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Executive summary of the Bullock-Gaddie expert report on Louisiana

By Edward Blum and Abigail Thernstrom

In 1964, before the passage of the Voting Rights Act, less than a third of Louisiana's voting-age blacks were registered to vote, but the percentage varied widely from one parish to another—ranging indeed from 93.8 percent in Evangeline Parish to only 1.7 percent in Tensas. By 1968, however, almost 59 percent of age-eligible African Americans were registered, and in some parishes the change was very dramatic.

This is the picture today, when just over 32 percent of the state's population is black, a proportion that ranks as the second highest in the country:

- The initial goals of the Voting Rights Act have long since been achieved in Louisiana. After each election, the US Bureau of the Census issues registration and voting data based on the self-reports of a sample of individuals. From 1980 to 2004, white and black self-reported registration rates were quite similar—both above 70 percent with the exception of only two years. Moreover, the percentage of the state's registrants who are black has equaled or exceeded the black share of the voting-age population. Black registration, in other words, is disproportionately high in relation to the eligible black population.

- In that same time period (1980 to 2004), blacks in Louisiana have reported higher registration rates than blacks outside the South. In fact, beginning in 1988, the difference has been at least ten percentage points, with the one exception of 1994. In 2002, Louisiana blacks were 16.5 percentage points more likely to report being registered than non-southern African Americans.

- The Census Bureau also surveys turnout (self-reported as a percentage of voting-age population). In presidential years in this same time period, at least 60 percent of voting-age blacks report casting a ballot; in 1992, the figure was 71.5 percent. At times, the proportion of actual voters who are black has been higher than the percentage of black registrants. Whites turned out at similarly high rates. White and black turnout differed little even in mid-term elections, when, by law, no state officers run and the general election is only for those seats for which no candidate got a majority of votes in the first round—two factors that depress turnout.

- In presidential years, Louisiana blacks always turn out at higher rates than in states outside the South. In 2000, the difference was 10 percentage points. That has generally been the case with midterm elections as well.

- Louisiana is one of the few states collects actual registration and turnout figures by race, but, unlike the self-reported (and thus less reliable) Census data, these figures cannot be used for making interstate comparisons. Nevertheless, they are informative.

They show, for instance, that since the passage of the Voting Rights Act, black registration increased five-fold, and by 2004, blacks were almost 30 percent of the registered electorate, a figure basically identical to the voting-age population.

- All of the above figures are remarkable, given the racial disparities in socioeconomic status and education.

- In 1969, Louisiana had only 65 African-American elected officials. By 2001 (the most recent figures), the number had risen to over 700, including U.S. Rep. William Jefferson who is now among the most senior black members of Congress, having first been elected in 1990.

- As in other states “covered” by the preclearance provision of the Voting Rights Act, redistricting politics have been driven by the need to acquire Justice Department approval for all districting maps. Assuming that the state needed to create as many safe black congressional seats as possible, in the early 1990s the legislature designed an ungainly district that stretched more than 600 miles across the state. Several maps later, in the wake of Supreme Court decisions raising concern about such radical racial gerrymandering, that district was dismantled. Black candidates running in majority-white constituencies have not been successful, but the primary explanation seems to be the high proportion of whites who are Republicans and the weakness of those African-American office-seekers. For instance, in 2004, a black candidate for the U.S. Senate only garnered five percent of the black vote in the Democratic primary.

- Since 1993, blacks have held more than 20 percent of the seats in both the state House of Representatives and Senate.

- In contested congressional elections in 1992 and 1994, in the second congressional district, which is almost 64 percent black, William Jefferson attracted approximately 90 percent of the African-American vote in the primary, but he also got just under half of the white vote, with the only white contestant receiving barely a quarter of the white vote. When blacks and whites differ in their candidate preferences, party affiliation appears to be a major factor.

- There have been twenty-six primaries and runoffs since 1995 for statewide office, and in only two of the nineteen contested primary races have a majority of black voters lined up in opposition to a majority of white voters. In those nineteen contests, the candidate preferred by most blacks won, giving Democrats control of most statewide constitutional offices. Two politically important examples are the gubernatorial elections of 1991 and 2003. In part, those outcomes reflect the fact that whites are less politically cohesive than blacks.

- Since 1996, Louisiana has had six primaries or runoffs for a U.S. Senate seat, and in every instance in which blacks cast a majority of their vote for a candidate, that

candidate has prevailed. But the African-American vote is not always cohesive, and while, in 2004, a black candidate ran for the Senate, he polled only 5 percent of the black vote. The white vote is often split; moreover, when the majority of whites support a candidate, that candidate will often lose.

- While roughly 30 percent of Louisiana's registered electorate is African-American, black candidates are Democrats in a state in which George W. Bush won 75 percent of the white vote in 2004. Growing numbers of whites vote for Republicans. It is important to note, however, that Louisiana whites are not as consistently Republican as in some other southern states and several Democrats have attracted white-majority support.

An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Louisiana
Prepared for the Project on Fair Representation
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An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Louisiana

At the very end of the 19th century, Louisiana adopted a series of requirements that had the effect of substantially reducing black participation. Beginning in 1898, voters had to register and be able to mark a secret ballot. Marking a secret ballot required that voters be literate, and Morgan Kousser reports that in 1900, 61 percent of the adult black males but only 18 percent of the white adult males were illiterate.¹ In the next year, the Bayou State adopted a poll tax and a literacy test. Kousser estimates that these restrictions reduced black turnout by 93 percent.² This reverses the trend of increasing black participation prior to the adoption of the restrictive provisions. Louisiana also adopted a white primary, but unlike other Deep South states did not seek to come up with ways to maintain it once the practice was struck down in *Smith v. Allwright*.³

Black Registration and Turnout

A generation after *Smith v. Allwright*, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported official figures from the Louisiana Secretary of State that showed 31.6 percent of the state's voting age nonwhites registered to vote in the 1964 general election.⁴ The range in the rates of black registration across the state varied widely reaching as high as 93.8 percent in Evangeline Parish but falling to only 1.7 percent in Tensas, 1.9 percent in

¹ J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 55.

² *Ibid.*, p. 241.

³ V.O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics*, (New York: Adolph A. Knopf, 1949), p. 626.

⁴ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Political Participation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 242-243.

Claiborne and 1.9 percent in West Feliciana parishes. The three parishes in which the smallest proportion of age-eligible African Americans were registered to vote had large black populations and two of them were majority black. In six parishes more than three-fourths of the age-eligible blacks were registered to vote prior to the Voting Rights Act.

Three years later, after the Voting Rights Act had been enforced for two years, 58.9 percent of the age eligible African Americans in Louisiana had signed up to vote. Contributing to these numbers were 24,130 nonwhites registered by federal examiners sent into nine parishes pursuant to the Voting Rights Act. In Caddo Parish where Shreveport is located, federal examiners enrolled almost 7,300 black voters and in Ouachita Parish they signed up almost 5,500.

Table 1 reports the changes in registration in the 13 parishes in which fewer than ten percent of the adult black population had registered in 1964. By 1967, the change had been dramatic in some parishes. West Feliciana Parish had 98 percent of its voting age blacks registered in 1967 up from less than 2 percent three years earlier. Contributing to this increase were 1,300 non-whites signed up by federal examiners. Table 1 also shows that the share of the black adult population registered in some other parishes such as Tensas, West Carroll, Franklin and Natchitoches were far more modest with fewer than a quarter of the adult African Americans on the registration rolls.

(See Table 1)

Table 2 shows figures on black and white registration as compiled by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. These figures come from self-reports collected through surveys conducted after each biennial election. The table reports the share of the voting age population that says it was registered at the time of the most recent election. Since these

data are self-reported, they almost certainly overestimate participation rates. However, despite this flaw, they are useful for making comparisons across time and across geographic areas.

As Table 2 shows, in Louisiana the self-reported registration rates are quite similar for African Americans and whites throughout the 24-year time period covered. In 1980, almost three-fourths of the whites surveyed and just under 70 percent of the African Americans said they were registered. Throughout the remainder of the 1980s, self-reported black registration figures slightly exceed those for whites. The 1992 figures are the last year in which a higher proportion of African Americans than whites claimed to be registered with the disparity being approximately six percentage points as 82.3 percent of the African Americans compared with 76.2 percent of whites report having registered to vote. Beginning with 1994, the rates of white registration have exceeded those for African Americans although in most years the differences have been relatively small. The largest disparities come in 1994 and 1998 when approximately 7 percentage points more whites than blacks claim to have registered to vote. In 2002, the difference drops to less than one percentage point, before expanding again to four points in 2004. Except for the extraordinarily low black registration rate in 1994, the share of the African American population that was registered has been at or above 70 percent. White registration figures have also been above 70 percent except for 1982 when only 67.5 percent of the whites surveyed reported being registered.

(See Table 2)

Throughout the time period, African Americans in Louisiana have reported higher registration rates than blacks outside the South. In the early 1980s, differences between

the two groups were less than ten percentage points. Beginning with 1988, the difference has been ten percentage points or more except in 1994 when the figure for Louisiana African Americans stood at 65.7 percent - - the lowest in the entire 24 years - - while for blacks outside the South, it was 58.3 percent. The most recent available figures show that in 2002, Louisiana blacks were 16.5 percentage points more likely to report being registered than were non-southern blacks. This difference is exceeded only in 1992 when a gap of almost 20 percentage points existed. The registration rate for Louisiana blacks exceeds 70 percent at the time of nine elections -- a percentage never achieved by African Americans outside the region.

Table 3 shows the shares of the Louisiana voting age population that reported having participated in the recent election when surveyed by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. In presidential election years, at least 60 percent of the African Americans of voting age report participating with the high figure coming in 1992 when black Louisianans helped carry their state for Bill Clinton and 71.5 percent reported voting. Despite higher levels of participation, blacks turned out at lower rates than whites in five of the seven presidential elections. Only in 1984 and 1992 did blacks vote at higher rates than whites. In the other years, white turnout exceeded African-American turnout with the largest difference occurring in 1988 when 67.5 percent of age-eligible whites and 61.5 percent of the African Americans voted. The only other instance in which the racial difference exceeded five percentage points came in 1980 when 65.6 percent of whites and 60.1 percent of blacks adults went to the polls. In the three most recent presidential elections, the differences ranged from 1.7 percentage points in 1996 to 3.2 percentage points in 2000.

(See Table 3)

Mid-term election turnout is invariably lower and in some instances much lower. In 1982 and 1994, fewer than one in three Louisiana African Americans of voting age bothered to cast ballots. At the high end, approximately 56 percent of Louisiana blacks reported voting in 1986 and 1990. Despite lower turnout rates, in half of the six off-year elections in Table 3, blacks reported voting at higher rates than do whites. In 1998, the disparity was ten percentage points and in 1982, while only 32 percent of the black surveyed say they voted, that is substantially more than the 23.6 percent of voting age whites who went to the polls. In 1990, the rate at which blacks said they voted exceeded that for whites by more than five percentage points. White self-reported turnout outpaced that for blacks in 1986, 1994 and 2002. In none of these three years was the white voting rate as much as five points greater than the black voting rate with the largest difference coming in 1994 when 35.6 percent of whites compared with 30.9 percent of blacks cast ballots. In 1986, the difference was only 1.7 percentages points as 57.5 percent of whites and 55.8 percent of African Americans voted.

One factor that accounts for the much lower turnout in many off-year elections when compared to presidential-year elections is that Louisiana does not choose its state officers in the off-year. Instead, Louisiana state elections come in odd-numbered years so that in the absence of a presidential contest, the highlight is likely to be a contest for the U.S. Senate or House of Representatives. A second factor that discourages participation is Louisiana's unique election law that has all candidates regardless of party compete in the initial contest. Candidates who poll a majority in the first round are elected. Consequently the general election includes only those offices for which no

candidate polled a majority forcing the top two vote getters to appear in a runoff. Most congressional contests feature incumbents and most incumbents attract majority support in the first round so that many Louisianans have no incentive to return to the polls at the time of the general election in non-presidential years since nothing remains to be decided.

When turnout rates among Louisiana African Americans are compared with those of blacks outside of the region, Table 3 shows that Louisiana blacks always vote at higher rates than do African Americans in the North and West in presidential years. The greatest difference came in 1992 when 71.5 percent of Louisiana blacks but only 53.8 of African Americans in the non-South participated. In 2000, the difference was ten percentage points. The smallest difference in a presidential year came in 1988 when 61.5 percent of Louisiana blacks along with 55.6 percent of African Americans from outside the South went to the polls.

In the two mid-term elections when turnout among Louisiana blacks fell below one-third, African Americans outside the region voted at substantially higher rates. The 1994 difference reached almost ten percentage points while in 1982 it exceeded 15 percentage points. In other mid-term election years, the turnout rate for blacks in Louisiana exceeded that outside of the region. In the two most recent mid-term elections, approximately 46 percent of the African Americans in the Bayou State reported voting compared with approximately 40 percent of blacks outside of the region.

The longitudinal figures from the Census Bureau do not show African American participation in Louisiana increasing over time. However, they do show that throughout the period, participation rates for the two races in Louisiana are quite comparable with a higher African-American than white participation rate some years. Tables 2 and 3 also

show that both registration and turnout among Louisiana African Americans usually exceeds that for non-southern blacks.

Louisiana is one of the states that maintains registration records by race which makes it possible to examine actual registration figures rather than rely exclusively on the self-reported registration figures collected by the Census Bureau. These materials appear in Table 4 and show that the number of black registrants has increased from 163,414 at the time that the Voting Rights Act was initially passed to more than 850,000 four decades later. This five-fold increase in black registration comes at a time when the total registration in the state increased by a little over 140 percent.

(See Table 4)

With black registration increasing at a far faster rate than total registration in the state, African-Americans now constitute a larger share of the total number of registrants. When the Voting Rights was enacted, fewer than one in seven registrants was black. By the first renewal in 1970, a fifth of the registrants were African American. When the most recent renewal took place in 1982, blacks made up almost a quarter of the registered electorate. The figures for 2004 show almost 30 percent of the registered electorate to be African American. This figure almost equals the black share of the voting age population estimated by the Census Bureau to be 30.3 percent in 2004. Table 4 provides further evidence that the barriers to African American registration that existed 40 years ago have long since come down.

Since 1998, Louisiana's secretary of state has released figures showing turnout by race. Table 5 reports that across the last eight years African Americans have cast between 18.7 and 30 percent of the votes in the often-determinative primaries. African

Americans constituted the largest share of the electorate in 1998 and have come close to matching the 29.9 percent of the electorate they constituted that year in the two most recent years when they accounted for more than 27 percent of the active electorate. The only year in which blacks cast less than 22 percent of the votes came in 2001 when only 157,000 primary votes were cast statewide. A comparison of turnout rates in Table 5 with registration rates in Table 4 indicates that in 1998, blacks turned out at higher rates than the rest of the electorate since they constituted a larger share of the electorate than the registrants. In other years, African Americans voted at lower rates than other Louisianans although in 2003 and 2004 the difference was small as the black share of registrants was less than three percentage points greater than the black share of the voters.

(See Table 5)

AFRICAN AMERICAN OFFICEHOLDING

In 1969, Louisiana had a total of 65 African-American officeholders. Of these eleven served at the parish (or county) level while 23 held municipal offices and nine served on local school boards. Within three years, the total number of black office holders in the state had grown to more than 100 and in another three years that figure had doubled to 237. In another three years, yet another 100 black officeholders had been elected bringing the totals to 75 in parish offices, 113 in holding city offices and almost 100 school board members. Thereafter growth slowed and black officials did not exceed 400 until the mid-1980s. By 1987, the state had more than 500 black officeholders as reported in Table 6. As of 2001, more than 700 African Americans had been elected in

Louisiana. This included 131 parish officers most of whom held the post of police juror (which corresponds with county commissioner elsewhere).

(See Table 6)

African Americans in Congress

William Jefferson is now among the most senior African-American members of Congress, having first been elected in 1990. He took over the black congressional district that had been represented by the Boggs family for 44 years.⁵ Hale Boggs held the seat and upon the majority leader's death in an Alaskan plane crash his widow, Lindy, succeeded him. During the course of the Boggs family's almost half century of representation, this New Orleans district became increasingly African American reaching 59 percent black after the 1983 redistricting. During her last years in Congress, Lindy Boggs faced challenges from African Americans but her attentiveness to the constituency enabled her to turn aside those opponents. Upon her retirement, a large field of competitors emerged and Jefferson, a senior state senator, defeated Mark Morial, son of a New Orleans Mayor and future mayor himself, in a runoff election.

In Louisiana, like Georgia, and North Carolina, satisfying the demands of the U.S. Department of Justice drove the redistricting politics of the early 1990s. Unlike in the other two states where DOJ rejected a congressional map for having an insufficient number of majority-black districts, in Louisiana the message was sent in another form. DOJ rejected the plan for the Board of Elementary and Secondary Education that had

⁵ Hale Boggs won his first election to the House in 1940 but failed to be renominated for a second term. After serving in World War II, Boggs regained the congressional seat in 1946 and held it until his death in 1972.

only a single majority-black district.⁶ The legislature assumed that a congressional plan that contained only one African-American district would also face rejection and consequently drew a second district.

The chair of the Senate redistricting committee, Cleo Fields, who, at 23, had become the youngest senator ever elected in the state, designed a heavily black district. His creation, which became known as the “Zorro” district because it somewhat resembled a capital Z, managed to string together the black-majority precincts in Shreveport, Monroe, Alexandria, Lafayette and Baton Rouge. This ungainly district reproduced in Figure 1 stretched more than 600 miles across the state running along the northern border with Arkansas almost to the Texas border and along the entire stretch of the state’s Mississippi River border and then extending an arm as far as Lafayette in Cajun Country. This district was so far flung that the authors of the *Almanac of American Politics* speculated that, “A walk over the boundaries of this district might take as long as Lewis and Clark’s journey through the Louisiana Purchase.”⁷ Fields, who had unsuccessfully

⁶ Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III, “Voter Turnout and Candidate Participation Effects of Affirmative-Action Districting,” in Robert Steed, Laurence Moreland, and Tod Baker, eds., *Southern Parties and Elections: Studies in Regional Change* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997); Richard L. Engstrom and Jason F. Kirksey, “Race and Representation Districting in Louisiana,” in Bernard Grofman, ed., *Race and Redistricting in the 1990s* (New York: Agathon, 1998), pp. 237-241.

⁷ Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics*, 1994 (Washington, D.C.: *National Journal*, 1993), p. 534.

challenged a Republican incumbent two years earlier, took a commanding lead in the eight-candidate field with 48 percent of the vote in the first round. He romped to victory in the runoff with almost three-fourths of the vote to arrive in Congress just after his 30th birthday.

A challenge to Fields' 67 percent black Fourth District was awaiting trial when the Supreme Court ordered a hearing on North Carolina's twelfth district in *Shaw v. Reno*.⁸ Even before the North Carolina panel could respond to the *Shaw* opinion, a three-judge panel in Louisiana threw out the Zorro district.⁹ The legislature came up with a new plan that continued to link the black populations from Lafayette to Baton Rouge and on up to the northwest corner to Shreveport but did so in a more direct fashion that produced a district 250 miles long. The new Fourth District did not tiptoe along the state's eastern and northern borders but instead took a diagonal shot up from Baton Rouge to Shreveport as shown in Figure 1. The same plaintiffs challenged this district for being drawn primarily on the basis of race. Although the Supreme Court declined to rule on this appeal because none of the plaintiffs lived in the new district and therefore, the court found that they lacked standing, the state developed another map.¹⁰

The third map eliminated the state's second majority-black district. It maintained the two-thirds black New Orleans district but dismantled Fields' Fourth District. Rather than confront a white Republican incumbent, in a more than 70 percent white district, Fields retired from Congress and made an unsuccessful bid to become governor.

⁸ *Shaw v. Reno*, 509 U.S. 630 (1993).

⁹ *Hays v. Louisiana*, 936 F. Supp. 369 (W.D. La.1996)

¹⁰ *Hays v. Louisiana*, 936 F. Supp. 369 (W.D. La.1996)

The post-2000 census plan maintained the New Orleans district at 64 percent African American. No other Louisiana district currently has a black majority in its population. Jefferson has successfully confronted subsequent challenges by African-American candidates.

Other efforts by African Americans to win congressional seats have not met with success. Faye Williams lost runoffs to Republican Clyde Holloway for central Louisiana's 8th congressional district in 1986 and 1988. Most recently, in 2004, Arthur Morrell sought the open U.S. Senate seat vacated by Democrat John Breaux. He pulled an estimated 5% of the African-American vote, finishing well behind white Democrats Chris John and John Kennedy among black voters, and far behind primary winner John Vitter, who prevailed without a runoff.

Black Members of the State Legislature

The first African American to be elected to the Louisiana legislature since Reconstruction won a seat in 1966. With the drawing of new districts in the early 1970s, the number of House members jumped to eight and then gradually increased during the course of that decade. By 1990, 14 percent of the members of the lower chamber were African American. The redistricting done in 1991 created 25 districts in which most registered voters were black.¹¹ Later that year, blacks won 23 of these districts which produced the more than a 50 percent increase in black House representation shown in

¹¹ Engstrom and Kirksey, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-235.

Table 7. Since 1993, the black proportion in the House has fluctuated but always remained above 20 percent.

(See Table 7)

The Senate has had black members since 1971. As in the House, the numbers initially grew slowly and did not reach ten percent of the 39-member chamber until 1985. The race-based redistricting of the early 1990s demanded by the Department of Justice resulted in nine majority-black districts eight of which elected an African American in 1991. At the beginning of the new century, African Americans held 23 percent of the Senate seats.

PSC and BESE

In addition to the legislative chambers and the congressional delegation, African Americans have won seats on two other collegial bodies elect members from single-member districts. The Public Service Commission (PSC) has five districts and the Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE) elects eight members from single-member districts.¹²

¹² The BESE was created in the 1973 constitutional reform as part of an effort to provide separate administration for primary and secondary education, and higher education respectively. The board has eleven members, eight elected from single-member districts and three at-large members appointed by the governor. Until 1991, elected BESE members shared the same district lines as congressional incumbents, but the reduction of the Louisiana congressional delegation by one in reapportionment led to the crafting of distinct BESE districts.

In 1998, PSC District 3 elected Irma Dixon, a black female, in a runoff over incumbent white Democrat John Schwegmann. The district encompassed most of the majority-black congressional district 2 before continuing up the Mississippi River into the Holy Name parishes below Baton Rouge. (Dixon would later wage an unsuccessful challenge to African-American Rep. Bill Jefferson in congressional district 2). In 2004, Dixon was eliminated from a runoff by African-American candidates Lambert Bossiere III and former congressman Cleo Fields. Bossiere subsequently bested Fields in the runoff.

The eight BESE districts have elected as many as two African-Americans at a time. In 1999, the Orleans Parish-based 2d BESE district elected black Keith Johnson. Johnson was defeated for reelection in a 2003 runoff by another African-American candidate, Louella Givens. In the central-Louisiana BESE district 8, African-American Linda Johnson bested two other black candidates without benefit of a runoff and was returned to the BESE in 2003.

Statewide Candidacies

In 1995, Cleo Fields joined the multi-candidate gubernatorial field to succeed the tainted Edwin Edwards who had dominated Pelican State politics for a quarter of a century. Under Louisiana's unique election law, all candidates compete in an initial heat regardless of party rather than running for a party nomination as in most other states. No candidate got a majority, and Fields made it into the runoff against conservative white Republican Mike Foster, the grandson of a former governor.¹³ While Democratic

¹³ Foster, a state legislator, changed his political party the day of filing.

candidates had a combined majority of the vote in the initial balloting, Fields could not unite the followers of his fellow partisans.¹⁴ In the closing days of the dog-eat-dog campaign leading up to the initial vote, the two top Democrats, Fields and Mary Landrieu (the daughter of a New Orleans mayor who currently serves in the U.S. Senate) sniped at one another as they sprinted toward the cut off point for the runoff. In the critical fight to advance to the runoff, Fields edged out Landrieu by 9,000 votes.

Jealousies among leading black politicians also hampered Fields. New Orleans Mayor Marc Morial did not throw his full support behind Fields but rather endorsed both the former member of Congress as well as State Treasurer Landrieu.¹⁵ After losing the runoff, Fields continued to harbor ill-feelings toward Landrieu which almost sabotaged her 1996 Senate race where she eked out a victory of less than 6,000 votes in the runoff.

Fields polled 38 percent of the vote in the runoff against Foster. The Mason-Dixon exit poll indicated that Fields took just 16 percent of the white vote. Further, 45 percent of self-identified white liberals reported voting for Foster, who outspent Fields by more than 8:1 in the runoff. Black voters did constitute 31 percent of the turnout in the runoff primary. According to the Baton Rouge *Advocate's* Scott Dyer, "Regardless of whether anyone wants to admit it, the politics of race is the trump card in the 1995 governor's election. When one candidate is only polling 3 percent to 4 percent of Louisiana's black voters and the other candidate is only polling from 13 percent to 18

¹⁴ Fields had garnered 19% of the vote to trail Republican Foster with 26% and to lead former Governor Buddy Roemer who had 16%.

¹⁵ Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics, 1998* (Washington, D.C.: *National Journal*, 1997, p. 621.)

percent of the state's white voters, it's kind of silly for anyone to contend that racial politics are not a factor.”¹⁶ Four years later, in a multi-candidate primary for governor, African-American congressman Bill Jefferson polled 30% of the vote against Mike Foster, who was reelected, again with 62% of the vote. Polling data indicated a similar racial structure to the vote in 1999 as in 1995.

Cleo Fields and Bill Jefferson are the only serious black candidate to have run for governor in Louisiana. Still, the early 1990s witnessed two racially-charged elections in the Bayou State. In both the 1990 Senate election and the 1991 gubernatorial election, the leading challenger was David Duke, a former leader of the Ku Klux Klan and a longtime, out-spoken opponent of civil rights for African Americans. Duke lost both of these efforts but managed 44 percent of the vote against long-time incumbent Senator Bennett Johnston. The next year, Duke finished only two percentage points behind Edwin Edwards in the first round of the gubernatorial primary as both took about a third of the vote. In the runoff, with the Republican national establishment openly supporting the Democrat Edwards, Duke, who had served a term as Republican legislator, was held to 39 percent of the vote. While Duke lost both contests, he was the preference of most white voters in the state.¹⁷

¹⁶ Scott Dyer, 1995. The politics of race is 1995 trump card. *The Advocate*, November 9, page B9.

¹⁷ See, for a discussion of the David Duke phenomenon, John C. Kuzenski, Charles S. Bullock III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie, eds., *David Duke and the Politics of Race in the South* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1995) and Douglas Rose, ed., *David Duke and the Politics of Race* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1993).

RACIAL VOTING PATTERNS

Table 8 presents estimates of racial voting behavior in contested congressional elections from 1992 and 1994. In those elections, African American candidates usually fared well among white voters although they have much less drawing power among white than black electors. For example, in the first round primary in the Second District in 1992, William Jefferson, an African American was the leading candidate among both black and white voters. He attracted approximately 90 percent of the African American vote but just under half of the white vote. However a second African American candidate drew another 25 percent of the white vote so the only white candidate in the contest polled barely a quarter of the white vote.

(See Table 8)

In the Fourth District, Cleo Fields won the African American vote with approximately 60 percent support and finished a close second among white voters with 22.5 percent of the vote estimated using ordinary least squares. That vote share was only six tenths of a point less than the leading candidate among white voters. In the runoff for that position between two African American candidates, Fields took commanding majorities among both black and white voters.

In the 1994 first primary, Jefferson took the vast majority of the black vote and ran a close second among white voters. In the Fourth District in 1994 Fields faced a single opponent and while the incumbent attracted almost all the black vote, he failed to get even one- third of the white vote.

To some extent, partisanship may be a factor influencing vote choices. For example, in 5th District in 1992, the leading Republican candidate, Jim McCrery polled a majority of the white vote while Jerry Huckaby, the leading Democrat took approximately 80 percent of the black vote. In the runoff in that district, polarization was even more pronounced with Huckaby winning approximately 90 percent of the black vote while McCrery took more than 70 percent of the white vote. Similarly, in 1992 in the 6th District, the two Republicans, Richard Baker and Clyde Holloway combined for approximately 70 percent of the white vote. Ned Randolph, a Democrat, took the bulk of the African American vote.

Analyses of black and white voter preferences in US House primaries and runoffs since 1998 appear in Table 9.¹⁸ The African-American candidate won half of these 22 primaries and runoffs and in six contests a majority of the white and black voters supported the same candidates. In nine contests most black voters supported an unsuccessful candidate; in the two remaining elections, the African-American vote split so that no candidate attracted as much as 40 percent of the black vote. In all nine elections in which most blacks supported a loser, the white vote coalesced behind a Republican while in seven of these contests most blacks voted for a Democrat and in two other cases most blacks backed an Independent. In one contest in which the black vote

¹⁸ Analysis of the district 2 primary, won by black incumbent Bill Jefferson, is omitted due to data problems encountered in merging Orleans Parish precinct data with state election board returns. Inconsistent precinct identifiers for Orleans Parish prevented merging about half of all precinct election data with precinct registration and turnout data.

split, the OLS analysis estimates that the winner, David Vitter, polled 31.5 percent of the black vote, not even a percentage point less than the estimated black support for the candidate who drew the most African-American support.

Further support for the proposition that party is a major factor when African-American and white voters differ in their preferences can be gleaned from Table 9. In 2002, Rodney Alexander won as a Democrat in the Fifth District where he polled almost all of the black vote in the runoff after getting three-fourths of the black vote in the primary. Alexander won despite losing the white vote to his Republican opponent by a 3:2 margin. Just before the filing period in 2004, Alexander switched parties. In his reelection bid, Republican Alexander managed barely a fifth of the African-American vote while sweeping three-fourths of the white vote.

(See Table 9)

PSC and BESE

In half of the twelve primary and runoff contests for the BESE, majorities of black and white voters preferred opposing candidates. Table 10 reports these elections to be the initial BESE primaries in districts 3 and 7 in 1999, and the BESE runoff in district 6 on 1999, and the 2003 runoffs in districts 1, 2, and 6. In two of these six contests the candidate preferred by African-American voters prevailed – in the district 6 runoff in 1999 and in the district 2 runoff in 2003. None of the four cases where the black-preferred candidate failed involved a black candidate, and none occurred in a majority-black constituency. Partisanship is less important in the BESE contests with most blacks rallying to the Democrat while most whites supported the Republican in only a third of

the contests. Three other primaries (district 6 in 1999 and 2003 and district 1 in 2003) saw most blacks back a Democrat who managed only about a third of the white vote as two Republicans split the bulk of the white support.

(See Table 10)

Table 11 examines nine Public Service Commission contests. Black and white voters give majority support to opposing candidates in six of those contests: the district 3 runoff in 1998, the district 2 primary in 2000, the district 1 primary and the district 5 runoff in 2002, and the district 3 primary and runoff in 2004. In two cases the minority-preferred candidate prevails (district 3 in 1998 and district 5 in 2002), and in the 2004 district 3 primary the minority- and white-preferred candidates (both black) both advanced to a runoff where the white-preferred candidate prevailed in a majority-black district. In none of the PSC contests did whites support a Republican while blacks voted for a Democrat.

(See Table 11)

Statewide Constitutional Offices

There have been twenty-six statewide primaries and runoffs held since 1995. The open primary system encourages fractionalization of the electorate, an effect readily visible in Table 12. In only two of the nineteen contested first primaries for statewide constitutional office in Table 12, have a majority of black voters lined up in opposition to a majority of white voters (2003 for attorney general and 1999 for governor). In eight contests one or both racial groups exhibited no majority preference. Of seven runoffs, two produced opposing racial majorities, the 1995 and 2003 gubernatorial runoffs. Of

the total of 26 statewide primaries and runoffs since 1995, only four result in majority preferences for both racial groups in opposition, and in just two cases does the candidate preferred by the African-American electorate fail (the 1995 gubernatorial runoff and the 1999 gubernatorial primary). However, these two cases are the two major instances of African-American candidates running for – and losing – statewide office in Louisiana. (An African American competed in the six-candidate field for lieutenant governor in 2003 but managed less than five percent of the black vote, most of which lined up behind the successful candidate.)

(See Table 12)

Despite the losses of Cleo Fields and William Jefferson in the decisive gubernatorial contests of 1995 and 1999, in 19 of the 26 contests, the candidate who drew majority support from black voters won and in a 20th case, the 1995 gubernatorial primary, the choice of most African Americans advanced to the runoff. In another four contests, African-American voters were not cohesive.

White voters achieved cohesion less often than did African Americans. In 16 contests most whites backed the winning candidate while in eight elections the white vote was not cohesive. In two contests (the 2003 gubernatorial runoff and the race for attorney general that year, the white preference lost. Thus the number of instances in which the white majority preference lost equals the number of contests in which the majority black preference lost.

Partisanship is less significant in these statewide contests than in the congressional elections presented in Table 9. Fourteen of the contests saw majorities of both African-American and white voters rally behind one candidate so in most of these

elections party did not separate voters by race. However in all four elections in which most blacks favored one candidate while most whites threw their support behind an alternative, most blacks preferred the Democrat while most whites backed a Republican. In the remaining eight contests, one or both racial groups did not display cohesion.

United States Senate Elections

Since 1996, Louisiana has had six primaries or runoffs for the U.S. Senate. In all four instances in Table 13 in which African-Americans cast a majority of their votes for a candidate, that individual succeeded. In the other two contests, the African-American vote was not cohesive with 42.4 percent of the African-American vote going to Richard Ieyoub in the 1996 primary while in 2004, the black vote divided almost evenly between two contenders each of whom got almost 40 percent. The only African-American candidate to seek the Senate polled just five percent of the black vote in 2004.

(See Table 13)

Cohesion eluded white voters in two contests. Of the four elections in which most whites settled on a candidate, their choice won only twice. In the 1996 and 2002 runoffs, most African-Americans supported the winner while most whites preferred the loser.

The decisive 1996 and 2002 contests were the only ones in which most black voters opposed most whites and in both instances, the black preference won. In these two elections, most African Americans opted for the Democrat while the bulk of the white vote went to the Republican.

CONCLUSION

The initial goals of the Voting Rights Act have long since been achieved in Louisiana. African-Americans register and vote in large numbers and have done so for years. The percentage of blacks among Louisiana registrants equals or exceeds the African-American share of the state's voting age population. The share of the voting electorate that is African American has at times exceeded its share of the registrants and in other years has been only slightly less than the black share of registrants.

Since Democrats continue to hold most statewide constitutional offices, blacks see their choices win important offices more often than not. In several highly visible elections, the black preference bested the white choice, as in the gubernatorial elections of 1991 and 2003 and the Senate elections of 1990, 1996 and 2002.

While some black preferences defeat the white choice, this pattern does not extend to contests in which the black preference is an African American. In the two statewide contests featuring a competitive black candidate, the decisive 1995 and 1999 gubernatorial elections, the African American came up short despite polling 82 percent of the black vote. For a statewide candidate attracting just over 80 percent of the Louisiana African-American vote to win, it would be necessary to get at least 37.1 percent of the white vote, assuming 30 percent of all turnout is African-Americans. Fields managed only 13 percent of the white vote in 1995 and Jefferson, running against an incumbent, fared even worse with less than ten percent of the white vote.

The Fields and Jefferson defeats fit a pattern in which the racial cleavage parallels a partisan divide. Especially in congressional elections, but also in some statewide contests, whites line up behind a Republican while blacks go with the Democrat. A

Democratic candidate who is an African American may provide a catalyst to the growing trend of race and party moving along parallel lines. While blacks frequently give 80 percent or more of their votes to a Democratic candidate, a comparable level of white cohesion occurs only when an African American has made it to the runoff and the white vote goes to the African American's Republican opponent.

Extensive African-American political participation has come to provide critical support to Democratic candidates as growing numbers of whites vote for Republicans. While the white vote has been drifting toward the GOP, Louisiana whites are not as consistently Republican as in some other southern states and several Democrats have attracted the support of most whites. Although it has not prevented movement toward the GOP, Edwin Edwards' distinctive electoral format adopted 30 years ago has achieved his goal of retarding the erosion of support for the Democratic Party.

TABLE 1

OFFICIAL REGISTRATION BY RACE IN LOUISIANA, IN 1964-1967

County	Nonwhite Reg. 1964	White % Reg. 1964	NonWhite % Reg. 1964	White % Reg. In 1967	Nonwhite % Reg. In 1967
Bossier	599	63	8.7	74.6	44.9
Catahoula	236	81.5	1.9	93.3	41.4
East Carroll	136	64.8	3.3	100	68.9
East Feliciana	182	38.7	3	50.7	38.9
Franklin	284	84.2	6.4	99	16.3
Madison	294	74	5.7	100	74.5
Morehouse	491	74.6	6.8	89.7	19.5
Plaquemines	96	88.3	3.3	100	47.9
Red River	96	100	4.4	100	64.8
Richland	381	74.8	8.3	93.8	21.7
Tensas	60	94.2	1.7	100	30.2
West Carroll	76	66.1	5.5	92.8	26.1
West Feliciana	85	47.8	1.9	100	98.2

Source: Louisiana Board of Elections

TABLE 2

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

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Louisiana													
Black	69	68.5	74.8	71.9	77.1	72	82.3	65.7	71.9	69.5	73.5	73.5	71.1
White	74.5	67.5	73.2	71.4	75.1	74.1	76.2	72.7	74.5	75.2	77.5	74.2	75.1
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 LOUISIANA AND OUTSIDE THE SOUTH, 1980-2004

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Louisiana													
Black	60.1	32	66.4	55.8	61.5	55.9	71.5	30.9	60.9	46	63.2	46.9	62.1
White	65.6	23.6	64.7	57.5	67.5	50.2	68.3	35.6	62.6	35.7	66.4	51	64
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 from the U.S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 4

BLACK VOTER REGISTRATION IN LOUISIANA, 1965-2004

	Total Voter Registration	Black Registration (La. Board of Registration)	Black Percentage of Registered Voters (La. Board of Registration)
1965	1,190,122	163,414	13.7
1966	1,281,919	238,356	18.6
1967	1,285,933	245,275	19.1
1968	1,411,071	279,468	19.8
1969	1,422,900	291,547	20.5
1970	1,438,727	298,054	20.7
1971	1,633,181	347,098	21.3
1972	1,704,890	397,158	22.3
1973	1,712,850	380,490	22.2
1974	1,726,693	391,666	22.7
1975	1,798,032	408,696	22.7
1976	1,866,117	420,697	22.5
1977	1,787,031	413,178	23.2
1978	1,821,026	429,231	23.6
1979	1,831,507	431,196	23.5
1980	2,015,402	465,005	23.0
1981	1,942,941	454,988	23.4
1982	1,965,422	474,238	24.1
1983	1,968,898	476,618	24.2
1984	2,133,363	533,526	25.0
1985	2,175,264	550,225	25.3
1986	2,141,263	549,916	25.7
1987	2,139,861	551,263	25.8
1988	2,190,634	572,133	26.1
1989	2,113,867	552,781	26.2
1990	2,121,302	561,379	26.5
1991	2,103,334	569,603	27.1
1992	2,241,949	626,678	27.9
1993	2,294,043	636,018	27.7
1994	2,257,080	628,578	27.8
1995	2,400,086	689,046	28.7
1996	2,518,896	724,831	28.8
1997	2,612,983	755,001	28.9
1998	2,678,337	771,506	28.9
1999	2,713,859	783,294	28.9
2000	2,771,477	802,069	28.9
2001	2,750,124	798,526	29.0
2002	2,797,471	817,527	29.2
2003	2,766,081	812,578	29.4
2004	2,875,232	852,675	29.7

Sources: Data for 1965 to 1979 were taken from James Bolner, ed., *Louisiana Politics: Festival in a Labyrinth* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), p. 305. Data for 1980 to 1996 were provided by the Office of the Louisiana Commissioner of Elections, Baton Rouge. Figures from 1965-1996 appear in Wayne Parent and Huey Perry, "Louisiana: African-Americans, Republicans and Party Competition," in *The New Politics of the Old South* 3rd ed., Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark Rozell, eds. (Latham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006). Figures for 1997 & 1998 were taken from the State of Louisiana Department of Elections and Registration, the 1999-2004 figures were taken from the Louisiana Secretary of State's web site: sos.louisiana.gov/stats/Post_Election_Statistics/Statewide.

TABLE 5

AFRICAN-AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN LOUISIANA PRIMARIES 1998-2005

Year	Total	White	Black	% Black
1998	990,239	680,093	296,509	0.299432
1999	769,710	612,214	174,063	0.226141
2000	1,776,133	1,262,905	472,211	0.265865
2001	157,137	126,031	29,475	0.187575
2002	1,267,225	913,259	328,443	0.259183
2003	1,415,641	1,012,125	371,274	0.262266
2004	1,956,673	1,363,396	531,744	0.271759
2005	128,703	91,076	35,698	0.277367

*Figures from 4/02/2005 the preceding figures are from November of each year.

Source: http://sos.louisiana.gov/stats/Post_Election_Statistics/Statewide

TABLE 6
NUMBER OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN ELECTED OFFICIALS IN
LOUISIANA 1969-2001

Year	Total	Parish	Municipal	School Board
1969	65	11	23	9
1970	64	5	29	9
1971	74	10	27	13
1972	119	31	28	23
1973	130	29	28	29
1974	149	32	42	41
1975	237	45	69	76
1976	250	51	65	75
1977	276	60	85	78
1978	333	75	113	93
1980	363	86	131	91
1981	367	81	134	94
1984	438	106	149	112
1985	475	116	159	123
1987	505	120	181	121
1989	521	117	190	127
1991	551	116	189	142
1993	636	139	206	151
1995				
1997	646	136	226	134
1999	714	138	259	159
2001	705	131	256	161

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

TABLE 7

RACIAL MAKEUP OF THE LOUISIANA LEGISLATURE, 1965-2005

Year	LA		% Black in	% Black in
	Senate	LA House	Senate	House
1965	0	0	0	0
1967	0	1	0	1.0
1969	0	1	0	1.0
1971	1	1	2.6	1.0
1973	1	8	2.6	7.6
1975	1	8	2.6	7.6
1977	1	9	2.6	8.6
1979	1	9	2.6	8.6
1981	2	10	5.1	9.5
1983	2	11	5.1	10.5
1985	4	14	10.3	13.3
1987	5	14	12.8	13.3
1989	5	15	12.8	14.3
1991	4	15	10.3	14.3
1993	8	24	20.5	22.9
1995	8	22	20.5	21.0
1997	9	24	23.1	22.9
1999	9	22	23.1	21.0
2001	9	22	23.1	21.0
2003	9	23	23.1	21.9
2005	9	23	23.1	21.9

TABLE 8

RACIAL VOTING PATTERNS IN LOUISIANA CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

Candidate	Race	White Voters		Black Voters	
		OLS	HP	OLS	HP
1992, First Round					
District 2					
Irvin	B	25.2	24.6	9.0	8.4
Jefferson	B	48.6	49.3	90.0	89.0
Johnson	W	26.2	26.1	1.1	2.3
District 4					
Fields	B	22.5	17.8	60.8	59.0
Hall	B	4.3	5.6	0.9	1.1
Jones	B	4.4	7.2	18.5	18.2
Myers	W	23.1	21.4	0.0	0.7
Ross		3.1	3.3	1.7	1.6
Shyne		15.9	18.2	8.3	9.2
Ventre	W	18.6	16.7	1.1	1.5
Williams		8.1	9.9	8.8	8.7
District 5					
Huckaby	W	20.0	21.1	80.8	74.7
Knox		2.0	2.0	3.2	3.5
McCrery	W	51.4	51.0	2.1	8.2
Milton		1.1	1.4	5.8	5.9
Thompson		25.4	24.6	8.1	7.7
District 6					
Baker	W	37.3	37.2	- 6.2	7.6
Holloway	W	35.1	34.5	48.4	14.5
Randolph		27.6	28.3	57.8	77.9
1992, Runoff Election					
District 4					
Fields	B	64.7	63.3	79.1	78.5
Jones	B	35.3	36.7	20.9	21.5

Candidate	Race	White Voters		Black Voters	
		OLS	HP	OLS	HP
District 5					
Huckaby	W	27.2	28.4	92.2	88.0
McCrery	W	72.8	71.6	7.8	12.0
District 6					
Baker	W	52.1	53.1	34.1	65.3
Holloway	W	47.9	46.9	65.9	34.7
1994, First Primary					
District 1					
Livingston	W	83.6	83.6	48.0	57.1
McNeir		10.3	10.4	32.9	29.0
Simmons		6.1	6.0	19.1	13.9
District 2					
Jefferson	B	42.2	41.8	96.9	95.1
Lawrence		7.7	8.0	1.0	1.5
Lehman	B	5.2	5.5	1.6	1.8
Namer		44.9	44.6	0.5	1.7
District 3					
Accardo		25.3	25.2	15.1	16.7
Tauzin	W	74.7	74.8	84.9	83.3
District 4					
Fields	B	31.4	32.5	98.8	96.8
Slocum		68.6	67.5	1.2	3.2
District 5					
Kidd		7.9	9.0	56.6	55.6
McCrery	W	89.2	88.2	33.0	34.7
Simmons		2.8	2.9	10.4	9.7

Candidate	Race	White Voters		Black Voters	
		OLS	HP	OLS	HP
District 6					
Baker	W	84.5	84.5	50.9	56.6
Ward		15.5	15.5	49.1	43.4
District 7					
Cesar		5.9	6.4	19.3	21.8
Hayes	W	51.1	51.9	67.5	67.7
Holloway	W	43.0	41.8	13.2	10.4

Sources: Ronald E. Weber, "Turnout, Participation, and Competition in 1992 Louisiana Congressional Elections" (August 16, 1993) and Exhibit 4 for *Hays v. Louisiana*, n.d..

TABLE 9

RACIAL VOTING PATTERNS IN LOUISIANA CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS,
1998-2004

Candidate	Race	White Voters		Black Voters	
		OLS	HP	OLS	HP
1998					
District 6					
Baker-R	W	65.9	67.3	1.8	6.3
McKeithen-D	W	34.1	32.7	98.2	93.7
			(n=196)		(n=57)
2000					
District 1					
Armato-D	W	10.1	----	88.1	----
Deaton-D	W	3.6	----	24.9	----
Rosenthal-I		1.3	----	4.7	----
Simanonok-I		1.1	----	5.2	----
Vitter-R	W	84.0	----	<0	----
District 3					
Albares-I		20.2	----	59.7	----
Bourque-I		4.0	----	8.1	----
Rosenthal-I		3.0	----	9.1	----
Tauzin -R	W	58.2	----	23.1	----
District 4					
Green-D	W	11.8	----	63.6	----
McCrery-R	W	83.4	----	29.7	----
Skains-I	W	2.4	----	2.9	----
Taylor -I	W	2.4	----	3.8	----
District 5					
Beall-D	W	15.6	----	64.2	----
Cooksey-R	W	79.7	----	20.0	----
Dumas-I	W	2.4	----	5.7	----
Melton-I	W	2.4	----	10.0	----

Candidate	Race	White Voters		Black Voters	
		OLS	HP	OLS	HP
2000					
District 6					
Baker-R	W	80.7	----	24.3	----
Rogillio-I	W	17.0	----	73.7	----
Wolf-I	W	2.4	----	1.9	----
District 7					
Harris-I	W	17.5	----	7.7	----
John-D	W	82.5	----	92.3	----
2002					
District 1					
Hawxhurst-I	W	2.8	2.4	25.8	13.0
Monica-R	W	11.2	10.5	32.3	27.8
Namer-R	W	3.7	3.6	10.5	28.7
Vitter-R	W	82.4	83.6	31.5	56.3
			(n=270)		(n=3)
District 2					
Clement-I		5.6	6.5	2.6	1.2
Dixon-D	B	36.6	23.6	14.6	20.3
Hunt-D		6.7	5.0	1.4	2.1
Jefferson-D	B	9.8	37.2	78.5	75.2
Sullivan-R	W	41.5	28.1	2.9	1.2
			(n=16)		(n=135)
District 3					
Beier-I	W	6.8	7.3	17.9	18.2
Iwancio-I	W	4.1	3.9	10.6	10.0
Tauzin -R	W	89.1	88.9	71.4	71.8
			(n=219)		(n=22)
District 4					
Jacobs-I	W	2.1	1.9	2.0	2.9
McCrery-R	W	78.8	79.1	57.7	46.6
Milkovich-D	W	19.1	19.0	40.3	50.6
			(n=211)		(n=40)

Candidate	Race	White Voters		Black Voters	
		OLS	HP	OLS	HP
District 5					
Alexander-D	W	14.7	14.1	77.7	74.5
Barham-R	W	20.5	21.9	6.8	4.5
Fletcher-R	W	30.0	32.1	1.2	5.3
Holloway-R	W	31.2	28.3	3.3	5.2
Melton-R	W	1.0	8.9	8.6	7.5
Mouser-I	W	0.5	0.4	0.9	1.1
Wright-R	W	2.1	2.2	1.5	1.9
			(n=299)		(n=66)
District 5 Runoff					
Alexander-D	W	40.2	34.3	98.3	94.9
Fletcher-R	W	59.8	65.7	0.7	5.1
			(n=299)		(n=66)
District 6					
Baker-R	W	88.0	88.6	67.1	75.1
Moscattello-I	W	12.0	11.4	32.9	24.9
			(n=173)		(n=47)
District 7					
John-D	W	84.8	84.7	98.9	96.5
Valletta-I	W	15.2	15.3	1.1	3.5
			(n=211)		(n=26)
2004					
District 1					
Armstrong-D	W	5.1	4.6	35.8	24.9
Jindal-R	A	81.8	84.0	5.1	21.8
Mendoza-D	H	3.7	3.3	18.8	18.9
Rogers-R	W	2.8	2.5	0.6	5.0
Watts-D	W	2.8	2.5	19.0	15.3
Zimmerman-DW		3.7	3.1	15.1	14.0
			(n=260)		(n=3)
District 2					
Jefferson-D	B	51.1	44.7	99.6	96.0
Schwartz-R	W	48.9	55.3	0.4	4.0
			(n=10)		(n=136)

Candidate	Race	White Voters		Black Voters	
		OLS	HP	OLS	HP
District 3					
Baldone-D	W	9.7	8.9	13.7	13.9
Caccioppi-D	W	0.6	8.0	10.8	9.9
Chiasson-R	W	0.3	3.2	6.9	6.9
Melancon-D	W	16.7	17.2	57.3	54.0
Romero-R	W	26.2	23.8	6.7	6.7
Tauzin -R	W	37.8	38.9	4.7	7.1
			(n=197)		(n=21)
District 3 Runoff					
Melancon-D	W	41.0	40.0	97.8	90.6
Tauzin -R	W	59.0	60.0	2.2	9.4
			(n=197)		(n=21)
District 5					
Alexander-R	W	74.7	73.4	20.7	17.6
Blakes-D	W	8.7	9.3	71.4	73.3
Scott-R	W	16.5	17.3	7.9	9.1
			(n=327)		(n=90)
District 6					
Baker-R	W	86.7	86.0	22.5	28.0
Craig-D	W	8.4	9.7	56.3	56.3
Galmon-D	W	4.9	4.3	21.2	15.7
			(n=157)		(n=49)
District 7					
Boustany-R	W	47.5	47.2	<0	2.7
Carriere-D	W	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.6
Cravins-D	W	12.3	10.8	81.1	68.8
Mount-D	W	26.1	28.9	14.4	25.9
Thibodaux-R	W	12.0	11.1	0.2	1.0
			(n=241)		(n=30)

TABLE 10

OLS REGRESSION AND HOMOGENOUS PRECINCT ESTIMATES OF BLACK AND WHITE VOTER PREFERENCES, LOUISIANA BESE ELECTIONS, 1999-2004

	White		Black	
	<u>OLS</u>	<u>HP</u>	<u>OLS</u>	<u>HP</u>
1999				
District 3				
Buquet-D	60.8	61.3	36.2	43.3
Terrebonne-D	39.2	38.7	63.8	56.7
		(n=189)		(n=14)
District 6				
Blanchard-R	27.4	26.6	17.3	18.5
Dent-R	38.4	38.1	4.2	10.0
Musemeche-D	34.2	35.3	78.5	71.4
		(n=217)		(n=4)
District 6 Runoff				
Dent-R	53.4	52.3	15.1	27.8
Musemeche-D	46.6	47.7	84.9	71.2
		(n=217)		(n=4)
District 7				
Bayard-D	59.9	61.8	46.1	50.5
MacKnight-D	40.1	38.2	53.9	49.5
		(n=265)		(n=21)
District 8				
Hunter-D*	26.1	27.8	40.8	41.6
Johnson-D	48.8	49.5	57.2	54.8
Wise-I*	25.1	22.8	2.0	3.7
		(n=105)		(n=80)
2003				
District 1				
Contois-R	29.9	30.1	<0	5.6
Dastugue-R	38.4	40.2	<0	3.8
Ferguson-D	31.7	29.8	100.0	90.6
		(n=218)		(n=7)
District 1 Runoff				
Dastugue-R	61.7	63.4	16.4	7.9
Ferguson-D	38.3	36.6	83.6	92.1
		(n=218)		(n=7)

	White		Black	
	<u>OLS</u>	<u>HP</u>	<u>OLS</u>	<u>HP</u>
District 2				
Campbell-Rock-D	12.3	12.2	13.8	10.3
Givens-D*	34.5	30.0	30.4	43.2
Johnson-D	36.1	39.8	39.7	33.0
Wilson -D	17.1	18.1	16.2	13.4
		(n=19)		(n=131)
District 2 Runoff				
Givens-D*	46.8	44.6	62.0	60.4
Johnson-D	53.2	53.4	38.0	39.6
		(n=19)		(n=131)
District 5				
Herford-R	35.7	----	23.8	----
Stafford-D	64.3	----	76.2	----
District 6				
Bel-D	23.8	22.7	79.6	65.5
Broussard-R	48.3	48.5	2.7	10.8
Hammatt-R	27.8	28.8	17.6	23.6
		(n=207)		(n=3)
District 6 Runoff				
Bel-D	29.7	29.1	100.0	88.0
Broussard-R	70.3	70.9	<0	12.0
		(n=207)		(n=3)

TABLE 11

OLS REGRESSION AND HOMOGENOUS PRECINCT ESTIMATES OF BLACK
AND WHITE VOTER PREFERENCES, LOUISIANA PUBLIC SERVICE
COMMISSION ELECTIONS, 1996-2004

	White		Black	
	<u>OLS</u>	<u>HP</u>	<u>OLS</u>	<u>HP</u>
1998				
PSC District 3				
Charbonnet-D*	19.0	20.0	29.0	28.6
Dixon-D*	30.2	27.1	38.0	62.1
Schwegmann-D	50.8	52.9	11.4	9.4
		(n=56)		(n=194)
PSC District 3 Runoff				
Dixon-D*	40.6	38.3	87.6	90.2
Schwegmann-D	59.4	61.7	12.4	9.8
		(n=56)		(n=194)
PSC District 4				
Muller-R	15.2	----	50.0	----
Sittig-D	84.8	----	50.0	----
2000				
PSC District 2				
Field-R	71.2	72.8	41.8	45.9
Warner-I	28.8	27.2	58.2	54.1
		(n=324)		(n=16)
2002				
PSC District 1				
Blossman-R	71.1	71.3	36.7	55.4
Schwegmann-I	28.9	28.7	62.3	44.6
		(n=364)		(n=3)

	White		Black	
	<u>OLS</u>	<u>HP</u>	<u>OLS</u>	<u>HP</u>
2002				
PSC District 5				
Campbell-D	40.5	----	48.2	----
Crowley-I	11.4	----	2.0	----
Guy-R	9.3	----	8.5	----
Owen-D	38.8	----	41.3	----
PSC District 5 Runoff				
Campbell-D	49.0	----	90.9	----
Owen-D	51.0	----	9.1	----
2004				
PSC District 3				
Boissiere*-D	61.3	64.7	25.2	27.1
Dixon*-D	24.0	17.7	15.8	15.5
Fields*-D	14.8	17.7	59.0	57.4
PSC District 3 Runoff				
Boissiere*-D	81.4	80.8	33.6	36.8
Fields*-D	18.6	19.2	66.4	63.2

*African-American candidate.

TABLE 12

ECOLOGICAL REGRESSION ESTIMATES OF WHITE VOTER AND BLACK
VOTER PREFERENCES IN LOUISIANA STATEWIDE CONSTITUTIONAL
OFFICES, 1995 - 2003

	Primary		Runoff	
	<u>% White</u>	<u>% Black</u>	<u>% White</u>	<u>% Black</u>
<i>1995, Governor</i>				
Foster-R	36.1	3.4	87.0	17.1
Fields-D*	0.8	64.7	13.0	82.9
Landrieu-D	17.2	12.8		
Roemer-R	18.1	7.9		
Others (n=12)	27.7	11.2		
<i>1995, Lieutenant-Governor</i>				
Blanco-D	39.1	43.3	60.2	79.1
Kreiger-R	14.6	8.1	39.8	20.9
John-D	16.0	23.8		
Others (n=8)	30.2	24.8		
<i>1995, Attorney General</i>				
Deaton-R	8.8	9.6		
Ieyoub-D	73.9	82.0		
Tarpley-R	13.4	3.0		
Wells-I	3.9	5.4		
<i>1995, Secretary of State</i>				
McKeithen-R	58.9	51.4		
Schmidt-D	34.6	28.6		
Winfield-D	6.5	20.0		
<i>1995, Treasurer</i>				
Chehardy-R	29.2	6.7		
Duncan-D	33.1	68.8	53.8	74.0
Joseph-R	8.6	7.4		
Theriot-D	29.1	17.1	46.2	26.0
<i>1995, Insurance Commissioner</i>				
Brown-D	63.0	67.4		
Fletcher-I	8.5	5.0		
Jones-D	4.1	10.4		
Nungesser-R	28.1	16.2		

	Primary		Runoff	
	<u>% White</u>	<u>% Black</u>	<u>% White</u>	<u>% Black</u>
<i>1995, Agriculture Commissioner</i>				
Fresina-D	5.2	4.0		
Johnson-R	21.1	13.5		
Odom-I	73.7	82.5		
<i>1995, Elections Commissioner</i>				
Anderson-R	27.0	8.3		
Fowler-D	73.0	91.7		
<i>1999, Governor</i>				
Foster-R	81.2	8.9		
Jefferson-D*	8.4	82.1		
Others (n = 9)	10.4	8.9		
<i>1999, Lieutenant-Governor</i>				
Blanco-D	75.6	91.4		
DuPlantis-R	12.2	2.4		
Martin-R	10.6	2.6		
Roberts-Joseph-I	1.5	2.9		
<i>1999, Treasurer</i>				
Duncan-D	45.2	42.0		
Kennedy-D	54.8	58.0		
<i>1999, Insurance Commissioner</i>				
Boudreaux-R	34.7	2.4	48.1	19.8
Brown-D	41.9	72.6	51.9	80.2
Riddick-D	23.4	15.0		
<i>1999, Elections Commissioner</i>				
Jenkins-R	32.1	7.9	49.1	27.1
Fowler-D	17.3	46.2		
Terrell-R	16.3	16.0	50.9	72.9
Others (n=8)	34.3	29.8		

	Primary		Runoff	
	<u>% White</u>	<u>% Black</u>	<u>% White</u>	<u>% Black</u>
<i>2003, Governor</i>				
Jindal-R	31.7	7.9	52.3	14.9
Blanco-D	21.8	7.3	47.7	85.1
Ieyoub-D	10.9	34.5		
Leach-D	9.3	27.0		
Ewing-D	12.4	18.9		
Downer-R	9.3	>0		
Others (n= 10)	4.4	8.8		
<i>2003, Lieutenant-Governor</i>				
Ankeshein-R	1.4	0.3		
Bennett-R*	7.6	4.7		
Holloway-R	28.9	13.6		
Landrieu-D	41.6	79.9		
Schorr-R	1.3	0.3		
Schwegmann-R	19.2	0.9		
<i>2003, Secretary of State</i>				
McKeithen-R	74.1	68.5		
Lewis-I	6.4	3.6		
Donovan-D	19.5	27.9		
<i>2003, Attorney General</i>				
Foti-D	45.0	74.9		
Terrell-R	55.0	25.1		
<i>2003, Insurance Commissioner</i>				
Kyle-R	32.6	25.5	47.2	16.9
Wooley-D	29.2	25.1	52.8	83.1
Johnson-D	4.5	11.1		
Fontenot-R	14.3	8.7		
Fletcher-D	15.1	27.5		
Bell-I	4.3	2.2		
<i>2003, Agriculture Commissioner</i>				
Johnson-R	38.5	10.4		
Odom-D	61.5	89.6		

TABLE 13

OLS ESTIMATES OF RACIAL VOTING PATTERNS IN US SENATE ELECTIONS,
1996-2004

Candidate/Race	White Voters	Black Voters
<i>1996</i>		
Landrieu, D	19.5	21.0
Jenkins, R	26.3	16.4
Ieyoub-D	8.6	42.4
Duke-R	19.2	4.8
Others (n= 11)	26.3	15.3
<i>1996 Runoff</i>		
Landrieu-D	37.1	78.6
Jenkins-R	62.9	21.4
<i>1998</i>		
Breaux, D	55.6	80.1
Donelon, R	41.1	7.8
Others (n=6)	3.2	12.1
<i>2002</i>		
Landrieu, D	32.6	78.5
Terrell, R	28.9	6.6
Cooksey, R	23.3	6.4
Perkins, R	12.0	4.2
Others (n=5)	3.4	8.1
<i>2002 Runoff</i>		
Landrieu, D	36.9	91.4
Terrell, R	63.1	8.6
<i>2004</i>		
Vitter-R	64.2	11.8
John-D	26.3	39.6
Kennedy-D	6.7	38.7
Morrell*-D	0.7	5.1
Others (n=3)	2.0	4.7