

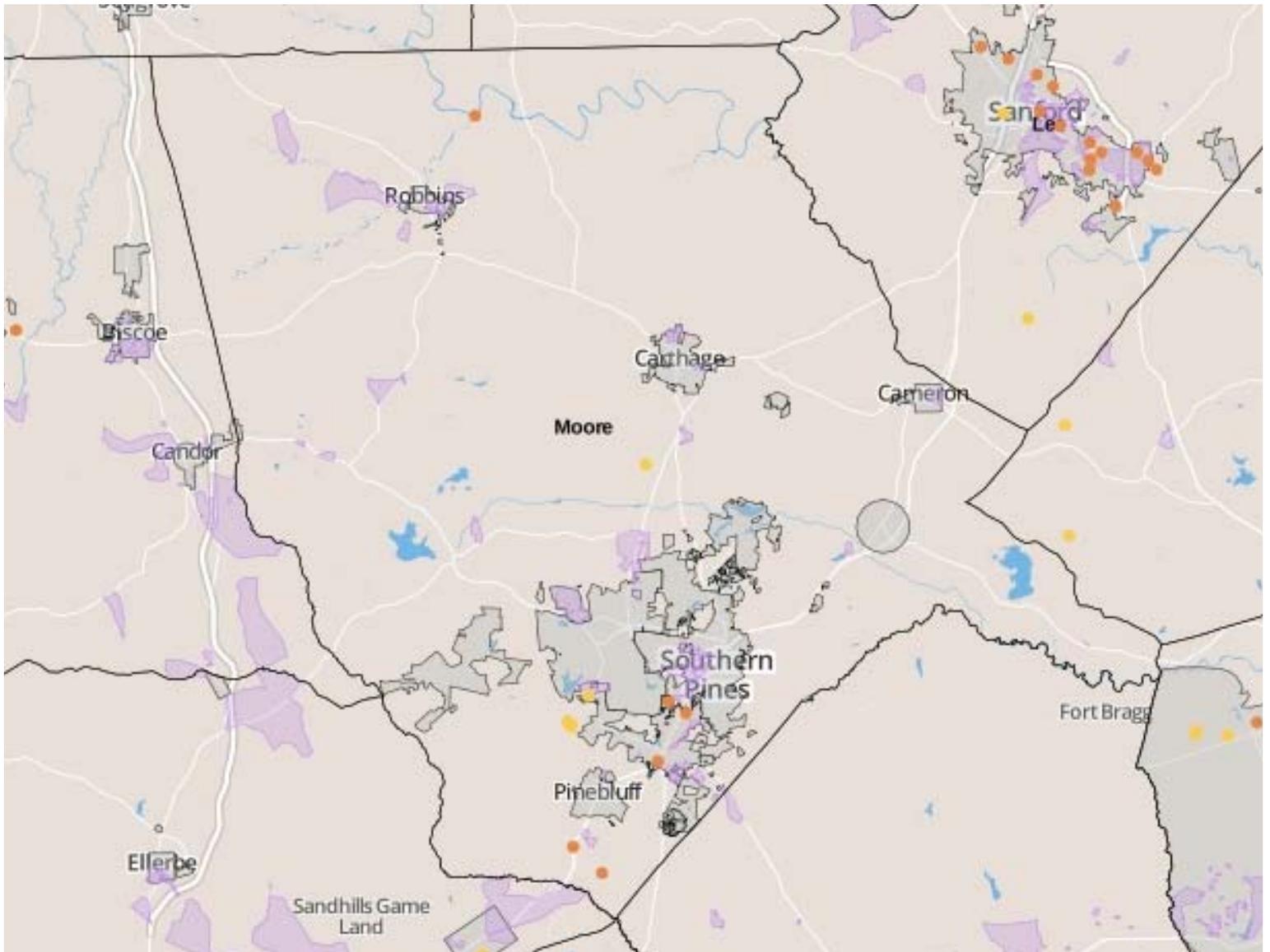


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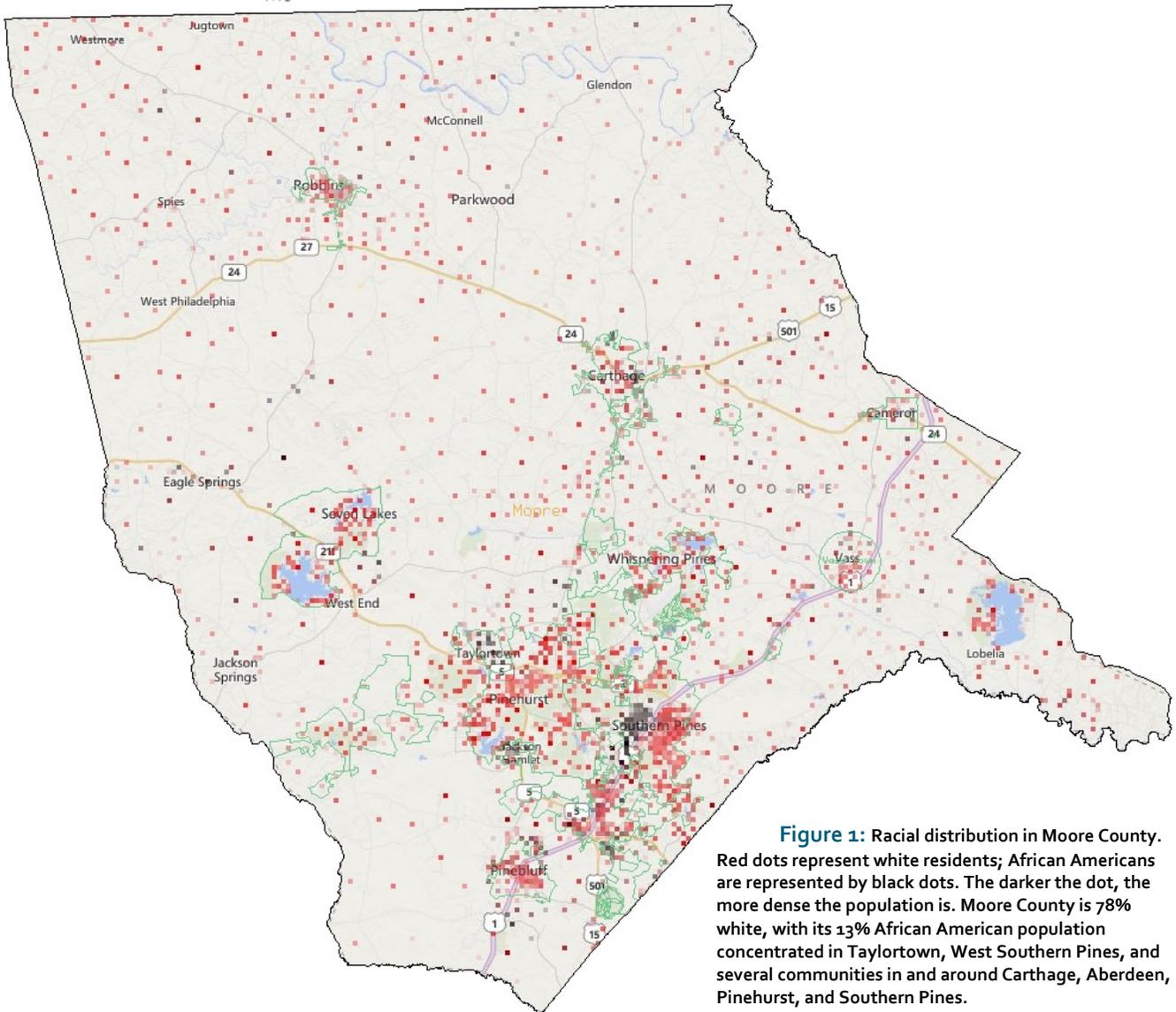
The State of Exclusion

Moore County, N.C.

An In-depth Analysis of the Legacy
of Segregated Communities



Moore County, in the southern part of the Piedmont of North Carolina, is the center of the Sandhills region, known primarily today for its luxurious golf resorts, especially Pinehurst, home to the 2014 U.S. Open Golf Tournament. Despite significant strides, Moore County remains nearly as deeply divided as described by the New York Times in 2005, the last time it hosted a U.S. Open. Most basic amenities have been extended to the excluded communities nearest the wealthiest golf resorts, but when looking at the county as a whole, racial and economic segregation persists.¹



The high household incomes and concentration of wealth in towns like Pinehurst and Whispering Pines contribute to the classification of Moore as a Tier 3 county by the North Carolina Department of Commerce, meaning that it is one of the 20 wealthiest counties in the state. Tier classifications are used to direct community development funding by the state; Tier 3 counties are disfavored. The result is that low-wealth excluded communities in Moore have an additional barrier to necessary funds precisely because of their proximity to wealthier neighbors. Moore County also has a relatively

¹ Most information was provided by the local governments in response to public records requests, from census data, from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the NC Department of Public Instruction (DPI), or from the UNC Environmental Finance Center. Sources for all data are available upon request. Please email pgilbert@email.unc.edu.

low property tax rate, only 46 ½ cents per \$100, as opposed to the state average of 63 cents. While all homeowners appreciate a low rate, as a progressive tax, a higher property tax rate would more equitably place the burden of funding needed services on wealthier property owners.

Moore County is also notable for its large number of small incorporated municipalities. The three largest towns, Pinehurst, Southern Pines, and Aberdeen, are in the southern part of the county and are all contiguous. Despite the towns' similar size and shared borders, Pinehurst is far wealthier and much whiter than its neighbors, largely due to its history as a private golf resort prior to its incorporation as a municipality in 1980. Two other nearby municipalities share similar roots as private developments. Whispering Pines (incorporated 1969), and Foxfire Village (incorporated 1977) are both also overwhelmingly white with high median incomes and few individuals below the poverty line. These towns are in sharp contrast to Taylortown, a majority African American town bordering Pinehurst to the northwest, and Robbins, the only other majority non-white municipality, in the northern part of the county. Both of these towns have median incomes well below, and poverty rates well above, the county averages.

| JURISDICTION | POPULATION | WHITE POPULATION | AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION | LATINO POPULATION | MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME | INDIVIDUALS BELOW POVERTY LINE |
|--------------------|------------|------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| MOORE COUNTY TOTAL | 88,247 | 77.6% | 13.3% | 6.0% | \$48,238 | 14.50% |
| PINEHURST | 13,124 | 91.4% | 3.7% | 2.1% | \$66,436 | 4.10% |
| SOUTHERN PINES | 12,334 | 69.6% | 23.9% | 3.9% | \$45,376 | 12.00% |
| ABERDEEN | 6,350 | 64.8% | 24.5% | 5.1% | \$34,026 | 12.20% |
| WHISPERING PINES | 2,928 | 93.5% | 1.3% | 2.9% | \$76,875 | 1.40% |
| CARTHAGE | 2,205 | 69.4% | 23.8% | 3.3% | \$33,684 | 23.20% |
| PINEBLUFF | 1,337 | 78.4% | 11.3% | 5.9% | \$49,726 | 9.70% |
| ROBBINS | 1,097 | 45.9% | 2.6% | 50.3% | \$28,021 | 29.00% |
| FOXFIRE | 902 | 89.4% | 8.5% | 0.7% | \$54,464 | 4.40% |
| TAYLORTOWN | 722 | 31.3% | 65.0% | 1.0% | \$36,250 | 20.80% |
| VASS | 720 | 74.0% | 12.1% | 9.6% | \$26,076 | 28.10% |
| CAMERON | 285 | 71.2% | 22.5% | 2.1% | \$37,500 | 19.00% |

Housing

Affordable housing is provided nationally through four main programs, all of which are funded, at least in part, by HUD and generally administered locally. These programs include traditional public housing units operated by local housing authorities, rental vouchers through Section 8, privately owned rental affordable housing subsidized by HUD through the low-income housing tax credit, and privately owned rental housing subsidized through various multi-family assisted housing programs. Although HUD regulations and the federal Fair Housing Act require that these programs be administered in such a way as to reduce residential racial segregation, almost all subsidized housing in Moore County is concentrated in census tracts that are racially and economically segregated with respect to the rest of the county, with very little subsidized housing available anywhere else.

There are about 700 units of subsidized housing in the entire county, 101 units of traditional public housing, 270 units subsidized with rental vouchers, and most of the rest are multi-family units serving elderly or disabled people. The census tract with the most units, over a third of all the units in the county (281), including 70 of the 101 units of public housing, is also the only tract in the county that is majority people of color, West Southern Pines (9508.01). This tract is 54% African American, with 19% below the poverty line, much higher than surrounding areas. This same tract is immediately adjacent to the three whitest census tracts in the county, encompassing Pinehurst and the northern part of Southern Pines. The tract with the second greatest concentration of federally subsidized housing, 9511, is just to the south, including a small part of West Southern Pines and much of Aberdeen. It has the third highest percentage of people of color of the 18 tracts in Moore. Together these two tracts hold 65% of the county’s subsidized housing.

The concentration of subsidized housing is not limited to these two tracts. Of the seven tracts (out of eighteen) that have more than ten units of affordable housing, six of them are the only tracts in the county that are at least 25% non-white. The small handful of subsidized housing units in census tracts that are whiter than the county average are predominantly recipients of housing choice vouchers, a program specifically designed to de-concentrate affordable housing. Even most voucher units however, are still concentrated in disproportionately non-white tracts. The greatest number of vouchers, 70 out of 270, is also in the only majority-minority tract, West Southern Pines.

| CENSUS TRACT | TOTAL UNITS OF FEDERALLY SUBSIDIZED HOUSING | PERCENT OF POPULATION THAT IS NON-WHITE |
|--------------|---|---|
| 9501 | 1 | 12.57% |
| 9502 | 35 | 28.21% |
| 9503.01 | 6 | 20.92% |
| 9503.02 | 5 | 16.77% |
| 9504.01 | 27 | 13.23% |
| 9504.02 | 54 | 25.59% |
| 9505.01 | 5 | 22.37% |
| 9505.02 | 7 | 16.20% |
| 9506.01 | 9 | 6.93% |
| 9506.02 | 7 | 23.28% |
| 9507.01 | 4 | 13.87% |
| 9507.02 | 1 | 7.11% |
| 9508.01 | 281 | 59.84% |
| 9508.02 | 6 | 8.81% |
| 9509 | 62 | 24.53% |
| 9510 | 8 | 10.68% |
| 9511 | 176 | 32.51% |
| 9512 | 14 | 37.49% |

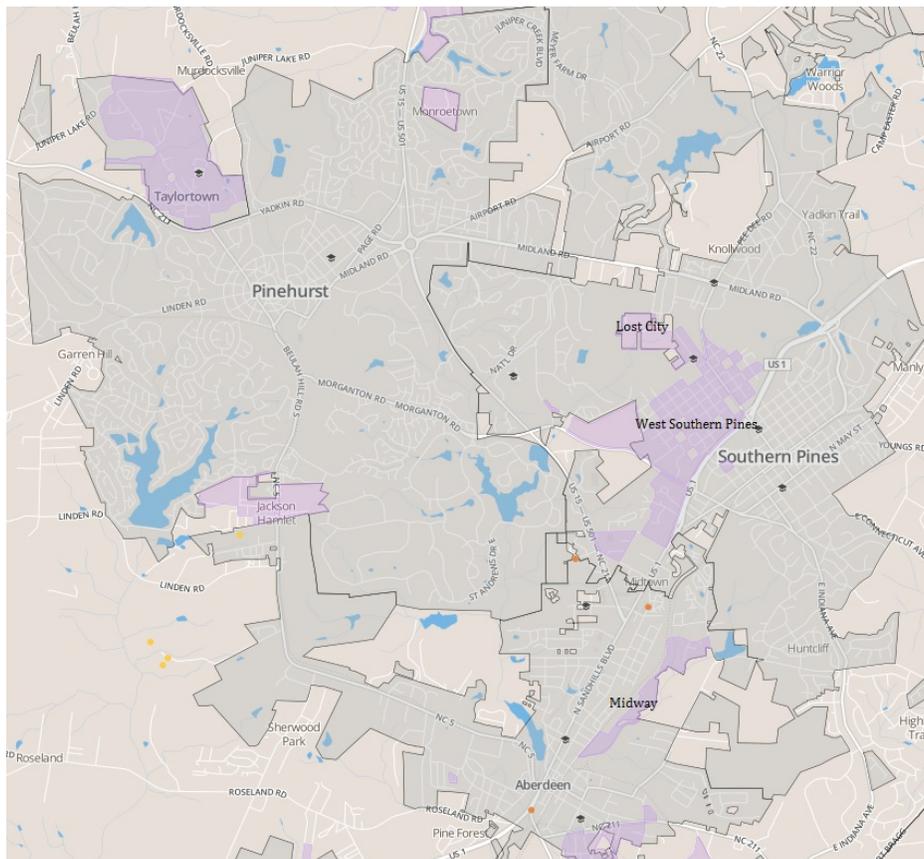
One effect of clustering subsidized housing in already concentrated areas of poverty and non-white population is to exclude African Americans, Latinos, and other low wealth residents from neighborhoods of higher opportunity that have greater access to employment, higher median incomes, and better educational opportunities. This countywide pattern of exclusion perpetuates racial segregation and frustrates the purposes of the Fair Housing Act.

The concentration of affordable housing is tied to other impacts of segregation and lack of political power, including access to recreational opportunities. This spring the Southern Pines Pool, located in West Southern Pines just a block from public housing, once again faced closure. The majority-white town council views the pool as “an outdated financial drain,” while the West Southern Pines community considers it “a point of pride and dignity.”²

Underbounded Communities

Underbounding occurs where a municipality’s limits do not include a neighborhood that would otherwise be within the municipal limits based upon its location, density, and history. Because of a long history of community organizing and advocacy, southern Moore County is a much documented and studied example of municipal underbounding.³

Underbounding is sometimes obvious; an African American neighborhood may be a geographic doughnut hole,



completely surrounded by municipal limits but not included. Other cases are not as apparent; a community may be near but not directly adjacent to a municipality, but still underbounded based upon the social and historical context.

The towns of Pinehurst, Aberdeen, and Southern Pines have grown and prospered by attracting tourists and retirees to their luxurious golf resorts. The predominantly African American workforce that was attracted to build and staff these resorts settled in the only available affordable housing, communities outside the city limits, in Midway, Taylortown, Lost City, Jackson Hamlet, and Waynor Road, as well as in the incorporated but low-wealth section of West Southern Pines.

Figure 2: Excluded and formerly excluded communities in southern Moore County: Taylortown, Lost City, Jackson Hamlet, Midway, Monroetown, and West Southern Pines.

² Ted M. Natt Jr., *Southern Pines’ Pool Park Readies for Summer Use*, The Pilot, May 20, 2014.

³ The Cedar Grove Institute for Sustainable Communities has researched and published extensively on underbounding in Moore County, <http://www.cedargroveinst.org/reports.php>. The UNC Center for Civil Rights has represented communities in Moore County for about 10 years, and has published two prior reports on underbounding and community activism in southern Moore County, *Invisible Fences* in 2006, and *Bridging the Gap* in 2008. Both reports are available at <http://www.uncinclusionproject.org/reports/>.

The underbounded communities generally lacked water service, sewer, sidewalks, streetlights, municipal police protection, and other basic amenities provided universally in the incorporated municipalities.

As in West Southern Pines, communities do not have to be underbounded to be excluded from political power, quality schools, and even municipal services or recreational facilities, like the pool. The experience of formerly underbounded communities like Midway confirms this. After decades of community struggle, and assistance from the Center for Civil Rights, the Midway community has water and sewer service, has been annexed into Aberdeen where they now vote for the town council, and even has a new affordable housing development. But Midway still faces exclusion, lacking sidewalks and streetlights, and constantly struggling for appropriate zoning to preserve the character of the community.

Waynor Road was similarly annexed into Southern Pines, after being connected to water and sewer. Jackson Hamlet remains underbounded. It received water service from the county in the 1990's. Two-thirds of the community has received sewer service through funding applied for by Pinehurst. A recent grant should provide sewer to the remainder of the community.

Environmental Justice

In the first phase of the Inclusion Project, the *State of Exclusion* examined every census block in the state of North Carolina that is 75% or more people of color, and clustered those blocks that were contiguous. Comparing the residents of these clusters to county and state averages demonstrated that residents of these super-majority people of color neighborhoods are disproportionately exposed to polluters tracked by the EPA. While the disproportionate burden was found statewide, the disparity is especially acute in Tier 3 counties in the Piedmont region, like Moore County. 18.54% of cluster residents in Moore County live within one mile of an EPA registered polluter, more than twice the rate of 8.46% for all county residents.

Similarly, clusters across N.C. are disproportionately exposed to landfills and other solid waste facilities. For all Tier 3 counties, the general exposure rate to solid waste facilities (within one mile), is 6.2%, but for cluster residents it doubles to 12.3%. Moore has fewer solid waste facilities than some counties, instead disposing of its municipal waste by transporting it to its lower wealth neighbor, Montgomery County. Moore also generally has less of a disparity between cluster residents and others in exposure to solid waste facilities than similar counties; the exposure rate is 3.8% for cluster residents, and 2.8% for the



Figure 3: Illegal dumping in Lost City

county as a whole. However one underbounded community, Jackson Hamlet, borders multiple solid waste facilities, including the county's transfer station, a land clearing and inert debris landfill, and closed municipal and construction landfills.

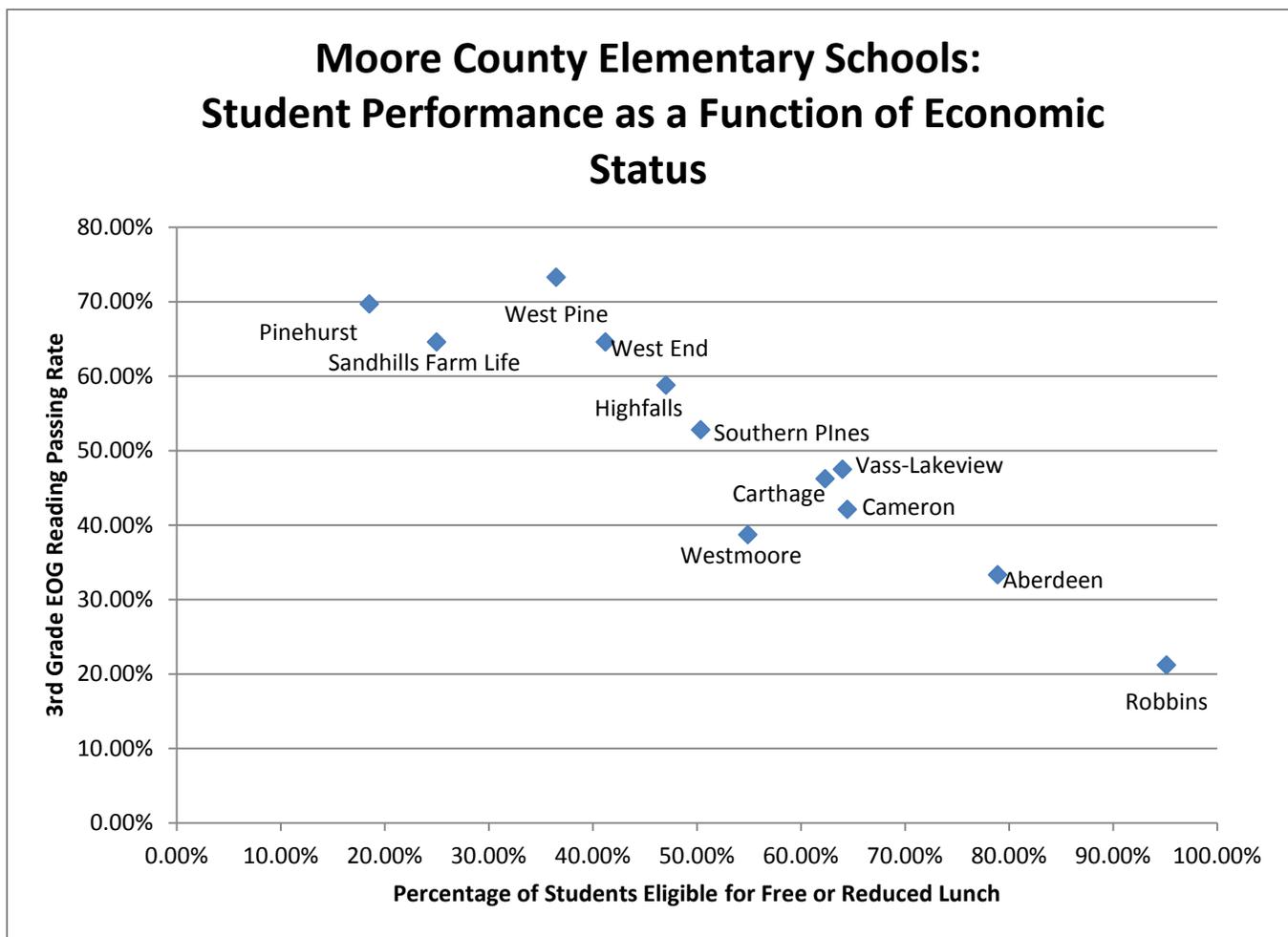
Illegal dumping is another environmental justice issue that is a common consequence of underbounding and exclusion and is compounded by proximity to landfills. Dumping continues to plague many of the underbounded communities in southern Moore County. The lack of municipal police protection, streetlights, and general neglect by municipalities all increase the susceptibility of these communities to this problem.

Education

Moore County has one unified countywide school district, with two primary schools (k-2), twelve elementary schools (two start at the 3rd grade), five middle schools, three high schools, and one alternative school. School assignment is determined by a feeder model based solely upon where students live. Three to four elementary schools feed each middle school, and one or two middle schools feed each high school. With this purely proximity based assignment model, patterns of residential segregation are perpetuated through the school district.

Moore County Schools with a Third Grade

| SCHOOL | STUDENT POPULATION (12-13) | PERCENTAGE OF WHITE NON-LATINO STUDENTS (12-13) | PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS ELIGIBLE FOR FREE OR REDUCED LUNCH (12-13) | 3 RD GRADE READING END OF GRADE (EOG) TEST PASSING RATES (12-13) |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---|---|---|
| ABERDEEN ELEMENTARY | 291 | 35.74% | 78.91% | 33.3% |
| CAMERON ELEMENTARY | 228 | 78.51% | 64.46% | 42.1% |
| CARTHAGE ELEMENTARY | 351 | 75.21% | 62.34% | 46.2% |
| SANDHILLS FARM LIFE ELEMENTARY | 550 | 84.00% | 25.00% | 64.6% |
| HIGHFALLS ELEMENTARY | 318 | 91.82% | 47.04% | 58.8% |
| PINEHURST ELEMENTARY | 475 | 84.63% | 18.52% | 69.7% |
| ROBBINS ELEMENTARY | 450 | 30.22% | 95.15% | 21.2% |
| SOUTHERN PINES ELEMENTARY | 387 | 55.04% | 50.36% | 52.8% |
| VASS-LAKEVIEW ELEMENTARY | 585 | 70.94% | 64.01% | 47.5% |
| WEST END ELEMENTARY | 390 | 75.90% | 41.21% | 64.6% |
| WEST PINE ELEMENTARY | 541 | 76.71% | 36.49% | 73.3% |
| WESTMOORE ELEMENTARY | 378 | 68.30% | 54.90% | 38.7% |
| DISTRICT TOTAL | 4,944 | 68.92% | 53.20% | 52.3% |



With student population growth, especially in the wealthier predominantly white schools, the county has proposed a bond referendum for school construction and facilities improvements. The current plan involves closing several of the older schools in African American neighborhoods, Aberdeen Primary, Aberdeen Elementary, and Southern Pines Primary. The all-white school board has developed a priority list for bond funding, focusing first on improvements to predominantly white schools, and eventually building consolidated facilities to replace the closing schools. The local NAACP and other community organizations are concerned about the apparent racial disparities in the school closings and facilities spending, and several of the municipalities have passed resolutions expressing concern as well.

The proposed master facilities plan prioritizes expanding Pinecrest and Union Pines high schools, and building a new “concept” high school. New schools are proposed to replace aging elementary schools in Southern Pines and Aberdeen with higher percentage students of color and free or reduced lunch eligible students than the county averages (see chart on page 6).⁴ Unfortunately, despite the resolutions from the municipalities and community pressure, currently higher priority is being given to a new elementary school in a predominantly white area, as well as major renovations to Pinehurst Elementary, the second whitest elementary school in the district and the school with the lowest percentage of free or reduced lunch eligible students.⁵

⁴ John Lentz, School Board Approves Facilities Renovation, The Pilot, Apr. 25, 2014, available at http://www.thepilot.com/news/school-board-approves-facilities-revision/article_7e86b3d8-cc35-11e3-852c-0017a43b2370.html

⁵ Moore County Schools Master Facilities Plan, February 2014, available at http://www.ncmcs.org/cms/lib7/NC01001076/Centricity/Domain/5/Board%20Notes_Feb2014.pdf

Conclusions and Recommendations

Because the county and each of the municipalities has an overwhelming white majority, building political power among African Americans to address these issues will continue to be a hurdle to full inclusion. The county commissioners and school board are all white, as are the town councils of Pinehurst, Aberdeen, and Whispering Pines. Southern Pines and Carthage each have one African American on the town council. Progress in Moore County has historically been driven instead by active community organizations, based in individual neighborhoods but collaborating together. These organizations continue to be necessary and ought to be supported however possible.

To remedy the concentration of subsidized affordable housing in lower wealth and predominantly African American neighborhoods, the county must commit to building housing in areas of higher opportunity, especially in or near the higher wealth towns of Pinehurst, and Whispering Pines. In order to receive funding from HUD, all counties must conduct a formal "Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing," and certify that they are taking steps to address those impediments and meet HUD's goal to "Affirmatively Further Fair Housing." Principles of fair housing dictate that

affordable housing must not be concentrated in racially and economically segregated areas but should be placed in areas of higher opportunity to achieve the express goal of racial integration. The lack of affordable housing anywhere but the two poorer post-industrial towns is a severe impediment to fair housing; without making concrete strides to remedy this, the county could be denied future HUD funds.



Figure 4: Midway Community leader Maurice Holland, Center for Civil Rights Managing Attorney Mark Dorosin, former Center fellow Diane Standaert, representatives from Habitat for Humanity, local government officials, and Midway community members break ground for new Habitat for Humanity housing in Midway.



Figure 5: Center fellow Peter Gilbert and Jackson Hamlet leader Oneal Russ at Jackson Hamlet Day, an annual celebration commemorating Juneteenth.

As part of the proposed school closings and construction, the school board should not only solicit community input, which they have already committed to, but also take the opportunity to examine their student assignment policies. Reassigning successful students from currently overcrowded schools to older schools that have been downgraded to primary schools could not only solve overcrowding, but further goals of integration and inspire all students to higher achievement. The issues of residential segregation and school diversity cannot be viewed in isolation. In the long run, as housing patterns remain segregated, integrating schools will be a persistent challenge. Providing affordable housing in the affluent communities will not only integrate those neighborhoods, but their schools as well.

About the Inclusion Project

Civil rights advocates have long recognized that housing segregation creates inequality in living conditions related to housing, like clean drinking water, the type and condition of homes, and exposure to pollution. Residential segregation also undermines equal access to education, public resources, and employment, and frustrates democracy at every level. Despite this understanding, most advocates address these issues piecemeal. Schools may desegregate for a time, but as segregated housing patterns persist they tend to re-segregate. A community may successfully fight off one polluter but lack the political power to prevent the next. Few victories stay won.

One impediment to integration is an individualistic legal framework where civil rights are perceived as individual rights and racial discrimination as a personal experience. The opposite is true. Housing segregation operates at a neighborhood level. When a neighborhood is overwhelmingly one race, all of the residents face impacts of that segregation, regardless of their own race or circumstances. Individuals face other forms of racial discrimination individually, for example in employment or access to higher education, but even these types of discrimination are reinforced and perpetuated by segregated communities.

This project uses North Carolina as a case study of impacts tied to super-majority non-white neighborhoods called excluded communities. The term "excluded" is applied broadly to refer to any community excluded socially, politically, or economically from opportunities available to other residents. These studies hypothesize that super-majority non-white neighborhoods will face greater than average impacts of housing segregation suggestive of community exclusion based on race.

One particular form of exclusion this report analyzes is the phenomenon of municipal underbounding. Underbounding occurs where a municipality's limits do not include a neighborhood that would otherwise be within the municipal limits based upon its location, density, and history. Underbounding is sometimes obvious; an African-American neighborhood may be a doughnut hole, completely surrounded by the municipal limits but not included. Other cases are not as immediately apparent; a community may be near but not directly adjacent to a municipality, but still underbounded based upon the social and historical context.

The goal is to provide communities, advocates, funders, and policy makers with an understanding of the shared causes of the overlapping challenges facing excluded communities, provide them with data on the seriousness of the issues, and to suggest where additional data is needed. The first phase of the project was a statewide analysis resulting in the publication of the *State of Exclusion* report. The results were startling, especially with respect to educational disparities and environmental justice issues, but ultimately the report raised more questions than provide answers. The Inclusion Project of the UNC Center for Civil Rights now continues this work with further research into individual counties and communities and through continued direct representation.

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