

North Carolina

data-net

WWW.SOUTHNOW.ORG

DECEMBER 2007, ISSUE 45

FERREL GUILLORY*Director*
guillory@unc.edu**THAD BEYLE***Associate Director*
beyle@email.unc.edu**HODDING CARTER, III***Leadership Fellow*
hoddincarter@unc.edu**KENDRA DAVENPORT COTTON***Assistant Director for Programs*
kendradc@unc.edu**ANDREW HOLTON***Assistant Director for Research*
holton@unc.edu**D. LEROY TOWNS***Research Fellow*
dltowns@email.unc.edu**THE PROGRAM ON PUBLIC LIFE**

is a non-partisan organization devoted to serving the people of North Carolina and the South by informing the public agenda and nurturing leadership.

To receive an electronic version or to subscribe to the printed version, send your name and e-mail address to southnow@unc.edu.

The Program on Public Life is part of the Center for the Study of the American South at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Director's Note

FERREL GUILLORY*Director*

A year ago, North Carolina contributed to the Democratic Party's regaining of a majority in the U.S. House. This issue of DataNet explores trends in campaign finance that propelled Democrats and resulting shifts within the state's congressional delegation.

In the mountain-region 11th District, Democrat Heath Shuler defeated eight-term Republican Charles Taylor. Shuler became one of 31 Democrats who captured Republican-held seats to produce a 233–202 Democratic margin in the House.

In North Carolina, Democrats now hold a slim 7–6 advantage over Republicans in the congressional delegation. The 2006 election reversed the previous GOP 7–6 advantage. The composition of the state's congressional delegation reflects the narrow partisan divide in the North Carolina electorate.

But the story of congressional elections in North Carolina, as in the nation as a whole, is not only about seats changing partisan hands but also about seats remaining in the same hands. While Taylor lost his seat, the 12 other incumbents in North Carolina regained theirs. As a result of the redistricting following the 2000 Census, almost all congressional districts have a distinct Democratic or Republican identity—and will continue to do so through the 2008 and 2010 elections, until the next post-Census redistricting.

In legislative bodies, a shift in which party has a majority, even by only a few seats, has profound implications for the power and influence of individual members. Thus, North Carolina's Democratic House members have more power than they had a year ago by virtue of their party's having a majority on each committee. In the previous Congress, Charles Taylor held the most powerful position, as an appropriations subcommittee chairman, within North Carolina's delegation. Now U.S. Rep. David Price, the Democrat from the 4th District, holds an appropriations subcommittee chairmanship and has emerged as an influential voice in the House Democratic leadership structure.

In this issue of DataNet, Leroy Towns, a veteran U.S. Senate staff member who is now a research fellow at the UNC Program on Public Life, examines the way money talked in North Carolina's 2006 congressional elections. His research shows, among other findings, that MoveOn.org, a liberal Internet-oriented group that has gained influence recently within the Democratic Party, contributed more in North Carolina last year than all conservative groups combined.

In another article, Chip McCorkle, a Princeton University student who took on a summer assignment for the Program on Public Life, writes about committee assignments of North Carolina members, focusing especially on the delegation's heavy tilt toward the Agriculture Committee.

continued on page 2

Independent Spending Plays a Role by Leroy Towns

Money talked in 2006 North Carolina congressional elections, but more softly than in many other states.

Only six of North Carolina's 13 congressional races went over the \$1 million mark. The most expensive and most contested race — in the 11th District — cost \$6.2 million. That's in contrast to dozens of contested races costing more than \$10 million around the country.

Lower spending was no doubt due to the fact only two of the districts had hotly contested races last year, the 11th and the 8th. Other facts also stand out:

- Big spending did not always translate to victory.
- Independent expenditures were a major factor in two races.
- Not counting national party committees, the liberal group MoveOn.org was the largest independent player, contributing more than all conservative groups combined.

The three top spending races were in the 11th District, where Democrat Heath Shuler beat incumbent Republican Charles Taylor; in the 8th, where incumbent Republican Robin Hayes barely held onto his seat against Democrat Larry Kissell; and in the 13th, where incumbent Democrat Brad Miller handily defeated Republican Vernon Robinson.

Robinson and Taylor were the biggest spenders in their races, but both lost. Only Hayes, who outspent Kissell \$2.47 million to \$804,010, won his race.

Independent expenditures are money spent outside the campaigns by groups that do not coordinate with the candidates or their campaigns. Spending is either in support of, or in opposition to, candidates. That roughly translates into negative and positive advertisements. Independent expenditures now are a major force in federal elections and North Carolina was no exception last year.

The biggest independent spending was in the 11th District. The National Republican Congressional Committee spent \$1,427,519 in opposition to Shuler and \$66,119 in support of Taylor. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee spent \$118,496 in opposition to Taylor.

Other independent spending in the 11th District

- MoveOn.org, \$1,424 supporting Shuler
- Humane Society Legislative Fund, \$4,887 opposing Taylor
- League of Conservation Voters Action Fund, \$41,629 opposing Taylor
- National Rifle Association Victory Fund, \$6,481 supporting Taylor
- National Right To Life Action Committee, \$19,551 supporting Taylor
- North Carolina Right to Life Inc. PAC, \$287 supporting Taylor
- A Charlotte group, Yesterday's Gone Inc., \$877 opposing Taylor
- Machinists Non-Partisan Political League (of Machinists and Aerospace workers), \$83 supporting Shuler.

Independent expenditures also were significant in the 8th District

- MoveOn.org, \$198,959 opposing Hayes and \$2,662 supporting Kissell
- The National Rifle Association, \$2,600 supporting Hayes
- National Right to Life, \$8,778 and North Carolina Right to Life, \$130 supporting Hayes
- Yesterday's Gone, \$375 opposing Hayes

continued on page 6

Director's Note

continued from page 1

Much of the data in this issue comes, as usual, for the statistics compiled over many years by Thad Beyle, a retired professor of political science at UNC-Chapel Hill who remains active as associate director of the Program on Public Life and in writing on state politics and government. Thanks also go to our funders: Progress Energy for the grant that finances the printing of our NC DataNet and SouthNow newsletters; the Z. Smith Reynolds

Foundation for support of the Program on Public Life's seminars for policymakers and opinion leaders; and the General Assembly for funding of our research in North Carolina demographic, economic, social and environmental trends.

One more note: Please visit our web site, www.southnow.org. There you will find pdf versions of current and previous issues of DataNet and SouthNow, as well as our series

of white papers published under the banner of Carolina Context. You are welcome to download them, and we welcome your comments and suggestions for further research. In addition, our web site regularly spotlights studies by university scholars and think-tanks that illuminate North Carolina and Southern trends. ☒

Most and Least Expensive NC Congressional Elections, 1992–2006

Notes: \$ Amount = cost of campaigns in 2006\$ (millions)

Type = In. – incumbent in race;

Open seat – no incumbent in race

Pts. = point margin of victory or defeat

Most Expensive

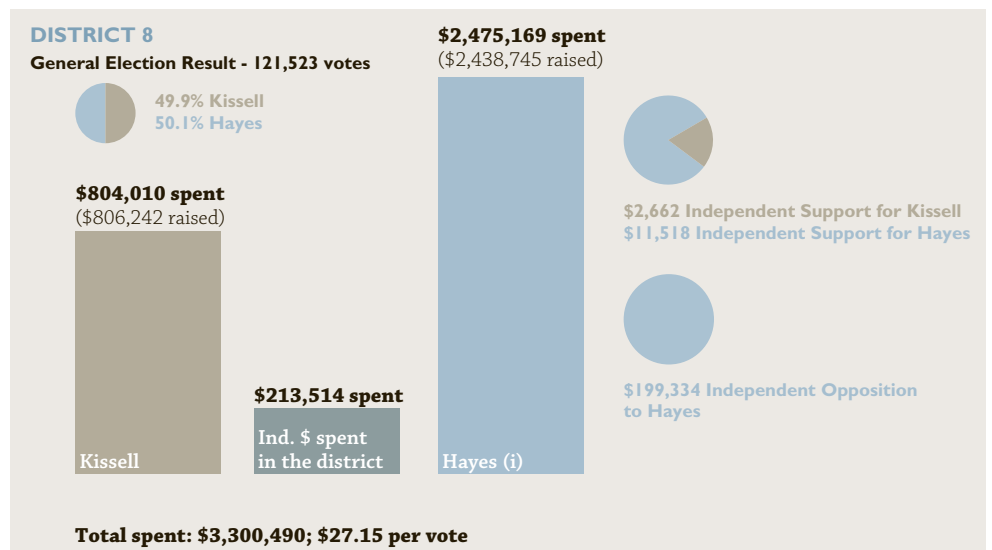
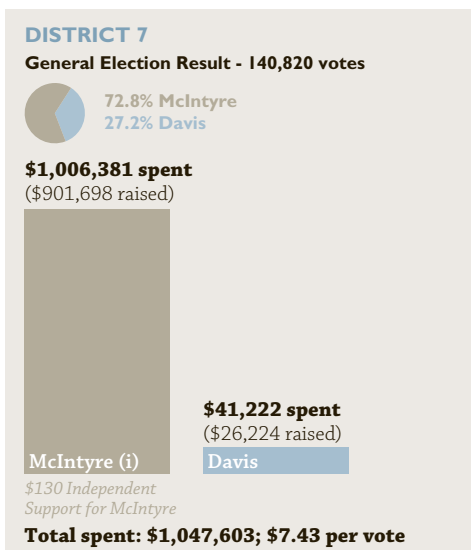
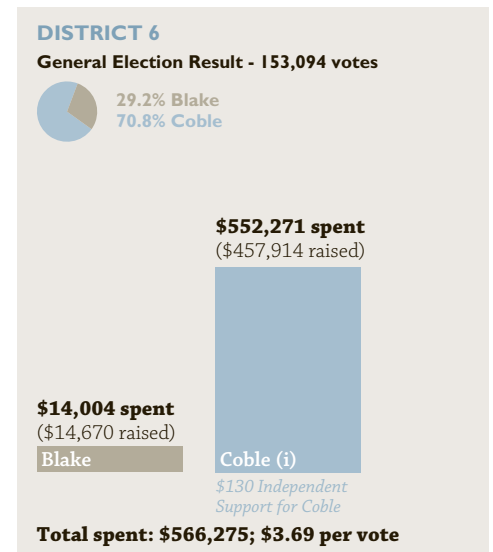
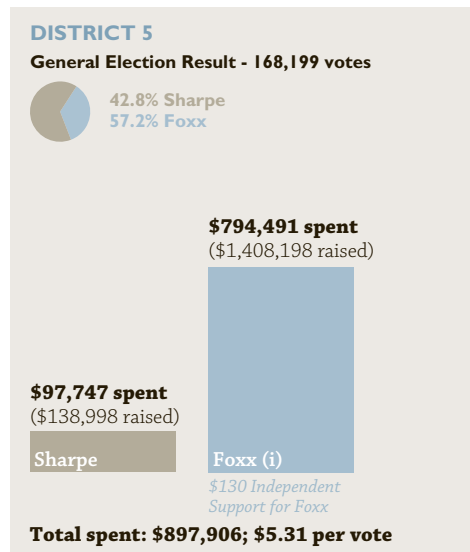
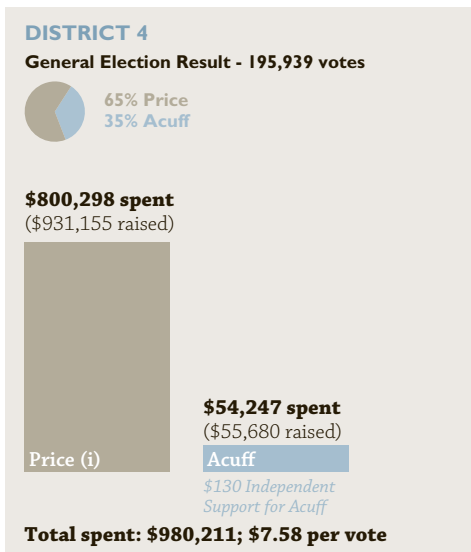
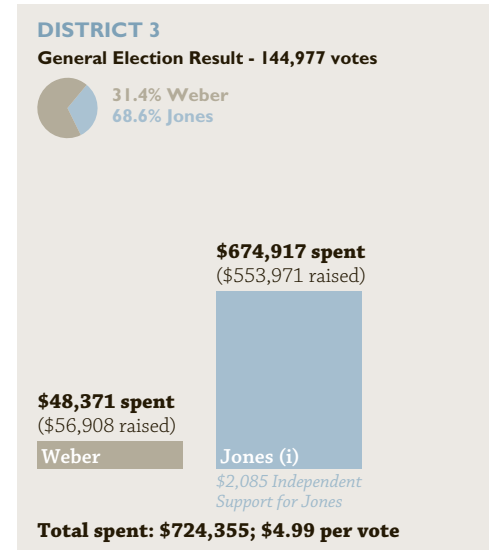
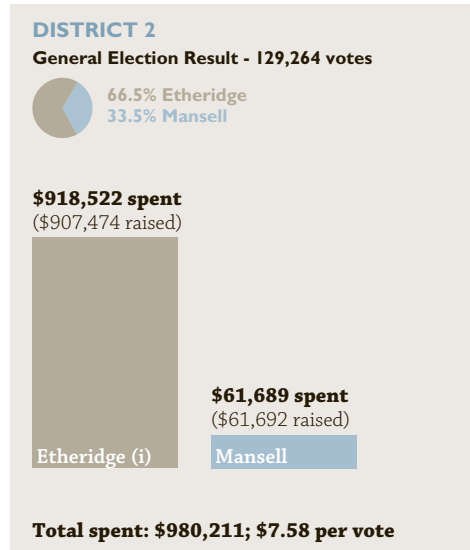
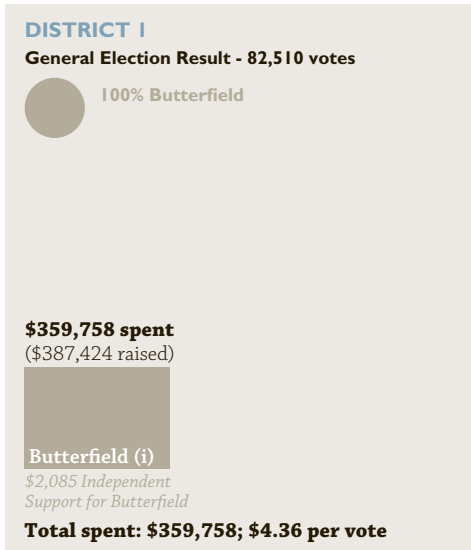
Rank	Dist.	Year	\$ (in millions)	Type	Outcome	Pts.
1	5	2004	8.490	Open seat	Foxx-R won	17.6
2	11	2006	6.256	In. Taylor-R	Shuler-D won	7.6
3	13	2006	3.949	In. Miller-D	reelected	27.4
4	10	2004	3.829	Open seat	McHenry-R won	28.2
5	11	2000	3.372	In. Taylor-R	reelected	12
6	8	2002	3.317	In. Hayes-R	reelected	9.2
7	8	2006	3.300	In. Hayes-R	reelected	0.2
8	8	2000	3.197	In. Hayes-R	reelected	11
9	11	2004	2.953	In. Taylor-R	reelected	9.8
10	3	2000	2.830	In. Jones-R	reelected	24
11	4	1996	2.761	In. Heineman-R	Price-D won	10.6
12	11	1992	2.363	In. Taylor-R	reelected	10
13	2	1996	2.272	In. Funderburk-R	Etheridge-D won	6.8
14	11	2002	2.244	In. Taylor-R	reelected	13
15	2	1994	2.090	Open seat	Funderburk-R won	12
16	4	1998	2.081	In. Price-D	reelected	15.8
17	5	1994	2.040	Open seat	Burr-R won	14
18	8	1998	1.968	Open seat	Hayes-R won	2.5
19	2	1998	1.801	In. Etheridge-D	reelected	15.7
20	8	2004	1.801	In. Hayes-R	reelected	11
21	3	1994	1.796	In. Lancaster-D	Jones-R won	6
22	11	1994	1.734	In. Taylor-R	reelected	20
23	13	2004	1.631	In. Miller-D	reelected	17.6
24	13	2002	1.575	Open seat	Miller-D won	12.3
25	11	1998	1.448	In. Taylor-R	reelected	14.3

Least Expensive

Rank	Dist.	Year	\$ (in millions)	Type	Outcome	Pts.
90	1	2006	\$359,758	In. Butterfield-D	reelected	100
91	6	2002	\$354,730	In. Coble-R	reelected	80
92	6	2000	\$349,658	In. Coble-R	reelected	82
93	10	1996	\$337,196	In. Ballenger-R	reelected	41
94	10	2000	\$308,837	In. Ballenger-R	reelected	39
95	10	1994	\$261,581	In. Ballenger-R	reelected	43
96	6	1994	\$260,566	In. Coble-R	reelected	100
97	10	1998	\$249,213	In. Ballinger	reelected	71
98	12	1994	\$224,537	In. Watt-D	reelected	32
99	12	1996	\$199,027	In. Watt-D	reelected	45

General Spending

Democrat
 Republican
 Independent Dollars contributed in the District
 (i) Incumbent Candidate

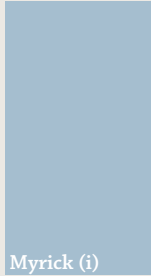


DISTRICT 9

General Election Result - 159,643 votes



\$1,262,588 spent
(\$1,287,147 raised)



Myrick (i)
\$130 Independent Support for Myrick

\$11,692 spent
(\$13,760 raised)

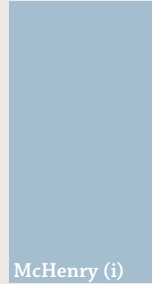
Glass

DISTRICT 10

General Election Result - 152,393 votes



\$1,339,776 spent
(\$1,464,716 raised)



McHenry (i)
\$130 Independent Support for McHenry

\$48,371 spent
(\$22,726 raised)

Carsner

Total spent: \$1,276,345; \$7.99 per vote

Total spent: \$1,362,500; \$11.69 per vote

DISTRICT 12

General Election Result - 106,472 votes



\$535,743 spent
(\$503,513 raised)



Watt (i)

\$446,779 spent
(\$444,042 raised)

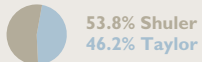


Fisher

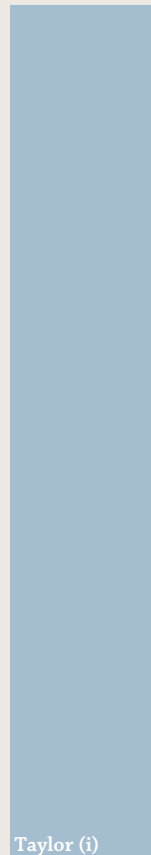
Total spent: \$982,522; \$8.94 per vote

DISTRICT 11

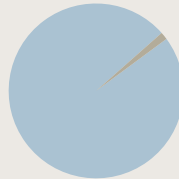
General Election Result - 232,314 votes



\$4,425,482 spent
(\$4,397,723 raised)

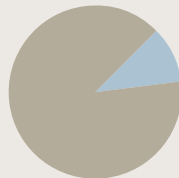


Taylor (i)



\$1,507 Independent Support for Shuler

\$92,438 Independent Support for Taylor



\$1,427,519 Independent Opposition to Shuler

\$166,889 Independent Opposition to Taylor

\$1,804,365 spent
(\$1,850,365 raised)



Shuler

\$1,688,353 spent



Ind. \$ spent in the district

Total spent: \$6,256,437; \$26.93 per vote

DISTRICT 13

General Election Result - 154,660 votes



\$2,179,456 spent
(\$2,048,421 raised)



Robinson

\$1,766,708 spent
(\$1,771,007 raised)



Miller (i)

\$701 Independent Opposition for Miller

\$329 Independent Support for Robinson

Total spent: \$3,949,010; \$25.53 per vote

Independent Spending Plays a Role

continued from page 2

Competitiveness of the 8th District caught national party campaign committees by surprise, which accounts for the absence of party funding in that race.

A total of \$1.9 million in independent expenditures were directed at North Carolina Races, almost all of which were in the 11th and the 8th Districts. The National Republican Congressional Committee spent the most, \$1.49 million.

Take out the party committees, however, and MoveOn.org was the highest spender at \$203,045. Two other groups, the Humane Society at \$5,932 and the League of Conservation Voters at \$41,629 took liberal-leaning independent expenditures to \$250,606.

More conservative groups were led by National Right to Life at \$29,030 and included NC Right to Life at \$2,158 and the National Rifle Association at \$9,091. That puts conservative-leaning independent expenditures at \$40,297.

Independent spending figures come from the Federal Election Commission and from Congressional Quarterly's Moneyline.

While independent expenditures are certain to grow, the fact that North Carolina has only one or two competitive congressional districts may limit their influence in the state.

The North Carolina Forum for Research and Economic Education (NCFREE), which tracks election data in the state for business interests, estimates that only the 8th District is a true swing district. According to the group, the 11th District remains a Republican district, now represented by Democrat Shuler.

That's not to say any district won't be competitive in a given year. But in terms of incumbents and partisan makeup, North Carolina has six GOP districts and six Democratic districts, with the 8th considered a swing district. ☒

Delegation Committee Posts Varied

by Chip McCorkle

It's no secret North Carolina's economy has changed dramatically in recent years. Mainstay industries of the past like tobacco, textiles, and furniture are being replaced by newcomers in technology, pharmaceuticals, and banking.

But you probably wouldn't know it by looking at the committee assignments of the state's U.S. House delegation. Its share of the 46-member House Agriculture Committee (an old mainstay of North Carolina congressional power if there ever was one) actually jumped from four to five members between 1997 and 2005. Farm production's share of the state's total GDP dropped 44.4% in that period.¹

Since then the number of North Carolinians on the committee has returned to four. But California and Texas are the only other states with that many delegates on the committee, an interesting result considering that, respectively, they have 53 and 32 representatives to spread around different committees, compared to only 13 for North Carolina.

So what accounts for this overrepresentation? One reason for the consistently high numbers might be the historical connection North Carolina has to the committee. In 1820, North Carolina Rep. Lewis Williams was the initial proponent for a committee on agriculture. Fellow North Carolinian Harold D. Cooley was the committee's longest serving chairmen, serving a whopping eight chair terms between 1949 and 1976.² Perhaps the delegation feels obligated to maintain its traditional power on the committee.

One North Carolinian on the committee—Rep. Mike McIntyre—does represent a fairly agriculture-heavy district in the eastern part of the state. The 7th district contains part of Sampson County, which had the highest agricultural cash receipts of all counties in the state in 2005, according to the NC Department of Agriculture.³ McIntyre represents parts or all of three more counties in the top 10 of that list. Rep. Bob Etheridge only represents two counties on that list; Reps. Virginia Foxx and Robin Hayes only one.

And this foursome forms a power bloc on the committee. McIntyre and Etheridge are its third and fourth most senior majority members, respectively, and each chairs a subcommittee, McIntyre on Specialty Crops, Rural Development & Foreign Agriculture and Etheridge on General Farm Commodities & Risk Management. Hayes and Foxx are 5th and 15th in the minority seniority, respectively, and Hayes is the ranking minority member of the Livestock, Dairy and Poultry subcommittee.

Six House committees have no North Carolina members: Administration, Foreign Affairs, Rules, Standards of Official Conduct, Ways and Means and Veteran's Affairs.

Before the 2006 elections, North Carolina had two members on the House Appropriations Committee. One, Charles Taylor, lost his re-election bid in the 11th District, leaving 4th District Congressman David Price as the state's only member.

Four members serve on the House Financial Services Committee and three serve on Armed Services, both areas where the state is heavily involved.

Interestingly, the powerful tax-writing Ways and Means Committee has no North Carolina member. For a complete list of committee memberships, see the chart accompanying this article.

According to Citizens Against Congressional Waste North Carolina's delegation rank 25th in getting earmarks since 2000, and Washington consulting firm Knowlegis put the state 44th in a recent congressional "power rankings" survey.⁴

¹ Calculated using statistics from: <http://www.bea.gov/regional/gsp/>

² <http://agriculture.house.gov/inside/hist.html>

³ <http://www.ncagr.com/stats/economic/cashreceipts/topten.htm>

⁴ <http://www.newsobserver.com/politics/story/498568.html>

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

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



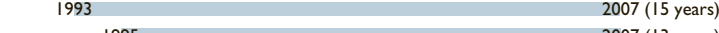











SOURCE: Harold W. Stanley and Richard G. Niemi, *Vital Statistics on American Politics* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1988: 162–163.

¹ Original apportionment made in the US Constitution, pending the first Census.

² No apportionment was made in 1920.

³ Normally 435 seats, but temporarily increased by two when Alaska and Hawaii became states.

North Carolina's Washington Delegation

District	Name	Party	First Election / Service Years
6 th CD	Howard Coble	R	1984 / 1985  2007 (23 years)
4 th CD	David Price	D	1986 / 1987  2007 (19 ¹ years)
12 th CD	Melvin Watt	D	1992 / 1993  2007 (15 years)
3 rd CD	Walter Jones	R	1994 / 1995  2007 (13 years)
9 th CD	Sue Myrick	R	1994 / 1995  2007 (13 years)
2 nd CD	Bob Etheridge	D	1996 / 1997  2007 (11 years)
8 th CD	Robin Hayes	R	1998 / 1999  2007 (8 years)
US Senator, Sr.	Elizabeth Dole	R	2002 / 2003  2007 (5 years)
CD #13	Brad Miller	D	2002 / 2003  2007 (5 years)
US Senator, Jr.	Richard Burr	R	2004 / 2005  2007 (3 years)
1 st CD	G.K. Butterfield	D	2004 / 2005  2007 (3 years)
5 th CD	Virginia Foxx	R	2004 / 2005  2007 (3 years)
10 th CD	Patrick McHenry	R	2004 / 2005  2007 (3 years)
11 th CD	Heath Shuler	D	2006 / 2007  2007 (1 years)

¹ David Price was first elected in 1986 and then was defeated in 1994, so had served 8 years in that first stretch. Then he was reelected in 1996 and has served 11 years since then—hence the 19 years of service.

NC Congressional Election Trends: 1960–2006

Wins by Decade
(275 total races)

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
00–06	24	27	0.9 to 1
Totals	176	99	
%	64	36	

N.C. Congressional Delegation Profile

District 1

G.K. Butterfield (D), N.C. Central (B.A., J.D.)

Committees

Energy & Commerce (28 of 31)
Commerce, Trade, and Consumer Protection
Energy and Air Quality (V. Chair)
Environment and Hazardous Materials

District 2

Bob Etheridge (D), Campbell University (B.S.)

Committees

Agriculture (4 of 25)
General Farm Commodities & Risk Management (Chair)
Horticulture and Organic Agriculture
Homeland Security (12 of 19)
Emergency Communications, Preparedness, and
Response Emerging Threats, Cybersecurity, and Science
and Technology
Budget (16 of 22)

District 3

Walter Jones (R), Atlantic Christian College (B.A.)

Committees

Armed Services (8 of 28)
Military Personnel
Readiness
Oversight & Investigations
Financial Services (12 of 33)
Financial Institutions & Consumer Credit
Domestic and International Monetary Policy, Trade,
and Technology

District 4

David Price (D), UNC-Chapel Hill (B.A.); Yale (B.D., Ph.D.)

Committees

Appropriations (13 of 37)
Homeland Security (Chair)
Commerce, Justice, Science and Related Agencies
Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, and
Related Agencies

District 5

Virginia Foxx (R), UNC-CH (A.B., M.A.C.T.); UNC-G (Ed.D)

Committees

Agriculture (15 of 21)
Horticulture and Organic Agriculture
Livestock, Dairy and Poultry
Education & Labor (17 of 22)
Higher Education, Lifelong Learning, and Competitiveness
Health, Employment, Labor and Pensions
Oversight & Government Reform (15 of 18)
National Security and Foreign Affairs

District 6

Howard Coble (R), Appalachian State, Guilford College
(B.A.); UNC-Chapel Hill (J.D.)

Committees

Judiciary (3 of 17)
Courts, the Internet, and Intellectual Property (RMM)
Crime, Terrorism & Homeland Security
Transportation & Infrastructure (4 of 34)
Aviation
Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation
Highways and Transit

District 7

Mike McIntyre (D), UNC-Chapel Hill (B.A., J.D.)

Committees

Agriculture (3 of 25)
Specialty Crops, Rural Development & Foreign Agriculture
(Chair)
Armed Services (10 of 33)
Air & Land Forces
Terrorism, Unconventional Threats & Capabilities

District 8

Robin Hayes (R), Duke University (B.A.)

Committees

Agriculture (5 of 21)
Livestock, Dairy and Poultry (RMM*)
Specialty Crops, Rural Development & Foreign Agriculture
Conservation, Credit, Energy and Research
Armed Services (9 of 28)
Readiness
Terrorism, Unconventional Threats & Capabilities
Transportation & Infrastructure (13 of 34)
Aviation
Water Resources and Environment
Highways and Transit

District 9

Sue Myrick (R), Heidleberg College

Committees

Energy & Commerce (22 of 26)
Commerce, Trade & Consumer Protection
Energy and Air Quality
Health

District 10

Patrick McHenry (R), NCSU, Belmont Abbey College (B.A.)

Committees

Budget (9 of 17)
Financial Services (27 of 33)
Domestic and International Policy, Trade & Technology
Financial Institutions & Consumer Credit
Oversight & Investigations
Oversight & Government Reform (14 of 18)
National Security and Foreign Affairs

District 11

Heath Shuler (D), University of Tennessee (B.A.)

Committees

Small Business (2 of 16)
Rural and Urban Entrepreneurship (Chair)
Transportation & Infrastructure (33 of 41)
Highways and Transit
Water Resources and Environment
Natural Resources (27 of 27)
National Parks, Forests and Public Lands

District 12

Mel Watt (D), UNC-CH (B.S.); Yale (J.D.)

Committees

Financial Services (7 of 37)
Oversight & Investigations (Chair)
Financial Institutions & Consumer Credit
Judiciary (6 of 23)
Commercial & Administrative Law
The Constitution, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties
Courts, the Internet, and Intellectual Property

District 13

Brad Miller (D), UNC-CH (B.A.);
London School of Economics (M.S.C.);
Columbia University (J.D.)

Committees

Financial Services (19 of 37)
Capital Markets, Insurance & Government Sponsored
Enterprises
Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit
Science and Technology (8 of 24)
Investigations and Oversight (Chair)

House Committees w/ No Representation

House Administration
Foreign Affairs
Rules
Standards of Official Conduct
Ways and Means
Veterans' Affairs

Senior Senator

Elizabeth Dole (R), Duke University (B.A.);
Harvard University (M.A., J.D.)

Committees

Aging
Armed Services
Emerging Threats & Capabilities (RMM*)
Personnel
Readiness and Management Support
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
Housing, Transportation, and Community Development
Security and International Trade & Finance
Financial Institutions
Small Business and Entrepreneurship

Junior Senator

Richard Burr (R), Wake Forest University (B.A.)

Committees

Energy & Natural Resources
Energy
Public Lands and Forests (RMM*)
National Parks (RMM*)
Health, Education, Labor & Pensions
Retirement and Aging (RMM*)
Employment & Workplace Safety
Indian Affairs
Veterans' Affairs
Intelligence (Select)

Senate Committees w/ No Representation

Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry
Appropriations
Budget
Commerce, Science, and Transportation
Environment and Public Works
Finance
Foreign Relations
Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs
Judiciary
Rules & Administration

*Ranking Minority Member

DataNet Committees

ratings across the ideological spectrum

District	Member	Americans for Democratic Action ('05)	ACLU ('05)	American Federation of State, County and Municipal Officials	League of Conservation Voters	Information Technology Industry Council	National Taxpayers Union	Chamber of Commerce	American Conservative Union	National Tax Limitation Committee	Christian Coalition
1	G.K. Butterfield (D)	85	92	100	89	100	14/F	57	0	na	na
2	Bob Etheridge (D)	95	54	88	89	90	13/F	53	20	3	30
3	Walter Jones (R)	45	31	38	50	44	62/B	58	79	94	100
4	David Price (D)	100	100	88	94	90	12/F	48	12	6	15
5	Virginia Foxx (R)	5	0	na	11	na	70/A	na	na	na	na
6	Howard Coble (R)	10	0	13	6	70	59/B-	78	88	92	91
7	McIntyre (D)	70	31	63	67	50	27/D	62	60	17	75
8	Robin Hayes (R)	0	0	25	0	60	55/C+	95	88	84	100
9	Sue Myrick (R)	0	0	0	6	100	71/A	87	100	97	92
10	Patrick McHenry (R)	5	8	na	11	na	70/A	na	na	na	na
11	Charles Taylor (R)	0	15	25	6	60	56/C+	85	88	81	92
12	Mel Watt (D)	100	100	88	94	60	15/F	35	0	3	7
13	Brad Miller (D)	100	69	88	94	70	9/F	41	8	3	15
Sen 1	Elizabeth Dole (R)	5	17	33	0	92	68/B	94	92	88	100
Sen 2	Richard Burr (R)	5	17	13	5	100	76/A	94	87	81	84

NOTES:

Americans for Democratic Action is a liberal group interested in curtailing rising defense spending, preventing encroachments on civil liberties and promoting international human rights.

ACLU is interested in protecting individuals from legal, executive and congressional infringement on the basic rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees is the nation's largest public service employee union. Burr's score was from his votes as a member of the House of Representatives in 2004.

League of Conservation Voters is an environmental group that "is the national, non-partisan arm of the environmental movement...[and] works to elect pro-environmental candidates to Congress."

Information Technology Industry Council is a high-tech industry group representing "the leading U.S. providers of information technology products and services... [with a] mission to help shape policies that advance electronic commerce, open new markets, rely on market-based solutions, and foster innovation." Burr's score was from his votes as a member of the House of Representatives in 2004.

National Taxpayers' Union is a pro-taxpayer rights group that "analyzes every roll call vote taken during both sessions of Congress that significantly affects federal taxes, spending, debt, or regulatory impact."

Chamber of Commerce of the United States is a "pro business group founded... as a voice for organized business, (and) represents local, regional and state chambers of commerce in addition to trade and professional organizations." Butterfield and Hayes scores were from 2004.

American Conservative Union is a conservative group whose "ratings...have provided a means of gauging the conservatism of members of Congress. Foreign policy, social and budget issues are their primary concerns."

National Tax Limitation Committee is a pro-tax limitation group and is "interested in (seeking) constitutional and other limits on taxes, spending and deficits. These ratings are based on budget issue votes and bills that would have a major impact on long-term government taxing and spending programs."

Christian Coalition is a conservative, "pro-family citizen organization... working for family-friendly public policy on a local, state and national level."

Each group selects votes to determine ratings

SOURCE: Michael Barone & Richard E. Cohen, *The Almanac of American Politics*, 2006 (Washington, DC: National Journal, 2005): 15.

Trends

NC congressional voting trends, 1960–2006

Year	Cycle ²	# Votes (thousands)			% of Vote		# seats won		# uncontested ¹	
		Dem	Rep	Total	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep
1960	A	726	429	1185	61	39	10	1	0	0
1962	C	482	336	819	59	41	9	2	3	0
1964	B	788	511	1299	61	39	9	2	2	0
1966	C	484	432	916	53	47	8	3	2	0
1968	A	765	633	1398	55	45	7	4	2	1
1970	D	514	411	925	56	44	7	4	1	0
1972	A	735	610	1345	55	45	7	4	2	0
1974	C	638	348	986	65	35	9	2	2	3
1976	B	1011	549	1560	65	35	9	2	2	0
1978	C	607	405	1012	60	40	9	2	1	1
1980	A	964	769	1733	56	44	7	4	1	0
1982	D	708	580	1288	55	45	9	2	0	0
1984	A	1131	1026	2157	52	48	6	5	0	0
1986	C	890	682	1572	57	43	8	3	0	0
1988	B	1108	876	1984	56	44	8	3	2	0
1990	C	1076	935	2011	54	46	7	4	0	0
1992	A	1282	1204	2486	52	48	8	4	0	0
1994	D	681	907	1588	43	57	4	8	0	1
1996	A	1136	1340	2476	46	54	6	6	0	0
1998	C	827	1014	1841	45	55	5	7	1	2
2000	B	1194	1515	2708	44	56	5	7	0	2
2002	C	971	1209	2180	45	56	6	7	0	2
2004	A	1670	1743	3413	48.9	51.1	6	7	0	0
2006	D	1027	914	1941	53	47	7	6	1	0

¹ "Uncontested" is the number of seats won in uncontested races.

² "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.

Unbalanced Districts Create a Balanced Whole

Conventional wisdom says that North Carolina's Congressional races have become less competitive overtime. During the last two election cycles, only two districts, the 8th and 11th, have yielded a close general election result. Yet despite this lack of competition within districts, the state as a whole has become more evenly represented.

From 1980–1992, North Carolina Democrats consistently won around 55% of the total Congressional vote — a comfortable but not overwhelming margin. During that same period, Democrats consistently occupied Congressional seats by a two to one margin. In other words,

Democrats were winning 55% of the vote and occupying around 67% of the seats.

In 1994, the tide turned and Republicans took control of North Carolina's Congressional delegation by an eight to four margin, after having won 57% of the total vote. However, since that Republican surge, the winning party has continued to obtain around 55% of the total vote, while holding a proportional number of seats. For example, in 2000 and 2002, Republicans won 56% of the total Congressional votes and won five of 12 and six of 13 Congressional seats respectively.

NC Congressional Election Trends: Cycle Breakdowns, 1960–2006

Cycle	Average Votes			% Change in Cycles ²		
	# Votes (millions)	% Dem	% Rep	# Votes	#!/% Dem	#!/% Rep.
All	1.701	52.5	47.5	40.823	21.415	19.378
A	2.024	51.9	48.1	+188%	-20%	+31%
B	1.888	56.5	43.5	+108%	-28%	+44%
C	1.417	54.8	45.4	+166%	-24%	+37%
D	1.435	51.0	48.0	+110%	-05%	+07%

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 These are the percents that each cycle changed between the first year in this period and the most recent year in this period: A – 1960 vs. 2004; B – 1964 vs. 2000; C – 1962 vs. 2002; 1970 vs. 2006.

SOURCES: North Carolina State Board of Elections (www.sboe.state.nc.us), North Carolina DataNet, November 2003 (www.southnow.org/publications/ncdn/ncdn35.pdf)

Demographic Trends in the NC Congressional Delegation: 1960–2006

Note: Highlighted years are those without presidential, US Senatorial and NC Council of State races.

Number of Congressional Representatives with Characteristic

Year	Dem	Rep	Male	Female	White	Black	New	Incumbent
2006	7	6	11	2	11	2	1	12
2004	6	7	11	2	11	2	3	10
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

SOURCES: The Almanac of American Politics, various issues; North Carolina DataNet, November 2003.

southnow@unc.edu

Chapel Hill, NC, 27599-9127

CB# 3365

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
The Center for the Study of the American South

PROGRAM ON PUBLIC LIFE

data-net
North Carolina

THE UNIVERSITY
of NORTH CAROLINA
at CHAPEL HILL



NON-PROFIT
ORGANIZATION
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 177
CHAPEL HILL, NC

North Carolina Congressional Districts

