

**Subject**  
**Headings:** North Carolina Politics & Government; Women in North Carolina Politics; North Carolina Democratic Party; North Carolina Republican Party; Legislative and Congressional Redistricting in North Carolina; Civil Rights; Prisons, Crime, and Sentencing Policies in North Carolina; Howard N. Lee; Jim Hunt.

**Comments:** Only text in quotation marks is verbatim; all other text is paraphrased, including the interviewer's questions.

### TAPE INDEX

#### Counter Index    Topic

[Cassette 1 of 2, Side A -- Tape No. 11.27.95-AB.1]

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| 001 | [Opening announcement.]  |
| 006 | Biographical information: birth in Gaston Co., NC; childhood in rural town; father's employment by Duke Power Co.; witnessing the poverty of rural NC and the impact it had on her at a young age; limited contact with African Americans in a segregated society; first recognition of racial inequality and impact on her; childhood activities including dancing; lack of funds prevented college attendance; teaching dance. |
| 070 | Father's interest in government and his influence on her; NC as a one-party state; race as a central issue at the time, just as now; father's disappointment in Franklin Roosevelt, but respect for the office and for public leadership; waning respect for public political service today.   |
| 130 | Marriage and childrearing; her earliest involvement as a volunteer in local Democratic Party politics while raising small children; volunteering in 1968 on behalf of Hubert Humphrey and being asked "to contribute something to the bake sale"; husband's work for a large publishing company in New York and Atlanta.   |
| 188 | Relocation 1963-64 from Atlanta to Chapel Hill when Gov. Terry Sanford's aide John Ehle asked her husband to return to work for the North Carolina Fund, a new anti-poverty program; her views of the importance of the work of the Fund at a time when the civil rights movement was "at its height."   |
| 241 | Why she supported such programs as the North Carolina Fund: influence of her parents, the eye-opening experiences of her childhood concerning race and poverty, and church; her husband shared her views, though her parents held more conservative views typical of their generation while simultaneously being exemplary in their decency.   |
| 282 | Details of her involvement in the Humphrey campaign in 1968 and local Democratic Party efforts: the rise of a much more progressive wing of the local  |

Democratic Party and the triumph of this wing in taking control of the local Party; her involvement in Howard Lee's successful 1969 mayoral campaign in Chapel Hill; "it was a time when we could move forward; it was a whale of a campaign"; involving students in the Lee campaign; the central role of women in the campaign, who contributed their time while their children were in school during the day.

- 387 The evolution and restructuring of the NC Democratic Party across the late 1960s: the Party took on a new look at the time. Pioneering candidacies by Howard Lee and others rallied blacks to register and vote.
- 437 Black politics in NC late 1960s-early 1970s, including the support of blacks across NC to rally to help Howard Lee in his mayoral and congressional campaigns; the ad hoc character of political campaigning at the time and the absence of theorizing about the long-term impact of racial politics on the Democratic Party; their earnest support for "inclusion and change."
- 524 Reaction to the 1972 election: locally, voters went strongly for the Democratic Party even while the GOP was triumphing in the high-profile races at the national and state levels; her increasing involvement in the local Democratic Party, and how she felt the losses very closely at the time; her sense of the likely waning of voter loyalty to the Democratic Party on account of race and other issues.
- 597 The evolution of the NC Democratic Party across the 1970s: the rise of Jim Hunt; Hunt's skill and determination as a political figure; Hunt's success in gaining control of the NC Democratic Party, which helped during the 1976 gubernatorial campaign but later gave rise to some conflict and tension.
- 650 [End of Side A.]

[Cassette 1 of 2, Side B -- Tape No. 11.27.95-AB.1]

- 016 (cont'd remarks on NC Democratic Party politics in the 1970s): Hunt's control of the Party and his heavy influence in selecting state Party chairs.
- 042 The common voter desire for "change" for its own sake, often unrelated to ideology or careful reflection.
- 063 Her work 1974-78 as a member of the NC Democratic Party Executive Committee: relatively limited, since the Committee is controlled by a subcommittee that conducts most of the business.
- 097 How shifting employment patterns of women have resulted in a shift in the nature of the NC Democratic Party's volunteer workforce: fewer women are available today to contribute time to the Party, and hence campaigns today depend more on paid workers and big money to support media advertising rather than old-style door-to-door contact.

- 122 Election to the County Commission in 1978, and subsequent service as Chair of the Commission beginning in 1980: how Democratic Party service allowed her to make key contacts and her decision to delay running for office until her children were old enough.
- 143 Roster of the political campaigns she had managed during the 1970s; importance of this experience to her later success as a candidate.
- 168 Her appointment in 1981 to the NC House: how she had been eyeing the Legislature for some time but chose to wait for a time that would not prompt a Party split; seeking the nomination of the local Democratic Party Executive Committee to fill an open seat vacated by a woman [Patricia Stanford Hunt Love, who left for a judgeship]; the other contenders for the nomination.
- 220 Women's political involvements over the years, beginning with the issue of key role models for Barnes in the Legislature: Ruth Cook, Helen Marvin, Margaret Tennille, Mary Seymour; how Tennille and Seymour pioneered as legislative leaders in areas not traditionally considered "women's issues"; also Barnes' respect for Eleanor Roosevelt, and the strong support offered by Barnes' mother.
- 271 How the women's movement sparked increasing awareness on the part of women and served as a learning process; the important work during the 1970s for greater equity for women, including the Equal Rights Amendment and several bills introduced by women in the NC Legislature.
- 313 The frequent division of opinion among women on many issues; the Women's Legislative Caucus in the NC Legislature during the 1970s and thereafter frequently revealed these divisions, but Barnes looked upon these experiences as opportunities to learn.
- 342 The challenges of being a politician and a public person: "politics is hard; it strips you naked," and you have to learn "to keep it in perspective." How she encourages women to run for office by drawing attention to the rewards.
- 359 On the evolution of women's service in the Legislature: no improvement in numbers since the early 1980s; the increasing number of Republican women, in large part due to legislative redistricting.
- 400 Further thoughts about the impact of legislative redistricting, including in particular the creation of increased numbers of majority-minority districts: the GOP "has benefitted from much of the redistricting" due to the concentration of black voters in majority-minority districts; while the number of African American representatives has increased, she doubts that blacks have gained on balance since so many representatives today from predominantly white districts feel so little obligation to the black community.
- 465 The nature of the gendered political culture in the NC legislature across the span of her service: today, opportunities for leadership roles depend more on seniority

than in the past, and consequently women today have more opportunities to avoid exclusion and to gain leadership positions; still, however, there exists a certain "clubbiness" that men perpetuate. Discrimination has not gone away; it is certainly better camouflaged than in years past; however, even given the recent successes of extremely conservative candidates, opportunities today for women in the legislature are relatively good.

- 553 She has witnessed a "marked" change in the treatment of women legislators by lobbyists over the years, an improvement encouraged in large part by the increasing democratization legislative committees under the leadership of Speakers Joe Mavretic and Dan Blue.
- 608 The broad gap in political viewpoint dividing women in the legislature today: progressive women on one side, conservatives on the other. In earlier years women members held viewpoints across the spectrum, but recent political trends have encouraged this increasing polarization. "White Democratic women legislators are on the decline in numbers" while white women legislators are increasingly staunch conservatives.
- 673 Introduction of the issue of party dealignment/realignment in NC politics.
- 684 [End of Side B.]

Counter Index    Topic

[Cassette 2 of 2, Side A -- Tape No. 11.27.95-AB.2]

- 001 [Opening announcement.]
- 004 Factors most responsible for the rise of the GOP: relationship of state developments to those at the national level and the relative weakness of many recent national Democratic tickets; the new style of slick, negative campaigning, to which Democrats have been slow to find a response; the success of GOP strategists at formulating and executing sophisticated, well-orchestrated campaigns. Within NC, she thinks there are many current members of the legislature who originally filed to run without the slightest hope of winning, but prevailed in the landslide nonetheless.
- 064 GOP use of hot-button issues such as crime, taxes, and abortion in a coherent national strategy to turn out voters to the Republican cause.
- 080 Barnes' view that the next election will make it more clear if the GOP can sustain its recent success or whether it depended on episodic poor turnout by conservative Democratic voters.
- 088 The 1995 NC General Assembly session: the erosion of support for issues she feels strongly about has been difficult to witness; she wonders if the GOP is

going "too far" with its social program cuts, and "it will take another election or two" to determine what exactly it was voters in 1994 were seeking.

- 142 She retains her faith in the United States' democratic system; she sees the need today to seek a better understanding of what sort of change voters are seeking, and perhaps a third party would help shake things up.
- 214 The issue of prisons and crime in NC politics: her considerable involvement with this issue during her House service; prison overcrowding and sentencing policies; the effort to avoid politicizing the prison cap issue, which largely succeeded through 1992 when the GOP ran on the crime issue; the Structured Sentencing Plan and the effort to match sentencing policy to prison resources; the politicization of the crime issue; her opposition to Gov. Jim Hunt's Special Crime Session of 1993; the impossibility of satisfying public concerns about crime.
- 401 Final thoughts: her fears about the "all-out attack on public education"; her fears that the recent political successes of the GOP bode ill for women and children.
- 461 [End of Side A of Cassette 2 of 2; Side B is blank. End of interview.]