

American Enterprise Institute

The Project on Fair Representation

Edward Blum
Visiting Fellow
American Enterprise Institute
1150 Seventeenth St. NW
Washington, DC 20036
202.862.5800

Executive Summary of the Bullock-Gaddie
Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Oklahoma

By Edward Blum

With a very small African-American population and not having even been a state at the time that most of the barriers to black participation were adopted, Oklahoma was not subject to the trigger mechanisms of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The state, however, does not have a totally clean record when it comes to black political participation. Oklahoma was home to the case that struck down the grandfather clause, which allowed the descendants of individuals who had been eligible to vote prior to the Civil War to register and vote without meeting the demands of literacy.

In the two most critical “voting assessment” categories—voter registration and election participation—blacks in the majority of section 5 states are more successful than blacks in Oklahoma.

From 1980 to 2004, black registration rates in Oklahoma trailed white registration rates. As a matter of comparison, black registration rates in Oklahoma are lower than in most of the states currently covered by section 5 of the Voting Rights Act. In 1980, black registration in the median section 5–covered states was 9.5 points higher than in Oklahoma. For the most recent presidential election, the disparity remained at 9.3 percentage points. In the other elections of the 21st Century, black registration in the median section 5–covered states was more than ten percentage points higher than in Oklahoma. Throughout the quarter century chronicled in this report, white voting participation rates in Oklahoma exceeded those of blacks. For the period 1980 to 2004, black turnout figures for the median section 5–covered states are higher than in Oklahoma in all but three election years. Minority office holding as a percentage of the population in Oklahoma has not reached levels seen in many of the states covered by section 5 of the Voting Rights Act.

Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Oklahoma

Prepared for the Project on Fair Representation
American Enterprise Institute

Charles S. Bullock, III
Richard B. Russell Professor of Political Science
Department of Political Science
The University of Georgia
Athens, GA 30602

Ronald Keith Gaddie
Professor of Political Science
Department of Political Science
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, OK 73019

An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Oklahoma

In *The Negro in Southern Politics*, H.D. Price developed a schema for answering the question “How Southern is Florida?”¹ The schema involved a Guttman Scale composed of seven parts (see Table 1). The states that seceded appeared in four groups. In the first group as the most southern Price placed Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. Slightly less southern because they did not support the 1948 presidential candidacy of Strom Thurmond are Georgia and Arkansas. He placed Florida, North Carolina and Virginia in the third category because they cast their Electoral College votes for the Republican Herbert Hoover in 1928. Tennessee and Texas constituted the fourth category because their black populations had fallen below 20 percent in the 1950 census.

¹ H.D. Price, *The Negro in Southern Politics: A Chapter of Florida History* (New York: New York University Press, 1957), pp. 8-9.

In the fifth category Price placed the five Border states because they did not secede in 1861. In the sixth category he placed Oklahoma, which was not a slave state in 1860 but did have state-mandated school segregation in 1954. The remaining 31 states he placed in a seventh category.

(See Table 1)

Oklahoma falls into Price's sixth category because it was not a state in 1860. Had it been a state, it would probably have permitted slavery since its neighbors all did, and the "civilized tribes" were slaveholding. Moreover, the Confederate Congress allocated seats to the Cherokee tribe that occupied parts of the Oklahoma Territory at the time of the Civil War, and many in the tribe stood with the South. Moreover, unauthorized white settlement in the Indian Territory came mainly from the South, especially Arkansas, Mississippi, and Texas. For these reasons had Oklahoma been admitted to the Union prior to 1860, it would have fallen into Price's category four, a state that seceded, which voted for Herbert Hoover in 1928 and which had a black population of less than 20 percent in 1950.

Although initially set aside as an Indian Territory and populated by the Cherokee Chickasaw, Choctaw, Seminole and Muscogee, the Sooner State was almost three-fourths white as of the 2000 census. It has a black population substantially less than any of the states that seceded, 7.5 percent. Indeed, African Americans are slightly outnumbered by Native Americans (7.7 percent). Hispanics constitute a sizeable remainder of the non-Anglo, white population at 5.2 percent in the 2000 census.

With a very small African-American population and not having even been a state at the time that most of the barriers to black participation were adopted, Oklahoma was

not subject to the trigger mechanisms of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The state, however, does not have a totally clean record when it comes to black political participation. The case striking down the grandfather clause that allowed the descendants of individuals who had been eligible to vote prior to the Civil War to register and vote without meeting the demands of literacy, originated in Oklahoma. The original Oklahoma Constitution allowed anyone entitled to vote prior to January 1866 or that person's lineal descendants to register and vote without passing a literacy test. The Supreme Court ruled that the grandfather clause ran afoul of the Enforcement Acts of 1870 because it discriminated against those who could participate in congressional elections.² Although this unequal enforcement of a literacy clause was invalidated, Oklahoma continued to discriminate against a number of its African Americans. In reaction to *Guinn*, the legislature provided only a twelve-day period from April 30 until March 11, 1916, for those who had not voted in 1914 to register. Individuals who did not sign up to vote during that brief window of opportunity were permanently banned from voting. Although this action would seem to be as racially offensive as the initial grandfather clause, it went unchallenged for a generation until invalidated by the Supreme Court on the eve of World War II.³

With regard to the foreign language provisions of the 1975 amendments, Oklahoma is again not subject to preclearance. However, three counties have been covered by section 203 of the Voting Rights Act that requires provision of foreign language ballots. In the 1990s, Adair County provided Cherokee language ballots, and currently Texas County and Harmon County provide Spanish language ballots.

² *Guinn v. United States*, 238 U.S. 347 (1915).

³ *Lane v. Wilson*, 307 U.S. 268 (1939).

Black Turnout and Registration

Oklahoma does not maintain its registration or turnout records by race and thus conforms to the practice in 45 states. The surveys done by the U.S. Bureau of the Census after each federal election provide the best resource for figures on participation rates in Oklahoma. The registration and turnout figures generated by these surveys are self-reported and thus subject to inflation. Despite a problem of over reporting of participation, these are the most reliable figures available and can be used for making comparisons over time and across jurisdictions on the assumption that the inflation is of similar magnitude across time and space. Moreover, these surveys provided the basis for the kinds of estimates that the Census Bureau used in determining whether registration or turnout rates for jurisdictions were so low as to make them subject to the trigger mechanism included in the 1965, 1970 and 1975 Voting Rights Acts.

Throughout the 24-year period covered in Table 2, black registration trailed white registration rates. African-American registration most closely approached that for whites in three election years when the difference fell below five percentage points (1982, 1996 and 1998). In seven other years, the difference equaled or exceeded ten percentage points and in yet two more elections years the difference was slightly less than ten points. Across the generation of figures presented in Table 1 there is no consistent evidence that the disparity between the two races has been narrowed. In the first two presidential elections in the time series, white registration exceeded black registration by 15.8 points in 1980 and 11.9 points in 1984. In the two most recent presidential elections, white registration outpaced black registration by 12.1 points in 2000 and 9.6 points in 2004.

Although black registration rates invariably trail white registration rates, figures for both groups are always above 50 percent in presidential years and only in 1994 does the black figure slip below 50 percent in a mid-term election. Consequently were one to apply the cut point from the earlier Voting Rights Acts that focused on whether half of the voting age population had registered in a presidential year; Oklahoma surpasses that threshold.

(See Table 2)

The second set of figures in Table 2 provides comparison with the non-southern states. While black registration never exceeded white registration in Oklahoma, on three occasions during the 1990s, black registration in Oklahoma exceeded that for the non-South. The greatest difference came in 1996 when 67.1 percent of Oklahoma's black adults compared with 62 percent of the black voting age population outside the South had registered to vote. Overall there is a tendency for the difference between registration rates of blacks in Oklahoma and outside the South to narrow. Beginning with 1996, in two election years black registration in Oklahoma was greater than outside of the South while in two other election years, the non-South advantage over Oklahoma was less than five percentage points. The Census Bureau configurations do not provide figures to make a comparison for 2004.

At the bottom of Table 2 are the median figures for the seven states that have been covered by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act since 1965.⁴ When black registration rates in Oklahoma are compared with those for the median state among the ones initially subject to Section 5, the figures for the median state exceed Oklahoma's black registration figures for all but three years. In 1992 and 1996, African American

⁴ The seven states are Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

registration in Oklahoma exceeds that for the median state by less than two percentage points. In 1982, the figure for Oklahoma is 5.6 percentage points higher than for the median state. In years in which the median state figure is greater than for Oklahoma, the difference is often in the range of ten percentage points. There is no clear evidence of the disparity having been reduced over time. In 1980, black registration in the median state was 9.5 points higher than in Oklahoma. For the most recent presidential election, the disparity remained at 9.3 percentage points. In the other elections of the 21st Century, African-American registration in the median state was more than ten percentage points higher than in Oklahoma.

Self-reported turnout figures for Oklahoma appear at the top of Table 3.

Throughout the quarter century chronicled in the table, white voting rates exceeded African-American turnout. Beginning with 1988, a majority of Oklahoma's African Americans report having voted in presidential elections, except in 2000 when the figures slumped to 44.5 percent. Participation rates among African Americans are substantially lower in mid-term elections. Except for 1982, black mid-term voting has always been below 40 percent and from 1986 through 1998 it hovered around 30 percent. The drop off from presidential to mid-term elections has generally been of about the same magnitude for African Americans and whites. A majority of Oklahoma's voting age population has turned out in presidential elections and therefore had something like the trigger mechanism of the past been applied from 1980 through 2004, in all likelihood Oklahoma would not have been made subject to preclearance.

(See Table 3)

The middle portion of Table 3 provides turnout figures for the non-South. Election participation by African Americans is lower in Oklahoma than outside the South except for 1996 when the Oklahoma rate exceeds that for the non-South by less than one percentage point. During much of the middle period in Table 3, African-American voting in presidential elections is at similar rates in Oklahoma and the non-South. However in 2000, the most recent presidential election for which comparable figures are available, black turnout in the non-South exceeded that in Oklahoma by more than eight percentage points a difference almost exactly paralleling that visible in 1980.

At the bottom of Table 3 are turnout figures for the median state among the seven that were made subject to preclearance by the 1965 Voting Rights Act because of their low rates of registration and or turnout. In all but three election years, African-American turnout in the median state exceeded that in Oklahoma. The exceptions were 1982 when the Oklahoma participation rate was six points higher than in the median state, 1988 when the Oklahoma figure was 5.3 points higher, and 1996 when the Oklahoma figure was 2.1 points higher. In some of the years in which turnout in the median state exceeded that for Oklahoma, the differences were striking. In 1984, 1986, 1990, and 2000, African Americans in the median state turned out at rates at least ten percentage points above the figure for Oklahoma.

Minority Officeholding

At the time of the first enumeration of African-American officeholders, Oklahoma had 25. The great bulk of these served on school boards while none held a county office and only one held a city office. With the coming of a new decade,

Oklahoma experienced a substantial jump in its number of black officeholders and by 1971 had 61. The increase came primarily in municipalities which boasted 35 African Americans holding public office. For the next decade, growth came slowly but as Table 4 shows in the early 1980s a second burst occurred. As with the earlier spurt in the numbers of black officeholders, the new additions came in cities, which by 1984 had 63 African Americans holding office. Also beginning in the mid-1980s African Americans came to hold a few county offices.

(See Table 4)

The three most recent enumerations show a drop in the number of black officeholders from the high point of 123 reached in 1993. From 1997 to 2001, the number of black officeholders held at just above 100. Almost three-fourths of these serve in municipalities while school boards account for approximately a fifth.

African Americans in Congress

Among the new Republicans who helped the GOP take control of Congress in 1994 was J.C. Watts, Jr. When Watts entered Congress he joined Connecticut's Gary Franks as the only African-American Republicans in the chamber.

Watts' represented a district that began in the Oklahoma City suburbs and included the University of Oklahoma where he starred as the Sooners' quarterback and also Fort Sill in Lawton. While the district included some Oklahoma City suburbs, it also took in the rural southwestern corner of the state. In sharp contrast to the majority-black districts that elect most black Democrats, Watts represented a district that was only 7.5 percent African American and had a racial mix very much like the state as a whole.

Watts established a conservative voting record that reflected the dominant views of his district. He was especially conservative on social and economic issues. The effectiveness of his representation was indicated by the strong margins that returned him to office for a total of four terms. Watts' increasing margins were a function of a continued shift of the rural vote of southern Oklahoma to his favor. In his initial congressional campaign, he garnered less than a third of the vote of (largely white) rural Democrats in the southern part of the state. By the time of his last election in 2000, Watts was carrying an estimated majority of those votes. Exit polling performed by the University of Oklahoma in 1996 found Watts garnering about four in ten black votes in his congressional district.⁵

While Watts' voting record bore little similarity to that of the Democratic members of the Congressional Black Caucus, he found great favor with his Republican colleagues. In 1998, he defeated John Boehner (OH) to become the chair of the Republican Conference, the fourth ranking post in the GOP House hierarchy. In 2002, Watts did not seek reelection and despite rumors that he might have ambitions for higher office, he has remained in private life and currently does not reside in Oklahoma.

African American State Legislators

As Table 5 shows, Oklahoma has a long history of black representation in its legislature. Until 1983, the Senate had one black Senator among its 48 members. For the last generation, there have been two. For more than 30 years, the House has had three black representatives among its 101 members. All of the black legislators are elected

⁵ Ronald Keith Gaddie and Scott E. Buchanan, "Oklahoma: GOP Realignment in the Buckle of the Bible Belt," in Charles S. Bullock, III, and Mark Rozell, eds., *The New Politics of the Old South*, 1st edition. (Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield Press, 1998).

from traditionally black constituencies in Oklahoma City and Tulsa. These districts are heavily African-American by population, though not necessarily majority-black.

(See Table 5)

African Americans in Statewide Office

During the four years before winning a seat in Congress, J.C. Watts, Jr., served on the Oklahoma State Corporation Commission. For the last two years he chaired that body. In his statewide run for corporation commissioner, Watts pulled a comfortable majority (55 percent) as one of the first elected, down-ticket statewide Republicans and the first (and last) African American elected to a statewide office.

Watts' father, a Baptist minister, ran for Labor Commissioner in 1998, challenging a popular Republican incumbent, Brenda Reneau. While name recognition carried the elder Watts in early polling – late summer telephone surveys showed him polling nearly a majority of the electorate as a Democrat – his support collapsed as the incumbent's campaign made it clear that this J. C. Watts was not the popular Republican congressman. The elder Watts ran last among all statewide Democrats, pulling 31.6 percent of the vote, nearly half of which came from the straight-party pull. His percentages were comparable to that of the white, Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor as reported in Table 6.

(See Table 6)

Native Americans in Congress

In the 108th Congress, Oklahoma claimed the distinction of having the most-heavily Native American congressional delegation. Of the five members elected from

Oklahoma, two – Rep. Brad Carson (D-OK2) and Rep. Tom Cole (R-OK4) – were members of a recognized Indian tribe. Carson, from Claremore, is a member of the Cherokee Nation, and while that heritage descended from distant lineage, his father had been a BIA attorney and Carson grew up on or near reservations in four other states. Cole, a former state legislator and executive director of the state Republican Party, is a member of the Chickasaw Nation, and is now the only Native American currently serving in the US House of Representatives. It is asserted, though difficult to prove, that the respective Indian nations actively worked to assist the election of these members of their tribes.

Racially Polarized Voting

Oklahoma exhibits less explicit history of racially polarized voting than other southern states during the era of civil rights change. Strom Thurmond did not appear on the ballot in the Sooner State in 1948. In 1964 the strongest support for Lyndon Johnson was in the traditionally Democratic rural regions with the strongest southern heritage. The state did cast more than 20 percent of its votes for George Wallace in 1968, with Wallace exhibiting his greatest appeal in the traditionally Democratic southeast. The absence of a large, geographically concentrated minority mitigates against the development of an explicit racial-threatened white vote:

The racial threat hypothesis is of relatively little use in explaining Oklahoma politics in general – nowhere is there a significant concentration of blacks who are positioned to wield majority power. Even in the major urban counties, blacks

constitute less than 15% of the population. The dynamic of black threat is far less likely because the prospects for majority-black government are nil.⁶

No evidence exists that proximity makes whites more or less opposed to minority interests in Oklahoma.

Racial threat voting may not be at work in Oklahoma, but there is a racial structure to the white-versus-nonwhite vote in Sooner State elections. Tables 7 and 8 present ecological regression estimates of white and nonwhite preferences from elections for congressional and statewide state constitutional offices since 1998.

(See Tables 7 and 8)

Ecological regression can generate meaningful estimates for white and nonwhite preferences in 16 congressional elections held since 1998. Most cases involved Republican incumbents. In two cases, no Democratic challenged the Republican incumbent. In nine of sixteen two-party contests, the preference of most white voters differed from the preferences of minority voters. In five elections, most whites and nonwhites voted together while in two other contests the white vote split evenly between the Democratic and Republican candidates. Two elections in which whites and nonwhites shared candidate preferences involved J.C. Watts' last campaigns in congressional District 4. In the two most recent elections in congressional District 2, Native American Democrat Brad Carson (who did campaign as an Indian) won with majority support of whites and minority voters. Two open seat contests saw half the whites unite with solid majorities of non-whites behind the Democratic candidate. One of these took place in congressional District 4, in 2002. The OLS estimates show the white vote evenly

⁶ Gaddie and Buchanan, 1998, 219.

divided, though the Native American Republican Tom Cole (who did not campaign as an Indian) prevailed in the district.

In 1998 and 2002, Oklahoma elected individuals to fill fifteen statewide constitutional offices. Twelve of those contests involved incumbents, seven Republicans and five Democrats. In ten of the fifteen elections the OLS estimates show differences between the preferences of most white and most non-whites voters. In the five cases where whites and nonwhites shared preferences, the Democratic candidate prevailed. In three other instances, a Democrat won despite not commanding the majority of the white vote: Insurance commissioner in 1998, Governor in 2002, and Auditor in 2002. The lowest support among whites for a Democratic candidate was in 1998, when Jack Morgan, candidate for Lieutenant Governor, pulled just 21.3 percent of the white vote. The only black candidate in the set, J.C. “Buddy” Watts, Sr., garnered just an estimated 24 percent of the white vote in his 1998 bid for Labor Commissioner.

The lowest share of the white vote with which a Democrat prevailed was 39.4 percent by Governor Brad Henry. Henry won with 44 percent statewide in a three-cornered race. The lowest share of the white vote by a prevailing Democrat in a two-way race was 43.1 percent by Carroll Fisher, 1998 candidate for Insurance Commissioner. All of the Democrats who captured majority-white support ran as incumbents, and mainly for low-profile, low-salience executive offices.

Conclusion

Although Oklahoma has been a state for less than a century, its history includes efforts to exclude some African Americans from political participation. However, the

relatively small and dispersed black population lessened the saliency of race for the state's politics, and as a consequence the need for aggressive actions to disfranchise black voters was fewer than in the Deep South. However, racial differences in political participation and voter behavior persist in the Sooner State.

Oklahoma African Americans vote at a lesser rate than whites, and black participation in the state oscillates between being above and below the average for the rest of the non-South. Black registration and turnout in Oklahoma is usually lower than in southern states subject to Section 5 since 1965. Black officeholding grew throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, but has since been stable at the local and state legislative level. Voting for Congress and statewide offices exhibits a pattern in which whites usually vote for Republicans while nonwhites opt for Democrats. White Democrats are capable of commanding majorities of minority and white votes when running as incumbents. When Republican incumbents run, Democratic shares of the white vote fall to less than a third of total.

TABLE 1: PRICE’S SOUTHERN CRITERIA

Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
I	Mississippi	O	O	O	O	O	O
	Alabama	O	O	O	O	O	O
	South Carolina	O	O	O	O	O	O
	Louisiana	O	O	O	O	O	O
II	Georgia		O	O	O	O	O
	Arkansas		O	O	O	O	O
III	Virginia			O	O	O	O
	North Carolina			O	O	O	O
	Florida			O	O	O	O
IV	Tennessee				O	O	O
	Texas				O	O	O
V	West Virginia					O	O
	Maryland					O	O
	Kentucky					O	O
	Missouri					O	O
	Delaware					O	O
VI	Oklahoma				Δ	Δ	O
VII	Other States						

Criteria:

1. Opposition to Civil Rights – Supported Thurmond in 1948
2. Loyal to Historic Democratic Party in both 1924 and 1928
3. Black population over 20% of total in 1950
4. Member of the CSA in 1861
5. Slave state area as of 1860
6. Required statewide public school segregation as of 1954.

Note: “O” indicates the presence of an attribute; “Δ” indicates the implicit presence of an attribute depending on one’s treatment of certain historical factors.

Source: H. D. Price (1957) *The Negro And Southern Politics: A Chapter of Florida History* (9-10).

TABLE 2

REPORTED REGISTRATION BY RACE IN OKLAHOMA AND OUTSIDE THE SOUTH, 1980-2004

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
OKLAHOMA													
Black	51.9	59.2	60.7	58.5	59.8	51.6	65.5	49.8	67.1	60.3	57.4	54.2	61.8
White	67.7	63.3	72.6	68.4	66.5	69.2	75.5	68.5	71.3	65.1	69.5	69.3	71.4
Non-South													
Black	60.6	61.7	67.2	63.1	65.9	58.4	63.0	58.3	62.0	58.5	61.7	57.0	NA
White	69.3	66.7	70.5	66.2	68.5	64.4	70.9	65.6	68.1	63.9	65.9	63.0	NA
Seven-State Median													
Black	61.4	53.6	62.2	66.5	63.8	61.9	64.5	59.0	65.5	68.0	68.6	67.6	71.1
White	67.0	62.5	67.0	65.8	68.5	63.6	70.8	63.9	70.4	67.9	68.2	66.2	72.3
Source:	Various post-election reports by the U.S. Bureau of the Census												

TABLE 3

REPORTED TURNOUT BY RACE IN OKLAHOMA AND OUTSIDE THE SOUTH, 1980-2004

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
OKLAHOMA													
Black	44.5	44.9	43.5	29.9	53.0	29.2	52.4	31.5	52.0	31.8	44.5	36.4	54.7
White	61.1	47.5	62.6	51.3	57.6	52.0	69.3	49.8	60.5	41.6	59.3	50.8	62.6
Non-South													
Black	52.8	48.5	58.9	44.2	55.6	38.4	53.8	40.2	51.4	40.4	53.1	39.3	NA
White	62.4	53.1	63.0	48.7	60.4	48.2	64.9	49.3	57.4	45.4	57.5	44.7	NA
Seven State Median													
Black	48.9	38.9	54.8	42.0	47.7	44.6	58.1	33.8	49.9	40.4	57.2	42.2	62.1
White	58.3	41.7	59.1	45.8	58.4	42.6	63.4	46.2	56.4	40.5	60.4	44.8	62.2
Source:	Various post-election reports by the U. S. Bureau of the Census												

TABLE 4
 NUMBERS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN ELECTED OFFICIALS
 IN OKLAHOMA, 1969-2001

Year	Total	County	Municipal	School Board
1969	25	0	1	19
1970	36	0	12	19
1971	61	0	35	18
1972	62	0	35	19
1973	67	0	43	18
1974	66	0	40	20
1975	68	1	42	20
1976	67	1	41	20
1977	69	0	46	18
1978	68	0	45	18
1980	77	0	50	21
1981	85	0	43	20
1984	122	2	63	23
1985	122	2	91	22
1987	117	2	84	23
1989	115	2	81	25
1991	122	3	90	21
1993	123	3	92	21
1995	No Report from the Joint Center in 1995			
1997	102	2	74	19
1999	105	1	79	16
2001	105	1	74	21

Source: Various volumes of the *National Roster of Black Elected Officials* (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies).

TABLE 5

RACIAL MAKE UP OF THE OKLAHOMA GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1965-2005

Year	Senate			House		
	Number	Percent		Number	Percent	
1965	1	2.08		2	2.10	
1967	1	2.08		2	2.10	
1969	1	2.08		4	3.96	
1971	1	2.08		4	3.96	
1973	1	2.08		3	2.97	
1975	1	2.08		3	2.97	
1977	1	2.08		3	2.97	
1979	1	2.08		3	2.97	
1981	1	2.08		3	2.97	
1983	2	4.17		3	2.97	
1985	2	4.17		3	2.97	
1987	2	4.17		3	2.97	
1989	2	4.17		3	2.97	
1991	2	4.17		3	2.97	
1993	2	4.17		3	2.97	
1995	2	4.17		3	2.97	
1997	2	4.17		3	2.97	
1999	2	4.17		3	2.97	
2001	2	4.17		3	2.97	
2003	2	4.17		3	2.97	
2005	2	4.17		3	2.97	

TABLE 6

THE 1998 AND 2002 ELECTIONS FOR STATEWIDE CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICE

OFFICE	DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE VOTES/%Vote	
<u>1998:</u>		
GOVERNOR	LAURA BOYD**	357,552 40.93%
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR	JACK MORGAN**	281,379 32.45%
STATE AUDITOR	<i>CLIFTON H. SCOTT</i>	513,065 60.48%
SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION	<i>SANDY GARRETT</i>	520,270 60.25%
COMMISSIONER OF LABOR	J.C. WATTS*/**	273,043 31.58%
STATE INSURANCE COMMISSIONER	CARROLL FISHER**	427,961 50.15%
CORPORATION COMM.	CHARLEY LONG	338,676 39.86%
 <u>2002:</u>		
GOVERNOR	BRAD HENRY	448,143 43.27%+
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR	LAURA BOYD**	400,511 38.95%
STATE AUDITOR	JEFF A. McMAHAN	516,425 51.43%
ATTORNEY GENERAL	<i>DREW EDMONDSON</i>	615,932 60.10%
SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION	<i>SANDY GARRETT</i>	609,851 59.69%
COMMISSIONER OF LABOR	LLOYD L. FIELDS**	479,339 47.82%
STATE INSURANCE COMMISSIONER	<i>CARROLL FISHER</i>	586,871 58.13%
CORPORATION COMM.	KEITH BUTLER	415,355 41.24%

*Black candidate

**Republican incumbent

+Plurality winner

Italics indicate a Democratic incumbent

TABLE 7

ESTIMATES OF WHITE AND NONWHITE PREFERENCES IN OKLAHOMA CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS, 1998-2004

Year/District	Race/ Incumbency	Democrat's White Share	Democrat's NonWhite Share	Winner
1998				
US House 1	R	No reliable estimates		R
US House 2	R	33.8	63.3	R
US House 3	R	25.6	>100.0	R
US House 4	R*	44.6	<0.0	R
US House 5	R	26.7	79.0	R
US House 6	R	13.1	>100.0	R
2000				
US House 1	R	No reliable estimates		R
US House 2	Open**	50.0	80.4	D
US House 3	R	---	---	R
US House 4	R*	34.3	<0.0	R
US House 5	R	20.9	85.0	R
US House 6	R	32.4	99.4	R
2002				
US House 1	R	No reliable estimates		R
US House 2	D**	75.2	72.9	D
US House 3	R	---	---	R
US House 4	Open***	50.0	76.3	R
US House 5	R	42.6	84.9	R
2004				
US House 1	R	No reliable estimates		R
US House 2	Open	68.0	68.7	D
US House 3	R	15.9	>100.0	R
US House 4	R***	20.9	91.4	R
US House 5	R	31.6	43.4	R

*Republican candidate is an African-American, J.C. Watts.

**Democratic candidate is a Cherokee Indian, Brad Carson.

***Republican candidate is a Chickasaw Indian, Tom Cole.

TABLE 8

ESTIMATES OF WHITE AND NONWHITE PREFERENCES IN OKLAHOMA STATEWIDE
CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICE ELECTIONS, 1998 AND 2002

Year/Office	Race/ Incumbency	Democrat's White Share	Democrat's NonWhite Share	Winner
1998				
Governor	R	30.1	>100.0	R
Lt. Governor	R	21.3	>100.0	R
Insurance Comm.	R	43.1	>100.0	D
Supt. Of Education	D	55.3	>100.0	D
Auditor	D	59.2	>100.0	D
Corporation Comm.	R	31.1	>100.0	R
Labor Comm.	R*	24.0	>100.0	R
2002				
Governor	Open	39.4	>100.0	D
Lt. Governor	R	29.4	>100.0	R
Insurance Comm.	D	52.9	>100.0	D
Supt. Of Education	D	50.2	>100.0	D
Auditor	Open	47.7	>100.0	D
Corporation Comm.	Open	34.6	>100.0	R
Labor Comm.	R	40.7	>100.0	R
Attorney General	D	55.0	>100.0	D

*Democratic nominee, J.C. "Buddy" Watts, Sr., was African-American.