

Thad Beyle
Editor & Associate Director
beyle@email.unc.edu

John Quintero
Managing Editor & Assistant Director
jq@unc.edu

Ferrel Guillory
Publisher & Director
guillory@unc.edu

Ferrel Guillory directs the Program on
Southern Politics, Media and Public
Life and serves as a Lecturer in the
School of Journalism and Mass
Communication at The University
of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

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In This Issue

State-By-State Look at Southern Political Trends from the 2000 Presidential Election

- 2 Alabama
- 3 Arkansas
- 4 Florida
- 5 Georgia
- 6 Kentucky
- 7 Louisiana
- 8 Mississippi
- 9 North Carolina
- 10 Oklahoma
- 11 South Carolina
- 12 Tennessee
- 13 Texas
- 14 Virginia
- 15 West Virginia

SOUTH NOW

New Politics in a Metropolitan South

FERREL GUILLORY, *director, Program on Southern Politics, Media and Public Life*

JOHN QUINTERNO, *assistant director, Program on Southern Politics, Media and Public Life*

In the 1980 Census, the South had only 10 metropolitan areas of one million people or more. Now, the region has 22. Nearly three out of four Southerners live in metro areas.

The burgeoning of the modern metropolitan South inexorably rearranged the region's political geography. As Southerners increasingly choose to live in and around cities, so the South's electorate became more concentrated in a relatively few communities.

This issue of *SouthNow* provides a state-by-state sketch of the political geography that has resulted from the economic and demographic shifts of the past 25 years. Using the results of the 2000 presidential election, we offer state profiles in two dimensions:

1) A map and an accompanying chart spotlight the counties that contributed 50 percent, or slightly more, of each state's total vote in 2000. We used the 2000 results because turnout typically is highest in a presidential election and because a presidential race marks the only time when voters in each state cast ballots for the same office on the same day.

Each state map, in effect, says this: There were more votes cast in the dark-colored counties (or parishes) than in all the other jurisdictions combined.

2) We also looked at the county-by-county votes received by Republican George W. Bush and Democrat Al Gore to determine what contrasts existed in their performance between and among metro and non-metro areas. Indeed, this analysis shows that, in the South, race, place and voting remain intertwined.

Historically, of course, the Southern states, each in its own way, have had place-based struggles over power, played out in campaigns and in legislatures. City slickers vs. country folks. East vs. West, or North vs. South. Up-state vs. down-state.

Now, clearly, the Southern electorate has become compact, more so than at any time in its history. Texas, where 3.1 percent of the counties contributed half the vote, had the most concentrated vote, followed by Georgia at 6.9 percent of its counties. As the accompanying chart shows (page 16), metro-

politan areas accounted for at least 50 percent of the 2000 vote in every Southern state except Mississippi and Arkansas. Florida, where metros contributed 92.7 percent of the vote, led the region, followed by Texas at 81.4 percent.

The compacting of the Southern electorate has a critical influence over politics and governance.

To reach a great mass of voters in metro areas, candidates put more emphasis — and money — on television advertising than on visiting small towns. Because they are redistricted on the basis of one-person, one-vote, legislatures increasingly reflect the concentration of voters in metropolitan areas.

Just as metro areas have emerged as the South's economic engines, so have they gained the electoral numbers to dominate most of the states politically. And yet, the rise of the metropolitan South has come accompanied by the rise of two-party politics. Often, the metropolitan vote — in campaigns and in legislatures — is not unified, but rather divided by partisan and ideological differences.

The confluence of trends raises important questions: Can the metropolitan South develop enough of a consensus to address the new issues raised by metro growth so as to keep the region's economic

SEE METROPOLITAN ON PAGE 16 →

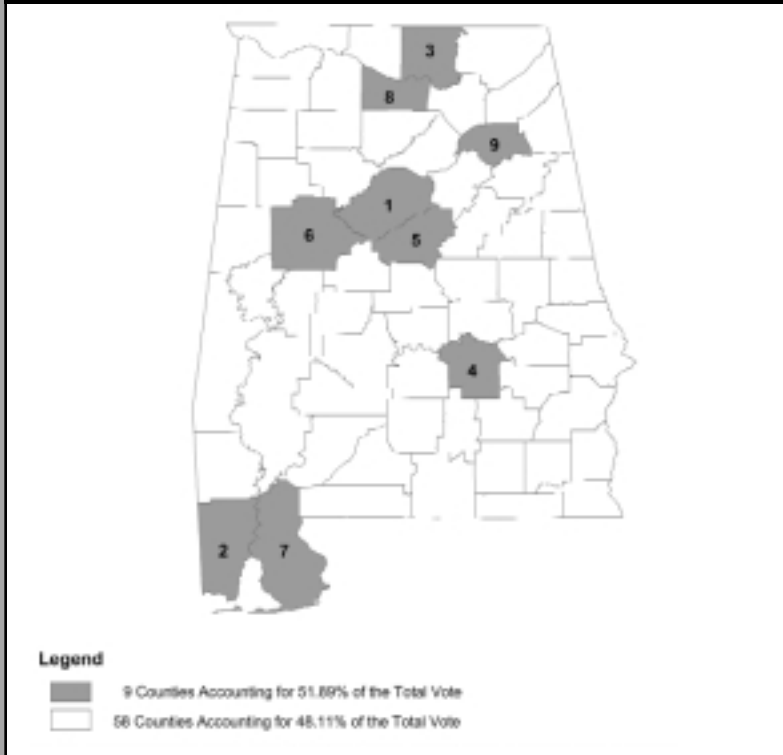
About the Data in This Issue

The data used in this issue were drawn from multiple sources. County-level election returns come from each state's election Web site, and population figures came from the 2000 U.S. Census. "Metropolitan" counties were identified by using the federal Office of Management and Budget's 1999 designations. Though these designations recently were updated, the 1999 ones were relevant at the time of the election.

One caveat for reading this issue: "metropolitan" differs from "urban." The U.S. Census Bureau characterizes places as "urban" or "rural" based on population densities. "Metropolitan" is, however, a broader category that normally designates a central city with at least 50,000 inhabitants and adjacent communities that are linked socially and economically to the central city. Thus, rural places may be found in metropolitan areas.

Alabama: Metros Back Bush

Top 9 Alabama Counties, Presidential Election 2000



Alabama was one of five Southern states — along with Arkansas, Mississippi, Oklahoma and South Carolina — where George W. Bush received a higher share of the state’s metro-politan than non-metropolitan vote. Bush garnered 57.5 percent of the total vote in Alabama’s metro areas versus 54.1 percent in the state’s non-metro areas. Al Gore’s support, meanwhile, primarily came from non-metro areas with sizable African-American populations.

- ◆ In 2000, 69.8 percent of Alabama’s vote came from metro areas. The four-county Birmingham Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) accounted for 22.6 percent of that total.
- ◆ Bush won the Birmingham MSA by an aggregate of 61,392 votes, and Shelby County provided 43.9 percent of that amount.
- ◆ Of the 18 counties won by Gore, only three were metropolitan — Montgomery (Montgomery MSA), Colbert (Florence MSA) and Lawrence (Decatur MSA).
- ◆ Gore carried 15 counties with African-American populations of 40.8 percent or more. All of these counties were non-metros except for Montgomery.
- ◆ Alabama Republicans won five of seven congressional races in 2000 and 2002 and control both U.S. Senate seats. The GOP also narrowly took control of the governor’s mansion in 2002. The Democratic Party enjoys majorities in both chambers of the state legislature. ■

Counties Accounting for 51.89% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Jefferson	Birmingham	273,763	16.37	Bush	8,602
2	Mobile	Mobile	139,745	8.36	Bush	19,522
3	Madison	Huntsville	113,318	6.78	Bush	13,952
4	Montgomery	Montgomery	80,328	4.80	Gore	-1,544
5	Shelby	Birmingham	62,128	3.71	Bush	34,468
6	Tuscaloosa	Tuscaloosa	60,114	3.59	Bush	9,389
7	Baldwin	Mobile	56,840	3.38	Bush	26,875
8	Morgan	Decatur	42,681	2.55	Bush	9,714
9	Etowah	Gadsden	39,348	2.35	Bush	3,654
9 County Total			868,265	51.89	Bush=8 Gore=1	124,632
58 County Total			804,286	48.11	Bush=41 Gore=17	124,175
State Total			1,672,551	100.00	Bush=49 Gore=18	248,807
(67 Counties; 9 Electoral Votes)						

NOTES:

- ¹“#” refers to the numbers on the adjacent map.
- ²“1999 MSA” refers to the Metropolitan Statistical Areas in effect in 1999. Only the first city is listed for areas with multiple central cities.
- ³“Total Votes” is the sum of votes cast for all presidential candidates.
- ⁴“% of Total” measures a county’s share of the statewide vote total. Figures are rounded to the nearest hundredth.
- ⁵“Bush Margin” is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

SOURCE: Alabama Elections Division (www.sos.state.al.us/election/index.cfm)

Presidential Voting Trends

Year	% Rep. ¹	% Dem. ²	Turnout (% VAP) ³
2000	56	42	50
1996	50	43	48
1992	48	41	55
1988	59	40	46
1984	61	38	50
1980	49	47	49
1976	43	56	46

NOTES: ¹Republican share of the vote. ²Democratic share of the vote. ³Percent of the voting age population that cast ballots. All figures are rounded to whole numbers.

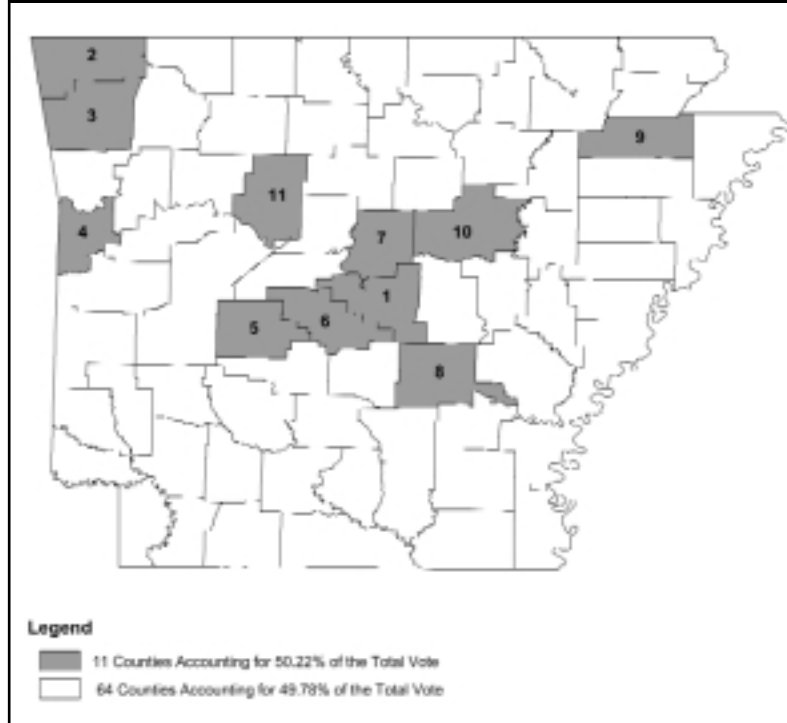
SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various years; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

Arkansas: Democratic State Swings Republican

The 51.3 percent share of the vote captured by George W. Bush in Arkansas was his third lowest share in the South, trailing only his shares in Florida and Tennessee. Bush and Al Gore virtually tied in the 11 Arkansas counties that accounted for 50.2 percent of the 2000 vote. Bush received 51.8 percent of the metro vote compared to Gore's 45.4 percent. Bush also garnered 50.8 percent of the total vote in non-metro areas.

- ◆ Arkansas' partisan leanings split down the center of the state. Virtually every county north and west of Pulaski (Little Rock) voted Republican, and those counties south and east mostly went Democratic.
- ◆ The four-county Little Rock Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) contained 22.4 percent of the 2000 vote, making it Arkansas' richest source of votes.
- ◆ Bush won the Little Rock MSA by 1,323 votes and received 48.9 percent of the total vote. Gore won 48.3 percent of the vote.
- ◆ African-American populations exceeded 20 percent in 21 of the 32 Gore counties.
- ◆ Gore carried only three metro counties — Pulaski, Jefferson (Pine Bluff MSA) and Craighead (Jonesboro MSA).
- ◆ Arkansas Democrats won three of four congressional seats in 2000 and 2002 and control both U.S. Senate seats and the state House and Senate. Republican Mike Huckabee is governor. ■

Top 11 Arkansas Counties, Presidential Election 2000



Counties Accounting for 50.22% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Pulaski	Little Rock	127,151	13.79	Gore	-12,454
2	Benton	Fayetteville	53,646	5.82	Bush	17,561
3	Washington	Fayetteville	51,459	5.58	Bush	6,808
4	Sebastian	Fort Smith	40,159	4.36	Bush	7,928
5	Garland	none	35,935	3.90	Bush	3,258
6	Saline	Little Rock	32,391	3.51	Bush	5,917
7	Faulkner	Little Rock	29,216	3.17	Bush	4,105
8	Jefferson	Pine Bluff	27,201	2.95	Gore	-8,951
9	Craighead	Jonesboro	25,157	2.73	Gore	-218
10	White	none	22,150	2.40	Bush	4,828
11	Pope	none	18,422	2.00	Bush	4,575
11 County Total			462,887	50.22	Bush=8 Gore=3	33,355
64 County Total			458,894	49.78	Bush=35 Gore=29	16,817
State Total			921,781	100.00	Bush=43 Gore=32	50,172
(75 Counties; 6 Electoral Votes)						

NOTES:

¹“#” refers to the numbers on the adjacent map.

²“1999 MSA” refers to the Metropolitan Statistical Areas in effect in 1999. Only the first city is listed for areas with multiple central cities.

³“Total Votes” is the sum of votes cast for all presidential candidates.

⁴“% of Total” measures a county's share of the statewide vote total. Figures are rounded to the nearest hundredth.

⁵“Bush Margin” is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

SOURCE: Arkansas Elections Department (<http://www.sosweb.state.ar.us/>)

Presidential Voting Trends

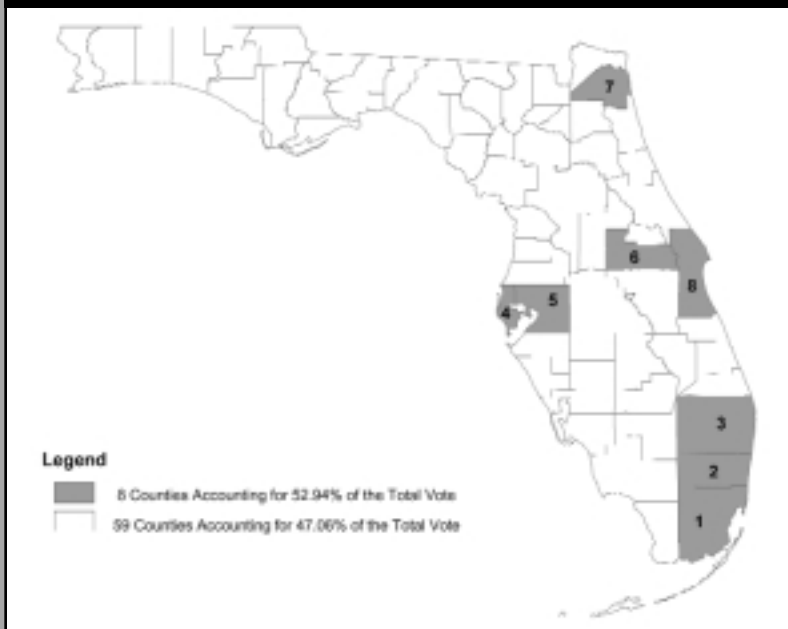
Year	% Rep. ¹	% Dem. ²	Turnout (% VAP) ³
2000	51	46	48
1996	37	54	47
1992	35	53	54
1988	56	42	47
1984	60	38	52
1980	48	48	52
1976	35	65	51

NOTES: ¹Republican share of the vote. ²Democratic share of the vote. ³Percent of the voting age population that cast ballots. All figures are rounded to whole numbers.

SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various years; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

Florida: Metro vs. Non-Metro, North vs. South

Top 8 Florida Counties, Presidential Election 2000



With 92.7 percent of its 2000 vote coming from metro areas, Florida was the South's most metropolitan state. Yet non-metros played a decisive role. Al Gore and George W. Bush essentially tied in Florida's metros — Gore garnered 49.5 percent of the metro vote compared to Bush's 48.3 percent, but Bush pulled even with Gore overall by winning 56.1 percent of the non-metro vote. The stage thus was set for a legal and political drama.

- ◆ Gore bested Bush by a combined 314,061 votes in the eight metropolitan counties that accounted for 52.9 percent of Florida's vote. The consolidated Miami Metropolitan Statistical Area provided Gore with 79.3 percent of his 314,061 vote margin.
- ◆ Bush outpolled Gore by an aggregate of 313,859 votes in Florida's other 59 counties.
- ◆ A geographic north-south divide existed in Florida in 2000 as 10 of the 16 Gore counties were at or south of Orlando (Orange County). Bush, meanwhile, won 35 of the 41 counties to the north.

Counties Accounting for 52.94% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Miami-Dade	Miami	625,203	10.49	Gore	-39,275
2	Broward	Miami	574,930	9.65	Gore	-209,801
3	Palm Beach	West Palm Beach	432,735	7.26	Gore	-116,781
4	Pinellas	Tampa	398,234	6.68	Gore	-15,805
5	Hillsborough	Tampa	360,077	6.04	Bush	11,203
6	Orange	Orlando	280,059	4.70	Gore	-5,703
7	Duval	Jacksonville	264,543	4.44	Bush	44,234
8	Brevard	Melbourne	218,297	3.66	Bush	17,867
8 County Total			3,154,078	52.94	Bush=3 Gore=5	-314,061
59 County Total			2,803,516	47.06	Bush=48 Gore=11	313,859
State Total			5,957,594	100.00	Bush=51 Gore=16	-202*
(67 Counties; 25 Electoral Votes)						

* = The official returns listed on the Florida Division of Election's Web site show Bush losing the state by 202 votes. Bush won the state's electoral votes, however, in the course of the recount controversy.

NOTES:

¹ "#" refers to the numbers on the adjacent map.

² "1999 MSA" refers to the Metropolitan Statistical Areas in effect in 1999. Only the first city is listed for areas with multiple central cities.

³ "Total Votes" is the sum of votes cast for all presidential candidates.

⁴ "% of Total" measures a county's share of the statewide vote total. Figures are rounded to the nearest hundredth.

⁵ "Bush Margin" is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

SOURCE: Florida Division of Elections (<http://election.dos.state.fl.us>)

- ◆ Bush captured every non-metro county except Jefferson, outside of Tallahassee, and Monroe, near Miami.
- ◆ Nine of the Gore counties had African-American populations of 10 percent or higher.
- ◆ The Republican Party currently controls Florida's governorship, both statehouse chambers and 18 of 25 congressional seats — up from 15 of 23 in 2000. Democrats hold both U.S. Senate seats. ■

Presidential Voting Trends

Year	% Rep. ¹	% Dem. ²	Turnout (% VAP) ³
2000	49	49	51
1996	43	48	42
1992	41	39	51
1988	61	39	45
1984	65	35	48
1980	56	39	49
1976	47	52	49

NOTES: ¹Republican share of the vote. ²Democratic share of the vote. ³Percent of the voting age population that cast ballots. All figures are rounded to whole numbers.

SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various years; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

Georgia: Atlanta, a Divided Megacity

Atlanta dominates Georgia's politics. The 20-county Atlanta Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) contained 52.8 percent of the 2000 vote. Seven of those counties also numbered in the Georgia counties that contributed half of the state's vote. While Al Gore outperformed George W. Bush in these 11 counties, Bush won the state by capturing 59.8 percent of the non-metro vote — his second best rural performance in the South, behind Texas.

- ◆ Bush and Gore each won three of the six largest Atlanta counties. Gore took the three counties with the highest African-American populations — Fulton, DeKalb and Clayton, while Bush carried Cobb, Gwinnett and Cherokee, three counties with considerably smaller African-American populations.
- ◆ Bush carried the Atlanta MSA by a margin of 103,960 votes and won 17 of 20 counties.
- ◆ Gore bested Bush by 16,953 votes in the 11 Georgia counties that contained half the vote, but Bush outperformed Gore by an aggregate of 320,443 votes in the rest of the state.
- ◆ Almost all of Gore's support outside of Atlanta clustered in a band of counties stretching from Augusta through Macon to the Alabama line between Columbus and Albany.
- ◆ Republicans won eight of Georgia's 11 congressional seats in 2000, and eight of a census-adjusted 13 seats in 2002. In 2002 the GOP also took control of the governorship, the state Senate and one U.S Senate seat. ■

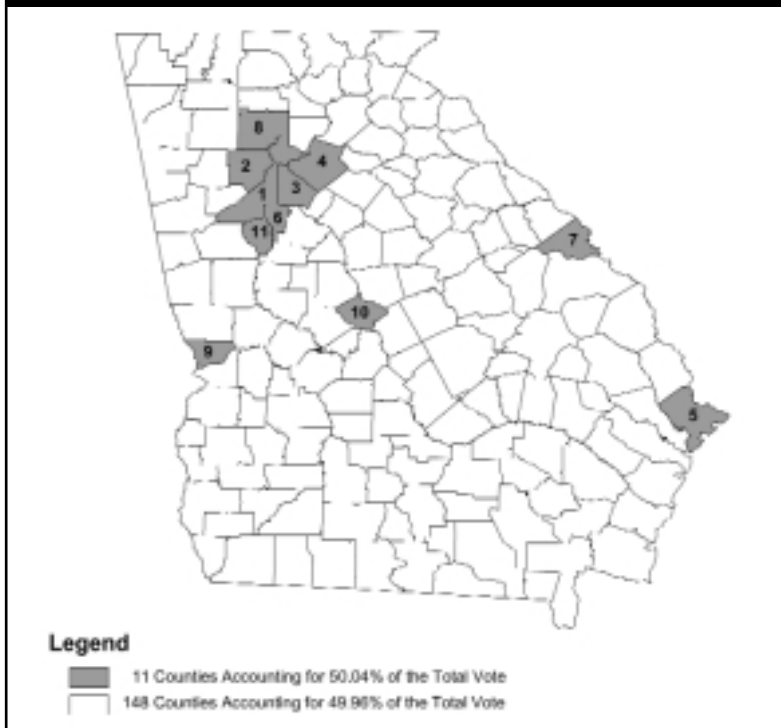
Presidential Voting Trends

Year	% Rep. ¹	% Dem. ²	Turnout (% VAP) ³
2000	55	43	44
1996	47	46	48
1992	43	44	46
1988	60	39	39
1984	60	40	42
1980	41	56	41
1976	33	67	42

NOTES: ¹Republican share of the vote. ²Democratic share of the vote. ³Percent of the voting age population that cast ballots. All figures are rounded to whole numbers.

SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various years; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

Top 11 Georgia Counties, Presidential Election 2000



Counties Accounting for 50.04% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Fulton	Atlanta	261,945	10.14	Gore	-47,169
2	Cobb	Atlanta	232,863	9.01	Bush	53,818
3	DeKalb	Atlanta	218,048	8.44	Gore	-95,702
4	Gwinnett	Atlanta	189,792	7.35	Bush	60,322
5	Chatham	Savannah	75,872	2.94	Bush	257
6	Clayton	Atlanta	61,215	2.37	Gore	-20,076
7	Richmond	Augusta	57,359	2.22	Gore	-5,928
8	Cherokee	Atlanta	52,026	2.01	Bush	25,738
9	Muscogee	Columbus	51,920	2.01	Gore	-4,714
10	Bibb	Macon	49,526	1.92	Gore	-925
11	Fayette	Atlanta	42,186	1.63	Bush	17,426
11 County Total			1,292,752	50.04	Bush=5 Gore=6	-16,953
148 County Total			1,290,456	49.96	Bush=120 Gore=28	320,443
State Total			2,583,208	100.00	Bush=125 Gore=34	303,490
			(159 Counties; 13 Electoral Votes)			

NOTES:

¹“#” refers to the numbers on the adjacent map.

²“1999 MSA” refers to the Metropolitan Statistical Areas in effect in 1999. Only the first city is listed for areas with multiple central cities.

³“Total Votes” is the sum of votes cast for all presidential candidates.

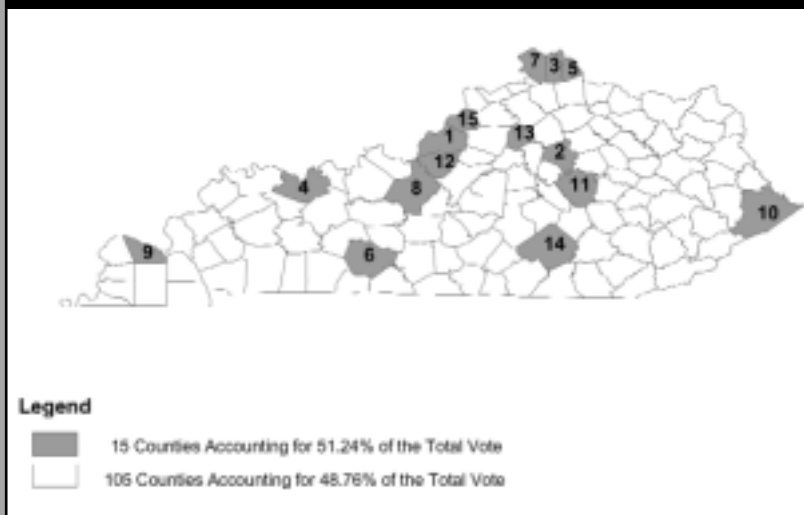
⁴“% of Total” measures a county's share of the statewide vote total. Figures are rounded to the nearest hundredth.

⁵“Bush Margin” is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

SOURCE: Georgia Elections Division (www.sos.state.ga.us/elections)

Kentucky: A Solid Republican Win

Top 15 Kentucky Counties, Presidential Election 2000



Kentucky strongly supported George W. Bush, who captured 56.5 percent of the 2000 vote and received majorities in both metro (54.2 percent) and non-metro (58.9 percent) areas. Al Gore's support, meanwhile, was strongest in Eastern Kentucky.

- ◆ Bush bested Gore by an aggregate of 91,397 votes in the 15 counties that accounted for 51.2 percent of Kentucky's 2000 vote. Gore carried only three of these counties.
- ◆ Bush carried the three Kentucky counties in the Louisville Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) by 8,354 votes. This area contained 19.8 percent of the state's 2000 population and 22.4 percent of the vote.
- ◆ All seven counties in the Lexington MSA chose Bush by a total of 24,619 votes.
- ◆ Bush won all six Kentucky counties in the Cincinnati MSA by a margin of 41,287 votes, representing 17.6 percent of Bush's total victory margin.
- ◆ Boyd (Ashland MSA), Jefferson (Louisville MSA) and Henderson (Henderson MSA) were the only metro counties won by Gore.
- ◆ Nine of the 15 counties carried by Gore were in Eastern Kentucky.
- ◆ Bush captured 54.8 percent of the total vote in Kentucky's 20 most populous counties and 58.7 percent of the total vote in the state's 20 least populous counties.
- ◆ In 2000 and 2002 Republicans won five of Kentucky's six congressional seats. The party also controls both U.S. Senate seats and the state Senate. The Democratic Party, meanwhile, holds the governorship, one congressional seat and the state House. ■

Counties Accounting for 51.24% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Jefferson	Louisville	302,361	19.58	Gore	-4,849
2	Fayette	Lexington	105,475	6.83	Bush	7,218
3	Kenton	Cincinnati	56,233	3.64	Bush	16,263
4	Davies	Owensboro	36,240	2.35	Bush	7,235
5	Campbell	Cincinnati	33,809	2.19	Bush	8,749
6	Warren	none	32,975	2.14	Bush	8,055
7	Boone	Cincinnati	31,984	2.07	Bush	12,768
8	Hardin	none	30,690	1.99	Bush	7,869
9	McCracken	none	26,689	1.73	Bush	3,333
10	Pike	none	24,935	1.61	Gore	-2,606
11	Madison	Lexington	23,666	1.53	Bush	4,373
12	Bullitt	Louisville	22,679	1.47	Bush	5,859
13	Franklin	none	21,654	1.40	Gore	-644
14	Pulaski	none	21,541	1.40	Bush	10,430
15	Oldham	Louisville	20,268	1.31	Bush	7,344
15 County Total			791,189	51.24	Bush=12 Gore=3	91,397
105 County Total			752,918	48.76	Bush=93 Gore=12	142,197
State Total (120 Counties; 8 Electoral Votes)			1,544,107	100.00	Bush=105 Gore=15	233,594

NOTES:

¹"#" refers to the numbers on the adjacent map.

²"1999 MSA" refers to the Metropolitan Statistical Areas in effect in 1999. Only the first city is listed for areas with multiple central cities.

³"Total Votes" is the sum of votes cast for all presidential candidates.

⁴"% of Total" measures a county's share of the statewide vote total. Figures are rounded to the nearest hundredth.

⁵"Bush Margin" is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

SOURCE: Kentucky State Board of Elections (www.kyelect.com)

Presidential Voting Trends

Year	% Rep. ¹	% Dem. ²	Turnout (% VAP) ³
2000	57	41	52
1996	45	46	47
1992	41	45	54
1988	56	44	48
1984	60	39	51
1980	49	48	50
1976	46	53	48

NOTES: ¹Republican share of the vote. ²Democratic share of the vote. ³Percent of the voting age population that cast ballots. All figures are rounded to whole numbers.

SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various years; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

Louisiana: Outside New Orleans, Bush Dominates

Al Gore's showing in Louisiana rested heavily upon the New Orleans Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), particularly Orleans Parish. Gore received 34.4 percent of his total support from the New Orleans MSA, and 17.8 percent of his total vote came from Orleans Parish, which has borders that coincide with the City of New Orleans.

- ◆ Eight parishes accounted for 52.1 percent of Louisiana's vote. Bush won those by a margin of 23,844 votes. In the remaining 56 parishes, Bush prevailed by 111,926 votes.
- ◆ Gore won three of the eight parishes in the New Orleans MSA and the region by 22,712 votes. Yet, Orleans was the only parish that Gore won by a sizable margin — 98,226 votes. Gore carried St. John the Baptist and St. James parishes each by fewer than 2,700 votes.
- ◆ Gore won 14 parishes, split equally between metros and non-metros. Five of the seven non-metro parishes were along the Mississippi River.
- ◆ Outside of the New Orleans MSA, Bush carried every metro parish in the state except for West Baton Rouge (Baton Rouge MSA), St. Landry (Lafayette MSA) and Caddo (Shreveport MSA), which he lost by 723 votes.
- ◆ Bush received 51.9 percent of the metro vote and 54.6 percent of the non-metro vote.
- ◆ Republican candidates won four of seven congressional seats in 2000 and five in 2002. Louisiana's governor also is a Republican, but the Democratic Party holds both U.S. Senate seats and both chambers of the state legislature. ■

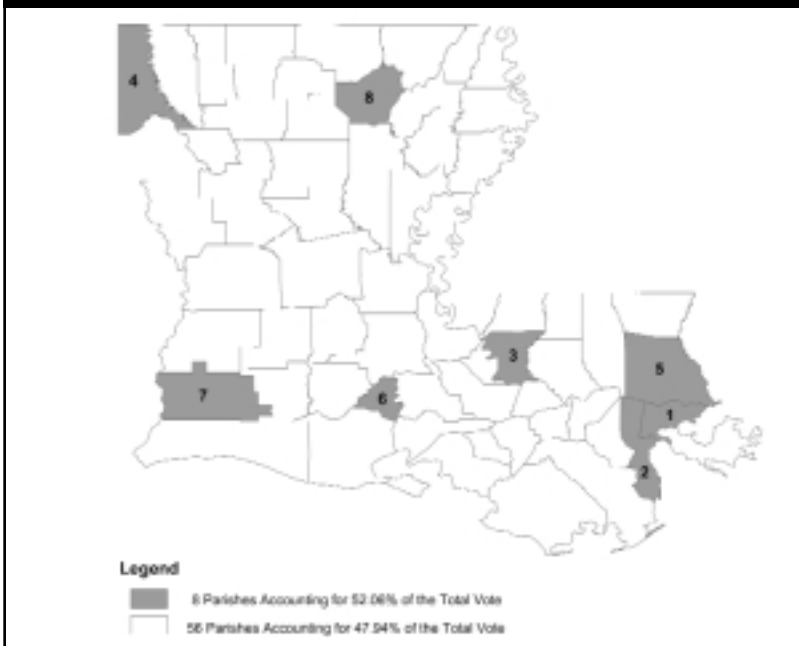
Presidential Voting Trends

Year	% Rep. ¹	% Dem. ²	Turnout (% VAP) ³
2000	53	45	54
1996	40	53	57
1992	42	46	60
1988	54	44	51
1984	61	38	55
1980	51	46	53
1976	46	52	49

NOTES: ¹Republican share of the vote. ²Democratic share of the vote. ³Percent of the voting age population that cast ballots. All figures are rounded to whole numbers.

SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various years; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

Top 8 Louisiana Parishes, Presidential Election 2000



Parishes Accounting for 52.06% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Orleans	New Orleans	181,137	10.27	Gore	-98,226
2	Jefferson	New Orleans	179,098	10.15	Bush	34,592
3	East Baton Rouge	Baton Rouge	168,907	9.57	Bush	12,612
4	Caddo	Shreveport	95,613	5.42	Gore	-723
5	St. Tammany	New Orleans	83,719	4.75	Bush	36,471
6	Lafayette	Lafayette	78,261	4.44	Bush	21,301
7	Calcasieu	Lake Charles	73,609	4.17	Bush	4,167
8	Ouachita	Monroe	58,170	3.30	Bush	13,650
8 Parish Total			918,514	52.06	Bush=6 Gore=2	23,844
56 Parish Total			845,736	47.94	Bush=44 Gore=12	111,926
State Total			1,764,250	100.00	Bush=50 Gore=14	135,770
(64 Parishes; 9 Electoral Votes)						

NOTES:

¹"#" refers to the numbers on the adjacent map.

²"1999 MSA" refers to the Metropolitan Statistical Areas in effect in 1999. Only the first city is listed for areas with multiple central cities.

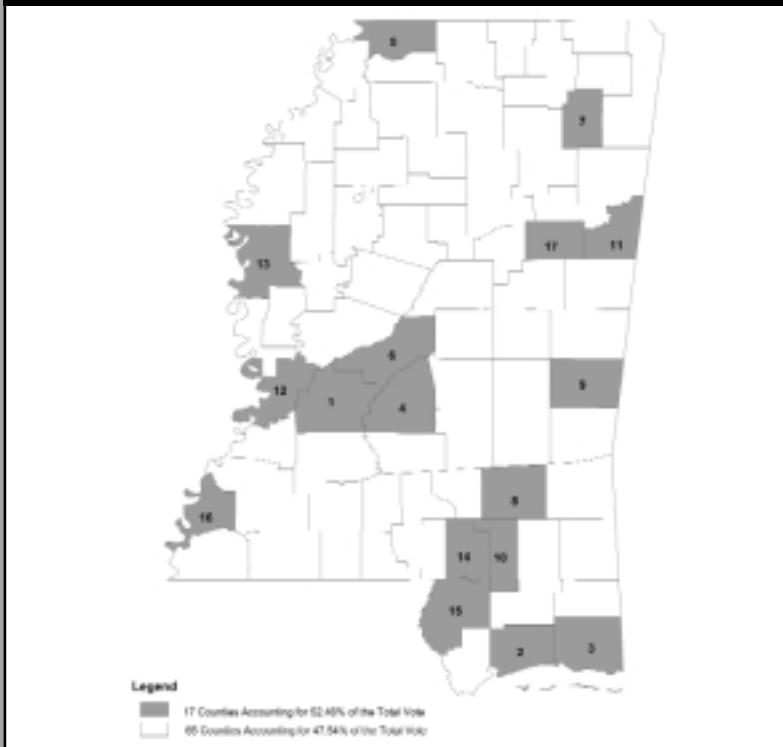
³"Total Votes" is the sum of votes cast for all presidential candidates.

⁴"% of Total" measures a county's share of the statewide vote total. Figures are rounded to the nearest hundredth.

⁵"Bush Margin" is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

SOURCE: Louisiana Elections Division (<http://www.sec.state.la.us/elections/elections-index.htm>)

Top 17 Mississippi Counties, Presidential Election 2000



Counties Accounting for 52.46% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Hinds	Jackson	87,769	8.86	Gore	-9,037
2	Harrison	Biloxi	52,616	5.31	Bush	13,144
3	Jackson	Biloxi	45,107	4.55	Bush	15,875
4	Rankin	Jackson	41,435	4.18	Bush	24,933
5	DeSoto	Memphis	34,936	3.53	Bush	15,293
6	Madison	Jackson	29,859	3.01	Bush	8,693
7	Lee	none	25,064	2.53	Bush	6,409
8	Jones	none	24,340	2.46	Bush	8,628
9	Lauderdale	none	22,990	2.32	Bush	11,903
10	Forrest	Hattiesburg	22,251	2.25	Bush	4,781
11	Lowndes	none	19,230	1.94	Bush	3,867
12	Warren	none	18,623	1.88	Bush	3,407
13	Washington	none	18,328	1.85	Gore	-3,038
14	Lamar	Hattiesburg	16,602	1.68	Bush	9,317
15	Pearl River	none	16,477	1.66	Bush	6,964
16	Adams	none	14,879	1.50	Gore	-1,374
17	Oktibbeha	none	14,804	1.49	Bush	1,516
17 County Total			504,310	52.46	Bush=14 Gore=3	121,251
65 County Total			486,696	47.54	Bush=43 Gore=22	49,819
State Total			991,006	100.00	Bush=57 Gore=25	171,070
(82 Counties; 7 Electoral Votes)						

NOTES:

¹"#" refers to the numbers on the adjacent map.

²"1999 MSA" refers to the Metropolitan Statistical Areas in effect in 1999. Only the first city is listed for areas with multiple central cities.

³"Total Votes" is the sum of votes cast for all presidential candidates.

⁴"% of Total" measures a county's share of the statewide vote total. Figures are rounded to the nearest hundredth.

⁵"Bush Margin" is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

SOURCE: Mississippi Elections Division (<http://www.sos.state.ms.us/elections/elections.asp>)

Mississippi: An Exception to the Rule

With 34.8 percent of its vote coming from metro areas, Mississippi is the least metropolitan Southern state. Mississippi's rural nature and sizable African-American population, made the state one of the few in 2000 where George W. Bush performed better in metro areas.

- ◆ Bush carried all four metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) by a combined 87,494 votes and won every metro county except for Hinds (Jackson MSA).
- ◆ Bush outpolled Al Gore in the 17 counties that accounted for 52.5 percent of Mississippi's total vote by a margin of 121,251 votes. The remaining 65 counties supported Bush by a margin of 49,819 votes.
- ◆ The three-county Biloxi MSA contained 6.4 percent of the state's population and 11.3 percent of the vote. Similarly, the Jackson MSA held 5.9 percent of Mississippi's population but 16.1 percent of the vote.
- ◆ The only metro county carried by Gore was Hinds. The remaining 21 Gore counties were non-metros, mostly along the Mississippi River.
- ◆ Every Gore county had an African-American population of at least 38.7 percent, and 20 of these counties had African-American populations of 50 percent or greater.
- ◆ Bush received 61.6 of the metro vote and 55.8 percent of the non-metro vote.
- ◆ Republicans won two of Mississippi's five congressional seats in 2000 and two of a census-adjusted four seats in 2002. The party also occupies both U.S. Senate seats. The Democratic Party controls the governorship and both legislative chambers. ■

Presidential Voting Trends

Year	% Rep. ¹	% Dem. ²	Turnout (% VAP) ³
2000	58	41	49
1996	49	44	45
1992	50	41	53
1988	60	39	50
1984	62	37	52
1980	49	48	52
1976	48	50	48

NOTES: ¹Republican share of the vote. ²Democratic share of the vote. ³Percent of the voting age population that cast ballots. All figures are rounded to whole numbers.

SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various years; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

North Carolina: Metros Fuel Republican Win

George W. Bush performed equally well in North Carolina's metro and non-metro areas. Bush captured 56 percent of the state's metro vote and 56.4 of the non-metro vote. Though Al Gore tied Bush in the six-county Raleigh Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), Gore's deepest support came from a handful of eastern, non-metro counties with large African-American populations.

- ◆ North Carolina's metro areas contributed 68.4 percent of the total vote in 2000.
- ◆ Gore received 50 percent of the votes in the Raleigh MSA compared to Bush's 49.2 percent share.
- ◆ Bush captured 58.1 percent of the total vote in the six-county Charlotte MSA and 59.2 percent of the vote in the eight-county Greensboro MSA.
- ◆ Gore carried five metro counties — Orange, Durham and Chatham in the Raleigh MSA, Edgecombe in the Rocky Mount MSA and Cumberland in the Fayetteville MSA.
- ◆ The 20 non-metro counties carried by Gore all had African-American populations ranging from 25.1 percent (Robeson) to 62.3 percent (Bertie).
- ◆ Gore won only three counties — Anson, Richmond and Scotland — to the west of the Raleigh MSA.
- ◆ Though the state went heavily for Bush in 2000, voters also gave Democratic gubernatorial candidate Michael Easley 52 percent of the vote.
- ◆ The Democratic Party controls one U.S. Senate seat, the governorship and the state Senate. The Republican Party, meanwhile, shares control of the state House with the Democratic Party and currently holds seven of 13 congressional seats. ■

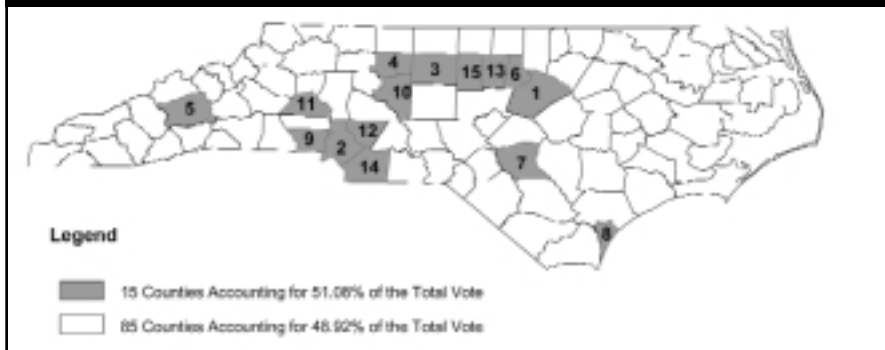
Presidential Voting Trends

Year	% Rep. ¹	% Dem. ²	Turnout (% VAP) ³
2000	56	43	50
1996	49	44	48
1992	44	43	50
1988	58	42	45
1984	62	38	47
1980	49	47	44
1976	44	55	43

NOTES: ¹Republican share of the vote. ²Democratic share of the vote. ³Percent of the voting age population that cast ballots. All figures are rounded to whole numbers.

SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various years; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

Top 15 North Carolina Counties, Presidential Election 2000



Counties Accounting for 51.08% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Wake	Raleigh	268,220	9.21	Bush	19,028
2	Mecklenburg	Charlotte	263,036	9.04	Bush	7,157
3	Guilford	Greensboro	166,264	5.71	Bush	3,607
4	Forsyth	Greensboro	120,942	4.15	Bush	15,243
5	Buncombe	Asheville	85,476	2.94	Bush	7,556
6	Durham	Durham	84,604	2.91	Gore	-23,757
7	Cumberland	Fayetteville	77,151	2.65	Gore	-497
8	New Hanover	Wilmington	66,319	2.28	Bush	7,211
9	Gaston	Charlotte	59,179	2.03	Bush	20,172
10	Davidson	Greensboro	52,047	1.79	Bush	19,188
11	Catawba	Hickory	50,841	1.75	Bush	17,998
12	Cabarrus	Charlotte	49,381	1.70	Bush	16,420
13	Orange	Raleigh	49,344	1.69	Gore	-12,991
14	Union	Charlotte	47,161	1.62	Bush	16,986
15	Alamance	Greensboro	47,091	1.62	Bush	11,846
15 County Total			1,487,056	51.08	Bush=12 Gore=3	125,167
85 County Total			1,157,860	48.92	Bush=63 Gore=22	248,304
State Total			2,911,262	100.00	Bush=75 Gore=25	373,471
(100 Counties; 15 Electoral Votes)						

NOTES:

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³"Total Votes" is the sum of votes cast for all presidential candidates.

⁴"% of Total" measures a county's share of the statewide vote total. Figures are rounded to the nearest hundredth.

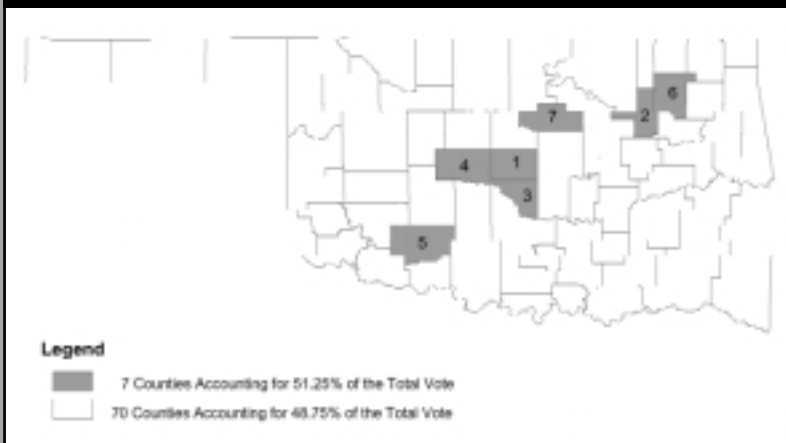
⁵"Bush Margin" is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

SOURCE: North Carolina State Board of Elections (www.sboe.state.nc.us)

Visit www.southnow.org
to view or download all the data used in this issue.

Oklahoma: Bush Sweeps Metros and Non-Metros

Top 7 Oklahoma Counties, Presidential Election 2000



Counties Accounting for 51.25% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Oklahoma	Oklahoma City	223,111	18.08	Bush	57,488
2	Tulsa	Tulsa	218,691	17.72	Bush	52,496
3	Cleveland	Oklahoma City	76,171	6.17	Bush	19,601
4	Canadian	Oklahoma City	31,360	2.54	Bush	14,312
5	Comanche	Lawton	29,333	2.38	Bush	5,132
6	Rogers	Tulsa	28,951	2.35	Bush	6,900
7	Payne	none	24,947	2.02	Bush	5,937
7 County Total			632,564	51.25	Bush=7 Gore=0	161,866
70 County Total			601,666	48.75	Bush=61 Gore=9	108,195
State Total			1,234,230	100.00	Bush=68 Gore=9	270,061
(77 Counties; 8 Electoral Votes)						

NOTES:

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³“Total Votes” is the sum of votes cast for all presidential candidates.

⁴“% of Total” measures a county’s share of the statewide vote total. Figures are rounded to the nearest hundredth.

⁵“Bush Margin” is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

SOURCE: Oklahoma State Election Board (<http://www.state.ok.us/~elections>)

Oklahoma provided George W. Bush with his single largest share of votes in the South. Bush captured 60.3 percent of the total vote and bested Gore by a combined 270,061 votes. Oklahoma also was home to Bush’s best metro performance in the South. Al Gore, meanwhile, won only nine non-metro counties, all of which were south and east of the Tulsa Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA).

- ◆ Bush received 61.8 percent of Oklahoma’s metro vote, his best showing in the South. Bush also garnered 58 percent of the state’s non-metro vote.
- ◆ Bush won each of the seven metro counties that collectively contained 51.3 percent of the total vote.
- ◆ All five counties in the Tulsa MSA and all six counties in the Oklahoma City MSA backed Bush. Together, these areas contributed 55.5 percent of the total vote.
- ◆ Bush’s combined 171,179 margin of victory in the Tulsa and Oklahoma City MSAs accounted for 63.4 percent of his statewide victory margin of 270,061 votes.
- ◆ Only nine of the state’s 77 counties supported Gore. These counties had Native-American populations ranging between 12.8 percent (Okmulgee) and 32.4 percent (Cherokee).
- ◆ In no county did Gore’s margin of victory exceed 1,389 votes.
- ◆ Republicans occupy both U.S. Senate seats and won five of six congressional seats in 2000 and four of a census-adjusted five seats in 2002. But, the Democratic Party controls both chambers of the state legislature and won back the governorship in 2002. ■

Presidential Voting Trends

Year	% Rep. ¹	% Dem. ²	Turnout (% VAP) ³
2000	60	38	49
1996	48	40	50
1992	43	34	60
1988	58	41	49
1984	69	31	52
1980	60	35	52
1976	50	49	55

NOTES: ¹Republican share of the vote. ²Democratic share of the vote. ³Percent of the voting age population that cast ballots. All figures are rounded to whole numbers.

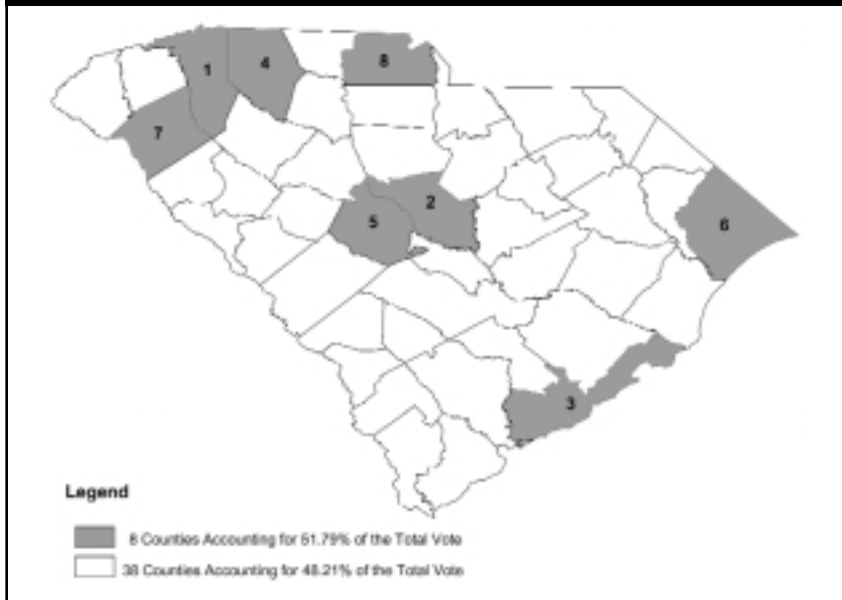
SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various years; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

South Carolina: Metros Make the Difference

In South Carolina, a staunchly Republican state, the GOP votes in 2000 clustered in metropolitan areas. George W. Bush received 59.3 percent of the metro vote. Al Gore drew much of his support from rural areas, where he captured 47.8 percent of the vote.

- ◆ Bush's South Carolina support was bifurcated geographically. Coastal counties and those to the northwest of Columbia backed Bush. Gore's support generally fell into a diagonal band of counties between Charleston and Columbia.
- ◆ Bush carried the eight counties that accounted for 51.8 percent of the 2000 vote by an overall margin of 144,340 votes versus a 76,036 margin in the remaining 38 counties.
- ◆ Bush ran especially strong in the Greenville Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), where he won all five counties by a total of 107,196 votes. This region supplied Bush with 27.4 percent of his total vote.
- ◆ The Greenville, Charleston and Columbia MSAs provided Bush with 54.3 percent of his statewide total of 785,937 votes.
- ◆ The 15 counties that supported Gore had African-American populations ranging from 38.7 percent (Chester) to 71.0 percent (Allendale).
- ◆ Gore and Bush split the two-county Columbia MSA. Richland, with an African-American population of 45.2 percent, backed Gore by 13,026 votes, while Lexington, with an African-American population of 12.6 percent, chose Bush by 32,265 votes.
- ◆ South Carolina Republicans currently control one U.S. Senate seat, four of six congressional seats, the governorship and both chambers of the state legislature. ■

Top 8 South Carolina Counties, Presidential Election 2000



Counties Accounting for 51.79% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Greenville	Greenville	140,293	10.15	Bush	48,904
2	Richland	Columbia	115,421	8.35	Gore	-13,026
3	Charleston	Charleston	111,476	8.06	Bush	8,709
4	Spartanburg	Greenville	83,553	6.04	Bush	22,555
5	Lexington	Columbia	83,081	6.01	Bush	32,265
6	Horry	Myrtle Beach	71,265	5.15	Bush	11,187
7	Anderson	Greenville	56,681	4.10	Bush	16,221
8	York	Charlotte	54,351	3.93	Bush	14,525
8 County Total			716,121	51.79	Bush=7 Gore=1	144,340
38 County Total			666,596	48.21	Bush=24 Gore=14	76,036
State Total			1,382,717	100.00	Bush=31 Gore=15	220,376
(46 Counties; 8 Electoral Votes)						

NOTES:

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³“Total Votes” is the sum of votes cast for all presidential candidates.

⁴“% of Total” measures a county's share of the statewide vote total. Figures are rounded to the nearest hundredth.

⁵“Bush Margin” is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

SOURCE: South Carolina Election Commission (<http://www.state.sc.us/scsec/stats.html>)

Presidential Voting Trends

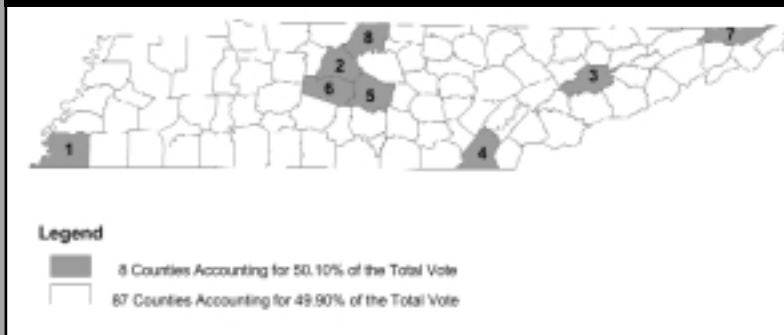
Year	% Rep. ¹	% Dem. ²	Turnout (% VAP) ³
2000	57	41	47
1996	50	44	42
1992	48	40	45
1988	62	38	39
1984	64	36	41
1980	49	48	40
1976	43	56	40

NOTES: ¹Republican share of the vote. ²Democratic share of the vote. ³Percent of the voting age population that cast ballots. All figures are rounded to whole numbers.

SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various years; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

Tennessee: Metros Tie, Non-Metros Decide

Top 8 Tennessee Counties, Presidential Election 2000



Counties Accounting for 50.10% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Shelby	Memphis	336,755	16.17	Gore	-46,648
2	Davidson	Nashville	208,588	10.02	Gore	-36,391
3	Knox	Knoxville	150,586	7.23	Bush	25,822
4	Hamilton	Chattanooga	120,379	5.78	Bush	14,897
5	Rutherford	Nashville	62,182	2.99	Bush	6,085
6	Williamson	Nashville	58,429	2.81	Bush	20,156
7	Sullivan	Johnson City	55,727	2.68	Bush	12,128
8	Sumner	Nashville	50,477	2.42	Bush	5,483
8 County Total			1,043,123	50.10	Bush=6 Gore=2	-408
87 County Total			307,975	49.90	Bush=53 Gore=34	79,421
State Total			2,082,489	100.00	Bush=59 Gore=36	79,013
(95 Counties; 11 Electoral Votes)						

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⁴"% of Total" measures a county's share of the statewide vote total. Figures are rounded to the nearest hundredth.

⁵"Bush Margin" is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

SOURCE: Tennessee Division of Elections (<http://www.state.tn.us/sos/election.htm>)

If Al Gore had received his home state's 11 electoral votes, he would have been elected president. Instead, George W. Bush won with 51.1 percent of the vote, and rural areas made the difference. Bush and Gore nearly tied in the Nashville Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA), and Bush offset Gore's success in the Memphis MSA by carrying the Knoxville MSA. The state's remaining 78 counties — 68 of which were non-metro — became the swing districts.

- ◆ Gore and Bush both won 49.2 percent of the vote in the eight counties that accounted for 50.1 percent of the 2000 vote.
- ◆ Bush received 53.2 percent of the vote in the remaining 87 counties and won by a margin of 79,421 votes.
- ◆ Gore and Bush essentially tied in the eight-county Nashville MSA, which contained 22.3 percent of the 2000 vote. Though Bush won five counties, Gore won the region by 3,980 votes.
- ◆ Gore's 43,513 vote margin in the three Tennessee counties in the Memphis MSA was offset by Bush's 51,121 victory margin in the six-county Knoxville MSA.
- ◆ Gore carried the state's two largest counties — Shelby (Memphis MSA) and Davidson (Nashville MSA) — by margins of 46,648 and 36,391 votes respectively. Tennessee was the only Southern state where Gore won the two largest counties.
- ◆ Though Gore lost Tennessee in 2000, the Democratic Party maintained control of both statehouse chambers and four of nine congressional seats. In 2002, Democrats captured five congressional seats and the governorship. Republicans occupy both U.S. Senate seats. ■

Presidential Voting Trends

Year	% Rep. ¹	% Dem. ²	Turnout (% VAP) ³
2000	51	47	49
1996	46	48	47
1992	42	47	52
1988	58	42	45
1984	58	42	49
1980	49	48	49
1976	43	56	49

NOTES: ¹Republican share of the vote. ²Democratic share of the vote. ³Percent of the voting age population that cast ballots. All figures are rounded to whole numbers.

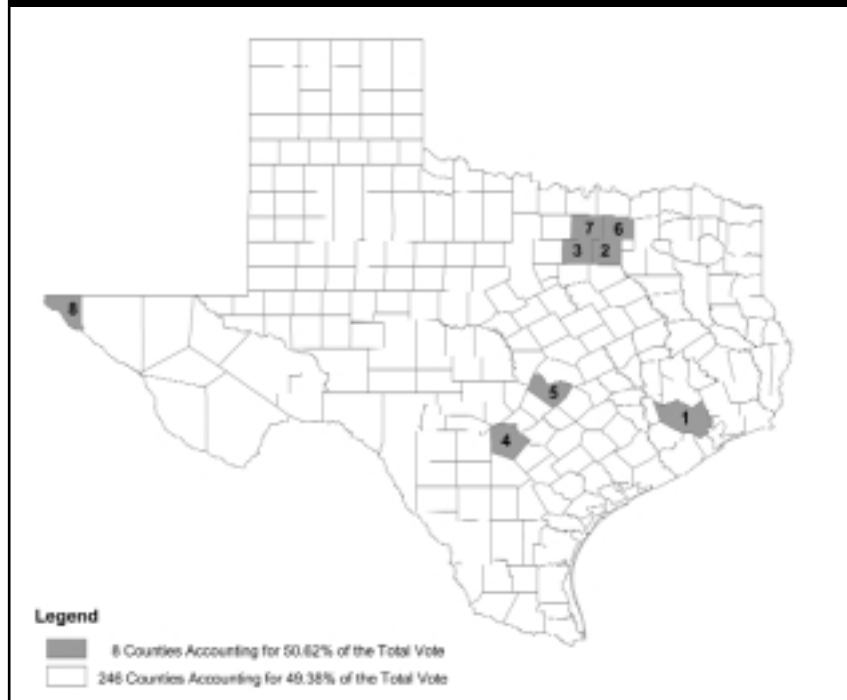
SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various years; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

Texas: A Big State of Big Metros

Texas was good to George W. Bush. Bush garnered 3,800,272 votes (59.3 percent) and won by a margin of 1,368,444 votes. Furthermore, Bush's win was a thorough one, as he carried 53 of 56 metro counties and 176 of 197 rural ones. Bush's also posted his best non-metro performance in the South, capturing 65.7 percent of the vote.

- ◆ Bush won all 12 counties in the consolidated Dallas Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) and all 10 counties in the consolidated Houston MSA. These 20 counties together provided 47.6 percent of the state's total vote and 47.4 percent of Bush's total vote.
- ◆ Al Gore won three metro counties: Jefferson (Beaumont MSA), Webb (Laredo MSA) and El Paso (El Paso MSA).
- ◆ Bush carried the eight counties that accounted for 50.6 percent of the 2000 vote by a margin of 438,850 votes.
- ◆ In the remaining 246 counties, Bush outpolled Gore by a ratio of almost two to one.
- ◆ Bush won the five-county Austin MSA by a margin of 67,623 votes.
- ◆ Twenty of the 24 Gore counties are near the Mexican border and have Latino populations ranging from 72.2 percent (Culberson) to 97.8 percent (Starr).
- ◆ While the GOP controls both U.S. Senate seats, the congressional delegation is split almost equally between Republicans and Democrats. The GOP won 13 of 30 seats in 2000 and 15 of a census-adjusted 32 seats in 2002. Republican Rick Perry also was elected governor in 2002, and the GOP controls the state legislature. ■

Top 8 Texas Counties, Presidential Election 2000



Counties Accounting for 50.62% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Harris	Houston	974,797	15.22	Bush	110,892
2	Dallas	Dallas	613,013	9.57	Bush	47,037
3	Tarrant	Dallas	472,377	7.38	Bush	113,163
4	Bexar	San Antonio	412,719	6.44	Bush	30,455
5	Travis	Austin	301,254	4.70	Bush	15,709
6	Collin	Dallas	175,419	2.74	Bush	85,295
7	Denton	Dallas	147,332	2.30	Bush	62,573
8	El Paso	El Paso	145,040	2.26	Gore	-26,274
8 County Total			3,241,951	50.62	Bush=7 Gore=1	438,850
245 County Total			3,162,689	49.38	Bush=223 Gore=23	929,594
State Total (254 Counties; 32 Electoral Votes)			6,404,640	100.00	Bush=230 Gore=24	1,368,444

NOTES:

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²"1999 MSA" refers to the Metropolitan Statistical Areas in effect in 1999. Only the first city is listed for areas with multiple central cities.

³"Total Votes" is the sum of votes cast for all presidential candidates.

⁴"% of Total" measures a county's share of the statewide vote total. Figures are rounded to the nearest hundredth.

⁵"Bush Margin" is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

SOURCE: Texas Elections Division (<http://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/index.shtml>)

Presidential Voting Trends

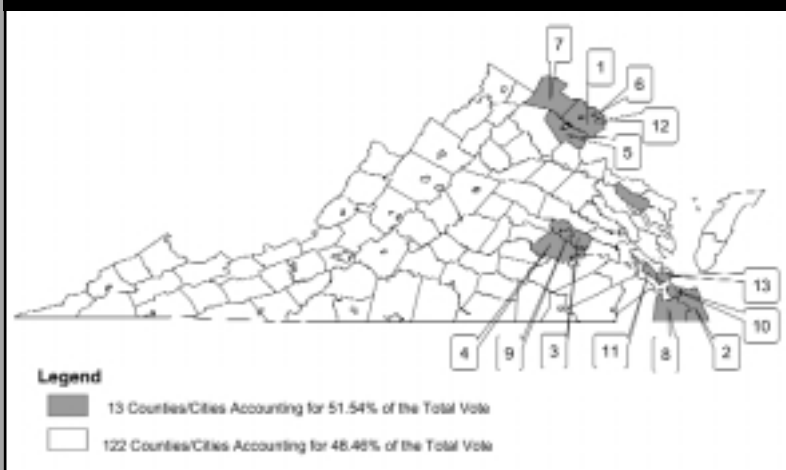
Year	% Rep. ¹	% Dem. ²	Turnout (% VAP) ³
2000	59	38	43
1996	49	44	41
1992	41	37	49
1988	56	43	44
1984	64	36	47
1980	55	41	45
1976	48	51	46

NOTES: ¹Republican share of the vote. ²Democratic share of the vote. ³Percent of the voting age population that cast ballots. All figures are rounded to whole numbers.

SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various years; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

Virginia: Non-Metros Propel Bush

Top 13 Virginia Districts, Presidential Election 2000



Districts Accounting for 51.54% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County/City	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Fairfax County	Washington	413,775	15.10	Bush	5,680
2	Virginia Beach City	Norfolk	149,771	5.47	Bush	21,406
3	Henrico County	Richmond	114,252	4.17	Bush	14,242
4	Chesterfield County	Richmond	110,951	4.05	Bush	31,286
5	Prince William County	Washington	100,511	3.67	Bush	8,043
6	Arlington County	Washington	83,559	3.05	Gore	-21,705
7	Loudoun County	Washington	75,653	2.76	Bush	11,515
8	Chesapeake City	Norfolk	74,585	2.72	Bush	6,106
9	Richmond City	Richmond	65,926	2.41	Gore	-22,452
10	Norfolk City	Norfolk	61,946	2.26	Gore	-16,301
11	Newport News City	Norfolk	57,825	2.11	Gore	-2,773
12	Alexandria City	Washington	55,199	2.01	Gore	-14,590
13	Hampton City	Norfolk	47,887	1.75	Gore	-7,929
13 County/City Total			1,362,160	51.54	Bush=7 Gore=6	12,528
122 County/City Total			1,377,287	48.46	Bush=97 Gore=25	207,672
State Total			2,739,447	100.00	Bush=104 Gore=31	220,200
(135 Counties/Cities; 13 Electoral Votes)						

NOTES:

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⁵“Bush Margin” is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

SOURCE: Virginia State Board of Elections (<http://www.sbe.state.va.us/>)

Republican strength outside of metropolitan areas propelled Virginia in George W. Bush’s favor. Cities and counties in Virginia are distinct voting districts. Bush and Al Gore ran close races in the state’s two largest metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) — Washington, DC, and Norfolk. However, Bush managed to carry the state with 52.5 percent of the vote by performing well in the Richmond MSA and non-metro districts.

- ◆ The 17 Virginia metro districts in the Washington MSA contained 32.6 percent of the 2000 vote.
- ◆ Bush and Gore each received less than 50 percent of the Washington metro vote. Bush won 49.2 percent compared to Gore’s 47.1 percent.
- ◆ The 14-metro district Norfolk MSA contained 21.9 percent of Virginia’s 2000 population but 19.8 percent of the vote. Bush captured 50.1 percent of the Norfolk vote.
- ◆ The Richmond MSA, which contributed 14.9 percent of the total vote, went for Bush, who received 54.6 percent of the region’s vote.
- ◆ Overall, Bush carried 51.5 percent of Virginia’s metro vote and 56.4 percent of the non-metro vote. Bush won 55 of the 72 non-metro districts, and none of the districts he lost went for Gore by more than 1,878 votes.
- ◆ Gore won only nine districts to the west of Richmond.
- ◆ The Republican Party controls both chambers of the state legislature and both U.S. Senate seats. The GOP also won 8 of 11 congressional races in 2002 and seven in 2000. Virginia’s governorship, however, is held by a Democrat. ■

Presidential Voting Trends

Year	% Rep. ¹	% Dem. ²	Turnout (% VAP) ³
2000	52	44	52
1996	48	46	47
1992	45	41	53
1988	60	39	48
1984	62	37	51
1980	53	40	48
1976	49	48	47

NOTES: ¹Republican share of the vote. ²Democratic share of the vote. ³Percent of the voting age population that cast ballots. All figures are rounded to whole numbers.

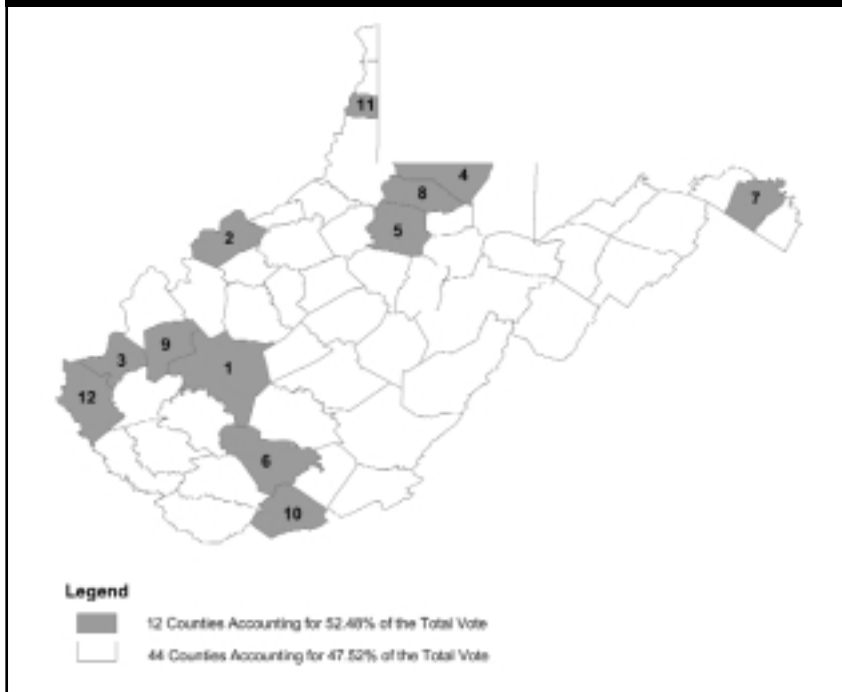
SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various years; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

West Virginia: A Surprising Bush Win

A small state with few metro areas and a long Democratic tradition, West Virginia unexpectedly gave its five electoral votes in 2000 to Republican George W. Bush. Bush received 51.9 percent of the vote and bested Al Gore by a margin of 40,978 votes.

- ◆ West Virginia is a rural-oriented state with only 11 metro counties, the biggest of which is Kanawha (Charleston Metropolitan Statistical Area) with a 2000 population of 200,073.
- ◆ Overall, Bush won the 12 counties that accounted for 52.5 percent of the total vote by 20,691 votes and the remaining 44 counties by an aggregate of 20,287 votes.
- ◆ Bush and Gore virtually split the state's metro vote. Bush received a 50.4 percent share.
- ◆ Close races occurred in all seven of West Virginia's metropolitan statistical areas. Bush won five of the areas by an aggregate total of 2,839 votes or fewer, one by 5,007 votes and one by 7,764 votes.
- ◆ Bush performed better in non-metro than metro counties and won 53.1 percent of the non-metro vote.
- ◆ Other close races occurred in 2000. Democrat Bob Wise won the governorship with 50 percent of the vote, and Republican Shelley Moore Capito narrowly captured the congressional seat (Second District) vacated by Wise.
- ◆ Democrats continue to control most of West Virginia's elected offices. The party won two of three congressional seats in 2000 and 2002, holds both U.S. Senate seats, controls the governorship and enjoys majorities in both chambers of the state legislature. ■

Top 12 West Virginia Counties, Presidential Election 2000



Counties Accounting for 52.48% of the 2000 Presidential Vote

# ¹	County	1999 MSA ²	Total Votes ³	% Total Vote ⁴	County Winner	Bush Margin ⁵
1	Kanawha	Charleston	76,669	11.83	Gore	-1,715
2	Wood	Parkersburg	33,857	5.22	Bush	7,764
3	Cabell	Huntington	32,216	4.97	Bush	1,544
4	Monongalia	none	27,364	4.22	Bush	992
5	Harrison	none	26,574	4.10	Gore	-61
6	Raleigh	none	24,061	3.71	Bush	1,540
7	Berkeley	Washington	23,006	3.55	Bush	4,822
8	Marion	none	22,873	3.53	Gore	-2,343
9	Putnam	Charleston	20,426	3.15	Bush	4,282
10	Mercer	none	18,875	2.91	Bush	1,859
11	Ohio	Steubenville	17,963	2.77	Bush	1,954
12	Wayne	Huntington	16,241	2.51	Gore	53
12 County Total			340,125	52.48	Bush=8 Gore=4	20,691
44 County Total			307,975	47.52	Bush=34 Gore=9	20,287
State Total			648,100	100.00	Bush=42 Gore=13	40,978
(56 Counties; 5 Electoral Votes)						

NOTES:

¹"#" refers to the numbers on the adjacent map.

²"1999 MSA" refers to the Metropolitan Statistical Areas in effect in 1999. Only the first city is listed for areas with multiple central cities.

³"Total Votes" is the sum of votes cast for all presidential candidates.

⁴"% of Total" measures a county's share of the statewide vote total. Figures are rounded to the nearest hundredth.

⁵"Bush Margin" is the difference between the total votes cast for George W. Bush and Al Gore Jr.

SOURCE: West Virginia Elections Division (<http://www.wvsos.com/elections/Returns/ReturnsSearch.asp>)

Presidential Voting Trends

Year	% Rep. ¹	% Dem. ²	Turnout (% VAP) ³
2000	52	46	46
1996	37	52	45
1992	35	48	50
1988	48	52	47
1984	55	45	52
1980	45	50	53
1976	42	58	58

NOTES: ¹Republican share of the vote. ²Democratic share of the vote. ³Percent of the voting age population that cast ballots. All figures are rounded to whole numbers.

SOURCES: *The Almanac of American Politics*, various years; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

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The Center for the Study of the American South
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Please send comments and suggestions to southnow@unc.edu.

Presidential Election 2000: Metro vs. Non-Metro South

State	% Bush (State) ¹	% Bush (Metros) ²	% Bush (Non-Metros) ³	% Metro Vote (Total Votes) ⁴
AL	56.5	57.5	54.1	69.8
AR	51.3	51.8	50.8	48.7
FL ⁵	48.9	48.3	56.1	92.7
GA	55.0	53.0	59.8	71.6
KY	56.5	54.2	58.9	50.1
LA	52.6	51.9	54.6	75.8
MS	57.8	61.6	55.8	34.8
NC	56.0	56.0	56.4	68.4
OK	60.3	61.8	58.0	60.6
SC	56.8	59.3	51.0	70.6
TN	51.1	51.0	51.5	69.2
TX	59.3	57.9	65.7	81.4
VA	52.5	51.5	56.3	79.3
WV	51.9	50.4	53.1	73.3
Avg.	54.8	54.7	56.1	67.7

NOTES: 1=George W. Bush's share of a state's total vote. 2=Bush's share of all the votes cast in a state's metropolitan areas. 3=Bush's share of all the votes cast in a state's non-metropolitan areas. 4= The share of all the votes cast in a state that came from metropolitan areas. 5=Florida calculations are based on the returns posted on the state's official election Web site. Bush received Florida's electoral votes.

SOURCES: Official state election Web sites; U.S. Census Bureau; U.S. Office of Management and Budget.

→ METROPOLITAN FROM PAGE 1

engines strong? And will Southern states persist in attempting to alleviate widespread rural poverty and small-town economic distress?

The presidential election results show that, while metropolitan areas clearly have gained the upper hand politically in much of the South, rural areas retain clout in the face of metropolitan divisions.

While President Bush ran strongly across the South, he generally performed better in non-metro areas. Bush garnered a higher share of the non-metro vote in 10 Southern states. In Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Virginia and West Virginia, Bush and Gore ran fairly evenly in metros, with the outcome thereby swinging on Bush's greater strength among non-metro voters.

Florida provides the clearest example of this trend. Bush received 48.3 percent of Florida's metro vote but 56.1 percent of the non-metro

vote. When translated into actual numbers, Gore's sizable tallies in metro areas were countered by Bush's totals in rural areas and led to the rough tie and post-election contest for the state's electoral votes.

In non-metro areas, Bush tended to win counties with white majorities. The rural counties won by Gore tended to have sizable black populations and clustered geographically in the Mississippi Delta and Black Belt crescent. Gore also took some counties in Appalachia and along the Mexican border.

In metro areas, Gore frequently won the central county, while Bush took the adjacent counties. In the Little Rock metro, for example, Gore carried Pulaski, where 39.1 percent of the population is African American. The three other counties in the metro area — none of which has African-American populations exceeding 8.5 percent — backed Bush. In Georgia, the top four counties in votes cast were all in the Atlanta metro area. Of these four, Gore won two, Bush two. ■

Visit www.southnow.org
to view or download all the data used in this issue.