



## A Distinctive Legislature: The 2003–2004 General Assembly

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The 2003–2004 General Assembly arrived in Raleigh as the product not only of the 2002 elections but also of several judicial rulings. As a result, the current legislature has several distinctive characteristics:

- ◆ The House has co-Speakers. A Democrat presides one day, a Republican the next.
- ◆ Nearly one-third of lawmakers are in their first term, an uncommonly large first-term class.
- ◆ Each legislator comes from a single-member district.

This issue of *NC DataNet* presents data on election trends, campaign spending and the demographic profile of the legislature. Such data surely help in understanding the context of legislative action.

While the data tell much about the legislature, the numbers do not capture the dramatic dynamics that shaped the state's legislative branch for this year and next.

The state Constitution specifically gives the General Assembly the power to redraw House and Senate districts after the federal Census. In the exercise of that power, the legislature adopted new district maps in November 2001, maps fashioned by a Democratic majority and swiftly challenged in court by state Republicans.

In May 2002, the state Supreme Court struck down the legislative redistricting plan. The court declared that the legislature must abide by the Constitution's prohibition against having districts spill over county lines, unless required to do so to comply with such mandates as the Voting Rights Act. The high court

also ruled that the legislature should draw only single-member districts; no longer could the legislature devise districts that elect two, three or more members as it had done for generations. Thus, the court caused the dissolution of the existing eight multi-member Senate districts and 17 multi-member House districts.

After postponing the May 7 primary elections, the General Assembly approved new maps later in May and submitted them to Superior Court Judge Knox V. Jenkins, Jr. By June 1, the judge rejected the legislature's maps and ordered into effect House and Senate plans that he had devised. The Supreme Court agreed to hear an appeal of Jenkins' order — but only after the 2002 legislative elections would take place based on the judge's order.

In the November elections, then, Republicans gained seven Senate seats, though Democrats held onto a majority, 28–22. In the House, Republicans won a slender 61–59 majority. In the 50-member Senate, 16 seats are now held by first-term lawmakers; in the 120-member House, there are 36 first-term members.

Several findings emerge from the data in this issue that help explain why the legislative elections turned out as they did:

- ◆ Overall, Republican legislative candidates won more votes than Democratic legislative candidates. For both House and Senate, the GOP share of total votes hit its highest level — and the Democratic share its lowest — since 1968.
- ◆ But, of course, all legislative elections are not

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equally competitive — indeed, some are not competitive at all. In the 2002 general election, nearly half of House races were uncontested, while 22 percent of Senate races were uncontested.

- ◆ Thus, which party wins a majority in the House and Senate comes down to a comparatively few constituencies, known as swing districts, many of them east of Raleigh. Both Republicans and Democrats devoted the bulk of their campaign spending to these swing districts and to a few additional districts described as “leaning” toward one party or the other. To look at “average” spending on legislative races is misleading, when swing districts have become exceptionally expensive and some districts require little spending because they are uncontested.
- ◆ Democrats out-spent Republicans on legislative races. Jim Black, who had served as Speaker in the 2001–2002 legislature, and Marc Basnight, the long-time Democratic Senate leader, carried a heavy share of the fund-raising burden. Republicans had no comparable legislative leaders to match the fund-raising prowess of Black and Basnight.

When Representative Michael Decker, a veteran Republican, joined the Democratic caucus as the 2003 session was about to convene, the legislature opened with a House divided: 60 Democrats, 60 Republicans. Subsequently,

Black, the Democrat who previously served as Speaker, and Republican Richard Morgan forged a coalition across party lines that made them co-Speakers. In the House election, all 60 Democrats voted for the Black–Morgan co-Speakership. Republicans split, 29 for the co-Speaker arrangement, 31 opposed.

A General Assembly, of course, is always a mixture of continuity and change. The 2003–2004 legislature has emphasized the element of change, with special circumstances bringing about the co-Speakership.

Already, it appears, the maps that produced the current legislature are destined for one-time-only use. Asked to explain reasons for his ruling of last June, Judge Jenkins told the Supreme Court that his House plan contained “constitutional flaws,” though fewer, he said, than the map the House itself drew. Democrats have asked the court to reinstate the redistricting plans enacted by the legislature. Whether the legislature’s maps go into effect or whether the court orders another redistricting scheme, the next legislature is likely to come from a different set of districts.

In addition, the next set of legislative elections will take place under different political conditions. The 2002 elections were accompanied by a U.S. Senate election, but no other major statewide elections. The 2004 elections will coincide with elections for President, Congress and Governor, with overall higher turnout anticipated and the outcome of legislative elections more susceptible to the coattail-effect from the presidential and gubernatorial elections. ■

## NC DataPack

Much of the data on North Carolina political trends compiled by the Program on Southern Politics, Media and Public Life now is available online through the Program’s *NC DataPack* project.

Thad Beyle, Pearsall Professor of Political Science at UNC-Chapel Hill, originally collected much of the data.

This project is an emerging effort to offer a research resource to students, faculty and citizens interested in state politics. Visit [www.southnow.org/projects/index.htm](http://www.southnow.org/projects/index.htm) to download the information. Send comments and suggestions to [southnow@unc.edu](mailto:southnow@unc.edu)

## A Word about the Data

Much of the raw data used in this issue of *North Carolina DataNet* comes from the North Carolina Forum for Research and Economic Education (NCFREE), a nonpartisan research organization that works to foster a politically educated business community capable of taking the leadership role in electing legislators who will advance and defend the individual and corporate right to succeed.

As part of its efforts to understand how changes in the state’s political environment influence business and industry, NCFREE has created a rich storehouse of political information regarding the North Carolina General Assembly.

Though NCFREE provided much of the data used in this issue, the Program on Southern Politics, Media and Public Life independently analyzed the information. All judgments, as

well as any errors, are the sole responsibility of the Program.

Thanks to John Davis, Executive Director of NCFREE, and Danny Crook, Research and Analysis Director, for their willingness to share data.

A profile of NCFREE appeared in the September 2002 issue of *North Carolina DataNet* and is available at <http://www.southnow.org/publications/ncdn/ncdn31.pdf>

Thanks also to the North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, a nonpartisan research organization that gathers and disseminates information regarding North Carolina government. The Center, led by Executive Director Ran Coble, provided much of the data used on pages 4–5. ■

# North Carolina Election Trends

## Statewide Vote Totals for NC Senate Candidates, 1968–2002

Year	Total Votes (in millions)			Percent		Seats Won		Uncontested Races	
	Dem.	Rep.	Total	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
1968	1.10	0.57	1.67	65.8	34.2	38	12	13	1
1970	0.67	0.40	1.06	62.7	37.3	43	7	13	1
1972	1.42	0.62	2.04	69.5	30.5	35	15	23	1
1974	1.16	0.52	1.67	69.1	30.9	49	1	15	0
1976	1.92	0.65	2.57	74.8	25.2	46	4	21	0
1978	1.04	0.49	1.53	67.9	32.1	45	5	16	0
1980	1.85	0.73	2.57	71.7	28.3	40	10	18	0
1982	1.55	0.56	1.75	67.9	32.1	44	6	17	1
1984	1.20	0.93	2.48	62.4	37.6	38	12	16	0
1986	1.20	0.82	2.02	59.3	40.7	40	10	8	1
1988	1.48	1.12	2.60	56.8	43.2	37	13	12	2
1990	1.36	1.19	2.82	53.3	46.7	36	14	6	4
1992	1.56	1.26	1.79	55.2	44.8	39	11	3	6
1994	0.93	0.87	3.06	51.7	48.3	26	24	13	5
1996	1.55	1.51	2.34	50.7	49.3	30	20	6	4
1998	1.17	1.17	3.32	50.1	49.9	35	15	8	10
2000	1.68	1.64	3.32	50.6	49.4	35	15	6	8
2002	1.02	1.11	2.13	48.0	52.0	28	22	6	5

**NOTE:** Totals may not equal due to rounding. Uncontested races are those in which a candidate ran unopposed or with no opposition from the other major party.

Part of the difference in vote totals between 2002 and 2000 is due to the elimination of multi-member districts under the 2002 districting plan. Prior to 2002 voters in multi-member districts could cast several votes.

**SOURCES:** NC Center for Public Policy Research; NC State Board of Elections; NCFREE

## Statewide Vote Totals for NC House Candidates, 1968–2002

Year	Total Votes (in millions)			Percent		Seats Won		Uncontested Races	
	Dem.	Rep.	Total	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
1968	1.20	0.63	1.83	65.6	34.4	91	29	19	2
1970	0.77	0.41	1.18	65.2	34.8	96	24	24	1
1972	1.32	0.65	1.97	67.1	32.9	85	35	28	1
1974	1.12	0.45	1.57	71.5	28.5	111	9	25	0
1976	1.32	0.38	1.70	77.8	22.2	114	6	47	0
1978	no data					106	14	no data	
1980	1.70	0.84	2.53	67.0	33.0	96	24	27	0
1982	1.32	0.43	1.75	75.4	24.6	102	18	40	5
1984	1.51	0.75	2.26	66.8	33.2	82	38	41	0
1986	1.19	0.83	2.02	59.1	40.9	84	36	17	2
1988	1.51	1.20	2.71	55.7	44.3	74	46	20	6
1990	1.54	0.97	2.51	61.3	38.7	81	39	22	7
1992	1.73	1.20	2.92	59.2	40.8	78	42	32	12
1994	0.98	1.00	1.98	49.4	50.6	52	68	36	22
1996	1.54	1.60	3.14	48.9	51.1	59	61	20	21
1998	1.23	1.22	2.45	50.2	49.8	67	53	31	26
2000	1.71	1.79	3.50	48.9	51.1	62	58	25	23
2002	0.89	1.09	1.98	44.9	55.1	59	61*	26	31

**NOTE:** Totals may not equal due to rounding. Uncontested races are those in which a candidate ran unopposed or with no opposition from the other major party.

\* = The Republicans won 61 seats in the 2002 election, but Rep. Michael Decker's subsequent switch to the Democratic Party resulted in a 60–60 split. The votes that Decker received are counted in the Republican column because that was his affiliation at the time of the election.

Part of the difference in vote totals between 2002 and 2000 is due to the elimination of multi-member districts under the 2002 districting plan. Prior to 2002 voters in multi-member districts could cast several votes.

**SOURCES:** NC Center for Public Policy Research; NC State Board of Elections; NCFREE

# Who Serves?

## The Face of the General Assembly

*JOHN QUINTERNO, assistant director, Program on Southern Politics, Media and Public Life*

Retirements and incumbent defeats in 2002 altered the composition of the North Carolina General Assembly. First-term legislators account for 30 percent of the 2003–2004 session's total membership, up from 12 percent at the start of the 2001–2002 session.

While the new legislators are on average younger than the incumbents, they otherwise share the Legislature's recent demographic characteristics.

These findings come from an analysis of data collected by two sources: the North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, a nonpartisan research organization, and NCFREE, a pro-business research organization. Data gathered by the Center for Public Policy Research were used to study the following characteristics: gender, race, age, occupation, seniority and education. NCFREE's information was used for place of birth, religious affiliation and local government background.

Though data on every characteristic were not available for every legislator, all percentages in this article and the accompanying tables are based on the total size of the Legislature (170 members) or each chamber (50 Senators or 120 Representatives).

The following sections summarize select demographic traits of the current General Assembly.

### 1. Gender and Race

Males hold 79 percent of the combined House and Senate seats. Roughly three-fourths of Representatives are male, as are 86 percent of Senators. Moreover, white males comprise 65.8 percent of the House and 78 percent of the Senate.

Females account for 20.6 percent of the General Assembly, though there is a higher proportion of women in the House than in the Senate. While 14 percent of Senators are female, 23 percent of Representatives are female. Like their male colleagues, most female legislators are white.

African Americans comprise 14 percent of total legislators. More African Americans sit in the House compared to the Senate (18 versus 6), and 75 percent of African-American legislators are male.

### 2. Age, Place of Birth and Religious Affiliation

The average age of legislators is 58. Senators have an average age of 59, and Representatives 58. Interestingly, the first-term legislators in both chambers are younger than their incumbent

counterparts. First-term Senators are on average two years younger, while new Representatives are five years younger.

Native-born North Carolinians continue to dominate both chambers. In a state that during the 1990s gained one million people, many of whom were transplants from other states, at least 114 legislators — 82 Representatives and 32 Senators — were born in North Carolina. At least 37 legislators were born outside of the state, and information was missing for 19 legislators.

Most legislators claim an affiliation with a Protestant Christian religious denomination. Roughly 45 percent of all legislators identify as Baptists or Methodists, though Episcopalians and Presbyterians also are present. The only non-Protestant faiths present in the General Assembly are Roman Catholicism and Judaism.

### 3. Occupation

Legislators tend to come from occupations that provide them with the flexibility needed to serve in Raleigh. Roughly 75 percent of all legislators are business people (e.g. small business owners), attorneys or retired. Interestingly, retirees account for almost a third of the House's membership, while lawyers hold approximately 30 percent of the Senate seats.

### 4. Education

The General Assembly contains 159 members (94 percent of all legislators) who have attended a four-year college/university or a community college, and 132 legislators (68 percent) have received a degree beyond high school, either from a community college or four-year university. Eleven members have not attended a post-secondary institution. In addition, 82 legislators (48 percent) have earned graduate degrees, with law degrees being most common.

Educational achievement of the membership varies by chamber. As a percentage, more Senators than Representatives have at least some college (98 percent versus 92 percent), earned a post-secondary degree (90 percent versus 73 percent) and received a graduate degree (64 percent versus 41 percent).

Many legislators with at least some college went to a constituent institution of the University of North Carolina. In the Senate, 40 percent of the Senators with at least some college went to a UNC system school, and the comparable figure in the House is 33 percent. More current legislators (25)

attended UNC-Chapel Hill than any other UNC school, but 13 of the system's 16 institutions educated at least one legislator.

### 5. Seniority

The election of 16 first-term Senators and 32 Representatives changed the seniority structure of each chamber. At the start of the 2003 session, 26 Senators had completed at least three terms in office, and 15 Senators — nine Democrats and six Republicans — had completed at least six previous terms. Democratic Senator R.C. Soles, who has finished 13 terms, is the chamber's senior member.

Sixty-six Representatives started the 2003 session having completed at least three previous terms, and 42 members — 22 Democrats and 20 Republicans — had completed at least five previous terms. Having completed 13 terms each, Republicans Harold Brubaker and George Holmes are the chamber's senior members.

### 6. Local Government Background

The membership of the two chambers differs in regards to previous service on elected municipal and county boards. While 26 percent of Representatives previously held a position on

a county board of commissioners or municipal council, only 12 percent of Senators have had such experience. Also, Representatives with local government experience are split about evenly between county and municipal levels, but Senators with experience obtained it through a municipal office. ■

## Demographic Characteristics in the NC General Assembly by Chamber and Session, 1973–2003

### A) SENATE

Session	Dem.	Rep.	# of Senators with Characteristic				New	Incumb.
			Male	Female	White	Black		
1973	35	15	49	1	50	0	15	35
1975	49	1	48	2	48	2	21	29
1977	46	4	46	4	48	2	11	39
1979	45	5	45	5	49	1	7	43
1981	40	10	47	3	49	1	8	42
1983	44	6	45	5	49	1	9	41
1985	38	12	46	4	47	3	18	32
1987	40	10	46	4	47	3	6	44
1989	37	13	46	4	46	4	5	45
1991	36	14	45	5	45	5	8	42
1993	39	11	43	7	43	7	8	42
1995	26	24	44	6	43	7	14	36
1997	30	20	44	6	43	7	11	39
1999	35	15	45	5	43	7	7	43
2001	35	15	45	5	43	7	5	45
2003	28	22	43	7	44	6	15	35

### B) HOUSE

Session	Dem.	Rep.	# of Representatives with Characteristic				Nat. Amer.	New	Incumb.
			Male	Female	White	Black			
1973	85	35	112	8	117	3	1	50	70
1975	111	9	107	13	115	4	1	49	1
1977	114	6	101	19	115	4	1	24	96
1979	105	15	103	17	116	3	1	30	0
1981	96	24	101	19	116	3	1	33	87
1983	102	18	101	19	109	11	0	31	9
1985	82	38	104	16	107	13	0	39	81
1987	84	36	100	20	107	13	0	25	95
1989	74	46	99	21	107	13	0	25	95
1991	81	39	100	20	105	14	1	21	99
1993	78	42	96	24	101	18	1	42	78
1995	52	68	98	22	102	14	1	22	98
1997	59	61	97	23	103	17	1	22	98
1999	66	54	96	24	102	17	1	39	81
2001	62	58	93	27	101	18	1	15	105
2003	60	60	92	28	101	18	1	36	84

SOURCE: North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research

## Undergraduate Attendance at UNC Schools: 2003–2004 General Assembly Members

University	# Sen.	# Reprs.	Total
UNC-Chapel Hill	8	17	25
NC State	5	2	7
ECU	1	6	7
NC Central	1	5	6
App. State	3	1	4
NC A&T	0	4	4
WCU	3	1	4
W.S. State	0	3	3
Fay. State	0	2	2
UNC-Charlotte	0	2	2
UNC-Wilmington	0	2	2
UNC-Greensboro	0	1	1
UNC-Pembroke	0	1	1
<b>Totals*</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>68</b>

NOTES: This table lists General Assembly members who either attended or graduated from a UNC school as an undergraduate.

\* = There are 170 total seats in the General Assembly (50 Senate, 120 House)

SOURCE: North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research

## UNC-Chapel Hill Undergraduates in the NC Legislature: 1939–2003<sup>i</sup>

Year	House	Senate	Total	Governor
1939	43%	42%	43%	Yes
1969	35	40	36	No
1979	30	32	31	No (ii)
1989	21	26	22	No
1999	12	24	15	No (ii)
2003	12	16	13	Yes

NOTES: (i) Legislators who earned an undergraduate degree from UNC-Chapel Hill.

(ii) Governor Jim Hunt received his undergraduate degree from NCSU and his JD degree from UNC-Chapel Hill.

SOURCES: The 1939–89 data come from a Spring 1990 UNC-Chapel Hill Senior Honor's thesis in Political Science by Julia Anderson. The 1999 data are from Carolyn A. Waller, *Article II: A Guide to the 1999–2000 N.C. Legislature* (Raleigh: NC Center for Public Policy Research, March 1999) and the 2003 data come from "Alumni in the Legislature," *Carolina Alumni Review* 92:1 (January/February 2003): 74–75.

# Two Chambers, Two Price Tags

JOHN QUINTERNO, assistant director, Program on Southern Politics, Media and Public Life

Spending on the 2002 General Assembly elections differed sharply by chamber. While inflation-adjusted, two-party total expenditures on Senate races climbed by 43.9 percent compared to 2000, the same expenditures on House contests fell by 14.8 percent. In addition, total spending on the state's 50 Senate seats exceeded the amount spent on the 120 House seats for the first time in recent history.

These findings come from an analysis of election finance data assembled by NCFREE, a pro-business research organization that compiled the official candidate finance reports submitted to the State Board of Elections during the 2002 election cycle (January 2001–December 2002). The data are limited, however, due to missing or incomplete returns, double-counted dollars and unrecorded dollars spent on a candidate's behalf.

All of the financial figures cited in this article and the accompanying tables are expressed in 2002 dollars. No changes were made to the expenditures reported by candidates seeking election in 2002, but expenditures from past elections (e.g. 2000) were adjusted for inflation. Therefore, the dollar

figures cited for past elections differ from those stated on the actual reports.

## Senate Spending in Election 2002

Democratic and Republican candidates on the November ballot spent \$12.1 million during the election cycle. Democrats accounted for \$8.8 million of this amount (72.8 percent), and Republicans spent the remaining \$3.3 million (27.2 percent).

Compared to 2000, Democrats increased their spending by 28.6 percent, and Republicans spent 110.5 percent more.

Democrats devoted 75.0 percent of their resources (\$6.7 million) to the races for 23 seats: the nine considered leaning Democratic by NCFREE, the eight classified as leaning Republican and the six rated swing.

This emphasis resulted from the state's ongoing redistricting conflict, which caused the 2002 elections to be held under a court-ordered districting plan. Senate Democrats concentrated on swing and leaning districts in an attempt to hold their majority.

## Expenditures on the 2002 General Assembly Elections

### A) NC SENATE

Race Type*	# Seats	Total Expenditures (\$ Millions)				% Total Expenditures		
		Dem.	Rep.	Total	Avg.**	Dem.	Rep.	Total
Strong Dem.	13	0.86	0.08	0.94	0.07	9.8	2.5	7.6
Leaning Dem.	9	4.33	0.44	4.77	0.53	49.0	13.2	39.3
Swing	6	1.33	0.57	1.91	0.32	15.1	17.3	15.7
Leaning Rep.	8	1.01	0.94	1.95	0.24	11.4	28.4	16.0
Strong Rep.	14	1.30	1.28	2.58	0.18	14.7	38.7	21.3
<b>Totals</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>8.83</b>	<b>3.31</b>	<b>12.14</b>	<b>0.24</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**NOTE:** The "Leaning Democratic" totals reflect the \$1.8 million raised by Senator Marc Basnight. Though Basnight ran virtually unopposed, he raised money that was then transferred to other candidates. Basnight alone accounted for 20 percent of the Democratic total.

### B) NC HOUSE

Race Type*	# Seats	Total Expenditures (\$ Millions)				% Total Expenditures		
		Dem.	Rep.	Total	Avg.**	Dem.	Rep.	Total
Strong Dem.	34	2.04	0.10	2.14	0.06	31.8	2.8	21.5
Leaning Dem.	18	1.81	0.38	2.19	0.12	28.2	10.9	22.0
Swing	19	1.77	1.15	2.92	0.15	27.5	32.8	29.4
Leaning Rep.	18	0.63	0.82	1.45	0.08	9.8	23.4	14.6
Strong Rep.	31	0.18	1.06	1.23	0.04	2.8	30.1	12.5
<b>Totals</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>6.43</b>	<b>3.51</b>	<b>9.94</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**NOTE:** The "Strong Democratic" totals reflect the \$1.2 million raised by Representative Jim Black, who raised money that was then transferred to other candidates. Black alone accounted for 18.6 percent of the Democratic total.

**NOTES (BOTH TABLES):** \* = "Race Type" comes from NCFREE's classification system in the *2002 Almanac of North Carolina Politics*. \*\* = "Avg." equals "Total" divided by "# Seats." Also, all dollar figures are expressed as 2002 \$.

**SOURCE:** Analysis of NCFREE's compilation of official candidate finance reports filed with the NC State Board of Elections.



The GOP, meanwhile, focused almost 85 percent of its expenditures (\$2.8 million) on 28 seats: the six swing, the eight leaning Republican and the 14 strong Republican seats. Democratic challenges forced the GOP to defend leaning and strong Republican seats, which diverted resources that could have been used elsewhere. In fact, Republicans spent 48.5 percent more defending their strong seats than the Democrats did.

In spite of a strong Republican showing, Senate Democrats won a six-seat majority due to their successes in swing and leaning districts. Besides holding all nine leaning Democratic seats, Democrats won four of the six swing seats and captured one leaning Republican district — the 47th District represented by freshman Democrat Joe Sam Queen.

Swing districts played a key role in determining the Senate's majority party, and races in such districts carried above-average costs — an average swing district cost of \$317,716 versus an overall average of \$242,837. Similarly, the cost per vote in a swing district equaled \$11.26, while the overall cost per vote totaled \$5.69.

#### House Spending in Election 2002

Compared to 2000, total spending on the 120 House seats declined. This drop is partly attributable to a rise in the number of uncontested House races from 48 in 2000 to 57 in

2002. Eight of these uncontested seats involved unchallenged Republicans.

As happened in the Senate, Democrats outspent Republicans. The parties spent a combined \$9.9 million, of which the Democratic share totaled \$6.4 million (64.7 percent) and the Republican share equaled \$3.5 million (35.3 percent).

Also as occurred in the Senate, the judicial redistricting plan led House Democrats to devote the bulk of their resources to swing and leaning districts in order to maintain a majority. Democrats directed 65.4 percent of their spending (\$4.2 million) to the 18 seats regarded as leaning Democratic, the 19 swing seats and the 18 leaning Republican seats.

Republicans, meanwhile, devoted 86.4 percent of their resources (\$3.0 million) to the 19 swing, 18 leaning Republican and 31 strong Republican seats. By winning 12 swing districts, holding all of the strong Republican districts and offsetting a loss in a leaning Republican district with a win in a leaning Democratic district, the GOP gained a two-seat majority.

Intra-party squabbling, however, quickly accomplished what the Democrats could not: The loss of a strong Republican

district. Following the election, Representative Michael Decker, who represents a strong Republican district, switched to the Democratic Party, thereby creating an evenly divided chamber.

As occurred in the Senate, swing districts played a decisive but expensive role in the election. The average cost of a swing seat equaled \$153,569 versus a House average of \$82,831. Similarly, the cost per vote in a swing district exceeded by over \$2.00 the cost per vote in a typical district — \$7.09 versus \$5.01. ■

### Districts Accounting for 50% of Total Expenditures, 2002 General Assembly Elections

#### A) NC SENATE (7 Districts)

District #	Type*	Outcome**	Total \$ (millions)	% Total***
1	LD	D-IW	1.78	14.6
40	SR	D-IL	1.34	11.1
16	LD	D-IW	0.82	6.7
12	LR	D-IL	0.64	5.2
43	SR	D-IW	0.60	5.0
2	SW	D-IW	0.54	4.4
47	LR	D-OW	0.51	4.2
<b>Total</b>			<b>6.23</b>	<b>51.2</b>

#### B) NC HOUSE (16 Districts)

District #	Type*	Outcome**	Total \$ (millions)	% Total***
100	SD	D-IW	1.20	12.0
34	SW	R-OW	0.47	4.7
11	SW	D-IL	0.36	3.7
13	LR	R-IW	0.31	3.1
3	LR	D-IL	0.29	2.9
41	LD	R-IL	0.26	2.6
115	SW	R-IL	0.25	2.5
17	SW	D-IL	0.24	2.5
77	SW	D-IW	0.24	2.4
118	LD	R-IL	0.22	2.3
51	SW	D-IL	0.21	2.2
105	SR	R-IW	0.19	1.9
28	LR	R-IW	0.19	1.9
53	SW	R-WO	0.19	1.9
10	SW	D-IL	0.18	1.8
111	LD	D-IL	0.17	1.7
<b>Total</b>			<b>4.97</b>	<b>50.2</b>

**NOTES:** \* = "Race Type" comes from NCFREE's classification system in the 2002 *Almanac of North Carolina Politics*. "SD"=Strong Democrat; "LD"= Leaning Democrat; "SW" = Swing; "LR" = Leaning Republican; "SR"= Strong Republican.

\*\* = "D" = Democrat; "R" = Republican; "IW"= Incumbent Won; "IL" = Incumbent Lost; "OW" = Won Open Seat.

\*\*\* = "% Total" shows total two-party expenditures in a district as a percentage of the total spent in all of a chamber's races. Also, all dollar figures are expressed as 2002 dollars.

**SOURCE:** Analysis of NCFREE's compilation of official candidate finance reports filed with the NC State Board of Elections.

### Big Spenders in the 2002 General Assembly Elections by Chamber and Party

#### A) NC Senate

Top Five – Both Parties		Top Five Democrats		Top Five Republicans	
Candidate (Party)	Total (\$ Millions)	Candidate (District)	Total (\$ Millions)	Candidate (District)	Total (\$ Millions)
Basnight (D)	1.77	Basnight (1)	1.77	Pittenger (40)	0.64
Odom (D)*	0.70	Odom (40)*	0.70	Smith (12)	0.38
Reeves (D)	0.68	Reeves (16)	0.68	Ballantine (9)	0.30
Pittenger (R)	0.64	Hoyle (43)	0.51	Blake (22)	0.17
Hoyle (D)	0.51	Queen (47)	0.50	Coble (16)*	0.14

#### B) NC House

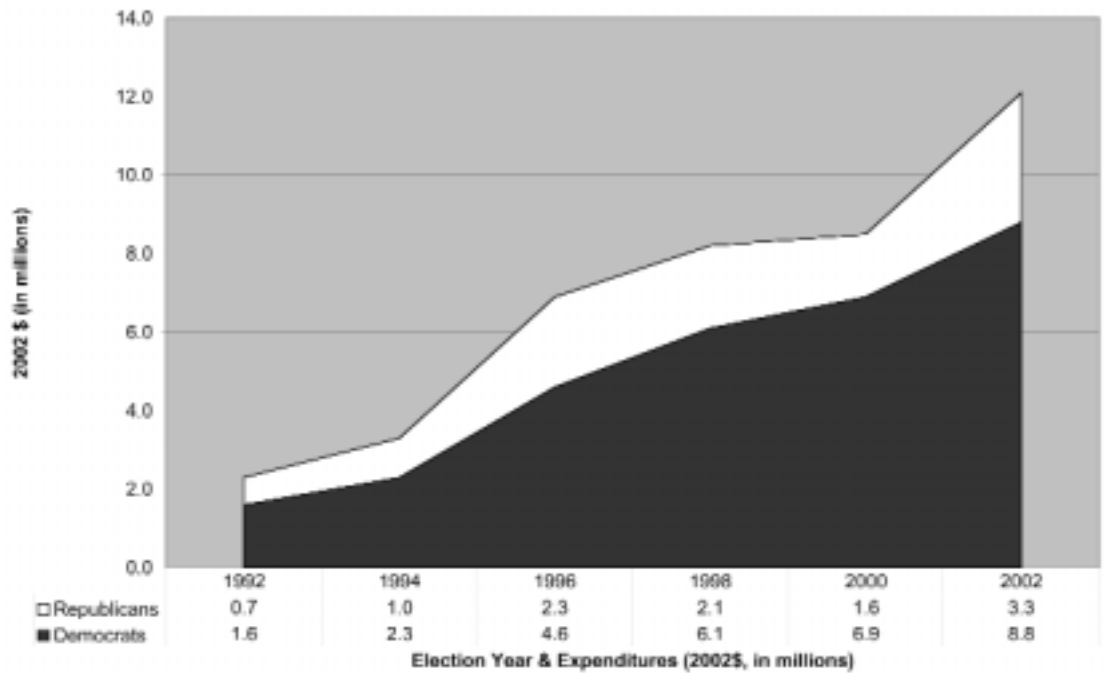
Top Five – Both Parties		Top Five Democrats		Top Five Republicans	
Candidate (Party)	Total (\$ Millions)	Candidate (District)	Total (\$ Millions)	Candidate (District)	Total (\$ Millions)
Black (D)	1.77	Black (100)	1.77	Munford (34)	0.38
Munford (R)	0.38	Baddour (11)*	0.31	McMahan (105)	0.19
Baddour (D)	0.31	Underhill (3)*	0.25	Daughtry (28)	0.19
Underhill (D)*	0.25	Smith (13)*	0.23	Miner (36)	0.15
Smith (D)*	0.23	Redwine (17)*	0.21	Wilson (104)	0.14

**NOTE:** "\*" denotes a losing candidate. With the exception of Paul Coble in the 16th Senate District, all of the losing candidates in these tables were Democratic incumbents. All dollar figures are expressed as 2002 dollars.

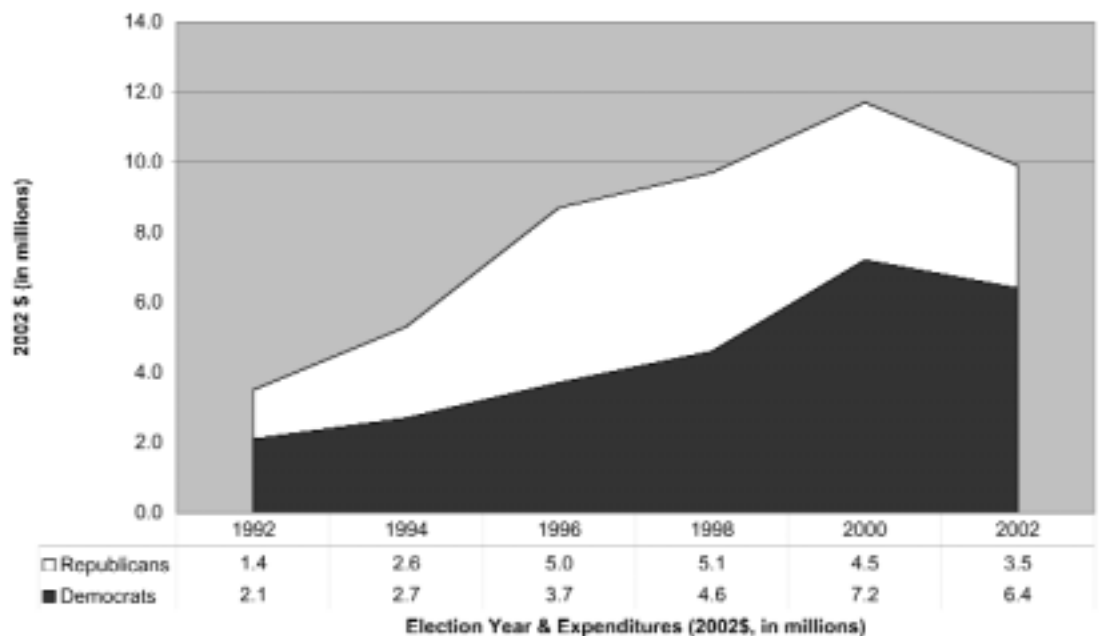
**SOURCE:** Analysis of NCFREE's compilation of official candidate finance reports from the NC State Board of Elections.

# Campaign Finance Trends, 1992–2002

## Total NC Senate Costs (Inflation Adjusted) by Party, 1992–2002



## Total NC House Costs (Inflation Adjusted) by Party, 1992–2002





# North Carolina General Assembly Elections, 2002

## 2002 State Senate Elections in NC<sup>i</sup>

From Most Republican to Most Democratic Districts

District #	Incumbent <sup>ii</sup>	Race Type <sup>iii</sup>	White % <sup>iv</sup>	2002 Registration (%)			1996 Helms % <sup>v</sup>	2000 Voting <sup>vi</sup>			2002 Voting <sup>vii</sup>	
				Rep.	Dem.	Unaf.		Pres	Gov	CJ	Winner, Party	Winner %
34	New open seat	OP SR	87.3	48.9	36.5	14.6	65.8	31.2	41.5	37.4	Brock, R	60.2
29	New open seat	OP SR	90.6	48.5	37.1	14.4	67.5	29.8	41.6	37.7	Tillman, R	64.7
33	Bingham, R	IR SR	91.1	47.8	38.5	13.7	67.7	31.5	43.4	40.7	Bingham, R	Unopposed
	Cunningham, D	NR										
31	Horton, R	IRU SR	92.7	47.4	36.0	16.6	65.9	31.0	41.6	36.9	Horton, R	88.2
30	Garwood, R	IR SR	95.1	46.3	40.7	13.0	65.8	30.4	42.9	38.3	Garwood, R	61.2
39	Rucho, R	IR SR	91.2	46.2	32.9	20.9	54.8	37.7	36.5	40.8	Rucho, R	65.2
35	Plyler, D	NR/OP SR	89.3	46.0	34.0	20.0	63.4	31.0	34.2	35.0	Shubert, R	66.7
40	Odum, D	IR SR	88.5	44.8	33.0	22.2	55.6	37.9	38.3	40.6	Pittenger, R	54.6
42	Forrester, R	IRWPU SR	93.0	44.4	38.6	17.0	65.0	31.4	39.1	35.6	Forrester, R	Unopposed
48	Carter, D	NR/OP SR	94.8	43.6	35.2	21.3	57.5	36.2	43.2	39.1	Apodaca, R	66.7
45	Fox, R	IR LR	96.7	43.5	39.2	17.3	59.3	36.3	45.0	40.9	Fox, R	61.8
	Moore, R	IRLP										
36	Hartsell, R	IR SR	88.5	43.2	38.7	18.0	63.9	31.1	37.9	37.5	Hartsell, R	66.2
41	New open seat	OP SR	89.3	42.8	41.8	15.4	63.2	33.2	40.5	38.2	Sloan, R	68
15	Carrington, R	IR LR	88.6	41.6	37.3	21.1	54.2	39.7	49.7	44.8	Carrington, R	57.1
	Miller, D	NR										
44	Allran, R	IRWPU LR	92.0	41.0	41.2	17.8	59.2	35.7	42.7	39.6	Allran, R	Unopposed
17	New open seat	OP LR	87.1	40.8	38.3	20.9	55.8	39.4	50.3	44.6	Stevens, R	61.7
47	New open seat	OP LR	98.2	40.0	44.4	15.6	57.9	36.2	47.9	43.4	Queen, D	49
43	Hoyle, D	IR SR	86.3	39.3	43.9	16.8	63.1	33.4	40.6	38.4	Hoyle, D	53
9	Ballantine, R	IR SW	85.8	38.8	41.7	19.5	51.8	45.1	56.6	46.0	Ballantine, R	65.1
26	Berger, R	IRWPU SR	86.6	38.2	45.6	16.2	61.6	32.6	43.5	42.8	Berger, R	84.7
	Shaw, R	IRLP										
22	New open seat	OP LR	83.4	37.9	45.0	17.1	58.8	38.1	49.0	45.8	Blake, R	54.4
12	Wellons, D	IR LR	85.1	37.6	48.1	14.2	68.3	31.8	49.3	41.0	Smith, R	57.7
	Harris, D	NR										
50	Carpenter, R	IR LR	95.2	36.7	44.8	18.5	54.1	38.5	46.8	44.6	Carpenter, R	56.5
16	Reeves, D	IR LD	87.2	35.0	41.0	24.0	45.6	47.2	56.1	52.9	Reeves, D	49.3
2	Thomas, D	IR SW	83.4	34.9	47.3	17.9	57.5	37.0	49.9	39.8	Thomas, D	51.7
6	Clark, D	OP <sup>viii</sup> SW	77.0	33.1	48.1	18.9	57.7	35.7	47.0	40.5	Hargett, D	51.8
27	Hagan, D	IR LD	78.7	33.0	48.9	18.1	46.1	51.6	58.7	60.8	Hagan, D	56.2
24	Webster, R	IR SW	79.0	32.9	55.7	11.5	58.9	40.4	50.5	51.1	Webster, R	57.8
10	Albertson, D	IR LD	70.2	31.8	57.8	10.4	57.5	42.6	55.3	49.0	Albertson, D	54.5
49	Metcalfe, D	IR SW	93.6	31.5	48.6	19.8	48.7	46.1	52.2	49.3	Metcalfe, D	55.9
11	Swindell, D	IR LD	71.2	30.9	58.7	10.4	59.7	41.9	58.2	49.9	Swindell, D	60.1
46	Dalton, D	IR SW	83.8	30.5	55.4	14.0	56.8	38.4	50.2	45.8	Dalton, D	52.4
5	New open seat	OP LD	72.0	30.3	56.5	13.2	55.7	43.2	59.2	49.0	Moore, D	50.9
8	Soles, D	IR SD	78.4	28.5	57.2	14.3	53.1	48.6	62.9	51.8	Soles, D	54.6
19	Rand, D	IR LD	72.9	27.9	56.7	15.4	56.7	41.9	55.8	50.6	Rand, D	63.4
18	Gulley, D	IR LD	77.7	26.7	57.3	16.1	50.9	49.3	59.5	56.4	Gulley, D	56.2
32	Garrou, D	IRU SD	56.7	25.8	59.5	14.7	38.1	60.9	66.5	64.7	Garrou, D	Unopposed
1	Basnight, D	IR LD	77.6	25.0	58.7	16.4	53.5	44.2	57.9	49.7	Basnight, D	66.6
25	Purcell, D	IR SD	72.3	24.9	61.8	13.3	52.5	45.9	55.1	56.8	Purcell, D	57.4
7	Kerr, D	IR LD	60.6	24.8	64.8	10.4	55.6	45.6	59.0	51.7	Kerr, D	53.9
23	Kinnaid, D	IR SD	83.1	24.6	54.9	20.5	36.1	58.5	64.1	63.9	Kinnaid, D	65.7
	Lee, D	IRLP										
28	Martin, D	NR/OP SD	47.3	24.4	61.0	14.5	36.1	59.7	66.2	66.4	Dorsett, D	64
14	New open seat	OP SD	54.4	23.8	60.0	16.2	37.6	61.7	69.3	66.0	Malone, D	64.5
21	Shaw, D	IR SD	42.4	22.8	57.3	20.0	34.4	63.5	68.5	67.8	Shaw, D	66.7
37	Clodfelter, D	IRU SD	53.1	22.8	58.6	18.5	31.2	68.9	67.9	71.3	Clodfelter, D	Unopposed
38	Dannelly, D	IRU SD	40.9	19.6	63.5	16.9	24.5	72.4	72.6	75.3	Dannelly, D	Unopposed
20	Lucas, D	IRU SD	49.8	17.4	65.3	17.3	27.8	70.9	75.9	75.0	Lucas, D	89.3
3	Martin, D	NR/OP <sup>ix</sup> SD	47.0	14.9	76.9	8.2	43.2	59.7	72.2	65.5	Jenkins, D	66.7
	Warren, D	NR										
4	Balance, D	OP/D <sup>x</sup> SD	46.0	11.9	80	8	39	63.8	74.0	69.5	Holloman, D	84.1
13	Weinstein, D	IRU SD	40.4	11.5	79.5	9	37.8	59.5	73.6	69.5	Weinstein, D	Unopposed

SOURCE: John N. Davis and Danny Crook, *2002 Almanac of North Carolina Politics* (Raleigh: NC Free, August 2002); 2002 official returns compiled by NCFREE

### NOTES:

<sup>i</sup> All districts are single member districts. In several situations, two incumbents were placed into a single district and vied for that seat. Those situations are noted.

<sup>ii</sup> 2002 incumbent and party.

<sup>iii</sup> "2002 Race Type" and projection from the *2002 Almanac of North Carolina Politics*. Race Type = IR – incumbent running for reelection; IRLP – incumbent running, lost primary; IRU – incumbent running unopposed for reelection; IRWPU – incumbent running, won primary, unopposed in general election, NR – incumbent not running; OP – open seat. Projections = SR – strong Republican, LR – leans Republican, SW – swing or uncertain outcome, LD – leans Democratic, SD – strong Democratic.

<sup>iv</sup> "White" represents the percent of the district's registered voters who are white.

<sup>v</sup> "1996 Helms" is the percent of district votes for U.S. Senator Jesse Helms in 1996 Helms–Gantt senate race.

<sup>vi</sup> "2000 Voting Record" is percent voting for the Democratic candidate in the Presidential race [Gore], Governor's race [Easley] and the Chief Justice's race [Frye].

<sup>vii</sup> The name and party affiliation of the 2002 winner, along with the percent of the vote received. Italics indicate swing districts and districts where the projected winning party did not win (the 47th District).

<sup>viii</sup> Incumbent Clark was appointed to the seat to replace the late Luther Jordan-D. This was her first election bid, but she lost in the primary, so it became an open seat race.

<sup>ix</sup> Both incumbents decided not to seek reelection.

<sup>x</sup> Balance did not seek reelection, and since only Democrats filed for this office the winner of the Democratic Primary, Robert Hollowman, won the general election.

# 2002 State House Elections in NC

## From Most Republican to Most Democratic Districts

District #	Incumbent <sup>i</sup>	Race Type <sup>ii</sup>		White % <sup>iii</sup>	2002 Registration (%)			1996 Helms % <sup>iv</sup>	2000 Voting <sup>v</sup>			2002 Voting <sup>vi</sup>	
					Rep.	Dem.	Unaf.		Pres	Gov	CJ	Winner, Party	Winner %
84	Buchanan, R Thompson, R	IRLPU	SR	96.3	58.8	25.5	15.8	68.6	28.2	36.3	31.9	Frye, R	84.1
92	Holmes, R	IRU	SR	95.0	55.4	30.3	13.3	72.6	25.2	36.9	31.3	Holmes, R	86.6
78	Brubaker, R	IRU	SR	96.5	55.3	29.2	15.5	74.0	23.6	35.9	31.5	Brubaker, R	90.7
83	Walker, R	IR	SR	95.7	55.3	31.7	13.0	67.6	29.1	41.5	34.7	Walker, R	64.6
79	Howard, R	IRWPU	SR	94.6	55.2	31.2	13.5	72.7	24.8	36.8	31.4	Howard, R	86.7
80	Dockham, R	IRU	SR	96.3	55.0	31.7	13.4	76.2	23.6	36.4	31.3	Dockham, R	Unopposed
67	Culp, R	IR	SR	90.8	50.7	34.9	14.4	66.8	30.1	41.1	37.2	Culp, R	68.1
104	Wilson, R	IRU	SR	93.4	50.4	28.3	21.3	57.0	34.6	32.4	37.5	Wilson, R	89.5
76	McCombs, R	IRU	SR	95.1	49.5	33.0	17.5	71.4	23.9	33.6	31.0	McCombs, R	Unopposed
73	New Open Seat	OP	SR	93.9	49.3	30.4	20.4	67.6	27.0	30.7	30.6	Blackwood, R	Unopposed
105	McMahan, R	IRWPU	SR	92.4	49.3	28.4	22.3	55.6	35.9	34.4	38.0	McMahan, R	89.8
103	Gulley, R	IRWPU	SR	90.2	48.4	30.5	21.2	61.2	33.2	33.9	35.6	Gulley, R	90.2
91	Baker, R	IR	SR	94.5	47.5	40.1	12.4	69.3	28.4	41.3	36.5	Baker, R	56.8
	Hiatt, R	NR											
94	Decker, R	IRWPU	SR	91.5	47.3	36.5	16.2	66.9	30.7	41.6	36.6	Decker, R <sup>viii</sup>	85.0
87	Starnes, R	IR	SR	95.4	46.9	39.0	13.2	65.1	31.3	40.1	36.5	Starnes, R	51.5
52	Morgan, R	IRU	SR	86.0	46.8	35.4	17.8	59.3	36.4	44.4	42.3	Morgan, R	85.6
89	Setzer, R	IRU	SR	92.6	46.8	36.2	17.0	64.9	31.8	40.0	35.0	Setzer, R	86.0
117	Justus, R	IRU	SR	96.2	46.8	31.0	22.2	60.0	34.0	41.5	37.2	Justus, R	89.0
95	New Open Seat	OPRU	SR	92.7	46.4	34.0	19.6	65.2	30.4	35.9	33.6	Ray, R	Unopposed
88	Hilton, R	IRWPU	SR	89.5	46.3	35.7	18.0	60.1	34.0	40.2	37.1	Hilton, R	Unopposed
61	Jarrell, D	NR/OP	LR	85.1	45.6	37.3	17.1	60.6	36.9	46.9	46.2	Wood, R	79.2
98	New Open Seat	OP	SR	88.5	45.1	32.5	22.4	55.4	37.2	38.2	40.3	Rhodes, R	57.9
19	McComas, R	IRU	LR	94.7	44.6	35.5	19.9	57.5	38.3	51.6	39.4	McComas, R	88.7
57	Bowie, R	IRU	SR	91.6	44.4	39.5	16.1	62.7	34.2	44.3	44.9	Bowie, R	84.4
50	Capps, R	IRU	LR	90.7	43.9	33.4	22.7	55.5	37.9	48.0	43.5	Capps, R	80.9
36	Miner, R	IRWPU	LR	91.5	43.7	31.8	24.5	52.2	39.7	49.9	44.1	Miner, R	86.1
74	Johnson, R	IR	SR	87.1	43.3	38.1	18.6	62.0	33.3	39.2	38.7	Johnson, R	65.2
93	Esposito, R	NR/OP	SR	90.0	43.3	40.0	16.7	60.2	36.6	46.1	42	McGee, R	62.7
	Gray, R	NR/OP											
113	Walend, R	IRU	SR	96.0	43.0	35.3	21.7	57.6	34.5	40.4	37.7	Walend, R	84.0
64	Allred, R	IR	SR	92.7	42.4	45.2	12.5	68.7	30.4	41.5	42.3	Allred, R	Unopposed
	Teague, R	NR											
108	Rayfield, R	IRU	SR	91.7	41.9	40.2	17.9	69.0	26.9	33.6	31.6	Rayfield, R	84.3
	Harrington, R	NR											
120	West, R	IRU	LR	98.1	41.6	41.9	16.6	57.6	34.9	44.5	41.7	West, R	Unopposed
82	Wilson, R	IR	LR	98.2	41.5	38.2	20.3	54.3	40.4	47.0	44.0	Wilson, R	58.3
110	Clary, R	IRWPU	SR	88.4	41.3	42.4	16.3	66.4	30.3	38.8	36.0	Clary, R	Unopposed
	Weatherly, R	NR											
40	Eddins, R	IRU	LR	83.3	41.1	40.3	18.6	56.7	39.3	50.0	43.6	Eddins, R	85.1
75	Barnhart, R	IR	SR	87.5	41.0	41.2	17.8	62.2	32.5	39.5	39.3	Barnhart, R	59.3
97	Kiser, R	IR	SR	93.5	40.8	42.6	16.6	62.2	33.7	41.7	39.2	Kiser, R	58.5
	Barefoot, D	NR											
37	Hensley, R	NR/OP	LR	85.8	40.1	38.4	21.5	54.2	39.8	50.5	45.4	Stam, R	59.0
85	Gillespie, R	IR	SR	97.1	39.5	43.3	17.2	65.5	30.8	41.2	35.7	Gillespie, R	58.2
13	Preston, R	IR	LR	93.9	39.4	41.4	19.2	60.5	33.0	46.2	35.6	Preston, R	56.5
	Smith, D	IR											
62	Boyd-McIntyre, D	IR	LR	81.1	38.7	42.6	18.7	51.5	40.6	49.6	48.6	Blust, R	62.1
	Blust, R	IR											
39	Ellis, R	IR	LR	81.7	38.0	45.4	16.6	61.1	39.3	51.9	45.2	Ellis, R	56.6
96	Mitchell, R	IR	LR	82.7	38.0	48.6	13.4	60.7	37.3	45.4	42.7	Mitchell, R	58.2
28	Daughtry, R	IRU	LR	85.4	37.8	47.5	14.6	66.4	32.9	50.4	42.1	Daughtry, R	Unopposed
17	Redwine, D	IR	SW	91.4	37.5	42.6	19.9	54.7	44.1	56.7	44.7	Stiller, R	49.3
26	Creech, R	IRU	LR	84.9	37.4	48.0	14.6	69.7	31.5	49.1	40.6	Creech, R	Unopposed
	Russell, R	NR											
116	Sherrill, R	IRWPU	LR	97.8	37.2	43.7	19.1	58.1	36.6	44.9	40.4	Sherrill, R	Unopposed
34	Pope, R	NR/OP <sup>ix</sup>	SW	87.6	37.0	42.2	20.8	51.2	43.9	53.2	49.9	Munford, R	57.8
81	Holliman, D	IR	SW	82.7	37.0	50.2	12.8	57.7	42.9	54.9	51.4	Holliman, R	53.2
25	Arnold, R	NR/OP	SW	77.4	36.7	53.3	10.0	65.7	35.2	54.6	44.2	Daughtry, D	59.3
109	New Open Seat	OP	SW	82.7	36.0	48.1	16.0	56.9	41.4	48.3	46.2	McHenry, R	54.4
77	Coates, D	IR	SW	74.2	35.9	48.9	15.2	53.5	43.3	50.5	49.4	Coates, D	55.0
15	Grady, R	IR	LR	84.1	35.6	46.4	18.0	64	30.9	44.2	36.1	Grady, R	70.8
16	New open seat	OP	SW	80.7	35.6	48.5	15.9	55.1	44.2	55.8	46.4	Justice, R	55.9
70	Barbee, R	IR	SW	80.4	35.2	48.7	16.0	60.9	37.8	46.1	45.5	Barbee, R	50.7
	Shubert, R	NR											
3	Underhill, D	IR	LR	83.7	35.1	46.2	18.6	59.4	35.6	48.1	37.7	Gorman, R	50.4
66	Sexton, R	IRU	SW	86.5	35.1	48	16.9	62	37.1	50.1	46.7	Sexton, R	Unopposed
90	New Open Seat	OP	LR	96.1	34.9	51.7	13.4	58.9	35.2	47.9	44.9	Harrell, D	52.8
86	Church, D	IR	SW	91.6	33.8	49.0	17.1	53.6	42.0	49.8	46.9	Church, D	59.1
115	Crawford, R	IR	SW	92.2	33.5	46.9	19.6	46.8	46.2	51.7	48.6	Goforth, D	50.7
14	New Open Seat	OP	SW	68.5	33.4	44.9	21.7	52.2	40.5	48.3	43.9	Williams, R	54.5
53	Davis, R	NR/OP	SW	80.4	33.4	53.9	12.7	65.5	34.4	50.3	43.5	Lewis, R	61.8

## 2002 State House Elections in NC (continued)

District #	Incumbent <sup>i</sup>	Race Type <sup>ii</sup>	White % <sup>iii</sup>	2002 Registration (%)			1996 Helms % <sup>iv</sup>	2000 Voting <sup>v</sup>			2002 Voting <sup>vi</sup>	
				Rep.	Dem.	Unaf.		Pres	Gov	CJ	Winner, Party	Winner %
99	Saunders, D	IRU SD	65.7	33.3	44.8	21.9	39.6	55.0	55.5	57.8	Saunders, D	Unopposed
11	Baddour, D	IR SW	71.0	33.1	54.7	12.2	60.2	37.0	50.2	44.2	Pate, R	50.5
35	Weiss, D	IR LD	89.4	33.1	43.9	23.0	45.3	49.5	58.3	55.3	Weiss, D	52.8
59	Jeffus, D	IR LD	82.6	33.1	48.0	18.9	44.7	51.6	58.2	62.5	Jeffus, R	54.4
9	McLawhorn, D	IR SW	77.9	31.7	51.1	17.2	52.9	43.9	58.7	46.7	McLawhorn, D	64.9
44	Hurley, D	NR/OP LD	64.5	30.8	49.6	19.5	52.5	45.2	54.2	52.2	Glazier, D	53.4
63	New Open Seat	OP LD	73.6	30.7	58.7	10.7	52.6	48.0	56.7	57.6	Bordsen, D	50.3
118	M. Carpenter, R	IR LD	98.4	30.7	55.0	14.3	51.4	40.1	54.2	51.0	Rapp, D	53.3
45	Warner, D	IR SW	71.8	30.4	51.1	18.5	57.6	42.5	56.0	50.4	Warner, D	62.4
112	New Open Seat	OP SW	88.0	30.4	54.7	15.0	58.1	37.3	50.2	44.2	England, D	57.9
100	Black, D	IR SD	66.9	29.8	49.1	21.1	40.9	59.1	58.6	61.8	Black, R	60.9
106	Alexander, D	IR SD	71.5	29.7	49.4	20.8	34.4	58.8	56.4	61.6	Alexander, D	Unopposed
51	Cox, D	IR SW	80.9	29.5	54.4	16.1	57.5	40.9	54.3	50.0	Sauls, R	51.1
22	Nye, D	IRWPU LD	69.8	29.4	61.8	8.8	54.9	44.5	58.9		Nye, D	62.3
	Warwick, D	IRLPP										
111	Dedmon, D	IR LD	78.0	29.2	57.7	13.1	53.7	41.3	52.0	49.0	Moore, R	53.0
41	Morris, R	IR LD	73.1	28.7	55.8	15.5	56.6	42.6	55.2	50.6	Dickson, D	50.7
119	Haire, D	IR LD	93.2	28.4	52.5	19.1	48.1	45.9	54.9	52.1	Haire, D	55.1
10	Tucker, D	IR SW	77.1	27.7	60.6	11.7	64.7	35.9	51.6	42.5	LaRoque, R	50.9
114	Nesbitt, D	IR SD	89.0	27.7	51.9	20.3	44.1	51.8	56.6	54.7	Nesbitt, D	61.0
4	Rogers, D	NR/OP LD	73.5	26.9	60.4	12.7	60.4	40.5	57.9	46.0	Johnson, D	51.8
32	Crawford, D	IR LD	74.7	26.9	59.5	13.6	58.1	44.4	56.7	52.6	Crawford, D	58.2
55	Allen, D	IR LD	77.7	26.9	59.4	13.8	55.3	45.2	56.4	53.1	Allen, D	55.4
20	Hill, D	IRU SD	80.6	26.3	59.8	13.9	52.9	48.7	64.5	55.2	Hill, D	82.4
23	Tolson, D	IR LD	69.6	26.1	65.0	8.9	60.8	41.4	59.0	50.8	Tolson, D	53.4
69	Gibson, D	IR SD	72.9	26.1	61.8	12.1	52.5	45.8	55.5	54.5	Gibson, D	64.8
49	New Open Seat	OP LD	73.0	25.9	61.6	12.4	55.6	44.7	58.9	51.1	Allen, D	52.5
54	Hackney, D	IRU SD	83.1	25.1	55.8	19.0	40	55.1	61.7	61.0	Hackney, D	86.2
68	Goodwin, D	IR LD	76.2	25.1	62.1	12.8	54	43.6	51.9	57.2	Goodwin, D	55.9
2	Culpepper, D	IR LD	82.5	24.7	58.1	17.2	48.9	46.9	62.0	53.6	Culpepper, D	63.4
65	Cole, D	IRU LD	70.5	24.6	62.3	13.1	53.2	45.0	56.6	56.2	Cole, D	Unopposed
72	Oldham, D	NR SD	56.7	23.8	60.6	15.6	33.1	65.6	70.4	69.3	Parmon, D	54.8
6	Edwards, D	NR/OP LD	68.8	23.5	67.0	9.4	56	43.1	56.8	48.4	Williams, D	53.9
21	Bell, D	IRU SD	50.5	23.0	67.5	9.5	47.8	56.9	66.2	61.2	Bell, D	Unopposed
42	Lucas, D	IRU SD	40.1	23.0	55.5	21.5	31.1	65.4	70.6	69.4	Lucas, D	Unopposed
30	Luebke, D	IRU SD	73.1	22.9	57.8	19.4	38.3	60.3	66.9	65.2	Luebke, D	84.6
101	Earle, D	IRU SD	48.4	22.2	62.4	15.4	32.9	63.9	64.9	67.5	Earle, D	Unopposed
56	Insko, D	IRU SD	84.0	22.1	54.0	23.9	25.3	68.3	71.3	73.0	Insko, D	80.0
1	Owens, D	IRU SD	73.5	22.0	58.7	19.3	51.9	47.6	60.4	53.7	Owens, D	Unopposed
33	Blue, D	NR/OP SD	50.7	21.9	61.2	16.9	34.8	65.8	72.0	69.7	Allen, D	65.9
71	Womble, D	IR SD	43.0	21.4	66.0	12.7	34.3	66.9	71.8	70.2	Womble, D	66.1
18	Wright, D	IR SD	58.4	21.1	65.1	13.8	36.9	63.4	73.6	66.4	Wright, D	74.2
107	Cunningham, D	IRU SD	41.6	20.9	62.6	16.5	25	68.3	68.9	71.4	Cunningham, D	Unopposed
102	Easterling, D	NR/OP SD	48.3	20.7	62.6	16.7	28.9	71.8	70.7	74.2	Carney, D	91.0
		RU										
31	Michaux, D	IRU SD	51.7	20.3	62.4	17.3	34.1	66.6	72.7	70.6	Michaux, D	81.0
43	McAllister, D	IRWPU SD	37.3	19.8	61.9	18.2	29.3	66.6	71.3	70.9	McAllister, D	Unopposed
12	Wainwright, D	IRU SD	50.1	19.7	68.7	11.6	40.3	56.7	66.5	60.4	Wainwright, D	87.2
46	Yongue, D	IR SD	68.6	19.6	65.9	14.5	51.4	46.5	62.4	57.2	Yongue, D	63.5
29	Miller, D	IRU SD	55.1	19.5	61.6	18.9	23.5	71.0	74.8	75.0	Miller, D	Unopposed
60	New Open Seat	OP SD	37.2	19.1	66.9	14.0	27.9	74.7	78.6	78.8	Jones, D	83.8
58	Adams, D	IRU SD	39.3	18.3	68.0	13.8	31	63.5	69.2	70.5	Adams, D	85.8
24	Willingham, D	IRLPP <sup>x</sup> SD	38.2	18.1	74.5	7.5	35.8	66.4	76.2	72.2	Butterfield, D	Unopposed
38	New Open Seat	OP SD	50.5	18.1	61.8	20.1	23.7	72.7	77.6	76.6	Ross, D	89.7
7	Hall, D	IRWPU SD	41.4	17.0	74.9	8.1	41	65.7	74.8	70.3	Hall, D	Unopposed
8	Warren, D	IRWPU SD	49.2	16.1	74.0	9.9	45.9	55.8	68.4	60.8	Warren, D	Unopposed
47	Sutton, D	IR SD	29.7	10.1	82.8	7.1	33.9	61.0	75.9	72.5	Sutton, D	73.2
27	Fox, D	IRU SD	47.3	12.0	80.2	7.8	40.7	62.3	72.1	70.5	Fox, D	Unopposed
5	Hunter, D	IRU SD	41.7	9.5	84.7	5.8	35.6	66.0	77.0	71.8	Hunter, D	84.3
48	Bonner, D	IRU SD	35.1	8.5	82.9	8.6	32.8	69.9	80.0	77.5	Bonner, D	Unopposed

SOURCE: John N. Davis and Danny Crook, *2002 Almanac of North Carolina Politics* (Raleigh: NC Free, August 2002) .2002 official returns compiled by NCFREE.

<sup>i</sup> 2002 incumbent and party.

<sup>ii</sup> "2002 Race Type" and projection from the *2002 Almanac of North Carolina Politics*. Race Type = IR – incumbent running for reelection; IRLP – incumbent running, lost primary; IRU – incumbent running unopposed for reelection; IRWPU – incumbent running, won primary, unopposed in general election, NR – incumbent not running; OP – open seat. Projections = SR – strong Republican, LR – leans Republican, SW – swing or uncertain outcome, LD – leans Democratic, SD – strong Democratic.

<sup>iii</sup> "White %" represents the percent of the district's registered voters who are white.

<sup>iv</sup> = "1996 Helms %" is the percent of district votes for U.S. Senator Jesse Helms in 1996 Helms-Gantt senate race.

<sup>v</sup> = "2000 Voting Record" is percent voting for the Democratic candidate in the Presidential race [Gore], Governor's race [Easley], and the Chief Justice's race [Frye].

<sup>vi</sup> = The name and party affiliation of the 2002 winner, along with the percent of the vote received. Italics indicate swing districts and districts where the projected winning party did not win (Districts 41, 59 90, 100, and 111).

<sup>vii</sup> = Rep. Decker ran as a Republican but switched to the Democratic Party following the election.

<sup>viii</sup> = The winner of the Democratic Primary was Julie Paul, who pulled out of the race on primary day. She was replaced by Cynthia Barnett, who was appointed by the Democratic Party.

<sup>ix</sup> = Incumbent Willingham was appointed to fill the unexpired term of former Rep. Toby Fitch. This was his first election bid, but he was defeated in the Democratic Party primary.

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## Swing Districts in Eastern North Carolina

### A) NC Senate (3 of 6 Total Swing Districts)

District	Senator (Party)	% Vote	Counties
2	Thomas (D)	51.7	Carteret Craven Pamlico
6	Hargett (D)	51.8	Jones Onslow
9	Ballantine (R)	65.1	New Hanover

### B) NC House (10 of 19 Total Swing Districts)

District	Senator (Party)	% Vote	Counties
9	McLawnhorn (D)	64.9	Pitt
10	LaRoque (R)	50.9	Duplin Lenoir
11	Pate (R)	50.5	Wayne
14	Williams (R)	54.5	Onslow
16	Justice (R)	55.9	New Hanover Pender
17	Stiller (R)	49.3	Wayne
25	Daughtridge (R)	59.3	Nash
45	Warner (D)	62.4	Cumberland
51	Sauls (R)	51.1	Harnett Lee Moore
53	Lewis (R)	61.8	Harnett

SOURCE: NCFREE, various reports.

# Swing Districts in Eastern North Carolina

JOHN QUINTERNO, assistant director, Program on Southern Politics, Media and Public Life

Eastern North Carolina retained a role in the state's politics in 2002 despite a recent shift of electoral power to the metropolitan Piedmont. Counties east of I-95 helped determine majority status in both chambers of the General Assembly due to the region's concentration of swing legislative districts.

NCFREE, a pro-business research organization, has developed a methodology for classifying the partisan preferences of legislative districts. Under this system, swing districts are those with voter registration profiles that could support either Democratic or Republican candidates.

In 2002 a total of 25 legislative districts were classified as swing districts. Six of these districts were in the Senate, and 19 were in the House. Because the closely divided nature of the General Assembly meant that a gain or loss of a few seats would determine majority status in both chambers and because swing seats potentially are winnable by either party, both parties focused resources on those districts.

Winning three of six swing districts helped Senate Democrats obtain a six-seat advantage, while capturing 12 of 19 swing seats provided House Republicans with a slender majority

until Representative Michael Decker switched to the Democratic Party.

A majority of North Carolina's swing districts in 2002 were located east of I-95. Eastern counties constituted half of the Senate's swing districts and 53 percent of the House's. The remaining swing districts in both chambers were scattered around the state's Piedmont (1 Senate and 6 House districts) and Western (2 Senate and 3 House districts) regions.

Races in Eastern swing districts were close. In two of the three Eastern Senate districts (Districts # 2 and 6) the winning Democratic candidates received roughly 51 percent of the votes cast. In the House, meanwhile, candidates who received less than 51 percent of the total vote won 4 of the 10 Eastern swing districts. Republicans performed well overall in the House's Eastern swing districts, winning eight of 10 races.

The Eastern tinge to legislative swing districts may not survive into the future due to demographic changes and redistricting, but a combination of factors in 2002 allowed Eastern counties to help decide the majority party in both houses of the General Assembly. ■