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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 Voting Rights Progress in Alabama

By Edward Blum

Alabama has made tremendous strides in black voter registration and participation. In the three most recent years for which non-South estimates are available, Alabama African Americans were at least ten percentage points more likely to have registered than were non-southern blacks. Not only do Alabama African Americans report registering at higher rates than blacks outside the South, in every year beginning with 1990, Alabama African Americans report registering at higher rates than whites who live outside of the South. The gap between black and white voter participation has dramatically narrowed as well, and Alabama blacks and whites are more likely to vote than their non-southern counterparts. In 2004 election, blacks in Alabama participated at a rate of 72.9 percent, white whites participated at a rate of 73.8 percent.

The effort at black voter mobilization has been translated into significant gains in terms of descriptive representation through officeholding. Dramatic gains are evident at every level of office, from school boards and city and county offices, though those gains often came in areas with predominantly black populations. Black state legislators are elected nearly in proportion to the eligible electorate, and black legislators have also held positions of power and influence within the state legislature. Black votes are necessary, but insufficient, to elect Democratic statewide officeholders. Efforts to elect black statewide officeholders have been few and generally unsuccessful, but this is consistent with the pattern of failure of a variety of white Democrats who also sought statewide office. Black candidate performance for statewide contests seems to be a function more of office and party than of race. Democrats in general are losing.

An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Alabama

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 Alabama

Many of the most dramatic battles fought by the Civil Rights Movement took place in Alabama. The state that prides itself as being the “Heart of Dixie” and on the steps of its old Capitol is marked the spot at which Jefferson Davis took the oath of office to become the President of the Confederate States of America. With this heritage perhaps it should not be surprising that it produced some of the most intransigent opponents to civil rights progress.

Had a competition been staged in the 1960s to identify the leading opponent to racial fairness, Alabama would have had multiple claimants. From Birmingham came Police Commissioner Bull Conner who attacked peaceful civil rights protestors with water canons and police dogs. Conner’s policemen stand idly by while a mob burned the Freedom Riders bus. His ability to protect civil rights activists was so inept that his city became known as “Bombingham” as a result of the number of blasts set off by

Klansman. From Selma came Sheriff Jim Clark who repeatedly clashed with the black citizens trying to register to vote in his rural county. And then there was four-time Governor George Wallace who after losing in 1958 to the more racially conservative John Patterson vowed, “Well boys, no other son-of-a-bitch will ever out-nigger me again.”^[1] Wallace lived up to that pledge and stood in the schoolhouse door in a vain effort to block desegregation of the University of Alabama. He used his multiple gubernatorial and presidential campaigns to stir up racial passions.

Long before the racial obstructionists of the 1960, Alabama had adopted the full range of techniques designed to limit African-American political participation. Just after the turn of the twentieth century, the state embraced the literacy test, poll tax, and white primary. It also imposed a lengthy residency requirement before a person could vote and banned from the ballot those guilty of petty crimes.^[2]

After the Supreme Court invalidated the white primary, Alabama added the Boswell amendment to its Constitution. This amendment – one of more than 700 to the nation’s longest constitution -- sought to discourage black participation in the Democratic primary. It required literacy or that individual own real estate or personal property valued at \$300 or more.^[3] Prospective voters had to demonstrate their ability to not only read and write but also to interpret the constitution to the satisfaction of the local registrar. They also needed to demonstrate good character.

Black Turnout and Registration

^[1] Quoted in Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), p. 96.

^[2] Peyton McCrary, Jerome A. Gray, Edward Still, and Huey L. Perry, “Alabama” in *Quiet Revolution in the South*, Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman, eds. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 65.

^[3] V.O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics* (New York: Alford A. Knopf, 1949), p. 632.

At the time that the Voting Rights Act was adopted in 1965, Alabama had a smaller share of its voting age African-American population registered than any state other than Mississippi. As of 1964, only 19.3 percent of the black Alabamians of voting age had registered to vote.^[4] In contrast, 69 percent of the age-eligible whites had signed up to participate in elections. In 17 of Alabama's 67 counties, fewer than 10 percent of the black voting age population appeared on the voting rolls in 1964. In two counties having a total of more than 11,000 black adults, not a single African American had been permitted to register. One of these counties, Lowndes, later became the site where the black panther was first adopted as an emblem for black political mobilization during SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael's unsuccessful effort to elect blacks to local office.^[5]

Change came quickly. Less than two years after passage of the Voting Rights Act, more than half of Alabama's black adults had signed up to vote. Increasing the rate of black registration from 19.3 to 51.6 percent was facilitated by the 60,316 African-Americans registered by federal officials sent to the state pursuant to the Voting Rights Act. Of those African Americans registered to vote as of 1967, almost a quarter had been signed up by federal election examiners. This included more than 19,000 registered by federal officials in Jefferson County (Birmingham) along with another 9,000 signed up in Montgomery County. In Dallas County, the site of the famous Selma marches and the community where John Lewis and other marchers were clubbed by Alabama state patrolmen as they set out for Montgomery, federal examiners registered 8,972 African Americans. Before the passage of the new law, only 320 of the 15,115 age-eligible blacks were registered in Dallas County. In Lowndes County, were no blacks appeared

^[4] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Political Participation* (Washington, D.C.: Government printing office, 1968), pp. 226-227.

^[5] Charles V. Hamilton and Stokely Carmichael, *Black Power*, (New York: Vintage, 1967).

on the voter rolls before the legislation, federal examiners signed up 2,730 so that blacks constituted a majority of the registrants. In Wilcox County, the other county with no registered blacks prior to the legislation, federal examiners signed up 3,666 new voters and in that county more blacks than whites were registered by 1967.

Table 1 shows the increases in African American registration in those counties in which fewer than 10 percent of the age eligible blacks were registered prior to passage of the Voting Rights Act. In 14 of the 17 counties, more than half the black adults had registered by 1967. At the upper end, in Greene County, black registration had increased from 5.5 to 79 percent. Other remarkable gains occurred in Marengo where black registration shot up from 3.8 to 74.7 percent, Perry where the increase was from 5.6 to 74.2 percent and Dallas where it rose from 2.1 to 70.4 percent. In the two counties in which no African Americans had managed to get onto the registration rolls prior to the Voting Rights Act within two years of its passage, more than 59 percent had signed up to vote. Despite these remarkable gains, black registration lagged that for whites. Even before the Voting Rights Act several of these counties listed more white registrants than there were white adults in the county.

(See Table 1)

Like most states, Alabama does not maintain registration or turnout data by race. Consequently the best source for estimates of these activities comes from the surveys done by the U.S. Bureau of the Census after each national general election. These figures are self-reported and therefore may be subject to inflation but are appropriate for comparisons over time and across states and regions on the assumption that the inflation in estimated participation rates is of similar magnitude across time and space. Since 1980

the Census Bureau has provided estimates by race for each state. These are the kinds of estimates used in determining whether participation rates were so low as to make jurisdictions subject to Section 5 of the Voting Rights Acts of 1965, 1970 or 1975.

Table 2 reports the Census Bureau estimates of black and white registration in Alabama. With two exceptions, the rates at which Alabama whites report registering exceed those for blacks. The two exceptions are 1986 when approximately one percentage point more blacks than whites reported being registered and 1998 when the difference was less than a single percentage point. The largest disparities tended to come in the early 1980s with the greatest difference occurring in 1982 when 70.2 percent of whites compared with 57.7 percent of African Americans reported being registered. Two years earlier, the difference had been 11 percentage points. From 1988 through 1996, white registration rates ran six to ten percentage points above black registration.

Racial differences have narrowed over time so that in the two most recent presidential elections, the rate at which whites reported registering is less than three percentage points greater than for blacks. A larger disparity existed in 2002 when 73.7 percent of whites contrasted with 67.6 percent of blacks said that they had signed up to vote.

(See Table 2)

The bottom half of the table provides comparable figures on registration in the non-South. Except for 1982, Alabama blacks always registered at higher rates than did blacks living outside of the region. The advantage in favor of African Americans in the Yellowhammer State has increased over time. In the three most recent years for which non-South estimates are available, Alabama African Americans were at least ten

percentage points more likely to have registered than were non-southern blacks with the greatest gap in the entire time series coming in 1998 when 74.3 percent of the Alabama blacks but only 58.5 percent of non-southern blacks said they had registered to vote. Not only do Alabama African Americans report registering at higher rates than blacks outside the South, in every year beginning with 1990, Alabama African Americans report registering at higher rates than whites who live outside of the South. The problem of much lower African- American registration in Alabama than the rest of the nation was corrected as early as 1980.

Table 3 presents self-reported figures on participation rates gathered by the U.S. Bureau of the Census following biennial general elections. The denominator for these figures is a group's voting age population. In all but three years, a higher proportion of Alabama's age-eligible whites than blacks report that they participated in the election. Two of the years with the greatest differences come in the first two elections when approximately ten percentage points more of the white than black adults voted. These early disparities are matched in 1994 with white turnout at 64.3 percent compared with 53.5 percent for African Americans. The most recent decade, has witnessed greater equality with 2002 being the only year in which white turnout exceeded black turnout by as much as four points.

In 1986, a larger share of the black than white population reported voting. In 1998, the figures are the same for both groups with 51.6 percent of the age eligible having voted. In 2004, black turnout exceeded white turnout by 1.7 percentage points. In the two presidential elections preceding that, the difference in white and black turnout was less than four percentage points.

(See Table 3)

The lower part of Table 3 provides comparable self-reported turnout rates for the non-South. In four of the first five years, the turnout rate for African Americans in the non-South exceeded that for Alabama blacks. The greatest difference, 7.3 percentage points, occurred in 1982. Beginning in 1990, Alabama blacks reported voting at higher rates than blacks living outside of the South. The largest difference came in 1994 when 53.5 percent of Alabama African Americans but only 40.2 percent of those living outside the region voted. An eleven-percentage point gap opened up in 1998. Non-southern whites usually vote at higher rates than Alabama African Americans. In three of the most recent five mid-term elections, however, Alabama blacks went to the polls at higher rates than non-southern whites. In a fourth year (2002), non-South white voting was less than two percentage points above that for Alabama blacks. As with registration, turnout data indicate that the low levels of African-American participation in Alabama that made it liable to Section 5 preclearance have now been corrected vis-à-vis participation rates outside of the South.

African-American Officeholding

When the tabulation of African-American public officials began in 1969, Alabama had 70, half of whom held municipal offices. Black office holding tripled in the next 11 years and reached 238 in 1980 with half holding municipal offices while just over ten percent each served either on school boards or in county positions. By 1984, more than three hundred African Americans had been elected in Alabama and that number reached 448 in 1987. Successful challenges to at-large elections brought pursuant to

Section 2 resulted in the creation of many single-member district plans for local collegial bodies. By 1989 the numbers of African-American officials jumped to almost 700. The number of black officials grew slowly reaching 756 in 2001. Of that number, 470 held municipal offices while fewer than 100 served in county government or on school boards. Only Mississippi has a greater number of African Americans holding public offices than Alabama.

(See Table 4)

African Americans in Congress

When the legislature failed to act following the 1990 Census, a federal court imposed a congressional map largely designed by Republicans. That map contained a 67 percent black district that linked the African – American populations in Birmingham and Montgomery with a large swath of the rural Black Belt. When the white Democratic incumbent opted not to seek reelection, the open seat drew a large field in which two African – American state senators led in the Democratic primary. In the runoff, Earl Hilliard bested his colleague by a scant 670 votes.

Hilliard represented the 7th district for the duration of the configuration adopted in 1992. However under the map adopted in 2001 that excluded Montgomery, Hilliard failed to maintain his hold on the 61.7 percent black district. He fell to Artur Davis, who is a generation younger and had served as an assistant U.S. attorney. Davis, who had been held to a third of the vote when he challenged Hilliard in 2000, increased his vote share to 43 percent in the Democratic primary. The incumbent, who had won with 58

percent in the 2000 primary slumped to only 46 percent two years later. In the decisive runoff, Davis with strong financial backing from supporters of Israel who objected to what they perceived to be Hilliard's opposition to the Jewish state rallied to the youthful challenger who pulled 56 percent of the vote. The Davis victory that rested on a biracial coalition came in the face of strong support for the incumbent from the Congressional Black Caucus.

State Legislators

African Americans arrived in the Alabama legislature a bit later than in most southern states. The first black members won House seats in 1970. When the state undertook a major redistricting prior to the 1974 election, the black percentage jumped from two to twelve percent where it remained throughout the decade. As shown in Table 5, during the 1980s, approximately one in six members of the House was an African American. The redistricting efforts of the 1990s that created additional majority-black seats boosted the black proportion of the House to just over a quarter of the membership. Those figures, which have remained unchanged for a decade, are almost identical to the black share of the total population of the state.

(See Table 5)

Table 5 also shows the black presence in the state Senate where the first African-Americans arrived in 1975. The 1980s redistricting saw the black percentage in the Senate go to 14 percent and with the next new mapping early in the next decade, blacks

came to comprise almost 23 percent of the Senate, a figure that approximates the African American share of the voting age population in the state.

Hastings Wyman, the long-time publisher of the *Southern Political Report*, observed the following about African-American strength within the Alabama legislature in 2001:

In the Alabama Senate, African-American Henry "Hank" Sanders, who chairs the Finance and Taxation Committee, is among the upper chamber's most influential members. Black senators chair seven other senate committees, including Education; Health; Judiciary; and Industrial Development and Recruitment. The late Sen. Michael Figures served as President Pro Tem of the Senate. His widow, Vivien Figures, chairs the Education Committee. In the House, John Knight, an African American who chairs the Ways and Means Committee, is among the House's most influential members. Demetrius Newton serves as Speaker Pro Tem. African-Americans chair three House committees: Education; Local Legislation; and State Government. However, "the most vocal and best watch-dog" among the black lawmakers, says an African-American insider, "is State Rep. Alvin Holmes of Montgomery. He's the Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson of the legislature. He doesn't get much legislation passed, but he keeps them honest, black and white."^[6]

Black empowerment is evident not just in the very efficient translation of black votes into black seats within the chamber, but also in the translation of black seats into institutional power.

^[6] Hastings Wyman, *Diversity in Dixie: A Special Report* (Washington, DC: Southern Political Report, September 2001).

Statewide Offices

Alabama has had no African Americans elected to statewide constitutional offices, but has had African Americans serve on its Supreme Court. The first black justice, Oscar Adams, was appointed in 1980 and won reelection in 1982 and 1988. A second African American, Ralph Cook, was elected to a full term on the Supreme Court in 1994 but lost a reelection bid in 2000. In 2000, two other African-American judges who had been appointed to statewide appellate panels by Governor Don Siegelman – Judge John England on the Supreme Court and Judge Aubrey Ford on the Court of Civil Appeals—were defeated for reelection. Hastings Wyman believes that the poor performance of these three black candidates in 2000 discouraged an effort by former Tuskegee mayor and state legislator Rep. Johnny Ford to run for state auditor in 2002.

Black candidates have fared poorly, but for most of the last decade, white Democrats have fared little better. Among the major offices of state government -- Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, and the state Supreme Court – Democrats only claim three victories in fifteen contested elections. Democrats held eighteen of nineteen appellate court positions in Alabama before 1994, and now hold just one lonely seat on the state Supreme Court. Democratic voting shares are falling into the very low 40s in most recent contests.

Racial Voting Patterns

As in most of the South, voting in Alabama breaks down along racial/partisan lines, with the black vote solidly behind Democratic candidates and white voters divided

but generally and increasingly favoring Republicans. These divisions in congressional elections are structured by incumbency. Some Democrats have been able to prevail for major statewide offices in recent years, though the trend statewide is toward the election of Republicans with heavily, exclusively white votes, and Democratic incumbents have proven no more effective than Democratic challengers in winning statewide contests.

Exit poll data in Table 6 show that by far the highest white vote for a Democratic candidate in the last decade went to Gov. Don Siegelman who got 48.3 percent in 1998. Four years later when Siegelman's reelection bid narrowly failed, his white vote was halved according to the questionable 2002 exit polls. In 2004, Democrats for president and the US Senate failed to attract even a quarter of the white vote and that puts them at the same level as Siegelman two years earlier. From 1992 – 1996 Democrats usually attracted about a third of the white vote. In statewide contests since 1992, Democrats invariably attract at least 80 percent of the black vote.

The role of partisanship is most evident in the experience of Richard Shelby, who commanded almost unanimous support from black voters as a Democrat in 1992, but managed only one in six black votes as a Republican in 1998 and slips even further in 2004. His white vote in 1992 and 1998 exceeded 60 percent.

(See Table 6)

Least squares regression estimates of white voter preferences in statewide elections reveal only one instance in which most whites supported a Democrat seeking the governorship, lieutenant governor, attorney general, or the Supreme Court. According to estimates presented in Table 7, Don Siegelman took 59 percent of the white vote when elected lieutenant governor in 1994. Incumbent Democratic governor Little

Big Jim Folsom, Jr., managed just 43.2 percent in a losing effort. Siegelman achieved the second-highest white percentage reported in Table 7 when he attracted 49.2 percent of the white vote in his successful gubernatorial bid.

There is a systematic decline in white voter support for Democrats running for the Supreme Court or the major statewide offices. In the 1990s, Democrats could usually muster more than 40 percent of the white vote. Beginning with 2000, only one Democrat has secured more than 40 percent of the white vote and some are falling below 30 percent.

Democrats seeking the three major statewide executive offices have averaged 42.9 percent of the white vote since 1994; white Democrats running for the Supreme Court have average 35.5 percent; and black Democrats running for the Supreme Court have averaged 37.8 percent (though just 33.8 percent in the most recent efforts in 2000). While statewide Democrats are in decline among whites in Alabama, the difference in black candidate performance seems to be a function more of office and party than of race. Democrats in general are losing

(See Table 7)

With regard to voting for members of Congress, recent contests have been largely dominated by incumbents. The Democratic candidates in Table 8 most likely to get at least 40 percent of the white vote are incumbents, who, with one exception ran in districts 4 and 5. The exception, African-American Artur Davis running in the majority-black 7th district, commanded an estimated majority of the white vote in his 2004 reelection bid. Democrats who challenged Republican incumbents were fortunate to poll 20 percent of white vote.

(See Table 8)

Conclusion

Alabama, which had nearly as far to go as Mississippi along the path of voting rights, has made tremendous strides in black voter participation and in descriptive representation. The gap between black and white voter participation has narrowed, and Alabama blacks and whites are more likely to register and vote than their non-southern counterparts.

The effort at black voter mobilization has translated into significant gains in terms of descriptive representation. Dramatic gains are evident for school boards and city and county offices, though those gains often came in areas with predominantly black populations. Black state legislators are elected roughly in proportion to the eligible electorate. These black legislators have held positions of power and influence within their chambers. Increasingly, Black votes are necessary, but insufficient, to elect Democratic statewide officeholders.

Efforts to elect black statewide officeholders have been few and generally unsuccessful. One recent case of a successful black statewide candidate – Ralph Cook for Supreme Court – joined white Democrats in being dismissed from the court by the increasingly Republican electorates. This defeat, while attributed by some observers to race, is consistent with the pattern of failure of a variety of white Democrat statewide candidates to attract sufficient white votes to marry to the lockstep support provided by African-American voters.

TABLE 1

CHANGES IN REGISTRATION IN COUNTIES WITH
LOW BLACK REGISTRATION IN 1964

County	1964 Registration		1967 Registration		Fed. Registered	
	White	Non-white	White	Non-White	White	Non-White
Autauga	78.6	1.4	100+	65.5	275	1,017
Barbour	96.9	7.8	100+	63.7	0	0
Butler	86.6	5.1	96.1	38.1	0	0
Choctaw	99.4	6.3	100+	76.4	0	0
Dallas	65.7	2.1	91.2	70.4	75	8,972
Elmore	93.7	8.3	100+	60.6	192	1,558
Geneva	70.8	4.7	94.9	38	0	0
Greene	100+	5.5	100+	79	49	2,053
Hale	100+	3.9	100+	68.4	34	3,570
Lowndes	100+	0	100+	59.1	23	2,730
Marengo	100+	3.8	100+	74.7	193	4,890
Monroe	100+	6.6	100+	51.4	0	0
Perry	87.4	5.6	100+	74.2	87	2,731
Pike	100+	5.2	100+	65.4	0	0
Russell	54.6	7.6	93.6	40.1	0	0
Sumter	100+	5.5	100+	50.5	9	12
Wilcox	100+	0	100+	62.1	11	3,666

TABLE 2

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

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998
ALABAMA										
Black	62.2	57.7	71.4	75.4	68.4	65.3	71.8	66.3	69.2	74.1
White	73.3	70.2	77.2	74.3	75	74.9	79.3	73.3	75.8	74.1
Non-South										
Black	60.6	61.7	67.2	63.1	65.9	58.4	63	58.3	62	58.1
White	69.3	66.7	70.5	66.2	68.5	64.4	70.9	65.6	68.1	63.1

Source: Various post-election reports by the U.S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 3

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

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998
ALABAMA										
Black	48.9	41.2	54.8	55.2	52.4	45.7	58.1	53.5	54.3	51.0
White	59.2	52	62.8	52.5	58.4	52.7	65.9	64.3	56.3	51.0
Non-South										
Black	52.8	48.5	58.9	44.2	55.6	38.4	53.8	40.2	51.4	40.0
White	62.4	53.1	63	48.7	60.4	48.2	64.9	49.3	57.4	45.0

Source: Various post-election reports by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

TABLE 4
NUMBER OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN ELECTED OFFICIALS
IN ALABAMA, 1969-2001

Year Board	Total	County	Municipal	School
1969	70	2	34	5
1970	86	4	44	7
1971	105	4	45	12
1972	83	7	42	11
1973	149	20	55	16
1974	149	17	57	16
1975	161	17	60	20
1976	171	19	75	19
1977	201	22	91	23
1980	238	26	115	25
1981	247	32	112	32
1984	314	48	158	44
1985	375	52	212	47
1987	448	71	253	56
1989	694	86	428	86
1991	707	88	473	81
1993	699	94	435	86
1995	-----No Report from the Joint Center-----			
1997	726	107	444	85
1999	725	101	439	94
2001	756	99	470	91

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

TABLE 5

Year	Senate	House	% Black in Senate	% Black in House	RACIAL MAKEUP OF THE ALABAMA LEGISLATURE, 1965-2005
1965	0	0	0	0	
1967	0	0	0	0	
1969	0	0	0	0	
1971	0	2	0	1.90	
1973	0	2	0	1.90	
1975	2	13	5.71	12.38	
1977	2	13	5.71	12.38	
1979	3	13	8.57	12.38	
1981	3	13	8.57	12.38	
1983	3	15	8.57	14.29	
1985	5	19	14.29	18.10	
1987	5	19	14.29	18.10	
1989	5	18	14.29	17.14	
1991	5	19	14.29	18.10	
1993	5	19	14.29	18.10	
1995	8	27	22.86	25.71	
1997	8	27	22.86	25.71	
1999	8	27	22.86	25.71	
2001	8	27	22.86	25.71	
2003	8	27	22.86	25.71	
2005	8	27	22.86	25.71	

TABLE 6

WHITE AND BLACK SUPPORT FOR MAJOR STATEWIDE CANDIDATES IN ALABAMA, EXIT POLLS, 1992-2004

Year/Office	Party	White	Black
1992			
President	Dem	31.5	96.0
	Rep (I)	53.7	2.0
US Senate	Dem (I)	61.9	97.9
	Rep	38.1	2.1
1994			
Governor	Dem (I)	38.2	93.3
	Rep	61.8	6.7
1996			
President	Dem (I)	32.2	91.1
	Rep	62.0	7.3
US Senate	Dem	32.8	86.9
	Rep	66.4	10.9
1998			
Governor	Dem	48.3	93.0
	Rep (I)	51.1	7.0
US Senate	Dem	22.8	82.4
	Rep (I)	77.1	16.5
2002			
Governor**	Dem (I)	23.9	97.0
	Rep	73.6	3.0
US Senate**	Dem	16.7	93.8
	Rep (I)	81.5	4.6
US House	Dem	19.5	75.8
	Rep	92.5	4.5
2004			
President	Dem	24.1	93.2
	Rep	74.8	4.3
US Senate	Dem	19.8	81.5
	Rep	78.4	14.0

**2002 VNS exit polls are considered to have questionable external validity.

TABLE 7

ESTIMATES OF WHITE ANGLO SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES
FOR GOVERNOR, LT. GOVERNOR, ATTORNEY GENERAL, AND STATE
SUPREME COURT, CONTESTED GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1998-2004

Year	Office	Dem Race	%White	%Total
1994	Governor	W	43.2	49.4
	Lt. Governor	W	59.0	62.2
	Attorney General	W	37.0	43.0
	Supreme Court, S3	B	45.9	50.5
1996	Supreme Court, S1	W	43.0	47.2
1998	Governor	W	49.2	57.7
	Lt. Governor	W	42.9	49.6
	Attorney General	W	43.9	49.6
	Supreme Court, S1	W	44.6	49.7
	Supreme Court, S2	W	32.5	48.5
2000	Supreme Court, S3	W	34.2	52.2
	Chief Justice, Supreme Court	B	32.6	45.2
	Supreme Court, S1	W	38.3	47.4
	Supreme Court, S3	B	35.0	45.8
	Supreme Court, S4	W	37.6	45.2
2002	Governor	W	39.0	49.0
	Lt. Governor	W	44.0	51.5
	Attorney General	W	27.8	38.8
	Supreme Court, S1	W	36.6	46.3
2004	Supreme Court, S1	W	31.7	44.1
	Supreme Court, S2	W	26.9	40.0
	Supreme Court, S3	W	29.8	40.2

TABLE 8

ESTIMATES OF WHITE ANGLO SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES
FOR CONGRESS, CONTESTED GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1998-2004

Year	District	Inc/Race	%White	%Total
1998	House 2	R	15.1	31.0
	House 3	R	26.2	42.0
	House 4	R	49.1	56.0
	House 5	D	71.0	70.0
	House 6	R	20.8	28.0
	2000	House 2	R	14.2
House 4		D	40.8	61.0
House 7		D, B	5.0	75.0
2002	House 1	Open	30.7	60.0
	House 2	R	7.3	69.0
	House 3	Open	32.7	50.0
	House 5	D	77.0	73.0
2004	House 1	R	28.2	37.0
	House 2	R	5.8	28.0
	House 3	R	19.3	39.0
	House 4	R	27.1	25.0
	House 5	D	72.1	73.0
	House 7	D, B	50.2	75.0
