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**THE PROGRAM ON PUBLIC LIFE**

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## Legislative Electoral Trends

**FERREL GUILLORY**, Director,  
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Analyses of North Carolina politics usually, and not surprisingly, focus on the outcome of races for governor and other statewide elections. So it was in our earlier issue this year that NC Data-Net examined the “tide-changing” nature of the 2008 elections.

But you cannot get a full picture of North Carolina politics without attention to the elected representatives of the people known collectively as the General Assembly. So in this issue, we look back at the 2008 legislative elections and look ahead to the redistricting that follows the 2010 Census.

We look back in three ways:

1) Drawing on the data base of campaign finance reports compiled over the years by UNC political scientist Thad Beyle, we maintain our long-standing practice in Data-Net of reporting on spending in legislative races. Andrew Holton, associate director of the UNC Program on Public Life, Lewis McCorkle, an undergraduate at UNC-Chapel Hill who was an intern this summer at the program, and Justin Martin, who recently received a PhD in journalism and mass communication, ploughed through the candidates’ campaign reports. Jennifer Weaver, the program’s assistant director for research, provided the commentary and editing. Indeed, she served as general editor of this issue.

2) Lewis McCorkle also used the legislative election results reported by the state Board of Elections to point out that voter participation varies considerably from district to district. Of course, a goodly number of legislators ran unopposed. Still, even in competitive races between a Democrat and a Republican, some races had thousands of voters more than other races.

3) Data-Net looks ahead by presenting an extensive chart, with commentary, showing how population growth and shifts are likely to influence the redrawing of legislative districts in the wake of the 2010 Census. The process of metropolitanization will give more representation to Wake and neighboring counties, and to Mecklenburg and its adjoining counties.

For the redistricting analysis, we are grateful for the assistance of Gerry Cohen, director of the Legislative Drafting Division. His dry title masks the fact that Gerry has long served the legislature as a keeper of institutional memory and is also an expert on the redistricting process. He writes a regular online blog on the legislative process and, from time to time, redistricting:  
<http://ncbilldrafting.wordpress.com/>

Here are online links to the sources for this issue of Data-Net: North Carolina Office of State Budget and Management: <http://www.osbm.state.nc.us/>; State Board of Elections: <http://www.sboe.state.nc.us/>; U.S. Census Bureau: [www.census.gov](http://www.census.gov). ☒

## Campaign Spending: Fall 2008

The more things change, the more they stay the same. So the saying goes, and also tells the story of campaign spending in North Carolina state races, in which Democrats continue to dominate. This issue of Data-net examines campaign spending in the 2008 state-level races. The major trends are:

➤ Spending in presidential election years increased from \$26,445,400 in 2004 to \$27,800,202 in 2008, an increase of 5.12%.

➤ Though the Republicans experienced increases in spending in the 1994 and 1996 House races, those remain anomalies as the Democrats have outspent Republicans by healthy margins in every state House and Senate election year since.

✎ In 2008 Democrats spent \$9,781,326 in Senate races to the GOP's \$5,467,161, and spent \$8,273,992 in House races to the GOP's \$4,277,722.

✎ Republican spending has increased, but still adds up to only about 36-38% of total spending.

✎ Fifty victorious House candidates, and 21 Senate victorious candidates (71 out of 170), had no opposition by a major party candidate in 2008. This number is down somewhat from 2004, when slightly more than half of General Assembly members were elected in unopposed races.

✎ Out of 120 House races there were only 50 that were competitive and both candidates reported a campaign spending total (as of July 31, 2009). Of these 50 races, 45 were won by the candidate spending the most money. Out of the 50 Senate races there were only 17 that were competitive and both candidates reported spending totals (as of July 31, 2009). Of these 17 races, 16 were won by the candidate raising the most money.

✎ Marc Basnight far outspent all other candidates for the General Assembly, with \$1,775,379 in reported expenditures.

## Democrats Continue to Outspend Republicans

The money game continues to be controlled by the Democrats in state elections. Of the \$27,800,202 spent in the 2008 election cycle, \$18,055,319 — 65% — was spent by Democrats, while Republicans spent \$9,744,833, or 35%. In the Senate, Democrats spent \$9,781,326 to the Republicans' \$5,467,161, or 64.1% to 35.9%. The spending gap was not much closer in the House, with Republicans spending only \$4,277,722, or 34%, to the Democrats' \$8,273,992, or 66%. Total Senate spending increased by almost \$2 million from the 2004 election cycle, whereas total House race spending decreased by about \$565,000.

## Leadership Matters

House Speaker Joe Hackney and Senate Pro Tem Marc Basnight far out-spent all other candidates, Democrat or Republican. Neither of these members are in competitive districts — both ran unopposed. Their position as leaders in their respective chambers makes them powerful fundraising machines, and in turn they are able to spend money to help get fellow Democrats elected. In Senator Basnight's case, \$1,336,000 of his campaign expenses were spent on other candidates. Speaker Hackney used \$744,072 of his total spending on other candidates. These two powerful positions in the General Assembly create a rising spending tide to float all boats in the party.

## Top Spenders: House races

Another way to look at the Democratic Party's spending advantage is to look at the top spenders in competitive races.<sup>1</sup> The Democrats spending the most in competitive races spent \$1,974,590,41 to the Republicans' \$1,210,852.83. Among the top spenders in competitive races listed in the table below, Rep. Randy Stewart spent the most on his campaign — \$382,283.27. The next highest spender was House Majority Leader Rep. Hugh Holliman, who spent \$354,570.59. The ten highest spending Democratic candidates in contested races had expenses ranging from \$217,183.93 to \$382,283.27. On the Democratic side, House Speaker Joe Hackney was the top Democratic spender overall at \$914,176, but ran unopposed. All of the highest spending Democrats won their races.

The top spender on the Republican side was Rep. David Lewis, who spent \$232,027.89. Following Lewis was House Minority Leader Rep. Paul Stam at \$196,613.08. The highest spenders in contested races had expenses ranging

## Expenditures from Both Houses, Presidential Election Years

| Year | # of Districts* | Dem \$ <sup>#</sup> | %    | Rep \$       | %    | Total         |
|------|-----------------|---------------------|------|--------------|------|---------------|
| 1992 | 140             | 3,914,831.00        | 63.7 | 2,232,595.00 | 36.3 | 6,147,426.00  |
| 1996 | 140             | 8,688,804.00        | 53.1 | 7,675,244.00 | 46.9 | 16,364,049.00 |
| 2000 | 140             | 15,655,436.00       | 70   | 6,715,266.00 | 30   | 22,370,929.00 |
| 2004 | 170             | 16,802,936.00       | 63.5 | 9,607,873.00 | 36.3 | 26,445,400.00 |
| 2008 | 170             | 18,055,319.00       | 65   | 9,744,883.75 | 35   | 27,800,202.75 |

\*The number of districts was 140 until the state converted to single-member districts in 2002.  
#All dollar amounts prior to 2004 have been adjusted for inflation to 2004 dollars for all tables.

from \$85,227.83 to \$232,027.89. Several Republican House members in uncontested races spent as much as or more than those listed in the table. These are: Rep. Harold Brubaker, District 78 (\$274,979.12), Rep. Jerry Dockham, District 80 (\$273,155.92), Rep. Ruth Samuelson, District 104 (\$101,183.33), and Rep. Daniel McComas, District 19 (\$93,042.90). All but one of the highest spending Republicans won their races. In District 116, Tim Moffitt lost to Rep. Jane Whilden. Though Moffitt was one of the top Republican spenders, his opponent nevertheless spent more on her campaign and won the race.

## Democrats with the Highest Campaign Spending — Competitive House Races

| District | Candidates              | Winner's Party | Total Spent |
|----------|-------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| 25       | Stewart (v. Bullock)    | Dem            | 382,283.27  |
| 81       | Holliman (v. Brown)     | Dem            | 354,570.59  |
| 44       | Dickson (v. Huddleston) | Dem            | 332,164.96  |
| 41       | Harrell (v. Gossage)    | Dem            | 318,841.38  |
| 51       | Love (v. Shook)         | Dem            | 306,295.39  |
| 116      | Whilden (v. Moffitt)    | Dem            | 267,361.39  |
| 93       | Tarleton (v. Soucek)    | Dem            | 252,333.71  |
| 88       | Warren (v. Hollo)       | Dem            | 251,703.07  |
| 69       | Gibson (v. Barker)      | Dem            | 230,291.34  |
| 10       | Braxton (v. LaRoque)    | Dem            | 217,183.93  |

Note: House Speaker Joe Hackney spent the most on any House campaign, by far (\$914,176.52), but was excluded from this list because he had no opponent.

## Republicans with the Highest Campaign Spending — Competitive House Races

| District | Candidates              | Winner's Party | Total Spent |
|----------|-------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| 53       | Lewis (v. Tart)         | Rep            | 232,027.89  |
| 37       | Stam (v. Ridpath)       | Rep            | 196,613.08  |
| 74       | Folwell (v. Boyles)     | Rep            | 160,813.33  |
| 82       | Barnhart (v. Troutman)  | Rep            | 134,205.10  |
| 95       | Mills (v. Ober)         | Rep            | 124,075.31  |
| 116      | (Whilden v.) Moffitt    | Dem            | 122,693.09  |
| 36       | Dollar (v. Swanstrom)   | Rep            | 113,114.42  |
| 85       | Gillespie (v. Aldridge) | Rep            | 107,176.15  |
| 83       | Johnson (v. Richards)   | Rep            | 95,719.96   |
| 26       | Daughtry (v. Garner)    | Rep            | 85,227.83   |

Note: Harold J. Brubaker (district 78), Jerry Dockham (district 80), and Ruth Samuelson (district 104) were also top Republican spenders, but were excluded because they had no opponents.

<sup>1</sup> These tables show expenditures for the top spenders for races in which there were candidates from both major political parties. Several candidates raised more money than those listed in the tables, but ran unopposed. Those candidates are discussed elsewhere in the text.

### Democrats with the highest campaign spending— competitive Senate races

| District | Candidates                | Winner's Party | Total Spent |
|----------|---------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| 9        | Boseman (v. Lee)          | Dem            | 871,539.45  |
| 8        | Soles, Jr. (v. Fennell)   | Dem            | 839,495.59  |
| 43       | Hoyle (v. Harrington)     | Dem            | 739,153.97  |
| 46       | Melton (v. Clary)         | Rep            | 672,059.04  |
| 24       | Foriest (v. Gunn, Jr.)    | Dem            | 638,355.05  |
| 47       | Queen (v. Presnell)       | Dem            | 575,202.44  |
| 16       | Stein (v. Alexander, Jr.) | Dem            | 486,957.75  |
| 5        | Davis (v. Pate Jr.)       | Dem            | 449,181.61  |
| 12       | Carroll (v. Rouzer)       | Rep            | 211,064.67  |
| 45       | Goss (v. Butler)          | Dem            | 187,209.43  |

Note: Marc Basnight (District 1), Linda Garrou (District 32), Clark Jenkins (District 3), and A.B. Swindell (District 11) were all top spenders but were excluded from the list because they had no opponents.

While all ten of the highest spending Democrats spent over \$200,000 in contested races, only one of their Republican counterparts spent above \$200,000.

### Senate spending

Among those Senate candidates spending the most money in competitive campaigns, the Democrats also enjoy a distinct advantage, spending \$5,670,219 to the Republicans' \$3,081,682. Eight of the top 10 highest-spending candidates in both major parties were in the same races. The most expensive races are also the most competitive in the Senate. The Democratic candidate won 6 of these 8 races, meaning the Republicans spent a great deal of money on unsuccessful races. The candidate spending the most money won in all eight of these races.

The highest spending Democrat in competitive Senate races was Sen. Julia Boseman, who spent \$871,539.45, followed by Sen. R.C. Soles at \$839,495.59. The Democratic Senate candidates spending the most money in competitive races ranged from \$187,209.43 to \$871,539.45. There were four candidates who were top spenders running in unopposed races. As discussed above, first among these was Senate Pro Tem Marc Basnight, (District 1) who spent

### Republicans with the highest campaign spending— competitive Senate races

| District | Candidates               | Winner's party | Total spent |
|----------|--------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| 15       | Hunt (v. Mintz)          | Rep            | 813,281.54  |
| 24       | Gunn, Jr. (v. Foriest)   | Dem            | 386,358.64  |
| 12       | Rouzer (v. Carroll)      | Rep            | 365,547.14  |
| 46       | Clary (v. Melton)        | Rep            | 290,334.11  |
| 9        | Lee (v. Boseman)         | Dem            | 250,075.73  |
| 5        | Pate, Jr. (v. Davis)     | Dem            | 240,294.11  |
| 16       | Alexander, Jr (v. Stein) | Dem            | 225,085.76  |
| 2        | Preston (v. Muse)        | Rep            | 181,489.29  |
| 8        | Fennell (v. Soles, Jr.)  | Dem            | 178,961.32  |
| 43       | Harrington (v. Hoyle)    | Dem            | 150,255.33  |

Note: Bob Rucho (District 39), Phil Berger (District 26), Tom Apodaca (District 48), and Fletcher Hartsell (District 36) were all top spenders but were excluded from the list because they had no opponents.

\$1,79,375. In addition to Sen. Basnight were: Sen. Linda Garrou, District 32 (\$210,428.41), Sen. Clark Jenkins, District 3 (\$214,512.10), and Sen. A.B. Swindell, District 11 (\$197,468.11). The highest spending Democrats won eight out of the ten races they spent the most money on. In District 46 Keith Melton lost to Sen. Debbie Clary, despite spending more money. In District 12, Kay Carroll lost to Sen. David Rouzer.

The Republican spending the most money in a competitive race was Sen. Neal Hunt, who totaled \$813,281.54 in expenditures. Hunt was far ahead in the Republican pack for spending, with the second highest spender — Rick Gunn, Jr. — spending \$386,358.64. The range for the highest spending races for Republicans was from \$150,255.33 to \$813,281.54. Other top spending Republicans who were not included in the table because they were in noncompetitive races were: Sen. Bob Rucho, District 39 (\$452,862.98), Sen. Phil Berger, District 26 (\$240,714.71), Sen. Tom Apodaca, District 48 (\$224,638.56), and Sen. Fletcher Hartsell, District 36 (\$205,631.33). In contrast to the Democrats, Republicans lost six of the ten races they spent the most money on. In District 24, Rick Gunn, Jr lost to Sen. Tony Foriest,

### State House Expenditures, Presidential Election Years

| Year | # of Districts | Dem \$       | %    | Rep \$       | %    | Total         |
|------|----------------|--------------|------|--------------|------|---------------|
| 1992 | 98             | 2,187,598.00 | 59.5 | 1,486,059.00 | 40.5 | 3,673,657.00  |
| 1996 | 98             | 3,875,368.00 | 42.3 | 5,295,812.00 | 57.7 | 9,171,180.00  |
| 2000 | 98             | 8,102,401.00 | 62.5 | 4,855,496.00 | 37.5 | 12,957,897.00 |
| 2004 | 120            | 7,597,603.00 | 57.9 | 5,520,071.00 | 42.1 | 13,117,674.00 |
| 2008 | 120            | 8,273,992.75 | 66   | 4,277,722.75 | 34   | 12,551,715.50 |

### State Senate Expenditures, Presidential Election Years

| Year | # of Districts | Dem \$       | %    | Rep \$       | %    | Total         |
|------|----------------|--------------|------|--------------|------|---------------|
| 1992 | 42             | 1,727,233    | 69.8 | 746,536.00   | 30.2 | 2,473,769.00  |
| 1996 | 42             | 4,183,436.00 | 66.9 | 2,379,432.00 | 33.1 | 7,192,868.00  |
| 2000 | 42             | 7,553,035.00 | 80.2 | 1,859,770.00 | 19.8 | 9,412,805.00  |
| 2004 | 50             | 9,205,333.00 | 69.1 | 4,087,802.00 | 30.9 | 13,325,163.00 |
| 2008 | 50             | 9,781,326.00 | 64.1 | 5,467,161.00 | 35.9 | 15,248,487.00 |

in District 9, Michael Lee lost to Sen. Julia Boseman, in District 5, Louis Pate lost to Sen. Don Davis, in District 16, John Alexander lost to Sen. Josh Stein, in District 8, Bettie Fennell lost to Sen. R.C. Soles, and in District 43, Kathy Harrington lost to Sen. David Hoyle. The Republican was outspent in each of those losing efforts.

While eight of the ten highest spending Democratic candidates in competitive races spent over \$400,000, only one of the top spending Republican candidates did so. ☒

### A word about the data

The campaign finance data presented in these tables is accurate to the best of our knowledge here at the Program on Public Life. The data is gleaned from campaign finance reports submitted to the North Carolina State Board of Elections. The process of campaign finance reporting is ongoing, and this is the most up to date data available according to the Board of Elections web site.

# Turnout 2008

## LEWIS McCORKLE

The number of votes cast for offices in the 2008 elections declined as one went down the ballot. Thus, the election fit a long-standing pattern: More citizens vote for candidates for President and Governor at the top of the ballot than vote for state senators and representatives and other officials in the lower part of the ballot.

In the elections for seats in the General Assembly, the number of votes swings widely from district to district in both House and Senate, even though districts are drawn to have a standard number of voters. Some seats, of course, are uncontested, and draw fewer voters. Still, even in contested elections, legislators come to the General Assembly with substantial variation in their base of actual voters.

Here are findings from a review of turnout in the 2008 elections, with special attention to legislative elections:

➤ Overall, 4.35 million votes were cast in North Carolina. In the presidential race, President Barack Obama won by 13,292 votes out of 4.26 million cast. In the governor's race, Gov. Bev Perdue won by 140,551 out of 4.22 million cast. There were also 95,457 more third party voters in the Governor's race than in the Presidential race.

➤ More than half a million more votes were cast in the governor's race than in the 50 state Senate races combined, and in the 120 state House races combined. State Senate races had almost 33,000 more votes than the state House races.

➤ Democrats hold a majority of seats in both the state House and Senate. In the elections, House Democrats maintained a 68-52 majority, while Republicans gained a seat in the state Senate, where the Democratic majority is 30-20.

➤ In votes cast, Republican candidates fared much better overall in state Senate races than they did in state House races. Democrats received 377,390 more votes than Republicans in state House races. Yet in state Senate races, Democrats had only a 162,864 advantage over Republicans.

➤ Under the one person-one vote requirement, House and Senate districts must have roughly the same population. Following the 2000 Census, the formula resulted in House districts of 67,089 people and Senate districts of 160,986. (Of course, population growth and shifts have altered the current population over the past eight years.) In state House elections, voter participation ranged from a high of 63,000 to below 35,000 in several contested races. In state Senate elections, turnout ranged from 107,000 to fewer than 75,000 votes in some contested races.

➤ The highest participation in a Senate race — 107,650 votes cast — came in District 15 in Wake County, where Republican state Sen. Neal Hunt defeated Democrat Chris Mintz. Variations can be illustrated with these pairings: Republican Sen. Fletcher Hartsell won District 36 where 88,099 votes were cast, while Republican Debby Clary won District 46 where 71,397 votes were cast. Democrat Bob Atwater won District 18 where 96,979 votes were cast, while Democrat Bill Purcell won District 25 where voters cast 70,279 ballots.

➤ With 63,100 votes cast, District 40 in Wake County led the participation rankings in the state House; Republican Marilyn Avila represents the district. Meanwhile, Republican David Lewis won a contested race in District 53, where 30,566 votes were cast. Democrat Ty Harrell won District 41 in a race that attracted 57,524 votes, while Democrat Jimmy Love won District 51 where 32,495 ballots were cast.

*Note: Lewis McCorkle is an undergraduate student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill who had a summer internship in the Program on Public Life.*

## Votes cast in elections

| NC President |                  | NC Governor  |                  |
|--------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|
| Democrats    | 2,123,390        | Purdue (D)   | 2,121,320        |
| Republicans  | 2,109,698        | McCrorry (R) | 1,980,769        |
| Independents | 25,419           | Munger (I)   | 120,876          |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>4,258,507</b> | <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>4,222,965</b> |

  

| NC House     |                  | NC Senate    |                  |
|--------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|
| Democrats    | 2,009,025        | Democrats    | 1,921,994        |
| Republicans  | 1,631,635        | Republicans  | 1,759,130        |
| Independents | 48,041           | Independents | 40,959           |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>3,688,701</b> | <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>3,722,083</b> |

## Top 10 Senate Turnout

*Editor's note: Sen. Vernon Malone (S.D. 14) deceased 4/18/2009 and replaced by Dan Blue (resigned from H.D. 33), Cary Allred (H.D. 64) resigned 6/1/2009, Linda Coleman (H.D. 39) resigned 1/11/2009, Bonner Stiller (H.D. 17) resigned 6/15/2009.*

| District 15          |                | District 18                          |               |
|----------------------|----------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| Chris Mintz (D)      | 46,175         | <b>Bob Atwater (D)</b>               | <b>66,916</b> |
| <b>Neal Hunt (R)</b> | <b>56,873</b>  | Roger Gerber (R)                     | 56,873        |
| Janice Mackay (I)    | 4,602          | <b>TOTAL</b>                         | <b>96,979</b> |
| <b>TOTAL</b>         | <b>107,650</b> | <i>County - Chatham, Durham, Lee</i> |               |
| <i>County - Wake</i> |                |                                      |               |

  

| District 40                 |               | District 16                |               |
|-----------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| <b>Malcolm Graham (D)</b>   | <b>66,307</b> | <b>Josh Stein (D)</b>      | <b>58,357</b> |
| Edward Mulheren (R)         | 32,711        | John M. Alexander, Jr. (R) | 37,586        |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                | <b>99,018</b> | <b>TOTAL</b>               | <b>95,943</b> |
| <i>County - Mecklenburg</i> |               |                            |               |

  

| District 8                                  |               | District 17                |               |
|---|---------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| <b>R.C. Soles, Jr. (D)</b>                  | <b>47,905</b> | <b>Richard Stevens (R)</b> | <b>75,311</b> |
| Bettie Fennell (R)                          | 45,093        | Brian Irving (I)           | 17,441        |
| Rachel Joiner<br>Merrill (Lib)              | 5,454         | <b>TOTAL</b>               | <b>92,752</b> |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                                | <b>98,452</b> | <i>County - Wake</i>       |               |
| <i>County - Brunswick, Columbus, Pender</i> |               |                            |               |

  

| District 9                  |               | District 38                       |               |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| <b>Julia Boseman (D)</b>    | <b>50,516</b> | <b>Charlie Smith Dannelly (D)</b> | <b>67,755</b> |
| Michael Lee (R)             | 47,244        | James R. Soder (R)                | 22,056        |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                | <b>97,760</b> | C. Travis Wheat (L)               | 2,588         |
| <i>County - New Hanover</i> |               |                                   |               |
| <b>TOTAL</b> 92,399         |               |                                   |               |
| <i>County - Mecklenburg</i> |               |                                   |               |

  

| District 14                       |               | District 36                       |               |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| <b>Vernon Malone (D)</b>          | <b>67,823</b> | Charles Paxton (D)                | 38,047        |
| Carol Bennett (R)                 | 56,873        | <b>Fletcher Hartsell, Jr. (R)</b> | <b>50,052</b> |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                      | <b>97,658</b> | <b>TOTAL</b>                      | <b>88,099</b> |
| <i>County - Wake</i>              |               |                                   |               |
| <i>County - Cabarrus, Iredell</i> |               |                                   |               |

➤ Wake County accounted for four of the top-ten Senate districts, and five of the top-ten House districts. ☒

## Top 10 House Turnout

|                             |               |                              |               |                                |               |                          |               |
|-----------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| <b>District 40</b>          |               | <b>District 41</b>           |               | <b>District 99</b>             |               | <b>District 115</b>      |               |
| Stan Morse (D)              | 27,336        | <b>Ty Harrell (D)</b>        | <b>30,929</b> | <b>Nick Mackey (D)</b>         | <b>28,106</b> | <b>Bruce Goforth (D)</b> | <b>27,795</b> |
| <b>Marilyn Avila (R)</b>    | <b>35,764</b> | Bryan Gossage (R)            | 26,595        | Dempsey Miller (R)             | 14,925        | Paul Purdue (R)          | 13,429        |
| TOTAL                       | 63,100        | TOTAL                        | 57,524        | TOTAL                          | 43,031        | TOTAL                    | 41,224        |
| County - Wake               |               | County - Wake                |               | County - Mecklenburg           |               | County - Buncombe        |               |
| <b>District 37</b>          |               | <b>District 39</b>           |               | <b>District 36</b>             |               |                          |               |
| Ed Ridpath (D)              | 27,503        | <b>Linda Coleman (D)</b>     | <b>29,290</b> | Al Swanstrom (D)               | 20,872        |                          |               |
| <b>Paul Stam (R)</b>        | <b>32,172</b> | Duane Cutlip (R)             | 16,306        | <b>Nelson Dollar (R)</b>       | <b>21,862</b> |                          |               |
| TOTAL                       | 59,675        | TOTAL                        | 45,596        | TOTAL                          | 42,734        |                          |               |
| County - Wake               |               | County - Wake                |               | County - Wake                  |               |                          |               |
| <b>District 68</b>          |               | <b>District 17</b>           |               | <b>District 52</b>             |               |                          |               |
| C. Michael Cognac (D)       | 20,767        | Vernon Ward (D)              | 17,186        | Betty Mangum (D)               | 14,355        |                          |               |
| <b>Curtis Blackwood (R)</b> | <b>38,071</b> | <b>Bonner L. Stiller (R)</b> | <b>28,009</b> | <b>James L. Boles, Jr. (R)</b> | <b>27,727</b> |                          |               |
| TOTAL                       | 58,838        | TOTAL                        | 45,195        | TOTAL                          | 42,082        |                          |               |
| County - Union              |               | County - Brunswick           |               | County - Moore                 |               |                          |               |

## Redistricting: Just Down the Road

FERREL GUILLORY and LEWIS McCORKLE

The state legislators elected in 2010 will have the job of drawing new congressional and legislative district lines in mid-2011. In addition to the economic recession that weighed so heavily on state budgeting in the recent legislative session, this political reality creates the context of both Democratic and Republican strategy and decision making in the General Assembly and in their preparations for next year's campaigns.

Another reality will also shape redistricting: both the growth and shifting of our state's population. Through this decade, the metropolitanization of North Carolina intensified. As a result, the prospect is for Wake and Mecklenburg counties, as well as for neighboring counties in their regions, to gain additional seats in the state House and Senate.

With the assistance of Gerry Cohen, director of the Legislative Drafting Division, we have sought to present a preview assessment of how population change will influence redistricting. The accompanying chart provides a look at population for each county (from the 2000 Census count to the 2010 projection), and a statistical rendering of the extent to which each county is likely to see its share of the total legislative representation increase or decrease.

In 2011, of course, the General Assembly will use the population data gathered in next year's decennial Census. The data we present here come from the Census Bureau's projections; they provide a way to begin assembling analysis and discussion.

In the process of redistricting, legislators will inevitably consider the interests of incumbents and of their political parties. But they also must adhere to the rules embedded in laws and court cases. The U.S. Supreme Court has required, under the one-person, one-vote ruling, that each legislator represent about the same number of constituents. The Voting Rights Act, along with subsequent court rulings, several involving North Carolina cases, spells out requirements for assuring that minority citizens can elect representatives of their choosing. And a more recent state Supreme Court ruling says legislators must contain whole districts within county boundaries, unless they have to cross county lines to meet other legal requirements.

Overall, the state's population in 2010 is projected to be nearly 9.6 million persons, a growth of 19 percent over the 8 million persons counted in 2000.

After the 2000 Census, the state's 50 Senate districts had an "ideal" population of about 161,000, and the 120 House districts were drawn to have about 67,000 persons each. In 2010, Senate districts will grow to encompass a population of more than 191,000 and House districts of nearly 80,000.

Most counties will show population growth over the 10-year period. Counties whose population rose by more than 19% will gain representation — either a whole seat or a larger fraction of a seat. Counties that lost population or even gained less than the statewide average will lose representation. Consider these findings:

➤ Wake County has grown by nearly 50 percent. Thus, as the accompanying chart shows, it will qualify for 11.73 House seats and 4.89 Senate seats. Wake is likely to gain two House seats and one Senate seat. Neighboring Durham (23 percent growth) and Johnston (43 percent) are also positioned to gain representation, either full seats or greater voting influence in districts.

➤ Mecklenburg County has grown 31 percent, while nearby Union has grown 70 percent and Cabarrus 40 percent. Mecklenburg qualifies for at least one and perhaps two House seats, while Union and Cabarrus also are positioned to gain legislative strength. Indeed, as this metro area illustrates, some legislative battles may arise within metro areas over how to assign voters between core counties and their suburbs.

➤ The counties in the Triad have gained in population, but all at a lower rate than the state as a whole. Therefore, Guilford, Forsyth and their neighboring counties will face the prospect of attempting to hold their own current legislative representation.

➤ The metro area centered around Wilmington also appears positioned to gain representation: Brunswick has grown by 50 percent, Pender 34 percent and New Hanover 23 percent. While Cumberland County appears to have lost ground in its legislative share, nearby Harnett and Hoke counties have both gained. ☒

| COUNTY     | Population 2000 | Projection 2010 | change | 2000 Senate Seats | 2010 Senate Seats | Senate change | 2000 House seats | 2010 House seats | House change |
|------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| ALAMANCE   | 130,794         | 152,772         | 16.8%  | 0.81              | 0.80              | -0.01         | 1.95             | 1.915            | -0.04        |
| ALEXANDER  | 33,612          | 37,624          | 11.9%  | 0.21              | 0.20              | -0.01         | 0.50             | 0.47             | -0.03        |
| ALLEGHANY  | 10,680          | 11,242          | 5.3%   | 0.07              | 0.06              | -0.01         | 0.16             | 0.14             | -0.02        |
| ANSON      | 25,275          | 25,289          | 0.1%   | 0.16              | 0.13              | -0.02         | 0.38             | 0.32             | -0.06        |
| ASHE       | 24,384          | 26,705          | 9.5%   | 0.15              | 0.14              | -0.01         | 0.36             | 0.33             | -0.03        |
| AVERY      | 17,167          | 18,341          | 6.8%   | 0.11              | 0.10              | -0.01         | 0.26             | 0.23             | -0.03        |
| BEAUFORT   | 44,958          | 46,877          | 4.3%   | 0.28              | 0.24              | -0.03         | 0.67             | 0.59             | -0.08        |
| BERTIE     | 19,757          | 20,152          | 2.0%   | 0.12              | 0.11              | -0.02         | 0.29             | 0.25             | -0.04        |
| BLADEN     | 32,278          | 32,234          | -0.1%  | 0.20              | 0.17              | -0.03         | 0.48             | 0.40             | -0.08        |
| BRUNSWICK  | 73,141          | 110,293         | 50.8%  | 0.45              | 0.58              | 0.12          | 1.09             | 1.38             | 0.29         |
| BUNCOMBE   | 206,289         | 234,080         | 13.5%  | 1.28              | 1.22              | -0.06         | 3.08             | 2.93             | -0.14        |
| BURKE      | 89,145          | 91,401          | 2.5%   | 0.55              | 0.48              | -0.08         | 1.33             | 1.15             | -0.18        |
| CABARRUS   | 131,063         | 183,566         | 40.1%  | 0.81              | 0.96              | 0.14          | 1.95             | 2.30             | 0.35         |
| CALDWELL   | 77,708          | 81,496          | 4.9%   | 0.48              | 0.43              | -0.06         | 1.16             | 1.02             | -0.14        |
| CAMDEN     | 6,885           | 9,919           | 44.1%  | 0.04              | 0.05              | 0.01          | 0.10             | 0.12             | 0.02         |
| CARTERET   | 59,383          | 64,144          | 8.0%   | 0.37              | 0.34              | -0.03         | 0.89             | 0.80             | -0.08        |
| CASWELL    | 23,501          | 23,210          | -1.2%  | 0.15              | 0.12              | -0.02         | 0.35             | 0.29             | -0.06        |
| CATAWBA    | 141,677         | 159,173         | 12.3%  | 0.88              | 0.83              | -0.05         | 2.113            | 2.00             | -0.12        |
| CHATHAM    | 49,329          | 64,047          | 29.8%  | 0.31              | 0.33              | 0.03          | 0.74             | 0.80             | 0.07         |
| CHEROKEE   | 24,298          | 27,578          | 13.5%  | 0.15              | 0.14              | -0.01         | 0.36             | 0.35             | -0.02        |
| CHOWAN     | 14,150          | 14,763          | 4.3%   | 0.09              | 0.08              | -0.01         | 0.21             | 0.19             | -0.03        |
| CLAY       | 8,775           | 10,765          | 22.7%  | 0.05              | 0.06              | 0.00          | 0.13             | 0.13             | 0.00         |
| CLEVELAND  | 96,278          | 99,767          | 3.6%   | 0.60              | 0.52              | -0.08         | 1.44             | 1.25             | -0.19        |
| COLUMBUS   | 54,749          | 55,430          | 1.2%   | 0.34              | 0.29              | -0.05         | 0.82             | 0.69             | -0.12        |
| CRAVEN     | 91,523          | 99,211          | 8.4%   | 0.57              | 0.52              | -0.05         | 1.36             | 1.24             | -0.12        |
| CUMBERLAND | 302,967         | 323,472         | 6.8%   | 1.88              | 1.69              | -0.19         | 4.52             | 4.05             | -0.46        |
| CURRITUCK  | 18,190          | 23,179          | 27.4%  | 0.11              | 0.12              | 0.01          | 0.27             | 0.29             | 0.02         |
| DARE       | 29,967          | 33,073          | 10.4%  | 0.19              | 0.17              | -0.01         | 0.45             | 0.41             | -0.03        |
| DAVIDSON   | 147,250         | 163,571         | 11.1%  | 0.91              | 0.85              | -0.06         | 2.20             | 2.05             | -0.15        |
| DAVIE      | 34,835          | 42,390          | 21.7%  | 0.22              | 0.22              | 0.00          | 0.52             | 0.53             | 0.01         |
| DUPLIN     | 49,063          | 54,539          | 11.2%  | 0.30              | 0.28              | -0.02         | 0.73             | 0.68             | -0.05        |
| DURHAM     | 223,314         | 274,516         | 22.9%  | 1.39              | 1.43              | 0.05          | 3.33             | 3.44             | 0.11         |
| EDGECOMBE  | 55,606          | 51,552          | -7.3%  | 0.35              | 0.27              | -0.08         | 0.83             | 0.65             | -0.18        |
| FORSYTH    | 306,063         | 355,352         | 16.1%  | 1.902             | 1.86              | -0.05         | 4.56             | 4.45             | -0.11        |
| FRANKLIN   | 47,260          | 60,085          | 27.1%  | 0.29              | 0.31              | 0.02          | 0.70             | 0.75             | 0.05         |
| GASTON     | 190,316         | 214,033         | 12.5%  | 1.18              | 1.12              | -0.06         | 2.84             | 2.68             | -0.16        |
| GATES      | 10,516          | 11,828          | 12.5%  | 0.07              | 0.06              | 0.00          | 0.16             | 0.15             | -0.01        |
| GRAHAM     | 7,993           | 8,178           | 2.3%   | 0.05              | 0.04              | -0.01         | 0.12             | 0.10             | -0.02        |
| GRANVILLE  | 48,498          | 57,259          | 18.1%  | 0.30              | 0.30              | 0.00          | 0.72             | 0.72             | -0.01        |
| GREENE     | 18,974          | 21,510          | 13.4%  | 0.12              | 0.11              | -0.01         | 0.28             | 0.27             | -0.01        |
| GUILFORD   | 421,048         | 485,222         | 15.2%  | 2.62              | 2.53              | -0.08         | 6.28             | 6.08             | -0.20        |
| HALIFAX    | 57,370          | 55,053          | -4.0%  | 0.36              | 0.29              | -0.07         | 0.86             | 0.69             | -0.17        |
| HARNETT    | 91,025          | 116,342         | 27.8%  | 0.57              | 0.61              | 0.04          | 1.36             | 1.46             | 0.10         |
| HAYWOOD    | 54,034          | 57,711          | 6.8%   | 0.34              | 0.30              | -0.03         | 0.81             | 0.72             | -0.08        |

| COUNTY       | Population<br>2000 | Projection<br>2010 | change | 2000 Senate<br>Seats | 2010 Senate<br>Seats | Senate<br>change | 2000 House<br>seats | 2010<br>House<br>seats | House<br>change |
|--------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| HENDERSON    | 89,214             | 107,402            | 20.4%  | 0.55                 | 0.56                 | 0.01             | 1.33                | 1.35                   | 0.02            |
| HERTFORD     | 22,977             | 23,663             | 3.0%   | 0.14                 | 0.12                 | -0.02            | 0.34                | 0.30                   | -0.05           |
| HOKE         | 33,646             | 46,762             | 39.0%  | 0.21                 | 0.24                 | 0.04             | 0.50                | 0.59                   | 0.08            |
| HYDE         | 5,826              | 5,448              | -6.5%  | 0.04                 | 0.03                 | -0.01            | 0.09                | 0.07                   | -0.02           |
| IREDELL      | 122,660            | 162,619            | 32.6%  | 0.76                 | 0.85                 | 0.09             | 1.83                | 2.04                   | 0.21            |
| JACKSON      | 33,120             | 38,104             | 15.0%  | 0.21                 | 0.20                 | -0.01            | 0.49                | 0.48                   | -0.02           |
| JOHNSTON     | 121,900            | 174,876            | 43.5%  | 0.76                 | 0.91                 | 0.16             | 1.82                | 2.19                   | 0.37            |
| JONES        | 10,419             | 10,312             | -1.0%  | 0.06                 | 0.05                 | -0.01            | 0.16                | 0.13                   | -0.03           |
| LEE          | 49,208             | 59,906             | 21.7%  | 0.31                 | 0.31                 | 0.01             | 0.73                | 0.75                   | 0.02            |
| LENOIR       | 59,598             | 57,384             | -3.7%  | 0.37                 | 0.30                 | -0.07            | 0.89                | 0.72                   | -0.17           |
| LINCOLN      | 63,780             | 78,583             | 23.2%  | 0.40                 | 0.41                 | 0.01             | 0.95                | 0.99                   | 0.03            |
| MACON        | 29,811             | 35,464             | 19.0%  | 0.19                 | 0.19                 | 0.00             | 0.44                | 0.44                   | 0.00            |
| MADISON      | 19,635             | 21,322             | 8.6%   | 0.12                 | 0.11                 | -0.01            | 0.29                | 0.27                   | -0.03           |
| MARTIN       | 25,546             | 23,694             | -7.2%  | 0.16                 | 0.12                 | -0.03            | 0.38                | 0.30                   | -0.08           |
| MCDOWELL     | 42,151             | 45,739             | 8.5%   | 0.26                 | 0.24                 | -0.02            | 0.63                | 0.57                   | -0.06           |
| MECKLENBURG  | 695,370            | 911,252            | 31.0%  | 4.32                 | 4.76                 | 0.44             | 10.37               | 11.42                  | 1.05            |
| MITCHELL     | 15,687             | 16,074             | 2.5%   | 0.10                 | 0.08                 | -0.01            | 0.23                | 0.20                   | -0.03           |
| MONTGOMERY   | 26,822             | 27,898             | 4.0%   | 0.17                 | 0.15                 | -0.02            | 0.40                | 0.35                   | -0.05           |
| MOORE        | 74,770             | 88,503             | 18.4%  | 0.46                 | 0.46                 | 0.00             | 1.12                | 1.11                   | -0.01           |
| NASH         | 87,385             | 96,432             | 10.4%  | 0.54                 | 0.50                 | -0.04            | 1.30                | 1.21                   | -0.09           |
| NEW HANOVER  | 160,327            | 197,548            | 23.2%  | 1.00                 | 1.03                 | 0.04             | 2.39                | 2.48                   | 0.09            |
| NORTHAMPTON  | 22,086             | 21,045             | -4.7%  | 0.14                 | 0.11                 | -0.03            | 0.33                | 0.26                   | -0.07           |
| ONSLow       | 150,355            | 182,023            | 21.1%  | 0.93                 | 0.95                 | 0.02             | 2.24                | 2.28                   | 0.04            |
| ORANGE       | 115,537            | 132,994            | 15.1%  | 0.72                 | 0.69                 | -0.02            | 1.72                | 1.67                   | -0.06           |
| PAMLICO      | 12,934             | 12,871             | -0.5%  | 0.08                 | 0.07                 | -0.01            | 0.19                | 0.16                   | -0.03           |
| PASQUOTANK   | 34,897             | 41,529             | 19.0%  | 0.22                 | 0.22                 | 0.00             | 0.52                | 0.52                   | 0.00            |
| PENDER       | 41,082             | 55,188             | 34.3%  | 0.26                 | 0.29                 | 0.03             | 0.61                | 0.69                   | 0.08            |
| PERQUIMANS   | 11,368             | 13,461             | 18.4%  | 0.07                 | 0.07                 | 0.00             | 0.17                | 0.17                   | 0.00            |
| PERSON       | 35,623             | 37,723             | 5.9%   | 0.22                 | 0.20                 | -0.02            | 0.53                | 0.47                   | -0.06           |
| PITT         | 133,719            | 163,103            | 22.0%  | 0.83                 | 0.85                 | 0.02             | 1.99                | 2.04                   | 0.05            |
| POLK         | 18,324             | 19,054             | 4.0%   | 0.11                 | 0.10                 | -0.01            | 0.27                | 0.24                   | -0.03           |
| RANDOLPH     | 130,471            | 144,822            | 11.0%  | 0.81                 | 0.76                 | -0.05            | 1.95                | 1.82                   | -0.13           |
| RICHMOND     | 46,564             | 47,065             | 1.1%   | 0.29                 | 0.25                 | -0.04            | 0.69                | 0.59                   | -0.10           |
| ROBESON      | 123,241            | 132,880            | 7.8%   | 0.77                 | 0.69                 | -0.07            | 1.84                | 1.67                   | -0.17           |
| ROCKINGHAM   | 91,928             | 92,115             | 0.2%   | 0.57                 | 0.48                 | -0.09            | 1.37                | 1.15                   | -0.22           |
| ROWAN        | 130,340            | 143,236            | 9.9%   | 0.81                 | 0.75                 | -0.06            | 1.94                | 1.80                   | -0.15           |
| RUTHERFORD   | 62,901             | 64,997             | 3.3%   | 0.39                 | 0.34                 | -0.05            | 0.94                | 0.81                   | -0.12           |
| SAMPSON      | 60,161             | 67,493             | 12.2%  | 0.37                 | 0.35                 | -0.02            | 0.90                | 0.85                   | -0.05           |
| SCOTLAND     | 35,998             | 37,763             | 4.9%   | 0.22                 | 0.20                 | -0.03            | 0.54                | 0.47                   | -0.06           |
| STANLY       | 58,100             | 60,850             | 4.7%   | 0.36                 | 0.32                 | -0.04            | 0.87                | 0.76                   | -0.10           |
| STOKES       | 44,711             | 47,355             | 5.9%   | 0.28                 | 0.25                 | -0.03            | 0.67                | 0.59                   | -0.07           |
| SURRY        | 71,216             | 74,225             | 4.2%   | 0.44                 | 0.39                 | -0.05            | 1.06                | 0.930                  | -0.13           |
| SWAIN        | 12,968             | 14,307             | 10.3%  | 0.08                 | 0.07                 | -0.01            | 0.19                | 0.18                   | -0.01           |
| TRANSYLVANIA | 29,334             | 31,665             | 7.9%   | 0.18                 | 0.17                 | -0.02            | 0.44                | 0.40                   | -0.04           |

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| COUNTY                | Population 2000 | Projection 2010 | change | 2000 Senate Seats | 2010 Senate Seats | Senate change | 2000 House seats | 2010 House seats | House change |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| TYRRELL               | 4,149           | 4,297           | 3.6%   | 0.03              | 0.02              | 0.00          | 0.06             | 0.05             | -0.01        |
| UNION                 | 123,772         | 210,069         | 69.7%  | 0.77              | 1.10              | 0.33          | 1.85             | 2.63             | 0.79         |
| VANCE                 | 42,954          | 43,560          | 1.4%   | 0.27              | 0.23              | -0.04         | 0.64             | 0.55             | -0.09        |
| WAKE                  | 627,866         | 935,933         | 49.1%  | 3.90              | 4.89              | 0.99          | 9.36             | 11.73            | 2.37         |
| WARREN                | 19,972          | 19,879          | -0.5%  | 0.12              | 0.10              | -0.02         | 0.30             | 0.25             | -0.05        |
| WASHINGTON            | 13,723          | 13,082          | -4.7%  | 0.09              | 0.07              | -0.02         | 0.20             | 0.16             | -0.04        |
| WATAUGA               | 42,693          | 46,481          | 8.9%   | 0.27              | 0.24              | -0.02         | 0.64             | 0.58             | -0.05        |
| WAYNE                 | 113,329         | 116,760         | 3.0%   | 0.70              | 0.61              | -0.09         | 1.69             | 1.46             | -0.23        |
| WILKES                | 65,632          | 67,936          | 3.5%   | 0.41              | 0.35              | -0.05         | 0.98             | 0.85             | -0.13        |
| WILSON                | 73,811          | 81,097          | 9.9%   | 0.46              | 0.42              | -0.04         | 1.10             | 1.02             | -0.08        |
| YADKIN                | 36,348          | 38,947          | 7.2%   | 0.23              | 0.20              | -0.02         | 0.54             | 0.49             | -0.05        |
| YANCEY                | 17,774          | 18,910          | 6.4%   | 0.11              | 0.10              | -0.01         | 0.27             | 0.24             | -0.03        |
| <b>NORTH CAROLINA</b> | 8,046,813       | 9,572,644       | 19.0%  | 50                | 50                | 0.00          | 120.00           | 120.00           | 0.00         |
| ideal House seat      | 67057           | 79772           |        |                   |                   |               |                  |                  |              |
| ideal Senate seat     | 160936          | 191453          |        |                   |                   |               |                  |                  |              |