

An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Florida  
Prepared for the American Enterprise Institute

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## An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Florida

When the Voting Rights Act was initially passed in 1965, Florida was among the minority of southern states not be subject to Section 5. The official statistics kept by the Florida's secretary of state showed 51.2 percent of the adult black population to be registered at the time of the 1964 presidential election. Moreover the state's 3,087,699 voting age citizens (1960 census) cast 1,854,481 votes, easily exceeding the 50 percent threshold needed to avoid the trigger mechanism in the 1965 legislation.

The majority of African-Americans were registered even though in a few Panhandle counties, African-American registration rates were similar to those found north of the Florida border in south Alabama and Georgia. For example, in two counties (Lafayette and Liberty), each with fewer than 250 adult African-Americans, none were registered to vote.<sup>[1]</sup> In a few other north Florida counties black registration rates were low standing at only 11.6 percent of the age eligible blacks in Gadsden, the state's only majority black county.

By the fall of 1966, the figures maintained by Florida's secretary of state showed black registration rising to 63.6 percent of the age eligible. In Lafayette County black registration had risen from zero to 67.1 percent while in Liberty it had gone from zero to 73.8 percent. In Gadsden County black registration remained low although it had tripled in the course of two years to 37.7 percent. By 1966, only ten counties had less than half of the adult blacks registered and in only one county were fewer than a third of the adult blacks registered. The one county that continued to show little progress was Union where black registration increased from 11.8 to only 16.2 percent. The report prepared by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights shows that of the eleven states of the old Confederacy, a higher proportion of Florida's adult blacks were registered to vote in the aftermath of the Voting Rights Act than in any other state except Tennessee.<sup>[2]</sup>

The relatively open access African-Americans had to the ballot box in Florida resulted in the state not being made subject to Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act when the Act was extended (in 1970). The subsequent, new trigger mechanism adopted in 1975 made five Florida counties subject to Section 5 and the preclearance requirement. The five counties to which Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act as amended in 1975 applied because of the concentrations of Spanish-speakers were Collier, Hardee, Hendree, Hillsborough, and Monroe (see Map 1).

(Map 1 goes here)

Coverage of a jurisdiction by the preclearance provision of the Voting Rights Act is determined by a formula in Section 4. This formula had two components in the original

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<sup>[1]</sup> U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Political Participation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 230-231.

<sup>[2]</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.

1965 Act. First, the state or political subdivision maintained a “test or device” restricting the opportunity to vote as of November 1 1964.<sup>[3]</sup> Second, less than half of the state or political subdivision’s voting age population had registered to vote on November 1 1964, or had cast a ballot in the 1964 presidential election.

The 1975 reauthorization extended the provisions of the act to address low voting rates among linguistic minorities, defined as “American Indian, Asian American, Alaskan Natives” or people “of Spanish heritage.” The reauthorization recalibrated the presence of tests or devices and levels of electoral participation to November 1972, and the definition of “test or device” was rewritten to encompass the provision of minority language electoral information to political subdivisions and states where a linguistic minority constituted more than five percent of the citizen VAP. The minority language provision triggers coverage of any jurisdiction where: Over five percent of the voting-age citizens were members of a single language minority group as of November 1, 1972; registration and election materials were provided only in English in 1972; and fewer than 50 percent of the voting-age citizens were registered to vote or voted in the 1972 Presidential election.

Since the 1975 Voting Rights Act brought five Florida counties under Section 5, much has changed in the Sunshine State. Thousands of immigrants have come to the state from Latin America. Latinos have supplanted African-Americans as the state’s largest minority group. Most of Florida’s Hispanic population lives in the southern part of the state. Of the state’s 2.7 million Hispanics, over 48 percent live in Dade County, and over 62 percent (1,674,581) live in Dade, Broward, Collier, and Monroe. Florida’s five Section 5 counties do not contain the bulk of the language minorities in the state. The covered county with the largest linguistic-minority population of the five covered counties – Hillsborough – has a Hispanic population so dispersed that the crafting of minority-majority districts for the population in the county is impossible at present.

What Moreno and Hill describe as the “South Florida Economic Enclave” – the combination of Latino-targeted businesses and services for a growing, vibrant Latino working and middle class – is expanding out of Dade County and into Collier County.<sup>[4]</sup> According to Moreno and Hill, the western part of Collier County is an effective extension of Dade County; a similar phenomenon is at work in the upper Keys, where most of the population of Monroe County is located. Since the 1980s, this economic enclave has also been a source of Latino political mobilization, in no small part due to the ABC (“Anybody But A Cuban”) movement among Miami whites in the 1970s and 1980s. Dade County Latinos have been highly mobilized ever since.

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<sup>[3]</sup> The Act defined a "test or device" as requirements such as a literacy test, a good character test, or requiring that another registered voter vouch for an applicant’s qualifications to vote.

<sup>[4]</sup> *Ibid.*

Florida's 2000 census indicates a state population that is 14.4 percent black and 16.8 percent Hispanic. Of the voting age population of 12,336,038, 12.7 percent are black and 16.1 percent are Hispanic. In 2000, Latinos accounted for 11 percent of the registered voters in Florida. Approximately 802,000 of the state's 1,265,000 voting age Latino citizens were registered to vote. Among registered Latinos, approximately 678,000 turned out in 2000 (84.5 percent).

### **Minority Registration and Turnout**

The U.S. Bureau of the Census conducts surveys to determine the rates at which citizens register and participate in general elections. The data on registration and turnout are self-reported and, consequently, tend to overestimate actual levels of participation. While Florida maintains official records on registration by race it does not report turnout data by race and ethnicity as do the other four states that record the race and ethnicity of registrants. Consequently, the Census Bureau reports, while probably inflating estimates of participation, are the best data available on turnout and can be used for comparative purposes across time and across states on the assumption that the inflation is of similar magnitude across time and space. Moreover these are the kinds of estimates that the Census Bureau used in determining whether low registration or turnout rates made jurisdictions subject to the trigger mechanisms included in the 1965, 1970 or 1975 versions of the Voting Rights Act.

Table 1 provides the Census Bureau estimates for registration in Florida from 1980 through 2004 for Latinos, blacks and whites. As the table shows, Latinos sign up to vote at a substantially lower rate than do Anglos or Blacks. The range in Latino self-reported registration is from a low of 22.7 percent in 1994 to a high of 39.1 percent in 2002. After bottoming out in 1994, Latino registration has exceeded 35 percent in each of the last five elections and the two most recent elections had the highest Latino registration rates in the 24 year period. Nonetheless, at their highest level of registration (2002), the rate at which Latinos signed up to vote is almost nine percentage points below that for blacks and more than 20 points lower than for Anglos. Despite the persisting disparities, the differences across ethnic groups have narrowed. In the early 1980s, Latinos registered at rates approximately 25 percentage points lower than those for blacks and often 30 percentage points below the registration rate for Anglos.

(Table 1 goes here)

The bottom half of Table 1 provides comparable registration data for the non-South. When Florida Latinos are compared with those outside of the region, Table 1 shows that prior to 1986, the figures outside the South exceeded those in Florida. The largest difference came in 1982 when just over a third of the non-South Hispanics but barely a quarter of the Florida Hispanics reported registering. Beginning with 1986, Florida Latinos register at higher rates than do their peers outside the region with the single exception of 1994. In that year, the rate for Latino registration in Florida, 22.7 percent, is the lowest for the time under review and is approximately 13 percentage points below the

figure for either 1992 or 1996. The Florida figure in that year is 6.4 percentage points below that for the non-South. In most of the other elections over the last 20 years, the Florida figures have been slightly above those for the non-South. The greatest difference comes in 2002 when 39.1 percent of the Florida Latinos compared with 30.6 percent of those outside the South claim to have registered to vote.

In the 30 years since passage of the 1975 Voting Rights Act, the rate of Hispanic registration has increased slightly in Florida. Also over that time period, Florida Latinos have become more likely to register than have their peers outside of the region.

Table 2 presents the Census Bureau estimates of turnout from 1980-2004. Hispanic turnout is consistently lower than that for either Anglos or Blacks. The proportion of the adult Florida Latino population that has gone to the polls ranges from a low of 18.6 percent in 1982 to a high of 34.1 percent in 1988 and 34.0 percent in 2004. Like for the other ethnic groups in the state, Latino participation follows a see-saw pattern rising in presidential years then dropping in mid-term elections. The range in Latino turnout in presidential years is narrow going from a low of 29 percent in 1996 to a high of 34.1 percent in 1988. The range of participation in mid-term elections is greater with a low of 18.6 percent in 1982 and a high of 28 percent in 1986. The greatest participation of Latinos in mid-term elections does not quite equal their lowest rate of participation in presidential elections.

(Table 2 goes here)

Florida Latinos vote at lower rates than do either African-Americans or Anglos. The biggest disparity between Latino and African-American turnout comes in 1980 when just over half of the Florida black voting age population voted compared with 29.3 percent of the Latino voting age population. Twenty-four years later, the disparity had shrunk to just over ten percentage points. In the first three mid-term elections in Table 2, blacks voted at rates at least eleven percentage points higher than Latinos. In the most recent mid-term election, the gap had narrowed to 5.6 percentage points. In the 1980s, Anglo turnout often exceeded Latino turnout by 25 percentage points. Roughly this disparity showed up again in 2004. The smallest difference in Latino and Anglo turnout rates came in 2002 when the white turnout rate exceeded that for Latinos by 17.4 percentage points.

Over the last quarter century, Hispanic turnout in Florida has increased slightly. In the first two presidential elections, it stood just below 29 percent. In the most recent elections, it exceeded 31 percent and hit 34 percent in 2004. Latino turnout in mid-term elections has ranged from 18.6 percent in 1982 to 27.4 percent in 2002 and 28.0 percent in 1986.

Materials in the lower half of Table 2 permit a comparison of Hispanic participation in Florida and the non-South. For the first three elections, Latinos outside the South voted at higher rates than in Florida with the greatest difference coming in 1982 when 25.8 percent of the non-southern Latinos compared with 18.6 percent in Florida voted.

Beginning with 1986, Latino turnout in Florida has exceeded that in the non-South in every year except in 1994 when the non-southern figure marginally exceeds that for Florida with both being just above 20 percent. In some years, the Florida figure was only marginally higher than that for the non-South (1990 and 1998). In 2002, Florida Hispanics were much more likely to vote than Hispanics outside of the South with 27.4 percent of the Florida adults compared with 18.2 percent of the non-southern adults reporting voting.

Florida's Secretary of State, the official responsible for maintaining registration records, reports on the numbers of voters registered by race but does not give a separate enumeration for self-identified Latinos or those who have Spanish surnames. We suspect that many but not all of those in the "other" category are Latinos. Table 3 presents the tabulations for the period 1994 through 2004.

Since 1996, the number of "other" registrants has doubled from about 580,000 to almost 1.2 million while white Anglo registrants have increased from 6.57 to 7.48 million. Black registration has increased from 845,000 in 1996 to over 1.2 million by 2004. Black voters still outnumber the "other" category despite there being fewer African-Americans in Florida's adult population than Hispanics. By 2004, African-Americans constituted 11.9 percent of the registered electorate in Florida which is only slightly less than the 12.7 percent of the state's voting age population that was black in 2000. The "other" category makes up 11.6 percent of Florida's registrants in 2004 which is well below the 16.1 percent of the Florida population identified as Hispanic in 2000. It is likely that some share of those voters whose race or ethnicity is unknown are also Latinos. As Table 3 demonstrates, the number of registrants opting not to indicate their race or ethnicity has almost doubled between 2000 and 2004.

(Table 3 goes here)

### **Elections of Minority Officials**

The first available figures in the numbers of Latino elected officials in Florida come from the mid 1980s when fewer than 50 served. Over the next two decades, the numbers of Latinos holding office has doubled. As reported in Table 4, until 2000, separate breakouts were available for different kinds of local offices. These figures show that most Latinos served in municipal offices with relatively few holding county or school board positions. In the most recent years, no separate break out is available but it seems reasonable to assume that municipalities continue to be the locale from which most Latinos are elected.<sup>[5]</sup>

(Table 4 goes here)

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<sup>[5]</sup> "2004 Primary Election Profiles, "National Association of Latino Elected Officials.

The period for which the numbers of African-American office holders in Florida exists is much longer extending back to 1969. As Table 5 shows, in 1969 the state had only 24 African-Americans holding office. By 1980, the number exceeded 100 and since 1993 there have been more than 200 black office holders. In the early years, more than 80 percent of the African-American Officials served in cities. While municipalities continued to be the location from which most blacks get elected, now only little more than one half of the black officials serve in cities. The number of African-Americans holding county office has grown from one to 29 in 2001 while the number of serving on school boards has grown from zero in 1969 to 15 or 16, a number that has fluctuated over the last 20 years.

(Table 5 goes here)

### *Minorities in Congress*

In a special election held in August 1989 to fill the vacancy created by the death of Claude Pepper, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen became the first Cuban American elected to Congress. She is also the first Hispanic woman to be elected to Congress from any state. This continued Ros-Lehtinen's string of firsts. In 1982, she had become the first Latina elected to the Florida legislature.<sup>[6]</sup> The congressional district that elected her was 51 percent Spanish origin as of 1980. When she was elected, it was estimated to be 37 percent Cuban-American.<sup>[7]</sup>

Three years after her initial election a second Cuban American, also from Miami joined Ros-Lehtinen. The new legislator, Lincoln Diaz-Balart, won his seat as a result of a districting plan that created a second heavily Hispanic district. Diaz-Balart, who had been in the Florida legislature for the previous six years, attracted no opposition in either the primary or the general election as he won this district more than 70 percent Hispanic.

Following the 2001 redistricting, South Florida had a third predominately Hispanic district. This district elected Mario Diaz-Balart the younger brother of Lincoln who had followed his older sibling into the Florida Senate.<sup>[8]</sup>

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<sup>[6]</sup> The first Hispanic to serve in the Florida Legislature was Fernando Figueredo of Key West, who represented Monroe County in 1885. The first modern Hispanic to serve was Roberto Casas, a Democratic state house member (and later state senator) from Hialeah in Dade County, who was elected in a special election in January 1982. See Allen Morris, *The Florida Handbook, 1989-1990*. Tallahassee: The Peninsular Publishing Company, (1989) p.149.

<sup>[7]</sup> Phil Duncan, editor, *Politics in America, 1992* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1991), p. 341.

<sup>[8]</sup> Sometimes called the "Cuban Kennedys", the Diaz-Balarts also count among their numbers a successful investment banker (Rafael) and a highly regarded TV broadcaster (Jose) who broadcasts for Telemundo and the Miami NBC affiliate.

Since 2003, Florida has had three Cuban-American representatives along with three African-Americans. Three black legislators entered Congress in 1992 as a result of a racially gerrymandered map drawn by a Tulane Law professor working for a three – judge federal panel. The map created a compact majority-black district in Miami and two others that were among the many strange shapes fashioned to satisfy U.S. Department of Justice demands in the early 1990s. Arguably the stranger of the two Corrine Brown’s third district, became known as the “bugsplat” or “fishhook” district. It extended just inside of the Atlantic coast from Jacksonville all the way down to Orlando. The western arm of the district reached from Jacksonville as far south as the university city of Gainesville.

After this district was successfully challenged, following *Shaw v. Reno*, its black concentration dropped from 55 to 47 percent. In the wake of the reduced black concentration, Brown attracted relatively serious Republican challengers but has retained her seat.

Another majority-black district contained portions of St. Lucie, Martin and Palm Beach counties that formed a rough rectangle but had a long tail that ran south along the Florida East Coast Railroad to pick up Fort Lauderdale’s black population and finally gathered up a few more African-Americans in the northern part of Dade County. This district elected Alcee Hastings, who had been impeached and removed as a federal district court judge. Hastings continues to represent that district.

The compact African- American district in Miami elected Carrie Meek, a 24-year veteran of the Florida legislature. She retired after a decade and the seat is now held by her son Kendrick.<sup>[9]</sup>

Table 6 indicates the racial and ethnic composition of Florida’s 25 current congressional districts. The three districts electing African-American representatives – districts 3, 17, and 23 – constitute almost half of all the districts that cast a majority of their votes for Al Gore for president in 2000. The three Hispanic-majority congressional districts (18, 21 and 25) all elect Republican Latino representatives, and these districts are solidly Republican. Of the twenty-five congressional districts, eight enter at least one of the five counties subject to Section 5. Two of the Hispanic-majority congressional districts and one of the districts with a performing majority for blacks are subject to preclearance review.

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<sup>[9]</sup> The last of the Reconstruction blacks to serve in the Florida Legislature were George A. Lewis and John R. Scott, Jr., who were represented Duval County (Jacksonville) in 1889. It would be almost 80 years until Joe Lang Kershaw was elected to the legislature from Dade County in 1968. The first black woman to serve in the legislature was attorney Gwen Cherry, elected to the house from Dade County in 1970. Carrie Meek was the first black woman to serve in the state Senate. In 1983 Meek and Arnette Girardeau from Jacksonville desegregated the Senate.

(Table 6 goes here)

With three Hispanic and three black members of Congress, each minority group holds 12 percent of Florida's 25 congressional seats. The proportion of the seats held by each of the two minority groups roughly approximates the groups' share of the Florida voting age citizen population which is 13.3 percent African-American and 14.9 percent Hispanic.

### *Minorities in the Legislature*

Table 7 reports the numbers and percentage of the Florida legislators who are Latino. In 1985, six years after the beginning of the Cuban-American mobilization in response to the English-Only movement in Miami, a total of four Hispanic legislators served in the state House, but none in the Senate. By 1991, three Hispanics served in the Senate and eight were in the House. After the 1992 redistricting two more Latinos got elected to the House. Following the implementation of new maps in 2002, Latinos held thirteen House seats. Latino numbers in the Senate have held constant at three since 1991. These numbers, while below the Hispanic proportion of the voting age population, do track closely with the proportion of registrants in the "other" category in Table 3 (11.6 percent) compared with 10.8 percent of the representatives. A greater disparity persists with share of Senate seats held by Latinos (7.5 percent).

(Table 7 goes here)

The first African-American to enter the Florida House did so in the latter half of the 1960s. As reported in Table 8, the numbers of blacks grew slowly until the 1981 redistricting after which their number increased from four to eleven. In the succeeding 22 years, the African-American presence in the House has grown slowly but following the 2001 redistricting, now stands at 14.2 percent of the 120 member House chamber. The share of House seats held by African-Americans exceeds the black percentage in Florida's voting age population (13.3).

(Table 8 goes here)

The first black senators won seats following the same early 1980s redistricting that triggered the almost trebling of House African-Americans. Throughout the life of that districting plan, the Senate had two black senators. With the 1992 redistricting, black senators increased to five members and by 2005 their numbers had reached seven so that they hold 17.5 percent of the chamber's seats.

### *Statewide Officials*

In 1986 Bob Martinez became the Sunshine State's only governor of Spanish heritage. This Republican had previously served as mayor of Tampa and is thus not part of the wave of Cuban-Americans who came to South Florida in the wake of Fidel Castro's take

over of the island. Martinez was a former union organizer and had once been a Democrat.

Martinez had several major stumbles during his term. Almost immediately after winning election, he proposed to levy a sales tax on services. This proposal angered two significant players in Florida politics, since it would have required the collection of sales taxes from professionals, such as lawyers, and would also have taxed advertising such as appears in newspapers. Since this misstep came early in his tenure Martinez had time to make amends and perhaps secure a second term. The second miscue came towards the end of his term and sealed his fate. Immediately after the Supreme Court opened the way for states to impose some limits on access to an abortion, Martinez called a special session of the legislature. However, with Democrats controlling both chambers and eager to embarrass the Republican governor, his proposals were not enacted thus suggesting a lack of both political muscle and political acuity. In his 1990 bid for reelection, Martinez fell to former Senator Lawton Chiles.

In 2004, Mel Martinez became the first Cuban American to win a U.S. Senate seat. He also became one of only two Latinos to serve in the 109<sup>th</sup> Senate as he joined fellow freshman Ken Salazar from Colorado. Martinez is the only Republican Latino senator.

In 1976, Joseph Hatchett won a seat on the Florida Supreme Court. At that time, membership on the state's highest tribunal was filled in contested elections. Subsequently in elections to the Florida bench candidates run on their records and simply seek a confirmation vote, a format known as the Missouri Plan. Upon Hatchett's election to the Supreme Court, he became the first African-American not only to serve on that body but also the first to win a statewide election in the South.<sup>[10]</sup>

The first African-American to serve in a statewide Florida constitutional office was Douglas Jamerson who was appointed by Governor Lawton Chiles to fill the vacant position as Commissioner of Education. Jamerson, who had served in the Florida House since 1982, failed in his 1994 bid for a full term. In an election that saw the two parties split the eight statewide contests on the ballot, Jamerson polled 46.6 percent of the vote. This was the weakest showing for any Democrat seeking a constitutional office but was substantially stronger than the 29.5 percent of the vote polled by the Democratic nominee who was crushed by Senator Connie Mack, the Republican returned to the U.S. Senate.

### **Representation and the Section 5 Covered Counties**

The Hispanic population in the Section 5 counties as of 2000 totaled slightly fewer than 300,000. As Table 9 shows this population is disproportionately located in Hillsborough County, which accounts for two-thirds of the total for the five counties. In three of the counties, less than 20 percent of the population is Hispanic. In the two counties where Hispanics constitute more than a third of the population, their numbers are small. Since

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<sup>[10]</sup> Hatchett Biography found at [www.floriasuprenecourt.org/about/gallery/hatchett.html](http://www.floriasuprenecourt.org/about/gallery/hatchett.html).

the average population for a Florida House District was 133,186 at the time of the most recent redistricting, only Hillsborough had a Hispanic concentration large enough to constitute the majority of a state House district. Even if all Collier Hispanics lived in the same House district, they would not equal half the district population. In any of the five counties, except of Hillsborough, if Hispanics in the Section 5 counties are to live in a predominantly Latino House district, they will have to be combined with Hispanic concentrations in neighboring counties.

(Table 9 goes here)

The heaviest concentration of Hispanics in Florida lives in the five southernmost congressional districts but these are dominated by Dade County and it is not subject to Section 5. Hispanics constitute 51.5 percent of the voting age population in these congressional districts. In both of the southernmost counties covered by Section 5 – Monroe and Collier – the bulk of the Latino populations in congressional districts that currently elect Latino candidates of choice from majority-Latino districts based in Miami-Dade.

### *Hillsborough County*

Hillsborough County is 15 percent black and 18 percent Hispanic. Of the twelve legislators in Hillsborough County’s state house delegation, two are a black (16.7 percent of all representatives), reflecting a proportional level of representation for the black community from Hillsborough County while the third is a Latino.

As indicated in Table 10, the Hispanic population is widely dispersed across Hillsborough county. None of the dozen state House districts entering Hillsborough are majority Hispanic by VAP; indeed, the most heavily-Latino district, 58, is just 38.4 percent Latino VAP. This is also the most-heavily-Latino district in the state House to be represented by a Democrat Bob “coach” Henriquez, a Latino, represents the 58<sup>th</sup> District. Of the dozen legislators in Hillsborough, three are Democrats, , and they represent the three most-heavily-minority districts in the county and each belongs to a minority group.

(Table 10 goes here)

Hillsborough County House has two majority black state House districts. House District 55, which stretches as a narrow urban ribbon from Saint Petersburg through Bradenton and south to Sarasota, is 50.1 percent black VAP and is a safely Democratic with a 64 percent Democratic registration. It voted almost 76 percent for Al Gore. The incumbent representative, Frank Peterman, is an African-American.

House District 59, which runs from the University district into Tampa and then through Palm River to Progress Village, has a 52.6 percent black VAP and an additional 13.6 percent Hispanic VAP. The district is safely Democratic (it voted over 75 percent for Al Gore in 2000) and is currently represented by an African-American, Rep. Arthenia Joyner.

State Senate District 18, largely located in Hillsborough County but also taking in portions of Pinellas and Manatee counties, covers much of the same geography as House Districts 55 and 59. The district is only 42 percent black and 18.9 percent Hispanic by population and just 37.4 percent black VAP and 17.2 percent Hispanic VAP. The district is solidly Democratic, and currently elects an African-American senator, Les Miller. Miller is one of four senators representing all or part of Hillsborough County (25 percent of all senators). Initially elected in 2000, Miller is currently the Senate Minority Whip.

The three member of Congress currently representing parts of Hillsborough County are all Anglos. Two are Republicans while Jim Davis is a Democrat.

Hispanics hold two judgeships and one school board slot in Hillsborough. In addition Tampa's mayor and three council members have Spanish surnames.

### *Collier County*

The only majority-Latino state House district in the covered counties is House District 112 which encompasses southern Collier County from east of Naples and Marco Island, and then continues into northeastern Dade County and also picks up a small portion of Broward County (Miramar and Pembroke Pines). This district was drawn in response to an objection by the Justice Department to the initial plan for the continuation of the majority-Hispanic district in Collier County. Under the initial plan, House District 101 was to be a successor to a majority-Hispanic district (HD 102) that entered Collier County (see Map 2). Florida lawmakers contended that the creation of additional Hispanic representation opportunities elsewhere in the state compensated for the elimination of District 102 in Collier, thereby mitigating any retrogressive effect. DOJ rejected this proposition noting that such an approach “would require a Section 5 review and assessment of all districts within a state, even where the statutory formula only identified individual counties for coverage. This is contrary to the plain meaning of Congress’ coverage determinations and is an approach we therefore reject.”<sup>[11]</sup>

(Map 2 goes here)

The state argued against including part of Collier in a district with Dade County because to do so would mitigate against creating an eleventh majority Hispanic district in Dade. Alternative proposals demonstrated how to create a majority Latino district in Collier while maintaining eleven Hispanic majority districts in Dade County.

The Justice Department cited “clear evidence” of the need to maintain a Hispanic-majority district in Collier County based on the willingness of Latinos to vote for and the unwillingness of Anglo whites to vote for Hispanics in Collier County. The old majority-

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<sup>[11]</sup> Letter from Ralph D. Boyd to Sen. John McKay and Rep. Tom Feeney, July 1, 2002, page 3.

Hispanic district afforded an opportunity for Hispanic voters to elect representatives of choice. The state responded to the objection by extending a 66.7 percent Hispanic VAP district – District 112 – into Collier. David Rivera, an Hispanic Republican from Miami, represents the 112<sup>th</sup> District.

District 101 still retains a substantial Hispanic VAP minority (30.7 percent). Given demographic trends in western Broward County and Collier County, it is possible that this district might have a Hispanic majority in the coming decade.

The 25<sup>th</sup> Congressional District represented by Mario Diaz-Balart contains most of the area of Collier, Monroe and Dade counties and thus is represented by a Republican Latino. However estimates reported in Table 13 show Collier Latinos overwhelmingly rejecting Diaz-Balart in favor of his Democratic opponent.

It does not appear that Collier has any Hispanics serving as elected county officers.

### *Monroe County*

Monroe County is contained within state House District 120 and Senate District 39, which also encompasses parts of Collier County and Hendry County. House District 120 elects an Anglo Republican; Monroe County last sent a Latino to the state legislature in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Senate District 39 is 32.0 percent black and 30.6 percent Hispanic by voting age population, and encompasses most of the Latino population of Collier County. The senator from the district, Larcenia Bullard, is an African-American Democrat who was initially elected to the House in 1992 and to the Senate in 2002. This election of a Black Democrat from a combined majority-minority district was forecast by Moreno and Hill, who observed in May 2002 that “whereas [elsewhere] one might combine black and Hispanics into a ‘majority-minority’ district in [sic] and have the district perform for Hispanic candidates, here [in South Florida] such a district would almost assuredly elect a black, not a Hispanic, candidate of choice” due to the generally Democratic voting habits of Anglo whites in South Florida.<sup>[12]</sup>

The bulk of Monroe County is in Congressional District 25 although the Keys are in District 18. Consequently all of the county currently has a Republican, Latino legislator. Mario Diaz-Balart represents the 25<sup>th</sup> while Ileana Ros-Lehtinen represents the 18<sup>th</sup>. Although we back estimates of Latino voting behavior in Monroe for these members of Congress, Table 11 suggests that Monroe Hispanics may have preferred the unsuccessful Democratic challengers.

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<sup>[12]</sup> Dario V. Moreno and Kevin A. Hill. “Expert Report on South Florida’s Congressional Districts 17, 18, 21, and 25.” Submitted in *Martinez v. Bush*, 234 F. Supp. 2d 1275 (SD Fla. 2002), page 1.

### *Hardee County*

Hardee County has a population of 27,987 and is 35.7 percent Hispanic. The county is wholly contained in House District 66 and Senate District 17. Latinos make up 11.3 percent of the population in the state Senate District and 15.2 percent of the House district population. Hardee County residents account for approximately one-third of Hispanics in the Senate district and two-thirds of residents in the House district. The House seat is held by an Anglo Republican. Hardee does not appear to have any Hispanics in elective office.

### *Hendry County*

Hendry County has a population of 36,210, and is 39.6 percent Hispanic. Like Hardee, the Hispanic population is insufficient to constitute a viable core of a performing minority district, and, unlike Collier and Monroe counties, Hendry is too distant to be joined with the larger, politically-active Latino population in Dade County in creating minority representation opportunities. The state representative for Hendry is a white Republican from Highlands County. Hendry does not appear to have any Hispanic elected officials.

## **Racial Voting Patterns**

Florida's two major minority groups affiliate with opposing parties. African-Americans in the Sunshine State, like elsewhere, constitute the core constituency for the Democratic Party, regularly voting for its nominees in overwhelming numbers. In contrast, Cuban-Americans, who have been the most politically active Latinos in the state, have been staunchly Republican, attracted to the GOP by its outspoken opposition to the regime of Fidel Castro. Because of their differing loyalties, African-Americans have generally seen their preferred candidates elected when Democrats have triumphed while Latinos have seen their preferences put in office when Republicans have succeeded.

The political loyalties of Florida Latinos may be changing. While the Cuban-American population continues to be solidly Republican, some evidence suggests that younger members of community are less committed to the GOP. Latinos who originate from some place other than Cuba are much less supportive of Republicans and, for the most part, back Democratic candidates. Alvaro Fernandez, the Florida director for the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, notes that "70 percent of Hispanics in Florida aren't Cuban" as evidence of the need to organize and register those Latinos as a potential bloc of voters for the Democratic party.<sup>[13]</sup>

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<sup>[13]</sup>Harold Meyerson, "The Rising Latino Tide in Florida and Texas," *American Prospect* (November 18, 2002), accessed at <http://www.prospect.org/print/V13/21/meyerson-h.html>.

One distinguishing feature of the Dade County Hispanic community is that it is more heavily Cuban than the surrounding communities. Outside Dade County, in Monroe, Collier and Broward, Cubans are less numerous among the Hispanic population. These Hispanic populations are also less concentrated than in Dade County. The Cuban-non-Cuban distinction may be important from the perspective of cultural anthropologists. In the realm of politics, Latinos in Florida are closely tied by anti-communist sentiment across Cubans, Nicaraguans, Colombians, and Venezuelans, by a sentiment opposing English-Only laws, and support for a variety of urban issues.<sup>[14]</sup> The trial court in *Martinez v. Bush* recognized the lack of political distinction within these communities, and like the Justice Department, considers Latinos in Florida to be a cohesive voting bloc regardless of national origin.

What is especially instructive about the Latino vote in Florida is that it is so strongly defined by the Republican Party. Moreno and Hill's analysis of eight contests ranging from the statewide level down to local judicial races revealed a powerful relationship in South Florida between Hispanic population and vote choice. In partisan races, these preferences always broke to the advantage of Republican candidates, even when the contest was between two Hispanics. Running a Latino as a Democrat did not reduce Hispanic Republicanism.<sup>[15]</sup>

While various groups can claim credit when their preference wins an election, the Latino vote has been critical in electing Republicans in several closely contested elections. Exit polls indicate that George Bush won 54.5 percent of Florida's Hispanic vote in 2000 on his way to carrying the state by fewer than 600 votes and thus winning the presidency. In 2004, Mel Martinez would have lost his bid for the Senate but for the support of 53.1 percent of the Latinos who went to the polls. While the Latino vote tipped the scales in favor of Republicans in these two high profile contests, the divisions within that community point up how inaccurate the stereotype of a cohesive, pro-GOP Latino vote has become.

Table 11 provides further evidence that the legacy of South Florida Cubans as a consistent, 80 percent Republican vote misstates Hispanic preferences statewide. Democrats have made recent inroads among other Hispanic voters, increasing their share from one-in-three or one-in-four Hispanic votes in 1994 to being highly competitive and nearing parity by 1998.

(Table 11 goes here)

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<sup>[14]</sup> *Ibid*, page 19-28; see also Kevin A. Hill and Dario V. Moreno, "A Community of a Crowd? Regional and Ethnic Block Voting in the Florida Legislature, 1989-1996." Typescript, Florida International University, Miami, FL 33199 ([www.fiu.edu/~khill/florida.htm](http://www.fiu.edu/~khill/florida.htm)).

<sup>[15]</sup> Moreno and Hill, 2002, *op. cit.*, Figures 6-14 and pages 33-36.

Differences are in evidence with regard to Hispanic participation and also Hispanic preferences when comparing Collier and Monroe Counties to the more urban Dade County. Moreno and Hill provide estimates of Hispanic, black, and Anglo white voter turnout for elections in 1998 and 2000 for four south Florida counties (see Table 12). In 2000, Moreno and Hill find comparable rates of Hispanic and Anglo participation in Dade County, and Hispanic turnout was between black and Anglo turnout rates in the previous midterm election in 1998. Hispanic turnout is a third less in Monroe and 50 percent less in Collier than to Dade in 2000. In 1998 Collier and Monroe showed less Hispanic participation than Dade, especially in Collier where Hispanic turnout was less than a quarter of the rate observed in Dade. The rate of black participation in 2000 is about the same in all four counties.

(Table 12 goes here)

Collier and Monroe differ from Dade on more dimensions than turnout. Estimates of Republican support in the counties in four statewide contests in 1998 and 2000 show different party preferences for Dade County Hispanics (who are primarily Cuban) compared with non-Cuban Hispanics in other South Florida counties. The estimated support for Republican candidates among Dade County Hispanics, as reported in Table 13, was 83 - 97 percent. Collier Hispanics gave 7- 31 percent of their votes to Republican candidates. The estimates for the small Monroe Hispanic population show Republican candidates getting 0 to 89 percent of the votes.

(Table 13 goes here)

An examination of six statewide and legislative contests in Collier County in 2002 shows Latinos in that county to be far less supportive of Republicans than Cuban-Americans in Miami-Dade have been. In six contests examined in Table 14 - - Governor, Attorney General, Agriculture Commissioner, Congressional District 25 (a Hispanic-majority district), State Senate district 39 (a combined black-and-Hispanic majority district), and state house district 112 (a majority-Hispanic district) – only one Republican candidate commanded majority Hispanic support. Of three Hispanic Republicans running in the majority-minority districts, only Rivera, in state House 112 won the Hispanic vote in Collier, and his advantage over the Democrat, Gonzalez, is estimated to be less than four points.

(Table 14 goes here)

The other Section 5 county for which we have data with which to analyze racial voting preferences is Hillsborough (Tampa). Table 15 contains precinct-level estimates of the Anglo, black, and Hispanic vote for statewide, congressional, and state legislative contests in Hillsborough for 2002 and 2004. The analysis indicates that the Anglo vote in Hillsborough is generally reliably Republican up and down the ticket, and the black vote is regularly Democratic. Latinos usually vote Democratic, though Republican congressional incumbents and members of the Bush family are able to pull majority Hispanic support in Hillsborough. The most heavily-Hispanic state legislative district

twice elected a Democratic Hispanic over a Republican, Hispanic opponent, with overwhelming Hispanic support for the Democrat.

(Table15 goes here).

## CONCLUSIONS

Estimates developed by the Census Bureau indicate that the rate at which voting age Latinos have registered to vote in Florida has increased slightly over the last quarter century. While the increase has been slight, the percent rate of age-eligible Latinos registered in Florida has exceeded that for Hispanics outside the South since 1986 with the exception of 1994. Official information on registrants provided by the Florida Secretary of State does not give a separate break out for Hispanics although we suspect that many of those in “Other” category are Latinos. From 1996 through 2004, the proportion of the registrants in the “other” category has grown from 7.2 to 11.6 percent of all registrants in the state.

The Census Bureau estimates for turnout indicate no consistent change in the share of the Latinos of voting age who have cast ballots in Florida. While the data in Table 2 do not show an increase in the rates of Latino participation in Florida, the figures do indicate higher rates of Latino voting in Florida than in the non-South since 1986 except for 1994.

The Census Bureau estimates of black registration do not show a consistent increase in the share of the African-American voting age population that has registered in Florida. Moreover the rate at which Florida African-Americans registered to vote continues to be lower than in the rest of the nation. However, the Florida Secretary of State shows the numbers of blacks registered to vote increasing by about 50 percent from 1996 to 2004 so that the share of all registrants who are African-American has grown from 10.5 to 11.9 percent.

Census Bureau turnout estimates continue to show African-Americans voting at much lower rates than do Anglos. From 1980 until 2004, there is no evidence of the disparity between the two races being closed. Moreover, African-Americans report voting at lower rates in Florida than in the non-South.

While turnout rates for Latinos and African-Americans continue to lag those for Anglos, minorities have made significant gains in terms of descriptive representation in Congress. Since 1993, the Florida congressional delegation has contained three African-Americans and after the 2001 redistricting, the delegation’s number of Latinos grew from two to three. The 12 percent of the congressional seats filled by each minority group roughly approximates the group’s share of the voting age population in the state.

Florida’s African-Americans have even larger shares of the seats in the state legislature. In both chambers of the Florida legislature, African-Americans hold a larger percentage of the seats than their share of the voting age population.

In contrast, Latinos hold smaller shares of the seats in the Florida legislature than in the congressional delegation. Just over ten percent of the House membership is Latino while in the Senate Latinos constitute 7.5 percent of the membership. Both of these figures are less than the share of Florida's population that is Latino.

Both ethnic groups have made gains in the numbers of elected officials in the state. The most recent figure for Latino elected officials is little more than one third that for African-Americans holding office in Florida. For both ethnic groups, the bulk of the office holders serve at the municipal level.

It appears that part of the explanation for the greater success of African-Americans than Latinos in winning office is that in districts that contain substantial numbers of both ethnic groups, African-Americans are more likely to be elected. This is in part due to higher rates of registration and turnout among blacks than Latinos.

In the five counties covered by Section 5, the Latino population is either too small or too scattered to facilitate election of Hispanics. These two factors mean that it is typically impossible to draw a state legislative district, much less a congressional district in these counties in which the bulk of the population is Latino. The one exception comes in Collier County where many of the Latinos can be combined with an even larger Latino population in neighboring Dade County.

Estimates of voting preferences of Latinos in South Florida raise questions about the desirability of combining Dade Latinos with Collier or Monroe Latinos. The Latino population in Dade is heavily Cuban and provides strong support for Republicans. In Collier and other south Florida counties, the Latino electorate is more inclined to support Democrats. Thus while a district that straddles the Collier-Dade boundary is likely to elect a Latino and thus provide descriptive representation for that ethnic group, the winner may well not be the candidate of choice of the Latinos in Collier, the county that is covered by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act.

TABLE 1: REPORTED REGISTRATION BY RACE IN FLORIDA AND OUTSIDE  
THE SOUTH, 1980-2004

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	199
FLORIDA										
Black	58.2	50.3	57.3	61.3	57.7	53.3	54.7	47.2	64.6	50.
White	64.1	60.8	64.1	59.9	64.3	59.5	64.5	57.6	67.8	61.
Latino	33.7	25.3	33.2	35.5	37.7	32.3	35	22.7	36.7	35.
Non-South										
Black	60.6	61.7	67.2	63.1	65.9	58.4	63	58.3	62	58.
White	69.3	66.7	70.5	66.2	68.5	64.4	70.9	65.6	68.1	63.
Latino	35.5	33.9	39	33.2	32.4	30.4	32.9	29.1	33.8	31.

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

TABLE 2  
 REPORTED TURNOUT BY RACE IN FLORIDA AND OUTSIDE THE SOUTH,  
 1980-2004

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998
FLORIDA										
Black	50.3	30.4	43.2	42.4	40.8	37.4	46.3	30	40.5	33.9
White	56.5	43.1	55.5	47.5	57.1	44.9	57.9	46.2	52.7	40.9
Latino	29.3	18.6	29.1	28	34.1	22.8	30.5	20.1	29	22.9
Non-South										
Black	52.8	48.5	58.9	44.2	55.6	38.4	53.8	40.2	51.4	40.9
White	62.4	53.1	63	48.7	60.4	48.2	64.9	49.3	57.4	44.9
Latino	29.8	25.8	32.8	23.8	26.8	20.5	27.4	20.8	26.3	21.9

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

TABLE 3

RACIAL AND ETHNIC VOTER REGISTRATION FOR FLORIDA, 1994-2004

	<b>Whites</b>	<b>Blacks</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Unknown</b>	<b>Total</b>
1994*	5,845,494	614,384	99,720	0	
	6,559,598				
1996*	6,565,941	845,179	583,862	82,895	
	8,077,877				
1998*	6,586,453	865,974	655,259	112,580	
	8,220,266				
2000	6,804,182	934,261	796,249	8,752,717	
	218,025				
2002	7,044,287	1,027,817	924,825	9,302,360	
	305,431				
2004	7,478,490	1,223,875	1,192,082	10,301,290	
	406,843				

Source: Florida Department of State Divisions of Elections

TABLE 4  
NUMBER OF LATINO ELECTED OFFICIALS  
IN FLORIDA, 1984-2004

Year Board	Total	County	Municipal	School
1984	44	4	26	4
1986	48	1	26	4
1989	62	2	32	3
1991	60	2	31	2
1992	66	2	31	3
1999	83	9	42	5
2000	92	10	48	5
2002	89	-----	72-----	-----
2004	91	-----	72-----	-----

Source: Various volumes of *The National Directory of Latino Elected Officials* (Los Angeles: NALEO Educational Fund).

TABLE 5  
NUMBER OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN ELECTED OFFICIALS IN  
FLORIDA 1960-2001

Year	Total	County	Municipal	School Board
1969	24	1	20	0
1970	36	1	30	2
1971	42	1	33	4
1972	51	1	45	2
1973	58	0	51	3
1974	73	1	65	3
1976	90	3	71	7
1977	91	3	70	9
1978	91	3	69	10
1980	109	2	85	12
1981	110	3	84	13
1984	131	5	92	12
1985	167	7	114	15
1987	179	14	117	15
1989	179	14	115	15
1991	184	14	113	15
1993	200	28	105	16
1995	-----No Report from Joint Center for 1995-----			
1997	216	25	121	15
1999	216	22	124	14
2001	243	29	134	16

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

TABLE 6

FLORIDA CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, BLACK AND LATINO POPULATION,  
AND SECTION 5 COVERAGE

CD	2000 Presidential Vote		% Black	% Latino	S.5
	BUSH%	GORE%	Origin	Origin	County?
1	<b>68.90%</b>	31.10%	14.00%	3.00%	
2	<b>52.70%</b>	47.30%	22.10%	3.30%	
3	34.90%	<b>65.10%</b>	<b>49.30%</b>	8.00%	
4	<b>65.80%</b>	34.20%	13.50%	4.20%	
5	<b>54.10%</b>	45.90%	4.50%	5.60%	
6	<b>58.20%</b>	41.80%	11.90%	5.20%	
7	<b>53.90%</b>	46.10%	8.80%	6.90%	
8	<b>53.70%</b>	46.30%	7.20%	17.60%	
9	<b>54.20%</b>	45.80%	3.50%	7.90%	<b>Hillsborough</b>
10	49.20%	<b>50.80%</b>	3.60%	4.40%	
11	39.00%	<b>61.00%</b>	27.40%	20.00%	<b>Hillsborough</b>
12	<b>54.80%</b>	45.20%	13.00%	12.00%	<b>Hillsborough</b>
13	<b>54.50%</b>	45.50%	4.40%	7.70%	<b>Hardee</b>
14	<b>61.40%</b>	38.60%	5.10%	9.00%	<b>Hendry</b>
15	<b>53.70%</b>	46.30%	7.30%	11.30%	
16	<b>53.10%</b>	46.90%	5.80%	10.10%	
17	15.20%	<b>84.80%</b>	<b>55.20%</b>	21.20%	
18	<b>56.80%</b>	43.20%	5.70%	<b>62.70%</b>	<b>Monroe</b>
19	27.20%	<b>72.80%</b>	6.10%	12.70%	
20	31.00%	<b>69.00%</b>	7.90%	20.60%	
21	<b>57.90%</b>	42.10%	6.50%	<b>69.70%</b>	
22	47.60%	<b>52.40%</b>	3.80%	10.70%	
23	20.20%	<b>79.80%</b>	<b>51.20%</b>	13.70%	
24	<b>53.40%</b>	46.60%	6.30%	9.80%	
25	<b>55.10%</b>	44.90%	10.00%	<b>62.40%</b>	<b>Collier, Monroe</b>

Source: Florida House Redistricting Committee, at <http://www.floridaredistricting.org/>

TABLE 7  
NUMBER OF LATINO STATE LEGISLATORS  
IN FLORIDA, 1985-2005

Year	Senate	House
1985	0 (0.0%)	4 (3.3%)
1987	1 (2.5%)	8 (6.7%)
1989	2 (5.0%)	8 (6.7%)
1991	3 (7.5%)	8 (6.7%)
1993	3 (7.5%)	10 (8.3%)
1995	3 (7.5%)	10 (8.3%)
1997	3 (7.5%)	10 (8.3%)
1999	3 (7.5%)	11 (9.2%)
2001	3 (7.5%)	11 (9.2%)
2003	3 (7.5%)	13 (10.8%)
2005	3 (7.5%)	13 (10.8%)

TABLE 8  
AFRICAN-AMERICANS IN THE FLORIDA LEGISLATURE, 1967-2004

			Senate			House	
Year		Number		Percent		Number	Percent
1967		0		0		0	0
1969		0		0		1	0.833333
1971		0		0		2	1.666667
1973		0		0		3	2.5
1975		0		0		3	2.5
1977		0		0		3	2.5
1979		0		0		4	3.333333
1981		0		0		4	3.333333
1983		2		5		11	9.166667
1985		2		5		11	9.166667
1987		2		5		11	9.166667
1989		2		5		12	10
1991		2		5		14	11.66667
1993		5		12.5		14	11.66667
1995		5		12.5		12	10
1997		5		12.5		14	11.66667
1999		5		12.5		15	12.5
2001		6		15		16	13.33333
2003		7		17.5		17	14.16667
2005		7		17.5		17	14.16667

TABLE 9

HISPANIC POPULATION IN SECTION 5 COUNTIES

<b>County</b>	<b>Hispanic Pop</b>	<b>Hisp. As % of County</b>	<b>% of all FL Hispanics</b>
Hillsborough	198,227	18.0	6.8
Hardee	9,991	35.7	0.3
Hendry	15,112	39.6	0.5
Collier	58,149	19.6	2.0
Monroe	12,369	15.8	0.4
Total for Section 5 Counties	293,848		10.1
Dade	1,354,343	57.3	46.3
State	2,922,723	16.8	

Source: U.S. Census Data.

TABLE 10

HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY STATE HOUSE DISTRICTS, LATINO POPULATION,  
AND INCUMBENT PARTY, 2005

<b>District</b>	<b>Latino VAP</b>	<b>Inc. party</b>	<b>Note</b>
47	15.7	R	
55	8.4	D	50.1%BVAP
56	11.4	R	
57	12.6	R	
58	38.4	D	
59	13.6	D	52%BVAP
60	9.7	R	
61	7.4	R	
62	12.3	R	
63	8.9	R	
67	6.1	R	
68	5.4	R	

Source: Hillsborough County Supervisor of Elections, at  
<http://www.votehillsborough.org/>.

TABLE 11

STATEWIDE EXIT POLL DATA ON DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE SUPPORT BY  
VOTER RACE OR ETHNICITY, FLORIDA, 1992-2004,

	Black	Latino	Anglo
2004 President	91.0	45.5	46.3
2004 US Senate	84.1	46.1	47.7
2004 US House	87.4	52.0	41.6
2000 President	93.2	48.4	39.8
1998 Senator	82.5	52.8	52.0
1998 Governor	78.9	40.0	38.6
1998 US House	85.7	50.0	33.1
1996 President	90.4	51.3	46.3
1994 US Senate	81.7	31.1	22.6
1994 Governor	94.6	33.3	44.9
1994 US House	98.4	24.1	36.4
1992 President	89.0	38.1	37.2
1992 US Senate	95.0	67.2	64.1
1992 US House	83.8	50.0	50.8

Source: For 1992-2000, various Voter News Service exit polls; for 2004, Election Day surveys.

TABLE 12

ESTIMATED TURNOUT, BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, 1998 AND 2000  
ELECTIONS, BROWARD, COLLIER, DADE, AND MONROE COUNTIES

	<b>Hispanic</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Anglo</b>
2000			
Broward	53	60	67
Collier	31	62	76
Dade	74	64	75
Monroe	50	65	75
1998			
Broward	40	39	51
Collier	10	28	50
Dade	46	40	52
Monroe	39	16	51

Source: Dario V. Moreno and Kevin A. Hill. "Expert Report on South Florida's Congressional Districts 17, 18, 21, and 25." Submitted in *Martinez v. Bush*, 234 F. Supp. 2d 1275 (SD Fla. 2002).

TABLE 13

ESTIMATED REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE SUPPORT, BY RACE AND ETHNICITY,  
1998 AND 2000 ELECTIONS, BROWARD, COLLIER, DADE, AND MONROE  
COUNTIES

	Hispanic	Black	Anglo
<b>President 2000</b>			
Broward	54	0	35
Collier	31	0	63
Dade	83	0	27
Monroe	0	0	57
<b>Governor 1998</b>			
Broward	31	1	39
Collier	7	0	66
Dade	97	0	32
Monroe	89	1	50
<b>Senator 2000</b>			
Broward	56	0	36
Collier	29	0	63
Dade	83	0	29
Monroe	0	0	57
<b>Edu. Comm. 1998</b>			
Broward	21	3	45
Collier	*	*	*
Dade	*	*	67
Monroe	0	0	74

Reliable estimate could not be derived.

TABLE 14

OLS ESTIMATES OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC PREFERENCES, STATEWIDE AND LEGISLATIVE GENERAL ELECTIONS, COLLIER COUNTY 2002

<b>County/ Year</b>	<b>Candidate/Party</b>	<b>Anglo</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Hispanic</b>
Congress, Dist 25	Diaz-Balart (H) R	58.7	<0	<0
	Betancourt R	41.3	>100	>100
Governor	Bush D	78.2	52.0	24.5
	McBride D	21.3	47.3	70.4
	Kunst	0.5	0.7	5.1
Attorney General	Crist R	68.7	44.2	34.1
	Dyer D	31.3	55.8	65.9
Agriculture Comm.	Bronson R	80.3	57.5	25.4
	Nelson D	19.7	42.5	74.6
State Senate 39	Marino (H) R	39.8	11.4	32.1
	Bullard (B) D	60.2	88.6	67.9
State House 112	Gonzalez (H) D	34.5	34.4	48.4
	Rivera (H) R	65.5	65.6	51.6

Source: Data compiled by authors.

TABLE 15

## OLS ESTIMATES OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC PREFERENCES, STATEWIDE AND LEGISLATIVE GENERAL ELECTIONS, HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY 2002

Contest	Candidate/Party	Anglo	Black	Hispanic
Agriculture Comm.	Bronson R	68.6	20.9	46.3
	Nelson D	31.2	79.1	53.7
Attorney General	Crist R	60.6	4.1	36.3
	Dyer D	39.4	95.9	63.7
Governor	Bush R	63.9	22.4	55.6
	McBride D	36.1	77.6	44.4
Congress, Dist. 9	Bilirakis R	77.3	<0	<0
	Kalogianis D	22.7	>100	>100
State Senate 16	Sebest R	76.9	>100	78.0
	McGinnis-Gimber D	24.1	<0	22.0
State House 47	Ambler R	44.5		17.8
	Steinberg D	50		76.6
	Schwartzberg	5.5		5.6
State House 56	Murman R	75.2	32.0	56.1
	Howard D	24.8	68.0	43.9
State House 57	Culp R	58.8		<0
	Farrell D	39.1		<0
	Richmond	2.0		>100
State House 58	Vila R	33.7	<0	<0
	Henriquez D	66.3	>100	>100
State House 60	Homan R	64.9		
	Romeo D	32.3		
	Conley	2.8		
State House 63	Ross R	80.9	99.0	21.5
	Downs D	19.1	1.0	78.5
State House 67	Reagan R	77.9	<0	57.6
	Stringfield D	22.1	>100	42.4

Source: Data compiled by authors.

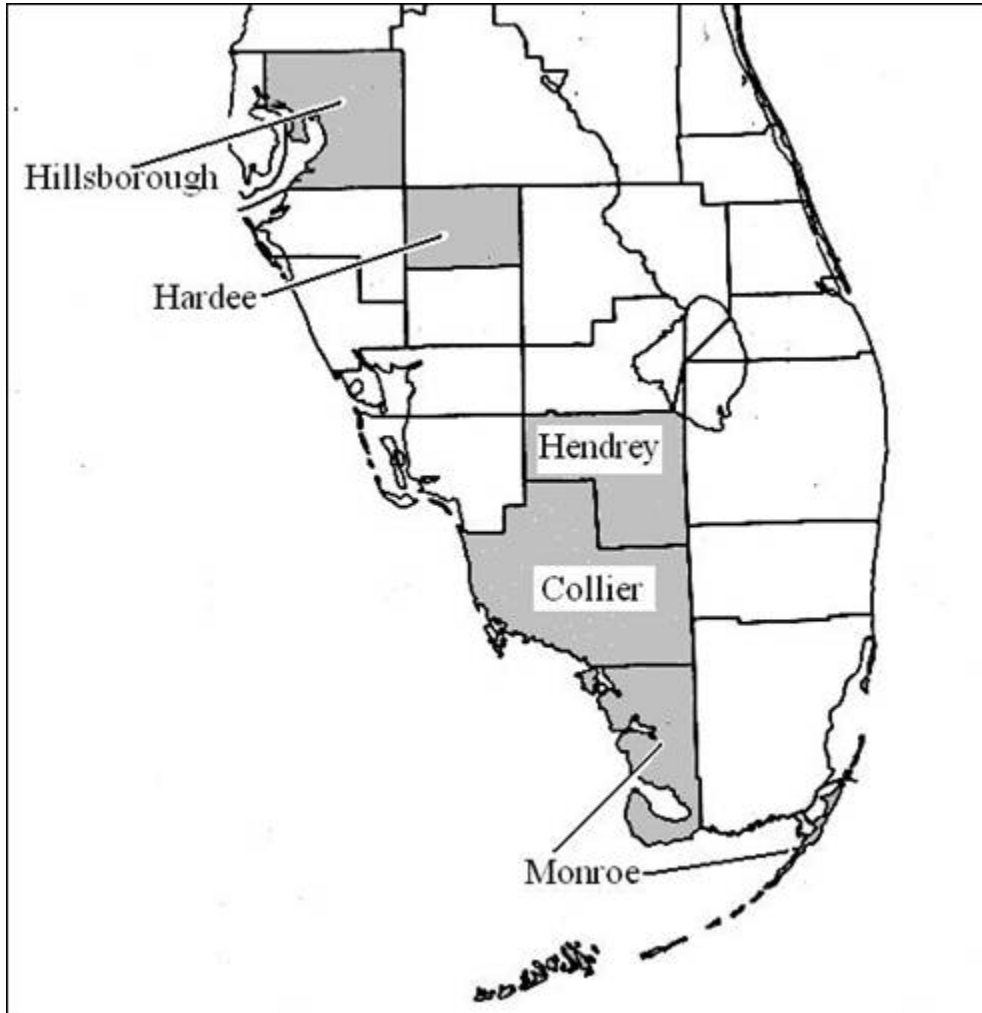
TABLE 15 (continued)

OLS ESTIMATES OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC PREFERENCES, STATEWIDE AND LEGISLATIVE GENERAL ELECTIONS, HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY 2004

County/ Year	Contest/ Candidate/ Party	Anglo	Black	Hispanic
President	Bush R	66.6	6.6	30.8
	Kerry D	32.8	92.4	68.7
	Other	0.6	0.8	0.5
Congress, Dist. 11	Davis R	82.8	96.7	87.8
	Johnson D	17.2	3.3	12.2
Congress, Dist 12	Putnam-R	72.2	27.8	67.1
	Hagenmaier-D	27.8	71.2	32.9
State House 47	Ambler-R	64.6		50.6
	Snow-D	35.4		49.4
State House 57	Culp-R	83.6		<0
	Cope-D	16.4		>100
State House 58	Riis-R	56.4	<0	<0
	Henriquez-D	43.6	>100	>100
State House 60	Homan-R	76.6		39.0
	Perez-D	23.4		61.0

Source: Data compiled by authors.

MAP 1  
FLORIDA COUNTIES COVERED BY SECTION 5 OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT



MAP 2  
FLORIDA HOUSE DISTRICTS 101 AND 112, COLLIER, DADE, AND BROWARD COUNTIES

