
**The Two-Party System in
North Carolina:
Do We Have One?
And What Does It Mean?**

the
STATE
of 2 parties

A Special Report by the
North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research
and the
University of North Carolina Center for Public Television

December 1987



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The Growth of a Two-Party System in North Carolina

A Special Report by
Vanessa Goodman and Jack Betts

@North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research

December 1987

Prepared for a Joint Presentation of the
North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research
and the
University of North Carolina Center for Public Television

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

North Carolina: State of Two Parties

In the past 20 years, North Carolina politics has undergone a quiet -- and sometimes noisy -- revolution. A state dominated by Democrats since the turn of the century, North Carolina since 1966 has been transformed into a state with a new political balance. Democrats still dominate politics at the state and at the local level, but Republicans regularly are winning the big elections -- and lately, more of the little ones, too. North Carolina has become a two-party state in theory and in fact. The evidence of the shifting of political winds abounds. What is this evidence? And if North Carolina does have a two-party state, what difference does that make in terms of state policy?

The N.C. Center for Public Policy Research has examined both these questions. In answering the first, it has found startling documentation of the rise of the Republican Party. Much of that is well known. The GOP's candidate for President has carried the state in every contest but one since 1968, as well as winning two races for governor and four races for U.S. Senator. In all, the Republican Party has won nine of the 14 major statewide races since 1968 -- a winning percentage of 64 percent.

But the evidence goes deeper. Republicans hold four of the state's 11 congressional seats, have held both Senate seats (from 1980 to 1986) hold about 30 percent of the seats in the General Assembly and have a majority on nearly 30 percent of the county Boards of Commissioners. How could this come about in a state that long was the province of Democrats? The answer lies in voter registration and demographics. Consider:

-- While Democratic registration grew by 37 percent from 1966-86, Republican registration was growing nearly four times as fast -- by 143 percent. When the period began, Democrats had nearly a 4-1 edge in registration; by the last election in 1986, it was about 2.5:1. The number of unaffiliated voters

also grew rapidly in the period. About half the new registrants are Democrats, while the other half are Republicans and unaffiliated. Twenty years ago, 80 percent of new voters were Democrats.

-- The evidence shows that while Republican strength is growing across the board, it is soaring in the state's most populous areas. In Wake County, Democrats grew by 82 percent, but Republicans grew by 707 percent; in Guilford, Democrats grew by nearly 42 percent, Republicans by 149 percent; in Forsyth, Democrats grew by 26 percent, Republicans by 134 percent.

-- On the local level, Republican strength is beginning to grow rapidly, too. In 1974, for instance, only 80 of the state's 477 commissioners were Republican. By 1986, they had grown by 76 percent, to 141. What's more, in 1987, Republicans held a majority on 29 county Boards of Commissioners -- more than double the number it controlled in 1974. And the party is making modest gains in other offices. The GOP now counts 13 of the state's Registers of Deeds, 14 of the Clerks of Court, and 19 of the Sheriffs among its members.

-- And in terms of county voting, what once was a solidly Democratic state has become a solidly Republican state in presidential elections. In the period 1968-1980, only 10 North Carolina counties voted consistently Democratic in presidential elections; 40 counties voted consistently Republican, and the rest had mixed voting records.

What does it all mean? Some skeptics say it makes little difference who's in office, particularly in a state that has a Republican governor without a veto and facing a heavily Democratic legislature. But the record shows there is a difference. Consider what happens during Republican administrations:

-- There's more of an emphasis on "workfare" programs designed to give welfare recipients job skills to reduce the number of citizens on welfare. During Democratic Gov. Jim Hunt's eight-year term, the state had workfare programs in only eight counties. But during the first three years of Gov. Jim

Martin's term, the state has added workfare programs in 20 more counties, with 15 additional county programs to be added in 1987-88.

-- Fewer state-paid abortions are performed. During Hunt's terms, the number of state-paid abortions averaged 5,371 per year; under Martin, the number has dropped to 3,662 state-paid abortions.

-- State parks appear to get more funding. Under Gov. Jim Hunt, state parks spending -- including land acquisition, capital improvements, and field operations -- averaged about \$3.2 million a year. During the administrations of Gov. Jim Holshouser and Gov. Jim Martin, the state has averaged \$10.6 million in spending on parks.

-- And both Republicans and Democrats tinker with the state's road building program in various ways. While Democrat Hunt was in office, for instance, roadwork was speeded up on U.S. 264 from Raleigh to Wilson, Hunt's hometown. While Holshouser was in office, work was advanced on U.S. 321 and U.S. 421 near Boone, Holshouser's hometown. However, the record shows that because of the time-consuming nature of highway building projects, it's not often that a governor can begin and finish a new project during his own term in office. At most, governors are able to move road projects up on the priority list. There appears to be less manipulation of road budgets than in the years prior to 1973, before the state Board of Transportation was created to oversee highway and other transportation programs.

These are just some indications of the policy differences that occur when Democrats or Republicans are in office. But as the state continues its political evolution, there seems to be little doubt that North Carolina has developed a two-party political system.

The Growth of a Two-Party System in North Carolina

by Vanessa Goodman and Jack Betts
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Gov. R. Gregg Cherry, wrote novelist Burke Davis in the latter's reporter days in 1946, was "stunned by the subversive suggestion that North Carolina should have a two-party system." Asked the Governor, "What do you mean? We've got one. Why, there are 300,000 Republicans in North Carolina...."¹

In the ensuing 40 years since Governor Cherry's whimsical utterance, the former chief executive would be stunned indeed at the success of the Republican Party in North Carolina -- and at the transformation of the state from near-total domination by the Democratic Party to a state with a new political balance. Democrats still predominate, but Republicans regularly win the big elections, and lately they've begun winning the little ones, too. North Carolina has become a two-party state in theory and in fact. The evidence of it abounds, and each ensuing election gives further proof of the dramatic realignment of political parties.

Evidence of this trend has shown up in elections in almost every category over the years, from the national level to the localities. Republican presidential candidates have won North Carolina in all but one election since 1968. The Grand Old Party (GOP) has also won two races for governor and four U.S. Senate seats since 1972. In the top 14 statewide races since 1968, Republicans have won nine of them -- a winning rate of 64 percent.

The GOP is making progress in more local elections as well. The last 10 years have shown Republicans occupying four of the state's 11 congressional seats in Washington, both of the U.S. Senate seats (from 1980 to 1986), and about 30 percent of the state House and Senate seats in the General Assembly.

And analyses of recent voting patterns indicate that increasingly, Democrats are willing to split their tickets -- voting for Republicans at the top while sticking with Democrats at the bottom of the ballot -- during general elections. That has no doubt contributed to recent Republican success, especially below the office of President.

Party Registration -- By The Books

Perhaps the clearest evidence of the growing strength of the Republican Party in North Carolina lies in the state's voter registration books. The data on Table 1 reveal several significant items. During the period 1966-1986, registration rose in the Democratic Party from 1,540,499 to 2,114,536, a 37 percent increase, while the Republican Party, on the other hand, grew from 344,700 voters registered to 836,726, an increase of more than 143 percent in 20 years. Tables 1 and 2 also show the Republican Party's registration growth greatest in 1972, 1980, 1984 and 1986, all years when Republicans were elected president, U.S. senator, and governor (except for 1980 when Jim Hunt was Governor of North Carolina and Jimmy Carter was in his last year as president). In this 20-year span of 1966-1986, in other words, Democrats increased their official numbers by more than one-third, a healthy gain. But Republicans far outstripped Democrats by more than doubling their numbers.

When this span began in 1966, Democrats outnumbered Republicans by more than a 4-1 margin. But Republicans began registering in greater numbers -- in 1968, nearly 104,000 new Republicans registered, while only 28,000 new Democrats registered. By 1986, Republicans had gained a lot of ground, even though Democrats still held a large edge -- about a 2.5-1 registration ratio.

The breakdown in registrants shows near-parity for the two parties during this period. From 1966-1986, Democrats gained about 574,000 new voters, while Republicans gained 492,000 new voters. But the number of unaffiliated voters also grew by more than 77,000 voters. Adding these two categories -- Republicans and unaffiliated voters -- shows that more than 569,000 new voters in this 20-year period chose NOT to become Democrats. Put another way, during this period, only 50.2 percent of the state's new voters chose to be Democrats; 43.0 percent registered Republican, and 6.8 percent registered unaffiliated. That is an enormous contrast to 20 years earlier, when 80 percent of those

Table 1. Statewide Voter Registration by Party (1966-1986)

Year	Total registration	Democrats	% of voters	Republicans	% of voters	Unaffiliated	% of voters
1966	1,933,763	1,540,499	79.7	344,700	17.8	* N/A	N/A
1968	**2,077,538	1,568,859	75.5	448,637	21.6	52,234	2.5
1970	**1,945,187	1,464,055	75.3	426,159	21.9	48,524	2.5
1972	**2,357,645	1,729,436	73.4	541,916	22.9	79,129	3.4
1974	2,279,646	1,654,304	72.6	537,568	23.6	87,744	3.8
1976	**2,553,717	1,804,827	72.1	601,897	23.6	106,940	4.2
1978	2,430,306	1,764,126	73.4	567,039	23.3	99,045	4.1
1980	**2,774,844	1,974,889	71.2	677,077	24.4	120,905	4.4
1982	2,674,787	1,924,394	72.0	640,675	24.0	109,293	4.1
1984	**3,270,933	2,289,061	70.0	838,631	25.6	142,436	4.4
1986	3,080,990	2,114,536	68.6	836,726	27.2	129,728	4.2

NEW: 1,143,557 NEW: 574,037 NEW: 492,026 NEW: 77,494

* N/A-Not available

** Total registration does not include American party in 1970 or other minor parties. (percentages rounded to nearest tenth)

Material compiled from State Board of Elections

Other sources consulted: U.S. Census Bureau
 Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives
 Secretary of State's Office
 N.C. Democratic Headquarters
 N.C. Republican Headquarters

1966 was the first year statistics were compiled by the state Board of Elections.

Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman, N.C. Center Intern

NOTE: Table indicates: 1,143,557 new voters in 1986 compared to 1966
 Of those: 574,037, or 50.2 percent, have been Democrats
 492,026, or 43.0 percent, have been Republicans
 77,494, or 6.8 percent, have been Unaffiliated
 Thus: 569,520, or 49.8 percent of the new registrants
 since 1966, have chosen not to register
 Democratic in North Carolina.

Table 2. Increase/Decrease Every Two Years for Democrat and Republican Parties

Year	Democratic Registration	% of Increase/Decrease	Republican Registration	% of Increase/Decrease
1968	1,568,859	18 (From 1966)	448,637	30 (From 1966)
1970	1,464,055	- 6	426,159	- 5
1972	1,729,436	18	541,916	27
1974	1,654,304	- 4	537,568	- 8
1976	1,804,827	9	601,897	12
1978	1,764,126	- 2	567,039	- 6
1980	1,974,889	11	677,077	19
1982	1,924,394	- 3	640,675	- 5
1984	2,289,061	19	838,631	31
1986	2,114,536	- 8	836,726	- 2

Registration statistics from N.C. State Board of Elections.

Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman.

registered were Democrats, fewer than 18 percent were Republicans, and 2.5 percent were unaffiliated.

These massive gains in Republican registration show up across the state. Table 3 indicates that Republicans made headway in urban and rural areas, in the east, the Piedmont, and the west. For instance, in Chowan County, a rural eastern county and a traditional Democratic stronghold, Republican registration went from 4.0 percent in 1966 to 11.6 percent in 1986 -- nearly a three-fold gain. In urban Guilford County, Republican registrants rose from less than 20 percent in 1966 to nearly 30 percent in 1986. And in the west, Cleveland County -- which gave the state two Democratic governors (Clyde Hoey and Max Gardner) plus a powerful U.S. Senator who controlled state politics in the 1920s (Furnifold Simmons) -- saw Democratic registration drop by 10 percent while Republican registration rose by nearly 8 percent.

A cautionary note: While this pattern holds across the state, there are some counties where it reversed during the period. Consider Madison County, home of House Speaker Liston Ramsey and the politically powerful Ponder family. In 1966, mountain Republicanism attracted nearly 41 percent of the registered voters; by 1986, Republican registration had fallen to less than 27 percent, while Democrats had surged from less than 59 percent to more than 70 percent.

The registration evidence also shows that in those counties which experienced rapid population growth, Republican growth was also exceptional. In Table 4, for instance, note that Dare County's population grew by more than 182 percent; and while Democrats there grew by more than 141 percent, Republicans grew by more than 646 percent. Or Carteret County, also on the coast, another traditionally Democratic stronghold, which had population growth of 67.4 percent, and whose Democrats grew by more than 46 percent while its Republicans grew by 183 percent. Or Wake County, which had population growth of nearly 77 percent, Democratic growth of 82 percent, and Republican growth of more than 707

Table 3. Changes in Voter Registration, 1966 - 1986, By County

N.C. Counties	Total Registration (1966)			Total Registration (1986)			
	Democrat (1966)	% of Voters	Republican (1966)	Democrat (1986)	% of Voters	Republican (1986)	
Alamance	43,737	80.4	6,568	35,673	70.8	12,133	24.1
Alexander	10,938	54.7	3,307	7,533	50.0	6,890	44.8
Alleghany	6,982	79.0	1,404	4,816	75.2	1,423	22.2
Anson	8,500	97.1	225	10,194	92.7	720	7.1
Ashe	13,148	55.6	5,453	7,807	53.1	6,363	43.3
Avery	6,059	31.6	4,133	1,870	22.2	6,368	75.7
Beaufort	11,258	94.9	528	16,517	81.7	3,305	16.4
Bertie	9,804	98.1	178	10,515	94.5	500	4.5
Bladen	12,830	98.0	248	15,402	92.4	1,100	6.6
Brunswick	12,886	83.0	2,101	16,668	69.2	6,748	27.8
Buncombe	73,434	78.5	15,463	24,239	16,775	25,478	29.2
Burke	36,904	66.2	10,605	87,156	57,361	11,735	33.8
Cabarrus	34,362	76.5	6,615	34,768	21,250	13,589	31.8
Caldwell	24,424	63.9	8,657	42,671	27,514	12,458	40.6
Camden	2,340	97.4	51	31,904	16,711	162	5.1
Carteret	13,152	79.0	2,534	2,967	94.1	7,174	30.0
Caswell	6,800	95.4	315	15,195	63.6	811	7.1
Catawba	23,625	64.9	7,045	10,429	92.0	22,180	41.9
Chatham	14,622	78.6	3,002	52,966	26,723	4,132	20.7
Cherokee	9,207	55.5	3,953	19,962	15,069	4,685	37.1
Chowan	4,246	95.5	169	12,641	7,380	4,749	11.6
Clay	2,479	55.1	1,089	6,445	5,562	2,285	43.1
Cleveland	22,373	88.4	2,380	5,305	2,592	6,954	18.5
Columbus	21,917	96.1	775	37,673	29,526	2,516	8.6
Craven	15,474	94.4	758	29,269	26,502	6,241	22.0
Cumberland	33,255	93.2	1,965	28,365	21,149	15,119	19.6
Currituck	2,952	98.7	28	77,161	58,587	15,119	19.6
Dare	3,255	91.6	255	5,987	5,167	607	10.1
Davidson	34,243	66.2	10,655	9,850	7,205	1,904	19.3
Davie	10,946	46.1	5,646	56,082	30,434	22,766	40.6
Duplin	18,997	92.6	1,034	13,595	5,708	7,433	54.7
Durham	53,411	91.8	3,958	18,970	16,792	2,071	11.0
Edgecombe	15,871	95.2	639	86,252	67,462	14,063	16.3
Forsyth	85,249	77.9	17,190	28,658	25,220	3,024	10.6
Franklin	12,495	98.6	172	132,145	84,072	40,244	30.5
Gaston	47,473	77.5	9,375	15,094	13,263	1,672	11.1
				72,273	46,912	22,140	47.2

Table 3 cont'd. Changes in Voter Registration 1966 - 1986, By County

N.C. Counties	Total		Total		Democrat (1986)	% of Voters	Republican (1986)	% of Voters
	Registration (1966)	(1966)	Registration (1986)	(1986)				
Gates	4,350	97.7	5,463	96.8	5,287	96.8	141	2.6
Graham	4,702	60.5	5,366	37.4	2,857	53.2	2,361	44.0
Granville	12,497	97.8	16,234	2.1	14,794	91.1	1,217	7.5
Greene	5,034	99.0	7,794	0.9	7,282	93.4	457	5.9
Guilford	101,549	76.7	169,282	19.8	110,293	66.2	50,231	29.7
Halifax	22,350	98.3	27,694	1.5	25,331	91.5	1,885	6.8
Harnett	19,125	63.4	25,530	36.2	20,493	30.2	4,703	18.4*
Haywood	22,575	79.4	25,275	20.1	19,206	76.0	5,414	21.4*
Henderson	18,070	52.7	34,946	44.9	15,720	45.0	17,286	49.5
Hertford	7,630	98.2	12,906	1.7	12,010	93.1	780	6.0
Hoke	4,359	96.8	8,104	2.8	7,586	93.6	471	5.8
Hyde	2,369	96.4	3,058	3.6	2,788	91.2	227	7.4
Iredell	26,296	78.1	43,709	19.1	28,449	65.1	13,501	30.9
Jackson	7,382	69.7	14,257	26.4	9,502	66.6	4,055	28.4
Johnston	24,738	89.1	33,722	10.0	26,646	79.0	6,419	19.0
Jones	6,079	98.9	5,389	1.0	5,068	94.1	286	5.3
Lee	13,419	91.5	18,543	8.0	14,905	80.4	3,215	17.3
Lenoir	19,118	94.3	28,116	5.0	23,386	83.2	4,453	15.8
Lincoln	18,082	72.7	24,300	23.9	15,505	63.8	7,814	32.2
McDowell	14,858	77.6	17,466	21.1	11,998	68.7	4,684	26.8
Macon	8,235	66.3	13,397	33.0	7,760	58.0	4,891	36.5
Madison	8,140	58.6	10,021	40.8	7,031	70.2	2,700	26.9
Martin	9,733	97.8	12,262	1.8	11,109	90.6	1,006	8.2
Mecklenburg	116,866	78.5	240,088	26.9	147,131	61.3	79,629	33.2
Mitchell	7,091	29.4	9,811	70.3	2,135	21.8	7,492	76.4
Montgomery	9,242	62.7	12,179	33.4	8,889	73.0	2,945	24.2
Moore	14,959	71.8*	28,696	26.1	15,630	54.5	11,607	40.4
Nash	17,492	91.6	34,356	7.2	26,517	77.2	7,241	21.1
New Hanover	29,301	89.1	53,578	10.2	36,219	67.6	15,517	29.0
Northampton	10,078	98.8	12,429	1.2	12,154	97.8	254	2.0
Onslow	17,689	93.6	30,268	3.8	22,902	75.7	6,003	19.8
Orange	19,884	87.0	46,790	11.0	34,853	74.5	8,688	18.6
Pamlico	4,014	88.5	6,587	11.5	5,725	86.9	741	11.2*
Pasquotank	8,206	94.3	12,577	4.5	10,461	83.2	1,670	13.3
Pender	7,158	92.9	12,571	6.7	10,441	83.1	1,855	14.8
Perquimans	3,276	96.9	4,755	3.1	4,275	89.9	348	8.4

Table 3 cont'd. Changes in Voter Registration 1966 - 1986, By County

N.C. Counties	Total Registration (1966)			Total Registration (1986)			
	Democrat (1966)	% of Voters	Republican (1966)	Democrat (1986)	% of Voters	Republican (1986)	
Person	11,734	98.9	129	13,657	89.3	1,258	9.2
Pitt	31,488	97.4	735	41,892	78.4	7,729	18.4
Polk	9,091	67.7	2,689	9,048	4,974	3,473	38.4
Randolph	24,666	53.7	10,644	46,235	20,814	23,218	50.2
Richmond	17,500	95.4	690	20,143	17,902	2,020	10.0
Robeson	22,305	97.0	557	47,791	44,135	2,988	6.3
Rockingham	30,708	84.1	3,862	39,408	30,012	7,751	19.7
Rowan	36,551	78.4	7,333	46,931	27,588	17,168	36.6
Rutherford	25,501	76.3	5,908	26,286	19,256	6,263	23.8
Sampson	30,001	61.3	9,894	28,168	18,829	8,937	31.7
Scotland	6,557	96.4	181	12,863	10,786	1,488	11.6
Stanly	20,458	58.5	7,456	25,454	14,968	9,239	36.3*
Stokes	9,000	4,900	4,000	20,027	11,593	7,838	39.1*
Swain	6,628	NV	NV	7,083	4,916	1,846	26.1
Surry	38,030	25,169	7,254	28,213	17,922	9,424	33.4
Transylvania	8,907	5,956	2,648	13,697	7,451	5,088	37.1
Tyrrell	1,511	1,462	49	2,093	1,922	152	7.3
Union	14,637	13,076	1,426	32,279	22,667	8,364	25.9
Vance	10,652	10,362	265	19,003	17,575	1,261	6.6
Wake	74,934	67,848	5,943	181,777	122,800	47,984	26.4
Warren	7,769	7,648	121	10,230	9,851	331	3.2
Washington	5,163	4,822	319	7,493	6,933	453	6.0*
Watauga	11,021	5,655	4,008	22,782	11,258	9,560	42.0
Wayne	22,466	20,731	1,490	37,969	30,049	7,231	19.0
Wilkes	26,266	12,241	13,623	34,437	14,062	19,031	55.3
Wilson	15,599	14,588	876	30,144	25,261	4,545	15.0
Yadkin	NV	NV	NV	15,531	6,131	8,899	57.3
Yancey	9,026	6,192	2,745	10,460	6,436	3,545	55.1

NV - Not Available because statistics were not forwarded to State Board of Elections
 Source: State Board of Elections

Table 4. Rate of Population and Party Growth, 1966 - 1986, By County

N.C. Counties	Population		% Population Growth	Rate of Growth	New Democrats 1966-1986	% Increase in Democratic Registration 1966-1986	New Republicans 1966-86	% Increase in Republican Registration 1966-1986
	1966	1986						
Alamance	92,630	103,229	10.3	11.4	482	1.4	5,565	84.7
Alexander	18,072	26,814	32.6	48.0	1,545	25.8	3,583	108.3
Alleghany	8,012	9,722	17.6	21.3	-697	-12.6	19	1.4
Anson	24,102	26,324	8.4	9.2	1,944	23.6	495	220.0
Ashe	19,693	23,251	15.3	18.1	493	6.7	910	16.7
Avery	12,450	15,028	17.2	20.7	-43	-2.2	2,235	54.1
Beaufort	36,076	43,396	16.9	20.3	5,836	54.6	2,777	526.0
Bertie	22,016	21,251	-3.4	-3.5	899	9.3	322	180.9
Bladen	27,444	30,826	11.0	12.3	2,834	22.5	852	343.5
Brunswick	22,801	47,797	52.3	109.6	6,079	56.8	4,647	221.2
Buncombe	139,717	170,004	17.8	21.7	-303	-0.5	10,015	64.8
Burke	57,613	75,990	24.2	31.9	-3,174	-13.0	1,130	10.7
Cabarrus	72,346	92,844	22.1	28.3	1,217	4.6	6,974	105.4
Caldwell	54,135	70,146	22.8	29.6	1,104	7.1	3,801	227.8
Camden	5,531	5,861	5.6	6.0	688	30.2	111	217.6
Carteret	30,114	50,414	40.3	67.4	4,816	46.4	4,640	183.1
Caswell	19,429	22,489	13.6	15.7	3,944	60.8	496	157.5
Catawba	84,418	114,143	26.0	35.2	11,400	74.4	15,135	214.8
Chatham	28,584	36,015	20.6	26.0	3,573	31.1	1,130	37.6
Cherokee	16,375	20,363	19.6	24.4	2,274	44.5	732	18.5
Chowan	11,163	13,387	16.6	19.9	1,507	37.2	580	343.2
Clay	5,330	7,210	26.1	35.3	1,225	89.6	1,196	109.8
Cleveland	70,265	86,216	18.5	22.7	9,759	49.4	4,574	192.2
Columbus	47,806	52,292	8.6	9.4	5,431	25.8	1,741	224.6
Craven	61,266	80,211	23.6	30.9	6,541	44.8	5,483	723.4
Cumberland	188,556	245,943	26.0	35.2	27,601	89.1	13,154	669.4
Currituck	6,862	13,366	48.7	94.8	2,252	77.3	579	2,067.9
Dare	6,624	18,705	64.6	182.4	4,223	141.6	1,649	646.7
Davidson	89,760	119,094	24.6	32.7	8,275	36.5	12,111	113.7
Davie	18,104	28,415	36.3	57.0	658	13.0	1,787	31.7
Duplin	38,949	41,685	6.6	7.0	-807	-4.6	1,037	100.1
Durham	125,175	165,839	24.5	32.5	18,413	37.5	10,105	255.3
Edgecombe	53,160	59,071	10.0	11.1	10,118	67.0	2,385	373.2
Forsyth	205,890	260,853	21.1	26.7	17,651	26.6	23,054	134.1
Franklin	27,616	34,173	19.2	23.7	940	7.6	1,500	872.1
Gaston	140,693	171,784	18.1	22.1	10,107	27.5	12,765	136.2

Table 4 cont'd. Rate of Population and Party Growth, 1966 - 1986, By County

N.C. Counties	Population		% Population Growth	Rate of Growth	New Democrats 1966-1986	% Increase in Democratic Registration 1966-1986		New Republicans 1966-86	% Increase in Republican Registration 1966-1986	
	1966	1986				1966-1986	1966-1986		1966-86	1966-1986
Gates	8,830	9,557	7.6	8.2	1,036	24.2	45	46.9		
Graham	6,539	7,173	8.8	9.7	14	0.5	602	34.2		
Granville	32,969	37,696	12.5	14.3	2,577	21.1	955	364.5		
Greene	15,676	16,586	5.5	5.8	2,297	45.6	410	872.3		
Guilford	273,382	329,862	17.1	20.7	32,386	41.6	30,113	149.7		
Halifax	56,201	56,030	-0.3	-0.3	3,370	15.3	1,546	456.0		
Harnett	49,237	64,009	23.1	30.0	8,366	69.0	-2,228	-32.1		
Haywood	41,055	48,469	15.3	18.1	1,291	7.2	870	19.1		
Henderson	40,403	67,222	39.9	66.4	6,193	65.0	9,178	113.2		
Hertford	23,855	24,046	0.8	0.8	4,519	60.3	650	500.0		
Hoke	16,448	23,135	29.0	40.7	3,366	79.8	348	282.9		
Hyde	5,670	5,909	4.0	4.2	504	22.1	142	167.1		
Iredell	68,714	88,429	22.3	28.7	7,901	39.4	8,486	169.2		
Jackson	20,215	26,577	24.0	31.5	4,356	84.7	2,109	108.4		
Johnston	62,318	78,191	20.3	25.5	4,603	20.9	3,939	158.8		
Jones	10,274	9,814	-4.7	-4.5	-944	-15.7	223	354.0		
Lee	29,068	41,408	30.0	42.5	2,623	21.4	2,147	201.0		
Lenoir	55,349	60,220	8.1	8.8	5,355	29.7	3,491	362.9		
Lincoln	31,308	46,278	32.3	47.8	2,368	18.0	3,502	81.2		
McDowell	29,255	36,220	19.2	23.8	472	41.0	1,554	49.6		
Macon	15,512	23,085	32.8	32.8	2,297	42.0	2,171	79.8		
Madison	16,503	17,359	4.9	5.2	2,263	47.5	-624	-18.8		
Martin	25,696	26,719	3.8	4.0	1,591	16.7	828	465.2		
Mecklenburg	324,335	453,107	28.4	39.7	55,359	60.3	56,613	40.7		
Mitchell	13,660	14,541	6.1	6.4	50	2.4	2,508	52.3		
Montgomery	18,995	23,852	20.4	25.6	3,093	53.4	-144	-4.7		
Moore	38,267	56,009	31.7	46.4	4,883	45.4	7,704	197.0		
Nash	59,953	71,241	15.8	18.8	10,495	65.5	5,979	473.8		
New Hanover	78,940	114,656	31.2	45.2	10,122	38.8	12,538	420.9		
Northampton	24,554	22,497	-9.1	-8.4	2,201	22.1	129	103.2		
Onslow	96,976	125,134	22.5	29.0	6,338	38.3	5,326	786.7		
Orange	52,206	84,729	38.4	62.3	17,563	101.6	6,491	295.4		
Pamlico	9,639	11,053	12.8	14.7	2,173	61.2	280	60.7		
Pasquotank	26,439	29,860	11.5	12.9	2,722	35.2	1,303	355.0		
Pender	18,331	25,199	27.3	37.5	3,791	57.0	1,373	284.9		
Perquimans	8,691	10,534	17.5	21.2	1,101	34.7	298	298.0		

Table 4 cont'd. Rate of Population and Party Growth, 1966 - 1986, By County

N.C. Counties	Population		% Population Growth	Rate of Growth	New Democrats 1966-1986	% Increase in Democratic Registration 1966-1986	New Republicans 1966-86	% Increase in Republican Registration 1966-1986
	1966	1986						
Person	26,159	30,648	14.6	17.2	588	5.1	1,129	875.2
Pitt	72,566	97,406	25.5	34.2	2,160	7.0	6,994	950.3
Polk	11,643	14,486	19.6	24.4	-1,177	-19.1	784	29.2
Randolph	70,936	99,070	28.4	39.7	7,559	57.0	12,574	118.1
Richmond	39,716	46,227	14.1	16.4	1,202	7.2	1,330	192.8
Robeson	86,620	106,094	18.4	22.5	22,507	104.1	2,431	436.4
Rockingham	71,511	85,516	16.4	19.6	4,187	16.2	3,889	100.7
Rowan	87,509	104,523	16.3	19.4	-1,075	-3.8	9,835	134.1
Rutherford	46,598	56,880	18.1	22.1	-189	-1.01	355	6.0
Sampson	46,204	50,321	8.2	8.9	430	2.3	-957	-9.7
Scotland	26,336	33,735	22.0	28.1	4,460	71.0	1,307	722.1
Stanly	42,187	50,276	16.1	19.2	2,995	25.0	1,783	23.9
Stokes	23,290	35,610	34.6	52.9	6,693	136.6	3,838	96.0
*Swain	50,321	61,546	18.2	22.3	4,916	233.5	1,846	215.0
Surry	8,695	10,938	20.5	25.8	-7,247	-28.8	2,170	30.0
Transylvania	18,508	26,132	29.2	41.2	1,495	398.4	2,440	92.1
Tyrrell	4,095	4,088	-0.2	-0.2	460	31.5	103	210.2
Union	51,058	79,832	36.0	56.4	9,591	73.3	6,938	486.5
Vance	32,510	38,740	16.1	19.2	7,213	69.6	986	372.1
Wake	206,943	366,004	43.5	76.9	54,952	81.0	42,041	707.4
Warren	17,002	16,452	-3.3	-3.2	2,203	28.8	210	173.6
Washington	13,872	14,541	4.6	4.8	2,111	43.8	134	42.0
Watauga	21,256	34,479	38.4	62.2	5,603	99.1	5,552	138.5
Wayne	84,328	97,410	13.4	15.5	9,318	45.0	5,741	385.3
Wilkes	48,033	60,727	20.9	26.4	1,821	14.9	5,408	39.7
Wilson	57,693	64,564	10.6	11.9	10,673	73.2	3,669	418.8
*Yadkin	23,986	29,643	19.1	23.6	6,131	124.6	8,899	135.0
Yancey	13,184	15,843	16.8	20.2	244	3.9	800	29.1

*Voter registration statistics were not available for 1966, so 1968 statistics were used.

Source: N.C. State Board of Elections

percent. Republican growth also was particularly strong in the urban Piedmont counties along the I-85 and I-40 corridors -- from Wake through Guilford and Forsyth counties down to Mecklenburg.

HOW DO THEY VOTE?

The picture is clear. In terms of numbers, more and more North Carolinians consider themselves Republicans. But how do they vote? Increasingly, they vote Republican.

The presidential voting results chart, Table 5, shows Republicans winning five presidential contests in North Carolina in this century: 1928, 1968, 1972, 1980, and 1984. In 1928, North Carolinians voted for Herbert Hoover (and against Democrat Al Smith, in an election marked by voter bias against Smith's Catholic religion and his pro-wet stance on Prohibition, and opposition to Smith from major state Democratic figures), but they stayed in the Democratic fold until 1968. That year, Richard Nixon won North Carolina, but not with a majority. He got a plurality with 39.5 percent of the vote, while Democrat Hubert Humphrey and American Party nominee George Wallace roughly split the remaining vote. In 1972 (a landmark year for Republicans, who won a U.S. Senate seat, the governorship, four congressional seats, and major gains in the state legislature), Nixon won a landslide over Democrat George McGovern.

In 1980, Republican Ronald Reagan won only a plurality of votes -- 49.3 percent -- to President Jimmy Carter's 47.2 percent, and in 1984, Reagan won a landslide against Walter Mondale, taking more than 61 percent of the vote. These Republican victories were all the more notable for the fact that they came in years when Democrats still held a commanding edge in voter registration -- though a declining edge in registration each succeeding year.

As Tables 6 through 12 indicate, Republicans generally have the most success in North Carolina when a strong national ticket is running. An essay in the political science primer Politics and Policy in North Carolina, describes

Table 5. Presidential Voting Results in North Carolina (1900-1984)

Year	Democrat	Vote	% of vote	Republican	Vote	% of vote
1900	William J. Bryan	157733	54.2	William McKinley	132997	42.7
1904	Alton B. Parker	101727	55.2	Theodore Roosevelt	82442	44.8
1908	William J. Bryan	136928	54.4	William Taft	114887	45.6
1912	Woodrow Wilson	144507	59.3	William Taft	29139	11.9
1916	Woodrow Wilson	168383	58.2	Charles E. Hughes	120890	41.8
1920	James M. Cox	305447	56.8	Warren Harding	232130	43.2
1924	John M. Davis	284270	59.7	Calvin Coolidge	191753	40.3
1928	Alfred E. Smith	286227	45.1	Herbert Hoover	348923	54.9
1932	Franklin D. Roosevelt	497566	69.8	Herbert Hoover	208344	29.2
1936	Franklin D. Roosevelt	616141	73.4	Alfred M. Landon	223283	26.6
1940	Franklin D. Roosevelt	609015	74.0	Wendell Wilkie	213633	26.0
1944	Franklin D. Roosevelt	527399	66.7	Thomas S. Dewey	263155	33.3
1948	Harry S. Truman	459070	58.0	Thomas S. Dewey	258572	32.7
1952	Adlai S. Stevenson	652803	53.9	Dwight Eisenhower	558107	46.1
1956	Adlai S. Stevenson	590530	50.7	Dwight Eisenhower	575062	49.3
1960	John F. Kennedy	713136	52.1	Richard M. Nixon	655844	47.9
1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	800139	56.2	Barry Goldwater	624844	43.9
1968	Hubert Humphrey	462113	29.2	Richard Nixon	627192	39.5*
1972	George S. McGovern	438705	28.9	Richard Nixon	1054889	69.5
1976	James Carter	927365	55.3	Gerald Ford	741960	44.2
1980	James Carter	875635	47.2	Ronald Reagan	915018	49.3
1984	Walter Mondale	824287	37.9	Ronald Reagan	1346481	61.3

Material compiled from the NC Manual 1985 and North Carolina Government 1585-1979, Office of the N.C. Secretary of State

(percentages rounded to the nearest tenth)

*Third party candidate George C. Wallace got 31.2 percent of the N.C. vote in 1968
Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman.

Table 6. Presidential and U.S. Senate Vote Results (1920-1984)

Year	Democrat	Vote	% of vote	Republican	Vote	% of vote
1920	*James M. Cox(P)	305,447	56.8	Warren Harding (P)	232,139	43.2
	*Lee S. Overman(S)	310,504	57.5	A. E. Holtton (S)	229,343	42.5
1924	*John W. Davis(P)	284,270	59.7	Calvin Coolidge(P)	191,753	40.3
	*Furnifold Simmons(S)	295,404	61.6	A. A. Whitener(S)	184,393	38.4
1932	*Franklin D. Roosevelt(P)	497,566	69.8	Herbert Hoover(P)	208,344	29.2
	*Robert R. Reynolds(S)	484,048	68.6	Jake F. Newell(S)	221,534	31.4
1936	*Franklin D. Roosevelt(P)	616,141	73.4	Alfred M. Landon(P)	223,283	26.6
	*Josiah W. Bailey(S)	563,968	70.8	Frank R. Patton(S)	233,009	29.2
1944	*Franklin D. Roosevelt(P)	527,399	66.7	Thomas S. Dewey(P)	263,155	33.3
	*Clyde R. Hoey(S)	533,813	70.3	A. J. Ferree(S)	226,037	29.7
1948	*Harry S. Truman(P)	459,070	58.0	Thomas Dewey(P)	258,572	32.7
	*J. Melville Broughton(S)	540,762	71.1	John A. Wilkinson(S)	220,307	28.9
1956	*Adlai S. Stevenson(P)	590,530	50.7	Dwight D. Eisenhower(P)	575,062	49.3
	*Sam J. Ervin, Jr.(S)	731,353	66.6	Joel A. Johnson(S)	367,475	33.4
1960	*John F. Kennedy(P)	713,136	52.1	Richard M. Nixon(P)	655,844	47.9
	*B. Everett Jordan(S)	793,521	61.4	Kyle Hayes(S)	497,964	38.6
1968	*Herbert Humphrey(P)	627,192	38.7	Richard M. Nixon(P)	496,188	30.6
	*Sam J. Ervin, Jr.(S)	870,406	60.6	Robert Vance Somers(S)	566,934	39.4
1972	George S. McGovern(P)	438,705	28.9	*Richard M. Nixon(P)	1,054,889	69.5
	Nick Galifianakis(S)	667,293	45.6	*Jesse Helms(S)	795,248	54.5
1980	Jimmy Carter(P)	875,635	47.2	*Ronald R. Reagan(P)	915,018	49.3
	Robert Morgan(S)	887,653	49.7	*John P. East(S)	898,064	50.3
1984	Walter Mondale(P)	824,287	37.9	*Ronald R. Reagan(P)	1,346,481	61.3
	James B. Hunt, Jr.(S)	1,070,488	48.1	*Jesse Helms(S)	1,156,768	51.9

P-Presidential candidate

S-Senatorial candidate

*-indicates winners in North Carolina

Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman

Source: North Carolina Government 1585-1979

this phenomenon as a "trickling down" of party competition from higher level elections to lower level elections. According to this theory, Republicans generally get their initial support on the presidential level, especially when a strong national candidate is on the ballot, and this initial success then filters down to the statewide level and gradually into local elections.²

Table 6, labeled Presidential and U.S. Senate Vote Results (1920-84), adds weight to this theory. In 1972, Richard Nixon and Jesse Helms, Republican candidates for president and U.S. senator, won their races for office. So did GOP gubernatorial nominee Jim Holshouser (Table 9). So did four Congressmen (Table 8), 15 state Senators (Table 10), and 35 state Representatives (Table 11). This same trend continued, though with less effect, in 1980 when President Reagan's coattails helped Republican Senate candidate John P. East defeat incumbent Democratic Sen. Robert Morgan. Curiously, East had a higher percentage of the vote than Reagan did, but Reagan polled more votes, no doubt helping East. The trend came closer to repeating 1972 in the 1984 election, when Reagan and Helms won another term and Republican U.S. Rep. Jim Martin won the governorship. The Republicans also regained much of what they had lost in the N.C. General Assembly a decade earlier in the 1974 Watergate elections (Tables 10 and 11), when voters across the nation voted overwhelmingly against Republicans in a backlash attributed to the political scandal culminated in President Nixon's resignation in August 1974.

The state's two Republican governors elected in the 20th century (Republican Gov. Daniel Russell isn't counted; he was elected in the 19th century, and left office early in the 20th) have come during years when Republicans fielded a strong national ticket, and the trickle-down, or coattail, effect cannot be denied. State Democrats no doubt would like to emulate the Republicans' success with that effect but have not been able to do so in recent years.

Tables 10 and 11 indicate the progress, and sometimes regress, of both

Table 7. U.S. Senate Vote Results in NC (1914-1986)

Year	Democrat	Vote	% of vote	Republican	Vote	% of vote
1914	Lee S. Overman	121,342	58.2	A. A. Whitener	87,101	41.8
1918	Furnifold Simmons	143,524	60.5	John M. Morehead	93,697	39.5
1920	Lee S. Overman	310,504	57.5	A. E. Holton	229,343	42.5
1924	Furnifold Simmons	295,404	61.6	A.A. Whitener	184,393	38.4
1926	Lee S. Overman	218,934	60.5	Johnson J. Hayes	142,891	39.5
1930	Josiah W. Bailey	324,393	60.6	George M. Pritchard	210,761	39.4
1932	Robert R. Reynolds	484,048	68.6	Jake F. Newell	221,534	31.4
1936	Josiah W. Bailey	563,968	70.8	Frank R. Patton	233,009	29.2
1938	Robert R. Reynolds	316,685	63.8	Charles A. Jonas	179,650	36.2
1942	Josiah W. Bailey	230,427	65.9	Sam J. Morris	119,165	34.1
1944	Clyde R. Hoey	533,813	70.3	A. J. Ferree	226,037	29.7
1948	J. Melville Broughton	540,762	71.1	John A. Wilkinson	220,307	28.9
1950	Clyde R. Hoey-R	376,472	68.7	Halsey B. Leavitt-R	171,804	31.3
	Willis Smith-S	364,912	67.2	E. L. Gavin-S	177,753	32.8
1954	W. Kerr Scott-R	408,312	65.9	Paul C. West-R	211,322	34.1
	W. Kerr Scott-S	402,268	(Unopposed)			
	Sam J. Ervin, Jr.-U	410,574	(Unopposed)			
1956	Sam J. Ervin, Jr.	731,353	66.6	Joel A. Johnson	367,475	33.4
1958	B. Everett Jordan	431,492	70.0	Richard C. Clarke, Jr.	184,977	30.0
1960	B. Everett Jordan	793,521	61.4	Kyle Hayes	497,964	38.6
1962	Sam J. Ervin, Jr.	491,520	60.4	Claude L. Greene	321,635	39.6
1966	B. Everett Jordan	501,440	55.6	John S. Shalcross	400,502	44.4
1968	Sam J. Ervin, Jr.	870,406	60.6	Robert Vance Somers	566,934	39.4
1972	Nick Galiafianakis	667,293	45.6	Jesse Helms	795,248	54.4
1978	John R. Ingram	516,663	45.5	Jesse Helms	619,151	54.5
1980	Robert Morgan	887,653	49.7	John P. East	898,064	50.3
1984	James B. Hunt, Jr.	1,070,488	48.1	Jesse Helms	1,156,768	51.9
1986	Terry Sanford	823,662	51.8	James Broyhill	767,668	48.2

R-regular term
 S-short term
 U-unexpired term

Source: North Carolina Government 1585-1979, Secretary of State's Office

Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman.

Table 8. Number of Delegates to the U.S. House from N.C. (1900-1986), by Party

Year	Democrat	Republican	Other	Total # of delegates
1900	6	3	1(Populist)	10
1902	7	2		9
1904	10			10
1906	9	1		10
1908	10			10
1910	7	3		10
1912	10			10
1914	10			10
1916	10			10
1918	10	1		11
1920	11			11
1922	11			11
1924	11			11
1926	10			10
1928	10			10
1930	10	2		12
1932	10			10
1934	12			12
1936	11			11
1938	11			11
1940	12			12
1942	12			12
1944	12			12
1946	14			14
1948	12			12
1950	13			13
1952	12			12
1954	11	1		12
1956	11	1		12
1958	11	1		12
1960	12	1		13
1962	11	1		12
1964	9	2		11
1966	10	2		12
1968	8	3		11
1970	7	4		11
1972	7	4		11
1974	7	4		11
1976	9	2		11
1978	9	2		11
1980	9	2		11
1982	9	2		11
1984	6	5		11
1986	8	3		11

Source: N.C. State Government 1585-1979, Office of the Secretary of State
 Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman.

Table 9. Gubernatorial Race Voting Results in North Carolina (1900-1984), by Party

Year	Democrat	Vote	% of vote	Republican	Vote	% of vote
1900	Charles B. Aycock	186,650	59.6	Spencer B. Adams	126,296	40.4
1904	Robert B. Glenn	128,761	61.8	Charles J. Harris	79,505	38.2
1908	William W. Kitchen	145,102	57.4	J. Elwood Cox	107,760	42.6
1912	Locke Craig	149,975	77.5	Thomas Settle	43,625	22.5
1916	Thomas W. Bickett	167,761	58.3	Frank A. Linney	120,157	41.7
1920	Cameron Morrison	308,151	57.2	John J. Parker	230,175	42.8
1924	A. W. McLean	294,441	61.3	L. M. Meekins	185,627	38.7
1928	O. Max Gardner	362,009	55.6	H. F. Seawell	289,415	44.4
1932	J. C. B. Ehringhaus	497,657	70.1	Clifford Frazier	212,561	30.0
1936	Clyde R. Hoey	542,139	66.7	Gilliam Grissom	270,843	33.3
1940	J. Melville Broughton	608,744	75.7	Robert H. McNeill	195,402	24.3
1944	R. Gregg Cherry	528,995	69.6	Frank C. Patton	230,998	30.4
1948	H. Kerr Scott	570,995	73.5	George M. Pritchard	206,166	26.5
1952	William B. Umstead	796,306	67.5	H. F. Seawell, Jr.	383,329	32.5
1956	Luther H. Hodges	760,480	67.0	Kyle Hayes	375,379	33.0
1960	Terry Sanford	735,248	54.4	Robert L. Gavin	613,975	45.5
	I. Beverly Lake Sr.	1,137	(write-in)			
1964	Dan K. Moore	790,343	56.6	Robert L. Gavin	606,164	43.4
1968	Robert H. Scott	821,233	52.7	James C. Gardner	737,075	47.3
1972	Hargrove Bowles	729,104	48.7	James E. Holsouser	767,470	51.3
1976	James B. Hunt Jr.	1,081,293	65.7	David T. Flaherty	564,102	34.3
1980	James B. Hunt Jr.	1,143,145	62.3	I. Beverly Lake Jr.	691,449	37.7
1984	Rufus Edmisten	1,011,209	45.6	James G. Martin	1,208,167	54.4

Source: North Carolina Government 1585-1979, and North Carolina Manual 1987

(percentages to the nearest tenth)

Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman.

Table 10. Party Affiliation of N.C. Senate (1905-1987)

Year	Democrat	Republican	Total # of Senators
1905	43	7	50
1909	38	11	49
1911	43	7	50
1913	47	3	50
1915	43	7	50
1917	41	8	49
1919	40	9	49
1921	39	11	50
1923	47	3	50
1925	47	3	50
1927	47	3	50
1929	38	12	50
1931	48	2	50
1933	48	2	50
1935	48	2	50
1937	48	2	50
1939	48	2	50
1941	49	2	51
1943	48	2	50
1945	47	3	50
1947	48	2	50
1949	48	2	50
1951	48	2	50
1953	48	2	50
1955	49	1	50
1957	47	3	50
1959	49	1	50
1961	48	2	50
1963	48	2	50
1965	49	1	50
1967	43	7	50
1969	38	12	50
1971	43	7	50
1973	35	15	50
1975	49	1	50
1977	46	4	50
1979	45	5	50
1981	41	9	50
1983	44	6	50
1985	39	11	50
1987	40	10	50

Source: NC Manuals 1905-1985, Office of the Secretary of State, and editions of Article II: A Guide to the N.C. Legislature, N.C. Center for Public Policy Research

Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman.

Table 11. Party Affiliation of the N.C. House of Representatives, 1905-1987

Year	Democrat	Republican	Total # of Representatives
1905	98	19	117
1909	90	29	119
1911	102	16	118
1913	100	12	117*
1915	95	20	116*
1917	98	21	120*
1919	93	27	120
1921	93	27	120
1923	110	10	120
1925	98	20	118
1927	104	16	120
1929	84	35	120*
1931	116	4	120
1933	112	8	120
1935	107	13	120
1937	112	8	120
1939	113	7	120
1941	114	6	120
1943	108	12	120
1945	106	14	120
1947	107	13	120
1949	109	11	120
1951	110	10	120
1953	106	14	120
1955	110	10	120
1957	107	13	120
1959	116	4	120
1961	105	15	120
1963	99	21	120
1965	106	14	120
1967	94	26	120
1969	91	29	120
1971	96	24	120
1973	85	35	120
1975	111	9	120
1977	114	6	120
1979	106	14	120
1981	96	24	120
1983	102	18	120
1985	82	38	120
1987	84	36	120

Source: N.C. Manuals 1905-1987, Office of the Secretary of State, and editions of Article II: A Guide to the 1987-1988 N.C. Legislature, N.C. Center for Public Policy Research

*Total # of delegates does not include 5 Populists in 1913, and 1 Independent in 1915, 1917, and 1929.

Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman.

political parties in numbers in the General Assembly, where the Senate has 50 members and the House 120. In 1972, voters elected 15 Republican state Senators, highest since 1928 when Hoover led the statewide ticket, and 1968, when Nixon led the statewide GOP ticket. The Republicans were wiped out in the next election -- the Watergate bugaboo again -- but slowly built back up to 11 Senators in 1984 and 10 in 1986.

Following the 1972 election, there were 35 Republicans in the state House, the party's greatest strength since 1928, when Herbert Hoover had led the ticket and North Carolina first went Republican in this century. But a year later, House Republicans lost 26 seats and were back to 9 state Representatives. In 1984, the GOP got all of that back and more, winning 38 seats. In 1986, their number dropped slightly to 36, but the total of 46 Republicans in the General Assembly was still third highest on record in the 20th century in North Carolina.

On the Local Level

The record also shows steady growth of Republican officeholders on the local level during the last few years. For instance, Table 12 charts the progress of Republican County Commissioners since 1974, when the N.C. Association of County Commissioners began keeping track of the party affiliation of the boards in each of the state's 100 counties. In 1974, 80 of the state's 477 commissioners were Republican, but that fell to 46 in the next election -- no doubt another spillover from the party's Watergate nightmare. Since then, however, the party has slowly built back its numbers on the county level -- up to 94 Republican commissioners in 1980, to 100 by 1984, and to 141 in 1986 -- or a little more than 28 percent of the county commissioners. That's a 76 percent growth rate in 12 years. At the same time, the number of Democratic commissioners fell from 396 in 1974 to 361 in 1986, a decrease of 9 percent. The number of boards with Democratic majorities also slid from 86 to 71 during the period 1974-1986, while the number of boards with Republican majorities grew 54

Table 12. Party Affiliation of N.C. County Commissioners (1974-1986)

Year	Total # of Commissioners	Democrat	Republican	Democratic Boards	Republican Boards	% Republican
1974	477	396	80	86	14	17%
1976	484	437	46	89	11	10%
1978	493	428	65	85	11	13%
1980	492	398	94	80	20	19%
1982	494	431	63	89	11	13%
1984	492	392	100	77	23	20%
1986	502	361	141	71	29	28%

Material taken from County Lines, published by N.C. Association of County Commissioners. 1974 was the first year in which a comprehensive breakdown of county commissioners in N.C. was recorded by the Association.

Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman.

percent from 14 boards in 1974 to 29 in 1986. The map accompanying Table 7 illustrates the new Republican strength in county courthouses.

Republicans experienced the greatest amount of growth at the local level in 1980, 1984, and 1986, which parallels the success of other Republicans in the statehouse, U.S. Senate, and White House. Table 14 shows Republicans in control in such old-line Democratic counties as Alamance and Mecklenburg in the Piedmont, in Carteret in the east, and in Buncombe and Burke -- home of the late Democratic U.S. Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. -- in the west.

Democrats continue to dominate in party affiliation of elected county officials, but Republicans have progressed in certain areas in North Carolina, particularly in the western Piedmont and in the mountains, a refuge of North Carolina Republicanism since the Civil War.

State district attorneys, for instance, are all Democrat except for three districts. Those three districts are the 23rd, 24th, and 25th, which includes 12 counties in North Carolina which are mostly Republican in voter registration or in voter performance. These include the counties of Alleghany, Ashe, Wilkes, Yadkin, Avery, Madison, Mitchell, Watauga, Yancey, Burke, Caldwell, and Catawba, as Table 13 indicates.

Other local officials elected on a partisan basis include registers of deeds, clerks of court, and sheriffs. As Table 14 indicates, Republicans hold the register of deeds office in 13 counties, the clerk of court office in 14 courthouses, and the sheriff's department in 19 counties. Most of the counties where Republicans hold all three are western Piedmont and mountain counties -- Avery, Catawba, Mitchell, Wilkes, and Yadkin. One Piedmont county -- Randolph, which usually votes Republican -- also gave all three offices to Republicans.

In other counties across the state, the results are mixed. In Alamance County, the register of deeds, clerk of court, and sheriff are Democrats, but all but one of its county commissioners are Republicans. Caldwell County has a

Table 13. State District Attorneys by Districts and Party Affiliation

District	Geographic Location	Party Affiliation
1	Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Dare, Gates, Pasquotank, Perquimans Beaufort, Hyde, Martin, Tyrrell, Washington	D
2	Pitt	D
3-A	Carteret, Craven, Pamlico	D
3-B	Duplin, Jones, Onslow, Sampson	D
4	New Hanover, Pender	D
5	Bertie, Halifax, Hertford, Northampton	D
6	Edgecombe, Nash, Wilson	D
7	Greene, Lenoir, Wayne	D
8	Franklin, Granville, Person, Vance, Warren	D
9	Wake	D
10	Harnett, Johnston, Lee	D
11	Cumberland, Hoke	D
12	Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus Durham	D
13	Alamance	D
14	Chatham, Orange	D
15-A	Robeson, Scotland	D
15-B	Caswell, Rockingham	D
16	Stokes, Surry	D
17-A	Gulford	D
17-B	Cabarrus, Rowan	D
18	Montgomery, Randolph	D
19-A	Anson, Moore, Richmond, Stanly, Union	D
19-B		D
20		D
21	Forsyth	D
22	Alexander, Davidson, Davie, Iredell	D
23	Alleghany, Ashe, Wilkes, Yadkin	R
24	Avery, Madison, Mitchell, Watauga, Yancey	R
25	Burke, Caldwell, Catawba	R
26	Mecklenburg	D
27-A	Gaston	D
27-B	Cleveland, Lincoln	D
28	Buncombe	D
29	Henderson, McDowell, Polk, Rutherford, Transylvania, Cherokee, Clay, Graham	D
30	Haywood, Jackson, Macon, Swain	D

Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman.
Source: N.C. Association of District Attorneys

Table 14. Party Affiliations of County Officials Elected on a Partisan Basis

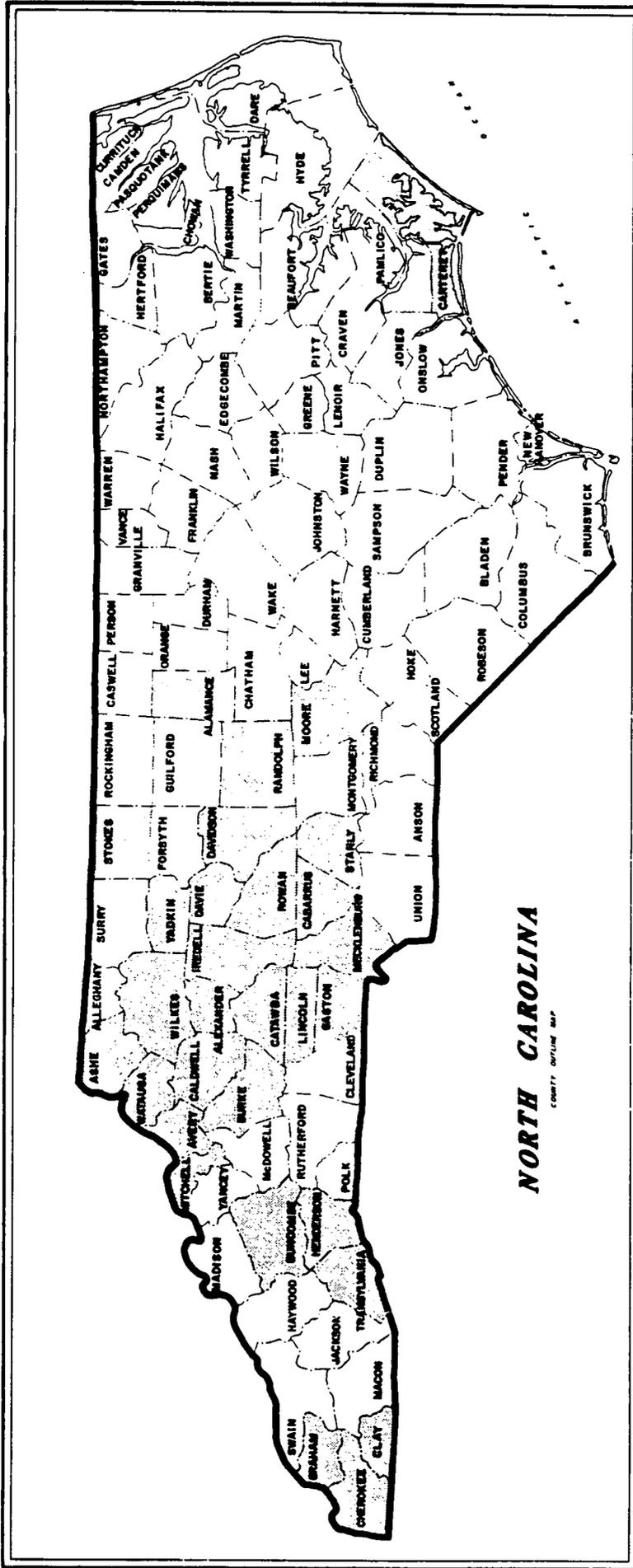
NC Counties	Registers of Deeds		Clerks of Court		County Commissioners		Sheriffs	
	Democrat/Republican	Democrat/Republican	Democrat/Republican	Democrat/Republican	Democrat/Republican	Democrat/Republican	Democrat/Republican	Democrat/Republican
Alamance	D		D		1	4	R	D
Alexander	D		D		0	3	R	D
Alleghany	D		D		2	1	D	R
Anson	D		D		5	0	D	D
Ashe	D	R		R	2	3	R	D
Avery	D	R		R	0	5	R	R
Beaufort	D		D		5	0	D	D
Bertie	D		D		5	0	D	D
Bladen	D		D		5	0	D	D
Brunswick	D		D		4	1	D	D
Buncombe	D		D		2	3	R	D
Burke	D		D		1	4	R	R
Cabarrus	D		D		1	4	R	D
Caldwell	D	R	D		0	5	R	D
Camden	D		D		5	0	D	D
Carteret	D		D		0	5	R	D
Caswell	D		D		5	0	D	D
Catawba	D	R		R	0	5	R	R
Chatham	D		D		5	0	D	R
Cherokee	D		D		0	3	R	R
Chowan	D		D		5	0	D	R
Clay	D		D		0	3	R	R
Cleveland	D		D		5	0	D	D
Columbus	D		D		5	0	D	D
Craven	D		D		5	0	D	D
Cumberland	D		D		5	0	D	D
Currituck	D		D		5	0	D	D
Dare	D		D		4	1	D	D
Davidson	D		D		1	4	R	D
Davie	D	R		R	0	5	R	D
Duplin	D		D		5	0	D	D
Durham	D		D		5	0	D	D
Edgecombe	D		D		5	0	D	D
Forsyth	D		D		3	2	D	D
Franklin	D		D		5	0	D	D
Gaston	D	R		R	3	4	R	D
Gates	D		D		5	0	D	D
Graham	D		D		0	3	R	R
Granville	D		D		5	0	D	D
Greene	D		D		5	0	D	D
Guilford	D	R		R	5	2	D	D
Halifax	D		D		6	0	D	D
Harnett	D		D		5	0	D	D
Haywood	D		D		5	0	D	D
Henderson	D		D		1	4	R	R
Hertford	D		D		5	0	D	D
Hoke	D		D		5	0	D	D
Hyde	D		D		5	0	D	D
Iredell	D		D		2	3	R	D
Jackson	D		D		3	0	D	D

Table 14 cont'd. Party Affiliations of County Officials Elected on a Partisan Basis

MC Counties	Registers of Deeds		Clerks of Court		County Commissioners		Sheriffs	
	Democrat/Republican	Democrat/Republican	Democrat/Republican	Democrat/Republican	Democrat/Republican	Democrat/Republican	Democrat/Republican	Democrat/Republican
Johnston	D		D		5	0	D	
Jones	D		D		5	0	D	
Lee	D		D		5	0	D	
Lenoir	D		D		5	0	D	
Lincoln	D		D		1	4	R	
McDowell	D		D		4	1	D	
Macon	D		D		5	0	D	
Madison	D		D		3	0	D	
Marlin	D		D		5	0	D	
Hecklenburg	D		D		1	6	R	
Mitchell	D		D		1	4	R	
Montgomery	D		D		5	0	D	
Moore	D		D		0	5	R	
Rash	D		D		7	0	D	
New Hanover	D		D		3	2	D	
Northampton	D		D		5	0	D	
Onslow	D		D		5	0	D	
Orange	D		D		5	0	D	
Pamlico	D		D		5	0	D	
Pasquotank	D		D		7	0	D	
Pender	D		D		5	0	D	
Perquimans	D		D		5	0	D	
Person	D		D		5	0	D	
Pitt	D		D		6	0	D	
Polk	D		D		4	1	D	
Randolph	D	R	D		0	5	R	
Richmond	D		D		5	0	D	
Robeson	D		D		7	0	D	
Rockingham	D		D		4	0	D	
Rowan	D		D		4	1	D	
Rutherford	D		D		2	3	R	
Sampson	D		D		5	0	D	
Scotland	D		D		2	3	R	
Stanly	D		D		7	0	D	
Stokes	D	R	D		1	4	R	
Surry	D		D		4	1	D	
Swain	D		D		3	0	D	
Transylvania	D		D	R	2	3	R	
Tyrrell	D		D		5	0	D	
Union	D		D		5	1	D	
Vance	D		D		4	0	D	
Wake	D		D		6	1	D	
Warren	D		D		5	0	D	
Washington	D		D		5	0	D	
Watauga	D	R	D		1	4	R	
Wayne	D		D		1	0	D	
Wilkes	D	R	D		5	0	D	
Wilson	D		D	R	0	5	R	
Yadkin	D	R	D		7	0	D	
Yancey	D		D	R	0	5	R	
Totals	87	13	86	14	361	141 (71 D, 29 R Boards)	81	19

Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman.
Source: N.C. Association of County Commissioners

Map 1. County Boards of Commissioners Controlled by Republicans and by Democrats



- Republican
- Democrat

totally Republican board of commissioners and a Republican register of deeds. Table 14 indicates the extent of this breakdown across the state.

Note that there is a correlation between the party affiliation of the sheriff and that of the other county offices, which confirms the long-held wisdom that the sheriff's office is a political bellwether for a county. But also note that the correlation is not 100 percent. In Madison and Transylvania counties, for instance, the sheriff is of one party while a majority of the other county offices is of the other. Of the state's 100 counties, the make-up of local boards and court officers matches that of the sheriff in 54 counties for the Democrats and in seven counties for the Republicans. Forty-three counties have a mix of Republicans and Democrats

One final note: Yet another sign of the Republican Party's vitality would be an increase in competition in statewide Republican primaries. While there have been some GOP primaries, the list does not yet appear to be extensive, as Table 15 indicates. And the state's two most spirited GOP primaries, which came in the 1972 gubernatorial primary and the 1986 U.S. Senate primary, reflect a basic division in the Republican Party -- one that parallels the periodic divisions within the Democratic Party on a national level.

The Split Ticket

What these tables also show -- especially when compared with the county-by-county registration breakdown in Tables 3 and 4 -- is evidence of fairly extensive ticket-splitting by voters in North Carolina. The rapid increase in Republican registration has, of course, been a main factor in the party's ability to elect more candidates, but Democrats still dominate in most counties -- and Democrats thus obviously vote for Republicans at election time.

The onset of widespread ticket-splitting in North Carolina was evident in 1968, when some Democrats voted for George Wallace's third-party bid, and when some Democrats voted for Richard Nixon. But it was far more obvious in 1972, when Republican Jesse Helms won his first term. A former Democrat, Helms cam-

Table 15. Competition in Republican Primaries, 1940-1986

<u>Presidential Primaries</u>	<u>U.S. Senatorial Primaries</u>	<u>Gubernatorial Primaries</u>
<u>1972</u> Paul N. McCloskey 8,732 Richard M. Nixon 159,167* <u>1976</u> No Preference 3,362 Gerald R. Ford 88,897 Ronald Reagan 101,468* <u>1980</u> John B. Anderson 8,542 Howard Baker 2,543 George Bush 36,631 John B. Connally 1,107 Philip Crane 547 Ronald Reagan 113,854* No preference 4,538	<u>1968</u> 1st primary-Fred G. Brummitt 30,126 Robert V. Somers 48,351* Edwin W. Tenney, Jr. 40,023 J. L. Zimmerman 43,644 2nd primary-Robert V. Somers 8,166* J. L. Zimmerman 5,734 <u>1972</u> James C. Johnson, Jr. 45,303 William H. Booe 16,032 Jesse Helms 92,496* <u>1986</u> James T. Broyhill 139,570* David Funderburk 63,593 Glenn Miller 6,662	<u>1940</u> Robert H. McNeill 13,130* Hoffman (First name unknown) 2,773 Pritchard (First name unknown) 11,847 <u>1964</u> Robert L. Gavin 53,145* Don Begley 2,018 Charles W. Strong 8,652 <u>1968</u> John L. Stickley 42,843 James C. Gardner 113,584* <u>1972</u> 1st Primary-Thomas E. Chappell 957 James C. Gardner 84,906 Leroy Gileson 1,083 James E. Holsouser, Jr. 83,637 2nd Primary-James C. Gardner 68,134 James E. Holsouser, Jr. 69,916*

*Denotes Winner in North Carolina

Table 15 cont'd. Competition in Republican Primaries, 1940-1986

Republican Primaries for Council of State

Lieutenant Governor

Commissioner of Insurance

<u>1984 (May)</u>		
John H. Carrington	35,106*	Everett L. Peterson
William S. Hiatt	27,600	Carl W. Rice
Franklin Jordan	40,257	
Erick Little	3,406	<u>1964</u>
Barbara S. Perry	24,355	John C. Clifford
		Ralph B. Pfaff
<u>1984 (June) (Runoff)</u>		
John H. Carrington	23,648*	<u>Secretary of State</u>
Franklin Jordan	17,502	
		<u>1976</u>
<u>1976</u>		C. Y. Nanney
William S. Hiatt	61,830*	Asa T. Spaulding, Jr.
Odell Payne	38,145	
		<u>State Treasurer</u>
<u>1972</u>		
Norman H. Joyner	51,354	<u>1976</u>
John A. Walker	99,361*	J. Howard Coble
		George B. McLeod
<u>1968</u>		<u>Attorney General</u>
Trosper Noland Combs	33,268	
Don H. Garren	98,437*	<u>1980</u>
		Harold Covington
<u>1964</u>		Keith S. Snyder
Clifton Lee Bell	40,143*	
Robert A. Flynt	14,640	

Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman

paigned hard for the Democratic vote, and got a large chunk of it. This ticket splitting gave rise, six years later, to a new term in North Carolina politics -- "Jessecrats," coined by Greensboro Daily News copy editor Leon Bullock in a front-page headline. In 1972, there were 1.8 million Democrats on the books in the state, and fewer than 542,000 Republicans. But Helms won that first election with more than 795,000 votes. Obviously, even if 100 percent of the registered Republicans went to the polls, and if 100 percent of them voted for Helms, the Republican still drew 253,000 Democrats to vote for him. That, of course is a most conservative estimate, but it alone stands as proof of the strong tendency to split tickets in North Carolina.

Research following that election, by political scientist and pollster Walter DeVries of Wrightsville Beach and reported in Politics and Policy in North Carolina, indicates that 51.4 percent of the registered Democrats voted for at least some Republican candidates in 1972, but that only 14.8 percent of the registered Republicans split their tickets that day. These figures are all the more remarkable because they do not include ticket-splitting for the presidency. It includes only responses about voting for offices below the office of president, which gives a much clearer view of how widespread ticket-splitting is in purely statewide and local races.

As DeVries put it, "The 1972 elections began a new era in North Carolina politics. Things would never again be quite the same. And it was a new force in the state's politics -- the ticket splitters -- who helped bring about these changes."³

In 1987, political scientists Earl Black and Merle Black published the results of their research on a number of Southern political issues in Politics and Society in the South.⁴ In one phase, the authors examined county voting patterns in the South between 1952 and 1964, and in the 1968-1980 period, to determine whether there was a shift in party support. They found a dramatic

shift -- toward Republicans. Up to 1964, for instance, they found that North Carolina's 100 counties voted this way at least 75 percent of the time: Democrats, 60 counties; mixed, 11 counties; and Republicans, 29 counties.

The big shift came in the 1968-1980 period. During that time, only 10 North Carolina counties voted consistently Democratic; 50 counties voted mixed results; and 40 counties consistently voted Republican. See Table 16 and the accompanying map for more on this point.

This same phenomenon extended across the South. Wrote the authors, "The breadth of the Democratic collapse is staggering. It would be difficult to find comparable instances in American political history of such a rapid and comprehensive desertion of an established majority party by an entire region."

Single-Member Districts

Another major factor in Republican success in North Carolina stems from a series of recent court cases brought by minority voters with the help of leading Republican officials. One such case was Gingles v. Thornburg, which concerned the creation of single-member legislative districts in the General Assembly to prevent dilution of black voting strength.⁵ Single-member districts not only help blacks get elected, but also Republicans, because single-member districts isolate traditionally Democratic black voters by concentrating them in one district. Thus, white voters are more concentrated in other districts, and Democratic candidates in those districts, who previously had better success in winning black votes, have more difficulty when they compete with Republican candidates for those white votes. And increasingly, Republicans win those contests.

Another case, Haith v. Martin, was brought under Section 5 of the U.S. Voting Rights Act, which requires that any changes in voting laws be submitted to the U.S. Attorney General for prior clearance before enactment.⁶ That case was filed partly to prevent the N.C. General Assembly from drawing new election districts designed to protect incumbent Democrats. And the Republican Party has

Table 16. Counties Voting Consistently Democratic, Republican, or Mixed in Recent U.S. Presidential Elections 1968-1980

County	Democrat	Republican	Mixed	County	Democrat	Republican	Mixed
Alamance			X	Johnston			X
Alexander		X		Jones			X
Alleghany			X	Lee			X
Anson			X	Lenoir		X	
Ashe		X		Lincoln		X	
Avery		X		Macon		X	
Beaufort			X	Madison			X
Bertie	X			Martin			X
Bladen			X	McDowell		X	
Brunswick			X	Mecklenburg		X	
Buncombe		X		Mitchell		X	
Burke		X		Montgomery			X
Cabarrus		X		Moore		X	
Caldwell		X		Nash			X
Camden			X	New Hanover		X	
Carteret		X		Northampton	X		
Caswell			X	Onslow			X
Catawba		X		Orange	X		
Chatham			X	Pamlico			X
Cherokee		X		Pasquotank			X
Chowan			X	Pender			X
Clay		X		Perquimans			X
Cleveland			X	Person			X
Columbus			X	Pitt			X
Craven			X	Polk		X	
Cumberland			X	Randolph		X	
Currituck			X	Richmond			X
Dare		X		Robeson	X		
Davidson		X		Rockingham			X
Davie		X		Rowan		X	
Duplin			X	Rutherford		X	
Durham	X			Sampson		X	
Edgecombe			X	Scotland	X		
Forsyth		X		Stanly		X	
Franklin			X	Stokes		X	
Gaston		X		Surry			X
Gates			X	Swain			X
Graham		X		Transylvania		X	
Granville			X	Tyrrell	X		
Greene	X			Union			X
Guilford		X		Vance			X
Halifax	X			Wake		X	
Harnett			X	Warren			X
Haywood			X	Washington	X		
Henderson		X		Watauga		X	
Hertford	X			Wayne			X
Hoke	X			Wilkes		X	
Hyde			X	Wilson			X
Iredell		X		Yadkin		X	
Jackson			X	Yancey			X

Source: Earl Black and Merle Black, unpublished research base for Politics and Society in the South

filed suit against the state to challenge the statewide election of Superior Court judges.⁷ Electing those judges on a statewide basis, Republicans say, dilutes Republican strength in certain areas of the state and keeps North Carolina's elected judges all Democratic. This practice, Republicans charge, violates the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment, and amounts to a partisan gerrymander.

The success of these suits could only enhance Republican voting power at the ballot box and in public office. But even without them, the record is clear. North Carolina is not only a two-party state, but it has been one for quite some time. The only quibble is to what extent it is a two-party state, as officials of both political parties agree.

David T. Flaherty, former chairman of the N.C. Republican Party and now Governor Martin's Secretary of Human Resources, says the Democratic Party's stronghold on state politics still has an effect. "I do not feel that it is long gone," says Flaherty. "For example, unfortunately the Republican membership in the General Assembly does not control the outcome of that body. Also, the judicial system is practically void of Republican judges."

And, says Flaherty, further development of GOP strength, particularly at the local level, may come slowly. "Much of the infrastructure of North Carolina politics is controlled, to some extent, by media, 'old money' in a town, and the courthouse presence. There are difficult odds to overcome in many cities and counties in North Carolina. Resources of this type have often inhibited the ability of GOP candidate recruitment. For example, if a candidate for city council does not have the financial base that his long-time Democrat opponent has received for many years, and he knows he cannot count on favorable press, it can be discouraging. Also, it is difficult to encourage attorneys to run for judicial office for fear that they may lose and face their opponent across the bench. Simply said, in many towns the heritage of money and power is still held by the Democrats."

Ken Eudy, executive director of the N.C. Democratic Party, believes the record is still developing on the two-party system. "I don't think we have enough history and precedent yet to say there's a realignment," says Eudy. "In fact, North Carolina may be going to a de-alignment, where people don't have a particular allegiance to one party or another."

While many new voters have registered as Republican, Eudy says, it may not be due to loyalty to that party. "Young people particularly are performance-oriented," says Eudy. "They may have been drawn to the Republican party originally by Ronald Reagan, but we don't know if they will stay.... They are drawn to the top of the ticket, and it will be interesting to see how that shakes out over the next 12 years."

WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES IT MAKE?

So if North Carolina is more a two-party state, the question naturally arises: What difference does it make when Republicans are in charge? This is an area that is somewhat more difficult to assess, because so much of the state's budget and so much of the state government's operating policies do not change significantly from year to year, let alone from administration to administration. There are, of course, new initiatives, new programs, new budget thrusts, but in the main, North Carolina government has pursued essentially the same steady course under Republicans and Democrats alike: provide better schools, boost economic development and job creation, pave more roads, and crack down on crime.

And sometimes the lines of ideology and the lines of partisan politics become blurred. For instance, Republican gubernatorial candidates have often railed against certain state taxes, such as the intangibles tax on stocks and bonds, or the county property tax on manufacturers' inventories. But then, so have Democratic candidates opposed those taxes.

But despite all these blurred lines, there are certain areas of state

government and its budget where a distinct difference can be detected when Democrats are in power and when Republicans are in the Executive Mansion.

Workfare

For instance, during Republican administrations, there is an increased emphasis on "workfare," a state program begun during Governor Hunt's term. Called the Community Work Experience Program (CWEP), this initiative was designed to reduce the number of those on welfare by helping public assistance recipients in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program to get work experience and hold a job -- thereby reducing or eliminating their welfare payments. Before the Martin administration took office in 1984, only eight counties had implemented the program. Since Martin has been in office, 20 more counties have begun the program, with 15 additional counties expected in 1987-88. Table 17 shows the workfare programs in place through 1986.

Abortion

The record also shows that when Republicans are in office, the state pays for fewer abortions for low-income women. During Gov. Jim Hunt's term, the number of state-funded abortions averaged 5,371 a year, as shown in Table 18. When Martin became Governor in 1984, however, that number dropped substantially -- to 2,662 in Martin's first year. Under Republican governors, the average number of state-paid abortions is 3,662. That supports the claim that there are fewer state-funded abortions under Republican administrations. The amount of money spent on abortions in the state also fell significantly. North Carolina spent \$1,316,770 for abortions in 1984-85 and only \$557,129 in 1985-86, less than half as much as the previous year, as Table 18 indicates. Note that the Democratic General Assembly changed the law in 1985 limiting abortions to cases of rape, incest, or where the health of a pregnant mother is endangered, which undoubtedly limited the number of abortions.

Table 17. County Workfare* Programs, by Date of Implementation

Counties prior to 1985, Democratic Administration	Implementation date
Ashe	January 1, 1983
Buncombe	September 1, 1984
Caldwell	July 1, 1982
Davidson	July 1, 1982
Moore	July 1, 1982
Nash	July 1, 1982
Pitt	July 1, 1982
Rowan	July 1, 1982
Counties after 1985, Republican Administration	Implementation date
Beaufort	January 1, 1986
Carteret	January 1, 1986
Catawba	August 1, 1986
Craven	August 1, 1986
Cumberland	July 1, 1986
Durham	August 1, 1986
Guilford	February 1, 1987
Iredell	September 1, 1986
Lee	August 1, 1986
Mitchell	September 1, 1986
New Hanover	January 1, 1987
Orange	November 1, 1986
Polk	September 1, 1986
Rutherford	September 1, 1985
Sampson	July 1, 1986
Scotland	August 1, 1985
Vance	May 1, 1987
Wake	August 1, 1986
Wilson	March 1, 1986
Yancey	October 1, 1986

Total-28 counties

15 additional counties expected in 1987-1988.

*Formally known as Community Work Experience Project

Source: N.C. Department of Human Resources, Division of Social Services

Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman.

Table 18. Number of Abortions and Amount of State Funds Spent in North Carolina

Year	# of Abortions	Party*** R/D	% Increase/Decrease	# of State-Funded Abortions	% Increase/Decrease	Amount of \$ Spent
76/77	* 25,777	R/D	*	4,144	*	1,832,977
77/78	27,799	D	--	1,123	-72.9	223,276
78/79	30,155	D	+7.3	6,125	+81.7	1,302,801
79/80	30,000	D	+7.8	6,343	+3.4	1,366,921
80/81	29,890	D	-0.5	5,730	-25.0	1,233,301
81/82	31,392	D	-0.4	4,295	-33.4	984,446
82/83	34,138	D	+4.8	6,149	+30.2	1,253,697
83/84	32,478	D	+8.0	6,645	+7.5	1,357,371
84/85	32,849	D/R	-5.1	6,564	-1.2	1,316,770
85/86	**	R	+1.1	2,662	-146.0	557,129
86/87	**	R	**	4,181	+57.0	900,750

Average Number of Abortions During Years When Republicans Are in Power: 3,662
 Average State Spending on Abortions During Years Republicans Are in Power: \$1,096,252

Average Number of Abortions During Years When Democrats Are in Power: 5,371
 Average State Spending on Abortions During Years Democrats Are in Power: \$1,129,822

*--Figures were not kept for years prior to 1978 by state Department of Human Resources.

**--Total number of abortions for 1986-1987 not reported yet.

***--Fiscal year marked R/D was year in which Republican Gov. Jim Holshouser completed his term and Democratic Gov. Jim Hunt began his first term. Year marked D/R denotes year Hunt finished his second term and Gov. James G. Martin began his term. For budget purposes, 1976-77 was considered a Republican year, because the Holshouser Administration had set the budget priorities. Similarly 1984-85 was considered a Democratic year, because the Hunt Administration had set the priorities.

Chart by Vanessa Goodman.
 Source: Department of Human Resources

But while Republicans generally are opposed to tax-paid abortions, they are willing to spend more state tax dollars in other portions of the budget. One such emphasis favored by the GOP appears to be the state budget for state parks.

State Parks

Funding for state parks has generally been higher during Republican administrations. In 1973-74 during Republican Gov. Jim Holshouser's administration, \$13.9 million was authorized for state parks. True, the Democrat-dominated General Assembly had to approve the figure, but Holshouser and his administration had sought an increase from earlier years, when only \$2 million was proposed for state parks. The spending on parks stayed high while Holshouser was in office, as Table 19 indicates. Yet following Holshouser's administration in 1977, when Democrat Hunt took office, the parks budget began slumping again, and did not recover in a major way until 1985, when Republican Governor Martin took office. Note that, as Table 18 indicates, funding for both capital improvements and land acquisition is generally higher under Republican governors than under Democratic governors. The Republican administration average is more than \$10.6 million per year; the Democratic administration average is less than \$3.2 million.

These figures are particularly interesting because of the conventional wisdom that it is the Democrats who are more concerned about the environment than Republicans. These data tend to show that Republicans are concerned about providing more parks and recreation areas for the state's residents, and are willing to spend money to do so. Note once again that while it is the governor who proposes or requests funding, it is the General Assembly, controlled by Democrats, that makes the final decisions on spending. The N.C. governor has no veto. And the spending requests and expenditures are always affected by how much state revenue is available.

Table 19. Funding for State Parks (1973-1986)

Year	Advisory Budget			Land Acquisition	Total Operations	Legislature Authorized**	Political Party In Power
	Commission Proposal	Capital Improvements	Operations				
1973-74	\$2,325,599	\$2,500,000	\$11,500,000***	\$1,191,618	\$15,191,618	Republican	
1974-75	10,323,141	3,000,000	5,500,000***	1,394,111	9,894,111	Republican	
1975-76	6,076,874	1,000,000	500,000	1,473,325	2,973,325	Republican	
1976-77	10,474,874	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,507,318	3,507,318	Republican	
1977-78	13,796,418	1,200,000***	500,000***	1,756,104	3,456,104	Democratic	
1978-79	6,297,391	1,200,000***	500,000***	2,048,310	3,748,310	Democratic	
1979-80	2,466,873	500,000	250,000	2,255,560	3,005,560	Democratic	
1980-81	2,416,617	500,000	250,000	2,514,515	3,264,515	Democratic	
1981-82	2,713,225	100,000	-0-	2,598,724	2,698,724	Democratic	
1982-83	3,749,558	-0-	-0-	2,728,514	2,728,514	Democratic	
1983-84	2,951,444	50,000*	215,000*	2,867,359	3,132,359	Democratic	
1984-85	2,963,577	140,000*	-0-	3,123,542	3,263,542	Democratic	
1985-86	4,157,433	850,000	11,185,000	3,491,517	15,526,517	Republican	
1986-87	4,370,012	3,950,000***	8,800,000	3,999,180	16,749,180	Republican	

Average during Republican Years: \$10,640,344

Average during Democratic Years: \$ 3,162,203

*-Special bills

**-Money authorized by General Assembly includes figures on state park administration, field operations, capital improvements, and land acquisition.

***-Source of funds was the federal Revenue-Sharing Program, in which federal funds were appropriated through the state budget by the General Assembly.

****-Includes \$1.2 million for the Community Service Workers Program.

Note-The amount of money proposed comes from money in the General Fund. The authorization from the General Assembly comes from the General Fund except as noted. The chart illustrates large appropriations from the legislature in 1973-74, 1985-86, and 1986-87. These anomalies are due to sporadic funding of the state park system over the years. In some years the General Assembly had more money to work with than in other years because of greater economic growth and larger tax revenues.

Chart prepared by Vanessa Goodman, N.C. Center Intern
Source: Office of State Budget and Management

Roads

One time-honored prize of elections in North Carolina is the state highway department and the chance to tinker with the state roads building program. While the General Assembly must approve the budget for the Department of Transportation, it is the state Board of Transportation -- controlled by the governor through his 22 appointees to the 24-member board -- which sets priorities, lets road contracts, and decides which road gets built where and when. Thus it comes as little surprise that when Democrats are in, road projects in Democratic areas often get a higher priority. When Republicans are in, pet projects in Republican strongholds move up on the list.

For instance, when Democrat Hunt was in office, U.S. 264 between Raleigh and Wilson and U.S. 64 between Raleigh and Rocky Mount got a boost and were completed ahead of schedule. Hunt is from Wilson County, and much of U.S. 64 and U.S. 264 run through Nash County. Note in Tables 19 through 25 that paving and maintenance budgets in Nash County and related to those roads were generally high during -- and after -- the period when Hunt was governor. Likewise, when Holshouser was in office, the Board of Transportation approved the construction of an overpass in Moore County that local Republicans wanted -- so they could drive their golf carts from one fairway to the next without having to cross traffic. That project was scrapped after heated public criticism, however. But improvements to highways U.S. 321 and U.S. 421 -- each leading to Holshouser's home county of Watauga -- were moved ahead of schedule during his term.

However, an examination of the road paving and maintenance spending for each county from 1974 through 1986 shows relatively little that could be construed as wholesale manipulation of road construction for political purposes. There are, as Tables 20 through 26 indicate, some fluctuations that at first glance appear to prove that traditionally Republican counties do better in years when Republicans are in control, but not so well when Democrats are in power.

But these difference are affected by far more than politics and ideology, and there is a limit as to how much a governor's administration can affect a county's road budget. For one thing, maintenance figures are set by formula, and annual budgets cannot be manipulated easily. For another, it takes years for a new road project to be designed, right-of-way to be purchased, contracts to be let, and work actually done. In fact, it was during Holshouser's term that the improvements for U.S. 64 were first scheduled -- but during Hunt's term that they were accelerated. Likewise, the U.S. 321 and U.S. 421 improvements of Holshouser's term had been on the drawing board during earlier terms. Thus, the main opportunity of the party in power seems to be moving projects higher on the priority list.

During his 1984 political campaign, Governor Martin made one specific roads promise -- to complete I-40 between Raleigh and Wilmington. That project has been moved up on the state's Transportation Improvement Program, and will be opened well ahead of schedule.

Some counties seem to be affected very little, no matter who is in power. Avery County remained consistently Republican in its voter registration throughout the time period examined, 1974-1986. Avery also voted Republican in every presidential election. Yet the county had few rural primary and urban primary miles paved, regardless of the party in power. The same was true in the area of rural secondary roads.

The record shows it's hard to discern a big difference in road paving budgets under Republicans versus Democrats. The same holds for road maintenance budgets. For example, in 1982, while the Hunt Democratic Board of Transportation was still in power, Avery received \$1.4 million for maintenance. But in 1986, after the Martin administration had taken over a year earlier, Avery's road maintenance budget nearly doubled -- to \$2.78 million. Was that because of political favoritism? Not so, say state highway officials. Avery's

maintenance budget increased because there were more state funds available for maintenance, thanks to a 1986 increase in the state gasoline tax.

That's one of the areas where a governor can make a difference, of course. Both Hunt and Martin supported gasoline tax increases to boost the state Highway Fund -- Hunt in 1981, Martin in 1985 -- and both increases made more maintenance and construction money available across the board. But discerning a clear political pattern from road paving and maintenance budgets is difficult.

Once there was much more discretion available to the governor and his appointees. Before 1973, when each highway division in the state was run more as the fiefdom of individual highway commissioners appointed by the governor, the opportunity to build new roads -- and to hire and fire those who built them -- was broad. "There was much discretion available to the governor and his highway commissioners prior to 1973," says state Secretary of Transportation James Harrington, "but several changes have significantly reduced that flexibility." Those changes include creation of the 24-member Board of Transportation to oversee highway spending; changes in federal highway legislation that limit state discretion, the advent of the seven-year Transportation Improvement Plan, and the creation of allocation formulas for road maintenance.⁸

Table 20. Highway Funding by County, 1974

N.C. Counties	(1972)		Dollars Spent for Maintenance*	Dollars Spent for Construction**
	How County Voted In Gubernatorial Election			
	Voter Registration Democrat	Republican		
Alamance	D		\$3,220,988	\$1,732,054
Alexander	D		580,482	4,894
Alleghany	D		746,197	16,661
Anson	D	D	1,385,904	100,137
Ashe	D		1,082,881	17,251
Avery		R	931,633	426,589
Beaufort	D	D	2,841,619	254,087
Bertie	D	D	1,454,121	563,313
Bladen	D	D	1,037,685	1,295
Brunswick	D		6,325,195	4,655,418
Buncombe	D		9,605,187	4,487,065
Burke	D		4,031,391	3,724,666
Cabarrus	D		447,363	809,427
Caldwell	D		776,332	35,705
Camden	D	D	655,298	343,149
Carteret	D	D	2,168,639	274,271
Caswell	D	D	1,019,590	238,529
Catawba	D		13,218,456	173,689
Chatham	D	D	1,509,309	729,133
Cherokee	D		1,266,513	666,572
Chowan	D	D	1,200,039	900,935
Clay	D		1,025,673	573,262
Cleveland	D	D	2,755,251	1,793,767
Columbus	D	D	3,722,567	2,623,904
Craven	D	D	4,234,380	2,328,996
Cumberland	D	D	3,918,722	2,639,116
Currituck	D	D	442,515	0
Dare	D	D	3,096,418	250,542
Davidson	D	D	2,136,016	386,126
Davie		R	1,551,618	0
Duplin	D	D	1,458,938	552,046
Durham	D	D	2,377,506	3,562,968
Edgecombe	D	D	927,212	748,218
Forsyth	D		2,822,277	2,047,974
Franklin	D	D	2,663,104	1,973,320
Gaston	D		1,116,913	282,115
Gates	D	D	421,476	78,295
Graham	D		1,934,744	4,567
Granville	D	D	2,723,529	54,679
Greene	D	D	739,297	41,118
Guilford	D	D	9,121,002	5,618,694
Halifax	D	D	1,454,069	172,822
Harnett	D		1,397,400	179,049
Haywood	D	D	2,587,596	236,031
Henderson	D		1,824,449	1,376,581
Hertford	D	D	707,481	456,726
Hoke	D	D	329,002	25,606

Table 20 continued

Hyde	D		D		820,918	0
Iredell	D			R	6,584,775	207,481
Jackson	D		D		4,283,354	3,521,421
Johnston	D			R	2,080,911	259,484
Jones	D		D		709,880	357,058
Lee	D		D		4,525,263	4,069,359
Lenoir	D		D		1,186,439	412,840
Lincoln	D			R	1,103,753	405,392
McDowell	D			R	1,606,930	79,333
Macon	D		R		5,880,040	5,082,277
Madison	D		D		1,933,798	1,629,744
Martin	D		D		1,110,144	182,348
Mecklenburg	D			R	16,858,977	3,764,284
Mitchell		R		R	1,993,012	1,578,392
Montgomery	D			R	1,105,423	655,902
Moore	D			R	1,120,241	375,072
Nash	D		D		8,693,069	3,926,976
New Hanover	D			R	870,526	393,506
Northampton	D		D		652,668	13,747
Onslow	D		D		391,555	3,168,358
Orange	D		D		4,300,225	3,432,153
Pamlico	D		D		1,207,968	0
Pasquotank	D		D		925,533	471,359
Pender	D		D		805,625	150,690
Perquimans	D		D		488,697	151,954
Person	D		D		1,190,573	569,537
Pitt	D		D		1,927,394	2,000,109
Polk	D			R	2,466,595	404,671
Randolph	D			R	4,557,922	3,310,654
Richmond	D		D		667,016	15,689
Robeson	D		D		3,455,179	910,697
Rockingham	D			R	1,507,000	341,064
Rowan	D			R	2,149,744	337,576
Rutherford	D			R	1,550,192	42,511
Sampson	D			R	2,711,127	1,315,809
Scotland	D		D		618,118	168,189
Stanly	D			R	1,518,359	563,678
Stokes	D			R	1,184,255	263,877
Surry	D			R	7,094,229	565,467
Swain	D		D		5,667,648	5,839,827
Transylvania	D			R	1,312,699	508,650
Tyrrell	D		D		294,748	0
Union	D		D		1,638,805	630,227
Vance	D		D		1,714,062	1,538,498
Wake	D			R	6,121,055	5,830,300
Warren	D		D		917,849	8,778
Washington	D		D		254,747	0
Watauga	D			R	979,625	111,779
Wayne	D		D		4,618,411	3,495,139
Wilkes		R		R	1,689,656	307,150
Wilson	D		D		2,164,722	599,719
Yadkin		R		R	5,323,425	1,358,637
Yancey	D		D		458,253	23,390
Totals	95	5	58	42		

*Primary and secondary roads

**Primary urban and rural roads

Source: Division of Highways, Department of Transportation

Table 21. Highway Funding by County, 1976

N.C. Counties	(1972) How County Voted In				Dollars Spent for Maintenance*	Dollars Spent for Construction**
	Voter Registration		Gubernatorial Election			
	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican		
Alamance	D			R	3,775,066	\$ 414,483
Alexander	D			R	898,429	9,171
Alleghany	D			R	1,344,805	1,666
Anson	D		D		1,897,839	788,195
Ashe	D			R	2,173,642	17,584
Avery		R		R	1,216,547	404,788
Beaufort	D		D		1,726,387	88,578
Bertie	D		D		2,340,584	80,287
Bladen	D		D		1,623,563	61,074
Brunswick	D			R	10,324,250	8,611,801
Buncombe	D			R	16,339,237	3,706,656
Burke	D			R	2,784,511	34,632
Cabarrus	D			R	3,568,155	175,922
Caldwell	D			R	3,091,175	2,402,349
Camden	D		D		583,277	7,931
Carteret	D		D		3,082,597	2,158,667
Caswell	D		D		1,824,163	677,930
Catawba	D			R	8,337,944	2,728,110
Chatham	D		D		2,364,097	483,720
Cherokee	D			R	4,541,554	3,066,234
Chowan	D		D		3,040,046	2,753,697
Clay	D			R	613,797	7,034
Cleveland	D		D		4,387,315	3,229,765
Columbus	D		D		3,525,427	1,546,272
Craven	D		D		18,076,811	15,755,250
Cumberland	D		D		15,022,114	3,403,598
Currituck	D		D		533,636	8,487
Dare	D		D		831,120	55,568
Davidson	D		D		8,428,647	2,544,581
Davie		R		R	986,677	45,929
Duplin	D		D		2,085,968	694,403
Durham	D		D		2,142,543	1,614,758
Edgecombe	D		D		927,212	925,598
Forsyth	D			R	4,190,640	3,762,489
Franklin	D		D		2,427,109	757,941
Gaston	D			R	2,526,579	672,875
Gates	D		D		587,822	3,844
Graham	D			R	1,820,898	66,596
Granville	D		D		1,867,241	46,249
Greene	D		D		880,866	7,917
Guilford	D		D		10,953,861	7,146,750
Halifax	D		D		2,861,347	406,151
Harnett	D			R	2,085,044	28,928
Haywood	D		D		1,811,428	74,476
Henderson	D			R	5,778,268	3,593,565
Hertford	D		D		1,177,265	282,786
Hoke	D		D		511,749	0

Table 21 continued

Hyde	D		D		444,587	3,894
Iredell	D			R	2,402,318	490,152
Jackson	D		D		7,815,388	5,910,271
Johnston	D			R	2,582,499	679,683
Jones	D		D		3,072,189	2,484,687
Lee	D		D		4,859,073	4,274,041
Lenoir	D		D		1,803,376	239,030
Lincoln	D			R	1,172,443	130,956
Macon	D			R	4,139,633	2,646,077
Madison	D		R		4,012,528	2,428,187
Martin	D		D		1,790,431	506,436
McDowell	D		D		2,544,369	287,242
Mecklenburg	D			R	11,261,956	4,151,804
Mitchell		R		R	3,233,914	2,385,107
Montgomery	D			R	7,318,826	6,430,257
Moore	D			R	1,853,361	50,804
Nash	D		D		30,920,435	13,941,022
New Hanover	D			R	1,426,365	1,230,216
Northampton	D		D		2,191,509	240,324
Onslow	D		D		5,543,926	4,210,896
Orange	D		D		5,857,367	642,516
Pamlico	D		D		687,230	4,001
Pasquotank	D		D		1,186,348	1,307,464
Pender	D		D		1,179,396	8,014
Perquimans	D		D		694,652	12,331
Person	D		D		1,658,645	1,283,140
Pitt	D		D		1,309,875	3,523,097
Polk	D			R	8,760,020	974,497
Randolph	D			R	3,138,564	452,349
Richmond	D		D		1,137,995	62,433
Robeson	D		D		4,022,137	384,827
Rockingham	D			R	2,539,340	551,697
Rowan	D			R	2,749,948	434,927
Rutherford	D			R	2,825,112	462,416
Sampson	D			R	2,293,090	1,512,113
Scotland	D		D		700,798	77,356
Stanly	D			R	1,894,073	601,622
Stokes	D			R	2,051,962	15,032
Surry	D			R	8,669,135	615,671
Swain	D		D		5,349,927	4,896,753
Transylvania	D			R	1,662,417	758,954
Tyrrell	D		D		311,173	35,433
Union	D		D		2,021,611	275,224
Vance	D		D		1,015,155	40,089
Wake	D			R	1,897,132	10,721,282
Warren	D		D		1,566,006	25,760
Washington	D		D		891,579	77,437
Watauga	D			R	2,286,921	353,151
Wayne	D		D		1,756,118	496,839
Wilkes		R		R	4,457,276	1,672,319
Wilson	D		D		11,808,483	824,928
Yadkin		R		R	6,070,414	35,533
Yancey	D		D		1,109,851	59,281
TOTALS	95	5	58	42		

*Primary and secondary roads

**Primary urban and rural roads

Source: Division of Highways, Department of Transportation

Table 22. Highway Funding by County, 1978

N.C. Counties	(1976) How County Voted In		Dollars Spent for Maintenance*	Dollars Spent for Construction**
	Voter Registration Democrat	Gubernatorial Election Republican		
Alamance	D	D	2,461,616	\$ 579,022
Alexander	D	D	1,424,522	94,482
Alleghany	D	D	1,076,989	4,721
Anson	D	D	4,646,344	2,924,546
Ashe	D	D	5,792,346	4,096,777
Avery		R	3,524,570	2,248,349
Beaufort	D	D	2,778,067	939,176
Bertie	D	D	1,324,930	45,064
Bladen	D	D	2,118,218	303,848
Brunswick	D	D	4,666,725	2,965,666
Buncombe	D	D	19,788,227	2,212,457
Burke	D	D	1,742,313	201,141
Cabarrus	D	D	1,958,409	561,766
Caldwell	D	D	320,882	2,348,909
Camden	D	D	320,882	3,280
Carteret	D	D	2,767,771	131,833
Caswell	D	D	1,910,489	173,867
Catawba	D	D	4,075,952	1,456,998
Chatham	D	D	3,569,287	1,388,872
Cherokee	D	D	11,543,279	9,971,627
Chowan	D	D	1,025,623	651,029
Clay	D	D	749,620	5,178
Cleveland	D	D	3,324,397	951,924
Columbus	D	D	2,774,705	720,397
Craven	D	D	6,581,967	4,798,010
Cumberland	D	D	23,696,815	1,371,772
Currituck	D	D	490,958	60,971
Dare	D	D	2,041,392	1,485,245
Davidson	D	D	10,287,461	2,037,210
Davie		R	1,008,305	43,009
Duplin	D	D	2,089,675	72,379
Durham	D	D	2,735,902	1,848,202
Edgecombe	D	D	1,221,123	185,016
Forsyth	D	D	7,557,542	5,154,263
Franklin	D	D	1,772,182	187,950
Gaston	D	D	4,325,266	1,862,588
Gates	D	D	629,392	8,492
Graham	D	D	1,677,526	615,894
Granville	D	D	1,926,530	13,197
Greene	D	D	750,505	7,389
Guilford	D	D	9,648,978	5,783,910
Halifax	D	D	2,671,463	487,556
Harnett	D	D	2,131,645	155,673
Haywood	D	D	6,001,151	1,486,755
Henderson	D	D	9,034,906	6,499,705
Hertford	D	D	2,685,471	1,722,819
Hoke	D	D	937,582	31,736

Table 22 continued

Hyde	D		D		549,841	2,586
Iredell	D		D		3,268,533	1,014,674
Jackson	D		D		10,010,089	8,305,648
Johnston	D		D		3,815,865	99,791
Jones	D		D		3,437,013	2,854,414
Lee	D		D		3,627,907	3,123,282
Lenoir	D		D		1,476,925	145,413
Lincoln	D		D		1,334,376	52,860
Macon	D		D		5,820,647	3,823,866
Madison	D		D		1,941,267	248,008
Martin	D		D		925,770	29,504
McDowell	D		D		5,620,774	195,433
Mecklenburg	D		D		14,845,880	4,492,754
Mitchell	D			R	4,038,715	2,531,631
Montgomery	D		D		6,804,021	5,600,599
Moore	D		D		2,205,402	24,912
Nash	D		D		18,565,262	6,399,325
New Hanover	D		D		10,125,063	9,000,668
Northampton	D		D		3,622,938	2,331,617
Onslow	D		D		1,806,364	475,860
Orange	D		D		2,679,754	299,960
Pamlico	D		D		640,873	34,259
Pasquotank	D		D		716,277	204,239
Pender	D		D		1,498,907	65,263
Perquimans	D		D		671,674	9,075
Person	D		D		1,764,855	665,664
Pitt	D		D		1,321,595	2,013,363
Polk	D		D		3,153,933	723,591
Randolph	D		D		8,553,995	2,858,411
Richmond	D		D		2,090,764	702,459
Robeson	D		D		3,324,759	159,200
Rockingham	D		D		4,733,306	1,601,494
Rowan	D		D		5,997,964	268,811
Rutherford	D		D		2,341,128	1,066,675
Sampson	D		D		2,031,474	42,692
Scotland	D		D		1,395,374	38,391
Stanly	D		D		3,354,694	1,697,039
Stokes	D		D		1,819,173	123,083
Surry	D		D		4,009,316	399,282
Swain	D		D		1,630,412	136,908
Transylvania	D		D		3,504,446	2,896,691
Tyrrell	D		D		1,951,058	1,508,868
Union	D		D		2,497,542	145,435
Vance	D		D		936,776	45,331
Wake	D		D		2,135,929	7,896,876
Warren	D		D		1,341,847	40,856
Washington	D		D		644,064	105,804
Watauga	D		D		2,521,970	2,071,355
Wayne	D		D		2,563,148	837,858
Wilkes		R	D		4,519,077	1,272,314
Wilson	D		D		11,569,398	1,281,065
Yadkin		R		R	1,650,280	30,723
Yancey	D		D		3,250,183	1,810,264
Totals	96	4	96	4		

*Primary and secondary roads

**Primary urban and rural roads

Source: Division of Highways, Department of Transportation

Table 23. Highway Funding by County, 1980

N.C. Counties	(1976)		Dollars Spent for Maintenance*	Dollars Spent for Construction**
	How County Voted In Gubernatorial Election			
	Voter Registration Democrat	Republican		
Alamance	D		2,513,934	\$2,070,935
Alexander	D		1,549,676	85,459
Alleghany	D		2,793,346	293,164
Anson	D		7,717,420	5,204,921
Ashe	D		6,247,362	3,065,022
Avery		R	1,355,819	233,736
Beaufort	D		2,654,195	167,875
Bertie	D		2,084,432	302,952
Bladen	D		4,037,211	2,376,482
Brunswick	D		5,727,653	3,424,988
Buncombe	D		20,841,446	8,853,610
Burke	D		6,851,991	901,805
Cabarrus	D		3,052,097	679,956
Caldwell	D		4,492,043	2,387,304
Camden	D		5,494,419	5,119,119
Carteret	D		3,995,493	1,838,606
Caswell	D		4,619,781	2,920,860
Catawba	D		6,605,048	2,485,526
Chatham	D		2,977,890	475,298
Cherokee	D		5,028,575	2,919,562
Chowan	D		525,795	73,743
Clay	D		625,639	73,375
Cleveland	D		8,700,859	5,642,303
Columbus	D		4,984,042	1,265,303
Craven	D		3,106,348	433,083
Cumberland	D		28,471,310	8,275,998
Currituck	D		867,595	166,465
Dare	D		2,783,495	1,542,678
Davidson	D		22,126,085	8,961,232
Davie		R	1,525,531	25,904
Duplin	D		4,693,752	3,067,930
Durham	D		8,174,998	5,813,838
Edgecombe	D		10,134,329	8,042,365
Forsyth	D		12,150,237	10,449,858
Franklin	D		2,147,453	417,768
Gaston	D		5,563,821	1,828,838
Gates	D		917,744	9,720
Graham	D		1,573,073	81,882
Granville	D		2,902,499	165,637
Greene	D		1,597,743	153,331
Guilford	D		22,645,828	11,052,256
Halifax	D		4,731,825	1,513,108
Harnett	D		2,978,388	237,429
Haywood	D		5,227,307	1,835,369
Henderson	D		6,729,052	3,814,884
Hertford	D		5,229,139	3,765,106
Hoke	D		1,210,691	201,263

Table 23 continued

Hyde	D		D	1,867,561	1,198,926
Iredell	D		D	6,285,168	3,151,145
Jackson	D		D	11,861,552	10,218,783
Johnston	D		D	9,839,091	925,017
Jones	D		D	1,927,317	948,903
Lee	D		D	1,107,000	258,237
Lenoir	D		D	3,150,221	940,204
Lincoln	D		D	2,185,658	153,814
Macon	D		D	5,652,324	3,823,299
Madison	D		D	8,698,890	7,130,859
Martin	D		D	1,146,427	51,235
McDowell	D		D	8,741,298	1,237,853
Mecklenburg	D		D	34,981,445	4,953,005
Mitchell		R		1,548,513	168,950
Montgomery	D		D	2,611,877	1,079,779
Moore	D		D	2,622,494	279,404
Nash	D		D	15,322,334	12,135,677
New Hanover	D		D	7,271,567	5,100,352
Northampton	D		D	6,387,922	4,806,237
Onslow	D		D	2,425,238	891,387
Orange	D		D	2,184,144	138,907
Pamlico	D		D	1,241,887	74,049
Pasquotank	D		D	875,674	410,139
Pender	D		D	6,137,819	4,203,188
Perquimans	D		D	880,432	69,967
Person	D		D	2,050,167	127,062
Pitt	D		D	2,304,989	1,230,485
Polk	D		D	6,184,013	3,898,870
Randolph	D		D	20,468,105	3,250,166
Richmond	D		D	2,681,116	924,738
Robeson	D		D	4,663,860	1,026,982
Rockingham	D		D	6,748,346	2,340,774
Rowan	D		D	6,264,320	363,086
Rutherford	D		D	3,157,172	497,097
Sampson	D		D	4,333,559	1,174,564
Scotland	D		D	1,416,097	322,025
Stanly	D		D	5,496,392	3,615,467
Stokes	D		D	2,904,948	105,268
Surry	D		D	4,310,448	397,711
Swain	D		D	3,292,848	2,256,100
Transylvania	D		D	3,025,310	2,158,620
Tyrrell	D		D	751,081	78,046
Union	D		D	4,409,636	1,588,984
Vance	D		D	1,673,858	495,042
Wake	D		D	31,260,533	8,577,695
Warren	D		D	1,762,860	187,411
Washington	D		D	933,287	85,238
Watauga	D		D	5,507,071	3,359,373
Wayne	D		D	3,210,202	612,368
Wilkes		R	D	6,800,295	3,034,118
Wilson	D		D	2,565,062	1,161,231
Yadkin		R		2,262,434	96,677
Yancey	D		D	2,634,178	1,275,452
Totals	95	5	96		4

*Primary and secondary roads

**Primary urban and rural roads

Source: Division of Highways, Department of Transportation

Table 24. Highway Funding by County, 1982

N.C. Counties	(1980) How County Voted In		Dollars Spent for Maintenance*	Dollars Spent for Construction**		
	Voter Registration Democrat	Republican			Gubernatorial Election Democrat	Republican
Alamance	D		D	3,385,733	\$ 771,202	
Alexander	D		D	2,345,550	32,536	
Alleghany	D		D	1,730,977	196,825	
Anson	D		D	2,948,673	401,711	
Ashe	D		D	5,171,953	2,065,952	
Avery		R		R	1,404,287	127,404
Beaufort	D		D	2,698,464	148,810	
Bertie	D		D	4,673,130	2,362,257	
Bladen	D		D	2,345,884	60,715	
Brunswick	D		D	3,311,821	1,072,617	
Buncombe	D		D	7,984,332	2,225,763	
Burke	D		D	2,877,607	205,321	
Cabarrus	D		D	4,261,126	92,134	
Caldwell	D			R	3,255,955	985,169
Camden	D		D	8,736,912	8,037,720	
Carteret	D		D	4,109,837	2,335,566	
Caswell	D		D	4,303,302	2,325,591	
Catawba	D		D	3,464,837	853,370	
Chatham	D		D	8,152,032	4,344,959	
Cherokee	D		D	2,047,579	403,229	
Chowan	D		D	627,714	41,652	
Clay	D			R	938,852	172,279
Cleveland	D		D	7,533,166	3,929,103	
Columbus	D		D	9,466,890	6,673,610	
Craven	D		D	2,997,217	124,962	
Cumberland	D		D	6,656,112	1,590,042	
Currituck	D		D	1,002,964	53,339	
Dare	D		D	2,893,577	2,079,193	
Davidson	D		D	7,614,916	934,472	
Davie		R		R	1,575,092	51,488
Duplin	D		D	5,554,776	2,242,962	
Durham	D		D	8,853,823	4,085,326	
Edgecombe	D		D	4,873,077	2,885,462	
Forsyth	D		D	7,685,576	2,815,573	
Franklin	D		D	2,397,315	1,100,764	
Gaston	D		D	12,937,721	5,932,363	
Gates	D		D	1,505,521	101,663	
Graham	D		D	1,234,565	43,603	
Granville	D		D	4,704,849	1,300,486	
Greene	D		D	1,500,281	204,316	
Guilford	D		D	18,137,572	10,225,164	
Halifax	D		D	2,849,474	246,576	
Harnett	D		D	2,043,160	519,089	
Haywood	D		D	4,649,015	586,662	
Henderson	D		D	2,963,459	342,765	
Hertford	D		D	1,697,379	94,231	
Hoke	D		D	891,414	32,250	

Table 24 continued

Hyde	D		D	2,224,452	1,235,655
Iredell	D		D	6,618,545	1,276,173
Jackson	D		D	4,789,557	2,832,578
Johnston	D		D	6,721,189	2,030,388
Jones	D		D	1,081,867	38,453
Lee	D		D	1,607,841	46,087
Lenoir	D		D	2,407,280	858,798
Lincoln	D		D	2,774,994	825,228
Macon	D		D	2,566,816	290,280
Madison	D		D	6,857,434	3,936,665
Martin	D		D	2,296,310	425,998
McDowell	D		D	4,818,421	970,221
Mecklenburg	D		D	15,984,685	2,236,423
Mitchell		R		1,433,114	97,014
Montgomery	D		D	1,678,211	135,132
Moore	D		D	2,712,107	11,310
Nash	D		D	8,502,431	4,793,898
New Hanover	D		D	4,511,856	2,782,020
Northampton	D		D	2,467,535	863,153
Onslow	D		D	5,378,190	2,107,577
Orange	D		D	4,339,390	318,413
Pamlico	D		D	740,881	220
Pasquotank	D		D	2,259,224	1,148,508
Pender	D		D	19,859,321	18,071,046
Perquimans	D		D	1,270,686	8,348
Person	D		D	2,039,152	79,087
Pitt	D		D	1,760,484	823,308
Polk	D		D	2,148,528	417,498
Randolph	D		R	5,833,697	683,681
Richmond	D		D	2,066,447	338,757
Robeson	D		D	12,107,543	6,595,698
Rockingham	D		D	3,237,700	458,259
Rowan	D		D	3,649,584	931,428
Rutherford	D		D	4,610,462	1,223,390
Sampson	D		D	4,794,884	1,631,091
Scotland	D		D	8,593,601	4,421,739
Stanly	D		D	3,746,253	-(60,504)
Stokes	D		D	2,864,186	18,694
Surry	D		D	5,139,127	1,311,523
Swain	D		D	6,990,106	5,868,152
Transylvania	D		D	2,617,970	463,303
Tyrrell	D		D	589,435	-(63,339)
Union	D		D	7,342,651	1,673,359
Vance	D		D	1,368,869	98,961
Wake	D		D	31,703,367	4,464,874
Warren	D		D	1,906,929	89,622
Washington	D		D	1,016,085	45,878
Watauga	D		D	4,838,589	3,153,659
Wayne	D		D	3,064,906	482,055
Wilkes		R		4,631,594	800,806
Wilson	D		D	2,896,382	950,648
Yadkin		R		2,460,575	115,736
Yancey	D		D	2,332,925	854,627
Totals	95	5	92	8	

*Primary and secondary roads

**Primary urban and rural roads

Source: Division of Highways, Department of Transportation

Table 25. Highway Funding by County, 1984

N.C. Counties	(1980) How County Voted In		Dollars Spent for Maintenance*	Dollars Spent for Construction**
	Voter Registration Democrat	Gubernatorial Election Republican		
Alamance	D	D	\$4,502,240	\$ 801,373
Alexander	D	D	2,705,460	0
Alleghany	D	D	2,203,718	569,622
Anson	D	D	3,123,161	464,634
Ashe	D	D	3,491,336	373,748
Avery		R	2,423,093	642,474
Beaufort	D	D	4,005,554	849,310
Bertie	D	D	2,800,225	706,797
Bladen	D	D	5,441,695	1,071,443
Brunswick	D	D	4,985,363	2,568,804
Buncombe	D	D	10,592,587	2,558,078
Burke	D	D	1,039,888	71,276
Cabarrus	D	D	5,300,163	169,571
Caldwell	D	R	3,670,253	472,885
Camden	D	D	1,632,497	872,032
Carteret	D	D	3,908,792	762,680
Caswell	D	D	4,834,139	2,243,510
Catawba	D	D	4,952,080	238,745
Chatham	D	D	5,148,186	1,182,387
Cherokee	D	D	3,753,663	899,133
Chowan	D	D	1,484,774	416,063
Clay	D	R	1,181,642	0
Cleveland	D	D	9,158,932	4,794,398
Columbus	D	D	7,321,130	2,285,844
Craven	D	D	3,392,294	220,122
Cumberland	D	D	8,126,134	1,311,696
Currituck	D	D	2,319,641	1,558,901
Dare	D	D	8,812,387	7,402,961
Davidson	D	D	13,669,247	1,251,381
Davie	R	R	3,176,345	458,243
Duplin	D	D	5,232,483	2,160,979
Durham	D	D	19,933,863	9,402,061
Edgecombe	D	D	4,365,130	1,052,394
Forsyth	D	D	14,360,261	6,411,482
Franklin	D	D	2,037,558	125,803
Gaston	D	D	8,486,598	2,478,367
Gates	D	D	1,361,755	675
Graham	D	D	1,823,736	215,219
Granville	D	D	3,588,617	269,147
Greene	D	D	2,340,937	1,144,916
Guilford	D	D	16,774,988	3,200,688
Halifax	D	D	3,947,933	90,819
Harnett	D	D	5,529,456	482,954
Haywood	D	D	10,867,711	2,036,465
Henderson	R	D	3,403,618	607,135
Hertford	D	D	2,131,596	862,552
Hoke	D	D	1,174,619	152,295

Table 25 continued

Hyde	D		D	1,490,614	604,629
Iredell	D		D	8,118,320	521,404
Jackson	D		D	6,517,088	3,467,390
Johnston	D		D	7,454,395	966,213
Jones	D		D	1,709,820	763,205
Lee	D		D	1,969,084	246,867
Lenoir	D		D	305,394	1,040,353
Lincoln	D		D	3,343,823	92,646
Macon	D		D	2,528,018	178,406
Madison	D		D	3,940,745	1,200,087
Martin	D		D	2,158,873	687,280
McDowell	D		D	6,114,552	1,904,979
Mecklenburg	D		D	22,942,139	2,832,524
Mitchell	D			2,053,843	179,528
Montgomery		R	D	2,088,550	540,515
Moore	D		D	3,270,252	311,128
Nash	D		D	7,588,661	2,528,996
New Hanover	D		D	17,431,400	15,349,836
Northampton	D		D	2,234,957	224,733
Onslow	D		D	4,661,878	912,593
Orange	D		D	8,208,180	116,636
Pamlico	D		D	665,685	856
Pasquotank	D		D	3,418,647	2,566,139
Pender	D		D	12,477,046	9,992,081
Perquimans	D		D	1,078,867	354,464
Person	D		D	3,608,607	1,709,844
Pitt	D		D	3,521,788	4,069,595
Polk	D		D	1,916,366	101,987
Randolph		R		7,845,422	1,169,682
Richmond	D		D	4,660,041	8,660
Robeson	D		D	10,134,054	1,554,052
Rockingham	D		D	5,796,262	1,181,572
Rowan	D		D	6,983,073	513,725
Rutherford	D		D	5,668,023	520,231
Sampson	D		D	4,922,620	573,792
Scotland	D		D	5,296,342	3,797,511
Stanly	D		D	4,554,689	98,822
Stokes	D		D	3,994,800	68,369
Surry	D		D	7,135,395	1,515,924
Swain	D		D	2,342,509	897,025
Transylvania	D		D	1,719,071	579,854
Tyrrell	D		D	1,118,342	53,160
Union	D		D	5,538,736	699,005
Vance	D		D	1,417,148	-(16,805)
Wake		R	D	14,662,112	1,517,039
Warren	D		D	4,060,150	288,000
Washington	D		D	2,071,488	343,668
Watauga	D		D	3,390,403	611,387
Wayne	D		D	6,914,855	2,528,996
Wilkes		R		5,608,055	266,914
Wilson	D		D	6,505,704	3,446,175
Yadkin		R		2,784,221	3,073
Yancey	D		D	6,431,342	0
Totals	92	8	92	8	

*Primary and secondary roads

**Primary urban and rural roads

Source: Division of Highways, Department of Transportation

Table 26. Highway Funding by County, 1986

N.C. Counties	(1984) How County Voted In		Dollars Spent for Maintenance*	Dollars Spent for Construction**
	Voter Registration Democrat	Gubernatorial Election Republican		
Alamance	D		\$5,030,439	\$ 735,684
Alexander	D		3,415,175	1,060,785
Alleghany	D	D	3,891,227	1,484,491
Anson	D	D	3,256,341	200,274
Ashe	D		4,577,686	375,385
Avery		R	2,781,620	970,439
Beaufort	D	D	7,299,037	3,591,617
Bertie	D	D	2,785,850	256,873
Bladen	D	D	4,444,503	1,442,341
Brunswick	D		8,382,835	4,720,922
Buncombe	D		11,547,289	4,211,212
Burke	D		5,309,678	344,744
Cabarrus	D		6,289,815	1,227,191
Caldwell	D		5,718,491	966,893
Camden	D	D	969,478	17,333
Carteret	D		7,435,271	1,608,517
Caswell	D	D	4,544,725	2,464,763
Catawba	D		4,971,466	1,068,809
Chatham	D	D	7,610,127	4,216,727
Cherokee	D		2,410,947	58,493
Chowan	D	D	5,137,820	4,318,619
Clay	D		1,560,324	819
Cleveland	D		4,633,669	283,526
Columbus	D	D	9,880,884	5,456,188
Craven	D	D	4,523,513	255,976
Cumberland	D	D	8,583,423	1,216,338
Currituck	D	D	8,314,156	7,108,388
Dare	D		3,607,554	2,666,419
Davidson	D		6,711,221	1,808,382
Davie		R	2,372,791	547,602
Duplin	D	D	21,469,455	17,152,585
Durham	D	D	24,819,609	8,094,752
Edgecombe	D	D	9,726,496	7,101,271
Forsyth	D		21,032,530	9,482,991
Franklin	D	D	2,632,823	278,320
Gaston	D		14,208,697	8,961,462
Gates	D	D	1,322,959	17,340
Graham	D		4,109,499	2,672,949
Granville	D	D	5,866,114	81,478
Greene	D	D	2,710,326	1,492,609
Guilford	D		16,138,658	4,337,277
Halifax	D	D	3,718,028	441,345
Harnett	D	D	3,792,659	565,755
Haywood	D	D	19,437,447	7,161,249
Henderson		R	3,800,190	608,062
Hertford	D	D	1,837,431	430,797
Hoke	D	D	1,603,628	90,239

Table 26 continued

Hyde	D		D		3,686,669	2,066,082
Iredell	D			R	6,739,650	360,028
Jackson	D			R	10,132,239	7,822,631
Johnston	D			R	24,808,918	5,644,078
Jones	D		D		1,009,367	6,997
Lee	D			R	2,137,217	609,830
Lenoir	D		D		5,021,940	3,169,350
Lincoln	D			R	4,634,243	1,359,025
Macon	D			R	2,287,303	142,648
Madison	D		D		11,074,085	8,056,550
Martin	D		D		5,648,098	4,180,689
McDowell	D			R	5,564,483	1,198,855
Mecklenburg	D			R	32,861,359	4,966,437
Mitchell		R		R	2,372,365	686,002
Montgomery	D		D		4,464,859	1,365,642
Moore	D			R	5,251,997	596,137
Nash	D			R	5,715,428	2,423,932
New Hanover	D			R	6,163,036	3,983,167
Northampton	D		D		2,253,981	126,509
Onslow	D			R	4,248,079	2,470,157
Orange	D		D		22,340,376	395,761
Pamlico	D		D		980,477	105,093
Pasquotank	D		D		1,181,130	81,634
Pender	D		D		6,037,560	3,079,587
Perquimans	D		D		1,453,947	156,983
Person	D			R	5,016,084	2,721,464
Pitt	D		D		2,690,779	4,902,217
Polk	D			R	1,418,456	11,687
Randolph		R		R	8,901,057	2,768,252
Richmond	D		D		3,083,161	570,721
Robeson	D		D		6,400,034	694,498
Rockingham	D			R	5,378,370	1,528,610
Rowan	D			R	7,819,646	1,558,346
Rutherford	D			R	4,515,825	935,316
Sampson	D		D		6,385,390	2,070,668
Scotland	D		D		2,231,802	46,020
Stanly	D			R	3,887,220	125,230
Stokes	D			R	3,580,353	320,420
Surry	D			R	5,094,108	413,366
Swain	D		D		1,730,874	298,078
Transylvania	D			R	3,755,887	1,943,916
Tyrrell	D		D		1,131,845	4,833
Union	D			R	4,307,644	274,709
Vance	D		D		1,682,472	523,343
Wake	D			R	31,620,414	7,858,517
Warren	D		D		2,702,837	401,024
Washington	D		D		4,881,810	3,590,286
Watauga	D		D		4,401,892	1,062,469
Wayne	D			R	8,988,735	5,719,636
Wilkes		R		R	4,709,438	397,123
Wilson	D		D		6,955,297	2,506,902
Yadkin		R		R	2,492,084	311
Yancey	D		D		2,421,333	505,986
Totals	93	7	50	50		

*Primary and secondary roads

**Primary urban and rural roads

Source: Division of Highways, Department of Transportation

Other Policy Differences

There are, of course, other indicators of real differences between Democrats and Republicans when each is in power -- or in quest of power, for that matter. There are tangible and intangible differences in approaches to a common goal. For instance, both Governor Martin, a Republican, and Lt. Gov. Robert B. Jordan, a Democrat who plans to run against Martin in 1988, favor an economic development strategy that would bring more investment to the state, produce new jobs, assist small business development, and create more jobs in rural areas of the state.

But while their goals are remarkably similar, there are subtle differences in how the two men would go about it. In June 1987, North Carolina Insight magazine outlined these differences.⁹ In essence, Martin seeks a targeted-industry approach, with some government assistance but without tax breaks or other tax incentives. Jordan, on the other hand, would offer tax incentives for the creation of jobs in certain economically deprived areas. And he would offer more services to small business, particularly in business permits and in venture capital availability. For a further comparison, see Table 27.

Table 27. Comparison of Economic Development Plans of
Gov. Jim Martin and Lt. Gov. Bob Jordan

	<u>Martin's Blueprint</u>	<u>Jordan's Report</u>
Education:	Emphasizes need for improvement in elementary and secondary education; Supports Basic Education Plan; Support school bond issue; Promotes teacher career ladder plan	Put forth 14 specific recommendations for improving education; Supports Basic Education Plan; Supports school bond issue
Public Works:	Support water/sewer bond issue and promotes spending for roads, bridges, ports facilities	Recommends 13 steps to promote and ensure adequate public works facilities and services
Rural Development:	Rural Development "Hubs" guided by "Non-Metropolitan Task Force"	"Rural Economic Development Center" to set agenda for rural development
Licensing:	Office in state Department of Commerce to counsel businesses on obtaining permits from Commerce Department only	Comprehensive office to help arrange for <u>all</u> state business licenses and permits
Venture Capital:	Authorize state trust funds to invest in private venture capital funds	Creation of governing body to direct a state venture capital fund
Tax Incentives:	No direct tax incentives to business to create jobs; However, would eliminate intangibles and manufacturers' inventory taxes	Selective tax credits to certain industries which agree to create new jobs in depressed areas with high unemployment.
Growth Strategy:	Court major infrastructure projects such as Superconducting Super Collider and various technical research centers; Enhance business environment; Promote small business	More emphasis on "Growth From Within" rather than on winning big federal projects; Promotes job creation; Promote small business

These changes are still developing. One side effect of the new two-party system in North Carolina -- with a Republican governor and Democratic legislature -- manifested itself in 1987 when legislative leaders for the first time in decades began developing their own budget. Since the 1920s, the legislature had accepted the governor's recommended budget and made few revisions in it before producing the final appropriations bills. But thanks partly to recent court decisions on separation of powers (keeping the legislature from interfering with the governor's constitutional power to recommend and administer a budget,¹⁰ and partly to interbranch rivalry with the executive branch, the General Assembly chucked that system this year in favor of building a state budget from scratch. That, in effect, gives the General Assembly more budget control than before, when making recommendations on a proposed budget was a joint responsibility of the governor and the legislature.

Without the veto, the North Carolina governor is often hamstrung by Democratic opposition in the legislature. The governor's main powers stem from his authority to appoint various executive and judicial branch officials. But even in the latter category, the age-old Democratic tradition in North Carolina has thwarted the efforts of the Republican Party. For instance, in 1985, Governor Martin appointed Republican Rhoda Billings to the N.C. Supreme Court -- the first Republican there since the turn of the century. In 1986, Martin appointed Billings to be Chief Justice. He also had named several Republicans to the Court of Appeals and the Superior Courts. But in the 1986 election, the state's voters turned the Republicans out of office and elected Democrats to each of the judgeships up for election. That wiped out Republican gains in the judiciary, until more vacancies began to appear and Martin filled them with Republican appointees.

But as the registration gap between Democrats and Republicans continues to narrow, and as North Carolina voters continue to cross over party lines in their

voting patterns, the Republican Party will continue to benefit. This maturing of the two-party system in North Carolina will continue to unfold, in ways we can document and accurately predict, and perhaps in ways we cannot yet imagine. But one thing appears certain. The old days of a Democratic Party stranglehold on North Carolina are disappearing -- and may be long gone.

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FOOTNOTES

¹V.O. Key, Southern Politics In State and Nation, Vintage Books, 1949, p. 283.

²Richard Trilling and Daniel F. Harkins, "The Growth of Party Competition in North Carolina," published in Politics and Policy in North Carolina, edited by Thad L. Beyle and Merle Black, MSS Information Corporation, 1975, p. 86.

³Walter DeVries, "Ticket-Splitting in North Carolina: The 1972 Elections," published in Politics and Policy in North Carolina, edited by Thad L. Beyle and Merle Black, MSS Information Corporation, 1975, p. 113.

⁴Earl Black and Merle Black, Politics and Society in the South, Harvard University Press, 1987, p. 266.

⁵Gingles v. Thornburg, ___ U.S. ___, 106 Sup. Ct. 2752, 92 L. Ed. 2d 25 (1986).

⁶Haith v. Martin, 618 F. Supp. 410 (E.D.N.C.) 1985; aff'd 54 U.S.L.W. 3840 (June 23, 1986).

⁷Republican Party of N.C. et. al. v. James G. Martin et. al., Civil Action C-87-779-G (M.D.N.C.) 1987.

⁸Allocation of funds for state road maintenance is largely set by a formula comprising a number of program requirements for distribution of funds set by the Federal Highway Administration.

⁹Paul T. O'Connor, "When It Comes To Economic Development, Jim Martin and Bob Jordan Have Big Plans," North Carolina Insight, Vol. 9, No. 4, June 1987, pp. 40-43.

¹⁰For more on the Advisory Budget Commission, see Lacy Maddox, "Separation of Powers in North Carolina," Boards, Commissions and Councils in the Executive Branch of North Carolina State Government, N.C. Center for Public Policy Research, January 1985, pp. 41-63.

