

*Assessing the Effectiveness of Section 5 Pre-clearance of
Annexations in North Carolina*

Allan M. Parnell
Cedar Grove Institute for Sustainable Communities

Ben Marsh
Bucknell University

Municipalities in areas covered by Section 5 are required to prove that an annexation does not have the purpose or effect of making minority voters worse off than they were before the annexation. This paper presents a methodology that allows an empirical determination how annexations change the racial composition of a municipality. We demonstrate that all of the 10 “Section 5” municipalities in our preliminary sample used annexation in such a way as to decrease the percentage of the population that was African-American during the 1990s, and 3 of them would have been majority-African-American without annexation, but all remained majority white.

To measure the effect of annexation on racial composition, we decompose or separate changes in the racial composition of municipalities between 1990 and 2000 that are attributable to changes in the population within the 1990 borders and those attributable to annexation. We present results of this analysis for a set of towns in five south central North Carolina counties covered by Section 5 and from three towns in a county not covered. We choose North Carolina for two reasons. First, our preliminary research shows that African American neighborhoods are systematically excluded from annexation in many smaller cities and towns in North Carolina, while predominantly white areas are regularly annexed. This pattern of exclusion is attributable in part to the requirement that municipalities consider the fiscal impact of any annexation, resulting in annexation of high-value properties and the exclusion of lower-valued (and often African American occupied) properties. Second, this paper lays the foundation for a wider analysis of North Carolina where forty of the 100 counties are covered by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, while the others are not. This partial coverage provides the opportunity to assess the relative effects of Section 5 coverage on annexation controlling

for any effect of differences in annexation laws and procedures that could account for variation in comparisons between two or more states. We compare the changes between 1990 and 2000 rather than for single annexations because we have detailed census data, including municipal boundaries, from the decennial censuses conducted in those years.

Refusal to annex any areas could also disadvantage minorities. In North Carolina, refusal to annex limits the political voice of excluded neighborhoods because Extraterritorial Jurisdiction (ETJ) statutes in North Carolina grant municipalities control over zoning, permitting and land-use decisions up to three miles from the town limits, depending on the size of the municipality. The residents of the ETJ have no vote for the government that controls their property. We discuss a case where refusal to annex appears to have the effect of making minorities who cannot vote worse off. As social scientists we defer to lawyers about the legality of these practices with respect to the VRA, but the impact on minority voices in the political system is dramatic.

Background and Significance

The essence of the argument made fifty years ago in *Brown v. Board of Education* was that segregation in and of itself damages African Americans by institutionalizing a subordinate position in American life. Our preliminary research medium- and small-sized towns outside of urban centers in North Carolina indicates that racial residential segregation institutionalizes subordinate positions for African Americans by diminishing or denying their political status in local affairs, by limiting their access to public services, and by reducing the value of their property. This institutionalization has been done by

local planning boards and town councils, as they shape the local social and political ecology.

Considerable attention was given to southern towns during the civil rights and voting rights drives of the 1960s. Since then, little attention has been paid to racial segregation in small southern towns by journalists or social scientists, and institutionalized segregation has taken new forms. While overt discrimination is less common in towns across the South than it once was, local institutions, such as public schools, are re-segregating (Orfield 2001), and varieties covert discrimination may be increasing (Johnson et al. 2003). And in spite of increased numbers of African Americans elected to local councils and commissions, the real political power in most southern towns still resides with the local white elite, whose political, governmental and commercial interests inevitably intersect, and whose commercial interests override public interests (Johnson et al. 2003). Both the relative isolation of such towns and the mundane nature of institutionalized regulatory segregation have largely kept such discriminatory practices and results from the public eye.

In a symposium published by the *Journal of Urban Law*, Hagman (1977) and colleagues document how local governments “use their powers to change or refuse to change their exterior boundary lines in order to disadvantage racial minorities.” These “subtle” practices began in the early 1960s once more direct forms of discrimination became illegal. As Hagman observes that these techniques of creating racial disadvantage through manipulation of borders is subtle “to the point of invisibility in the literature.” This thesis is supported by case studies we have conducted using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) data from local planning agencies combined with census data.

GIS is widely recognized as a key tool in reapportionment and in challenges to voting districts. The importance of this methodology for the assessment of annexations has not been well developed. The case studies presented in this paper are not statistically representative assessments of the effects of annexations on racial compositions of the towns in either the counties where pre-clearance is required or in the others. However, the methods provide a pathway to make such an empirical assessment that may be useful to determine whether patterns of annexations have a retrogressive effect on the ability of minority voters to participate in the political process.

Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act provides that any change affecting voting in a covered jurisdiction cannot legally be enforced unless and until the jurisdiction first obtains pre-clearance (42 U.S.C. § 1973c). Pre-clearance may be obtained only from the United States District Court for the District of Columbia or from the United States Attorney General. Jurisdictions generally submit the vast majority of voting changes to the Department of Justice for pre-clearance.

Currently nine states are completely covered by Section 5, and parts of seven additional states are covered – usually counties or towns. When a state is covered in part, any change affecting the covered counties, even if it is a state-wide change, must be submitted for pre-clearance (see *Lopez v. Monterey County*, 119 S. Ct. 693, 1999). A broad range of officials enact or administer voting changes that are subject to Section 5 review, including legislative bodies (*i.e.*, state legislatures, county commissions, city councils), executive officials (*i.e.*, governors and mayors), and other officials (*i.e.*, secretaries of state, county clerks, registrars).

Annexations can potentially affect voting because they can change the electorate who can participate in elections (*City of Pleasant Grove v. United States*, 479 U.S. 46, (1987); *City of Port Arthur v. United States*, 459 U.S. 15, (1982)).¹ In reviewing annexations, the Justice Department applies the following legal standards: First, to demonstrate the absence of discriminatory purpose with respect to an annexation, a jurisdiction must demonstrate that the revision of municipal boundaries to “include[e] certain voters within the city [while] leaving others outside,” was not based, even in part, on race (*Perkins v. Matthews*, 400 U.S. 379, 388, 1971; see also *City of Pleasant Grove v. United States*, 479 U.S. 462, 1987). Another test for determining whether or not a jurisdiction has made racially selective annexations is whether the annexation policies and standards applied to white areas are different than those applied to minority areas. If the standards are not the same or have been applied inconsistently, there is a strong likelihood that the decision not to annex the minority area had a discriminatory purpose (*Pleasant Grove*, 479 U.S. at 470; *Perkins*, 400 U.S. at 388; see also, *Reno v. Bossier Parish*, 528 U.S. at 339-41).

With regard to determining whether the annexation has a discriminatory effect, general standard is to evaluate whether it has a “retrogressive” effect on the ability of minority voters to participate in the political process — would African American voters would be “worse off” under the proposed change than they are under the current system (see *Reno v. Bossier Parish School Board* at 95-1455, 520 US 471, 1997). Arguably every annexation that did not annex either a racially proportionate percentage of African Americans, or a disproportionately higher percentage of African Americans than whites

¹ From 1965 until 2004, the Justice Department reviewed a total of 82,171 submissions involving annexations, out of a total of 413,278 submissions overall. See http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/voting/sec_5/changes.htm.

would make African American voters worse off because it would make them a smaller percentage of the electorate. However, the Department of Justice has interpreted Section 5 to require that if an annexation significantly decreases minority voting strength, the reasons for the annexations must be objectively verifiable, and legitimate, and the post-annexation election system must fairly reflect the post-annexation voting strength of the minority community (*City of Richmond v. United States*, 422 U.S. 358 at 371-373, 1975; see also, *City of Pleasant Grove*, 479 U.S. at 470-71; *City of Port Arthur v. United States*, 459 U.S. 159, 1982).

In this enforcement scheme, what falls between the cracks are the incremental – but over time quite significant – changes in the relative populations of whites and minorities in a city or town because of repeated annexations. Such changes may diminish the voting strength of African American voters by bringing in either existing white neighborhoods or new planned developments that for economic reasons are unavailable to minority populations.

Racial Residential Segregation in Small Southern Towns

To fully comprehend the significance of the Voting Rights Act in the context of annexation and other municipal land use decisions, it is essential to first understand the current racial landscape in the South—especially outside of larger cities. Racial residential segregation remains a fact of life in small towns across the South (Hanchett 2003). But, in contrast to the extensive research on the nature, causes, and consequences of racial residential segregation in American cities (e.g. Massey and Denton, 1987; 1993;

Oliver and Shapiro, 1995; White and Shy 2002), social scientists have devoted inadequate research attention to segregation issues in small towns.

Our preliminary studies indicate that segregation in southern towns differs substantially from the well-documented urban patterns of concentration and isolation of African Americans in central cities. First, the smaller scale of towns reduces social and economic isolation and increases interaction between African Americans and whites. Second, as Figures 1 and 2 show, residential segregation in small towns is fragmented. Third, the historic land ownership patterns of freed slaves and the settlement patterns of rural African American migrants during the 1960s and 1970s resulted in high concentrations of African Americans just outside the borders of towns as well as segregation within towns (Cromartie and Beale 1996). This concentration of African Americans around the periphery of southern towns is an alternative form of social and economic isolation (Aiken 1985; 1987; 1990). Fourth, political boundaries continue to be drawn to exclude African American neighborhoods. The history of the manipulation of town boundaries to exclude and isolate African Americans is better known among legal scholars than social scientists. For example, in the mid-1950s, Tuskegee, Alabama, redrew its town boundaries to remove African American neighborhoods, an action reversed in 1960 by the Supreme Court in *Gomillion v. Lightfoot* 364 U.S. 339 (1960).

Data and Methodology

Demographic data for this analysis are from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses (www.census.gov). Municipalities examined are from five counties under Section 5 (Lee, Harnett, Hoke, Union and Scotland) and three counties not under Section 5 (Moore,

Richmond, Montgomery Counties). As the analysis continues, this information as well as data from additional counties will be included.

To determine the degree to which annexation over a decade affects the racial composition of a municipality, we decompose the changes in total population, in African American population, and in white population, into changes within the 1990 boundaries and changes attributable to the extension of municipal boundaries through annexation. We use 1990 and 2000 as the beginning and end points of this analysis because these are census dates, providing both the most complete and accurate demographic data as well as precise municipal boundaries. Municipalities that did not exist in 1990 were not included in the analysis.

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) is central to both determining the area annexed as well as the 1990 boundaries in 2000. Although all of the municipalities we examine have their own GIS systems with boundary files as well as other important information for town planning and administration (e.g. sewer lines), we use the Census Bureau TIGER files for boundary lines. Spatial correspondence of municipal boundary files with census files is often imperfect. All census population data is for specific geographic units, with the census block being the smallest unit. Block-level data are used for reapportionment, and we use this level in this analysis.

The 1990 and 2000 municipal boundaries are layered over census blocks to determine areas annexed as well as the area that was within the municipality in 1990. The areas between the 1990 and 2000 boundaries is the area annexed. The 1990 external boundaries do not necessarily correspond to the boundaries of Census 2000 blocks. Where there is not direct correspondence, the population is allocated between the town in

1990 and the area annexed. The population allocation is proportional by area within each region.. Population changes within the town boundaries is a result of the difference between births and deaths plus the difference between the number of people moving in relative to the number moving out, the demographic balancing equation.

Detailed data on the race of the residents of each census block was collected in each census. Race is self-identified. The racial categories changed in 2000, allowing individuals to identify themselves as having more than one racial identity. Less than two percent gave mixed racial identities. We use only single racial identities from the 2000 Census in this analysis. North Carolina had the highest rate of growth in the Latino population of any state between 1990 and 2000, and several of the counties in this analysis have high proportions of Latinos (e.g. Lee County, 10%) We compiled detailed data on those who identify themselves as Latino,² but we did not use this information in this analysis.

It is necessary to account for population changes within the municipalities because these changes—usually declines—can be significant. Small towns in North Carolina , like much of the rest of the country, had stagnant population growth during the 1990s because of the decline in agricultural and manufacturing jobs, unless the towns were near growing metropolitan areas or a recreational destination (Cromartie and Beale 1996). For much of the last century, young African Americans had a high likelihood of leaving small towns upon completion of their education, resulting in a slowly declining African American population. The decline in African American population has been offset to some degree by retiree migration.

Analysis

² Federal data recognize Latino or Hispanic as an ethnic rather than a racial identity.

Table 1 shows the total, white and African American populations for 10 municipalities in counties covered by Section 5. The first two panels show the populations for 2000 and 1990. Panel 3 shows the absolute and percentage changes between 1990 and 2000. Panel 4 shows the 2000 populations living in the areas annexed between 1990 and 2000 and the percentage of the total, white and African American change between 1990 and 2000 that is attributable to the populations within the annexed areas. Note that the denominator for the percentage changes come from panel 3, the absolute changes. Panel 5 shows that absolute and percentage changes for the areas within the 1990 borders of these 10 municipalities.

There is a wide range of growth (or decline) from 1990 to 2000 among these 10 municipalities, with three places growing by more than 50% (Angier, Monroe and Sanford) and one declining (Raeford). Both Angier and Monroe³ are on the edge of rapidly-growing metropolitan areas. Sanford clearly grew through annexation. Annexation in Sanford accounted for 70.6% of the town's population increase. Further, the white population in the area annexed was larger than the total white growth during the decade (119.2%). The white population within the 1990 borders of Sanford actually decreased by 743 people, -19.4%. Four other towns annexed a greater number of white people than the total growth of growth of the white population because of declines in the white population within the 1990 borders, with Laurinburg losing 1,459 white people within the 1990 borders during the decade. By simply separating the growth by race into that attributable to annexation relative to growth within the 1990 borders, interesting effects on the racial composition of some towns become apparent.

³ The relative proportions of both white and Africans in Monroe declined because of the growth in the "other race" (almost certainly Latinos) from 97 in 1990 to 2,457 in 2000.

Table 2 expands upon the effects of growth or decline with the 1990 borders of these towns by estimating the size and the proportion of their populations that are white and African American if there had been no annexation. To do this, we simply subtracted the growth attributable to annexation from the decade's total growth, adding that to the 1990 populations. Panel 1 shows the 2000 total populations for these municipalities, and the estimated populations without annexation. Panels 2 and 3 compare the 2000 populations and proportions of African American and whites with the corresponding estimates had no annexation occurred. None of the 10 towns had a higher percentage of African Americans in 2000 than they would have had without annexation.

For example, Laurinburg would have a very different racial composition if there had been no annexation. In 2000, just over half of Laurinburg (50.5%) was white. Recall that the white population within the 1990 borders dropped by 1,459 during the 1990s. Without annexation, the proportion white would have dropped to 39.5%. Laurinburg would have become a majority African American town. (There is a significant Native American population in Laurinburg as well as a growing Latino population that classified their race as "other" accounting for the rest of the population.) We have not examined the annexation records of Laurinburg, so we do not know if annexation was incremental or a single large annexation.

Table 3 shows the proportion of the annexed areas for these ten towns that were African American and white, and compares these percentages with the percentages for each race in 1990 and 2000. In nine of the ten places, the proportion of the annexed areas that is white is higher than the proportion white in either census. Therefore, the proportion African American in nine of these annexed areas is lower than the proportions

in the towns, often significantly lower. In Erwin, 0.3% of the annexed population was African American, and in Coats, only 2.5% of the population in the annexed areas was African American. We have not closely examined whether there were significant African American areas that have been excluded from all of these towns, neighborhoods left just outside of the towns.. We have examined Monroe, which is in the most rapidly growing county in the state and the county with the highest income in the state. There are no clear African American areas excluded.

This is not the case for Raeford. As is shown in Figure 1, the area just outside of Raeford is overwhelmingly African American. North Carolina's extraterritorial jurisdiction (ETJ) statutes grant planning, zoning, and permitting authority to municipalities over an area up to three miles from the city limits, depending on the size of the municipality. The residents have no vote in the government that has great power over the use and value of their property. Over 70 percent of the people living in Raeford's ETJ are African American. Further, the population within Raeford's ETJ is sufficiently large that the Census Bureau has identified Silver City as a Census Designated Place with 1,146 people, 94 percent of the them African American. Raeford's 53.7 percent white population and its at-large voting results in an all-white town council. Hagman noted that failure to extend borders can also disadvantage minorities, and this appears to be the case in Raeford. Whether the failure to annex (while controlling a large African American population through ETJ) violates provisions of the VRA is another issue.

Table 4 contains the same information shown in Tables 1-3 for the towns of Aberdeen, Pinehurst and Southern Pines, three towns that border in Moore County, N.C. Moore County is not covered by Section 5. Figure 2 shows these towns and the

surrounding area with the underlying racial composition. This area has been identified by the UNC Center for Civil Rights as an area where the municipalities have a policy of excluding African American neighborhoods from the towns, surrounding several of these neighborhoods. This region is noted for its golf resorts, especially Pinehurst.

Table 4 shows little pattern across all three towns. Because the towns are overwhelmingly white, annexation had little effect on the 2000 racial balance. Alone of all of the towns under considerations in this paper, Aberdeen increased its African American percentage through annexation — but only from 17% to 22%. As the town with the lowest income levels, Aberdeen did include a significant proportion of African Americans in its annexations during the 1990s even as the white population within the 1990 borders declined slightly. Pinehurst had almost no African Americans, and they clearly made no significant effort to bring African Americans into the town through annexation. Whites are disproportionately represented in annexations by Southern Pines (89.5%) compared to African Americans (10.5%) even as the African American population within the 1990 borders declined. As with Raeford, the decisions not to annex African American neighborhoods combined with control of these areas through extraterritorial jurisdiction serves to further the political interests of the white majorities.

This lack of a pattern in the effects of annexation on the racial composition in a town may represent the situation in areas not covered by Section 5. However, many more cases must be included in a decomposition analysis before any conclusion can be reached.

To examine the relationship between the racial composition of a town and the racial composition of areas annexed by the town, we graph the relationship between the

Census 2000 racial composition within the 1990 boundaries, and the impact upon racial composition of the annexations (Figure 3). Data for this graph are from all municipalities in the five counties covered by Section 5 examined earlier. We see that the closer the percentage of African Americans in the town would have been to 50% had annexation not happened, the larger the decrease from annexation in percent African Americans . If there are no white areas to annex, the other option is that taken by Raeford: sharply limit annexations.

Discussion

A central issue in democratic theory is: Who is eligible to participate in which decision-making processes? (Arrhenius 2004). Citizenship in the United States has multiple layers — national, state and local citizenships—each with different authorities and responsibilities. Most attention is given to national and state citizenship, but we are also citizens of local territorial jurisdictions — counties, municipalities—with rights, benefits and obligations. These territorial jurisdictions are “the rigidly mapped territories within which formally-defined legal powers are exercised by formally-organized governmental institutions” (Ford 1999: 843). The political geography of understanding how territorial jurisdictions operate at the local level is central to understanding both the processes and consequences of racial exclusion.

The most obvious and explicit jurisdictional boundary of a municipality is the town limit. Those living within this boundary are citizens of the municipality with a voice in electing the local government, while those living beyond the boundary have no such citizenship rights. Within the boundary, the municipal government has authority

over most issues involving public safety, land use, permits and zoning, schools (in some cases). Most importantly, the municipality has authority for boundary-changing of the municipality itself. Thus, the town government has the authority to determine who becomes a citizen of the town and receives the benefits through annexation, the process through which the boundary changes. Therefore those who control the town have great ability to perpetuate or change the racial and ethnic composition of the town by setting boundaries. Whom does the local government consider to be desirable for addition to their community? Small town governments in the South for the most part remain dominated by the local business elite, who are overwhelmingly white. Community aims tend to be conservative, to build a community that consists of similar people in terms of economic status and, perhaps, race (see Johnson et al. 2003). The officials want an increased tax base with a population likely to continue to vote for them. Annexation grants local citizenship to those fitting the ideal of the local community.⁴ This means that citizenship is extended to those in newly-built subdivisions, which both raises the local property tax base and—in the South— adds to or maintains the predominance of the white middle class. With the power to create and deny local citizenship, local governments add through annexation only those they desire, and minority neighborhoods appear to be rarely desired.

When examining annexations, can we empirically measure discriminatory purpose or discriminatory effect? Further, can we empirically assess the effect of Section 5 on racial patterns of annexation? The decomposition method we present is a central

⁴ In his well-known book examining nationalism, *Imagined Communities*, Anderson (1991: 6) writes that “all communities larger than primordial villages . . . are imagined,” and that how these communities are distinguished “by the style in which they are imagined.” In a very real sense, the local governments control who can become part of these small “ideal” communities.

first step in being able to empirically determine racial patterns in annexation, but we have examined only a small set of towns. In addition, we have no estimated multivariate models that allow us to control for the effects of other factors on the patterns of annexation.

To specify the research questions further and to interpret the demographic patterns in terms of legal standards, collaboration with attorneys experienced in the Voting Rights Act will be necessary. As noted, North Carolina is an excellent location for such an analysis because of the partial coverage of Section 5. Whether the analysis can be used to directly assess the effects of Section 5, the results add further support to Hagman's hypothesis that municipalities "use their powers to change or refuse to change their exterior boundary lines in order to disadvantage racial minorities."

References

- Aiken, CS., 1985. "New Settlement Patterns of Rural Blacks in the American South," *Geographical Review*, 75.
- Aiken, CS., 1987. "Race as a Factor in Municipal Underbounding." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 77.
- Aiken, CS., 1990. "A New Type of Black Ghetto in the Plantation Couth" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80.
- Anderson, BA. 1991. Imagined Communities. (2nd Edition) New York: Verso.
- Arrhenius, G. 2004. "The Boundary Problem in Democratic Theory." Working paper, Department of Philosophy, University of Stockholm.
- Cromartie, JB and CL Beale. 1996. "Increasing Black-White Separation in the Plantation South." Pp. 54-64 in LL Swanson (ed.) *Racial/Ethnic Minorities in Rural Areas: Progress and Stagnation*. USDA, Economic Research Service, Agricultural Economic Report N. 731
- Ford, R.T. 1999. "Law's Territory: A History of Jurisdiction." *Michigan Law Review* 97.

Hagman, DG. 1977. "The Problem Defined: Introduction and Summary." *Journal of Urban Law* 54.

Hanchett, T. 2003 Charlotte and the Carolina Piedmont. Arcadia: Mount Pleasant, S.C.

Johnson, JH, Jr., AM Parnell, AM Joyner, B. Marsh and C. Christman. 2003. "Racial Apartheid in a Small Southern Town." *Review of Black Political Economy* 31

Orfield, G. 2001 "Schools More Separate: Consequences of a Decade of Resegregation." The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University

Massey, D.S. and Denton, N.A., 1993. American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.

Massey, DS and NA Denton. 1988. "The Dimensions of Residential Segregation." *Social Forces* 88.

Oliver, M. and Shapiro, T, 1995. Black Wealth/White Wealth: The Intersections of Race, Class and Racial Inequality. Routledge: New York.

White, MJ and E. Shy. 2002. "Housing Segregation: Policy Issues for an Increasingly Diverse Society." Pp. 159-184 in NA Denton and SE Tolnay (eds). American Diversity: A Demographic Challenge for the Twenty-first Century. SUNY Press: Albany

Table 1: Population Change and Decomposition for Municipalities Covered by Section 5 of the VRA

	2000 Population	Angier	Coats	Dunn	Erwin	Laurinburg	Lillington	Marshville	Monroe	Raeford	Sanford
Total		3,419	1,845	9,196	4,537	15,874	2,915	2,360	26,228	3,386	23,220
White		2,305	1,480	5,017	3,658	8,023	1,596	1,228	15,769	1,786	12,973
		67.4%	80.2%	54.6%	80.6%	50.5%	54.8%	52.0%	60.1%	52.7%	55.9%
African American		799	233	3,790	724	6,835	1,182	1,059	7,287	1,386	6,779
		23.4%	12.6%	41.2%	16.0%	43.1%	40.5%	44.9%	27.8%	40.9%	29.2%
1990 Population											
Total		2,235	1,493	8,336	4,061	11,643	2,048	2,020	16,127	3,469	14,475
White		1,553	1,273	4,768	3,543	5,827	1,193	1,199	9,397	1,974	9,154
		70.4%	86.7%	58.1%	88.3%	52.7%	59.6%	60.0%	59.2%	59.3%	64.5%
African American		653	195	3,435	469	5,239	808	801	6,483	1,355	5,045
		29.2%	13.1%	41.2%	11.5%	45.0%	39.5%	39.7%	40.2%	39.1%	34.9%
Change 1990-2000											
		1,184	352	860	476	4,231	867	340	10,101	-83	8,745
		53.0%	23.6%	10.3%	11.7%	36.3%	42.3%	16.8%	62.6%	-2.4%	60.4%
White		752	207	249	115	2,196	403	29	6,372	-188	3,819
		48.4%	16.3%	5.2%	3.2%	37.7%	33.8%	2.4%	67.8%	-9.5%	41.7%
African American		146	38	355	255	1,596	374	258	804	31	1,734
		22.4%	19.5%	10.3%	54.4%	30.5%	46.3%	32.2%	12.4%	2.3%	34.4%
Population Annexed											
		785	135	1,266	216	4,802	610	146	5,482	93	6,176
		66.3%	38.4%	147.3%	45.4%	113.5%	70.3%	43.0%	54.3%	-112.2%	70.6%
White		613	132	883	215	3,655	374	83	4,975	57	4,562
		81.5%	63.7%	354.5%	187.1%	166.4%	92.8%	287.5%	78.1%	-30.3%	119.4%
African American		172	3	384	1	1,148	236	63	508	36	1,614
		117.7%	8.7%	108.1%	0.3%	71.9%	63.0%	24.3%	63.2%	116.6%	93.1%
Within 1990 Boundaries											
		399	217	-406	260	-571	257	194	4,619	-176	2,569
		33.7%	61.6%	-47.3%	54.6%	-13.5%	29.7%	57.0%	45.7%	212.2%	29.4%
White		139	75	-634	-100	-1,459	29	-54	1,397	-245	-743
		18.5%	36.3%	254.5%	-87.1%	-66.4%	7.2%	-187.5%	21.9%	130.3%	-19.4%
African American		-26	35	-29	254	448	138	195	296	-5	120
		-17.7%	91.3%	-8.1%	99.7%	28.1%	37.0%	75.7%	36.8%	-16.6%	6.9%

Table 2: Comparison of the 2000 Populations and Estimated Populations if there Had been No Annexations

	Angier	Coats	Dunn	Erwin	Laurinburg	Lillington	Marshville	Monroe	Raeford	Sanford
Total in 2000	3,419	1,845	9,196	4,537	15,874	2,915	2,360	26,228	3,386	23,220
Without Annexation	2,634	1,710	7,930	4,321	11,072	2,305	2,214	20,746	3,293	17,044
White	2,305	1,480	5,017	3,658	8,023	1,596	1,228	15,769	1,786	12,973
	67.4%	80.2%	54.6%	80.6%	50.5%	54.8%	52.0%	60.1%	52.7%	55.9%
Without Annexation	1,692	1,348	4,134	3,443	4,368	1,222	1,145	10,794	1,729	8,411
	64.2%	78.8%	52.1%	79.7%	39.5%	53.0%	51.7%	52.0%	52.5%	49.4%
African American	799	233	3,790	724	6,835	1,182	1,059	7,287	1,386	6,779
	23.4%	12.6%	41.2%	16.0%	43.1%	40.5%	44.9%	27.8%	40.9%	29.2%
Without Annexation	627	230	3,406	723	5,687	946	996	6,779	1,350	5,165
	23.8%	13.4%	43.0%	16.7%	51.4%	41.0%	45.0%	32.7%	41.0%	30.3%

Note: Although Latino is not considered to be a racial identity by the federal government, many Latinos identify their race as "other." This is evident in Sanford and Monroe, towns that experienced rapid growth in the Latino population in the 1990s.

Table 3: Racial Distribution within Areas Annexed Between 1990 and 2000 Compared with 1990 and 2000 Distributions

	Angier	Coats	Dunn	Erwin	Laurinburg	Lillington	Marshville	Monroe	Raeford	Sanford
White	78.1%	97.5%	69.7%	99.7%	76.1%	61.3%	57.1%	90.7%	61.2%	73.9%
1990	70.4%	86.7%	58.1%	88.3%	52.7%	59.6%	60.0%	59.2%	59.3%	64.5%
2000	67.4%	80.2%	54.6%	80.6%	50.5%	54.8%	52.0%	60.1%	52.7%	55.9%
African American	21.9%	2.5%	30.3%	0.3%	23.9%	38.7%	42.9%	9.3%	38.8%	26.1%
1990	29.2%	13.1%	41.2%	11.5%	45.0%	39.5%	39.7%	40.2%	39.1%	34.9%
2000	23.4%	12.6%	41.2%	16.0%	43.1%	40.5%	44.9%	27.8%	40.9%	29.2%

Table 4: Population Change and Decomposition for Municipalities Not Covered by Section 5

	2000 Population	Aberdeen	Pinehurst	Southern Pines
Total		3,400	9,706	10,918
White		2,483	9,251	7,729
		73.0%	95.3%	70.8%
African American		740	317	2,901
		21.8%	3.3%	26.6%
1990 Population				
Total		2,700	5,103	9,129
White		2,255	4,995	5,906
		83.5%	97.9%	64.7%
African American		400	89	3,155
		14.8%	1.7%	34.6%
Change 1990-2000				
		700	4,603	1,789
White		228	4,256	1,823
		32.6%	92.5%	101.9%
African American		340	228	-254
		48.6%	5.0%	-14.2%
Population Annexed				
		589	2,073	1,602
White		333	2,020	1,434
		146.2%	47.5%	78.6%
African American		255	53	169
		75.1%	23.4%	-66.4%
Within 1990 Boundaries				
		111	2,530	187
White		-105	2,236	389
		-46.2%	52.5%	21.4%
African American		85	175	-423
		24.9%	76.6%	166.4%
Distributions Without Annexation				
		2,811	7,633	9,316
White		2,150	7,231	6,295
		76.5%	94.7%	67.6%
African American		825	492	2,478
		29.3%	6.4%	26.6%
Distribution in Annexations				
		56.6%	97.4%	89.5%
White		43.4%	2.6%	10.5%
African American				

Figure 1

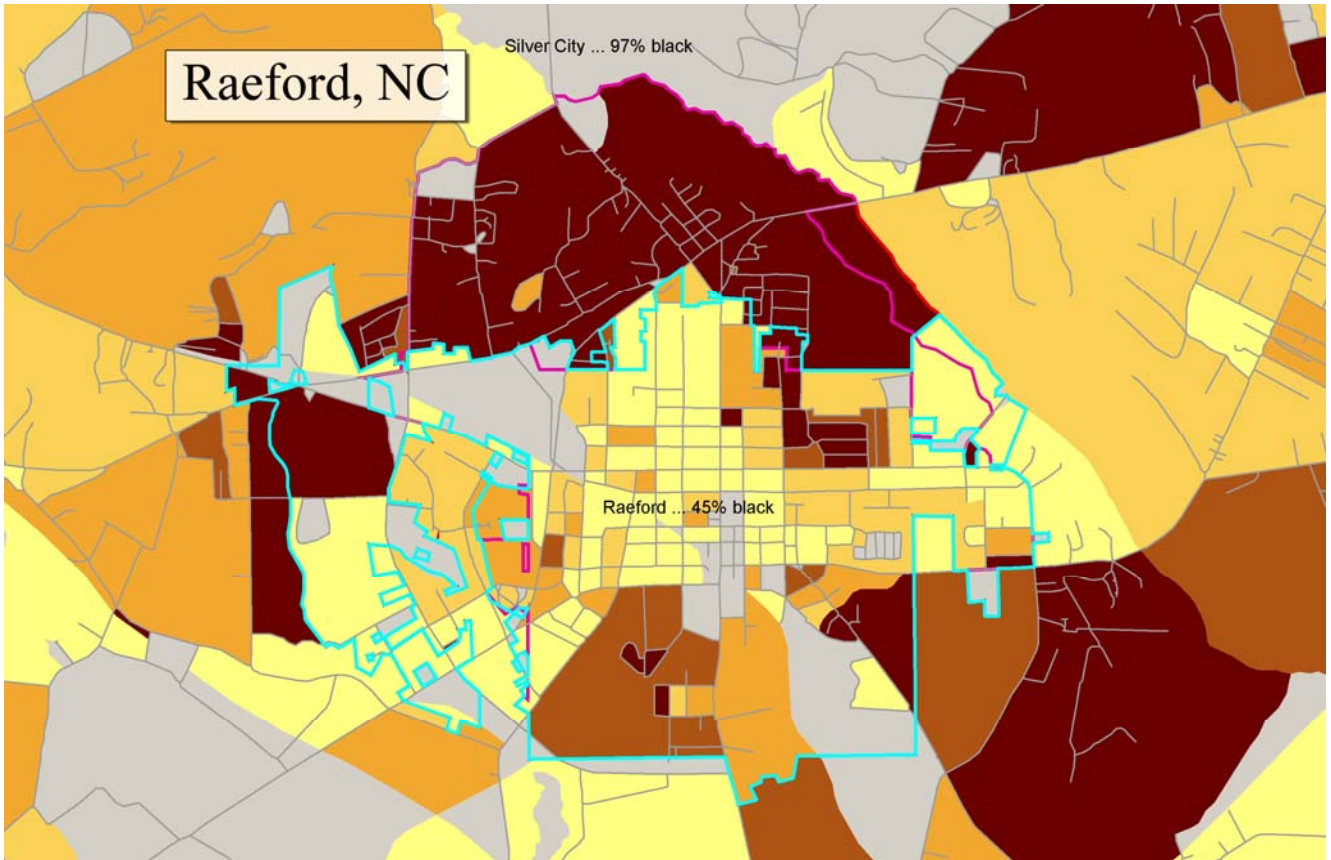


Figure 2

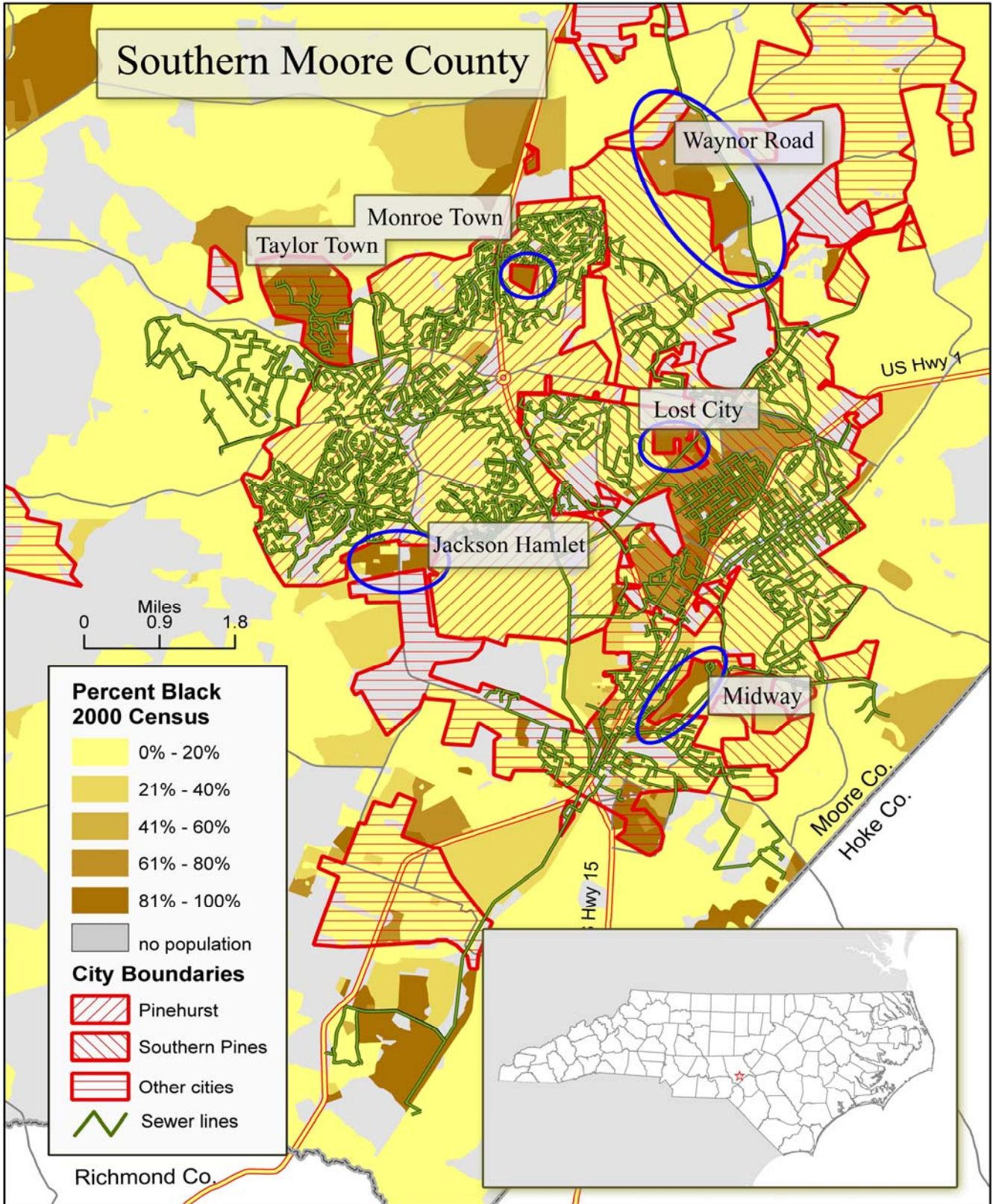


Figure 3

