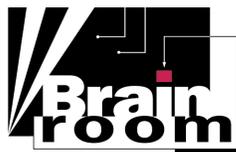


AMERICA'S
*** ELECTION HQ ***

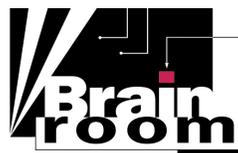
Indiana & North Carolina Primaries Brainroom Briefing Book



Bryan S. Murphy
Sr. Political Affairs Specialist
Fox News Channel

Table of Contents

Introduction – May 6 Primaries.....	3
Indiana Poll Times.....	4
Delegates Available in Indiana on May 6.....	4
Indiana.....	5
Profile of Indiana.....	6
Comparing Indiana to Pennsylvania.....	9
Supporters in Indiana.....	10
Voter Registration and Early Voting in Indiana.....	11
Indiana’s Open Primary.....	12
Projecting Indiana’s Delegate Allocation.....	13
Indiana Primary History.....	14
North Carolina Poll Times.....	16
Delegates Available in North Carolina on May 6.....	16
North Carolina.....	17
Profile of North Carolina.....	19
Supporters in North Carolina.....	20
The Obama-Wright Ad.....	21
North Carolina Voter Registration.....	21
Delegates in North Carolina.....	21
North Carolina is a Semi-Closed Primary.....	21
North Carolina Primary History.....	22
Endnotes.....	23



Introduction – May 6 Primaries

Even with her renewed momentum after Pennsylvania, it will be almost impossible for Clinton to overcome Obama's pledged delegate lead given the number of delegates at stake in the remaining contests.

Clinton's campaign has been arguing that she should get the shot at the White House because she is more popular with the working-class voters who make up the backbone of the party.

She appears to be gaining strength, especially among the white working class that has reacted negatively to Obama's association with Rev. Jeremiah Wright -- the Illinois senator's former pastor who called from the pulpit for God to damn America for its treatment of African-Americans.

Obama has struggled to regain his footing ahead of the twin primaries in Indiana and North Carolina. Obama has struggled to overcome fallout from his former pastor's controversial comments and suggestions that he is an elitist.¹

Indiana has been called a must-win state for Clinton. Not only is Clinton behind in accumulating presidential delegates, she now also faces a new test: Showing that she can seize the opportunity, created by Wright, to win over a cross-section of Democrats in the broadly representative state.

The media and even Obama's supporters are wondering how much of a toll the Wright issue has taken on Obama. At least this week, the Rev. Wright distraction has been not only perpetual but potentially damaging.

While Clinton advisers say that she needs to carry Indiana to start trying to catch up with Obama's lead in delegates, some political analysts said that even a virtual tie would be a setback because it would show she could not beat Obama when he was struggling.

Polls show the Indiana race to be close with Clinton holding a small lead in most polls.

Obama has long been expected to win North Carolina – thanks to his strong support among blacks, who make up 22 percent of the state's population, well above the national average – but there have been some recent signs that the race in North Carolina could be more competitive than expected.

Many North Carolina polls show Obama leading by double digits, but the polls have been tightening. Also, the state's governor, Mike Easley, recently endorsed Clinton.²

A victory in Indiana and even a good showing in North Carolina the same day would give Clinton the justification and ensuing donations she needs to stay in the race until June, when all the remaining territories and states will have voted. A loss would add to recent calls from some prominent Democrats for her to drop out.³

In response to the defection of one of her longtime superdelegate supporters this week, Clinton told ABC's "Nightline": "I think this has been good for the Democratic Party. ... People can decide however they want to decide. That's up to them. But anyone who believes this is bad for the party I just think is not paying attention, because the level of enthusiasm to be part of this process is, from my perspective, helping us build a stronger and deeper Democratic base."⁴

Obama has taken to ridiculing Clinton and McCain's proposed suspension of the federal gasoline tax as a political placebo. The proposed federal summer gas tax holiday is a clear-cut policy difference between Obama and Clinton, a rarity. Obama implied on May 2 the plan was pandering to voters worried about rising gas prices, and said Clinton and McCain are "reading from the same political playbook."⁵

Indiana Poll Times

Polls open at 6:00am EDT.
Polls close at 7:00pm EDT.

All counties close at 6:00PM local time. The majority of the state is in ETZ and closes at 6:00PM ET, however 12 counties are in CTZ and close at 7:00PM ET including: Gibson, Jasper, Lake, Laporte, Newton, Perry, Porter, Posey, Spencer, Starke, Vanderburgh, and Warrick.

Delegates Available in Indiana on May 6

At stake in the primary are the state's 72 Democratic pledged delegates, which will be apportioned according to each candidate's share of the vote. Indiana also has 13 superdelegates.

Indiana has 57 GOP delegates.

State	Type	Who can participate	Dem delegates	Rep Delegates
Indiana	Open Primary	<p>Each voter selects a party ballot and their choice is recorded. A voter's party affiliation is determined solely by his or her Primary voting record.</p> <p>If voter's choice to align with a party is challenged, they must state they have previously supported that party/intend to in general election.</p>	<p>72 in the primary</p> <p>47 district level 25 statewide</p> <p>13 super-delegates</p> <p>Total: 85</p> <p>Pledged district level delegates are allocated according to the primary vote in each of the state's 9 congressional districts, with a 15% threshold. Pledged statewide delegates are allocated according to the statewide vote, with a 15% threshold.</p>	<p>27 in the primary</p> <p>27 district level 27 statewide</p> <p>3 RNC delegates</p> <p>Total: 57</p> <p>The GOP Presidential Primary will allocate 27 CD delegates – winner-take-all per CD vote. The remaining 30 At Large delegates are unpledged.</p>

Indiana

Conventional wisdom holds that Indiana is a Rust Belt rematch, advantage Clinton following her victories in other states with large numbers of blue-collar voters.

Before the first speech or TV commercial here, both campaigns sized up Republican-red Indiana as naturally more competitive than Pennsylvania or any other late Democratic presidential primary, including North Carolina.

As a result, they each see a potential turning point, the front-running Obama eager to wrap up the nomination and Clinton determined to keep her candidacy alive with a strong run through the spring contests.⁶

Clinton's Indiana strategy relies on the state's similarities with eastern neighbor Ohio, where fertile farmland and factory towns produced blue-collar workers who propelled her to victory there.

To the west is Obama's home state, Illinois, where he has long been a familiar face in the Chicago TV market that serves northern Indiana and trounced Clinton in the state's Feb. 5 primary. The Illinois senator often jokes about "making a break" for home while campaigning in the Hoosier state.

The result: Neither candidate has a clear advantage. Polls are close, making Indiana perhaps the biggest question mark left on the primary calendar.

Obama, who holds the edge in overall delegates, says the state is a potential "tiebreaker." Clinton tells Indiana crowds their votes will decide who becomes the next president.⁷

The two campaigns have had a regular presence in the state since Obama first held a town hall meeting in Plainfield, an Indianapolis suburb, on March 15. And both brought in top organizers to run the state operation.

Obama outspent Clinton 4-to-1 on Indiana television ads through mid-April, dropping \$1.6 million to Clinton's \$400,000. Clinton and her top surrogates -- husband Bill and daughter Chelsea -- have blanketed the state in the past month.⁸

Current polling shows the race to be knotted among likely Democratic voters. Though political polling is difficult in this state because voters don't register by party, Clinton is believed to have a slight edge.

The contest in Indiana is unlikely to change the delegate math, which Obama leads by a substantial margin. But a win would provide a critical psychological boost for Obama, who has lost several large states with older populations and relatively few minority residents. For Clinton, winning Indiana would let her press her claim to party elders that she is the more-electable candidate in the fall.⁹

In a meeting with The Indianapolis Star Editorial Board on April 29, Clinton wouldn't address whether she'll stay in the race if she doesn't win Indiana, but said her upbringing near Chicago and her message of turning this from the "rust belt" to the "opportunity belt" helps her connect with Hoosier voters.

"I'm going to try to do as well as I can in Indiana. I never make predictions because who knows," she said.¹⁰

Profile of Indiana

Straddling a shifting voting base that defies conventional labels, Indiana's Democratic Party is a mash-up of political cultures that may prove difficult for Obama and Rodham Clinton to harness as they press for a definitive victory.

Veteran Indiana Democrats warn that the state's complicated voting mosaic raises the prospect of another hard-fought stalemate that could fail to conclusively transform the race.¹¹

As the Democratic presidential hopefuls turned to Indiana as a new battleground in the fight for the nomination, they find themselves facing a different audience in places like Kokomo, a blue-collar city in the middle of endless expanses of farms north of Indianapolis. In some ways, these are voters not so unlike those in other Rust Belt states, like Pennsylvania, but with an added dose of nostalgia and a practical, Midwestern sensibility.

Politically, though, Indiana is by no means monolithic: its terrain is more of a quilt, as elaborate as its tangled time-zone map, complicating matters for the campaigns as they decide where to devote time and money.

Northwest Indiana, often viewed as an extension of suburban Chicago and sharing Chicago's television market, is seen as strong territory for Obama, who lives on the South Side of Chicago. Indianapolis, the state capital, which includes a large segment of Indiana's African-American population, is also expected to lean toward Obama.¹²

"People are a little more familiar with me in Indiana," says the senator from next-door Illinois, claiming a better chance than he had in Pennsylvania, where Clinton beat him convincingly.

Proximity to Obama's home state matters, according to both campaigns.

"Indiana borders Illinois and shares media markets, which is a huge help to Senator Obama," said Howard Wolfson, a top strategist for Clinton. "He has not yet lost a state that borders Illinois."

Roughly 20 percent or so of the primary electorate lives within reach of Chicago television stations, meaning that thousands of potential voters have been watching Obama in their homes since his successful 2004 Senate election campaign. The part of Indiana nearest Chicago also is home to large numbers of blacks, likely to support Obama overwhelmingly.¹³

While Obama does well among black voters, Indiana's total black population is just 9 percent.

Many of those black voters are in the industrial cities along Lake Michigan, where Obama expects to do well. He also expects strong showings in Indianapolis and its burgeoning suburbs and Bloomington, home to Indiana University's main campus.¹⁴

Those areas typically account for more than 40 percent of the statewide Democratic vote, and Obama courted the college vote heavily with the Matthews concert at Indiana University.

In the blue-collar, rural parts south of Indianapolis, where the residents often have stronger links to Kentucky than to Illinois (or even Indiana), Clinton is expected to have the advantage.¹⁵

If Obama is to carry Indiana, he'll have to reach deep into Clinton territory -- rural voters and white working-class communities like those along the Ohio River.¹⁶

Clinton could do well in the blue-collar factory towns throughout the state's northern half, many of which have been hit hard by job losses -- much like Ohio, another heavy manufacturing state. Indiana's unemployment rate, though, is about half a percentage point lower than Ohio's 5.7 percent, which might soften her advantage with blue-collar workers.

Still, her message that Indiana's top issue is "jobs, jobs, jobs" resonates with many.¹⁷

Clinton is mining the small southern towns and the sprawling auto plants in the central part of the state to maintain her winning Pennsylvania base among older and white rural and blue-collar voters.¹⁸

There's plenty of Rust Belt vintage, blue-collar misery for Democrats to tap into. Indiana is among the biggest losers in terms of the demise of heavy manufacturing, personal income and economic damage done to formerly powerful factory cities like Anderson and Muncie. Historically high gasoline prices and the tight credit market have seriously hurt sales of the state's signature motor vehicle, the dinosaur-like RV.

However, only 12 percent of Indiana's workers are union members, according to the Census Bureau. The unionized auto manufacturing jobs are dying in Anderson, Muncie and elsewhere, and with that goes political clout.¹⁹

Clinton is expected to have the upper hand in factory towns like Anderson and Muncie, where blue-collar anger runs deep over the North American Free Trade Agreement and other, pending foreign trade deals. But the powerful United Auto Workers union has held off from an endorsement.

As the long presidential primary campaign has gotten mired in a weekly slugfest, some nervous Indiana Democrats have become wild cards, unsure who they will support. As stressed voters grapple with their choices, Indiana's knotty demographic mix is forcing the candidates and their burgeoning teams of operatives and volunteers to make adjustments.

Between Gary's steel mill smokestacks to the north and the rolling terrain of southern Indiana farming towns overlooking the Ohio River, Obama and Clinton are making checkerboard moves to energize their bases while also making forays into enemy turf.

Obama has campaigned through the southern Indiana Democratic enclaves of Evansville and New Albany, river cities that may be his best hope in that region. Some of the Kentucky border towns were Ku Klux Klan strongholds as late as the 1920s, and despite decades of racial progress, political observers predict that some rural voters will quietly remain resistant to an African American presidential candidate.

"I expect you'll see some voting along racial lines," said James McDowell, a professor of political science at Indiana State University. "My guess is she'll do well in the southern counties."

Clinton's toughest challenge is farther upstate, where new registration has soared among students in college towns like Bloomington, home of Indiana University.²⁰

As with so many recent primaries, no one -- here or elsewhere -- ever anticipated that Indiana's presidential primary would matter much. For 40 years, the primary here has come too late, so the change comes as a shock to voters who rarely had seen presidential campaign advertisements, to political organizers and to overwhelmed election registrars.

And unlike some other states, including Pennsylvania, Indiana has mostly been ignored in general elections, too. It has long been written off by both parties as so reliably Republican in presidential races as to not be worth much note. After 1936, a Democratic presidential candidate has won the general election here only once, Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964.²¹

It is ironic that a tomato-red state like Indiana could heavily influence the nomination of the blue-party candidate who, according to one Indiana lobbyist, will be trounced here in November by "any Republican who happens to be alive."²²

With all the talk among the Democratic presidential hopefuls about change, they may wish to consider this as they wander Indiana: People here practically revolted a few years ago when their governor, Mitch Daniels, pushed to change to daylight saving time like most of the country.²³

A more than half-century-long fight over where to set the clock officially ended a couple of years ago, when most of Indiana moved its clocks ahead, along with other states. There is still a residue of resentment from those who feel it violates bovine sensibilities and "Hoosier exceptionalism."

A recent poll asked Hoosiers to rate the most important issue facing the state, and 5 percent said daylight-saving time.²⁴

Indiana's 2007 population of about 6.3 million includes a higher percentage of the non-Hispanic white-alone population and a lower percentage of Hispanics than the nation as a whole, according to U.S. Census Bureau statistics. About 59 percent of Indiana's voting-age citizens cast a ballot in the 2004 general election. The national rate was 64 percent.

Selected Characteristics	Indiana	U.S.
Median age	36.3	36.4
Women	50.7%	50.7%
White alone, not Hispanic or Latino	83.9%	66.4%
Black alone	8.9%	12.8%
Hispanic or Latino	4.8%	14.8%
Median household income	\$45,394	\$48,451
Foreign born	4.2%	12.5%
Persons below poverty	12.7%	13.3%
Bachelor's degree or higher (age 25+)	21.7%	27.0%
Median home value	\$120,700	\$185,200

Source: U.S. Census Bureau Total Population Estimates (2007), State Population Estimates by Characteristics (2006), American Community Survey (2006).

Comparing Indiana to Pennsylvania

Compared with Pennsylvania, there are differences in geography, age, religion and rules that permit independents to vote, each of which figures to benefit Obama. Yet Indiana is more rural, and Clinton has the support of Sen. Evan Bayh, the state's pre-eminent Democrat. It is home to a significant blue-collar population, and a spirited gubernatorial primary with a woman on the ballot may help raise turnout among female voters who prefer Clinton.

Independents and Republicans are allowed to vote in the Democratic primary in Indiana, a change from the Democrats-only rules that applied in Pennsylvania. That's presumably good news for Obama, who has outpolled Clinton among independents in the contests to date by a combined 55-39 percent.

Then, too, the population in Indiana is significantly younger than in Pennsylvania.

In Indiana, 12.4 percent of all residents were age 65 or older in 2006, according to Census Bureau statistics. In Pennsylvania, where it was 15.2 percent, those voters cast 22 percent of all ballots in the April 22 primary, a total that reflected a well-established tendency of seniors to vote in disproportionately high numbers. Clinton won 63 percent of their votes.

"Demographically, the biggest difference is that there's a lower Catholic vote compared to Pennsylvania," said Geoff Garin, Clinton's top strategist. "And as well as she's been doing with older people and blue collar voters, our best group on a pretty consistent basis has been Catholics."

Catholics accounted for slightly more than a third of the votes cast in the Pennsylvania primary. Clinton won their support overwhelmingly, but split the Protestant vote with Obama.

Garin estimated Catholics will cast roughly 20 percent of the Indiana ballots.

Pete Brodnitz, a pollster working in the gubernatorial race, agreed, and said Protestants likely will cast more than twice as many votes as Catholics in Indiana.

Garin and Yang are at the same firm, and Brodnitz and Joel Benenson, an Obama pollster, are partners. Both pairs say they keep their work separated.

The 2000 Census found that 29 percent of Hoosiers live in rural areas, considerably higher than the 23 percent in Pennsylvania, and that means a large conservative population, even in a Democratic primary. That ought to be good news for Clinton, who won more than 60 percent of the rural vote in the last primary.

Indiana also is marginally more white than Pennsylvania, and its residents are slightly less well educated, according to the Census Bureau. More good news for the former first lady, based on earlier primaries.²⁵

Indiana has a large concentration of the working-class white voters whom Clinton has won over in other states. Exit polls from Pennsylvania showed Clinton carried white voters by a 26-percentage-point margin. She captured voters without college degrees by 16 percentage points.²⁶

Then there's the gubernatorial primary between Jill Long Thompson and Jim Schellinger, a close race that may give women a stronger-than-usual incentive to vote than in Pennsylvania. As the strongest female presidential candidate in history, Clinton has consistently outpolled Obama among women.

Finally, there is an unknown impact of a Republican-crafted state law requiring voters to show a photo identification before they are given ballots. Democratic critics have long claimed it presents an unconstitutional barrier to voting, but the U.S. Supreme Court recently upheld the measure.²⁷

Supporters in Indiana

Clinton has the support of popular Sen. Evan Bayh, a former two-term governor often mentioned as a potential Clinton running mate. Bayh has joined Clinton on campaign trips across the state, and her first Indiana TV ad featured him almost exclusively.²⁸

Bayh has been using his name, his political muscle, and his instantly recognizable face to draw Hoosiers to Clinton's cause.

"To the extent there's a Democratic Party machine in Indiana, it is Evan Bayh's," said Anita Dunn, a Democratic strategist who has worked for Bayh but is helping Senator Barack Obama in the presidential race.

Bayh has secured for Clinton key endorsements from mayors in the Democratic strongholds of northwest Indiana, despite the region's proximity to Obama's hometown of Chicago. He has sent top staff members to help run Clinton's campaign. He has vouched for Clinton's "spine of steel" in the first statewide television ad run by her campaign. And he has lobbied undecided local leaders across the state and leaned on members of Indiana's congressional delegation.

Still, Bayh's sway over such a high-profile presidential primary is difficult to measure. And many, including Bayh, play down whether Indiana has the same kind of big-state machine that can swing the election for a certain candidate.

"I don't think anyone can deliver a state. It's ultimately up to the candidate to do that," Bayh said in an interview. "My connection to the people of Indiana is personal, it's close. But it's hard to transfer that."²⁹

On May 2, Clinton picked up the endorsement of Indiana's largest newspaper, which cited her experience. The Indianapolis Star praised both candidates, but said "Clinton is the better choice, based on her experience and grasp of major issues."³⁰

Some leading Indiana Democrats have endorsed Obama, including US Representatives Baron Hill and Andre Carson and Joe Andrew, a former Democratic National Committee chairman who announced his switch from Clinton to Obama on May 1. Andrew said he believed it was important for party leaders to make an "independent decision about what we think is right for the country." Andrew urged fellow superdelegates to unite behind Obama, warning that the protracted primary fight is hurting the party and helping McCain.³¹

Former Indiana Rep. Lee Hamilton, vice chairman of the 9/11 commission, backed Obama in early April in a move that could help Obama's foreign policy and national security credibility.

Obama also is touting his work with Republican Sen. Richard Lugar on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; one TV ad shows them together as the announcer describes Obama as a leader on arms control.³²

Obama raised nearly three times as much money from Indiana last month as Clinton did, according to their most recent disclosure reports filed with the Federal Election Commission.

Obama raised \$218,865 from Indiana donors in March compared with the \$79,622 in Hoosier dollars contributed to Clinton. Obama has raised a total \$883,375 from Indiana since the race began, compared with \$664,254 raised by Clinton.

The sweetest fundraising spot for Obama and Clinton in Indiana was Indianapolis. Obama raised \$252,638 from Indianapolis residents; Clinton raised \$179,470.³³

Only individuals giving more than \$200 have to be identified by name, occupation and address on the disclosure reports.

Voter Registration and Early Voting in Indiana

Indiana statewide voter registration as of April 30 was 4,318,557.

Relishing their first opportunity in four decades to make their choice count in a Democratic presidential primary, voter registrations have shot up by some 160,000 since January.³⁴ In the week before the April 7 registration deadline for the May 6 primary, nearly 86,000 forms were submitted.³⁵ Election officials expect the record for Democratic ballots cast in a presidential primary -- almost 477,000 in 1992 -- to shatter.

That may play in Obama's favor, especially among independents, a strong base for him in other states. Indiana has an open primary.

Obama's campaign has been intensely focused on new voter registration ever since staff arrived in large numbers back in mid-March. The campaign bought a list of voting-age residents who hadn't registered and called through it to see if there were potential supporters to get involved.

It also had a special effort for young voters, giving away thousands of tickets for a free Dave Matthews concert, and offering high school and college students who register their peers the chance to play basketball with the senator.³⁶

More than 10,000 people a day have been casting early ballots this week for Tuesday's Indiana primary.

The Indiana secretary of state's office reports 113,133 people have voted in person with their county clerk's office or by mail-in ballots through April 30. That is more than double the number of early votes cast four years ago in the last presidential primary.

The state is not tracking how many early votes are being cast in the Democratic or Republican primaries, but applications to county election offices for absentee ballots are running 3-to-1 Democratic.³⁷

Indiana's Open Primary

Indiana does not have party registration, so any of the state's 4.3 million registered voters may request either a Democratic or Republican ballot.³⁸

The Democratic landscape is complicated by the ability of Indiana independents and Republicans to cross over and vote in the May contest. Independent voters tilted to Obama in earlier primaries, giving him an edge in Southern states like Virginia and South Carolina. But those numbers could dwindle in Indiana if the controversy over Obama's "bitter" comment about small-town America lingers.³⁹

Some factors suggest that Republican voters may be attracted to the Democratic primary this year, including an open-primary scheme that allows voters of all political stripes to cast ballots, a settled nominating race on the Republican side and a downticket slate that includes few cliffhanger races to interest the Republican faithful. As one Republican Party official put it, "when the circus is in town, people want to go to the circus."

Some political observers, such as Democratic Party Chairman Dan Parker, say Republican turnout in the Democratic primary could reach 15%; Obama campaign officials say they expect Republicans could make up 5% of the total.

On May 2, Obama's campaign introduced three prominent Republicans who are supporting the campaign: John Clark, a top aide to Republican Gov. Mitch Daniels, who is running unopposed in the primary; William Ruckelshaus, a former Nixon administration lawyer whose family has deep ties to the state; and Jim Benham, president of the state's National Farmers Union.

The bigger sign of a changed strategy is the way the Obama camp is applying a grass-roots organizational zeal to courting Republicans, much as it has done for younger voters in previous contests. The best example: Hamilton County, a suburban enclave north of Indianapolis that delivered 72% of its vote to President Bush in 2004. This week, the Obama camp opened its third field office there, in the county seat of Noblesville.

Voters can cross party lines but only if they intend to favor that party's nominee in the fall. Voters who favor the other party's nominee in the general election can be challenged by poll workers and technically be refused a ballot.

The rule has little practical effect. Voters can trump a challenge simply by attesting that they plan to support the eventual nominee in the fall. Indeed, voters have rarely faced challenges in the past. But about a month ago, Parker, the Democratic Party Chairman who has endorsed Sen. Clinton, threatened to challenge voters statewide if he determined that Republicans were attempting "mischief."

In an interview this week, though, Parker said that his threat was mostly bluff. Challenges must be done individually and at a district level; "it would be impossible to mount a statewide effort" to stop people from voting as they please, he said.⁴⁰

Projecting Indiana's Delegate Allocation

The results from Indiana might translate to only a slight advantage for one of the candidates after the proportional awarding of delegates.⁴¹ A CQ Politics analysis of the district-by-district competition for delegates to the Democratic National Convention show that the Indiana contest could hardly be closer — with Clinton projected to end up with a razor-thin edge over Obama.

There are 72 pledged delegates at stake in the Indiana primary, along with 13 of those officially unpledged party leaders and elected officials known as “superdelegates.” Of those 72 pledged delegates, 47 are allocated among the state's nine congressional districts and will be apportioned between Clinton and Obama based on how well they do in those individual districts. The other 25 pledged delegates will be divided between Obama and Clinton based on the statewide vote.

CQ Politics performed an analysis of the Democratic presidential primary in Indiana that projects how many delegates the candidates will win in each of the nine congressional districts. Their analysis gives Clinton a 24 to 23 edge over Obama in the race for the 47 district-level delegates —this is a projection and not a hard-and-fast prediction, because of the convoluted way in which the delegates will be distributed can produce some unpredictable results.

The number of delegates that are assigned to each congressional district is determined by the Democratic turnout in the 2004 elections for president, in which President Bush easily carried a state that has for years been a Republican presidential stronghold, and governor, a race in which Republican Mitch Daniels unseated Democratic incumbent Joseph E. Kernan.

There are four Democratic delegates assigned to the Republican-leaning 3rd, 4th and 5th districts and six delegates in each of five districts that are more friendly to Democrats — the 1st, 2nd, 7th, 8th and 9th. The 6th District has five delegates.

It's notable that eight of the nine districts have an even number of delegates. Because of this, a wide range of vote percentages for the candidates will yield delegate ties of 2-2 or 3-3. In the four-delegate districts, Clinton or Obama would need 62.5 percent of the vote to garner a 3-1 delegate split; anything lower than that would yield a 2-2 tie. In a six-delegate district, the winner would need 58.3 percent of the vote to turn a 3-3 tie into a 4-2 edge.

CQ Politics anticipates that Obama will win two districts: the northwestern 1st District, which is close to his hometown of Chicago, and the Indianapolis-centered 7th District, which has a substantial black population. Clinton likely will win the other seven.

What will make or break Clinton's effort to win a substantial majority of Indiana's delegates — something she needs, as she trails Obama in the cumulative delegate race — is whether she can run up big enough margins in the districts she wins to claim those precious extra delegates, rather than having to settle for breaking even with Obama.

It's mathematically possible, if unlikely, for one candidate to win more popular votes and the other candidate to win more district-level delegates. This could happen, for example, if Obama does well enough in the 1st and 7th to win four of six delegates there, and holds Clinton's margins down enough to salvage ties in most of the rest of the districts.

The other 25 pledged delegates at stake — 16 “at-large” delegates and nine party leader and elected officials (PLEOs) — will be distributed in proportion to the statewide vote. The 16 at-large delegates will split 8-8 if the winner takes less than 53.1 percent of the vote. The statewide winner is guaranteed a 5-4 victory among the nine PLEOs; it would require 61.1 percent of the statewide vote for a 6-3 edge.

So a contest in which the popular vote winner prevails by a 6 percentage-point margin — an entirely plausible outcome — could give him or her just one more of Indiana's pledge delegates than the loser.⁴²

Indiana Primary History

Indiana's presidential primary occurs so late that the nomination for the Democratic presidential candidate is usually a foregone conclusion by the time Hoosiers get to vote.⁴³

Indiana once had the nation's earliest presidential primary. In 1916, the state's March primary was the earliest in the U.S.—New Hampshire and Minnesota voted a week later.⁴⁴

The last truly important Democratic primary in Indiana was in 1968, New York Sen. Robert F. Kennedy won the May Indiana Democratic primary, defeating Gov. Roger Branigin, a stand-in for President Lyndon B. Johnson (who decided in late March not to seek re-election), and Minnesota Sen. Eugene McCarthy, who was competing with Kennedy for support from voters who opposed the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war.⁴⁵

Kennedy was just beginning his Indiana campaign when he received word that Martin Luther King Jr. had been assassinated in Memphis. Against the advice of some local officials, Kennedy went ahead with his planned speaking engagement in a predominantly African-American neighborhood in Indianapolis. His historic remarks called for peace and reconciliation. Today, a Peace Memorial statue stands in the park where Kennedy spoke.⁴⁶

Kennedy's victory in Indiana set the stage for the crucial early June showdown with McCarthy in California in which Kennedy scored a victory that would have established him as the leader of dissident forces challenging Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey for the nomination, but was assassinated just after speaking at a victory rally in Los Angeles.⁴⁷

In 1976, Ronald Reagan surprised many by winning the Indiana presidential primary over incumbent Gerald Ford (by 51.3 to 48.7%). Weeks earlier, polls had showed Reagan about 25 percent behind in the state.⁴⁸

Indiana last had a competitive Democratic presidential primary in 1984, when the state narrowly favored Colorado Sen. Gary Hart over former Vice President Walter Mondale, the eventual Democratic nominee.⁴⁹

Indiana's 2008 Democratic Primary promises to once again make the state's presidential preference important. "This is going to be the first significant primary in Indiana since 1968," said Dan Parker, chairman of the Indiana Democratic Party.⁵⁰

May 4, 2004 Democratic Primary		
Kerry (D)	231,047	72.84%
Edwards (D)	35,651	11.24%
Dean (D)	21,482	6.77%
Clark (D)	17,437	5.50%
Kucinich (D)	7,003	2.21%
Other	4,591	1.45%

May 2, 2000 Democratic Primary		
Gore (D)	219,604	74.9%
Bradley (D)	64,339	21.9%
LaRouche (D)	9,229	3.1%

May 7, 1996 Democratic Primary		
Clinton (D)	329,462	100.0%

May 5, 1992 Democratic Primary		
Clinton (D)	301,905	63.3%
Brown (D)	102,379	21.5%
Tsongas (D)	58,215	12.2%
Kerrey (D)	14,350	3.0%

North Carolina Poll Times

Polls open at 6:30am EDT.
Polls close at 7:30pm EDT.

All polls close at 7:30PM ET. If a precinct experiences delays due to voting equipment, the local authorities may extend poll closing time to 8:30PM.

Delegates Available in North Carolina on May 6

At stake in the primary are the state's 115 Democratic pledged delegates, which will be apportioned according to each candidate's share of the vote. North Carolina also has 19 superdelegates.

North Carolina has 69 GOP delegates.

State	Type	Who can participate	Dem delegates	Rep Delegates
North Carolina	Semi-Closed Primary	Both Democrats and Republicans are allowing Unaffiliated voters to vote in their presidential primaries.	<p>115 in the primary</p> <p>77 district level 38 statewide</p> <p>19 super-delegates</p> <p>Total: 134</p> <p>Pledged district level delegates are allocated according to the primary vote in each of the state's 13 congressional districts, with a 15% threshold. Pledged statewide delegates are allocated according to the statewide vote, with a 15% threshold.</p>	<p>69 in the primary</p> <p>39 district level 27 statewide</p> <p>3 RNC delegates</p> <p>Total: 69</p> <p>Delegates are allocated between the candidates to reflect the division of votes in the primary.</p>

North Carolina

With its liberal white enclaves and large population of black voters, North Carolina has been viewed as exceptionally favorable to Obama. Public polling in the state long had him leading the former first lady by 10 points or more.⁵¹

A rise in support for Clinton has turned the North Carolina Democratic primary into an unexpectedly competitive contest, one that could have enormous consequences for the nomination.

Clinton still faces an uphill challenge in the state, which has a large black population, and Obama is still favored to win. However, a Clinton victory in North Carolina - the sort of game-changing surprise that some say she'd need to become the Democratic presidential nominee - no longer seems completely out of the question; although, it still remains the less probably outcome.

Her recent gains are the result of several factors. She is waging an exhaustive campaign, as is her husband, former President Bill Clinton, who plans to appear in 40 North Carolina communities by primary day.

She's addressing economic concerns, particularly high fuel prices, and promoting her plan for a gas-tax holiday. She received the endorsement of Gov. Michael F. Easley, the state's top Democrat, who praises her, in a new TV ad, as "resilient" and "determined."

She has also benefited from her rival's struggles. Obama's attempts to reach out to middle-class whites were overshadowed by his news conference in Winston-Salem, where he denounced Wright's most recent comments about race.⁵²

Clinton is still the underdog in North Carolina's Democratic presidential primary, but that isn't stopping her campaign from spending millions of dollars on advertising and holding rallies in dozens of communities throughout the state.

Clinton wants to avoid the kind of blowout loss to Obama she suffered in South Carolina in January. She is trying to demonstrate the breadth of her support to Democratic elected officials and other superdelegates who will sway the decision on the party's nomination.

North Carolina has a large population of the economically hard-hit rural white voters among whom Clinton has fared well in recent contests.

North Carolina offers 115 delegates, and roughly 38% of the state's registered Democrats are African-American, a demographic that favors Obama. According to exit polls, Obama captured 90% of black voters in the Pennsylvania primary. Still, Clinton beat Obama in Pennsylvania by 55% to 45%.⁵³

Clinton advisers are publicly playing down any chance of victory, but political observers in North Carolina point to several signs of an aggressive effort. To manage her campaign in the state, Clinton installed Smith, one of her top operatives, who led victories in California and Texas. The day after the Pennsylvania primary, former president Bill Clinton made several stops in small communities in the state.

Clinton challenged Obama to a debate in North Carolina, but he declined.

Clinton repeatedly challenged Obama to debate her in the state, after Obama would not commit to a previously scheduled debate. "I've said I will debate anytime, anywhere," Clinton told a crowd of several hundred in Fayetteville. "I think you deserve your own debate."⁵⁴

Ace Smith, Clinton campaign director for North Carolina, said the campaign would be happy if it could narrow the gap to single digits. "There's no question that this is an uphill battle; winning

here would be the upset of the century," Smith, who headed Clinton's operations in Texas and California.

Obama campaign manager David Plouffe told reporters he expects his candidate to make up in North Carolina for the delegates Clinton gained in Pennsylvania.⁵⁵

North Carolina, with its large African American population, has long been seen as a firewall for Obama after contests in Ohio, Pennsylvania and elsewhere that favored Clinton. A win here and in Indiana, which also votes May 6, could cement Obama's status as the front-runner.

If Clinton wins in Indiana and is able to score an upset, or even lose by a small margin, in North Carolina, her comeback would probably gain fresh momentum. A lopsided Clinton loss would essentially negate any recent gains she has made in delegates, in the nationwide popular vote and in persuading superdelegates to support her.

Craig Schirmer, who is managing Obama's campaign here, said a couple of weeks back, "It's a competitive state, and I think it's a state that will grow more competitive in the next two weeks and probably be decided in the single digits."

Aside from blunting momentum, a loss in North Carolina, the nation's 10th-largest state, would weaken Clinton's argument that she dominates the big states. Clinton has won five of the 10 most populous states and outpolled her opponents in unsanctioned contests in Florida and Michigan, where Obama was not on the ballot. Obama has won only his home state of Illinois and Georgia among the 10 largest states.⁵⁶

Profile of North Carolina

With more than a third of primary voters expected to be African American, the state's demographics favor Obama, who has won throughout the South by gaining huge majorities of the black vote. If Obama again dominates among blacks, Clinton would have to win more than two-thirds of white voters to triumph. She has done that before in the South -- in Mississippi, where she still lost, and Tennessee, where she won.

Clinton aides said their strategy, as in other states, will be to try to dominate in rural areas and perform well among women in the state's three large urban areas, around Raleigh, Charlotte and Winston-Salem, which are likely to lean toward Obama.⁵⁷

North Carolina recently passed New Jersey to become the nation's 10th most populous state. A bridge between the mid-Atlantic region and the Deep South, it is adding almost 200,000 new residents a year, including upscale retirees and workers drawn to an economy in transition from agriculture and textiles to education, banking and biotechnology.

Many of those moving in "are not tied to the history of North Carolina politics. It makes it a little more problematic to know exactly what they'll be doing" on Election Day, said Thad Beyle, a University of North Carolina political scientist.⁵⁸

North Carolina It is home to the Marine Corps' Camp Lejeune and the Army's Fort Bragg, two massive installations whose troops have suffered heavy losses in Iraq and Afghanistan.

What's left of a once vibrant manufacturing and textile industry is in tatters. Many voters blame the North American Free Trade Agreement, agreed to under President Clinton, for the decline and the thousands of job losses that followed.

The state's largest city, Charlotte, has become an international financial center as home of Bank of America Corp. and Wachovia Corp., the nation's leading retail and consumer banks.

It's high-tech economy, led by the many companies with facilities based at Research Triangle Park outside Raleigh, have withstood the national economic downturn. Home values have not suffered the same widespread decline as in other states, and North Carolina's income tax revenues remain strong compared with others.⁵⁹

The state has not voted for a Democrat for president since 1976, when Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter swept most of the South.⁶⁰

Obama and Clinton face a challenge in North Carolina that has dogged them for much of the primary -- getting a broad base of support.

Obama's support has come from blacks, higher-income professionals and college students. He needs a strong showing along the Interstate 85 corridor from the Triangle to Charlotte.

Clinton's support comes from women and working-class people in rural areas.⁶¹

North Carolina's rural voters, around 40% of the state, and blue-collar workers, favor Clinton, who handily won neighboring Tennessee.⁶²

Obama has argued that he could win the state against Republican nominee McCain in the fall, a tall order, considering the state has consistently voted Republican in recent presidential contests. George Bush won 56% of the vote in the state in 2000 and in 2004, when North Carolina Sen. John Edwards was the Democratic vice presidential nominee.⁶³

North Carolina is the nation's ninth-fastest growing state. Its 2007 population of 9.1 million grew 12.6 percent between 2000 and 2007. The U.S. population grew by 7.2 percent during that same

time period. North Carolina has a higher percentage of blacks, a lower percentage of Hispanics and a lower percentage of the foreign born population than the nation as a whole, according to U.S. Census Bureau statistics. About 61 percent of North Carolina's voting-age citizens cast a ballot in the 2004 general election, which was slightly lower than the national figure of 64 percent.

Selected Characteristics	North Carolina	U.S.
Population change: 2000-2007	12.6%	7.2%
Median age	36.6	36.4
Women	51.0%	50.7%
White alone, not Hispanic or Latino	67.9%	66.4%
Black alone	21.7%	12.8%
Hispanic or Latino	6.7%	14.8%
Median household income	\$42,625	\$48,451
Foreign born	6.9%	12.5%
Persons below poverty	14.7%	13.3%
Bachelor's degree or higher (age 25+)	24.8%	27.0%
Median home value	\$137,200	\$185,200

Source: U.S. Census Bureau Total Population Estimates (2007), State Population Estimates by Characteristics (2006), American Community Survey (2006).

Supporters in North Carolina

Clinton recently won the endorsement of North Carolina Gov. Mike Easley, a surprise boost to her candidacy in a state where Obama is heavily favored to win the Democratic primary.

Easley announced his endorsement on April 29, one week before North Carolina's primary on May 6.

Clinton has benefited from the support of other governors in key primary states, including Ohio's Ted Strickland and Pennsylvania's Ed Rendell. Political observers say Easley, while relatively popular, does not sit atop a massive political operation in North Carolina.

Easley is scheduled to leave office next year after serving two terms as governor. Both Democratic candidates vying for the nomination to replace him have endorsed Obama.

Overall, Obama has support from more of North Carolina's 17 superdelegates than does Clinton.⁶⁴

State Treasurer Richard Moore has run radio ads on stations popular with black listeners noting he "was the first Democrat running for governor to endorse Barack Obama for president." His rival, Lt. Gov. Beverly Perdue, has sent mailers to likely black voters with a photo of her with Obama.⁶⁵

The Obama-Wright Ad

North Carolina Republican leaders stood by a TV ad critical of Obama despite dissension in their own ranks and two stations' refusal to air it.

The ad shows Obama with his former pastor, Jeremiah Wright, and a clip of Wright's anti-U.S. comments.

McCain asked party officials to not run the ad. "I cannot dictate to the North Carolina Republican Party what their message is, but I condemn it and I can appeal to the overwhelming majority of Republicans in the state of North Carolina," McCain said.

State GOP spokesman Brent Woodcox said officials would still air the ad. Despite the ad's focus on Obama, Woodcox has said it is aimed at Democratic gubernatorial candidates Richard Moore and Bev Perdue; both have endorsed Obama.⁶⁶

North Carolina Voter Registration

North Carolina Voter Registration Statistics	
Report Date 04-26-2008	
Democrats	2,616,995
Republicans	1,933,929
Unaffiliated	1,240,297
Total	5,791,221

More than 165,000 people have registered to vote in North Carolina in the first three months of the year, a nearly threefold increase from the same period in 2004. Election officials expect a record turnout May 6 -- about half of the nearly 5.8 million registered voters, compared with past turnouts ranging from 16 percent to 31 percent.

Another wild card: A new law allows unregistered voters to sign up and vote on the same day through May 3. Both campaigns have launched efforts to turn out those voters, and the polling sites have been flooded since they opened last week.

Voter registration is up overall, but the biggest boost has been among blacks.

More than 45,000 black voters have registered in the first three months of 2008, compared with just over 11,000 in the same period four years ago. Blacks make up more than 20 percent of the state's registered voters, according to Board of Elections data. Those numbers bode well for Obama, who has won strong black support throughout the primaries.⁶⁷

Delegates in North Carolina

North Carolina is the biggest remaining prize for Democratic candidates, with 115 pledged delegates up for grabs.

Candidates will fight for 38 delegates that will be given to candidates according to percentage of statewide vote they win. Candidates will also compete for 77 delegates split among the state's 13 congressional districts. Candidates win delegates in a district according to the percentage of vote they win in that district.⁶⁸

North Carolina is a Semi-Closed Primary

Democrats and Republicans must vote in their party primary. Voters registered as unaffiliated may choose one party's primary in which to participate or may vote in the nonpartisan primary.⁶⁹

North Carolina Primary History

Never before has North Carolina's primary been important in the Democratic nominating contest. It last played a notable role in the GOP contest more than three decades ago, in 1976, when challenger Ronald Reagan defeated President Gerald Ford.⁷⁰

Not since 1988 has North Carolina had much of a voice at all in choosing a presidential nominee. Back then, it joined several Southern states to help pick Al Gore, a neighbor from Tennessee.⁷¹

Democrats participated in the state's first and only caucus in 2004. North Carolina typically has primaries in May, but redistricting litigation caused the primary to be rescheduled in late July. Instead of waiting until July for the primary, the state held a caucus in April.

Even though John Edwards dropped out of the race a day after Super Tuesday on March 3, 2004, he won the Tar Heel State in their April 2004 caucus.⁷²

April 17, 2004 Democratic Caucuses	
Edwards (D)	51%
Kerry (D)	27%
Kucinich (D)	12%
Dean (D)	6%
Sharpton (D)	3%
Other	1%

May 2, 2000 Democratic Primary		
Gore (D)	383,696	70.4%
Bradley (D)	99,796	18.3%
LaRouche (D)	11,525	2.1%
Other	49,905	9.2%

May 7, 1996 Democratic Primary		
Clinton (D)	461,434	80.6%
Uncommitted	69,790	12.2%
LaRouche (D)	40,936	7.2%

May 5, 1992 Democratic Primary		
Clinton (D)	443,498	64.1%
Uncommitted	106,697	15.4%
Brown (D)	71,984	10.4%
Tsongas (D)	57,589	8.3%
Kerrey (D)	6,216	0.9%
Harkin (D)	5,891	0.9%

Endnotes

- ¹ Associated Press Newswires, "Obama takes on McCain, Clinton over proposed suspension of gas tax," 2 May 2008.
- ² Reuters News, "FACTBOX-North Carolina's presidential primary," 2 May 2008.
- ³ Wall Street Journal, "Indiana Marks the Next Test for Clinton," April 3, 2008.
- ⁴ Associated Press Newswires, "Defection of longtime superdelegate jolts Clinton," 1 May 2008.
- ⁵ Associated Press Newswires, "Defection of longtime superdelegate jolts Clinton," 1 May 2008.
- ⁶ Associated Press Newswires, "Indiana another Pa?" 2 May 2008.
- ⁷ Associated Press Newswires, "Border states key as Clinton, Obama battle in Indiana," 24 April 2008.
- ⁸ Associated Press Newswires, "Border states key as Clinton, Obama battle in Indiana," 24 April 2008.
- ⁹ The Wall Street Journal, "Campaign '08: Democrats Scramble for Indiana," 2 May 2008.
- ¹⁰ Indianapolis Star, "Clinton to Dems: Don't switch sides," April 30, 2008.
- ¹¹ Los Angeles Times, "This state's tough to piece together," 25 April 2008.
- ¹² The New York Times, "For Indiana Voters, Talk Of Change May Fall Flat," 24 April 2008.
- ¹³ Associated Press Newswires, "Indiana another Pa?" 2 May 2008.
- ¹⁴ Associated Press Newswires, "Border states key as Clinton, Obama battle in Indiana," 24 April 2008.
- ¹⁵ The New York Times, "For Indiana Voters, Talk Of Change May Fall Flat," 24 April 2008.
- ¹⁶ Associated Press Newswires, "Border states key as Clinton, Obama battle in Indiana," 24 April 2008.
- ¹⁷ Associated Press Newswires, "Border states key as Clinton, Obama battle in Indiana," 24 April 2008.
- ¹⁸ Los Angeles Times, "This state's tough to piece together," 25 April 2008.
- ¹⁹ Chicago Tribune, "Hoosier State playing an unfamiliar role," 27 April 2008.
- ²⁰ Los Angeles Times, "This state's tough to piece together," 25 April 2008.
- ²¹ The New York Times, "For Indiana Voters, Talk Of Change May Fall Flat," 24 April 2008.
- ²² Chicago Tribune, "Hoosier State playing an unfamiliar role," 27 April 2008.
- ²³ The New York Times, "For Indiana Voters, Talk Of Change May Fall Flat," 24 April 2008.
- ²⁴ Chicago Tribune, "Hoosier State playing an unfamiliar role," 27 April 2008.
- ²⁵ Associated Press Newswires, "Indiana another Pa?" 2 May 2008.
- ²⁶ The Wall Street Journal, "Indiana Poses Challenge for Each of the Democrats," 24 April 2008.
- ²⁷ Associated Press Newswires, "Indiana another Pa?" 2 May 2008.
- ²⁸ Associated Press Newswires, "Border states key as Clinton, Obama battle in Indiana," 24 April 2008.
- ²⁹ The Boston Globe, "Pressure's on Bayh to snare Indiana for Clinton," 2 May 2008.
- ³⁰ Associated Press Newswires, "Obama takes on McCain, Clinton over proposed suspension of gas tax," 2 May 2008.
- ³¹ The Boston Globe, "Pressure's on Bayh to snare Indiana for Clinton," 2 May 2008.
- ³² Associated Press Newswires, "Border states key as Clinton, Obama battle in Indiana," 24 April 2008.
- ³³ Indianapolis Star, "Obama keeps strong lead in Hoosier dollars," 22 April 2008.
- ³⁴ Associated Press Newswires, "Border states key as Clinton, Obama battle in Indiana," 24 April 2008.
- ³⁵ Associated Press Newswires, "Counties scramble to process voter registrations," 17 April 2008.
- ³⁶ Associated Press Newswires, "Border states key as Clinton, Obama battle in Indiana," 24 April 2008.
- ³⁷ Associated Press Newswires, "Early Indiana primary voting doubles that of 2004," 1 May 2008.
- ³⁸ Associated Press Newswires, "Details about Indiana's presidential primary," 21 April 2008.
- ³⁹ Los Angeles Times, "This state's tough to piece together," 25 April 2008.
- ⁴⁰ The Wall Street Journal, "Campaign '08: Democrats Scramble for Indiana," 2 May 2008.
- ⁴¹ Associated Press Newswires, "Democratic delegate count varies across Indiana," 22 April 2008.

-
- ⁴² CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS, "CQ Politics Projects a Close Delegate Split in Indiana Primary," April 29, 2008.
- ⁴³ The Blade (MCT), "Indiana gets a shot at political spotlight," 13 April 2008.
- ⁴⁴ U.S. News & World Report, "Indiana Primary Facts and Figures," April 29, 2008.
- ⁴⁵ CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS, "CQ Politics Projects a Close Delegate Split in Indiana Primary," April 29, 2008.
- ⁴⁶ U.S. News & World Report, "Indiana Primary Facts and Figures," April 29, 2008.
- ⁴⁷ CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS, "CQ Politics Projects a Close Delegate Split in Indiana Primary," April 29, 2008.
- ⁴⁸ U.S. News & World Report, "Indiana Primary Facts and Figures," April 29, 2008.
- ⁴⁹ CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS, "CQ Politics Projects a Close Delegate Split in Indiana Primary," April 29, 2008.
- ⁵⁰ The Blade (MCT), "Indiana gets a shot at political spotlight," 13 April 2008.
- ⁵¹ Associated Press Newswires, "NC Gov. Mike Easley endorses Hillary Clinton," 28 April 2008.
- ⁵² The Baltimore Sun, "CLINTON GAINING IN KEY N.C." 2 May 2008.
- ⁵³ The Wall Street Journal, "Campaign '08: Clinton Refuses to Concede North Carolina, an Obama Stronghold," 25 April 2008.
- ⁵⁴ The Washington Post, "Clinton's Hopes May Lie With N.C." 25 April 2008.
- ⁵⁵ The Wall Street Journal, "Campaign '08: Clinton Refuses to Concede North Carolina, an Obama Stronghold," 25 April 2008.
- ⁵⁶ The Washington Post, "Clinton's Hopes May Lie With N.C." 25 April 2008.
- ⁵⁷ The Washington Post, "Clinton's Hopes May Lie With N.C." 25 April 2008.
- ⁵⁸ The Baltimore Sun, "CLINTON GAINING IN KEY N.C." 2 May 2008.
- ⁵⁹ Associated Press Newswires, "North Carolina excited to choose between Clinton and Obama," 24 April 2008.
- ⁶⁰ Associated Press Newswires, "North Carolina excited to choose between Clinton and Obama," 24 April 2008.
- ⁶¹ Fayetteville Observer (MCT), "N.C. presidential primary: A role reversal," 24 April 2008.
- ⁶² The Wall Street Journal, "Campaign '08: North Carolina Can Change Race Dynamic," 28 March 2008.
- ⁶³ The Wall Street Journal, "Campaign '08: North Carolina Can Change Race Dynamic," 28 March 2008.
- ⁶⁴ Associated Press Newswires, "NC Gov. Mike Easley endorses Hillary Clinton," 28 April 2008.
- ⁶⁵ Associated Press Newswires, "North Carolina excited to choose between Clinton and Obama," 24 April 2008.
- ⁶⁶ Associated Press Newswires, "North Carolina GOP leadership divided over ad," 24 April 2008.
- ⁶⁷ Associated Press Newswires, "North Carolina excited to choose between Clinton and Obama," 24 April 2008.
- ⁶⁸ Asheville Citizen-Times, "A primary primer: Why N.C. matters," 25 April 2008.
- ⁶⁹ Asheville Citizen-Times, "A primary primer: Why N.C. matters," 25 April 2008.
- ⁷⁰ USA Today, "Why the road could end in North Carolina," 3 April 2008.
- ⁷¹ Associated Press Newswires, "North Carolina excited to choose between Clinton and Obama," 24 April 2008.
- ⁷² U.S. News & World Report, "North Carolina Primary Facts and Figures," April 24, 2008.