



Hungry Children

THE INCREASING DEMAND FOR FREE AND
REDUCED PRICE LUNCH IN NORTH CAROLINA

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 2016, 60% of North Carolina's school children received free or reduced-price (FRPL) meals, up from 49% in 2006. Free and reduced-price meal applications typically rise and fall in tandem with local unemployment rates and poverty rates; however this relationship is not observed consistently in North Carolina between 2006 and 2016. We find that trends in FRPL did not correspond with trends in unemployment, particularly during the recovery from the Great Recession, however FRPL tracks closely with child poverty. This relationship holds until the 2014-15 school year, when changes in the administration of the FRPL program through the Community Eligibility Provision (CEP) introduced changes to the measurement of FRPL receipt. While CEP expands access to FRPL and alleviates administrative burdens in participating districts in North Carolina, it presents distinct data challenges to analysis of FRPL uptake and what those levels of uptake mean for student need. Finally, we discuss FRPL receipt in the 2016-17 school year, when many students were enrolled in FRPL following Hurricane Matthew, serving as an important reminder that the determinants of student food insecurity are broader than suggested by economic indicators alone.

The authors wish to acknowledge the Global Research Institute for financial support and to express their gratitude to Professors Daniel Gitterman and Peter Coclanis for helpful comments.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADM	Average Daily Membership
CA	Cash Assistance
CEP	Community Eligibility Provision
CPI	Consumer Price Index
D-SNAP	Disaster Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program
FDPIR	Food Distribution Program on Indian Reservations
FNS	Food and Nutrition Services
FRPL	Free or Reduced-Price Lunch
LEA	Local Education Agency
NC DPI	North Carolina Department of Public Instruction
NCGA	North Carolina General Assembly
NSLP	National School Lunch Program
OMB	Office of Management and Budget
SNAP	Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program
TANF	Temporary Assistance for Needy Families
UI	Unemployment Insurance
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture

INTRODUCTION

Although it has been more than half a decade since the Great Recession ended, many families, both in North Carolina and in the United States, continue to feel its effects. Social safety-net programs expand during years of economic contraction and provide critical support to families and children. More children were in poverty in North Carolina in 2016 (24%) than in 2006 (20%), and the child poverty rate in North Carolina was higher than that of the United States as a whole (19%) (NCCP, n.d.). As the economy improves, policymakers must recognize the extent to which recovery has been slow and uneven for many families, as evidenced by continued uptake in safety-net programs such as the National School Lunch Program (NSLP).

Uptake of free or reduced-price lunch (FRPL) programs, a benefit afforded to families in poverty or near poverty,¹ exemplifies this slow and uneven recovery in North Carolina. Free and reduced-priced meal receipt, although an imperfect measure of poverty, is a common proxy among researchers and policy makers for overall student need. As can be seen in **Figure 1**, nearly 58% of North Carolina's school children received free or reduced-price meals in 2013, nine percentage points higher than the 49% figure for children receiving FRPL in 2006. Despite a significant decline in 2014 and 2015 to 53%, FRPL uptake increased to 60% in 2016.

Increased demand for and receipt of free and reduced-price meals in North Carolina has significant implications for education and social policy makers, who are responsible for meeting the education needs of an increasingly economically diverse student population. Free and reduced-price meal applications typically rise and fall in tandem with local unemployment rates and poverty rates; however this relationship is not observed consistently in North Carolina between 2006 and 2016.

What is driving trends in food insecurity among North Carolina's school children, and what does FRPL uptake indicate about broader need within North Carolina communities? We find that while trends in FRPL did not correspond with trends in unemployment, particularly during the recovery from the Great Recession, FRPL tracks closely with child poverty. This relationship holds until the 2014-15 school year, when changes in the administration of the FRPL program introduced changes to the measurement of FRPL receipt. Finally, FRPL receipt in the 2016-17 school year serves as an important reminder that the determinants of student food insecurity are broader than suggested by economic indicators alone.

¹The federal poverty threshold in 2016 was \$24,339 for a family of four with two children (NCCP, n.d.).

II. PROGRAM OVERVIEW: FREE OR REDUCED PRICE LUNCH (FRPL) PROGRAM

Free and reduced- priced meals are provided by public and non-profit private schools as well as residential child care institutions through the federal National School Lunch Program. Participating school districts receive cash and subsidies as well as United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) foods for the meals served to their students. Eligibility for free or reduced -price meals is determined in three main ways: categorical eligibility, income eligibility, and community eligibility.

Some children are ‘categorically eligible’ for free meals because they are homeless, runaways, or migrants; in foster care; they are enrolled in Head Start; or because they live in households receiving Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP)², Food Distribution Program on Indian Reservations (FDPIR) or Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)³ benefits. In North Carolina, students receiving SNAP or TANF benefits are directly certified without a paper application through data exchanges between the corresponding authority and the student’s school district (NC DPI, n.d.2).

If a child is not categorically eligible, he or she may still be eligible based on his/her household income. Students living in households with incomes at or lower than 130% of the Federal Income Eligibility Guidelines (or federal poverty line)⁴ are eligible for free meals, and students in households with incomes between 130% and 185% of the poverty line are eligible for reduced -priced meals. It is worth noting that eligibility for reduced -priced meals is established only through income; all other assessments of eligibility provide for free school meals. Eligibility based on a child’s household income is established by a paper application completed at the child’s school.

Third, students may have community eligibility, a new eligibility avenue established by the 2010 Healthy Hunger Free Kids Act and made available nationwide in the 2014-15 school year. Community eligibility allows schools with high percentages of low-income students to provide free breakfast and lunch to all students without collecting applications. Any local education agency (LEA), group of schools within an LEA, or individual school may participate in the Community Eligibility Provision (CEP) if 40% or more of the LEA student population is comprised of “identified students”—students whose eligibility for free meals has been assessed without an individual household application, or in other words, those who are directly certified (FRAC, n.d.2).

As the CEP was not available to North Carolina schools until the 2014-15 school year, the data used in this paper are not affected by this policy change in the school years before

² In North Carolina, SNAP is called “Food and Nutrition Services” or FNS. SNAP was formerly known as the “Food Stamp” program (NC DPI, n.d.2).

³ In North Carolina, TANF is called Cash Assistance (CA) (NC DPI, n.d.2).

⁴ In 2016, the federal poverty line for a family of four was an annual income of \$24,300. (Child Nutrition Programs: Income Eligibility Guidelines, 2016).

2014-15. However, the data for the 54 school districts that implemented CEP in 2014-15 are not accurate; North Carolina Department of Public Instruction (NC DPI) data on FRPL receipt are derived from both direct eligibility and through paper applications, and the CEP eliminated the requirement for paper applications by students in participating schools or LEAs (take-up based on data presented in Segal et al., 2017:21). All students in CEP- participating schools or LEAs receive free meals; however, the proportion of free-meal receipt reported is lower than previous years, and the proportion of reduced- price meal receipt is zero. Presumably, only those who are directly eligible for FRPL (“identified students”) were counted in 2014-15, vastly underestimating the impact of the program. The impact of this oversight is evident in **Figures 1-2**, which exhibit a (false) precipitous drop in Free and Reduced Price Lunch receipt in 2014. While CEP expands access to FRPL and alleviates administrative burdens in participating districts in North Carolina, it presents data challenges to analysis of FRPL uptake and what those levels of uptake mean for student need.

III. WHAT COULD BE DRIVING STATEWIDE TRENDS IN FRPL ENROLLMENT?

Figure 1 shows that overall need (or the proportion of students receiving either free or reduced-price meals) rose markedly since the Great Recession and continued to rise after the economic recovery. However, combining free- meal receipt and reduced-price meal receipt obscures individual trends, which can be observed in **Figure 2**. Free -meal receipt increased drastically, from 40.9% in 2008 to 49.6% in 2011, dipped slightly in 2012 to 49.4% then increased in 2013 to 50.9%. Reduced-price meal receipt declined between 2008 and 2011, from 9.0% to 6.4%, before increasing in 2012 (to 6.7%) and remaining at 6.6% in 2013 (see **Table 1**). Due to data limitations imposed by CEP implementation, we reserve our analysis of FRPL uptake post-CEP implementation to Section IV. Our analysis in this section focuses on trends in FRPL uptake from 2006-2013.

As can be observed in **Figure 3**, FRPL enrollment varied across the state, with regions like the Sandhills and Northeastern areas having relatively greater need. While FRPL enrollment increased across counties between 2008 and 2013, counties with already higher 2008 enrollment appear to experience deepening student need by 2013 (see **Figure 4**).

UNEMPLOYMENT

As an (admittedly imperfect) proxy for student need, free and reduced- price meal uptake is generally expected to coincide with local unemployment rates and poverty. However, FRPL uptake continued to increase even after the state’s economy showed signs of improvement. As seen in **Figure 5**, the unemployment rate in North Carolina increased

precipitously since 2008 (5.1%), peaking in 2010 at 11.3%, after which it began to decline. In contrast, FRPL uptake increased sharply from 2008-9, stabilized from 2009-10, and then rose steadily until its 2013 peak (see **Figure 1**).

There are a few possible explanations for why free and reduced -price meal receipt continued to climb despite apparent improvements in unemployment rates. For instance, North Carolinians may have left the labor force at higher rates or were willing to accept lower-paying jobs or jobs with less hours. Rates of ‘underemployment’ in North Carolina⁵ were markedly high during the Great Recession; in 2008, 3.8% were underemployed,⁶ peaking at 6.1% in 2009 and remaining above 5% until 2014 (BLS, n.d.)

It is noteworthy that unemployment rates may be less meaningful in the Great Recession than such rates were in earlier economic downturns. The unemployment rate does not capture people who exhaust their unemployment benefits and drop out of the labor force. Nationally, the Great Recession exhibited higher long-term unemployment—being out of the job for 27 weeks or more (Lei, 2013)—making it more likely that claimants exhaust their benefits before finding a job. Examining overall unemployment rates and benefit exhaustion, North Carolina was comparatively harder hit by the Great Recession than other states: In 2013, North Carolina faced the fifth-highest unemployment rate in the United States, and from 2009 to 2013, the unemployment rate in North Carolina was higher than that of the United States average. Even before changes to North Carolina’s Unemployment Insurance (UI) were enacted in 2013 (discussed in Section IV), rates of unemployment -benefit exhaustion were higher in North Carolina than the United States as a whole. For example, in 2010, 60.7% of NC unemployment claimants exhausted their benefits, compared to 53.4% of all U.S. unemployment claimants (Department of Labor, n.d.).⁷

State-level indicators may mask geographic variation in labor market outcomes. Within the state, the counties with higher rates of unemployment in 2010 had persistently higher rates of unemployment, as reflected in their unemployment rates in 2013 (see **Figure 6** and **Figure 7** for state unemployment maps for 2010 and 2013, respectively). While some counties like Orange, Wake, and Buncombe had unemployment rates below 6% in 2013, counties in other regions (Sandhills, Western, Northeast) continued to have unemployment rates of 10% or higher: Scotland County in the Sandhills and Graham County in Western North Carolina both had unemployment rates of approximately 15% (see **Figure 7**).

POVERTY

The Great Recession disproportionately impacted certain subsets of the population who may be more vulnerable to food insecurity or poverty. Additionally, it may have driven migration

⁵ For January of each year, published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS).

⁶ Underemployment is measured as the percent of people working part-time for economic reasons, or the difference in U-5 and U-6 rates reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS, n.d.)

⁷ These figures are from Column 26 of the Department of Labor’s Unemployment Insurance Financial Data Handbook, or ETA Financial Data Handbook 394 (Department of Labor, n.d.).

of more mobile, less needy families out of low-growth and economically struggling areas, leaving behind lower-income, more food-insecure families. Comparing county-level child poverty rates in 2008 (**Figure 8**) and in 2013 (**Figure 9**) underscores how the Great Recession further deepened geographic disparities in student need.

Poverty among school-aged children began to climb as a result of the Great Recession, peaking in 2012 at 23.9% before dropping steadily (**Figure 10**). Unsurprisingly, the trend for FRPL from 2006-13 (**Figure 1**) is more similar to the trend for child poverty (and poverty in general) than the trend line for unemployment rates (**Figure 5**), as free and reduced-price meals were established to address food insecurity of poor and near-poor children. Because individual FRPL eligibility is at least partially derived from income relative to the Federal Poverty Level, poverty and FRPL uptake are highly related; comparison of FRPL uptake by county (**Figures 3 and 4**) and child poverty rates by county (**Figures 9 and 10**) support this notion. North Carolina has also seen increased SNAP enrollment since the economic downturn (NC Child, 2011); children whose families receive SNAP or other benefits are categorically eligible to receive FRPL.

Child poverty rates have declined since 2012. Because we cannot analyze the relationship between child poverty and FRPL uptake beyond the 2013-14 school year, it is difficult to conclude whether FRPL uptake would have followed the same trend as child poverty over the same period of time. However, the size of the public school population may be informative. **Figure 11** shows the Average Daily Membership (ADM)⁸ for North Carolina schools from 2006 to 2016. Except for a small dip in 2009, the number of students attending North Carolina public schools increased from 2006- to 2012. ADM declined slightly in 2012 and has since remained relatively consistent, reflecting slowing growth in the population aged 5-14 (**Figure 12**). Stagnating enrollment since 2012 may also be a result of the economic recovery, with more students attending private school or being educated at home, as families have higher and more consistent income.

FRPL AS A PROXY FOR STUDENT NEED

North Carolina's experience with free and reduced-price meal enrollment from 2006 to 2013 offers a broader understanding of the Great Recession. Not only did the deleterious effects of the economic crisis linger beyond what unemployment rates would indicate, those effects, as well as the recovery, varied greatly across the state. Upon first glance, FRPL uptake may have appeared high despite improved unemployment rates in the recovery; however, focusing on unemployment alone obscures the more persistent impacts that the Great Recession had on North Carolinians. From 2010 to 2012, unemployment rates were falling

⁸ Regarded as a more accurate measurement of students than enrollment for federal, state, and local data collection, ADM is based on the sum of the number of days 'in membership' for all students in individual LEAs/Charters, divided by the number of days in the school month. The "number of days in membership" for a given student is equal to the total number of school days within a given term that a student's name is on the current roll of a class, regardless of his/her being present or absent (NCDPI, n.d.3).

as poverty rates continued to climb, and social safety-net programs like SNAP and FRPL continued to meet increasing need.

IV. IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

While the relationship between free and reduced-price meal uptake and child poverty is clear from 2006 to 2013, analysis of FRPL trends following the 2013-14 school year is limited by policy changes to the unemployment insurance program in North Carolina and to meal eligibility reporting through CEP.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

This report relies on unemployment-rate data from 2006 to 2016, however, in February 2013, the North Carolina General Assembly (NCGA) enacted substantial reforms to its unemployment insurance program, which took effect July 1, 2013. These reforms included a sharp decrease to unemployment-insurance payments and to benefit duration, as well as increased eligibility requirements. Citing a decrease in North Carolina's unemployment rate by 1.5 percentage points, former Governor Pat McCrory and the NCGA argued that the reform removed disincentives to work and that the state economy was improving. However, many have posited that the drop in North Carolina's unemployment rate was not due to rapid job growth but instead to a growing number of jobless workers dropping out of the labor force all together (Baker, 2014; Schofield, 2014).

Smith et al. (2014) noted that North Carolina's unemployment-insurance cuts did nothing to spur the state's economic activity. We have asked why free and reduced price meal receipt—often used as a proxy for poverty and overall need—has remained persistently high despite improvements in the economy following the Great Recession and posited that shifts in labor market participation, underemployment, and uneven recovery may have a role. However, it may be that, beginning in 2013, the unemployment rate is even less reliable as an indicator of the strength of the state's economy, due to these changes in the unemployment-insurance program.

COMMUNITY ELIGIBILITY PROVISION

The Community Eligibility Provision (CEP) has been widely lauded as a reform that benefits more children, lowers the stigma of reduced-price meals, and lessens school administrative burdens imposed by enrollment and reimbursement procedures (FRAC, n.d.2). However, CEP-participating schools and LEAs in North Carolina report only the number of students who are categorically eligible to the NC DPI. Reporting only those who are categorically eligible consequentially does not count students who would qualify for free or reduced-price lunches through paper applications, thereby obfuscating the true extent of student need in participating LEAs. Free and reduced-price meal receipt is therefore no longer an accurate proxy for child poverty, potentially preventing policy makers from identifying necessary policy changes and undermining arguments for the Community Eligibility Provision.

Beginning in the 2014-15 school year, NC LEAs and schools could participate in CEP. In 2014, 48% of eligible schools in North Carolina, responsible for educating over 300,000 children, adopted CEP; in 2015, 59% of eligible schools participated in CEP, with more than 350,000 students receiving free meals as a result (Segal et al., 2016:21,25). This participation resulted in the aforementioned drop in both free and reduced- price meal enrollment in the 2014-15 and 2015-16 school years. However, enrollment in free meals jumped from 47.7% in 2015 to 55.5% in 2016 while reduced-price meal enrollment continued a slow decline. This jump is apparent despite the fact that approximately 45% of LEAs were participating in CEP to some extent.⁹ The NC DPI stated that this sudden increase was due to the inland flooding that occurred following Hurricane Matthew, which adversely affected an estimated 40,000 students over 34 counties (Harvey & Johnson, 2018). Children in disaster areas are able to access free meals through three mechanisms: (1) working with state child nutrition agencies, the US Department of Agriculture offers waivers to school districts, allowing them to offer free meals to all students in areas hard-hit by disasters; (2) children displaced by a natural disaster are qualified as homeless, making them categorically eligible for free meals; and (3) children receiving Disaster Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (D-SNAP) benefits are categorically eligible to receive free meals (FRAC, n.d. 1).

The primary aim of the National School Lunch Program is to address food insecurity among school-aged children. Primarily determined by income and by receipt of other benefits, free and reduced- price meal receipt is often, but not always, tied to indicators of economic well-being. Trends in FRPL uptake among North Carolina's students exemplify the extent to which the determinants of student need may be broader than unemployment rates (with respect to 2010-2013) and poverty rates (with respect to the 2016-17 school year). However, analysis of FRPL uptake is hampered by the implementation of the Community Eligibility Provision.

LOOKING AHEAD: PROPOSED CHANGES TO THE FEDERAL POVERTY LINE

It is important to recognize the extent to which policy changes not only practically affect the individuals and families who receive benefits, but also how such policy changes affect the data used by researchers and policy makers. While CEP expands the provision of free meals to children, it creates distinct data challenges in measuring how many children receive free and reduced price meals, thereby potentially undermining the Free and Reduced Price Lunch Program itself. Yet another recently proposed policy stands to not only confound analysis of trends in FRPL receipt but also reduce the number of children receiving FRPL.

⁹ At least one school within a LEA implemented CEP.

In May 2019, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) requested comment on changes to the calculation of the federal poverty line that are currently being considered by the Trump Administration (OMB, 2019). These changes—which involve using ‘chained’ Consumer Price Index (CPI) instead of traditional CPI—would lower the federal poverty line by an increasing amount every year relative to the current measurement. Because eligibility and benefits of programs such as Medicaid, Medicare, SNAP, Head Start, and NLSP are determined by federal poverty guidelines, this change in the calculation of the federal poverty line will result in millions of people receiving less assistance or no assistance after ten years of implementation (Aron-Dine et al., 2019). The Center for Budget and Policy Priorities estimated that more than 100,000 school-age children will lose eligibility to free and reduced-price meals, and another 100,000 or more school-age children will lose free meals (but continue to pay the reduced price) by the tenth year of indexing the federal poverty line using chained CPI (Aron-Dine et al., 2019).¹⁰ In addition to thousands of otherwise eligible children no longer receiving meals, FRPL receipt will become an increasingly less meaningful proxy for student need as a result of this policy change.

FOOD INSECURITY OF NORTH CAROLINA’S CHILDREN DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

With the unprecedented spike in unemployment and the closure of NC schools due to COVID-19, it is worth noting that the pandemic both exacerbates food insecurity for NC families and creates distinct challenges in meeting those food security needs. In the five weeks since mid-March 2020, more than 600,000 North Carolinians filed for unemployment insurance, meaning that more than ten percent of the state’s workforce is newly unemployed (Doran, 2020). At the time of writing, there is little information about initial unemployment claims by county, however it is likely that jobless claims related to coronavirus will be disproportionately filed in counties that are already economically worse-off. Indeed, some counties with the highest rates of unemployment during the Great Recession have higher shares of workers in industries that are most at risk from the impacts of COVID-19; industries like accommodation and food services, entertainment and recreation, and retail trade (NC Justice Center, n.d.) As noted elsewhere in this brief, recovery from the Great Recession has not been equitable, leaving many mostly rural counties behind (Munn, 2019). While COVID-19 job losses may be different from other downturns in a sense that workers can be re-hired as social distancing orders are lifted, losses to income can reverberate through already vulnerable families and communities.

¹⁰ The authors state that these estimates are conservative; there are data limitations in assessing the current number of children receiving FRPL based on household income, and their estimates do not include the number of children who are categorically eligible or who go to a school participating in CEP.

With the closure of North Carolina schools, school districts and community partners have continued to serve meals to children via through the National School Lunch Program's Seamless Summer Option (SSO) or through the Summer Food Service Program (SFSP) in a non-congregate setting. Notably, children not yet in school can also receive free meals through this provision. In late March, the USDA issued a series of nationwide as well as state-specific waivers related to the provision of free meals, for example allowing for meal service time flexibility and meal pattern flexibility, for extended deadlines around the Community Eligibility Provision, and for parents and guardians to pick up meals for their children without those children being present (No Kid Hungry NC, n.d.). Districts and food pantries have set up pick-up and drive-thru locations and organized the delivery of meals by school buses. While the policy response food insecurity during the pandemic has been relatively robust in March and April of 2020, the full extent of economic hardship caused by COVID-19 remains to be seen. The food security needs of NC children will undoubtedly evolve over time and, as with the Great Recession, those needs will likely outlast labor market indicators like unemployment claims.

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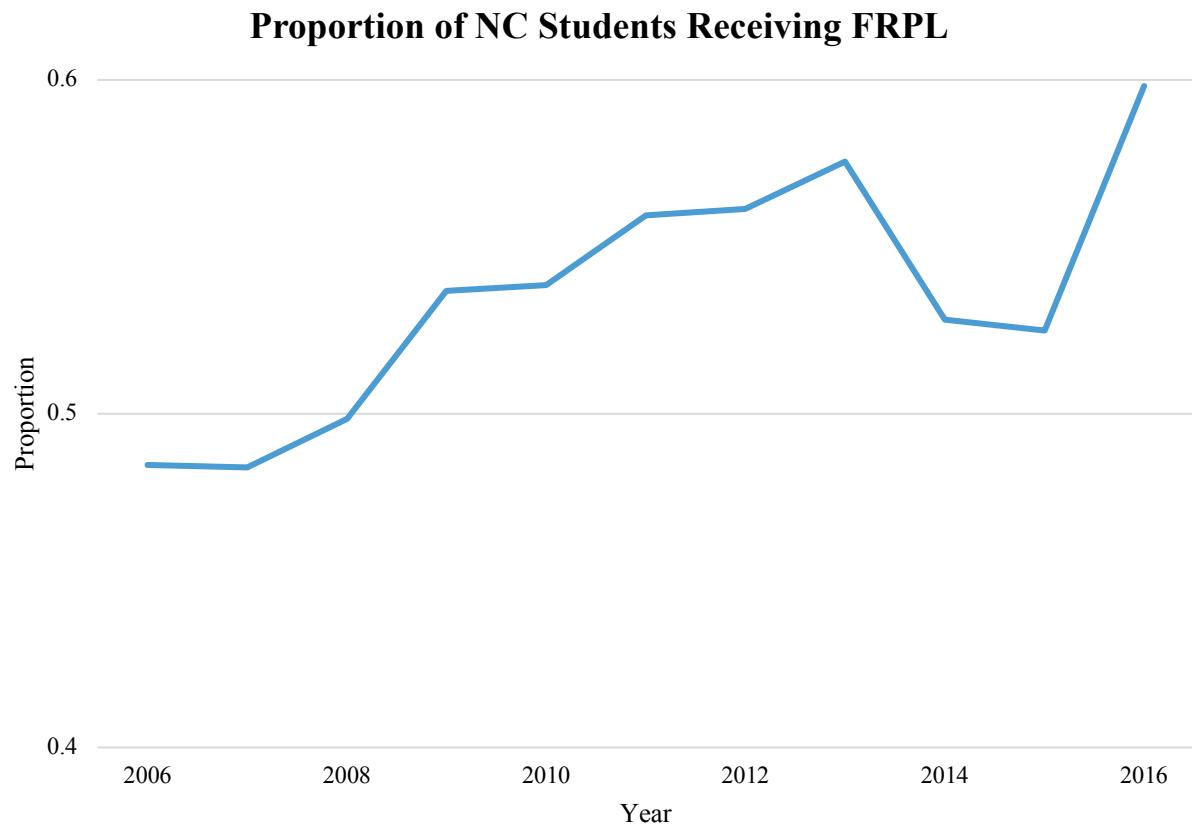
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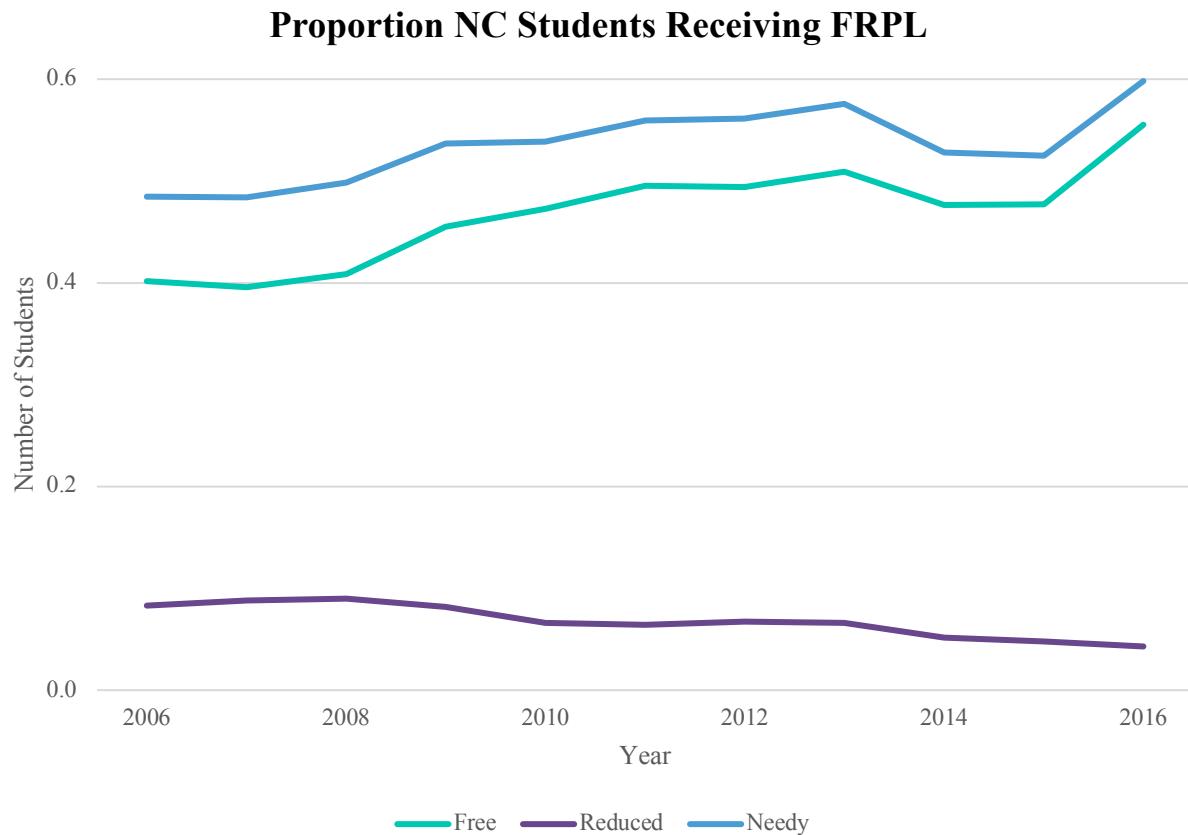
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FIGURE 1



Data compiled from the North Carolina Department of Instruction (NCDPI, n.d.3)

FIGURE 2



Data compiled from the North Carolina Department of Instruction (NCDPI, n.d.3)

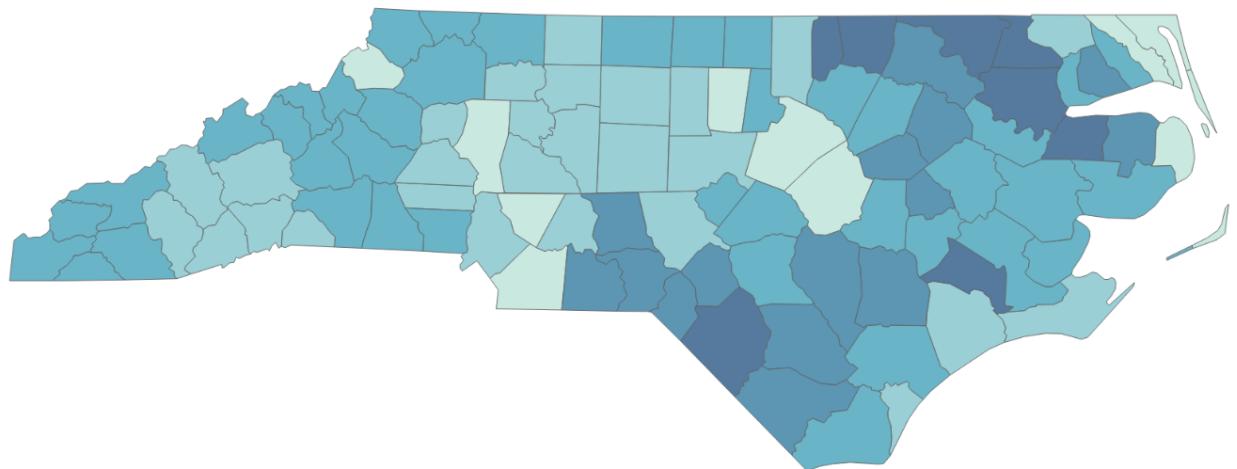
TABLE 1

<i>Percent of NC Children Receiving Free or Reduced Price Meals, by Year</i>			
YEAR	FREE	REDUCED	NEEDY
2006	40.1%	8.3%	48.5%
2007	39.6%	8.8%	48.4%
2008	40.9%	9.0%	49.9%
2009	45.5%	8.2%	53.7%
2010	47.2%	6.6%	53.9%
2011	49.6%	6.4%	55.9%
2012	49.4%	6.7%	56.1%
2013	50.9%	6.6%	57.6%
2014	47.6%	5.2%	52.8%
2015	47.7%	4.8%	52.5%
2016	55.5%	4.3%	59.8%

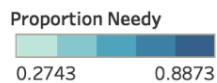
Data compiled from the North Carolina Department of Instruction (NCDPI, n.d.3)

FIGURE 3

Proportion Needy, 2008



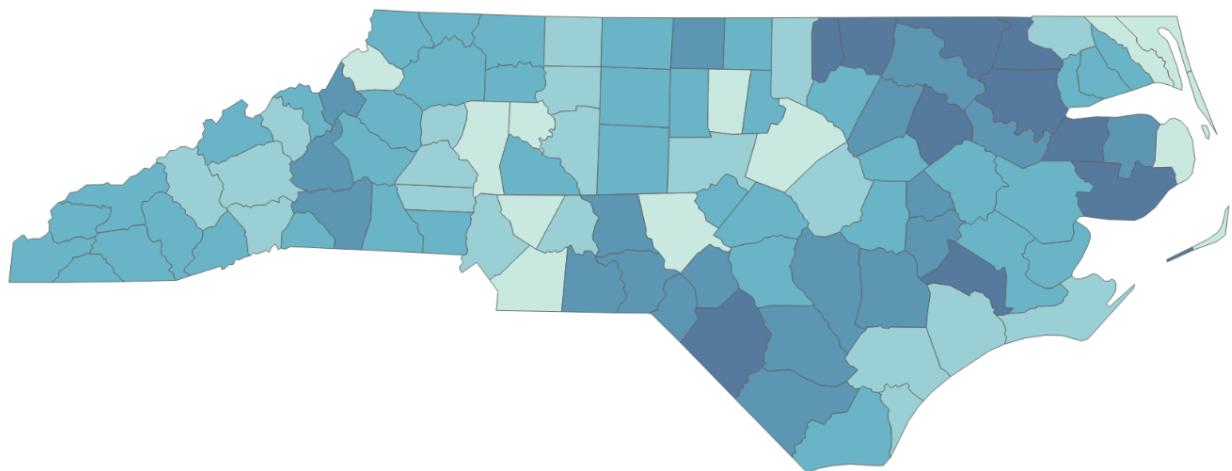
Map based on Longitude (generated) and Latitude (generated). Color shows P Needy as an attribute. Details are shown for Geoid10. The view is filtered on Geoid10, which has multiple members selected.



Data compiled from the North Carolina Department of Instruction (NCDPI, n.d.3)

FIGURE 4

Proportion Needy, 2013



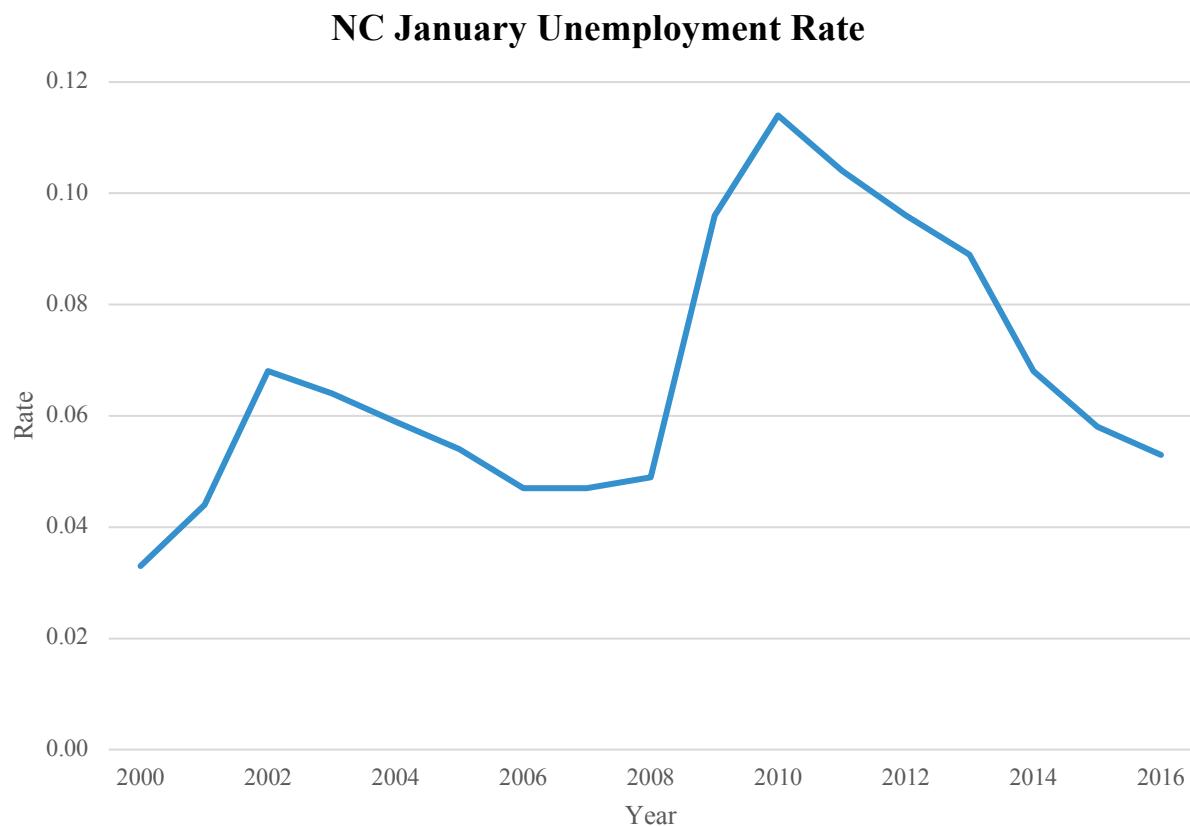
Map based on Longitude (generated) and Latitude (generated). Color shows P Needy as an attribute. Details are shown for Geoid10.

Proportion Needy



Data compiled from the North Carolina Department of Instruction (NCDPI, n.d.3)

FIGURE 5



Data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS).

FIGURE 6

Unemployment Rates, 2010

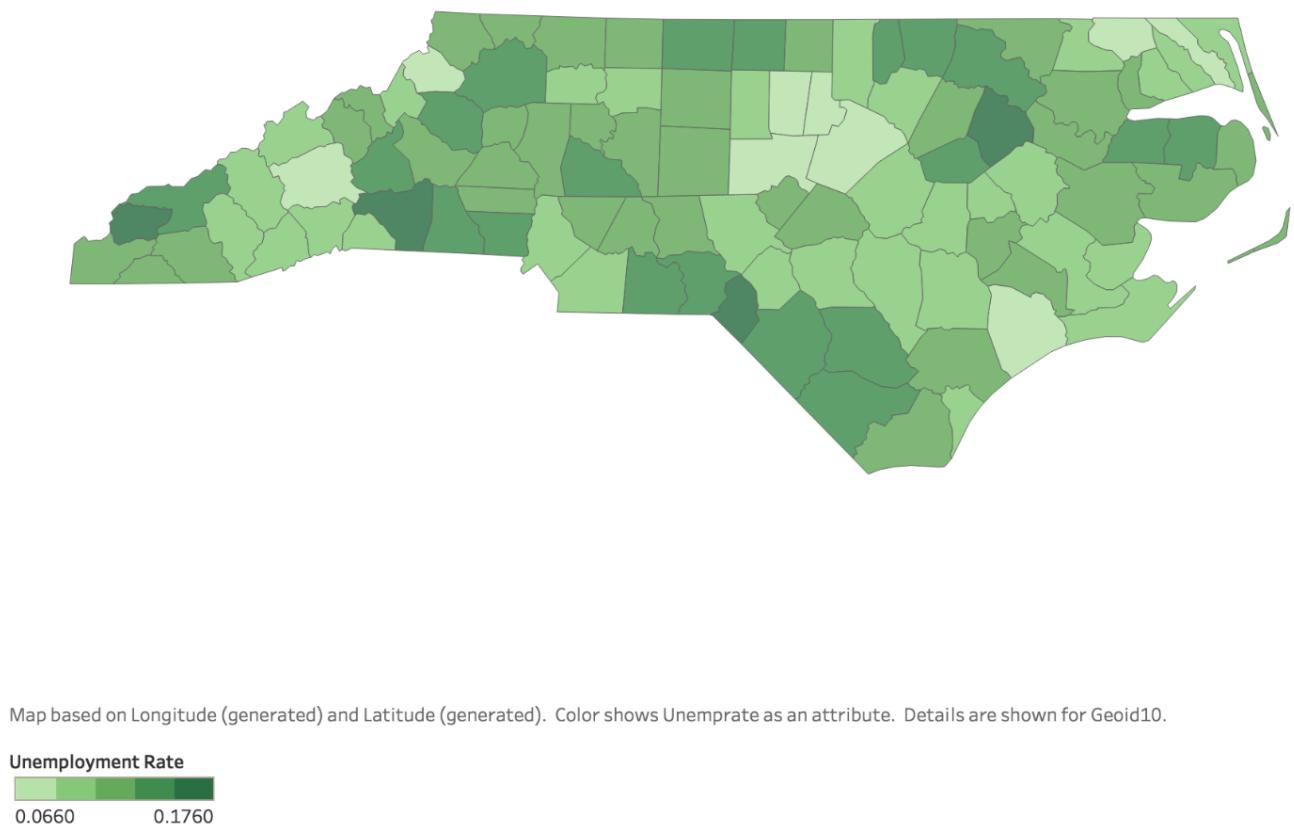
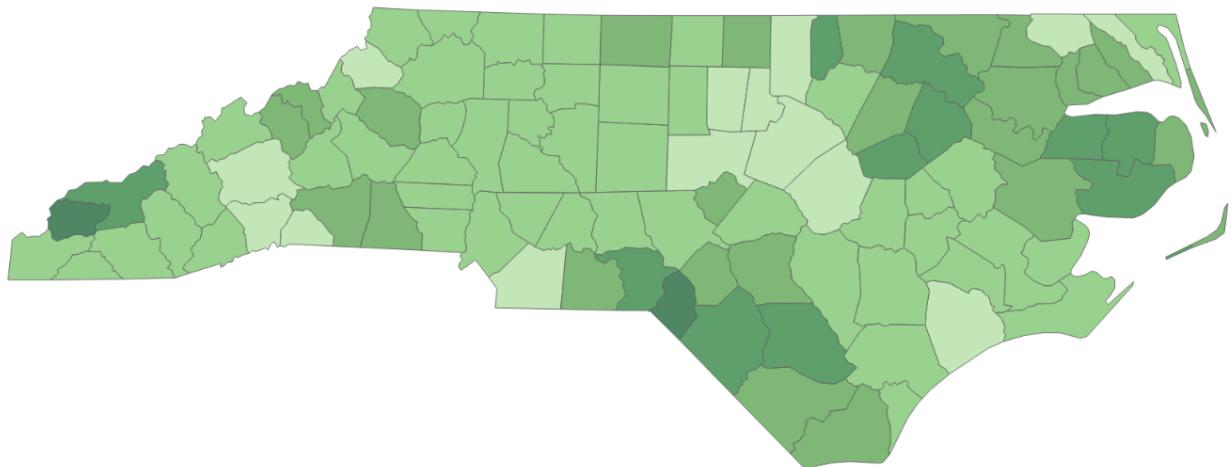


FIGURE 7

Unemployment Rates, 2013



↳ based on Longitude (generated) and Latitude (generated). Color shows Unemprate as an attribute. Details are shown for Geoid10.

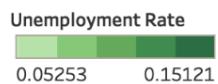
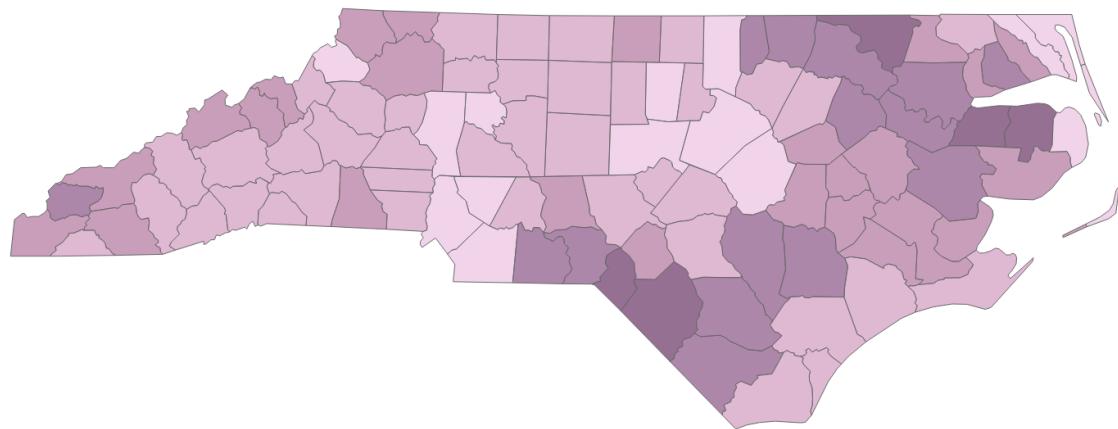


FIGURE 8

Poverty Rates Among Children Aged 5-17 Years, 2008



Map based on Longitude (generated) and Latitude (generated). Color shows Povrate 5To17 as an attribute. Details are shown for Geoid10 (2008-5-17Pov).

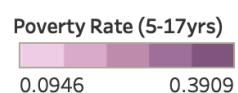
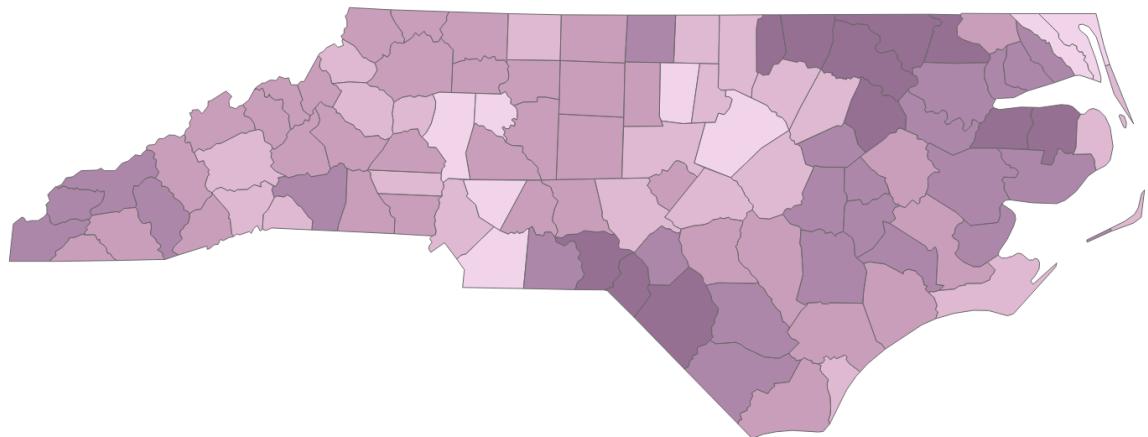


FIGURE 9

Poverty Rates Among Children Aged 5-17 Years, 2013



Map based on Longitude (generated) and Latitude (generated). Color shows Povrate 5To17 (2013-5-17Pov) as an attribute. Details are shown for Geoid10 (2013-5-17Pov).

Poverty Rate (5-17 yrs)



FIGURE 10

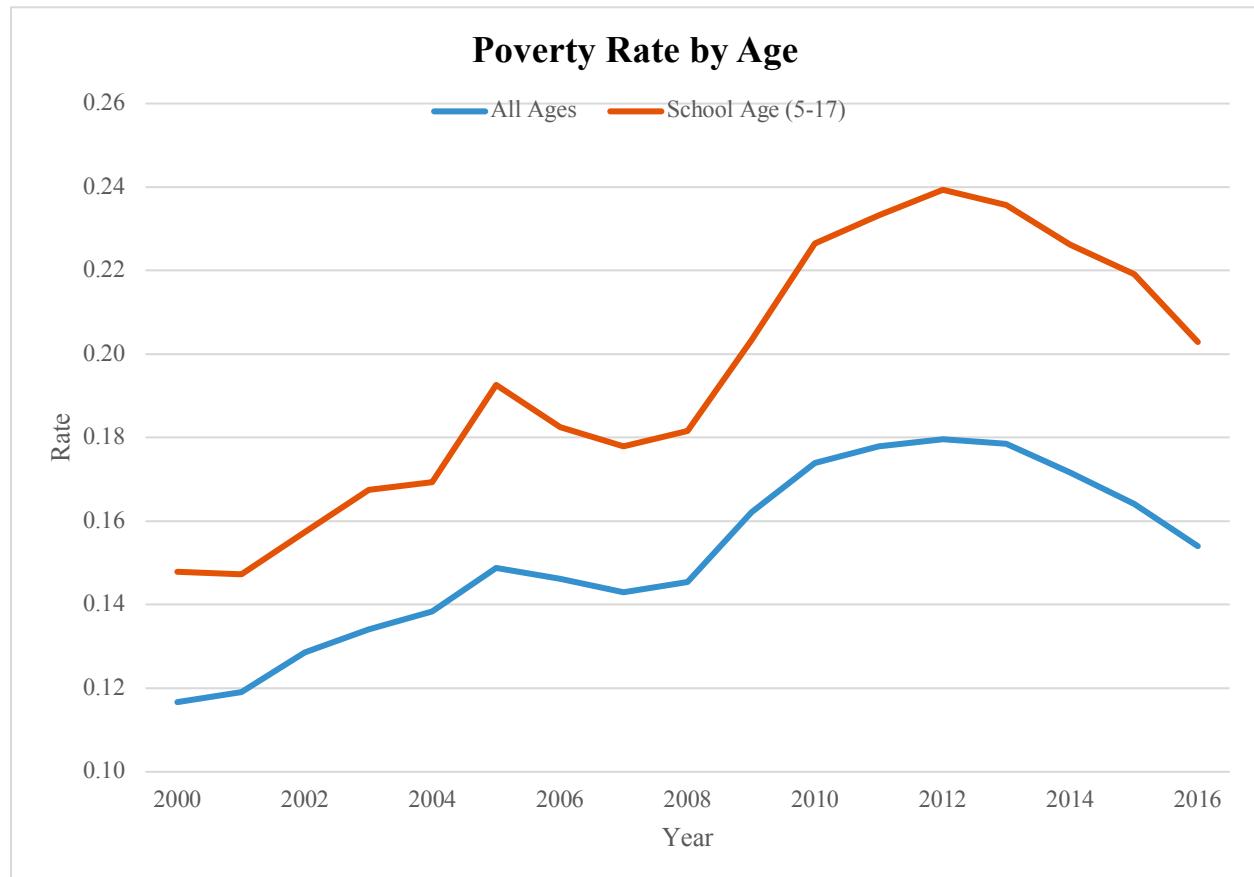
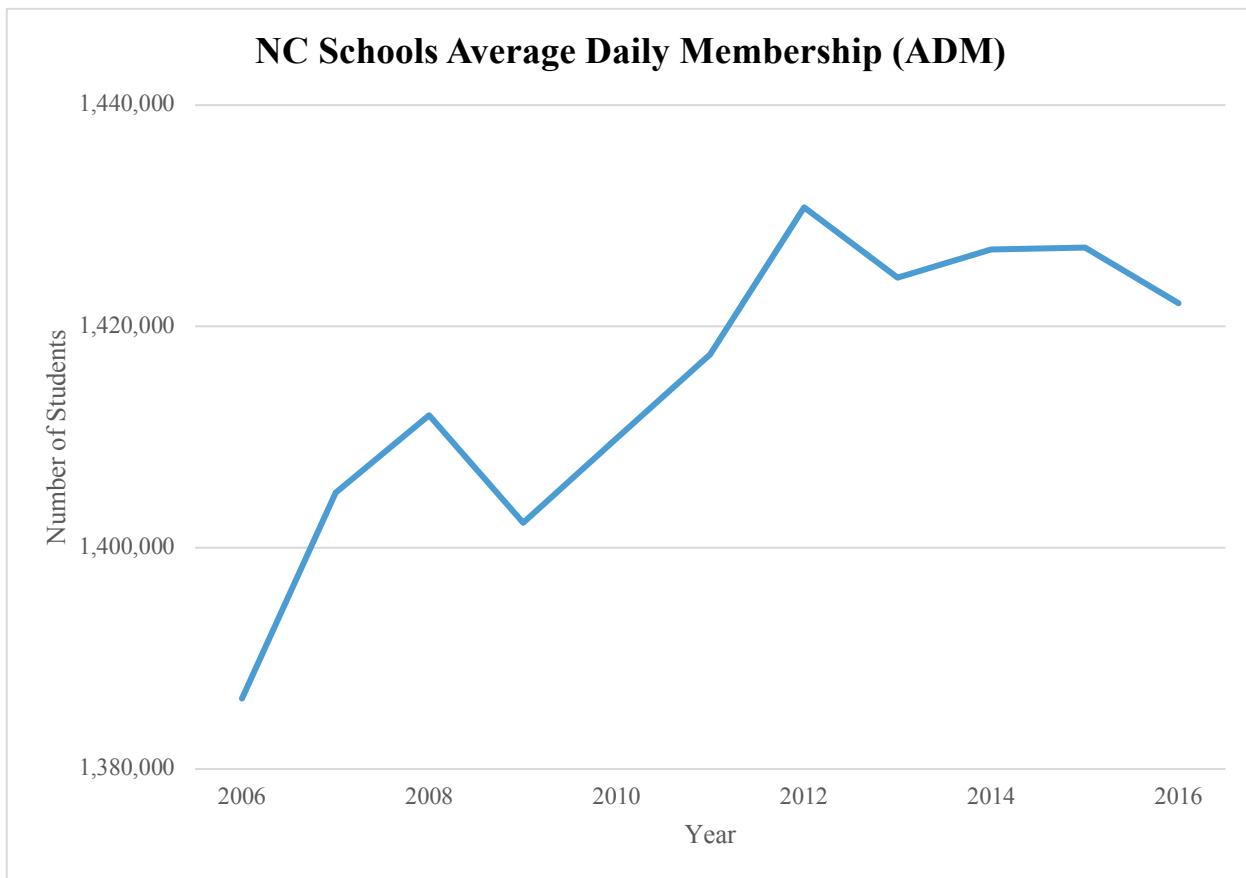


FIGURE 11



Data compiled from the North Carolina Department of Instruction (NCDPI, n.d.3)

FIGURE 12

