FISCAL RESEARCH CENTER

Demographics of Georgia I: Population Trends and Projections to 2030

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From the Director

This report is one of a series that explores Georgia's fiscal, economic and demographic features. The demographic reports will consider many different sub-populations. The well being of the state depends on the well being of its residents, so it is important to understand the economic and social conditions of population. The best way to do that is to consider each sub-population.

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Executive Summary

Georgia is one of the fastest growing states in the union having nearly doubled its population over the past quarter century. According to the United States Bureau of the Census, the population of Georgia totaled 8.8 million people as of July 2004 and ranked as the ninth most populous state, up from fifteenth as recently as 1970. Much of Georgia's population growth during the 1970-2004 period has been spurred by *Net Domestic Migration* as good economic prospects lured workers from states near and far. However, in recent years, international migration to the state has played an increasingly significant role. These migration trends are gradually causing the state to become more diverse. Based on *U.S. Census Bureau* statistics, roughly 33 percent of Georgia's population is minority, up from about 29 percent in 1990. African-Americans dominate the minority population of Georgia, accounting for nearly 2.5 million of the state's roughly 3-million minority population. Georgia is now the fourth largest state in regards to African-American populations, trailing only New York, Florida and Texas. Trends in Georgia's minority populations include:

- A 43 percent gain in African-American population between 1990 and 2003, an increase of 752,000. Only the state of Florida, with African-American gains of 947,000 during this same time period outgrew Georgia in this category.

- A four and a third fold increase in Hispanic populations during the 1990-2003 period from 100,000 to 541,000 people. The Hispanic population in Georgia in 2003 amounted to 6.1 percent of the total population, up from 1.6 percent in 1990. In terms of percentage growth only North Carolina, whose Hispanic population grew nearly five-fold, surpassed that of Georgia. Three-quarters of Georgia's Hispanic population growth was accounted for by those of Mexican origin.

- Asian population growth of 187 percent between 1990 and 2003, a gain of 138,000 people. Georgia's Asian population amounts to 212,000 people and Georgia is now the fourteenth largest state in regards to Asian population and is second only to Nevada in terms of Asian population growth rate from 1990 to 2003.

Population trends within the state have varied widely. In regards to overall population distribution metropolitan Atlanta accounts for greater than 53 percent of Georgia's total population. Nearly 80 percent on metropolitan Atlanta's population is

concentrated in the close-in ten county Atlanta Regional Commission (ARC) area. The regions of North, Central and South Georgia account for roughly 13 percent, 15 percent and 20 percent of the state's population, respectively. Metropolitan Atlanta also dominates population growth. During the 1970-2004 period the population of metropolitan Atlanta grew more than twice as fast as that for the rest of the state. Within the metropolitan Atlanta area, the average annual rate of population growth for the 18 metropolitan counties that lie outside of the ARC zone was nearly 25 percent higher than it was for those counties within the ARC zone. Much of the increase in non-ARC metropolitan population is due to gains in *net domestic migration*, particularly from the nearby ARC counties. On the other hand, international migration has generally played a more significant role in the population growth of the ARC counties.

A notable development within the state is the stark contrast between the ARC counties and those in other parts of Georgia. For instance, residents in the ARC counties are generally more diverse, younger, more densely populated, better educated, more mobile, and have higher incomes than those in other regions of the state. Just looking at ethnic diversity, we find:

- Between the years 1900 and 2000 African-American residents in the state of Georgia grew by roughly 600,000 people, more than 400,000 of these resided in the ARC counties. By 2000, DeKalb and Fulton counties accounted for three out of every ten African-Americans in the state. Two other ARC counties—Clayton and Cobb—accounted for another one out of ten. Altogether, the 10 ARC counties accounted for 47 percent of all African-Americans in the state, a little more than the combined shares of all the counties of Southern and Central Georgia.

- In the case of Hispanic growth, the ARC counties accounted for nearly 200,000 of the 330,000 gain in population from 1990 to 2000. The ARC is home to three out of every five Hispanics in the state of Georgia. Even more striking, however, is the fact that four ARC counties—Gwinnett, DeKalb, Fulton and Cobb—is home to one out of every two Hispanics in the state.

- During the years 1900-2000, overall Asian population gains in Georgia amounted to a little over 100,000, however, 82,000 of this was accounted for by the ARC counties. More than 75 percent of all Asians who reside in Georgia live in the ARC region. Seven out of ten Asians in Georgia

reside in the ARC counties of Gwinnett, DeKalb, Fulton, Cobb and Clayton.

If population trends in the major Georgia regions continue at their 2000-04 pace, the state population of Georgia will reach 10.7 million by the year 2015 and 14.4 million by 2030. By 2015, Georgia will have added roughly 1.9 million new residents, with nearly three-quarters of this increase coming from metropolitan Atlanta. Another 13 percent will be accounted for by the North Georgia counties, exactly equaling the shares for Central and South Georgia counties combined. Metropolitan Atlanta will comprise 57 percent of the state's population and the population in non-ARC metropolitan Atlanta counties will surpass that of both North and Central Georgia regions. Between 2015 and 2030 Georgia will have added another 3.7 million people, roughly 2.9 million of which will reside in metropolitan Atlanta. If these projections hold true, the population of metropolitan Atlanta in 2030 will reach almost 9 million people, larger than the current population of the entire state. By 2030, more than six out of every ten Georgia citizens will live in metropolitan Atlanta and even though the population in the outlying counties of metropolitan Atlanta will be less than half that of the ARC counties, it will rank as the second largest region in Georgia. Falling to third place, down from second in 2015, will be South Georgia with a population of nearly 2 million people. Fourth place will be occupied by North Georgia whose population would have surpassed that of fifth place Central Georgia during the 2015 - 2030 period.

Increasing populations and growing densities will no doubt place strains on Georgia's road transportation networks, water resources and educational services, which are already under considerable stress. However, growing pains should be eased somewhat by the fact that Georgia authorities today—unlike in previous decades—are well aware of the general growth prospects for the state. Having already dealt with significant growth, Georgia should be better positioned to handle the additional influx of people and growing demand on its resources during the next quarter century. Indeed, infrastructure needed to accommodate growth has already been established in some instances. English as a Second Language Programs and bi-lingual classrooms in a number of school systems are cases in point. Nevertheless,

Georgia will have to make some tough choices in the years ahead. This is particularly true in the areas of transportation and water resource management.

The Current Situation

General Statewide Population Trends

According to the United States Bureau of the Census, the population of Georgia totaled 8.8 million people as of July 2004. Georgia is one of the fastest growing states in the union and now ranks as the ninth most populous, up from fifteenth as recently as 1970. Georgia has nearly doubled in size since 1970, adding more than 4.2 million people. (See Table 1.) While there are seven states whose population growth rates exceeded the 92 percent achieved by Georgia during the 1970 - 2004 period, only California, Texas, and Florida grew faster in absolute terms. The decade of most rapid growth was the 1990s. During this ten-year period alone Georgia's population grew by more than 25 percent, adding 1.7 million people to its rolls. On an annualized basis Georgia's population grew by 2.4 percent on average, about a third faster than that for the decades of the 1970s and the 1980s. Much of the growth during the 1990s was spurred by *Net Domestic Migration* (i.e. immigrants from other states into Georgia minus emigrants from Georgia to other states). In the last half of the 1990s Georgia attracted 341,000 more residents from the other states than it lost to them. This represented nearly 35 percent of Georgia's population gains for this period. At the same time, Georgia ranked second only to Florida in regards to net domestic migration, as it had done in the 1985 – 1990 period ten years earlier. (See Appendices A and B.)

TABLE 1. POPULATION IN GEORGIA (IN MILLIONS)

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2004
Total Population	4.6	5.5	6.5	8.2	8.8
National Rank	15	13	11	10	9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Georgia has attracted residents from near and far as good economic prospects lured workers.[1] During the period 1990 - 2000 Georgia created more than 96,000 new jobs a year on average, an increase of 30 percent for the entire decade. This pace more than doubled the national average. Since 2000, new job growth has fallen to about 26,000 per year on average and there has been a concomitant slowing down in the increase in *Net Domestic Migration* from roughly 70,000 residents per year during the late 1990s to about 50,000 per year currently. As a result, increases in Georgia's population have slowed to roughly 1.8 percent on an annual basis. Indeed, the slowing down of the population growth rate would have been even more pronounced if there had not been a concurrent significant pickup in international migration to the state of Georgia. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, international migration to Georgia has averaged about 44,000 people per year so far during the current decade. This represents an annual average increase of more than 30,000 residents over that for the previous decade. Foreign born residents now account for about 8 percent of Georgia's population, up from 2.7 percent in 1990. Between the years 1990 and 2003, Georgia's foreign born population grew by more than a half million and now approaches 700,000. Although this pales in comparison with the 9-10 million foreign born residents in California, it nevertheless ranks Georgia among the top ten in this category.

As one would surmise, increasing populations in the state of Georgia have greatly impacted population densities. Between the years 1970 and 2004 the population density of Georgia nearly doubled, growing from 79 residents per square mile to 152 residents per square mile. (See Table 2.) Although Georgia's population density is almost twice the national level, it ranks as just the nineteenth densest state in the union. Its population density is just about one-eighth that of New Jersey—the densest state in the United States with 1,172 people per square mile.

[1] During the 1995-2000 period the top 10 sources of domestic migrants to Georgia based on net migration figures were Florida (58,198), New York (49,141), California (36,980), Illinois (19,411), New Jersey (19,297), Texas (17,547), Pennsylvania (14,813), Ohio (13,651), Virginia (11,953) and Michigan (11,831). Together these states accounted for three-quarters of Georgia's net domestic migration.

TABLE 2. POPULATION DENSITY IN GEORGIA (POP. / PER SQ. MI.)

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2004
Population Density	79.3	94.3	111.9	141.4	152
National Rank	25	23	22	19	19

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

In regards to racial composition, Georgia's population is gradually becoming more diverse as increasing numbers of minorities are locating to the state. Based on *U.S. Census Bureau* statistics, roughly 33 percent of Georgia's population is minority, up from about 29 percent in 1990. African-Americans dominate the minority population of Georgia, accounting for nearly 2.5 million of the state's roughly 3-million minority population. (See Appendix A.) Georgia now trails only New York (3.4 million), Florida (2.7 million) and Texas (2.6 million) in terms of African-American totals. In percentage terms, with an African-American share of 29 percent, the state of Georgia ranks behind the District of Columbia, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina, respectively. During the period 1990-2003 Georgia's African-American population grew by 752,000, an increase of 43 percent. Only the state of Florida, with African-American gains of 947,000 during this same time period outgrew Georgia in this category.

Even though Georgia's gains in its African-American population were substantial, they were no match for the state's dramatic growth in its Hispanic population, at least in percentage terms. Georgia's Hispanic population grew four and a third fold from 1990 to the year 2003, increasing from a little over 100,000 people to 541,000 people. (See Appendix A.) The Hispanic population in Georgia in 2003 amounted to 6.1 percent of the total population, up from 1.6 percent in 1990. During this same time period Georgia went from the twentieth largest state in regards to Hispanic population to tenth. In terms of percentage growth only North Carolina, whose Hispanic population grew nearly five-fold, surpassed that of Georgia. It is interesting to note that about three-quarters of Georgia's Hispanic population growth was accounted for by those of Mexican origin.

The Asian population also made significant gains in the state of Georgia during the 1990-2003 period. The Asian population grew by 187 percent to 212,000 people, an increase of more than 138,000 people. (See Appendix A.) Georgia is now

the fourteenth largest state in regards to Asian population and is second only to Nevada in terms of Asian population growth rate from 1990 to 2003.

In regards to age, Georgia is the fourth youngest state in the Union with a median age of 33.8 years. Georgia's median age is more than two years below that for the nation as a whole and only Utah, Texas and Alaska have lower median ages. (See Appendix B.) Georgia's elderly population (i.e. those age 65 and above) only account for 9.2 percent of its total population. Utah and Alaska with elderly shares of 8.4 percent and 6.2 percent, respectively, are the only states with lower elderly shares. (See Appendix B.)

Trends Within the State

The population of Georgia is not evenly distributed. The 28 counties of metropolitan Atlanta account for greater than 53 percent of the state's total population. [2] In other words, the population of metropolitan Atlanta is now greater than that for the remaining 131 Georgia counties combined. (See Table 3.) The bulk of the population of metropolitan Atlanta is concentrated in the close-in counties. Using the Atlanta Regional Commission's (ARC) ten county area as our definition of close-in counties, we find that 3.7 million of the metropolitan area's 4.7 million population is located in these close-in counties.[3] The regions of North, Central and South Georgia now account for 13 percent, 15 percent and 20 percent of the state's population, respectively. (See Georgia Counties by Region Map and Appendix C.)

[2] It should be noted that many of the 28 counties that currently comprise the Atlanta metropolitan area were not considered to be a part of the Metropolitan Statistical Area in earlier years. For example, in 1970 metropolitan Atlanta consisted of just 5 counties, Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Fulton and Gwinnett.

[3] The ARC counties are comprised of Cherokee, Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Douglas, Fayette, Fulton, Gwinnett, Henry and Rockdale counties.

TABLE 3. POPULATION IN GEORGIA BY REGION (IN MILLIONS)

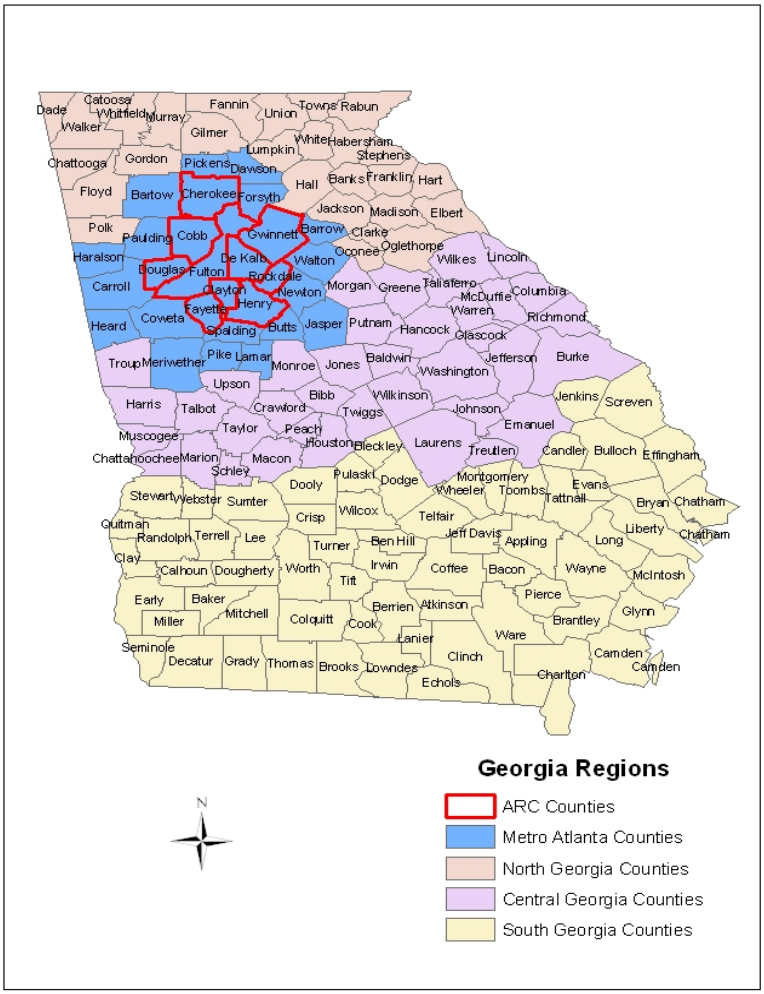
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2004	1970-2004 Growth
Total Population	4.6	5.5	6.5	8.2	8.8	4.2
North	0.6	0.8	0.9	1.1	1.1	0.5
Central	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	0.4
South	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.6	1.6	0.5
Metropolitan Atlanta	1.8	2.3	3.1	4.2	4.7	2.9
of Which:						
ARC Counties	1.5	1.9	2.5	3.4	3.7	2.2
Non-ARC Counties	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.8	1.0	0.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Population growth in Georgia has also not been evenly distributed. Metropolitan Atlanta dominates population growth. These counties accounted for two-thirds of the 4.2 million increase in the population of Georgia since 1970. The counties of North and South Georgia each accounted for about 12 percent of the growth during this period, while Central Georgia counties accounted for about 9 percent of the growth. During the 1970-2004 period the population of metropolitan Atlanta grew more than twice as fast as that for the rest of the state (4 percent per annum versus 1.7 percent per annum). As a result of these varying growth rates, the share of Georgia's population accounted for by metropolitan Atlanta has increased from 40 percent in 1970 to more than 53 percent today. So far during the current decade the population in metropolitan Atlanta has grown 11 percent, while the corresponding growth figures for North Georgia, Central Georgia, and Southern Georgia are 9 percent, 3 percent and 3 percent, respectively. Metropolitan Atlanta is home to 4 of the 10 fastest growing counties in the United States during the 2000 - 2004 period.[4] These counties achieved population growth gains of between 30 and 34 percent during this relatively short timeframe.

[4] According to the United States Bureau of the Census, Forsyth, Henry, Newton and Paulding counties each rank among the top 10 fastest growing counties in the United States during 2000-2004. An additional 14 counties, 10 of which are Metropolitan Atlanta counties, rank among the top 100 fastest growing.

Georgia Counties by Region



Source: Atlanta Regional Commission, U.S. Bureau of the Census, State of Georgia

It is interesting to note that while the close-in metropolitan counties continue to account for the lion's share of absolute population growth, population growth rates are significantly higher in the more distant metropolitan counties. During the period 1970-2004 the average annual rate of growth for the 18 metropolitan counties that lie outside of the ARC zone was nearly 25 percent higher than it was for those counties within the ARC zone (4.7 percent versus 3.8 percent). In recent years this growth differential has widened due to a speeding up of the population growth rate for the

metropolitan counties lying outside of the ARC region and a concurrent slowing down of population growth rates for the ARC counties. For instance, since 2000, population growth rates averaged 5.7 percent per annum in the metropolitan counties lying outside of the ARC region while the corresponding figure for the ARC counties was 1.7 percent. These divergent population growth rates resulted in significant variation in population gains between the metropolitan counties outside of the ARC region and those inside of the ARC region. During this period population in the non-ARC metropolitan counties grew by nearly 25 percent while the ARC counties' population grew by 7.5 percent. Although the ARC counties still accounted for the largest share of the population gains during this period, with an increase of roughly 260,000 new residents, the non-ARC metropolitan counties nearly kept pace with a more than 200,000 increase in population. This increase in non-ARC metropolitan population represents 44 percent of metropolitan growth and nearly a third of the statewide population growth during this period.

Much of the increase in non-ARC metropolitan population is due to gains in *net domestic migration*, particularly from the nearby ARC counties. For example, if we examine the fast growing counties of Forsyth, Newton and Paulding we see that together these counties added nearly 72,000 new residents between 1995 and the year 2000 and that more than 50,000 of this increase was due to net domestic migration. The ARC counties contributed 54 percent, 70 percent and 86 percent of net domestic migration, respectively to Forsyth, Paulding and Newton counties. Much of the remaining population increases in these counties is due to natural population growth (births minus deaths) since international migration plays a minor role in most non-ARC metropolitan counties.

International migration has generally played a more significant role in the population growth of the ARC counties. This is particularly true for the four largest counties—Fulton, DeKalb, Gwinnett, and Cobb. In recent years these four counties together accounted for nearly two-thirds of the international migrants in the state of Georgia and *Net International Migration* accounts for about three-fifths of the combined population growth for these counties. Interestingly, each of these counties, with the lone exception of Gwinnett, experienced a loss in net domestic migration.

In the most extreme cases of DeKalb and Fulton counties net domestic migration losses were substantial, respectively amounting to more than 50,000 and 60,000 residents during the 2000 - 2004 period. At the same time, net international migration gains totaled 33,000 and 25,000 people, respectively. The gains in international migration together with natural population increases helped these counties to sustain their populations. Indeed, the population of DeKalb County grew by a miniscule 1.4 percent to 676,000 people during this four-year period, while the population for Fulton County was virtually unchanged at around 815,000 people.

Overall, foreign-born populations now account for nearly 12 percent of ARC counties' residents. Five ARC counties rank among the state's top ten in regards to the share of residents that are foreign-born. (See Table 4.) Gwinnett County is the leading county in the state, with a foreign-born share of nearly 17 percent. In terms of total foreign-born populations, DeKalb County leads the state with 101,000 foreign-born residents. Taken together, the ARC counties account for nearly seven out of every ten foreign-born residents in Georgia. The region with the second highest concentration of foreign-born residents is North Georgia at 6.6 percent. Foreign-born residents of non-ARC Metro, Central and South Georgia counties account for 3 percent or less of their total populations.

TABLE 4. COUNTY RANKINGS BY FOREIGN BORN POPULATIONS, 2000

			Foreign Born Populations	
Rank	County	Region	Percent Foreign-Born	Number Foreign-Born
1	Gwinnett	Metro-ARC	16.9	99,518
2	Whitfield	North	16.6	13,895
3	Hall	North	16.2	22,502
4	DeKalb	Metro-ARC	15.2	101,320
5	Echols	South	12.6	473
6	Atkinson	South	12.1	917
7	Cobb	Metro-ARC	11.6	70,439
8	Clayton	Metro-ARC	11.0	25,889
9	Fulton	Metro-ARC	9.6	78,619
10	Clarke	North	8.4	8,509
	Georgia		7.1	577,273

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Just as regional population growth has varied widely in Georgia, so too has the growth in population densities. (See Table 5.) For instance, in the largely rural South Georgia region, population density is just 60 people per square mile while in the urbanized ARC region population density is 22 times higher at 1,322 people per square mile. The ARC region is by far the most densely populated region in the state. No other region has a population density with as many as 200 residents per square mile. The ARC region experienced significant growth in its population density during the 1970-2004 period, growing from 533 to 1,322 people per square mile, nearly a one and a half fold increase. However, the fastest growing area in terms of population density growth was the non-ARC metropolitan counties, where densities nearly trebled. In 1970 these counties had population densities of 63 people per square mile, however by 2004 population densities had grown to 183 people per square mile. During the 1970-2004 period Central, South, and North regions of Georgia experienced growth rates in their population densities of 27 percent, 44 percent and 82 percent, respectively.

TABLE 5. POPULATION DENSITY IN GEORGIA BY REGION (POP. / PER SQ. MI.)

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2004	1970-2004 Growth
Georgia	79.2	94.3	111.9	141.4	152	92.4%
North	73.1	86.6	98.1	122.3	133	82.1%
Central	70.9	78.8	84.9	93.9	96.9	36.6%
South	41.9	47.9	51.2	58.5	60.3	44.0%
Metropolitan Atlanta	219.7	278	366.4	507.1	562	155.8%
of Which:						
ARC Counties	502.7	635	841.9	1149	1249	148.5%
Non-ARC Counties	63	79.9	103	151.9	182	188.4%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Racial Composition

The gains in minority population were not evenly distributed throughout the state. On the contrary, African-American, Hispanic and Asian population growth in Georgia has been heavily concentrated in the ARC counties. Between the years 1900 and 2000 African-American residents in the state of Georgia grew by roughly 600,000 people, more than 400,000 of these resided in the ARC counties. (See Table

TABLE 6. AFRICAN-AMERICAN POPULATION IN GEORGIA BY REGION (IN 000S)

	1990	2000	1990-2000 Growth	1990-2000 Percentage Change
Total Population	1738	2350	612	35
North	82	96	14	17
Central	434	505	71	16
South	451	532	80	18
Metropolitan Atlanta	771	1217	446	58
of Which:				
ARC Counties	678	1101	423	62
Non-ARC Counties	93	116	23	25

Figures may not add up exactly due to rounding.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

6.) DeKalb County alone added more than 131,000 African-American residents during this time period. By 2000, DeKalb and Fulton counties accounted for three out of every ten African-Americans in the state. Two other ARC counties—Clayton and Cobb—accounted for another one out of ten. Altogether, the 10 ARC counties accounted for 47 percent of all African-Americans in the state, a little more than the combined shares of all the counties of Southern and Central Georgia. African-Americans in non-ARC metropolitan and Northern counties made up 5.1 percent and 4.1 percent of the state's African American population, respectively. The African-American share of regional populations is also quite varied, ranging from a high of nearly 40 percent for the Central Georgia region to a low of 9.2 percent for the North Georgia region. About a third of the populations in the Southern and ARC counties are comprised of African-Americans, while 14.5 percent of the Metropolitan non-ARC region is African-America.

In the case of Hispanic growth, the ARC counties accounted for nearly 200,000 of the 330,000 gain in population from 1990 to 2000. (See Table 7.) The ARC is home to three out of every five Hispanics in the state of Georgia. Even more striking, however, is the fact that four ARC counties—Gwinnett, DeKalb, Fulton and Cobb—is home to one out of every two Hispanics in the state. The North Georgia region and the ARC counties have the highest population share of Hispanics at 7.3 and 7.2 percent, respectively. It is interesting to note that there are 15 counties in

TABLE 7. HISPANIC POPULATION IN GEORGIA BY REGION (IN 000S)

	1990	2000	1990-2000 Growth	1990-2000 Percentage Change
Total Population	101	435	334	329
North	11	78	67	581
Central	16	32	17	106
South	19	55	36	190
Metropolitan Atlanta	55	270	215	387
of Which:				
ARC Counties	52	249	197	376
Non-ARC Counties	3	21	18	582

Figures may not add up exactly due to rounding.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Georgia in which the Hispanic population exceeds the African-American population, 10 of which are in North Georgia. In contrast, in 1990 there were seven such counties, five of which were Northern counties.

In regards to Asian residents, the ARC region dominates growth. During the years 1900-2000, overall Asian population gains in Georgia amounted to a little over 100,000, however, 82,000 of this was accounted for by the ARC counties. (See Table 8.) More than 75 percent of all Asians who reside in Georgia live in the ARC region. Seven out of ten Asians in Georgia reside in the ARC counties of Gwinnett, DeKalb, Fulton, Cobb and Clayton. In addition, Gwinnett, Clayton and DeKalb counties rank one, two, and three in terms of Georgia counties with the highest share of Asian residents. Nearly 7 percent of Gwinnett's residents are Asian. The corresponding shares for Clayton and DeKalb are 4.4 percent and 3.9 percent, respectively.

TABLE 8. ASIAN POPULATION IN GEORGIA BY REGION (IN 000S)

	1990	2000	1990-2000 Growth	1990-2000 Percentage Change
Total Population	72	173	101	140
North	5	10	5	109
Central	11	15	4	40
South	7	12	5	71
Metropolitan Atlanta	50	136	87	174
of Which:				
ARC Counties	48	131	83	170
Non-ARC Counties	1	5	4	318

Figures may not add up exactly due to rounding.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Age Distribution

As with other trends, the age distribution within the state of Georgia is not uniform. The ARC counties generally have younger populations than do most other counties in the state. Thirty-six of the 159 counties have median ages that are less than or equal to the state median. Six of theses—Cobb, Clayton, DeKalb, Fulton, Gwinnett and Henry—are ARC counties and together they account for 37 percent of Georgia's population. The remaining 30 Georgia counties with median ages less than or equal to the state median are scattered throughout Georgia and account for 20 percent of the state's population totals, roughly half the share of the six ARC counties.

It is interesting to note that the composition of the ARC counties' population in regards to age distribution differs from that of other regions in that the elderly (i.e., those 65 years of age and over) make up a much smaller share of its population. In 2004, just 7.7 percent of the ARC counties' population was comprised of elderly people. The corresponding elderly shares for non-ARC Metro, Central, Southern, and Northern counties were 9.3 percent, 11.5 percent, 11.6 percent and 12.0 percent, respectively. For the six ARC counties whose median ages were less than or equal to that of the state's, the elderly share of their populations amounts to 7.2 percent. The elderly share in Gwinnett County was an astoundingly low 5.3 percent.

Education, Income and Mobility

As can be gleaned from these discussions on population trends, race and age, the ARC counties are quite different from the rest of the state. Not only are the residents of the ARC counties typically younger, more densely populated and ethically more diverse than residents in the rest of Georgia they are also better educated, have higher incomes, and are considerably more mobile. For instance, in regards to education, nearly 60 percent of people aged 25 and higher with college or professional degrees live in the 10-county ARC area. The same is true regarding graduate degrees as well. This is all the more impressive when one considers that the ARC counties account for just 42 percent of the state-wide residents who are over the age of 25. More than 40 percent of ARC residents over the age of 25 have college or professional degrees. The corresponding figure for graduate degrees is 11.4 percent. Both of these rates are roughly twice that for any of the other regions in the state. (See Table 9.) While the share of ARC county residents with college, professional and graduate degrees is substantially higher than that for the other Georgia regions, the percent of ARC residents without high school degrees is much lower. Calculations based on 2000 Census data indicate that 14.5 percent of ARC county residents 25 and over lack a high school diploma. The corresponding shares for non-ARC Metro, Central, Southern, and Northern counties are 24.9 percent, 24.3 percent, 27.0 percent and 29.8 percent, respectively. It is interesting to note that in each of these counties the number of residents 25 years old and older without high school diplomas actually exceed their number of residents with college and professional degrees. In the South and North regions of Georgia this difference is most acute, where the number of residents without high school diplomas exceed those with college and professional degrees by factors of 48 and 33 percent, respectively. In non-ARC Metro counties the differential is roughly 17 percent while in the Central Georgia counties the difference is 5 percent in favor of those without high school diplomas. In the ARC counties, by contrast, college and professional degree holders out number residents without high school diplomas by a 2.8 to 1 margin.

TABLE 9. EDUCATION ATTAINMENT IN GEORGIA BY REGION

	Population => 25 Years Old (000)	% of Population => 25 Years Old with College or Professional Degree	% of Population => 25 Years Old with a Graduate Degree	% of Population => 25 Years Old without a High School Diploma
North	667	20.2	6.3	29.8
Central	831	23.1	6.6	24.3
South	969	20.3	5.7	27.0
Metropolitan Atlanta	2719	37.0	10.2	16.5
of Which:				
ARC Counties	2196	40.7	11.4	14.5
Non-ARC Counties	523	21.4	5.2	24.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

This striking difference in educational attainment has no doubt played a part in the dominance of ARC counties in regards to median household incomes. Based on income figures for individual counties from the 2000 Census, we estimate that median household income for the ARC counties is about $55,000. This figure is $12,000 higher than that attained by the non-ARC Metro counties—the region with the second highest level of median household incomes—and is more than $25,000 greater than that for the last place counties of Southern Georgia. Six of the ten ARC counties rank among Georgia's top ten in terms of household income and nine ARC counties rank among Georgia's top twenty.

In regards to mobility, it is interesting to note that the residents of ARC counties are much more transient than are those in the other Georgia regions. Less than 45 percent of the ARC county residents are Georgia-born. The next lowest percentage of Georgia-born residents belongs to the North Georgia region at 63 percent. For each of the remaining regions—non-ARC Metro, Central and South Georgia counties—greater than two-thirds of their populations are Georgia natives. According to the 2000 Census, one out of every six residents in the ARC counties lived in another state in 1995. For the other Georgia regions the ratios ranged narrowly from about one out of every eleven to one out of every nine residents living in a state other than Georgia in 1995. It is also interesting to note that of the nearly one million domestic migrants to the ARC counties during the period 1995-2000,

more than half came from out-of-state. This is particularly true for the most populous ARC counties of Fulton, DeKalb, Gwinnett and Cobb where residents originating outside of the state ranged roughly between 54 and 64 percent of total domestic migrants between 1995 and 2000. In other words, these counties are able to attract a geographically diverse population unlike most other Georgia counties. For instance, during 1995 and 2000, DeKalb County attracted more people from the state of New York and also from Florida than it did from any place in Georgia other than neighboring Fulton County.

Prospects to 2030

Population Projections

Projecting population trends far into the future is an arduous and precarious task. There are a number of factors that could significantly alter the accuracy of a 25-year forecast into the future. As an example, if the relative position of Georgia's economy in relation to that of other states were to change appreciably it would no doubt impact population growth. With this caveat in mind, the population growth rates achieved during the 2000-04 period seem reasonable to base the 25-year projection on. This period reflects the slowing down of growth in net domestic migration. It also captures the increasing importance of international migration, particularly in the close-in counties of metropolitan Atlanta. In addition, the 2000-04 period signal the continuation of slow population growth in Central and South Georgia and the persistence of robust population growth in the metropolitan Atlanta counties, especially in the non-ARC metropolitan Atlanta counties. If population trends in the major Georgia regions continue at their 2000-04 pace, the state population of Georgia will reach 10.7 million by the year 2015 and 14.4 million by 2030. (See Table 10.) By 2015, Georgia will have added roughly 1.9 million new

TABLE 10. GEORGIA REGIONAL POPULATION PROJECTIONS TO 2030 (IN MILLIONS)

	Actual		Projections	
	2000	2004	2015	2030
Total Population	8.186	8.829	10.722	14.439
North	1.060	1.134	1.388	1.851
Central	1.305	1.362	1.462	1.618
South	1.573	1.625	1.769	1.997
Metropolitan Atlanta	4.248	4.708	6.103	8.973
of Which:				
ARC Counties	3.429	3.687	4.549	6.142
Non-ARC Counties	0.819	1.022	1.554	2.831

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

residents, with nearly three-quarters of this increase coming from metropolitan Atlanta. Another 13 percent will be accounted for by the North Georgia counties, exactly equaling the shares for Central and South Georgia counties combined.

Metropolitan Atlanta will comprise 57 percent of the state's population and the population in non-ARC metropolitan Atlanta counties will surpass that of both North and Central Georgia regions. Between 2015 and 2030 Georgia will have added another 3.7 million people, roughly 2.9 million of which will reside in metropolitan Atlanta. If these projections hold true, the population of metropolitan Atlanta in 2030 will reach almost 9 million people, larger than the current population of the entire state. By 2030, more than six out of every ten Georgia citizens will live in metropolitan Atlanta and even though the population in the outlying counties of metropolitan Atlanta will be less than half that of the ARC counties, it will rank as the second largest region in Georgia. Falling to third place, down from second in 2015, will be South Georgia with a population of nearly 2 million people. Fourth place will be occupied by North Georgia whose population would have surpassed that of fifth place Central Georgia during the 2015 - 2030 period.

Population growth during the next quarter of a century will translate into substantially higher population densities. For the state as a whole, population densities will increase by nearly two-thirds from 152 people per square mile in 2004 to 249 people per square mile in 2030. The greatest regional growth will come from the non-ARC metropolitan counties where population densities are projected to increase by 189 percent to 507 people per square mile, an increase of 324 people per square mile over 2004 levels. However, the ARC counties—with an estimated 2030 population density of 2,203 people per square mile—will remain the densest region by far. Population densities here will be on par with that of present-day Los Angeles County, California, and well below the 8,641 people per square mile achieved by Bronx County, New York—currently the densest county in the nation. Outside of the Atlanta metropolitan area, the next leading region in terms of growth in population density is North Georgia where the population density is expected to grow to 217 people per square mile, an increase of 63 percent over 2004 levels. Population density increase in Central and Southern Georgia are projected to be more modest at 44 and 23 percent, respectively. By 2030, we project population density in Central Georgia to reach 130 people per square mile and in South Georgia population density is expected to amount to 74 people per square mile.

Implications

Increasing populations and growing densities will no doubt place strains on Georgia's road transportation networks, water resources and educational services, which are already under considerable stress. In regards to road transportation for example, Georgia has had to accommodate ever increasing vehicle traffic. According to the U.S. Department of Transportation's Federal Highway Administration the number of registered vehicles in Georgia has more than doubled from 3.8 million in 1980 (Federal Highway Administration 1995) to 7.7 million in 2003 (Federal Highway Administration 2003). Between 1995 and 2003 alone, Georgia added 1.6 million registered vehicles. At the same time that vehicle registrations have been booming, highway length has grown only modestly. For instance, during the period 1980-2003 highway length in Georgia grew just 14 percent from 215,000 miles to 246,000 miles. These developments have undoubtedly contributed to a crowding of Georgia's roadways and to increased travel times for Georgia's citizens. According to the Georgia Department of Transportation, mean travel times to work in the state jumped 22 percent from an average of 22.7 minutes in 1990 to 27.7 minutes in 2000. (See Appendix B.) The situation in metropolitan Atlanta is particularly troublesome. Travel times to work here averaged 31.2 minutes in 2000—by far, the longest time to get to work of any of the eight metropolitan areas in the state. In addition, the amount of time wasted in metropolitan Atlanta traffic and the level of congestion in the area have worsened considerably over time. The Texas Transportation Institute's *2005 Urban Mobility Report* (Schrank and Lomax 2005) indicates that between the years 1982 and 2003 the annual hours of delay per traveler grew from 14 hours to 67 hours in the Atlanta area, nearly a four-fold increase. [5] The additional 53 hours of travel delay gained during this period in Atlanta exceeds that of any other metropolitan area in the country. During this same time, peak period travel conditions have substantially deteriorated. According to the *2005 Urban Mobility Report*, the **travel time index**—the ratio of travel time in the peak period to the travel

[5] The annual hours of delay per traveler is the extra time for peak period travel during the year divided by the number of travelers who begin a trip during the peak period (6 to 9 a.m. and 4 to 7 p.m.). Free-flow speeds (60 mph on freeways and 35 mph on principal arterials) are used as the comparison threshold.

time at free-flow conditions—went from 1.08 in 1982 to 1.46 in 2003. In other words, a 20-minute free flow trip in 1982 would take a little less than 22 minutes in the peak, whereas, a 20-minute free flow trip in 2003 would take a little more than 29 minutes in the peak. Part of this deterioration in travel time performance is no doubt attributable to the fact that Atlanta continues to be the domineering hub for economic, educational, and cultural activity in the region. The Census Bureau recently reported that the city of Atlanta grows and shrinks by 62 percent each workday, second only to Washington, D.C. among major cities. Atlanta's daytime population grows to 676,000 people, nearly 260,000 more people than the number of residents. Only New York, Washington, D.C. and Houston see more daytime visitors.

In regards to Georgia's water resources, continued strong population gains particularly in metropolitan Atlanta will substantially strain existing supplies both in terms of quantity and quality. According to the *Metropolitan North Georgia Water Planning District* (MNGWPD)—a consortium of 16 metropolitan Atlanta counties—the Chattahoochee River Basin provides nearly 70 percent of the water for the region, but the Chattahoochee is one of the smallest rivers in America serving a major metro area.[6] *(*MNGWPD, *2003)* To make matters worse, nearly all of the remaining water requirements for the 16-county District must be supplied by other sources of surface water since the geological makeup of the area does not allow for groundwater accumulation, a major source of water in many regions. The MNGWPD reports that the 16-county District currently uses 652 million gallons a day (MGD) of water on an average basis.[7] By 2030, the MNGWPD projects that this figure could reach 1200 MGD even accounting for some conservation measures. This rate of water use will approach the limits of the projected available supply.

At the same time that demands on water supplies will be increasing, water quality concerns will have to be addressed. The MNGWPD suggests that the amount of storm water runoff and treated wastewater flowing into the district's waterways

[6] The 16 counties include Bartow, Cherokee, Clayton, Cobb, Coweta, DeKalb, Douglas, Fayette, Fulton, Forsyth, Gwinnett, Hall, Henry, Paulding, Rockdale and Walton. As mentioned earlier in this report, this area is home to some of the fastest growing counties in the country.

[7] This is public-supply water use. According to the U.S. Geological Survey, public-supply water use is water that is withdrawn by public and private water suppliers and delivered for a variety of uses, including domestic, commercial, and industrial.

has increased dramatically in the last 30 years in line with population growth. Today more than 1,000 miles of the 16-county area's rivers, streams, and lakes do not meet state water quality standards. By 2030, the district must substantially increase its wastewater treatment capacity in order to curb water pollution.

The quantity and quality of water is a source of concern for downstream users as well. Since 1998 Georgia has been unable to come to terms with Alabama and Florida in regards to the allocation of water from the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee-Flint River Basin and last year a Georgia-Alabama compact concerning water use in the Alabama-Coosa-Tallapoosa River Basin expired. According to a *New York Times* article (Yellin 2000), the main concern for Georgia is to make sure it has enough water from the two basins to sustain the growth it expects for Atlanta in the next 30 to 50 years. Georgia is also concerned with the impact that limiting water consumption would have on its agricultural areas in the southern part of the state. Alabama would like to ensure that it, too, will have adequate water for growth in Birmingham and other areas, and it is trying to protect its industrial and navigation water needs throughout the state. Florida is mainly concerned with protecting the northwestern part of the state, the Apalachicola Bay area, which is an important estuary, producing 90 percent of the state's oysters. This issue of water and who controls its will be contentious topics in the Tri-State area in the years to come.

Population increases to 2030 will continue to place considerable burdens on providers of educational services in Georgia. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Georgia's K-12 enrollment (both public and private) grew from 1,150,463 pupils in 1990 to 1,598,281 pupils in 2000, nearly a 40-percent gain.[8] Only Nevada, Arizona, Florida and Colorado grew at a faster pace and only California, Texas, Florida and New York added more students to their rolls than did Georgia during this timeframe. Georgia now ranks ninth out of the 50 states and the District of Columbia in terms of K-12 enrollments. As Georgia's population continues to grow the pressures placed upon educational systems will be immense. At the current rate of population growth Georgia is likely to have more than 2 million students by 2015 and

[8] Private K-12 enrollment accounts for about 9 percent of total enrollments in Georgia.

more than 2.5 million in 2030. School systems in the close-in counties of metropolitan Atlanta will be particularly stressed. Many of these counties have already experienced phenomenal growth in school enrollments. For instance, four metro Atlanta counties—Fulton, DeKalb, Gwinnett and Cobb—have the largest school enrollments in the state and, together, accounted for 177,000 or 40 percent of the state's 448,000 gain in student enrollments during the 1990-2000 period. Gwinnett County alone added almost 58,000 K-12 students during this period, more than the entire gains for the counties that comprise each of the North, Central, and Southern regions of the state. With an enrollment gain of 93 percent during the 1990-2000 period, Gwinnett County also had the fastest rate of growth among the four metro counties. Growth rates for Cobb, Fulton and DeKalb were a robust 59 percent, 42 percent and 40 percent, respectively. K-12 school enrollments in these counties are likely to continue at a brisk pace due to expected population gains and to the composition of the population. Each of these counties has sizeable immigrant and minority populations, groups that tend to be more youthful and who have larger families than other population segments. Immigrant populations tend to place additional fiscal burdens on school systems since English language training and bilingual education programs must be provided in many cases. According to the Center for Immigration Studies, it costs an average 50 percent more to educate a non-English speaking child than an English-speaking one.

Conclusions

Population growth in Georgia has been robust over the past few decades, an indication in part of the attractiveness of the state to jobseekers both domestic and foreign. Based on recent trends we expect population growth in Georgia to continue strong. By the year 2015 we project Georgia's population at 10.7 million and by the year 2030 Georgia will be home to an estimated 14.4 million people. This continued growth will present Georgia with special challenges; however, growing pains should be eased somewhat by the fact that Georgia authorities today—unlike in previous decades—are well aware of the general growth prospects for the state. Having already dealt with significant growth, Georgia should be better positioned to handle the additional influx of people and growing demand on its resources during the next quarter century. Indeed, infrastructure needed to accommodate growth has already been established in some instances. English as a Second Language Programs and bi-lingual classrooms in a number of school systems are cases in point. Nevertheless, Georgia will have to make some tough choices in the years ahead. This is particularly true in the areas of transportation and water resource management.

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APPENDIX A. SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS FOR THE STATE OF GEORGIA

	---------1990--------		---------2000---------		--------Latest--------		
	Totals	**Rank**	**Totals**	**Rank**	**Totals**	**Rank**	**Year**
Population	6,478,149	11	8,186,453	10	8,829,383	9	2004
White	4,603,396	14	5,327,175	12	5,858,716	11	2003
Black	1,744,882	5	2,342,110	3	2,496,525	4	2003
Asian	73,757	16	171,463	14	211,589	14	2003
Hispanic	101,379	20	429,976	10	541,123	10	2003
%White	71.1	44	65.1	45	67.5	46	2003
%Black	26.9	5	28.6	5	28.7	4	2003
%Asian	1.1	24	2.1	19	2.4	19	2003
%Hispanic[1]	1.6	33	5.3	23	6.2	21	2003
Foreign Born Population	173,126	16	577,273	10	686,092	NA	2003
%Foreign Born Population	2.7	29	7.1	21	7.9	20	2003
Population Density	111.9	22	141.4	19	152	19	2003
Median Age	31.4	44	33.4	46	34	48	2004
%Population Under 18 Years Old	26.7	16	26.5	11	26.8	8	2003
%Population 65 Years Old and Over	10.1	48	9.6	49	9.2	49	2003
%Persons with Bachelor's Degree or More	19.4	26	24.3	23	25	25	2003
Median Income	27,561	30	42,433	20	43,037	24	2004
%Persons below Poverty Level	15.8	12	13.0	8	14.8	13	2004
Net Domestic Migration[1]	302,597	2	340,705	2	140,009	NA	

[1] Hispanic is a multi-racial classification and therefore total population figures are less than the sum of the four racial classifications.

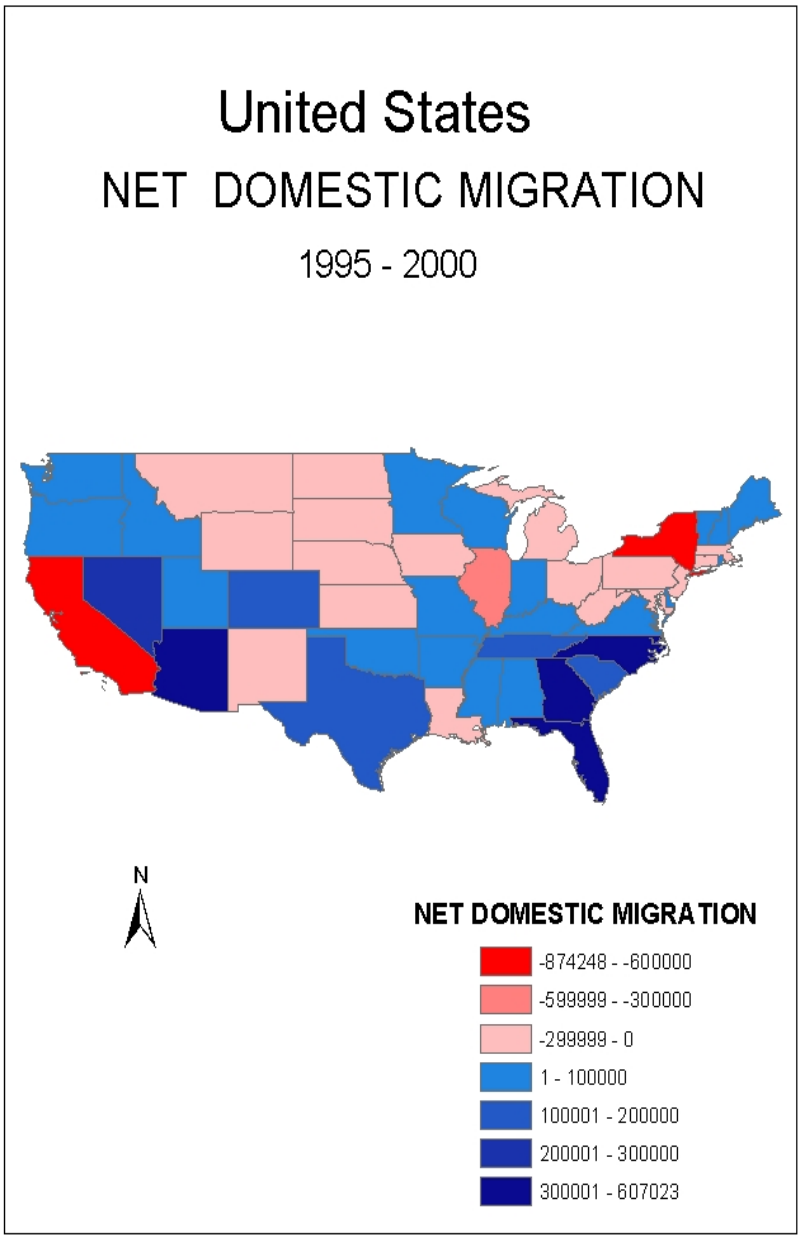
[2.] Net Domestic Migration is for the periods 1985-1990, 1995-2000 and 2001–2003, respectively.

NA—Not Available

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Appendix B

Thematic Maps of the United States


United States
NET DOMESTIC MIGRATION
1995 - 2000
N
NET DOMESTIC MIGRATION
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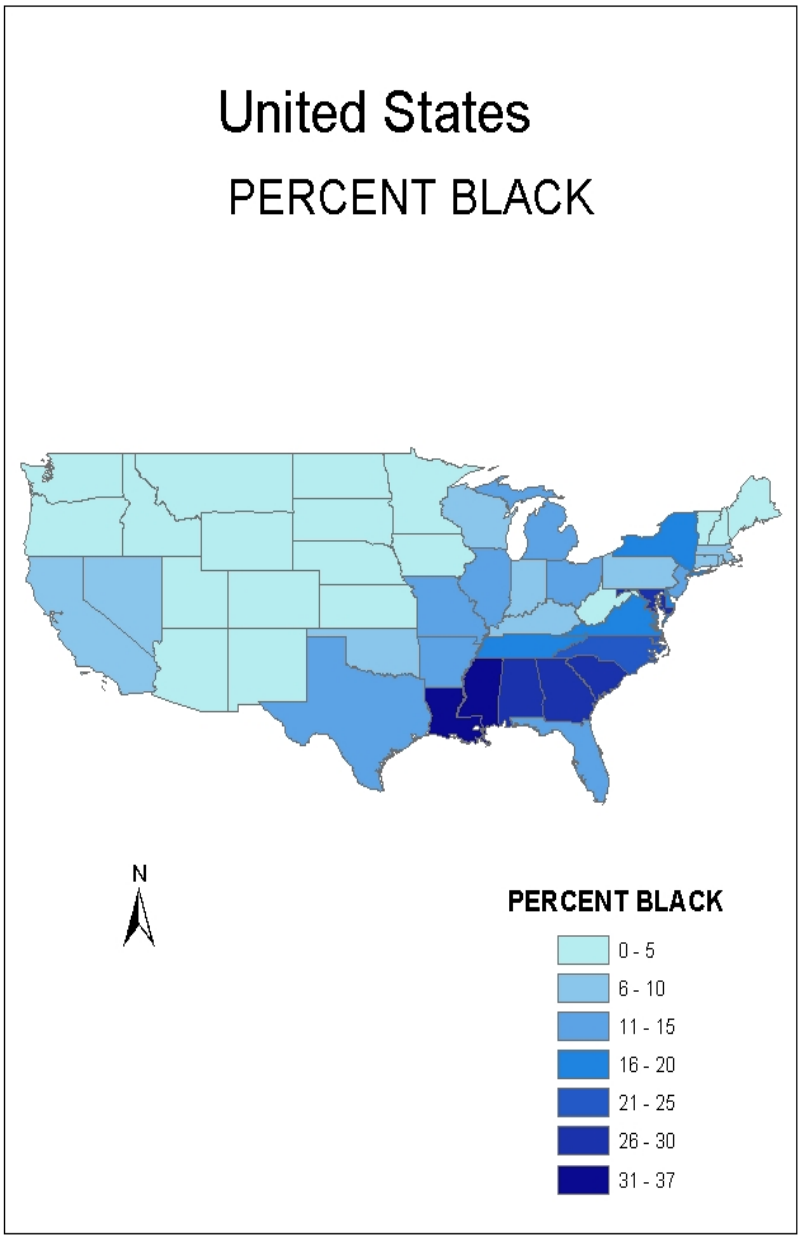
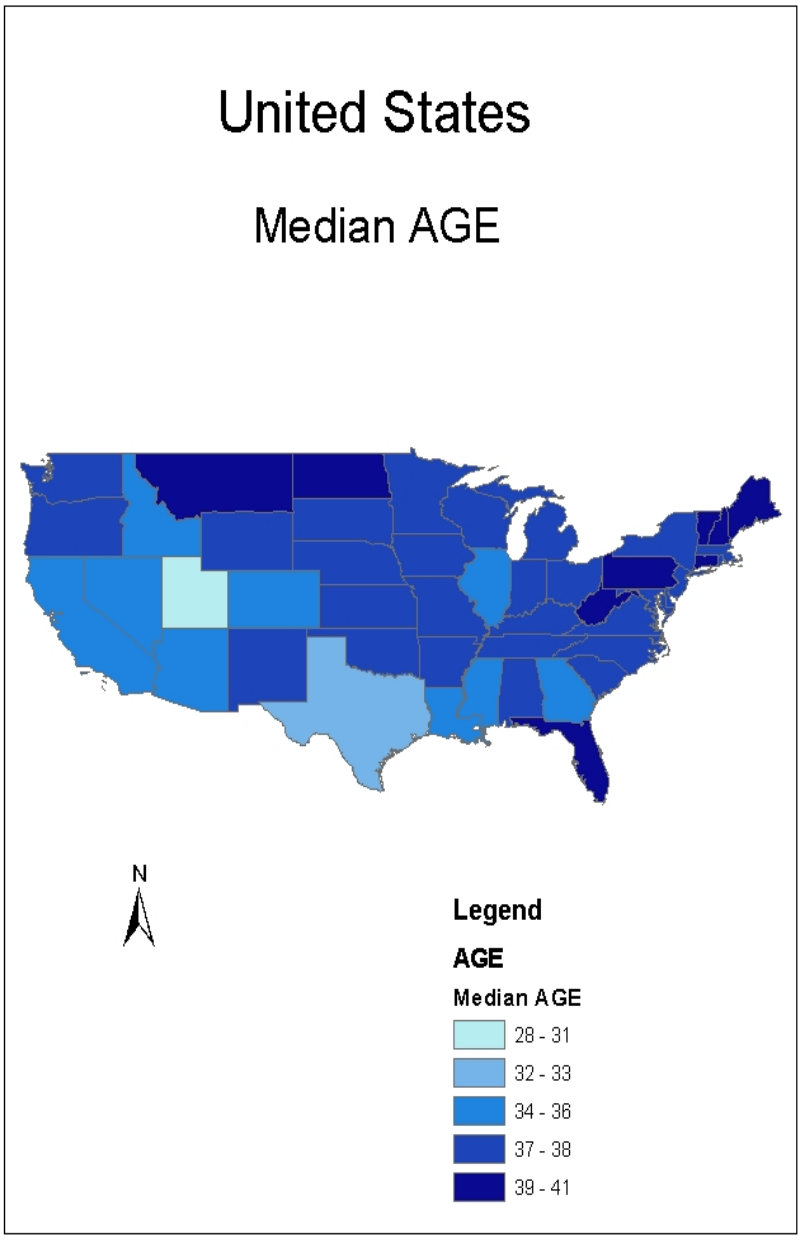
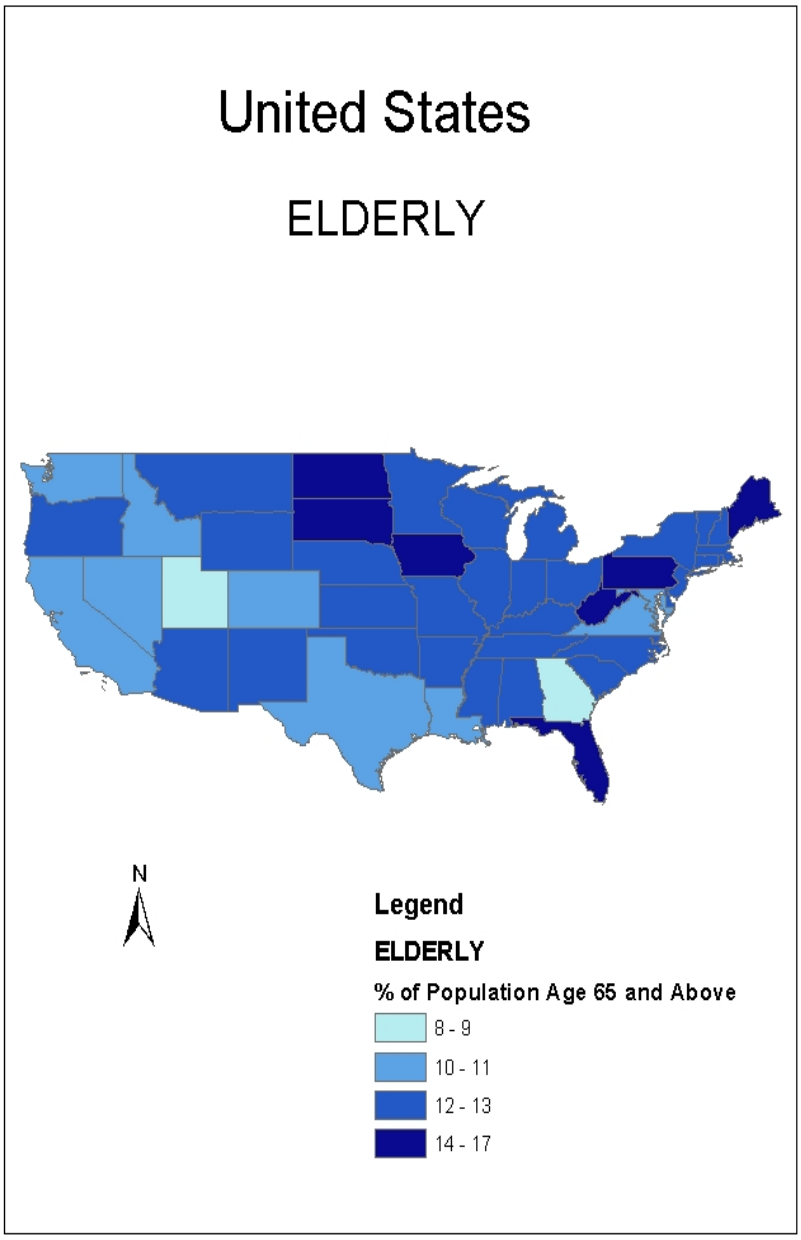
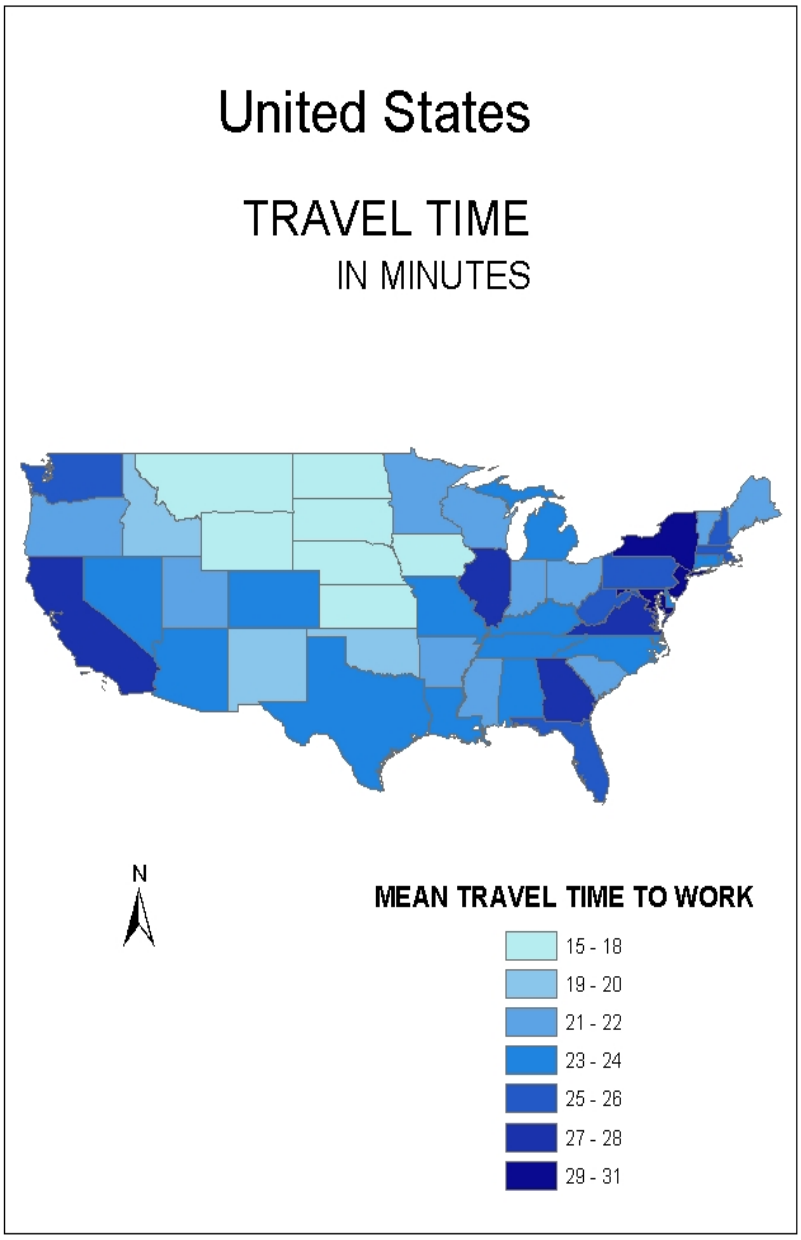
-599999 - -300000
-299999 - 0
1 - 100000
100001 - 200000
200001 - 300000
300001 - 607023


United States
PERCENT BLACK
N
PERCENT BLACK
0 - 5
6 - 10
11 - 15
16 - 20
21 - 25
26 - 30
31 - 37


United States
Median AGE
N
Legend
AGE
Median AGE
28 - 31
32 - 33
34 - 36
37 - 38
39 - 41


United States
ELDERLY
N
Legend
ELDERLY
% of Population Age 65 and Above
8 - 9
10 - 11
12 - 13
14 - 17


United States
TRAVEL TIME
IN MINUTES
N
MEAN TRAVEL TIME TO WORK
15 - 18
19 - 20
21 - 22
23 - 24
25 - 26
27 - 28
29 - 31

APPENDIX C. GEORGIA COUNTIES BY REGION

Metropolitan Atlanta	North	Central	South	
Barrow	Banks	Baldwin	Appling	Long
Bartow	Catoosa	Bibb	Atkinson	Lowndes
Butts	Chattooga	Burke	Bacon	McIntosh
Carroll	Clarke	Chattahoochee	Baker	Miller
Cherokee@	Dade	Columbia	Ben Hill	Mitchell
Clayton@	Elbert	Crawford	Berrien	Montgomery
Cobb@	Fannin	Emanuel	Bleckley	Pierce
Coweta	Floyd	Glascock	Brantley	Pulaski
Dawson	Franklin	Greene	Brooks	Quitman
DeKalb@	Gilmer	Hancock	Bryan	Randolph
Douglas@	Gordon	Harris	Bulloch	Screven
Fayette@	Habersham	Houston	Calhoun	Seminole
Forsyth	Hall	Jefferson	Camden	Stewart
Fulton@	Hart	Johnson	Candler	Sumter
Gwinnett@	Jackson	Jones	Charlton	Tattnall
Haralson	Lumpkin	Laurens	Chatham	Telfair
Heard	Madison	Lincoln	Clay	Terrell
Henry@	Murray	McDuffie	Clinch	Thomas
Jasper	Oconee	Macon	Coffee	Tift
Lamar	Oglethorpe	Marion	Colquitt	Toombs
Meriwether	Polk	Monroe	Cook	Turner
Newton	Rabun	Morgan	Crisp	Ware
Paulding	Stephens	Muscogee	Decatur	Wayne
Pickens	Towns	Peach	Dodge	Webster
Pike	Union	Putnam	Dooly	Wheeler
Rockdale@	Walker	Richmond	Dougherty	Wilcox
Spalding	White	Schley	Early	Worth
Walton	Whitfield	Talbot	Echols	
		Taliaferro	Effingham	
		Taylor	Evans	
		Treutlen	Glynn	
		Troup	Grady	
		Twiggs	Irwin	
		Upson	Jeff Davis	
		Warren	Jenkins	
		Washington	Lanier	
		Wilkes	Lee	
		Wilkinson	Liberty	

@ ARC Counties

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Glenwood Ross is an assistant professor of economics at Morehouse College and the Director of the Economic Studies Abroad Program in South Africa—a joint initiative between the economics departments at AYSPS and Morehouse College. Ross' research interest focuses on issues related to urban economics, economic development, and economic pedagogy. He is currently engaged in an effort to examine trends in poverty concentrations in urban areas. Another line of research investigates developments in foreign direct investment in sub-Saharan Africa. Dr. Ross holds a Ph.D in economics from Georgia State University.

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Neighborhood Dynamics and Price Effects of Superfund Site Clean-Up **(Douglas Noonan, Douglas Krupka and Brett Baden**). This report uses census data to analyze the price effects of superfund site clean-up, inclusive of both direct price effects and indirect effects through clean-up's effect on neighborhood demographic transitions and reinvestment in the housing stock. FRC Report/Brief 113 (October 2005)

Perfect Competition, Spatial Competition, and Tax Incidence in the Retail Gasoline Market **(James Alm, Edward Sennoga and Mark Skidmore)**. This report uses monthly gas price data for all 50 U.S. states over the period 1984-1999 to examine the incidence of state gasoline excise taxes. FRC Report/Brief 112 (September 2005)

The Research and Development Tax Credit for Georgia **(Laura Wheeler).** This report describes the existing Georgia State R&D tax credit and explores the implications of modifying its current design. FRC Report/Brief 111 (September 2005)

Cooperation on Competition: The Multistate Tax Commission and State Corporate Tax Uniformity **(W. Bartley Hildreth, Matthew N. Murray and David L. Sjoquist)**. This report explores how interstate uniformity of state corporate income taxes has varied over time, the role played by the MTC, and how likely it is that uniformity will be achieved. FRC Report 110 (August 2005)

Tax Revenue Volatility and a State-Wide Education Sales Tax **(John Matthews)**. This brief examines issues of revenue source stability raised by proposals to shift K-12 education costs from local property taxes to a state-wide sales tax. FRC Brief 109 (June 2005)

Accountability for Economic Development Incentives in Georgia **(Jeanie Thomas)**. This report identifies Georgia's major economic development incentives and other forms of public finance support and calls for a comprehensive evaluation of public expenditures in this area. FRC Report/Brief 108 (July 2005)

Teen Childbearing and Public Assistance in Georgia **(Lakshmi Pandey, Erdal Tekin and Sally Wallace)**. This brief examines the link between teen births and welfare. FRC Brief 107 (May 2005)

The Link Between Teen Childbearing and Employment in Georgia **(Lakshmi Pandy, Erdal Tekin and Sally Wallace)**. This brief analyzes teen births and employment of teen mothers. FRC Brief 106 (May 2005)

What Georgians Are Thinking About Taxes III **(Peter Bluestone)**. This brief is the third of three briefs reporting on telephone surveys of Georgians. FRC Brief 105 (April 2005)

What Georgians Are Thinking About Taxes II **(Peter Bluestone)**. This brief is the second of three briefs reporting on telephone surveys of Georgians. FRC Brief 104 (April 2005)

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