ritchie. "To date, there's been little, if any, commitment. They've said it's a local responsibility. But the property tax just won't do it."

Planners in Mecklenburg County also are developing a regional transportation strategy that encompasses cities within a 20-mile radius of Charlotte. Eventually, says Mecklenburg Planning Director Martin Cramton, the regional transit system would provide commuter bus and light-rail service along five corridors. "We're trying to foster a new vision for this region as a competitive metropolitan region," says Cramton. "To be competitive in the 21st Century as an urban metropolitan complex, you've got to have more than roads."

When Gov. Jim Hunt named Sam Hunt as his Secretary of Transportation, the governor promised to raise the profile of public transportation. He created a new deputy secretary of public transportation and elevated David King, long-time head of DOT's mass transit program, to the new post. "This administration will be a strong supporter of high-speed and light rail projects as appropriate—especially in our urban areas," Governor Hunt said in January 1993.

Sheron Morgan, director of the Office of State Planning, says realized and projected population growth and the resulting higher traffic volume

suggest a move toward mass transit. But Morgan says she's not sure when or even whether this will occur. "There are some real questions about density," says Morgan, "how dense an area has to be to support urban transportation and how the population must be distributed to support inter-urban, high-speed rail."

For example, Morgan says if the state pressed ahead with high-speed rail between Charlotte and Raleigh, all the leaders in small towns in between would be pushing to get the train to stop in their towns. All these stops would defeat the purpose of high-speed rail, yet the small-town riders might be needed to make the route financially feasible. "Half the population concentrations you could reach and serve would be in those little towns," says Morgan.

Still, says Morgan, futuristic modes of transport are not as far-fetched as they may sound. Rail transport of private vehicles could help solve the problem of not having a car at the end of a train trip. So-called electronic highways could be used to ease traffic congestion in and around the state's larger cities. These electronic highways could do everything from alerting drivers to traffic problems on the route ahead to providing dedicated traffic lanes that actually control vehicles. "DOT [the N.C. Department of Transportation] is already planning an electronically controlled traffic management system for Charlotte," says Morgan.

But with all the other demands on state resources, it remains uncertain how much money the General Assembly will allocate to these sort of projects. What the state *may* be able to do with fewer resources is encourage car-pooling. If census data are correct, the state would be starting from a solid base. In some sections of the state, as much as a third of the work force is already car-pooling, and the statewide average is 16.1 percent.³⁶

Car- or van-pooling rates are highest in rural counties with a major employment area within easy commute. In Gates County, for example, 35.2 percent of the population participates in some sort of car-pool. County manager Ed McDuffie expressed some doubt about the census numbers on car-pooling. But he *did* say many county residents car-pool to jobs in paper mills and shipyards in the Tidewater area of Virginia. "We have farmers who work on their property and wage earners who have to leave the county for jobs," says McDuffie. "We have a lot of people who buy 12- to 15-passenger vans and charge their co-workers to commute."

An Aging Population

If addressing the growing rural-urban gap isn't enough to gray the hair of North Carolina policymakers, there are other demographic developments that undoubtedly will. One good candidate is the graying of the North Carolina population. Between 1980 and 1990, the number of people older than 65 increased from 603,181 to 804,341. They started the decade at 10.3 percent of the total population and ended it at 12.1 percent, below the national average of 12.6, but gaining ground.³⁷ For the very old—those above age 85—the growth is even greater, from about 45,203 in 1980 to about 69,969 in 1990, a 54.8 percent jump.

The numbers of elderly are increasing in North Carolina for two distinct reasons. First, people are living longer—a result of medical breakthroughs and healthier lifestyles. Second, North Carolina has become a magnet for retirees, drawn here by the state's natural beauty, friendly citizens, and moderate, four-season climate.

Through the 1970s, the state ranked seventh in the nation in in-migration of retirees, behind Florida, California, Arizona, Texas, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, with about 20,000 more retirees entering the state than leaving, says Charles Longino, a sociology professor at Wake Forest

University and a national authority on retirement migration patterns. Comparable figures for the 1980s were not available, but since the state's 65-and-over population has increased so dramatically, its in-migration rate almost certainly has increased.

"It's a mechanism for economic development," says William Haas, a sociology professor at the University of North Carolina at Asheville who has studied the impact of the retirement population on Western North Carolina. In Henderson County, says Haas, the informal motto of the Chamber of Commerce is "apples, industry, and retirees."

The N.C. Center for Public Policy Research examined the pluses and minuses of this influx of out-of-state retirees in a 1985 *North Carolina Insight* theme issue on the elderly.³⁸ These newcomers generally are more affluent than retirees who are North Carolina natives. They invest in housing, pay for their own supplemental health care, have disposable income, and exhibit a high level of volunteerism. Because they spend a lot on health care, retirees help attract doctors and other providers to rural areas that might otherwise face a shortage of health care professionals.

Still, these retirees bring their own set of service demands—better ambulance service is one example. And because they have no school-age children, they may be less inclined to support tax



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increases to pay for public education.³⁹ Providing long-term care for larger populations of frail elderly also may ultimately strain the resources of some North Carolina counties.

North Carolina's elderly population is scattered across the state, but certain counties have a higher proportion of their citizens above age 65. (See Table 2, pp. 17-20). Most of these counties are in the mountainous west. Nearly a quarter of Polk County's population is above age 65. Others with more than a fifth of the population over 65 are: Macon, 22.5 percent; Henderson, 21.9 percent; Clay, 20.3 percent; and Moore, 20.8 percent. Excepting only Moore in the Piedmont, all of these are mountain counties.

Skinner of the Rural Economic Development Center says these rural counties may be the exception to the rule. "On average, rural counties have a higher percentage of elderly not because of in-

***There is a feeling
part of us that never
grows old at all.***

—WALLACE STEGNER,
THE SPECTATOR BIRD

migration but because young adults are leaving," says Skinner. "The younger, better-educated people in rural areas are having to move to urban areas for employment. These are exactly the population component you don't want to lose."

The counties with the lowest proportion of elderly citizens are Onslow, with only 5.6 percent of the population 65-years-of-age and older, and Cumberland, at 6.3 percent. Both have large populations of young soldiers that skew their averages. Others with proportionally fewer elderly are: Wake, 8.7 percent over age 65; Orange, 9.3 percent; and Hoke, 9.4 percent.⁴⁰

The elderly population isn't projected to slow its growth any time soon. The Office of State Planning predicts steady increases through the year 2020, when 17 percent of the population will be age 65 and older, and 2.1 percent of North Carolina's 8.6 million residents will be older than age 85.⁴¹ Lynne Perrin, the assistant secretary for aging and special needs in the Department of Human Resources, says, "I've been concerned about the demographics for some time. You can see this wave coming at you."

George Myers, the director of the Center for Demographic Studies at Duke University, has already marked the year 2012 as an important one for future policymakers. By his calculations, that's the year the baby boomers hit retirement, a transition reminiscent of a "pig being ingested by a python."⁴²

"I don't think there's a lot of people who know what it will all mean," says Myers. "We're in the process of population aging and this has profound implications for the provision of social services, hospital services, and welfare services."

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with except low-paying service jobs such as tourism," says Morgan.

While the state's poverty level declined during the 1980s, Morgan sees resiliency in the current rate of 13 percent. "The percent will stay about the same or decline a little, but the number of people is likely to grow. We aren't getting people out of poverty. We aren't breaking the cycle. These people in traditional industries are very vulnerable, especially when the company folds, and the pension goes with it, and they are left with nothing but Social Security.

"But probably the most sensitive area is unwed mothers—single parent households—because that's where the intergenerational cycle begins. If a teenage mother gets pregnant out of wedlock, the probability that her mother did the same thing is very high."

Morgan also foresees further problems with affordable housing. "You already see that happening with the boom in mobile homes," she says. "For poor people, it's a poor investment, and the way it's financed is just an invitation to bankruptcy because the payment period lasts longer than the value of the home." More generally, says Morgan, "The cost of housing is way out of balance with the wage structure." Unless the balance shifts, says Morgan, the state may see a proportional increase in people

who rent, rather than owning their homes.

Morgan believes the state would do well to take these kinds of trends into account in decision-making. Too often, she says, that doesn't happen. "Frequently, the issue passes without anything having been done about it," says Morgan. "But it's still nudging you in the back. . . . It's going to come back and kick you in the seat of the pants one day."

—Mike McLaughlin

FOOTNOTES

¹ S.B. 253 of the 1993 session. A separate bill, S.B. 150, would create a strategic planning authority to develop a vision for the state's economy for the next 20–30 years and develop goals for implementing that vision.

² S.B. 187 of the 1993 Session.

³ S.B. 252 of the 1993 Session.

⁴ S.B. 412 of the 1993 Session.

⁵ H.B. 330 of the 1993 Session.

⁶ Lanny Proffer, "Benchmarks to a Better Oregon," *State Legislatures*, July 1992, pp. 33–35.

⁷ Kathleen Sylvester, "The \$2.4 Billion Suggestion Box," *Governing*, May 1992, p. 24.

⁸ For more on this topic, see "North Carolina Prisons—Old Problems, Tough Choices," a special theme issue of *North Carolina Insight*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (March 1987). See also Mike McLaughlin, "North Carolina's Prison System: Is the Crisis Corrected?" *North Carolina Insight*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (August 1989), pp. 21–32.

⁹ H.B. 267 of the 1993 Session.

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Poverty Among the State's Elderly

Despite the influx of wealthy retirees, much of North Carolina's elderly population still remains poor. Nearly 20 percent of its senior citizens are below the federal poverty level, compared to about 13 percent nationally.⁴³

Indeed, North Carolina's elderly population is an anomaly compared to the nation as a whole. Poverty went up for the nation during the 1980s, but for older adults, poverty actually declined. Poverty levels for those over 65 were lower than those of any other age group. In North Carolina, poverty *decreased* for the general population *and* for the elderly, but older adults still were the *poorest* of any age group.

Bill Lamb, a planner in the N.C. Division of

Aging in the Department of Human Resources, says North Carolina has a high percentage of poor elderly because of the large number of retirees who worked in agriculture or low-wage manufacturing. "In only five counties is the 65-plus poverty rate below the national average," says Lamb.

The three greatest service needs for the state's elderly are improved in-home services, transportation, and housing.

N.C. DIVISION OF AGING, 1991 STUDY

***Can you imagine us years
from today—sharing a
park bench quietly? How
terribly strange to be 70.***

—PAUL SIMON,
“OLD FRIENDS”

These counties are Henderson, Dare, Carteret, Moore, and Catawba. Lamb says all of these counties have benefited from an influx of affluent retirees.

By contrast, in 11 of North Carolina's 100 counties, poverty rates for people over 65 exceed 30 percent.⁴⁴ All are traditional agricultural counties. All but two of these counties have non-white populations of well over 30 percent. “The poorest are minority women,” says Lamb.

The persistence of poverty among the state's elderly complicates the division's efforts to plan for the aging of the state's population. A particular concern is the state's strict eligibility standards for Medicaid. In the 1990–91 fiscal year, says Lamb, the number of poor elderly who did not qualify for Medicaid totaled 108,000. Those aged 60–65 are particularly vulnerable because they

also do not qualify for Medicare, which kicks in at age 65. But even the Medicare-eligible can face hardships because Medicare typically covers only 45 percent of medical expenses.⁴⁵

**The Elderly Over Age 85—A
Mushrooming Demographic Group**

Another demographic bombshell is the fast-growing portion of the population over age 85—69,969 citizens in 1990 but projected to increase by 63.2 percent to 112,044 by the year 2000.⁴⁶ “The 85-plus are the ones you've got to watch in terms of consumers of services,” says Lamb. “The curve starts going up after 70 and it goes straight up after 85. That's the long-term care population.”

In 1991, the Division of Aging issued a lengthy report, outlining its strategies for the coming decade. “The demographics of individual aging, population aging and institutional aging pose both challenges and opportunities to the state and its citizens,” says the report, which was developed with participation from all 100 North Carolina counties.⁴⁷

“The challenges can be found in the familiar demographic reality of persistent economic disadvantages for some segments of the older population as well as in the growing number of impaired



Karen Tam

older adults that results largely from the increase in the state's "old-old" population, those 85 and older. More difficult to imagine, but just as real, are the opportunities that can and should exist for these same people—opportunities for maintaining and even improving their life conditions through self-help, by helping and being helped by their peers, and through other appropriate interventions."

The Elderly's Need for Government Services

The three greatest service needs for the state's elderly are improved in-home services, transportation, and housing, according to county officials surveyed for the report.⁴⁸ A key to cost containment is keeping the elderly in their own homes as long as possible. That means providing support services that assist in independent living. It also means assisting the elderly in repairing, maintaining, and modifying houses so that they remain habitable.

Lamb says most of the state's elderly live in their own homes, but the houses are older and thus more likely to need repairs. The longer the elderly stay in their homes, the less able they are to provide upkeep. "There's got to be a housing strategy addressed in order to keep people in their own homes," says Lamb.

The state also has identified a need for affordable multi-unit housing with support services, or "congregate" housing. Through a program called Housing Living Independence for Older North Carolinians, the Division of Aging is helping to arrange financing for such housing and studying how it should be regulated.

Contrary to some stereotypes, most elderly don't live in the state's 34,000 nursing home beds or 25,600 rest home beds. In fact, nearly 95 percent live independently, whether alone or with other family members.⁴⁹ But those who do live in institutions are a costly expenditure for the state, which, according to the Division of Aging, spent \$915 million in state, local, and federal funds in the



Karen Tom

1991-92 fiscal year on programs for the elderly.⁵⁰

Medicaid is the single largest payer of services for the elderly. In 1991, North Carolina's state and local governments paid about \$191.9 million in *health care* services for the poor elderly, the Division says. Older adults comprised about a sixth of the recipients, but a third of the expenditures. The biggest single category for this group was for nursing facilities, about \$119.1 million. Three years earlier, state and local governments paid about \$65.8 million for long-term care.

The Division of Aging surveyed all 100 counties in 1990 for their advice on critical issues facing the elderly. After improving in-home services, transportation was a strong second. North Carolina might be the self-proclaimed "Good Roads State," but that's little help for the elderly poor who can't afford upkeep on a car or no longer feel comfortable driving. The state's spread-out lifestyles can mean great distances between a person's home and the rest of their community.

More than \$4 million in public funds went for transporting the elderly in 1991-92, Lamb says, but he thinks it wasn't enough. The General Assembly added \$500,000 to the Elderly and Disabled Transportation Assistance Program in the 1993 session.

What else is the state doing about improving transportation for the elderly? Working with the

American Association of Retired Persons, state officials are promoting a program called "Fifty-Five Alive/Mature Driving," aimed at helping older adults refresh their driving skills.⁵¹ In addition, there is ongoing discussion about using state school buses to drive the elderly places.

North Carolina's Changing Racial and Ethnic Mix

For years, North Carolina's racial and ethnic mixture was easy to define. The state was slightly more than three-quarters white. The other quarter was overwhelmingly black, with a small percentage of American Indians. But that image is slowly changing.

In the last decade, the number of Hispanics as well as Asians and Pacific Islanders living in North Carolina jumped sharply. (See Table 3.) While their percentages are still small, both groups are growing strongly. The census says there were 76,726 Hispanics living in North Carolina in 1990, compared to 56,039 in 1980—a 37 percent increase and 1.2 percent of the total population.⁵² Asians and Pacific Islanders now represent .8 per-

cent of the population. Native Americans' numbers relative to the rest of the population have remained largely unchanged at about 1.2 percent.

But if the number of Hispanics and Asians and Pacific Islanders is increasing, North Carolina still is not a national hot spot for immigration. That distinction goes to California, New York, Texas, Florida, Illinois, and New Jersey, which together accounted for three-quarters of the legal immigrants who came to the United States between 1980 and 1990.⁵³ An Urban Institute study, in fact, ranked North Carolina 38th in the nation, with immigrants increasing the total population by only .6 percent.⁵⁴ Still, their impact is being felt.

By census definitions, Hispanics are a language minority, not a racial minority. Although Hispanics make up about 1.2 percent of the state's population, they tend to be concentrated in counties with major military installations, counties with labor intensive harvests for crops like tobacco and produce, and the state's more urban counties. (See Table 4, p. 37.)

Cleve Hollar is the superintendent of the Yadkin County Schools. Hispanics, mainly mi-

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Table 3. Racial and Ethnic Makeup of North Carolina Population for 1980 and 1990

	Population in 1980	Percent of Population in 1980	Population in 1990	Percent of Population in 1990	Percent Change in Population
White	4,457,507	75.8 %	5,008,491	75.6 %	12.4 %
Black	1,318,857	22.4	1,456,323	22.0	10.4
Native American	64,652	1.1	80,155	1.2	24.0
Hispanic	56,039	1.0	76,726	1.2	36.9
Asian/Pacific Islanders	21,176	0.4	52,166	0.8	146.3

Source: U.S. Census Bureau



Mike McLaughlin

Bernabe Gutierrez and Alberta Carachure, with baby, Juan, are among the Hispanic newcomers to North Carolina.

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grant workers, originally came to his county just west of Winston-Salem to pick tobacco. They stayed to work in chicken houses and other low-wage, but steady jobs. The result is that about 2.9 percent of the Yadkin school system is now Hispanic, more than four times the state average of 0.7 percent.⁵⁵

"It presents more challenges," says Hollar of the school system's 138 Hispanic students. "It's somewhat frustrating, them being non-English and all. It's put a burden on teachers who aren't bilingual."

Johnston County in the east is another North Carolina county with a relatively large Hispanic population. "We have a number of students in our school system right now who do not speak English," says Thomas Houlihan, Johnston County

Schools superintendent and Governor Jim Hunt's education advisor. "We're a rural school system and some of our teachers are not prepared for it."

Houlihan says the school system is responding by using interpreters in some classes and offering English as a Second Language classes. The school system also plans to stop offering French in grades four through eight and concentrate all of its resources on Spanish. "It's a major issue that we have not been able to solve at this time," says Houlihan of the language barrier.

From Temporary Migrant Work to Permanent But Low-Wage Jobs

Mariano Sanchez, migrant parent involvement coordinator for the Yadkin County Schools, says the challenge will remain because of the trend

of Hispanics giving up the migrant life for year-round, low-wage jobs. "They spend a fortune to come here and work four or five months. Then they realize, 'Hey, I can go to work in a chicken house or lumber yard and have a paycheck all year round.'" The poverty rate for Hispanics is 19.2 percent, well above the state average of 13 percent.⁵⁶ But grim as Sanchez says some migrant trailer parks might be, he adds, "You have to go and see what they left behind." (For more on the Hispanic influx in Yadkin County, see "Toiling in the Fields of Migrant Education," p. 33.)

The state's Hispanic community isn't just former farm workers. It includes professionals such as Julio Lazaro, who works for Sara Lee Corporation in Winston-Salem. Last year, Lazaro and some friends decided to hold a street festival. It drew 4,000 people to Winston-Salem. From that party, called "Fiesta '92," came the idea for the Hispanic League of the Piedmont Triad.

"There were several Hispanic executives who felt the need to bring the Hispanic community closer to the Anglo community and the black community," says Lazaro. "For years, it's been black and white. Now that's changing."

English as a Second Language

But from a policy standpoint, the state barely recognizes Hispanics. There are consultants at the Department of Public Instruction who work with students who are learning English as a second language, but no money is given to schools to pay for this added expense.

"These children have no advocates," says Frances Hoch, the chief consultant in the Second Language Studies Section of DPI. And unlike some other states, there is no bilingual education. "All instruction in the public schools is in English," says Hoch. For the youngest students, she says, this immersion gets them fluent in English fastest.

Although bilingual education has been taboo in the state's schools for years, that taboo spread further in June 1987, when the state passed Senate Bill 115.⁵⁷ That law made English the official state language of North Carolina. Its stated purpose is to "preserve, protect and strengthen the English language," but in practice it prohibits printing most state publications in any other language, such as Spanish.

"The State of North Carolina can give you the driving test in Spanish, but not give you the driving book in Spanish," says Lazaro. "That doesn't make sense. You need to learn English, but you

Table 4. N.C. Counties with Hispanic Population Exceeding 1 Percent of Total Population in County, 1990

County	Percent Hispanic
1. Chatham	1.46 %
2. Craven	2.23
3. Cumberland	4.84
4. Duplin	2.54
5. Greene	1.10
6. Harnett	1.71
7. Henderson	1.22
8. Johnston	1.55
9. Lee	1.93
10. Lincoln	1.13
11. Mecklenburg	1.31
12. Montgomery	2.38
13. Onslow	5.36
14. Orange	1.36
15. Sampson	1.54
16. Wake	1.27
17. Wayne	1.30
18. Yadkin	1.27
Statewide N.C.	1.16 %

also need to drive around in this state to get anywhere.”

The Department of Community Colleges *does* offer English as a second language at many of its campuses across the state and will provide these classes off campus if demand is sufficient. Don Snodgrass, the system’s coordinator for adult basic education, says 14,033 students enrolled in English as a second language during the 1991–92 school year. The course is offered at three different levels—beginner, intermediate, and advanced—as one component of the basic skills package.

Snodgrass could not provide figures on the number of Hispanics enrolled in these courses. But he says of 126,698 students enrolled in basic skills courses in 1991–92, 10,238—or 8.1 percent—were Hispanic. Many of these Hispanics, he says, are enrolled in English as a second language, which is the first step in mastering basic skills for people who don’t speak English. “We’ve seen rapid increases in the last two or three years, and it’s mostly Hispanics,” says Snodgrass. “There’s a lot of activity out there, and we are trying to address this need.”

The Asian Demographic Increase

Snodgrass says Asians are more likely to speak English, and generally are more educated than their Hispanic counterparts. Often, they come to the state for college or professional jobs, and so they present fewer educational challenges. The census numbers back up this assertion about education levels. Of 33,761 Hispanics at least 25 years old living in North Carolina, 17.9 percent are college graduates. Among their Asian and Pacific Island cohorts, 39.3 percent graduated from college.⁵⁸

Tillman, the state demographer, says the state’s Asian population resides mainly in urban counties and those with military installations. Nearly 14,000 of the state’s 53,032 Asians live in Wake, Durham, and Orange counties—home of three major research universities and Research Triangle Park. Mecklenburg has the state’s largest Asian and Pacific Islander population, with 8,510 residents.

Cumberland County, home of Fort Bragg Army Base, also has a relatively high number of Asians and Pacific Islanders—6,014 residents. Tillman says many of these likely are military wives, since 60 percent are women. As is the case for Hispanics, few government programs are targeted to Asians and Pacific Islanders.

***I try and try
but I can't save —
pennies nickels
dollars slip away.
I've tried and tried
but I can't save.***

— ROBERT BUCK AND NATALIE MERCHANT,
“DUST BOWL”
BY 10,000 MANIACS

Health Services for Hispanics

The state does offer health programs that serve large numbers of Hispanics—including three federally funded migrant health clinics and services provided in local health departments and community health clinics. The three migrant health clinics are Goshen Medical Center in Faison, Blue Ridge Community Health Services in Hendersonville, and Tri-County Community Health Council in Newton Grove.

“As far as services that are actually targeted [for Hispanics], there are not many in the local health departments, largely because of the language barrier,” says Laureen Lopez, research associate with the state’s Office of Minority Health in the Department of Environment, Health, and Natural Resources. “They [health departments] are serving them as they would other populations.”

Nationally, health statistics show access to health care may be a problem for Hispanics.⁵⁹ They are the least likely to be insured of any racial or ethnic group, and see doctors less frequently than whites or blacks. Health outcomes, however, are mixed. Hispanics, for example, are more likely to suffer diabetes than their non-Hispanic white counterparts but less likely to suffer heart disease.

Lopez says besides migrant clinics, church groups such as Catholic Social Ministries and the Men’s Baptist Association also are providing health-related services to migrants. In addition, there are pilot projects to provide maternal and child health services and HIV-prevention to Hispanics in local health departments in five eastern counties—Duplin, Harnett, Johnston, Robeson, and Sampson. And in at least a dozen counties, migrant councils have sprung up to solve problems in serving the migrant population.

The Poor Among Us

When it comes to the bottom line financially, the last decade was generally good for North Carolina. That's particularly true in two key indicators: The state's poverty rate and the per-capita income of its residents.

The state's poverty rate fell from 14.8 percent in 1980 to 13.0 percent in 1990. (See Table 2, pp. 17-20.) The national rate increased from 12.4 percent to 13.1 percent.⁶⁰ North Carolina's per-capita income⁶¹ increased from \$6,033 a year (83 percent of the national average) in 1979 to \$12,885 a year (89 percent of the national average) in 1989.⁶²

But not everyone shared equally in that growth. According to census figures, the average earnings of non-whites didn't pick up any ground on that of whites. As a group, blacks started and ended the decade making about 55 percent of what whites made. And in general, people who live in urban areas are still far wealthier than people in rural areas.

North Carolina has a large and prosperous black middle class, but the state's largest minority group has—as a whole—gained little on whites during the last decade, says George Autry, president of MDC Inc., a Chapel Hill nonprofit agency that does research and consulting on work force



Karen Tam



issues. The gap has narrowed for the educated and widened for those who have no more than a high school diploma, says Autry.

Andrea Harris, director of the N.C. Institute of Minority Economic Development, says discrimination is one reason some blacks have not made larger economic strides.⁶³ She says the state must root out overt discrimination and take the lead in two additional areas: seeing that black employees who work for state government aren't herded into low-wage jobs compared to white counterparts with the same training; and developing ways to make capital more available to minorities, particularly in rural areas.

"Otherwise," says Harris, "we'll continue to see out-migration to the urban counties," she says. "They [urban counties] can't provide jobs for their own, so it will perpetuate urban decay. If North Carolina doesn't get out in front, then it will face some of the same challenges as Washington, D.C.,

As a group, blacks started and ended the decade making about 55 percent of what whites made.

***I look at the TV, your
America's doing well. I
look out the window, my
America's catching hell.***

— VERNON REID OF LIVING COLOUR,
"WHICH WAY TO AMERICA"

and Newark. [We] will not be able to do the other things we need to do. It will cost the state more in the long run."

The Structural Problem of the Working Poor

Still, there is no easy solution to the problem of ingrained poverty—whatever the race of the poor. Katherine McKee is the associate director of the Center for Community Self-Help, a Durham nonprofit organization that works with poor people and operates a successful credit union. While she's cheered by the drop in poverty, she thinks the numbers mask the large number of working poor in North Carolina, families where both spouses work, but find little left over after the bills are paid.

Autry says the problems of the working poor are nothing new to North Carolina. As low-wage

manufacturing jobs decline in the state, he says North Carolina's working poor will be challenged to get retrained for the future. "It used to be high-skills or low wages," he said. "Nowadays, it's high skills or no wages."⁶⁴

A lower poverty rate is certainly good news, but 13 percent of the state's population in 1990 amounts to nearly 830,000 residents, with the highest levels of poverty found in the very young and the very old. Skinner of the Rural Economic Development Center points out that the actual number of North Carolina residents in poverty dropped by only 10,000 between 1980 and 1990. "For the most part, the reduction of the rate is due to population growth," says Skinner. "There's a core group we haven't dealt with very effectively." Even though the state is at the national average in this indicator, it hardly seems like anything to shout about.

Autry adds that because of deep-rooted structural problems, moving the state much below the 13 percent poverty rate won't be easy. These include a high rate of adult illiteracy and a work force ill-prepared to meet the demands of the job market of the future.

By one estimate, North Carolina will lose 75,000 jobs in this decade in textiles alone, and as many as 500,000 jobs in manufacturing over the next 20 years.⁶⁵ On average, North Carolina workers have completed 12.3 years of schooling, but by the year 2000, most new jobs will require at least 13.5 years of schooling. Unless the state invests



Karen Tam



Former Graham County resident Anita Wilson

heavily in worker retraining, experts say, these workers will not be prepared to fill the high-tech jobs of the future, and will be forced to compete for lower-paying service sector jobs.⁶⁶

Autry notes that North Carolina has more functionally illiterate adults than Japan, despite the fact that Japan has 95 million more adults than North Carolina. "A rising tide doesn't lift boats with holes in them," Autry says.

Women in Poverty

Among the working poor are increasing numbers of households headed by women. In 1980, the median income for a female worker with a full-time job in North Carolina was \$8,781 a year, two-thirds of the wages of a male worker.⁶⁷ Figures for 1989 showed a slight increase to 70.2 percent. *The Charlotte Observer*, in its own analysis, sampled the 127,812 questionnaires from North Carolinians who filled out the census long form and estimated women earned 72 cents for every \$1 earned by men in 1989.⁶⁸

"The analysis found pervasive pay gaps in jobs dominated by women, in low-skill jobs, and in high profile professions," says the newspaper, which compared earnings across a range of professions. "The analysis did not factor in work experience." Nationally, women working full-time earned a median income of \$10,380 in 1980, some

"Women in North Carolina live in an economic caste system. They're clustered in low-paying jobs at the bottom of the economic ladder."

—SANDY BABB,
FORMER PRESIDENT OF N.C. EQUITY AND
NOW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE GOVERNOR'S
WORK FORCE PREPAREDNESS COMMISSION

60 percent of men's earnings.⁶⁹ For 1990, the national figure was 70 percent. At this pace—a dime a decade—women would reach parity with men in the year 2020.

Another startling statistic is the poverty rate for women who head households with children. Among whites, the most *affluent* of the subgroups compared, women with at least one child under age 5 and another between the ages of 5 and 17 have a poverty rate of 48.8 percent.⁷⁰ Among all North Carolina women with at least one child under age 5 and another between the ages of 5 and 17, the rate is 63.2 percent.⁷¹

"Women in North Carolina live in an economic caste system," says Sandy Babb, former president of N.C. Equity and now executive director of the Governor's Work Force Preparedness Commission. "They're clustered in low-paying jobs at the bottom of the economic ladder."

Babb says the state needs to aggressively train women for higher-paying jobs. "In our community colleges—the way for people to climb out—two-thirds of the students are women, but they're clustered in low-paying curriculums like cosmetology and nurses aides," says Babb. There's nothing wrong with either profession, Babb says, but the community colleges need to hold orientation sessions for women that tell them the economic realities of their intended majors.

Bill Strickland, the director of student services at the N.C. Department of Community Colleges, agrees that there is a problem with women seeking training through the community colleges for lower-paying jobs. "I think that clearly, historically, a lot of women have—on their own initiative—moved in those directions, says Strickland.

Strickland says community colleges' efforts to change this phenomenon are limited to one small grant program and the individual efforts of community college counselors. "I know there are counselors who are encouraging women to think higher and aim higher," says Strickland. "We have a special program in the colleges called the Sex Equity Grant program . . . that is generally aimed at this issue.⁷² But it's a relatively insignificant amount of money in proportion to the magnitude of the problem."

North Carolina's traditional industries, such as textiles and apparel, employ a lot of women. This is reflected in census figures that show a high percentage of women in the work force. Sixty percent of the state's women older than 16 are in the work force,⁷³ up from 54 percent in 1980. Two-thirds of women with children under 6 have jobs. Nationally, 50 percent of women work and 60 percent of those with young children have jobs.⁷⁴

Working Poor Mothers and the Need for Child Care

The large number of working mothers, combined with the generally lower wages paid to women, suggests a broad need for affordable child care. North Carolina's child care system includes licensed centers

Selected Resources on N.C Demographics

Office of State Planning
116 West Jones Street
Raleigh, N.C. 27603-8803
Phone: (919) 733-4131

Center for Demographic Policy
Institute for Educational Leadership
1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 310
Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone: (202) 822-8405

N.C. Center for Geographic Information
and Analysis
512 North Salisbury Street
Raleigh, N.C. 27604
Phone: (919) 733-2090

N.C. Census Atlas
The Broyhill Institute for Business Development
Appalachian State University
Boone, N.C. 28608
Phone: (704) 262-2492

The Latin American Resource Center
6412 Rushingbrook Drive
Raleigh, N.C. 27612
Phone: (919) 870-5272

and unlicensed locations. More than 143,000 children are in day care, but the quality of care varies greatly. And day care isn't cheap. The average cost in North Carolina is \$281 a month, more than many low-income parents can afford. Mainly from federal funds, North Carolina spent \$101.5 million last year subsidizing day care for 85,440 children of the poor and working poor.⁷⁵

Governor Hunt emphasized children's issues in his campaign and 1993 Inaugural Address. His proposals—introduced with a flourish in the 1993 General Assembly—include efforts aimed at improving the quality, availability, and affordability of day care for all parents who need it.

Hunt is calling his package of legislation "Smart Start."⁷⁶ It includes lowering child care staff ratios, increasing the number of child-care center inspectors, increasing child-care tax credits for people with adjusted gross incomes below \$40,000, and creating public-private partnerships in 20 North Carolina counties to provide developmental child care. Hunt has made children's issues his top legislative priority, but better child care doesn't come cheap. The price tag for Hunt's package exceeds \$80 million for the biennium.

Still, for most North Carolina families with children, both parents work. That means they must now depend on some type of child care. As the N.C. Child Advocacy Institute says in a recent report, "For these families, child care is the linchpin in the parents' ability to maintain their employment and provide economic security for their children."

Conclusion

In many ways, the 1990 Census brought good news for North Carolina: robust population growth, a rising per capita income, and a poverty rate that dipped below the national average. Still, there are troubling numbers that suggest where the state needs to focus its attention in the future.

North Carolina's citizens too often are in poverty, especially the oldest and youngest; women and minorities often earn too little to support their families; North Carolina's rural economy falls further behind; and more and more immigrants are settling in the state with language and health care access barriers.

The problems are major, and many of them have no easy solution. Rather, they emerge from the data as a series of challenges for the decade of the Nineties. None of these challenges can easily be met. But the state must throw itself into the task

and let the 2000 Census be the yardstick of its progress.

Recommendation

The state may not be able to have much impact on demographic trends such as the rural-urban split and the aging of the North Carolina population. But it can take steps to plan for the future that these demographic changes will create. To assure that the state prepares adequately for the future it is about to confront, the Center offers the following recommendation:

North Carolina's state government should engage in a systematic strategic planning process that takes into account fiscal and demographic trends. The Center believes a formal strategic planning process is important for at least three reasons.

Reason 1: It is clear from the Center's look at the 1990 Census and related studies that demographic issues are emerging that will have a profound impact on state government. These include the aging of the North Carolina population, the projected increase in the number of school-age children, the growing gap in prosperity between rural and urban North Carolina, and the state's persistent poverty rate. These demographic trends have a direct impact on state government spending and programming in Medicaid, school construction, economic development, and state programs to alleviate poverty, respectively.

Reason 2: The Government Performance Audit Committee, a blue-ribbon panel born of the state government budget crisis of 1991, recommended strategic planning as one means of putting the state on a firmer fiscal footing for the future.

Reason 3: *Financial World* magazine, in its annual ranking of the states on fiscal management, placed North Carolina 14th among the 50 states. One of the magazine's criticisms of North Carolina's fiscal management is that the state seems to take a short-term outlook on revenue matters to the neglect of longer-term trends.⁷⁷

The Center believes that by adopting a strategic planning process (as outlined in Senate Bill 252 in the 1993 legislative session) the state could wean itself from this short-term approach and become better prepared for tomorrow. At the least, citizens could draw some comfort from the fact that North Carolina's policymakers are making some effort to prepare in advance for the demographic forces that are shaping the state's future.



—footnotes begin on page 48

FOOTNOTES

¹ Bob Williams, "State to gain area code," *The News & Observer*, Raleigh, N.C., Jan. 6, 1993, p. 1A.

² The language requiring the decennial census, which appears in Article I, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution, reads: "The actual Enumeration shall be made within three years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct."

³ U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Washington, D.C., 1992, Table 25, p. 22.

⁴ U.S. Census Bureau, *General Population Characteristics, North Carolina*, June 1992, Table 3, p. 15, *General Population Characteristics, North Carolina*, December 1983, Table 15, p. 35-14.

⁵ U.S. figure taken from U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Income and Poverty Status in 1989: 1990," Table 3, Summary Tape File 3; N.C. figure from Summary Tape File 3, "Ratio of Income in 1989 to Poverty Level."

⁶ U.S. Census Bureau, *General Population Characteristics, North Carolina*, June 1992, Table 1, p. 1; *General Population Characteristics, United States Summary*, May 1983, Table 67, p. 174. The median is the midpoint of the distribution, so for North Carolina, half the population is older than 33.1 and half is younger.

⁷ See note 3 above.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ U.S. Census Bureau, *Summary Social, Economic, and Housing Characteristics, North Carolina*, Washington, D.C., May 1992, Table 9, p. 151.

¹⁰ U.S. Census Bureau, *Census '90 Basics*, Washington, D.C., January 1990, pp. 3-4.

¹¹ Hyman Alterman, *Counting People: The Census in History*, 1969, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York, N.Y., pp. 204-205.

¹² Harold L. Hodgkinson, "A Demographic Profile of the Southeast," Center for Demographic Policy, Institute for Educational Leadership, Washington, D.C., October 1992, p. 37.

¹³ U.S. Census Bureau, *Summary Social, Economic, and Housing Characteristics, North Carolina*, Washington, D.C., May 1992, Table 9, p. 163.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* at pp. 2 and 151.

¹⁵ *North Carolina Rural Profile*, N.C. Rural Economic Development Center, November 1992, p. 3. The report indicates that in "all the major indicators of economic health—population, jobs, and income growth—urban areas grew twice as fast as rural areas" in North Carolina during the 1980s.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* at p. 6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* at p. 14. The rural center used U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis data to determine the gap in per capita income between rural and urban counties, rather than census data. Bud Skinner, senior researcher at the Center, says the Bureau of Economic Analysis uses a broader definition of income than does the Census Bureau—including the value of food stamps, for example—and it updates its figures annually. But the BEA income data also produces a wider gap in per capita income when comparing rural and urban counties. Using Census Bureau figures for per capita income, the rural-urban gap narrows some 26 percent, from \$3,590 to \$2,642.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* at p. 17.

¹⁹ Some mountain counties, particularly those in the far west, are not sharing in this growth boom, perhaps because of isolation. Instead of prosperity, these counties are typified by high rates of poverty, low per capita incomes, and high rates of unemployment.

²⁰ The lone exception to this phenomenon is Hyde County,

which claims a 14 mile stretch of coastal real estate called Ocracoke Island, most of it national seashore and thus protected from development. Hyde's population actually *dropped* 7.87 percent during the decade.

²¹ U.S. Census Bureau, *General Population Characteristics, North Carolina*, Washington, D.C., June 1992, Table 77, p. 490.

²² For its analysis, the Rural Economic Development Center used the OMB definition, substituting the designations urban and rural for metropolitan and non-metropolitan. But the Center has not yet accepted 1993 additions to OMB's list of metropolitan counties. OMB updates its designations every 10 years.

²³ Wire Reports, "State's Metro Areas Grow," *The News & Observer*, Raleigh, N.C., Jan. 2, 1993, p. 6B.

²⁴ For more on the forces that are shaping the North Carolina economy, see Bill Finger, "Making the Transition to a Mixed Economy," *North Carolina Insight*, Vol. 8, No. 3-4 (April 1986), pp. 3-20. See particularly the section titled, "The Family Farm Withers," pp. 14-16.

²⁵ Jim Barnett, "Carolina Telephone to move offices, 400 jobs from Tarboro," *The News & Observer*, Raleigh, N.C., Dec. 1, 1990, p. 1A.

²⁶ Pamela Moore, "Bank Plans To Move To Winston," *The Winston-Salem Journal*, Nov. 10, 1992, p. 1A.

²⁷ *Rural Profile*, p. 25.

²⁸ For a pro-con discussion of the Global TransPark proposal, see "Air Cargo Complex: Flight or Fancy?," *North Carolina Insight*, Vol. 14, No. 2, (September 1992), pp. 26-57.

²⁹ *North Carolina Population Projections*, Office of State Planning, Summer 1992, pp. 8-9.

³⁰ *Ibid.* at p. 9.

³¹ *Ibid.* at p. 16.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Wade Rawlins, "Bond Proposal Cut Back," *The News & Observer*, Raleigh, N.C., March 23, 1993, p. 1A.

³⁴ Stuart Leavenworth, *The News & Observer*, Raleigh, N.C., Dec. 25, 1992, p. 1A. Leavenworth notes that the ranking is based on the Pollution Standards Index, which contains the average presence of five pollutants over a year-long period and is intended to gauge chronic pollution levels in major cities. Air quality more typically is gauged by how many days the presence of a particular pollutant exceeds EPA standards.

³⁵ U.S. Census Bureau, *Summary Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics*, Washington, D.C., May 1992, Table 6, p. 107.

³⁶ *Ibid.* at Table 5, p. 75.

³⁷ U.S. Census Bureau, *Summary Population and Housing Characteristics, United States Summary*, Washington, D.C., March 1992, Table 1, pp. 1-59. For 1980 figures: U.S. Census Bureau, *General Population Characteristics*, Washington, D.C., Table 14, p. 12, Table 67, p. 174. U.S. Census Bureau, *Summary of General Characteristics, North Carolina*, Washington, D.C., Table 43, pp. 146-147.

³⁸ For a discussion of the implications of this trend, see Bill Finger and Jack Betts, "Attracting Retirees to North Carolina," *North Carolina Insight*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (September 1985), pp. 55-59.

³⁹ Haas says it's a myth that retiree in-migrants don't support bond issues for education. He says his own research—analyzing bond referendums for public education between 1969 and 1988—indicated that counties with high levels of in-migration were more likely to approve bond issues than were the rest of the state's counties. A poll taken prior to a June 8, 1993, bond referendum for schools in Wake County, however, indicates at least some increase in opposition to school bonds with age. Among respondents 40 or older, 61.6 percent opposed the

bonds. Only 40.9 percent of those respondents under 40 opposed the bonds.

⁴⁰ U.S. Census Bureau, *General Population Characteristics, North Carolina*, Washington, D.C., June 1992, Table 1, pp. 1-2.

⁴¹ *N.C. Population Projections*, Office of State Planning, p. 55.

⁴² George C. Myers, "Demography of Aging," *Handbook of Aging and Social Sciences*, Third Edition, Robert H. Binstock and Linda K. George, eds., Academic Press, Inc., 1990, p. 32.

⁴³ U.S. Census Bureau, Summary Tape File 3, Poverty Status in 1989 by Sex and Age, pp. 117-188.

⁴⁴ U.S. Census Bureau, *Summary Social, Economic, and Housing Characteristics, North Carolina*, Washington, D.C., May 1992, Table 10, pp. 174-175. These counties are: Columbus, 37.8 percent; Madison, 36.0 percent; Caswell, 34.5 percent; Warren, 32.6 percent; Robeson, 32.4 percent; Bertie, 32.3 percent; Alleghany, 31.7 percent; Tyrrell, 31.6 percent; Sampson, 31.2 percent; Bladen, 31.1 percent; and Martin, 31.0 percent.

⁴⁵ Waldo et al., "Health Expenditures by Age Group, 1977 and 1987," *Health Finance Review*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Summer 1989), p. 118.

⁴⁶ *North Carolina Population Projections*, Office of State Planning, Raleigh, N.C., Summer 1992, p. 2.

⁴⁷ *North Carolina Aging Services Plan*, p. 11. The Division of Aging has since released an updated version of the plan.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* at p. 27.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* at p. 24.

⁵⁰ For a thorough discussion of how North Carolina nursing homes are regulated, see Tinker Ready, "Carrots, Sticks, and North Carolina's Nursing Homes: Regulatory Program Satisfies Few," *North Carolina Insight*, Volume 14, No. 1 (May 1992), pp. 20-45.

⁵¹ *North Carolina Aging Services Plan*, at p. 150.

⁵² U.S. Census Bureau, *General Population Characteristics, North Carolina*, Washington, D.C., May 1992, Table 3, p. 15; for 1980 total: U.S. Census Bureau, *General Population Characteristics, North Carolina*, Washington, D.C., May 1983, Table 15, p. 35-14.

⁵³ Rob Gurwitz, "Back to the Melting Pot," *Governing*, June 1992, p. 33.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* at p. 32.

⁵⁵ *Report Card 1992: The State of Schools Systems in North Carolina*, N.C. State Board of Education, January 1993, p. 990.

⁵⁶ U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3, p. 19.

⁵⁷ Now codified as G.S. 145-12.

⁵⁸ U.S. Census Bureau, Summary Tape File 3, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, pp. 117-188.

⁵⁹ Data on Hispanic health issues is taken from *The State of Hispanic Health*, National Coalition of Hispanic Health and Human Services Organizations, Washington, D.C., 1992, pp. 21-57.

⁶⁰ U.S. Census Bureau, Summary Tape File 3, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Population: Poverty Status, North Carolina, pp. 117-118; See also Summary Tape File 3, Table 3. Income and Poverty Status in 1989-1990, United States.

⁶¹ The Census Bureau derives per capita income by dividing the total income of a particular group by the total population in that group. If per-capita earnings appear lower than prevailing wages, it is because the total population for a particular group may include many people who have no earnings, such as children.

⁶² U.S. Census Bureau, Summary Tape File 3, Table 3. Income and Poverty Status in 1989-90, pp. 117-188; *General Social and Economic Characteristics, North Carolina*, Wash-

ington, D.C., June 1983, Table 81, p. 35-84; *General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary*, Washington, D.C., December 1983, Table 107, p. 1-78.

⁶³ As evidence, Harris cites a January 1993 study commissioned by the N.C. General Assembly that found \$389 million in highway contracts should have been awarded to businesses owned by minorities and women. For more, see *Study of Minority and Women Business Participation in Highway Construction*, MGT of America, Inc., Chapel Hill, N.C., January 26, 1993.

⁶⁴ For an evaluation of North Carolina job training programs, see Bill Finger and Jack Betts, "Off the Dole and Onto the Payroll: Do Jobs Programs Get People Out of Poverty?" *North Carolina Insight*, Vol. 11, Nos. 2-3 (April 1989), pp. 64-93. See also Mike McLaughlin, "The Family in Poverty: Working and Still Poor," pp. 94-105 in the same edition, for an analysis of the plight of the working poor. For more on the issue of work force preparedness, see Jack Betts, "Work Force Preparedness: Training 21st Century Workers on a Mid-20th Century Budget," *North Carolina Insight*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (September 1990), pp. 23-29.

⁶⁵ Daniel D. Mahoney, Managing Director, DRI/McGraw-Hill, "North Carolina in 2010: Discussion of Major Trends," presentation to the Office of Policy and Planning, N.C. Department of Administration, Feb. 23, 1990. Some question Mahoney's estimate, as the state had a total of 830,000 manufacturing jobs in May 1993.

⁶⁶ As discussed in Jack Betts, "Work Force Preparedness: Training 21st Century Workers on a Mid-20th Century Budget," *North Carolina Insight*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (September 1990), pp. 23-26.

⁶⁷ U.S. Census Bureau, *General Social and Economic Characteristics, North Carolina*, Washington, D.C., June 1983, Table 71, p. 35-66.

⁶⁸ Jennifer Ffrench Parker and Ted Mellnik, "Wage Gaps Persist in Carolinas Jobs," *The Charlotte Observer*, Charlotte, N.C., April 17, 1993, p. 1A.

⁶⁹ U.S. Census Bureau, *General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary*, Washington, D.C., May 1983, Table 107, p. 1-78 for 1979 figure. U.S. Census Bureau Summary Tape File 4, Table PB93B, for 1989 figure.

⁷⁰ U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3, pp. 117-188.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² The Sex Equity Grant program awards grants to North Carolina community colleges for programs to recruit and train women for trades in which they do not traditionally work in great numbers. A total of \$286,000 has been awarded by the N.C. Department of Community Colleges to 16 colleges for programs for the 1993-94 school year.

⁷³ U.S. Census Bureau, *Summary Social, Economic, and Housing Characteristics, North Carolina*, Washington, D.C., May 1992, Table 5, p. 75.

⁷⁴ U.S. Census, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, Washington, D.C., June 1983, Table 67, p. 35-62; Table 103. Labor Force Characteristics: 1980, U.S. Summary, p. 1-72; 1990 figures from *Summary Social, Economic, and Housing Characteristics*, Table 6. Employment Status and Journey to Work Characteristics: 1990, North Carolina, p. 107.

⁷⁵ *Meeting the Childcare Promise*, N.C. Child Advocacy Institute, Raleigh, N.C., December, 1992, p. 6.

⁷⁶ Hunt's child-care initiatives were enacted by the General Assembly in the budget bill (S.B. 27, Chapter 321, sec. 254 of the 1993 Session Laws) and in H.B. 720 (Chapter 432 of the 1993 Session Laws).

⁷⁷ Katherine Barrett and Richard Greene, "The State of the States," *Financial World*, May 11, 1993, p. 56.