1
Elections and Political Parties

- **Turnout**
- **Political Parties**
- **Election Results (President, Congress, and State)**
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In a book about statistics on American politics, elections and campaigns offer us lots and lots of numbers. In fact, if asked for examples of political statistics, most people's minds would go first to election results; many elections are held in any given year, and these elections have extended back to the early years of the country. In this chapter, we share data on voter turnout (Figures 1-1 and 1-2 and Tables 1-1 and 1-2) and on presidential (Table 1-7) and congressional (Table 1-10) election results going back to 1788. This book also provides the most recent results for elections to the governorships and to the state legislatures (Table 1-6), as well as information on presidential primaries and caucuses (Tables 1-23 through 1-26).

As we will discuss in this book, when we have such an abundance of numbers, it behooves us to create some form of summarization. We usually express these summaries in partisan terms, such as comparing a party's share of the vote won and the share of House seats gained (Table 1-12). Wins for the major parties are presented in a variety of ways, but sometimes such results need to be broken down further. In our experience, reporting results by region (Table 1-4 and Figure 1-4) or by state (Tables 1-3, 1-5, and 1-9) is often informative. In addition, historians and political scientists frequently report election results by so-called party systems separated by periods of

"realignment"—that is, fundamental shifts in support for parties and the coalitions supporting them. Scholars most often claim that such realignments occurred in the 1850s, 1890s, between 1928 and 1932, and probably in the 1960s.[1] This way of defining party systems is used in the reporting for this analysis (Tables 1-4, 1-8, and 1-11).

We are particularly interested in the current period, as analysis of contemporary election results helps us to understand the world that we see unfolding in front of us. Our data document recent trends in campaigns and elections: the decline in presidential voter turnout between 1960 and 1996 and its recent upsurge (Table 1-1 and Figure 1-1), the electoral advantages of incumbency (Table 1-19), the frequently-lengthened quests for the presidential nominations (Figure 1-5), the greater emphasis on primaries (Tables 1-23 and 1-24), and, in Chapter 2, the growing contributions from political action committees (Table 2-14) and the expense of political campaigns (Tables 2-3 through 2-5).

Besides the arsenal of statistics reporting and summarizing election results by party, other characteristics of the individuals elected to office are of interest. Since we believe it is important to consider the extent to which those who are elected look like those who are voting, we include information on the election of Blacks, Hispanics, and women (Tables 1-21 and 1-22) and on their districts (Table 1-20). Political scientists and others also find it useful to consider the frequency of "divided government" between the presidency and Congress (Table 1-13), to tabulate numbers of House districts in which the votes for president and Congress go to different parties (Table 1-14), to determine individual and partisan turnover rates for members of Congress (Tables 1-15, 1-16, 1-18, and 1-19), and to document the regular pattern of losses by the president's party at midterm elections. The fact that the president's party loses seats in midterm elections is almost taken a given, although this pattern was disrupted in 1998 and 2002 (Table 1-17).

Auxiliary information is often useful in interpreting these election results. One helpful item is a list of political parties that have competed in elections at various times in U.S. history (Figure 1-3). The location and size of presidential nominating conventions (Table 1-27) are also provided, and we also include pertinent information on the election of minorities, as well as on their legislative districts (Table 1-28) and application of the Voting Rights Act (Table 1-29).

While this issue is no longer as hot as it once was, we also consider which states have passed term limits, the length of the limits they have imposed, and the numbers of state representatives who have been "termed out" of office (Tables 1-30 and 1-31). In light of some recent questions about voting equipment, we also present data on the types of voting equipment used throughout the country (Table 1-32). We are quite curious about the issue of voting

equipment and procedures, and are interested in how they will evolve in future years.

Despite the large quantity of data in this chapter, there are gaps that reflect the limits on what is known about campaigns, elections, and parties. The lack of survey data on realignments before the 1930s, for example, robs researchers of helpful historical comparisons. Also, not as many sources of data are available on state and local elections as they are on federal elections. Nevertheless, in the area of campaigns and elections, more than anywhere, there is almost an embarrassment of riches.

Note

1. John Aldrich and Richard G. Niemi, "The Sixth American Party System: Electoral Change, 1952–1992," in *Broken Contract? Changing Relationships between Americans and Their Government*, ed. Stephen Craig (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996).

Table 1-1 Voter Turnout Rates: United States, South, and Non-South, 1789–2020 (percent)

Presidential elections[a]				*Nonpresidential elections*[b]			
Year	United States	Non-South	South[c]	Year	United States	Non-South	South[c]
1789	11.6	11.1	14.3	1790	19.3	18.5	23.5
1792	6.2	6.0	14.4	1794	23.0	22.9	23.5
1796	19.9	19.5	24.9	1798	34.7	33.4	38.0
1800	32.2	40.5	28.7	1802	38.0	36.8	41.0
1804	23.7	27.9	13.1	1806	36.5	35.2	40.2
1808	34.9	42.8	19.1	1810	42.1	40.7	46.8
1812	38.2	43.9	18.9	1814	45.5	45.4	46.0
1816	16.8	20.7	8.1	1818	37.1	33.9	45.8
1820	10.5	12.6	5.2	1822	41.4	38.9	48.0
1824	26.7	26.6	27.2	1826	48.9	46.3	58.9
1828	57.7	62.1	42.5	1830	54.2	55.3	50.6
1832	56.5	64.0	30.1	1834	63.0	63.7	60.7
1836	56.5	58.5	49.2	1838	70.2	72.0	63.7
1840	80.3	81.6	75.4	1842	62.4	63.5	58.3
1844	79.2	80.5	74.2	1846	60.6	62.2	55.2
1848	72.7	74.0	68.0	1850	60.5	61.0	58.5
1852	69.8	72.5	59.3	1854	66.1	65.0	70.0
1856	80.0	81.9	72.2	1858	69.6	71.7	61.5
1860	82.8	84.3	76.7	1862	64.9	64.9	—
1864	77.0	77.0	—	1866	71.2	71.8	51.2[d]
1868	80.9	82.8	71.6	1870	67.0	67.1	66.7
1872	72.5	74.2	67.2	1874	65.0	65.5	63.2
1876	83.4	86.0	75.1	1878	65.1	70.5	48.4
1880	81.2	86.4	65.2	1882	64.2	68.1	58.5
1884	79.1	83.7	64.3	1886	63.9	70.6	42.0
1888	80.9	86.1	64.0	1890	64.6	70.4	44.7
1892	76.2	81.2	59.4	1894	67.5	73.5	47.2
1896	79.9	86.4	57.7	1898	60.1	68.0	33.6
1900	73.9	82.9	43.5	1902	55.7	65.2	23.8
1904	65.8	76.8	29.0	1906	51.4	61.1	18.6
1908	65.9	76.4	30.8	1910	51.8	61.0	20.6
1912	59.0	67.5	27.9	1914	50.1	58.5	18.6
1916	60.7	67.7	31.6	1918	39.9	45.8	14.8
1920	49.3	57.4	21.8	1922	35.8	42.7	11.8
1924	49.0	57.7	19.0	1926	33.0	40.0	8.5
1928	57.1	66.8	23.6	1930	36.9	44.0	12.2
1932	57.3	66.7	24.5	1934	44.8	53.9	13.1
1936	61.4	72.0	25.0	1938	47.0	57.4	11.3
1940	62.9	73.6	26.5	1942	34.1	42.0	7.2
1944	56.2	65.6	24.5	1946	38.8	47.2	10.4
1948	52.2	59.1	23.7	1950	43.6	51.9	13.6
1952	62.3	70.0	38.9	1954	43.5	51.2	17.2
1956	60.2	67.2	37.4	1958	45.0	53.6	16.1
1960	63.8	70.1	40.2	1962	47.7	54.1	24.0
1964	62.8	67.4	45.6	1966	48.7	52.9	33.1
1968	62.5	64.4	51.4	1970	47.3	50.9	34.7
1972	56.2	59.6	44.8	1974	39.1	43.1	26.1
1976	54.8	57.1	47.6	1978[e]	39.0	41.8	30.0
1980	54.2	56.4	47.6	1982[e]	42.1	44.7	31.0
1984	55.2	57.2	49.7	1986	38.1	39.3	34.7
1988	52.8	54.7	47.3	1990	38.4	39.5	35.2

Table 1-1 *(Continued)*

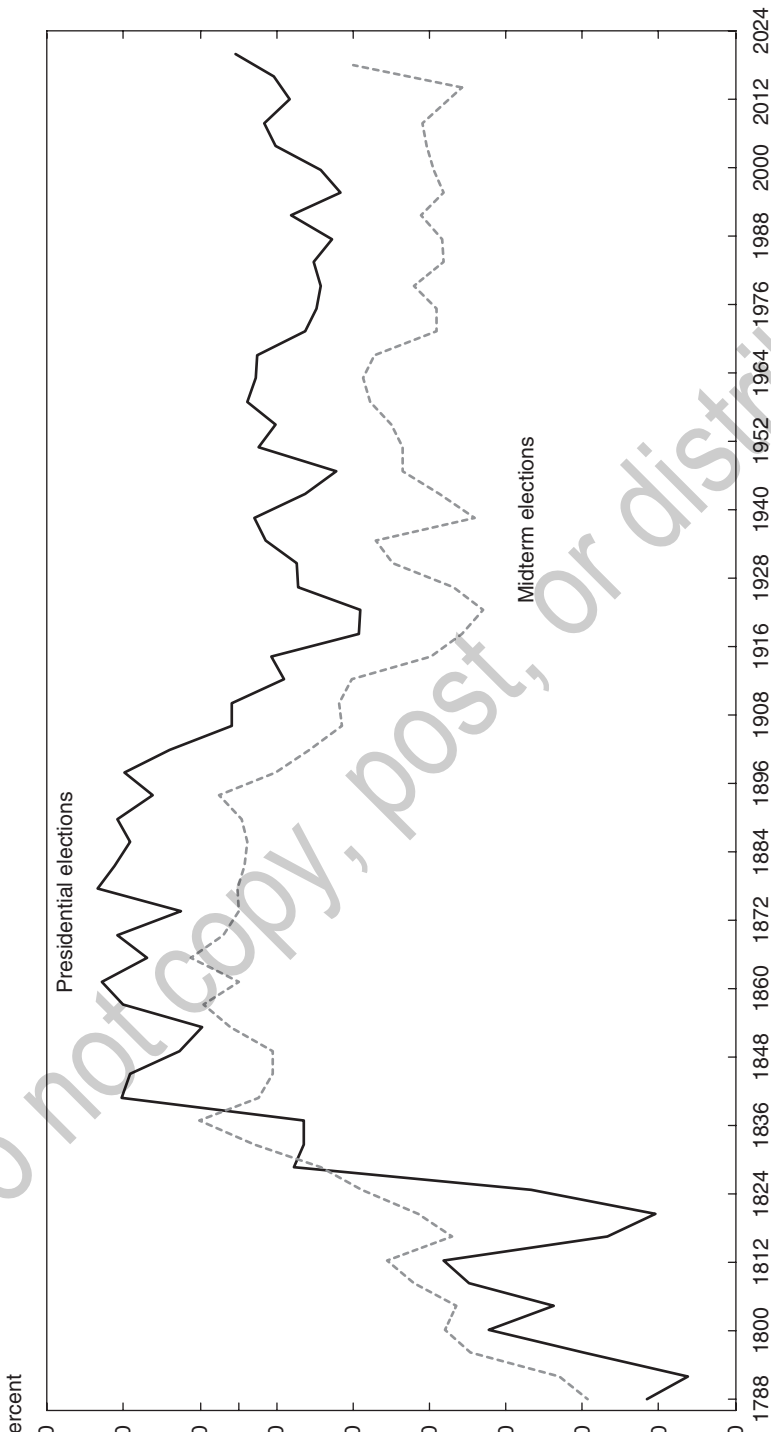
Presidential elections[a]				*Nonpresidential elections*[b]			
Year	United States	Non-South	South[c]	Year	United States	Non-South	South[c]
1992	58.1	59.9	53.0	1994	41.1	42.8	36.5
1996	51.7	53.1	47.7	1998	38.1	40.1	32.8
2000	54.2	55.5	51.1	2002	39.5	40.2	37.9
2004	60.1	61.1	57.8	2006	40.4	42.4	35.5
2008	61.6	61.8	61.1	2010	41.0	42.1	37.9
2012[f]	58.2	60.0	58.0	2014[f]	35.9	37.2	35.8
2016[f]	60.1	62.3	59.0	2018[f]	50.0	52.0	49.0
2020[f]	66.8	69.1	65.9				

Note: "—" indicates not available. In presidential election years, these turnout figures represent, insofar as possible, the percentage of the eligible electorate that cast votes in presidential elections. In nonpresidential election years through 1946, the figures are the percentage voting in elections for the U.S. House of Representatives. Since 1948, they are the "vote for highest office"—that is, the largest number of votes for a statewide office (U.S. senator or governor) or, if lacking a statewide office, the sum of the votes for the U.S. House of Representatives. In recent years, the problem of estimating turnout for the House has been complicated by the fact that Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas do not tally votes when races are uncontested. The definition of *eligibility* has varied considerably over the years, depending on age, race, gender, felony convictions, and citizenship status. Some states during some periods allowed noncitizens to vote, but this practice has not been permitted nationwide since 1924. Estimating the eligible electorate is especially difficult for the nineteenth century. For details, see Walter Dean Burnham, *Voting in American Elections: The Shaping of the American Political Universe since 1788* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Academia Press, 2010). Also see Curtis Gans, *Vote Turnout in the United States, 1788–2009* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2011). From 1924 through 1946, the base is what is known as the citizen voting-age population. From 1948 through 2014, the base is the citizen-eligible population, which begins with the voting-age population but removes noncitizens and ineligible felons and adds in overseas eligible voters. Turnout based on the voter-eligible population is higher than that based on the voting-age population. For 2000–2008, the figures for voters living abroad are apportioned between the South and the non-South based on a 2008 estimate, state by state, of the number of citizens living abroad. For the methodology, see George Mason University (*www.electproject.org*), and Michael P. McDonald and Samuel L. Popkin, "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter," *American Political Science Review* 95 (2001): 963–974. Note that the number of people actually going to the polls is slightly higher than these percentages indicate; some voters do not vote for a given office such as president or U.S. representative, and a small number of ballots are spoiled.

[a] Before 1828, only a limited number of states held popular votes for president. Numbers shown reflect turnout in those states.
[b] Before 1880, one or more states held elections for the U.S. House of Representatives in the year following the presidential election year. Before the Civil War, this practice was quite common, especially in the South and New England. Thus, for example, "1840" should be read as "1840/41."
[c] The eleven states of the Confederacy.
[d] Tennessee only.
[e] Because of Louisiana's second ballot system, Louisiana is excluded from the numerator and denominator for 1978 and 1982.
[f] The percentage for the United States includes overseas citizens in the denominator. The percentages for the Non-South and South do not and are therefore slightly inflated.

Sources: 1789–1946: Walter Dean Burnham, *Voting in American Elections: The Shaping of the American Political Universe since 1788* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Academica Press, 2010); 1948–2020: Michael P. McDonald, George Mason University, www.electproject.org; and personal communication.

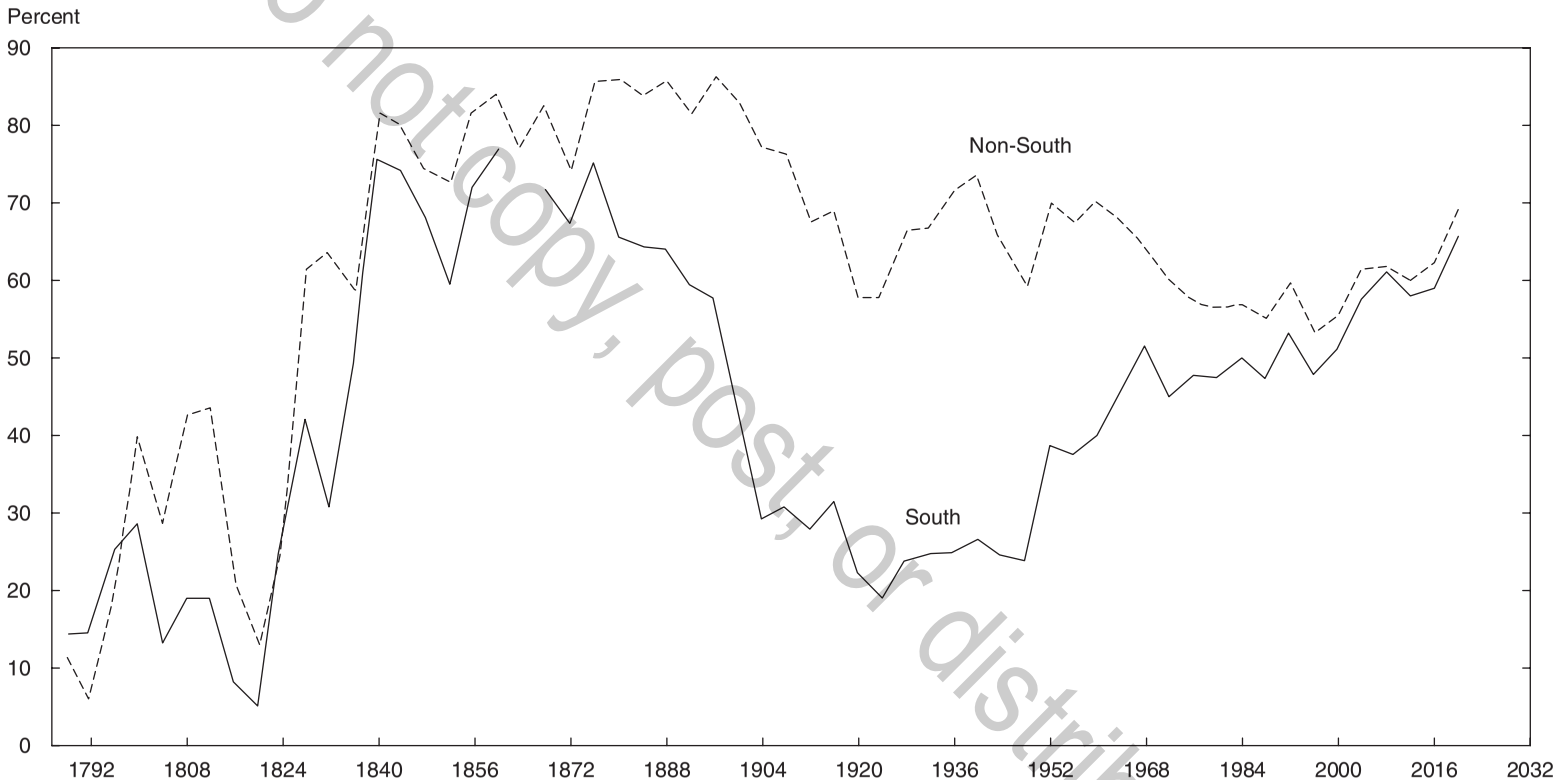
Figure 1-1 Voter Turnout Rates: Presidential and Midterm Elections, 1789–2020



Note: See note to Table 1–1.

Source: Table 1–1, this volume.

Figure 1-2 Voter Turnout Rates: Presidential Elections, South and Non-South, 1789–2020



Note: See note to Table 1-1. Broken line indicates that there are no Southern votes for U.S. president in 1864.

Source: Table 1-1, this volume.

A Data Literacy Lesson

Turnout Disparities in the South and Non-South

Take a look at Figure 1-1. It shows voter turnout, differentiated between presidential and off-year elections, which are often called midterm elections since they happen in the middle of the president's term. Not surprisingly, midterm elections have lower turnout, since they lack the excitement and stimulus that presidential elections provide to voters. But, looking at the lines separately, they track a clear trajectory—very low turnout in the early years of the nation, much higher turnout in the second half of the nineteenth century, followed by a decline in the 20th. It may be too early to tell, but we could be seeing a resurgence of turnout in the last few elections.

A figure like this one aggregates the entire nation and shows the results. However, this does not account for sub-groups within the population, and how (or if) their data might differ. If, for example, we found that purchases of hip-hop records increased by 20 percent in the last decade, we would not assume that everyone purchased 20 percent more hip-hop records during that time. For some groups (we imagine younger people), the increase might be even larger, while to balance this off, for others there might be no increase, or perhaps even a decrease.

In presenting longitudinal data (data collected over a long period), a researcher might decide that some separation of the data into its component parts would be valuable. Consider, then, the data reported in Table 1-1, and graphed in Figure 1-2. Following previous editions of this book, we have chosen to break these data out separately by whether a state is in the South (defined as the eleven states of the Confederacy) or not in the South. This was a very important distinction for much of American history. Following the end of Reconstruction in 1877, southern states took drastic steps to limit the political participation of its Black citizens. (Northern states, by the way, were no angels, but the South led the charge in attempting to limit participation.) The Progressive Movement of the late 1800s and early 1900s ushered in some reforms that made it easier to vote, but this movement was concentrated mostly in the North and did not have a significant impact in Southern states.

Table 1-1 and Figure 1-2 both reveal shockingly large gaps in turnout between North and South, in some years exceeding 40 percent. These gaps began to shrink at the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement; while voting rights was not specifically addressed by Congress until the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the growth of the movement and increase in the light that it shed on racial discrimination started to reduce these turnout disparities even before the Voting Rights Act was passed.

Simply put, the Voting Rights Act was successful in reducing turnout gaps between white and Black populations, and between the North and the South. Today, while turnout in the South has not yet matched turnout in the North, the gaps have shrunk considerably, to the point that separating our data down by South and non-South does not explain very much today. The Table and Figure are still quite useful from an historical perspective, so we continue to share it. If we were going to explain deviations in turnout today, however, South versus non-South does not provide us much analytical leverage.

The history lesson that this graph teaches us remains extremely important. The prevalence of racism, an important element in any honest reckoning with American history, reminds us that a common strategy for groups with power is to deny groups that lack power the chance to have their voices heard, and the chance to challenge

the status quo. As we write this, even a cursory glance at the news shows us that many states are taking steps to make access to voting harder, done in the name of election security. This movement follows directly from attempts by former president Donald Trump and his supporters to challenge mail-in voting and other aspects of the results of the 2020 election.

We will let you draw your own conclusions about how necessary these laws are. What is beyond dispute is that these laws will make it harder for people (especially those with fewer resources) to vote. Since at least some of the states pursuing these policies are in the South (Georgia and Texas are among the states leading the charge), we may see some of these South versus non-South patterns begin to reemerge. Furthermore, the Supreme Court case of Shelby County v. Holder, which eliminated the Preclearance Provisions from the Voting Rights Act (see the Note to Table 1-30), hearkens back to the older days of North–South distinctions.

We do not know what the future will hold, or what distinctions will be important in separating out key elements of these patterns. The example we show here of how data can be disaggregated into these components provides a useful lesson in how broader national trends do not necessarily affect all subunits equally, and that these differential effects may evolve over time.

Table 1-2 Voting-Age Population Registered and Voting: Cross Sections, 2000–2020 (percent)

	Percentage reporting they registered											*Percentage reporting they voted*										
	Presidential election years						Congressional election years					Presidential election years						Congressional election years				
	2000	*2004*	*2008*	*2012*	*2016*	*2020*	*2002*	*2006*	*2010*	*2014*	*2018*	*2000*	*2004*	*2008*	*2012*	*2016*	*2020*	*2002*	*2006*	*2010*	*2014*	*2018*
Race/ethnicity																						
White[a]	66	68	67	67	66	74	63	64	62	66	69	56	60	60	58	58	68	44	46	43	44	55
Black[a]	64	64	66	69	65	69	59	57	59	63	64	54	56	61	62	56	63	40	39	41	40	51
Hispanic origin[b]	35	34	38	39	39	44	33	32	34	35	39	28	28	32	32	33	36	19	19	20	18	26
Hispanic citizen[b]	57	58	59	59	57	61	53	54	52	51	54	45	47	50	48	48	54	30	32	31	27	40
Sex																						
Men	62	64	63	63	69	71	59	60	58	63	65	53	56	56	54	59	65	41	42	41	47	55
Women	66	68	67	67	72	74	63	63	61	66	68	56	60	60	59	63	68	43	45	43	51	57
Region[c]																						
Northeast	64	65	64	65	70	74	61	60	60	63	65	55	59	57	57	57	64	41	43	42	45	51
Midwest	70	73	71	71	74	76	66	68	65	66	68	61	65	63	62	64	68	47	51	45	46	50
South	65	65	66	65	70	72	62	62	59	61	64	54	56	58	56	54	60	42	40	39	42	47
West	57	60	59	59	68	71	54	55	55	59	62	50	54	55	52	66	69	39	42	43	45	48
Age																						
18–20 years	41	51	49	44	50	55	33	37	34	34	36	28	41	41	35	39	48	15	17	16	15	23
21–24 years	49	52	56	53	59	63	42	45	47	48	47	35	42	47	40	46	54	19	22	22	19	32
25–34 years	55	56	57	57	65	68	50	50	50	56	52	44	47	48	46	53	60	27	28	27	28	37
35–44 years	64	64	61	62	70	72	60	59	57	65	57	55	57	55	53	60	65	40	40	38	38	44
45–64 years	71	73	70	70	74	75	69	70	66	70	66	64	67	65	63	67	71	53	54	51	49	55
65 years and older	76	77	75	77	78	78	76	75	73	75	73	68	69	68	70	71	74	61	60	59	58	64

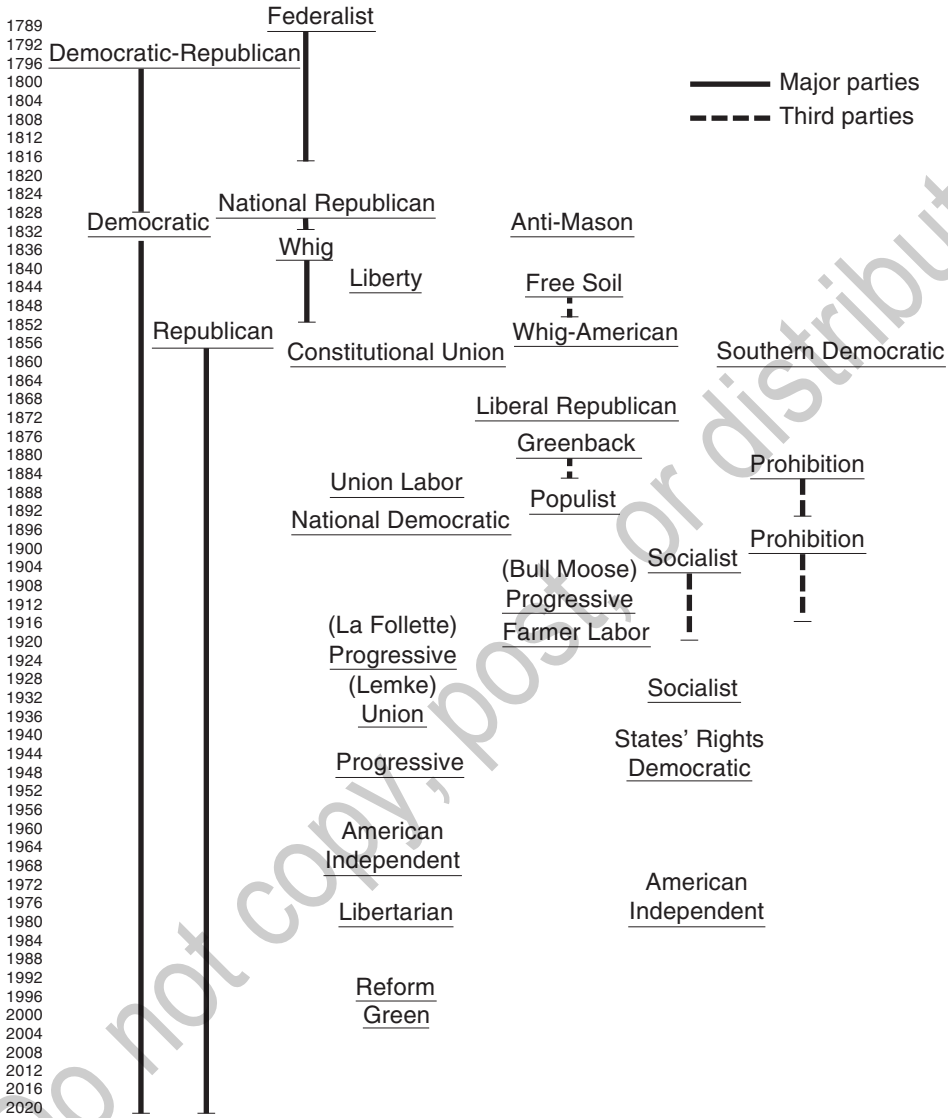
Employment																						
Employed	65	67	66	67	72	77	62	63	62	67	68	56	60	60	59	63	70	42	44	43	45	57
Unemployed	46	56	57	57	63	68	48	48	52	56	62	35	46	49	46	50	58	27	28	32	30	44
Not in labor force	64	64	63	63	67	70	61	61	59	63	64	55	56	56	54	58	64	44	44	42	43	52
Education (years)																						
8 or less	36	33	30	29	42	45	32	30	27	44	41	27	24	23	22	32	38	19	17	16	24	25
1–3 of high school	46	45	43	43	47	51	42	39	38	47	44	34	34	34	32	35	42	23	22	21	22	28
4 of high school	60	60	59	59	63	63	57	55	53	58	58	49	50	51	49	52	56	37	36	35	34	42
1–3 of college	70	74	72	71	73	76	67	68	66	67	79	60	66	65	61	63	70	46	47	44	42	55
Total	64	66	65	65	70	73	61	62	60	65	67	55	58	58	57	61	67	42	44	42	42	49

Note: Data for earlier years can be found in previous editions of *Vital Statistics on American Politics*.

[a] In 2002 and after, whites are individuals identifying with that race alone; Blacks are individuals identifying with that race alone.
[b] Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.
[c] For composition of regions, see Table A-1, this volume.

Sources: Calculated by the authors from U.S. Census Bureau, "Current Population Reports, Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1994," series P-20, no. PPL-25RV; "November 1996," no. 504; "November 1998," no. 523; "November 2000," no. 542; "November 2002," no. 552; "November 2004," no. 556; "November 2006," no. 557; "November 2008," no. 562; "November 2010"; "November 2012"; "November 2014"; "November 2016"; "November 2018"; "November 2020," www.census.gov.

Figure 1-3 American Political Parties since 1789



Note: In 1824 and later, the chart indicates the years in which the presidential candidate of a political party received 1.0 percent or more of the popular vote. Minor parties are not included if the minor-party candidate is also the candidate of one of the two major parties (as happened in 1896 when the Populists endorsed William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic candidate). Party candidates sometimes run under different designations in different states (in 1968 George C. Wallace ran for president under at least ten party labels). In such cases, the vote totals for the candidate were aggregated under a single party designation. Sometimes candidates run under no party label as H. Ross Perot did in 1992. (In 1996, Perot ran under the Reform Party label.)

Sources: 1789–1820: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975); 1824–2012: *CQ Press Guide to U.S. Elections,* 7th ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010), 215; 2016–2020: Table 1-9, this volume, and previous editions of *Vital Statistics on American Politics.*

Table 1-3 Party Competition: Presidency, by State, 1992–2020

Number of times Democratic presidential candidate carried the state					
0	1	2	3 through 6	7	8
Alabama (9)	Indiana (11)	Arizona (11)	Florida (30) [3 times]	New Hampshire (4)	California (54)
Alaska (3)	Montana (4)	Arkansas (6)		New Mexico (5)	Connecticut (7)
Idaho (4)	North Carolina (16)	Georgia (16)	Ohio (17) [4 times]	Pennsylvania (19)	Delaware (3)
Kansas (6)		Kentucky (8)	Virginia (13) [4 times]	Michigan (15)	District of Columbia (3)
Mississippi (6)		Louisiana (8)		Wisconsin (10)	Hawaii (4)
Nebraska (5)		Missouri (10)	Colorado (10) [5 times]		Illinois (19)
North Dakota (3)		Tennessee (11)	Iowa (6) [5 times]		Maine (4)
Oklahoma (7)		West Virginia (4)			Maryland (10)
South Carolina (9)			Nevada (6) [6 times]		Massachusetts (11)
South Dakota (3)					Minnesota (10)
Texas (40)					New Jersey (14)
Utah (6)					New York (28)
Wyoming (3)					Oregon (8)
					Rhode Island (4)
					Vermont (3)
					Washington (12)
Total electoral votes:					
104	31	74	82	53	194

Note: Numbers of electoral votes for 2024 and subsequent elections are shown in parentheses. For similar data on other periods, see previous editions of *Vital Statistics on American Politics.*

Sources: CQ Press Guide to U.S. Elections, 7th ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2016), 927–932, 1,834; Table 1-9, this volume; and previous editions of *Vital Statistics on American Politics.*

Table 1-4 Party Competition, by Region, 1860–2020 (percent)

Region/office	*1860–1895*	*1896–1931*	*1932–1965*	*1966–2020*
New England				
President	85.2	85.5	53.7	33.5
Governor	74.3	85.5	63.1	50.2
U.S. representative	86.8	82.8	60.6	24.4
U.S. senator	[a]	83.3	65.1	37.1
Middle Atlantic				
President	38.9	88.9	47.2	32.9
Governor	34.9	66.7	51.4	51.0
U.S. representative	59.3	68.9	52.9	41.1
U.S. senator	[a]	76.9	57.7	37.5
Midwest				
President	77.8	84.4	44.4	53.4
Governor	78.8	78.9	46.9	67.1
U.S. representative	61.1	74.5	57.8	52.1
U.S. senator	[a]	83.3	50.8	37.2
Plains				
President	88.9	77.8	57.4	79.6
Governor	94.4	71.3	70.4	60.1
U.S. representative	88.6	84.2	76.4	60.9
U.S. senator	[a]	83.9	79.7	54.6
South				
President	18.4	6.1	15.8	77.6
Governor	21.2	4.2	0.0	59.7
U.S. representative	25.0	7.5	7.2	47.5
U.S. senator	[a]	0.0	1.5	66.3
Border South				
President	8.6	56.8	22.2	60.7
Governor	22.2	38.6	16.7	36.4
U.S. representative	19.4	36.5	18.7	42
U.S. senator	[a]	42.4	23.4	49.6
Rocky Mountain				
President	73.3	57.8	35.2	80.4
Governor	58.3	51.1	38.5	55.2
U.S. representative	70.0	67.6	30.3	61.2
U.S. senator	[a]	32.4	20.6	62.1
Pacific Coast				
President	75.0	75.0	37.5	45.3
Governor	47.4	70.8	59.4	35.6
U.S. representative	64.4	85.6	49.0	36.3
U.S. senator	[a]	73.7	44.4	36.8

Note: Table entries are the percentages of all elections won by Republicans. For composition of regions, see Table A-3, this volume.

[a] Direct election of U.S. senators began after passage of the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913.

Sources: Clerk of the House of Representatives, http://clerk.house.gov; *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections*, 3rd ed. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1994), 1344; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* (*CQ Weekly*) (1996), 3192, 3226, 3238, 3242; (1998), 3002, 3004, 3010–3011; (2000), 2671, 2704–2706; (2002), 3289–3297; (2004), 2653–2660; (2006), 3068–3078, 3132, 3186, 3238, 3381; (2008), 3019, 3043–3052, 3056, 3102, 3153, 3206, 3293, 3374; (2010), 2618–2627, 2716, 2766; (2012), 2284–2293, 2342, 2384, 2430; National Governors Association, www.nga.org; official election results from state websites; Table 1-9, this volume.

Table 1-5 Party Competition in the States, 1992–2020

Percentage of Democratic wins[a]				
0–20	21–40	41–60	61–80	81–100
Alaska	Georgia	Alabama	Arkansas	California
Arizona	Indiana	Colorado	Delaware	Connecticut
Florida	Iowa	Kentucky	Illinois	Hawaii
Idaho	Michigan	Louisiana	Maine	Maryland
Kansas	Missouri	Mississippi	Minnesota	Massachusetts
Nebraska[b]	Montana	North Carolina	Nevada	New Mexico
North Dakota	New Hampshire	Oklahoma	New Jersey	Rhode Island
Ohio	Wisconsin	Tennessee	New York	Washington
Pennsylvania		Virginia	Oregon	
South Carolina			Vermont	
South Dakota			West Virginia	
Texas				
Utah				
Wyoming				

Note: For similar data on other periods, see previous editions of *Vital Statistics on American Politics.*

[a] The governorship, control of the lower chamber, and control of the upper chamber are figured separately—that is, if in a given state the Democrats won the governorship and control of one chamber, they had 66.7 percent of the wins in that election cycle.
[b] Results are for the governorship only because the legislature is nonpartisan.

Sources: Compiled by the authors. Council of State Governments, *The Book of the States, 1990–91* (Lexington, Ky.: Council of State Governments, 1990), 123; *1992–93* (1992), 141, 269–272; *1996–97* (1996), 68–69, 153–156; *2004* (2004), 269–270; *2006* (2006), 270–271; *2008* (2008), 305–306; *2010* (2010), 332–333; *2012* (2012), 332–333; *2014* (2014), 275–276; *Congressional Quarterly's Politics in America 1994* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1993); *Congressional Quarterly's Politics in America 1998* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1997); National Conference of State Legislatures, www.ncsl.org; National Governors Association, www.nga.org; and Richard Scammon and Rhodes Cook, eds., *America Votes 25, 2001–2002*: *A Handbook of Contemporary American Election Statistics* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2003).

Table 1-6 Partisan Division of Governors and State Legislatures, 2021

	Governor			*Legislature*							
				Upper house				Lower house			
State	Name	Party	Next up for election	*Democrats*	*Republicans*	*Other*[a]	*Seats up in 2022*	*Democrats*	*Republicans*	*Other*[a]	*Seats up in 2022*
Alabama	Kay Ivey	R	2022	8	26	1v	35	27	76	2v	105
Alaska	Mike Dunleavy	R	2022	7	13		10	15	21	4	40
Arizona	Doug Ducey	R	2022	14	16		30	29	31		60
Arkansas	Asa Hutchinson	R	2022	7	27	1	35	22	78		100
California	Gavin Newsom	D	2022	31	9		20	59	19	1, 1v	80
Colorado	Jared Polis	D	2022	20	15		17	41	24		65
Connecticut	Ned Lamont	D	2022	24	12		36	97	54		151
Delaware	John Carney	D	2024	14	7		10	26	15		41
Florida	Ron DeSantis	R	2022	16	24		20	42	78		120
Georgia	Brian Kemp	R	2022	22	34		56	77	101	2v	180
Hawaii	David Ige	D	2022	23	1	1v	25	47	4		51
Idaho	Brad Little	R	2022	7	28		35	12	58		70
Illinois	JB Pritzker	D[b]	2022	41	18		59	73	45		118
Indiana	Eric Holcomb	R	2024	11	39		25	29	71		100
Iowa	Kim Reynolds	R	2022	18	32		25	41	59		100
Kansas	Laura Kelly	D[b]	2022	11	29		0[c]	39	86		125
Kentucky	Andy Beshear	D	2023	8	30		19	25	75		100
Louisiana	John Bel Edwards	D[b]	2023	12	27		0[d]	35	68	2	0[d]
Maine	Janet Mills	D[b]	2022	22	13		35	80	66	5	151
Maryland	Larry Hogan	R	2022	32	15		47	99	42		141
Massachusetts	Charlie Baker	R	2022	37	3		40	129	30	1	160
Michigan	Gretchen Whitmer	D[b]	2022	16	20	2v	38	52	58		110
Minnesota	Tim Walz	D	2022	31	34	2	67	70	64		134

Mississippi	Tate Reeves	R	2023	16	36		0[e]	46	75	1	0[e]
Missouri	Mike Parson	D	2024	10	24		17	49	113	1v	163
Montana	Greg Gianforte	R[b]	2024	19	31		25	33	66	1v	100
Nebraska	Pete Ricketts	R	2022	[f]	[f]		49	[f]	[f]		[f]
Nevada	Steve Sisolak	R	2022	12	9		11	26	16		42
New Hampshire	Chris Sununu	R	2022	10	14		24	185	212	3v	400
New Jersey	Phil Murphy	D[b]	2021	25	15		0[g]	52	28		0[g]
New Mexico	Michelle Lujan Grisham	D[b]	2022	27	15		0[h]	44	24	1, 1v	70
New York	Andrew Cuomo	D	2022	43	20		63	106	43	1v	150
North Carolina	Roy Cooper	D[b]	2024	22	28		50	51	69		120
North Dakota	Doug Burgum	R	2024	7	40		24	14	80		48
Ohio	Mike DeWine	R	2022	8	25		17	35	64		99
Oklahoma	Kevin Stitt	R	2022	9	39		24	19	82		101
Oregon	Kate Brown	D	2022	18	11	1	15	37	22	1v	60
Pennsylvania	Tom Wolf	D	2022	21	28	1	25	89	113	1v	203
Rhode Island	Dan McKee	D	2022	33	5		38	65	10		75
South Carolina	Henry McMaster	R	2022	16	30		0[i]	43	81		124
South Dakota	Kristi Noem	R	2022	3	32		35	8	62		70
Tennessee	Bill Lee	R	2022	6	27		17	26	73		99
Texas	Greg Abbott	R	2022	13	18		31	67	83		150
Utah	Spencer Cox	R	2024	6	23		14	17	58		75
Vermont	Phil Scott	R	2022	21	7	2	30	92	46	12	150
Virginia	Ralph Northam	D	2021	21	18	1v	0[j]	55	45		0[j]
Washington	Jay Inslee	D	2024	29	20		24	56	41		98
West Virginia	Jim Justice	R	2024	11	23		17	22	78		100
Wisconsin	Tony Evers	D[b]	2022	12	21		17	38	60	1v	99
Wyoming	Mark Gordon	R	2022	2	28		15	7	51		60
Total		D 23, R 27		848	1,059		1,266	2,448	2,918		4,958

Note: "D" indicates Democratic Party; "R" indicates Republican Party. Governors and legislatures as of June 17, 2021. Data for earlier years can be found in previous editions of *Vital Statistics on American Politics.*

(Table continues)

Table 1-6 *(Continued)*

[a] Indicates number of vacant seats (denoted by a "v" after the number), or number of independents.
[b] Change in party control from previous election.
[c] Forty members of the upper-house are up for election in 2024.
[d] Thirty-nine upper-house seats and 105 lower-house seats are up for election in 2023.
[e] Fifty-two upper-house seats and 122 lower-house seats are up for election in 2023.
[f] Nebraska's forty-nine–member state legislature is nonpartisan and unicameral; twenty-four seats are up for election in 2022.
[g] Forty upper-house seats and eighty lower-house seats are up for election in 2021.
[h] Forty-two seats in the upper house up are for election in 2024.
[i] Forty-six seats in upper house are up for election in 2024.
[j] One hundred lower-house seats are up for election in 2021; forty upper-house seats and 100 lower-house seats are up for election in 2023.

Sources: Governors, name, and party: National Governors Association, www.nga.org; state legislative partisan composition as of 2021: National Conference of State Legislatures, www.ncsl.org, and updated by authors from state government websites; next up for election, governors and state legislatures: calculated by the authors from these sources, previous editions of *Vital Statistics on American Politics,* and state government websites.

Table 1-7 Popular and Electoral Votes for President, 1789–2020

Year	*Number of states*	*Candidates*		*Electoral vote (number and percent)*		*Popular vote (number and percent)*	
			(Federalist)		*(Federalist)*		
1789[a]	10[b]		George Washington		69		
					100%		
1792[a]	15		George Washington		132		
					98%		
		(Democratic-Republican)	*(Federalist)*	*(Democratic-Republican)*	*(Federalist)*		
1796[a]	16	Thomas Jefferson	John Adams	68	71		
				49%	51%		
1800[a]	16	Thomas Jefferson	John Adams	73	65		
				53%	47%		
1804	17	Thomas Jefferson	Charles C. Pinckney	162	14		
		George Clinton	Rufus King	92%	8%		
1808	17	James Madison	Charles C. Pinckney	122	47		
		George Clinton	Rufus King	69%	27%		
1812	18	James Madison	George Clinton	128	89		
		Elbridge Gerry	Jared Ingersoll	59%	41%		
1816	19	James Monroe	Rufus King	183	34		
		Daniel D. Tompkins	John Eager Howard	83%	15%		
		(Democratic-Republican)	*(Independent Democratic-Republican)*	*(Democratic-Republican)*	*(Independent Democratic-Republican)*		
1820	24	James Monroe	John Q. Adams	231	1		
		Daniel D. Tompkins	Richard Stockton	98%	0%		
1824[c]	24	Andrew Jackson	John Q. Adams	99	84		
		Nathan Sanford	John C. Calhoun	38%	32%		
		(Democratic-Republican)	*(National-Republican)*	*(Democratic-Republican)*	*(National-Republican)*	*(Democratic-Republican)*	*(National-Republican)*

(Table continues)

Table 1-7 *(Continued)*

Year	Number of states	Candidates		Electoral vote (number and percent)		Popular vote (number and percent)	
1828	24	Andrew Jackson	John Q. Adams	178	83	642,553	500,897
		John C. Calhoun	Richard Rush	68%	32%	56.0%	43.6%
1832	24	Andrew Jackson	Henry Clay	219	49	701,780	484,205
		Martin Van Buren	John Sergeant	76%	17%	54.2%	37.4%
		(Democratic)	*(Whig)*	*(Democratic)*	*(Whig)*	*(Democratic)*	*(Whig)*
1836	26	Martin Van Buren	William Henry Harrison	170	73[d]	764,176	550,816
		Richard M. Johnson	Francis Granger	58%	25%	50.8%	36.6%
1840	26	Martin Van Buren	William Henry Harrison	60	234	1,128,854	1,275,390
		Richard M. Johnson	John Tyler	20%	80%	46.8%	52.9%
1844	26	James K. Polk	Henry Clay	170	105	1,339,494	1,300,004
		George M. Dallas	Theodore Frelinghuysen	62%	38%	49.5%	48.1%
1848	30	Lewis Cass	Zachary Taylor	127	163	1,223,460	1,361,393
		William O. Butler	Millard Fillmore	44%	56%	42.5%	47.3%
1852	31	Franklin Pierce	Winfield Scott	254	42	1,607,510	1,386,942
		William R. King	William A. Graham	86%	14%	50.8%	43.9%
		(Democratic)	*(Republican)*	*(Democratic)*	*(Republican)*	*(Democratic)*	*(Republican)*
1856	31	James Buchanan	John C. Fremont	174	114	1,836,072	1,342,345
		John C. Breckinridge	William L. Dayton	59%	39%	45.3%	33.1%
1860	33	Stephen A. Douglas	Abraham Lincoln	12	180	1,380,202	1,865,908
		Herschel V. Johnson	Hannibal Hamlin	4%	59%	29.5%	39.8%
1864	36[e]	George B. McClellan	Abraham Lincoln	21	212	1,809,445	2,220,846
		George H. Pendleton	Andrew Johnson	9%	91%	44.9%	55.1%
1868	37[f]	Horatio Seymour	Ulysses S. Grant	80	214	2,708,744	3,013,650
		Francis P. Blair Jr.	Schuyler Colfax	27%	73%	47.3%	52.7%
1872	37	Horace Greeley	Ulysses S. Grant	[g]	286	2,835,315	3,598,468
		Benjamin G. Brown	Henry Wilson	[g]	78%	43.8%	55.6%
1876	38	Samuel J. Tilden	Rutherford B. Hayes	184	185	4,288,191	4,033,497
		Thomas A. Hendricks	William A. Wheeler	50%	50%	51.0%	48.0%

1880	38	Winfield S. Hancock	James A. Garfield	155	214	4,445,256	4,453,611
		William H. English	Chester A. Arthur	42%	58%	48.2%	48.3%
1884	38	Grover Cleveland	James G. Blaine	219	182	4,915,586	4,852,916
		Thomas A. Hendricks	John A. Logan	55%	45%	48.9%	48.2%
1888	38	Grover Cleveland	Benjamin Harrison	168	233	5,539,118	5,449,825
		Allen G. Thurman	Levi P. Morton	42%	58%	48.6%	47.8%
1892	44	Grover Cleveland	Benjamin Harrison	277	145	5,554,617	5,186,793
		Adlai E. Stevenson	Whitelaw Reid	62%	33%	46.0%	43.0%
1896	45	William Jennings Bryan	William McKinley	176	271	6,370,897	7,105,144
		Arthur Sewall	Garret A. Hobart	39%	61%	45.8%	51.1%
1900	45	William Jennings Bryan	William McKinley	155	292	6,357,698	7,219,193
		Adlai E. Stevenson	Theodore Roosevelt	35%	65%	45.5%	51.7%
1904	45	Alton B. Parker	Theodore Roosevelt	140	336	5,083,501	7,625,599
		Henry G. Davis	Charles W. Fairbanks	29%	71%	37.6%	56.4%
1908	46	William Jennings Bryan	William Howard Taft	162	321	6,406,874	7,676,598
		John W. Kern	James S. Sherman	34%	66%	43.0%	51.6%
1912	48	Woodrow Wilson	William Howard Taft	435	8	6,294,326	3,486,343
		Thomas R. Marshall	James S. Sherman[h]	82%	2%	41.8%	23.2%
1916	48	Woodrow Wilson	Charles E. Hughes	277	254	9,126,063	8,547,039
		Thomas R. Marshall	Charles W. Fairbanks	52%	48%	49.2%	46.1%
1920	48	James M. Cox	Warren G. Harding	127	404	9,134,074	16,151,916
		Franklin D. Roosevelt	Calvin Coolidge	24%	76%	34.2%	60.3%
1924	48	John W. Davis	Calvin Coolidge	136	382	8,386,532	15,724,310
		Charles W. Bryan	Charles G. Dawes	26%	72%	28.8%	54.0%
1928	48	Alfred E. Smith	Herbert C. Hoover	87	444	15,004,336	21,432,823
		Joseph T. Robinson	Charles Curtis	16%	84%	40.8%	58.2%
1932	48	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Herbert C. Hoover	472	59	22,818,740	15,760,425
		John Nance Garner	Charles Curtis	89%	11%	57.4%	39.6%
1936	48	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Alfred M. Landon	523	8	27,750,866	16,679,683
		John Nance Garner	Frank Knox	98%	2%	60.8%	36.5%
1940	48	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Wendell L. Willkie	449	82	27,343,218	22,334,940
		Henry A. Wallace	Charles L. McNary	85%	15%	54.7%	44.8%

(Table continues)

Table 1-7 *(Continued)*

Year	Number of states	Candidates		Electoral vote (number and percent)		Popular vote (number and percent)	
1944	48	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Thomas E. Dewey	432	99	25,612,610	22,021,053
		Harry S. Truman	John W. Bricker	81%	19%	53.4%	45.9%
1948	48	Harry S. Truman	Thomas E. Dewey	303	189	24,105,810	21,970,064
		Alben W. Barkley	Earl Warren	57%	36%	49.5%	45.1%
1952	48	Adlai E. Stevenson II	Dwight D. Eisenhower	89	442	27,314,992	33,777,945
		John J. Sparkman	Richard Nixon	17%	83%	44.4%	54.9%
1956	48	Adlai E. Stevenson II	Dwight D. Eisenhower	73	457	26,022,752	35,590,472
		Estes Kefauver	Richard Nixon	14%	86%	42.0%	57.4%
1960	50	John F. Kennedy	Richard Nixon	303	219	34,226,731	34,108,157
		Lyndon B. Johnson	Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.	56%	41%	49.7%	49.5%
1964	50	Lyndon B. Johnson	Barry M. Goldwater	486	52	43,129,566	27,178,188
		Hubert H. Humphrey	William E. Miller	90%	10%	61.1%	38.5%
1968	50	Hubert H. Humphrey	Richard Nixon	191	301	31,275,166	31,785,480
		Edmund S. Muskie	Spiro T. Agnew	36%	56%	42.7%	43.4%
1972	50	George S. McGovern	Richard Nixon	17	520	29,170,383	47,169,911
		R. Sargent Shriver Jr.	Spiro T. Agnew	3%	97%	37.5%	60.7%
1976	50	Jimmy Carter	Gerald R. Ford	297	240	40,830,763	39,147,793
		Walter F. Mondale	Robert J. Dole	55%	45%	50.1%	48.0%
1980	50	Jimmy Carter	Ronald Reagan	49	489	35,483,883	43,904,153
		Walter F. Mondale	George H. W. Bush	9%	91%	41.0%	50.7%
1984	50	Walter F. Mondale	Ronald Reagan	13	525	37,577,185	54,455,075
		Geraldine Ferraro	George H. W. Bush	2%	98%	40.6%	58.8%
1988	50	Michael S. Dukakis	George H. W. Bush	111	426	41,809,074	48,886,097
		Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr.	Dan Quayle	21%	79%	45.6%	53.4%
1992	50	Bill Clinton	George H. W. Bush	370	168	44,909,326	39,103,882
		Al Gore	Dan Quayle	69%	31%	43.0%	37.4%
1996	50	Bill Clinton	Robert J. Dole	379	159	47,402,357	39,198,755
		Al Gore	Jack Kemp	70%	30%	49.2%	40.7%

2000	50	Al Gore	George W. Bush	266	271	50,992,335	50,455,156
		Joseph I. Lieberman	Dick Cheney	49%	50%	48.4%	47.9%
2004	50	John Kerry	George W. Bush	251	286	59,028,439	62,040,610
		John Edwards	Dick Cheney	47%	53%	48.3%	50.7%
2008	50	Barack Obama	John McCain	365	173	69,498,516	59,948,323
		Joseph R. Biden Jr.	Sarah Palin	68%	32%	52.9%	45.7%
2012	50	Barack Obama	Mitt Romney	332	206	65,587,106	60,848,302
		Joseph R. Biden Jr.	Paul Ryan	62%	38%	51.0%	47.3%
2016	50	Hillary Clinton	Donald J. Trump	232	306	65,853,625	62,985,106
		Tim Kaine	Mike Pence	43%	57%	48.2%	46.1%
2020	50	Joseph R. Biden Jr.	Donald J. Trump	306	232	81,282,916	74,223,369
		Kamala Harris	Mike Pence	57%	43%	51.3%	46.9%

Note: For details of the electoral system as well as popular and electoral votes polled by minor candidates, see first source. Popular vote returns are shown beginning in 1828 because of availability and because by that time most electors were chosen by popular vote.

[a] The elections of 1789–1800 were held under different rules, which did not include separate voting for president and vice president. Scattered electoral votes are not shown.

[b] Eleven states could have voted, but a dispute between its two chambers prevented the New York state legislature from choosing electors. North Carolina and Rhode Island had not yet ratified the Constitution.

[c] All candidates in 1824 represented factions of the Democratic-Republican Party. Figures are for the two candidates with the highest number of electoral votes. The two other candidates were William H. Crawford and Henry Clay with forty-one and thirty-seven electoral votes, respectively.

[d] Three Whig candidates ran in 1836. Their electoral votes totaled 113.

[e] Eleven southern states had seceded from the Union and did not vote; twenty-five states voted.

[f] Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia were not yet readmitted to the Union and did not vote; thirty-four states voted.

[g] The Democratic presidential nominee, Horace Greeley, died between the popular vote and the meeting of presidential electors. Democratic electors split sixty-three votes among several candidates, Congress refused to count the three Georgians who insisted on casting their votes for Greeley, and an additional fourteen electoral votes were not cast. Congress also did not count the electoral votes from Arkansas and Louisiana because of "disruptive conditions during Reconstruction."

[h] James S. Sherman died on October 12, 1912. Nicholas Murray Butler was nominated as the substitute candidate.

Sources: 1789–2012: *CQ Press Guide to U.S. Elections, 7th ed.* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2016), 794–840, 876–932; Previous editions of *Vital Statistics in American Politics*; 2016: Federal Election Commission, "Federal Elections 2016: Election Results for the U.S. President, the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives (December 2017), https://www.fec.gov/resources/cms-content/documents/federalelections2016.pdf; 2020: Table 1-9, this volume.

Table 1-8 Party Winning Presidential Election, by State, 1789–2020

	1789–1824			*1828–1856*			*1860–1892*			*1896–1928*			*1932–1964*			*1968–2020*		
State	D	F	O	D	R	O	D	R	O	D	R	O	D	R	O	D	R	O
Alabama	2	0	0	8	0	0	6	2	0	9	0	0	7	1	1	1	12	1
Alaska	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	0	0	14	0
Arizona	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	3	0	5	4	0	2	12	0
Arkansas	—	—	—	6	0	0	6	1	0	9	0	0	9	0	0	3	10	1
California	—	—	—	2	0	0	2	7	0	1	7	1	6	3	0	8	6	0
Colorado	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	4	1	5	4	0	4	5	0	5	9	0
Connecticut	2	8	0	2	6	0	4	5	0	1	8	0	5	4	0	9	5	0
Delaware	2	8	0	2	6	0	7	1	1	1	8	0	5	4	0	9	5	0
District of Columbia[a]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0	0	14	0	0
Florida	—	—	—	2	1	0	4	3	1	8	1	0	6	3	0	4	10	0
Georgia	8	2	0	5	3	0	7	0	1	9	0	0	8	1	0	4	9	1
Hawaii	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	0	0	12	2	0
Idaho	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	5	0	6	3	0	0	14	0
Illinois	2	0	0	8	0	0	1	8	0	1	8	0	7	2	0	8	6	0
Indiana	3	0	0	6	2	0	3	6	0	1	8	0	3	6	0	1	13	0
Iowa	—	—	—	2	1	0	0	9	0	1	8	0	4	5	0	6	8	0
Kansas	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	7	1	3	6	0	3	6	0	0	14	0
Kentucky	8	1	0	2	6	0	8	0	1	6	3	0	7	2	0	3	11	0
Louisiana	4	0	0	6	2	0	5	1	1	9	0	0	6	2	1	3	10	1
Maine	2	0	0	5	3	0	0	9	0	1	8	0	1	8	0	9	5	0
Maryland	4	6	0	1	6	1	7	1	1	4	5	0	6	3	0	11	3	0
Massachusetts	3	7	0	0	8	0	0	9	0	2	7	0	7	2	0	12	2	0
Michigan	—	—	—	4	2	0	0	9	0	0	8	1	5	4	0	11	3	0
Minnesota	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	9	0	0	8	1	7	2	0	13	1	0
Mississippi	2	0	0	7	1	0	5	1	1	9	0	0	6	1	2	1	12	1
Missouri	—	—	—	8	0	0	7	2	0	4	5	0	8	1	0	3	11	0
Montana	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	1	0	4	5	0	6	3	0	1	13	0
Nebraska	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	7	0	4	5	0	3	6	0	0	14	0
Nevada	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	6	1	5	4	0	7	2	0	6	8	0

New Hampshire	4	6	0	6	2	0	0	9	0	2	7	0	4	5	0	7	7	0
New Jersey	5	5	0	3	5	0	7	2	0	1	8	0	6	3	0	8	6	0
New Mexico	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	3	0	7	2	0	7	7	0
New York	6	3	0	5	3	0	4	5	0	1	8	0	6	3	0	11	3	0
North Carolina	8	1	0	5	3	0	5	2	1	8	1	0	9	0	0	2	12	0
North Dakota	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	7	0	3	6	0	0	14	0
Ohio	6	0	0	4	4	0	0	9	0	2	7	0	5	4	0	5	9	0
Oklahoma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	0	6	3	0	0	14	0
Oregon	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	8	0	1	8	0	5	4	0	9	5	0
Pennsylvania	8	2	0	6	2	0	0	9	0	0	8	1	5	4	0	9	5	0
Rhode Island	4	5	0	2	6	0	0	9	0	2	7	0	7	2	0	12	2	0
South Carolina	8	2	0	6	0	2	4	3	1	9	0	0	7	1	1	1	13	0
South Dakota	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	1	0	1	7	1	3	6	0	0	14	0
Tennessee	8	0	0	3	5	0	6	1	1	7	2	0	6	3	0	3	11	0
Texas	—	—	—	3	0	0	7	0	0	8	1	0	7	2	0	2	12	0
Utah	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	7	0	6	3	0	0	14	0
Vermont	6	3	0	7	1	0	0	9	0	0	9	0	1	8	0	8	6	0
Virginia	8	2	0	8	0	0	5	1	1	8	1	0	6	3	0	4	10	0
Washington	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	1	0	2	6	1	6	3	0	10	4	0
West Virginia	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	3	0	1	8	0	8	1	0	6	8	0
Wisconsin	—	—	—	2	1	0	1	8	0	1	7	1	5	4	0	9	5	0
Wyoming	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	1	0	3	6	0	5	4	0	0	14	0
Total[b]	113	61	0	136	79	3	118	189	15	170	244	7	274	158	5	272	437	5

Note: Table entries indicate number of times party indicated won the state. "D" indicates the Democratic-Republican Party from 1796 to 1820 and in 1828, the Jackson faction in 1824, and the Democratic Party in 1832 and later; "F" indicates the Federalists from 1792 to 1816, Independent Democratic-Republicans in 1820, and the Adams faction in 1824; "R" indicates the National Republicans in 1828 and 1832, Whigs from 1836 to 1852, and the Republican Party in 1856 and later. The "O" column refers to other (third) parties. Southern Democrats in 1860 are counted as Democratic. "—" indicates that the state was not yet admitted to the Union.

[a] Residents of the District of Columbia received the presidential vote in 1961.

[b] Fewer total votes for a given state within a party system indicate admission of the state during the party system or nonvoting in certain southern states in 1864, 1868, and 1872.

Sources: Compiled by the authors from *CQ Press Guide to U.S. Elections, 7th ed.* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2016), 876–932; Table 1-9, this volume; and previous editions of *Vital Statistics on American Politics.*

Table 1-9 Presidential General Election Returns, by State, 2020

	Popular vote										
	Biden (Democratic)		Trump (Republican)		Other			Plurality[a]		Electoral vote	
State	*Vote*	*%*	*Vote*	*%*	*Vote*	*%*	Total vote	*Vote*	*%*	*Dem.*	*Rep.*
Alabama	849,624	36.6%	1,441,170	62.0%	32,488	1.4%	2,323,282	591,546	25.5%		9
Alaska	153,778	42.8%	189,951	52.8%	15,801	4.4%	359,530	36,173	10.1%		3
Arizona	1,672,143	49.4%	1,661,686	49.1%	53,497	1.6%	3,387,326	10,457	0.3%	11	
Arkansas	423,932	34.8%	760,647	62.4%	34,490	2.8%	1,219,069	336,715	27.6%		6
California	11,110,250	63.5%	6,006,429	34.3%	384,192	2.2%	17,500,871	5,103,821	29.2%	55	
Colorado	1,804,352	55.4%	1,364,607	41.9%	87,993	2.7%	3,256,952	439,745	13.5%	9	
Connecticut	1,080,831	59.3%	714,717	39.2%	28,309	1.6%	1,823,857	366,114	20.1%	7	
Delaware	296,268	58.7%	200,603	39.8%	7,475	1.5%	504,346	95,665	19.0%	3	
District of Columbia	317,323	92.1%	18,586	5.4%	8,447	2.5%	344,356	298,737	86.8%	3	
Florida	5,297,045	47.9%	5,668,731	51.2%	101,680	0.9%	11,067,456	371,686	3.4%		29
Georgia	2,473,633	49.5%	2,461,854	49.3%	62,229	1.2%	4,997,716	11,779	0.2%	16	
Hawaii	366,130	63.7%	196,864	34.3%	11,475	2.0%	574,469	169,266	29.5%	4	
Idaho	287,021	33.1%	554,119	63.9%	26,091	3.0%	867,231	267,098	30.8%		4
Illinois	3,471,915	57.5%	2,446,891	40.6%	114,938	1.9%	6,033,744	1,025,024	17.0%	20	
Indiana	1,242,413	41.0%	1,729,516	57.0%	61,183	2.0%	3,033,112	487,103	16.1%		11
Iowa	759,061	44.9%	897,672	53.1%	34,138	2.0%	1,690,871	138,611	8.2%		6
Kansas	570,323	41.6%	771,406	56.2%	30,574	2.2%	1,372,303	201,083	14.7%		6
Kentucky	772,474	36.2%	1,326,646	62.1%	37,648	1.8%	2,136,768	554,172	25.9%		8
Louisiana	856,034	39.9%	1,255,776	58.5%	36,252	1.7%	2,148,062	399,742	18.6%		8
Maine	435,072	53.1%	360,737	44.0%	23,652	2.9%	819,461	74,335	9.1%	3	1
Maryland	1,985,023	65.4%	976,414	32.2%	75,593	2.5%	3,037,030	1,008,609	33.2%	10	
Massachusetts	2,382,202	65.6%	1,167,202	32.1%	81,998	2.3%	3,631,402	1,215,000	33.5%	11	
Michigan	2,804,040	50.6%	2,649,852	47.8%	85,410	1.5%	5,539,302	154,188	2.8%	16	
Minnesota	1,717,077	52.4%	1,484,065	45.3%	76,029	2.3%	3,277,171	233,012	7.1%	10	
Mississippi	539,508	41.1%	756,789	57.6%	17,597	1.3%	1,313,894	217,281	16.5%		6
Missouri	1,253,014	41.4%	1,718,736	56.8%	54,212	1.8%	3,025,962	465,722	15.4%		10

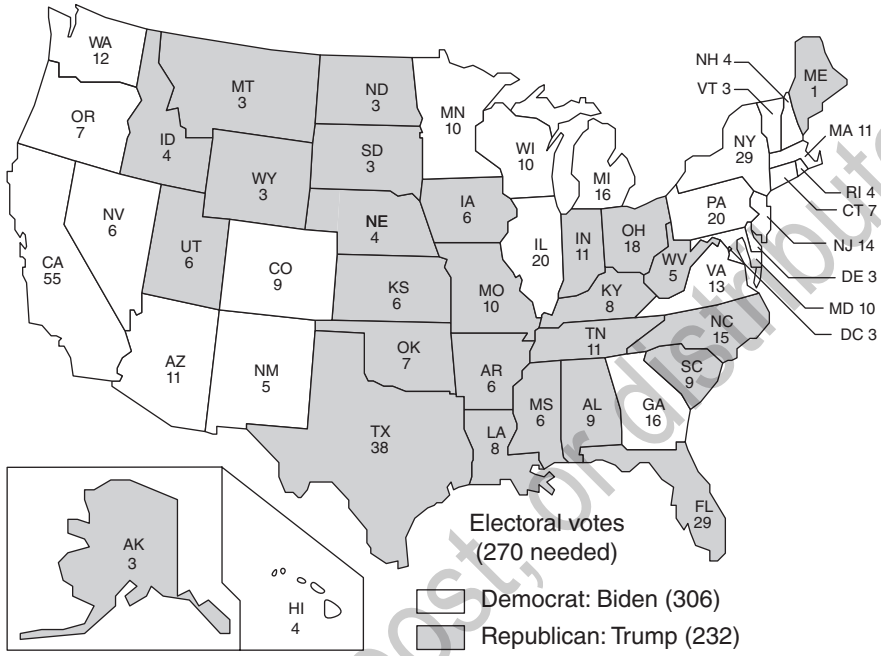
Montana	244,786	40.5%	343,602	56.9%	15,286	2.5%	603,674	98,816	16.4%		3
Nebraska	374,583	39.4%	556,846	58.5%	20,283	2.1%	951,712	182,263	19.2%	1	4
Nevada	703,486	50.1%	669,890	47.7%	32,000	2.3%	1,405,376	33,596	2.4%	6	
New Hampshire	424,921	52.7%	365,654	45.4%	15,607	1.9%	806,182	59,267	7.4%	4	
New Jersey	2,608,335	57.3%	1,883,274	41.4%	57,744	1.3%	4,549,353	725,061	15.9%	14	
New Mexico	501,614	54.3%	401,894	43.5%	20,457	2.2%	923,965	99,720	10.8%	5	
New York	5,244,886	60.9%	3,251,997	37.7%	119,978	1.4%	8,616,861	1,992,889	23.1%	29	
North Carolina	2,684,292	48.6%	2,758,775	49.9%	81,737	1.5%	5,524,804	74,483	1.3%		15
North Dakota	114,902	31.8%	235,595	65.1%	11,322	3.1%	361,819	120,693	33.4%		3
Ohio	2,679,165	45.2%	3,154,834	53.3%	88,203	1.5%	5,922,202	475,669	8.0%		18
Oklahoma	503,890	32.3%	1,020,280	65.4%	36,529	2.3%	1,560,699	516,390	33.1%		7
Oregon	1,340,383	56.5%	958,448	40.4%	75,490	3.2%	2,374,321	381,935	16.1%	7	
Pennsylvania	3,458,229	50.0%	3,377,674	48.8%	79,380	1.1%	6,915,283	80,555	1.2%	20	
Rhode Island	307,486	59.4%	199,922	38.6%	10,349	2.0%	517,757	107,564	20.8%	4	
South Carolina	1,091,541	43.4%	1,385,103	55.1%	36,685	1.5%	2,513,329	293,562	11.7%		9
South Dakota	150,471	35.6%	261,043	61.8%	11,095	2.6%	422,609	110,572	26.2%		3
Tennessee	1,143,711	37.5%	1,852,475	60.7%	57,665	1.9%	3,053,851	708,764	23.2%		11
Texas	5,259,126	46.5%	5,890,347	52.1%	165,583	1.5%	11,315,056	631,221	5.6%		38
Utah	560,282	37.6%	865,140	58.1%	62,867	4.2%	1,488,289	304,858	20.5%		6
Vermont	242,820	66.1%	112,704	30.7%	11,904	3.2%	367,428	130,116	35.4%	3	
Virginia	2,413,568	54.1%	1,962,430	44.0%	84,526	1.9%	4,460,524	451,138	10.1%	13	
Washington	2,369,612	58.0%	1,584,651	38.8%	133,368	3.3%	4,087,631	784,961	19.2%	12	
West Virginia	235,984	29.7%	545,382	68.6%	13,286	1.7%	794,652	309,398	38.9%		5
Wisconsin	1,630,866	49.4%	1,610,184	48.8%	56,991	1.7%	3,298,041	20,682	0.6%	10	
Wyoming	73,491	26.6%	193,559	69.9%	9,715	3.5%	276,765	120,068	43.4%		3
Total	81,282,916	51.3%	74,223,369	46.9%	2,891,441	1.8%	158,397,726	7,059,547	4.5%	306	232

Note: "—" indicates not available. Based on official returns as of mid-December 2020, subject to amendment. Percentage for "Plurality" calculated by the editors. Data for earlier years can be found in previous editions of *Vital Statistics on American Politics*.

[a] "Plurality" indicates the vote margin between the leader and the second-place finisher.

Source: Federal Election Commission, "Official 2020 Presidential General Election Results," https://www.fec.gov/resources/cms-content/documents/2020presgeresults.pdf.

Figure 1-4 Presidential General Election Map, 2020



Note: Most states award electoral votes statewide on a winner–take–all basis. Maine and Nebraska award electoral votes by a district system, one for the candidate carrying each congressional district, two for the candidate carrying the state. In 2020, Nebraska awarded four electoral votes to Trump and one to Biden. Maine awarded three electoral votes to Biden and one to Trump.

Source: Table 1-9, this volume.

Table 1-10 House and Senate Election Results, by Congress, 1788–2020

		House					*Senate*					
					Gains/losses[c]					Gains/losses[c]		
Election year	*Congress*	Dem.[a]	Rep.[b]	Other	*Dem.*	*Rep.*	Dem.[a]	Rep.[b]	Other	*Dem.*	*Rep.*	*President*[d]
1788	1st	26	38		[a]	[b]	9	17		[a]	[b]	Washington (F)
1790	2nd	33	37		[a]	[b]	13	16		[a]	[b]	
1792	3rd	57	48		24	11	13	17		0	1	Washington (F)
1794	4th	52	54		–5	6	13	19		0	2	
1796	5th	48	58		–4	4	12	20		–1	1	J. Adams (F)
1798	6th	42	64		–6	6	13	19		1	–1	
1800	7th	69	36		27	–28	18	13		5	–6	Jefferson (DR)
1802	8th	102	39		33	3	25	9		7	–4	
1804	9th	116	25		14	–14	27	7		2	–2	Jefferson (DR)
1806	10th	118	24		2	–1	28	6		1	–1	
1808	11th	94	48		–24	24	28	6		0	0	Madison (DR)
1810	12th	108	36		14	–12	30	6		2	0	
1812	13th	112	68		4	32	27	9		–3	3	Madison (DR)
1814	14th	117	65		5	–3	25	11		–2	2	
1816	15th	141	42		24	–23	34	10		9	–1	Monroe (DR)
1818	16th	156	27		15	–15	35	7		1	–3	
1820	17th	158	25		2	–2	44	4		9	–3	Monroe (DR)
1822	18th	187	26		29	1	44	4		0	0	
1824	19th	105	97		[a]	[b]	26	20		[a]	[b]	J. Q. Adams (DR)
1826	20th	94	119		–11	22	20	28		–6	8	
1828	21st	139	74		[a]	[b]	26	22		[a]	[b]	Jackson (D)
1830	22nd	141	58	14	2	–16	25	21	2	–1	–1	
1832	23rd	147	53	60	6	–5	20	20	8	[a]	[b]	Jackson (D)
1834	24th	145	98		–2	45	27	25		[a]	[b]	
1836	25th	108	107	24	–37	9	30	18	4	3	–7	Van Buren (D)

(Table continues)

Table 1-10 *(Continued)*

		House					*Senate*					
					Gains/losses[c]					Gains/losses[c]		
Election year	*Congress*	Dem.[a]	Rep.[b]	Other	*Dem.*	*Rep.*	Dem.[a]	Rep.[b]	Other	*Dem.*	*Rep.*	*President*[d]
1838	26th	124	118		16	11	28	22		–2	4	
1840	27th	102	133	6	–22	15	28	22	2	0	0	Harrison (W)
1842	28th	142	79	1	40	–54	25	28	1	–3	6	Tyler (W)
1844	29th	143	77	6	1	–2	31	25		6	–3	Polk (D)
1846	30th	108	115	4	–35	38	36	21	1	5	–4	
1848	31st	112	109	9	4	–6	35	25	2	–1	4	Taylor (W)
1850	32nd	140	88	5	28	–21	35	24	3	0	–1	Fillmore (W)
1852	33rd	159	71	4	19	–17	38	22	2	3	–2	Pierce (D)
1854	34th	83	108	43	–76	37	40	15	5	[a]	[b]	
1856	35th	118	92	26	35	–16	36	20	8	–4	5	Buchanan (D)
1858	36th	92	114	31	–26	22	36	26	4	0	6	
1860	37th	42	106	28	–50	–8	11	31	7	–25	5	Lincoln (R)
1862	38th	80	103		38	–3	12	39		1	8	
1864	39th	46	145		–34	42	10	42		–2	3	Lincoln (R)
1866	40th	49	143		3	–2	11	42		1	0	A. Johnson (R)
1868	41st	73	170		24	27	11	61		0	19	Grant (R)
1870	42nd	104	139		31	–31	17	57		6	–4	
1872	43rd	88	203		–16	64	19	54		2	–3	Grant (R)
1874	44th	181	107	3	93	–96	29	46		10	–8	
1876	45th	156	137		–25	30	36	39	1	7	–7	Hayes (R)
1878	46th	150	128	14	–6	–9	43	33		7	–6	
1880	47th	130	152	11	–20	24	37	37	2	–6	4	Garfield (R)
1882	48th	200	119	6	70	–33	36	40		–1	3	Arthur (R)
1884	49th	182	140	2	–18	21	34	41		–2	1	Cleveland (D)

1886	50th	170	151	4	–12	11	37	39		3	–2	
1888	51st	156	173	1	–14	22	37	47		0	8	Harrison (R)
1890	52nd	231	88	14	75	–85	39	47	2	2	0	
1892	53rd	220	126	8	–11	38	44	38	3	5	–9	Cleveland (D)
1894	54th	104	246	7	–116	120	30	44	5	–14	6	
1896	55th	134	206	16	30	–40	34	46	10	4	2	McKinley (R)
1898	56th	163	185	9	29	–21	26	53	11	–8	7	
1900	57th	153	198	5	–10	13	29	56	3	3	3	McKinley (R)
1902	58th	178	207		25	9	32	58		3	2	T. Roosevelt (R)
1904	59th	136	250		–42	43	32	58		0	0	T. Roosevelt (R)
1906	60th	164	222		28	–28	29	61		–3	3	
1908	61st	172	219		8	–3	32	59		3	–2	Taft (R)
1910	62nd	228	162	1	56	–57	42	49		10	–10	
1912	63rd	290	127	18	62	–35	51	44	1	9	–5	Wilson (D)
1914	64th	231	193	8	–59	66	56	39	1	5	–5	
1916	65th	210	216	9	–21	23	53	42	1	–3	3	Wilson (D)
1918	66th	191	237	7	–19	21	47	48	1	–6	6	
1920	67th	132	300	1	–59	63	37	59		–10	11	Harding (R)
1922	68th	207	225	3	75	–75	43	51	2	6	–8	
1924	69th	183	247	5	–24	22	40	54	1	–3	3	Coolidge (R)
1926	70th	195	237	3	12	–10	47	48	1	7	–6	
1928	71st	167	267	1	–28	30	39	56	1	–8	8	Hoover (R)
1930	72nd	220	214	1	53	–53	47	48	1	8	–8	
1932	73rd	313	117	5	93	–97	59	36	1	12	–12	F. Roosevelt (D)
1934	74th	322	103	10	9	–14	69	25	2	10	–11	
1936	75th	333	89	13	11	–14	75	17	4	6	–8	F. Roosevelt (D)
1938	76th	262	169	4	–71	80	69	23	4	–6	6	
1940	77th	267	162	6	5	–7	66	28	2	–3	5	F. Roosevelt (D)
1942	78th	222	209	4	–45	47	57	38	1	–9	10	
1944	79th	243	190	2	21	–19	57	38	1	0	0	F. Roosevelt (D)

(Table continues)

Table 1-10 *(Continued)*

		House					Senate					
					Gains/losses[c]					Gains/losses[c]		
Election year	*Congress*	Dem.[a]	Rep.[b]	Other	*Dem.*	*Rep.*	Dem.[a]	Rep.[b]	Other	*Dem.*	*Rep.*	*President*[d]
1946	80th	188	246	1	–55	56	45	51		–12	13	Truman (D)
1948	81st	263	171	1	75	–75	54	42		9	–9	Truman (D)
1950	82nd	234	199	2	–29	28	48	47	1	–6	5	
1952	83rd	213	221	1	–21	22	47	48	1	–1	1	Eisenhower (R)
1954	84th	232	203		19	–18	48	47	1	1	–1	
1956	85th	234	201		2	–2	49	47		1	0	Eisenhower (R)
1958	86th	283	154		49	–47	64	34		15	–13	
1960	87th	263	174		–20	20	64	36		0	2	Kennedy (D)
1962	88th	258	176	1	–5	2	67	33		3	–3	
1964	89th	295	140		37	–36	68	32		1	–1	L. Johnson (D)
1966	90th	248	187		–47	47	64	36		–4	4	
1968	91st	243	192		–5	5	58	42		–6	6	Nixon (R)
1970	92nd	255	180		12	–12	55	45		–3	3	
1972	93rd	243	192		–12	12	57	43		2	–2	Nixon (R)
1974	94th	291	144		48	–48	61	38		4	–5	Ford (R)
1976	95th	292	143		1	–1	62	38		1	0	Carter (D)
1978	96th	277	158		–15	15	59	41		–3	3	
1980	97th	243	192		–34	34	47	53		–12	12	Reagan (R)
1982	98th	269	166		26	–26	46	54		–1	1	
1984	99th	253	182		–16	16	47	53		1	–1	Reagan (R)
1986	100th	258	177		5	–5	55	45		8	–8	
1988	101st	259	174		1	–3	55	45		0	0	G. H. W. Bush (R)
1990	102nd	267	167	1	8	–7	56	44		1	–1	
1992	103rd	258	176	1	–9	9	57	43		1	–1	Clinton (D)
1994	104th	204	230	1	–54	54	47	53		–10	10	

1996	105th	207	227	1	3	–3	45	55		–2	2	Clinton (D)
1998	106th	211	223	1	4	–4	45	55		0	0	
2000	107th	212	221	2	1	–2	50	50		5	–5	G. W. Bush (R)
2002	108th	205	229	1	–7	8	48	51	1	–2	1	
2004	109th	201	232	1	–4	3	44	55	1	–4	4	G. W. Bush (R)
2006	110th	233	202		32	–30	49	49	2	5	–6	
2008	111th	257	178		24	–24	55	41	2	5	–8	Obama (D)
2010	112th	193	242		–63	64	51	47	2	–4	6	
2012	113th	200	233		7	–9	53	45	2	2	–2	Obama (D)
2014	114th	188	246		–12	13	44	54	2	–9	9	
2016	115th	194	241		6	–6	46	52	2	2	–2	Trump (R)
2018	116th[e]	235	199		41	–42	45	53	2	–2	2	
2020	117th	222	213		-13	14	48	50	2	3	–3	Biden (D)

Note: For parties, see Figure 1-3, this volume.

[a] "Democratic" column indicates Democratic partisans in 1828 and later, "Administration" in 1824 and 1826, "Democratic Republicans" from 1790 to 1822, and "Opposition" in 1788. Consequently, and because of changes within the "Republican" column noted in note b, gains/losses in the "Democratic" column are calculated only for 1792–1822, 1826, 1830, 1836–1852, and 1856 and later.

[b] The "Republican" column indicates Republican partisans in 1854 and later, "Whigs" from 1834 to 1852, "Anti-Masons" in 1832, "National Republicans" in 1828 and 1830, "Jacksonians" in 1824 and 1826, "Federalists" from 1790 to 1822, and "Administration" in 1788. Consequently, gains/losses in the "Republican" column are calculated only for 1792–1822, 1826, 1830, 1836–1852, and 1856 and later.

[c] The seat totals reflect the makeup of the House and Senate at the start of each Congress. Special elections that shifted party ratios between elections are not noted. Because of changes in the overall number of seats in the Senate and House, in the number of seats won by third parties, and in the number of vacancies, a Republican loss is not always matched precisely by a Democratic gain, or vice versa. Partisan seat shares at the start of each Congress need not match postelection seat shares: deaths, resignations, and special elections can cause further changes in party makeup. In the 1930 election, for example, Republicans won majority control, but when Congress organized, special elections held to fill fourteen vacancies resulted in a Democratic majority.

[d] President elected in the year indicated or, if a midterm election year, nonelected president in office at the time of the midterm election.

[e] The results of the election in the 9th congressional district of North Carolina were vacated, leading to a special election called in September of 2019.

Sources: Seat gains and losses calculated by the authors. Other data: 1788–1858: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 1083–1084; 1860–2008: *CQ Press Guide to U.S. Elections, 7th ed.* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2016), 1838–1839; 2010–2012: C*Q Weekly* (2011), 119; (2013), 23; 2014: Clerk of the House of Representatives, http://clerk.house.gov; 2016–2020: compiled by authors.

Table 1-11 Party Victories in U.S. House Elections, by State, 1860–2020

	Total 1860–1895			*Total 1896–1931*			*Total 1932–1965*			*Total 1966–2020*		
State	Dem.	Rep.	Other	Dem.	Rep.	Other	Dem.	Rep.	Other	Dem.	Rep.	Other
Alabama	92	19	8	170	0	8	146	5	0	89	110	0
Alaska	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	0	0	2	26	0
Arizona	—	—	—	11	0	0	26	7	0	63	106	0
Arkansas	54	5	6	124	0	0	109	0	0	60	52	0
California[a]	29	46	8	30	133	15	234	212	0	843	501	0
Colorado	1	9	3	21	34	6	43	26	0	80	87	0
Connecticut	33	36	5	11	77	0	58	44	0	109	49	0
Delaware	15	3	2	5	14	0	9	8	0	11	17	0
Florida	18	8	1	57	4	0	111	8	0	273	308	0
Georgia	111	11	12	207	0	1	170	1	0	186	134	0
Hawaii	—	—	—	0	0	1	6	0	0	54	2	0
Idaho	0	4	0	5	42	2	20	14	0	7	49	0
Illinois	118	191	20	136	333	1	220	221	0	319	268	0
Indiana	104	105	17	97	139	0	85	108	0	129	149	0
Iowa	16	131	11	10	193	0	35	105	0	58	93	0
Kansas	0	62	12	30	114	0	16	90	0	28	97	0
Kentucky	133	20	38	151	54	0	122	25	0	78	103	0
Louisiana	69	20	2	136	0	2	139	0	0	107	97	0
Maine	3	76	7	4	71	0	8	41	0	36	20	0
Maryland	74	15	18	63	49	0	87	25	0	157	67	0
Massachusetts	31	165	17	60	211	2	103	136	0	262	34	0
Michigan	33	118	13	12	214	2	112	187	0	241	226	0
Minnesota	11	51	5	8	146	12	44	91	16	132	92	0
Mississippi	70	17	3	142	0	0	110	1	0	81	49	0
Missouri	143	43	38	202	88	0	157	49	0	149	106	0
Montana	1	3	0	13	14	1	23	12	0	17	24	0

Nebraska	3	28	5	36	63	9	21	50	0	6	78	0
Nevada	4	9	4	5	10	4	14	3	0	33	30	0
New Hampshire	11	33	3	3	33	0	3	31	0	20	36	0
New Jersey	53	58	5	66	137	0	84	158	0	225	155	0
New Mexico	—	—	—	7	5	0	29	0	0	36	40	0
New York	236	312	66	328	397	6	387	368	1	598	325	0
North Carolina	78	32	19	157	11	9	189	9	0	181	151	0
North Dakota	0	4	0	0	44	0	2	33	0	16	15	0
Ohio	146	186	39	123	264	0	163	238	0	212	345	0
Oklahoma	—	—	—	70	27	0	112	14	0	72	86	0
Oregon	7	13	2	2	44	0	22	41	0	98	34	0
Pennsylvania	158	300	38	83	522	17	255	291	0	306	305	0
Rhode Island	8	32	2	13	34	0	32	2	0	48	8	0
South Carolina	62	30	6	127	0	0	97	2	0	79	94	0
South Dakota	6	11	0	3	42	2	7	27	0	15	21	0
Tennessee	83	52	13	139	39	4	121	37	1	122	125	0
Texas	110	1	3	295	7	0	365	8	0	470	344	0
Utah	—	—	—	7	23	0	23	11	0	22	59	0
Vermont	0	42	5	0	36	0	1	16	0	8	12	8
Virginia	81	23	23	167	15	0	147	15	0	127	167	1
Washington	0	6	0	8	61	2	54	55	0	155	81	0
West Virginia	37	15	6	23	75	0	84	16	0	76	24	0
Wisconsin	40	94	9	18	176	4	46	105	21	122	123	0
Wyoming	1	2	0	1	17	0	3	14	0	4	24	0
Total	2,283	2,441	494	3,386	4,012	110	4,458	2,960	39	6622	5548	9

Note: Entries indicate the number of U.S. House seats won by the party in the state. "—" indicates that the state was not yet admitted to the Union. The period beginning in 1966 does not include special elections; candidates endorsed by both major and minor parties are counted as major-party candidates.

[a] When it could be determined, candidates who ran as both Republican and Democrat were classified by their usual party affiliation.

Sources: 1860–1964: *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections,* 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1985), 1118–1119; 1966–2008: *CQ Press Guide to U.S. Elections,* 6th ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010), 1286, 1287, 1306, 1379, 1383, 1750–1755; 2010–2012: Clerk of the House of Representatives, http://clerk.house.gov; *CQ Weekly* (2010), 2618–2627, 2716, 2766; (2012), 2284–2293, 2342, 2384, 2430; 2014–2020: compiled by authors from official election results from state websites.

Table 1-12 Popular Vote and Seats in House Elections, by Party, 1896–2020

	Democratic candidates		*Republican candidates*		Difference between Democratic percentage of all seats and all votes[a]
Year	Percentage of all votes	Percentage of all seats	Percentage of all votes	Percentage of all seats	
1896	43.3	37.6	46.7	57.9	–5.6
1898	46.7	45.7	45.7	51.8	–1.0
1900	44.7	43.0	51.2	55.6	–1.7
1902	46.7	46.2	49.3	53.8	–0.5
1904	41.7	35.2	53.8	64.8	–6.5
1906	44.2	42.5	50.7	57.5	–1.7
1908	46.1	44.0	49.7	56.0	–2.1
1910	47.4	58.3	46.5	41.4	10.9
1912	45.3	66.7	34.0	29.2	21.3
1914	43.1	53.5	42.6	44.7	10.3
1916	46.3	48.3	48.4	49.7	2.0
1918	43.1	43.9	52.5	54.5	0.8
1920	35.8	30.5	58.6	69.3	–5.4
1922	44.7	47.6	51.7	51.7	2.8
1924	40.4	42.1	55.5	56.8	1.7
1926	40.5	44.8	57.0	54.5	4.3
1928	42.4	37.8	56.5	61.9	–4.5
1930	44.6	49.7	52.6	50.1	5.1
1932	54.5	72.0	41.4	26.9	17.4
1934	53.9	74.0	42.0	23.7	20.1
1936	55.8	76.6	39.6	20.5	20.7
1938	48.6	60.2	47.0	38.9	11.6
1940	51.3	61.4	45.6	37.2	10.1
1942	46.1	51.0	50.6	48.0	5.0
1944	50.6	55.9	47.2	43.7	5.3
1946	44.2	43.2	53.5	56.6	–1.0
1948	51.9	60.5	45.5	39.3	8.6
1950	49.0	53.8	49.0	45.7	4.7
1952	49.7	49.0	49.3	50.8	0.8
1954	52.5	53.3	47.0	46.7	0.8
1956	51.1	53.8	48.7	46.2	2.7
1958	56.3	64.8	43.5	35.2	8.5
1960	54.2	60.2	45.4	39.8	6.0
1962	52.3	59.3	47.4	40.5	7.0
1964	57.4	67.8	42.1	32.2	10.4
1966	50.9	57.0	48.2	43.0	6.1
1968	50.2	55.9	48.5	44.1	5.7
1970	53.4	58.6	45.1	41.4	5.2
1972	51.7	55.9	46.4	44.1	4.2
1974	57.6	66.9	40.6	33.1	9.9
1976	56.2	67.1	42.1	32.9	10.9
1978	53.4	63.7	44.7	36.3	10.3
1980	50.4	55.9	48.0	44.1	5.5
1982	55.6	61.8	42.9	38.2	6.2

Table 1-12 *(Continued)*

Year	*Democratic candidates*		*Republican candidates*		Difference between Democratic percentage of all seats and all votes[a]
	Percentage of all votes	Percentage of all seats	Percentage of all votes	Percentage of all seats	
1984	52.1	58.2	47.0	41.8	6.0
1986	54.5	59.3	44.6	40.7	4.8
1988	53.3	59.8	45.5	40.2	6.5
1990	52.9	61.4	45.0	38.4	8.5
1992	50.8	59.3	45.6	40.5	8.5
1994	45.4	46.7	52.4	53.1	1.2
1996	48.5	47.6	48.9	52.2	–1.0
1998	47.8	48.5	48.9	51.3	0.7
2000	47.4	48.7	48.7	50.8	1.3
2002	45.2	47.1	51.6	52.6	1.9
2004	47.4	46.4	50.1	53.3	–1.0
2006	52.8	53.6	44.9	46.4	0.7
2008	53.9	59.1	42.9	40.9	5.2
2010	45.0	44.4	51.8	55.6	–0.7
2012	49.2	46.2	48.0	53.8	–2.9
2014	45.7	43.2	51.4	56.8	–2.5
2016	48.0	44.6	49.1	55.4	–3.6
2018	53.4	54.1	44.8	45.9	0.7
2020	50.8	51.6	47.7	48.4	0.8

Note: In recent years, there has been "built-in" inaccuracy in that some states have chosen not to put uncontested races on the ballot or to require the counting of votes in uncontested races.

[a] Calculated before rounding.

Sources: Votes, 1896–1970: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), part 2, 1084; votes, 1972–1974: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1976* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), 460; votes, 1976–1996: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* (1977), 488; (1979), 571; (1981), 713; (1983), 387; (1985), 687; (1987), 484; (1989), 1063; (1991), 487; (1993), 965; (1995), 1079; (1997), 444; votes, 1998 and 2002: "The Rhodes Cook Letter," November 2002, 5; votes, 2000: calculated by the editors using unpublished data provided by Congressional Quarterly; votes, 2004–2010: "The Rhodes Cook Letter," January 2005, 14; December 2006, 16–17; February 2009, 3; December 2010, 5; February 2011, 14, www.rhodescook.com; votes, 2012–2014: David Wasserman, "The Cook Political Report," www.cookpolitical.com; 1896–2014 seats: Clerk of the House of Representatives, http://clerk.house.gov; 2016–2020 votes and seats: Clerk of the House of Representatives, http://history.house.gov; Table 1-10, this volume.

A Data Literacy Lesson

Why Divided Government Matters

This book is full of tables that provide you with information. In some cases, the information in the table speaks for itself, and there is no particular need to push the story further. In most cases, however, the data cry out for more of an investigation. In Table 1-13, we see an example of a table that we think demands more explanation than the mere facts it presents; in this essay, we will highlight two particular questions we think you should always consider when looking at this table in particular, and at much data in general.

On the face of it, Table 1-13 is straightforward. For every two-year period, it lists the president and their party, along with which party controlled the House of Representatives and the Senate. The key column here is the one that lists whether government is unified (the same party controls the White House and both houses of Congress) or whether it is divided. A cursory glance at the table suggests that divided government is becoming more common over time, while the summary at the bottom of the table confirms that this is, in fact, the case. So, divided government is becoming more common.

When we look at data, two of the first questions we think about are basic ones: *Why* and, *so what*? If you ask this question about every table you see in this book, you'll already be a smarter consumer of political data. Of course, the table itself cannot answer the "why" or "so what" questions, but your own knowledge of government, the perspectives of other knowledgeable people and resources that you might consult, and your own independent research may shed some light on these issues.

Let's start with *why*. Why has divided government become so much more common? In the early 1990s, this question spawned a good bit of research—by that point, divided government had moved from unusual to becoming the norm. Perhaps, some scholars suggested, voters intentionally liked to split the control of government, in order to prevent any party from becoming too powerful. Maybe, some argued, voters preferred the Republican Party to handle presidential-level concerns such as foreign policy and international relations, and preferred the Democratic Party to handle issues around policies such as spending and maintaining the social safety net.[1] Perhaps voters liked the thought of giving power to one party in a presidential election, but then reconsidered two years later in the congressional elections (thus creating divided government). This would explain notable recent elections such as 1994, 2010, and 2018.

These potential answers, and many others, are important to contemplate. The prevalence of divided government in our current era would have stunned an observer from a century ago, and it is worth our while to theorize about why this might be the case. When we do, of course, we will learn that some of our theories stand up well against data, while others do not. When we feed additional data back into our theories, over time we end up with better and better explanations for the political phenomena we observe in the world.

Once we have addressed the question of why, a next important question is *so what*. Why does it matter that we are seeing more divided government today than we previously have? A logical answer is that it might affect governmental

functioning—is it the case that less gets done when control of government is split between the parties? Logic would suggest this is the case; certainly, recent years have not exactly inspired confidence in our elected officials' ability to cross the partisan divide. And yet, as David Mayhew's influential book from the early 1990s, *Divided We Govern*, shows us, it may not be the case that divided government leads to less getting done. Particularly on less visible and non-wedge issues, bipartisanship does happen in Congress. It may also be the case (at least historically) that divided government forces more compromise and, maybe, better legislation.

We'll leave it to others—perhaps to you—to determine why we have more divided government today, and whether it truly is a bad thing. And we hope you'll internalize these two questions - Why? So what? - as ways to find the larger meaning hiding within the tables and figures in this book.

[1] This theory took a hit when it became equally as common to have Democratic presidents facing off against Republican Congresses. Before Bill Clinton, much theorizing about divided government worked from the pattern of Democratic Congresses and Republican White Houses.

Table 1-13 Divided Government in the United States, by Congress, 1861–2022

Years	*Congress*	*Unified/ divided*	*President (party)*	*Senate majority*	*House majority*
1861–1863	37th	unified	Lincoln (R)	R	R
1863–1865	38th	unified	Lincoln (R)	R	R
1865–1867	39th	unified	Lincoln (R)	R	R
1867–1869	40th	unified	Grant (R)	R	R
1869–1871	41st	unified	Grant (R)	R	R
1871–1873	42nd	divided	Grant (R)	R	D
1873–1875	43rd	unified	Grant (R)	R	R
1875–1877	44th	divided	Grant (R)	R	D
1877–1879	45th	divided	Hayes (R)	R	D
1879–1881	46th	divided	Hayes (R)	D	D
1881–1883	47th	unified	Garfield (R)	even[a]	R
1883–1885	48th	divided	Arthur (R)	R	D
1885–1887	49th	divided	Cleveland (D)	R	D
1887–1889	50th	divided	Cleveland (D)	R	D
1889–1891	51st	unified	Harrison (R)	R	R
1891–1893	52nd	divided	Harrison (R)	R	D
1893–1895	53rd	unified	Cleveland (D)	D	D
1895–1897	54th	divided	Cleveland (D)	R	R
1897–1899	55th	unified	McKinley (R)	R	R
1899–1901	56th	unified	McKinley (R)	R	R
1901–1903	57th	unified	McKinley (R)	R	R
1903–1905	58th	unified	T. Roosevelt (R)	R	R
1905–1907	59th	unified	T. Roosevelt (R)	R	R
1907–1909	60th	unified	T. Roosevelt (R)	R	R
1909–1911	61st	unified	Taft (R)	R	R
1911–1913	62nd	divided	Taft (R)	R	D
1913–1915	63rd	unified	Wilson (D)	D	D
1915–1917	64th	unified	Wilson (D)	D	D
1917–1919	65th	divided	Wilson (D)	D	R
1919–1921	66th	divided	Wilson (D)	R	R
1921–1923	67th	unified	Harding (R)	R	R
1923–1925	68th	unified	Harding (R)	R	R
1925–1927	69th	unified	Coolidge (R)	R	R
1927–1929	70th	unified	Coolidge (R)	R	R
1929–1931	71st	unified	Hoover (R)	R	R
1931–1933	72nd	divided	Hoover (R)	R	D
1933–1935	73rd	unified	F. Roosevelt (D)	D	D
1935–1937	74th	unified	F. Roosevelt (D)	D	D
1937–1939	75th	unified	F. Roosevelt (D)	D	D
1939–1941	76th	unified	F. Roosevelt (D)	D	D
1941–1943	77th	unified	F. Roosevelt (D)	D	D
1943–1945	78th	unified	F. Roosevelt (D)	D	D
1945–1947	79th	unified	F. Roosevelt (D)	D	D
1947–1949	80th	divided	Truman (D)	R	R
1949–1951	81st	unified	Truman (D)	D	D
1951–1953	82nd	unified	Truman (D)	D	D
1953–1955	83rd	unified	Eisenhower (R)	R	R
1955–1957	84th	divided	Eisenhower (R)	D	D
1957–1959	85th	divided	Eisenhower (R)	D	D
1959–1961	86th	divided	Eisenhower (R)	D	D
1961–1963	87th	unified	Kennedy (D)	D	D
1963–1965	88th	unified	Kennedy (D)	D	D
1965–1967	89th	unified	L. Johnson (D)	D	D
1967–1969	90th	unified	L. Johnson (D)	D	D
1969–1971	91st	divided	Nixon (R)	D	D

Table 1-13 *(Continued)*

Years	*Congress*	*Unified/ divided*	*President (party)*	*Senate majority*	*House majority*
1971–1973	92nd	divided	Nixon (R)	D	D
1973–1975	93rd	divided	Nixon (R)	D	D
1975–1977	94th	divided	Ford (R)	D	D
1977–1979	95th	unified	Carter (D)	D	D
1979–1981	96th	unified	Carter (D)	D	D
1981–1983	97th	divided	Reagan (R)	R	D
1983–1985	98th	divided	Reagan (R)	R	D
1985–1987	99th	divided	Reagan (R)	R	D
1987–1989	100th	divided	Reagan (R)	D	D
1989–1991	101st	divided	G. H. W. Bush (R)	D	D
1991–1993	102nd	divided	G. H. W. Bush (R)	D	D
1993–1995	103rd	unified	Clinton (D)	D	D
1995–1997	104th	divided	Clinton (D)	R	R
1997–1999	105th	divided	Clinton (D)	R	R
1999–2001	106th	divided	Clinton (D)	R	R
2001–2003	107th	unified	G. W. Bush (R)	even[a]	R
2003–2005	108th	unified	G. W. Bush (R)	R	R
2005–2007	109th	unified	G. W. Bush (R)	R	R
2007–2009	110th	divided	G. W. Bush (R)	D	D
2009–2011	111th	unified	Obama (D)	D	D
2011–2013	112th	divided	Obama (D)	D	R
2013–2015	113th	divided	Obama (D)	D	R
2015–2017	114th	divided	Obama (D)	R	R
2017–2019	115th	unified	Trump (R)	R	R
2019–2021	116th	divided	Trump (R)	R	D
2021–2023	117th	unified	Biden (D)	even[b]	D

Summary[c]

	Unified	*Divided*
1861–1896	9 (50%)	9
1897–1932	14 (78%)	4
1933–1966	13 (76%)	4
1967–2022	10 (36%)	18

Note: "R" indicates Republican; "D" indicates Democrat.

[a] Divided or unified government is as of the start of each Congress. In the 47th Congress (1881), the Senate was initially composed of thirty-seven Republicans and thirty-seven Democrats, one independent (David Davis of Illinois, who voted with the Democrats), and one variously described as an independent or a Readjuster (William Mahone of Virginia, who voted with the Republicans). Vice President Chester A. Arthur's deciding vote resulted in the Republicans organizing the Senate. In the 107th Congress, the Senate was composed of fifty Republicans and fifty Democrats. On January 20, the Republicans organized the Senate. When James M. Jeffords of Vermont switched to independent effective June 6 and caucused with the Democrats, control shifted to the Democrats. This is the only instance for the years indicated in which party control shifted in one chamber after the start of a Congress and led to a change in the organization of that chamber. See the source on party changes in the 83rd Congress.

[b] After the 2020 election, there were fifty Democrats (this includes two independents who caucused with the Democrats) and fifty Republicans. Since the vice president, Kamala Harris, can cast the deciding vote, and she is a Democrat, functionally the Senate was under Democratic control.

[c] 1861–1896 covers the elections of 1860–1894; 1897–1932 covers the elections of 1896–1930; 1933–1966 covers the elections of 1932–1964; 1967–2022 covers the elections of 1966–2020.

Sources: Table 1-10, this volume; information on party switching and party control in evenly divided Congresses: U.S. Senate, "Party Division in the Senate, 1789–Present," www.senate.gov.

Table 1-14 Split Presidential and House Election Outcomes in Congressional Districts, 1900–2020

Year	*Total number of districts*[a]	*Number of districts with split results*[b]	*Percentage of total*
1900	295	10	3.4
1904	310	5	1.6
1908	314	21	6.7
1912	333	84	25.2
1916	333	35	10.5
1920	344	11	3.2
1924	356	42	11.8
1928	359	68	18.9
1932	355	50	14.1
1936	361	51	14.1
1940	362	53	14.6
1944	367	41	11.2
1948	422	90	21.3
1952	435	84	19.3
1956	435	130	29.9
1960	437	114	26.1
1964	435	145	33.3
1968	435	139	32.0
1972	435	192	44.1
1976	435	124	28.5
1980	435	143	32.8
1984	435	196	45.0
1988	435	148	34.0
1992	435	100	23.0
1996	435	111	25.5
2000	435	86	19.8
2004	435	59	13.6
2008	435	83	19.1
2012	435	26	6.0
2016	435	35	8.1
2020	435	16	3.7

[a] For years 1900–1948, data on every congressional district are not available.
[b] Congressional districts carried by a presidential candidate of one party and a House candidate of another party.

Sources: Norman J. Ornstein, Thomas E. Mann, and Michael J. Malbin, eds., *Vital Statistics on Congress, 1993–1994* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1994), 64; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report (CQ Weekly)* (1997), 862; (2000), 1062; (2005), 879; (2009), 659; David Wasserman, "The Cook Political Report," www.cookpolitical.com; 2016–2020 data compiled by authors.

A Data Literacy Lesson

The Decline of Split Districts

In some of the tables in this book, you've had to look through a lot of numbers to tease out the effect we were hoping you would see. In other tables, the key finding we wanted you to see was really no change at all—stability, sometimes, is the big story. And then there's Table 1-14, in which the effect could not possibly be clearer.

Table 1-14 shows us that in 2020, only sixteen House districts, 3.6 percent of them, supported one party's candidate for president and the other party's candidate for the House. How small a number is that? Consider that in 1984, not all *that* long ago, 196 such districts (45 percent) showed such a split. Something big has happened, and it is worth considering what that might be.

One thing to consider is the nature of our modern political parties. Nowadays, both political parties represent narrow ideological segments of the electorate. A generation ago, it was not at all uncommon for some Democrats to be pro-life and some Republicans to be pro-choice; today, few legislators buck the party orthodoxy on that issue, or many others. Even more structurally, the existence of conservative Democrats (mostly from the South) and liberal Republicans (mostly from the North) meant that each party represented a wider range of beliefs. That range has narrowed considerably over the years. We think of senators such as Joe Manchin (D-W.V.) or Mitt Romney (R-Utah) as being on the fringes of their party, even though they are reliable party votes on most issues. Most senators vote with their parties almost all the time.

It is a question of some dispute within the field of political science whether voters have gotten more polarized (i.e., are Republicans more conservative and Democrats more liberal?). They certainly act that way—we know, for instance, that far fewer voters split their tickets today than was the case in, say, the 1980s. We are less sure that they *think* in a more polarized manner. What we do know is that the choices voters see have become more polarized, as Republican and Democratic officeholders have gotten more conservative and liberal, respectively, even if the voters themselves might be no more partisan. Voters might have had tough choices in the past and might have found candidates from different parties to be preferred for different offices. The rise of negative partisanship, when voters harbor strongly negative attitudes toward the other party, even more than they have positive views toward their own, leads voters to be more likely to cast straight ticket votes, and hence create fewer split districts. This is especially the case when the candidates themselves are so polarizing.

Increased polarization is driven by another factor—partisan gerrymandering. Because more and more congressional districts are drawn to give one party a significant majority, fewer districts are reasonably "in play" from year to year. A district that has a 60–40 Republican split, for example, is unlikely to vote for a Democrat in all but the bleakest years for Republicans. When partisan gerrymandering was less common, more districts could sway back and forth between elections. Today, as Table 1-14 suggests, districts are more likely to be "owned" by one party or the other.

When political parties set out to try to expand their number of House seats, they tend to start with the seats that they carried in the presidential election but lost in the House. These seats are most ripe for the taking; they are, however, harder and harder to find. What is more, these seats are often occupied by the most ideologi-

cally diverse members of the party caucus. If we imagine a Democrat who manages to win a House seat in a district carried by Donald Trump, we would assume that the district is fairly conservative, and that the Democrat is a member of the moderate wing of the party. This person is quite vulnerable to defeat in the general election. A strongly progressive Democrat is more likely to represent a very Democratic district and is in less danger in November (although they might be more at risk in the primary). Table 1-14, then, suggests that we should see fewer competitive districts, as well as fewer moderates (and hence more polarization) in Congress.

Trends as dramatic as those we observe in Table 1-14 very rarely happen by chance—as a general rule, when a table shows this big of a change, there are almost always important reasons driving the change, and meaningful impacts of that change. When you encounter data shifts that are this stark, we urge you to explore a little more, and see what's really going on behind the numbers.

Table 1-15 Mean Turnover in the House of Representatives from Various Causes, by Decade and Party System, 1789–2020

Period	*Total turnover*	*Deaths*	*Retired*[a]	*Not renominated*	*General election defeat*	*Unknown*[b]
1790s	0.379	0.017	0.164	0.002	0.027	0.170
1800s	0.361	0.018	0.154	0.001	0.032	0.157
1810s	0.488	0.025	0.181	0.008	0.065	0.209
1820s	0.401	0.018	0.142	0.002	0.079	0.159
1830s	0.483	0.029	0.175	0.006	0.117	0.156
1840s	0.594	0.030	0.253	0.009	0.098	0.205
1850s	0.580	0.018	0.252	0.015	0.140	0.154
1860s	0.492	0.025	0.237	0.026	0.119	0.086
1870s	0.482	0.020	0.220	0.035	0.147	0.060
1880s	0.442	0.023	0.189	0.045	0.130	0.056
1890s	0.394	0.026	0.170	0.043	0.126	0.028
1900s	0.276	0.028	0.114	0.033	0.086	0.015
1910s	0.290	0.029	0.112	0.028	0.114	0.006
1920s	0.223	0.035	0.076	0.026	0.085	0.000
1930s	0.283	0.039	0.084	0.047	0.114	0.000
1940s	0.245	0.025	0.084	0.032	0.104	0.000
1950s	0.168	0.025	0.073	0.014	0.056	0.000
1960s	0.166	0.016	0.073	0.021	0.057	0.000
1970s	0.190	0.010	0.112	0.014	0.053	0.000
1980s	0.120	0.010	0.069	0.007	0.033	0.000
1990s	0.167	0.007	0.106	0.013	0.042	0.000
2000s	0.148	0.006	0.083	0.009	0.051	0.000
2010s	0.164	0.003	0.103	0.016	0.042	0.000
Overall, 1789–2020	0.328	0.021	0.140	0.020	0.083	0.064
Grouped by party system						
First, 1789–1824	0.415	0.020	0.162	0.004	0.048	0.180
Second, 1825–1854	0.524	0.026	0.206	0.007	0.111	0.175
Third, 1855–1896	0.476	0.022	0.215	0.036	0.137	0.067
Fourth, 1897–1932	0.275	0.032	0.103	0.034	0.098	0.008
Fifth, 1933–1964	0.218	0.027	0.080	0.026	0.084	0.000
Sixth, 1965–2020	0.169	0.007	0.100	0.014	0.048	0.000

Note: Figures are proportions of the House membership for each Congress failing to return to the following Congress, averaged across all Congresses within a decade (or a party system). Decades are defined by the first year of a Congress (for example, the 1980s spans 1981–1982 through 1989–1990); each decade mean is based on five Congresses, except for the 1790s (six). Results reflect the final disposition of challenged elections. The overall average represents the average across all congressional elections in the table. Data are current as of June 2021.

[a] Includes retirements from public office, retirements to seek or accept other elective office (including the Senate), retirements to accept federal executive branch appointments, resignations, and expulsions.

[b] "Unknown" are cases in which the member was not a candidate in the next general election, but it could not be determined whether he or she deliberately chose not to seek reelection or was denied renomination.

Sources: Revised from John W. Swain, Stephen A. Borrelli, Brian C. Reed, and Sean F. Evans, "A New Look at Turnover in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–1998," *American Politics Quarterly* 28 (2000): 435–457; other data supplied by the authors.

Table 1-16 House and Senate Seats That Changed Party, 1954–2020

		Incumbent defeated		*Open seat*	
Chamber/ year	*Total changes*	Democrat to Republican	Republican to Democrat	Democrat to Republican	Republican to Democrat
House					
1954	26	3	18	2	3
1956	20	7	7	2	4
1958	50	1	35	0	14
1960	37	23	2	6	6
1962	19	9	5	2	3
1964	57	5	39	5	8
1966	47	39	1	4	3
1968	11	5	0	2	4
1970	25	2	9	6	8
1972	23	6	3	9	5
1974	55	4	36	2	13
1976	22	7	5	3	7
1978	33	14	5	8	6
1980	41	27	3	10	1
1982	31	1	22	3	5
1984	22	13	3	5	1
1986	21	1	5	7	8
1988	9	2	4	1	2
1990	21	6	9	0	6
1992	43	16	8	11	8
1994	61	35	0	22	4
1996	35	3	18	10	4
1998	17	1	5	5	6
2000	18	2	4	6	6
2002	12	2	2	4	4
2004	10	3	2	2	3
2006	30	0	22	0	8
2008	31	5	14	0	12
2010	69	52	2	14	1
2012	29	6	16	5	2
2014	19	11	2	5	1
2016	12	1	6	2	3
2018	46	0	30	3	13
2020	17	13	0	1	3
Senate					
1954	8	2	4	1	1
1956	8	1	3	3	1
1958	13	0	11	0	2
1960	2	1	0	1	0
1962	8	2	3	0	3
1964	4	1	3	0	0
1966	3	1	0	2	0
1968	9	4	0	3	2

Table 1-16 *(Continued)*

Chamber/ year	*Total changes*	*Incumbent defeated*		*Open seat*	
		Democrat to Republican	Republican to Democrat	Democrat to Republican	Republican to Democrat
1970	6	3	2	1	0
1972	10	1	4	3	2
1974	6	0	2	1	3
1976	14	5	4	2	3
1978	13	5	2	3	3
1980	12	9	0	3	0
1982	4	1	1	1	1
1984	4	1	2	0	1
1986	10	0	7	1	2
1988	7	1	3	2	1
1990	1	0	1	0	0
1992	4	2	2	0	0
1994	8	2	0	6	0
1996	4	0	1	3	0
1998	6	1	2	2	1
2000	8	1	5	1	1
2002	4	2	1	1	0
2004	8	1	0	5	2
2006	6	0	6	0	0
2008	8	0	5	0	3
2010	6	2	0	4	0
2012	3	0	1	1	1
2014	9	5	0	4	0
2016	2	0	2	0	0
2018	6	4	1	0	1
2020	5	1	4	0	0

Note: This table reflects shifts in party control from before to after the November elections. It does not include shifts from the creation of districts or redistricting that result in incumbents from different districts running against each other in the same district.

Sources: 1954–1992: Norman J. Ornstein, Thomas E. Mann, and Michael J. Malbin, eds., *Vital Statistics on Congress, 1993–1994* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1994), 54, 56; 1994–2000: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report (CQ Weekly)* (1994), 3232–3233, 3240; (1996), 3228, 3238, 3402; (1998), 3004, 3010–3011; (2000), 2646–2647, 2652–2654; 2002: *2003 Congressional Staff Directory* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2003), 7, 215; 2004: *2005 Congressional Staff Directory* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2005), 7, 237; 2006: *CQ Weekly* (2006), 3066, 3068–3075, 3132, 3186, 3238, 3381; 2008: *CQ Weekly* (2008), 3043–3052, 3056, 3102, 3153, 3206, 3293, 3374; (2009), 216; 2010: Clerk of the House of Representatives, http://clerk.house.gov; *CQ Weekly* (2010), 2618–2629, 2716, 2717, 2766; 2012: *CQ Weekly* (2012), 2284–2293, 2308–2309, 2342, 2384, 2430; 2014: Clerk of the House of Representatives; *CQ Weekly* (2014), 60–61; 2016–2020: compiled by authors from official election results from state websites.

Table 1-17 Losses by President's Party in Midterm Elections, 1862–2018

Year	*Party holding presidency*	*President's party: gain/loss of seats in House*	*President's party: gain/loss of seats in Senate*
1862	R	–3	8
1866	R	–2	0
1870	R	–31	–4
1874	R	–96	–8
1878	R	–9	–6
1882	R	–33	3
1886	D	–12	3
1890	R	–85	0
1894	D	–116	–14
1898	R	–21	7
1902	R	9[a]	2
1906	R	–28	3
1910	R	–57	–10
1914	D	–59	5
1918	D	–19	–6
1922	R	–75	–8
1926	R	–10	–6
1930	R	–53	–8
1934	D	9	10
1938	D	–71	–6
1942	D	–45	–9
1946	D	–55	–12
1950	D	–29	–6
1954	R	–18	–1
1958	R	–47	–13
1962	D	–5	3
1966	D	–47	–4
1970	R	–12	3
1974	R	–48	–5
1978	D	–15	–3
1982	R	–26	1
1986	R	–5	–8
1990	R	–7	–1
1994	D	–54	–10
1998	D	4	0
2002	R	8	1
2006	R	–30	–6
2010	D	–63	–4
2014	D	–12	–9
2018	R	–42	2

Note: Each entry is the difference between the number of seats held by the president's party at the start of Congress after the midterm election and the number of seats held by that party at the start of Congress after the preceding general election. Special elections that shifted partisan seat totals between elections are not noted. Because of changes in the overall number of seats in the Senate and House, in the number of seats won by third parties, and in the number of vacancies, a Republican loss is not always matched precisely by a Democratic gain, or vice versa.

[a] Although the Republicans gained nine seats in the 1902 elections, they actually lost ground to the Democrats, who gained twenty-five seats after the increase in the overall number of representatives after the 1900 census.

Source: Table 1-10, this volume.

Table 1-18 House and Senate Incumbents Retired, Defeated, or Reelected, 1946–2020

Chamber/ year	*Retired*[a]	*Number seeking reelection*	*Defeated*		*Reelected*	
			Primaries	General election	Total	Percentage of those seeking reelection
House						
1946	32	398	18	52	328	82.4
1948	29	400	15	68	317	79.3
1950	29	400	6	32	362	90.5
1952	42	389	9	26	354	91.0
1954	24	407	6	22	379	93.1
1956	21	411	6	16	389	94.6
1958	33	396	3	37	356	89.9
1960[b, c]	27	405	6	25	375	92.6
1962[d]	24	402	12	22	368	91.5
1964	33	397	8	45	344	86.6
1966	23	411	8	41	362	88.1
1968[e]	24	408	4	9	395	96.8
1970[c]	30	401	10	12	379	94.5
1972[c, f]	40	392	14	13	366	93.4
1974	43	391	8	40	343	87.7
1976	47	384	3	13	368	95.8
1978	49	382	5	19	358	93.7
1980[c]	34	398	6	31	361	90.7
1982	31	387	4	29	354	91.5
1984	22	411	3	16	392	95.4
1986	40	394	3	6	385	97.7
1988	23	409	1	6	402	98.3
1990	27	407	1	15	391	96.1
1992	65	368	19	24	325	88.3
1994[c]	48	387	4	34	349	90.2
1996	49	384	2	21	361	94.0
1998	33	402	1	6	395	98.3
2000	32	403	3	6	394	97.8
2002	35	398	8	8	382	96.0
2004	29	404	2	7	395	97.8
2006[g]	27	404	2	22	380	94.1
2008	32	403	4	19	380	94.3
2010	36	397	4	54	339	85.4
2012	39	391	13	27	351	89.8
2014	41	392	4	14	374	95.4
2016	42	380	6[h]	7	367	96.6
2018	55	376	4	37	337	89.7
2020	36	395	8	13	374	94.7
Senate						
1946	9	30	6	7	17	56.7
1948	8	25	2	8	15	60.0
1950	4	32	5	5	22	68.8
1952	4	31	2	9	20	64.5

Table 1-18 *(Continued)*

Chamber/ year	Retired[a]	Number seeking reelection	Defeated		Reelected	
			Primaries	General election	Total	Percentage of those seeking reelection
1954	6	32	2	6	24	75.0
1956	6	29	0	4	25	86.2
1958	6	28	0	10	18	64.3
1960	4	29	0	1	28	96.6
1962	4	35	1	5	29	82.9
1964	2	33	1	4	28	84.8
1966	3	32	3	1	28	87.5
1968[c]	6	28	4	4	20	71.4
1970	4	31	1	6	24	77.4
1972	6	27	2	5	20	74.1
1974	7	27	2	2	23	85.2
1976	8	25	0	9	16	64.0
1978	10	25	3	7	15	60.0
1980[c]	5	29	4	9	16	55.2
1982	3	30	0	2	28	93.3
1984	4	29	0	3	26	89.7
1986	6	28	0	7	21	75.0
1988	6	27	0	4	23	85.2
1990	3	32	0	1	31	96.9
1992	7	28	1	4	23	82.1
1994	8	26	0	2	24	92.3
1996	13	21	1	1	19	90.5
1998	5	29	0	3	26	89.7
2000	5	29	0	6	23	79.3
2002	6	28	1	3	24	85.7
2004	8	26	0	1	25	96.2
2006[i]	4	29	1	6	23	79.3
2008	5	30	0	5	25	83.3
2010[j]	12	25	3	2	21	84.0
2012	10	23	1	1	21	91.3
2014	7	28	0	5	23	82.1
2016	5	29	0	2	27	93.1
2018	3	32	0	5	27	84.4
2020	4	31	0	5	26	83.9

[a] Does not include persons who died or resigned from office before the election.
[b] Harold B. McSween, D-La., lost the Democratic primary in 1960 and is counted as an incumbent defeated in the primary. However, his victorious primary opponent, Earl K. Long, died after winning the primary, and McSween was appointed to replace Long in the general election by the Eighth District Democratic Committee. McSween won the general election and is counted as an incumbent winning the general election.
[c] In this year, an incumbent candidate lost the party primary and is counted as an incumbent defeated in the primary. The candidate then ran in the general election on a minor-party label or as a write-in candidate and lost again, but is not also counted (here or in Table 1-19) as an incumbent defeated in the general election. House: 1960, Ludwig Teller, D-N.Y.; 1970, Philip Philbin, D-Mass.; 1972, Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y.; 1980, John Buchanan, R-Ala.; 1994, David A. Levy, R-N.Y. Senate: 1968, Ernest Gruening, D-Alaska; 1980, Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y.

Table 1-18 *(Continued)*

[d] Clem Miller, D-Calif., was killed in a plane crash on October 7, 1962, but his name remained on the 1962 general election ballot. He won the election posthumously and is counted here as an incumbent winning the general election.
[e] Adam Clayton Powell, D-N.Y., won a special election on April 11, 1967, but he was prevented from taking the oath of office and did not take his seat in Congress. Therefore, he is not counted here (or in Table 1-19) as an incumbent in the 1968 general election.
[f] Bella Abzug, D-N.Y., lost the Democratic primary in 1972 and is counted as an incumbent defeated in the primary. However, her victorious primary opponent, William F. Ryan, died after winning the primary, and Abzug was appointed to replace him in the general election by the local party committee. Abzug won the general election and is counted as an incumbent winning the general election.
[g] In 2006, three representatives withdrew from the general election after winning their primaries: Tom DeLay, R-Texas; Mark Foley, R-Fla.; and Bob Ney, R-Ohio. Because they did not run in the general election, they are not counted as incumbents seeking reelection (here or in Table 1-19).
[h] Mike Honda, D-Calif., lost in the general election to a fellow Democrat, Ro Khanna, D-Calif. We count this as a loss in the primary since the loss was to a member of the same party.
[i] Joseph I. Lieberman, D-Conn., lost the Democratic primary in 2006 and is counted as an incumbent defeated in the primary. He ran as an independent in the general election and won. He is counted as an incumbent winning the general election.
[j] Lisa Murkowski, R-Alaska, lost the Republican primary in 2010 and is counted as an incumbent defeated in the primary. She ran as a write-in candidate in the general election and won. She is counted as an incumbent winning the general election.

Sources: Clerk of the House of Representatives, http://clerk.house.gov; *Congressional Quarterly*; compiled by authors from official election results from state websites.

Table 1-19 Incumbent Reelection Rates: Representatives, Senators, and Governors, General Elections, 1960–2020

Year/office	Number of incumbents			Incumbents winning election (percentage)[a]	Incumbents reelected with 60+ percent of the major-party vote (percentage)[a]
	Ran	Won	Lost		
1960					
House[b, c]	400	375	25	93.5	59.3
Senate	29	28	1	96.6	44.8
Governor	14	8	6	57.1	14.3
1962					
House[d]	390	368	22	96.2	61.0[e]
Senate	34	29	5	85.3	32.4
Governor	26	15	11	57.7	7.7
1964					
House	389	344	45	88.4	58.1
Senate	32	28	4	87.5	46.9
Governor	14	12	2	85.7	50.0
1966					
House	403	362	41	90	67.0
Senate	29	28	1	96.6	44.8
Governor	22	15	7	68.2	22.7
1968					
House[f]	404	395	9	98.8	70.8
Senate[c]	24	20	4	83.3	45.8
Governor	14	10	4	71.4	21.4
1970					
House[c]	391	379	12	96.9	76.7
Senate	30	24	6	79.3	33.3
Governor	22	17	5	77.3	9.1
1972					
House[c, g]	379	366	13	96.6	76.3
Senate	25	20	5	80.0	48.0
Governor	9	7	2	77.8	44.4
1974					
House	383	343	40	89.6	66.6
Senate	25	23	2	92.0	44.0
Governor	21	16	5	76.2	42.9
1976					
House	381	368	13	96.6	72.7
Senate	25	16	9	64.0	44.0
Governor	7	5	2	71.4	28.6
1978					
House	377	358	19	95	75.3
Senate	22	15	7	68.2	31.8
Governor	20	15	5	75.0	30.0
1980					
House[c]	392	361	31	92.1	73.2
Senate[c]	25	16	9	64.0	38.5
Governor	10	7	3	70.0	40.0

Table 1-19 *(Continued)*

Year/office	Number of incumbents			Incumbents winning election (percentage)[a]	Incumbents reelected with 60+ percent of the major-party vote (percentage)[a]
	Ran	Won	Lost		
1982					
House	383	354	29	92.4	69.9
Senate	30	28	2	93.3	46.7
Governor	24	19	5	79.2	45.8
1984					
House	408	392	16	96.1	77.2
Senate	29	26	3	89.7	65.5
Governor	6	4	2	66.7	50.0
1986					
House	391	385	6	98.5	84.4
Senate	28	21	7	75.0	50.0
Governor	17	15	2	88.2	52.9
1988					
House	408	402	6	98.5	87
Senate	27	23	4	85.2	55.6
Governor	9	8	1	88.9	33.3
1990					
House	406	391	15	96.3	74.9
Senate	32	31	1	96.9	62.5
Governor	23	17	6	73.9	47.8
1992					
House	349	325	24	93.1	65.6
Senate	27	23	4	85.2	48.1
Governor	4	4	0	100.0	100.0
1994					
House[c]	383	349	34	91.9	67.2
Senate	26	24	2	92.3	38.5
Governor	21	17	4	81.0	38.1
1996					
House	382	361	21	94.5	67.8
Senate	20	19	1	95.0	30.0
Governor	7	7	0	100.0	71.4
1998					
House	401	395	6	98.5	77.3
Senate	29	26	3	89.6	65.5
Governor	26	24	2	92.3	50.0
2000					
House	400	394	6	98.5	78.0
Senate	29	23	6	79.3	58.6
Governor	6	5	1	83.3	0.0
2002					
House	390	382	8	97.9	86.4
Senate	27	24	3	88.9	65.4
Governor	16	12	4	75.0	25

(Table continues)

Table 1-19 *(Continued)*

Year/office	Number of incumbents			Incumbents winning election (percentage)[a]	Incumbents reelected with 60+ percent of the major-party vote (percentage)[a]
	Ran	Won	Lost		
2004					
House	402	395	7	98.3	85.3
Senate	26	25	1	96.2	69.2
Governor	6	4	2	66.7	33.3
2006					
House[h]	402	380	22	94.5	75.1
Senate[i]	29	23	6	79.3	58.6
Governor	26	25	1	96.1	46.2
2008					
House	399	380	19	95.2	76.4
Senate	30	25	5	83.3	56.7
Governor	8	8	0	100	87.5
2010					
House	393	339	54	86.3	63.9
Senate[j]	23	21	2	91.3	56.5
Governor	13	11	2	84.6	38.5
2012					
House	378	351	27	92.9	66.4
Senate	22	21	1	95.5	54.5
Governor	6	6	0	100	66.7
2014					
House	388	374	14	96.4	77.3
Senate	28	23	5	82.1	46.4
Governor	28	25	3	89.3	28.6
2016					
House	374	367	7	98.1	80.1
Senate	29	27	2	93.1	51.7
Governor	5	4	1	80.0	20.0
2018					
House	372	335	37	90.1	67.2
Senate	32	27	5	84.4	34.4
Governor	18	16	2	88.9	22.2
2020					
House	387	374	13	96.6	67.2
Senate	31	26	5	83.9	32.3
Governor	9	9	0	100	55.6

Note: Percentage gaining more than 60 percent of the vote (among incumbents who ran) is calculated on the basis of the vote for the two major parties. Incumbents running unopposed are considered to have won with over 60 percent of the major-party vote. "Off-off" year gubernatorial elections, held in Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, and Virginia, are not included in the preceding totals. For these gubernatorial election outcomes, see *CQ Press Guide to U.S. Elections*, 7th ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2016).

[a] Percentage is calculated based on all incumbents running in the general election.
[b] Harold B. McSween, D-La., lost the Democratic primary in 1960 and is counted as an incumbent defeated in the primary in Table 1-18. However, his victorious primary opponent, Earl K.

Table 1-19 *(Continued)*

Long, died after winning the primary, and McSween was appointed to replace Long in the general election by the Eighth District Democratic Committee. McSween won the general election and is counted as an incumbent winning the general election.

[c] In this year, an incumbent candidate lost the party primary and is counted as an incumbent defeated in the primary in Table 1-18. The candidate then ran in the general election on a minor-party label or as a write-in candidate and lost again, but is not also counted (here or in Table 1-18) as an incumbent defeated in the general election. House: 1960, Ludwig Teller, D-N.Y.; 1970, Philip Philbin, D-Mass.; 1972, Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y.; 1980, John Buchanan, R-Ala.; 1994, David A. Levy, R-N.Y. Senate: 1968, Ernest Gruening, D-Alaska; 1980, Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y.

[d] Clem Miller, D-Calif., was killed in a plane crash on October 7, 1962, but his name remained on the 1962 general election ballot. He won the election posthumously and is counted here as an incumbent winning the general election.

[e] Data not available for Alabama. The percentage is calculated excluding the number of incumbents winning House seats in Alabama for this year.

[f] Adam Clayton Powell, D-N.Y., won a special election on April 11, 1967, but he was prevented from taking the oath of office and did not take his seat in Congress. Therefore, he is not counted here (or in Table 1-18) as an incumbent in the 1968 general election.

[g] Bella Abzug, D-N.Y., lost the Democratic primary in 1972 and is counted as an incumbent defeated in the primary in Table 1-18. However, her victorious primary opponent, William F. Ryan, died after winning the primary, and Abzug was appointed to replace him in the general election by the local party committee. Abzug won the general election and is counted as an incumbent winning the general election.

[h] In 2006 three representatives withdrew from the general election after winning their primaries: Tom DeLay, R-Texas; Mark Foley, R-Fla.; and Bob Ney, R-Ohio. Because they did not run in the general election, they are not counted as incumbents seeking reelection (here or in Table 1-18).

[i] Joseph I. Lieberman, D-Conn., lost the Democratic primary in 2006 and is counted as an incumbent defeated in the primary in Table 1-18. He ran as an independent in the general election and won. He is counted as an incumbent winning the general election.

[j] Lisa Murkowski, R-Alaska, lost the Republican primary in 2010 and is counted as an incumbent defeated in the primary in Table 1-18. She ran as a write-in candidate in the general election and won. She is counted as an incumbent winning the general election.

Sources: Clerk of the House of Representatives, http://clerk.house.gov; Congressional Quarterly; National Governors Association, www.nga.gov; compiled by authors from official election results from state websites.

Table 1-20 Congressional Districts with a Racial or Ethnic Minority Representative or a "Majority-Minority" Population, 2021

State	District number	% White	% Black	% Asian	% Other	% Two or more races	% Hispanic	Representative elected in 2020	Party	Representative's race/ ethnicity
Racial or ethnic minority representatives in districts with majority-White populations										
California	3	56	7	10	6	5	22	Garamendi	D	Hispanic
California	7	57	8	14	5	5	15	Bera	D	Asian
California	24	66	2	5	4	4	24	Carbajal	D	Hispanic
California	33	68	4	12	3	5	12	Lieu	D	Asian
California	36	51	5	4	20	3	38	Ruiz	D	Hispanic
California	48	60	2	20	7	3	16	Steel	D	Asian
California	49	67	4	7	4	3	19	Levin	D	Hispanic
Colorado	2	87	0	2	1	2	8	Neguse	D	Black
Connecticut	5	74	7	3	4	2	15	Hayes	D	Black
Delaware	At-large	69	22	2	1	3	5	Blunt-Rochester	D	Black
Florida	7	61	11	4	5	2	23	Murphy	D	Asian
Florida	18	73	12	2	2	2	13	Mast	R	Hispanic
Florida	19	78	6	2	2	1	13	Donalds	R	Black
Georgia	6	70	14	9	2	2	6	McBath	D	Black
Illinois	8	62	6	12	8	2	19	Krishnamoorthi	D	Asian
Illinois	14	83	4	3	1	2	9	Underwood	D	Black
Indiana	7	61	30	2	2	3	5	Carson	D	Black
Massachusetts	3	74	4	6	8	2	15	Trahan	D	Hispanic
Massachusetts	7	51	24	9	5	4	16	Pressley	D	Black
Minnesota	5	74	13	4	3	3	4	Omar	D	Black
Missouri	5	70	21	1	2	2	6	Cleaver	D	Black
Nevada	4	53	15	6	9	4	22	Horsford	D	Black
New Jersey	3	78	11	3	1	2	7	Kim	D	Asian
New Jersey	12	56	19	12	3	2	12	Watson Coleman	D	Black
New York	11	64	8	13	4	2	15	Malliotakis	R	Hispanic
New York	17	66	11	6	6	2	16	Jones	D	Black
New York	19	87	5	1	1	2	6	Delgado	D	Black-Hispanic

Ohio	3	59	31	3	2	3	4	Beatty	D	Black
Ohio	16	92	3	2	0	1	2	Gonzalez	R	Hispanic
Texas	32	61	13	8	4	2	16	Allred	D	Black
Utah	4	82	1	3	6	2	11	Owens	R	Black
Virginia	4	52	41	2	1	2	3	McEachin	D	Black
Washington	3	86	1	3	3	4	5	Herrera-Beutler	R	Hispanic
Washington	7	76	4	10	1	6	5	Jayapal	D	Asian
Washington	10	72	7	7	5	5	8	Strickland	D	Black-Asian
West Virginia	2	92	5	1	0	1	2	Mooney	R	Hispanic
Wisconsin	4	51	32	3	5	3	12	Moore	D	Black
Congressional districts with a majority-minority population										
Alabama	7	35	62	0	0	0	2	Sewell	D	Black
Arizona	3	35	6	2	17	4	53	Grijalva	D	Hispanic
Arizona	7	31	12	2	12	4	51	Gallego	D	Hispanic
California	6	43	14	16	9	6	22	Matsui	D	Asian
California	9	43	10	14	6	8	29	McNerney	D	White
California	12	47	6	31	6	5	12	Pelosi	D	White
California	13	41	18	21	10	6	16	Lee	D	Black
California	14	39	3	35	9	5	18	Speier	D	White
California	15	39	7	31	11	5	19	Swalwell	D	White
California	16	31	7	10	19	3	50	Costa	D	Hispanic
California	17	31	3	48	7	4	16	Khanna	D	Asian
California	19	31	4	30	13	5	32	Lofgren	D	White
California	21	26	6	5	15	4	61	Valadeo	R	Hispanic
California	22	47	3	8	12	4	39	Nunes	R	Hispanic
California	25	49	7	9	11	4	33	Garcia	D	White
California	27	32	5	36	12	3	25	Chu	D	Asian
California	29	28	6	9	23	3	57	Cardenas	D	Hispanic
California	31	33	12	7	12	4	46	Aguilar	D	Hispanic
California	32	19	4	19	16	7	57	Napolitano	D	Hispanic

(Table continues)

Table 1-20 *(Continued)*

State	District number	% White	% Black	% Asian	% Other	% Two or more races	% Hispanic	Representative elected in 2020	Party	Representative's race/ ethnicity
California	34	18	9	22	27	4	49	Gomez	D	Hispanic
California	35	19	7	8	32	4	65	Torres	D	Hispanic
California	37	31	26	11	11	4	29	Bass	D	Black
California	38	20	4	17	30	3	56	Sanchez	D	Hispanic
California	39	35	3	31	7	3	29	Kim	R	Asian
California	40	8	8	4	33	2	80	Roybal-Allard	D	Hispanic
California	41	27	11	7	24	4	54	Takano	D	Asian
California	42	48	7	9	12	4	33	Calvert	R	White
California	43	19	26	15	15	4	37	Waters	D	Black
California	44	10	22	6	25	3	60	Barragan	D	Hispanic
California	46	27	3	15	20	2	55	Correa	D	Hispanic
California	47	39	9	23	9	4	26	Lowenthal	D	White
California	51	18	9	9	12	4	62	Vargas	D	Hispanic
California	53	46	8	14	5	5	29	Jacobs	D	White
District of Columbia	At-large	42	46	4	2	3	7	Holmes-Norton	D	Black
Florida	5	43	47	2	1	2	6	Lawson	D	Black
Florida	9	46	12	3	6	3	39	Soto	D	Hispanic
Florida	10	42	27	5	5	2	24	Demings	D	Black
Florida	20	21	53	3	3	3	22	Vacant		
Florida	23	45	14	4	5	3	36	Wasserman-Schultz	D	White
Florida	24	12	50	1	6	2	38	Wilson	D	Black
Florida	25	26	6	1	2	1	68	Diaz-Balart	R	Hispanic
Florida	26	19	12	2	5	2	67	Gimenez	R	Hispanic
Florida	27	25	6	2	3	2	68	Salazar	R	Hispanic
Georgia	2	44	51	1	1	2	3	Bishop	D	Black
Georgia	4	28	64	3	1	2	4	Johnson	D	Black

Georgia	5	32	59	3	1	2	4	Williams	D	Black
Georgia	13	28	62	2	3	2	6	Scott	D	Black
Hawaii	1	18	3	51	6	20	8	Case	D	White
Hawaii	2	33	2	26	13	22	9	Kahele	D	Asian
Illinois	1	38	52	2	2	1	7	Rush	D	Black
Illinois	2	31	58	1	3	2	10	Kelly	D	Black
Illinois	4	33	5	4	23	3	57	Garcia	D	Hispanic
Illinois	7	32	49	6	4	2	12	Davis	D	Black
Louisiana	2	31	62	2	1	1	4	Carter	D	Black
Maryland	4	29	59	3	5	3	8	Brown	D	Black
Maryland	5	48	40	4	2	3	5	Hoyer	D	White
Maryland	7	36	54	5	1	3	3	Mfume	D	Black
Michigan	13	38	55	1	2	2	4	Tlaib	D	Arab-American
Michigan	14	34	58	3	1	2	3	Lawrence	D	Black
Mississippi	2	33	65	0	0	0	1	Thompson	D	Black
Missouri	1	46	48	2	1	2	2	Bush	D	Black
Nevada	1	43	15	9	15	4	30	Titus	D	White
New Jersey	8	33	12	7	16	4	48	Sires	D	Hispanic
New Jersey	9	46	11	11	11	2	32	Pascrell	D	White
New Jersey	10	23	54	6	7	2	17	Payne	D	Black
New Mexico	1	45	3	2	10	3	44	Vacant		
New Mexico	2	42	3	1	10	2	49	Herrell	R	White
New Mexico	3	42	2	1	27	2	36	Leger-Fernancez	D	Hispanic
New York	5	14	54	13	11	3	15	Meeks	D	Black
New York	6	41	5	33	7	3	19	Meng	D	Asian
New York	7	37	12	14	14	5	36	Velazquez	D	Hispanic
New York	8	28	51	6	6	3	16	Jeffries	D	Black
New York	9	34	48	7	4	3	10	Clarke	D	Black
New York	13	17	33	4	27	6	49	Espaillat	D	Hispanic
New York	14	29	15	15	19	3	41	Ocasio-Cortez	D	Hispanic

(Table continues)

Table 1-20 *(Continued)*

State	District number	% White	% Black	% Asian	% Other	% Two or more races	% Hispanic	Representative elected in 2020	Party	Representative's race/ ethnicity
New York	15	4	41	2	34	4	61	Torres	D	Black/Hispanic
New York	16	41	33	5	10	3	22	Bowman	D	Black
North Carolina	1	48	45	1	2	2	3	Butterfield	D	Black
North Carolina	12	48	41	3	3	2	7	Adams	D	Black
Ohio	11	41	51	2	1	3	3	Vacant		
Pennsylvania	2	45	27	6	13	3	22	Boyle	D	White
Pennsylvania	3	35	55	4	1	3	4	Evans	D	White
South Carolina	6	41	55	1	1	2	2	Clyburn	D	Black
Tennessee	9	27	68	1	1	0	2	Cohen	D	White
Texas	9	14	47	11	9	1	27	Green	D	Black
Texas	15	22	3	2	7	1	73	Gonzalez	D	Hispanic
Texas	16	16	4	1	11	3	77	Escobar	D	Hispanic
Texas	18	22	45	4	6	2	28	Jackson Lee	D	Black
Texas	20	25	6	2	6	3	65	Castro	D	Hispanic
Texas	22	44	16	17	2	2	23	Nehls	R	White
Texas	23	29	4	2	7	2	64	Gonzalez	R	Black
Texas	27	45	6	1	4	2	47	Cloud	R	White
Texas	28	22	5	0	4	2	71	Cuellar	D	Hispanic
Texas	29	15	14	2	14	2	69	Garcia	D	Hispanic
Texas	30	22	51	2	3	2	23	Johnson	D	Black
Texas	33	22	24	3	11	2	49	Veasey	D	Black
Texas	34	18	0	0	4	1	79	Velazquez	D	Hispanic
Texas	35	34	10	1	9	3	53	Doggett	D	White
Virginia	3	45	46	2	1	3	4	Scott	D	Black/Asian

Note: "D" indicates Democratic; "R" indicates Republican. Majority-minority districts are those in which the non-Hispanic white population does not constitute a majority of the total population. Population values are based on the 2018 American Community Survey one-year estimates from the U.S. Census Bureau. The six population categories do not sum to 100 percent, due to people being able to count themselves in multiple columns. Data for earlier years can be found in previous editions of *Vital Statistics on American Politics.*

Sources: Derived by the authors from Table 5-11, as well as from U.S. Census Bureau, 2018 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, www.census.gov.

Table 1-21 Latino Elected Officials in the United States, 1996–2019

	1996	*2000*	*2005*	*2007*	*2010*	*2012*	*2014*	*2019*
Members of Congress	17	19	25	26	24	26	31	42
State officials	6	8	9	6	7	8	9	17
State legislators	156	190	232	238	245	258	294	330
County officials	358	398	498	512	563	555	547	517
Municipal officials	1,295	1,469	1,651	1,640	1,707	1,738	1,766	2,258
Judicial and law enforcement	546	465	678	685	874	881	878	882
School board members	1,240	1,392	1,760	1,847	2,071	2,225	2,322	2,535
Special district officials	125	119	188	175	248	237	237	251
Total	3,743	4,060	5,041	5,129	5,739	5,928	6,084	6,832

Sources: 1996–2005: National Association of Latino Elected Officials, "NALEO At-A-Glance" (September 4, 2006), www.naleo.org; 2007: *2007 National Directory of Latino Elected Officials*; 2010: *2010*; 2011: *2011*; 2012: *2012*; 2014: *2014*; 2019: *2019*.

Table 1-22 Blacks, Hispanics, and Women as a Percentage of State Legislators and State Voting-Age Population

State	Total number of legislators	Blacks				Hispanics				Women			
		Legislators	Percentage	Percentage VAP	Ratio[a]	Legislators	Percentage	Percentage VAP	Ratio[a]	Legislators	Percentage	Percentage VAP	Ratio[a]
Alabama	140	32	22.9	26.3	0.871	0	0.0	2.0	0.000	22	15.7	52.5	0.299
Alaska	60	2	3.3	3.1	1.060	1	1.7	5.7	0.292	18	30.0	46.5	0.645
Arizona	90	2	2.2	4.3	0.513	25	27.8	23.2	1.199	40	44.4	50.8	0.875
Arkansas	135	14	10.4	15.1	0.688	1	0.7	3.6	0.208	31	23.0	51.8	0.443
California	120	8	6.7	6.6	1.011	33	27.5	29.8	0.923	38	31.7	51.0	0.621
Colorado	100	8	8.0	3.8	2.092	15	15.0	15.6	0.964	45	45.0	50.3	0.895
Connecticut	187	19	10.2	9.5	1.074	13	7.0	11.9	0.585	64	34.2	52.2	0.656
Delaware	62	12	19.4	21.2	0.912	1	1.6	5.3	0.306	19	30.6	52.6	0.583
Florida	160	27	16.9	14.5	1.166	25	15.6	19.9	0.785	55	34.4	52.0	0.661
Georgia	236	66	28.0	32.1	0.871	3	1.3	4.7	0.272	78	33.1	52.4	0.631
Hawaii	76	2	2.6	2.0	1.334	4	5.3	8.6	0.615	25	32.9	48.6	0.677
Idaho	105	0	0.0	0.5	0.000	1	1.0	8.0	0.119	32	30.5	50.6	0.602
Illinois	177	34	19.2	14.7	1.311	16	9.0	11.2	0.806	71	40.1	51.8	0.774
Indiana	150	14	9.3	8.8	1.057	2	1.3	4.0	0.334	37	24.7	51.6	0.478
Iowa	150	6	4.0	2.9	1.399	1	0.7	3.4	0.198	43	28.7	51.0	0.562
Kansas	165	7	4.2	5.6	0.754	5	3.0	6.9	0.439	49	29.7	50.9	0.583
Kentucky	138	8	5.8	7.7	0.754	1	0.7	1.7	0.418	37	26.8	51.6	0.520
Louisiana	144	36	25.0	31.5	0.793	0	0.0	3.0	0.000	27	18.8	52.0	0.361
Maine	186	3	1.6	0.7	2.254	1	0.5	1.3	0.418	81	43.5	51.6	0.844
Maryland	188	57	30.3	30.1	1.007	6	3.2	5.2	0.614	77	41.0	52.6	0.779
Massachusetts	200	6	3.0	6.1	0.492	9	4.5	8.6	0.525	62	31.0	52.4	0.592
Michigan	148	18	12.2	13.4	0.906	5	3.4	3.3	1.009	53	35.8	51.5	0.695
Minnesota	201	7	3.5	4.7	0.747	5	2.5	2.8	0.880	72	35.8	50.9	0.704
Mississippi	174	54	31.0	36.7	0.845	1	0.6	1.7	0.340	28	16.1	52.5	0.307
Missouri	197	26	13.2	11.0	1.201	0	0.0	2.6	0.000	52	26.4	51.7	0.511
Montana	150	0	0.0	0.4	0.000	1	0.7	2.9	0.229	48	32.0	50.9	0.629
Nebraska	49	2	4.1	4.2	0.972	2	4.1	6.0	0.686	13	26.5	50.9	0.521

Nevada	63	10	15.9	9.3	1.704	8	12.7	19.1	0.665	38	60.3	50.0	1.206
New Hampshire	424	4	0.9	1.1	0.887	7	1.7	2.7	0.616	152	35.8	51.2	0.700
New Jersey	120	19	15.8	13.3	1.194	12	10.0	14.8	0.677	37	30.8	52.3	0.590
New Mexico	112	3	2.7	1.9	1.395	49	43.8	42.7	1.025	49	43.8	51.0	0.858
New York	213	32	15.0	14.4	1.045	21	9.9	14.6	0.677	73	34.3	52.4	0.654
North Carolina	170	37	21.8	21.8	1.000	2	1.2	4.2	0.282	45	26.5	52.3	0.506
North Dakota	141	0	0.0	1.9	0.000	0	0.0	2.8	0.000	32	22.7	48.8	0.465
Ohio	132	18	13.6	11.7	1.169	2	1.5	2.6	0.587	41	31.1	51.8	0.600
Oklahoma	149	8	5.4	7.2	0.744	2	1.3	5.7	0.236	31	20.8	51.3	0.406
Oregon	90	4	4.4	1.7	2.576	4	4.4	7.5	0.591	39	43.3	51.1	0.848
Pennsylvania	253	25	9.9	10.1	0.979	5	2.0	5.2	0.383	73	28.9	51.8	0.557
Rhode Island	113	5	4.4	5.2	0.858	16	14.2	10.6	1.337	51	45.1	52.8	0.855
South Carolina	170	45	26.5	26.6	0.995	0	0.0	2.8	0.000	30	17.6	52.3	0.337
South Dakota	105	1	1.0	1.2	0.828	0	0.0	2.3	0.000	30	28.6	50.3	0.568
Tennessee	132	17	12.9	16.4	0.786	0	0.0	2.3	0.000	22	16.7	52.2	0.319
Texas	181	19	10.5	13.1	0.801	45	24.9	29.9	0.833	48	26.5	51.3	0.517
Utah	104	1	1.0	0.9	1.042	3	2.9	8.7	0.332	25	24.0	50.1	0.480
Vermont	180	2	1.1	0.9	1.227	5	2.8	1.6	1.776	76	42.2	51.2	0.825
Virginia	140	23	16.4	19.4	0.846	1	0.7	5.4	0.132	42	30.0	51.4	0.584
Washington	147	9	6.1	3.5	1.756	6	4.1	7.3	0.557	61	41.5	50.5	0.822
West Virginia	134	3	2.2	3.6	0.626	2	1.5	1.1	1.315	16	11.9	51.1	0.234
Wisconsin	132	10	7.6	5.7	1.328	5	3.8	4.0	0.958	41	31.1	50.9	0.610
Wyoming	90	1	1.1	0.8	1.370	3	3.3	7.1	0.470	16	17.8	49.5	0.359
United States	7,383	766	10.4	12.5	0.830	375	5.1	12.4	0.410	2,285	30.9	51.5	0.601

Note: Hispanics may be of any race. The Black voting-age population (VAP) figures are for the Black-alone racial category. The counts of legislators are as of January 2021.

[a] The ratio between the group's indicated percentage of state legislators and the group's percentage of the state voting-age population. Calculated before rounding.

Sources: Total number of legislators and women legislators: Center for American Women and Politics, "Women in State Legislatures 2021," www.cawp.rutgers.edu; Black legislators: Governing: The Future of States and Localities, "Blacks in State Legislatures: A State-by-State Map," (January 13, 2021), https://www.governing.com; Latino legislators: "Hispanics in State Legislatures: A State-by-State Map," (January 20, 2021); Voting-age population percentages calculated by the authors from U.S. Census Bureau, "Current Population Reports," www.census.gov.

A Data Literacy Lesson

Descriptive Representation—What It Is and Why It Matters

In 1992, one year after the infamous Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill hearings, in which the congressional hearings on the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court featured public allegations of sexual harassment by law professor Anita Hill, American politics experienced the first so-called "Year of the Woman"; subsequently, the year 2018 was referred to in this way as well. Following the 1992 election, the number of women serving in the House of Representatives jumped from thirty to forty-eight, while the number of women serving in the Senate jumped from two to seven.[1] This dramatically increased number of women (although still shockingly low) serving in Congress became the story of that year's contests.

The election of a larger number of women raised the issue of descriptive representation—how important is it that someone be represented by someone who *looks like them*? Before addressing this question, it's worth asking to what extent people actually are represented by people who look like them. Table 1-22 does this at the state level. The Table shows the number (and percentage) of state representatives who are Black, Latino, and women, and compares that to the proportion of the state population that these groups compose. The "ratio" column for each group divides their share of the legislature by their share of the population; a ratio of 1 would indicate that the group is perfectly represented, a ratio below 1 indicates that the group is underrepresented, and a ratio above 1 shows that the group is overrepresented.

As you can see, the larger story of Table 1-22 is one of underrepresentation. Nationwide, Black people are underrepresented by a score of 0.830; while there is substantial variation state-by-state, they are underrepresented in most states. The situation is much worse for Latinos (0.410) and women (0.601), who are underrepresented in far more states than not. Women, in fact, are underrepresented in every state but Nevada!

We can all engage in some speculation about why Black and Latino people, and women, are underrepresented—we engage in some of this speculation in one of these Data Essays in Chapter 5 (focused on women). That these traditionally underrepresented groups may have less access to resources to run a campaign, and/or may face more prejudice from voters, and/or may be less likely to choose to run in the first place, seems important to consider. Table 1-22, however, invites us to speculate at the state level. Why does Nevada overrepresent women? Are they gambling that this would be a good strategy for the state? Why are women so underrepresented in Alabama? (The ratio there is 0.299.) We see similar variance for the other two groups we study here—why would this be the case?

We could speculate on possible reasons—perhaps the political culture of the state (however we might measure it) can explain things? Some states have more progressive traditions than others, which might help to explain these patterns. One additional area in which to look might be legislative professionalism, which we also address in Chapter 8. If a state has a highly professionalized legislature, and pays large salaries, it might attract a wider (and different) pool of candidates than if it were a part-time legislature. This might affect the number of members of traditionally underrepresented groups who are enticed to serve and might also affect their chances of getting elected.

In the end, we are left to ponder why it matters. Can a Black person, for example, be reasonably represented by a white person who shares their convictions on a range of issues? Traditionally, political scientists have argued that, on a simple level, the answer is yes. Every vote counts the same—if a large segment of the Black community wants a "Yes" vote on a particular issue, the race of the person casting the vote doesn't matter, only the way that person votes does. This does not account, however, for the differing levels of intensity people from different groups might bring to the issue, or what other issues they might bring up for vote based on experiences shaped by their demographic characteristics. Legislators are often pulled in multiple directions and cannot prioritize all issues equally. We suspect that descriptive representation explains quite a bit about who participates heavily on some issues versus others, and hence who might be a more effective advocate for the larger group.

Moreover, if it is an ultimate goal to have legislatures look like their populations, one way to get there is by having more diverse political role models for young people who might aspire to office. As a more diverse array of candidates run for office and are elected, future lines of Table 1-22 can be written, and the ratios reported in the table can increase in the years to come.

[1] Technically, there were three female Senators at the time of the 1992 election. Two, Nancy Kassenbaum of Kansas and Barbara Mikulski of Maryland, were elected in their own right. The third, Jocelyn Burdick of North Dakota, had been appointed in September of 1992 to fill her late husband's seat until a successor could be elected.

Table 1-23 Presidential Primaries, 1912–2020

	Democratic Party			*Republican Party*		
Year	Number of primaries	Votes cast	Percentage of delegates selected through primaries	Number of primaries	Votes cast	Percentage of delegates selected through primaries
1912	12	974,775	32.9	13	2,261,240	41.7
1916	20	1,187,691	53.5	20	1,923,374	58.9
1920	16	571,671	44.6	20	3,186,248	57.8
1924	14	763,858	35.5	17	3,525,185	45.3
1928	16	1,264,220	42.2	15	4,110,288	44.9
1932	16	2,952,933	40.0	14	2,346,996	37.7
1936	14	5,181,808	36.5	12	3,319,810	37.5
1940	13	4,468,631	35.8	13	3,227,875	38.8
1944	14	1,867,609	36.7	13	2,271,605	38.7
1948	14	2,151,865	36.3	12	2,653,255	36.0
1952	16	4,928,006	38.7	13	7,801,413	39.0
1956	19	5,832,592	42.7	19	5,828,272	44.8
1960	16	5,687,742	38.3	15	5,537,967	38.6
1964	16	6,247,435	45.7	16	5,935,339	45.6
1968	15	7,535,069	40.2	15	4,473,551	38.1
1972	21	15,993,965	65.3	20	6,188,281	56.8
1976	27	16,052,652	76.0	26	10,374,125	71.0
1980	34	18,747,825	71.8	34	12,690,451	76.0
1984	29	18,009,217	52.4	25	6,575,651	71.0
1988	36	22,961,936	66.6	36	12,165,115	76.9
1992	39	20,239,385	66.9	38	12,696,547	83.9
1996	35	10,996,395	65.3	42	14,233,939	84.6
2000	40	14,045,745	64.6	43	17,156,117	83.8
2004	37	16,182,439	67.5	27	7,940,331	55.5
2008	38	36,995,069[a]	68.9	39	20,840,681	79.8
2012	26	9,187,665	47.2	36	18,767,217	71.3
2016	36	30,642,065	86.4	42	31,183,841	83.0
2020	46	36,917,179	96.7	40	19,321,267	77.6

Note: The number of primaries held include those in which delegates were elected and pledged to specific candidates. A few states also held "beauty contest" primaries that were nonbinding; in those states pledged delegates were selected in caucuses.

[a] Includes 149,181 votes cast in a New Mexico contest in February. That contest was technically a caucus but had many characteristics of a regular primary.

Sources: 1912–2008: *CQ Press Guide to U.S. Elections,* 7th ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2016), 382; 2016 and 2020: updated by authors from news coverage of state contests.

Table 1-24 State Methods for Choosing National Convention Delegates, 1968–2020

State	*1968*	*1972*	*1976*	*1980*	*1984*	*1988*	*1992*	*1996*	*2000*	*2004*	*2008*	*2012*	*2016*	*2020*
Alabama	DP	←	OP	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
Alaska	CL	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	CL	(D)P (R)CL
Arizona	(D)CS (R)CL	CL	←	←	←	←	←	(D)CL (R)P	P	(D)P (R)CL	P	←	←	←
Arkansas	CS	CL	OP	(D)OP (R)CL	CL	OP	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
California	P	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	(D)PI (R)P	←	P	←	←
Colorado	CL	←	←	←	←	←	OP	←	←	CL	←	←	←	OP
Connecticut	CL	←	←	P	(D)P (R)CL	P	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
Delaware	CL	←	←	←	←	←	←	(D)CL (R)P	(D)X (R)CL	(D)P (R)CL	P	←	←	←
District of Columbia	P	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	(D)X (R)CL	P	←	←	←
Florida	P	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
Georgia	(D)CS (R)CL	CL	OP	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
Hawaii	CL	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	P
Idaho	CL	←	OP	(D)CL (R)OP	(D)PI (R)OP	(D)X (R)OP	←	←	(D)X (R)OP, CS	(D)CL (R)OP	OP	CL	(D)CL R(P)	P
Illinois	DP, CL	P	OP	←	DP	←	←	←	(D)OP (R)DP, CS	(D)OP (R)DP	(D)OP (R)DP	←	OP	←
Indiana	OP	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	(D)OP (R)OP, CS	OP	OP	←	←	←

(Table continues)

Table 1-24 *(Continued)*

State	*1968*	*1972*	*1976*	*1980*	*1984*	*1988*	*1992*	*1996*	*2000*	*2004*	*2008*	*2012*	*2016*	*2020*
Iowa	CL	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
Kansas	CL	←	←	PI	CL	←	PI	←	←	CL	←	←	←	P
Kentucky	CL	←	P	←	CL	P	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
Louisiana	CS	CL	←	P	←	←	←	(D)P (R)CL	P	←	←	←	P	←
Maine	CL	←	←	←	←	←	←	PI	←	CL	←	←	←	P
Maryland	(D)CS (R)CL	P	←	←	DP	P	←	←	(D)P (R)PI	(D)P (R)PI	P	←	←	←
Massachusetts	PI	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
Michigan	CL	OP	←	(D)CL (R)OP	CL	(D)CL (R)X	P	(D)CL (R)OP	←	(D)PI (R)CL	OP	←	←	←
Minnesota	CL	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	OP
Mississippi	CL	←	←	(D)CL (R)DP	CL	OP	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
Missouri	(D)CL, CS (R)CL	CL	←	←	←	OP	CL	←	OP	←	←	←	←	←
Montana	CL	←	OP	←	DP	(D)OP (R)X	←	←	←	←	←	CL	OP	←
Nebraska	OP	←	←	←	P	←	←	PI	(D)P (R)DP	(D)P (R)X	(D)CL (R)X	X	(D)CL R(X)	X
Nevada	CL	←	P	←	CL	←	←	(D)CL (R)P	CL	←	←	←	←	←
New Hampshire	PI	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
New Jersey	PI	←	←	←	DP	←	←	(D)PI (R)DP	←	←	PI	←	←	←

New Mexico	CL	P	CL	P	←	←	←	←	←	(D)CL (R)P	←	P	←	←
New York	DP, CS	←	DP	(D)P (R)DP, CS	(D)DP (R)DP, CS	←	←	←	(D)P (R)DP, CS	P	←	←	←	←
North Carolina	CL	P	←	←	←	←	(D)P (R)OP	(D)P (R)PI	PI	CL	PI	←	←	←
North Dakota	CL	←	←	←	DP	(D)X (R)OP	←	←	CS	CL	←	←	←	←
Ohio	OP	←	←	←	PI	←	←	←	OP	←	←	PI	←	←
Oklahoma	CL	←	←	←	←	P	←	←	←	←	←	←	(D)PI (R)P	←
Oregon	P	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
Pennsylvania	P, CS	P	←	←	DP	←	←	←	(D)P (R)DP, CS	←	←	P	←	←
Rhode Island	(D)CS (R)CL	PI	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
South Carolina	CL	←	(D)CL (R)OP	←	←	←	OP	(D)CL (R)OP	OP	(D)OP (R)CL	OP	←	←	←
South Dakota	P	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
Tennessee	CL	OP	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
Texas	CL	←	OP	P	(D)CL (R)OP	OP	←	←	(D)OP, CS (R)OP	←	←	←	OP	OP
Utah	CL	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	PI	(D)PI (R)CL	OP	PI	CL	OP
Vermont	CL	←	X	←	←	←	←	OP	←	←	←	←	←	←
Virginia	CL	←	←	←	←	(D)OP (R)X	CL	←	(D)CL (R)OP	(D)OP (R)CL	OP	←	←	←
Washington	(D)CL, CS (R)CL	(D)CL (R)P	←	←	CL	←	P	(D)CL (R)OP, CL	(D)X (R)P, CL	CL	(D)CL (R)OP	CL	(D)CL (R)OP	OP

(Table continues)

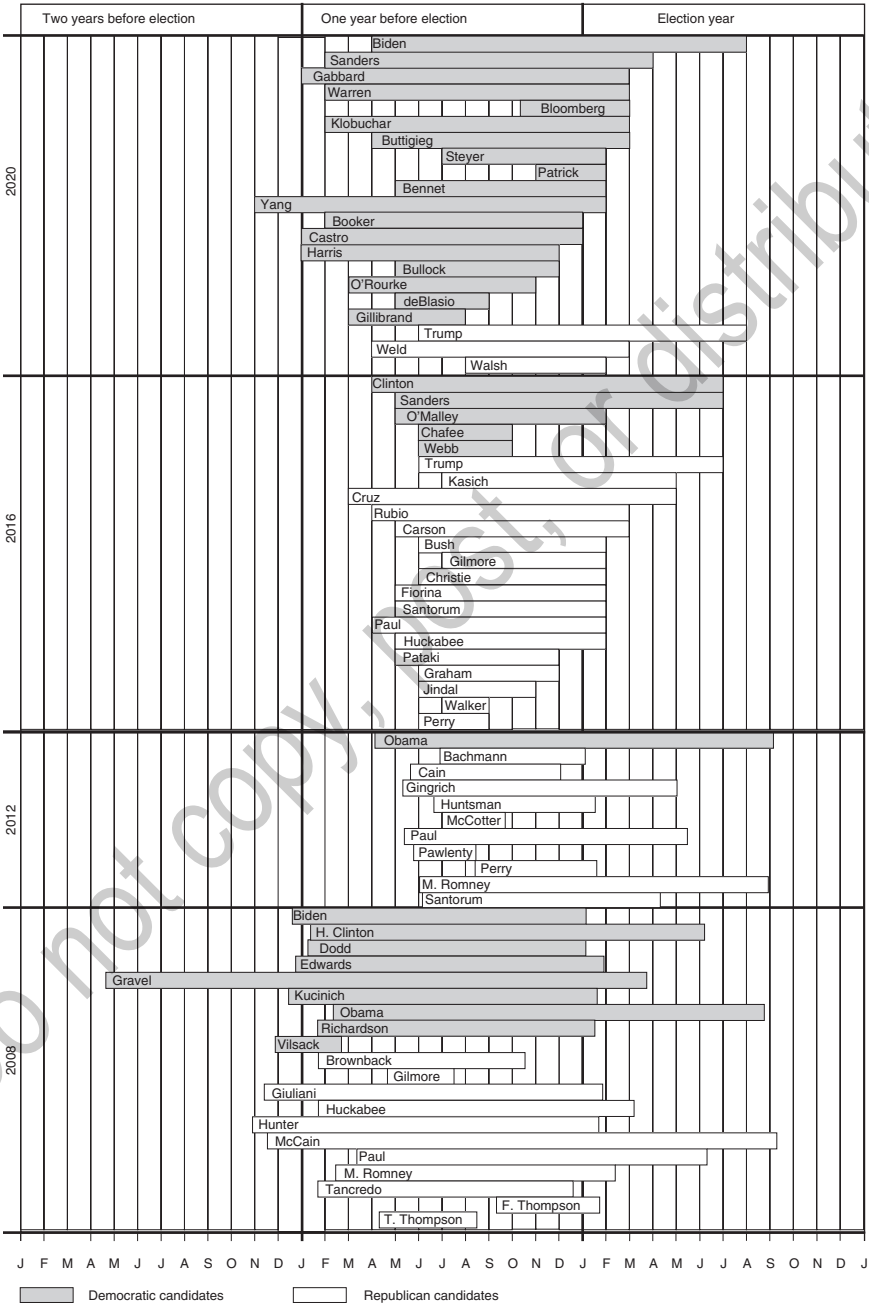
Table 1-24 *(Continued)*

State	*1968*	*1972*	*1976*	*1980*	*1984*	*1988*	*1992*	*1996*	*2000*	*2004*	*2008*	*2012*	*2016*	*2020*
West Virginia	P	←	←	←	←	←	(D)P (R)PI	←	(D)P (R)DP	←	(D)PI (R)PI, CS	PI	←	←
Wisconsin	OP	←	←	←	(D)X (R)OP	(D)PI (R)OP	←	OP	←	←	←	←	←	←
Wyoming	CL	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←	←
(Puerto Rico)	(D)CL	CL	←	OP	(D)PI (R)CL	PI	←	←	←	(D)CL (R)OP	←	OP	OP	OP

Note: "←" indicates method(s) same as in previous presidential election; "CL" indicates delegates chosen by state and local caucuses and conventions; "CS" indicates delegates chosen by state party committee; "(D)" indicates Democrats; "DP" indicates delegates chosen directly by voters in primaries with nonbinding presidential preference poll; "OP" indicates delegates chosen or bound by presidential preference primaries open to all registered voters with no regard for party preregistration (or voters can switch party affiliation at the polls on primary day); "P" indicates delegates chosen or bound by presidential preference primaries open only to voters preregistered as members of the particular parties; "PI" indicates delegates chosen or bound by presidential preference primaries open only to voters preregistered as members of the particular parties or as independents; "(R)" indicates Republicans; "X" indicates having nonbinding presidential preference primaries, but delegates are chosen by party caucus and conventions. States with primaries but without voter registration by party are coded "OP."

Sources: 1968–1984: Austin Ranney, ed., *The American Elections of 1984* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1985), 330–332; 1988: derived by the authors from Kevin Coleman, "A Summary of National and State Party Rules and State Laws Concerning the Election of Delegates to the 1988 Democratic and Republican National Conventions," Report no. 88-102 GOV, Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C., 1988; 1992: derived by the authors from Congressional Quarterly, *The First Hurrah: A 1992 Guide to the Nomination of the President* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1991); Congressional Quarterly *Weekly Report* (1991), 3478; and Thomas M. Durbin and L. Paige Whitaker, *Nomination and Election of the President and Vice President of the United States, 1992: Including the Manner of Selecting Delegates to National Party Conventions* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1992); 1996: derived by the authors from Congressional Quarterly *Weekly Report* (1995), 2485–2599; 2000–2008: derived by the authors from Rhodes Cook, *Race for the Presidency* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2000, 2004, and 2008); 2012: derived by the authors from "Presidential Primaries 2012: Democratic Delegate Selection and Voter Eligibility" and "Presidential Primaries 2012: Republican Delegate Selection and Voter Eligibility," www.thegreenpapers.com; 2016 and 2020 updates from websites of state political parties. Because several of the sources of these methods are published prior to the nomination season and because last-minute changes are made in some states' methods, occasionally later publications have led to revisions of a classification for an earlier year.

Figure 1-5 Democratic and Republican Presidential Nominations, Campaign Lengths, 1968–2020



(Figure continues)

Figure 1-5 *(Continued)*

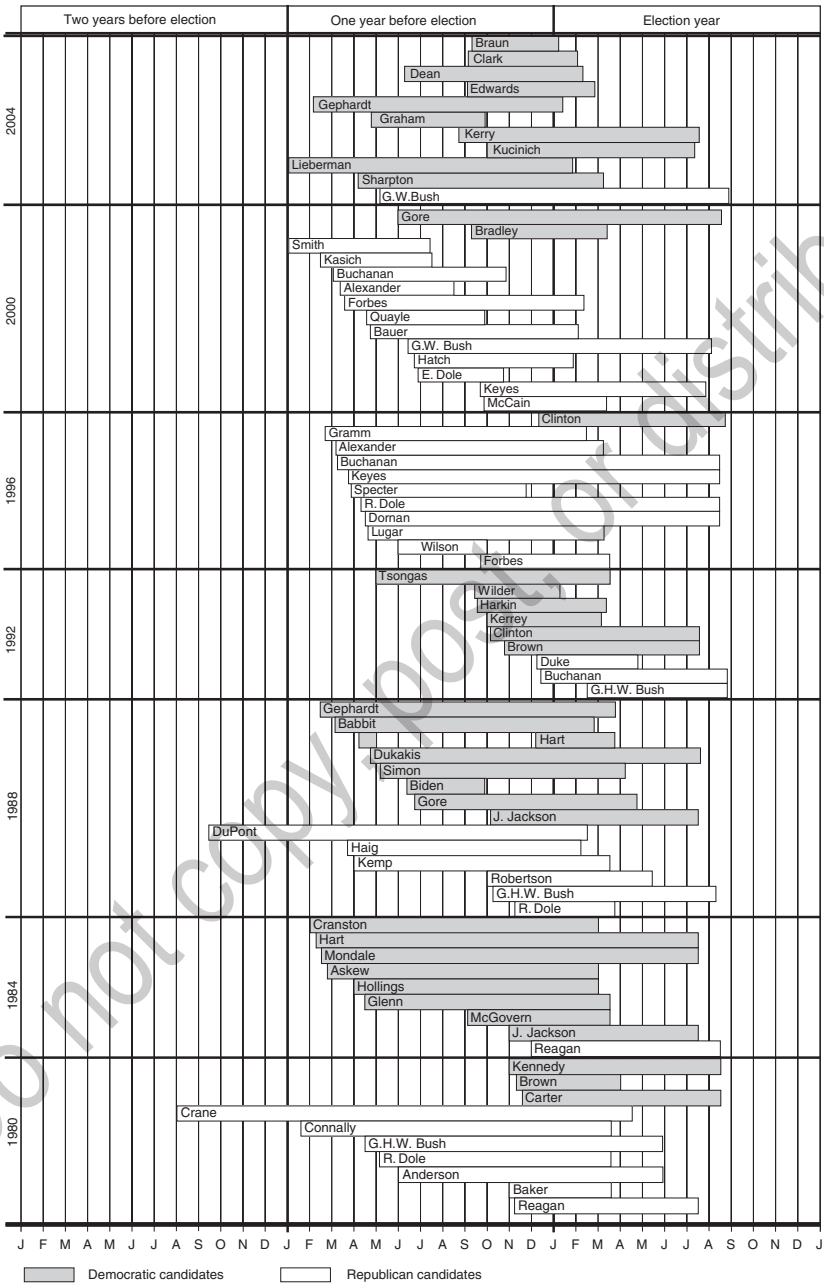
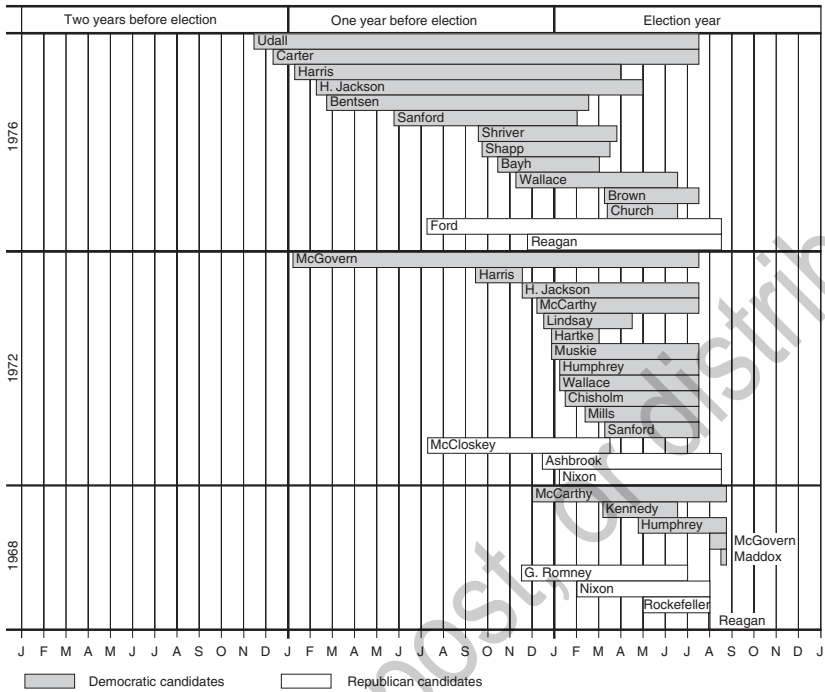


Figure 1-5 *(Continued)*



Note: Beginning of campaigns is determined by date of the formal announcement.

Sources: 1968–1984: Congressional Quarterly, *Elections '80* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1980), and *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections,* 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1985), 387; 1988–1996: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* (1987), 2732; (1988), 1894, 1896, 1899; (1991), 3735; (1992), 66, 361, 556, 633, 1086; (1995), 2, 13, 15, 3025, 3606; (1996), 641, 716; 2000–2020: compiled by the authors from news reports, various sources.

Table 1-25 Democratic Presidential Primary Returns, 2020

State	*Date*	*Turnout*	*Biden*	*Sanders*	*Warren*	*Bloomberg*	*Buttigieg*	*Klobuchar*
New Hampshire	Feb. 11	298,377	8%	26%	9%	2%	24%	20%
South Carolina	Feb. 22	539,263	49	20	7	0	8	3
Alabama	Mar. 3	452,093	63	17	6	12	0	0
Arkansas	Mar. 3	229,122	41	22	10	17	3	3
California	Mar. 3	5,784,364	28	36	13	12	4	2
Colorado	Mar. 3	960,128	25	37	18	19	0	0
Maine	Mar. 3	205,937	33	33	16	12	2	1
Massachusetts	Mar. 3	1,418,180	33	27	21	12	3	1
Minnesota	Mar. 3	744,198	39	30	15	8	1	6
North Carolina	Mar. 3	1,332,382	43	24	11	13	3	2
Oklahoma	Mar. 3	304,281	39	26	13	14	2	2
Tennessee	Mar. 3	516,250	42	25	10	16	3	2
Texas	Mar. 3	2,094,428	35	30	11	14	4	2
Utah	Mar. 3	220,582	18	36	16	15	9	4
Vermont	Mar. 3	158,032	22	51	13	9	2	1
Virginia	Mar. 3	1,323,693	53	23	11	10	1	1
Democrats Abroad	Mar. 3–10	39,984	23	58	14	2	2	1
Idaho	Mar. 10	108,649	49	42	3	2	1	1
Michigan	Mar. 10	1,587,679	53	36	2	5	1	1
Mississippi	Mar. 10	274,391	81	15	1	3	0	0
Missouri	Mar. 10	666,112	60	35	1	2	1	0
Washington	Mar. 10	1,558,776	38	37	9	8	4	2
Arizona	Mar. 17	613,355	44	33	6	—	4	—
Florida	Mar. 17	1,739,214	62	23	2	8	2	1
Illinois	Mar. 17	1,674,133	59	36	2	2	1	—
Wisconsin	Apr. 7	925,065	63	32	1	1	1	1

Alaska	Apr. 10	19,589	55	45	—	—	—	—
Ohio	Apr. 28	894,383	72	17	4	3	2	1
Kansas	May 2	143,183	77	23	—	—	—	—
Nebraska	May 12	164,582	77	14	7	—	—	—
Oregon	May 19	618,711	66	21	10	—	—	—
Hawaii	May 22	33,552	63	37	—	—	—	—
District of Columbia	Jun. 2	110,688	76	10	13	—	—	—
Indiana	Jun. 2	497,927	77	14	3	1	4	1
Maryland	Jun. 2	1,050,773	84	8	3	1	1	1
Montana	Jun. 2	149,973	75	15	8	—	—	—
New Mexico	Jun. 2	247,880	73	15	6	—	—	—
Pennsylvania	Jun. 2	1,595,508	79	18	—	—	—	—
Rhode Island	Jun. 2	103,982	77	15	4	—	—	—
South Dakota	Jun. 2	52,661	78	23	—	—	—	—
Georgia	Jun. 9	1,086,729	85	9	2	1	1	0
West Virginia	Jun. 9	187,482	65	12	3	2	2	2
Kentucky	Jun. 23	537,905	68	12	3	—	2	1
New York	Jun. 23	1,759,039	65	16	5	2	1	1
Delaware	Jul. 7	91,682	89	8	3	—	—	—
New Jersey	Jul. 7	958,762	85	15	—	—	—	—
Louisiana	Jul. 11	267,286	80	7	2	2	1	1
Puerto Rico	Jul. 12	7,022	56	13	1	13	2	—
Connecticut	Aug. 11	264,416	85	12	—	—	—	—

Note: "—" indicates that the candidate was not listed on the ballot. Percentages are rounded, and thus do not always sum to 100. Primary results are based on official state returns for all states. Data for earlier years can be found in previous editions of *Vital Statistics on American Politics*.

Source: Compiled by authors from various news reports.

Table 1-26 Democratic Presidential Caucus Results, 2020

State	*Date*	*Turnout*	*Biden*	*Sanders*	*Warren*	*Bloomberg*	*Buttigieg*	*Klobuchar*
Iowa	Feb. 3	172,300	14%	26%	20%	0%	25%	12%
Nevada	Feb. 22	101,543	19	40	12	0	17	7
American Samoa	Mar. 3	351	9	11	1	50	0	0
North Dakota	Mar. 10	14,413	39	53	3	1	1	2
Wyoming	Apr. 17	15,118	72	28	0	0	0	0
Guam	Jun. 6	388	70	30	0	0	0	0
U.S. Virgin Islands	Jun. 6	550	91	5	0	0	0	0

Note: Percentages are rounded, and thus do not always sum to 100. Iowa results include only the final alignments, after supporters of nonviable candidates were allowed to caucus with another candidate. Data for earlier years can be found in previous editions of *Vital Statistics on American Politics.*

Source: Compiled by authors from various news reports.

Table 1-27 Location and Size of National Party Conventions, 1932–2020

	Democrats		*Republicans*	
Year	Location	Delegate votes	Location	Delegate votes
1932	Chicago	1,154	Chicago	1,154
1936	Philadelphia	1,100	Cleveland	1,003
1940	Chicago	1,100	Philadelphia	1,000
1944	Chicago	1,176	Chicago	1,056
1948	Philadelphia	1,234	Philadelphia	1,094
1952	Chicago	1,230	Chicago	1,206
1956	Chicago	1,372	San Francisco	1,323
1960	Los Angeles	1,521	Chicago	1,331
1964	Atlantic City	2,316	San Francisco	1,308
1968	Chicago	2,622	Miami Beach	1,333
1972	Miami Beach	3,016	Miami Beach	1,348
1976	New York	3,008	Kansas City	2,259
1980	New York	3,331	Detroit	1,994
1984	San Francisco	3,933	Dallas	2,235
1988	Atlanta	4,161	New Orleans	2,277
1992	New York	4,288	Houston	2,210
1996	Chicago	4,289	San Diego	1,990
2000	Los Angeles	4,339	Philadelphia	2,066
2004	Boston	4,353	New York	2,509
2008	Denver	4,440	St. Paul	2,380
2012	Charlotte	5,552	Tampa	2,286
2016	Philadelphia	4,763	Cleveland	2,472
2020	Milwaukee[a]	4,749	Charlotte[b]	2,550

Note: The number of delegates (persons attending) may be larger because of fractional votes.

[a] The Democratic National Convention was based at the Milwaukee Center in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, but was largely held remotely. Various other cities "hosted" aspects of the convention.

[b] The first day of the Republican Convention was based in Charlotte, North Carolina, while subsequent days were based in Washington, D.C. Many segments of the convention were held at other remote locations.

Sources: 1932–2008: *CQ Press Guide to U.S. Elections*, 6th ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010), 489–490, 492; 2012: "The Rhodes Cook Letter," August 2012, 7, 11, www.rhodescook.com; and Rhodes Cook, personal communication; 2016 and 2020: compiled by authors from news reports.

Table 1-28 Legislative Districting: Deviations from Equality in Congressional and State Legislative Districts (percent)

	Congressional districts				*State legislative districts*							
					Senate				*House*			
State	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s
Alabama	2.45	[a]	0	0	8.50	9.22	9.73	1.98	9.80	10.20	9.93	1.98
Alaska	AL	AL	AL	AL	9.77	11.70	9.32	2.97	9.99	15.50	9.96	4.25
Arizona	0.08	[a]	0	0	8.40	9.85	3.79	8.78	8.40	9.85	3.79	8.78
Arkansas	0.73	0.73	0.04	0.06	9.15	9.27	9.81	8.20	9.15	9.52	9.87	8.36
California	0.08	0.49	0	[a]	4.60	1.60	0	1.99	3.60	1.80	0	1.98
Colorado	[a]	[a]	0	0	3.98	4.90	4.95	4.99	4.94	4.96	4.88	4.98
Connecticut	0.46	0.05	0	0	3.92	7.98	8.03	9.79	8.35	8.78	9.20	5.99
Delaware	AL	AL	AL	AL	9.78	10.18	9.96	10.73	25.10	9.58	9.98	9.93
Florida	0.13	[a]	0	0	1.05	0.86	0.03	1.92	0.46	4.99	2.79	3.98
Georgia	—	0.93	0.01	0	9.99	9.95	1.94	1.84	9.94	9.95	1.96	1.98
Hawaii	[a]	[a]	0.32	0.10	18.60	9.86	38.90	44.23	8.60	9.78	20.10	21.57
Idaho	0.04	[a]	0.60	0.09	5.35	9.88	9.70	9.70	5.35	9.88	9.70	9.70
Illinois	0.03	[a]	0	0	1.75	[a]	0	0	2.80	[a]	0	0
Indiana	2.96	[a]	0.02	0	4.04	2.19	3.80	2.88	4.45	3.36	1.92	1.74
Iowa	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.71	1.45	1.46	1.65	1.78	1.97	1.89	1.93
Kansas	0.34	0.01	0	0	6.50	6.89	9.27	2.03	9.90	9.72	9.95	2.87
Kentucky	1.39	[a]	0	0	7.52	6.13	9.53	11.02	13.47	9.91	10.00	11.62
Louisiana	0.42	0.04	0.04	0.03	8.40	9.78	9.95	9.86	9.69	9.97	9.88	9.89
Maine	[a]	[a]	0	0	10.18	4.16	3.57	9.51	10.94	43.74[b]	9.33	9.90
Maryland	0.35	[a]	0	[a]	9.80	9.84	9.91	8.87	15.70	10.67	9.89	8.87
Massachusetts	1.09	[a]	0.39	0	—	4.75	9.33	9.77	—	9.92	9.68	9.74
Michigan	[a]	[a]	0	0	16.24	15.83	9.92	9.79	16.34	16.13	9.92	9.96
Minnesota	0.01	[a]	0	0	4.61	3.42	1.35	1.42	3.93	5.90	1.56	1.60
Mississippi	—	0.02	0	0.20	4.61	8.96	9.30	9.77	4.90	9.97	9.98	9.95
Missouri	0.18	0.20	0	0	6.10	8.42	6.81	8.50	9.30	8.96	6.08	7.80
Montana	—	AL	AL	AL	—	9.51	9.82	5.26	—	9.97	9.85	5.44
Nebraska	0.23	0.20	0	0	9.43	3.81	9.21	7.39	[c]	[c]	[c]	[c]
Nevada	0.60	[a]	0	0	8.20	2.28	9.91	0.80	9.70	4.55	1.97	1.33
New Hampshire	0.24	0.07	0.10	[a]	7.60	12.36	9.50	8.83	13.74	14.53	9.26	9.90
New Jersey	0.69	[a]	0	0	7.70	4.60	1.83	5.20	7.70	4.60	1.83	5.20

New Mexico	0.87	0.16	0.03	0	9.83	9.58	9.60	8.70	9.87	9.89	9.70	6.68
New York	1.64	[a]	0	0	5.29	4.29	9.78	8.80	8.17	9.43	9.43	7.94
North Carolina	1.76	[a]	0	0	9.46	9.94	9.96	9.49	9.66	9.97	9.98	9.97
North Dakota	AL	AL	AL	AL	9.93	8.71	10.00	8.86	9.93	8.71	10.00	8.86
Ohio	0.68	[a]	0	0	8.88	13.60	8.81	9.20	9.67	13.60	12.46	16.44
Oklahoma	0.58	[a]	0	0	5.60	3.93	4.71	2.03	10.98	6.13	2.05	1.81
Oregon	0.15	[a]	0	[a]	3.73	1.69	1.77	2.99	5.34	1.89	1.90	3.10
Pennsylvania	0.24	0.01	0	0	1.93	1.86	3.98	7.96	2.82	4.94	5.54	7.88
Rhode Island	0.02	0.02	0	0	—	13.00	9.91	5.01	10.47	14.70	9.88	4.98
South Carolina	0.28	[a]	0	0	—	1.00	9.87	9.55	9.88	5.20	4.99	4.99
South Dakota	AL	AL	AL	AL	12.90	9.47	9.69	9.47	12.40	9.47	9.69	9.64
Tennessee	2.40	[a]	0	0	10.22	13.92	9.98	9.17	1.66	9.96	9.99	9.74
Texas	0.28	[a]	0	0	1.82	9.98	9.71	8.04	9.95	9.99	9.74	9.85
Utah	0.43	0.02	0	0	7.80	7.60	7.02	0	5.41	7.94	8.00	0
Vermont	AL	AL	AL	AL	16.18	16.36	14.28	18.01	19.33	17.62	18.99	18.80
Virginia	1.81	[a]	0	0	10.65	8.53	4.00	4.00	5.11	9.67	3.90	2.00
Washington	0.06	[a]	0	[a]	5.40	[a]	0.30	0.07	5.70	[a]	0.30	0.07
West Virginia	0.50	0.09	0.22	0.79	8.96	9.98	10.92	10.00	9.94	9.96	9.98	9.99
Wisconsin	0.14	[a]	0	0	1.23	0.52	0.98	0.62	1.74	0.92	1.60	0.76
Wyoming	AL	AL	AL	AL	63.70	9.60	9.51	9.37	89.40	9.97	9.81	9.84

Note: "AL" indicates at-large district (only one congressional representative); "—" indicates not available. Figures represent the absolute sum of the maximum percentage deviations (positive and negative) from the average district population. 1980s data are as of April 1983; 1990s data are as of August 1994. The 1980 state house plans for Delaware and Rhode Island contained errors that increased total deviation, but had not been corrected. 2000s data are as of March 2005; 2010s data are from February 2019. Data for the 1960s can be found in previous editions of *Vital Statistics on American Politics.*

[a] Less than 0.01 percent.
[b] Apart from two districts, the deviation is 8.15.
[c] Nebraska's state legislature is unicameral.

Sources: 1980s: Election Data Services, Inc.; 1990s: Supreme Judicial Court of Maine, *In re Apportionment of 1993* (Docket #JC–93–229), and unpublished data from the National Conference of State Legislators, Illinois State Board of Elections, Michigan Information Center (Department of Management and Budget), and Tennessee Office of Local Government; 2000s and 2010s: National Conference of State Legislatures, www.ncsl.org.

Table 1-29 Jurisdictions Subject to Federal Preclearance of Election Law Changes and to Minority Language Provisions of the Voting Rights Act

Coverage under preclearance provisions[a]	*Coverage under minority language provisions*[b]	
Alabama	Alaska (15)[c]	Nebraska (3)
Alaska	Arizona (10)	Nevada (1)
Arizona	California	New Jersey (9)
California (4)	Colorado (6)	New Mexico (20)
Florida (5)	Connecticut (10)[c]	New York (7)
Georgia	Florida	Oklahoma (1)
Louisiana	Georgia (1)	Pennsylvania (3)
Michigan (2)[c]	Hawaii (1)	Rhode Island (3)[c]
Mississippi	Illinois (3)	Texas
New York (3)	Iowa (2)	Utah (1)
North Carolina (40)	Kansas (5)	Virginia (1)
South Carolina	Maryland (1)	Washington (4)
South Dakota (2)	Massachusetts (12)[c]	Wisconsin (3)[c]
Texas	Michigan (3)[c]	
Virginia	Mississippi (10)	

Note: "Preclearance" means that changes in election laws must be approved by the U.S. Justice Department. "Language provisions" require covered jurisdictions to provide bilingual voting materials to members of specified minority language groups. Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of counties in the state affected by the provisions. If there are no parentheses, coverage is statewide. The Supreme Court decision in *Shelby County v. Holder,* 133 S. Ct. 2612 (2013) held that Section 4 of the Voting Rights Act, which set out the formula that is used to determine which state and local governments must comply with Section 5's preclearance requirement, is unconstitutional and can no longer be used. Section 5 will have no actual effect unless a jurisdiction is covered by a separate court order entered under Section 3(c) of the VRA or Congress enacts a new statute to determine which jurisdictions should be covered by Section 5. The above table listing jurisdictions subject to federal preclearance indicates the situation immediately before *Shelby County v. Holder.*

[a] Approximately 250 governmental units and jurisdictions once subject to the preclearance provisions of Section 5 were no longer subject to such coverage because they availed themselves of the bailout process set forth in Section 4 of the Voting Rights Act.

[b] Covered jurisdictions under the minority language provisions are determined by the U.S. Census Bureau after each census, based on a formula set out in the Voting Rights Act. The most recent determinations were made on December 5, 2016.

[c] Number of towns, townships, cities, boroughs, or areas.

Sources: U.S. Department of Justice, "Jurisdictions previously covered by Section 5 at the time of the Shelby County decision," Table, https://www.justice.gov/crt/jurisdictions-previously-covered-section-5; U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, "Voting Rights Act Amendments of 2006, Determinations Under Section 203," *Federal Register,* 81, no. 233 (December 5, 2016), 87532–87538, https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/FR-2016-12-05/pdf/2016-28969.pdf.

Table 1-30 Term Limits on State Legislators

State[a]	*Lower house (years)*[b]	*Upper house (years)*[b]	*Year adopted*	*Percent support*	*Year of first impact*		*Mechanism*[c]	*Break in service*[d]
					Lower house	Upper house		
Arizona	8	8	1992	74	2000	2000	S	2 years
Arkansas	12	12	1992	60	1998	2000	S	4 years
California	12 years total in legislature		1990	52	1996	1998	S	lifetime
Colorado	8	8	1990	71	1998	1998	S	4 years
Florida	8	8	1992	77	2000	2000	B	2 years
Louisiana	12	12	1995	76	2007	2007	S	4 years[e]
Maine	8	8	1993	68	1996	1996	S	2 years
Michigan	6	8	1992	59	1998	2002	S	lifetime
Missouri[f]	8	8	1992	75	2002	2002	S	lifetime
Montana	8 out of 16	8 out of 16	1992	67	2000	2000	B	contingent
Nebraska	[g]	8[g]	2000	56	[g]	2006	S	4 years
Nevada[h]	12	12	1996	70	2010	2010	S	lifetime
Ohio	8	8	1992	68	2000	2000	S	4 years
Oklahoma	12 years total in legislature		1990	67	2004	2004	S	lifetime
South Dakota	8	8	1992	64	2000	2000	S	2 years

Note: States have varying provisions for counting partial terms stemming from appointment or special election. In many states, limits are defined in terms of times elected rather than years served or contain a clause such as "or, but for resignation, would have served."

[a] In addition to the states listed here, Washington, Oregon, and Wyoming passed state legislative term limits in 1992 and Massachusetts, Idaho, and Utah in 1994, but they were overturned by the courts in the first four states (in 1998, 2002, 2004, and 1997, respectively) and by the legislatures in Idaho (in 2002) and Utah (in 2003). In Oregon, some legislators were "termed out" in 1998 and 2000.

[b] Number of years an individual may serve before term limits are applied. In Arkansas and Florida, all senate seats are up for election in the first election of the decade (i.e., after redistricting), so some senators may in fact serve for ten years. In Montana, an individual may not serve more than eight out of sixteen years, whether or not those years are consecutive.

[c] Strict term limits (S) prohibit service in the legislature. Ballot access restrictions (B) prevent a candidate's name from being placed on the ballot, but do not prevent a candidate from being elected on write-in votes.

(Table continues)

Table 1-30 *(Continued)*

[d] Length of time an individual must "sit out" before serving (or having ballot access) again in the same house. The time is "contingent" when the term limit law specifies that an individual may serve no more than a certain number of years over a longer period.
[e] Members may run for the opposite state legislative body without having to sit out any terms.
[f] Because of special elections, term limits were effective in 2000 for eight members of the House and in 1998 for one senator.
[g] Nebraska's legislature is unicameral.
[h] The Nevada Legislative Council and attorney general ruled that Nevada's term limits could not be applied to those legislators elected in the same year term limits were passed (1996). They first applied to persons elected in 1998.

Sources: National Conference of State Legislatures, www.ncsl.org; texts of state measures.

Table 1-31 Members "Termed Out" of State Legislatures, 2002–2020

			Members termed out in									
State	*Chamber*	*Membership*	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020
Arizona	House	60	9	5	3	7	13	3	3	5	8	5
	Senate	30	6	2	3	2	10	3	1	1	6	2
Arkansas[a]	House	100	14	36	29	28	34	24	25	0	0	0
	Senate	35	11	0	1	4	13	11	0	0	0	0
California	Assembly	80	20	18	26	24	19	22	16	14	1	0
	Senate	40	7	8	12	10	8	6	6	6	6	6
Colorado	House	65	7	7	11	8	8	8	9	8	5	9
	Senate	35	5	5	4	7	4	9	5	9	7	4
Florida	House	120	14	7	19	28	24	11	15	21	20	18
	Senate	40	12	0	5	5	7	11	0	5	2	7
Louisiana	House	105	—	—	—	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]
	Senate	39	—	—	—	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]
Maine	House	151	28	21	19	15	21	26	22	16	21	22
	Senate	35	8	7	1	6	4	9	1	2	8	3
Michigan	House	110	23	37	23	44	34	14	29	38	24	22
	Senate	38	27	[c]	6	[c]	29	[c]	7	[c]	26	[c]
Missouri	House	163	73	15	10	21	52	25	10	22	44	34
	Senate	34	12	10	3	4	10	9	4	3	9	8
Montana	House	100	7	10	16	17	15	17	7	13	14	16
	Senate	50	15	6	5	10	15	8	8	11	6	10
Nebraska	Senate	49	—	—	20	13	1	9	17	11	6	6
Nevada	House	42	—	—	—	—	10	1	2	2	1	1
	Senate	21	—	—	—	—	7	4	1	0	0	2
Ohio	House	99	9	7	14	21	13	7	15	13	20	12
	Senate	33	4	5	7	4	7	2	3	3	10	5

(Table continues)

Table 1-31 *(Continued)*

State	Chamber	Membership	Members termed out in 2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020
Oklahoma	House	101	—	28	15	7	4	6	7	19	12	4
	Senate	48	—	13	7	5	6	2	4	11	6	1
South Dakota	House	70	7	3	7	13	8	6	6	15	5	8
	Senate	35	4	7	2	6	4	3	2	4	4	6
Total		1,811	322[d]	257[e]	268	309	380	256	225	252	271	211

Note: "—" indicates term limits were not yet applicable.

[a] Arkansas adjusted its term limits in 2014, doubling the amount of time one could serve from six years in the House and eight years in the Senate to twelve years in the House and sixteen years in the Senate. As such, given the extension of time members could serve, none were term-limited in 2016, 2018, or 2020.
[b] Louisiana holds its legislative elections in odd-numbered years. In 2007, forty-four House and sixteen Senate members were termed out; in 2011, the numbers were eleven House members and six Senators, respectively. In 2015, fifteen House and seven Senate members were termed out, while in 2019, thirty-one House and sixteen Senate members were termed out.
[c] No election in this year.
[d] Does not include eight "termed-out" legislators in three states who resigned midterm.
[e] Does not include four "termed-out" legislators in Colorado and Ohio who resigned midterm.

Source: 2002–2014: National Conference of State Legislatures, www.ncsl.org; 2016–2020: updated by authors.

Table 1-32 Types of Voting Equipment Used in U.S. Elections by State, November 2020 (percent)

State	*Hand-marked paper ballots, BMDs for Accessibility*[a]	*Hand-marked paper ballots, DRE systems with VVPAT for accessibility*[b, c]	*Hand-marked paper ballots with DREs without VVPAT for accessibility*	*BMDs for all voters*	*Hybrid BMD/ tabulator*	*DREs with VVPAT for all voters*	*DREs without VVPAT for all voters*
Alabama	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Alaska	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
Arizona	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arkansas	0	0	0	100	0	0	0
California	68	0	0	32	0	0	0
Colorado	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Connecticut	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delaware	0	0	0	0	100	0	0
District of Columbia	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Florida	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Georgia	0	0	0	100	0	0	0
Hawaii	0	5.7	0	0	0	94.3	0
Idaho	81.9	7.2	0	10.9	0	0	0
Illinois	77.1	17.7	0	0	0	5.2	0
Indiana	8.4	0	3.4	34.3	0	14.4	39.6
Iowa	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kansas	69.5	0	1.2	25.6	3.6	0.1	0
Kentucky	39.8	0	58	2.2	0	0	0
Louisiana	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Maine	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maryland	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Massachusetts	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Michigan	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Minnesota	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mississippi	42.6	0	0	0.3	0	0	57.2
Missouri	94.3	5.7	0	0	0	0	0

Table 1-32 *(Continued)*

State	*Hand-marked paper ballots, BMDs for Accessibility*[a]	*Hand-marked paper ballots, DRE systems with VVPAT for accessibility*[b, c]	*Hand-marked paper ballots with DREs without VVPAT for accessibility*	*BMDs for all voters*	*Hybrid BMD/ tabulator*	*DREs with VVPAT for all voters*	*DREs without VVPAT for all voters*
Montana	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nebraska	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nevada	0	0	0	2	0	98	0
New Hampshire	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Jersey	0	0	8.8	0	19.4	0.8	71.1
New Mexico	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
New York	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Carolina	86.2	0	0	13.8	0	0	0
North Dakota	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ohio	49.3	0	0	28.5	5.7	16.5	0
Oklahoma	0	0	100	0	0	0	0
Oregon	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pennsylvania	69.1	0	0	12.6	18.3	0	0
Rhode Island	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Carolina	0	0	0	100	0	0	0
South Dakota	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tennessee	14.1	0	0	26.4	0	0	59.4
Texas	10.4	0	1.7	52.3	0	0	35.6
Utah	64.4	0	0	0	0	35.6	0
Vermont	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Washington	97.4	2.6	0	0	0	0	0
West Virginia	0	5.8	0	65.5	0	28.7	0
Wisconsin	88	12	0	0	0	0	0
Wyoming	100	0	0	0	0	0	0

[a] BMD refers to ballot-marking devices.
[b] DREs are direct recording electronic systems.
[c] A VVPAT is a Voter Verified Paper Audit Trail.

Source: Verified Voting, www.verifiedvoting.org. Used with permission.