

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY PRIMARIES, June 10, 2003

A long time ago in a place far away, the ‘real’ election for most Virginia public offices was the party primary. The primary was called “tantamount to election”, and the November general election was merely a formality.<sup>1</sup> Some might say it is back to the future, except the world to which Virginia has returned is a reversed negative of the past. The old “tantamount primary” was Democratic during the first six decades of the twentieth century when the Democrats ruled the political roost. In 2003 most of the "tantamount" primaries were Republican, since the GOP has changed places with its rival. Thanks to its new statewide dominance and the favorable redistricting of 2001, engineered by a Republican governor and legislature, the key General Assembly primaries of 2003---the ones that really mattered---were Republican. And in the state Senate, especially, the winners were nearly assured of election in the fall.

Yet, as we shall see, the Democrats also sponsored some “good as elected” primaries in 2003, yet their dwindling minority status in the General Assembly, especially the House of Delegates, made these contests more curiosities than consequential events. In a handful of majority African-American districts, there was a generational changing of the guard due to retirements. In time, those new delegates and senator may have an impact, at least within the Democratic legislative caucuses.

It was the GOP, though, that dominated the primary stage on June 10, 2003. Most of the interest centered on three Senate battles between incumbent moderate-conservatives and hard-right conservative challengers. The incumbents had fought with Republican Governor James S. Gilmore when he sought to increase the car tax rebate in 2001, arguing that bad economic times made expanded rebates unwise and even contrary to the legislation passed in the wake of Gilmore’s election triumph in 1997.<sup>2</sup> This dispute led to other tussles with Gilmore, such as opposition to some of his final board and commission appointments, and disagreements over the need for additional tax revenues (such as the November 2002 referenda on sales tax hikes to support transportation spending).<sup>3</sup>

The targeted incumbents were Senators John Chichester of Stafford county, Thomas Norment of James City county, and Russell Potts of Winchester city. They were opposed, respectively, by political consultant Mike Rothfeld of Stafford, businessman Paul Jost of James City county, and Middleburg vice-mayor Mark Tate. The incumbents were all senior and powerful. Chichester, first elected in 1977, was president pro tempore of the Senate and chairman of the Senate Finance Committee; Norment, first elected in 1991, was GOP floor leader; Potts, also a member of the class of 1991, was a member of the Finance Committee. Two of the challengers, Jost and Rothfeld, were well known from their unsuccessful bids for the U.S. House in the First District GOP primary of 2000. Ironically, Rothfeld’s attacks on frontrunner Jost in that race were generally credited with defeating him, and nominating now-Congresswoman Jo Ann Davis.<sup>4</sup> Rothfeld and Jost had obviously made up, and the wealthy Jost directly contributed a total of \$16,000 to Rothfeld’s 2003 campaign.

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<sup>1</sup> Sabato, *The Democratic Party Primary in Virginia: Tantamount to Election No Longer*. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville. 1977.

<sup>2</sup> Schapiro, Jeff. *Gilmore Tax Effort Raises Suspicions*. Richmond Times-Dispatch. June 22, 2001.

Heyser, Holly A. *Governor, Senate Far Apart on VA Budget. Gilmore Sees One of Nations Best, While Critics Warn of Bust*. Norfolk Virginian-Pilot. August 21, 2001.

<sup>3</sup> Virginia Votes 2002.

<sup>4</sup> Virginia Votes 2000 House of Representatives Primary.

The Chichester-Rothfeld and Norment-Jost match-ups produced vicious contests, especially in the latter case. Jost spent an incredible \$440,430, and Norment added \$695,737. The total of \$1,136,167 is the largest amount by far ever spent in any General Assembly primary in the state's history, and much of the money was devoted to nasty, exaggerated direct mail pieces that flooded homes in the district for weeks. Truth is the first casualty of war---and this primary was all-out war. Jost called a prominent Norment ally, Virginia Beach state Senator Ken Stolle, a "Nazi", and while he later apologized for the remark, it became the trademark for one of the least civil elections in recent years.<sup>5</sup> If only because he had far less money in his war chest, Rothfeld was unable to equal Jost's broadsides, but his direct mail missiles on Chichester were tough and, many said, distorted.<sup>6</sup> At least expenditures were more modest, with Chichester spending \$213,730 and Rothfeld \$41,651. Also hard-hitting was the Potts-Tate primary, with Potts spending \$336,388 and Tate \$54,880.<sup>7</sup>

The results were clear-cut, even though one contest was close. John Chichester won in a massive landslide (70.5%), and Tommy Norment also won easily, with 62.3% of the vote. The weakest of the three incumbents, Russ Potts, managed to eke out a win by just 106 votes out of 14,884 cast. Tate could have requested a recount,<sup>8</sup> but in the end decided that not enough votes would change hands to justify the expense.<sup>9</sup> The moderate-conservatives triumphed, and the Republican electorates appeared to be cautioning the GOP General Assembly not to go too far to the right. Of course, it did not hurt the incumbents that they had drawn their own districts in the 2001 redistricting, and that their long stint in public office had enabled them to begin their contests well known and generously funded. Still, most modern Republican primaries have been won by the more conservative candidates<sup>10</sup>, and so Chichester, Norment, and Potts had reason for both prideful celebration and relief.

Only one incumbent in either party lost on June 10, 2003: longtime Republican Delegate Jack Rollison of Prince William County. A 27-year-old political consultant, Jeffrey Frederick, defeated him by a wide margin, 58.0% to 42.0%.<sup>11</sup> Rollison was clearly a victim of his strong backing of the 2002 sales-tax referendum for transportation in Northern Virginia, which lost overwhelmingly in his district and the region as a whole. Yet the decision to oust the powerful chairman of the House Transportation Committee was a shocking one, nonetheless. The miserable turnout clearly helped, with just 2,655 voters out of 39,216 registered, or 6.8% showing up at the polls.<sup>12</sup> Tiny turnouts almost always assist the most ideological candidate, whether on the left or right, and miniscule voter participation is all too common in Northern Virginia primaries. Citizens of that region are Washington-oriented, not Richmond-directed, and as a result they lost significant power and seniority on June 10. Compare the turnout in

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<sup>5</sup> Whitley, May 9, 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Shapiro, June 1, 2003.

Davis, *Down and Dirty...* June 6, 2003.

<sup>7</sup> Bush, *Republican Race: Battle for Party's "Soul" Moderate, Conservative Split*. Journal, June 4, 2003.

Martel, *Potts v. Tate: Competing Visions*. Winchester Star. June 7, 2003.

<sup>8</sup> Because the margin of victory was less than 1% state law dictates that Tate could have requested a recount. Had he won, the state would have borne the expense, but if he lost Tate would have been asked to pay for the recount himself.

<sup>9</sup> Martel. *Tate Concedes to Potts*. Winchester Star, July 3, 2003.

Whitley. *Tate Will Not Seek Recount*. Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 3, 2003.

<sup>10</sup> See a long series of primary discussions in the Virginia Votes series. There are exceptions, such as U.S. Senator John W. Warner's 1996 renomination against conservative challenger James C. Miller.

<sup>11</sup> Virginia State Board of Elections.

<sup>12</sup> Virginia State Board of Elections.

Rollison's district to the 15%, 15.4%, and 13.3% in the Chichester, Norment, and Potts' districts.<sup>13</sup>

As Table 1.02 shows, five other Republican primaries were also held, with more predictable results. Del. Jeannemarie Devolites of Fairfax County was easily nominated for a Senate seat that had been drawn with her in mind. Moderate-conservative Dave Hunt defeated a conservative for the right to take on Democratic Senator Janet Howell of Fairfax. Edward T. Scott won the GOP nomination in a field of three conservatives for the seat of retiring Republican Delegate George Broman of Culpepper. (Scott was unopposed in November and automatically elected.) Delegate Thomas Gear of Hampton was handily renominated for a second term. And Thomas Dix scored a relative landslide in a field of four for the bid to succeed retiring GOP Delegate Robert Bloxom of Accomack County on the Eastern Shore. On the Republican side of the ledger, every winning nominee save Jeffrey Frederick outspent the losing candidates, as listed in Table 1.02.

Nine of the fourteen primaries of 2003 were Republican. In fact, the GOP has sponsored more primaries than the Democrats in the three election years since 1997, coinciding with the new period of Republican legislative control. And the total of fourteen was the highest number of legislative primaries since the forty-three held in 1981 (22 of which were Democratic and 21 Republican).

What of the five primaries sponsored by the Democrats in 2003? All five were held in solid Democratic districts dominated or influenced by minorities of various types. The guaranteed November winners included three African-Americans from Newport News and Hampton, all succeeding retiring Democratic African-American legislators, as well as the first African-American ever elected west of Lynchburg (to replace a retiring white Democrat), and the first openly gay legislator in a very mixed district with no racial majority but a Hispanic plurality:

- Hampton Mayor Mamie Locke narrowly defeated former state judge Verbena Askew, 48.1% to 46.7%. Locke was supported by Third district Congressman Bobby Scott, while Askew had the backing of former Governor L. Douglas Wilder. Askew had been ousted as a judge by the Republican Senate in winter 2003, in part because of allegations of lesbian sexual harassment lodged against Askew. Her election might have made for some uncomfortable moments in a body mainly composed of people who had voted against her, but Locke, the early favorite, hung on to win. Locke was slated to succeed Senator Henry Maxwell (D), who stepped down because of ill health. All the major figures in this contest, candidates and endorsers, were African-American.
- Hampton and Newport News lost more seniority with the retirements of longtime Democratic African-American Delegates Mary Christian and Flora Crittenden. Jeion Ward won the right to succeed Mary Christian, with a landslide win over Donnie Tuck, while Mamyé BaCote took Crittenden's seat with a close victory over Robin Rattley.
- Onzlee Ware made history in Roanoke when the veteran Democratic black activist scored a solid 56.5% to 43.6% victory over white Democrat Brian Shepard, to succeed Delegate Chip Woodrum in a majority-white district. Race was a factor in the contest, as African-Americans turned out in large numbers to support Ware. At the same time, Ware also attracted a fair share of the white vote, insuring his nomination.

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<sup>13</sup> Virginia State Board of Elections.

- In perhaps the most eye-popping primary, gay activist Adam Ebbin eked out a tiny plurality in the most liberal sections of Arlington and Alexandria; Ebbin succeeds retiring Democratic Delegate Karen Darner. The voting figures in Table 1.1 are not misprints, by the way. Ebbin actually won a seat in the House of Delegates with just 771 votes, a handful more than Teresa Martinez's 728 and Andres Tobar's 695. (Two other candidates secured a total of 406 votes.) More votes are cast in an average student council election in high school---but those who show up at the polls rule the world, however few they may be. Martinez and Tobar likely split the Hispanic vote in this Hispanic-leaning district, allowing Ebbin to slip through to victory. Notice also that Ebbin greatly outspent the other candidates (See table 1.02).

The handful of Democratic primaries tells a story about the decline of the party in Virginia (and to some degree, across the nation). Democrats are now heavily dependent upon minorities of all sorts, and while this guarantees Democrats some representation, it makes it increasingly difficult for Democrats to win enough of the white vote (or perhaps the white, straight male vote) to win a majority in the general election. There is a sort of Catch 22 here: the more minorities win on the Democratic ticket, the more the Democratic Party looks like the minority party, somehow inhospitable to whites. It may be sad that people still interpret politics through a racial prism in the twenty-first century, but many do. Just as Republicans have the enormous challenge of attracting enough minority support to avoid being tagged “the white party”, so too do Democrats need to go to some lengths to make many members of the racial majority feel at home.

So far we have mentioned only the traditional “open” primaries---those run by the state and open to voting by all registered Virginians, regardless of private party affiliation, at their usual voting precincts. (Remember that Virginia is one in the majority of states not to require party registration when one signs onto the voter rolls; therefore, it would be effectively impossible to screen for “party” voters at the polling stations on primary day.) Other nominating methods are permitted under Virginia law, at the discretion of the local or district party committees, including firehouse primaries and mass meetings. Firehouse primaries, where voters are permitted to vote at a handful of locations designated and run by the party, were held in three districts on the Republican side: the Roanoke-area Senate district 22 being vacated by Republican Senator Malford “Bo” Trumbo; the Fairfax Senate district 36, held by Democratic Senator Toddy Puller; and Fairfax House district 35, for the seat being vacated by Senate candidate, Delegate Jeannemarie Devolites. In Roanoke, former one-term Senator Brandon Bell, defeated for reelection in another district in 1995 by Democratic Senator John Edwards, staged a successful comeback, defeating five other candidates.<sup>14</sup> In the Fairfax Senate contest, Christian Braunlich bested Daniel Berrios by 571 votes to 167 votes for the right to take on Senator Puller in November. And Robert McDowell defeated Michael Polychrones by 596 votes to 476 votes in the open Fairfax House seat.

Contested mass meetings or caucuses were held in three Republican and one Democratic districts: Harrisonburg Senate district 26, for the seat of retiring Senator Kevin Miller [R]; Fairfax Senate district 37; House district 17 in the Roanoke area for the seat of retiring

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<sup>14</sup> Brandon Bell won the contest with a mere 864 followed by Joe Church with 510. Jim Jones , Joe Obenshain, Dale Wilkinson , and Brenda Johnson rounded out the field of six.

Democratic Delegate Vic Thomas; and House district 90 in Norfolk, for the seat of retiring one-term Republican Delegate Winsome Sears. Harrisonburg's Senate seat nod went to Mark Obenshain, son of the deceased 1978 GOP U.S. Senate nominee Richard Obenshain and Rector of the James Madison University Board of Visitors. Obenshain dispatched a more conservative candidate, Matt Tederick, by a substantial margin before Tederick conceded the race. Incumbent Senator Ken Cuccinelli of Fairfax was renominated with 78% of the 494 votes in district 37's mass meeting. William Fralin easily picked up the GOP nod in Roanoke, winning over 70% of the unannounced total before his opponent, Fred Anderson, conceded. And in the only Democratic caucus, Norfolk school board member Algie Howell defeated former Delegate William P. Robinson, Jr. by 583 votes to 262 votes. Robinson had been trying for a comeback after his surprise defeat by Winsome Sears in 2001 for the seat he had long held. Howell, Robinson, and Sears are all African-American, but this contest held special importance for the Republicans. Not only were Democrats guaranteed to pick up a GOP seat with Sears' unexpected retirement, but the Republican House caucus lost its only black member with Sears' departure.

## Party Candidates

Never in modern times have Democrats nominated so few candidates (83) for the General Assembly, continuing the downward slide of the state's once-dominant party (See Table 1.04). With a mere 26 candidates for the Senate and an all-time low of 57 House nominees, Democrats nearly guaranteed that the GOP would remain in control of the legislature. At the opposite pole, Republicans were having one of their best years, with 33 Senate nominees and 73 House candidates, for a total of 106. A relatively small number (19) of Independents filed for the General Assembly, with 5 for the Senate and 14 for the House. With the exceptions of the two incumbent Independents (Delegates Lacey Putney of Bedford and Watkins Abbitt of Appomattox, both fully or partially affiliated with the Republican House caucus), none of the Independents was expected to win or even come close.

Unfortunately for the voters, 68% of the House nominees and 60% of the Senate nominees were essentially elected in advance, with no opponent from the other major party. This overall uncontested average of 64% for the 2003 General Assembly races is tied for the worst small-'d' democratic showing in the past twenty years. Only in 1987 did the lack of two-party competition equal 2003. In the past six legislative election years, the average uncontested proportion of seats has been around 45%---bad, for sure, but not nearly as disgraceful as in 2003. Oh, for the competitive days of yesteryear, say 1995, when a 'mere' 37% of elections were already decided before the polls opened!

How does the dismal lack of competition in Virginia compare to the country as a whole? According to the Center for Voting and Democracy in Washington, DC, 37%<sup>15</sup> of the 6,222<sup>16</sup> state legislative seats elected in November 2002 had nominees from only one of the major parties. Virginia's 2003 noncompetitive proportion of 64%, then, is massively greater than the national figure. Throughout U.S. history, Virginia has led America in many ways---but this is not a category in which Virginians can be proud to excel.

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<sup>15</sup> Center for Voting and Democracy. *Fair Elections Update: November 14, 2002*. Faced no major party opposition.

<sup>16</sup> This number represents 1,263 Senators and 4,959 House members. National Conference of State Legislatures, July 2003.

## Women and Black Candidates

Democrats nominated 11 incumbent women (4 in the House, 6 in the Senate)<sup>17</sup> and 6 non-incumbents (5 House, 2 Senate).<sup>18</sup> Republicans nominated 6 incumbent women (House)<sup>19</sup> and one woman, House veteran Jeanemarie Devolites, as a challenger for the newly created 34<sup>th</sup> district Senate seat in Fairfax. Two independents, one in each House, were also on the ballot.<sup>20</sup> This total of 26 women compares unfavorably to some recent years (See Table 1.05). For example, the last time both houses of the General Assembly were on the ballot, in 1999, there were forty-three women running for legislative berths, 23 Democrats and 16 Republicans (plus 4 Independents). In fact, more women were nominated in five of the six previous elections. Partly, of course, the lower total in 2003 is due to the scarcity of legislative nominees of both genders. Still, it is clear that after a long period of slow but steady progress towards gender equity in the General Assembly, the 2003 contests were disappointing in this respect. Not only has the number of Virginia women running for the legislature declined, but the state ranks very low in the nation in the proportion of women in the General Assembly. Countrywide, there are 1,648 women in the fifty state legislatures, 22.3% of the total as of 2003. On the eve of the general

<sup>17</sup> Women Democratic incumbents were:

			Name
House	39	Fairfax	Vivian Watts
	44	Fairfax	Kristen Amundsen
	45	Alexandria	Marian Van Landingham
	71	Richmond	Viola Baskerville
Senate	05	Norfolk	Yvonne Miller
	18	Portsmouth	Louise Lucas
	30	Alexandria	Patricia Ticer
	31	Arlington	Mary Margaret Whipple
	32	Fairfax	Janet Howell
	36	Prince William	Toddy Puller

<sup>18</sup> Non-incumbent Democratic women were:

			Name
House	17	Roanoke	Linda Wyatt
	33	Loudoun	Patricia Morrissey
	81	Virginia Beach	Lois Williams
	92	Hampton	Jeion Ward
	95	Newport News	Mayme BaCote
Senate	02	Newport News	Mamie Locke
	03	Williamsburg	Mary Minor

<sup>19</sup> Republican women nominations (all were incumbents):

			Name
House	22	Bedford	Kathy Byron
	29	Winchester	Beverly Sherwood
	51	Prince William	Michèle McQuigg
	81	Virginia Beach	Terrie Suit
	87	Norfolk	Thelma Drake
	96	York	Melanie Rapp

<sup>20</sup> Independent women candidates:

			Name:
House:	81	Virginia Beach	Sharon Bivens
Senate:	02	Newport News	Joyce Hobson

election, Virginia had 22 women in the House and Senate combined, or 15.7% of the total. This percentage places Virginia 43rd out of the 50 states.<sup>21</sup>

African-Americans would continue to find representation only in the Democratic delegation of the General Assembly with the retirement of GOP Del. Winsome Sears of Norfolk. While the Republicans nominated two non-incumbent candidates for the House, Dr. Alvin Bryant of Hampton and Raymond Johnson of Newport News had uphill battles to win in heavily Democratic districts. By contrast, the Democrats placed 17 black candidates on the November ballot (12 in the House, 5 in the Senate).<sup>22</sup> Eleven of these were incumbents, 7 in the House and 4 in the Senate.<sup>23</sup> Every Democratic African-American candidate save one, incumbent or non-incumbent, was nearly guaranteed victory in the fall. The sole exception was Lois Williams, running against Republican Delegate Terrie Suit in a heavily white district in Virginia Beach.

## THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

In a state with an election every year, it is unreasonable to expect intense competition each November. But Virginia's 2003 General Assembly contests tried the patience of any true democrat. As we have already noted, the political parties nominated competing candidates in just

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<sup>21</sup> Number and percentage of women in state legislatures as well as Virginia's rank were drawn from results compiled by the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University. May, 2003. [www.cawp.rutgers.edu](http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu).

<sup>22</sup> Black Democratic Candidates:

House:	11	Roanoke	Name:	Onzlee Ware
	63	Petersburg		Fenton Bland, Jr.
	70	Richmond		Dwight Jones
	71	Richmond		Viola Baskerville
	74	Richmond		Floyd Miles
	77	Chesapeake		Lionel Spruill, Sr.
	80	Portsmouth		Kenneth Melvin
	81	Virginia Beach		Lois Williams
	89	Norfolk		Kenneth Alexander
	90	Norfolk		Algie Howell
	92	Hampton		Jeion Ward
	95	Newport News		Mayme BaCote
Senate:	02	Newport News		Mamie Locke
	05	Norfolk		Yvonne Miller
	09	Richmond		Benjamin Lambert
	16	Richmond		Henry Marsh
	18	Portsmouth		Louise Lucas

<sup>23</sup> Black Democratic incumbents:

House:	63	Petersburg	Name:	Fenton Bland, Jr.
	70	Richmond		Dwight Jones
	71	Richmond		Viola Baskerville
	74	Richmond		Floyd Miles
	77	Chesapeake		Lionel Spruill, Sr.
	80	Portsmouth		Kenneth Melvin
	89	Norfolk		Kenneth Alexander
Senate:	05	Norfolk		Yvonne Miller
	09	Richmond		Benjamin Lambert
	16	Richmond		Henry Marsh
	18	Portsmouth		Louise Lucas

over a third of the races (36%), leaving almost two-thirds of the elections unopposed---tying the modern record set in 1987 for unopposed legislative elections. Most of the technically opposed races were not particularly hard fought or close, either. The dry icing on the bland cake of 2003 was the lack of a unified theme among Democratic or Republican candidates. Governor Mark Warner (D) chose not to unveil his tax reform proposals prior to Election Day, fearing they would become a political football and freeze legislators into a pure anti-tax stance. That was understandable from his perspective, but practically, his decision meant that the elections were Seinfeld-like: about nothing, almost entirely local affairs and personality-driven, with no mandate generated and no meaning beyond the total of seats gained and lost. The voters sensed the relative unimportance of the 2003 contests, and a paltry 30.8 % of the 4.2 million registered citizens showed up at the polls. Viewed in terms of the entire adult population, registered and unregistered, the turnout was even more miserable, with well under a quarter (23.6%) of citizens participating in their quadrennial chance to set the direction and mood of their state's legislature.

Partly because of the sheer non-competitiveness of the elections, there were remarkably few changes in the composition of the General Assembly overall. (As "The Who", a rock band in the '60's and '70s once sang, "Meet the new boss; same as the old boss.")<sup>24</sup> Democrats gained three seats net in the House of Delegates, bringing their number there from an embarrassingly small 34---their all-time post-Civil War low---to 37. Republicans fell from a massive 65 seats achieved in 2001 to 62 seats. (We count Independent Delegate Lacey Putney of Bedford as a Republican, which for all practical purposes he now is. The other Independent, former Democratic Del. Watkins Abbitt, Jr. of Appomattox, is also functionally a Republican in most votes, but he is less tied to the GOP caucus.) Meanwhile in the Senate of Virginia, the Republicans turned the tables, picking up one seat net, in the first election for the Senate since the 2001 Republican-led redistricting. With the addition of Del. Jeannemarie Devolites of Fairfax, replacing one-term state Senator and former Congresswoman Leslie Byrne---who did not seek reelection given the realities of the new district lines---the GOP increased its majority to 24 seats, leaving the Democrats with just 16 (again, a post-Civil War low for the once-mighty Democratic party).

Democrats took legitimate joy in the House results, however. While Republicans picked up but a single Democratic seat (the GOP's William Fralin, who defeated Democrat Linda Wyatt for the seat of retiring Democratic Del. Vic Thomas of Roanoke County), the Democrats captured four Republican seats. Democrat Mark Sickles of Fairfax bested two-term Delegate Tom Bolvin (R) in a rematch by 53.7% to 46.1%. Bolvin has the unfortunate distinction of being the *only* incumbent in either house of the General Assembly to lose his seat in the general election of 2003. (One other incumbent, Del. Jack Rollison, Republican of Prince William County, was defeated in a primary.) In addition, Democrat Steve Shannon of Fairfax narrowly defeated Republican Robert McDowell, 51.4% to 48.6%, to pick of the seat of state Senator-elect Devolites. And Democrat Lynwood Lewis swamped Republican Thomas Dix, 59.3% to 40.6%, to win the Eastern Shore seat of retiring Republican Delegate Bob Bloxom. . Finally, as noted in the primary section of this chapter, the Republicans simply conceded the seat of retiring one-term Republican Delegate Winsome Sears to Democratic nominee Algie Howell.

Notice that two of the four Democratic gains came in Fairfax County, the site of the Democratic Party's most significant victory of election night 2003. In the contest for Chairman of the Board of Supervisors, Supervisor Gerald Connolly (D) easily defeated Republican School Board member Mychele Brickner, 53.1% to 43.9%. As readers of the *Virginia Votes* series know, Fairfax is no ordinary county. With a population of over 1 million, Fairfax alone contains

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<sup>24</sup> "Won't Get Fooled Again", The Who, 1971.



almost one-seventh of Virginia's people, and it is by far the largest locality. Increasingly, aided by Alexandria's Governor Mark Warner, Northern Virginia has become the Democratic Party's strongest region, and the source of many of its triumphs and much of its money. The Fairfax board chairman battle, along with the Richmond City referendum to allow popular election of the Mayor of the capital city, accounted for most of the pre-election coverage and election night excitement. (The Richmond referendum, sponsored by former Democratic Governor L. Douglas Wilder and former Seventh District Republican Congressman Thomas J. Bliley, won a smashing 80% to 20% approval.)

Naturally, Democrats hoped that their modest gain in the House of Delegates would mark a turning point. In at least one way, it surely did. Incredibly, the next previous instance when the Democrats added to their House contingent was in the election of 1975, fully 28 years ago, when Democrats captured 78 House seats compared to 65 in 1973.<sup>25</sup> In the Senate of Virginia, by the way, Democrats have not gained a seat since 1983, when they picked up one (32 seats compared to the 31 they captured in the election of 1979). It has been a long, steady decline for Virginia Democrats, and only the legislative elections of 2005 (House of Delegates only) and 2007 (the entire General Assembly again) will tell us whether this beaten-down party has truly turned a political corner.

For the moment, the voting statistics reveal a slight Democratic blip upwards. As Table 1.09 shows, Democrats provided 9 of the 12 House freshmen, with 8 of 9 from open seats---contests with no incumbent running. (In the Senate, the GOP elected three of the four freshmen.) More importantly, as Table 1.18 indicates, the Democrats held the Republicans to their smallest plurality of votes in the 52 two-party-contested districts since 1997. Democrats secured 45.4% of the votes to the GOP's 54.6%. (Obviously, with only 52 seats contested by both parties, caution is in order in interpreting this slight percentage gain for Democrats.)

Given the tiny changes we have discussed, it will come as no surprise to learn that the reelection rates were very high in 2003. In the House, the rate was the highest in recent decades, at 98.9% (or 97.8% if the primary loss of Del. Jack Rollison is included). In the Senate, the first 100% reelection rate of all incumbents seeking another term appears in Table 1.08. 2003 was a marvelous year to be an incumbent legislator, though truth be told, there are precious few years when it is not an advantageous electoral decoration. It also follows that the legislative turnover rate---the vacancy of legislative seats for all reasons: defeat, retirement, and death---was quite modest in 2003, as Table 1.12 demonstrates. Out of 140 seats, just 15 will have new occupants. While slightly higher than the 1999 elections, that number is lower than 14 of the 20 elections listed in Table 1.12. As is usually the case, the turnover in the more numerous urban districts significantly exceeded turnover in the rural areas (by a margin of two-to-one in 2003).

As if the high incumbency reelection rate were not enough, there were precious few close races in 2003. In the Senate, winners took less than 55% (the traditional marker for a landslide) in just four contests, with the closest being Jeannemarie Devolites' 52.8% in Fairfax County. Even that margin is not especially close. Senator Russ Potts of Winchester, who had been renominated by just 106 votes out of 14,884 cast, won his November reelection in a landslide, as Table 1.06 shows. (This table includes all 2003 General Assembly elections that are referenced

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<sup>25</sup> The numbers here are misleading, since 15 ex-Democrats were elected to the House as Independents in 1973. Most temporarily left the party in order to support the Republican candidate for Governor, former Democratic Governor Mills E. Godwin, Jr., who was running against Independent, former Democratic, Lieutenant Governor Henry E. Howell, Jr. This confusing scenario resolved itself when Godwin narrowly won, and the reelected Independents rejoined the Democratic party in time for the 1974 session of the General Assembly.

in this text, or that were close, or that received a fair amount of media attention ahead of Election Day.) In the House, only nine winning candidates received less than the 55% landslide margin, and there was just one squeaker. Delegate W. B. “Benny” Keister (D) in the Southwest 6<sup>th</sup> district (Bland County area) secured a 51-vote victory out of 16,241 votes cast over Republican W. M. Morris, Jr. This was Keister’s second close call in as many elections, although over the years there have been many General Assembly races even tighter than Keister’s. For example:

- 1982** – Future Governor George F. Allen beat incumbent Democrat James B. Murray by 25 votes to win the 58<sup>th</sup> district (Albemarle County) seat for House of Delegates.
- 1982** – Future Speaker Vance Wilkins of Amherst County won reelection by just 37 votes against Democrat Nanalou Sauder. (Because the 1981 redistricting plan was found unconstitutional, a special election was called for November of 1982)
- 1987** – William Wampler (R) beat John Bundy (D) by 32 votes to win a state Senate seat in the Bristol area.
- 1989** – Delegate Shirley Cooper (D) beat Michael McGuire (R) by 34 votes in the Williamsburg area.
- 1991** – In an original count, Republican Dave Sanders defeated Jim Scott (D) by 17 votes out of about 13,000 cast in a Northern Virginia district. The recount, however, gave Scott the victory by one vote. This was the closest election since 1971, when two candidates, Bill Moss (R) and Jim Burch (D) actually tied. Moss became the delegate to fill the 19<sup>th</sup> district seat (Fairfax) when a lottery-like drawing was held at the State Capitol to determine the winner. Just a year earlier, in a December 1970 special election, Democrat Tom Michie won a Charlottesville seat by one vote.
- 1997** – Don Williams (D) beat Beverly Graeber (R) by 11 votes to win a Norfolk House seat.

This recounting of close elections reminds us all of the importance of every vote, a fact that ought to spur turnout but rarely does. Certainly, the 30.77% turnout of registered voters in 2003 was pitiful even by the low standards of recent years. The last set of full legislative elections in 1999 drew 36% of the registered to the polls, and other General Assembly contests (some wedded to statewide referenda or bond issues) have drawn a far larger proportion of the registered:

FULL LEGISLATIVE ELECTION YEAR	Turnout: % of Registered Voters
1983	50.6
1987	59.1
1991	49.1
1995	52.2

## WOMEN AND MINORITIES

What small changes were recorded in the representation of women and African-Americans were mixed. As we noted in the 2003 primary section, African-Americans added one House member, Del. Onzlee Ware (D-Roanoke). All Democratic nominees for the seats of retiring African-American legislators were elected; no black Republicans won seats. All other incumbent Democratic black legislators were reelected. (See the listing in the primary election section.) As of 2003, 11 black Democratic delegates won election, and 5 black Democratic senators, for a total of 16 African-American legislators (11.4% of the General Assembly).

As expected, given the substantial drop in the two major parties' nominations of women for General Assembly slots in 2003, fewer women won legislative seats. In the House, 12 women won, compared to 15 in the previous General Assembly. In the Senate, women gained one, as Mamie Locke of Newport News took the seat of the retiring Henry Maxwell, while Jeannemarie Devolites replaced another woman, Leslie Byrne, in Fairfax. Overall, then, the new General Assembly included 20 women, down from 22 women the previous year---and just 14.3% of the General Assembly. As Table 1.13 shows, Virginia has now dropped to 44<sup>th</sup> among the fifty states in legislative representation for women, and the Old Dominion is below the level of women's representation achieved in almost all of her neighboring states.

Despite these discouraging statistics, Virginia has had a lengthy list of women elected to serve in the General Assembly, beginning with Delegate Sarah Lee Fain of Norfolk who served three terms from 1924-1929. Much later, Delegate Eva Scott became the first woman elected to the Senate of Virginia in 1979. All of Virginia's women legislators are named in chronological order in Tables 1.16 and 1.17.

## CAMPAIGN MONEY

Two facts are apparent from Tables 1.18 and 1.19: an awful lot of money was spent in 2003 on the General Assembly elections, and the Republicans walloped the Democrats in the war chest department. In all 140 districts, the major party candidates spent a combined \$26.4 million, with the GOP nominees outspending the Democrats by over 59% to 41%. Only once before, in 1999, had the GOP outspent the Democrats, by the small margin of 52% to 46%. The reversal of fortune in the money game is clearly related to party control of the legislature, and Democrats can count on being substantially outspent for the foreseeable future. Interestingly, the 40 Senate districts produced expenditures of \$13.6 million, while the much more numerous 100 House districts cost a lesser \$12.8 million. (Then again, a higher proportion of the Senate was opposed in the election, and Senate districts together equal the same media advertising square footage as the House districts.

It is worth noting that the one place where Democrats came closer to being financially competitive was in the 33 party-contested House districts, where they were outspent by only 53.5% to 46.5%. Much of this was due to Governor Mark Warner's careful targeting of large sums to competitive Democratic House candidates---a strategy that paid off in the net gain of three House seats for Democrats.

No doubt, it is hard to believe that the cash totals just recounted represent a decline, but they do. In 1999, the last time the entire legislature was on the ballot, the total spent in all 140 races was \$27.8 million---almost \$2 million greater than in 2003. Similarly, in 2001, the 100 House contests cost a total of \$13.4 million, more than 2003's \$12.8 million. This surprising

reality is reflected in the average cost per major party candidate to run a campaign. In the House, the average party-contested campaign cost \$167,000 in 1999, \$93,000 in 2001, and \$96,000 in 2003. In the Senate, the comparable figures are \$242,000 in 1999 and \$231,000 in 2003. Declining competition due to safer seats via redistricting may well reduce campaign expenditures even in the fewer seats that are lucky enough to have a two-party contest.

### Conclusion

An old country song included this blues-tinged lyric: “Not much to remember, not much to forget.” And that may be the best way to sum up the anything-but-historic 2003 Virginia General Assembly elections. At least for now, competition has been effectively drained from most districts, and the November legislative results are as predictable as in the long-ago days of Byrd Organization domination.

This may not be good for Virginia, of course. Competition is a wholesome element in virtually every sector of life, and one can argue that better government results when no party can take its control of the legislature for granted. However powerful this argument, the debate will probably be academic until the people of Virginia decide to insist upon some form of non-partisan or bipartisan redistricting. Nothing short of such a considerable reform will be likely to re-inject vigor, excitement, and constructive uncertainty into this state’s elections for the General Assembly.

Table 1.01  
 Use of Primary Elections by Party, Virginia General Assembly,  
 1955-2003<sup>26</sup>

Primary Nominations	Election Year <sup>27</sup> Contested											
	1955*	1957	1959*	1961	1963*	1965*	1967*	1969	1971*	1973	1975*	1977
Democrats	42	27	46	30	36	64	54	36	45	3	28	27
Republicans	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	6	0	5	10	13
Total	42	27	46	30	36	70	54	42	45	8	38	40
	Elections Year <sup>b</sup> Contested											
	1979*	1981	1982	1983*	1985	1987*	1989	1991*	1993	1995*	1997	1999*
Democrats	25	22	3	6	5	2	3	8	5	2	5	4
Republicans	12	21	6	5	1	4	3	3	1	4	3	7
Total	37	43	9	11	6	6	6	11	6	6	8	11
	2001	2003*										
Democrats	0	5										
Republicans	9	9										
Total	9	14										

SOURCE: Election reports in state newspapers for years prior to 1975; for 1975-2003, the State Board of Elections.

<sup>26</sup> Parties also nominated candidates by conventions, uncontested primaries, mass meetings, and so-called “firehouse primaries” – where the party holding the contest sets up polling places within the district and actually conducts the election itself, without supervision from the state. Complete data could not be compiled for most elections years on these nominating methods. But clearly, as the regular primary fades in importance, the other methods are becoming increasingly prominent. See the discussion in the accompanying text.

<sup>27</sup> Starred (\*) election years are those in which both Senate and House of Delegates were elected. Unstarred election years are those in which only the House of Delegates was elected.

Table 1.02

**Primary Election Results, June 10, 2003****Republican Senate Primaries**

<b>District</b>	<b>Counties/Cities</b>	<b>Candidates</b>	<b>Total Expenditures</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Percent</b>
3	Gloucester County (All), James City County (All), New Kent County (All), Newport News City (Part), Williamsburg City (All), York County (Part)	Thomas K. Norment, Jr.	\$695,737	10,470	62.28%
		Paul C. Jost	\$440,430	6,340	37.72%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$1,136,167</b>	<b>16,810</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
27	Clarke County (All), Fauquier County (Part), Frederick County (All), Loudoun County (Part), Winchester City (All)	H. Russell Potts, Jr.	\$336,388	7,495	50.36%
		Mark Tate	\$54,880	7,389	49.64%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$391,268</b>	<b>14,884</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
28	Fauquier County (Part), Fredericksburg City (Part), King George County (All), Lancaster County (All), Northumberland County (All), Prince William County (Part), Richmond County (All), Stafford County (All), Westmoreland County (All)	John H. Chichester	\$213,730	11,164	70.52%
		Mike I. Rothfeld	\$41,651	4,668	29.48%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$255,381</b>	<b>15,832</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
32	Fairfax County (Part)	David M. Hunt	\$174,457	4,031	64.64%
		Howie R. Lind	\$37,944	2,205	35.36%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$212,401</b>	<b>6,236</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
34	Fairfax City (All), Fairfax County (Part)	Jeannemarie Devolites	\$58,501	5,240	73.83%
		Louis J. Zone, Jr.	Unavailable	1,857	26.17%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$58,501</b>	<b>7,097</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
<b>Republican House Primaries</b>					
30	Counties of Culpeper, Madison, and Orange (part)	Edward T. Scott	\$29,156	3,215	53.04%
		Sam R. Found	Unavailable	1,526	25.18%
		D.W. Rogers	\$6,247	1,320	21.78%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$35,403</b>	<b>6,061</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
52	County of Prince William (part)	Jeffery M. Frederick	\$57,309	1,541	58.04%
		John A. Rollison	\$119,547	1,114	41.96%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$176,856</b>	<b>2,655</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
91	County of York (part); Cities of Hampton (part) and Poquoson	Thomas D. Gear	\$63,191	3,282	63.47%
		Forest S. Ward	\$47,787	1,867	36.26%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$110,978</b>	<b>5,149</b>	<b>99.73%</b>

100	Counties of Accomack and Northampton; Cities of Hampton (part) and Norfolk (part)	Thomas B. Dix, Jr.	\$9,311	1,546	49.17%
		T. Hume Dixon, III	\$2,927	964	30.66%
		Betsy Mapp	\$811	359	11.42%
		Tim Raynor	\$0	275	8.75%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$13,049</b>	<b>3,144</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

**Democratic Senate Primaries**

2	Hampton City (Part), Newport News City (Part), Portsmouth City (Part), Suffolk City (Part)	Mamie E. Locke	\$27,558	6,278	48.11%
		Verbena M. Askew	\$22,157	6,093	46.69%
		James E. Graves	\$350	679	5.20%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$50,065</b>	<b>13,050</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

**Democratic House Primaries**

11	County of Roanoke (part); City of Roanoke (part)	Onzlee Ware	\$39,612	1,898	56.45%
		Brian M. Shepard	\$32,708	1,464	43.55%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$72,320</b>	<b>3,362</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

49	Counties of Arlington (part) and Fairfax (part); City of Alexandria (part)	Adam P. Ebbin	\$63,975	771	29.65%
		Tereasa M. Martinez	\$12,537	728	28.00%
		Andres Tobar	\$10,651	695	26.73%
		Michael Graham	\$5,788	273	10.50%
		Nathan Monell	\$13,977	133	5.12%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$106,928</b>	<b>2,600</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

92	City of Hampton (part)	Jeion Ward	\$1,554	3,857	68.04%
		Donnie Tuck	\$1,896	1,812	31.96%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$3,450</b>	<b>5,669</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

95	Cities of Hampton (part) and Newport News (part)	Mamye BaCote	\$9,129	3,040	51.45%
		Robin Rattley	\$7,501	2,480	41.97%
		Gary W. Kelly	\$921	389	6.58%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>\$17,551</b>	<b>5,909</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table 1.03  
Unopposed Legislative Races, Virginia General Assembly, 1983-2003

Election Year	Rounded Percent of Unopposed Legislative Races
1983	59%
1985	60
1987	64
1989	60
1991	46
1993	44
1995	37
1997	49
1999	48
2001	46
2003	64

Table 1.04  
Candidates by Party, Virginia General Assembly Elections, 1967-2003

Year	DEMOCRATS			REPUBLICANS			INDEPENDENTS		
	Senate	House	Total %†	Senate	House	Total %†	Senate	House	Total % †
1967	38	98	136 (58.4)	21	57	78 (33.5)	6	13	19 (8.1)
1969	--	96	96 (60.0)	--	55	55 (34.4)	--	9	9 (5.6)
1971	39	96	135 (51.5)	26	72	98 (37.4)	7	22	29 (11.1)
1973	--	86	86 (46.7)	--	60	60 (32.6)	--	38	38 (20.7)
1975	40	95	135 (60.3)	20	48	68 (30.4)	9	12	21 (9.3)
1977	--	92	92 (57.5)	--	53	53 (33.1)	--	15	15 (9.4)
1979	39	91	130 (57.0)	26	63	89 (39.0)	3	6	9 (3.9)
1981	--	90	90 (54.2)	--	58	58 (34.9)	--	18	18 (10.8)
1982	--	85	85 (53.5)	--	66	66 (41.5)	--	8	8 (5.0)
1983	38	81	119 (56.4)	23	55	78 (37.0)	3	11	14 (6.6)
1985	--	79	79 (55.2)	--	59	59 (41.3)	--	5	5 (3.5)
1987	36	77	113 (55.4)	23	53	76 (37.2)	6	9	15 (7.4)
1989	--	78	78 (52.3)	--	61	61 (40.9)	--	10	10 (6.8)
1991	38	83	121 (51.7)	30	64	94 (40.2)	8	11	19 (8.1)
1993	--	78	78 (42.2)	--	77	77 (41.6)	--	30	30 (16.2)
1995	28	80	108 (43.5)	35	85	120 (48.4)	6	14	20 (8.1)
1997	--	70	70 (43.5)	--	68	68 (42.2)	--	23	23 (14.3)
1999	24	66	90 (39.6)	33	72	105 (46.3)	7	25	32 (14.1)
2001	--	69	69 (40.1)	--	81	81 (47.1)	--	22	22 (12.8)
2003	26	57	83 (39.9)	33	73	106 (51.0)	5	14	19 (9.1)

SOURCE: Compiled from official election results provided by the State Board of Elections.

NOTE: Senate elections are held every four years; thus, no Senate elections occurred in 1969, 1973, 1977, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1989, 1993, 1997, 2001.

† Percent of total candidates.



Table 1.05  
 Women Candidates, Virginia General Assembly Elections, 1969-2003<sup>a</sup>

Year	Number of Women Candidates			
	Democrats	Republicans	Independents	Total
1967	4	2	2	8
1969	4	1	1	6
1971	4	6	4	14
1973	11	4	3	18
1975	9	4	3	22
1977	11	7	4	16
1979	12	11	0	23
1981	12	3	0	15
1982	13	5	1	19
1983	18	7	2	27
1985	10	6	1	17
1987	14	6	2	22
1989	12	5	4	21
1991	25	7	8	40
1993	13	11	4	28
1995	25	10	3	38
1997	14	8	5	27
1999	23	16	4	43
2001	14	6	4	24
2003	17	7	2	26

SOURCE: Compiled from official election results provided by the State Board of Elections.

<sup>a</sup> There were no women's candidacies for state Senate in the years surveyed until 1975 when three women (one Republican, one Democrat, and one Independent) filed to run. In 1979 three women also filed for the Senate, and all three were Republicans. A new high watermark was reached in 1983, when six women (three Republicans, two Democrats, and one Independent) filed for the Senate. The number of women Senate candidates increased again in 1987, to eight (three Republicans, four Democrats, and one Independent). In 1991 eleven women (seven Democrats, two Republicans and two Independents) ran for the Senate. In 1995 ten women (eight Democrats, one Republican, and one Independent) ran for the Senate. In 1999, fourteen women (nine Democrats, four Republicans, and one Independent) ran for the Senate. In 2003, nine women (eight Democrats and one Republican) ran for the Senate. All other women counted in this table were candidates for the House of Delegates.

Table 1.06  
Select Senate Results

<b>State Senate Area (District No.)</b>	<b>Candidates</b>	<b>Total Expenditures</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Percent</b>
S-3 Williamsburg	T K Norment Jr (R)*	\$955,852.00	21,305	65.7%
	M P Minor (D)	\$63,429.00	10,976	33.9%
	Write Ins		126	0.4%
	<b>Totals</b>	<b>\$1,019,281.00</b>	<b>32,155</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
S-7 Virginia Beach	F W Wagner (R)*	\$325,673.00	12,694	59.0%
	C A Holland (D)	\$195,568.00	8,737	40.6%
	Write Ins		76	0.4%
	<b>Totals</b>	<b>\$521,241.00</b>	<b>21,507</b>	<b>99.97%</b>
S-17 Madison	R E Houck (D)*	\$305,887.00	21,402	59.5%
	R G Stuber (R)	\$223,464.00	14,558	40.4%
	Write Ins		26	0.1%
	<b>Totals</b>	<b>\$529,351.00</b>	<b>35,986</b>	<b>99.99%</b>
S-22 Roanoke	JB Bell II (R)	\$208,059.00	23,810	56.8%
	S H Emick (D)	\$100,690.00	18,119	43.2%
	Write Ins		3	0.0%
	<b>Totals</b>	<b>\$308,749.00</b>	<b>41,932</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
S-27 Winchester	H R Potts Jr (R)*	\$723,863.00	26,152	58.3%
	M R Herring (D)	\$227,024.00	18,459	41.2%
	Write Ins		246	0.5%
	<b>Totals</b>	<b>\$950,887.00</b>	<b>44,857</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
S-34 Fairfax	J A Devolites (R)	\$174,498.00	22,590	52.7%
	R F Christian (D)	\$150,449.00	20,267	47.3%
	Write Ins		2	0.0%
	<b>Totals</b>	<b>\$324,947.00</b>	<b>42,859</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
S-36 Mt. Vernon	L T Puller (D)*	\$478,359.00	16,498	55.3%
	C N Braunlich (R)	\$155,644.00	13,319	44.7%
	Write Ins		4	0.0%
	<b>Totals</b>	<b>\$634,003.00</b>	<b>29,821</b>	<b>99.99%</b>

Table 1.07  
 Selected House of Delegates Results, November 4, 2003

Area (District No.)	Candidates	Total Expenditures	Votes	Percent
H-5 Galax	C.W. Carrico (R)*	\$117,158.00	9,492	54.9%
	T.B. Graham (D)	\$148,196.00	7,783	45.1%
	Write-ins		2	0.0%
	Totals	\$265,354.00	17,277	100.0%
H-6 Tazewell	W B Keister (D)*	\$107,928.00	8,142	50.1%
	W M Morris Jr (R)	\$55,843.00	8,091	49.8%
	Write Ins		8	0.1%
	Totals	\$163,771.00	16,241	100.0%
H-17 Roanoke	W H Fralin Jr (R)	\$188,455.00	9,890	62.1%
	L F Wyatt (D)	\$45,817.00	5,072	31.8%
	G M Bowman (I)	\$2,832.00	975	6.1%
	Write Ins		1	0.0%
	Totals	\$237,104.00	15,938	100.0%
H-31 Woodbridge	L S Lingamfelter (R)*	\$186,176.00	6,787	55.0%
	D G Brickley (D)	\$144,404.00	5,556	45.0%
	Write Ins		2	0.0%
	Totals	\$330,580.00	12,345	100.0%
H-35 Fairfax	S C Shannon (D)	\$268,638.00	9,151	51.9%
	R M Mcdowell (R)	\$216,221.00	8,477	48.1%
	Write Ins		0	0.0%
	Totals	\$484,859.00	17,628	100.0%
H-37	J C Petersen (D)*	\$251,894.00	9,950	59.5%
	J H Rust Jr (R)	\$173,063.00	6,765	40.5%
	Write Ins		1	0.0%
	Totals	\$424,957.00	16,716	100.0%
H-43	M D Sickles (D)	\$186,317.00	7,158	53.8%
	T M Bolvin (R)*	\$171,873.00	6,137	46.2%
	Write Ins		0	0.0%
	Totals	\$358,190.00	13,295	100.0%
H-52	J M Frederick (R)	\$183,432.00	5,384	56.7%
	C F Taylor (D)	\$148,825.00	4,100	43.2%
	Write Ins		11	0.1%
	Totals	\$332,257.00	9,495	100.0%
H-56	W R Janis (R)*	\$307,981.00	10,968	57.8%
	H H Mcguire III (D)	\$224,181.00	8,011	42.2%
	Write Ins		6	0.0%
	Totals	\$532,162.00	18,985	100.0%
H-100	L W Lewis Jr (D)	\$200,141.00	7,435	59.3%
	T B Dix Jr (R)	\$123,984.00	5,094	40.7%
	Write Ins		1	0.0%
	Totals	\$324,125.00	12,530	100.0%

Table 1.08  
Re-election Rates, Virginia General Assembly Elections 1979-2001

Election Year	House of Delegates	State Senate
1979	96.6	91.9
1981	86.4	--
1982	88.0	--
1983	95.9	97.2
1985	95.8	--
1987	93.6	89.5
1989	93.5	--
1991	91.8	78.1
1993	96.7	--
1995	96.7	81.6
1997	97.8	--
1999	97.9	94.9
2001	94.0	--
2003	98.9	100

\*Note: If Jack Rollison's loss to Jeff Frederick in the Republican primary is counted, the incumbent reelection rate in the House falls to 97.8%

Table 1.09  
Election Results in Open Seats, Virginia House of Delegates, 2003

District	Defending Party	Winner (Party)	Loser (Party)	Change
11	D	Onzlee Ware (D)	Unopposed	None
17	D	William Fralin (R)	Linda Wyatt (D)	R
30	R	Ed Scott (R)	Unopposed*	None
35	R	Steve Shannon (D)	Robert McDowell (R)	D
47	D	Albert Eisenberg (D)	Christian Hoff	None
49	D	Adam Ebbin (D)	Unopposed	None
52	R	Jeff Frederick (R)	Charles Taylor (D)	None
90	R	Algie Howell (D)	Unopposed	D
92	D	Jeion Ward (D)	Alvin Bryant (R)	None
95	D	Mayme BaCote (D)	Raymond Johnson (R)	None
100	R	Lynwood Lewis (D)	Thomas Dix (R)	D

\*Faced no major party opposition

Table 1.10  
Election Results in Open Seats, Senate of Virginia, 2003

District	Defending Party	Winner (Party)	Loser (Party)	Change
2	D	Mamie Locke (D)	Phillip Bomershiem (R)	None
22	R	Brandon Bell (R)	Steven Emick (D)	None
26	R	Mark Obenshain (R)	Rodney Eagle (D)	None
34	D	Jeanemarie Devolites (R)	Ron Christian (D)	R

Table 1.11

## Party Representation, Virginia General Assembly, 1967-2003

Year	Democrats		Republicans		Independents
	Senate No.	House No.	Senate No.	House No.	House No.
1967	34	85	6	14	1
1969	33	75	7	24	1
1971	33	73	7	24	3
1973	34	65	6	20	15
1975	35	78	5	17	5
1977	34	76	6	21	3
1979	31	74	9	25	1
1981	31	66	9	33	1
1982	31	65	9	34	1
1983	32	65	8	34	1
1985	32	65	8	33	2
1987	30	64	10	35	1
1989	30	59	10	39	2
1991	22	58	18	34	1
1993	22	52	18	47	1
1995	20	52	20	47	1
1997	20	51	20	48	1
1999	19	47	21	52	1
2001	18	34	22	64	2
2003	16	37	24	61	2

Table 1.12  
 Membership Turnover, Virginia General Assembly, 1965-2001

Number of New Members in the General Assembly									
Year	SENATE			HOUSE			ENTIRE ASSEMBLY		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
1965	1	9	10	14	21	35	15	30	45
1967	5	4	9	5	6	11	20	10	30
1969	--	--	--	17	9	26	17	9	26
1971	9	8	17	20	18	68	29	26	55
1973	--	--	--	16	7	23	16	7	23
1975	5	5	10	12	3	15	17	8	25
1977	--	--	--	14	4	18	14	4	18
1979	3	3	6	11	4	15	14	7	21
1981	--	--	--	15	8	23	15	8	23
1982	--	--	--	12	7	19	12	7	19
1983	3	2	5	6	0	6	9	2	11
1985	--	--	--	5	3	8	5	3	8
1987	5	1	6	6	6	12	11	7	18
1989	--	--	--		6	14	8	6	14
1991	10	5	15	16	5	21	26	10	36
1993	--	--	--	6	7	13	6	7	13
1995	7	2	9	5	3	8	12	5	17
1997	--	--	--	7	2	9	7	2	9
1999	3	0	3	4	4	8	7	4	11
2001	--	--	--	16	6	22	16	6	22
2003	2	2	4	8	3	11	10	5	15

Table 1.13  
Vote by Parties, Virginia General Assembly Elections, 1967-2003

PERCENT OF VOTE											
STATEWIDE	1969	1971	1973	1975	1977	1979	1981	1982	1983	1985	1987
Democratic	60.0	58.6	55.9	66.9	66.6	62.0	59.6	56.9	61.5	58.3	59.9
Republican	37.1	34.6	31.7	28.1	29.7	36.5	36.5	40.8	36.1	39.5	35.8
Independents	2.8	6.8	12.4	4.9	3.7	1.5	3.9	2.2	2.4	2.1	4.2
Write-ins	0.1	0	0	0.1	0	0	0	0.9	0	0.1	0.1
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
PARTY CONTEST											
Democratic	56.9	55.3	54.6	57.3	61.8	56.3	51.9	52.6	54.4	54.0	52.8
Republican	39.9	37.1	32.6	40.0	36.2	43.4	46.6	46.8	45.0	45.9	46.3
Independents	3.2	7.6	12.8	2.7	2.0	0.3	1.5	0.5	0.6	0.1	0.9
Write-ins	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1	0	0	0
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
STATEWIDE	1989	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003			
Democratic	52.6	54.3	44.6	44.3	44.9	40.7	39.1	39.7			
Republican	44.8	42.1	51.2	53.0	50.7	54.9	55.5	57.0			
Independents	2.4	3.4	4.2	2.5	3.9	3.8	5.0	2.5			
Write-ins	0.2	0.2	0	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.7			
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	99.9			
PARTY CONTEST											
Democratic	50.3	47.6	48.5	51.4	49.0	46.7	45.6	47.9			
Republican	49.3	49.6	50.0	48.1	49.7	52.1	52.9	51.5			
Independents	0.3	2.7	1.8	0.4	1.2	1.2	1.5	0.5			
Write-ins	0.1	0.1	0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1			
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100.1	100.1	100			

Note: Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding error.

Table 1.14  
 Voter Turnout, Virginia Statewide Elections, 1980-2003

Year	Election	Total Registered Population	Total Votes Cast	% Vote Change From Preceding Election	Votes Cast as % of registered
1980	President & U.S. House	2,302,405	1,866,032	--	81.4
1981	Governor & House of Delegates	2,215,081	1,437,382	-23.0	64.9
1982	U.S. Senate and U.S. House	2,232,985	1,415,622	-1.5	63.4
1983	General Assembly	2,330,595	1,178,707	-16.7	50.6
1984	President, U.S. Senate & U.S. House	2,675,641	2,180,515	+85	81.5
1985	Governor & House of Delegates	2,597,904	1,377,966	-36.8	53.0
1986	U.S. House	2,609,698	1,115,179	-19.1	42.7
1987	Lottery Referendum and General Assembly	2,657,412	1,157,110	+40.9	59.1
1988	President, U.S. Senate & U.S. House	2,877,144	2,231,876	+42.1	77.6
1989	Governor & House of Delegates	2,737,340	1,821,242	-18.4	66.5
1990	U.S. Senate and U.S. House	2,735,339	1,252,971	-31.2	45.8
1991	General Assembly	2,791,747	1,371,940	+9.5	49.1
1992	President & U.S. House	3,066,486	2,582,966	+88.3	84.5
1993	Governor & House of Delegates	2,975,777	1,817,777	-29.6	61.1
1994	U.S. Senate and U.S. House	3,000,560	2,078,106	+14.3	69.3
1995	General Assembly	3,038,394	1,585,783	-23.7	52.2
1996	President & U.S. House	3,322,740	2,468,229	+55.6	74.3
1997	Governor & House of Delegates	3,565,697	1,764,476	-28.5	49.5
1998	U.S. House	3,724,683	1,229,139	-30.3	33.0
1999	General Assembly	3,808,754	1,373,527	+11.7	36.1
2000	U.S. Senate & U.S. House	4,071,474	2,789,808	+103.1	68.5
2001	Governor & House of Delegates	4,109,127	1,905,241	-31.7	46.4
2002	U.S. Senate and U.S. House	4,219,957	1,661,915	-12.8	39.4
2003	General Assembly	4,217,227	1,296,955	-22.0	30.8



Table 1.15

Virginia vs. Other Southern and Border States, Women in State Legislatures, 2003

	Percentage of Women	National
State	In the State Legislature	Rank
National Average	22.3%	--
Virginia	14.3%	44
Alabama	10.0	49
Arkansas	16.3	40
Florida	24.4	22
Georgia	21.6	26
Kentucky	10.9	48
Louisiana	16.0	42
Maryland	33.5	3
Mississippi	12.1	46
Missouri	21.3	28
North Carolina	20.6	29
Oklahoma	11.4	47
South Carolina	9.4	50
Tennessee	17.4	38
Texas	19.3	33
West Virginia	18.7	34

Source: Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

Table 1.16

Women Senate Members

1. Eva F. Scott (R) 1980-1983
2. Hailey Evelyn Momsen (D) 1982-1983
3. Edwina P. Dalton (R) 1988-1991
4. Emilie F. Miller (D) 1988-1991
5. Yvonne B. Miller (D) 1988-
6. Janet Denison Howell (D) 1992-
7. L. Louise Lucas (D) 1992-
8. Jane Haycock Woods (R) 1992-1999
9. Emily Couric (D) 1996-2001
10. Patricia S. Ticer (D) 1996-
11. Mary Margaret Whipple (D) 1996-
12. Leslie Larkin Byrne (D) 2000-2003
13. Mamie Locke (D) 2004-
14. Jeannemarie Aragona Devolites (R) 2004-

Table 1.17

Women House Members 1924-Present

1. Sarah Lee Fain (D) 1924-1929
2. Helen T. Henderson (D) 1924-1925
3. Sallie C. Booker (D) 1926-1929
4. Vinnie Caldwell (D) 1928-1929
5. Helen Ruth Henderson (D) 1928-1929
6. Emma Lee S. White (D) 1930-1933
7. Kathryn H. Stone (D) 1954-1965
8. Inez D. Baker (D) 1958-1961
9. Charlotte C. Geisen (R) 1958-1961
10. Dorothy S. McDiarmid (D) 1960-1985
11. Marion G. Galland (D) 1964-1969
12. Mary Aydelotte Marshall (D) 1966-1989
13. Eleanor Parker Sheppard (D) 1968-1977
14. Eva F. Scott (I)\* 1972-1979
15. Evelyn Momsen Hailey (D) 1974-1981
16. Joan Shepard Jones (D) 1974-1981
17. Bonnie Lineweaver Paul (R) 1976-1979
18. Elise Brookfield Heinz (D) 1978-1981
19. Gladys Brown Keating (D) 1978-1989
20. Mary Sue Terry (D) 1978-1985
21. Edythe Colton Harrison (D) 1980-1983
22. Gwendolyn F. Cody (R) 1982-1985
23. Joan Hardie Munford (D) 1982-1993
24. Marian A. Van Landingham (D) 1982-
25. Vivian Edna Watts (D) 1982-
26. Shirley Fields Cooper (D) 1983-1997
27. Phoebe May Orebaugh (R) 1983-1989
28. Julie Leonard Smith (D) 1983
29. Nora Anderson Squyres (D) 1983
30. Yvonne Bond Miller (D) 1984-1987

31. Leslie Larkin Byrne (D) 1986-1991
32. Mary T. Christian (D) 1986-2003
33. Jean Wooden Cunningham (D) 1986- 1997
34. Jane Haycock Woods (R) 1988-1999
35. Linda McClaghry Wallace (R) 1989-1993
36. Joyce Knowles Crouch (R) 1990-1997
37. Barbara M. Stafford (R) 1990-1991
38. Leslie Karen Darner (D) 1991-2003
39. Julia A. Connally (D) 1992-1997
40. Linda Todd Puller (D) 1992-
41. Anne Gregory Rhodes (R) 1992-2001
42. Flora Davis Crittenden (D) 1993-2003
43. Beverly Jean Sherwood (R) 1994-
44. Thelma Sawyers Drake (R) 1996-
45. Viola Osbourne Baskerville (D) 1998-
46. Kathy J. Byron (R) 1998-
47. Jo Ann S. Davis (R) 1998-2001
48. Jeannemarie Aragona Devolites (R) 1998-2003
49. Michele B. McQuigg (R) 1998-
50. Kristen J. Amundsen (D) 2000-
51. Melanie L. Rapp (R) 2000-
52. Terrie L. Suit (R) 2000-
53. Winsome Earle Sears (R) 2002-2003
54. Jeion Ward (D) 2004-
55. Mayme Bacote (D) 2004-

\*Eva F. Scott became a Republican before her 1979 Senate race.

Table 1.18  
 Campaign Spending, Virginia General Assembly Elections, 2003

	Total Campaign Party Expenditures*	Percent of Expenditures
State Senate (Party-Contested Districts Only; N=19)		
Democrats	\$4,414,564	44.4%
Republicans	\$5,524,143	55.6%
TOTAL	\$9,938,707	100%
State Senate (All Districts; N=40)		
Democrats	\$5,601,877	41.1%
Republicans	\$8,037,718	58.9%
TOTAL	\$13,639,595	100%
House of Delegates (Party-Contested Districts Only; N=33)		
Democrats	\$3,855,633	46.5%
Republicans	\$4,427,384†	53.5%
TOTAL	\$8,283,017	100%
House of Delegates (All Districts; N=100)		
Democrats	\$5,142,746	40.2%
Republicans	\$7,636,853†	59.8%
TOTAL	\$12,779,599	100%
General Assembly (Party-Contested Districts Only; N=52)		
Democrats	\$8,270,197	45.4%
Republicans	\$9,951,527†	54.6%
TOTAL	\$18,221,724	100%
General Assembly (All Districts; N=140)		
Democrats	\$10,744,623	41.1%
Republicans	\$15,401,571†	58.9%
TOTAL	\$26,146,194	100%

Source: Compiled from election results provided by the State Board of Elections.

Note: Party-Contested Districts are those in which the elections had formally designated Democratic and Republican nominees.

\* "Total Campaign Expenditures" does not include money spent by defeated primary or convention candidates.

† Includes Republican leaning Independents Watkins Abbitt and Lacey Putney.

Table 1.19  
Average Expenditures, 2003 General Assembly Elections

<b>Senate Contested</b>		<b>AVG</b>
Democrats (19)	4,414,564	\$232,345.47
Republicans (19)	5,524,143	\$290,744.37
<b>Total (38)</b>	<b>9,938,707</b>	<b>\$261,544.92</b>
<b>Senate Total</b>		
Democrats (27)	5,601,877	\$207,476.93
Republicans (32)	8,037,718	\$251,178.69
<b>Total (59)</b>	<b>13,639,595</b>	<b>\$231,179.58</b>
<b>House Contested</b>		
Democrats (33)	3,855,633	\$116,837.36
Republicans (33)	4,427,384	\$134,163.15
<b>Total (66)</b>	<b>8,283,017</b>	<b>\$125,500.26</b>
<b>House Total</b>		
Democrats (57)	5,142,746	\$90,223.61
Republicans (76)	7,636,853	\$100,484.91
<b>Total (133)</b>	<b>12,779,599</b>	<b>\$96,087.21</b>
<b>GA Contested</b>		
Democrats (52)	8,270,197	\$159,042.25
Republicans (52)	9,951,527	\$191,375.52
<b>Total (104)</b>	<b>18,221,724</b>	<b>\$175,208.88</b>
<b>GA Total</b>		
Democrats (84)	10,744,623	\$127,912.18
Republicans (108)	15,401,571	\$142,607.14
<b>Total (192)</b>	<b>26,146,194</b>	<b>\$136,178.09</b>

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