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**THE PROGRAM ON PUBLIC LIFE**

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## Primary Turnout Data: Findings

FERREL GUILLORY, *Director*

### North Carolina's Three Electorates

North Carolina has three self-selected groupings of citizens who turn out to vote in statewide elections. It has a Democratic primary electorate, a Republican primary electorate, and a substantially larger general-election electorate. Candidates who run for the U.S. Senate, governor and Council of State offices have to negotiate through two of the three sets of the statewide electorate for a successful campaign.

Most North Carolina voters pass up primary elections, which determines a party's nomination for office, and wait until the general election in November to cast their ballots. Even as two-party competition has intensified over the past three decades, turnout in Democratic primaries has remained higher than turnout in Republican primaries. But the turnout in primaries now amounts to only a modest share of voters in comparison with general election.

This issue of NC DataNet offers a look at differences in voter participation between party primaries and general elections. It builds upon earlier issues of DataNet that sketched the modern "political geography" of North Carolina. Included in these pages are a three-decade history of election results to assist scholars, journalists, citizens and public leaders analyze both primary and general-election results.

This year, North Carolinians will cast ballots for U.S. President, U.S. Senator, 13 members of the U.S. House of Representatives, Governor, nine members of the Council of State, 170 state legislators and numerous judges and local officials. On May 6, Democratic and Republican primaries will take place for the selection of party nominees. For cases (not including the presidential election) in which the leading candidate falls below 40 percent of the total votes, runoffs are scheduled on June 24. The general election takes place Nov. 4.

Here are key findings to guide your own reading and analysis of the data:

### Voter Registration Rising

- North Carolina now has more than 5.6 million registered voters, up from 5.1 million four years ago.
- Neither the Democratic Party nor the Republican Party has an assured majority among voters. As of early March, there were 2.54 million registered Democrats, 1.93 million registered Republicans, and nearly 1.2 million North Carolinians registered as unaffiliated voters.
- Women outnumber men among registered voters by more than half a million. There are 4.3 million white voters and 1.1 million black voters — plus 42,700 American Indians, 45,000 Hispanics and 87,000 of other ethnicities.

### Presidential primaries - Republican

The eventual Republican presidential nominee usually wins the North Carolina GOP primary by a wide margin — largely because the state's late primary comes after the nomination contest has been effectively settled in earlier primaries. The 1988 primary stands out because George Bush, who won the presidency that year, defeated then-U.S. Sen. Bob Dole by only six percentage points.

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The principal exception, however, came in 1976 when Ronald Reagan, running as a challenger to an incumbent Republican president, defeated Gerald Ford in a primary that split the party. Then-Gov. James E. Holshouser backed Ford, while then-Sen. Jesse Helms and his political organization propelled Reagan to victory.

### Presidential primaries – Democratic

Through the 1970s and 80s, North Carolina's presidential primary served as a more competitive setting for Democrats than for Republicans. Insurgents from both right and left pulled in a substantial share of voters.

In 1972, George Wallace, running for president for a third time on his reputation as a segregationist, anti-Washington governor of Alabama, derailed the presidential candidacy of former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford by winning a majority in Sanford's home-state primary. Sanford ran for president again four years later, but dropped out before the North Carolina primary. In 1976, Jimmy Carter, a former governor of Georgia, defeated Wallace in North Carolina in his drive to the Democratic presidential nomination.

In two primaries in the 1980s, Jesse Jackson, a civil rights activist who graduated from North Carolina A&T State University, received between one-fourth and one-third of the votes as a Democratic presidential candidate. In 1988, Al Gore, then a senator from Tennessee and later vice president, won the North Carolina Democratic primary, defeating both Jackson and Michael Dukakis, the eventual Democratic nominee.

From 1992 through 2000, Bill Clinton and Gore dominated the North Carolina Democratic primaries as they won the party's nomination. In 2004, John Edwards of North Carolina defeated John Kerry, who went on to win the nomination and selected Edwards as his running mate.

### State primaries – Republican turnout

In 1972, 170,000 Republicans voted in the party's gubernatorial primary, and 154,000 in the Senate primary. That was the year of the GOP breakthrough, with the elections of James E. Holshouser Jr. as Governor and Jesse Helms as U.S. Senator — the first Republicans to win those offices in 70 years.

Republican primary turnout peaked in 2002, the year that U.S. Sen. Elizabeth Dole first appeared on the ballot, with nearly 418,000 voters participating. Of that total, Dole won 342,000 votes herself, more than eight out of 10 cast, against a field of relatively little-known opponents. In fact, Dole received more votes in 2002 than the combined total for the entire field of Republican gubernatorial candidates two years earlier.

Four years ago, the GOP primary for governor attracted 364,000 voters, the Senate race 343,000. The question for 2008 is whether roughly 350,000 is the "normal" turnout for a GOP primary, or whether Republicans will break the 400,000-vote barrier again.

### State primaries – Democratic turnout

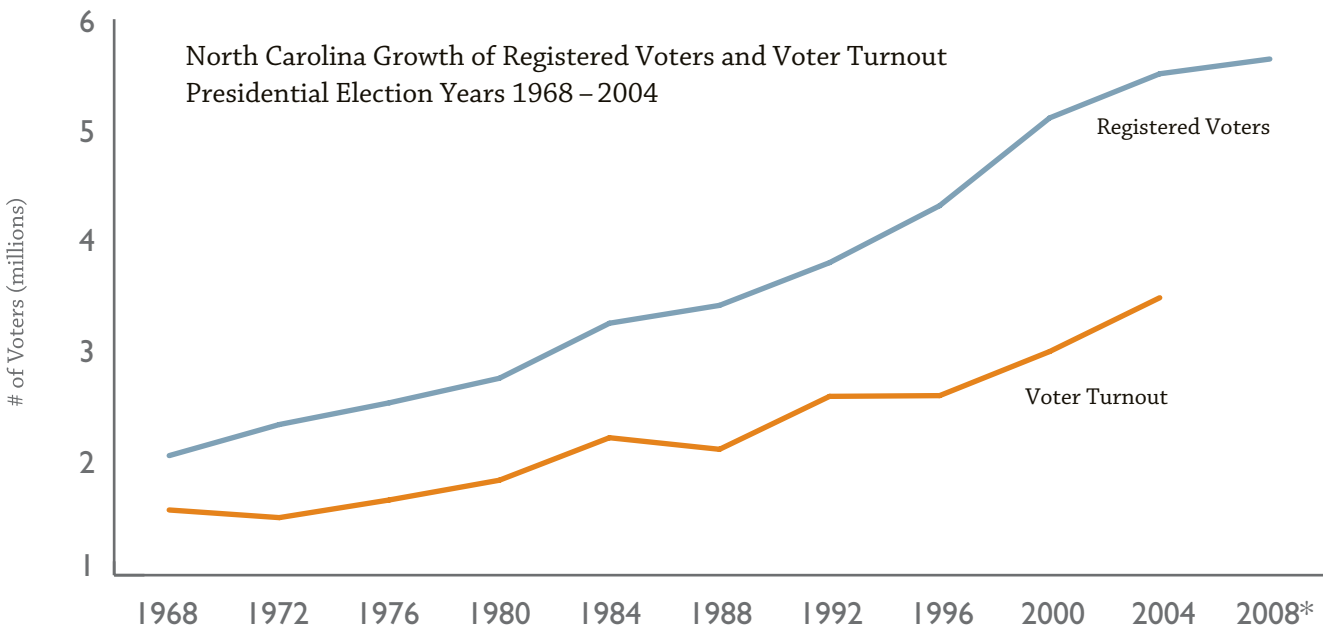
Turnout for a statewide Democratic primary peaked in 1984, as former Gov. Jim Hunt prepared to challenge Helms, the incumbent Republican. Hunt got 77 percent of the 846,000 votes cast.

In today's politics, the Democratic norm appears to be in the 500,000–600,000 range for a competitive primary for Governor or for Senator. Gov. Mike Easley defeated then-Lt. Gov. Dennis Wicker in the 2000 primary that drew 562,000 votes. Turnout dropped to 450,000 in 2004 when Easley sought renomination without serious opposition and Erskine Bowles ran unopposed for the Democratic Senate nomination.

### Geography of turnout

In their quest for concentrations of primary-election voters, Democratic and Republican candidates would have to look at a somewhat different collection of counties. Generally speaking, the Democratic electorate has a tilt toward the East, the Republican electorate has a tilt toward the West.

Of course, the counties with the largest cities rank at the top for both Democratic and Republican primaries. Wake, Mecklenburg, Forsyth, Guilford and New Hanover show up in the top-10 turnout counties for both parties. Not surprisingly, Wake and Mecklenburg top the list for both parties. Mecklenburg has 555,000 registered voters, Wake 528,000, as of early March.



\* As of February 1, 2008 / Source: N.C. Board of Elections

In recent primaries, however, Wake produces more voters at the polls than Mecklenburg — in both Democratic and Republican primaries. In 2004, 37,500 Wake voters took part in the GOP gubernatorial primary, far exceeding the 25,000 in Mecklenburg County. This was so even though a former Charlotte mayor, Richard Vinroot, was on the ballot. In the 2002 GOP Senate primary, Wake had more than 36,000 voters to 27,500 in Mecklenburg.

On the Democratic side, a similar pattern holds. Wake had 43,600 voters in the 2000 Democratic gubernatorial primary, with Guilford ranking second at 34,300 and Mecklenburg third at 24,600. In the 2002 Senate primary, with Erskine Bowles of Mecklenburg County and Dan Blue of Wake County on the ballot, Wake ranked first with 51,000 votes, Mecklenburg second at 33,600.

The top 10 counties in the 2002 Democratic primary included Durham, Cumberland, Robeson, Orange and Pitt. The top 10 counties in the 2002 Republican primary included Henderson, Randolph, Davidson, Catawba and Rowan. In the 2004 GOP gubernatorial primary, Union, Moore and Iredell were in the top 10, with Iredell, Randolph and Davidson dropping into the second 10.

The top 10 counties in 2004 accounted for 45 percent of the votes in the Republican primary for governor, followed by 10 counties with turnouts in the 7,500 to 5,200 range. The top 10 counties in 2002 accounted for 44 percent of the Democratic turnout, with the next 10 counties ranging from 11,000 to 7,500. In the Democratic primary, Buncombe at number 11 was practically tied in turnout with New Hanover at number 10.

## Runoffs Run Down

Runoffs to determine a party's nominee in a statewide election have become the exception rather than the rule. The General Assembly made it easier for a frontrunner to win a party nomination when it voted at the end of the 1980s to reduce the threshold for victory from 50 percent to 40 percent of the votes cast.

There were runoffs for the gubernatorial nominations of both parties in 1972 — but the GOP has had no runoff in a governor's race since then. Nor has there been a Republican runoff in a U.S. Senate race since 1968. In 2004, GOP nominee Patrick Ballentine placed first with 30.4 percent of the votes, but he avoided a runoff when Richard Vinroot, who came in second, declined to call for a second primary.

In Senate elections, Democrats have had three hotly contested runoffs since 1970 — in 1972, 1978 and 1990, the latter involving former Charlotte Mayor Harvey Gantt and Mike Easley, now the governor. There has been no Democratic runoff since 1990 in a Senate race.

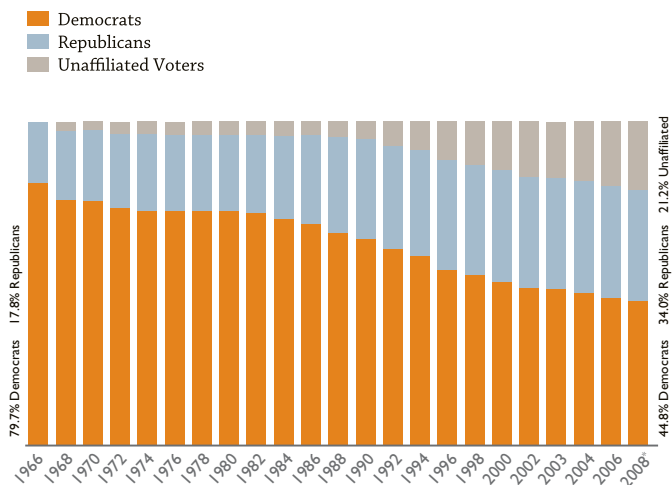
The most recent runoff in a Democratic gubernatorial contest came in 1984, when then-Atty. Gen. Rufus Edmisten edged ahead of Edward Knox, another former Charlotte mayor. Gov. Jim Hunt won four governor's races without ever facing a Democrat in a runoff, and Easley won his two terms in the governor's office without a party runoff.

## General Elections – Turnout Swells

Substantial numbers of voters who bypass primary elections show up to vote in the November general elections. This is especially true in presidential-election years, which have higher turnouts than so-call off-year elections.

In 2004, fully 3.5 million North Carolinians showed up at the polls and cast ballots in the presidential election — far more than the 444,000 who voted in the Democratic gubernatorial primary or 364,000 who voted in the GOP gubernatorial primary.

## North Carolina Voters' Party Registration 1966 – 2008



Sources: NC Center for Public Policy Research, "The Two-Party System in NC," (December 1987); NC Free (September 1998), Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, DC: National Journal, 2002); and NC State Board of Elections web site.

As the state's population has surged over the past two decades, so have voter turnouts: from 2.5 million in 1996, to 2.9 million in 2000, to 3.5 million in 2004.

## A Word About Sources

For the results from primary elections held in 1998 and later, we used data from the N.C. Board of Elections web site. For data prior to 1998, we relied on the internal files of Professor Thad Beyle, which were originally compiled using data from the Board and the North Carolina Manual.

In addition, we have only listed candidates who received at least one percent of the votes cast. For a complete list of results, please see our web site, [www.southnow.org](http://www.southnow.org).

## End Note:

The data gathering and presentation for this DataNet were the work of Jonathan Kite and Andrew Holton. Jonathan will graduate in May from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill with a major in communications. He served as president of Chi Phi fraternity, ran for student body president and plans to work for Microsoft Corp. upon graduation. Andrew is the assistant director for research of the UNC Program on Public Life. He has a J.D. from the Wisconsin School of Law and an undergraduate degree from UNC-Chapel Hill.

As always, NC DataNet draws from the deep well of data and insight provided by Thad Beyle, the veteran professor of political science in Chapel Hill.

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## DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES FOR GOVERNOR

CANDIDATES	% VOTE	VOTES
1960 NC Governor		
<b>Terry Sanford</b>	41.26%	269,463
<b>I. Beverley Lake, Sr.</b>	27.82%	181,692
<b>Malcolm Seawell</b>	15.49%	101,148
<b>John Larkins</b>	15.43%	100,757
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>656,060</b>

Second Primary		
<b>Terry Sanford</b>	56.07%	352,133
<b>I. Beverley Lake, Sr.</b>	43.93%	275,905
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>628,038</b>

1964 NC Governor		
<b>L. Richardson Preyer</b>	36.59%	281,430
<b>Dan K. Moore</b>	33.53%	257,872
<b>I. Beverley Lake, Sr.</b>	28.23%	217,172
<b>Kidd Brewer</b>	1.04%	8,026
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>769,090</b>

Second Primary		
<b>Dan K. Moore</b>	62.05%	480,431
<b>L. Richardson Preyer</b>	37.95%	293,863
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>774,294</b>

1968 NC Governor		
<b>Robert W. Scott</b>	48.12%	337,368
<b>J. Melville Broughton, Jr.</b>	33.37%	233,924
<b>Reginald Hawkins</b>	18.51%	129,808
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>701,100</b>

1972 NC Governor		
<b>Hargrove Bowles</b>	45.49%	367,433
<b>H. Pat Taylor</b>	37.75%	304,910
<b>Reginald Hawkins</b>	8.12%	65,590
<b>Wilbur Hobby</b>	7.3%	58,990
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>807,745</b>

Second Primary		
<b>Hargrove Bowles</b>	54.34%	336,034
<b>H. Pat Taylor</b>	45.66%	282,345
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>618,379</b>

1976 NC Governor		
<b>Jim Hunt</b>	53.41%	362,102
<b>Edward O'Herron</b>	23.28%	157,815
<b>George Wood</b>	17.95%	121,673
<b>Thomas Strickland</b>	4.62%	31,338
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>677,931</b>

1980 NC Governor		
<b>Jim Hunt</b>	69.64%	524,844
<b>Robert Scott</b>	28.83%	217,289
<b>Harry Walsh</b>	1.53%	11,551
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>753,684</b>

CANDIDATES	% VOTE	VOTES
1984 NC Governor		
<b>Rufus Edmisten</b>	36.76%	295,051
<b>H. Edward Knox</b>	31.06%	249,286
<b>Thomas Gilmore</b>	10.25%	82,299
<b>James Green</b>	10.06%	80,775
<b>John Ingram</b>	9.38%	75,248
<b>Robert Hannon</b>	1.18%	9,476
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>802,589</b>

Second Primary		
<b>Rufus Edmisten</b>	51.92%	352,351
<b>H. Edward Knox</b>	48.08%	326,278
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>678,629</b>

1988 NC Governor		
<b>Robert Jordan</b>	79.66%	403,145
<b>Billy Martin</b>	12.01%	60,770
<b>Carroll Crawford</b>	4.32%	21,844
<b>James Lloyd</b>	2.06%	10,438
<b>Bruce Friedman</b>	1.95%	9,876
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>506,073</b>

1992 NC Governor		
<b>Jim Hunt</b>	65.46%	459,300
<b>Lacy Thornburg</b>	26.91%	188,806
<b>Marcus William</b>	3.66%	25,660
<b>Jim Hatcher</b>	2.68%	18,807
<b>M. Wendall Briggs</b>	1.29%	9,033
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>701,606</b>

1996 NC Governor		
<b>Jim Hunt</b>	Unopposed	Unopposed

2000 NC Governor		
<b>Mike Easley</b>	58.86%	330,764
<b>Dennis A. Wicker</b>	36.25%	203,723
<b>Bob Ayers</b>	1.64%	9,224
<b>Ken Rogers</b>	1.42%	7,998
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>561,940</b>

2004 NC Governor		
<b>Mike Easley</b>	85.37%	379,498
<b>Ricky Kipfer</b>	14.63%	65,061
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>444,559</b>

Note: Charts show candidates who received at least 1% of the vote in an election, though the vote totals reflect all votes cast. For a complete list of candidates receiving votes, visit our website: [www.southnow.org](http://www.southnow.org).



## REPUBLICAN PRIMARIES FOR GOVERNOR

CANDIDATES	% VOTE	VOTES
1960 NC Governor		

**Robert Gavin** Unopposed Unopposed

1964 NC Governor		
<b>Robert Gavin</b>	83.3%	53,145
<b>Charles Strong</b>	13.6%	8,652
<b>Don Badgley</b>	3.16%	2,018
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>63,815</b>

1968 NC Governor		
<b>James Gardner</b>	72.78%	113,584
<b>John Sticklely</b>	27.22%	42,483
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>156,067</b>

1972 NC Governor		
<b>James Gardner</b>	49.77%	84,907
<b>James Holshouser</b>	49.03%	83,637
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>170,584</b>

Second Primary		
<b>James Holshouser</b>	50.65%	69,916
<b>James Gardner</b>	49.35%	68,134
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>138,050</b>

CANDIDATES	% VOTE	VOTES
1976 NC Governor		

**David Flaherty** 49.89% 57,663

**Coy Privette** 32.51% 37,573

**J.F. Alexander** 13.97% 16,149

**Wallace McCall** 3.86% 4,467

**Total number of votes** **115,582**

1980 NC Governor		
<b>I. Beverly Lake, Jr.</b>	80.79%	119,255
<b>C.J. Carstens</b>	19.21%	28,354
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>147,609</b>

1984 NC Governor		
<b>James Martin</b>	91.71%	128,714
<b>Ruby Hooper</b>	8.29%	11,640
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>140,354</b>

1988 NC Governor		
<b>James Martin</b>	Unopposed	Unopposed

1992 NC Governor		
<b>James Gardner</b>	81.96%	215,528
<b>Ruby Hooper</b>	9.96%	26,179
<b>Gary Dunn</b>	8.08%	21,256
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>262,963</b>

CANDIDATES	% VOTE	VOTES
1996 NC Governor		

**Robin Hayes** 50.2% 140,351

**Richard Vinroot** 45.75% 127,916

**Ken Rogers** 2.18% 6,101

**Art Manning** 1.87% 5,242

**Total number of votes** **279,610**

2000 NC Governor		
<b>Richard Vinroot</b>	45.48%	142,820
<b>Leo Daughtry</b>	36.97%	116,115
<b>Charles Neely</b>	15.32%	48,101
<b>Art Manning</b>	2.23%	7,019
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>314,055</b>

2004 NC Governor		
<b>Patrick Ballantine</b>	30.38%	110,726
<b>Richard Vinroot</b>	29.97%	109,217
<b>Bill Cobey</b>	26.74%	97,461
<b>Dan Barrett</b>	5.24%	19,097
<b>Fern Shubert</b>	3.96%	14,445
<b>George Little</b>	3.7%	13,474
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>364,420</b>

## GENERAL ELECTIONS FOR GOVERNOR

	% VOTE	VOTES
1960 NC Governor		
<b>Terry Sanford -D</b>	54.49%	735,248
<b>Robert Gavin -R</b>	45.51%	613,975
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,349,223</b>

1964 NC Governor		
<b>Dan Moore -D</b>	45.47%	790,343
<b>Robert Gavin -R</b>	43.41%	606,165
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,396,508</b>

1968 NC Governor		
<b>Robert Scott -D</b>	52.7%	821,233
<b>James Gardner -R</b>	47.3%	737,075
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,558,308</b>

1972 NC Governor		
<b>James Holshouser -R</b>	51%	767,470
<b>Hargrove Bowles -D</b>	48.45%	729,104
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,504,785</b>

1976 NC Governor		
<b>Jim Hunt -D</b>	64.99%	1,081,293
<b>David Flaherty -R</b>	33.91%	564,102
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,663,763</b>

	% VOTE	VOTES
1980 NC Governor		
<b>Jim Hunt -D</b>	61.88%	1,143,145
<b>I. Beverly Lake, Jr. -R</b>	37.43%	691,449
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,847,422</b>

1984 NC Governor		
<b>James Martin -R</b>	54.26%	1,208,207
<b>Rufus Edmiston -D</b>	45.41%	1,011,209
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,226,767</b>

1988 NC Governor		
<b>James Martin -R</b>	56.1%	1,222,338
<b>Robert Jordan -D</b>	43.9%	957,687
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,180,025</b>

1992 NC Governor		
<b>Jim Hunt -D</b>	52.72%	1,368,246
<b>James Gardner -R</b>	43.23%	1,121,955
<b>Scott McLaughlin -Lib</b>	4.05%	104,983
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,595,184</b>

	% VOTE	VOTES
1996 NC Governor		
<b>Jim Hunt -D</b>	55.98%	1,436,638
<b>Robin Hayes -R</b>	42.75%	1,097,053
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,566,185</b>

2000 NC Governor		
<b>Mike Easley -D</b>	52.02%	1,530,324
<b>Richard Vinroot -R</b>	46.26%	1,360,960
<b>Barbara Howe -Lib</b>	1.45%	42,674
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,942,062</b>

2004 NC Governor		
<b>Mike Easley -D</b>	55.62%	1,939,154
<b>Patrick Ballantine -R</b>	42.88%	1,495,021
<b>Barbara Howe -Lib</b>	1.51%	52,513
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>3,486,688</b>

## A Timeline: From Insider Politics to Party Primaries

**1832** First national convention held by a major political party takes place when the Democrats nominate Andrew Jackson for President.

**1832–1968** Presidential nominations decided largely by members of Congress, state party leaders and elites. Few primaries are held, usually utilized as a means of gauging party interest in candidates. Delegates to national conventions chosen in caucuses and conventions in the states. A growing concern with the democratic nature of this process becomes a pressing issue for Democrats and Republicans entering into the 1960's.

**1936** Democrats abolish their rule requiring a two-thirds majority of delegates to win the presidential nomination. Rule is abolished after seven multi-ballot conventions between 1832 and 1932.

**1968** President Lyndon Johnson steps aside after anti-Vietnam war candidate Eugene McCarthy placed a strong second in the New Hampshire primary. In June, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy is assassinated.

Vice President Hubert Humphrey wins the Democratic nomination without winning any primaries. He wins a majority of delegates chosen in caucuses in the tumultuous 1968 Democratic convention.

In use since the earliest Democratic conventions, the unit rule was abolished by the 1968 convention. The unit rule enabled the majority of a delegation, if authorized by its state party, to cast the entire vote of the delegation for one candidate or position.

The appointment of the McGovern-Fraser Commission of the Democratic Party results from the convention, with the purpose of ensuring delegates reflect popular opinion of candidates. The commission requires states to publicize delegate selection rules and adopt goals—often criticized as quotas—for the presence of women, minorities, and young Democrats in delegations. The commission also recommended abolishing winner-take-all primaries.

New Democratic Party rules brought about by the McGovern-Fraser Commission led many states to shift from caucuses to primaries in the selection of convention delegates. The Republican nominating process changes due to Democratic control over state legislatures that adopted primaries.

**1971** Federal Election Campaign Act completely restructured the ways that candidates could raise and spend money while running for president.

**1972** North Carolina holds its first presidential primaries on May 6. Prior to 1972, national convention delegates were chosen at party nominating conventions.

Terry Sanford is defeated in the North Carolina Presidential primary, his home state, by George Wallace by 13 points. George McGovern, who co-chaired the Democratic reform commission, wins the presidential nomination. By the time of the North Carolina primary, Republican President Richard Nixon had wrapped up renomination for a second term.

**1974** Federal election law sets campaign finance limit to \$1,000 by individual contributors and \$5,000 by PACS.

**1976** Ronald Reagan defeats incumbent President Gerald Ford in the North Carolina primary, breathing new life into his presidential ambitions after several decisive defeats early in the primary season. Ford eventually wins the GOP nomination, while Reagan goes on to win in 1980.

Jimmy Carter defeats George Wallace in the North Carolina Democratic primary and then wins the general election in North Carolina by 11 points, marking the Democrats only presidential victory in the state from 1964 to 2004.

**1980** The number of Democratic senators at the Democratic National Convention had declined to 14 percent, down from 68 percent in 1960. Elected

officials complained that they were forced to run against their own constituents for seats at the convention. This situation paves the way for new revisions to nominating rules in the 1980s.

In 1982, the Democratic Party sets up a new reform commission, chaired by North Carolina Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. Among other changes to nominating procedures, the Hunt Commission proposes the creation of what are now known as “superdelegates” — national convention delegates by reason of their holding elective or party offices. The Hunt Commission also sets forth a rule that “delegates elected to the national convention pledged to a presidential candidate shall in all good conscience reflect the sentiments of those who elected them”

**1984** A “Super Tuesday” is introduced into the Democratic nomination process. Several states, mostly Southern, hold their presidential primaries on the same day as a tactic to shorten the nomination process and to increase the chances of moderate Democratic contenders. Still, former Vice President Walter Mondale, a Minnesota liberal, wins the nomination.

**1987** North Carolina General Assembly passes into law a provision allowing for persons registered as unaffiliated voters to participate in presidential primaries. Independent voters can choose to vote in either Democratic or Republican primaries, but not both at the same time.

**1988** Al Gore wins the North Carolina Democratic primary with the backing of U.S. Sen. Terry Sanford.

Convention negotiations between Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis and challenger Jesse Jackson leads to another reworking of Democratic Party rules, creating an elaborate framework for selecting delegates based on proportion of votes in states and congressional districts.

**1989** The North Carolina General Assembly passes into law a provision that allows a candidate who wins 40 percent of the vote in a primary to claim his party's nomination. Previously, candidates had to win 50 percent of the vote to avoid a runoff. This change, brought about largely by black Democrats who argued that runoffs unfairly denied nominations to their candidates, goes into effect in 1990.

**2004** A court case involving state legislative redistricting forces North Carolina to conduct its state party primaries after the date of The Democratic National Convention. Thus, North Carolina uses a caucus system, rather than a primary, to select delegates. By the time North Carolina selects delegates, Republican George H.W. Bush and Democrat John Kerry had nailed down their parties' nominations.

Democratic National Convention calls for the creation of the Commission on Presidential Nomination Timing and Scheduling with the charge to bring a stronger measure of order to the primary season. U.S. Rep. David Price of North Carolina serves as co-chair of the commission.

**2005** The Democratic commission allows Iowa and New Hampshire to retain their first-in-nation status, while allowing a few additional states to hold early primaries. The commission defines a “window” within which states can hold primaries. Still, many states rush to the front of the calendar and create a huge “Super Tuesday” in 2008. The rules outlined by this commission set the stage for the dispute involving Michigan and Florida in 2008.

**2008** North Carolina presidential primaries, as well as state primaries, return to the customary date of the Tuesday following the first Monday in May.



## DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES FOR U.S. SENATOR

CANDIDATES	% VOTE	VOTES
1960 Senate		
<b>B. Everett Jordan</b>	54.25%	324,188
<b>Addison Hewlett</b>	36.47%	217,899
<b>Robert Gregory</b>	5.27%	31,463
<b>Robert McIntosh</b>	4.01%	23,988
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>597,538</b>

1962 Senate		
<b>Sam Ervin, Jr.</b>	Unopposed	Unopposed

1966 Senate		
<b>B. Everett Jordan</b>	79.26%	445,454
<b>Hubert Seymour</b>	20.74%	116,548
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>562,002</b>

1968 Senate		
<b>Sam Ervin, Jr.</b>	82.12%	499,392
<b>Charles Pratt</b>	9.93%	60,362
<b>John Gathings</b>	7.95%	48,357
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>608,111</b>

1972 Senate		
<b>Nick Galifianakis</b>	49.25%	377,993
<b>B. Everett Jordan</b>	44.35%	340,391
<b>J.R. Brown</b>	3.52%	27,009
<b>Eugene Grace</b>	2.89%	22,156
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>767,549</b>

Second Primary		
<b>Nick Galifianakis</b>	55.82%	338,558
<b>B. Everett Jordan</b>	44.18%	267,997
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>606,555</b>

1974 Senate		
<b>Robert Morgan</b>	50.40%	294,986
<b>Nick Galifianakis</b>	32.43%	189,815
<b>Henry Wilson</b>	11.49%	67,247
<b>James Johnson</b>	1.05%	6,138
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>585,326</b>

1978 Senate		
<b>Luther Hodges</b>	40.08%	260,868
<b>John Ingram</b>	26.23%	170,715
<b>Lawrence Davis</b>	16.19%	105,381
<b>McNeil Smith</b>	12.71%	82,703
<b>Dave McKnight</b>	1.45%	9,422
<b>William Griffin</b>	1.37%	8,907
<b>Tom Sawyer</b>	1.3%	8,482
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>650,942</b>

CANDIDATES	% VOTE	VOTES
Second Primary		
<b>John Ingram</b>	54.24%	244,469
<b>Luther Hodges</b>	45.76%	206,223
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>450,692</b>

1980 Senate		
<b>Robert Morgan</b>	Unopposed	Unopposed

1984 Senate		
<b>Jim Hunt</b>	77.48%	655,429
<b>Thomas Allred</b>	14.99%	126,841
<b>Harrill Jones</b>	7.53%	63,676
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>845,946</b>

1986 Senate		
<b>Terry Sanford</b>	60.25%	409,394
<b>John Ingram</b>	16.42%	111,557
<b>Fountain Odom</b>	7.31%	49,689
<b>William Belk</b>	4.98%	33,821
<b>Theodore Kinney</b>	4.01%	27,228
<b>Betty Wallace</b>	2.5%	17,001
<b>Katherin Harper</b>	1.91%	12,998
<b>Walt Atkins</b>	1.22%	8,306
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>679,487</b>

1990 Senate		
<b>Harvey Gantt</b>	37.52%	260,179
<b>Mike Easley</b>	30.27%	209,934
<b>John Ingram</b>	17.45%	120,990
<b>R.P. Thomas</b>	11.95%	82,883
<b>Lloyd Gardner</b>	1.66%	11,528
<b>Robert Hannan</b>	1.15%	7,982
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>693,496</b>

Second Primary		
<b>Harvey Gantt</b>	56.89%	273,567
<b>Mike Easley</b>	43.11%	207,283
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>480,850</b>

1992 Senate		
<b>Terry Sanford</b>	Unopposed	Unopposed

1996 Senate		
<b>Harvey B. Gantt</b>	52.4%	308,337
<b>Charles Sanders</b>	41.68%	245,297
<b>Ralph McKinney</b>	5.92%	34,829
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>588,463</b>

CANDIDATES	% VOTE	VOTES
1998 Senate		
<b>John Edwards</b>	51.38%	277,468
<b>D.G. Martin</b>	27.6%	149,049
<b>Ella Scarborough</b>	10.27%	55,486
<b>Bob Ayers</b>	4.16%	22,477
<b>Mike Robinson</b>	3.74%	20,178
<b>James Carmack</b>	1.52%	8,200
<b>Gene Gay</b>	1.33%	7,173
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>540,031</b>

2002 Senate		
<b>Erskine Bowles</b>	43.4%	277,329
<b>Dan Blue</b>	28.83%	184,216
<b>Elaine Marshall</b>	15.24%	97,392
<b>Cynthia Brown</b>	4.35%	27,799
<b>Albert Lee Wiley</b>	1.99%	12,725
<b>Bob Ayers</b>	1.93%	12,326
<b>David Tidwell</b>	1.64%	10,510
<b>Duke Underwood</b>	1.56%	9,940
<b>Randy Crow</b>	1.06%	6,788
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>639,025</b>

2004 Senate		
<b>Erskine Bowles</b>	Unopposed	Unopposed

Note: Charts show candidates who received at least 1% of the vote in an election, though the vote totals reflect all votes cast. For a complete list of candidates receiving votes, visit our website: [www.southnow.org](http://www.southnow.org).





## GENERAL ELECTIONS FOR U.S. SENATOR

	% VOTE	VOTES
1960 Senate		
<b>B. Everett Jordan -D</b>	61.44%	793,521
<b>Kyle Hayes -R</b>	38.56%	497,964
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,291,485</b>

1962 Senate		
<b>Sam Ervin, Jr. -D</b>	60.45%	491,520
<b>Claude Green -R</b>	39.55%	321,635
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>813,155</b>

1966 Senate		
<b>B. Everett Jordan -D</b>	55.59%	501,440
<b>John Shallcross -R</b>	44.4%	400,502
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>901,978</b>

1968 Senate		
<b>Sam Ervin, Jr. -D</b>	60.56%	870,406
<b>Robert Somers -R</b>	39.44%	566,834
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,437,240</b>

1972 Senate		
<b>Jesse Helms -R</b>	54.01%	795,247
<b>Nick Galifianakis -D</b>	45.99%	677,293
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,472,540</b>

1974 Senate		
<b>Robert Morgan -D</b>	61.56%	633,647
<b>William Stevens -R</b>	37.57%	386,720
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,029,341</b>

1978 Senate		
<b>Jesse Helms -R</b>	54.51%	619,151
<b>John Ingram -D</b>	45.49%	516,663
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,135,814</b>

1980 Senate		
<b>John East -R</b>	49.96%	898,064
<b>Robert Morgan -D</b>	49.38%	887,653
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,797,665</b>

1984 Senate		
<b>Jesse Helms -R</b>	51.66%	1,156,768
<b>Jim Hunt -D</b>	47.81%	1,070,488
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,239,051</b>

1986 Senate		
<b>Terry Sanford -D</b>	51.76%	823,662
<b>Jim Broyhill -R</b>	48.24%	767,668
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,591,330</b>

1990 Senate		
<b>Jesse Helms -R</b>	52.58%	1,089,012
<b>Harvey Gantt -D</b>	47.39%	981,573
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,071,266</b>

	% VOTE	VOTES
1992 Senate		
<b>Lauch Faircloth -R</b>	50.35%	1,297,892
<b>Terry Sanford -D</b>	46.32%	1,194,015
<b>Bobby Emory -Lib</b>	3.33%	85,948
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,577,891</b>

1996 Senate		
<b>Jesse Helms -R</b>	55.89%	1,436,638
<b>Harvey Gantt -D</b>	42.68%	1,097,053
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,570,439</b>

1998 Senate		
<b>John Edwards -D</b>	51.15%	1,029,237
<b>Lauch Faircloth -R</b>	47.01%	945,943
<b>Barbara Howe -Lib</b>	1.84%	36,963
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,012,143</b>

2002 Senate		
<b>Elizabeth Dole -R</b>	53.56%	1,248,264
<b>Erskine Bowles -D</b>	44.96%	1,047,983
<b>Sean Haugh -Lib</b>	1.45%	33,807
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,330,781</b>

2004 Senate		
<b>Richard Burr -R</b>	51.6%	1,791,450
<b>Erskine Bowles -D</b>	47.02%	1,632,527
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>3,472,082</b>

Top 10 Counties by Aggregate Number of Primary Voters in 2000, 2002 & 2004 Primary Elections<sup>1</sup>

## Democratic Voters

WAKE	130,117
GUILFORD	83,463
MECKLENBURG	82,590
DURHAM	70,767
CUMBERLAND	58,362
FORSYTH	53,472
ROBESON	44,274
ORANGE	40,345
BUNCOMBE	37,610
PITT	34,741

## Republican Voters

WAKE	102,324
MECKLENBURG	78,945
GUILFORD	65,566
FORSYTH	58,895
CATAWBA	32,322
NEW HANOVER	30,828
HENDERSON	29,278
DAVIDSON	25,945
RANDOLPH	25,844
MOORE	23,824

Democratic voters include the total of persons voting in the Democratic primary for Governor in 2000, for U.S. Senate in 2002, and for Governor in 2004. Republican voters include the total of persons voting in the Democratic primary for Governor in 2000, for U.S. Senate in 2002, and for Governor in 2004.

Note: Charts show candidates who received at least 1% of the vote in an election, though the vote totals reflect all votes cast. For a complete list of candidates receiving votes, visit our website: [www.southnow.org](http://www.southnow.org).



## NORTH CAROLINA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES FOR PRESIDENT

CANDIDATES	% VOTE	VOTES	CANDIDATES	% VOTE	VOTES	CANDIDATES	% VOTE	VOTES
<b>1972 President</b>			<b>1984 President</b>			<b>1992 President</b>		
<b>Gerald Wallace</b>	50.34%	413,518	<b>Walter Mondale</b>	35.63%	342,324	<b>Bill Clinton</b>	64.1%	443,489
<b>Terry Sanford</b>	37.25%	306,014	<b>Gary Hart</b>	30.17%	289,877	<b>No Preference</b>	15.42%	106,697
<b>Shirley Chisholm</b>	7.51%	61,723	<b>Jesse Jackson</b>	25.39%	243,945	<b>Jerry Brown</b>	10.4%	71,984
<b>Edmund Muskie</b>	3.74%	30,739	<b>No Preference</b>	4.6%	44,232	<b>Paul Tsongas</b>	8.32%	57,589
<b>Henry Jackson</b>	1.15%	9,416	<b>John Glenn</b>	1.84%	17,659	<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>691,866</b>
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>821,410</b>	<b>George McGovern</b>	1.06%	10,149	<b>1996 President</b>		
<b>1976 President</b>			<b>Total number of votes</b>			<b>1996 President</b>		
<b>Jimmy Carter</b>	53.64%	324,437				<b>Bill Clinton</b>	80.65%	461,434
<b>George Wallace</b>	34.75%	210,166	<b>1988 President</b>			<b>No Preference</b>	12.2%	69,790
<b>Henry Jackson</b>	4.26%	25,749	<b>Al Gore</b>	34.66%	235,669	<b>Lyndon LaRouche</b>	7.15%	40,936
<b>No Preference</b>	3.78%	22,850	<b>Jesse Jackson</b>	32.97%	224,177	<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>572,160</b>
<b>Morris Udall</b>	2.32%	14,032	<b>Michael Dukakis</b>	20.29%	137,993	<b>2000 President</b>		
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>604,832</b>	<b>Dick Gephardt</b>	5.52%	37,553	<b>Al Gore</b>	70.41%	383,696
<b>1980 President</b>			<b>Gary Hart</b>	2.4%	16,381	<b>Bill Bradley</b>	18.31%	99,796
<b>Jimmy Carter</b>	70.09%	516,778	<b>No Preference</b>	2.4%	16,337	<b>No Preference</b>	9.16%	49,905
<b>Ted Kennedy</b>	17.73%	130,684	<b>Paul Simon</b>	1.18%	8,032	<b>Lyndon LaRouche</b>	2.11%	11,525
<b>No Preference</b>	9.28%	68,380	<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>679,958</b>	<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>544,922</b>
<b>Edmund Brown</b>	2.91%	21,420				<b>2004* President</b>		
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>737,262</b>				<b>John Edwards</b>	51.14%	9,093
						<b>John Kerry</b>	27.25%	4,844
						<b>Dennis Kucinich</b>	12.06%	2,145
						<b>Howard Dean</b>	5.68%	1,009
						<b>Al Sharpton</b>	3.27%	582
						<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>17,779</b>

\* Due to a pending redistricting case, North Carolina did not hold a Presidential primary in 2004. Primary elections for state offices were held on July 20, 2004. On April 19, 2004, the Democratic Party held caucuses to determine the Presidential nominee.

## NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ELECTIONS OF PRESIDENT

	% VOTE	VOTES		% VOTE	VOTES
<b>1960</b>			<b>1972</b>		
<b>John Kennedy -D</b>	52.11%	713,136	<b>Richard Nixon -R</b>	69.46%	1,054,889
<b>Richard Nixon -R</b>	47.89%	655,420	<b>George McGovern -D</b>	28.89%	438,705
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,368,556</b>	<b>John Schmitz -I</b>	1.65%	25,018
<b>1964</b>			<b>Total number of votes</b>		
<b>Lyndon Johnson -D</b>	56.15%	800,139			<b>1,518,612</b>
<b>Barry Goldwater -R</b>	43.85%	624,844	<b>1976</b>		
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,424,983</b>	<b>Jimmy Carter -D</b>	55.27%	927,365
<b>1968</b>			<b>Gerald Ford -R</b>	44.22%	741,960
<b>Richard Nixon -R</b>	39.51%	627,192	<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,677,906</b>
<b>George Wallace -Am</b>	31.26%	496,188	<b>1980</b>		
<b>Hubert Humphrey -D</b>	29.24%	464,113	<b>Ronald Reagan -R</b>	49.3%	915,018
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,587,493</b>	<b>Jimmy Carter -D</b>	47.18%	875,635
			<b>John Anderson -I</b>	2.85%	52,800
			<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>1,855,833</b>

Note: Charts show candidates who received at least 1% of the vote in an election, though the vote totals reflect all votes cast. For a complete list of candidates receiving votes, visit our website: [www.southnow.org](http://www.southnow.org).



## NORTH CAROLINA REPUBLICAN PRIMARIES FOR PRESIDENT

CANDIDATES	% VOTE	VOTES
1972 President		
<b>Richard Nixon</b>	94.8%	159,167
<b>Pete McCloskey</b>	5.2%	8,732
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>167,899</b>

1976 President		
<b>Ronald Reagan</b>	52.38%	101,468
<b>Gerald Ford</b>	45.89%	88,897
<b>No Preference</b>	1.74%	3,362
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>193,727</b>

1980 President		
<b>Ronald Reagan</b>	67.61%	113,854
<b>George H. W. Bush</b>	21.75%	36,631
<b>John Anderson</b>	5.07%	8,542
<b>No Preference</b>	2.69%	4,538
<b>Howard Baker</b>	1.51%	2,543
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>168,391</b>

1984 President		
<b>Ronald Reagan</b>	Unopposed	Unopposed

1988 President		
<b>George H.W. Bush</b>	46.11%	124,260
<b>Bob Dole</b>	39.71%	107,032
<b>Pat Robertson</b>	9.97%	26,861
<b>Jack Kemp</b>	4.22%	11,361
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>269,514</b>

	% VOTE	VOTES
1984		
<b>Ronald Reagan -R</b>	61.9%	1,346,481
<b>Walter Mondale -D</b>	37.89%	824,287
<b>David Bergland -Lib</b>	0.17%	3,794
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,175,361</b>

1988		
<b>George H. W. Bush -R</b>	57.97%	1,237,258
<b>Michael Dukakis -D</b>	41.71%	890,167
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,134,370</b>

1992		
<b>George H. W. Bush -R</b>	43.44%	1,134,661
<b>Bill Clinton -D</b>	42.66%	1,114,042
<b>Ross Perot -I</b>	13.7%	357,864
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,611,738</b>

CANDIDATES	% VOTE	VOTES
1992 President		
<b>George H.W. Bush</b>	70.67%	200,387
<b>Pat Buchanan</b>	19.54%	55,420
<b>No Preference</b>	9.79%	27,764
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>283,571</b>

1996 President		
<b>Bob Dole</b>	71.38%	202,863
<b>Pat Buchanan</b>	13.06%	37,127
<b>Alan Keyes</b>	4.14%	11,759
<b>Steve Forbes</b>	4.08%	11,588
<b>No Preference</b>	3.84%	10,918
<b>Lamar Alexander</b>	2.6%	7,400
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>284,212</b>

2000 President		
<b>George W. Bush</b>	78.6%	253,485
<b>John McCain</b>	10.86%	35,018
<b>Alan Keyes</b>	7.85%	25,320
<b>Gary Bauer</b>	1.03%	3,311
<b>No Preference</b>	1.67%	5,383
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>322,517</b>

2004 President		
<b>George W. Bush</b>	Unopposed	Unopposed

	% VOTE	VOTES
1996		
<b>Bob Dole -R</b>	48.73%	1,225,938
<b>Bill Clinton -D</b>	44.04%	1,107,849
<b>Ross Perot -Ref</b>	6.68%	168,059
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,515,807</b>

2000		
<b>George W. Bush -R</b>	56.1%	1,631,163
<b>Albert Gore -D</b>	43.2%	1,257,692
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2,911,262</b>

2004		
<b>George W. Bush -R</b>	56%	1,961,166
<b>John Kerry -D</b>	43.6%	1,525,849
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>3,501,007</b>

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North Carolina Voter Registration & Turnout in General Elections 1960–2004  
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