

An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Georgia  
Prepared for the Project on Fair Representation  
American Enterprise Institute

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

Ronald Keith Gaddie  
Professor of Political Science  
The University of Georgia

## **An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Georgia**

Georgia was among the first states to adopt provisions that impeded black participation. In 1871, Georgia became the first state to enact a poll tax which it later made cumulative. In the wake of the Mississippi Constitution of 1890 and the subsequent validation of that document's restrictions on African-American political participation by the U.S. Supreme Court, Georgia joined other southern states adopting additional prerequisites for registration. These included a literacy test that required voters to demonstrate an ability to both read and write.

Like many southern states, Georgia also adopted provisions that limited participation in the Democratic primary to white votes. Since no Republicans won any major offices in the state for almost 100 years, the Democratic primary determined who would hold public office in Georgia - - except in a couple of mountain counties - - up until the early 1960s.

Georgia repealed the poll tax when it adopted a new constitution in 1945. The state's use of the white primary was invalidated by *Smith v. Allwright* (1944). Georgia sought to avoid this decision that banned the white primary in Texas. In his last gubernatorial bid, three-time governor Eugene Talmadge ran on a platform that promised to maintain the white primary. Despite Talmadge's commitment to the white primary, V.O. Key reports that a number of blacks voted in that year's Democratic primary.<sup>1</sup> When the General Assembly sought to maintain an all-white primary by divorcing the operation of the selection process from state influence, Acting Governor M.E. Thompson vetoed the legislation.

---

<sup>1</sup> V.O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 636.

Even with the elimination of the white primary and the poll tax in the 1940s, black registration rates remained relatively low in Georgia the early 1960s. The literacy test coupled with frequently antagonistic local registrars discouraged black participation. In the period immediately preceding the enactment of the 1965 Voting Rights Act only 27.4 percent of Georgia's non-white voting age population was registered.<sup>2</sup> At that time, more than twice as large a share of the white voting age population (62.6 percent) was registered. Only Alabama and Mississippi had smaller proportions of their potential black electorate registered to vote prior to the Voting Rights Act. In 30 counties with substantial African-American populations, less than ten percent of the age eligible blacks were registered in 1962. In four counties, fewer than ten non-whites had gotten their names on the voting list.<sup>3</sup> With little more than a quarter of the age-eligible non-whites registered to vote, Georgia was subject to the trigger mechanism of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

### **Black Registration and Turnout**

As in other southern states covered by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act this new legislation had an immediate and dramatic impact. By 1967, a majority of Georgia's non-white voting age population (52.6 percent) had registered.<sup>4</sup> The increased

---

<sup>2</sup> Figures for December 1962 are from U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Political Participation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 238. Figures are presented for non-whites and whites. Almost all Georgia non-whites in 1960s would be African American.

<sup>3</sup> We exclude from this tabulation four mountain counties which had fewer than ten non-white residents of voting age as of the 1960 Census.

<sup>4</sup> *Political Participation, op. cit.*, p. 239.

registration also extended to the white population where just over 80 percent of the age eligible population had registered to vote.

Particularly dramatic increases in black registration occurred in the 30 counties that had most consistently rebuffed black political overtures. Table 1 reports the white and non-white registration rates as of December 1962 for the counties in which fewer than 10 percent of the age-eligible non-whites were registered. In the 30 counties in which fewer than 10 percent of the non-white potential electorate was registered, substantially larger shares of the white population were registered except for Chattahoochee county. In a number of the counties, the registration rolls included more names of whites than the age eligible white population counted in 1960. The evidence is clear that while non-whites found it difficult to register, comparable barriers did not dissuade whites who wished to sign up to vote.

(See Table 1)

By 2004, not only had registration rates for African Americans gone a long way towards catching up with white registration rates, the more important element of actual participation shows large numbers of blacks turnout in each of these counties. As shown in Table 1, in each of the 30 counties with low rates of black registration in 1962, African American registration had become widespread by 2004. Not only had registration increased massively but so had participation rates. In every one of the 30 counties at least a majority of the black women who were registered voted in 2004. At the upper end, in the Atlanta suburbs of Fayette, Chattahoochee and Marion counties, 88 percent of the black women along with 82 percent of the black men who were registered participated. A higher proportion of black female registrants than white male registrants

voted in Fayette County. The more common pattern, however, was for black turnout rates to lag those for whites although in a number of counties, the participation rates of black females were roughly comparable to those of whites. Generally the greater racial disparities persisted in rural counties while in the suburbanizing counties like Chattahoochee, Fayette, Houston, Lee and Madison, voting rates for black women were quite similar to those for whites. Participation rates among African-American men invariably lagged those of black women with the disparity often being more than 10 percentage points.

After each election the U.S. Bureau of the Census conducts a massive survey to determine the registration and turnout rates in the previous general election. These figures are self reports and the denominator in calculating the percentages of registration and participation is the voting age population of the jurisdiction. Self reported political participation data tend to overestimate actual participation rates; nonetheless these figures are useful for making comparisons over time and across jurisdictions.

By 1980, the share of the African American voting age population that reported it was registered in the U.S. Bureau of the Census survey, stood at 59.8 percent as shown in Table 2. The comparable figure for the share of the white voting age population claiming to be registered was 67 percent. During the 1980s approximately seven percentage points more whites than blacks were registered with the greatest disparity, 7.8 points, occurring in 1982.

(See Table 2)

In 1990, black and white Georgians had nearly identical registration rates. Among African Americans of voting age, 57 percent reported being registered compared

with 58.1 percent of whites. In 1994, a larger proportion of blacks (57.6 percent) than whites (55 percent) reported being registered. Among blacks 57.6 percent reported being registered compared with 55 percent of the whites. Beginning with 1994, blacks have reported registering at higher rates than have whites in four of the six most recent elections. This includes both the mid-term elections of 1994 and 1998 as well as the two most recent presidential elections. In 2002, the disparity is only 1.1 percent points with 61.6 of voting age blacks and 62.7 percent of voting age whites reporting that they were registered.

The data in Table 2 permit comparisons between the reported registration rates of Georgians and non-southerners. From 1980 through 1994, blacks living outside the South invariably reported higher rates of registration than did Georgia blacks. In 1982, 1984, 1988 and 1992, the difference approximated ten percentage points. Beginning with 1996, self-reported registration rates among Georgia blacks always exceed those for blacks outside the region. In the three most recent elections for which comparisons are available, Georgia black registration is approximately five percentage points higher than for non-southern blacks.

These figures indicate that the disparity in registration rates which prompted the passage of the Voting Rights Act and the inclusion of Georgia as a state subject to the trigger mechanism have been corrected. Even before the implementation of the Motor Voter Act (1993) and the Help America Vote Act (2002), both of which were designed to facilitate registration and participation, the disparity in black and white registration rates had largely been eliminated. During the last four elections, black registration has generally exceeded white registration in Georgia. As of 2004, African Americans

constituted 27.2 percent of all registered voters in Georgia. This is almost exactly the black share of the citizen voting age population as of the 2004 census which stood at 27.5 percent.

Moreover, the disparity in self-reported registration rates between African Americans in Georgia and outside the South has been eliminated. Blacks in Georgia now report signing up to vote in rates equal to or higher than blacks in other parts of the country.

The rate at which registered voters have turned out to vote has also increased in Georgia. As shown in Table 3, in 1980 the Census Bureau estimated that 43.7 percent of the age-eligible African Americans voted in the general election along with 56 percent of the white adults. In the mid-term election of 1982, the racial disparity dropped to 8.2 percentage points as 32.5 percent of the voting age blacks along with 40.7 percent of the whites reported participating in the general election. The pattern has generally been for there to be a greater disparity in turnout rates in presidential than in mid-term elections. Until 1996, whites turned out in presidential elections at rates at least ten percentage points above those for blacks. Even in 1996, white turnout exceeded the black figure by almost seven percentage points. In contrast, in mid-term elections, the greatest racial differences in 1982 and 1999 and are under almost 8 percentage points. In 1990, almost identical percentages of black and white Georgians went to the polls and in 1986, the white figure is only three points above the black figure.

(See Table 3)

Reported black turnout rates as a percentage of the age eligible remained in the 40 percent range in presidential elections until 2000 when it reached 51.6 percent. This level

of black participation exceeded the percentage of age eligible whites who reported voting (48.3 percent). In the most recent presidential election, black participation rates again slightly exceeded those for whites. This also marked the high point of black registration during the last quarter century. In mid-term elections, the proportion of age eligible blacks who reported voting peaked in 1990 at 42.3 percent. Thereafter, it seesawed dropping to 30.9 percent in 1994, rising to just over 40 percent in 1998 and the ebbing to 38.5 percent in 2002. Only in 1998 has black turnout exceeded white participation in mid-term year.

The bottom part of Table 3 provides turnout data for blacks and whites outside of the South. In the 1980s, blacks voted at much higher rates in the non-South than in Georgia. In 1982, for example, the difference reached 16 percentage points while in the next presidential election year, it was 13 percentage points. In the three most recent elections for which non-southern figures are available, however, the reported participation rates for African Americans in Georgia and the non-South have been essentially equal. In 1998, both sets of blacks reported voting at just over 40 percent while in 2002, the figure was approximately 39 percent. In 2000, blacks outside the South reported participating at a rate 1.5 percentage points greater than Georgia African Americans.

The comparison of black participation rates in Georgia and outside of the South indicate that much of the disparity of 20 years ago has been eliminated. Note that in two of those three most recent election years, the reported black participation rate in Georgia exceeds that for whites while outside the South, participation rates are almost identical to those for Georgia African Americans.

A problem with self-reported political participation data is a tendency by respondents to give socially-approved answers. Some share of individuals who were unregistered will tell a pollster that they had registered. And because of the heavy emphasis placed upon the civic duty of voting, a number of non-voters will report that they went to the polls.<sup>5</sup>

Georgia is one of the very few states that maintains its registration data by race. Therefore in Georgia and four other states it is possible to have data on registration free of the problems associated with over-reporting. The registration data maintained by the states that collect information on race will have a smaller problem since individuals may not accurately indicate their race or opt for the “other” category.

Since 1996, Georgia’s Secretary of State has done a post-election audit by going through the voter sign-in sheets to determine who actually turned out and then cross checking that information against the registration data that show the race of the voter. Unlike the figures provided by the Census Bureau, these are not estimates but instead are actual counts. Table 4 shows that in 1996, 53.5 percent of the black registrants turned out along with 64.3 percent of the white registrants. In the gubernatorial election year of 1998, the racial difference shrank as 42.8 percent of black registrants along with 48.2 percent of white registrants who voted. In both 2000 and 2002, about 10 percentage points more whites than black registrants voted. The 2004 presidential election spurred

---

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Paul R. Abramson, and William Claggett, 1984. Race-related Differences in Self-Reported and Validated Turnout. *Journal of Politics*, 46: 719-739.

participation rates in Georgia as it did in much of the country. Among black registrants, 72.2 percent voted and 80.4 percent of the white registrants participated in that election.

(See Table 4)

While turnout rates for whites remain higher than those for blacks, the variation in the participation rates for both groups indicate that blacks are not subject to systematic discrimination at the polling place. The black turnout rate in 2004 exceeds the white turnout rate in any year prior to 2004.

Political science research suggests that lingering disparities in participation rates among ethnic groups may be due more to differences in socioeconomic characteristics than in obstacles to registration. The literature on American political participation consistently finds that socioeconomic status (SES) is the determinant of political involvement. The classic *Who Votes?*,<sup>6</sup> Leighley and Nagler's<sup>7</sup> reexamination of the *Who Votes?* analysis, and the work of Verba and his colleagues<sup>8</sup> consistently finds this effect

---

<sup>6</sup> Raymond Wolfinger, and Steven Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale University Press.

<sup>7</sup>Jan E. Leighley and Jonathan Nagler. 1992. Class Bias in Turnout: The Voters Remain the Same. *American Political Science Review* 86: 725-736; Jan E. Leighley and Jonathan Nagler. 1992. Individual and Systemic Influences on Turnout: *Who Votes?* 1984. *Journal of Politics* 54: 718-740.

<sup>8</sup> Sidney Verba and Norman Nie, 1972. *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. New York: Harper, Row; Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry Brady, 1995. *Voice and Equality Civic Volunteerism in American Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

across ethnic and racial groups. Additional research finds that, once one controls for SES, black “overparticipation” is found<sup>9</sup>. However, Abramson and Claggett<sup>10</sup> observed that African-American voter participation still lagged white participation, even when controls for socio-demographic influences -- especially education – were introduced, while Uhlaner, et al find that Anglo whites and African-Americans have similar rates of political participation, and that it is Latinos who lag in voting due to education and citizenship factors.<sup>11</sup> Leighley and Vedlitz find that cultural theories are largely not valid in explaining differences in participation beyond SES effects.<sup>12</sup>

Socio-economic status matters, but so too does political effort. Katherine Tate argues in the *American Political Science Review* that participation by African-Americans

---

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Thomas M. Guterbock, and Bruce London. 1983. Race, Political Organization, and Participation: An Empirical Test of Four Competing Theories. *American Sociological Review* 48: 439-453; Marvin E. Olsen, 1970. Social and Political Participation of Blacks. *American Sociological Review*. 35: 682-697; Verba and Nie, 1972.

<sup>10</sup> Paul R. Abramson, and William Claggett, 1984. Race-related Differences in Self-Reported and Validated Turnout. *Journal of Politics*, 46: 719-739.

<sup>11</sup> Carole J. Uhlaner, Bruce E. Cain, and D. Roderick Kiewiet, 1989. Political Participation of Ethnic Minorities in the 1980s. *Political Behavior* 11: 195-231.

<sup>12</sup> Jan E. Leighley and Arnold Vedlitz, 1999. Race, Ethnicity, and Political Participation: Competing Models and Contrasting Explanations. *Journal of Politics* 61: 1092-1114.

is associated with education, political interest, and partisanship.<sup>13</sup> She also observes that intensity of racial identity is not a source of participation,<sup>14</sup> but instead participation in civic culture organizations such as churches or political organizations drives participation. Arnold Vedlitz finds that intensive voter registration drives do not in and of themselves increase participation, but rather increase the number of non-voting registrants.<sup>15</sup> Instead, it is registration plus mobilization – as Tate observed – that matters. Wielhouwer validates the importance of these findings by uncovering that, while African-Americans are undercontacted, the undercontacting arises from a lack of GOP contacting.<sup>16</sup> Those who are contacted belong to civic culture organizations that possess strong social networks. According to Wielhouwer, while education still matters, contacting is important to explaining variation in mobilizing black voters.

---

<sup>13</sup> Katherine Tate, 1991. Black Political Participation in the 1984 and 1988 Presidential Elections. *American Political Science Review* 85:1159-1176.

<sup>14</sup> Maurice Mangum (2003), writing in the *Political Research Quarterly*, finds that group efficacy – the belief that their group is taken seriously – motivates participation among African-Americans, as does trust in government and the degree of individual political engagement. See Maurice Mangum, 2003. Psychological Involvement and Black Voter Turnout. *Political Research Quarterly* 56: 41-48.

<sup>15</sup> Arnold Vedlitz, 1985. Voter Registration Drives and Black Voting in the South, *Journal of Politics* 47: 643-651.

<sup>16</sup> Peter W. Wielhouwer, 2000. Releasing the Fetters: Parties and the Mobilization of the African American Electorate. *Journal of Politics*. 62: 206-222.

The actual figures on turnout rates indicate that African Americans have not voted at higher rates than whites in South Carolina. While the figures in Table 3 are more reliable than those in Table 2, comparisons with most other states are not possible using the Table 3 data since most states do not maintain registration data by race nor do they report turnout data by race. Therefore even though the problems frequently associated with over-reporting of turnout and registration by individuals render the figures in Tables 1 and 2 somewhat suspect, nonetheless the suspicions are likely to be widespread so that using data in Table 1 and 2 is appropriate for making comparisons across state or between states and regions.

### **African-American Officeholding**

In 1969, Georgia had a total of 30 African American officeholders of whom 14 served in the legislature. Table 5 shows that another eight sat on city councils and three served on school boards. By 1973, the number of black officials in Georgia had risen to 100 and three years later it topped to 200. By 1984, there were just over three hundred African Americans holding public office in Georgia with 170 serving on city governing board and another 58 serving on school boards.

(See Table 5)

As the consequences of Section 2 of the revised Voting Rights Act of 1982 began to take affect and at-large systems were replaced by single-member district systems, African American officeholders continued to grow. By 1987, the total number of blacks holding public office in Georgia stood at almost 150 percent above the 1984 figure and by 1991 more than 500 blacks served in Georgia. Thereafter the growth increases so that

by 2001, 611 African Americans hold office in the Peach State. As in most recent years, approximately half of the black office holders serve at the municipal level with another six serving in county offices and approximately an equal number sitting on school boards.

### *African Americans in Congress*

In 1972, Georgia joined Texas in becoming the first southern state to send an African American to Congress in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Civil rights activist Andrew Young, who had won the Democratic nomination for Congress in 1970 but lost to a Republican incumbent, won the seat in 1972. Young won in a 44 percent black district by fashioning a biracial coalition that involved substantial backing in the white community. Young won reelection in 1974 and 1976 by taking two-thirds of the vote in the latter general election. After his third victory, Young resigned his position in order to accept the appointment by President Jimmy Carter to become the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

In the special election to fill the vacancy created by Young's resignation, white liberal Wyche Fowler led a field 12 candidates with 40 percent of the vote. In the subsequent runoff, Fowler easily defeated civil rights hero John Lewis by taking 62 percent of the vote.

Fowler held the Fifth Congressional district seat for a decade during which time he defeated a number of African-American challengers. Even after the district became 65 percent African American by population following the 1982 redrawing, Fowler continued to win reelection. As had been the case with his predecessor, Fowler succeeded by appealing to a biracial coalition.

Following Fowler's 1986 decision to seek the U.S. Senate seat held by Republican Mac Mattingly, a large field entered the Fifth District Democratic primary, all but one of whom was African American. In the initial primary, state Senator Julian Bond led with 47 percent of the vote while John Lewis, making another bid for the House, polled 35 percent of the vote. In the crucial runoff, Lewis succeeded by winning more than 80 percent of the white vote. While Bond attracted the bulk of the black vote, Lewis's biracial coalition produced a 52 percent majority.

John Lewis continues to represent the Fifth District and is the dean of Georgia's House delegation. In 1993, he was joined by two other African Americans, Sanford Bishop from the Second District in southwest Georgia and Cynthia McKinney who won the Eleventh District that stretched from Atlanta's eastern suburbs to Augusta and then on down to Savannah. With three African Americans in the eleven person delegation, blacks had achieved a level of representation equal to their share of Georgia's 1990 population.

Following the 2001 redistricting, David Scott became the fourth African American in Georgia's House delegation. With four African-American House members, Georgia equaled the largest number of black members ever to represent a state in Congress at one time. The other states that have had as many as four African Americans in the House all had much larger delegations. Currently the 29-member New York delegation and the 53-member California delegation each has four African-American representatives. When Scott joined the delegation that now included 13 members, African Americans' share of Georgia House seats (31 percent) exceeds the percent black in Georgia's population (29 percent).

The numbers that appear beside the names of the African-American legislators in Table 7 indicate the percent black in the total population in the district using the figures from the preceding census. These numbers demonstrate that of 29 congressional elections won by African Americans 13 occurred in districts in which less than half of the population was black. Of the 16 contests won by African Americans in majority-black districts, ten occurred in the Fifth District. Sanford Bishop has won five of his seven elections in districts in which most of the population was white. Even in the two elections that he won when his southwest Georgia district had a black majority in its population, most of the registrants were white. David Scott has also won in a district in which blacks do not constitute a majority of the population or of the registrants. Half of Cynthia McKinney's six victories came in a district in which whites outnumbered blacks. Even in 2002 when she lost her reelection bid in the Democratic primary, a contest in which more whites than blacks voted,<sup>17</sup> the winner was another African-American woman, state court judge Denise Majette. The ability of African Americans to win congressional seats in districts in which most voters are white provides evidence that at least a share of the white electorate is quite willing to have a black representative.

In 1995 in *Miller v. Johnson*, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down Georgia's Eleventh congressional district for violating the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court concluded that in drawing this district the General Assembly violated the U.S. Constitution because it relied predominately on race and subordinated traditional districting principles. That decision touched off widespread

---

<sup>17</sup> Charles S. Bullock, III, Ronald Keith Gaddie and Ben H. Smith, III, "White Voters, Black Representation," presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, San Antonio, TX, April 16-19, 2003.

concern, especially in the minority community, that redrawing the majority-minority districts to increase their white populations would end the careers of the African American legislators. The 1996 election proved those fears to be unfounded as both Bishop and McKinney won reelection easily. Both of the black members who now found themselves in majority-white districts triumphed over white Republican challengers in the general election. In the primary, Bishop defeated two white challengers while McKinney turned back opposition from three white Democrats.

Some sought to discount these victories by attributing them to the incumbency status of the black members and asserted that had these been open seats, whites would have won. The 2002 election provides a partial test of that proposition in District 13. There state Senator David Scott faced three experienced challengers. The field competing for this open seat included another black state senator, a white state senator, and a former white congressional candidate who had most recently served as executive director of the state Democratic Party. Not only did Scott turn back these qualified opponents, he managed to win a majority of the vote in the Democratic primary thereby avoiding a runoff.

While Scott managed to win in a majority-white district, an African American nominee lost in another Georgia district that had approximately the same racial composition. In the 42.3 percent black Twelfth District, African American Champ Walker won the Democratic nomination in a runoff against another black contender. Walker, however, proved to be a deeply flawed candidate who had been arrested multiple times, although never convicted. Moreover, he ran an inept campaign in which he

performed poorly in some debates and avoided others.<sup>18</sup> Walker, a political novice, lost the general election taking only 45 percent of the vote. Walker's greatest strength may have also proven to be his greatest liability. His father, Charles Walker, served as the majority leader in the state Senate that, along with the House, drew the district in which his son Champ ran. Suspicions of corruption had surrounded the older Walker and ultimately he was convicted on more than 125 federal charges and removed from the Senate.

### *African Americans in the State Legislature*

Georgia elected an African American senator in 1962 making Leroy Johnson the first black southern legislator in modern times. By 1965, when the Voting Rights Act was first passed, Johnson had been joined by a second African American in Senate, which at that time still had 54 members. The Georgia House which reapportioned after the Senate had seven African Americans following implementation of the one-person, one-vote standard in a 1965 special election. Since the House had 205 members at that time, African Americans held approximately 3 percent of the seats in the lower chamber.

As Table 6 shows, increases in the number of seats held by African Americans in the Senate came slowly with only two black members until after the 1980s redistricting when the number doubled to four. By 1985, blacks held more than a tenth of the seats in the Senate. Gradual increases continued and by 1997, the black delegation constituted almost a fifth of the Senate, a figure that, aside from a dip in 2003, has persisted through 2005.

---

<sup>18</sup> Charles S. Bullock, III, "The 2004 Georgia 12<sup>th</sup> Congressional District Race," in *Dancing without Partners*, edited by David B. Magleby, J. Quin Monson and Kelly D. Patterson (Provo, UT: Center for Study of Elections in Democracy, 2005), pp. 275-287.

(See Table 6)

In the House, the growth in the number of seats controlled by blacks continued from the initial election of African Americans following a special redistricting carried out in 1965. By 1975, African Americans held a tenth of the House seats. Black representation in the House stalled for a decade beginning in 1977 before it began gradually increasing. In 2001, blacks held a fifth of the House seats and following redistricting, their share increased to 21.7 percent. These numbers persisted in 2005 although in that year, for the first time in modern memory, a Republican African American served in the House.

As Table 6 demonstrates, black representation in the Georgia General Assembly has increased dramatically since the initial passage of the Voting Rights Act. These increases come even as the number of Democrats serving in the legislature has decreased. In the 2005 Senate there are more black Democrats (11) than white Democrats (10).<sup>19</sup> Following the defection of a white to the GOP in August 2005, the House had three more white (41) than black (38) Democrats.

#### *Statewide African American Officials*

The first African American to hold a statewide office in Georgia was Robert Benham who served on the state Court of Appeals, the state's second highest tribunal. Benham had initially been appointed in April of 1984 and in the subsequent summer non-partisan primary, he defeated three white challengers. The position to which Benham was initially appointed has passed to two other African Americans.

---

<sup>19</sup> The 22<sup>nd</sup> Democrat in the Senate is a Latino. There is also a Latino in the House Democratic delegation.

When Benham was appointed to the Supreme Court of Georgia he was succeeded by Clarence Cooper a superior court judge. Cooper won a full term approximately six months after being appointed and in doing so turned back a white challenger. When Cooper received promotion to the Federal district bench, John Ruffin, another African American succeeded him. Ruffin has subsequently been returned to the bench twice with no opposition.

In 1999, Governor Roy Barnes appointed two African Americans to newly created seats on the Court of Appeals. Yvette Miller and Herbert Phipps have each subsequently won reelection to the Court of Appeals with no opposition.

In 1989, Robert Benham became the first African American to serve on the Supreme Court when he was named to an interim vacancy. In 1990, he won reelection by defeating a white challenger. Benham has run unopposed in the elections of 1996 and 2002.

In 1992, Leah Sears-Collins became the first African-American woman to serve on the Supreme Court when she was appointed to a vacancy by Governor Zell Miller. A few months later, Sears-Collins won election to the remainder of the term and in so doing defeated a white challenger. When Sears won a second six-year term, she did so by defeating two white challengers in the non-partisan primary. Again in 2004, Sears won another term and in so doing defeated a white conservative who had strong support from Georgia's Republican Governor Sonny Perdue and from other leading Republicans.

In June of 2005, Gov. Perdue tapped a third African American for the seven-person Supreme Court. Harold Melton, who had been the governor's chief counsel, will

face the electorate for the first time in 2006 when he runs for the remaining years of the term.

Some have discounted the victories of black judges arguing that, although statewide offices, judgeships attracted little public interest and, at least until recently, were low-key affairs. In 1998, efforts to discount the statewide victories of black judges had to deal with two victories by African Americans who won constitutional offices. Former state Representative Thurbert Baker had been appointed to an interim vacancy as attorney general of Georgia. In 1998, he won a full term against a strong challenge from a Republican senator. In 2002, Baker won a second term.

At the same time that Baker was winning a full term as attorney general, Michael Thurmond, a former state legislator, won election as the state's labor commissioner. Thurmond's victory came after he won the nomination in a Democratic runoff and then turned back a Republican opponent. Like Baker, Thurmond won a second term in 2002.

In 2000, David Burgess became the first African American to hold one of the five seats on the state Public Service Commission. Members of the PSC must live in a particular district although they are elected statewide.

Georgia has a total 34 officials who are elected statewide - - including two U.S. Senators, eight constitutional officers, seven members of the Supreme Court, twelve members of the Court of Appeals, and five members of the Public Service Commission. As of the middle of 2005, nine of these 34 statewide officials are African American. All but the newest member, Harold Melton who was only recently appointed to a vacancy on the Supreme Court, have won election at least once and several of these have multiple statewide victories under their belts.

All of these African Americans who have won statewide elections have done so with substantial white support. Since as Table 4 shows, whites cast approximately three-fourths of the votes in a general election, it would be impossible for an African American to win by mobilizing only black support.

### **Redistricting**

In light of the success enjoyed by African Americans seeking office in Georgia it may not be surprising that in 2001 much to the state's black leadership agreed to have black concentrations in legislative districts reduced. As shown in Table 7, the black percentage in John Lewis' district dropped from 62 to 56 percent. In the state Senate, the plan adopted by that body in 2001 reduced the black voting age population in majority-black districts by an average of 10.3 percentage points as shown in Table 8.<sup>20</sup> This plan was supported by Majority Leader Charles Walker, Rules Committee Chair David Scott and Robert Brown, the vice-chair of the Reapportionment Committee. These three legislative leaders are African Americans and could have stopped the plan had they been concerned that retrogression would reduce the likelihood that African Americans could win seats. Three districts that had been more than 60 percent black in voting age population emerged from the new plan less than 51 percent black in voting age population. Walker's own district went from 63.1 down to 51.5 percent black in its voting age population. Brown strongly supported the plan that reduced the black voting age concentration in his district from 62.3 down to 50.8 percent.

(See Table 7)

---

<sup>20</sup> Testimony of David Epstein in *Georgia v. Ashcroft*, C.A. No. 01-2111 (EGS) (D.C. D.C.), February 4, 2002, Day 1, pp. 15-20.

In accepting these reductions in minority concentrations, the members of the Legislative Black Caucus seemingly bought into the analysis prepared by David Epstein, the expert employed by Attorney General Thurbert Baker, who is also an African American. Epstein concluded that African Americans have a reasonable chance of being elected even in districts in which blacks constituted less than half of the voting age population. Specifically, his estimate was that a legislative district without an incumbent needed a black concentration of 44 percent of voting age population for African Americans to have a 50-50 chance of electing their preferred candidate.<sup>21</sup> Among those who agreed with the results of the professor's sophisticated models was Charles Walker who testified in response to a question about what level the black voting age population would need to be for African Americans to have an equal chance of winning in Georgia. Walker responded, "Forty percent and above. Generally around the state, I would feel comfortable at a 45 percent BVAP level."<sup>22</sup>

As the black voting age population increases above 44 percent, the probability of electing a black increases. In four of the districts approved by the black senators, the majority of the registrants were white. In the plan that was replaced, blacks had constituted a majority of the registered voters in all but twelve districts. In all but two of the districts, at least 60 percent of the registrants were black in 2000. The number of Senate districts in which the black registration figure exceeded 55 percent dropped from eleven in the old plan to seven in the plan passed in 2001.

---

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, February 5, 2002, Day 2, Volume II, p. 29.

<sup>22</sup> Affidavit of Charles Walker in *Georgia v. Ashcroft*, 539 U. S. \_\_\_\_ (2003), February 1, 2002, p. 12.

As demonstrated earlier, the rate of white registration tends to exceed that of black registration. Moreover, among registered voters, figures from the Secretary of state reported in Table 4 show white registrants voting at higher rates than blacks.

Consequently it is likely that whites would constitute most of the voters in at least five of the previously majority-black districts in the 2001 plan. Therefore, the implication of the Epstein analysis that was accepted by the Legislative Black Caucus is that African-American candidates can attract a sufficient share of the white vote since if whites voted cohesively against black candidates then in districts in which whites cast most votes, African Americans could not win.

The evidence both from statewide elections and some congressional elections indicates that African Americans now enjoy a degree of success in Georgia even when the bulk of the electorate is white. The blacks who have won statewide contests have succeeded at a time when blacks cast a quarter of all votes or less thereby indicating a substantial white crossover vote for the African-American candidate.

The Department of Justice in the Section 5 hearing conducted by the District Court of the District of Columbia on Georgia's 2001 plans accepted the reductions in black concentration in all but three of the state Senate districts. DOJ voiced no concerns about any of the congressional or state House districts. DOJ even accepted Senate District 15 in which the black VAP fell from 61.6 down to 50.9 percent and District 22 in which the decrease was from 63.1 down to 51.5 percent. In both of these districts more than 64 percent of the registrants had been black but in the new plan blacks accounted for right at 50 percent of the registrants. Thus DOJ found most of the work done by the Georgia General Assembly acceptable under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act. Even

the three Senate districts (2, 12 and 26) to which DOJ objected, where subsequently approved by the U.S. Supreme Court which found that Section 5 was not violated by any of the 2001 Georgia districting plans.<sup>23</sup>

In the forefront of those who believed that reducing the black concentration in Senate districts did not endanger the reelections of incumbents or endangered the political prospects for African American candidates was Georgia's African-American Attorney General Thurbert Baker. He pursued an appeal to the Supreme Court challenging the district court conclusion that three of the Senate districts violated the Voting Rights Act by reducing black concentrations. Baker persisted in his appeal even when ordered to drop it by Georgia's new Governor Sonny Perdue (R ).

A leading supporter of the effort to reduce minority concentrations in legislative districts was Congressman John Lewis, whose severe beating at the Edmond Pettus Bridge during efforts to secure voting rights for blacks in Selma, Alabama helped mobilize support critical for the passage of the 1965 Voting Right Act. Explaining why he did not object to the reduction in minority concentrations, Lewis said of Georgia,

The state is not the same state it was. It's not the same state that it was in 1965 or in 1975, or even in 1980 or 1990. We have changed. We've come a great distance. I think in - - it's not just in Georgia, but in the American South, I think people are preparing to lay down the burden of race.<sup>24</sup>

Elsewhere in this same affidavit, Lewis elaborated,

---

<sup>23</sup> *Georgia v. Ashcroft*, 539 U. S. \_\_\_\_ (2003),.

<sup>24</sup> Affidavit of John Lewis in *Georgia v. Ashcroft*, 539 U. S. \_\_\_\_ (2003), February 1, 2002, p. 18.

I think many voters, white and black voters, in metro Atlanta and elsewhere in Georgia, have been able to see black candidates get out and campaign and work hard for all voters. And they have seen people deal with issues as, I said before, that transcend race: economic issues, environmental issues, issues of war and peace. . . So there has been a transformation, it's a different state, it's a different political climate, it's a different political environment. It's altogether a different world that we live, really.<sup>25</sup>

Senator Robert Brown who served as vice-chair of the Senate Reapportionment Committee also agreed that major changes have taken place in Georgia. During the course of an affidavit, he express the nature of the change as follows: “There are other examples of that around the state that I think suggest that there has been some change from that rigid, ‘if there’s an African-American on the ticket, there’s an automatic ‘no’ votes for whites.”<sup>26</sup>

Senator Brown testified that with one possible exception, his fellow African-American senators strongly supported the plan that reduced the black concentrations in what had been the majority-black districts in their chamber. As he pointed out, speaking of the critical nature of black support, “The Senate Plan would not have passed without our support.”<sup>27</sup> Brown opined that a district that was 50 percent black in its voting age population would likely be won an African American even if the candidate were competing for an open seat and lacked the advantages of incumbency.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>26</sup> Affidavit of Robert Brown in *Georgia v. Ashcroft*, 539 U. S. \_\_\_\_ (2003),, February 1, 2002, p. 8.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

## **Racial Voting Patterns**

The willingness of the Department of Justice and the Supreme Court to accept Georgia plans that in the past might have been found to be flawed by retrogression underscores the changes in racial voting patterns in the state. Where in the past, blacks may have been more willing to support a white candidate than white voters were to cast ballots for a black candidate, that situation has changed dramatically. Today, black voters are able to count on the support of substantially larger shares of the white electorate - - shares that exceed the proportion of black voters who defect from a black candidate to support a white candidate.

Another change has been the growing importance of the African –American vote in the Democratic primary. Table 9 shows that in 2004 blacks cast 47.2 percent of the votes in the Democratic primary. These figures are taken from the post-primary audit done by the secretary of state and are derived from the voter sign-in sheets. In each of the last two primaries, blacks have cast at least 45 percent of the Democratic ballots.

(See Table 9)

To help understand the significance of this high level of black participation in the Democratic primary consider that African Americans are now accounting for almost half of the Democratic primary votes even though they constitute 27 percent of the state's registrants. While there would certainly be variation from one part of the state to another, it is likely that in districts at least 30 percent black African American's may cast the bulk of the votes in the Democratic primary. Thus in any district with a sufficient minority concentration, African Americans would have a reasonable chance of winning a seat there is a strong probability that black votes can determine the Democratic primary choice.

Table 10 presents estimates of black and white support for African-American candidates running for Congress in the Fifth Congressional District from 1970 through 1982. The figures prior to 1978 show, with one exception virtually no black support for a white candidate. Except for the 1974 general election, white support for black candidates never attained 45 percent.

This era during which blacks gave near unanimous support to black candidates largely coincides with the period when Andrew Young was the Democratic nominee in the 5th district. Beginning with 1978, the district had a white Democratic incumbent, Wyche Fowler. The sharp decrease in black support for black candidates indicates Fowler's ability to fashion a biracial coalition. Figures in Table 10 also show that during the Young era, a sizable proportion of the white electorate supported an African – American candidate. This level of support among whites peaked in the 1974 general election, when most voters in the white district backed Young in his first reelection bid. After Young left Congress to represent the United States at the United Nations, and was succeeded by Fowler, white support for black opponents to Fowler fell to ten percent or less.

(See Table 10)

Moving to the 1990s, estimates made by Allan Lichtman of voting behavior in statewide contests in the portions of Georgia in Congressional Districts 2 and 11 as configured in the 1992 plan, showed African-American candidates frequently getting more than 90 percent of the black vote and virtually none of the white vote.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Allan J. Lichtman, "Report on Issues Relating to Georgia Congressional Districts," May 26, 1994.

Estimates of racial voting patterns in Georgia congressional races held during the 1990s presented in Table 11 usually show African-American candidates polling 30 or more percent of the white vote and 90 or more percent of the black vote.<sup>30</sup> The one African American who ran poorest among those in Table 11 is Denise Freeman who took on popular incumbent Charlie Norwood. The estimates presented in Table 11 suggest that while she continued to get very strong support among African American voters, she polled little more than a fifth of the white vote.

(See Table 11)

As Table 12 shows, the inability of African-American candidates - - except for John Lewis in 1998 - - to attract majority support among white voters is a difficulty also encountered by white Democrats. In neither 1996 nor 1998 did any white Democratic candidates for Congress in Georgia attract a majority of the white vote. In 1994, only one Democratic nominee managed to get the bulk of the white vote. In 1992, three white Democrats got the bulk of the white vote. Thus what Table 12 shows in part is the increasing movement of white voters to the Republican primary. Consequently while in the early 1990s, white voters responded to black and white Democrats differently, by the end of the decade, most white voters found Democratic nominees, regardless of the candidates' race, unacceptable.

(See Table 12)

Another perspective on the similar response that Georgia voters give to Democratic candidates regardless of the race of the candidate, appears in Table 13. The 2004 Georgia ballot contained three offices that all voters could participate in - - two

---

<sup>30</sup> Charles S. Bullock, III and Richard E. Dunn, "The Demise of Racial Redistricting and the Future of Black Representation," *Emory Law Journal* 48 (Fall 1999): 1209-1253.

involved a white Democratic nominee while the Democratic Senate nominee was African American, one-term U.S. Representative Denise Majette. The results in Table 12 show that three Democrats, all of whom lost, polled remarkably similar vote shares with John Kerry attracting 41.4 percent of the vote, Majette 40.0 percent of the vote and the Democratic nominee for the Public Service Commission 39.5 percent.

(See Table 13)

Democrats split the 2002 statewide results winning five and losing six. However once we control for the race of the Democratic nominee, a different pattern emerges. The white Democratic nominees won only three of nine contests in which they competed while both of the black Democratic nominees won. Both of the African Americans were incumbents but then so were all but two of the white Democratic nominees. White Democratic incumbents won three while losing four contests, including the two at the top of the ticket for senator and governor.

In 2000 Democrats won half of the four contests in which all Georgians could vote and one of the winners was the only African American nominee. White Democrats succeeded in only one of three contests. In 1998 African Americans won two of three contests in which they represented the Democratic Party. White Democrats did approximately the same winning five of eight contests.

With regard to the African-American statewide candidate who lost in 1998, the nominee for Insurance Commissioner, not only did she have to run against a Republican incumbent, some questioned her credentials. African American Charles Walker who was at the time majority leader of the state Senate said that she “Did not have the support of the black community nor did she have a credible campaign. No one took her seriously...

I mean she never - - she never even campaigned. She never even put signs up. She didn't do anything.”<sup>31</sup>

When the figures are summed for the four most recent elections, Democrats won 14 times. Among African Americans, five of seven got elected for a success rate of 71 percent. Among whites, nine of 22 won for a success rate of 41 percent.

In sum, it appears that the politics of Georgia have undergone a dramatic transformation. In the post-trial brief filed before the three-judge panel that heard *Georgia v. Ashcroft*, the suit involving the state's 2001 redistricting plan that reduced black concentrations in a number of districts, Georgia's African American Attorney General Thurburt Baker asserted that:

The State (sic) racial and political experience in recent years is radically different than it was 10 or 20 years ago, and that is exemplified on every level of politics from statewide elections on down. The election history for legislative offices in Georgia - - House, Senate and Congress - - reflect a high level of success by African American candidates.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>32</sup> Post-trial brief of the state of Georgia, *Georgia v. Ashcroft* C.A. No. 01-2111 (EGS) (D.C., DC 2002), p. 2.

County	1960	Nonwhite	White	Female	Male	Black Fem	Black Male	White Fem	White Male
Talbot	219	8.7	100+	1322	980	74	66	79	77
Terrell	98	2.4	96.6	1719	1070	69	56	83	82
Treutlen	45	4.6	100	687	461	71	60	76	73
Warren	188	8.4	85.8	1171	712	70	58	85	81
Webster	9	0.9	98.8	369	254	71	60	83	82
Worth	296	7.8	100+	1497	963	67	56	80	78
	Nonwhite Regis	1962 Registration %	2004 Black Registration	2004 General Election Turnout by %					
County	1960	Nonwhite	White	Female	Male	Black Fem	Black Male	White Fem	White Male
Baker	24	1.9	100 +	599	467	77	69	81	79
Bleckley	45	3.3	73.9	619	380	75	55	80	79
Burke	427	6.5	84.1	3,273	2,062	72	63	79	78
Calhoun	145	6	100+	955	675	68	59	76	76
Chattahoochee	17	0.9	4.2	555	479	60	49	65	55
Early	261	8	92.9	1632	1056	55	46	78	78
Echols	19	7.7	92.9	75	39	51	41	66	62
Fayette	26	2.2	77	4772	3691	88	82	88	85
Glascocock	1	0.3	100+	53	42	74	62	82	85
Harris	263	8.5	100+	1324	1054	72	55	80	78
Houston	413	9.8	44	7,445	5,037	79	73	80	80
Jeff Davis	56	6.2	100+	597	402	64	55	70	70
Jefferson	283	5.9	82	2877	1885	72	55	81	79
Lee	29	1.6	84.8	956	778	76	64	82	79
Lincoln	3	0.2	100+	828	563	71	62	80	81
McDuffie	251	9.2	87.5	2064	1211	69	61	80	78
Madison	55	5.6	77	516	352	78	66	80	80
Marion	55	3.4	100+	796	566	74	60	76	72
Miller	6	0.6	100+	517	366	53	40	73	71
Mitchell	375	7.5	100+	2544	1612	69	57	80	79
Quitman	38	5.4	100+	414	266	64	55	68	66
Seminole	11	0.9	100+	847	543	57	48	72	71
Stewart	136	5.1	100+	1033	800	68	49	77	73
Sumter	548	8.2	73.5	4240	2793	68	55	80	80

Table 1  
Changes in  
Black  
Registration,  
1962-2004, in  
Counties with  
Very Limited  
Black  
Registration in  
1962 and  
Current  
Turnout Rates



Table 2  
 REPORTED REGISTRATION BY RACE IN GEORGIA AND OUTSIDE THE SOUTH, 1980-2004

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Georgia													
Black	59.8	51.9	58	55.3	56.8	57	53.9	57.6	64.6	64.1	66.3	61.6	64.2
White	67	59.7	65.7	60.4	63.9	58.1	67.3	55	67.8	62	59.3	62.7	63.5
Non-South													
Black	60.6	61.7	67.2	63.1	65.9	58.4	63	58.3	62	58.5	61.7	57	na
White	69.3	66.7	70.5	66.2	68.5	64.4	70.9	65.6	68.1	63.9	65.9	63	na
Source: Various post-election reports by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.													

Table 3  
 REPORTED TURNOUT BY RACE IN GEORGIA AND OUTSIDE THE SOUTH, 1980-2004

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Georgia													
Black	43.7	32.5	45.9	37.3	42.4	42.3	47.1	30.9	45.6	40.2	51.6	38.5	54.4
White	56	40.7	55.3	40.5	53.2	42.6	58.7	38.3	52.3	36.8	48.3	44.8	53.6
Non-South													
Black	52.8	48.5	58.9	44.2	55.6	38.4	53.8	40.2	51.4	40.4	53.1	39.3	na
White	62.4	53.1	63	48.7	60.4	48.2	64.9	49.3	57.4	45.4	57.5	44.7	na

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

TABLE 4

## OFFICIAL REGISTRATION AND TURNOUT IN GEORGIA, 1996 -2004

Year	Registration		Turnout		Turnout Percentage	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
1996	929,525	2,822,012	497,086	1,814,983	53.5	64.3
1998	971,847	2,867,910	415,839	1,382,647	42.8	48.2
2000	980,033	2,792,479	615,723	1,993,493	62.8	71.4
2002	962,720	2,695,306	458,640	1,536,635	47.6	57.0
2004	1,155,706	2,917,322	834,331	2,344,632	72.2	80.4

Source: Georgia Secretary of State

TABLE 5  
NUMBER OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN ELECTED OFFICIALS  
IN GEORGIA, 1969-2001

Year	Total	County	Municipal	School Board
1969	30	4	8	3
1970	40	3	15	7
1971	51	6	20	8
1972	65	7	32	10
1973	104	9	42	28
1974	137	9	72	31
1975	168	12	89	36
1976	204	13	115	43
1977	225	18	132	41
1980	249	23	149	43
1981	266	23	151	55
1984	301	29	170	58
1985	340	58	179	57
1987	445	94	229	73
1989	483	102	242	81
1991	511	103	257	84
1993	545	105	266	95
1995				
1997	579	99	290	104
1999	584	93	302	99
2001	611	102	293	118

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

TABLE 6

## RACIAL MAKE UP OF GEORGIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1963-2005

	House			Senate		
	White	Black	%Black	White	Black	%Black
1963	205	0	0	53	1	1.9
1965	198	7	3.4	52	2	3.7
1967	196	9	4.4	52	2	3.7
1969	183	12	6.2	54	2	3.6
1971	182	13	6.7	54	2	3.6
1973	166	14	7.8	54	2	3.6
1975	161	19	10.6	54	2	3.6
1977	159	21	11.7	54	2	3.6
1979	159	21	11.7	54	2	3.6
1981	159	21	11.7	54	2	3.6
1983	159	21	11.7	52	4	7.1
1985	159	21	11.7	50	6	10.7
1987	156	24	13.3	50	6	10.7
1989	155	25	13.9	49	7	12.5
1991	153	27	15.0	48	8	14.3
1993	149	31	17.2	47	9	16.1
1995	148	32	17.8	46	10	17.9
1997	147	33	18.3	45	11	19.6
1999	147	33	18.3	44	11	19.6
2001	144	36	20.0	45	11	19.6
2003*	139	39	21.7	45	10	17.9
2005*	139	39	21.7	44	11	19.6

\*The House has two Latino members and the Senate has one.

TABLE 7  
 AFRICAN AMERICANS SERVING IN CONGRESS FROM GEORGIA,  
 1973 – 2005

Dist 5	Dist. 2	Dist. 11/ Dist 4**	Dist 13
1973 Andrew Young (44%)			
1975 Andrew Young			
1977 Andrew Young *			
1979			
1981			
1983			
1985			
1987 John Lewis (65%)			
1989 John Lewis			
1991 John Lewis			
1993 John Lewis (62%)	Sanford Bishop (57%)	Cynthia McKinney (64%)	
1995 John Lewis	Sanford Bishop	Cynthia McKinney	
1997 John Lewis (62%)	Sanford Bishop (39%)	Cynthia McKinney (37%)	
1999 John Lewis	Sanford Bishop	Cynthia McKinney	
2001 John Lewis	Sanford Bishop	Cynthia McKinney	
2003 John Lewis (56%)	Sanford Bishop (45%)	Denise Majette (53%)	David Scott (41%)
2005 John Lewis	Sanford Bishop	Cynthia McKinney	David Scott

\*Resigned to become US ambassador to the United Nations

\*\*District renumbered from 11 to 4 with 1996 redistricting.

TABLE 8

CHANGE IN BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN MAJORITY-BLACK  
DISTRICT PRODUCED BY THE FIRST 2001 SENATE PLAN

Senate District	Population Deviation	Black Voting Age Population		BVAP Change
		2001 Plan	Previous Plan	
2	-3.12	50.31	60.30	-9.99
10	-4.96	64.14	70.30	-6.16
12	-4.15	50.66	55.30	-4.64
15	-4.67	50.87	61.60	-10.73
22	-4.85	51.51	63.10	-11.59
26	-4.39	50.80	62.30	-11.50
35	-1.76	60.69	75.60	-14.91
36	-4.73	56.94	60.00	-3.06
38	-4.76	60.29	76.30	-16.01
39	-4.98	56.54	54.40	2.14
43	-4.79	62.63	88.40	-25.77
55	-4.97	60.64	71.90	-11.26
Average		56.34	66.63	-10.29

TABLE 9

## BLACK PERCENTAGE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY TURNOUT, 1990 – 2004

Year	Total Primary Turnout	Democratic Turnout	Percent Black of Democratic Vote
1990	1,171,131	1,053,013	24.6
1992	1,151,971	875,149	22.1
1994	761,371	463,049	39.2
1996	1,182,168	717,302	22.5
1998	905,383	486,841	36.4
2000	960,414	613,884	31.3
2002	1,102,611	575,533	45.2
2004	1,418,838	731,111	47.2

Source: Georgia Secretary of state.

TABLE 10  
 RACIAL VOTING PATTERNS IN BLACK-WHITE  
 CONTESTS FOR GEORGIA'S 5<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

	Support for Black Candidate(s)	
	White Voters	Black Voters.
1970 Primary	23	99
1970 Runoff	32	100
1970 General	19	100
1972 Primary	39	100
1972 General	25	100
1974 General	55	100
1976 General	44	100
1977 Primary	5	98
1977 Runoff	4	96
1978 Primary	6	34
1982 General	10	31

TABLE 11

RACIAL VOTING PATTERNS IN GEORGIA CONGRESSIONAL CONTESTS INVOLVING  
AFRICAN-AMERICAN CANDIDATES, 1992 - 1998  
(Percentages)

			WHITES				BLACKS			
	Race	Party	OLS	EI	HP	(N)	OLS	EI	HP	(N)
1992 Primaries										
<i>Georgia District 2</i>										
4 Candidates	B	D	26.3	32.3	35.1	(27)	88.7	83.9	80.7	(16)
2 Candidates	W	D	73.7	67.7	64.9		11.3	16.1	19.3	
<i>Georgia District 11</i>										
4 Candidates	B	D	56.5	61.7	63.0	(19)	92.1	89.9	87.2	(35)
DeLoach	W	D	43.5	38.3	37.0		9.2	10.1	12.8	
1992 Runoffs										
<i>Georgia District 2</i>										
Bishop	B	D	17.5	30.4	28.7	(27)	85.5	76.6	74.9	(16)
Hatcher	W	D (I)	82.5	69.6	71.3		14.5	23.4	25.1	
<i>Georgia District 11</i>										
McKinney	B	D	21.2	35.0	23.4	(19)	97.7	86.3	88.5	(35)
DeLoach	W	D	78.8	65.0	76.6		2.3	13.7	11.5	
1992 General Election										
<i>Georgia District 2</i>										
Bishop	B	D	30.0	33.2	34.0	(26)	100	98.2	96.6	(16)
Dudley	W	R	70.0	66.8	66.0		0.0	1.8	3.4	
<i>Georgia District 11</i>										
McKinney	B	D	31.6	37.9	38.4	(18)	97.9	96.4	95.7	(n/a)
Lovett	W	R	68.4	62.1	61.6		2.1	3.6	4.3	
1994 General Election										
<i>Georgia District 2</i>										
Bishop	B	D(I)	40.4	42.7	38.1	(35)	99.5	94.7	95.9	(19)
Clayton	W	R	59.6	57.3	61.9		0.5	5.3	4.1	
<i>Georgia District 11</i>										
McKinney	B	D(I)	23.8	32.5	31.6	(23)	99.8	94.4	95.0	(42)
Lovett	W	R	76.2	67.5	68.4		0.2	5.6	5.0	

	Race	Party (N)	OLS	WHITES			(N)	OLS	BLACKS	
				EI	HP	EI			HP	
1996 Primary										
<i>Georgia District 4</i>										
McKinney	B	D(I)	21.3	24.9	27.7	(59)	92.3	92.7	94.8	
	(13)									
3 Candidates	W	D	78.7	75.1	72.3		7.7	7.3	5.2	
Participation			11.6	11.7	15.1		30.6	30.2	30.8	
1996 General Election										
<i>Georgia District 2</i>										
Bishop	B	D(I)	37.4	37.7	36.6	(65)	100.0	97.1	98.2	
		(10)								
Ealum	W	R	62.6	62.3	63.4		0.0	2.9	1.8	
<i>Georgia District 4</i>										
McKinney	B	D(I)	30.7	32.1	30.7	(59)	100.0	99.2	95.1	
	(14)									
Mitnick	W	R	69.3	67.9	69.3		0.0	0.8	4.9	
1998 General Election										
<i>Georgia District 2</i>										
Bishop	B	D(I)	37.8	39.5	41.3	(75)	99.9	95.4	98.4	
	(10)									
MCCormick	W	R	62.2	60.5	58.7		0.1	4.6	1.6	
<i>Georgia District 4</i>										
McKinney	B	D (I)	34.9	36.2	36.8	(58)	97.2	95.0	93.1	
	(23)									
Warren		B	R	65.1	63.8	63.2		2.8	5.0	
	6.9									
<i>Georgia District 5</i>										
Lewis	B	D(I)	50.2	53.7	51.0	(36)	97.7	96.8	95.4	
	(100)									
Lewis	B	R	49.8	46.3	49.0		2.3	3.2	4.6	
<i>Georgia District 10</i>										
Freeman	B	D	17.5	23.7	22.9	(66)	90.5	80.8	93.7	
	(13)									
Norwood	W	R(I)	82.5	76.3	77.1		9.5	19.2	6.3	

OLS = ecological regression; EI = district - level estimates from King's (1997) method for ecological inference; HP = racially homogenous precincts. (I) = Incumbent; N = Number of racially homogeneous precincts; D = Democrat; R = Republican

TABLE 12

## WHITE SUPPORT FOR WHITE GEORGIA DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATES, 1992-1998

(Percentages)

	State	Dist. (N)	Candidate	OLS	White Support EI	HP
1992						
Christmas	GA (126)	1	OS	36.9	35.4	34.2
Ray (102)	GA	3	I	41.2	40.7	38.5
Steinberg (108)	GA	4	OS	45.1	47.1	44.8
Center (143)	GA	6	C	39.2	41.2	40.9
Darden (132)	GA	7	I	55.6	56.0	54.3
Rowland (121)	GA	8	I	57.7	53.7	48.2
Johnson (143)	GA	10	OS	52.3	51.7	48.5
1994						
Beckworth	GA (147)	1	C	18.3	18.2	17.8
Overby (114)	GA	3	C	30.0	31.1	29.0
Yates (112)	GA	4	C	41.9	41.8	38.0
Jones (171)	GA	6	C	35.2	36.0	35.3
Darden (135)	GA	7	I	45.5	44.5	45.4
Mathis (110)	GA	8	OS	34.9	34.4	30.5
Deal (227)	GA	9	I	57.3	57.1	57.2
Johnson (160)	GA	10	I	29.7	30.1	30.0
1996						
Kaszans (102)	GA	1	C	15.9	19.2	20.9
Chafin (89)	GA	3	C	25.0	30.9	27.3
Coles (166)	GA	6	C	36.9	41.1	40.0

Watts (125)	GA	7	C	38.5	37.4	41.0
Wiggins (91)	GA	8	C	34.7	38.1	34.8
Poston (230)	GA	9	C	34.0	33.5	34.6
Bell (71)	GA	10	C	32.0	31.9	29.2
Stephenson (172)	GA	11	C	33.2	33.5	34.7
1998						
Coles (181)	GA	6	C	22.7	25.2	26.9
Williams (111)	GA	7	C	38.5	37.5	41.4
Cain (99)	GA	8	C	21.6	22.9	26.8
Littman (166)	GA	11	C	26.2	28.5	28.7

---

Source: Charles S. Bullock, III, and Richard E. Dunn, "The Demise of Racial Districting and the Future of Black Representation," *Emory Law Review* 48 (Fall): 1209 - 1253.

OLS = ecological regression; EI = district-level estimates from King's (1997) method for ecological inference; HP = racially homogenous precincts; N = number of homogeneous white precincts; I = incumbent; OS = open seat candidate; C = challenger.

TABLE 13

## SUCCESS OF DEMOCRATIC STATEWIDE CANDIDATES, 1998 - 2004

Office	Race of Democrat	Democrat's Vote	Democrat's %	Outcome
1998				
Senator	W	791,904	45.2	Lost
Governor	W	941,076	52.5	Won
Lieutenant Governor	W	990,496	56.4	Won
Secretary of State	W	983,905	56.6	Won
Attorney General	B	883,932	50.9	Won
Commr. Of Agriculture	W	1,085,694	62.8	Won
Commr. Of Insurance	B	651,891	37.7	Lost
School Supt.	W	794,324	46.0	Lost
Commissioner of Labor	B	894,656	52.7	Won
PSC (Hargis)	W	746,081	44.6	Lost
PSC (McDonald)	W	638,054	49.6	Won
2000				
President	W	1,116,230	43.2	Lost
Senator	W	1,413,224	58.2	Won
PSC (Burgess)	B	1,201,346	52.3	Won
PSC (Boyd)	W	928,005	41.0	Lost
2002				
Senator	W	931,857	45.9	Lost
Governor	W	937,062	46.3	Lost
Lieutenant Governor	W	1,041,227	51.9	Won
Secretary of State	W	1,225,232	61.1	Won
Attorney General	B	1,093,734	55.6	Won
Commr. Of Agriculture	W	1,138,705	57.4	Won
Commr of Insurance	W	657,754	33.2	Lost
School Supt.	W	859,653	43.0	Lost
Commissioner of Labor	B	1,007,468	51.2	Won
PSC (Sizemore)	W	913,119	47.5	Lost
PSC (McDonald)	W	911,669	47.1	Lost
2004				
President	W	1,366,149	41.4	Lost
Senator	B	1,287,690	40.0	Lost
PSC (Barber)	W	1,217,443	39.5	Lost

TABLE 14

Senate	Population	Black Voting Age Population		BVAP	Black Registration	
District	Deviation	2001 Plan	Exiting Plan	Change	2001 Plan	Existing Plan
2	-3.12	50.31	60.30	-9.99	48.42	62.38
10	-4.96	64.14	70.30	-6.16	63.06	69.81
12	-4.15	50.66	55.30	-4.64	47.46	52.48
15	-4.67	50.87	61.60	-10.73	50.25	72.69
22	-4.85	51.51	63.10	-11.59	49.44	64.07
26	-4.39	50.80	62.30	-11.50	48.27	62.79
35	-1.76	60.69	75.60	-14.91	64.73	81.00
36	-4.73	56.94	60.00	-3.06	58.65	61.39
38	-4.76	60.29	76.30	-16.01	60.38	75.33
39	-4.98	56.54	54.40	2.14	59.79	59.46
43	-4.79	62.63	88.40	-25.77	63.11	89.14
55	-4.97	60.64	71.90	-11.26	60.99	73.07
Average		56.34	66.63	-10.29		