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2004 North Carolina Election Primer

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This fall, North Carolinians will cast ballots for U.S. President, U.S. Senator, 13 U.S. Representatives, Governor, nine members of the Council of State, 170 state legislators, 5 appellate-level judges, and numerous local officials.

The presence of U.S. Sen. John Edwards on the Democratic ticket as the vice-presidential nominee will add a different dimension to Election 2004. Edwards is the first Tar Heel resident to receive a major party's vice-presidential nomination since 1852, when the Whig Party nominated William Alexander Graham.

November's elections will occur in a state with a political climate and geography that has changed rapidly over the last 30 years. To help journalists, scholars, citizens, and public leaders better follow the campaigns and analyze November's results, this issue of *North Carolina DataNet* offers information on the political and demographic trends that have molded the state's political context.

Here are some findings to guide your reading of the data:

- ◆ The number of registered voters in North Carolina now numbers 5.1 million, up 147 percent since 1968. Meanwhile, the number of people actually voting continues to grow. Slightly more than 3 million Tar Heels cast ballots in 2000 — a 90 percent increase from 1968.
- ◆ Neither political party in North Carolina commands a majority of popular support. The fastest growing segment of the electorate in recent years has been unaffiliated voters, who now comprise 18.1 percent of the electorate. Today, the percentage of unaffiliated voters in North Carolina exceeds the percentage of Republican voters who lived in the state in 1966.
- ◆ Political parity characterizes the two major parties in North Carolina. One U.S. Senator is a Republican, the other a Democrat. Similarly, 7 U.S. Representa-

tives are Republicans, and 6 are Democrats. On the state level, the North Carolina House of Representatives is divided equally between the two parties, while Democrats hold a slight majority in the state Senate.

◆ Metropolitan areas drive statewide elections. In the 2000 presidential contest, 15 counties — almost all of which were located in the Piedmont — cast 51.1 percent of the vote. The continued growth of metros has resulted in a relative decline in the importance of the state's rural vote and an increased emphasis on metropolitan needs and issues.

◆ The political lineage of this year's contested U.S. Senate seat traditionally has had a distinct western tinge since 1872. Yet no westerner has been elected to the seat since Sen. Sam Ervin from Burke County won his last term in 1968.

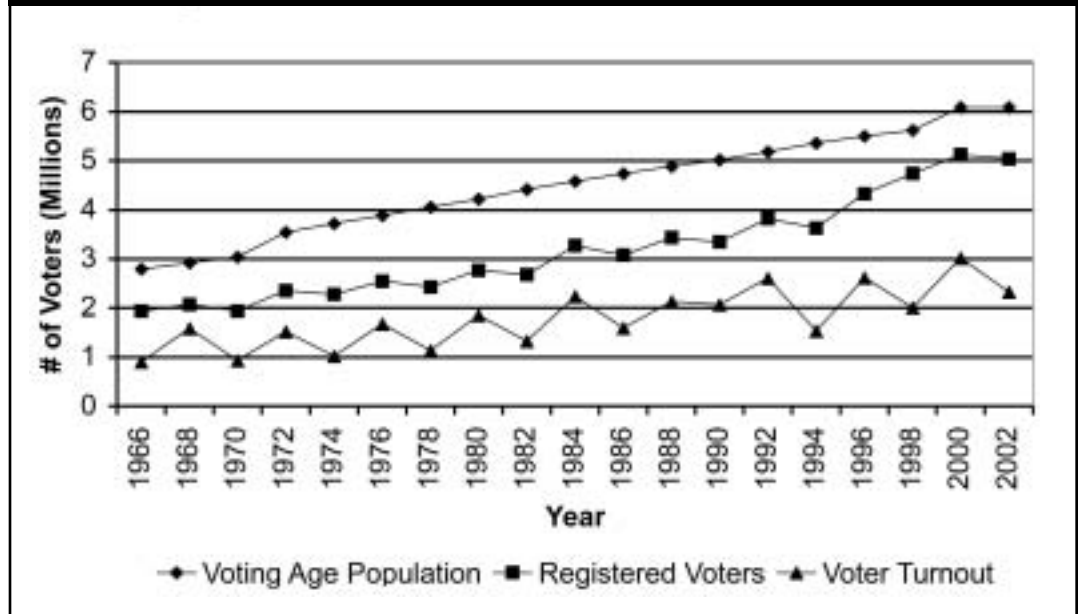
◆ Between 1972 and 1998, Republicans won every U.S. Senate race in the presidential election years. In the off-presidential years Democrats won the Senate races, except when Jesse Helms was on the ballot. In 2002, Republican Elizabeth Dole picked up where Helms left off, winning the seat Helms vacated in an off-presidential year. The 2004 Senate election will test the trend of Republicans winning in presidential years.

◆ Though the partisan line-up of North Carolina's delegation to the U.S. House of Representatives is unlikely to change, there will be at least three new U.S. Representatives. Rep. Richard Burr (R-5th District) has chosen to run for the U.S. Senate rather than stand for reelection, while neither Rep. Cass Ballenger (R-10th District) nor Rep. Frank Ballance (D-1st District) is seeking reelection. According to NCFREE, a nonpartisan, pro-business research group based in Raleigh, only one congressional district — the 8th District — rates as a swing district, meaning that either party could capture the seat currently held by Republican Rep. Robin Hayes.

SEE 2004 ELECTION PRIMER ON PAGE 12 →

North Carolina Voter Trends

Size of NC Voting Age Population, Number of Registered Voters, and Voter Turnout, 1966–2002



NC Voter Registration & Turnout in General Elections: 1960–2002

Year	Total NC Voting Age Population	Total NC Registered		North Carolina Turnout			Party of Winner		
		Voters #	% of Voting Age Pop.	# of Voters	% of Reg. Voters	% of Voting Age Pop	Pres.	Sen.	Gov.
1960	2,585,000	N/A	N/A	1,268,556	—	52.9	D	D	D
1962	2,647,000	N/A	N/A	813,155	—	30.7	—	D	—
1964	2,723,000	N/A	N/A	1,424,983	—	52.3	D	—	D
1966	2,798,000	1,933,763	69.1	901,978	46.6	32.2	—	D	—
1968	2,921,000	2,077,538	71.1	1,587,493	76.4	54.4	R	D	D
1970	3,043,000	1,945,187	63.9	932,948	63.9	30.7	—	—	—
1972	3,541,399	2,357,645	66.6	1,518,612	64.4	42.9	R	R	R
1974	3,725,037	2,279,646	61.2	1,020,367	44.8	27.4	—	D	—
1976	3,884,477	2,553,717	65.7	1,677,906	65.7	43.2	D	—	D
1978	4,053,977	2,430,306	59.9	1,135,814	46.7	28.0	—	R	—
1980	4,222,654	2,774,844	65.7	1,855,833	66.9	43.9	R	R	D
1982	4,416,444	2,674,787	65.1	1,330,630	49.7	30.1	—	—	—
1984	4,585,788	3,270,933	71.3	2,239,051	68.5	47.4	R	R	R
1986	4,738,687	3,080,990	65.0	1,591,330	51.6	33.6	—	D	—
1988	4,887,358	3,432,042	70.2	2,134,370	62.2	43.7	R	—	R
1990	5,016,747	3,347,635	66.7	2,070,585	61.9	41.2	—	R	—
1992	5,182,321	3,817,380	73.7	2,611,850	68.4	50.4	R	R	D
1994	5,359,333	3,635,875	67.8	1,533,728	42.2	28.6	—	—	—
1996	5,499,000	4,330,657	78.8	2,618,326	60.5	47.6	R	R	D
1998	5,620,000	4,740,272	84.3	2,012,143	42.4	35.8	—	D	—
2000	6,085,266	5,122,123	84.2	3,015,964	58.9	49.6	R	—	D
2002	6,085,281	5,043,334	82.9	2,330,454	46.2	38.3	—	R	—
7/04	6,319,805	5,128,259	81.1						

SOURCES: Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, DC: National Journal, 1972-2004); US Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (various years); Federal Elections Commission; Office of the Secretary of State, *North Carolina Manual* (Raleigh: Department of State, since 1966); NC State Board of Elections web site, "General Voter Registration and Election Statistics"; NC Center for Public Policy Research, *North Carolina Focus* (1989) and "The Two Party System in North Carolina," (Raleigh, December 1987); and Curtis Gans, Committee for the Study of the American Electorate.

Late Term NC Gubernatorial Job Approval Ratings in Polls

Governor/Term	Date ⁱ	Pollster ⁱⁱ	% Pos. ⁱⁱⁱ	% Neg. ^{iv}
Sanford	1964	LHP	49	48
Hunt-1	10/79	CP	73	16
Hunt-2	10/83	CP	61	30
Martin-1	9/88	IR	62	34
Martin-2	7/92	MD	42	55
Hunt-3	10/96	N&O	74	15
Hunt-4	4/00	MD	68	31
Easley	6/04	R2	56	40

ⁱ Month and year the poll was conducted.

ⁱⁱ Pollster = who conducted the poll: CP = Carolina Poll (UNC-CH); IR = Independent Research Poll; LHP = Louis Harris Poll; MD Mason-Dixon Poll; N&O = News & Observer/FGI Poll; R2 = Research 2000 Poll.

ⁱⁱⁱ % Pos. = % of the respondents giving the governor positive marks for his performance - approve, excellent/good, etc.

^{iv} % Neg. = % of the respondents giving the governor negative marks for his job performance - disapprove, fair/poor, etc.

Growth of NC Voters in Presidential Election Years, 1960–2000

Year	# of Voters	% Growth Over Last Election	% Growth Over 1960 Election
1960	1,268,556	N/A	N/A
1964	1,424,983	12.3	12.3
1968*	1,587,493	11.4	25.1
1972	1,518,612	-4.3	19.7
1976*	1,677,906	10.5	32.3
1980	1,855,833	10.6	46.3
1984	2,239,051	20.6	76.5
1988*	2,134,370	-4.7	68.3
1992	2,611,850	22.4	105.9
1996	2,618,326	0.2	106.4
2000*	3,015,964	15.2	137.7

* = No U.S. Senate race this year.

Late Term NC Presidential Job Approval Ratings in Polls

President/Term	Date ⁱ	Pollster ⁱⁱ	% Pos. ⁱⁱⁱ	% Neg. ^{iv}
Reagan, R-1	4/84	CP	63	36
Reagan, R-2	12/88	KPC	59	41
GHW Bush, R	2/92	CP	44	43
Clinton, D-1	10/96	MD	37	63
Clinton, D-2	11/00	VNS	50	49
GW Bush, R	7/04	R2	51	49

ⁱ Month and year the poll was conducted.

ⁱⁱ Pollster = who conducted the poll: CP = Carolina Poll (UNC-CH); KPC = KPC Poll for Knight Ridder Media; MD Mason-Dixon; R2 = Research 2000 Poll; VNS = Voter News services Election Day Exit Poll.

ⁱⁱⁱ % Pos. = % of the respondents giving the governor positive marks for his performance — approve, excellent/good, etc.

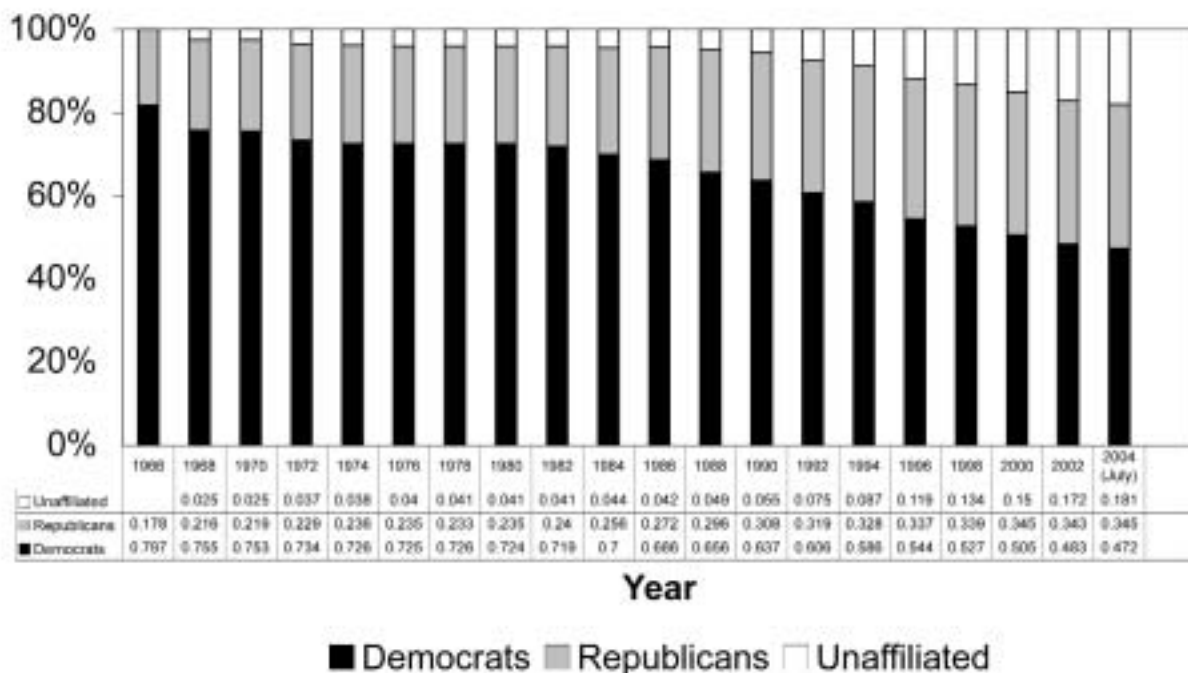
^{iv} % Neg. = % of the respondents giving the governor negative marks for his job performance — disapprove, fair/poor, etc.

Growth of NC Registered Voters, 1968–2004 (July)

Year	Total NC Registered Voters	% Growth Over Last Election	% Growth Over 1968 Election
1968*	2,077,538	N/A	N/A
1972	2,357,645	13.5	13.5
1976*	2,553,717	8.3	22.9
1980	2,774,844	8.7	33.6
1984	3,270,933	17.9	57.4
1988*	3,432,042	4.9	65.2
1992	3,817,380	11.2	83.7
1996	4,330,657	13.4	108.5
2000*	5,122,657	18.3	146.5
7/04	5,128,259	0.1	146.8

* = No U.S. Senate race this year

NC Voters' Party Registration, 1966–2004 (July)



North Carolina Congressional Elections

2004 Congressional Districts in NC (Ranked From Most Republican to Most Democratic Districts by Party Registration)

CD #	Incumbent ⁱ	Race	Type ⁱⁱ	%White ⁱⁱⁱ	Party Registration			2000 Voting ^{iv}		1996 ^v Helms
					Rep.	Dem.	Una.	Pres.	Gov.	
6th	Coble, R	IRUP	SR	91.1	47.3	35.3	17.3	32.2	42.5	65.7
5th	Burr, R	OP	SR	93.0	46.4	36.9	16.8	32.1	42.7	64.3
9th	Myrick, R	IRUP	SR	88.4	44.5	34.3	21.3	34.8	36.7	58.8
10th	Ballenger, R	OP	SR	90.8	42.7	39.6	17.8	33.9	42.2	62.0
11th	Taylor, R	IRUP	LR	94.5	36.3	43.2	20.5	40.1	48.6	53.7
3rd	Jones, R	IRUP	LR	84.0	35.1	47.4	17.6	34.4	49.7	62.2
8th	Hayes, R	IRUP	SW	71.2	30.9	50.8	18.3	45.8	53.0	51.9
4th	Price, D	IRUP	LD	77.6	31.6	46.8	21.6	51.5	59.4	42.3
2nd	Etheridge, D	IRUP	LD	67.4	29.6	54.5	16.0	46.5	59.2	51.8
13th	Miller, D	IRUP	LD	72.8	29.1	52.7	18.2	53.0	61.5	47.9
7th	McIntyre, D	IRUP	LD	71.6	28.4	55.8	15.9	48.0	61.4	50.3
12th	Watt, D	IR	SD	52.4	26.1	58.1	15.7	58.5	64.5	36.2
1st	Butterfield, D (NOTE)	IR	SD	49.8	17.4	71.7	10.9	58.4	69.8	43.8

NOTE: In the July 20, 2004, Primary elections, G.K. Butterfield-D won a special election to fill out the term of Congressman Frank Ballance-D, who resigned his seat in June 2004. So Butterfield is running as an incumbent in the 2004 general election.

ⁱ Current incumbent and party, plus the projected outcome based on *2004 Almanac of North Carolina Politics*.

ⁱⁱ Race Type = IR - incumbent running for reelection; IRU - incumbent running unopposed for reelection; IRUP - incumbent running unopposed in party primary; OP - open seat. The projections are: SR - Strong Republican, LR - Leaning Republican, SW - Swing, LD - Leaning Democratic, and SD - Strong Democratic.

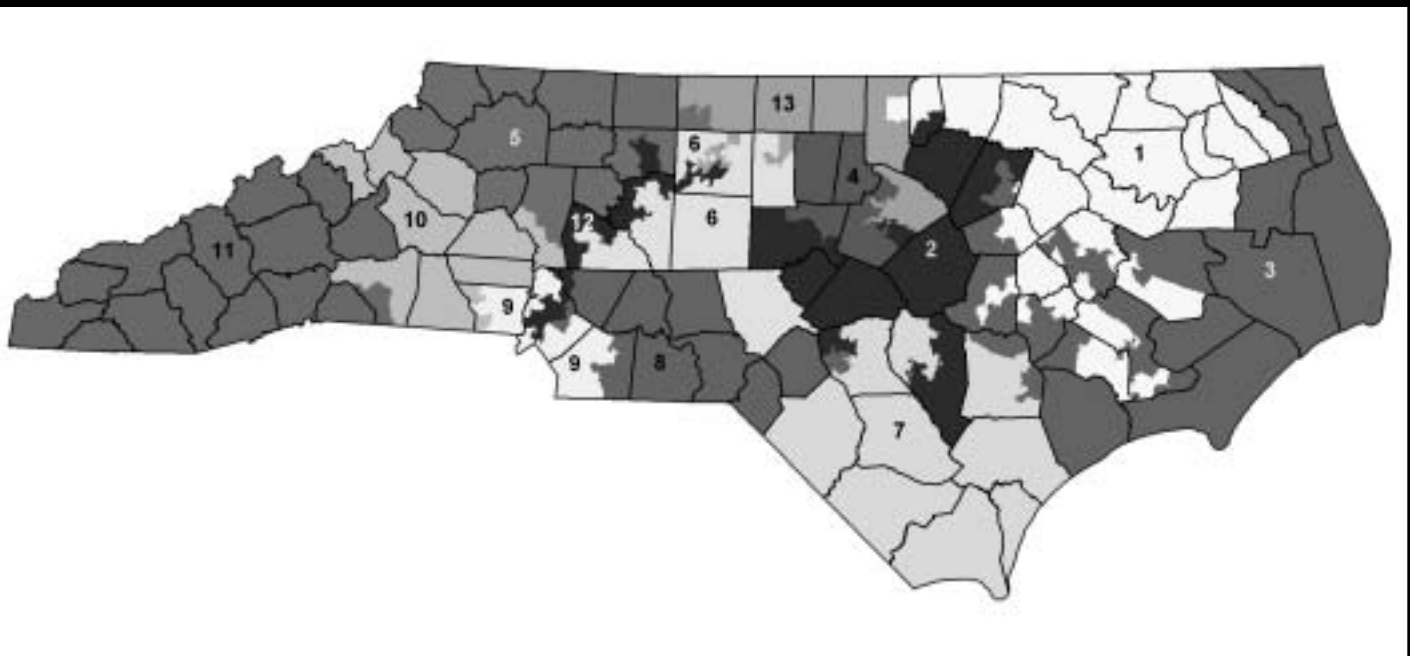
ⁱⁱⁱ % White = percent of the registered voters who are white.

^{iv} 2000 Voting = % voting for the Democratic candidate in the Presidential race [Gore] and in the Governor's race [Easley].

^v % voting for Helms in the 1996 Helms-Gantt US Senate race.

SOURCE: John N. Davis, Lindsey Rushing, and Khaner Walker, *2004 Almanac of North Carolina Politics* (Raleigh: NC Free, Spring 2004)

New Congressional Districts in NC



Political Lineage of US Senate Seat at Stake in 2004

Senator	Party ⁱ	County	Years In Senate	How Senator Entered ⁱⁱ /Left Office ⁱⁱⁱ	
Augustus Merrimon	D	Buncombe	1873–79	e	r
Zebulon B. Vance	D	Mecklenburg	1879–94	e	d
Thomas J. Jarvis	D	Pitt	1894–95	a	r
Jeter Pritchard	R	Madison	1895–1903	e	r
Lee Overman	D	Rowan	1903–30	e	d
Cameron Morrison	D	Mecklenburg	1930–32	a	lp
Robert Reynolds	D	Buncombe	1932–45	e	r
Clyde Hoey	D	Cleveland	1945–54	e	d
Sam Ervin	D	Burke	1954–74	e	r
Robert Morgan	D	Harnett	1975–80	e	lg
John Porter East	R	Pitt	1981–86	e	d
James Broyhill	R	Caldwell	1986	a	lg
Terry Sanford	D	Durham	1986–92	e	lg
Lauch Faircloth	R	Sampson	1993–98	e	lg
John Edwards	D	Wake	1999–2005	e	r

ⁱ Party: D = Democrat; R = Republican.

ⁱⁱ How entered office: a = appointed; e = elected.

ⁱⁱⁱ How left office: d = died; lg = lost in general election; lp = lost in party primary; r = retired.

Late Term NC US Senatorial Job Approval Ratings in Polls

US Senator/Term	Date ¹	Pollster ²	% Pos. ³	% Neg. ⁴
Ervin, D-3	1964	LHP	55	22
Helms, R-2	10/83	CP	46	42
Helms, R-3	10/87	MD	39	55
Sanford, D	2/89	N&O	40	45
Helms, R-4	10/92	MD	44	55
Sanford, D	4/92	MD	41	56
Faircloth, R	9/96	MD	46	47
Helms, R-4	10/96	N&O	50	40
Edwards, D	10/99	CP	36	27
Helms, R-5	10/99	CP	45	43
Dole, R	4/03	EU	48	39
Edwards, D	7/04	R2	56	37

¹ Month and year the poll was conducted.

² Pollster = who conducted the poll: CP - Carolina Poll (UNC-CH); EU - Elon University Poll; LHP - Louis Harris Poll; MD - Mason-Dixon Poll; N&O - News & Observer/FGI Poll; R2 - Research 2000 Poll.

³ % Pos. = % of the respondents giving the senator positive marks for his or her performance - approve, excellent, good, etc.

⁴ % Neg. = % of respondents giving the senator negative marks for his or her job performance - disapprove, fair/poor, etc.

The 2004 Congressional Races Election Projections

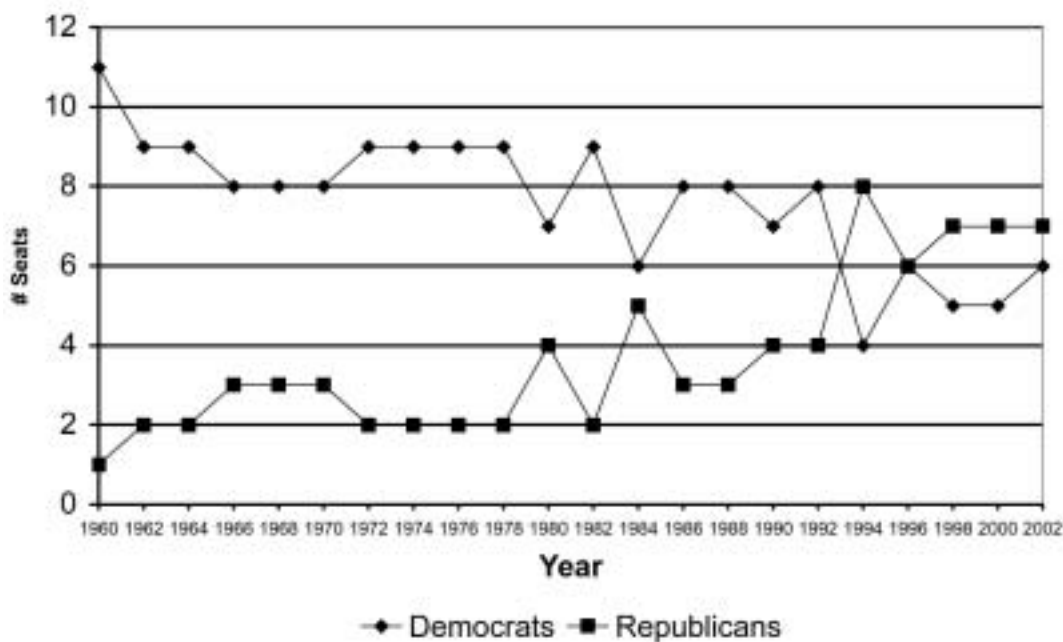
13 Congressional Races: 6 Dem., 6 Rep., 1 Swing

[2] Strong Dem.	[4] Lean Dem.	[1] Swing	[2] Lean Rep.	[4] Strong Rep.
1	2	8	3	5*
12	4		11	6
	7			9
	13			10*

*=Open Seat

SOURCE: John N. Davis, Lindsey Rushing and Khaner Walker, *2004 Almanac of North Carolina Politics* (Raleigh: NC Free, Spring 2004).

NC Representatives by Party, 1960–2002



1988 and 1992 Select General Election Results

1988 SELECT GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

Registered Voters 3,432,042
 Number Voting 2,180,025
 [Based on Gubernatorial Race]
 Turnout % 63.5

Race	Candidate, Party [* - incumbent]	Votes	%
Pres.	Dukakis, D	890,167	41.7
	Bush, R	1,237,258	58.0
Gov.	Jordan, D	957,687	43.9
	Martin, R*	1,222,338	56.1
1st CD	Jones, D*	118,027	65.2
	Moye, R	63,013	34.8
2nd CD	Valentine, D*	128,832	100
3rd CD	Lancaster, D*	101,185	100
4th CD	Price, D*	131,896	58.0
	Fetzer, R	95,482	42.0
5th CD	Neal, D*	110,516	52.6
	Gray, R	99,540	47.4
6th CD	Gilmore, D	70,008	37.5
	Coble, R	116,534	62.5
7th CD	Rose, D*	102,392	67.3
	Thompson, R	49,855	32.7
8th CD	Hefner, D*	99,214	34.1
	Blanton, R	93,464	48.5
9th CD	Sholander, D	71,802	48.7
	McMillan, R*	139,014	65.9
10th CD	Rhyne, D	71,865	39.0
	Ballenger, R*	112,554	61.0
11th CD	Clarke, D	108,436	50.4
	Taylor, R	106,907	49.6
State House			
D vote:	1.511 million	56%	74 seats
R vote:	1.200 million	44%	46 seats
State Senate			
D vote:	1.480 million	57%	40 seats
R vote:	1.124 million	43%	10 seats

1992 SELECT GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

3,817,380
 2,611,850
 68.4

Race	Candidate, Party [* - incumbent]	Votes	%
Pres.	Clinton, D	1,114,042	42.7
	Bush, R*	1,134,661	43.4
	Perot	357,864	13.7
Gov.	Hunt, D	1,368,246	52.7
	Gardner, R	1,121,955	43.2
US Sen.	Sanford, D*	1,194,015	46.3
	Faircloth, R	1,297,892	50.3
1st CD	Clayton, D	116,078	67.0
	Tyler, R	54,457	31.4
2nd CD	Valentine, D*	113,693	53.7
	Davis, R	44,263	44.4
3rd CD	Lancaster, D*	101,739	54.4
	Pollard, R	80,769	43.2
4th CD	Price, D*	171,299	64.6
	Rothrock, R	89,345	33.7
5th CD	Neal, D*	117,835	33.7
	Burr, R	102,086	45.7
6th CD	Hood, D	67,200	29.2
	Coble, R*	162,922	70.8
7th CD	Rose, D*	92,414	56.7
	Anderson, R	66,536	40.8
8th CD	Hefner, D*	113,162	57.9
	Privette, R	71,842	36.8
9th CD	Blake, D	74,583	32.7
	McMillan, R*	153,650	67.3
10th CD	Neill, D	71,865	39.0
	Ballenger, R*	112,554	61.0
11th CD	Stevens, D	108,003	45.3
	Taylor, R*	130,158	54.7
12th CD	Watt, D	127,262	70.4
	Washington, R	49,402	27.3
State House			
D vote:	1.727 million	53%	78 seats
R vote:	1.200 million	41%	42 seats
State Senate			
D vote:	1.555 million	55%	39 seats
R vote:	1.260 million	45%	11 seats

1996 and 2000 Select General Election Results

1996 SELECT GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

Registered Voters 4,330,657
 Number Voting 2,618,326
 Turnout % 60.5

Race	Candidate, Party [* - incumbent]	Votes	%
Pres.	Clinton, D*	1,107,849	44.0
	Dole, R	1,225,938	48.7
Gov.	Hunt, D*	1,436,638	56.0
	Hayes, R	1,097,053	42.8
US Sen.	Gantt, D	1,173,875	45.9
	Helms, R*	1,345,833	52.6
1st CD	Clayton, D*	108,759	65.9
	Tyler, R	54,666	33.1
2nd CD	Etheridge, D	113,820	52.8
	Funderbunk, R	98,951	45.9
3rd CD	Parrott, D	68,887	36.5
	Jones, R*	118,159	62.7
4th CD	Price, D	157,194	54.4
	Heineman, R*	126,466	43.8
5th CD	Cashion, D	74,320	35.4
	Burr, R*	130,777	62.1
6th CD	Costley, D	58,002	25.4
	Coble, R*	167,828	73.4
7th CD	McIntyre, D	87,487	52.9
	Caster, R	75,811	45.8
8th CD	Hefner, D*	103,129	34.1
	Blackwood, R	81,676	43.7
9th CD	Daisley, D	83,078	35.4
	Myrick, R*	147,755	63.0
10th CD	Neill, D	65,103	28.7
	Ballenger, R*	158,585	70.0
11th CD	Ferguson, D	91,257	40.0
	Taylor, R*	132,860	58.3
12th CD	Watt, D*	124,675	71.5
	Martino, R	46,581	26.7

State House

D vote: 1.536 million 49% 59 seats
 R vote: 1.604 million 51% 61 seats

State Senate

D vote: 1.551 million 51% 30 seats
 R vote: 1.506 million 49% 20 seats

2000 SELECT GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

5,122,123
 3,015,964
 68.4

Race	Candidate, Party [* - incumbent]	Votes	%
Pres.	Gore, D	1,257,692	43.1
	Bush, R	1,631,163	56.1
Gov.	Easley, D	1,530,324	52.0
	Vinroot, R	1,360,960	46.3
1st CD	Clayton, D*	124,171	65.6
	Kratzer, R	62,198	32.9
2nd CD	Etheridge, D*	146,733	58.3
	Haynes, R	103,011	40.9
3rd CD	McNary, D	74,058	37.3
	Jones, R*	121,940	61.4
4th CD	Price, D*	119,412	61.6
	Ward, R	20,855	36.6
5th CD	Burr, R*	172,489	92.8
6th CD	Coble, R*	195,727	91.0
7th CD	McIntyre, D*	160,185	69.7
	Adams, R	66,463	28.9
8th CD	Taylor, D	89,505	44.0
	Hayes, R*	111,950	55.0
9th CD	McGuire, D	79,832	30.0
	Myrick, R*	181,161	68.6
10th CD	Parker, D	70,877	29.5
	Ballenger, R*	164,182	68.2
11th CD	Neill, D	112,234	42.1
	Taylor, R*	146,677	55.1
12th CD	Watt, D*	135,570	64.8
	Mitchell, R	69,596	33.3

State House

D vote: 1.712 million 49% 62 seats
 R vote: 1.791 million 51% 58 seats

State Senate

D vote: 1.677 million 50% 35 seats
 R vote: 1.640 million 49% 15 seats

Recent Gubernatorial Primary Races

Year	Race	# of Candidates	Winner	% Vote
1968	Rep. Primary	2	Gardner	72.8
	Dem. Primary	3	Scott	48.1
1972	Rep. Primary	4	Holshouser	49.0
	Dem. Primary	6	Bowles	45.5
1976	Rep. Primary	4	Flaherty	49.8
	Dem. Primary	5	Hunt	53.4
1980	Rep. Primary	2	Lake	80.8
	Dem. Primary	3	Hunt	69.6
1984	Rep. Primary	2	Martin	91.7
	Dem. Primary	10	Edminstein	30.7
1988	Rep. Primary	1	Martin	100.0
	Dem. Primary	5	Jordan	79.7
1992	Rep. Primary	3	Gardner	82.0
	Dem. Primary	5	Hunt	65.5
1996	Rep. Primary	4	Hayes	50.0
	Dem. Primary	1	Hunt	100.0
2000	Rep. Primary	4	Vinroot	45.5
	Dem. Primary	7	Easley	58.9
2004	Rep. Primary	6	Ballantine	30.4
	Dem. Primary	2	Easley	85.4

Recent US Senate Primary Races

Year	Race	# of Candidates	Winner	% Vote
1972	Rep. Primary	3	Helms	60.1
	Dem. Primary	4	Galifanakis	49.2
1974	Rep. Primary	3	Stevens	65.1
	Dem. Primary	9	Morgan	50.9
1978	Dem. Primary	8	Hodges	40.1
	Dem. Run-Off	2	Ingram	54.2
1984	Rep. Primary	2	Helms	90.6
	Dem. Primary	3	Hunt	77.5
1986	Rep. Primary	3	Broyhill	66.5
	Dem. Primary	10	Sanford	60.3
1990	Rep. Primary	3	Helms	84.3
	Dem. Primary	6	Gantt	37.5
	Dem. Run-Off	2	Gantt	56.9
1992	Rep. Primary	4	Faircloth	47.7
1996	Dem. Primary	3	Gantt	52.4
1998	Rep. Primary	3	Faircloth	81.8
	Dem. Primary	7	Edwards	51.4
2002	Rep. Primary	7	Dole	80.7
	Dem. Primary	9	Bowles	43.4
2004	Rep. Primary	4	Burr	87.9

First Primary Turnout in Recent US Senate Races

Year	Race ⁱ	Votes	% TRV ⁱⁱ	% GEV ⁱⁱⁱ
1972	ILP	921,380	39.1	60.7
		153,831 R 767,549 D		
1974	OP	675,197	29.6	66.2
		95,857 R 579,340 D		
1978	IW	650,942	N/A ^{iv}	N/A ^v
		no primary R ^{vi} 650,942 D ^{vii}		
1980	ILG	No senate primary contests		
1984	IW	994,520	30.4	44.4
		148,574 R 845,946 D		
1986	ILG	889,312	28.9	55.9
		209,825 R 679,487 D		
1990	IW	880,091	26.3	42.5
		186,595 R 693,496 D		
1992	ILG	270,569	N/A	N/A
		270,569 R no primary D ^{viii}		
1996	IW	588,963	N/A	N/A
		no primary R ^{ix} 588,963 D		
1998	ILG	805,316	17.0	40.0
		265,288 R 540,028 D		
2002	OP	966,653	19.3	41.5
		389,269 R 577,384 D		
2004	OP	343,875	N/A	N/A
		343,875 R no primary D ^x		

ⁱ Race = type of race: IW - incumbent wins reelection; ILG - incumbent loses in general election; ILP - incumbent loses in primary; OP - Open Seat.

ⁱⁱ % TRV = percent of total registered voters.

ⁱⁱⁱ %GEV = percent of total general election voters.

^{iv} N/A = not applicable as there was no Republican Senate primary and no way to estimate the total Republican primary vote.

^v N/A = ditto.

^{vi} No Republican primary, Senator Helms uncontested for the party nomination. Since there were no other statewide primary races in the Republican Party, there is no way to estimate the total Republican vote.

^{vii} Democrat Luther Hodges, Jr. led with 40.1% of the vote, was challenged by second place candidate John Ingram and lost in the second primary 54.2% to 45.8%. At that time, to win the nomination in the first primary the leader must receive 50% of the vote otherwise the second place runner could challenge the leader in a second primary.

^{viii} Democratic Senator Terry Sanford ran unopposed.

^{ix} Republican Senator Jesse Helms ran unopposed.

^x Democratic nominee Erskine Bowles ran unopposed.

Campaign Expenditures

Most Expensive Gubernatorial Races, 1968–2000

Year	Actual\$ (millions)	2004\$ (millions)	CPV \$	Winner, Party
2000	28,180	30,764	10.46	Easley, D
1984	14,048	25,404	11.42	Martin, R
1996	18,018	21,974	8.56	Hunt, D
1988	12,514	19,895	9.13	Martin, R
1992	13,353	17,900	6.90	Hunt, D
1976	4,415	14,572	8.86	Hunt, D
1972	2,608	11,748	7.85	Holshouser, R
1980	3,818	8,717	4.73	Hunt, D
1968	573	3,096	1.99	Scott, D

Most Expensive U.S. Senate Races, 1972–2002

Year	Actual\$ (millions)	2004\$ (millions)	CPV \$	Winner and Loser
1984	26,379	47,703	21.42	Helms (R) v. Hunt (D)
1990	25,573	36,797	17.78	Helms (R) v. Gantt (D)
2002	27,041	28,256	2.83	Dole (R) v. Bowles (D)
1996	22,582	27,539	10.93	Helms (R) v. Gantt (D)
1978	8,387	24,170	21.28	Helms (R) v. Ingram (D)
1998	17,707	20,306	10.09	Edwards (D) v. Faircloth (R)
1986	9,357	16,050	10.09	Sanford (D) v. Broyhill (R)
1992	5,438	7,289	2.83	Faircloth (R) v. Sanford (D)
1972	1,124	5,063	3.44	Helms (R) v. Galifianakis (D)
1980	2,124	4,849	2.72	East (R) v. Morgan (D)
1974	1,167	4,454	4.40	Morgan (D) v. Stevens (R)

'Mother's Milk' and U.S. Senate Races in North Carolina, 1972–2002*

	Actual Dollars (millions)				2004\$ (millions) ~			CPV <	Winner Pty %	Spent*** Most % >
	Dem	Rep	Total		Dem	Rep	Total			
1972	.470	.654	1.124	2.117	2.946	5.063	3.44	R - 55	R - 60	
1974	.781	.386	1.167	2.981	1.473	4.454	4.40	D - 63	D - 67	
1978	.264	8.123	8.387	.761	23.409	24.170	21.28	R - 55	R - 97	
1980	.948	1.176	2.124	2.164	2.685	4.849	2.72	R - 50	R - 55	
1984	9.462	16.918	26.379	17.110	30.593	47.703	21.42	R - 52	R - 64	
1986	4.169	5.188	9.357	7.151	8.899	16.050	10.09	D - 52	D - 55	
1990	7.812	17.762	25.573	11.240	25.557	36.797	17.78	R - 53	R - 69	
1992	2.486	2.952	5.438	3.332	3.957	7.289	2.83	R - 50	R - 54	
1996	7.993	14.589	22.582	9.748	17.791	27.539	10.93	R - 53	R - 65	
1998	8.331	9.376	17.707	9.554	10.752	20.306	10.09	D - 51	R - 53	
2002	13.306	13.735	27.041	13.904	14.352	28.256	2.83	R - 54	R - 51	
Totals	N/A	N/A	N/A	80.062	142.414	222.476	10.73	D - 3	D - 2	
				36%	64%	100%		R - 8	R - 9	

*The major party candidates in these elections were: 1972 - Nick Galifianakis, D and Jesse Helms, R; 1974 - Robert Morgan, D and William Stevens, R; 1978 - John Ingram, D and Helms, R; 1980 - Morgan, D and John East, R; 1984 - Jim Hunt, D and Helms, R; 1986 - Terry Sanford, D and James Broyhill, R; 1990 - Harvey Gantt, D and Helms, R; 1992 - Sanford, D and Lauch Faircloth, R; 1996 - Gantt, D and Helms, R; 1998 - John Edwards, D and Faircloth, R; 2002 - Erskine Bowles, D and Elizabeth Dole, R.

~ The 2004 Dollar Equivalents are based on the 1982-84 Consumer Price Index equal to 100 and modified to April 2004 dollars. The value of the 2004 dollar on the 1982-84 base was 1.880. The 2004 dollar equivalents for the above years are as follows: 1972 dollars = .222 of the 2004 dollar; 1974 = .262; 1978 = .347; 1980 = .438; 1984 = .553; 1986 = .583; 1990 = .695; 1992 = .746; 1996 = .820; 1998 = .872; and 2002 = .957.

< CPV = cost per general election vote, total amount spent in 2004\$ divided by total votes cast in the general election.

> Pty % = party of winning candidate and the winner's % share of the vote. Spent most % = which party's candidate spent the most money in the campaign and the % share of that spending.

SOURCES: Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, DC: National Journal) 1978, p. 625; 1986, pp. 996-7; 2004, pp. 1190, 1193 and the Federal Elections Commission Web site: www.fec.gov

Historical Voting Returns

Presidential Voting in North Carolina, 1900–2000

Year & Party ⁱ	REPUBLICANS		DEMOCRATS	
	NC . Vote %	[+] or [-] US Vote ⁱⁱ	NC Vote %	[+] or [-] US Vote ⁱⁱⁱ
1900-R	45.5	- 6.2	54.2	+ 8.7
1904-R	39.7	-20.3	55.2	+17.6
1908-R	45.5	- 9.0	54.4	+11.4
1912-D	12.0	-12.9 ^{iv}	59.2	+17.4
1916-D	41.7	- 6.6	58.1	+ 8.9
1920-R	43.2	-17.1	56.8	+20.6
1924-R	40.3	-14.4	59.6	+24.8
1928-R	54.9	- 3.3	45.1	+ 3.9
1932-D	29.5	-10.3	69.8	+10.7
1936-D	26.6	- 9.9	73.4	+10.9
1940-D	26.0	-18.8	74.0	+19.0
1944-D	33.3	-12.6	66.7	+12.9
1948-D	36.0	-12.4	58.0	+ 5.7
1952-R	46.1	- 9.0	53.9	+ 8.3
1956-R	49.3	- 8.1	50.7	+ 8.5
1960-D	47.9	- 1.6	52.1	+ 2.0
1964-D	43.9	+ 5.3	56.2	- 5.1
1968-R	44.2	- 3.9	42.5	- 6.7
1972-R	70.6	+ 8.8	28.9	- 9.3
1976-D	44.4	- 3.8	55.3	+ 4.2
1980-R	51.1	- 1.4	47.2	+ 2.5
1984-R	62.0	+ 3.1	37.9	- 2.9
1988-R	58.0	+ 4.6	41.8	- 4.6
1992-D	50.5	+ 6.0	49.5	- 4.0
1996-D	52.5	+ 8.2	47.4	- 7.3
2000-R	56.5	+ 6.6	43.5	- 6.6

ⁱ Election year and party winning the White House

ⁱⁱ The percentage point margin by which the NC Republican share of the two-party vote for president exceeded [+] or trailed [-] the Republican percentage nationally

ⁱⁱⁱ The percentage point margin by which the NC Democratic share of the two-party vote for president exceeded [+] or trailed [-] the Democratic percentage nationally.

^{iv} Republican Party % of the 2-party vote as former Republican President Teddy Roosevelt ran on the Progressive or "Bull Moose" Party ticket winning 30% of the vote nationally and 28.4% of the NC vote.

SOURCES: *America at the Polls: 1996* [Storrs, CT: The Roper Center, University of Connecticut, 1997]: 92-95; *The State of 2 Parties* [Raleigh: NC Center for Public Policy Research, 1987]: 13-14; Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics* [Washington, DC: *The National Journal*, various years].

Voter Falloff Down the Ballot in Recent Presidential Election Years

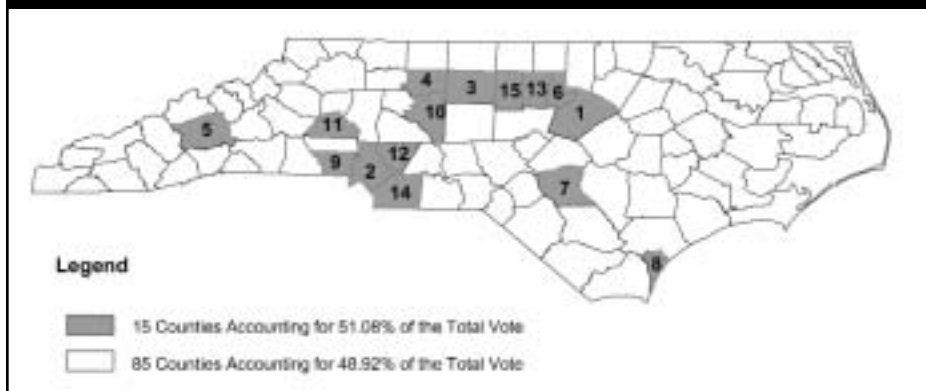
1984		1988		1992	
Voter Turnout:	2,239,051	Voter Turnout:	2,180,025	Voter turnout	2,611,850
[Based on US Senate Race totals]		[Based on Governor's race totals]			
Race:	% Voting	Race:	% Voting	Race	% Voting
US Senate	100.0	Governor	100.0	President	99.99
Governor	99.4	President	97.9	Governor	99.4
President	97.2	Lieutenant Governor	97.1	US Senator	98.7
Lieutenant Governor	95.6	Secretary of State	95.7	Lieutenant Governor	96.0
Secretary of State	92.8	Attorney General	93.3	Secretary of State	95.6
Agric. Commissioner	91.4	Insurance Commissioner	92.5	Attorney General	93.1
Insurance Commissioner	91.0	Agric. Commissioner	92.3	Insurance Commissioner	92.9
Attorney General	90.9	State Treasurer	91.5	Agric. Commissioner	92.7
Sup. of Public Instruction	90.8	State Auditor	91.5	State Treasurer	92.1
Labor Commissioner	90.4	Labor Commissioner	91.2	Labor Commissioner	90.7
State Auditor	90.1	Sup. of Public Instruction	91.1	State Auditor	90.7
State Treasurer	55.2*			Sup. Of Public Instruction	89.7
* - unopposed					
1996		2000			
Voter Turnout:	2,618,326	Voter Turnout	3,015,964		
Race:	% Voting	Race ⁱ	% Voting		
Governor	98.0	Governor	97.5		
US Senator	97.6	President	96.7		
President	96.1	Lieutenant Governor	95.0		
Secretary of State	95.3	Chief Justice, Sup. Ct.	93.8		
Attorney General	94.0	Attorney General	93.7		
Lieutenant Governor	93.9	Insurance Commissioner	93.3		
Insurance Commissioner	93.5	Agric. Commissioner	93.0		
Agric. Commissioner	93.2	State Treasurer	92.2		
State Treasurer	92.0	Secretary of State	92.1		
Sup. of Public Instruction	91.3	Sup. of Public Instruction	91.7		
Chief Justice, Supreme Ct.	90.9	Assoc. Justice, Sup. Ct.	91.7		
Labor Commissioner	90.8	State Auditor	91.4		
Assoc. Justice, Sup. Ct.	90.7	Appeals Ct. Justice - H	90.4		
State Auditor	90.6	Appeals Ct. Justice - J	90.3		
Appeals Ct. Justice	89.7	Appeals Ct. Justice - M	90.1		
School Bonds Issue	85.9	Appeals Ct. Justice - L	90.0		
Road Bonds Issue	84.2	Appeals Ct. Justice - W	89.5		

ⁱ The code for the five Appeals court races is by whose Court of Appeals seat was involved: H - Horton; J - John; L - Lewis; M - Martin; W - Wynn.

SOURCES: State Board of Elections and *North Carolina Manual* [various years]

Political Geography

Top 15 North Carolina Counties, Presidential Election 2000



Counties Accounting for 51.08% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Wake	Raleigh	268,220	9.21	Bush	19,028
2	Mecklenburg	Charlotte	263,036	9.04	Bush	7,157
3	Guilford	Greensboro	166,264	5.71	Bush	3,607
4	Forsyth	Greensboro	120,942	4.15	Bush	15,243
5	Buncombe	Asheville	85,476	2.94	Bush	7,556
6	Durham	Durham	84,604	2.91	Gore	-23,757
7	Cumberland	Fayetteville	77,151	2.65	Gore	-497
8	New Hanover	Wilmington	66,319	2.28	Bush	7,211
9	Gaston	Charlotte	59,179	2.03	Bush	20,172
10	Davidson	Greensboro	52,047	1.79	Bush	19,188
11	Catawba	Hickory	50,841	1.75	Bush	17,998
12	Cabarrus	Charlotte	49,381	1.70	Bush	16,420
13	Orange	Raleigh	49,344	1.69	Gore	-12,991
14	Union	Charlotte	47,161	1.62	Bush	16,986
15	Alamance	Greensboro	47,091	1.62	Bush	11,846
15 County Total			1,487,056	51.08	Bush=12 Gore=3	125,167
85 County Total			1,157,860	48.92	Bush=63 Gore=22	248,304
State Total			2,911,262	100.00	Bush=75 Gore=25	373,471
(100 Counties; 15 Electoral Votes)						

NOTES:

¹"#" refers to the numbers on the adjacent map.

²"1999 MSA" refers to the Metropolitan Statistical Areas in effect in 1999. Only the first city is listed for areas with multiple central cities.

³"Total Votes" is the sum of votes cast for all presidential candidates.

⁴"% of Total" measures a county's share of the statewide vote total. Figures are rounded to the nearest hundredth.

⁵"Bush Margin" is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

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

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→ **2004 ELECTION PRIMER** FROM PAGE 1

- ◆ Although North Carolinians have supported GOP presidential candidates in every election since 1980, the state's voters have proved willing to split their votes and support Democratic gubernatorial candidates. Democrats have won the last three gubernatorial elections, and incumbent Gov. Mike Easley enters the campaign's final stretch with positive job approval ratings in the mid-50s.
- ◆ Redistricting has resulted in a decline in the number of competitive seats in the General Assembly. In the state Senate, NCFREE rates 24 seats as strong or leaning Democrat and 22 as strong or leaning Republican. Control of the Senate likely will hinge on four swing seats. Meanwhile, the House contains 55 strong and leaning Republican districts, 51 strong and leaning Democratic districts and 14 swing seats. The outcome of these swing races will determine whether or not the House continues to have a co-speakership.
- ◆ The geographic breakdown of the 20 swing seats that exist between the two chambers of the North Carolina General Assembly is as follows: 12 in the east; 5 in the Piedmont; and 3 in the west.
- ◆ This fall's five appellate-level judicial elections will be the first held under a new law that makes all judicial elections for the State Supreme Court and Court of Appeals nonpartisan and provides for public funding of campaigns. ■