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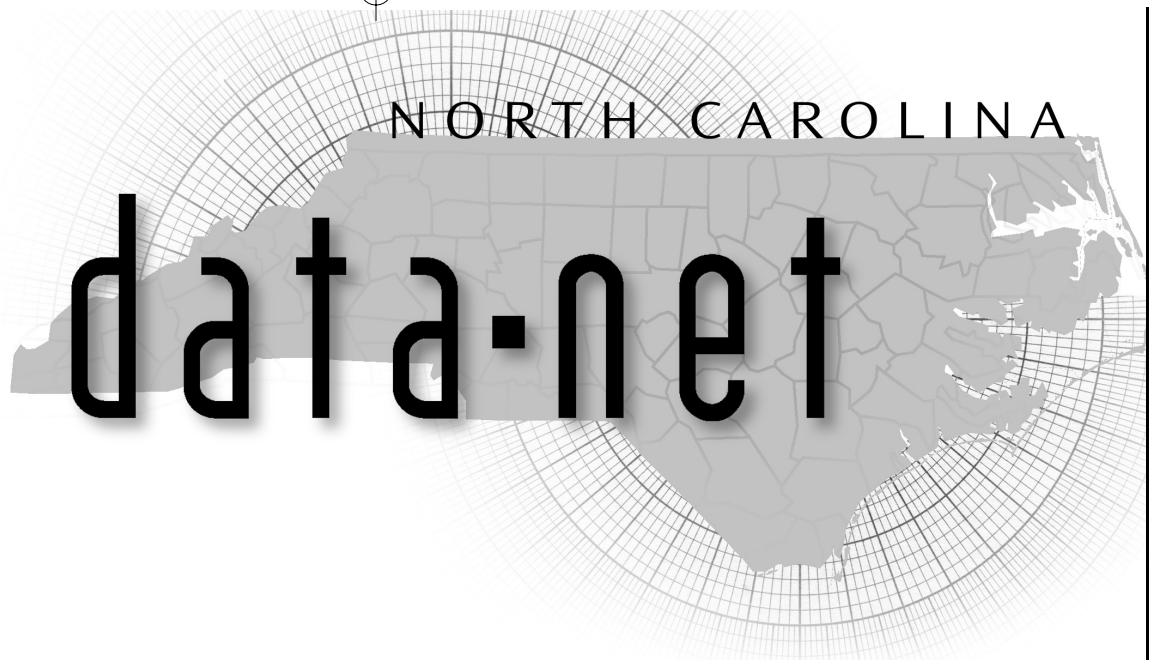
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# The Continuing Cycle

FERREL GUILLORY, director, Program on Southern Politics, Media & Public Life

After a period of transition in the Program on Southern Politics, Media, and Public Life, *North Carolina DataNet* returns to a regular schedule with this issue.

We begin with the biannual analysis of the 2004 election and demographic overview of the 2005–06 General Assembly. Though this coverage is overdue, it remains relevant. As the filing deadline for the 2006 elections recently expired, a look at 2004 helps inform what to expect in this next election year. Particularly following the lobbying reform discussions of the 2005 long session and in the midst of several campaign finance stories, a look at the campaign finance trends provides the background for these policy discussions.

### Trends:

- ◆ Overall spending on state legislative offices continued to rise — from \$7.9 million to \$26.2 million in the past ten years.
- ◆ The spending disparity between the parties remains significant. Senate Democrats spent \$9.2 million, while Senate Republicans spent \$4.1 million. In the House, Democrats spent \$7.6 million, while Republicans spent \$5.5 million.
- ◆ The candidate spending the most money won 43 out of 50 (86 percent) of the N.C. Senate races and 107 out of 120 of the N.C. House races (89 percent).
- ◆ Eighty-seven General Assembly members (51%) had no major-party opponent. (See tables on page 11.)
- ◆ There were 33 new General Assembly members (19%), 12 in the Senate (24%) and 21 in the House (18%). Thirteen of the new members defeated incumbents to win election, with six defeating incumbents in the primary election.

Twenty-one of the new members won in an open-seat election.

- ◆ There were 14 competitive primaries in which candidates from within the party challenged incumbents and either spent at least 75% as much money or won the primary. All of these competitive primaries were within the Republican Party: four in Senate primary elections and ten in House primary elections. ■

## 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, for his willingness to share data. Thanks also to Martin Johnson for his copy writing and early editing.

Finally, we at the Program on Southern Politics, Media, and Public Life would like to thank Progress Energy for its generous support of *North Carolina DataNet* and *SouthNow*.

# Democrats, in Majority, Out-Spend Republicans

Holding a majority in both the state Senate and House, Democrats spend much more

money on elections in each legislative chamber than the Republicans.

In the Senate, Democrats spent \$9.2 million, or 69 percent of the total, compared with the Republicans, who spent \$4.1 million, or 31 percent. The \$13.3 million spent for elections to the 50-member Senate is almost four times the amount spent just a decade earlier in 1994 (in 2004\$), but it is a slight drop from 2002.

In the House, Democrats and Republicans ended up more competitive in campaign finance. Democrats spent \$7.6 million, or 58 percent of the total, while Republicans spent \$5.5 million, or 42 percent, for a total of \$13.1 million. In adjusted 2004 dollars, the House spending topped previous years, with only the \$13.0 million spent in 2000 approaching what was spent last year for the 120-member body.

The cost per seat has more than tripled in the past decade, from \$54,000 to nearly \$156,000 in adjusted 2004 dollars. And yet, the share of total spending by each party has held steady. Democrats have spent between 60 and 70 percent of the total expenditures in each race, while Republicans have spent between 30 and 40 percent. The exception to this pattern was in 1996 when the two parties' expenditures were much closer — 51.3% (D) to 46.9% (R). ■

## Expenditures from Both Houses

Year	# of Dist.	Dem. \$ (2004 \$)	%	Rep. \$ (2004 \$)	%	Total
1992	140	\$3,914,831.00	63.7	\$2,232,595.00	36.3	\$6,147,426.00
1994	140	\$5,341,869.00	58.2	\$3,840,428.00	41.8	\$9,182,297.00
1996	140	\$8,688,804.00	53.1	\$7,675,244.00	46.9	\$16,364,049.00
1998	140	\$11,166,076.00	59.8	\$7,510,476.00	40.2	\$18,676,552.00
2000	140	\$15,655,436.00	70	\$6,715,266.00	30	\$22,370,929.00
2002	170	\$16,113,371.00	63.3	\$9,245,564.00	36.3	\$25,466,255.00
2004	170	\$16,802,936.00	63.5	\$9,607,873.00	36.3	\$26,445,400.00

SOURCE: NC State Board of Elections and NC FREE

## Cost Per Seat, Both Houses

Year	# of Dist.	Dem. \$ (2004 \$)	%	Rep. \$ (2004 \$)	%	Total
1992	170	\$23,028.42	63.7	\$13,132.91	36.3	\$36,161.33
1994	170	\$31,422.76	58.2	\$22,590.75	24.3	\$54,013.51
1996	170	\$51,110.61	53.1	\$45,148.49	46.9	\$96,259.11
1998	170	\$65,682.80	59.8	\$44,179.27	40.2	\$109,862.07
2000	170	\$92,090.80	70	\$39,501.56	30	\$131,593.70
2002	170	\$94,784.54	63.3	\$54,385.67	36.3	\$149,801.50
2004	170	\$98,840.80	63.5	\$56,516.90	36.3	\$155,561.18

SOURCE: NC State Board of Elections and NC FREE

## State Senate Expenditures

STATE SENATE EXPENDITURES									
Year	# of Dist.	Dem. \$ (2004 \$)	Dem. \$ (Actual)	%	Rep. \$ (2004 \$)	Rep. \$ (Actual)	%	Total (2004)	Total (Actual)
1992	42	\$1,727,233.00	\$1,283,334.00	69.8	\$746,536.00	\$554,676.00	30.2	\$2,473,769.00	\$1,838,010.00
1994	42	\$2,461,622.00	\$1,932,373.00	69.4	\$1,083,552.00	\$850,588.00	30.6	\$3,545,173.00	\$2,782,961.00
1996	42	\$4,813,436.00	\$3,999,965.00	66.9	\$2,379,432.00	\$1,977,308.00	33.1	\$7,192,868.00	\$5,977,273.00
1998	42	\$6,363,574.00	\$5,491,764.00	74.7	\$2,156,117.00	\$1,860,729.00	25.3	\$8,519,691.00	\$7,352,493.00
2000	42	\$7,553,035.00	\$6,888,368.00	80.2	\$1,859,770.00	\$1,696,110.00	19.8	\$9,412,805.00	\$8,584,478.00
2002	50	\$9,627,985.00	\$9,165,842.00	69.3	\$4,250,043.00	\$4,046,041.00	30.6	\$13,886,247.00	\$13,219,707.00
2004	50	\$9,205,333.00	\$9,205,333.00	69.1	\$4,087,802.00	\$4,087,802.00	30.7	\$13,325,163.00	\$13,325,163.00

SOURCE: NC State Board of Elections and NC FREE

## State House Expenditures

Year	# of Dist.	Dem. \$ (2004 \$)	Dem. \$ (Actual)	%	Rep. \$ (2004 \$)	Rep. \$ (Actual)	%	Total (2004 \$)	Total (Actual)
1992	98	\$2,187,598.00	\$1,625,385.00	59.5	\$1,486,059.00	\$1,104,142.00	40.5	\$3,673,657.00	\$2,729,527.00
1994	98	\$2,880,247.00	\$2,260,994.00	51.1	\$2,756,876.00	\$2,164,148.00	48.9	\$5,637,124.00	\$4,425,142.00
1996	98	\$3,875,368.00	\$3,220,431.00	42.3	\$5,295,812.00	\$4,400,820.00	57.7	\$9,171,181.00	\$7,621,251.00
1998	98	\$4,802,502.00	\$4,144,559.00	47.3	\$5,354,359.00	\$4,620,812.00	52.7	\$10,156,861.00	\$8,765,371.00
2000	98	\$8,102,401.00	\$7,389,390.00	62.5	\$4,855,496.00	\$4,428,212.00	37.5	\$12,958,124.00	\$11,817,809.00
2002	120	\$7,251,226.00	\$6,903,167.00	61.6	\$4,491,689.00	\$4,276,088.00	38.1	\$11,777,628.00	\$11,212,302.00
2004	120	\$7,597,603.00	\$7,597,603.00	57.9	\$5,520,071.00	\$5,520,071.00	42.1	\$13,120,237.00	\$13,120,237.00

SOURCE: NC State Board of Elections and NC FREE

# How the Parties Spend

In the North Carolina Legislature, most representatives and senators come from districts with a clear Democratic or Republican advantage. Few come from the “swing districts,” as identified by NC FREE. In the Senate, just four seats, or 8 percent of the total, are identified as swing seats. In the House, only 14 seats, or 12 percent of the total, count as swing seats.

In the Senate, Democrats spent \$1.1 million, or \$275,000 per seat, on the four seats identified as swing. In contrast, Democrats spent \$2.4 million (\$343,000 per seat) on the seven seats identified by NC FREE as “Leaning Republican.” For the six seats identified as “Leaning Democrat,” Democrats spent \$3 million (\$500,000 per seat).

Republicans spent \$900,000 (\$225,000 per seat) on the four swing seats and \$1.4 million (\$200,000 per seat) on the seven Leaning Republican seats.

Thus, in total, more was spent per seat on those identified as Leaning Republican (\$540,000 per seat) than those identified as swing (\$500,000 per seat). Only 12.3 percent of the money spent by Democrats in the Senate was spent on swing seats, while the Republicans spent 21.6 percent of their money on the same seats.

In the House, a much larger percentage of the total spending was directed toward the 14 swing seats, with the Democrats making those seats their top priority, while Republicans made it their second priority after their Republican-held seats. Democrats spent \$2.7 million and Republicans spent \$1.3 million on the 14 swing seats for an average of \$290,000 per seat. This is almost double the amount spent on the Leaning Democratic seats, at an average of \$170,000 per seat, and more than triple the amount spent on the other seats. Overall, 29.3 percent of all the expenditures in the House went to the swing seats.

Although these numbers are substantially influenced by the strong fundraising prowess of Republican and Democratic leaders, they nonetheless show that the swing seats were not necessarily the top targets of each party. Democrats spent heavily on Leaning Republican seats in the Senate. Republicans had less money overall, and choose to spend it more evenly than the Democrats. ■

## Districts Accounting for 50 Percent of Total Expenditures, 2004 General Assembly Elections

### NC Senate (9 Districts)

District	Candidates <sup>1</sup>	District Type <sup>2</sup>	Winner's Party	Incumbent's Outcome <sup>3</sup>	Total \$ Spent <sup>4</sup>	% of Total
1	Basnight (i) v. Topplin	LD	Dem	W	\$1,651,314.10	12.4
2	Thomas (i) v. Tyson	LR	Dem	W	\$884,116.10	6.6
9	Boseman v. White	SW	Dem	OS	\$877,415.77	6.6
47	Presnell v. Queen (i)	LR	Rep	L	\$782,872.69	5.9
22	Blake (i) v. Harris	LR	Rep	W	\$640,055.10	4.8
12	Smith (unopposed) (i)	LR	Rep	W	\$575,313.07	4.3
18	Atwater (i) v. Mumma	SD	Dem	OS	\$553,037.81	4.2
50	Snow v. Carpenter (i)	LR	Dem	L	\$517,620.15	3.9
46	Dalton (i) v. Testa	SW	Dem	W	\$494,989.07	3.7
<b>Total</b>					<b>\$6,976,733.86</b>	<b>52.4</b>

### NC House (16 Districts)

District	Candidates <sup>1</sup>	District Type <sup>2</sup>	Winner's Party	Incumbent's Outcome <sup>3</sup>	Total \$ Spent <sup>4</sup>	% of Total
100	Black (unopposed) (i)	SD	Dem	W	\$1,021,403.51	7.4
57	Harrison v. Bowie	SW	Dem	OS	\$755,213.60	5.5
34	Martin v. Munford (i)	SW	Dem	L	\$695,816.44	5.1
52	Morgan (i) v. Crutchfield <sup>5</sup>	SR	Rep	W	\$616,469.33	4.5
36	Dollar v. Miner <sup>5</sup> (i)	LR	Rep	L	\$446,366.46	3.3
17	Stiller (i) v. Redwine	SW	Rep	W	\$419,605.06	3.1
10	Laroque (i) v. Llewyn	SW	Rep	W	\$384,034.25	2.8
111	Moore (i) v. Hamrick	SW	Rep	W	\$364,983.30	2.7
6	Williams (i) v. Klemm <sup>6</sup>	SW	Dem	W	\$349,824.47	2.5
3	Underhill v. Speciale	LR	Dem	L	\$337,410.19	2.5
69	Gibson (i) v. Morton <sup>6</sup>	LD	Dem	W	\$317,363.29	2.3
45	Glazier (i) v. Lawrence <sup>6</sup>	SW	Dem	W	\$258,964.23	1.9
39	Coleman v. Ellis <sup>7</sup> (i)	LD	Dem	L	\$244,495.75	1.8
50	Faison v. Jacobs <sup>5</sup>	LD	Dem	OS	\$233,846.10	1.7
115	Goforth (i) v. Boyd	LD	Dem	W	\$225,586.32	1.6
20	Hill (i) v. Wright	SD	Dem	W	\$223,581.95	1.6
<b>Total</b>					<b>\$6,894,964.25</b>	<b>50.2</b>

<sup>1</sup> The winning candidate is the first name listed.

<sup>2</sup> “Race Type” comes from NCFREE’s classification system in the *2004 Almanac of North Carolina Politics*. “SD”=Strong Democrat; “LD” =Leaning Democrat; “SW” =Swing; “LR”=Leaning Republican; “SR”=Strong Republican.

<sup>3</sup> “W” = Incumbent Won; “L” = Incumbent Lost; “OS” = Winner won Open Seat.

<sup>4</sup> “Total \$ Spent” 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 2004 dollars.

<sup>5</sup> Indicates a race in which there was no major-party opponent, therefore expenditures were made in the Primary election.

<sup>6</sup> Indicates that the State Board of Elections only had information regarding the winning candidate’s finances.

<sup>7</sup> Indicates significant expenditures in each party’s primary election as well as the general election.

(i) = incumbent

SOURCE: NC State Board of Elections

# Fundraising Leaders Share the Wealth

The last four election cycles have seen a dramatic rise in the average cost of winning a state legislative election. They have also seen a change in the way candidates raise money.

Campaign financing in North Carolina legislative elections has evolved to resemble the model long-used in Washington, D.C. and many other “sophisticated” fundraising states like Texas. Legislative party leaders raise significantly more money than they spend for their own campaign expenses and then give portions to other candidates and to their party.

The “Top Dollar Donors” chart lists candidates from both parties and in both chambers of the General Assembly who have done substantial fundraising on behalf of their colleagues. Candidates on this chart met two qualifications. First, they were among the top fundraisers from their party in one of the last four election cycles—either in the top ten from their party in the Senate or the top fifteen from their party in the

SEE FUNDRAISING ON PAGE 5 →

## The Top Dollar Donors of the Democratic Legislative Parties, 1998–2004, in actual \$<sup>1</sup>

### NC State Senate

Year	The \$ Donor	Total \$ Dispersed <sup>2</sup>	\$ to Others <sup>3</sup>	% of Candidate's \$ to Others <sup>4</sup>
1998	Mark Basnight	\$734,993.97	\$533,356.00	72.6%
2000	Mark Basnight	\$901,382.38	\$632,618.65	70.2%
2002	Mark Basnight	\$1,770,095.01	\$1,391,590.00	78.6%
2004	Mark Basnight	\$1,646,853.04	\$1,333,000.00	80.9%
1998	Walter Dalton	\$203,072.40	\$149,640.00	73.7%
2000	Walter Dalton	\$210,695.68	\$152,823.44	72.5%
2002	Walter Dalton	\$263,130.00	\$96,775.00	36.8%
2004	Walter Dalton	\$319,430.37	\$142,895.00	44.7%
1998	David Hoyle	\$84,791.15	\$9,200.00	10.9%
2000	David Hoyle	\$139,637.58	\$61,600.00	44.1%
2002	David Hoyle	\$508,643.60	\$30,000.00	5.9%
2004	David Hoyle	\$345,061.57	\$130,050.00	37.7%
1998	John Kerr	\$133,606.09	\$89,940.00	67.3%
2000	John Kerr	\$160,878.80	\$102,518.00	63.7%
2002	John Kerr	\$509,449.81	\$106,266.86	20.9%
2004	John Kerr	\$381,311.66	\$91,678.66	24.0%
1998	Eric Reeves	\$223,490.03	\$134,512.50	60.2%
2000	Eric Reeves	\$218,884.80	\$133,091.34	60.8%
2002	Eric Reeves	\$697,863.35	\$205,778.64	29.5%

### NC State House

Year	The \$ Donor	Total \$ Dispersed <sup>2</sup>	\$ to Others <sup>3</sup>	% of Candidate's \$ to Others <sup>4</sup>
1998	Phil Baddour	\$194,750.46	\$102,143.00	52.4%
2000	Phil Baddour	\$261,928.91	\$174,132.54	66.5%
2002	Phil Baddour	\$307,077.99	\$150,185.66	48.9%
1998	Jim Black	\$454,248.67	\$235,000.00	51.7%
2000	Jim Black	\$1,465,654.49	\$636,450.22	43.4%
2002	Jim Black	\$1,187,699.14	\$752,800.00	63.4%
2004	Jim Black	\$1,021,403.51	\$816,390.00	79.9%
1998	Nelson Cole	\$76,086.38	\$43,324.00	56.9%
2000	Nelson Cole	\$128,793.05	\$85,315.50	66.2%
2002	Nelson Cole	\$14,740.74	\$7,275.00	49.4%
2004	Nelson Cole	\$184,091.33	\$64,410.00	35.0%
2002	Bruce Goforth	\$197,250.00	\$82,475.00	41.8%
2004	Bruce Goforth	\$319,582.52	\$47,050.00	14.7%
2002	Arthur Williams	\$134,353.61	\$65,410.00	48.7%
2004	Arthur Williams	\$349,824.47	\$45,560.00	13.0%

<sup>1</sup>The Top Dollar Donors are those who were among the top fundraisers from their party and who have recently given at least one-third of their money raised to other candidates or PACs.

<sup>2</sup>Campaign expenditures in actual \$.

<sup>3</sup>Amount of expenditures contributed to other candidates and political committees in actual \$.

<sup>4</sup>Percent of this candidate's expenditures that went to other candidates and political committees.

SOURCE: Official campaign finance reports filed with the State Board of Elections.

## The Top Dollar Donors of the Republican Legislative Parties, 1998–2004, in actual \$<sup>1</sup>

### NC State Senate

Year	The \$ Donor	Total \$ Dispersed <sup>2</sup>	\$ to Others <sup>3</sup>	% of Candidate's \$ to Others <sup>4</sup>
2002	Fred Smith	\$384,205.96	\$140.00	0.4%
2004	Fred Smith	\$575,313.07	\$241,693.23	42.0%
1998	Patrick Ballantine	\$104,803.78	\$34,475.00	32.9%
2000	Patrick Ballantine	\$261,334.18	\$7,350.00	2.8%
2002	Patrick Ballantine	\$302,208.14	\$53,155.00	17.0%
2002	Tom Apodaca	\$103,905.74	\$2,350.00	2.3%
2004	Tom Apodaca	\$132,757.27	\$43,550.00	32.8%

### NC State House

Year	The \$ Donor	Total \$ Dispersed <sup>2</sup>	\$ to Others <sup>3</sup>	% of Candidate's \$ to Others <sup>4</sup>
1998	Richard Morgan	\$174,152.50	\$30,300.64	17.4%
2000	Richard Morgan	\$317,578.04	\$192,990.22	60.8%
2002	Richard Morgan	\$14,168.17	none	0.0%
2004	Richard Morgan	\$549,525.23	\$206,099.00	37.5%
1998	Harold Brubaker	\$477,205.24	\$310,200.00	65.0%
2000	Harold Brubaker	\$97,503.97	\$29,474.00	30.2%
2002	Harold Brubaker	\$29,625.80	\$7,500.00	25.3%
2004	Harold Brubaker	\$223,205.89	\$109,500.00	49.1%
1998	Daniel McComas	\$66,779.97	\$22,250.00	33.3%
2000	Daniel McComas	\$64,858.74	\$15,600.00	24.1%
2002	Daniel McComas	\$55,457.40	\$4,450.00	8.0%
2004	Daniel McComas	\$175,578.76	\$84,700.00	48.2%
1998	Ed McMahan	\$71,320.51	\$61,650.00	86.4%
2000	Ed McMahan	\$242,467.41	\$213,300.00	88.0%
2002	Ed McMahan	\$188,665.11	\$136,628.92	72.4%
2004	Ed McMahan	\$79,036.32	\$63,200.00	80.0%

<sup>1</sup>The Top Dollar Donors are those who were among the top fundraisers from their party and who have recently given at least one-third of their money raised to other candidates or PACs.

<sup>2</sup>Campaign expenditures in actual \$.

<sup>3</sup>Amount of expenditures contributed to other candidates and political committees in actual \$.

<sup>4</sup>Percent of this candidate's expenditures that went to other candidates and political committees.

SOURCE: Official campaign finance reports filed with the State Board of Elections.

# Does Spending Equal Winning?

The Democrats' spending advantage led to gains in both the Senate and the House in 2004. Still, it is hard to establish a relationship between spending in particular races and electoral success. Of the most expensive races in the state Senate, just two districts, the Second and the Ninth, ranked in the top five for both Republicans and Democrats, and the candidate who spent more won only one of the contests.

Party leaders account for much of the spending for elections to each chamber. Senate President Pro Tem Marc Basnight and House Speaker Jim Black accounted for 18 percent and 10 percent, respectively, of the total Democratic spending in each body. Former House co-Speaker Richard Morgan was responsible for nearly 10 percent of the total Republican expenditures.

In the Second District, Democrat Scott Thomas spent \$681,023 in the course of defeating Republican Chuck Tyson, who spent \$203,092. This race proved to be the most expensive contested election in the Senate.

In the Ninth District, incumbent Republican Woody White spent \$436,121, the most spent by Republicans in a contested race, but lost to Democrat Julia Boseman, who spent \$434,985, in the second most expensive contested election in the Senate.

Both Democrats Joe Sam Queen, an incumbent, and challenger Oscar Harris lost despite outspending their opponents by two-to-one or more. Republican Christine Mumma also lost her race despite spending more than her opponent. ■

→ FUNDRAISING FROM PAGE 4

House. Second, in at least one election in the last four election cycles, these top donors gave at least one-third of the money raised to other candidates or PACs.

These candidates were not necessarily the most prolific fundraisers, but they were the most generous to their colleagues. To see the amount other candidates gave to the party, check our Web site. ■

## Top Spenders in the 2004 General Assembly Election

### 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)	1.65	Basnight (1)	1.65	Smith (12)	0.58
Thomas (D)	0.68	Thomas (2)	0.68	White (9)*	0.44
Queen (D)*	0.64	Queen (47)*	0.64	Mumma (18)*	0.31
Smith (R)	0.58	Harris (22)*	0.46	Pittinger (39)	0.26
Harris (D)*	0.46	Boseman (9)	0.43	Tyson (2)*	0.2

### 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)	1.02	Black (100)	1.02	Morgan (52)	0.55
Morgan (R)	0.55	Harrison (57)	0.48	Miner (36)*	0.37
Harrison (D)	0.48	Martin (34)	0.39	Munford (34)*	0.31
Martin (D)	0.39	Williams (6)	0.35	Bowie (57)*	0.27
Miner (R)*	0.37	Redwine (17)*	0.27	Brubaker (78)	0.22

NOTE: \* denotes a losing candidate.

SOURCE: NC State Board of Elections

## Expenditures in the 2004 General Assembly Election

### NC Senate

Race Type	# of Seats	Total Expenditures (\$ Mil.)				% Total Expenditures		
		Dem.	Rep.	Total	Avg.	Dem.	Rep.	Total
Strong Dem.	17	2.3	0.4	2.8	0.16	25.4	10.6	20.9
Leaning Dem.	6	3.0	0.1	3.1	0.44	32.3	2.1	23.0
Swing	4	1.1	0.9	2.0	0.50	12.3	21.6	15.2
Leaning Rep.	7	2.4	1.4	3.8	0.54	25.5	35.1	28.4
Strong Rep.	15	0.4	1.3	1.7	0.11	4.5	30.6	12.5
<b>Totals</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>9.2</b>	<b>4.1</b>	<b>13.3</b>	<b>0.27</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

NOTE: The "Leaning Democratic" totals reflect the \$1.65 million raised and spent by Senator Marc Basnight. Although Basnight ran and won easily — 63.7% to 35.3% — he raised money that was then transferred to other Democratic candidates.

### NC House

Race Type	# of Seats	Total Expenditures (\$ Mil.)				% Total Expenditures		
		Dem.	Rep.	Total	Avg.	Dem.	Rep.	Total
Strong Dem.	35	2.3	0.04	2.3	0.07	28.5	0.6	16.7
Leaning Dem.	19	2.5	0.8	3.3	0.17	31.9	13.7	24.2
Swing	14	2.7	1.3	4.0	0.29	34.1	22.7	29.3
Leaning Rep.	17	0.3	1.1	1.3	0.08	3.2	18.8	9.8
Strong Rep.	35	0.2	2.6	2.8	0.08	2.4	44.2	20.1
<b>Totals</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>8.0</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>13.7</b>	<b>0.11</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

NOTE: The "Strong Democratic" totals reflect the \$1,021 M raised and spent by Speaker Jim Black. Although Black ran unopposed he raised money that was then transferred to other Democratic candidates. The "Strong Republican" totals reflect the \$0.55 M raised and spent by former House co-speaker Richard Morgan. Although he was opposed in the Republican Party primary, he raised money that was then transferred to others who he wanted elected in the House.

SOURCE: NC State Board of Election and NC FREE

# Look of the Legislature: Who Serves

As North Carolina changes, so does its legislature — but at a much slower pace.

The demographic shifts in the legislature are slight, but important, especially the growth in lawmakers who were born outside of the state and the decline in members who list

farming as an occupation.

The General Assembly has experienced considerable turnover, even as some long-time leaders retain their positions. In the Senate, only half of the members have served for more than two terms. In the 120-member

House, 82 percent have served more than two terms.

The information presented here comes from two principal sources. The North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, a nonpartisan research organization, contributed data on gender, race, and occupation of legislators as well as information about incumbency. NCFREE, a pro-business research organization, provided information about place of birth. The Program on Southern Politics, Media and Public Life filled in missing information on legislators with additional research.

All percentages listed in the reports are based on either the number of legislators (170 members) or the number of senators (50) and representatives (120), and the data discussed is available in chart form as well.

## 1. Race and Gender

As recently as 1991, the state Senate was 90 percent male and 90 percent white, and the state House was barely more diverse, at 83 percent male and 88 percent white. In contrast, the 2005 state Senate is 86 percent male and 84 percent white, while the House is now 73 percent male and 83 percent white.

According to 2004 population estimates of the U.S. Census, 69 percent of the North Carolina population is white, and 49 percent is male. While these numbers still show that women and minorities are underrepresented in the North Carolina legislature, the number of minorities continues to grow slowly, and women have made significant gains in holding legislative seats.

## 2. Political Diversity and Incumbency

Mid-2004 party registration data show that 47 percent of North Carolina voters registered as Democrats, while 35 percent registered as Republicans and 18 percent were registered as Independents. But, the partisan composition of the legislature illustrates again that many Tar Heel voters do not vote as they are registered, often crossing party lines.

In the legislature, 52.5 percent of House members were Democrats, while 47.5 percent are Republicans. In the Senate, 58 percent of members are Democrats, while 42 percent are Republicans.

Republicans made significant gains in both the House and Senate in 1994. In the decade

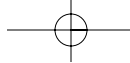
## Trends in Legislators' Occupations, 1971–2005

A) State Senate									
Year	Law	Business/ Sales	Farming	Education	Insurance	Real Estate	Health Care	Self- Employed	Retired
1971	22	17	4	1	2	1	1	0	4
1973	19	13	3	1	5	2	1	0	2
1975	15	14	2	3	5	5	1	1	2
1977	14	18	4	5	5	5	1	0	0
1979	13	13	3	4	6	7	1	0	3
1981	10	20	2	4	7	12	0	0	4
1983	14	19	6	4	6	8	0	0	6
1985	17	21	6	3	4	8	0	0	6
1987	21	19	6	3	4	6	0	0	4
1989	20	15	5	3	2	6	0	0	6
1991	17	16	6	4	1	6	2	0	6
1993	18	12	7	7	2	4	3	0	8
1995	16	15	6	5	2	6	3	0	7
1997	19	14	7	3	2	7	4	0	8
1999	19	15	8	2	1	4	3	3	10
2001	21	13	8	4	1	3	4	1	9
2003	15	12	3	4	0	6	4	5	11
2005	18	15	4	4	0	5	2	9	14

B) State House									
Year	Law	Business/ Sales	Farming	Education	Insurance	Real Estate	Health Care	Self- Employed	Retired
1971	46	49	17	6	7	6	0	0	7
1973	37	28	14	11	7	5	3	0	4
1975	36	35	20	16	12	9	4	0	5
1977	26	41	22	16	11	7	4	0	8
1979	25	37	22	10	13	10	5	0	6
1981	26	43	18	11	10	15	3	0	15
1983	26	45	24	10	6	19	5	1	12
1985	24	45	16	15	10	20	4	0	13
1987	23	43	12	12	10	15	4	0	17
1989	25	37	8	7	8	17	4	0	22
1991	18	33	11	15	12	20	7	0	28
1993	21	34	12	14	9	13	10	3	24
1995	16	31	10	14	10	13	5	1	30
1997	17	39	8	8	8	18	3	5	23
1999	18	39	8	8	9	18	1	4	28
2001	17	40	8	19	9	9	3	10	37
2003	17	41	5	21	6	9	2	8	33
2005	21	41	3	16	5	10	8	10	34

SOURCES: North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, Article II (various years) and *North Carolina Manual* (Raleigh: Department of State, 1971, 1973, 1975).



since, the GOP has retained many seats, but Democrats have recaptured enough to hold majorities in both House and Senate.

Incumbents make up the vast majority of the legislators who serve at any particular moment. More than two-thirds of House and Senate members of any given legislature served in the previous legislature. In the current legislature, 76 percent of senators and 83 percent of representatives are incumbents.

In the Senate, the number of incumbents has not dipped below 60 percent since 1975, and

peaked at 90 percent in 1989 and again in 2001. In the House, incumbency also peaked in 2001, with 88 percent of members returning from the previous election.

But, incumbency in the House tends to vary more from year to year, with a low of 58 percent in 1973. While Senate seats tend to be slightly more secure than House seats, both bodies have very high incumbency rates, though not as high as the U.S. Congress.

### 3. Occupation

Occupation data show a legislature that is

increasingly likely to be retired or self-employed.

In 1971, 44 percent of senators were in law, while another 34 percent were in business or sales. Of the remaining, eight percent were in farming, four percent were in insurance, and two percent were in education, real estate, and health care. No members were self-employed, and just eight percent were retired.

In contrast, just 36 percent of current senators  
SEE LEGISLATURE ON PAGE 12 →

## Demographic Characteristics in the NC General Assembly by Chamber and Session, 1973–2005

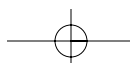
### A) SENATE — Number of State Senators with Characteristic

Session	Democrat	Republican	Male	Female	White	Black	Hispanic	New	Incumbent
1971	43	7	50	0	50	0	0	18	32
1973	35	15	49	1	50	0	0	15	35
1975	49	1	48	2	48	2	0	21	29
1977	46	4	46	4	48	2	0	11	39
1979	45	5	45	5	49	1	0	7	43
1981	40	10	47	3	49	1	0	8	42
1983	44	6	45	5	49	1	0	9	41
1985	38	12	46	4	47	3	0	18	32
1987	40	10	46	4	47	3	0	6	44
1989	37	13	46	4	46	4	0	5	45
1991	36	14	45	5	45	5	0	8	42
1993	39	11	43	7	43	7	0	8	42
1995	26	24	44	6	43	7	0	14	36
1997	30	20	44	6	43	7	0	11	39
1999	35	15	45	5	43	7	0	7	43
2001	35	15	45	5	43	7	0	5	45
2003	28	22	43	7	43	6	1	15	35
2005	29	21	43	7	42	7	1	12	38

### B) HOUSE — Number of Representatives with Characteristic

Session	Democrat	Republican	Male	Female	White	Black	Native American	Hispanic	New	Incumbent
1971	96	24	118	2	118	2	0	0	43	77
1973	85	35	112	8	117	3	1	0	50	70
1975	111	9	107	13	115	4	1	0	49	71
1977	114	6	101	19	115	4	1	0	24	96
1979	105	15	103	17	116	3	1	0	30	90
1981	96	24	101	19	116	3	1	0	33	87
1983	102	18	101	19	109	11	0	0	31	89
1985	82	38	104	16	107	13	0	0	39	81
1987	84	36	100	20	107	13	0	0	25	95
1989	74	46	99	21	107	13	0	0	25	95
1991	81	39	100	20	105	14	1	0	21	99
1993	78	42	96	24	101	18	1	0	42	78
1995	52	68	98	22	101	17	1	1	22	98
1997	59	61	97	23	101	17	1	1	22	98
1999	66	54	96	24	101	17	1	1	39	81
2001	62	58	93	27	100	18	1	1	15	105
2003	60	60	92	28	100	18	1	1	36	84
2005	63	57	88	32	99	19	1	1	21	99

SOURCE: North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research



## Spending in the 2004 NC State House Races <sup>i</sup>

Seat	Democrats	\$ Spent	Republicans	\$ Spent	Total Spent	Seat	Democrats	\$ Spent	Republicans	\$ Spent	Total Spent
1	Owens (i)	\$24,503.14	no candidate		\$24,503.14	32	Crawford (i) Gooch	\$90,795.47 \$6,244.12	no candidate		\$97,039.59
2	Culpepper (i)	\$165,327.16	Beall	\$2,213.00	\$167,540.16	33	Allen (i)	\$18,531.58	no candidate		\$18,531.58
3	Underhill	\$259,254.77	Speciale Gorman (i)	\$42,493.11 \$35,662.31	\$337,410.19	34	Martin	\$389,508.76	Munford (i)	\$306,307.68	\$695,816.44
4	Tucker Brown	\$30,353.01 \$1,873.50	no candidate		\$32,226.51	35	Weiss (i)	\$69,502.76	no candidate		\$69,502.76
5	Hunter Yates	NR \$22,494.10	no candidate		\$22,494.10	36	no candidate		Dollar Miner (i)	\$79,566.19 \$366,800.27	\$446,366.46
6	Williams (i)	\$349,824.47	Klemm	NR	\$349,824.47	37	no candidate		Stam (i)	\$37,039.24	\$37,039.24
7	Hall (i)	\$22,646.40	no candidate		\$22,646.40	38	Ross (i)	\$74,838.44	Jeffreys	\$13,565.00	\$88,403.44
8	Warren (i) Williams	\$47,056.65 \$5,938.32	Hendrix	\$1,490.79	\$54,485.76	39	Coleman Jackson	\$105,207.44 \$15,334.00	Ellis (i) J. Eddins	\$55,131.59 \$68,822.72	\$244,495.75
9	McLawhorn (i)	\$21,836.50	no candidate		\$21,836.50	40	O'Shaughnessy	NR	R. Eddins (i) Robinson	\$88,496.26 \$52,884.89	\$141,381.15
10	Llewyn	\$213,914.38	Laroque (i) Starling	\$154,718.87 \$15,401.00	\$384,034.25	41	no candidate		Capps (i) Conrad	\$23,392.69 \$80,211.15	\$103,603.84
11	no candidate		Pate (i)	\$50,781.83	\$50,781.83	42	Lucas (i)	\$19,681.89	White	\$556.95	\$20,238.84
12	Wainwright (i)	\$97,667.14	Wetherington	\$10,738.22	\$108,405.36	43	McAllister (i) Floyd	\$20,163.64 \$11,844.68	no candidate		\$32,008.32
13	Fulcher	NR	Preston (i)	\$56,303.74	\$56,303.74	44	Dickson (i)	\$192,886.52	Reagan	\$8,722.54	\$201,609.06
14	Clark	\$3,658.70	Cleveland Williams (i)	\$36,380.87 \$49,894.81	\$89,934.38	45	Glazier (i) Warner (i)	\$226,330.20 \$32,634.03	Lawrence	NR	\$258,964.23
15	no candidate		Grady (i)	\$47,651.93	\$47,651.93	46	Yongue (i)	\$12,733.07	no candidate		\$12,733.07
16	no candidate		Justice (i) Catlin	\$82,320.34 \$88,991.96	\$171,312.30	47	Sutton (i)	\$18,372.86	no candidate		\$18,372.86
17	Redwine	\$271,383.05	Stiller (i)	\$148,222.01	\$419,605.06	48	Pierce Willis Smith	\$5,513.93 \$17,536.82 \$5,162.00	no candidate		\$28,212.75
18	Wright (i) Spain	\$36,663.08 NR	Roberts	\$6,828.68	\$43,491.76	49	Allen (i)	\$154,634.80	McCormick	\$35,804.44	\$190,439.24
19	no candidate		McComas (i)	\$175,578.76	\$175,578.76	50	Faison Jacobs	\$178,177.19 \$55,668.91	no candidate		\$233,846.10
20	Hill (i) Wright	\$212,981.71 \$10,600.24	no candidate		\$223,581.95	51	Cox	\$127,050.54	Sauls (i)	\$58,183.64	\$185,234.18
21	Bell (i)	\$10,267.44	no candidate		\$10,267.44	52	no candidate		Morgan (i) Crutchfield	\$549,525.23 \$66,944.10	\$616,469.33
22	Nye (i) Brisson	\$145,067.96 \$36,335.43	no candidate		\$181,403.39	53	Taylor	\$35,950.54	Lewis (i)	\$159,031.74	\$194,982.28
23	Tolson (i)	\$35,582.29	Williams	NR	\$35,582.29	54	Hackney (i)	\$92,034.94	no candidate		\$92,034.94
24	Butterfield (i)	\$11,603.09	no candidate		\$11,603.09	55	Wilkins	\$19,165.53	no candidate		\$21,313.53 <sup>iv</sup>
25	no candidate		Daughtridge (i)	\$59,944.12	\$59,944.12	56	Insko (i)	\$53,242.18	no candidate		\$53,242.18
26	no candidate		Daughtry (i)	\$35,801.39	\$35,801.39	57	Harrison	\$481,758.53	Bowie	\$273,455.07	\$755,213.60
27	Wray Edwards Soles	\$24,290.43 \$1,845.42 \$5,050.00	no candidate		\$31,185.85	58	Adams (i)	\$53,233.94	Wright	\$1,178.00	\$54,411.94
28	no candidate		Langdon	\$2,173.48	\$2,173.48	59	Jeffus (i)	\$106,748.12	Rumley	\$4,471.15	\$111,219.27
29	Miller (i)	\$3,130.39	no candidate		\$3,130.39	60	Jones (i)	\$11,695.32	no candidate		\$11,695.32
30	Luebke (i)	\$29,246.99	no candidate		\$29,453.99 <sup>ii</sup>	61	no candidate		Wiley Wood (i)	NR NR	\$- 0.0E+01
31	Michaux (i)	\$3,759.24	no candidate		\$3,966.24 <sup>iii</sup>						(continued on Page 9)



### Spending in the 2004 State House Races (continued)

Seat	Democrats	\$ Spent	Republicans	\$ Spent	Total Spent	Seat	Democrats	\$ Spent	Republicans	\$ Spent	Total Spent
62	no candidate		<b>Blust</b> (i)	\$16,059.88	\$16,059.88				Griffin	\$14,107.50	
63	<b>Bordsen</b> (i)	\$159,434.84	Rudd	\$35,715.32	\$195,150.16				Henderson	NR	
64	no candidate		<b>Allred</b> (i)	\$6,282.56	\$12,971.50	89	no candidate		<b>Setzer</b> (i)	\$27,783.16	\$27,783.16
			Glass	\$6,688.94		90	<b>Harrell</b> (i)	\$87,244.60	Conaway	\$3,587.08	\$90,831.68
65	<b>Cole</b> (i)	\$184,091.33	Sexton (i)	\$15,125.97	\$199,217.30	91	Mitchell	\$26,643.26	<b>Holloway</b>	\$41,479.33	\$104,419.38
66	<b>Goodwin</b>	\$22,876.14	no candidate		\$23,291.81				Baker (i)	\$36,296.79	
	Copeland	\$415.67				92	no candidate		<b>Holmes</b> (i)	\$7,777.52	\$7,777.52
67	Mabry	\$40,278.60	<b>Almond</b>	\$48,883.63	\$154,275.05	93	Tarleton	\$54,124.79	<b>Wilson</b> (i)	\$51,314.20	\$105,438.99
			Barbee (i)	\$49,379.68		94	no candidate		<b>Walker</b> (i)	\$12,004.83	\$17,644.83
			Furr	\$7,088.76					Sprinkle	\$5,640.00	
			Galloway	\$8,644.38		95	no candidate		<b>Ray</b> (i)	\$12,833.05	\$12,833.05
			David	NR		96	no candidate		<b>Hilton</b> (i)	\$18,053.69	\$18,053.69
68	no candidate		<b>Blackwood</b> (i)	\$53,514.75	\$53,514.75	97	Fortenberry	\$10,213.33	<b>Kiser</b> (i)	\$40,120.60	\$50,333.93
69	<b>Gibson</b> (i)	\$267,400.07	Morton	NR	\$317,363.29	98	no candidate		<b>Rhodes</b> (i)	\$18,795.99	\$18,795.99
	Honeycutt	\$49,963.22				99	<b>Saunders</b> (i)	\$18,301.07	no candidate		\$18,301.07
70	no candidate		<b>Culp</b> (i)	\$30,407.67	\$34,563.53	100	<b>Black</b> (i)	\$1,021,403.51	no candidate		\$1,021,403.51
			Parker	NR		101	<b>Earle</b> (i)	\$41,168.33	no candidate		\$41,168.33
			Jernigan	\$4,155.86		102	<b>Carney</b> (i)	\$19,600.23	no candidate		\$19,600.23
71	<b>Womble</b> (i)	\$8,367.39	no candidate		\$8,367.39	103	Sowers	\$5,808.58	<b>Gulley</b> (i)	\$11,651.64	\$17,460.22
72	<b>Parmon</b> (i)	\$19,539.83	no candidate		\$19,539.83	104	no candidate		<b>McMahan</b> (i)	\$99,536.32	\$99,536.32
73	no candidate		<b>Brown</b>	\$35,673.61	\$91,991.11	105	no candidate		<b>Vinson</b>	\$11,614.42	\$11,614.42
			Decker (i)	\$56,317.50		106	<b>Alexander</b> (i)	\$9,151.21	no candidate		\$9,151.21
74	Brandon	\$25,293.37	<b>Folwell</b>	\$42,256.45	\$141,753.51	107	<b>Cunningham</b> (i)	\$14,731.84	Houck	NR	\$14,731.84
			Beroth	\$28,716.03		108	Manning	\$3,665.47	<b>Rayfield</b> (i)	\$27,580.14	\$31,245.61
			Conrad-Shrader	\$28,112.55		109	Wiggins	\$13,142.32	<b>Current</b>	\$53,522.22	\$71,869.68
			Southern	\$9,820.65					Underwood	\$5,205.14	
			Dills	\$6,008.57					Loftis	NR	
			Hinson	\$1,545.89		110	Long	NR	<b>Clary</b> (i)	\$68,900.28	\$81,781.25
75	no candidate		<b>McGee</b> (i)	\$12,303.54	\$12,303.54		Eudy	NR	Wright	\$12,880.97	
76	no candidate		<b>Steen</b> (i)	\$28,017.51	\$30,795.61	111	Hamrick	\$189,436.71	<b>Moore</b> (i)	\$175,546.59	\$364,983.30
			Smith	\$2,778.10		112	<b>England</b> (i)	\$86,108.85	Hager	\$4,089.00	\$90,197.85
			Mitchell	NR		113	no candidate		<b>Walend</b> (i)	\$122,547.00	\$122,547.00
77	<b>Coates</b> (i)	\$135,933.71	Butner	\$21,627.31	\$157,561.02	114	<b>Fisher</b> (i)	\$117,793.80	Porter	\$6,316.39	\$124,110.19
78	no candidate		<b>Brubaker</b> (i)	\$223,205.89	\$223,205.89	115	<b>Goforth</b> (i)	\$219,582.52	Boyd	\$6,003.80	\$225,586.32
79	no candidate		<b>Howard</b> (i)	\$144,037.01	\$192,859.88	116	Jones	\$5,929.49	<b>Sherrill</b> (i)	\$59,438.68	\$65,368.17
			Mitchell	\$48,822.87		117	Bastedo	NR	<b>Justus</b> (i)	\$46,271.24	\$46,271.24
80	no candidate		<b>Dockham</b> (i)	\$99,278.66	\$99,278.66	118	<b>Rapp</b> (i)	\$28,212.75	no candidate		\$28,212.75
81	<b>Holliman</b> (i)	\$16,611.20	no candidate		\$16,611.20	119	<b>Haire</b> (i)	\$110,353.96	Carpenter	\$44,958.59	\$155,312.55
82	no candidate		<b>Barnhart</b> (i)	\$51,913.38	\$60,252.36	120	no candidate		<b>West</b> (i)	\$13,067.00	\$13,067.00
			Herman	\$8,338.98							
			Baker	NR							
83	no candidate		<b>Johnson</b> (i)	\$37,091.94	\$37,091.94						
84	no candidate		<b>Frye</b> (i)	\$18,357.30	\$40,121.31						
			Buchanan	\$21,764.01							
85	Tate	\$15,597.86	<b>Gillespie</b> (i)	\$51,907.35	\$67,505.21						
86	<b>Church</b> (i)	\$11,156.00	no candidate		\$11,156.00						
87	Tucker	\$15,636.00	<b>Starnes</b> (i)	\$15,786.24	\$31,422.24						
	Clark	NR									
88	Harbinson	\$43,300.36	<b>Hollo</b>	\$31,139.89	\$114,822.24						
			Byerly	\$26,274.49							
<b>Totals</b>								<b>\$7,904,849.96</b>		<b>\$5,825,648.04</b>	<b>\$13,733,060.00</b>
<b>Percent of Total</b>								<b>57.56%</b>		<b>42.42%</b>	<b>100.00%</b> <sup>v</sup>

<sup>i</sup> Winners in bold, incumbents have an (i) following their names.

<sup>ii</sup> Libertarian candidate Haugh spent \$207.00.

<sup>iii</sup> Libertarian candidate Owen spent \$207.00.

<sup>iv</sup> Libertarian candidate Rose spent \$2,148.00.

<sup>v</sup> Libertarian candidates spent a total of \$2,562.00 of 0.002% of this total spent.

**SOURCE:** NC State Board of Elections and NC FREE

## Spending in the 2004 State Senate Races <sup>i</sup>

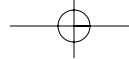
Seat	Democrats	\$ Spent	Republicans	\$ Spent	Total Spent	Seat	Democrats	\$ Spent	Republicans	\$ Spent	Total Spent
1	<b>Basnight</b> (i)	\$1,646,853.04	Toppin	\$4,461.06	\$1,651,314.10	26	no candidate		<b>Berger</b> (i)	\$71,670.35	\$86,823.45
2	<b>Thomas</b> (i)	\$681,023.39	Tyson	\$203,092.71	\$884,116.10				Sessoms	\$15,153.10	
3	<b>Jenkins</b> (i)	\$185,294.54	B. Moore	\$14,556.21	\$274,418.06				Erdely	\$- 0.0E+01	
	Willingham	\$- 0.0E+01				27	<b>Hagan</b> (i)	\$308,152.05	Coffer	\$6,373.50	\$314,525.55
	Johnson	\$74,567.31				28	<b>Dorsett</b> (i)	\$42,509.96	no candidate	\$42,509.96	
	Rouse	(exempt)				29	Moss	\$3,455.50	<b>Tillman</b> (i)	\$50,118.96	\$91,927.62
4	<b>Holloman</b> (i)	\$26,061.27	no candidate		\$40,025.91				Shaw	\$38,353.16	
	Ferguson	\$8,292.49				30	Jackson	\$4,427.23	<b>East</b>	\$16,804.17	\$21,231.40
	Webb	\$5,672.15				31	no candidate		<b>Horton</b> (i)	\$12,009.07	\$12,009.07
5	<b>Kerr</b> (i)	\$381,311.66	T. Moore	\$39,723.64	\$421,035.30	32	<b>Garrou</b> (i)	\$174,652.28	Dowe	\$5,014.53	\$179,866.81
6	Hargett (i)	\$356,363.91	<b>Brown</b>	\$172,964.41	\$580,074.48		Baxter	\$200.00			
	Pollard	\$50,746.16				33	no candidate		<b>Bingham</b> (i)	\$1,186.17	\$1,186.17
7	<b>Berger</b>	\$168,943.66	Frazier	\$51,498.36	\$279,967.72	34	Brown	NR	<b>Brock</b> (i)	\$29,938.61	\$60,623.61
	Moss	\$17,306.55							Andrews	\$30,685.00	
	Rogers	\$9,649.00				35	no candidate		<b>Goodall</b>	\$115,581.62	\$132,891.62
	Jackson	\$29,636.50							Standridge	\$17,310.00	
	Holliday	\$2,933.65				36	no candidate		<b>Hartsell</b> (i)	\$56,435.44	\$56,435.44
	Day	NR				37	<b>Clodfelter</b> (i)	\$99,049.62	no candidate		\$99,049.62
8	<b>Soles</b> (i)	\$183,135.84	Swann	\$23,681.36	\$206,817.20	38	<b>Dannelly</b> (i)	\$23,944.08	no candidate		\$23,944.08
9	<b>Boseman</b>	\$434,985.82	White	\$436,121.20	\$877,415.77		Brinson	NR			
	McConatha	(exempt)	Hayes	\$6,308.75		39	no candidate		<b>Pittenger</b> (i)	\$255,384.41	\$255,384.41
10	<b>Albertson</b> (i)	\$203,394.97	Jarman	\$21,345.32	\$224,740.29	40	<b>Graham</b>	\$123,330.05	Sisson	\$12,901.23	\$344,866.27
			Arnett	(exempt)			Odom	\$208,634.99			
11	<b>Swindell</b> (i)	\$173,628.26	Neilson	\$7,393.82	\$181,022.08	41	McElwaine	NR	<b>Forrester</b> (i)	\$87,461.88	\$168,985.27
12	no candidate		<b>Smith</b> (i)	\$575,313.07	\$575,313.07				Sloan	\$81,523.39	
13	<b>Weinstein</b> (i)	\$89,120.11	no candidate		\$89,120.11	42	no candidate		<b>Allran</b> (i)	\$16,148.57	\$16,148.57
14	<b>Malone</b> (i)	\$165,589.84	Odoom	\$4,875.00	\$172,039.84	43	<b>Hoyle</b> (i)	\$345,061.57	Fleming	\$- 0.0E+01	\$345,061.57
			Bennett	NR		44	Avery	\$31,223.54	<b>Jacumin</b>	\$92,510.88	\$227,618.23
			Mayfield	\$1,575.00			DeHart	\$5,771.47			\$98,112.34
15	no candidate		<b>Hunt</b>	\$104,810.92	\$133,047.92	45	Cain	\$4,914.91	<b>Garwood</b> (i)	\$31,207.86	\$36,122.77
			Carrington (i)	\$28,028.00		46	<b>Dalton</b> (i)	\$319,430.27	Testa	\$175,558.80	\$494,989.07
			Koch	\$209.00			Carr	NR			
16	<b>Cowell</b>	\$209,424.06	Bradrick	\$9,916.15	\$364,355.59	47	Queen (i)	\$635,273.93	<b>Presnell</b>	\$147,598.76	\$782,872.69
	Nichols	\$48,459.86				48	Rogers	\$22,233.67	<b>Apodaca</b> (i)	\$132,757.27	\$154,990.94
	Worthy	\$94,990.26				49	<b>Nesbitt</b>	\$67,916.80	Clark	\$2,849.00	\$70,765.80
	Shea	\$1,565.26				50	<b>Snow</b>	\$398,749.09	Carpenter (i)	\$118,871.06	\$517,620.15
17	Clark	\$171,796.88	<b>Stevens</b> (i)	\$80,717.54	\$252,514.42						
18	<b>Atwater</b>	\$186,386.45	Mumma	\$312,186.08	\$553,037.81 <sup>ii</sup>						
	Carrington	\$52,284.88									
	Griffin	\$1,973.40									
19	<b>Rand</b> (i)	\$150,148.55	no candidate		\$150,148.55						
20	<b>Lucas</b> (i)	\$14,736.89	Ubinger	\$207.00	\$14,943.89						
21	<b>Shaw</b> (i)	\$15,437.21	Evans	\$422.82	\$24,019.06						
	Haire	\$7,919.03									
	Smith	\$240.00									
22	Harris	\$464,893.46	<b>Blake</b> (i)	\$175,161.64	\$640,055.10						
23	<b>Kinnaird</b> (i)	\$31,365.77	Whitfield	\$1,001.26	\$32,367.03						
24	Foriest	\$24,494.74	<b>Webster</b> (i)	\$41,916.75	\$66,411.49						
	Purgason	NR									
25	<b>Purcell</b> (i)	\$66,521.13	no candidate		\$98,341.96 <sup>iii</sup>						
<b>Totals</b>								<b>\$9,205,332.80</b>		<b>\$4,087,752.36</b>	<b>\$13,325,112.99</b>

<sup>i</sup> Winners in bold, incumbents have an (i) following their names.

<sup>ii</sup> Libertarian candidate Guze spent \$207.00.

<sup>iii</sup> Libertarian candidate Gattis spent \$31,820.83.

**SOURCE:** NC State Board of Elections and NC FREE



### Statewide Vote Totals for NC State Senate Candidates, 1968–2004

Year	Total Votes (millions)			Percent		Seats Won		Uncontested	
	Dem.	Rep.	Total	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
1968	1.1	0.57	1.67	65.8	34.2	38	12	13	1
1970	0.67	0.4	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	1.19	0.56	1.75	67.9	32.1	44	6	17	1
1984	1.55	0.93	2.48	62.4	37.6	38	12	16	0
1986	1.2	0.82	2.02	59.3	40.7	40	10	8	1
1988	1.48	1.12	2.6	56.8	43.2	37	13	12	2
1990	1.36	1.19	2.55	53.3	46.7	36	14	6	4
1992	1.56	1.26	2.86	55.2	44.8	39	11	3	6
1994	0.93	0.87	1.8	51.7	48.3	26	24	13	5
1996	1.55	1.51	3.06	50.7	49.3	30	20	6	4
1998	1.17	1.17	2.34	50.2	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	52	28	22	6	5
2004	1.51	1.57	3.13	48.2	50.2	29	21	7	9

**NOTES:**

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 2000 and 2002 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; NC FREE.

### Statewide Vote Totals for NC State House Candidates, 1968–2004

Year	Total Votes (millions)			Percent		Seats Won		Uncontested	
	Dem.	Rep.	Total	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
1968	1.2	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	1.7	77.8	22.2	114	6	47	0
1978	—data not available—					106	14	—	—
1980	1.7	0.84	2.53	67	33	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	1.2	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	1.2	2.92	59.2	40.8	78	42	32	12
1994	0.98	1	1.98	49.4	50.6	52	68	36	22
1996	1.54	1.6	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	3.5	48.9	51.1	62	58	25	23
2002	0.89	1.09	1.98	44.9	55.1	59	61*	26	31
2004	1.37	1.49	2.92	47	51.1	63	57	36	35

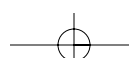
**NOTES:**

Totals may not equal due to rounding. Uncontested races are those in which a candidate ran unopposed or with not opposition from the other major party.

\* = 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 the vote totals between 2000 and 2002 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; NC FREE





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→ **LEGISLATURE FROM PAGE 7**

are in law, with another 30 percent in business or sales. Ten percent are in real estate, and eight percent are in farming and education, with four percent in health care. Meanwhile, 18 percent are self-employed, and 28 percent are retired.

Thus, while a full 78 percent of the 1971 Senate was in law, business or sales, only 66 percent reported the same in 2005, with 46 percent reporting that they were self-employed or retired. Although the data from 2005 includes some double-reporting, the sharp rise in members who self-identify as retired or self-employed is significant.

In the House, it was much the same story. Although many legislators multiple occupations, 79 percent said they were in law, business or sales in 1971 — and six percent reported being retired, and no one claimed to be self-employed. By 2005, just 52 percent reported they were in law, business or sales, while 28 percent reported that they were retired and eight percent reported being self-employed.

While the decline in members in law, business and sales, and the rise in members who are retired or self-employed is consistent in both the House and Senate, there is another distinct change in the House that has not taken

place in the senate. In 1971, 14 percent of House members were in farming, while just five percent were in education. Over the subsequent 34 years, members in farming declined while those in education rose. In 2005, less than 3 percent of members are in farming, while 13 percent are now in education. While farming was the third most common occupation in 1971, it is now the ninth and least-common occupation, with more House members in insurance, health care and real estate than in farming. ■

**NC DataPack**

Much of the data on North Carolina political trends compiled by the Program on Southern Politics, Media, and Public Life is now available 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 other 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).