



**NORTH CAROLINA CENTER FOR
PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH, INC.**

NEWS RELEASE

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**49 LEGISLATORS ALREADY NOT RETURNING,
COULD SET TURNOVER RECORD, SAYS N.C. POLICY CENTER**

Even before Primary Election Day, almost a third of the state's legislators will not return to their seats in 2013. Of the 170 legislators in the 2011-12 N.C. General Assembly, 49 members – including 26 Republicans and 23 Democrats – will not return next year. And, due to redistricting, three of these are incumbents who will not return because they face another incumbent in the primaries, and three of those six will lose.

In the 2011-12 legislature, there were already 46 freshman legislators (27 percent). With 49 more legislators (29 percent) not returning in 2013, freshman and sophomore legislators will make up more than half of the 2013 General Assembly. "With this much turnover, a combined 481 years of institutional memory and policy expertise will be lost. On the other hand, there will be room for lots of new ideas," says Ran Coble, executive director of the N.C. Center for Public Policy Research.

Potential for Record-Setting Turnover

The modern records for highest legislative turnover were set in 1973 and 1975, when 65 and 70 new legislators, respectively, came to the General Assembly. "Depending on the outcomes of the May 8th primary and November 6th general election, North Carolina's legislative turnover in 2013 could approach or surpass the record turnover of the mid-1970s," says Coble.

In 1973, the Republican Party became a force in North Carolina with the victories of Republican U.S. Senator Jesse Helms and Republican Governor Jim Holshouser. By 1975, the record-setting turnover swung the opposite direction as many Democrats were elected to the N.C. General Assembly as part of the nationwide backlash against the Watergate scandal involving President Richard Nixon and Republican Party campaign officials.

The Reasons for Legislators' Departures

The Center says there are four reasons for this year's legislative turnover – retirements, runs for higher office, accepting other jobs, and, most of all, redistricting. "Departing legislators have different reasons for leaving, but all returning legislators will have a lot of new faces to meet in the 2013 session," says Coble.

Examples of retiring legislators are nine-term Senator Charlie Dannelly (D-Mecklenburg), 87, who is retiring to care for his ailing wife, and nine-term Representative Larry Womble (D-Forsyth), 70, who is retiring after a serious auto accident. Another departure resulted from the death of Sen. James Forrester (R-Gaston) last

October. In addition, three of the five Democratic Representatives who joined Republicans to override Democratic Gov. Beverly Perdue's veto of the Republicans' budget are retiring – Dewey Hill (D-Columbus), Bill Owens (D-Pasquotank), and Timothy Spear (D-Washington).

Several legislators are leaving the General Assembly to run for higher office. These include Rep. Bill Faison (D-Orange), who is running for Governor; Sen. Eric Mansfield (D-Cumberland), Rep. Dale Folwell (R-Forsyth), and Rep. Grey Mills (R-Iredell), who are running for Lieutenant Governor; and Sen. David Rouzer (R-Johnston), Rep. Ric Killian (R-Mecklenburg), Rep. Fred Steen (R-Rowan), and Rep. Patsy Keever (D-Buncumbe), who all are running for Congressional seats. Representatives Glen Bradley (R-Franklin), Bill Cook (R-Beaufort), Earline Parmon (D-Forsyth), and Norman Sanderson (R-Pamlico) are all leaving the N.C. House to run for the state Senate.

New job opportunities also pulled members away from the legislature. Sen. Debbie Clary (R-Cleveland) and Rep. Jeff Barnhardt (R-Cabarrus) left the legislature for careers in lobbying and Rep. David Guice (R-Transylvania) accepted a position as Director of the Division of Community Corrections in the Department of Public Safety.

Redistricting of the state's 170 legislative districts – 50 Senate and 120 House Districts – had the biggest impact on legislative turnover. The legislative maps drawn by Republicans put at least 10 Senators into districts with other incumbents, usually with a Republican advantage. The maps put 28 House incumbents into districts with other incumbents. Putting two incumbents in one district is called "double bunking." Some legislators, such as Rep. Grier Martin (D-Wake), were double bunked with another veteran legislator and chose not to run. Other legislators like Democratic Representatives Jim Crawford (D-Granville) and Winkie Wilkins (D-Person) are competing against each other in the May 8th primary, and one of the two will lose his seat in the state House.

The new legislative maps shift political clout to urban areas and to Republicans. John Rustin, director of the N.C. Free Enterprise Foundation, says that the new Senate redistricting maps create:

- 16 strong Democratic districts,
- 2 that lean Democratic,
- 13 strong Republican districts,
- 14 that lean Republican, and
- 5 swing districts.

With 50 members in the N.C. Senate, 26 seats are needed for a majority. In the House, the new redistricting maps create:

- 34 strong Democratic districts,
- 10 that lean Democratic,
- 48 strong Republican districts,
- 18 that lean Republican, and
- 10 swing districts.

With 120 legislators in the N.C. House, 61 seats are needed for a majority.

The redistricting maps have been challenged in a lawsuit, and a three-judge panel of Superior Court judges will hear motions and have attorneys file briefs in mid-August 2012. A trial and decision are not expected before September.

Some Legislative Seats Already Won for Their Political Party

In legislative districts across the state, 34 incumbent legislators are running unopposed in both the primary and general elections. Additionally, 31 other legislators have opposition only in their party's primary and not in the general election. These seats will be a victory for their party, regardless of the candidate elected. Finally, there are 3 legislators whose only opposition in the fall comes from Libertarian Party candidates. Libertarian Party candidates have never won a legislative race in North Carolina. Combining unopposed races,

aces with opposition only in the same party's primary, and races only with Libertarian Party opposition, 19 seats are likely already determined in the Senate – 12 will be Republicans and 7 will be Democrats. More than a third of the makeup of the N.C. House is set as 26 will be Republicans and 23 will be Democrats.

Some of the Most Effective Legislators Won't Be Back

Some of the most effective legislators also won't be back in 2013. The Center released new rankings of all legislators' effectiveness on April 10th, based on the surveys of all legislators, lobbyists, and capital news media. Sen. Richard Stevens (R-Wake), ranked the 3rd most effective in the Senate, is retiring after serving five terms. Former Speaker of the House Rep. Joe Hackney (D-Orange), ranked as the 13th most effective Representative, has served 16 terms in the House. Hackney is retiring after being double-bunked in redistricting with Rep. Verla Insko (D-Orange). Rep. Dale Folwell (R-Forsyth), who ranked 8th in effectiveness, is leaving the House to run for Lieutenant Governor. Rep. Jim Crawford (D-Granville), ranked 7th most effective, faces Rep. Winkie Wilkins (D-Person) in a primary election, and only one of the two can return in 2013.

About the Center

The North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research is an independent, nonpartisan, nonprofit research organization created in 1977 to evaluate state government programs and study important public policy issues facing North Carolina. The Center does *not* endorse candidates. The Center is supported in part by a grant for general operating support from the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation in Winston-Salem, with additional support from 11 other private foundations, 110 corporate contributors, and about 500 individual and organizational members. The Center publishes a journal called *North Carolina Insight* and in-depth research reports, including a study of governance of the 16 public universities in North Carolina.

The Center recently has conducted in-depth studies on issues affecting North Carolina's rapidly growing aging population and key issues facing the state's community colleges, including whether all community colleges make federal student loan programs available to their students. Upcoming studies will evaluate the state's mental health reforms and examine state tuition and financial aid policy, including how to increase NC's college-going and college completion rates.

This research on legislative turnover is available free online at the Center's website at www.nccppr.org. Printed copies of the latest effectiveness rankings released on April 10th are available from the Center for \$10, or you may download a digital copy from the Center's website at www.nccppr.org for \$10. You also may order an entire set of online publications for \$40 – including *Article II: A Citizen's Guide to the 2011-2012 N.C. Legislature*, the effectiveness rankings, and rankings of the most influential lobbyists (to be released in August). To order just the printed rankings booklet, write the Center at P.O. Box 430, Raleigh, NC 27602, call (919) 832-2839; fax (919) 832-2847; or email Tammy Bromley at tbromley@nccppr.org. To subscribe to *Article II* online, which includes both sets of rankings, visit www.nccppr.org.

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For more information, call Ran Coble, executive director of the N.C. Center for Public Policy Research, at (919) 832-2839.

**TABLE 1. LEGISLATIVE TURNOVER
2011 LEGISLATORS WHO WILL NOT BE BACK IN 2013**

**Already 49 of 170 (29%) legislators in the 2011-12 N.C. General Assembly will not return in 2013.
This is even before voting in the May 8th Primary Election or Nov. 6th General Election.
Previous Years with High Turnover: 70 of 170 legislators (41%) in 1975, 65 (38%) in 1973**

REPUBLICANS Total: 6 Senate, 20 House = 26

Senate (6)

Sen. Harris Blake, retiring, maybe because of redistricting; double-bunked in the same district with Sen. Jerry Tillman
Sen. Debbie Clary, retired to go into lobbying
Sen. Jim Forrester, died
Sen. Jean Preston, retiring
Sen. David Rouzer, running for Congress (7th district)
Sen. Richard Stevens, retiring

House (20)

Rep. Jeff Barnhardt, retired to go into lobbying
Rep. Glen Bradley, running for state Senate District 18 (Bradley also was double-bunked in the same district with Rep. Jeff Collins)
Rep. Bill Cook, running for state Senate District 1
Rep. Bill Current, retiring
Repub. Representative Jimmy Dixon is double-bunked with Repub. Rep. Efton Sager; one of them will not be back
Rep. Dale Folwell, running for Lieutenant Governor
Rep. Phillip Frye, retiring; redistricting: double-bunked in the same district with Repub. Rep. Mitch Gillespie
Rep. David Guice, took job in executive branch in Dept. of Public Safety
Rep. Mark Hilton, retiring
Repub. Representative Mark Hollo is double-bunked in the same district with Repub. Rep. Darrell McCormick, and one of them will not be back; McCormick filed for the seat but withdrew on March 16th.
Rep. Dan Ingle, retiring
Rep. Carolyn Justice, retiring
Rep. Ric Killian, running for Congress (9th District)
Rep. Danny McComas, retiring
Rep. Bill McGee, retiring
Rep. Grey Mills, running for Lt. Governor
Rep. Shirley Randleman, retiring
Rep. Johnathan Rhyne, retired
Rep. Norm Sanderson, running for state Senate District 2
Rep. Fred Steen, running for Congress (8th District)

DEMOCRATS Total: 6 Senate, 17 House = 23

Senate (6)

Sen. Bob Atwater, retiring because of redistricting: double-bunked in the same district with Democ. Sen.

Ellie Kinnaird

Sen. Charlie Dannelly, retiring, though will be on ballot

Sen. Linda Garrou, retiring because of redistricting: double-bunked in the same district with Repub. Sen. Pete

Brunstetter

Sen. Eric Mansfield, running for Lt. Governor

Sen. Bill Purcell, retiring

Sen. Don Vaughan, retiring because of redistricting

House (17)

Rep. Alice Bordsen, retiring

Rep. Bill Faison, running for Governor

Rep. Joe Hackney, retiring; redistricting: double-bunked in the same district with Democ. Rep. Verla Insko

Rep. Phil Haire, retiring

Rep. Dewey Hill, retiring; redistricting: double-bunked in the same district as Repub. Rep. G.L. Pridgen

Rep. Maggie Jeffus, retiring; redistricting: double-bunked in the same district with Democ. Rep. Pricey

Harrison

Rep. Patsy Keever, running for Congress (10th district); double-bunked in the same district with Democ.

Rep. Susan Fisher

Rep. Grier Martin, retiring; redistricting: double-bunked in the same district with Democ. Rep. Deborah Ross

Rep. Frank McGuirt, retiring

Rep. Bill Owens, retiring

Rep. Diane Parfitt, retiring; redistricting: double-bunked in the same district with Democ. Rep. Rick Glazier

Rep. Earline Parmon, running for state Senate District 32

Rep. Tim Spear, retiring; redistricting: double-bunked in the same district as Repub. Rep. Bill Cook

Rep. Edith Warren, retiring

Rep. Jennifer Weiss, retiring; redistricting: double-bunked in the same district with Repub. Rep. Tom Murry

Democ. Rep. Winkie Wilkins is double-bunked with Democ. Rep. Jim Crawford; one of them will not be back

Rep. Larry Womble, retiring after car accident

Calculating Turnover

The Center's count of non-returning legislators (49 total) includes legislators serving almost all of the legislative days in 2011-12. It does not include former Senate President Pro Tem, Marc Basnight, who resigned Jan. 1, 2011 before the session even started, and it does not include Rep. Pryor Gibson, who resigned March 3, 2011. It also does not include Sen. Wes Westmoreland (R-Cleveland), who did not serve in the 2011 session but was appointed in January 2012 to replace Sen. Debbie Clary.

"Double-bunked" = a legislator who was put in the same district as another incumbent legislator under the redistricting maps drawn by the Republican majorities in the 2011 N.C. General Assembly

TABLE 2. LEGISLATIVE SEATS WHERE ONE PARTY LIKELY HAS ALREADY CAPTURED THE SEAT

- because there is no opposition at all,
- because there is no opposition by other parties in the Nov. election, or
- because there is Libertarian party opposition only and no Libertarian Party candidate has ever won a legislative race in North Carolina.

A. N.C. SENATE

<u>District Number</u>	<u>Legislative Candidates</u>	<u>Party Which Has Already Won the Seat</u>
3	Clark Jenkins v. Florence Armstrong	Dem.
5	Donald Gene Davis v. Tony Moore	Dem.
6	Harry Brown	Repub.
7	Louis Pate	Repub.
10	Brent Jackson v. Mike Osborne	Repub.
14	Dan Blue	Dem.
16	Josh Stein	Dem.
20	Floyd McKissick Jr. v. Ralph McKinney	Dem.
21	Open seat: former Sen. Larry Shaw v. 5 other Democrats	Dem.
28	Gladys Robinson v. Bruce Davis	Dem.
29	Jerry Tillman v. 2 other Republicans	Repub.
33	Stan Bingham v. 2 other Republicans	Repub.
34	Andrew Brock	Repub.
35	Tommy Tucker	Repub.
36	Fletcher Hartsell	Repub.
41	Open seat with 5 Republicans running	Repub.
43	Kathy Harrington	Repub.
48	Tom Apodaca v. Fremont Brown	Repub.
24	Rick Gunn, Repub., v. Brandon Black, Libertarian	Repub.

Total Guaranteed Republican seats: 11 + 1 with Libertarian Party opposition only = 12**Total Guaranteed Democrat seats: 7**

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B. N.C. HOUSE

District Number	<u>Legislative Candidates</u>	<u>Party Which Has Already Won the Seat</u>
5	Annie Mobley v. Linda Blackburn	Dem.
7	Angie Bryant v. William Duke Hancock	Dem.
11	Duane Hall	Dem.
14	George Cleveland	Repub.
15	Phil Shepard	Repub.
16	Open seat with 3 Republicans running	Repub.
21	Larry Bell	Dem.
22	Bill Brisson v. Matt Dixon	Dem.
23	Joe Tolson v. William Soloman	Dem.
24	Jean Farmer-Butterfield	Dem.
28	James Langdon	Repub.
29	Larry Hall	Dem.
30	Paul Luebke	Dem.
31	Mickey Michaux	Dem.
33	Rosa Gill v. Bernard Allen II	Dem.
34	Deborah Ross	Dem.
38	Open seat with 3 Democrats running	Dem.
39	Darren Jackson v. 2 other Democrats	Dem.
47	Charles Graham	Dem.
48	Garland Pierce	Dem.
52	Jamie Boles	Repub.
59	Open seat with 3 Republicans running	Repub.
60	Marcus Brandon v. former Rep. Earl Jones	Dem.
66	Ken Goodman	Dem.
69	Open seat with 2 Republicans running	Repub.
70	Pat Hurley	Repub.
75	Donny Lambeth	Repub.
81	Rayne Brown	Repub.
82	Larry Pittman v. Jay White	Repub.
87	Edgar Starnes v. Jordon Greene	Repub.
89	Mitch Setzer	Repub.
90	Sarah Stevens	Repub.
94	Open seat with 3 Republicans running	Repub.
95	Open seat with 3 Republicans running	Repub.
97	Jason Saine v. 2 other Republicans	Repub.
99	Rodney Moore	Dem.
101	Beverly Earle v. Lawrence Brinson	Dem.
103	Bill Brawley	Repub.
104	Ruth Samuelson	Repub.
105	Open seat with 2 Republicans running	Repub.
106	Carla Cunningham	Dem.
108	John Torbett	Repub.
109	Open seat with former Rep. Wil Neumann v. 3 other Republicans	Repub.
111	Tim Moore	Repub.
114	Susan Fisher	Dem.
117	Chuck McGrady v. Roger Snyder	Repub.
120	Roger West v. Mike Edwards	Repub.
13	Pat McElraft, Repub. v. Wyatt Rike, Libertarian	Repub.
27	Michael Wray v. James Mills (both Dems.) v. Jesse Shearin (Lib.)	Dem.

Total Guaranteed Republican Seats: 25 + 1 with Libertarian Party opposition only = 26

Total Guaranteed Democrat Seats: 22 + 1 with Libertarian Party opposition only = 23