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## U.S. House Districts Reflect Partisan Divide

*FERREL GUILLORY, director, Program on Southern Politics, Media and Public Life*

In partisan terms, North Carolina sends a divided delegation to the U.S. House — seven Republicans and six Democrats. The lineup reflects the reality of a two-party state in which the major parties compete in near-balance and have no assured statewide majority.

Still, the divided delegation does not result from a biennial assortment of closely-contested, narrowly-won congressional races. Rather, the current 7-6 split has more to do with the way the General Assembly has drawn U.S. House districts than with the conduct of election campaigns.

In this regard North Carolina has acted no differently from most other states following the 2000 U.S. Census. Most congressional districts have a clear Democratic or Republican identity, based upon voter performance, with the battle for control of a narrowly divided House determined by only a few "swing" districts.

This issue of *NC DataNet* takes a look at voting and campaign spending patterns in the 2002 congressional elections, as well as the demographic profile and committee assignments of the state's congressional delegation. From the articles and data charts that follow, several findings emerge:

- ◆ In 10 of the state's 13 congressional districts, the winning candidate received at least 59 percent of the vote. The narrowest margin of victory — in the 8th District — was nine percentage points.
- ◆ As a result of population growth, North Carolina gained an additional House seat after the census. With former state legislator Brad Miller as their candidate, Democrats picked up the 13th District seat. Still, in a manifestation of the drawing power of Republican U.S. Sen. Elizabeth Dole at the top of the ticket, Republican congressional candidates

won their largest share of votes in any election cycle with a U.S. Senate race (but no presidential race) between 1960 and 2002.

- ◆ As a result of population shifts, North Carolina has become more metropolitan than ever. Even its rural-oriented congressional districts now contain a substantial segment of urban voters. The most "rural" district — the 5th — has an urban population of nearly 43 percent.
- ◆ In most districts, campaign spending had a direct relationship to the level of competition. Seven incumbents, facing little or no competition, spent less in 2002 than in 2000. The most expensive races resulted from incumbents anticipating strong challenges — total spending of \$2.9 million in the 8th District and \$2 million in the 11th — and from the competition for the new 13th District seat, for which spending reached \$1.4 million.

**A Publisher's Footnote:** *Much of the data analysis in NC DataNet comes from the storehouse of statistics collected by UNC-Chapel Hill Professor Thad Beyle throughout his distinguished career of teaching and writing on state and local government and North Carolina politics. Thanks also go to John Quintero for his efforts to build upon the Beyle data in producing clear, readable text and graphics. Thanks, too, to Jeremy Ashton, a graduate student in journalism at UNC-Chapel Hill who authored the profiles of the 8th and 13th districts.*

*Let me also issue a series of invitations: 1) to visit the Web site [www.southnow.org](http://www.southnow.org) for archives of both North Carolina and Southern political data, 2) to let us know if you or colleagues you know would like to receive our bimonthly, electronic SouthNow Update and 3) to contribute your own ideas to our monitoring of state and regional political trends. ■*

# NC Congressional Election Trends

## Vote Totals for NC Congressional Candidates, 1960–2002

Year	Cycle <sup>1</sup>	# Votes (thousands)			% of Vote		# Seats Won		# Uncontested <sup>2</sup>	
		Dem.	Rep.	Total	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
2002	C	971	1,209	2,180	45	56	6	7	0	2
2000	B	1,194	1,515	2,708	44	56	5	7	0	2
1998	C	827	1,014	1,841	45	55	5	7	1	2
1996 <sup>3</sup>	A	1,136	1,340	2,476	46	54	6	6	0	0
1994	D	681	907	1,588	43	57	4	8	0	1
1992 <sup>4</sup>	A	1,282	1,204	2,486	52	48	8	4	0	0
1990 <sup>5</sup>	C	1,076	935	2,011	54	46	7	4	0	0
1988	B	1,108	876	1,984	56	44	8	3	2	0
1986	C	890	682	1,572	57	43	8	3	0	0
1984 <sup>3</sup>	A	1,131	1,026	2,157	52	48	6	5	0	0
1982	D	708	580	1,288	55	45	9	2	0	0
1980 <sup>4</sup>	A	964	769	1,733	56	44	7	4	1	0
1978 <sup>5</sup>	C	607	405	1,012	60	40	9	2	1	1
1976 <sup>4</sup>	B	1,011	549	1,560	65	35	9	2	2	0
1974	C	638	348	986	65	35	9	2	3	0
1972 <sup>3</sup>	A	735	610	1,345	55	45	7	4	2	0
1970	D	514	411	925	56	44	7	4	1	0
1968	A	765	633	1,398	55	45	7	4	2	1
1966	C	484	432	916	53	47	8	3	2	0
1964	B	788	511	1,299	61	39	9	2	2	0
1962	C	482	336	819	59	41	9	2	3	0
1960	A	726	459	1,185	61	39	10	1	0	0

## NC Representation in the U.S. House, 1789–2000

Decade	# NC Reprs.	# U.S. Reprs.	% NC
2000	13	435	3.0
1990	12	435	2.8
1980	11	435	2.5
1970	11	435	2.5
1960	11	435	2.5
1950	12	437 <sup>1</sup>	2.7
1940	12	435	2.8
1930 <sup>2</sup>	11	435	2.5
1910	10	435	2.3
1900	10	391	2.6
1890	9	357	2.5
1880	9	332	2.7
1870	8	293	2.7
1860	7	243	2.9
1850	8	237	3.4
1840	9	232	3.9
1830	13	242	5.4
1820	13	213	6.1
1810	13	186	7.0
1800	12	142	8.5
1790	10	106	9.4
1789 <sup>3</sup>	5	65	7.7

**NOTES:** 1) Normally 435 seats, but temporarily increased by two when Alaska and Hawaii became states. 2) No apportionment was made in 1920. 3) Original apportionment made in the Constitution, pending the first census.

**SOURCE:** Harold W. Stanley and Richard G. Niemi, *Vital Statistics on American Politics* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1988): 162–63

## Cycle Breakdowns, 1960–2002

Cycle	Average Votes			% Change		
	# Votes (millions)	% Dem.	% Rep.	# Votes	% Dem.	% Rep.
All	1.612	54	46	+84	-27	+44
A	1.826	54	46	+109	-25	+38
B	1.888	57	44	+108	-28	+44
C	1.417	55	45	+166	-25	+35
D	1.267	51	49	+72	-23	+30

## Wins by Decade (249 Total Races)<sup>6</sup>

Decade	# Dem. Wins	# Rep. Wins	Win Ratio (Dem. To Rep.)
60–68	43	12	3.6 to 1
70–78	41	14	2.9 to 1
80–88	38	17	2.2 to 1
90–98	30	29	1 to 1
00–02	11	14	0.8 to 1

**NOTES:** 1) “A” designates years with presidential, gubernatorial and U.S. Senate elections; “B” designates years with presidential and gubernatorial elections; “C” designates years with only a U.S. Senate election; “D” designates years with only congressional elections. 2) “Uncontested” is the number of seats won in uncontested races. 3) Years with both Jesse Helms and Jim Hunt on the ballot. 4) Years with only Jim Hunt on the ballot. 5) Years with only Jesse Helms on the ballot. 6) Only Democrats or Republicans have won congressional seats. Prior to the 1990s, the state had 11 congressional seats. It gained one seat following the 1990 Census and another following the 2000 Census.

**SOURCES:** North Carolina State Board of Elections ([www.sboe.state.nc.us](http://www.sboe.state.nc.us)), *North Carolina DataNet*, October 2001 ([www.southnow.org/publications/ncdn/ncdn29.pdf](http://www.southnow.org/publications/ncdn/ncdn29.pdf)).

# The 13th District: A Bumpy Birth

JEREMY ASHTON, graduate student, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, UNC-Chapel Hill

Democrat Brad Miller and Republican Carolyn Grant waged a heated campaign for North Carolina's new congressional seat, but the political and legal maneuvering surrounding the 13th District's creation was a race of its own.

## North Carolina, Not Utah, Gains a Seat

As a result of a 21.4 percent population increase between 1990 and 2000, North Carolina gained a thirteenth seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in the reapportionment that followed the 2000 Census.

The awarding of the new seat to North Carolina quickly was challenged by Utah, which according to the Census Bureau had roughly 900 fewer residents than North Carolina. On a variety of technical grounds, Utah argued that the Census Bureau undercounted the state's population and that Utah should have received the seat. The U.S. Supreme Court, however, ruled against Utah on two separate occasions and allowed North Carolina to keep the seat.

Nevertheless, Utah's challenge recently gained a new life when it was learned that the Census Bureau mistakenly counted students living in a UNC-Chapel Hill dormitory twice. After adjusting for this mistake, North Carolina's population advantage over Utah now stands at about 80 people.

## District Composition

Almost half of the 13th District's population resides in Wake County, Miller's home. The Wake portion of the district encompasses the center of Raleigh, including North Carolina State University, and the county's northern part. Another 18 percent of the district's population lives in Guilford County, including the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and several African-American neighborhoods. Aside from a sliver of Alamance County, the rest of the district consists of parts or all of Granville, Person, Caswell and Rockingham counties — four rural counties along the Virginia border with relatively large African-American populations and historic ties to the Democratic Party.

In terms of partisan identity, nearly 54 percent of the district's voters are registered Democrats. Though most new Democratic-leaning districts created in the South in recent decades contain a majority or near majority of African Americans, the 13th District proved to be an exception. Twenty-seven percent of its residents are African-American. The four rural counties and the university neighborhoods, however, anchor Democratic support.

## Campaigning for the Seat

State Sen. Miller, a lawyer who chaired the Senate redistricting committee, eventually decided to seek the Democratic nomination for the congressional seat. The state's late primary coupled with Utah's legal challenge complicated campaigning and fundraising. In a multi-candidate primary, Miller's strong showing in Wake County, where he garnered 58 percent of the vote, propelled him to the nomination.

Miller entered the general election with an advantage, but Republicans insisted he would not win an easy victory. The GOP nominated Carolyn Grant, a commercial real estate developer and 1999 Democratic candidate for mayor of Raleigh.

Advertising consumed much of the \$1.4 million spent by the two candidates with Miller spending 70 percent of that total. Overall, the 13th District race was the third most expensive 2002 contest in North Carolina, trailing the 8th and 11th districts. The contest also was the 17th most expensive congressional race in the state between 1992 and 2002 (see pages 6-8).

Miller received 55 percent of the total vote, compared to Grant's share of 42 percent. Furthermore, Miller carried all seven counties, including 52 percent of Wake County's vote and 63 percent of Guilford County's vote. ■

## 13th NC Congressional District Election Results, by County

(Ranked by Percent of Total Vote)

County	Miller (Dem)	Grant (Rep)	MacDonald (Lib)	Totals	
				# Votes	%
Wake	52.1	45.1	2.7	98,982	54.0
Guilford	63.0	33.8	3.1	29,150	15.9
Rockingham	52.4	43.5	4.0	22,890	12.5
Person	50.9	46.2	2.9	9,929	5.4
Granville	51.8	46.0	2.2	8,174	4.5
Alamance	64.6	33.1	2.3	7,567	4.1
Caswell	62.5	35.3	2.2	6,578	3.6
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>54.7</b>	<b>42.4</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>183,270</b>	<b>100</b>

SOURCE: North Carolina State Board of Elections (<http://www.sboe.state.nc.us>)

## 2002 NC Congressional Election Results

(Ranked from Most Republican to Most Democratic Win)

District	Type <sup>1</sup>	Candidate, Party <sup>2</sup>	# of Votes	% of Total <sup>3</sup>	Point Spread
3rd	SR	Walter B. Jones Jr., R	131,448	91u	+82 R
		Gary Goodson, L	13,486	9	
6th	SR	Howard Coble, R	151,430	90u	+80 R
		Tara Grubb, L	16,067	10	
9th	SR	Sue Myrick, R	140,095	72	+46 R
		Ed McGuire, D	49,974	26	
5th	SR	Richard Burr, R	137,879	70	+40 R
		David Crawford, D	58,558	30	
10th	SR	Cass Ballenger, R	102,768	59	+21 R
		Ron Daugherty, D	65,587	38	
11th	LR	Charles H. Taylor, R	112,335	56	+13 R
		Sam Neill, D	86,664	43	
8th	LR	Robin Hayes, R	80,298	54	+ 9 R
		Chris Kouri, D	66,819	45	
13th	New	Brad Miller, D	100,287	55	+13 D
		Carolyn W. Grant, R	77,688	42	
4th	SD	David Price, D	132,185	61	+25 D
		Tuan Nguyen, R	78,095	36	
1st	SD	Frank Ballance Jr., D	93,157	64	+29 D
		Greg Dority, R	50,907	35	
2nd	LD	Bob Etheridge, D	100,121	65	+32 D
		Joseph Ellen, R	50,965	33	
12th	SD	Melvin Watt, D	98,821	65	+32 D
		Jeff Kish, R	49,588	33	
7th	SD	Mike McIntyre, D	118,543	71	+44 D
		James R. Adams, R	45,537	27	

NOTES: Bold denotes an incumbent. 1) District type based on 2000 returns. "SR" means strong Republican (Republican won 58.5% or more of the vote); "LR" means leaning Republican (Republican won 52.6% to 58.5% of the vote); "LD" means leaning Democratic (Democrat won 52.6% to 58.5% of the vote); "SD" means strong Democratic (Democrat won 58.5% or more of the vote). 2) D = Democrat; L = Libertarian; R = Republican 3) "u" means unopposed by a major-party candidate.

SOURCES: North Carolina State Board of Elections ([www.sboe.state.nc.us](http://www.sboe.state.nc.us)); North Carolina DataNet, October 2001 ([www.southnow.org/publications/ncdn/ncdn29.pdf](http://www.southnow.org/publications/ncdn/ncdn29.pdf)).

# The Demographic Structure of NC's Congressional Districts

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

North Carolina's 2002 congressional elections were the first held under the districts adopted by the General Assembly following the last U.S. Census. As a result of a 21.4 percent increase in population between 1990 and 2000, North Carolina gained a thirteenth seat in the U.S. House of Representatives — the second consecutive census that expanded the state's congressional delegation.

## Party Registration

According to NCFREE, a nonpartisan, pro-business research organization, North Carolina districts with a Democratic registration of at least 55 percent favor Democratic candidates, and districts with a Republican registration of at least 35 percent back Republican candidates (see *North Carolina DataNet*, September 2002). The results of North Carolina's 2002 congressional elections support this thesis (Table 1).

Six of the GOP's seven wins occurred in districts that had Republican registrations in 2001 just at or above 35 percent, according to NCFREE. The exception to this pattern was the 8th District, where Republican Rep. Robin Hayes was reelected in a district with a GOP registration of 30 percent.

Based on voter registrations, the 6th District (47.4 percent GOP) is North Carolina's most Republican district. Other strong GOP districts are the 5th, 9th and 10th. Republican registrations exceeded 40 percent in all four of these districts — a level much higher than the 2001 statewide Republican registration of 34.1 percent.

Meanwhile, four of the Democratic Party's six wins came in districts with 2001 Democratic registrations greater than 55 percent. With a Democratic registration of 73.2 percent, the 1st was North Carolina's most Democratic district, followed by the 12th (58.9 percent).

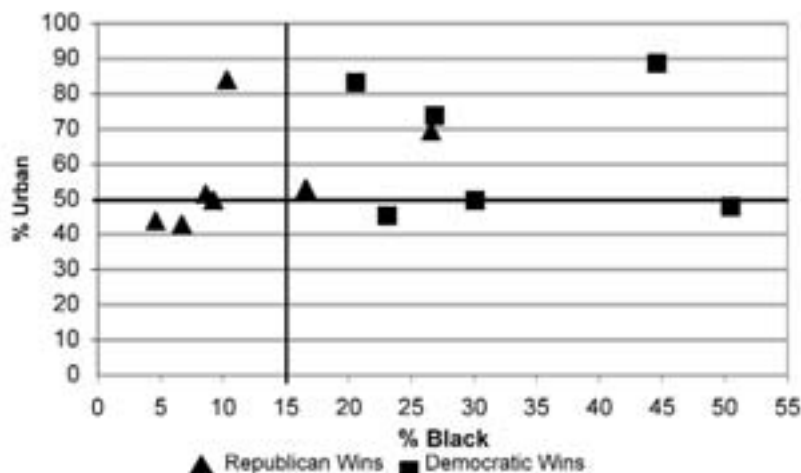
**Table 1: Party Registration in 2001 NC Congressional Districts**

(Ranked from Most Republican to Most Democratic)

Dist.	Rep. Party	2002 Registration			Select Past Elections (% Republican)			
		% GOP	% Dem	% Unaff.	2000 Pres.	2000 Gov.	1998 Senate	1996 Senate (Helms)
6	Coble, R	47.4	36.9	15.7	67.0	55.8	56.6	65.7
5	Burr, R	46.1	38.7	15.2	67.0	55.4	55.2	64.3
9	Myrick, R	44.9	34.7	20.4	64.2	61.6	55.5	58.8
10	Ballenger, R	42.4	41.1	16.5	65.3	55.8	52.9	62.0
11	Taylor, R	36.1	45.0	18.8	57.9	48.8	49.1	53.7
3	Jones, R	34.4	49.5	16.1	64.8	48.6	53.0	62.2
4	Price, D	31.1	47.9	21.0	47.2	38.7	41.1	42.3
8	Hayes, R	30.0	53.0	17.0	53.3	44.5	42.3	51.9
13	Miller, D	29.2	53.6	17.2	46.0	36.6	42.2	47.9
2	Etheridge, D	28.7	56.7	14.6	52.8	39.5	45.9	51.8
7	McIntyre, D	27.9	58.2	14.0	51.3	36.9	42.0	50.3
12	Watt, D	26.2	58.9	14.9	40.9	34.1	31.0	36.2
1	Ballance, D	17.0	73.2	9.8	41.1	29.2	34.8	43.8
	STATE	34.1	49.1	16.6	56.1	52.7	47.8	52.6

SOURCES: District data are from 2001 and come from John N. Davis and Danny Crook, *2002 Almanac of North Carolina Politics* (Raleigh: NC FREE, August 2002). Statewide data also are from 2001 and come from the North Carolina State Board of Elections.

**Graph 1: Demographic Foundation of 2002 NC Congressional Districts**



NOTE: Graph adapted from *The Rise of Southern Republicans* by Earl and Merle Black (Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 21.

SOURCE: *The Almanac of American Politics*, 2004

**Table 2: Racial/Ethnic Composition of 2002 NC Congressional Districts**

(Ranked from Most White to Most African American)

Dist.	Rep. Party	Race/Ethnicity (%)			2000 % Bush
		White	Black	Hisp.	
11	Taylor, R	89.8	4.6	2.6	58
5	Burr, R	87.9	6.7	3.6	67
6	Coble, R	85.3	8.6	3.9	67
10	Ballenger, R	84.9	9.2	3.5	65
9	Myrick, R	82.9	10.3	3.5	64
3	Jones, R	76.3	16.6	4.4	65
4	Price, D	68.8	20.6	5.0	47
13	Miller, D	63.3	26.9	6.0	46
7	McIntyre, D	63.0	23.1	3.9	51
8	Hayes, R	61.8	26.6	6.6	53
2	Etheridge, D	59.1	30.1	7.9	53
12	Watt, D	44.6	44.6	7.1	41
1	Ballance, D	44.4	50.5	3.1	41
	STATE	70.2	21.4	4.7	56

SOURCE: *The Almanac of American Politics*, 2004

Neither party enjoyed a registration advantage in the 4th, 8th and 13th districts. Democratic Reps. David Price, an incumbent, and Brad Miller, a first-term representative, won the 4th and 13th districts, but Republican Rep. Hayes carried the 8th by nine percentage points — the narrowest victory margin of any 2002 candidate in North Carolina.

Statewide in 2001, unaffiliated voters accounted for 16.6 percent of registered voters. The 4th District contained the most unaffiliated voters (21.0 percent), followed by the 9th and 11th. In these three districts, unaffiliated registrations exceeded the statewide percentage.

### Race and Place

According to the political scientists Earl and Merle Black, Republican congressional candidates in the South perform best in districts with urban populations exceeding 50 percent and African-American populations under 15 percent. North Carolina's 2002 congressional elections fit this pattern (Graphs 1 and 2 and Table 2).

Five of the seven Republican wins occurred in districts with African-American populations at or below 10.3 percent. Other victories occurred in the 3rd District (16.6 percent African American) and the 8th District (26.6 percent African American).

Republicans won five districts with urban populations exceeding 50 percent. Rep. Susan Myrick, for instance, carried the 9th District, which is the state's second-most urban district (84.2 percent). The remaining two GOP wins occurred in districts with rural populations of 42.9 percent (5th) and 43.9 percent (11th). These two districts also had the state's smallest African-American populations. For example, the 5th District was North Carolina's most rural district and home to the second-smallest

African-American population.

All six Democratic wins occurred in districts with African-American populations ranging between 20.6 percent (4th) and 50.5 percent (1st). Democratic wins also were split equally between urban and rural areas. Three Democrats won in districts with urban populations between 73.2 percent (13th) and 88.5 percent (12th), and three wins occurred in districts with rural populations between 54.9 percent (7th) and 50.5 (2nd).

### Income and Occupation

Democrats and Republicans split the four congressional districts with median incomes considerably higher than the statewide median of \$39,184 (Table 3).

Incumbent Republican Reps. Myrick and Howard Coble won the districts with the state's first- and third-highest median income, while Democratic Reps. David Price and Brad Miller carried the other two districts.

In the nine districts with median incomes below or just above the statewide level, the GOP took five seats compared to the Democratic Party's four. With the exception of Rep. Charles Taylor's victory (11th), Republicans won districts with median incomes between 95.7 percent and 101.3 percent of the statewide median. Democratic successes clustered in districts with lower median incomes. The Democratic districts

**Table 3: Median Income, Occupation & Poverty in 2002 NC Congressional Districts**

(Ranked from Highest to Lowest Median Income)

Dist.	Rep., Party	Median Income <sup>1</sup>	Type of Occupation (% Collar) <sup>2</sup>			% Poverty
			White	Blue	Grey	
9	Myrick, R	\$55,059	69.5	20.4	10.2	6.2
4	Price, D	\$53,847	74.8	14.3	10.9	9.2
6	Coble, R	\$43,503	55.8	32.3	11.9	8.2
13	Miller, D	\$41,060	60.5	25.7	13.8	11.6
5	Burr, R	\$39,710	54.1	33.2	12.7	9.5
8	Hayes, R	\$38,390	53.3	31.8	14.9	12.4
10	Ballenger, R	\$37,649	45.4	41.9	12.6	10.6
3	Jones, R	\$37,510	55.9	27.3	16.8	12.4
2	Etheridge, D	\$36,510	52.1	32.6	15.3	14.3
12	Watt, D	\$35,775	51.9	32.1	16.0	15.9
11	Taylor, R	\$34,720	51.9	31.5	16.6	12.0
7	McIntyre, D	\$33,998	50.5	32.4	17.2	16.7
1	Ballance, D	\$28,410	45.5	34.8	19.7	21.1
	STATE	\$39,184	56.0	29.7	14.3	12.3

NOTES: 1) Household income in 1999; 2) "White collar" is management, professional, sales and administrative occupations; "Blue Collar" is construction, production and transportation occupations; "Grey collar" is those not in either white- or blue-collar occupations and includes fishing, farming, forestry, health care, protective service, food prep and personal family care.

SOURCE: *The Almanac of American Politics*, 2004

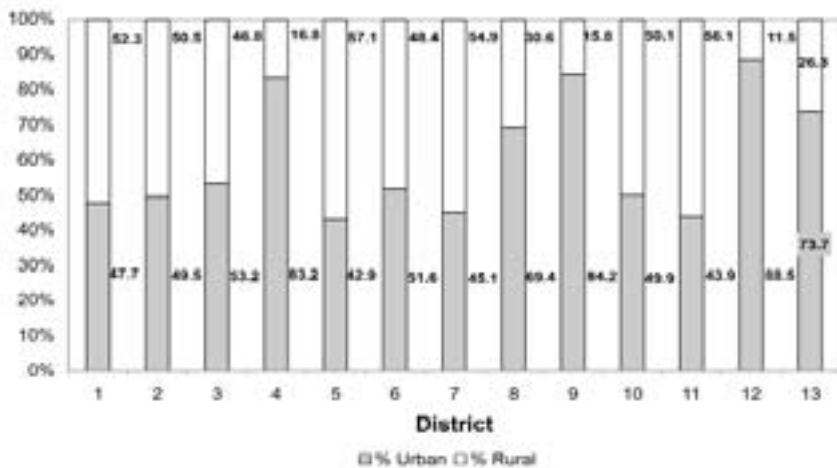
had median incomes ranging between 72.5 percent (1st) and 93.2 percent (2nd) of the statewide figure.

In terms of occupation, white-collar workers comprised more than half of the population in every congressional district except for the 1st and 10th. Statewide, white-collar workers accounted for 56.0 percent of the population.

Democratic candidates fared well in districts considerably above and below the statewide level for white-collar workers. Democratic Rep. Price won the state's most white-collar district (4th), and Brad Miller carried the third most white-collar district (13th). The remaining Democratic wins occurred in districts with white-collar populations between 45.5 (1st) and 52.1 percent (2nd).

Republican wins concentrated in districts slightly below the statewide figure for white-collar workers. The 3rd, 6th, 5th and 8th districts — all of which have white-collar populations between 53.3 and 55.9 percent — returned Republican incumbents to Washington. ■

**Graph 2: Urban–Rural Composition of NC Congressional Districts**



SOURCE: *The Almanac of American Politics*, 2004

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# Competition Drives Campaign Spending

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Total two-party campaign expenditures on North Carolina's congressional races grew by 33 percent between 1992 and 2002. Much of this growth is attributable to the \$1.41 million spent in 2002 on the 13th District — a district that did not exist in 1992. Spending in the 12 districts that existed throughout the decade rose by only 18 percent.

Expenditure growth, however, has slowed over the three most recent elections. Spending in the 12 districts that existed in 1998 and 2002 actually declined by 7.4 percent, and seven congressional races cost less in 2002 than in 1998.

These findings come from an analysis of election finance data available from the North Carolina State Board of Elections, the Federal Election Commission, and various issues of *The Almanac of American Politics*.

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 were adjusted for inflation. Therefore, the dollar figures cited for past elections differ from those contained in the actual campaign finance reports.

## Spending in Election 2002

The 13 Republican and 11 Democratic congressional candidates in 2002 (two Republicans ran unopposed) spent a combined \$12.44 million on the primary and general elections. Note the following:

- ◆ The average congressional seat in North Carolina in 2002 cost \$956,965 (Table 1).
- ◆ At \$2.96 million, the 8th District was the state's most expensive race, and at \$316,561, the 6th District was the state's least expensive contest.
- ◆ The 8th District race was the second most expensive congressional race in North Carolina, behind only the 2000 11th District race, during the period 1992–2002 (Table 2).
- ◆ The 8th and 11th district elections cost more than \$2 million, and the 13th District race exceeded \$1 million.
- ◆ The average cost per vote in 2002 was \$5.54 (Table 3).
- ◆ Republican candidates accounted for 56 percent of the total expenditures (Table 4).
- ◆ Winning candidates spent 84 percent of the total amount.
- ◆ Victorious candidates in every district accounted for at least 68 percent of the total expenditures in that district.

## A Decade of Growth, But Recent Spending Falls

Though spending on congressional races increased between 1992 and 2002, expenditures actually

**Table 1: Congressional Campaign Costs in 2002 Dollars: 1992–2002 General Elections<sup>(a)</sup>**

District	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	Average
1st	714,306	399,791	380,743	737,692	503,031	719,042	575,768
Winner, %	D 99%	D 96%	D 91%	D 96%	D 99%	D 98%	97%
2nd	818,515	1,864,257	2,063,068	1,598,418	1,304,277	659,601	1,384,689
Winner, %	D 72%	R 44%	D 41%	D 76%	D 73%	D 99%	68%
3rd	1,006,176	1,601,993	759,446	1,021,008	2,552,706	462,499	1,233,971
Winner, %	D 70%	R 34%	R 94%	R 67%	R 52%	R 100%	70%
4th	585,294	1,065,476	2,507,341	1,846,589	760,172	710,241	1,245,852
Winner, %	D 97%	R 28%	D 54%	D 73%	D 94%	D 99%	74%
5th	904,774	1,820,175	1,030,414	642,183	439,979	432,911	878,406
Winner, %	D 73%	R 49%	R 79%	R 98%	R 100%	R 97%	83%
6th	593,481	232,454	619,665	440,839	315,350	316,561	419,725
Winner, %	R 94%	R 100%	R 94%	R 100%	R 100%	R 100%	98%
7th	348,658	991,701	1,915,767	430,643	451,560	555,393	782,287
Winner, %	D 94%	D 90%	D 60%	D 100%	D 99%	D 100%	91%
8th	901,217	753,951	1,309,743	1,746,397	2,883,144	2,960,510	1,759,160
Winner, %	D 85%	D 68%	D 79%	R 77%	R 70%	R 77%	76%
9th	342,601	816,795	722,011	823,828	1,146,182	916,659	794,679
Winner, %	R 88%	R 89%	R 90%	R 96%	R 90%	R 100%	92%
10th	387,262	233,359	306,231	221,173	278,534	935,803	393,727
Winner, %	R 92%	R 100%	R 93%	R 100%	R 100%	R 68%	92%
11th	2,108,317	1,546,739	621,778	1,284,676	3,041,456	2,002,974	1,767,657
Winner, %	R 74%	R 62%	R 91%	R 71%	R 65%	R 71%	72%
12th	645,479	200,312	180,750	1,122,900	503,031	362,473	502,491
Winner, %	D 95%	D 95%	D 96%	D 63%	D 75%	D 99%	87%
13th	—	—	—	—	—	1,405,873	1,405,873
Winner, %	—	—	—	—	—	D 70%	70%
TOTAL	9,356,080	11,527,003	12,416,957	11,916,346	14,179,422	12,440,540	11,972,724
Winner, %	86%	60%	69%	79%	73%	84%	73%
Avg. per seat	779,673	960,584	1,034,746	993,029	1,181,619	956,965	984,060 <sup>b</sup>

NOTES: (a) From the Consumer Price Index (CPI-U) base of 1982-84 = 1.000, the values for each of the years were 1992\$ = 1.403; 1994\$ = 1.483; 1996\$ = 1.541; 1998\$ = 1.639; 2000\$ = 1.740, and 2002\$ = 1.799. To convert these to 2002\$, each year's value was divided by the 2002\$ value. Thus, 1992\$ = .780 of the 2002\$; 1994\$ = .824 of the 2002\$; 1996\$ = .857 of the 2002\$; 1998\$ = .911 of the 2002\$; and 2000\$ = .957 of the 2002\$. (b) Winner, % = party of the winning candidate and the percentage of the district total spent by the winner.

<sup>b</sup>This \$984,060 average spent per seat is the total amount spent in the six elections (\$71,836,348) by the candidates in the 73 races over the 1992 through 2002 election period.

SOURCES: *Almanac of American Politics*, various issues; Federal Election Commission ([www.fec.gov](http://www.fec.gov)); the North Carolina State Board of Elections ([www.sboe.state.nc.us](http://www.sboe.state.nc.us))

have declined over the past three elections. Congressional spending in 2002 increased by 4.3 percent compared to 1998, but actually fell by 1.3 percent compared to 2000. If only the 12 districts that existed in 1998, 2000 and 2002 are considered, spending in 2002 actually decreased by 7.4 percent compared to 1998 and 22.2 percent versus 2000 (Graph 1).

Between 1998 and 2000, every North Carolina congressional district — excluding the 13th — experienced at least a double-digit per-

centage increase or decrease in campaign expenditures.

The largest percent increase (323.1 percent) occurred in the 10th District, followed by a 69.5 percent rise in the 8th District. The 7th, 9th and 11th districts also posted increases ranging between 11.3 percent (9th) and 55.9 percent (11th).

Meanwhile, spending in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 12th districts declined. The

largest decrease occurred in the 12th District, where the 2002 race cost 67.7 percent less than the 1998 contest. Drops in excess of 50 percent also occurred in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th districts

A related trend is a general increase in the percentage of campaign spending accounted for by the winning candidate. Six of the twelve districts that existed in 1998, 2000 and 2002 have witnessed increases in the amount spent by the winning candidate, and only the 10th District has experienced a sizable decrease. The winner's share of spending in the remaining districts has remained fairly constant.

**Table 2: Most and Least Expensive NC Congressional Elections, 1992–2002**

A) Most Expensive (\$1 million +)						
Rank	Dist.	Year	\$ (in millions)	Type	Outcome	Pts
1	11th	2000	\$3.041	In. Taylor-R	reelected	12
2	8th	2002	\$2.961	In. Hayes, R	reelected	9
3	8th	2000	\$2.883	In. Hayes-R	reelected	11
4	3rd	2000	\$2.552	In. Jones-R	reelected	24
5	4th	1996	\$2.507	In. Heineman-R	defeated	10
6	11th	1992	\$2.108	In. Taylor-R	reelected	10
7	2nd	1996	\$2.063	In. Funderburk-R	defeated	7
8	11th	2002	\$2.003	In. Taylor-R	reelected	13
9	7th	1996	\$1.916	Open seat	D won	7
10	2nd	1994	\$1.864	Open seat	R won	12
11	4th	1998	\$1.847	In. Price-D	reelected	15
12	5th	1994	\$1.820	Open seat	R won	14
13	8th	1998	\$1.746	Open seat	R won	3
14	3rd	1994	\$1.602	In. Lancaster-D	defeated	6
15	2nd	1998	\$1.598	In. Etheridge-D	reelected	15
16	11th	1994	\$1.547	In. Taylor-R	reelected	20
17	13th	2002	\$1.406	Open seat	D won	13
18	8th	1996	\$1.310	In. Hefner-D	reelected	11
19	2nd	2000	\$1.304	In. Etheridge-D	reelected	17
20	11th	1998	\$1.285	In. Taylor-R	reelected	15
21	9th	2000	\$1.146	In. Myrick-R	reelected	39
22	12th	1998	\$1.123	In. Watt-D	reelected	14
23	4th	1994	\$1.065	In. Price-D	defeated	0.8
24	5th	1996	\$1.030	In. Burr-R	reelected	27
25	3rd	1998	\$1.021	In. Jones-R	reelected	25
26	3rd	1992	\$1.006	In. Lancaster-D	reelected	11

B) Least Expensive (Less than \$365,000)						
Rank	Dist.	Year	\$	Type	Outcome	Pts
62	12th	2002	\$362,473	In. Watt-D	reelected	32
63	7th	1992	\$348,658	In. Rose-D	reelected	16
64	9th	1992	\$342,601	In. McMillan-R	reelected	35
65	6th	2002	\$316,561	In. Coble-R	reelected	80
66	6th	2000	\$315,350	In. Coble-R	reelected	82
67	10th	1996	\$306,231	In. Ballenger-R	reelected	41
68	10th	2000	\$278,534	In. Ballenger-R	reelected	39
69	10th	1994	\$233,359	In. Ballenger-R	reelected	43
70	6th	1994	\$232,454	In. Coble-R	reelected	100
71	10th	1998	\$221,173	In. Ballenger-R	reelected	72
72	12th	1994	\$200,312	In. Watt-D	reelected	32
73	12th	1996	\$180,750	In. Watt-D	reelected	45

**NOTES:**  
Amount = cost of campaigns in 2002\$ (millions)  
Type = In. – incumbent in race; Open – no incumbent in race  
Pts. = point margin of victory or defeat

**Incumbency and Redistricting Drive Spending Trends**

Spending on congressional campaigns has changed due to a combination of incumbency and redistricting — factors that have bred non-competitive races in which incumbents need not spend much in order to win reelection.

Incumbents historically enjoy significant organizational and financial advantages that help them secure reelection. In fact, no North Carolina incumbent seeking reelection has lost since 1996, and only four incumbents — one of whom subsequently was reelected — lost during the six elections held between 1992 and 2002.

SEE **NONCOMPETITIVE** ON PAGE 8 →

**Table 3: Congressional Campaign Costs: 2002 Primary & General Elections**

District	Total \$ Spent	# of General Election Votes	\$ Spent per Vote
8th	2,960,510	149,736	19.77
11th	2,002,974	202,260	9.90
13th	1,405,873	183,270	7.67
10th	935,803	173,292	5.40
9th	916,659	193,443	4.74 <sup>(a)</sup>
1st	719,042	146,157	4.92
4th	710,241	216,046	3.29
2nd	659,601	153,184	4.31
7th	555,393	166,654	3.33 <sup>(b)</sup>
3rd	462,499	144,934	3.19
5th	432,911	196,437	2.20
12th	362,473	151,239	2.40
6th	316,561	167,497	1.89
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12,440,540</b>	<b>2,244,149</b>	<b>5.54</b>

**NOTES:** (a) Democratic candidate Ed McGuire's expenditures not available on Federal Election Commission's Web site, July 30, 2003. So the total spent is what Congresswoman Sue Myrick spent in the election. (b) Republican candidate James Adams expenditures not available on Federal Election Commission's Web site, July 30, 2003. So the total spent is what Congressman Mike McIntyre spent in the election.

**SOURCES:** *The Almanac of American Politics*, 2004; Federal Election Commission; North Carolina State Board of Elections

Redistricting, meanwhile, has aided incumbents by producing districts that clearly favor one party or the other. In 2002, NCFREE, a nonpartisan pro-business research organization, rated four North Carolina congressional districts as strong Republican districts and two districts as strong Democratic ones. An additional four seats leaned Democratic, and two leaned Republican. The only swing district by NCFREE's assessment was the 8th District, which also proved the state's most expensive congressional race.

Strong partisan identifications of districts have led to noncompetitive races, which often produce cheaper elections because incumbents running unopposed or against token opposition need not spend much to win. In 2002, for example, ten representatives won at least 59 percent of the vote, and seven of those ten races cost less in 2002 than in 1998. Close and costly races – those with winning candidates who received less than 55 percent of the vote and that cost over a million dollars — occurred only in the 8th and 13th districts.

Noncompetitive congressional districts likely will

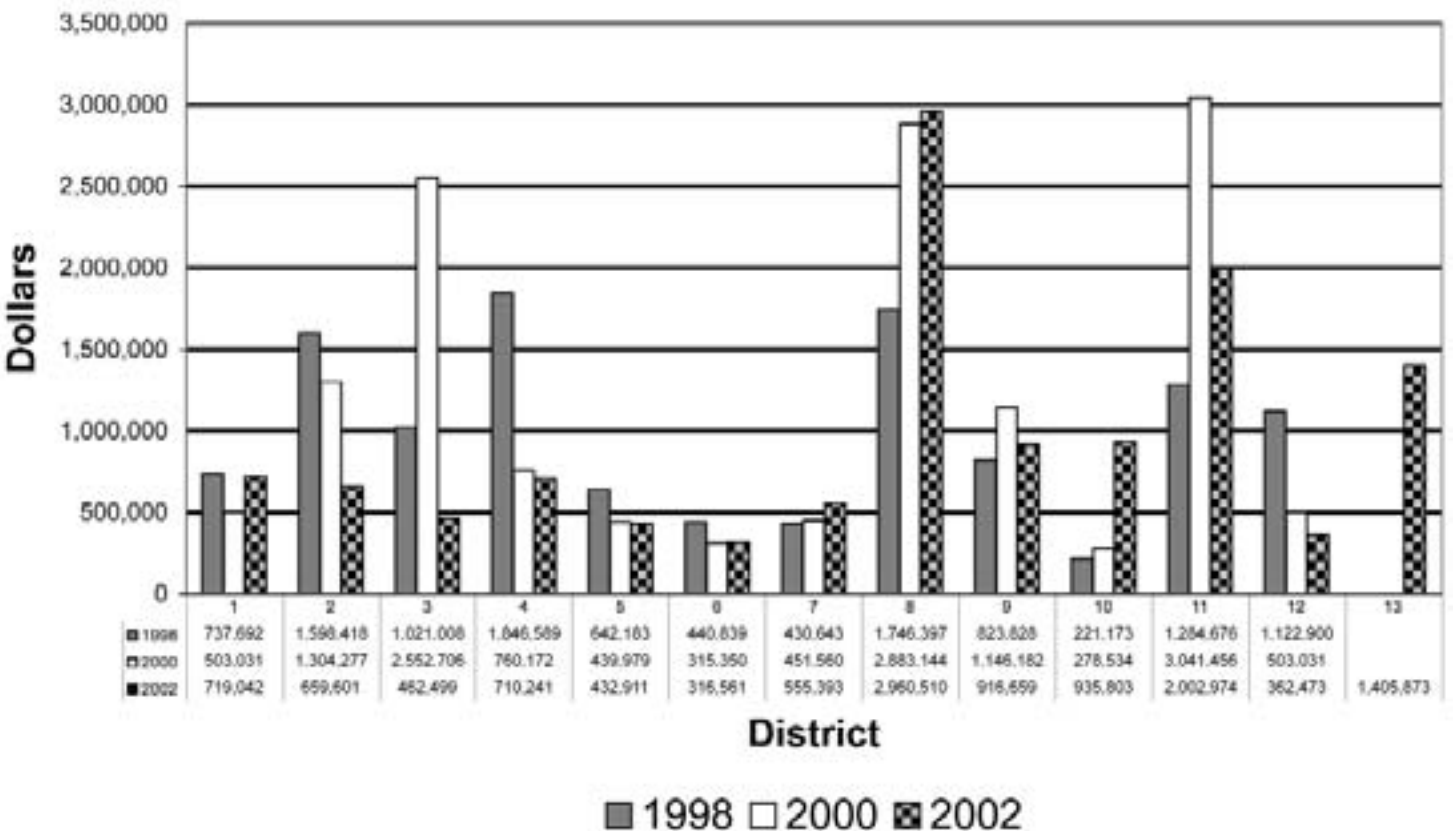
last until the redistricting following the 2010 Census, according to the magazine *National Journal* (July 12, 2003). That same issue also predicts that North Carolina's 8th and 13th districts are the only congressional seats in the state that likely could change hands in 2004. NCFREE, however, views the 8th as the only swing district and assesses the 13th as a leaning Democratic district. ■

**Table 4: Partisan Spending in NC Congressional Races, 1992–2002**

Year	% Dem.	% Rep.
2002	44	56 <sup>(b)</sup>
2000	44	56
1998	47	53
1996	40	60
1994	56	44
1992	60	40

**NOTES:** These percents are of the two-party spending in the races. Also, two candidates' spending was not reported or available as of 7/30/03. They were Republican James Adams (7th CD) and Democrat Ed McGuire (9th CD).

**Graph 1: NC Congressional Spending (Inflation Adjusted) in 1998, 2000 and 2002**





# The 8th District: Hayes Holds On

JEREMY ASHTON, graduate student, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, UNC-Chapel Hill

For the second consecutive election, voters in North Carolina's 8th Congressional District witnessed a strong Democratic push to defeat Republican Rep. Robin Hayes. Despite historical, redistricting and economic trends favorable to the Democratic Party, Hayes bested Democratic challenger Chris Kouri by nine percentage points.

## Bucking a Democratic Tilt

Eighth District voters — often in close elections — sent Democratic Rep. Bill Hefner to Congress from 1974 until 1996. Also, Democratic candidates seeking statewide and federal offices typically received a majority of the district's votes between 1992 and 2002. The major exceptions were former U.S. Sen. Jesse Helms' victory in 1996 and President George W. Bush's win in 2000.

Hayes, a textile mill owner from Concord and a former GOP gubernatorial candidate, first ran for Congress following Hefner's 1998 retirement. In that race, Hayes defeated Democrat Mike Taylor, an attorney from Stanly County, by three percentage points. Taylor challenged Hayes again in 2000, but Hayes won the rematch with 55 percent of the total vote.

## Redistricting Alters the Landscape

The redistricting that followed the 2000 U.S. Census altered the district's partisan composition. Almost 100,000 residents of urban Charlotte neighborhoods, many of whom traditionally vote Democratic, were placed in

the redrawn district. Meanwhile, almost 100,000 rural and suburban residents, many of whom frequently vote Republican, were shifted out of the district.

The resulting district stretches from Charlotte east toward Fayetteville and is fairly balanced between the two major political parties. According to NCFREE, a nonpartisan pro-business research organization, 53 percent of the district's registered voters were Democrats, 30 percent were Republican, and 17 percent were unaffiliated at the time of the election.

The district's divided nature also is reflected geographically. Voters in Charlotte and the Sandhills often back Democrats, while the district's textile-producing counties frequently support Republicans.

## Role of Textiles

Some Democratic strategists argued that, in addition to voting patterns and redistricting, the decline in the textile industry, a traditional economic driver, rendered Hayes vulnerable.

Hayes not only is the owner of Mount Pleasant Hosiery Mill in Cabarrus County, but he also is the grandson of Charles Cannon, founder of Cannon Mills and a longtime economic and political leader in the area. Yet Hayes' commitment to the textile industry was called into question by his voting record on trade issues. In December 2001, he cast the deciding ballot

in a House vote that provided President Bush with "fast track" trade negotiation authority.

## Election 2002: Hayes Wins Reelection

Hayes' 2002 challenger was Chris Kouri, a Democratic attorney from Charlotte. Kouri hoped to capitalize on the trade issue and ran ads claiming that Hayes' deciding vote in Congress cost the district thousands of jobs. Hayes countered by arguing that, prior to voting, he received assurances from President Bush that North Carolina's textile industry would be protected in future trade agreements. Despite the heated exchange, Hayes received 66 percent of the vote in the district's two main textile counties — Cabarrus and Stanly counties. Those two counties cast 37 percent of the district's total vote.

## Campaign Spending Trends

Though Hayes won re-election by nine percentage points, his victory was expensive. Hayes and Kouri spent a combined \$2.96 million in 2002, up from the inflation-adjusted \$2.88 million spent by Hayes and his Democratic challenger in 2000. Controlling for inflation, these two races were the second- and third-most expensive congressional elections in North Carolina between 1992 and 2002.

Hayes outspent his 2000 challenger by a ratio of 2.5 to 1, and in 2002 Hayes outspent Kouri by a ratio of nearly 3.5 to 1. ■

## 8th NC Congressional District Voting in 2002, by County

(Ranked According to % Total Vote)

County	Hayes (Rep)	Kouri (Dem)	Johnson (Lib)	Totals	
				#	%
Cabarrus	67.9	30.3	1.8	37,522	25.1
Cumberland	54.4	44.0	1.6	25,962	17.3
Mecklenburg	37.5	59.8	2.7	22,237	14.9
Stanly	63.3	35.0	1.8	18,594	12.4
Richmond	43.0	55.9	1.1	10,990	7.3
Scotland	44.3	54.7	1.0	7,431	5.0
Union	54.2	44.3	1.5	7,421	5.0
Montgomery	50.3	48.4	1.3	7,126	4.8
Anson	36.5	62.5	1.1	6,266	4.2
Hoke	43.6	54.8	1.6	6,187	4.1
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>53.6</b>	<b>44.6</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>149,736</b>	<b>100</b>

SOURCE: NC State Board of Elections (<http://www.sboe.state.nc.us>)

## 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)

# “Who Are They?” A Profile of the NC Congressional Delegation

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

Incumbents with at least nine years of service constitute a majority of North Carolina’s delegation to the 108th session of the U.S. House of Representatives. With freshman Democrats Frank Ballance (1st) and Brad Miller (13th) and third-term Republican Robin Hayes (8th) as exceptions, North Carolina’s representatives have served together since the 1996 election.

This article provides a two-part profile of North Carolina’s 13 representatives — 7 Republicans and 6 Democrats. Data come from *The Almanac of American Politics* and *CQ Weekly*.

## 1. Demographic Profile

On average, North Carolina’s representatives are 60 years old. At 77, Republican Cass Ballenger (10th) is the oldest representative, while 48-year-old Republican Richard Burr (5th) is the youngest.

## Gender and Race

The retirement of five-term Democrat Eva Clayton (1st) altered the delegation’s gender composition. In 1992 Clayton became both the first Tar Heel woman elected to Congress since at least 1960

and, along with Democrat Mel Watt (12th), the first African American elected since 1898. Clayton’s departure left Republican Sue Myrick (9th) as North Carolina’s only congresswoman. Rep. Ballance’s election ensured the continued presence of two African Americans.

## Place of Birth and Religious Affiliation

In a state that during the 1990s gained one million people, many of whom migrated from other states, 10 of the state’s 13 representatives are native Tar Heels. The exceptions are Rep. Myrick, who was born in Ohio; Rep. Burr, who was born in Virginia; and Democratic Rep. David Price (4th), who was born in Tennessee.

All of the state’s representatives identify with Christian churches. Twelve affiliate as Protestant, with Presbyterian being the most common denomination, and one is Roman Catholic.

## Education and Occupation

All of the state’s representatives attended college, and 12 hold undergraduate degrees. Six of those 12 also earned law degrees, and one completed a doctorate.

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has granted a total of six degrees to five representatives. Three members of Congress obtained undergraduate degrees from UNC-Chapel Hill, one received a law degree, and one earned both

## Demographic Trends in the NC Congressional Delegation, 1960–2002

# of Representatives with Characteristic								
Year	Dem.	Rep.	Male	Female	White	Black	New	Incumbent
2002	6	7	12	1	11	2	2	11
2000	5	7	10	2	10	2	0	12
1998	5	7	10	2	10	2	1	11
1996	6	6	10	2	10	2	3	9
1994	4	8	10	2	10	2	5	7
1992	8	4	11	1	10	2	2	10
1990	7	4	11	0	11	0	1	10
1988	8	3	11	0	11	0	0	11
1986	8	3	11	0	11	0	3	8
1984	6	5	11	0	11	0	5	6
1982	9	2	11	0	11	0	3	8
1980	7	4	11	0	11	0	2	9
1978	9	2	11	0	11	0	0	11
1976	9	2	11	0	11	0	2	9
1974	9	2	11	0	11	0	0	11
1972	9	2	11	0	11	0	5	6
1970	8	3	11	0	11	0	0	11
1968	8	3	11	0	11	0	3	8
1966	8	3	11	0	11	0	3	8
1964	9	2	11	0	11	0	0	11
1962	9	2	11	0	11	0	1	10
1960	10	1	11	0	11	0	3	8

NOTE: Highlighted years are those with only a U.S. Senate and congressional elections.

SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various issues; *North Carolina DataNet*, October 2001 (<http://www.southnow.org/publications/ncdn/ncdn29.pdf>)

## Seniority in the 2003 NC Congressional Delegation

Seat	Member, Party	First Elected	Year of Service
6th	Coble, R	1984	19th
10th	Ballenger, R	1986	17th
4th	Price, D	1986	15th
11th	Taylor, R	1990	13th
12th	Watt, D	1992	11th
3rd	Jones Jr., R	1994	9th
5th	Burr, R	1994	9th
9th	Myrick, R	1994	9th
2nd	Etheridge, D	1996	7th
7th	McIntyre, D	1996	7th
8th	Hayes, R	1998	5th
1st	Ballance, D	2002	1st
13th	Miller, D	2002	1st

Total Years of Service	123
Republican Years of Service	81
Democratic Years of Service	42

undergraduate and law degrees.

Lawyers occupy nearly half of North Carolina's congressional seats. Five other representatives have business backgrounds. Meanwhile, Rep. Price is a professor of political science, and Rep. Bob Etheridge (2nd) is a farmer.

### Government Experience

With the exceptions of Reps. Price, Burr and Mike McIntyre (7th), all of the state's representatives previously sat in the General Assembly or on municipal governing boards. Four representatives sat in the state House of Representatives, one in the Senate, and four in both chambers. Also, Rep. Etheridge served as Superintendent of Public Instruction, a statewide elected office.

Rep. Myrick previously had been elected mayor of Charlotte and to the city council. Rep. Hayes sat on the Concord Board of Alderman, while Reps. Etheridge and Ballenger served respectively on the commissions of Harnett and Catawba counties.

### 2. Roles in Congress

North Carolina's representatives sit on a variety of congressional committees, and several legislators have ascended to prominent positions.

### Seniority

In 2003 a majority of Tar Heel representatives entered at least their ninth year of congress-

sional service. First elected in 1984, Republican Howard Coble (6th) leads the delegation with 19 years of experience, followed by Rep. Ballenger with 17 years. With 15 cumulative years of experience, Rep. Price is the senior Democrat. Rep. Price was out of office between 1994 and 1996, thus Rep. Watt is the Democrat with the most years of continuous service.

### Committee Assignments

North Carolina's representatives work on 14 different congressional committees. Reflecting the state's interests, the most popular committees are Agriculture (4 members), Financial Services (3 members) and Armed Services (3 members).

As members of the House's majority party, Republican representatives outrank their Democratic colleagues. Rep. Burr holds the position of vice chair of the Energy Committee, while Rep. Coble ranks third on the Judiciary Committee and fourth on Transportation.

### Voting Record

Except for Reps. Ballance and Miller, all of North Carolina's representatives served in the 107th Congress. Based on their voting records, the congressional delegation tended to divide along party lines.

In 2002 six of the seven Republicans voted

with the GOP at least 95 percent of the time, while Walter Jones Jr. (3rd) backed the party 89 percent of the time. Democratic Reps. Watt, Price and Clayton, meanwhile, supported their party's positions at least 92 percent of the time.

Given the more conservative nature of their districts, Democratic Reps. McIntyre and Etheridge often broke with the party. McIntyre supported the party in only 72 percent of the 2002 votes, compared to Etheridge's 87 percent support rate. Both candidates also backed the Bush Administration in at least half of the votes on which President Bush took a position. ■

## Committee Assignments, NC Congressional Delegation, 108th Congress

District	Representative, Party	Party Committee	Rank <sup>1</sup>
1st	Ballance Jr. D	Agriculture	14/24
		Small Business	4/17
2nd	Etheridge, D	Agriculture	7/24
		Homeland Security	19/23
3rd	Jones Jr., R	Armed Services	11/33
		Financial Services	17/37
		Resources	12/28
4th	Price, D	Appropriations	15/29
5th	Burr, R	Energy	Vice Chair 8/11
		Intelligence	
6th	Coble, R	Judiciary	3/21
		Transportation	4/21
7th	McIntyre, D	Agriculture	6/24
		Armed Services	13/29
8th	Hayes, R	Agriculture	11/27
		Armed Services	14/33
		Transportation	22/41
9th	Myrick, R	Rules	7/9
10th	Ballenger, R	Education	3/27
		International Relations	8/26
11th	Taylor, R	Appropriations	8/36
12th	Watt, D	Financial Services	7/32
		Judiciary	6/16
13th	Miller, D	Financial Services	29/32
		Small Business	16/17

**NOTES:** 1) "Party Rank" shows the representative's position in relation to the other members of his/her party on the committee. For example, David Price ranks 15 out of the 29 Democrats serving on the Appropriations Committee.

**SOURCE:** *The Almanac of American Politics*, 2004

## CQ's Voting Analysis of NC's 2002 Congressional Delegation

(Most Republican to Most Democratic)

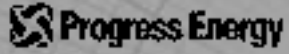
Dist.	Rep., Party	Bush Administration			Party Majority			
		Sup.	Opp.	Position Vote	Sup.	Opp.	Unity Vote	Vote Partic.
5th	Burr, R	92	8	100	95	5	98	97
10th	Ballenger, R	90	10	100	96	4	99	96
9th	Myrick, R	88	12	100	97	3	99	98
11th	Taylor, R	85	15	98	97	3	97	90
6th	Coble, R	82	18	100	95	5	100	99
8th	Hayes, R	82	18	98	97	3	99	99
3rd	Jones, R	72	28	100	89	11	99	97
7th	McIntyre, D	54	46	98	72	28	96	97
2nd	Etheridge, D	50	50	100	87	13	100	100
4th	Price, D	38	62	100	92	8	100	99
1st	Clayton, D	28	72	98	97	3	93	90
12th	Watt, D	25	75	100	97	3	98	98

**NOTES:** Bush Administration Sup./Opp.: Percent of the recorded House votes in which the legislator was present and either supported or opposed the position of the Bush Administration. Position Vote: Percent of the 40 House votes in which President Bush took a position, and on which the member was present and voted "aye" or "nay." Party Majority Sup./Opp.: Percent of the recorded House votes in which the legislator was present and supported or opposed a majority of his or her party. Percents are based on votes cast, therefore failure to vote did not lower a score. Party Unity Votes: Percent of the 209 House votes in which the member participated. Voting Partic.: Percent of the 483 recorded House votes in which the legislator voted "yea" or "nay".

**SOURCE:** "Vote Studies," *CQ Weekly* (December 14, 2002): 3275-3285.



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