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# RACIAL GERRYMANDERING AND REPUBLICAN GAINS IN SOUTHERN HOUSE ELECTIONS

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## Introduction

During the 1980s, southern House elections were characterized by two important results.<sup>1</sup> First, the Republican party made no net gains in southern House seats over the course of the decade. In the 1980s Democrats dominated congressional and state politics in the South by constructing bi-racial coalitions. Southern Democratic nominees were moderate enough to win white votes which, when combined with overwhelming African-American majorities, produced electoral success in many cases.<sup>2</sup>

The failure to gain seats in the South, a region where the GOP had dominated presidential politics in most elections since 1972,<sup>3</sup> was a major reason Republicans failed in their drive to gain a majority in the House of Representatives during the Reagan-Bush years.

However, the House elections of 1992 and 1994 proved a boon to southern Republicans as they gained nine southern House seats in the election of 1992 and an additional 16 seats in 1994. The 25 southern districts captured by Republicans in the 1992 and 1994 elections were an important contribution to the Republicans winning a majority in the House of Representatives in 1994 for the first time in 40 years.<sup>4</sup> After the 1994 elections, for the first time since Reconstruction, Republicans held a majority of the southern seats in the House.

The second important characteristic of southern congressional politics in the 1980s was that minorities were underrepresented in southern House delegations. After the 1990 election, the last to be held under the district lines created after the 1980 census, there were five African-Americans in the South's 116 member House delegation.<sup>5</sup>

Grofman and Handley found that the failure to elect more African-Americans from the South to the House was largely due to the dispersion of the African-American population across relatively wide

geographical areas in much of the South.<sup>6</sup> When House districts were drawn with regard to geographical compactness, southern African-Americans were simply not concentrated in sufficient numbers to form many African-American majority districts.

By the time of the redistricting after the 1990 census, voting rights policy had evolved from emphasizing geographical compactness in designing electoral districts to maximizing the number of black and Hispanic majority districts even if very odd shaped districts had to be created.<sup>7</sup> The push for creating the maximum possible number of majority minority districts came from an odd coalition of Republicans and minority political groups. Republicans hoped to pack African-American, and in Texas, Mexican-American, voters into a relatively few House districts so that the GOP's prospects for electoral success would be enhanced in the remaining heavily white districts.<sup>8</sup> Civil rights organizations hoped to increase the numbers of minorities serving in Congress.

The Republican run Justice Department played a major role in forcing states to create more majority minority districts, as it rejected redistricting plans from Georgia and North Carolina which it regarded as creating too few African-American majority House districts.<sup>9</sup> As to the alliance with Republicans on a strategy that would increase the number of conservative southern Republicans in the House, the African-American proponents of racial gerrymandering expressed either indifference or resignation. John Lewis, an African-American representative from Atlanta, simply said that, "there are some things in life that you can't rationalize. Some circles you can't square."<sup>10</sup>

The race conscious redistricting that took place in 1991 and 1992 resulted in an increase in African-American majority districts in the South from five to 17. Two new Mexican-American majority districts were created in Texas and a second Cuban-American district was created in Florida.

This article argues that the wide dispersion of minorities across southern House districts not only limited the number of minority representatives who were elected, but also served to limit the number of Republicans who were elected from the South. It will also explore the partisan and racial implications of the 1990s race conscious redistricting that took place after the 1990 census.

## **Southern House Elections in the 1980s**

Table 1 provides a breakdown of southern House elections in the 1980s by party and also lists the number of minority representatives. As Table 1 indicates, Democrats won a large majority of southern House seats in each of the five elections held under the redistricting that took place after the 1980 census (1982-1990). Despite landslide Republican presidential victories in the South in 1984 and 1988, the GOP made no net gains in the region between 1982 and 1990.

Relatively few minority representatives were elected. The small number of minority representatives elected was due to the paucity of majority minority districts. All the minority representatives elected came from districts in which the minority voting age population exceeded 50%. In fact, only one minority candidate even received a major party nomination for an open House seat in a white majority district.<sup>11</sup> Faye Williams, an African-American woman, won the Democratic nomination for the open Louisiana Eighth District in 1986. Williams lost the general election to a white Republican in the district, which had a 36% African-American voting age population and voted 53% for Michael Dukakis in 1988 and 49% for Walter Mondale in 1984.<sup>12</sup> The fact that Williams was the only African-American Democrat to be nominated for an open seat in a white majority district, and that she lost the heavily Democratic district to a Republican, indicates that proponents of racial gerrymandering to create black majority districts were right to argue that only by creating such districts would the number of southern black representatives in the House of Representatives be increased.

Over the course of the 1980s, black representatives were elected to replace white representatives who held black majority districts at the beginning of the decade. After the 1982 elections, blacks represented majority minority districts in Memphis and Houston. In 1986 African-Americans, Mike Espy and John Lewis, won the black majority seats in the Mississippi Delta and in Atlanta. After Lindy Boggs retired in 1990 from her 55% black district in New Orleans, she was replaced by African-American William Jefferson. After the 1990 election all five black majority districts in the South had African-American representatives.<sup>13</sup>

Table 1  
 Partisan and Racial Distribution of Southern House Seats

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	Democrats	Republicans	Minority Democrats	Minority Republicans
1980	69	39	4	0
1982	83	33	5	0
1984	74	42	6	0
1986	77	39	8	0
1988	77	39	8	0
1990	77	39	9	1
1992	77	48	20	3
1994	61	64	20	3

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Source: For Tables 1 through 5 the partisan and racial characteristics of southern House Members are drawn from the 1982-1994 volumes of the *Almanac of American Politics* by Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa. The 1994 House election results are drawn from *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* November 12, 1994: 3301-3308.

**Table 2**  
**Minority Representation by State**

	1982-1990	1992-1994
Alabama	0	1
Arkansas	0	0
Florida	1	5
Georgia	1	3
Louisiana	1	2
Mississippi	1	1
North Carolina	0	2
South Carolina	0	1
Tennessee	0	1
Texas	5	7
Virginia	0	1

Note: For 1982 to 1990 the number of minority representatives listed is the most elected from a state in a given year. In all states the number of minority representatives was highest in 1990. The same number of minority representatives were elected from each state in 1992 and 1994. (The minority representatives elected in 1992 were all reelected in 1994.)

Except in Florida and Texas all minority representatives are African-American Democrats. In 1990 Florida elected one Hispanic Republican. In 1992 Florida elected two Hispanic Republicans and three African-American Democrats. In 1990 Texas elected one African-American democrat and four Hispanic Democrats. In 1992 Texas elected two African-American Democrats, four Hispanic Democrats and one Hispanic Republican.

Source: See Table 1

Hispanic majority districts saw a similar pattern in the 1980s. By the end of the decade only the El Paso based Texas Sixteenth District, with a 55% Hispanic VAP, had a white representative.

What was most advantageous to Democrats throughout the 1980s was that 40% of southern House districts had minority VAPs between 20 and 39%. Democrats consistently won over 60% of the districts with 20-29% minority VAP and well over 80% of the seats with a 30-39 minority VAP. All the Democratic victors in these districts were white. The 20-39 minority VAP districts contained enough minority voters to give Democrats a substantial general election advantage over Republicans. However, there were not enough minority voters to nominate a African-American Democrat, who in any event, might have lost the general election to a Republican, as Faye Williams did in Louisiana.<sup>14</sup> The 20-39% minority VAP districts were a boon to white Democrats.

Table 3

Minority Voting Age Population of Southern House Districts

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Minority Vap	O-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+
1982	23	35	33	14	1	10
Redistricting	(19.8%)	(30.2%)	(28.4%)	(12.1%)	(0.9%)	(8.6)
1992	34	38	20	6	1	26
Redistricting	(27.2%)	(30.4%)	(16%)	(4.8%)	(0.8%)	(20.8%)

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Note: In the 1980s the 11 southern states had 116 seats in the House of Representatives. After the 1990 census the south had 125 seats in the House of Representatives.

Source: See Table 1

**Table 4****Partisan Distribution of Southern House Seats by District  
Minority VAP**

Minority VAP	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994
0-9	50	40.9	45.5	40.9	36.4	27.7	19.4
10-19	68.6	54.3	60.0	62.9	65.7	61.5	41.0
20-29	69.7	63.6	66.7	66.7	66.7	70.0	45.0
30-39	92.8	92.8	92.8	85.7	85.7	100	100
40-49	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
50+	91.7	91.7	100	100	91.7	88.5	88.5

Note: The number in each cell is the percentage of House seats held by Democrats.

Source: See Table 1.

It is obvious, and not surprising, that Republicans did well in the 1980s in districts with few minority voters. Still, Democrats managed to win nearly half of the districts in which the minority voting age population was less than 10%. However, most of the Democrats elected from low minority districts represented either South Florida or TVA districts. Both South Florida and the TVA region have large numbers of white voters who are more likely to support national Democratic positions and candidates than other southern white voters.

The TVA region has long been noted to be a region with inordinate economic liberalism on the part of white voters.<sup>15</sup> Most TVA districts



are in the hill or mountain regions of their respective states and have comparatively small African-American populations.

South Florida also has an inordinate number of liberal white voters. The South Florida region has large numbers of migrants, especially Jews, from the Northeast, who make it an atypical region of the South.<sup>16</sup>

**Table 5**

**Partisan Distribution of Southern House Seats  
By District Minority Population with  
TVA and South Florida Democrats Removed**

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Minority VAP	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994
0-9	21.4	13.3	14.3	7.1	7.1	9.1	3.3
10-19	62.1	44.8	51.7	55.1	56.7	32.3	36.1
20-29	66.7	60.0	63.3	63.3	63.3	68.4	42.1
30-39	92.8	92.8	85.7	85.7	85.7	100	100.0
40-49	100	100	100	100	100	100	100.0
50+	90.0	90.0	100	100	90.0	88.5	88.5

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Note: The number in each cell is the percentage of seats held by the Democrats.

Source: See Table 1.

When the TVA and South Florida Democrats are removed from the Democratic totals, the Republican dominance of low minority TVA districts is clear as is evident in Table 5. Indeed in the 1986, 1988, and 1990 elections the only Democratic winners in the low minority districts outside the two exceptional regions were Central Florida Representative Bill Nelson and his successor Jim Bacchus.

In the 1980s southern Democrats were able to dominate districts that had more than 20% minority VAP and win a number of overwhelmingly white districts in the TVA region and in South Florida. It is clear that a redistricting trend that eliminated a substantial number of the 20-39% minority VAP districts would harm Democratic prospects in the South.

### **Southern House Districts in the 1990s**

As would be expected the effect of the post 1990 census redistricting conducted under the mandate for racial gerrymandering to create the maximum possible number of majority minority districts was to increase such districts from 8.6% to 20.8% of the southern districts in the House of Representatives. (The number of majority minority seats increased from 10 to 26.) The creation of 16 new majority minority districts also led to an increase in the percentage of districts with a minority VAP under 10%. In the 1980s 23 (19.8%) of southern House districts were over 90% white. In 1992 34 (27.5%) of southern House districts were over 90% white. Southern House districts with 20-39% minority VAP declined from two-fifths of to one-fifth of the region's House districts.<sup>17</sup>

Based on the partisan and racial distribution of southern House seats by minority VAP in the 1980s, the new configuration of southern districts should have produced more Republican representatives, more African-American and Hispanic representatives, and fewer white Democratic representatives. A glance at Table 1 indicates that this is precisely what occurred as a result of the 1992 elections. Republicans gained nine southern House seats in 1992. Republicans won a larger percentage of 90% white districts than they had in the 1990s. This result is not surprising since none of the new heavily white districts

were in the TVA or South Florida regions.

African-American and Hispanic representatives were elected in record numbers in 1992. The number of African-American Democrats from the South increased from five to seventeen as a result of the creation of 12 new black majority districts. All 17 African-American majority districts in the South elected black representatives. Two new Hispanic districts were created in Florida, and another two new Hispanic majority districts were drawn in Texas. Of the nine Hispanic majority districts in the South, only two had white representatives.<sup>18</sup>

After the 1992 elections there were three Hispanic Republican representatives from the South. Two of these seats were in Cuban-American majority districts in South Florida.<sup>19</sup> In Texas, Mexican-American Republican Henry Bonilla defeated Albert Bustamante, a Democratic incumbent with ethics problems.<sup>20</sup>

The manner in which racial gerrymandering is likely to increase the numbers of African-American Democrats, but also aid Republicans, is illustrated by 1992 House election results from Alabama. Prior to 1992, Alabama, with a 25% black VAP had elected no African-Americans to Congress since the end of Reconstruction.<sup>21</sup> Also, until the 1992 redistricting there were no African-American majority House districts in Alabama. For the 1992 election the Seventh district was reconfigured to increase its African-American VAP from 30 to 64 percent. The construction of the African-American majority Seventh district altered the racial composition of the Second and Sixth districts. (The African-American percentage in the other four Alabama districts did not change more than 1% as a result of redistricting.) Table 6 illustrates the changes in the racial and partisan composition of the three Alabama districts that were significantly altered by redistricting.

In the new African-American majority Seventh district, Claude Harris, the white Democratic incumbent, retired and an African-American Democrat was elected with 70% of the vote.<sup>22</sup>

In the Second District, the long time Republican incumbent, Bill Dickinson retired. The race to succeed him was won by Republican Terry Everett. However, it is likely that the Democratic candidate, George Wallace, Jr., who won 49% of the vote, would have captured the Second District had it not been for the 6% reduction in African-American VAP that occurred as a result of redistricting.

**Table 6**  
**Racial Gerrymandering and Alabama House Elections 1992**

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District	black VAP1982	black VAP1992	%Democrat for House 1992	Partisan Change 1988-1992*
2	27	21	49%	+6%Republican
6	31	8	46%	+20%Republican
7	30	64	70%	+27%Democrat

Combined Partisan 1992 House Vote In Districts 2,6,7:

Democratic: 379,717 (56.8%)

Republican: 295,591 (43.2%)

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\* The partisan change in the district is the change in the vote for George Bush and Michael Dukakis under the district lines in place for the 1988 elections and the vote for Dukakis and Bush under the district lines in place for the 1992 elections.

Source: See Table 1

In the Sixth District, five term Democratic incumbent Ben Erdreich was defeated by Republican Spencer Bacchus. Because Erdreich won 46% of the vote in a district in which redistricting had reduced the African-American VAP by 23%, it is virtually certain that Erdreich would have been reelected in his old district.

Racial gerrymandering was successful in producing its immediate goal of securing an African-American representative from Alabama. At the same time it facilitated the election of two Republicans. It is probable, though of course not certain, that the Democrats would have captured all three seats if the districts had been unaltered by redistricting. It should be noted that in winning just one of the three districts changed by redistricting, the Democrats won 56.8% of the total popular vote in the three districts.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine how many seats underwent partisan change because of race conscious redistricting. It might be possible to make an educated guess in the case of a state where a district like the Sixth Alabama was captured by the Republicans by an 8% margin while the African-American population dropped by 23%. However, in many districts examining election returns will not provide the full partisan impact of redistricting. Many quality candidates base their decision to return for office on the likelihood of success.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, national parties, political action committees and individual donors base their decisions on contributions on the prospects of electoral victory. The full partisan impact of the racial gerrymandering in the 1990s cannot be measured because the candidacies never declared and the campaign contributions not made cannot be measured.

It is also difficult to measure the impact of redistricting when a Republican seat is vacated. For example in the First District of South Carolina, Republicans have been elected for seven consecutive terms. However, when the district was open in 1980 and 1986, the Democrats managed competitive, albeit losing, races.<sup>24</sup> For the 1990s the African-American VAP was reduced from 29 to 20%. When the seat came open in 1994, the reduced African-American VAP may have induced contributors and candidates alike to regard it as considerably less friendly terrain for a Democrat.

Despite the limitations on directly attributing partisan changes to racial gerrymandering, the actual seats lost by Democrats may be examined. In addition to the loss of a seat in Alabama in 1992, two Democratic incumbents, one in Texas, the other in South Carolina, suffered defeats that could not be attributed to redistricting.<sup>25</sup> Republicans gained three seats in Georgia in 1992. One of these losses,

the defeat of incumbent Richard Ray, probably occurred because of racial gerrymandering. Ray lost his reelection bid by 10% in a district in which the African-American VAP had been reduced by 13%.<sup>26</sup> The other three Republican gains were in open seats in newly created districts in Florida. While racial gerrymandering cannot be directly credited with aiding these GOP victories, it should be noted that Florida created three new black majority districts for the 1992 elections.

The full impact of racial gerrymandering will not be fully evident in a single election. Popular incumbents may be able to hold an altered district even when their partisan advantage has been reduced. Likewise, the initial election after the redistricting may be favorable to one party, as the 1992 election was for Democrats.<sup>27</sup>

In 1994 a number of Democratic incumbents in the South chose to retire. Also, the Clinton administration was widely perceived to be harmful to Democratic candidates in the South.<sup>28</sup> Southern Republicans gained 16 seats in the 1994 elections by defeating seven Democratic incumbents and winning nine open districts vacated by retiring Democrats.

For reasons mentioned above, the impact of racial gerrymandering on Republican success in 1994 is not easily gauged. The GOP picked up no seats in the southern districts where the minority VAP exceeded 30%. However, Republicans did well in that for the first time they won majorities in those districts in which the minority VAP was 10-19% and 20-29%.

Reducing the number of districts with higher minority VAPs may have aided the Republicans in 1994. However, there were only two districts in which the number of minority voters removed may have altered the outcome of the election. Republican David Funderburk won by 12% in North Carolina's Second District, which had its African-American VAP reduced by 16% for the 1992 elections.<sup>29</sup> Also in North Carolina, Democratic incumbent Martin Lancaster was defeated by a 53-47% margin in a district in which the African-American VAP had been reduced by 5%. Other Democrats who lost seats were either in districts that were not significantly altered by redistricting or the Democrats were defeated by such substantial margins that they would not likely have won even if the minority VAPs in their districts had not been significantly reduced.<sup>30</sup>

It is also worth noting that Democrats lost four TVA districts that had long been held by the party. The First District of Mississippi had not had a Republican representative since Reconstruction. The Democrats also lost a TVA district in North Georgia and two TVA districts in East and Central Tennessee. The southern white aversion to Democrats may be reaching those areas where economic liberalism mitigated racial conservatism and preserved a Democratic advantage in congressional elections.<sup>31</sup>

## Conclusion

By packing the Democrats' most reliable supporters into relatively few districts, racial gerrymandering undoubtedly provided more opportunities for southern Republicans to capture seats in the House of Representatives. Despite the difficulties in measuring the direct impact of redistricting on election outcomes, Republicans surely hope that current court challenges to racial gerrymandering will fail. In the words of Benjamin Ginsberg, chief counsel to the Republican National Committee, "Look at the results. We'd be nuts to want to see these districts abolished."<sup>32</sup>

Excessive focus on racial gerrymandering could obscure a more important factor in explaining the Republican surge in southern House elections. According to exit polls, 1992 and 1994 were the first elections that southern Republicans actually won a majority of the popular vote in southern House elections.<sup>33</sup> Republicans won the southern House vote by a 51-49% margin (a statistical tie) in 1992 and by a more substantial margin of 55 to 45% in 1994. Republicans captured 65% of the southern white vote in 1994. The 35% of the white vote southern Democrats received in the 1994 House elections was similar to the 32 and 34% showings that Democrats Michael Dukakis and Bill Clinton received in their respective presidential bids.<sup>34</sup> Clearly the major source of Democratic problems in southern House elections is the growing percentage of southern whites who vote Republican.

**Table 7**

**Southern and Southern White Voting  
in House Elections 1980-1992**

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	South %Democratic	Southern Whites %Democratic
1980	54	48
1982	59	55
1984	52	45
1986	56	50
1988	54	48
1990	54	50
1992	49	47
1994	45	35

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Source: Drawn from a summary of exit polls in *The New York Times*, November 13, 1994.

Redistricting may have aided southern Republicans in capturing a percentage of seats (51.2) that only slightly trailed their percentage of the popular vote (55). In the future, race based districts may aid the Republicans. In 1994 the GOP won 9 of the 11 Democratic seats in



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which the incumbent did not seek reelection. Of the 66 southern Democratic incumbents who sought another term in the House, only seven were defeated.<sup>35</sup> Given the narrow margins of victory of many southern Democratic incumbents, Republicans may reasonably expect to gain more seats when these incumbents retire. In a year in which the general tenor of politics in the South, and indeed in the nation, is not so strongly anti-Democratic, as it was in 1994, Democrats could very well lose open seat elections because of racial gerrymandering. (In the nine Democratic open House seats that Republicans won in 1994, the Democratic candidate received more than 45% of the vote in just three districts. Normally competitive open House seat elections are decided by very narrow margins.)

Racial gerrymandering has reduced the total number of Democratic representatives elected from the South. However, no redistricting arrangement will ultimately save the southern Democrats as long as so many southern whites retain an aversion to the party that dominated southern politics for more than a century after the Civil War.<sup>36</sup>

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Endnotes

1. The South for purposes of this paper consists of the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia.
2. Earl Black and Merle Black, *Politics and Society in the South* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987. Also, Alexander Lamis, *The Two Party South*. Second Revised Edition New York: Oxford University Press, 1990 and Nicol C. Rae, *Southern Democrats* New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
3. Nicol C. Rae, "The Democrats Southern Problem in Presidential Politics," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 22 (1992): 135-152. Also, Earl Black and Merle Black, *The Vital South: How Presidents are Elected* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.
4. As Walter Dean Burnham notes, Democratic control of the House in all but four years from 1932-1994 was based on large majorities of southern House seats. Walter Dean Burnham, "Theses on the 1994 Election." H-Net Political History Discussion List. November 16, 1994.
5. The five African-American representatives elected from the South in 1990 were the most in the twentieth century.
6. Bernard Grofman and Lisa Handley, "Black Representation: Making Sense of Electoral Geography At Different Levels of Government" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 19 (1989): 265-279.
7. The judicial, legislative, and political events that led to current interpretations of voting rights law cannot be recounted here. As a result of the 1993 Supreme Court ruling, *Shaw v. Reno*, the constitutionality of racial gerrymandering is in doubt. The evolution of voting rights is chronicled in Abigail Thernstrom, *Whose Votes Count? Affirmative Action and Minority Voting Rights*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987, Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman,

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*Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act 1965-1990* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994 and Bernard Grofman, Lisa Handley, Richard Niemi, *Minority Representation and The Quest For Voting Equality* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

8. James A. Barnes, "Minority Poker" *The National Journal* May 4, 1991, 1034-1039 and Guy Gugliotta, "Blacks Join Forces With GOP on Remap" *The Washington Post* May 11, 1992, A4.

9. Charles Mahtesian, "North Carolina Map Rejected, Georgia Tries Again" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* January 25, 1992, 188 and Ines Pinto Alices, "Georgia's Third Try at Remap Gets Federal OK" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* April 4, 1992, 901.

10. Joe Klein, "Bubba is Back" *Newsweek* September 26, 1994, 46.

11. An open seat election has no incumbent seeking reelection. Open seat elections are more competitive than those for seats held by incumbents.

12. Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics 1988* Washington: The National Journal, 1987, pp. 501-503. Also, Alexander Lamis, *The Two Party South*.

13. Bernard Grofman and Lisa Handley found that in southern state legislative elections African-Americans were mainly elected from Black majority districts. Bernard Grofman and Lisa Handley, "The Impact of the Voting Rights Act on Black Representation in State Legislatures" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 16 (1991): 111-128.

14. It is worth noting that the run-off primary system used in most southern states prevented only one African-American Democrat from receiving the Democratic nomination in a white majority district. In 1982, Democrat Mickey Michaux finished first in the initial primary in the 36% African-American Second District of North Carolina. Michaux lost the run-off primary to white Democrat Tim Valentine who was

elected to six terms before retiring in 1989. Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics 1984* Washington: The National Journal, 1983, 874-876.

15. David Mayhew, *Party Loyalty Among Congressmen: The Difference Between Democrats and Republicans 1947-1962*. TVA districts were classified so as to include all districts with at least a portion of the district in the TVA region. The location of the TVA was determined from maps in Gordon R. Clapp, *The TVA: Approach to the Development of a Region* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. For the 1980s, the following were classified as TVA districts: Alabama 4 and 5, Georgia 7 and 9, Mississippi 1, North Carolina 11, Virginia 10, and Tennessee 1 through 8. For the 1990s the TVA districts retained the same numbers.

16. Districts in which the majority of the population resides in Dade, Broward, or Palm Beach counties were classified as South Florida districts. For 1982-1990 districts 14-19 in Florida were classified as South Florida districts. For 1992-1994 South Florida was classified as districts 17-23. For a description of the South Florida districts, see Phil Duncan, *Politics in America 1992: The 102nd Congress* Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1991, pp. 330-347.

17. The total number of southern House seats increased from 116 to 125 as a result of the 1990 census.

18. Ronald Coleman, a white Democratic incumbent, was reelected in the Sixteenth District in El Paso, Texas. After a bitter primary campaign, white Democrat Gene Green won the newly created Hispanic majority Twenty-ninth District in Houston. Both were reelected in 1994. Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics 1994* Washington: National Journal, 1993, pp. 1246-1248 and 1275-1277.

19. Republican Ileana Ros-Lehtinen won the 1989 special election to fill the seat of deceased Democrat Claude Pepper. Ros-Lehtinen's district had its Hispanic majority increased from 50-67%. A second majority Cuban-American district was created in Florida in 1992.
20. Barone and Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics 1993*, pp. 1262-1264.
21. Carol M. Swain, *Black Faces, Black Interests: The Representation of African-Americans in Congress* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
22. The descriptions of the 1992 Alabama House elections are from Phil Duncan, *Politics in America, 1994: The 103rd Congress* Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1993, pp. 24-24 and 36-39.
23. Gary Jacobson and Samuel Kernell, *Strategy and Choice in Congressional Elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983 and Linda Fowler and Robert McClure, *Political Ambition: Who Decides to Run For Congress* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
24. In both 1980 and 1986, the Republicans captured the open First with 52% of the vote.
25. A four term Texas Democrat lost his seat after being plagued by scandals. Incumbent Democrat Elizabeth Patterson of South Carolina lost her seat to Republican Bob Inglis. Barone and Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics, 1993*, pp. 1155-1157 and 1262-1264.
26. Barone and Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics, 1993*.
27. The South was the only region of the United States where George Bush won a plurality of the popular vote and a majority of the electoral votes. However, Bill Clinton ran a more competitive race in the South than most recent Democratic nominees. He carried Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana and Tennessee. He lost narrowly in North Carolina and

Florida.

28. Richard Berke, "Democrats Show Surprising Life in House Races" *The New York Times* October 25, 1994, B8. Juliana Gruenwald, "Georgia: The Republican Rises to the Brink of Success" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* October 29, 1994, 3105-3107.

29. Steven Holmes, "Did Racial Redistricting Undermine Democrats?" *The New York Times* November 13, 1994, 24.

30. For example, in Georgia's Eighth District much attention was paid to the fact that the African-American VAP had been reduced from 32 to 18%, thus enhancing Republican prospects for picking up the seat when Democratic incumbent Roy Rowland retired in 1994. However, Republican Saxby Chambliss won the seat by a margin of 63 to 37%. Chambliss's margin of victory was so large that the probably would have won even if the African American VAP had not been reduced.

31. It should be noted that suburban growth has added Republicans to districts that were once dominated by rural and small town Democrats. For example, DeSoto County, Mississippi, a fast growing suburb of Memphis, is the center of Republican strength in northern Mississippi. In the Seventh District of Georgia, where Republican Bob Barr unseated Democratic incumbent Buddy Darden in 1994, the heavily Republican Atlanta suburbs had made the district difficult for Democrats in recent elections. See, Barone and Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics 1993*, p. 348. and Duncan, *Politics in American, 1994: The 103rd Congress*, pp. 411 and 844.

32. Holmes, "Did Racial Redistricting Undermine Democrats," p. 32.

33. Exit poll data on House elections from 1980 through 1994 is presented in *The New York Times* November 13, 1994, 24.

34. The poll results on the 1988 and 1992 presidential elections are in *The New York Times* November 10, 1988, II6 and *The New York Times* November 5, 1992, B9.

35. Many southern Democrats were reelected by narrow margins in 1994. Thirteen received less than 55% of the vote.

36. Peter Applebombe, "The Rising GOP Tide Overwhelms the Democratic Levees in the South" *The New York Times* November 11, 1994, A29.