



Eating High on the Hog: How the Pork Barrel Spending Process Has Changed in the Last 10 Years

by Seth Effron

Until a relatively few years ago, pork barrel appropriations in the N.C. General Assembly—those financial goodies legislators send back to their home districts—were perquisites reserved exclusively for legislative leaders. Now all that has changed, and nearly every member of the legislature can expect a share of the pork barrel. How has the process changed in the last 10 years? And what policy questions does that raise about the way lawmakers spend public monies?

Last spring, a month before the N.C. General Assembly started its serious consideration of a 1987-88 budget totaling almost \$10 billion, State Auditor Edward Renfrow issued an unusual eight-page report. Following much public debate and journalistic analysis of the legislature's recent years' local appropriations bills — commonly known as "pork barrel" — Renfrow got out his microscope and examined 96 pork barrel expenditures to 46 agencies in 28

counties. Those appropriations had cost the state \$3.7 million since 1983.

Renfrow found no evidence of illegal use of taxpayer dollars in the spending. But, he confessed in his letter, that would have been difficult to spot anyway since many of the organizations receiving pork barrel funds kept such poor records. Then the Auditor came to a less-than-startling conclusion, but *Seth Effron is Raleigh correspondent for the Greensboro News & Record.*

one which had caused him and other students of the appropriations process much consternation: "We recognize that many people consider these appropriations to be 'gifts' to local organizations which require no further accountability. . . . We believe recipients which accept these monies must also accept the responsibility to properly account to the state."¹

The auditor's report, in the form of a letter to Gov. James G. Martin and the legislative leadership, was all but ignored by the ruling elders in the General Assembly for several weeks. Even Lt. Gov. Robert

"... We believe recipients which accept these monies must also accept the responsibility to properly account to the state."

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State Auditor*

B. Jordan, a vocal critic of pork barrel spending, was tied up with other matters — a public school construction program — and had to be pressed for comment on an issue he'd normally be eager to discuss. "We should begin to reach out and grab some of the Auditor's recommendations this year," Jordan said when he found the time for an interview on the subject. "I would hope that the Appropriations Committee this year would put something in the local appropriations bill that would set up additional parameters so that they . . . conform with the Auditor's recommendations," he added.

Those recommendations included:

- Clarifying in the appropriations bill what the requirements and conditions for acceptance of money are — particularly whether the money must be matched by other money raised and not by money from other governmental agencies.

- Distributing funds through appropriate state agencies. For example, money for a local arts council should be distributed by the state Department of Cultural Resources.

- Giving agencies receiving pork barrel money a detailed explanation of what conditions go with acceptance of the money, such as what records must be kept and what kind of report the state must receive concerning use of the money.

- Requiring organizations receiving \$10,000 or more to have an independent audit concerning how the state taxpayers' money is spent.

Pork as Fast Food

Even as Renfrow was putting together the final touches on his pork barrel report, and despite two years of relentless criticism from Republican Gov. Jim Martin and the close scrutiny from the state's press, legislators in the overwhelmingly Democratic General Assembly (124 Democrats to 46 Republicans) were busy making pork barrel requests at a record-setting pace. When the deadline for filing pork barrel requests hit, nearly \$100 million worth of spending requests — in hundreds of separate bills — had been filed. Just a year earlier, legislators had filed 347 bills seeking \$30.9 million.²

This ramjet pace in filing pork barrel requests reflects the legislature's increasing fondness of bringing home the bacon for their eagerly expectant constituents. From 1983 to 1985, pork barrel spending grew from \$5 million a year to about \$9 million. After a year of intense criticism that included a walkout by House Republicans during the closing days of the 1985 session, pork barrel spending was trimmed back to \$5.8 million in the 1986 short session, and \$7.9 million in 1987.

Governor Martin contends that pork barrel is little more than a way for the legislature's Democratic leadership "to discipline Democratic legislators to vote the way it tells them to vote." Other Republican leaders agree. "It's tied in with the carrot and stick," says Rep. Margaret Keesee-Forrester (R-Guilford), who characterizes the Democratic leadership style this way: "If you follow my directions as I am the leader of this body . . . then you will be rewarded for being good and not being a rabble-rouser and making it difficult for us."

"We should begin to reach out and grab some of the Auditor's recommendations this year..."

*— Robert B. Jordan
Lieutenant Governor*

But Rep. William T. Watkins (D-Granville), one of those leaders who heads the Appropriations Expansion Budget Committee, says the pork barrel is a way for legislators to show that state government is in touch with local needs. "It lets local people know state government cares about them," says

Watkins. "It really does cause people to appreciate their state government and participate in state government."

Former state Rep. Parks Helms of Charlotte, a Democrat who plans to run for lieutenant governor next year, views pork barrel in much the same way. Helms believes that it is a part of the basic political process within the General Assembly that both serves to create incentives for legislators to compromise and provides them with a way to show voters their legislators are effective and that their tax dollars can go to work for them.³

Yet Jordan, who presides over the state Senate, is concerned that using state tax dollars to pay for traditionally, and typically, local needs, entices local governments and non-public agencies to become overly dependent on state government for everything from band uniforms or lights for the local football stadium to money that supports a local festival or historic restoration project.

Jordan's criticism of pork barrel spending stems from his basic opposition to using state money for purposes that are local in nature and should be supported locally. But Jordan says he recognizes the political reality that the General Assembly isn't about to give it up, even though it's a questionable practice for the state to support such pet projects when a county or city would be the more appropriate source of funding.

"Even though the money does a lot of good," notes Jordan, "I would have to admit that in some instances, once the state does it a time or two, then local organizations become dependent upon it. Where they might have been privately supported or locally supported, they begin to look for it each year as their right, like a Christmas gift."

Other critics are harsher. Mercer Doty, a former director of the legislature's fiscal research staff, says, "Somewhere it needs to be said that some of us feel pork barrel spending is completely unethical as long as North Carolina has so many real unmet human needs."

Former U.S. Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Illinois) once wrote that such expenditures were nearly impossible to halt once begun. "As groups win their battle for special expenditures, they lose the more important war for general economy. They are like drunkards who shout for temperance in the intervals between cocktails."

Beyond that, should a state fund such thoroughly local projects? John Sanders, director of the Institute of Government at UNC-Chapel Hill,

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"The power of *taxation* shall be exercised in a just and equitable manner, *for public purposes only*, and shall never be surrendered, suspended, or contracted away."

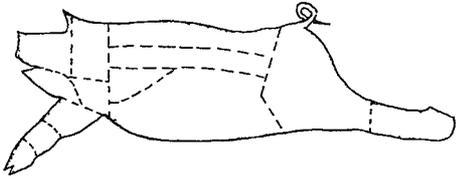
— Article V, Sec. 2 (1),
N.C. Constitution
(emphasis added)

"The General Assembly may enact laws whereby the State, any county, city, or town, and any other public corporation may contract with and *appropriate money* to any person, association, or corporation for the accomplishment of *public purposes only*."

— Article V, Sec. 2 (7),
N.C. Constitution
(emphasis added)

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points out that while such projects can be deemed to be of public benefit—a fire truck for a volunteer fire department, or a bandstand in a town park, or funds to promote a local huckleberry festival—the question that legislators do not seem to ask is whether the state should fund such projects for every citizen. "Why should the state's taxpayers fund the huckleberry festival but not the blackberry festival?" Sanders asks. "No distinction is made by the legislature as to what kinds of things ought to be funded, so long as they have some sort of public benefit. A helpful line could easily be drawn: Is this the sort of benefit that should be provided for all county residents or all municipal residents of this state?"



Public Purpose Pork

Pork barrel spending by the 1985 legislature raised many questions about whether tax money was being spent for public purposes — and caused a firestorm of criticism from the public and from other politicians. Among the recipients of pork barrel spending, for example, were \$2,500 for the Gladiator Boxing Club in Winston-Salem, \$2,000 for the Burlington Boys Choir, \$475,000 for the Discovery Place museum in Charlotte, and \$35,000 for the Mt. Hebron Masonic Lodge in Wilson. The latter caused something of a controversy because the sponsor of the appropriation was state Rep. Milton Fitch, a Wilson Democrat. Fitch's father, Milton Fitch Sr., just happened to be Worshipful Master of the lodge.

Such potential conflicts of interest pop up occasionally. For instance, state Rep. Albert Lineberry, a Greensboro Democrat, is a member of the board of the Greensboro Symphony Orchestra. Guess who sponsored a \$25,000 bite of pork for the symphony? Lineberry, of course. Likewise, Rep. Jim Richardson, a Mecklenburg Democrat, was a member of the board of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Youth Council. Guess who got the council a \$38,000 slab of pork? Richardson.⁴

Those are just a few of the pork barrel items that appear in the regular pork barrel bill, in 1985 called the Omnibus Local Appropriations Bill.⁵ But pork barrel funds can appear in more than one type of bill. Some show up in capital spending bills, and may include funds for horse arenas or college campus buildings. Others may show up in bills for statewide special projects, and still others may appear in the main operating budget bill. For instance, in 1986, the pork barrel bill appropriated \$5.8 million for local pork. But when a special appropriations bill for statewide projects emerged, it held \$24 million worth of state spending for certain types of capital projects — the university system, community colleges, and Department of Agriculture facilities — that would be located within the home districts of legislative leaders. Those leaders strongly objected to characterizing those projects as pork barrel, but the aroma was most definitely porcine.⁶

Pork Barrel: An Old Tradition

In the U.S. Congress, "pork barrel" once denoted federal spending for dams or canals in a favored politician's district. Now the money goes for a host of public works projects, including railroad grade crossings, interstate highways, bridges, tunnels, lakes, and the like. Some defense spending is also considered pork barrel at the federal level. But the individual states have raised pork barrel to more of an art form. In New Mexico, it's known as the "Christmas Tree" bill, and there's a present for good legislators under its wide branches. In Florida, it's the "turkey" bill, and everyone gets a nice big slice. In North Carolina, it's the "pork barrel" bill and no one's quite sure why it's called that.

Some say the term "pork barrel" dates to the old South's plantation days, when the infrequent barrel of salt pork was opened and "caused a rush to be made by the slaves."⁷ More likely the term came from simple evolution of the slang use of the word pork to describe graft and patronage during Reconstruction. By whatever name, however, favored legislators have been eating high on the legislative hog ever since then.

In North Carolina, the pork barrel practice was an informal one through the 1970s. Only the most powerful legislators, usually those in key leadership posts such as appropriations committee chairmen, got big chunks of pork money, leaving small scraps for a few other favored legislators in a swap for votes or in gratitude for past support. Republicans never got any, because they were in a small minority and often objected to the roughshod ways of the budget committee chairmen. And the amount available for pork barrel spending varied from year to year, depending upon a healthy economy and the occasional unexpected surplus blessing the state treasury. But even in the good fiscal years, pork went mostly to the leadership. The rank and file could only gaze longingly at the empty barrel.

Ten years ago, the grumbling began in earnest about pork barrel and how it got parceled out — one of the big mysteries of the 1977 session. In the rush to adjourn, there was little time for real discussion and debate about what was in the main appropriations bill, and even less time for the handful of pork barrel projects. After a few perfunctory comments about the bigger spending bequests, the bills were approved quickly in the haste to adjourn and go home.

After a few more such experiences, thoughtful

Table 1. Per Capita Pork Barrel Spending, 1983-1986

County	Spending	Rank	County	Spending	Rank
Alamance	\$3.80	65	Johnston	5.46	35
Alexander	.58	100	Jones	25.24	1
Alleghany	9.31	14	Lee	8.24	20
Anson	3.45	74 (tie)	Lenoir	4.51	49
Ashe	3.07	78	Lincoln	2.45	86
Avery	1.87	94	Macon	1.99	91
Beaufort	4.20	59	Madison	13.22	4
Bertie	8.78	17	Martin	2.98	80
Bladen	7.45	23	McDowell	5.32	38
Brunswick	3.53	69	Mecklenburg	4.38	54
Buncombe	5.08	41	Mitchell	1.73	95
Burke	5.43	36	Montgomery	4.83	43
Cabarrus	3.78	66	Moore	4.26	57 (tie)
Caldwell	1.03	98	Nash	5.73	32
Camden	9.77	12	New Hanover	2.55	85
Carteret	6.67	26	Northampton	2.97	81
Caswell	6.57	27	Onslow	3.50	71 (tie)
Catawba	2.03	89	Orange	4.66	46
Chatham	8.35	19	Pamlico	7.02	24
Cherokee	4.31	56	Pasquotank	1.41	96
Chowan	8.04	22	Pender	3.82	64
Clay	13.69	2	Perquimans	9.17	15
Cleveland	4.39	53	Person	4.94	42
Columbus	6.41	29	Pitt	10.24	9
Craven	3.45	74 (tie)	Polk	7.01	25
Cumberland	4.55	48	Randolph	1.91	93
Currituck	3.61	67 (tie)	Richmond	5.59	34
Dare	12.48	6	Robeson	5.76	31
Davidson	2.00	90	Rockingham	5.33	37
Davie	3.86	63	Rowan	3.97	62
Duplin	4.26	57 (tie)	Rutherford	3.50	71 (tie)
Durham	5.31	39	Sampson	4.50	50
Edgecombe	3.21	76	Scotland	2.41	87
Forsyth	4.76	45	Stanly	4.35	55
Franklin	8.36	18	Stokes	2.65	84
Gaston	4.45	51 (tie)	Surry	4.17	61
Gates	8.79	16	Swain	13.57	3
Graham	12.62	5	Transylvania	6.05	30
Granville	5.15	40	Tyrrell	1.01	99
Greene	10.11	10	Union	2.87	82
Guilford	3.61	67 (tie)	Vance	4.19	60
Halifax	4.65	47	Wake	6.51	28
Harnett	3.46	73	Warren	11.57	7
Haywood	4.45	51 (tie)	Washington	8.10	21
Henderson	1.26	97	Watauga	2.68	83
Hertford	9.78	11	Wayne	4.80	44
Hoke	9.71	13	Wilkes	1.96	92
Hyde	10.56	8	Wilson	3.57	70
Iredell	2.05	88	Yadkin	3.16	77
Jackson	3.02	79	Yancey	5.69	33
			State Average	\$4.36	

Source: Greensboro News & Record

legislators began seeking more careful review, asking for committee debates, and generally pushing for better answers to questions. In the 1980s, the pork barrel process became more formal and for the first time became locked into the budget. The 1983-84 budget was one of the tightest in years as the nation and state struggled with a recession. Still, legislators were able to come up with \$5 million for local pet projects. Local project funds that year were included in a separate bill, often compiled from individual appropriations bills filed by legislators.

In 1985 came another innovation: legislative leaders bypassed the formal bill process and privately distributed application forms for legislators to designate pork barrel requests. During the 1985 session, Sen. James McDuffie (R-Mecklenburg) asked why he had not gotten a blank form from Democratic leaders so he could list his pork barrel requests. Replied Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Aaron Plyler (D-Union), "We ran out of forms before we got to you." Still, 11 of the 12 Senate Republicans and 11 of the 38 House Republicans got pork barrel funds from the 1985 General Assembly.

While the process was becoming more formalized, more legislators were getting in on the process. At the end of each legislative session, the pork barrel checks for individual groups or agencies were sent to the sponsoring legislators, a process that enabled the sponsor to present personally the money to the hometown recipient. That brought about its own problems, though. As Senator Plyler put it, "Some people think we can pocket it, if we want."

The pork process changed again in mid-1985, when Governor Martin ordered his budget office to review each pork barrel spending item. The Governor had his doubts about some of the spending items, which ranged from the seemingly worthy to the seemingly absurd. Only after the office was assured the item met the constitutional requirement that the spending be for a "public purpose" would the check be released directly to the agency.⁸ Only three of more than 1,400 items were rejected for failing to meet the public purpose doctrine in 1985 — one to Tau Omega, a fraternity in Greensboro, which did not meet the constitutional public purpose test, and two others to organizations that just didn't exist — the Reidsville Volunteer Fire Department and the Spring Hope Historical Society.

Recent reviews of pork barrel spending have turned up only a few examples of improper pork funding. The Martin administration review of more than 1,400 items found but three that should not be funded, and even the State Auditor's review found

no additional examples of improper funding. That comes as good news to defenders of pork barrel who contend that most pork barrel spending, after all, does benefit the taxpayers back home.

In 1986, the pork process changed again. Legislators seeking pork barrel funds were required to submit bills for their requests. For the first time, the public — and other legislators — would know who was seeking what. At the end of the session, those requests became part of a final pork barrel bill. And finally in 1987, a series of bill-filing deadlines were established to bring more order to the process, and to provide time for more thoughtful analysis of each request.



The New Pork Barrel

With demands on the state treasury to boost teacher and state employee pay, continue funding the Basic Education Program, pay for shortfalls in state employee health insurance coverage, and finance a public school construction program, there was little money available for extras in 1987. But even so, there was \$7.9 million available for local pork — in addition to other pork-like goodies tucked away in other bills.

Since 1983, legislative leaders have brought more and more structure to the system that even critics say makes pork barrel more equitable. Political party differences remain, of course, with Republicans being frozen out of the process entirely before 1985, and even since 1985, receiving significantly less than Democrats. In 1983, rank-and-file legislators got about \$50,000 per district in average spending on pork barrel. In 1984, it was \$80,000 per senator and \$40,000 per House member.⁹ A year later, that amount was \$100,000 for a senator and \$50,000 for a House member. In 1986, the average dropped back as pork barrel appropriations declined, to an average of about \$35,000 per legislator. In 1987, Senators got about \$70,000 each; House members got \$40,000 each. Critics of the pork barrel process — none of whom would be identified publicly — have charged that this allocation system came about in the House in an effort to cement across-the-board support for the leadership, primarily the speaker and the budget committee chairmen. Defenders of pork barrel in 1987 point out that more

members are getting pork now, including Republicans and new members, not just the Democratic leadership. And they say that distribution of funding is becoming fairer, with fewer areas of the state left out of the barrel. Still, some counties get a fairer share than others.

Counties with powerful Democrats fared better in their share of pork barrel spending than those represented by Republicans. Over the last four years, Madison County residents received \$13.22 per capita in pork barrel money. That county is represented by House Speaker Liston Ramsey, a life-long Democrat and Speaker since 1981. By contrast, nearby Henderson County, represented by a series of Republicans in the General Assembly in recent years, received just \$1.26 in per capita pork barrel spending. The statewide average for all counties was \$4.36.¹⁰

Republican counties typically brought up the bottom of the list. Mitchell and Avery, with Republican voting majorities, ranked 97th and 98th among the state's 100 counties in *total* pork barrel over the four-year period; in *per-capita* spending, the Republican counties of Wilkes, Randolph, Avery, Mitchell, and Henderson ranked 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th,

and 97th, respectively. (See Table 1, p. 23, for the per-capita rankings). On the other hand, counties with heavy Democratic registration and voting patterns did handsomely. The top 10 counties in overall money during the period were Wake, Mecklenburg, Cumberland, Forsyth, Guilford, Buncombe, Durham, Gaston, Pitt, and Robeson. In per capita pork barrel, rural counties with a high rate of Democratic registration did splendidly. Take Jones County, for example, with its 94 percent Democratic registration ratio: It led the state in per capita pork, with \$25.24 per resident.

Obviously, it pays off for a county to have a Democrat in the legislature, and even more so to have a speaker. But most counties won't ever have a speaker, and with the continued rise of the two-party system, many won't have Democratic legislators. That has Republicans boiling mad. After the uproar in 1985, concluding with the House GOP protest walkout, the Republican caucus declared, "This is the bill that's corrupting the process. To participate is something we cannot do."¹¹ But others charged Martin with having it both ways — criticizing Democratic pork barrel while getting his own bacon.

Table 2. Local Pork Barrel Spending, 1983-1987

Year	Total Pork Barrel	Total State Budget	% of Budget That is Pork	Number of Pork Items	Share Per Senator	Share Per Representative
1983	\$5.0 million	\$3.8 billion* \$6.7 billion*	0.13% 0.07%	261	\$50,000	\$50,000
1984	\$7.8 million	\$4.3 billion* \$7.4 billion*	0.18% 0.10%	308	\$80,000	\$40,000
1985	\$9.0 million	\$4.9 billion* \$8.4 billion*	0.18% 0.10%	1,442	\$100,000	\$50,000
1986	\$5.8 million	\$5.2 billion* \$8.9 billion*	0.11% 0.06%	631	\$35,000	\$35,000
1987	\$7.9 million	\$5.9 billion* \$9.9 billion*	0.13 % 0.07 %	1,183	\$70,000	\$40,000

* General Fund budget only

Total state budget, including federal funds

The Governor said Democrats had reduced pork barrel "to its lowest common denominator — fear" in forcing lawmakers to vote a certain way. Speaker Ramsey charged that Martin was getting the equivalent of pork barrel for his home county of Mecklenburg through spending in the state's continuation budget, such as \$70,000 for the Charlotte Symphony, \$70,000 for the Mint Museum, and \$65,000 for the Charlotte Opera.¹² And the Martin administration has contributed to the quest for pork in another way: On April 16, 1986, Martin's Department of Cultural Resources held a workshop on historic preservation that included advice on how the appropriations system works — and how to go about getting money for restoration projects.

Cleaning up the Pork Barrel

Under Lt. Gov. Bob Jordan's order, the Senate in 1985 launched a study to reform the pork barrel process, as well as some other procedures. That study produced some changes adopted by the Senate, and to a lesser degree, by the House of Representatives.¹³

The changes included the following:

- Any pork barrel requests must be made in the form of a separate bill with details about the nature of the organization to receive the money.

- All requests must be reviewed by appropriations subcommittees to determine the nature of the agency or organization to receive funds, and to assure that the request meets the constitutional requirement of spending for a public purpose.

- And requests from Republican legislators are reviewed and granted on the same basis as those from

Democrats.

But despite initial optimism that the late-1985 reforms would lead to a wholesale cleaning up of pork barrel, the question remains as to how much has changed about pork barrel spending. The amount of money for pork barrel projects was trimmed to \$5.8 million in 1986, and none of the 1986 projects was rejected for funding by the Governor's budget office review. But the pork barrel spending process remained largely what it had been in 1985. As the Speaker put it, 1986 was not the time to be tinkering with the House rules, adopted in 1985, so little changed. The reforms of 1985 stood for little in 1986, but in 1987 the legislature began to address the study commission's findings.

But it is almost certain that some changes will continue, as they have during the past decade. The Institute of Government's John Sanders points out that widely distributed pork barrel "is a recent phenomenon. Just 10 years ago, only a legislative leader could get a special appropriation for a state institution or project in his district — a university building or historic site, for example. But no one would have dreamed that every legislator could ask for this sort of 'free money' to take back home for a public project of a purely local nature."

On balance, the changes in 10 years have been positive ones.

- The 1987 bill deadline process (requiring all pork barrel bills to be introduced by May 29) made it possible to know who is sponsoring which bills. It also gave the news media more time to examine each request, because several months elapsed between the bill filing deadline and passage of the omnibus pork

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Senator Jim Johnson (R-Cabarrus) placed newspaper ads in his district inviting constituents to use this form to request pork barrel funds for local projects

Sen. Jim Johnson

APPLICATION FOR SPECIAL FUNDS

1. Name of Group, Organization or Association - _____

2. Address _____
Phone _____

3. County _____

4. Date organized _____

5. Names and addresses of organization's President and its governing board

6. Purposes and/or goals of the Group/Or

14. For what purposes does the organization plan to use any funds that might be granted:

15. Additional comments, if desired:

IF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IS NEEDED REGARDING THE ABOVE, WE WILL CONTACT YOU.

PORK BARREL—continued from page 26

barrel bill. This was an improvement over the old Jack-In-The-Box process, where pork barrel bills popped up one day and were ratified into law several days later.

■ More members get pork barrel money now, not just the Democratic leadership.

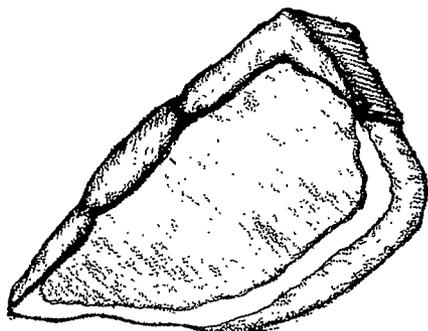
■ Distribution of those funds seems to be fairer than before, even though some counties get much more money than other counties.

■ And reviews by the Governor and the State Auditor show that there's relatively little monkey business when it comes to pork barrel spending. The projects usually are at least defensible.

But the legislature has some questions it must ask itself as the pork barrel process continues to evolve.

— For instance, just because a project benefits some citizens, should the state fund it? Or wouldn't it constitute better public policy to leave such funding to local private groups or to county commissioners?

— Shouldn't the legislature provide a better way to give credit — or blame — to those who have successfully sponsored legislation? Under the current system, it's no problem to determine who has sponsored most pork barrel requests, but it's difficult sometimes to tell what has happened to a piece of legislation, because the hundreds of pork barrel requests are consolidated into one or two omnibus bills. Often the only guides in the computer summary of actions on each pork barrel bill are the acronyms RPAB or PPI, meaning either "Ratified as Part of Another Bill," or "Postponed Indefinitely." Usually a pork barrel bill will show up as having been postponed indefinitely when in fact it was ratified as part of the omnibus pork barrel bill. The legislative records on bill status should accurately reflect what happens to each pork barrel request. With the General Assembly's sophisticated new computer system, this additional measure of accountability could easily be provided to tell researchers exactly what ratified bill contains a pork



request and to give credit where credit is due.

— But perhaps the toughest question is this: Has the rise of the pork system contributed to a more parochial N.C. General Assembly, taking it even beyond the age old rural-urban debate and finally pitting one locality against the next locality in the growing quest for the pork barrel? And how will such festering divisions affect future operations of the General Assembly? □□□

FOOTNOTES

¹Limited Scope Review on a Sample of Appropriations for 'Local Projects,' Management Letter from State Auditor Edward Renfrow to Gov. James G. Martin, Lt. Gov. Robert B. Jordan III and Speaker of the House Liston Ramsey, June 3, 1987, p. 3.

²Seth Effron, "Pork Barrel Wish List Far Exceeds Funds for Favorite Local Projects," *Greensboro News & Record*, May 24, 1987, p. C1; and "Pork Barrel Legislation is Plentiful," *Greensboro News & Record*, June 18, 1986, p. C1.

³B. Scott Schrimsher, "Pork Barrel Legislation and What It Means to Mecklenburg County," unpublished paper prepared for UNC-CH Political Science 135 course, Dec. 12, 1985, p. 8.

⁴Seth Effron, "Symphony's Pork Had Local Cook," *Greensboro News & Record*, Jan. 3, 1986, p. D1.

⁵Pork Barrel spending can be found in the following legislation:

1977: Chapter 802 of the 1977 Session Laws.

1979: Chapter 731 of the 1979 Session Laws.

1981: Chapter 1127 of the 1981 Session Laws.

1982: Chapter 1282 of the 1981 Session Laws (2nd Session 1982).

1983: Chapter 761 of the 1983 Session Laws.

1984: Chapter 971 of the 1983 Session Laws (2nd Session 1984).

1984: Chapter 1034 of the 1983 Session Laws (2nd Session 1984).

1984: Chapter 1114 of the 1983 Session Laws (2nd Session 1984).

1984: Chapter 1116 of the 1983 Session Laws (2nd Session 1984).

1985: Chapter 757 of the 1985 Session Laws.

1985: Chapter 778 of the 1985 Session Laws.

1986: Chapter 1014 of the 1985 Session Laws (2nd Session 1986).

1987: Chapter 830 of the 1987 Session Laws.

⁶Paul T. O'Connor, "Reforming Pork Barrel, Special Provisions, and the Appropriations Process: Is There Less Than Meets the Eye?," *North Carolina Insight*, Vol. 9, No. 3, March 1987, pp. 98-99.

⁷William Morris, *The Dictionary of Word and Phrase Origins*, Harper & Row, 1977, p. 458.

⁸Article 5, Sections 2, 7, and 32, Constitution of North Carolina.

⁹The Associated Press, "State Lawmakers Dig Into 'Pork Barrel' Legislation," *The News and Observer*, July 6, 1984, p. 2C; and "Lawmakers Eye Pork Barrel Funds," *The Raleigh Times*, July 8, 1985, p. 6C.

¹⁰Seth Effron, "Pork Barrel Rolls Along," *Greensboro News & Record*, Feb. 15, 1987, pp. A1, A10, A11.

¹¹Seth Effron, "Pork Barrel Bill OK'd After Debate, Walkout," *Greensboro News & Record*, June 17, 1985, p. D1.

¹²Seth Effron, "Ramsey Jabs at Martin Pork Barrel," *Greensboro News & Record*, Dec. 11, 1985, p. B1.

¹³Report of the Senate Select Committee on the Appropriations Process to the 1985 Senate of North Carolina, Dec. 10, 1985.