

# American Enterprise Institute

## *The Project on Fair Representation*

**Edward Blum**  
Visiting Fellow  
American Enterprise Institute  
1150 Seventeenth St. NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
202.862.5800

Executive Summary of the Bullock-Gaddie Report  
Voting Rights Progress in Tennessee

By Edward Blum

Tennessee was not covered by the original Voting Rights Act trigger, and has not subsequently fallen under preclearance. Relatively high rates of registration and participation in the state followed the elimination of the poll tax in the early 1950s, and by the early 1960s Tennessee had participation in elections more typical of a border south or midwestern state. But by 1980, the Tennessee advantage had been eliminated. For instance, black voter registration in Mississippi for the last quarter century exceeds that in Tennessee in every year except 1994 when the Tennessee advantage is an insignificant 0.1 percentage points.

The state had a high degree of black voter participation in the early 1960s, but the advantage the state enjoyed over most of the rest of the South in black voter participation during the 1970s and 1980s have been lost. Tennessee ranks behind Mississippi and the median southern state among the seven originally subject to section 5 in terms of black voter participation. There is progress in the election of black officials, though the state Senate lags the state House in approaching proportionality for black representation. Most gains in black office holding since the 1980s have been in municipal government. Race structures vote choice under some circumstances. In both the most-heavily black urban county and the most-heavily black rural county, white voter preferences for Republicans up-ticket is pronounced. However incumbent Democrats do well among white voters especially when they have ties to the local community.

# An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Tennessee

Prepared for the Project on Fair Representation  
American Enterprise Institute

Charles S. Bullock, III  
Richard B. Russell Professor of Political Science  
Department of Political Science  
The University of Georgia  
Athens, GA 30602

Ronald Keith Gaddie  
Professor of Political Science  
Department of Political Science  
The University of Oklahoma  
Norman, OK 73019

## An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Tennessee

Tennessee is one of only two states of the former Confederacy that has never been subject to Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act. While the state did secede and some of the counties in the southwestern portion of the state were part of the Black Belt, Tennessee differs from its southern neighbors in terms of its political history. In 1920, Tennessee became the first southern state to cast its Electoral College votes for a Republican in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Eight years later Tennessee joined with Texas, Virginia, Florida and North Carolina in voting for Herbert Hoover. Tennessee's Republicanism, rooted in the Smokey Mountains in the eastern part of the state, also provided the basis for a competitive Republican party long after the GOP had died out in most of the rest of the South. Republicans won the Tennessee governorship in 1894, 1910 and 1920, a time when Democrats dominated the chief executive's office in the rest of the South. Indeed, when Tennessee was occasionally electing Republican governors in the first two decades

of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in much of the South, Republicans had ceased to even offer candidates for their state's top office.

Tennessee did join the rest of the South in imposing a poll tax. This obstacle to participation, was adopted in 1890, but was not joined by other requirements such as a literacy test, good character test or understanding requirement - - all items popular with a number of other southern states.<sup>1</sup> While the literacy test was never adopted statewide, Kousser reports that it was used in a few towns.<sup>2</sup> The absence of the interlocking panoply of obstacles to black participation resulted in African Americans in Tennessee being more likely to vote earlier than in other southern states. V.O. Key reports that African Americans provided some of the votes for the Crump Machine that ruled Memphis for many years.<sup>3</sup>

Tennessee escaped coverage by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act because it set off neither of the components of the trigger mechanism included in Section 4 of that legislation. The trigger mechanism was set to identify states that had tests or devices as prerequisites to voting and in which less than half of the voting age population had registered or voted in the 1964 presidential election. Figures compiled by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights estimate that 72 percent of Tennessee's 1960 voting age population had registered to vote by 1964.<sup>4</sup> In the presidential election, the turnout rate equaled 54.7 percent of the 1960 voting age population. Moreover Tennessee did not

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> V.O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949): pp. 74-75. The Crump Machine sought to register and control the sizeable black vote of Memphis in an effort to dominate statewide elections; see also David M. Tucker, *Memphis Since Crump* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1980).

<sup>4</sup> U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Political Participation* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), pp. 222-223.

employ any of the tests or devices earmarked by the 1965 legislation since federal legislation did not focus on the poll tax until later.<sup>5</sup>

Not only did a majority of the Tennessee voting age population register to vote, the Commission on Civil Rights figures indicate that most non-whites had registered. Indeed, the estimates are that 69.9 percent of non-whites compared with 72.9 percent of whites had registered to vote prior to the passage of the 1965 legislation. The share of the non-white adult population estimated to have registered in Tennessee was 18 percentage points higher than in any other southern state.

Like occurred in states subject to Section 5, registration rates increased in Tennessee after the passage of the act. Within a couple of years, 71.7 percent of the non-whites and 80.6 percent of the whites of voting age had registered to vote in the Volunteer State.

### **Black Registration and Turnout**

Tennessee does not maintain registration or turnout records by race. However, after every general election, the U.S. Bureau of the Census conducts a large-scale survey to determine the rates at which the voting age population has registered and voted. Beginning with 1980, these figures are available by state for blacks and whites. These figures are self-reported and therefore tend to overestimate levels of participation. Nonetheless they are the most reliable figures in most states and can be used to make comparisons over time and across jurisdictions on the assumption that the inflation in

---

<sup>5</sup> Tennessee's poll tax was implemented in an arbitrary fashion. Estimates of the impact of the poll tax on voter participation from 1870 to 1940 indicate that a black adult was three times more likely than a white adult to be denied access to the ballot because of the use of the poll tax; see Ronald Keith Gaddie, "Testing Some Key Hypotheses of Voter Turnout," presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, November 2000.

participation rates is of similar magnitude across time and space. Furthermore, these surveys provide the basis for the estimates that the Census Bureau used in determining whether registration or turnout rates for jurisdictions were so low as to subject them to the trigger mechanisms included in the 1965, 1970 or 1975 Voting Rights Acts.

Table 1 provides the Census Bureau estimates for registration in Tennessee. Since most Tennesseesians were registered to vote in the early 1960s, it is not surprising that the bulk of the voting age population continues to be on the registration lists. Since 1980, the lowest incidence of registration among blacks came in 2002 when 54.1 percent reported being registered. The 2002 figure is approximately ten percentage points lower than any other figure and one must question the reliability of the sample that generated it. Except for this one year, black registration has always been at least 63.9 percent of the voting age population and has ranged as high 78.5 percent. Among whites, the nadir in registration comes in 2000 when 61.9 percent claimed to have registered to vote. That figure is in line with white registration rates that since 1990 exceeded 63.9 percent only once.

(Table 1 goes here)

In contrast with the figures from the 1960s reported by the Commission on Civil Rights that showed higher proportions of the white than the black adults registering to vote, for much of the period in Table 1, black registration rates exceed those for whites. The greatest differences come in 1992 when 77.4 percent of African Americans compared with 63.4 percent of whites claimed to have registered. During the latter part of the 1980s, black registration rates ran at least eight points above those for whites. Beginning with 1996, the registration rates for the two racial groups have been more

alike. In three of the five most recent elections, blacks report registering to vote at slightly higher rates than whites. The only sizeable disparity came in 2002 when 62.3 percent of whites but a suspiciously low 54.1 percent of African Americans reported having registered. The figure for blacks may be an aberration since it is approximately 10 percentage points lower than any other figure and is bracketed by approximately 64 percent black registration in 2000 and 2004.

For comparative purposes, registration rates for the non-South are included in Table 1. Black registration in Tennessee exceeds that in the non-South for every year except 2002. Up through 1994, the registration rate for Tennessee African Americans is often ten points above that for blacks outside of the South with the greatest difference coming in 1992 when 77.4 percent of Tennessee's blacks compared with 63.0 percent of blacks in the rest of the nation report being registered.

The third set of figures in Table 1 show registration rates for Mississippi. These figures are included since prior to the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, Tennessee and Mississippi were polar opposites in terms of the non-white registration rate. As noted above, 69.5 percent of Tennessee's adult blacks had registered before passage of the Voting Rights Act compared with only 6.7 percent of Mississippi's black adults. Even in the immediate aftermath of the voting rights legislation, black registration in Tennessee continued to be approximately a dozen percentage points higher than in Mississippi.<sup>6</sup> By 1980, the Tennessee advantage had been eliminated. Black registration in Mississippi exceeds that in Tennessee in every year except 1994 when the Tennessee advantage is an insignificant 0.1 percentage points. In 1982 and 1984 the black registration rate in Mississippi was approximately seven percentage points higher than in

---

<sup>6</sup> U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *op. cit.*, pp. 223.

Tennessee. The disparity narrows during the late 1980s and through much of the 1990s before widening again. In 1998, African Americans are 6.5 percentage points more likely to register in Mississippi than Tennessee. That disparity expands until in 2002 and 2004, it reaches approximately 12 percentage points to Mississippi's advantage.

At the very bottom of Table 1 are figures showing black and white registration figures for the median state among the seven states that were initially made subject to Section 5 by the 1965 Voting Rights Act.<sup>7</sup> Up through 1996, the share of the adult black population in Tennessee that had registered to vote exceeded the median for the seven states. For the first eight elections, differences frequently exceeded ten percentage points and reached more than 16 points in 1984 when 78.5 percent of the black adults in Tennessee compared with 62.2 percent in the median state had registered. For the last decade, however, the registration rates tend to have been greater for the median state than for Tennessee. After reaching parity in 1996 at just under two-thirds of the adult African Americans registered both in Tennessee and the median state, the figure for the median state moved ahead of Tennessee. In 2002, more than two-thirds of the black adults in the median state were registered compared with 54.1 percent in Tennessee. In the most recent election, the median black registration figure for the seven states is 71.1 percent compared with 63.9 percent in Tennessee.

The Census Bureau estimates for turnout appear in Table 2. In all but two election years, reported turnout among African Americans exceeds that among Tennessee whites. In some years the difference is trivial as in 1980 and 2000 but in other years it would be statistically significant. In 1984, 1988, and 1992, black adults voted at rates

---

<sup>7</sup> The seven states are Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

seven to eight percentage points greater than whites. Whites reported voting at higher rates than African Americans in 1994 and then again a decade later.

For both races, the turnout rates generally show a seesaw pattern with larger shares of the voting age population going to the polls in presidential than in mid-term elections. For both races, turnout rates exceed 50 percent in presidential years yet only in 1982 did either racial group (in this case, blacks) achieve majority turnout in a mid-term election. The figures in Table 2 indicate that were the trigger mechanism to be recalibrated to focus on whether a majority of the voting age population currently votes in presidential elections, Tennessee would be found to be acceptable.

(Table 2 goes here)

Comparable turnout figures for the non-South appear in Table 2. Generally the turnout rate among adult African Americans is higher in Tennessee than in the non-South. The greatest difference occurs in 1992 when the turnout rates among black Tennesseans was nine points higher than for African Americans outside the South. In two other years, black voters in Tennessee turnout at rates at least five percentage points above those for the non-South. While non-South blacks report voting at higher rates than do black Tennesseans in four election years, the largest difference, 3.1 percentage points, comes in 1990.

The third set of figures in Table 2 present turnout rates for Mississippi, the state which had the smallest proportion of its African-American population registered to vote prior to enactment of the 1965 legislation. Mississippi African Americans voted at higher rates than Tennesseans in five of seven presidential years. The two exceptions come in 1992 when the turnout rate for Tennessee blacks is one point higher than in Mississippi

and in 1996 when the Tennessee rate is 7.2 of the points higher. Otherwise, presidential elections bring Mississippi blacks to the polls at higher rates than in Tennessee with the largest difference occurring in the most recent presidential election when two-thirds of Mississippi's African Americans but barely a majority of Tennessee's blacks cast ballots.

In three mid-year elections Tennessee has higher black turnout than does Mississippi. In 1982 the two state's African Americans voted at identical rates. In 1994 and 1998 blacks went to the polls more frequently in Mississippi than Tennessee. The explanation for more African Americans often voting in Tennessee than Mississippi mid-term elections is that the Magnolia State chooses its constitutional officers and state legislators in odd number years. Tennessee like most southern states elects its governor in the presidential mid-term and also elects its legislators in even numbered years.

At the bottom of Table 2 are figures from the median among the seven southern states made subject to Section 5 when the Voting Right Act passed in 1965. Until recently, black turnout tended to be higher in Tennessee than for the median state. Prior to 1998, the only year in which black turnout was greater in the median state than Tennessee came in 1990. For three of the elections in 1980s, African-American turnout ran approximately ten percentage points higher in Tennessee than the median Section 5 state. For three of the four most recent election years, however, black turnout has been higher in the median state than in Tennessee. The largest difference occurs in 2004 when 62.1 percent of the African Americans in the median state voted compared with 51.3 percent in Tennessee. The trend for the comparison between the median Section 5 state and Tennessee blacks is for Tennessee African Americans to vote at higher rates in the earlier period but for that advantage to decline beginning in the 1990s and then around

the turn of the new century, the relationship reverses and black participation in the median state outpaces that in Tennessee.

### **African American Officeholding**

When record keeping on the numbers of African-American officeholders began, Tennessee had 31 as reported in Table 3. Seven years later, the total number had grown to over 100. The next 25 years saw a gradual increase from 106 to 180. At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Tennessee had fewer African American officeholders than any other southern state.

(Table 3 goes here)

In the late 1970s, almost half of the black officeholders in Tennessee served at the county level. Over the next 25 years, the number of black county officials declined from 56 to 47. The number of black school board members gradually increased and, in 2001, 27 served in that capacity. Only at the municipal level has there been a fairly constant growth in the number of black officeholder and by 2001, a third of all Tennessee's African-American officials were elected to city offices.

### *African Americans in Congress*

In 1974, Tennessee became the third southern state to send an African American to Congress in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In that year, Harold Ford defeated Republican incumbent Dan Kuykendall by a razor-thin majority of 744 votes. The authors of the authoritative *Almanac of American Politics 1978* speculate that but for the reaction against

Republicans spawned by the Watergate scandal, Kuykendall might have survived.<sup>8</sup> A redistricting carried out during his first term strengthened Ford's position by making the Ninth District slightly more Democratic.

Ford, like Georgia's Andrew Young and Texan Barbara Jordan, both of whom had initially been elected in 1972, won in a district that was not majority black. Ford's Memphis district was 47 percent black in total population. Ford, part of a political family dynasty, won office before his 30<sup>th</sup> birthday.

Ford remained in Congress until 1996 with his victory margins holding comfortably above 60 percent until the 1990s. When he stepped aside after eleven terms he did so in favor of his son and namesake, Harold E. Ford, Jr.. The son, like the father, came to Congress when very young. Indeed the son was three years younger than his father had been when initially elected.

The ambitious younger Ford is now compiling a moderate voting record. In 2005, he was more liberal than 58.3 percent of the House members but more conservative than 41.7 percent of the membership.<sup>9</sup> Only 20 House Democrats had more conservative records than did Ford who was the most conservative member of the Congressional Black Caucus. Earlier in his career the younger Ford had been more liberal although he was never on the far left of his party. Ford's tacking to the right has been prompted by his desire for higher office. In 2006 Ford is the leading candidate for the Democratic

---

<sup>8</sup> Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa and Douglas Matthews. *The Almanac of American Politics 1978* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1977), p. 806.

<sup>9</sup> Richard E. Cohen, "Down the Middle," *National Journal* 38 (February 25, 2006), p. 60.

nomination for the Senate seat being vacated by current Majority Leader, Republican Bill Frist.<sup>10</sup>

Should Harold Ford, Jr., leave the House, the Ninth District, which was 59.5 percent black according to the 2000 census, would almost certainly replace him with another African American. The district cast 70 percent of its votes for John Kerry in 2004 and so is safely Democratic.

### *African American State Legislators*

The first African Americans to enter the Tennessee House arrived in 1967. Two African-American senators joined the six representatives in 1969. The ranks of black senators have increased only to three, a number achieved with the implementation of a new redistricting plan at the 1982 election. That number which constitutes nine percent of the Senate has held constant now for a generation.

As Table 4 shows, the number of black representatives has grown. With a new redistricting plan in 1972, a seventh African American won a seat in the House and at the beginning of the next decade, the number of African Americans rose to ten. After the redistricting in the early 1990s the number of black representatives increased to a dozen. With yet another adjustment to population shifts the number of black representatives grew to 15 following the 2002 election. With African Americans now holding 15.2 percent of the House seats they are almost proportionally represented vis-à-vis their share of the total population that stood at 16.3 percent in the 2000 census.

(Table 4 goes here)

---

<sup>10</sup> Polling as of late March shows Ford trailing both potential Republican nominees by double-digits. According to DC-based pollster Scott Rasmussen, one in eight poll respondents indicated that they knew someone who would vote against Ford because of his race.

### *African Americans in Statewide Office*

Unlike a number of southern states that elect their judges and multiple constitutional officers statewide, the only official elected statewide in Tennessee is the governor. Even the presiding officer of the Senate, is not a lieutenant governor but rather is chosen by the membership. This individual John Wilder has served as Senate speaker since 1971. His bipartisan approach has allowed him to survive changes in party control of that chamber.

While no African American has won the single statewide elective office, the state's Supreme Court does have a black justice. Justices on the Tennessee high court are appointed by the governor and under a Missouri plan, serve eight years and then face the electorate with an up or down vote.

### **Racial Voting Patterns**

Memphis is Tennessee's most populous city and one of the largest in the South. Like a number of other major cities in the region, Memphis has an African-American mayor. The city has had a black majority since 1986 and elected its first black mayor in 1991.<sup>11</sup>

The first African American elected mayor of Memphis, W.W. Herenton, won a 172-vote victory over the incumbent Richard Hackett in 1991. In this hotly contested election, the races were extremely polarized with Herenton getting 95.2 percent of the black vote while Hackett got a comparable share of the white vote.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Sharon D. Wright, *Race, Power and Political Emergence in Memphis* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), p. 109.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

The polarization evident in the 1991 election was nothing new in Memphis. Sharon Wright's analysis of racial voting patterns in Memphis shows white and black voters supporting opposing candidates as far back as 1975 when all of the serious competitors were white. Even after a term in office Herenton failed to attract the bulk of the white vote in his first reelection bid. In 1995, Herenton received 97 percent of the black vote but almost 60 percent of the white vote went to his challenger.

The near unanimity in black support registered for Herenton replicated the experience of Harold Ford, Sr. In his eleven congressional campaigns, he never got less than 92.5 percent of the black vote in the primary and in general elections, he always attracted at least 93 percent of the African-American vote.<sup>13</sup> This pattern continues with his son, who in his 2002 reelection bid garnered nearly all of the black vote, according to ecological regression estimates of precinct data in Shelby County. Ford shows greater crossover appeal than his controversial father, and garnered an estimated 61.8 percent of the white vote in his 2002 reelection bid. That estimate is some 30 points ahead of what Tennessee native Al Gore could attract from Shelby County whites (see Table 5).

(Table 5 goes here)

Table 6 provides OLS estimates of white voter support for President in 2000, the US House in 2000, and Governor in 2002. Democrats ran better statewide than in Shelby County, with Gore garnering 43.6 percent of the white vote while Phil Bredesen took a majority of the white vote in his bid for the open gubernatorial seat. In contests for the US House, incumbency clearly played a role, as Democratic incumbents dominated the white vote in the four districts where they won, while no Democrat broke 33.5 percent of the white vote when challenging a Republican incumbent.

---

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

(Table 6 goes here)

How much play is there in the white vote? The case of Tennessee's only remaining black majority county, Haywood, is informative. As indicated in Table 7, in 2000 Haywood County whites cast just 30.4 percent of their ballots for Al Gore for President, yet gave moderate, incumbent Democratic US Rep. John Tanner 69.6 percent of their votes. In 2002, Phil Bredesen, running for the open gubernatorial seat, garnered just an estimated 38.0 percent of the white vote in Haywood County (compared to an estimated majority in the rest of the state), while Congressman Tanner took nearly three-quarters of white ballots. Incumbent Democratic legislators Rep. Jimmy Naifeh and Sen. John Wilder (presiding officers of the respective chambers) garnered majority support from local whites in Haywood County.

In the absence of a Democratic incumbent with local ties, the white vote appears to melt away from Democrats. Democrats from other parts of the state – Gore claimed Carthage in middle Tennessee as home while Bredesen, a former Nashville mayor, moved to the state from Massachusetts after graduating from Harvard – have less appeal for west Tennessee whites. However, in congressional contests, race of incumbent does not seem to structure congressional voting preferences. The willingness to support Democratic incumbents down ticket is evident in Tennessee.

### **Conclusion**

Tennessee has, in many ways, sat still in terms of voting rights progress. The state had a high degree of black voter participation prior to 1964, but the distinctiveness of having high rates of black participation that pre-dated the Voting Right Act and persisted

into the 1970s and 1980s have been lost. Tennessee currently ranks behind Mississippi and the median for the original Section 5 states in the South in terms of black voter participation. There is progress in the election of black officials, though the state Senate lags the state House in approaching proportionality for black representation. Most gains in black office holding since the 1980s have come at the municipal level. Race structures vote choice, but whites continue to vote heavily for incumbent Democrats. However, in both the most-heavily black urban county and the most-heavily black rural county, white voter preferences for Republicans up-ticket is more pronounced.

TABLE 1

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

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
TENNESSEE													
Black	69.4	67.1	78.5	73.0	74.0	68.5	77.4	70.0	65.7	64.8	64.9	54.1	63.9
White	66.9	68.5	70.2	65.0	64.4	63.3	63.4	63.9	66.3	63.9	61.9	62.3	62.6
Non-South													
Black	60.6	61.7	67.2	63.1	65.9	58.4	63.0	58.3	62.0	58.5	61.7	57.0	NA
White	69.3	66.7	70.5	66.2	68.5	64.4	70.9	65.6	68.1	63.9	65.9	63.0	NA
MISSISSIPPI													
Black	72.2	75.8	85.6	75.9	74.2	71.4	78.5	69.9	67.4	71.3	73.7	67.9	76.1
White	85.2	76.9	81.4	77.3	80.5	70.8	80.2	74.6	75.0	75.2	72.2	70.7	72.3
Seven-State Median													
Black	61.4	53.6	62.2	66.5	63.8	61.9	64.5	59.0	65.5	68.0	68.6	67.6	71.1
White	67.0	62.5	67.0	65.8	68.5	63.6	70.8	63.9	70.4	67.9	68.2	66.2	72.3

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

TABLE 2

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

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
TENNESSEE													
Black	56.9	50.8	64.7	46.0	57.9	35.3	62.9	38.5	56.0	39.0	52.6	45.8	51.3
White	56.7	46.6	56.7	43.8	50.7	29.7	54.8	44.5	52.8	35.8	52.3	39.8	53.5
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	63.0	48.7	60.4	48.2	64.9	49.3	57.4	45.4	57.5	44.7	NA
MISSISSIPPI													
Black	59.5	50.8	69.6	40.2	60.3	32.5	61.9	41.7	48.8	40.4	58.5	40.2	66.8
White	70.9	52.4	69.2	45.8	64.2	35.8	69.4	46.2	59.3	40.7	61.2	43.6	58.9
Seven State Median													
Black	48.9	38.9	54.8	42.0	47.7	44.6	58.1	33.8	49.9	40.4	57.2	42.2	62.1
White	58.3	41.7	59.1	45.8	58.4	42.6	63.4	46.2	56.4	40.5	60.4	44.8	62.2

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

TABLE 3

NUMBERS OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN ELECTED OFFICIALS  
IN TENNESSEE, 1969-2001

Year	Total	County	Municipal	School Board
1969	31	5	8	2
1970	38	0	9	4
1971	42	0	11	4
1972	48	4	17	6
1973	71	25	21	13
1974	87	29	27	14
1975	96	43	27	8
1976	106	47	26	12
1977	117	56	31	10
1978	117	56	31	10
1980	112	44	34	14
1981	123	53	29	17
1984	133	47	33	22
1985	138	48	36	22
1987	143	47	40	23
1989	146	48	43	25
1991	166	48	43	25
1993	168	49	55	24
1995	No Report from the Joint Center in 1995			
1997	174	49	59	23
1999	172	47	58	25
2001	180	47	61	27

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

TABLE 4

RACIAL MAKE UP OF THE TENNESSEE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1965-2005

Year	Senate		House	
	Number	%	Number	%
1965	0	0	0	0
1967	0	0	6	6.06
1969	2	6.06	6	6.06
1971	2	6.06	6	6.06
1973	2	6.06	7	7.07
1975	2	6.06	9	9.09
1977	2	6.06	9	9.09
1979	2	6.06	9	9.09
1981	2	6.06	9	9.09
1983	3	9.09	10	10.10
1985	3	9.09	10	10.10
1987	3	9.09	10	10.10
1989	3	9.09	10	10.10
1991	3	9.09	10	10.10
1993	3	9.09	12	12.12
1995	3	9.09	13	13.13
1997	3	9.09	13	13.13
1999	3	9.09	13	13.13
2001	3	9.09	14	14.14
2003	3	9.09	15	15.15
2005	3	9.09	15	15.15

TABLE 5

ESTIMATED WHITE VOTER SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATS FOR PRESIDENT IN  
2000 AND US HOUSE IN 2002, SHELBY COUNTY

<b>Year</b>	<b>Contest</b>	<b>Incumbency</b>	<b>White%</b>	<b>Dem. Win?</b>
2000	President	Open	30.8	56.5%
2002	CD9	D*	61.8	Yes

TABLE 6

ESTIMATED WHITE VOTER SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATS FOR PRESIDENT  
AND US HOUSE IN 2000, AND GOVERNOR IN 2002

<b>Year</b>	<b>Contest</b>	<b>Incumbency</b>	<b>White%</b>	<b>Dem. Win?</b>
2000	President	Open	43.6	No
	CD1	R	---	No
	CD2	R	---	No
	CD3	R	33.5	No
	CD4	R	32.0	No
	CD5	D	70.9	Yes
	CD6	D	70.4	Yes
	CD7	R	29.5	No
	CD8	D	73.9	Yes
	CD9	D	---	Yes
2002	Governor	Open	51.6	Yes

TABLE 7

WHITE VOTER PREFERENCES IN HAYWOOD COUNTY, 2000 AND 2002

<b>Year</b>	<b>Contest</b>	<b>Incumbency</b>	<b>White%</b>	<b>Dem. Win?</b>
2000	President	Open	30.4	60.0%
	CD8	D	69.6	Yes
2002	CD8	D	73.3	Yes
	Governor	Open	38.0	Yes
	State House 81	D	58.9	Yes
	State Senate 26	D	54.2	Yes