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Legislative Votes Just the Start Of Long Redistricting Process

RYAN THORNBURG, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

Every 10 years, redrawing of the North Carolina congressional map changes the manner in which the state is represented in Washington. The highest turnover of the decade occurs in the election after the lines are redrawn. During the 1990s, redistricting helped elect the century's first black representatives from North Carolina and helped increase Republican representation on the state and federal levels.

The redistricting process of the last decade brought not just new representatives, but an entirely new way of drawing congressional districts. Legal wrangling replaced backroom deals as the primary tool used to draw North Carolina's political boundaries. The minority-majority districts drawn up for the 1992 elections didn't have their final court ruling until this year. Already, the state is in federal court fighting Utah for an additional congressional seat that would raise the state's total to 13.

This issue of DataNet looks back at some voting, registration and demographic trends that shaped the political personalities of North Carolina's congressional districts during the last decade. It is this data that will form the starting point for discussions about next decade's district lines. The sophistication with which political data is collected and analyzed – in addition to the legal quarrels – is one of the primary reasons that judges and computers crowded in on the politics of the redistricting process.

There is so much dispute over the meaning of the census numbers that federal judges will almost certainly be the final arbiters of district lines. These court hearings will look very much like those during the 2000 presidential election, with mathematical experts explaining theories and attorneys arguing about the correct legal application of those theories.

This issue of DataNet looks back at some voting, registration and demographic trends that shaped the political personalities of North Carolina's congressional districts during the last decade.

The burdens placed on the poor souls who were forced to count chads on national television were nothing compared to those state lawmakers will face in their attempt to put voters into new districts. Just as Florida counties each used different standards to count votes, the federal government has handed down conflicting standards on how states must draw their districts without reducing the voting power of racial or political minorities.

The math of the redistricting process seems simple - one person, one vote - but it's at the beginning of a long problem about how to distribute democracy fairly. In 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act, which forced states, including North Carolina, that had suppressed African-American voter turnout to get approval for their congressional maps from the U.S. Justice Department.

Because most Democrats and Republicans don't vote for each other and because many whites still don't vote for blacks, lawmakers struggle to divine

SEE REDISTRICTING ON PAGE 13 →

Incumbent Wins Set Record in 2000 Congressional Elections

CORY S. MENEES, SENIOR JOURNALISM MAJOR, UNC-CHAPEL HILL

Incumbent candidates met with success in each of North Carolina's 12 congressional districts in 2000. The state had not returned an entire delegation to Capitol Hill since congressional veterans swept North Carolina's 11 districts in the 1988 elections. Although neither 2000 nor 1988 saw a victorious challenger, the 2000 election season was less competitive than 1988.

In 2000, each of the 12 successful candidates won at least 55 percent of his or her district's vote. As the table on page 14 indicates, nine of the 12 districts saw "strong" victories last year, meaning that the winning candidate garnered more than 58.6 percent of the vote. There were no "close" races in which the winner took less than 55 percent of the vote. In 1988, the last year in which incumbents swept, three seats were won with less than 53 percent of the vote.

In looking over the last decade, it is notable that the 1992 and 2000 elections shared a lack of close races. However, where only half of the districts were won by strong victories in 1992, three-quarters were won by strong victories in 2000.

The lack of competitiveness across the state is not without consequence. Several of the state's districts have come to be considered "safe" for either Democrats or Republicans. The 1st and 12th districts, created as minority-race districts following the 1990 census, are considered "safe" by virtue of the strength with which they are held by Democrats. In 2000, Eva Clayton carried the 1st District with 66 percent of the vote, and Mel Watt took the 12th District with 65 percent. Both Democratic congressional and presidential candidates have uniformly posted convincing victories in both districts over the last decade.

The 4th District, located in the Triangle, also generally favors the Democrats in congressional elections. All the same, the Democrats' "safety" in the district was challenged in 1994 when incumbent Democrat David Price was unseated by Republican challenger

Fred Heineman. Despite significant Republican inroads, the 4th District is closest in following the 1st and 12th districts in support for Democratic presidential candidates. But Gore and Clinton victories in the district were quite narrow in the last two presidential elections.

At both the congressional and presidential levels, the Republicans find more safety in the Old North State than do the Democrats. The 6th, 9th and 10th districts have all been Republican strongholds over the last decade, as Republican candidates for both the presidency and Congress uniformly won at least 58.6 percent of the vote in each of the three districts.

The 5th District has also emerged as a Republican bastion. Rep. Richard Burr's landslide victory

over Democratic challenger Mike Robinson in 1998 helped to discourage any opposition in 2000. The district has additionally shown increased support for Republican presidential candidates. Where the elder George Bush edged out Bill Clinton with 52.6 percent of the vote in 1992, Dole won by a comfortable margin in 1996, and George W. Bush took the district from Al Gore by a 25-point margin in 2000.

Republican Walter Jones Jr. has solidified his base of support in the 3rd District, winning with more than 60 percent of the vote in each of his three bids for reelection since taking the seat from Democrat Martin Lancaster in 1992. Jones' continued success over the last decade combined with strong showings by Bush, Dole and Bush has given the 3rd District a decidedly Republican feel.

Democrat Bob Etheridge has tightened his grip on his 2nd District seat, as has Republican Robin Hayes on his 8th District seat. Etheridge has carried his district with an increasingly large percentage of the vote in each of his last three tries for office. Hayes, on the other hand, secured a full 55 percent of the vote in 2000 after winning with only 50.7 percent in 1998. In presidential races, the 2nd District support-

Success of Incumbents, 1992-2000

District	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000
1st	open	*	*	*	*
2nd	*	open	LOST	*	*
3rd	*	LOST	*	*	*
4th	*	LOST	LOST	*	*
5th	*	open	*	*	*
6th	*	*	*	*	*
7th	*	*	open	*	*
8th	*	*	*	open	*
9th	*	open	*	*	*
10th	*	*	*	*	*
11th	*	*	*	*	*
12th	open	*	*	*	*
LOST - incumbent lost				4 (7%)	
Open - no incumbent running				7 (12%)	
* - incumbent ran and won				49 (82%)	
Total races				60	

SEE INCUMBENTS ON PAGE 14 →

Without Serious Challengers, Incumbents Still Spend Big

CORY S. MENEES, SENIOR JOURNALISM MAJOR, UNC-CHAPEL HILL

Despite the lack of competitiveness in North Carolina's 2000 congressional races, campaign spending was nearly 18 percent higher than in 1998, making it the most expensive set of congressional elections of the past decade. The second most expensive congressional election year was in the "Republican Revolution" of 1994, when two Democratic incumbents were unseated and three open seats filled.

The table "Congressional Campaign Costs, 1992-2000" details the expenditures of the two major party candidates in each of the past five congressional campaigns, including primary and general elections. For purposes of comparison, all dollar amounts for these five sets of elections were converted to November 2000-dollar equivalents using the Consumer Price Index-Urban.¹

The 2000 numbers indicate that challengers generally did not run big-ticket campaigns last year, as incumbent spending accounted for 73 percent of total expenditures during an election season when six of the incumbent winners actually spent less than they had in 1998. A clear exception to this was Democrat Leigh Harvey McNairy's challenge of Republican incumbent Walter Jones in the 3rd District. McNairy, who spent \$1.176 million, matched Jones's spending (\$1.267 million) almost dollar-for-dollar, forcing the incumbent to spend about double the amount he spent two years before. Despite losing the race by 24 percentage points, McNairy's efforts did result in a 147 percent increase in the total cost of the race for the district's seat from 1998 to 2000.

The six representatives spending less on their campaigns in 2000 than in their previous successful bids for office were Eva Clayton (D-1), Bob Etheridge (D-2), David Price (D-4), Richard Burr (R-5), Howard Coble (R-6) and Mel Watt (D-12). Factoring out the unopposed victories of Burr and Coble, the four Democratic incumbents averaged 27 percent margins of victory, ranging from Etheridge's win by 17 points to Clayton's landslide 33 percent margin. Mike McIntyre (D-7) spent only 4 percent more in 2000 than in 1998. Cass Ballenger (R-10) increased spending in 2000 by about 25 percent more than his 1998 expenditure level – but he still won by 40 points in 2000 after being unopposed in 1998. Obviously, continued big spending on the part of an incumbent in the absence of a legitimate challenger still does its part to solidify a voter base and deter future challengers.

Republican candidates outspent their Democratic rivals by a 1.3-to-1 spending ratio in 2000. Republicans spent \$7,573,174 to the Democrats' \$5,996,534. Part of the reason Republicans spent so much was that two Republican incumbents, Richard Burr in the 5th District and Howard Coble in the 6th District, had no Democratic opponents. If there had been Democratic competition and money in these two races the margin between the two parties spending levels would have narrowed considerably. For example, the 12 Republican candidates for the 12 seats spent an average of \$631,098 per seat while the 10 Democratic candidates for the 10 seats they contested averaged \$599,653.

SEE SPENDING ON PAGE 5 →

Congressional Campaign Costs: 2000 Primary & General

District	Total \$ Spent	# of General Election Votes	\$ Spent per Vote
8th	2,759,169	203,464	13.56
3rd	2,442,940	198,455	12.31
11th	2,910,673	266,377	10.93
2nd	1,248,193	251,838	4.96
Avg.	1,130,809	231,650	4.88
9th	1,096,896	264,220	4.15
1st	481,401	189,168	2.54
12th	481,401	209,144	2.30
5th	421,060	185,855	2.27
4th	727,485	325,870	2.23
7th	432,143	229,666	1.88
6th	301,790	215,085	1.40
10th	266,557	240,658	1.11
Total	13,569,708	2,779,800	

SOURCES: Federal Election Commission; North Carolina State Board of Elections

Congressional Campaign Costs, 1992-2000¹

District	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	Average
1st	691,264	509,709	368,281	713,415	481,401	552,814
Winner, % ²	D 99%	D 96%	D 91%	D 96%	D 99%	96%
2nd	792,111	1,929,890	1,995,540	1,545,816	1,248,193	1,502,310
Winner, %	D 72%	R 44%	D 41%	D 76%	D 73%	61%
3rd	973,718	1,665,920	712,244	987,408	2,442,940	1,356,446
Winner, %	D 70%	R 34%	R 94%	R 67%	R 52%	63%
4th	566,413	1,103,931	2,425,272	1,785,821	727,485	1,321,784
Winner, %	D 97%	R 28%	D 54%	R 98%	D 94%	74%
5th	875,588	1,762,592	996,688	621,050	421,060	935,396
Winner, %	D 73%	R 49%	R 79%	R 98%	R 100%	80%
6th	574,337	411,949	599,383	426,331	301,790	462,758
Winner, %	R 94%	R 100%	R 94%	R 100%	R 100%	98%
7th	337,411	1,073,132	928,679	416,471	432,143	637,567
Winner, %	D 94%	D 90%	D 60%	D 100%	D 99%	89%
8th	872,145	1,162,139	797,624	1,688,926	2,759,169	1,456,001
Winner, %	D 85%	D 68%	D 79%	R 77%	R 70%	76%
9th	331,549	878,947	689,382	796,717	1,096,896	758,698
Winner, %	R 88%	R 89%	R 90%	R 96%	R 90%	91%
10th	374,770	260,019	296,207	213,895	266,557	282,290
Winner, %	R 92%	R 100%	R 93%	R 100%	R 100%	97%
11th	2,040,307	1,885,675	596,549	1,242,399	2,910,673	1,735,121
Winner, %	R 74%	R 62%	R 91%	R 71%	R 65%	73%
12th	624,658	315,041	174,834	1,085,947	481,401	536,376
Winner, %	D 95%	D 95%	D 96%	D 63%	D 75%	85%
TOTAL	9,054,271	12,958,945	10,580,681	11,524,195	13,569,708	11,537,561
Winner, %	86%	60%	69%	79%	73%	73%
Avg. per seat	754,523	1,079,912	881,723	960,350	1,130,809	961,463

NOTES:

¹ From the Consumer Price Index (CPI-U) base of 1982-84 = 1.00, the values for each of the years were 1992\$ = 1.403; 1994\$ = 1.482; 1996\$ = 1.541; 1998\$ = 1.639; and 2000\$ = 1.740. To convert these to 2000\$, each year's value was divided by the 2000\$ value. Thus, 1992\$ = .806 of the 2000\$; 1994\$ = .852 of the 2000\$; 1996\$ = .886 of the 2000\$; and 1998\$ = .942 of the 2000\$.

² Winner, % = party of the winning candidate and the percentage of the district total spent by the winner.

SOURCES: *Almanac of American Politics*; Federal Election Commission; the North Carolina Board of Elections

A Decade of Spending in N.C. Congressional Races, 1992–2000

THAD BEYLE, PEARSALL PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNC-CHAPEL HILL, AND
CORY S. MENEES, SENIOR JOURNALISM MAJOR, UNC-CHAPEL HILL

After the 2000 elections, we can now look at the decade of spending in congressional races following the 1990 U.S. census and the various redistricting plans used in the period. Using the same 2000-dollar equivalent data for those five separate elections we find the following patterns:

- Between the 1992 and 2000 elections, the cost of these five sets of 12 elections increased by nearly 50 percent, from \$9.054 million in 1992 to \$13.570 million in 2000. The average cost per seat moved from \$755,000

Partisan Spending in 1992–2000 Congressional Races^a

Year	Dems. %	Reps. %
1992	60	40
1994	56	44
1996	40	60
1998	47	53
2000	44	56

KEY: ^aThese percentages are of the two-party spending in the races. Third-party and independents' spending not included.

in 1992 to \$1.131 million in 2000, with an average cost per congressional seat of about \$961,000 during the decade.

- There are now five "million-dollar" congressional seats in North Carolina – seats in which the average cost of elections over the decade was more than a million dollars (2nd, 3rd, 4th, 8th and 11th), and nearly a sixth (5th at \$935,396). There is a "three-quarter-million-dollar" seat (9th), three "half-million-dollar" seats (1st, 7th, 12th), and nearly a fourth (6th at \$462,758). The final 10th seat has been a "quarter-million-dollar" seat with the incumbent Cass Ballenger (R) winning each of the five races.
- Money and winning go hand-in-hand in these races as the winners of the decade's 60 races outspent their opponents by nearly a 3-to-1 ratio. Incumbents espe-

cially benefit from this as was clearly seen in the 2000 elections when all races were won by incumbents, and they outspent their challengers by a 3-to-1 ratio. And 13 of the 20 most expensive races over the decade were won by incumbents.

- Winner's spending has accounted for 73 percent of the total spending in these 60 races. The specific year range around that 73 percent figure is instructive. The high point was in 1992, when winners' bank accounts overwhelmed their opponents by making 86 percent of the campaign expenditures. This was the year when every candidate faced the first newly drawn districts since 1981. The low point of 60 percent was in 1994, when there were three open seats and two incumbents were defeated, so five of the 12 winners were not incumbents.
- There has been a shift in the party spending tied to the increasing Republican strength in these races. In the 1992 elections, Democrats outspent their Republican competitors by a 3-to-2 ratio, but in the 1994 elections the Democratic advantage dropped to a 1.3-to-1 ratio. Then in 1996, the Republicans gained the upper hand and outspent their Democratic competitors by a 3-to-2 ratio. This Republican advantage dropped off to a 1.1-to-1 ratio in 1998 and then increased slightly in 2000 to a 1.3-to-1 ratio.
- Twenty of the 60 races cost more than \$1 million. They ranged from the \$2.911 million high in the 2000 8th District race to the \$1.073 million 1994 7th District race that was Charlie Rose's last hurrah. Several trends are visible. 1994 was a very expensive year as seven of the 20 most expensive races occurred then. The 1998 and 2000 elections each had five \$1 million-plus contests. The 2nd and 11th districts each had four of their five contests in this high price level, while the 4th and 8th districts had three of their five there. The four races in which an incumbent was defeated and three of the six open seat races were also million-dollar-plus specials. As already noted, 13 of the 20 high-price races saw incumbents win, some quite easily. Only two of these races saw the winning margin in single digits. The bottom line is money and incumbents working together for the future. ■

Most Expensive Congressional Elections, 1992–2000

Rank	Dist.	Year	Amount	Type	Outcome	Pts
1	11th	2000	\$2.911	In. Taylor-R	reelected	12
2	8th	2000	\$2.759	In. Hayes-R	reelected	11
3	3rd	2000	\$2.443	In. Jones-R	reelected	24
4	4th	1996	\$2.425	In. Heineman-R	defeated	10
5	11th	1992	\$2.040	In. Taylor-R	reelected	10
6	2nd	1996	\$1.996	In. Funderburk-R	defeated	7
7	2nd	1994	\$1.930	Open seat	R won	12
8	11th	1994	\$1.886	In. Taylor-R	reelected	20
9	4th	1998	\$1.786	In. Price-D	reelected	15
10	5th	1994	\$1.763	Open seat	R won	14
11	8th	1998	\$1.689	Open seat	R won	3
12	3rd	1994	\$1.666	In. Lancaster-D	defeated	6
13	2nd	1998	\$1.546	In. Etheridge-D	reelected	15
14	2nd	2000	\$1.248	In. Etheridge-D	reelected	17
15	11th	1998	\$1.242	In. Taylor-R	reelected	15
16	8th	1994	\$1.162	In. Hefner-D	reelected	4
17	4th	1994	\$1.104	In. Price-D	defeated	0.8
18	9th	2000	\$1.090	In. Myrick-R	reelected	39
19	12th	1998	\$1.086	In. Watt-D	reelected	14
20	7th	1994	\$1.073	In. Rose-D	reelected	4

KEY:

Amount = cost of campaigns in 2000\$ (millions)
Type = In. – incumbent; Open – no incumbent in race
Pts. = point margin of victory or defeat

2nd District: Etheridge Stabilizes Swing District

JOY GANES, SENIOR BUSINESS MAJOR, UNC-CHAPEL HILL

For the third time in a row, incumbent Bob Etheridge won the 2nd Congressional District in North Carolina. Although Etheridge is a strong candidate, the 2nd District has been known to switch between Democrat and Republican in any given year. Nationwide, Democrats needed to win seven extra seats to regain power in the U.S. House of Representatives. Many closely watched the race between Bob Etheridge and Doug Haynes because any seat's shift could affect the congressional balance of power. With the state clearly favoring Bush, the Democrats needed another way to gain support.

Bob Etheridge defeated Doug Haynes with 58 percent of the vote. Although new to the congressional race, Doug Haynes still garnered 41 percent of the vote, showing the volatility of the 2nd District voters. Haynes, a Republican from Rocky Mount, attempted to link himself to presidential candidate George W. Bush in a move to use Bush's popularity in North Carolina to gain support. He wanted to make fundamental changes in areas such as tax policy and education. He supported giving school districts the power to spend money as they see fit. Haynes told supporters that, in general, he supported Bush's policies and would push for them in Congress; understanding the conservatism of the 2nd District.

Haynes is a former John Locke Foundation researcher who is known for his strong opinions that he is not afraid to express. Soon after winning the primary, Haynes challenged Etheridge to a series of debates. He quickly wanted to gain the support of the undecided. He challenged Etheridge to speak on education, one of the main points of contention between the two candidates.

In an early campaign ad, Haynes used Etheridge's stance on education against him. Haynes is shown reading a quote from the *News & Observer* where Etheridge had pushed for Congress to assist in school renovation even when the local area has rejected the bond issue. Haynes stated that Etheridge believed the voters were dumb and challenged the voters to reject someone who did not believe in their ability to think for themselves. Haynes' top priorities included moving power away from Washington and into states, and creating a fairer tax code.

Bob Etheridge is a conservative Democrat who uses his beliefs to his advantage. In the past three congressional elections, it has been difficult for a Republican to defeat him since many of his ideals are not too far from their own. The former N.C. Superintendent of Public Instruction

strongly supports the reform of education. In one television ad, he shows what seems like a jail cell, but in reality it is a trailer that has been attached to an overcrowded school. He implores voters not to let children continue to learn in these conditions. Besides improving education, Etheridge said he looked to help North Carolina farmers, improve safety and support technological advances.

With Gore's popularity down in North Carolina, Etheridge looked to separate himself from the presidential candidate, as did many Democratic candidates.

With Durham County removed from the 2nd District, many people felt a large base of Democratic supporters for Etheridge had been lost. Etheridge instead focused on the many undecided voters living in the 2nd District who account for its voting unpredictability. He maintained contact with the strong Democratic voters but pushed hard with mailings and phone calls to win the votes of those who were not sure. These independent voters were mainly white and in the middle-income range. He looked to extend his presence in the community by participating in walks around counties. Volunteers would hand out leaflets, and Etheridge would meet and greet constituents. Etheridge's top priorities include improving education and protecting the retirement security of the elderly.

In the 2000 election, voters in Wake and Johnston Counties made up nearly 55 percent of the district's electorate — and the voters there supported Etheridge. Wilson County,

2nd District, by County

County	Etheridge Dem.	Jackson Lib.	Haynes Rep.	#	Totals %
Wake	61.8	1.1	37.2	95,482	37.9
Johnston	52.7	0.7	46.6	41,920	16.6
Nash	55.5	0.5	44.0	31,003	12.3
Harnett	59.6	0.7	39.6	24,455	9.7
Lee	59.1	1.0	40.0	16,054	6.4
Franklin	59.9	0.7	39.4	16,038	6.4
Wilson	48.9	0.5	50.6	10,997	4.4
Sampson	61.2	0.5	38.4	9,196	3.7
Granville	56.6	0.8	42.6	6,693	2.7
Totals	58.3	40.9	0.8	251,838	100.0

SOURCE: State Board of Elections

with only 5 percent of the district's voters, was the strongest supporter for Haynes. With the exception of Wilson County, Etheridge was the victor in all other counties. The 2nd District has always gone through periods of change of political party leadership. In 1996, Etheridge beat incumbent Republican David Funderburk by less than 10,000 votes. His victory in 1998 was by nearly 44,000 votes.

In the 2000 election, perhaps the strangest part of the campaign was the difference in money. Etheridge raised approximately \$1,030,216 to Haynes \$237,248. With a just over a fifth of the incumbent's budget, Haynes still managed to gain a sizeable amount of the vote; falling short of Etheridge by 43,722 votes. This should send red flags to the Democrats that the wave of support in the 2nd District may be coming to an end. But the shape of the current 2nd District is also coming to an end, which could revive competition. ■

→ SPENDING FROM PAGE 3

Total spending in the state's three most expensive 2000 congressional races topped \$2 million each. The \$2.911 million race in the 11th District between incumbent Charles Taylor (R) and Sam Neill (D) was the most expensive. Taylor outspent Neill by a 1.8-to-1 ratio and retained his seat with a 13-point margin. These two candidates spent \$10.93 per vote in the general election — yet that was less than the \$13.56 spent per vote in the 8th District race and the \$12.31 spent per vote in the 3rd District race.

The 8th District race between Republican Robin Hayes and Democrat Mike Taylor was the second most expensive race, costing \$ 2,759,169 as Hayes tried to achieve his first reelection. Hayes outspent Taylor by nearly a 2.4-to-1 ratio and retained his seat by a 11-point margin. But as just noted, the cost per vote in this race was the most of any of the 12 races. The 3rd District Jones-McNairy race also topped the \$2 million

mark at \$2,442,940, as the candidates spent \$12.31 per general election vote.

Two other races topped \$1 million in cost last year. In the 2nd District, incumbent Bob Etheridge (D) outspent challenger Doug Haynes by a 3.2-to-1 ratio while retaining his seat by a 17-point margin. In the 9th District, incumbent Republican Sue Myrick outspent challenger Edward McGuire by a 14-to-1 ratio and won reelection by 39 points. The year's bargain seat belonged to incumbent Cass Ballenger (R-10), whose campaign spent only \$266,557 to win a 39-point margin race. ■

¹ From the Consumer Price Index (CPI-U) base of 1982-84 = 1.00, the values for each of the years were 1992\$ = 1.403; 1994\$ = 1.482; 1996\$ = 1.541; 1998\$ = 1.639; and 2000\$ = 1.740. To convert these to 2000\$, each year's value was divided by the 2000\$ value. Thus, 1992\$ = .806 of the 2000\$; 1994\$ = .852 of the 2000\$; 1996\$ = .886 of the 2000\$; and 1998\$ = .942 of the 2000\$.

8th District: Incumbency Turns Tight Race Into Easy Win

ERIC JOHNSON, SENIOR POLITICAL SCIENCE MAJOR, UNC-CHAPEL HILL

The 2000 congressional election in District 8 provided another entertaining contest, as textile heir Robin Hayes and attorney Mike Taylor went toe-to-toe for a rematch of their 1998 race. The district has a history of conservative voting and traditional politics. Democratic congressman Bill Hefner held the seat between 1974 and 1996, winning consecutive — and sometimes close — elections.

In 1998, most analysts thought Hayes, the Republican nominee for governor in 1996, would easily defeat relative newcomer Mike Taylor because of Hayes's name recognition and monetary strength as heir to the Cannon Textile Mills fortune. Many Democrats felt Taylor had no chance, and the party gave little personal or financial support to his campaign. Mean while, Hayes outspent Taylor 3-to-1 and benefited from campaign visits from Newt Gingrich and Dan Quayle. However, Taylor stunned the experts by gaining 48 percent of the popular vote; Hayes won by a mere 3,378 votes.

In 2000, both sides geared up for what was expected to be a hotly contested race. The two major factors that helped Taylor compete in 1998 were still relevant in 2000. First, the 1998 redistricting plan mandated by the U.S. Supreme Court increased overall Democratic registration in the district two points to 69 percent, and it increased the number of African American voters from 21 percent to 25 percent. Second, higher turnout among Democrats, and particularly African Americans, was expected yet again in such a hard fought contest.

The Democratic Party recognized that 2000 offered a prime opportunity to unseat Hayes, and it poured monetary and personal resources

into the district. Nationally known Democrats such as House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt of Missouri and Minority Whip David Bonior of Michigan appeared on behalf of Taylor. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in Washington contributed more than \$600,000 for Taylor's effort. Taylor spent more than \$700,000 during his campaign. Republicans countered by sending Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert, former presidential candidate John McCain, Sen. Jesse Helms and NRA president Charlton Heston to the district. Hayes spent more than \$1.5 million in 2000. In 1998, the candidates spent a total of \$1.5 million, but in 2000 they spent a combined \$2.25 million.

Somewhat surprisingly, the 2000 election was a bigger victory for Hayes, who won with 55 percent of the vote compared to his winning with just 50.7 percent of the vote in 1998. Voting turnout was considerably greater in the 2000 presidential year race [203,464 total votes] than it was in the 1998 U.S. Senate year race [133,124 total votes]. This was a 53 percent increase of more 70,000 votes. So running at the same time George W. Bush was winning the state seemed to help Hayes in his successful bid for reelection.

The competitive nature of the 8th District race provided some interesting and occasionally amusing moments. When Gephardt spoke in January to Cabarrus County high school students on behalf of Taylor, Hayes showed up at what was supposed to be an all-Democratic event, causing a stir and no small amount of tension. In February, a national TV ad from the American Dairy Association praised "the power of cheese" in an imagined campaign pitting fake presidential candidates John Hayes and Peter Taylor, as well as Bob Dole. The ad depicted cheese-lover Peter Taylor as a hero and cheese-hater John Hayes as a loser. Real-life candidates Hayes and Taylor were amused by the ad's irony, but Hayes was disappointed that Dole did the ad without considering its connection to the 8th District.

While Gephardt visited in January and David Bonior held a fund-raiser for Taylor in October 1999, big-name Hayes supporters dominated in 2000. In a rare campaign appearance for a fellow Republican, Helms appeared in Concord to rally support for Hayes. Speaker Dennis Hastert made multiple

Seniority in the N.C. Congressional Delegation, 2001

Seat	Member, Party	1st Elec.	Year of Service
US Sen.	Jesse Helms, R	1972	29th
6th CD	Howard Coble, R	1984	17th
10th CD	Cass Ballenger, R	1986	15th
4th CD	David Price, D	1986	13th
11th CD	Charles Taylor, R	1990	11th
1st CD	Eva Clayton, D	1992	9th
12th CD	Mel Watt, D	1992	9th
3rd CD	Walter B. Jones Jr., R	1994	7th
5th CD	Richard Burr, R	1994	7th
9th CD	Sue Myrick, R	1994	7th
2nd CD	Bob Etheridge, D	1996	5th
7th CD	Mike McIntyre, D	1996	5th
US Sen.	John Edwards, D	1998	3rd
8th CD	Robin Hayes, R	1998	3rd
Total Years ofService			140
Total Republican Years ofService			96
Total Democratic Years ofService			44

8th District, by County

County	Taylor	Schwartz	Hayes	Totals	
	Dem.	Lib.	Rep.	#	%
Cabarrus	31.7	1.2	67.1	49,847	24.5
Union	32.0	1.2	66.8	45,179	22.2
Cumberland	64.0	0.8	35.2	30,955	15.2
Stanly	36.2	0.9	63.0	22,453	11.0
Richmond	49.9	0.6	49.5	14,582	7.2
Scotland	62.0	0.5	37.5	9,131	4.5
Montgomery	47.6	0.7	51.7	8,985	4.4
Anson	62.0	0.5	37.5	7,975	3.9
Hoke	60.2	1.5	38.3	7,578	3.7
Robeson	53.7	0.8	45.5	6,779	3.3
Totals	44.0	1.0	55.0	203,464	100

SOURCE: State Board of Elections

SEE 8TH DISTRICT ON PAGE 15 →

11th District: Incumbency Overcomes Scandal

ERIC JOHNSON, SENIOR POLITICAL SCIENCE MAJOR, UNC-CHAPEL HILL

North Carolina's 11th District was a hotly contested race in 2000, as incumbent Representative Charles H. Taylor defeated Democrat Sam Neill with 55 percent of the vote. The 11th District, in the western part of the state, includes Asheville and 15 mountain counties. Neill challenged Taylor in what had been for some time a "safe" Republican district. But because of his strong candidacy and allegations surrounding Taylor's financial dealings, Neill was able to give Taylor serious contention.

The recent history of the 11th District is helpful in framing the events of the 2000 election. Before the 1980s the district was, like most Southern districts, safely Democratic. During the Republicanization of the South in the 1980s, the district became a "revolving door" district, throwing out five of six incumbents in elections held between 1980 and 1990. The district became more of a Republican stronghold at the end of the decade, as voters supported Jim Gardner in the lieutenant governor's race in 1988 and Jesse Helms in the senatorial campaign of 1990. Taylor, a businessman and tree farmer from Brevard, came close to unseating the incumbent in 1988 and succeeded in 1990.

During the 1990s, Taylor supported 98 percent of his party's "Contract with America" legislation and built an incredible reputation for constituent service. Rather than leading on the ideological front, Taylor represents local interests effectively. He holds town meetings at local courthouses and other locations, where he gives residents a chance to tell him about local issues. Taylor has a reputation as a hard worker with a top-notch staff and maintains several regional offices throughout his district. His most controversial stand is on environmental protection, which he makes very clear is not as important as preventing job loss. This resonates well with the natives

in the 11th District. Party leaders value his loyalty and have rewarded him with a seat on the Appropriations Committee and the chairmanship of the District of Columbia Finance Committee. While Taylor lost some ground in the elections between 1994 and 1998, he still held the district safely.

The 11th District has a high percentage of white voters, and these white voters go to the polls. For instance, in 1994 more than 190,000 district residents cast votes in the congressional election, while in the active, highly populated 4th District fewer than 155,000 votes were cast. In 1998, African Americans made up 4 percent of the district's registered voters. Without much support from black voters, the Democratic Party is challenged to compete. The Republican Party dominates despite the fact that in 1998 only 35 percent of the registered voters in the district belonged to the GOP, a holdover from the days of the Democratic Solid South.

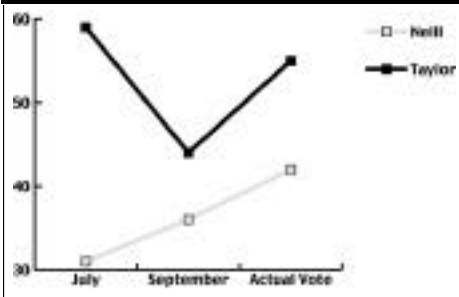
In the 2000 election Taylor found a strong opponent in Sam Neill, a Hendersonville attorney who served on the University of North Carolina Board of Governors for 12 years. Neill's ability and financial backing combined with the financial scandal involving Taylor to produce a close race.

In August, a federal grand jury requested information regarding loans made by Blue Ridge Savings Bank — owned by Taylor — to one of the congressman's political backers, Sylva businessman Charles Cagle. The five loans, given between 1992 and 1995, amounting to more than \$1 million, were never repaid in full and ended in lawsuits and foreclosures. *The Charlotte Observer* reported that one of the loans involved forged signatures. The bank denied lending the money to Cagle, once the Jackson County GOP chairman and a Taylor campaign contributor. Taylor claimed to not remember the details of the loans, and accused Neill of planting the story. The Taylor campaign responded with television ads painting Neill as a liar with an ever-growing "Pinocchio" nose. Taylor also faced media scrutiny over his busi-

ness dealings in Russia and his problems with Jackson and Transylvania counties regarding property taxes.

In the end, though, Taylor's superior constituent serving in a staunch Republican district enabled him to win with 55 percent of the vote. Only one of the 15 counties in his district, Jackson, gave more votes to his opponent. Taylor proved the power of incumbency and constituent service. ■

11th District Polls, 2000



11th District Polls, 2000

Date	Taylor	Neill	Pollster	Sample
7/22-24	59	31	Pub. Opin. Strategies-R	300 lvs
9/22-24	44	36	Cooper & Secrest-D	503 rvs
11/7	55	42	Actual Vote	

SOURCE: *The Cook Political Report* [December 20, 2000]: 60.

11th District, by County

County	Neill Dem.	Williams Lib.	Taylor Rep.	Totals #	Totals %
Buncombe	46.8	3.3	49.9	85,634	32.1
Henderson	35.0	2.7	62.3	37,137	13.9
Haywood	46.3	2.9	50.8	22,947	8.6
Rutherford	41.0	2.6	56.3	21,311	8.0
Transylvania	39.4	4.0	56.7	14,169	5.3
McDowell	33.5	2.4	64.1	14,049	5.3
Macon	39.1	2.8	58.1	13,062	4.9
Jackson	49.8	2.8	47.4	12,231	4.6
Cherokee	33.9	1.1	65.0	9,047	3.4
Yancey	44.0	1.3	54.8	8,922	3.3
Polk	40.0	3.2	56.8	8,192	3.1
Madison	43.9	2.0	54.1	8,024	3.0
Swain	48.2	1.4	50.4	4,309	1.6
Clay	37.0	1.1	61.9	3,921	1.5
Graham	29.4	1.2	69.4	3,422	1.3
Totals	42.1	2.8	55.1	266,377	100

SOURCE: State Board of Elections

Charles Taylor and the 11th District, 1988-2000

Year	Taylor %	Dem. %	Total Vote
1988	49.6	50.4	215,343
1990	51	49	201,309
1992	55	45	238,161
1994	60	40	192,688
1996	58	40	228,025
1998	57	42	199,423
2000	55	42	266,377

KEY: Dem. = Democratic candidate

1st and 12th Districts: African-American Incumbents Survive Changing Districts

JOY GANES, SENIOR BUSINESS MAJOR, UNC-CHAPEL HILL

In 1991, the state legislature redrew the congressional district lines, giving African Americans a majority in the 1st and 12th districts. As a result, Eva M. Clayton and Mel Watt in 1992 became the first African Americans elected to Congress in more than 90 years. Running in predominantly African-American districts, Clayton and Watt seemed to be products of biased district lines and therefore were victorious by default. They easily won reelection in 1994 and 1996.

In 1996, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against the 1991 redistricting plan — especially the long and narrow 12th District. While the 1996 elections went forward under the older plan, in 1997 the legislature redrew the district lines to more equitably split the population within the districts for the 1998 elections. In April 1998 the court threw out this plan, too, and the legislature had to once again redraw the district lines in May for the 1998 elections.

Charlotte up I-85 to Greensboro and Winston-Salem. The 1998 plan dropped Greensboro from the 12th District, and the lines ran from Charlotte north to Winston-Salem.

In their first races for office in 1992, Clayton and Watt fought strongly contested primaries and won handily in the November general election. While Watt was able to best three others for the Democratic nomination, Clayton faced six other Democrats and had to win a runoff primary just to get into the November race. She defeated the then-Democrat Walter B. Jones Jr. in the runoff. Jones, the son of a long-time Democratic congressman, soon changed parties and won the 1994 race for the 3rd Congressional District as a Republican.

Clayton and Watt's tenure in office continued easily through the 1994 and 1996 elections. In both cases, they defeated the same challenger in these two elections. Clayton prevailed over challenger Ted Tyler 61 percent to 39 percent in 1994 and increased her winning margin over him in 1996 to 33 points. Watt defeated Joe Martino in 1994 by 66 percent to 34 percent and dominated Martino, 72 percent to 27 percent, in 1996.

With the new redistricting plan in 1998, Clayton and Watt seemed vulnerable to defeat. Many speculated that their terms would be challenged with a bitter, drawn-out race to the finish. The speculators proved to be wrong, and Clayton and Watt prevailed again in their respective districts. Clayton again easily defeated her perpetual contender Tyler, 62 percent to 37 percent, while Watt defeated Scott Keadle, 56 percent to 42 percent. Their margins of victory were narrower, but they were still winners.

In 2000, Clayton defeated Duane E. Kratzer, Jr.'s challenge for the 1st District seat. Clayton advocated education, vocational training, rural health, minimum wage and economic development. Kratzer's platform included working for tax reform, a strong military, preserving 2nd Amendment rights, health care reform and opposition to abortion. He challenged Clayton's ability to make real differences in the community.

Mel Watt successfully defended his 12th District seat against Chad Mitchell. Watt's platform included protecting Social Security and ensuring health care for the elderly. Mitchell's goals were similar to Watt's, but he differed because he

1st & 12th Districts: A Decade of African-American Incumbency

Dist.	Representative	Dem. % of Overall Vote					Black % Voting Age Pop.		Change
		'92	'94	'96	'98	'00	'91 Plan	'98 Plan	
1st	Eva Clayton	67	61	66	62	66	57	50	-7
12th	Mel Watt	72	66	72	56	65	57	36	-21

The new redistricting plan of May 1998 decreased Clayton and Watt's base of support and challenged their incumbency. However, their quest to continue as representatives was not stifled when their districts were changed and the people who were thought to be their sole support reduced in numbers. The percentage of African Americans in the 1st District decreased from 57 percent to 50 percent. The 12th District was affected even more as the percentage of African Americans dwindled from 57 percent to 36 percent.

These districts had been challenged because they were designed to give African-Americans a majority, and the lawsuits focused specifically on the 12th District as a "racial gerrymander." In the 1991 plan, the 12th District's lines stretched from west of Charlotte along Interstate 85 all the way to Durham and included parts of Greensboro and Winston-Salem.

The 1997 plan eliminated many areas, and the only parts left in District 12 ran from

SEE AFRICAN AMERICANS ON PAGE 15 →

Congressional Delegation Increasingly Diverse

Women, Blacks, Republicans Make Gains

JONATHAN TRIBULA, SENIOR PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS MAJOR, UNC-CHAPEL HILL

During the past 40 years, North Carolina's congressional delegation has had to change with the times. Although the majority of representatives are still white men, minorities and women are now a part of the electoral politics of the state. There has also been considerable growth in Republican strength in North Carolina's politics over this period.

Politics has long been considered an all-male game in this state. However, two women, Eva Clayton (D-1) and Sue Myrick (R-9), broke the gender barrier in the 1992 and 1994 congressional elections. Then in 1996, Elaine Marshall was elected secretary of state. In the 2000 elections, North Carolina reelected Clayton, Myrick and Marshall as well as three other women to statewide office — Lieutenant Governor Beverly Perdue (D), Commissioner of Agriculture Meg Phipps (D) and Commissioner of Labor Cherie Berry (R).

Even more astounding is that Clayton is also one of North Carolina's two African-American representatives. Clayton and Mel Watt (D-12) were first elected in 1992 after the controversial creation of two majority-black districts. They were the first minorities to be elected to Congress from North Carolina since Recon-

struction. Despite consistently changing district lines that decreased the minority race voting base in their districts, both Clayton and Watts retained their seats. On the other hand, North Carolina has a large number of Native American and Latin American communities across the state. However, African Americans remain the only minority group represented in Congress.

The Republican Party has also made great strides in their fight for representation in Congress. In 1960, there was only one Republican congressman in the state's delegation. In the 1994 "Republican Revolution" election, Republicans became the majority in the delegation by winning eight of the 12 seats (67 percent). Following the 2000 election, seven Republicans now make up 58 percent of the state's delegation.

As representation becomes greater for females, blacks and Republicans, incumbents continue to hold on to their seats. During the past 40 years, incumbents have won the majority of seats in each election. In fact, there were six elections — 1964, 1970, 1974, 1978, 1988 and 2000 — in which all incumbents retained their seat. Only in the 1972, 1984 and 1994 elections

did the number of winning newcomers nearly match the number of winning incumbents.

During two of these elections in which newcomers nearly equaled incumbent winners, there was a direct correlation between the increase of Republican gains and new representatives. In 1984, five newcomers comprised 45 percent of the delegation. This is the same year that President Ronald Reagan soundly defeated challenger Walter Mondale, Senator Jesse Helms won reelection over Governor Jim Hunt's challenge, and Republicans made coattail gains by winning five of the 11 congressional seats. Ten years later during the "Republican Revolution" of 1994, only seven incumbents held onto their seats, and Republican representation jumped from four to eight.

More change is afoot in the state's congressional delegation. New district lines and, if Utah's challenge is unsuccessful, an entirely new district. Based on the trends of the past four decades we can be sure of one thing — no longer can white Democratic males dominate the elections. Instead, women, Republicans and minorities now have a significant chance of winning. ■

Trends in Congressional Demographics: 1960–2000

	1960	'62	'64	'66	'68	'70	'72	'74	'76	'78	'80	'82	'84	'86	'88	'90	'92	'94	'96	'98	2000	1960–2000
BY PARTY:																						
#, Dem	11	9	9	8	8	8	9	9	9	9	7	9	6	8	8	7	8	4	6	5	5	162
%, Dem	92	82	82	73	73	73	82	82	82	82	64	82	55	73	73	64	67	33	50	42	42	69
#, Rep	1	2	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	4	2	5	3	3	4	4	8	6	7	7	75
%, Rep	8	18	18	27	27	27	18	18	18	18	36	18	45	27	27	36	33	67	50	58	58	31
BY GENDER:																						
#, Male	12	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	10	10	10	10	228
%, Male	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	92	83	83	83	83	96
#, Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	2	2	9
%, Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	17	17	17	17	4
BY RACE:																						
#, White	12	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	10	10	10	10	10	227
%, White	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	83	83	83	83	83	96
#, Black	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	10
%, Black	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	17	17	17	17	4
BY TENURE:																						
#, New	3	1	0	3	3	0	5	0	2	0	2	3	5	3	0	1	2	5	3	1	0	42
%, New	25	9	0	27	27	0	45	0	18	0	18	27	45	27	0	9	17	42	25	8	0	18
#, Incumbent	9	10	11	8	8	11	6	11	9	11	9	8	6	8	11	0	10	7	9	11	12	185
%, Incumbent	75	91	100	73	73	100	55	100	82	100	82	73	55	73	100	91	83	58	75	92	100	82

Voter Turnout Growing Faster Than Population

Reforms, Partisanship, Big Races Bring More People to Polls

THAD BEYLE, PEARSALL PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNC-CHAPEL HILL,
AND JOHN BRANCH, SENIOR HISTORY MAJOR, UNC-CHAPEL HILL

During the past four decades, the number of major party voters in congressional elections has increased greatly, as would be expected in a rapidly growing state. In 2000, 2.708 million votes were cast for congressional candidates in the general election compared to the 1.185 million votes cast in those elections in 1960 — an increase of 128 percent.¹ In fact, the growth in numbers of voters outpaced the growth in actual population. The 1960 census counted 4.556 million people in North Carolina, which has grown to 8.049 million people in the 2000 census — an increase of 77 percent.

Population growth is only one factor in the increasing number of voters in North Carolina. Included in any list of factors has to be the opening of the electoral system to those who had been excluded in the past. The Civil Rights revolution, with the Civil Rights Act of

1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, opened the voting booth doors for blacks to become part of the electorate. The Vietnam War and the 26th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, ratified in 1971, opened the doors to those between 18 and 21.

The increase in partisan competition over the 40-year period was also a very important factor. In the first three elections of the 1960s Democratic voters outnumbered Republicans by a 3-to-2 ratio. In the most recent four elections this has switched to a 1.25-to-1 Republican voting edge. Between 1960 and 2000, the number of Democratic congressional votes increased by 64 percent, while the number of Republican congressional votes increased by 230 percent. This shift in voting support translated from a 6-to-1 Democratic congressional seat winning ratio in those three early 1960 races to a 1.4-to-1 Republican congressional seat winning ratio in the four most recent elections. The table “Congressional Wins by Decade, 1960–2000” demonstrates the consistent erosion of the Democratic control over these elections.

This Republican voting growth had to overcome a depression in GOP turnout following the Watergate scandal, reflected in the results of the 1974, 1976 and 1978 elections. After increasing their success ratio in the 1968 to 1972 elections to only a 1.8-to-1 Democratic advantage, Republicans saw those mid-1970s races elevate the Democratic success ratio to a 4.5-to-1 high. Since the 1978 elections, the Republican vote has been growing steadily.

There are also some interesting patterns hidden in this 21 elections N.C. congressional voting history. These patterns are tied to the differing length of terms of elected officials. While two-year term Congressional elections occur in every even-numbered year [21 elections], the four-year term presidential and gubernatorial elections occur in every other even year [11 elections], and the six-year terms of the two U.S. senators bring those statewide races into these elections about two-thirds of the time [14 elections]. →

N.C. Congressional Voting Trends, 1960–2000

Year	Votes (thousands)			% of Vote		Seats Won		Uncontested	
	Dem	Rep	Total	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep
1960	726	459	1,185	61	39	10	1	0	0
1962	482	336	819	59	41	9	2	3	0
1964	788	511	1,299	61	39	9	2	2	0
1966	484	432	916	53	47	8	3	2	0
1968	765	633	1,398	55	45	7	4	2	1
1970	514	411	925	56	44	7	4	1	0
1972	735	610	1,345	55	45	7	4	2	0
1974	638	348	986	65	35	9	2	3	0
1976	1,011	549	1,560	65	35	9	2	2	0
1978	607	405	1,012	60	40	9	2	1	1
1980	964	769	1,733	56	44	7	4	1	0
1982	708	580	1,288	55	45	9	2	0	0
1984	1,131	1,026	2,157	52	48	6	5	0	0
1986	890	682	1,572	57	43	8	3	0	0
1988	1,108	876	1,984	56	44	8	3	2	0
1990	1,076	935	2,011	54	46	7	4	0	0
1992	1,282	1,204	2,486	52	48	8	4	0	0
1994	681	907	1,588	43	57	4	8	0	1
1996	1,136	1,340	2,476	46	54	6	6	0	0
1998	827	1,014	1,841	45	55	5	7	1	2
2000	1,194	1,515	2,708	44	56	5	7	0	2

KEY: Uncontested = number of seats won in uncontested races

SOURCE: State Board of Elections

An open seat Senate race creates interesting primaries, attracts national media interested in whether the Democrats can keep their tenuous hold on the U.S. Senate, and holds the potential for an ideological shift in the state's Senate delegation.

There are four distinct patterns involved in these elections: Pattern A is when there are presidential, gubernatorial and U.S. senatorial elections held at the same time as the congressional elections. This has happened seven times since 1960. Pattern B, which has happened three times, is when there are presidential and gubernatorial elections being held at the same time. Pattern C, which has happened seven times, is when there is just a U.S. Senate race being held at the same time. Pattern D, which has happened three times, is when there are no major statewide elections being held at the same time.

As can be seen in the table "Patterns in N.C. Congressional Voting, 1960-2000," the greatest turnout occurs when there are several important statewide elections occurring at the same time. Patterns C and D have had considerably lower turnouts over the period. Voting in elections when Jim Hunt was on the ballot averaged 1.960 million voters, while voting in elections when Jesse Helms was on the ballot averaged 1.800 million voters.¹ The average turnout during the past 40 years has been 1.585 million for all elections.

The 1994 Pattern D congressional elections, in which the "Republican Revolution" took place, exemplified the impact of low turnout in a volatile political atmosphere. The 1994 congressional vote was the lowest since 1986 and fell nearly 47 percent below the congressional vote of 1992.

The upcoming 2002 congressional elections will be a Pattern C election. The only statewide race will be for the U.S. Senate seat currently held by Jesse Helms. With Helms retiring, there will be considerable statewide political action, as an open seat race creates interesting primaries in addition to a general election with no incumbent running. There has not been an open Senate seat race in the state since 1974 when Sam Ervin retired. The upcoming race has already attracted national media interested in whether the Democrats can keep their tenuous hold on the U.S. Senate, and the potential for an ideological shift in the Senate delegation.

This year's redistricting could also affect turnout in 2002. Will the new district lines be "incumbent friendly" and therefore not very controversial, leading to some rather uninteresting races? Or will the new lines set up some battle grounds that may lead to some very heated and controversial races? And if North Carolina fends off the Utah challenge over which state gains the additional seat, will that 13th District race between relative newcomers to the congressional scene attract or deter voters from going to the voting booth? ■

¹ In the 2000 elections, there were two seats not contested

by a Democratic candidate. If there had been a Democratic candidate, the increase in the number voting in the 2000 elections would have been even greater vis-a-vis the 1960 vote, and the growth in the number of Democratic votes would have also been greater. ■

ⁱⁱ Hunt ran for lieutenant governor in 1972, governor in 1976, 1980, 1992 and 1996, and for U.S. Senator in 1984. He won all but the 1984 race. Helms ran for a U.S. Senate seat in 1972, 1978, 1984, 1990 and 1996, and was successful each time.

Patterns in N.C. Congressional Voting, 1960-2000

	Votes (thousands)	Party Voting		Seats		Uncon.	
		Dem. %	Rep. %	D #	R #	D #	R #
Pattern A: President, U.S. Senate, Governor Races [7]							
1960	1,185	61	39	10	1	0	0
1968	1,398	55	45	7	4	2	1
1972 ^a	1,345	55	45	7	4	2	0
1980 ^b	1,733	56	44	7	4	1	0
1984 ^a	2,157	52	48	6	5	0	0
1992 ^a	2,486	52	48	8	4	0	0
1996 ^a	2,476	46	54	6	6	0	0
Avg.	1,826	54	46				
% Change	+109	-25	+38				
Pattern B: President and Governor Races [4]							
1964	1,299	61	39	9	2	2	0
1976 ^a	1,560	65	35	9	2	2	0
1988	1,984	56	44	8	3	2	0
2000	2,708	44	56	5	7	0	2
Avg.	1,888	57	44				
% Change	+108	-28	+44				
Pattern C: U.S. Senate Race [7]							
1962	819	59	41	9	2	3	0
1966	916	53	47	8	3	2	0
1974	986	65	35	9	2	3	0
1978 ^c	1,012	60	40	9	2	1	1
1986	1,572	57	43	8	3	0	0
1990 ^c	2,011	54	46	7	4	0	0
1998	1,841	45	55	5	7	1	2
Avg.	1,308	56	44				
% Change	+125	-24	+34				
Pattern D: No Major Statewide Races [3]							
1970	925	56	44	7	4	1	0
1982	1,288	55	45	9	2	0	0
1994	1,588	43	57	4	8	0	1
Avg.	1,267	51	49				
% Change	+72	-23	+30				

NOTES

Avg. - Average vote for that pattern of races over the period
 % Change - percent change in totals from earliest to the most recent race in the pattern
 Party Voting - % of 2-party vote that was Democratic/Republican
 Seats - Number of Congressional seats won by Democrats/Republicans
 Uncon. - Number of uncontested races won by Democrats/Republicans
^a - Helms and Hunt in statewide races
^b - Hunt in a statewide race
^c - Helms in a statewide race

Congressional Wins by Decade, 1960-2000

Decade	Dem	Rep	Total	D to R Ratio
1960-68	43	12	55	3.6 to 1
1970-78	41	14	55	2.9 to 1
1980-88	38	17	55	2.2 to 1
1990-98	30	29	59	1 to 1
2000	5	7	12	1 to 1.4
Total	157	79	236	2 to 1

GOP Delegates More Loyal To Party Than Democrats

EVAN SAUDA, SENIOR JOURNALISM MAJOR, UNC-CHAPEL HILL

John McCain's presidential campaign demonstrated that being independent from your political party could be the centerpiece of a fairly successful national campaign. But in congressional districts dominated by one party or the other, independence can be seen as disloyalty — and punished. In North Carolina, most congressional delegates voted with their party most of the time, but Republicans showed more loyalty than Democrats during the 1999–2000 session.

The *Congressional Quarterly* rankings of the state's representatives reveal some surprises, however. President Clinton did not receive total support from the North Carolina delegation, even from his fellow Democrats. Mel Watt (12th) was Clinton's strongest supporter from the state. He voted with the president 82 percent of the time. Bob Etheridge (2nd) voted with the president 65 percent of the time. Mike McIntyre (7th) supported the president only 40 percent of the time.

The average presidential support rating of the Democrats in the North Carolina delegation was nearly 70 percent, just below the national

Democratic average of 73 percent. This difference highlights the fact that Southern Democrats are more conservative than Democrats as a whole and are more likely to oppose the liberal plans of party members.

None of the seven Republicans the state sent to Congress broke ranks as often as some Democrats did. The highest support rating for Clinton came from Sue Myrick (9th) at 26 percent. Two members tied for the lowest, at 19 percent. The gap between high and low was much smaller than on the Democratic side. Out of every five votes cast by N.C. Republicans, four were in opposition to Clinton.

North Carolina Democrats were also much more likely to go against their fellow Democrats in Congress. McIntyre voted against the party 39 percent of the time. Etheridge, the next most independent, bucked the party line 16 percent of the time. Both were reelected, despite what some might consider damaging disloyalty to the party. The average party opposition rating for the North Carolina delegation was nearly 16 percent, although McIntyre's numbers skew the average somewhat. Without McIntyre, the North Carolina Democrats voted the party line more than 90 percent of the time. Regardless, most of the Democratic delegation supported their party colleagues most of the time.

The Republicans delegates were much more loyal to the GOP than their colleagues on the other side of the aisle. Only one, Robin Hayes (8th), voted with the Democrats more than 8 percent of the time, and he bucked the party line only 11 percent of the time, voting with the Republican party on nearly 9 of 10 votes. On average, the GOP delegates from North Carolina voted with the party more than 93 percent of the time, ignoring the party's lead on only 6.4 percent of the votes.

All but one of the members had voting participation rates in the House of more than 90 percent, and all but two of the delegates had participation rate scores between 96 and 99 percent. Charles Taylor (11th), required by a very competitive reelection battle to spend more time at home, had a voting rate of 91 percent — still good compared to Sue Myrick, who voted only 86 percent of the time. Her reelection campaign was by no means heated — she won by more than 30 points and sits in a safe Republican district. Most representatives have made an effort to keep their voting rates high ever since it became a campaign issue in the mid-1970s. Myrick's low voting rate could be somewhat of a liability in 2002.

These voting rates and analyses confirm again that presidential support and party unity, especially on the Democratic side, are not important issues that representatives from North Carolina consider in their votes. Nor, it appears, are these two scores important to the voters of North Carolina when choosing their representatives. ■

Congressional Quarterly's Voting Analysis of NC's 2000 Congressional Delegation

Dist.	Rep. (Party)	Clinton Administration		Party Majority		Voting Partic.
		Sup.	Opp.	Sup.	Opp.	
1st	Clayton (D)	79	21	93	7	97
2nd	Etheridge (D)	65	35	84	16	99
3rd	Jones (R)	19	81	92	8	97
4th	Price (D)	80	20	90	10	97
5th	Burr (R)	22	78	92	8	96
6th	Coble (R)	21	79	96	4	96
7th	McIntyre (D)	40	60	61	39	96
8th	Hayes (R)	19	81	89	11	99
9th	Myrick (R)	26	74	96	4	86
10th	Ballenger (R)	23	77	96	4	96
11th	Taylor (R)	21	79	94	6	91
12th	Watt (D)	82	18	94	6	97

Clinton Administration Sup./Opp.: Percent of the 69 relevant House votes in which the legislator was present and either supported or opposed the position of the Clinton administration.

Party Majority Sup./Opp.: Percent of the 259 House votes in which the legislator was present and supported or opposed a majority of his or her party.

Voting Partic.: Percent of the 600 House votes in which the legislator voted.

SOURCE: "Vote Studies," *CQ Weekly* (January 6, 2001): 52–74.

how many members of a minority they must put in a district in order for them to have a fair chance of electing the representative of their choice.

The (George H.W.) Bush and Clinton Justice Departments told state legislatures that they must consider race when drawing districts, but the U.S. Supreme Court also said they can't consider race too much. During the last decade, judges and statisticians have joined legislators in the redistricting process so that almost all of the national conversation about the topic is focused on which mathematical mode will make the best defense in court. A leading vendor of redistricting software markets it as a "litigation support" tool that can help lawmakers use census and other data to prove that they weren't thinking about race too little or too much.

Despite the legal wrangling of the last 10 years, North Carolina's congressional districts became predictable, reelecting in 2000 a record number of incumbents. Politicians – especially incumbents – like this certainty. In the past, lawmakers could assuredly play by the first rule of redistricting – protect incumbents.

However, legislators will bear little responsi-

The Impact of Two District Scenarios

13 District Scenario			12 District Scenario		
Incumbent	District	+/-%	Incumbent	District	+/-%
Price, D	4th	+23.7	Price, D	4th	+14.7
Etheridge, D	2nd	+17.9	Etheridge, D	2nd	+ 8.9
Myrick, R	9th	+11.9	Myrick, R	9th	+ 3.3
McIntyre, D	7th	+11.5	McIntyre, D	7th	+ 2.9
Coble, R	6th	+11.4	Coble, R	6th	+ 2.8
Watt, D	12th	+ 7.7	Watt, D	12th	- 0.6
Hayes, R	8th	+ 6.8	Hayes, R	8th	- 1.4
Taylor, R	11th	+ 6.1	Taylor, R	11th	- 2.1
Ballenger, R	10th	+ 5.9	Ballenger, R	10th	- 2.3
Burr, R	5th	+ 2.9	Burr, R	5th	- 5.0
Jones, R	3rd	- 0.6	Clayton, D	1st	- 7.7
Clayton, D	1st	- 5.1	Jones, R	3rd	- 8.2

bility for the electoral districts the state finally ends up with. When they finish their impossible task, lawsuits will ensue.

With better data about "communities of interest" that aren't based on race, legislators perhaps could more confidently defend at least one of their two competing goals. But even with better information, few lawmakers have professional backgrounds in the type of data modeling needed to crunch the numbers. So

the process still ends up in the hands of computer analysts whose names never appear on a ballot.

The political process is just the first round of redistricting. Regardless of how many votes have been taken or how many legal decisions have been handed down, North Carolinians can be certain that more lawsuits lie ahead — until the next round of political numbers are handed down. ■

N.C. Congressional Districts: Ideal vs. Actual Populations

Dist#	Incumbent	2000 Pop 13 Seats	Ideal Pop 13 Seats	Ideal +/-	Ideal +/- %	Ideal Pop 12 Seats	Ideal +/- 12 Seats	%
1st	Clayton, D	587,830	619,178	-31,348	-5.1	670,776	-51,598	-7.7
2nd	Etheridge, D	730,266	619,178	111,088	17.9	670,776	59,490	8.9
3rd	Jones, R	615,614	619,178	-3,564	-0.6	670,776	-55,162	-8.2
4th	Price, D	765,876	619,178	146,698	23.7	670,776	95,100	14.7
5th	Burr, R	637,158	619,178	17,980	2.9	670,776	-33,618	-5.0
6th	Coble, R	689,529	619,178	70,351	11.4	670,776	18,753	2.8
7th	McIntyre, D	690,054	619,178	70,876	11.5	670,776	19,278	2.9
8th	Hayes, R	661,112	619,178	41,934	6.8	670,776	-9,664	-1.4
9th	Myrick, R	693,042	619,178	73,864	11.9	670,776	22,266	3.3
10th	Ballenger, R	655,413	619,178	36,235	5.6	670,776	-15,363	-2.3
11th	Taylor, R	656,619	619,178	37,441	6.1	670,776	-14,157	-2.1
12th	Watt, D	666,800	619,178	47,622	7.7	670,776	-3,976	-0.6
13th	————	-0-	619,178	-619,178	————	————	————	————

NOTES:

Ideal Pop — the total population of the state divided by 13 seats or 12 seats to get equal representation.

Ideal +/- — the difference between the ideal and actual population for the district

Ideal +/- % — the percent that the actual population deviates from the ideal population

SOURCE: www.ncleg/redistricting/2000BaseMapRpt

2000 Election Results, from Most Republican to Most Democratic

District	Candidate, Party	# of Votes	% of Total	Point Spread
5th	*Richard Burr, R Steven LeBoeuf, Lib	172,489 13,366	93 ^a 7	+86 R
6th	*Howard Coble, R Jeffrey Bentley, Lib	195,727 18,726	91 ^a 9	+82 R
9th	*Sue Myrick, R Ed McGuire, D	181,161 79,382	69 30	+39 R
10th	*T. Cass Ballenger, R Delmas Parker, D	164,182 70,877	68 29	+39 R
3rd	*Walter B. Jones Jr., R Leigh McNairy, D	121,940 74,058	61 37	+24 R
11th	*Charles H. Taylor, R Sam Neill, D	146,677 112,234	55 42	+13 R
8th	*Robin Hayes, R Mike Taylor, D	111,950 89,505	55 44	+11 R
2nd	*Bob Etheridge, D Doug Haynes, R	146,733 103,011	58 41	+17 D
4th	*David Price, D Jess Ward, R	200,885 119,412	62 37	+25 D
12th	*Mel Watt, D Chad Mitchell, R	135,570 69,596	65 33	+32 D
1st	*Eva Clayton, D Duane Kratzer Jr., R	124,171 62,198	66 33	+33 D
7th	*Mike McIntyre, D James R. Adams, R	160,185 66,463	70 29	+41 D

KEY: D - Democrat; Lib - Libertarian; R - Republican; u - unopposed by a major-party challenger; * - incumbent.

ed the Bushes in 1992 and 2000, but backed Bill Clinton in 1996.

Rep. Charles Taylor (R-11) has comfortably retained his seat in each of the five elections since he initially won the seat from incumbent Democrat James Clarke in 1990. The district's voters decisively favored the Republican candidate for congress over the past decade but did not decisively favor Republican candidates for president until 2000, when George W. Bush made off with 59 percent of the district's votes. Voters slightly favored Clinton in 1992 before slightly favoring Dole four years later.

Over the past 10 years North Carolina has moved clearly in the direction of supporting Republican candidates for president. In 2000, George W. Bush took the state with 56 percent of the vote and won in nine of the 12 districts. The only districts he failed to carry were the 1st and 12th – safe Democrat districts – and the 4th, a district in which voters cast a bare majority of their votes for Al Gore. The state's support for Republican presidential candidates has been widely dispersed unlike its support for Democrats, which is geographically concentrated.

The Republicans hold the majority of the state's seats in Congress, but the five Democrats in the delegation were all reelected by convincing margins last year. Both parties have "safe" seats that are almost guaranteed victories, but the Republicans find safety in more districts than do the Democrats. The state has continued to lean slightly toward Republicans in congressional races since the 1994 shift from support of Democratic to GOP candidates. ■

Competitiveness in the N.C. Congressional Districts, 1992–2000

Dist #	Congressional Race Scores					Avg Score 92–00	Incumbent, Party (County)	Presidential Race Scores ^d			Avg Score 92–00
	92 ^a	94 ^a	96 ^a	98 ^b	00 ^c			92	96	00	
1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	Eva Clayton, D (Warren)	1	1	1	1
2nd	2	4	2	2	2	2.4	Bob Etheridge, D (Harnett)	4	2	4	3.3
3rd	2	4	5	5	5	4.2	Walter Jones, R (Pitt)	4	4	5	4.3
4th	1	3 ^e	2	2	1	1.5	David Price, D (Orange)	2	3 ^e	3 ^e	2.7
5th	2	4	5	5	5 ^a	4.2	Richard Burr, R (Forsyth)	3 ^e	4	5	4
6th	5	5 ^u	5	5 ^u	5 ^u	5	Howard Coble, R (Guilford)	5	5	5	5
7th	2	3 ^e	3 ^e	1 ^a	1	2	Mike McIntyre, D (Cumberland)	3 ^e	4	4	3.7
8th	2	3 ^e	2	3 ^e	4	2.8	Robin Hayes, R (Cabarrus)	3 ^e	4	4	3.7
9th	5	5	5	5	5	5	Sue Myrick, R (Mecklenburg)	5	5	5	5
10th	5	5	5	5 ^u	5	5	Cass Ballenger, R (Lenoir)	5	5	5	5
11th	4	5	4	4	4	4.2	Charles Taylor, R (Buncombe)	3 ^e	3 ^e	5	3.7
12th	1	1	1	2	1	1.2	Mel Watt, D (Mecklenburg)	1	1	2	1.3
Avg	2.7	3.6	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.2		3.3	3.4	4.1	3.6

KEY

COMPETITIVENESS SCORES: 1 = Strong Dem. 58.6%+; 2 = Leaning Dem. 52.6%–58.5%; 3 = Toss-up 47.5%–52.5%; 4 = Leaning Rep. 52.6%–58.5%; 5 = Strong Rep. 58.5%+; u = unopposed. For districts with results within the toss-up range, the party of the winner is indicated (D,R) for the congressional races and by the winner in the presidential race in the district.

^a Elections conducted under the 1991 Redistricting Plan; ^b Elections conducted under the 1998 Redistricting Plan; ^c Elections conducted under the 1997 Redistricting Plan; ^d Presidential-race scores calculated only from votes for the two major-party candidates.

→ **PRIMARIES FROM PAGE 16**

teristics.

The data that follow help sketch the electoral landscape for the 2002 Democratic and Republican primaries.

In modern North Carolina politics, primary turnout has plummeted to only a fraction of general-election turnout. Many voters in North Carolina – and elsewhere in the South – stand aside during the primaries and wait to vote in the general election.

In 1998, for example, there were both Democratic and Republican Senate primaries, combining to bring out 805,319 voters. The general election – Democrat John Edwards vs. Republican Lauch Faircloth – attracted 1.97 million voters. The primary turnout amounted to only 40 percent of the general-election turnout.

Candidates in Democratic primaries must chase more voters than Republican candidates. Registered Democrats outnumber registered Republicans, 2.55 million to 1.74 million.

In addition, more people turn out for Democratic primaries than for Republican

primaries. Two years ago, the Democratic gubernatorial primary attracted 553,794 voters, the Republican primary 312,529. (The 2000 general election turnout totaled 2.9 million North Carolina voters.)

Under state law, a candidate can win a party's nomination in the first primary with 40 percent of the vote. Assuming a turnout of 310,000 voters in a GOP primary, a Republican Senate candidate could win with as few as 124,000 votes. Assuming a Democratic turnout of 550,000, it would take 220,000 votes for victory. Clearly, primaries put a premium on candidates' targeting of activist and regular-voting partisans.

While Democrats still outnumber Republicans as primary voters, GOP primary turnout has risen over the past 30 years and Democratic turnout has fallen dramatically. Democratic primary turnout peaked at 955,799 in 1984, and then dropped to 540,031 in 1998. Meanwhile, GOP primary turnout rose from barely 100,000 in 1972 to more than 312,000 in 2000.

Geographically, Republican primary voters are somewhat more concentrated than Democratic voters. The top 14 counties in GOP registration contain more than half of potential GOP voters. It takes 16 counties to

reach 50 percent of the Democratic registered voters. (See chart)

Under North Carolina election rules, the Republican and Democratic parties may permit unaffiliated voters to participate in their primaries, as both parties did in 1998.

An unaffiliated voter can choose to cast a ballot in one primary, but not both.

Because 2002 is not a presidential election year, it will almost certainly have a lower voter turnout, in both primaries and the general election, than 2000. So-called off-year elections typically have lower turnouts than presidential-election years. Also, if the Senate primary in either party results in a runoff, the turnout for the runoff will surely be lower than in the first primary. ■

Editor's Note: Owen Covington, a master's student in the UNC School of Journalism and Mass Communication, contributed to this article and to the accompanying chart.

Further examination of Helms's career can be found on our Web site at www.southnow.org.

Look for more analysis of southern Senate races in the forthcoming issue of SouthNow.

→ **8TH DISTRICT FROM PAGE 6**

Hayes. Speaker Dennis Hastert made multiple appearances, and NRA president and actor Charlton Heston spoke at rallies in Concord and Albemarle on Hayes's behalf. The NRA had contributed \$7,450 to Hayes in 1998. The day before the 2000 election, John McCain stumped for Hayes in Richmond County.

In the end, Hayes's incumbency probably made the difference in 2000. Campaigning on his record of looking out for the district,

Hayes also benefited from Taylor's inability to distinguish himself from his opponent. The candidates had similar views on many issues, such as Taylor's opposition to abortion. Their TV ads attacked each other's stances on issues like prescription drugs and taxes, but issues were lost amid the spectacle of visits from major political players. Helms, Hastert, Heston and McCain overshadowed Gephardt and Bonior.

Just as in 1998, Taylor won a majority of the counties. However, Hayes made major gains

in most counties, picking up one more than in 1998 and coming within a percentage point of winning Richmond, which gave him only 38.9 percent in 1998. In almost every county, Hayes garnered more new voters than Taylor. Once again, Hayes dominated the two largest counties in the district, industrialized Cabarrus and Union counties. The superior resources and incumbent status of Hayes trumped the energized Democratic effort for Taylor. ■

→ **AFRICAN AMERICANS FROM PAGE 8**

wanted to empower Americans to help themselves.

In the year 2000, Clayton and Watt once again were victorious. Clayton won handily over Kratzer by 33 points (66 percent to 33 percent), while Watt easily defeated Mitchell by 32 points (65 percent to 33 percent).

Being the first North Carolina African-Americans elected to Congress in this century, they had a great deal of pressure to perform excellently.

Despite the challenges by other candidates, the constant law suits and court decisions against the N.C. district plans, and the constantly changing redistricting plans, Clayton and Watt have proved to be worthy of their positions. They won with the support of white as well as African-American voters, especially in their last two races. They also demonstrated how important incumbency is to a candidate, thus proving that knowledge and experience are important in getting re-elected.

The N.C. General Assembly will use the data from the 2000 census to reconfigure the lines for the state's congressional districts beginning

in 2001.

This will be the fourth plan in 10 years, due to the court challenges faced by the 12th District. The new lines may provide more clarity as to who belongs in each district. While this could affect who will hold which congressional seats, incumbents Clayton and Watt may well be able to maintain their seats in the 2002 elections under the new redistricting plan. ■

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Parties' Paths to the Helms Seat

FERREL GUILLORY, DIRECTOR

With Sen. Jesse Helms having decided not to seek re-election, North Carolina has in store competitive contests for both the Democratic and Republican nominations for the U.S. Senate seat in 2002.

In the days of the one-party South, the winner of the Democratic primary was practically

assured of victory in the general election. Naturally, voters who wanted to make a difference turned out for the primary. But since the rise of the two-party South, North Carolina has increasingly come to have two different kinds of elections, primary elections and general elections with distinctly different charac-

SEE **PRIMARIES** ON PAGE 15 →

Where the Primary Voters Are

Democrats, by County			Republicans, by County		
County	Registered	Turnout ¹	County	Registered	Turnout ²
Mecklenburg	200,210	29,096	Mecklenburg	168,625	26,299
Wake	177,211	37,973	Wake	141,291	25,021
Guilford	144,413	30,745	Guilford	96,826	19,592
Forsyth	97,834	22,712	Forsyth	77,823	12,993
Durham	97,819	22,072	Buncombe	46,687	7,459
Cumberland	87,363	17,586	New Hanover	46,121	8,051
Buncombe	69,118	11,593	Gaston	45,733	6,908
Robeson	58,989	18,377	Cumberland	45,180	6,056
Orange	51,733	12,445	Davidson	43,380	6,353
Gaston	50,654	7,492	Catawba	42,982	7,446
New Hanover	50,101	8,615	Randolph	38,217	5,646
Pitt	46,100	11,290	Cabarrus	36,835	4,883
Alamance	39,672	7,075	Durham	35,714	6,265
Davidson	36,508	5,841	Rowan	35,415	6,272
Cabarrus	35,147	7,510			
Nash	35,142	6,680			

Sixteen counties account for 1,278,014 or 50.0 percent of registered Democrats.

Fourteen counties account for 900,829 or 51.7 percent of registered Republicans.

NOTES:

¹Average Democratic primary turnout in the 1996 senate, 1998 senate, and 2000 secretary of state race.

²Average Republican primary turnout in the 1992 Senate and 2000 gubernatorial races.

Sources: State Board of Elections; N.C. Carolina Manual, various years.