

AFRICAN-AMERICAN VOTING PATTERNS IN URBAN GEORGIA, PRE AND  
POST PASSAGE OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

by

JENNIFER CONNER

(Under the Direction of M.V. Hood)

ABSTRACT

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 is thought to have had a large impact on African-Americans and their voting patterns. This paper examines the impact of the Act on the African-American voters during the presidential elections from 1952 until 1972 in five urban Georgia counties: Bibb, Clarke, Fulton, Muscogee, and Richmond counties. The Voting Rights Act should have a large impact upon the voting outcomes of the counties as more African-Americans become enfranchised and further exercise their right to vote.

INDEX WORDS: Voting Patterns, Presidential Elections, Georgia

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JENNIFER CONNER

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JENNIFER CONNER

Major Professor: M.V. Hood

Committee: Damon Cann  
Charles S. Bullock,  
III

Electronic Version Approved:  
Maureen Grasso  
Dean of the Graduate School  
The University of Georgia  
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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Before the Civil Rights movement, voting patterns in the South were dominated by an exclusion of racial minorities in all areas of political participation. The Southern political arena was control by a small white elite who were not inclined to relinquish control to African-Americans. In order to maintain control, barriers, including poll taxes and voter registration tests, were enacted to prevent African-Americans from gaining a foothold in the Southern elections. These measures reached such extremes that the federal government stepped in to pass legislation protecting the right for all citizens to vote. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was passed to ensure that all citizens had an unimpeded access to voting in all federal and local elections. Previous studies have compared African-American voting patterns to those of Caucasian voters as well as looked at African-American voting patterns in elections featuring African-American candidates; however, there is an absence of studies tracking African-American voting patterns before and after the passage of the Voting Rights Act.

There is evidence that by 1972 the major disparities between Caucasian and African-American voter registration had almost disappeared (Murray and Vedlitz 1978, 37). African-Americans were able to register and vote without the blatant obstacles that existed prior to the Voting Rights Act. While studies have looked at racial patterns in the rural South, these patterns have not been highlighted in Southern urban settings. Voting patterns differ between rural and urban voters, and these

differences hold true for Caucasian and African-American voters alike (Lieske and Hillard 1984, 546).

The Voting Rights Act was intended to increase African-American participation, but thus far no studies have looked at the effectiveness of the act on voting behavior. Other studies have found that the Voting Rights Act increased voter registration, but no studies have looked at its effect upon election outcomes. This study examines African-American voting behavior before and after the implementation of the Voting Rights Act in urban Georgia.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

African-Americans did not have a strong voice in Southern politics before the passage of the Voting Rights Act. While Civil Rights legislation had an impact on minority voting behaviors, it was often not enough to ensure full suffrage for African-Americans in the South. The previous studies are a starting point for finding a pattern in African-American voting in urban Georgia. These studies provide a background for determining the direction of African-American votes from 1952 until 1972.

#### **The Voting Rights Act**

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was a direct result of states finding loopholes and weaknesses in civil rights legislation and the Fifteenth Amendment. Before 1965, voting discrimination was determined on a case-by-case basis. However, the earlier attempts to end biased registration and voting practices resulted in states using less blatant methods of discrimination. The law was an extension of the language that began in the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment. States had been using literacy tests for voter registration, but since the states grandfathered in most white males, the tests were primarily applied to African-Americans. The VRA outlawed all uses of literacy tests in voting practices in selected jurisdictions and contained language that allowed the Attorney General or the courts to police areas of the country that they determined to be at risk for discriminatory policies. These areas included most of the South. These high risk areas had to get federal approval of all changes in voting, and if the new practices were found to have racially unequal effect then federal examiners were sent in to oversee the state's elections. "Congress had found that case-by-case litigation

was inadequate to combat widespread and persistent discrimination in voting, because of the inordinate amount of time and energy required to overcome the obstructionist tactics invariably encountered in these lawsuits”(*South Carolina v. Katzenbach*, 383 U.S. 301, 327-28 1966).

Originally the Act contained no provisions against poll taxes. The taxes were not originally considered racially discriminating. Supporters claimed that the taxes did not discriminate against African-Americans, since it was applied to all voters equally. Critics claimed that the taxes were discriminatory, since African-Americans were less likely to have the resources to pay a poll tax. The VRA allowed the Attorney General to challenge unnamed biased practices. In *Harper v. Virginia State Board of Elections*, 383 U.S. 663 (1966), the Supreme Court declared that poll taxes violated the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment and were unconstitutional. The Court also made key decisions from 1965 thru 1969 to erase other prejudiced voting practices across the South.

After the passage of the Voting Rights Act, federal examiners were called into the Southern states to help conduct registration drives and election administration. A large increase in African-American registration was seen after 1965 (Grofman, Handley, Niemi 1992). Before 27% of African-Americans in Georgia were registered to vote, and after the passage of the VRA, African-American registration in Georgia rose to 50% by 1970 (Grofman, Handley, Niemi 1992). The voting legislation combined with the various court decisions of the time resulted in allowing African-Americans to exercise their civil rights guaranteed under the Constitution. Despite numerous studies that determine that the Voting Rights Act increased registration,

very few studies have looked at the effect the Act had on African-American voting patterns.

### **African-American Voter Registration**

Before the passage of the Voting Rights Act, African-Americans were discouraged and even prevented from voting in the South with the use of literacy tests, poll taxes, and awkwardly placed registration offices. These mechanisms were in place to ensure that African-Americans were kept from exercising their rights. They were employed more heavily in rural areas than in urban areas. African-Americans were able to register and vote in many urban areas prior to the Voting Rights Act (Key 1949, 32; Knickrehm and Bent 1988, 289). Prior to 1965, rural areas voted primarily Democratic and continued to pass racially unequal legislation. (Knickrehm and Bent 1988, 289). African-Americans were unable to muster the needed votes to overturn these measures, and the unequal practices continued to flourish. While these areas passed legislation to prevent the inclusion of African-Americans in the voting process, most areas of the South saw an increase in support for Civil Rights from 1957 until 1975 (Black 1978, 438). After the Voting Rights Act, rural areas saw an increase in African-American election participation.

With the passage of the Voting Rights Act, registration was opened to every citizen and previous obstacles were reduced. Knickrehm and Bent found that the rural areas had the greatest changes in registration levels and voting outcomes which may have been the result of the strong resistance rural areas had to racial integration (1988, 288). Urban areas that had some levels of incorporated African-Americans saw less impact from the Voting Rights Act (Knickrehm and Bent 1988, 288). The

impact of the Voting Rights Act on urban areas was an increase in the African-American population to these areas because of the easier access to voting (Knickrehm and Bent 1988, 290).

In 1957, approximately 19% of all African-Americans in the South were registered to vote as opposed to approximately 75% of Caucasians (Lichtman 1969, 346). Georgia had one of the largest percentages of registered African-Americans in the South in 1957, with 27% registered, but this amount only increased .7% over the next 5 years (Lichtman 1969, 364). Civil rights legislation before the Voting Rights Act had only nominal effects on African-American registration (Lichtman 1969, 353).

However, with the passage of the Voting Rights Act, the percentage of registered African-Americans in Georgia increased to approximately 48% by 1967 (Lichtman 1969, 365). The increase in African-American registration rose slowly before the Voting Rights Act, but after the Act, registration levels doubled (Lichtman 1969, 367). Since the Voting Rights Act placed federal examiners in states that were likely to violate African-American voting rights, the presence of the examiners helped to increase African-American registration. However, Caucasian registration in these areas also increased (Rodgers and Bullock 1972, 30-31). Registration increased overall, but it is found that only approximately 30% of the increase of registered voters was African-American (Bartley and Graham 1975, 109). Caucasian registration was low in Georgia, with only 62% registered before the Voting Rights Act, but it increased to levels over 80% after 1965 (Lichtman 1969, 365). Caucasians still outnumbered African-Americans in voting registration, but the differences had been reduced to create a more equal division of voting power.

### **African-Americans and Political Alignments**

After African-Americans were given the right to vote, there was concern among the political elites about the partisan alignments of newly emancipated citizens. Various studies were conducted on the alignments of African-Americans during local and federal elections. Lieske found that racial differences in voting tended to be cross cutting and had a greater impact on voting outcomes than other factors including economic status (1984, 560). Bent and Knickrehm expected that urban areas experience less racial polarization and less reaction from Caucasian voters since African-Americans generally experienced fewer obstacles to voting in urban areas than existed in rural areas (1988, 289). However, the magnitude of the division between African-American and Caucasian voters depended upon the election type, the race and partisanship of the candidate, and the existing racial patterns (Lieske 1984, 560; Murray and Vedlitz 1978, 39).

As the proportion of African-Americans in the voting population increased, the disparity between Caucasian voting patterns and African-American voting patterns also increased. Before the 1950s and early 1960s, there was low racial disparity in voting patterns, mainly because a large percentage of African-Americans were still denied the right to vote (Murray and Vedlitz 1978, 33). However, in the late 1960s, the Civil Rights movement began to increase voter registration and remove the obstacles that had prevented African-Americans from voting and caused racial voting disparities to greatly increase (Murray and Vedlitz 1978, 33). After the elections in 1972, the disparities lessened as the influx of African-American voters slowed to include only new voters reaching voting age (Murray and Vedlitz 1978, 33). The

differences in African-American voting are not as heavily based on socioeconomic status as Caucasian voting.

When African-American voting is compared to Caucasian voting, it is found that African-Americans are not closely tied to any one Caucasian socioeconomic class (Murray and Vedlitz 1978, 39). In Georgia, African-Americans are most likely to vote in alignment with urban Caucasians against segregationist candidates, but in other elections, African-Americans align with rural Caucasians against the urban middle class (Murray and Vedlitz 1978, 39). When the candidate for office is African-American, they receive a majority of support from African-American voters regardless of party affiliation (Murray and Vedlitz 1978, 39; Lieske 1984 560). However, as Murray and Vedlitz found, African-American candidates lose an overwhelming majority of low socio-economic Caucasians (1978, 39).

After Reconstruction, African-Americans were aligned with the Republican Party as the party that had freed them from slavery (McDonald 2003, 18). The shift from Republican to Democrat began with the social platforms of the Great Depression. Key found that the social programs of the Democrats appealed to African-Americans since they were generally of a lower-socioeconomic status and were in need of aid (Key, 1949, 287). However until the Civil Rights Era and the Voting Rights Act, African-Americans were strongly dissuaded from voting in the South. As a result of this, legislators in the South were not inclined to take African-American ideology into account when creating political platforms. The representatives from districts with large African-American populations supported the white elites and tended to be more conservative than districts with low African-

American populations (Key 1949, 670-671). Other studies found that districts with larger African-American populations were more likely to vote against the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 (Black 1978, 442). White elites in these areas were threatened by allowing African-Americans to vote. Allowing African-Americans to enter the voting pool would shift the status quo and many Caucasians were concerned that they would lose the political upper hand. However, after the passage of Civil Rights legislation, legislative support for Civil Rights did increase, if even in marginal amounts (Black 1978, 438).

African-Americans often faced indecision over which political party to support. During the 1930s, there had been a national shift toward support for Democrats because of the New Deal Coalition. The Democrats had a national platform that appealed to the lower socioeconomic status of most African-Americans, but locally it was the party of rural Caucasians who vehemently opposed equal rights. However, Republicans did not appeal to the African-Americans because of tepid support for Civil Rights and the importance they placed on business issues. Beginning in the 1960s, African-Americans were thus more likely to align with Democrats because of socioeconomic issues and Democratic support for civil rights. CPS election surveys found that the Democratic Party took greater advantage of mobilizing African-Americans and presenting issues that were relevant to these newly registered voters (Knickrehm and Bent 1988 284).

Since the Democratic Party was attracting African-Americans, it began to cleave the traditional Southern Democratic base. The traditional Southern Democrat was primarily rural and played a major role in preventing the registration and voting

rights of African-Americans. With the addition of African-American voters, older Democrats were concerned with the direction of the party, but junior members were more liberal and more likely to respond to African-American concerns (Bullock 1981, 679). Bullock claimed that Southern political parties were more likely to be divided over racial political issues than national party platforms, but Castle and Stanley found that “broad ideological misfit rather than a preoccupation with race holds promise as the reason that the southern white population became less Democratic” (Mobilization 16, 665; 1952, 13).

The Southern Republican Party began to provide a more conservative view which provided greater opposition to Civil Rights than the Southern Democrats (Black 448, Bullock 1981, 673). As a result, whites began to shift to the Republican Party while African-Americans began to claim more and more of the Democratic Party (Knickrehm and Bent 1988, 292). The Southern Republican Party responded to the dissatisfaction of Caucasians by altering its platform to appeal to conservative Democrats (Bullock 1981 673). Areas which saw the greatest increase in African-American registration also saw the greatest shift to the Republican Party (Knickrehm and Bent 1988, 249). The migration of conservative Caucasian voters to the Republican Party has led to the eventual success of Republican candidates in the South.

### **Hypothesis**

Studies have shown that the Voting Rights Act had a large impact on voter registration as well as party alignments in the South. Since African-Americans were generally allowed to vote in urban areas, there should be an African-American

presence in the voting records before 1965. The many franchised African-Americans directly after the Civil War were staunch Republicans since that was the party of Lincoln, but by the 1950s Republican support was wavering, a trend that had begun during the Great Depression (McDonald 2003, 111). Democrats were more effective in mobilizing African-Americans and Georgia had a single party ticket until 1964. It was not possible for voters to choose a Republican representative since they were not present on the ballot, except for the office of the President. Prior to the Voting Rights Act, African-Americans in Georgia should have support for the Democratic Party (Murray and Vedlitz 1978, 30). However, there was support for the Republican Party from African-Americans in Atlanta until the early 1960s.

After 1965, the number of African-Americans voting for Democrats should increase. The trend of voting for Democratic candidates should continue because of their support for civil rights. As Caucasian voters begin to drift away from the Democratic Party, African-Americans become strong supporters.

H<sub>1</sub>: Passage of the Voting Rights Act should increased African-American voter registration and turn-out in urban Georgia elections.

H<sub>2</sub>: Following the passage of the Voting Rights Act, there should be a shift in the voting patterns of African-American voters with an increase of support for the Democratic Party.

## CHAPTER 3

### DATA

The implementation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 resulted in a shift in registration and voting patterns in the South. This paper considers those voting behavior shifts among African-American voters in urban Georgia counties from 1950 through 1972. Earlier studies have documented the differences between rural and urban voters (Lieske and Hillard 1984, 546). Since African-Americans were disenfranchised in rural Southern counties before the passage of the Voting Rights Act, data regarding those voting trends is unreliable to form inferences. African-Americans were able to vote in limited circumstances in urban counties prior to the Voting Rights Act. Urban counties are classified as counties with a total population higher than 11,000 in 1952 and containing a major city. This study includes Bibb County, Clarke County, Fulton County, Muscogee County, and Richmond County. These counties contain the major cities of Georgia: Macon, Athens, Atlanta, Columbus, and Augusta. These counties contain the largest urban African-American populations in the state with most over 60% (Historical Census Browser, 2007). Some rural counties had higher percentages of African-Americans, but rural counties are not included in the analysis. Chatham County which contains the city of Savannah and had the 5<sup>th</sup> highest population of African-Americans was in the original model, but because of a lack of accessible data on the racial breakdown and voting returns, it was not included in the final study.

The elections being analyzed are the general elections in 1952, 1956, 1960, 1964, 1968, and 1972. Presidential votes are analyzed as Georgia had a single party

ballot and did not include Republican candidates at local and state levels until the late 1960s. The midterm elections were originally considered, but with the absence of two Party candidates before 1964 and with the lower levels of voter turnout associated with midterm elections, the data from these elections does not fully represent African-American voting patterns.<sup>1</sup>

Prior to the VRA, African-Americans in Georgia cast their ballots in segregated ballot boxes. However, only Bibb County recorded the segregated returns. The other counties added the segregated returns to the Caucasian returns to report a total final vote count. In order to determine African-American voting patterns in the counties without segregated returns and for returns after 1965, it was necessary to collect precinct-level voting returns and to cross reference those returns with Census data to determine which precincts were predominately African-American. Precincts with a high levels of African-Americans were used to determine voting patterns. An attempt was made to only study precincts with population levels of African-Americans over 75%, but this reduced the number of precincts available in the study and was not a large enough population to predict a voting pattern. The voting patterns of these precincts are highlighted to determine if a difference occurs in the returns after the passage of the Voting Rights Act.

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<sup>1</sup> Georgia has open primaries and as such voters are not required to register by party. Since party registration is not needed in the state, the trends in party affiliation are more difficult to track than in other states that require party registration. All voter registration information comes from the election returns as reported by the county registrars and found at the Georgia State Archives.

To determine the level of African-Americans, the voting precincts were compared to the Census tracts. The Census data were conducted in tracts which closely corresponded to the voting precincts (Historical Census Browser, 2007). In all but two occasions in Muscogee County, the Census tract coincides with less than 5% reported residences living outside of the precinct. The city wards were their own tracts, and most suburban precincts were their own tracts. However, in Muscogee County in 1952 and 1956, the suburban precincts were not matched to the Census tracts because the low population levels in several precincts required them to be combined into one Census tract (Historical Census Browser, 2007). As tables one through five illustrate, the population breakdown in each county varied by district and throughout the years. The Census data reported the racial breakdown of the residents in each tract including the registered voters (Appendix 1). As such, the tract data were compiled to determine the percentage of African-Americans in each precinct. As the population tables indicate several precincts had less than 10% African-American residents, while other areas, mostly in the city wards, reached levels of 65% or more African-Americans and can strongly highlight the voting patterns. These percentage levels were used to create a scale to perform a crosstab of each election. The scale was broken down into five categories: 0-20% African-Americans, 21-40% African-Americans, 41-60% African-Americans, 61-80% African-Americans, and 81-100% African-Americans. These levels were chosen to represent the precinct populations in order to track the voting trends across racial breakdown percentages. The 20% range was chosen because it created a more equal distribution of the precinct percentages. Other ranges were analyzed; however, the 20% range offered the clearest

understanding of the voting patterns. The cross tab was run for each election, as well as two pooled models. The pooled models were for the elections prior to the Voting Rights Act and for the elections after the Voting Rights Act was passed.

Once the African-American precincts were determined for Clarke, Fulton, Muscogee, and Richmond counties for all elections and for Bibb County after 1964, vote tallies were collected. The vote totals were collected from the reported precinct level returns reported by each county (Vote Returns, 1956 thru 1972). These totals were compared to reported totals from each individual newspapers for corroboration. In several cases, one precinct had multiple box totals reported. These totals were combined to provide a precinct total. The boxes were part of the same precinct but were reported separately. With the precincts defined, and the vote totals collected, voting patterns before and after the Voting Rights Act, can be more closely examined for African-American patterns.

Further analyses of the election results were conducted using Gary King's ecological inference technique (King, 1997). The ecological inference model is a tool which is used to make "inferences about the attributes of individual behavior from aggregate data" (King 1997, 39). Ecological inference is run to determine patterns that are not easily inferred using voting returns. An ecological inference can be used to determine voting patterns when survey data are not available. Since precinct level data are available, it can be used to make individual level inferences with ecological regression. Gary King's model was chosen because of his addition of seven characteristics which improved earlier models. The earlier models had presented problems to analysis such as aggregate bias and basic statistical problems including

heteroskedasticity (King 1997, 16). However, King's model corrects for the basic statistical problems, and the aggregation bias is resolved in this model.

These seven characteristics are: the solution is scientifically validated with real data, a realistic assessment of the uncertainty of ecological regression is included, the basic model is robust to aggregate bias, all components are verifiable data, the model corrects for statistical problems excluding aggregate bias, the method provides accurate analysis not only in the crosstab, but at the precinct level, and finally, the problem is a "modifiable areal unit problem" (King 1997, 17-21). The question of the voting trends of African-Americans pre and post Voting Rights Act is a good candidate for King's ecological regression model. The solution is validated with the real vote returns including the segregated returns from Bibb County. When the model is compared to the precinct level actual results, it provides an accurate analysis of the precinct level data. The model corrects for all statistical problems the data may have, excluding aggregate bias. However, aggregate bias is not present because of non-quantifiable knowledge (King 1997, 168). Since there is adequate knowledge and limited missing data, the problem of aggregate bias is overcome.

The technique was run on all precincts except for the precincts in Muscogee County which did not correspond to Census tracts. For the analysis, the unit of analysis is the precinct. The variables run in the model are the percentage of registered African-Americans in each precinct, the percentage of registered Caucasians in each precinct, the percentage of votes for the Democratic candidate, the percentage of votes for the Republican candidate, and the total number of voters in each precinct. In 1968, the percentage of votes for George Wallace was also part of

the technique. The inference was run once for African-American voters and then run separately for Caucasian voters. Each separate inference was also run using Democratic votes and then Republican votes. In 1968, a separate inference was also run using the vote returns for George Wallace. Individual elections were examined with the technique, along with a pooled model for all presidential elections from 1952 until 1972.

**Table 1: Bibb County Population Breakdown by Election Year**

	1952		1956		1960		1964		1968		1972	
	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian
<b>Upper City</b>	37%	63.00%	32.50%	67.50%	32.20%	67.40%	44.30%	55.70%	48.70%	52.30%	32.30%	67.80%
<b>Lower City</b>	42.30%	57.40%	37.90%	62.20%	47.20%	52.50%	55.10%	44.90%	49.70%	50.30%	58.50%	41.60%
<b>Vineville</b>	39.80%	60.10%	37.20%	62.60%	39.30%	60.50%	42.20%	57.80%	35.50%	64.50%	32.50%	67.50%
<b>Godfrey</b>	48.60%	51.10%	46.60%	53.40%	42.80%	57.30%	39.90%	60.10%	33.60%	66.40%	33.60%	6.30%
<b>E. Macon</b>	36.50%	63.20%	35.30%	64.50%	36.60%	63.30%	42.80%	57.20%	41.20%	58.80%	39.70%	60.30%
<b>Howard</b>	33.30%	66.60%	39.50%	60.10%	38.40%	61.60%	33.30%	66.70%	28.70%	71.30%	26.80%	73.10%
<b>Hazzard</b>	6.60%	93.40%	7.60%	92.20%	8.60%	91.60%	9.20%	90.80%	8.80%	91.20%	10.20%	89.70%
<b>Warrior</b>	10.10%	89.60%	11.30%	87.60%	13.40%	86.50%	12.90%	87.10%	15.80%	84.20%	14.70%	85.40%
<b>Rutland</b>	13.30%	86.40%	18.70%	81.10%	19.50%	80.40%	20.40%	79.60%	19.80%	80.10%	21.60%	78.60%

**Table 2: Clarke County Population Breakdown by Election Year**

	1952		1956		1960		1964		1968		1972	
	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian
<b>City Ward 1</b>	68.70%	31.30%	68.40%	31.60%	67.30%	32.70%	62.90%	37.10%	63.70%	36.60%	64.10%	35.90%
<b>City Ward 2</b>	48.40%	51.60%	68.40%	31.60%	66.90%	33.10%	64.80%	31.20%	62.90%	67.10%	64.80%	65.20%
<b>City Ward 3</b>	35.50%	74.50%	39.40%	60.60%	36.20%	63.80%	37.30%	62.70%	38.20%	61.80%	34.30%	65.70%
<b>City Ward 4</b>	32.80%	67.20%	36.40%	63.60%	33.90%	64.10%	38.20%	61.20%	32.80%	61.20%	37.20%	62.80%
<b>Whitehall</b>	7.30%	92.70%	7.70%	92.30%	7.30%	92.70%	8.40%	91.60%	10.10%	89.90%	11.20%	88.80%
<b>Puryear</b>	11%	89.00%	13.50%	86.50%	12.80%	87.20%	13.50%	86.50%	12.70%	87.30%	14.20%	85.80%
<b>Sandy Creek</b>	14.30%	85.70%	15.80%	84.20%	19.70%	80.30%	15.80%	84.20%	21.20%	78.80%	24.10%	75.90%
<b>Winterville</b>	48.60%	51.40%	47.70%	52.30%	44.80%	55.20%	41.40%	82.60%	38.80%	61.20%	39.50%	60.50%
<b>Bradbury</b>	8.10%	91.90%	9.10%	90.90%	7.80%	92.20%	11.20%	88.80%	10.70%	89.30%	12.30%	87.70%
<b>Kenney</b>	29.40%	70.60%	31.80%	68.20%	31.30%	68.90%	33.10%	66.90%	32.80%	67.20%	34.50%	65.50%
<b>Princeton</b>	8.80%	91.20%	6.80%	95.20%	9.70%	90.30%	10.60%	89.40%	11.10%	88.90%	11.40%	88.60%

**Table 3: Richmond County Population Breakdown by Election Year**

	1952		1956		1960		1964		1968		1972	
	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian
<b>City Ward 1</b>	47.60%	52.40%	47.30%	52.70%	48.20%	51.80%	39.20%	60.80%	34.80%	65.20%	35.90%	64.10%
<b>City Ward 2</b>	52.20%	47.80%	51.30%	48.70%	48.90%	51.20%	48.10%	51.90%	42.60%	57.40%	44.60%	55.40%
<b>City Ward 3</b>	86.10%	23.90%	85.10%	24.90%	84.20%	25.80%	81.30%	28.70%	78.10%	31.90%	76.20%	33.80%
<b>City Ward 4</b>	69.60%	30.40%	65.20%	34.80%	66.40%	33.60%	64.80%	35.20%	61.20%	38.80%	66.60%	43.40%
<b>City Ward 5</b>	71.10%	28.90%	70.20%	33.60%	68.40%	31.60%	65.50%	34.50%	64.30%	35.70%	63.30%	46.70%
<b>City Ward 6</b>	48.50%	51.50%	49.20%	50.80%	48.50%	51.50%	46.20%	53.80%	45.70%	54.30%	42.20%	57.80%
<b>City Ward 7</b>	39.40%	59.60%	34.80%	65.20%	36.60%	63.40%	37.90%	62.10%	38.50%	61.50%	34.90%	65.10%
<b>City Ward 8</b>	35.30%	64.70%	35.90%	64.10%	36.20%	62.80%	36.60%	63.40%	39.20%	60.80%	37.30%	62.70%
<b>116</b>	37.30%	62.80%	37.70%	62.30%	38.20%	61.80%	39.50%	60.50%	40.70%	59.30%	41.20%	57.80%
<b>123</b>	2.10%	97.90%	2.20%	97.80%	3.30%	96.70%	4.80%	95.20%	5.20%	94.80%	5.30%	94.70%
<b>124</b>	4.30%	95.70%	4.40%	95.60%	5.20%	94.80%	6.70%	93.30%	5.20%	94.80%	6.20%	93.80%
<b>1269</b>	11.80%	88.20%	10.20%	89.80%	10.30%	90.10%	9.90%	90.10%	9.10%	90.90%	8.20%	91.80%
<b>143</b>	22.70%	77.30%	22.90%	77.10%	23.40%	76.10%	23.90%	82.10%	24.10%	75.90%	25.70%	74.30%
<b>1760</b>	26.50%	73.50%	25.70%	74.30%	24.30%	77.80%	22.20%	81.80%	22.10%	77.90%	20.80%	79.20%

**Table 4: Muscogee County Population Breakdown by Election Year**

	1952		1956		1960		1964		1968		1972	
	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian
<b>Bibb</b>	53.40%	46.60%	47.20%	52.80%	48.10%	51.90%	46.70%	53.30%	45%	55.00%	44.50%	54.50%
<b>Wynnton</b>	42.80%	57.20%	44.20%	55.80%	46.10%	53.90%	45.30%	54.70%	43.10%	56.90%	42.20%	57.80%
<b>Gentian</b>	21.20%	78.80%	23.80%	76.20%	22.10%	77.90%	20.80%	79.20%	22.30%	77.70%	25.40%	73.60%
<b>Upatoi</b>	1.10%	98.90%	2.20%	97.80%	6.90%	93.10%	10.80%	89.20%	11.90%	88.10%	13.30%	86.70%
<b>Fire Station</b>	30.10%	69.90%	28.50%	71.50%	29.10%	70.90%	27.40%	75.10%	24.90%	75.10%	23.70%	76.30%
<b>Midland</b>	27.50%	72.50%	31.30%	68.70%	32.20%	67.80%	31.80%	68.20%	30.60%	69.40%	36.10%	63.90%
<b>Baker Village</b>	6.20%	93.70%	7.80%	92.20%	8.10%	91.90%	8.70%	91.30%	10.30%	89.70%	10.50%	89.50%

**Table 5: Fulton County Population Breakdown by Election Year**

	1952		1956		1960		1964		1968		1972	
	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian
<b>City Ward 1</b>	77.40%	22.60%	74.80%	25.20%	76.20%	23.80%	75.40%	24.60%	77.20%	22.80%	76.40%	23.60%
<b>City ward 2</b>	90.10%	9.90%	88.50%	11.50%	87.20%	12.80%	88.10%	11.90%	87.30%	12.60%	86.90%	13.10%
<b>City Ward 3</b>	87.20%	12.80%	85.40%	14.60%	84.80%	15.20%	82.20%	17.80%	81.20%	18.80%	82.30%	17.70%
<b>City Ward 4</b>	76.60%	23.40%	75.20%	24.80%	72.20%	27.80%	70.10%	29.90%	69.20%	30.80%	68.30%	31.70%
<b>City Ward 5</b>	82.20%	17.80%	82.40%	17.60%	81.40%	18.60%	81.90%	18.10%	82.40%	17.60%	80.10%	19.90%
<b>City Ward 6</b>	37.60%	62.40%	36.80%	63.20%	35.40%	64.60%	33.70%	66.30%	32.20%	67.80%	33.90%	66.10%
<b>City Ward 7</b>	42.80%	57.20%	43.80%	56.20%	42.40%	57.60%	43.30%	56.70%	41.20%	58.80%	38.30%	61.70%
<b>City Ward 8</b>	66.60%	33.40%	66.20%	33.80%	66%	34.00%	65.70%	34.30%	65.20%	34.80%	64.10%	35.90%
<b>City Ward 9</b>	88.30%	11.70%	87.20%	12.80%	86.20%	13.80%	84.40%	13.60%	80.30%	19.70%	80.30%	19.70%
<b>Adamsville</b>	32.20%	67.80%	31.30%	68.70%	28.40%	71.60%	27.60%	73.30%	26.70%	73.30%	26.20%	73.80%
<b>Alpharetta</b>	7.40%	92.60%	8.90%	91.10%	10.20%	89.80%	11.40%	88.60%	9.80%	90.20%	8.90%	91.10%
<b>Big Creek</b>	26.60%	73.40%	27.20%	72.80%	28.80%	71.20%	30.80%	69.20%	31.40%	68.60%	31.70%	68.30%
<b>Bryants</b>	5.80%	94.20%	7.30%	92.70%	8.20%	91.80%	8.40%	91.60%	9.90%	90.10%	10.20%	89.80%
<b>Buckhead</b>	1.60%	98.40%	2.80%	97.20%	4.40%	95.60%	8.70%	91.30%	10.10%	89.90%	11.20%	88.80%

	1952		1956		1960		1964		1968		1972	
	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian
<b>Campbellton</b>	2.20%	97.80%	3.70%	96.30%	5.20%	94.80%	7.70%	92.30%	8.20%	91.80%	10.40%	89.60%
<b>College Park</b>	11.10%	88.90%	5.00%	95.00%	5.60%	94.60%	6.60%	93.40%	7.90%	92.10%	7.80%	92.20%
<b>Double Branch</b>	45.40%	54.60%	44.70%	55.30%	42.20%	57.80%	42.10%	57.90%	40.10%	59.90%	39.70%	60.30%
<b>Fairburn</b>	33.80%	66.20%	33.20%	66.80%	32.80%	67.20%	30.70%	68.30%	30.20%	69.80%	29.90%	70.10%
<b>Goodes</b>	15.20%	84.80%	15.70%	84.30%	16.20%	83.80%	16.80%	83.20%	15.90%	84.10%	16.30%	83.70%
<b>Grogans</b>	14.40%	85.60%	13.80%	86.20%	14.20%	85.80%	13.40%	86.60%	13.90%	86.10%	13.40%	86.60%
<b>Hapeville</b>	20.30%	79.70%	22.20%	77.80%	23.40%	76.60%	24.80%	75.20%	25.40%	74.60%	25.70%	74.30%
<b>Little River</b>	9.30%	90.70%	10.20%	89.80%	11.40%	88.60%	10.70%	89.30%	11.20%	88.80%	11.40%	88.60%
<b>Newton</b>	21.50%	78.50%	22.30%	77.70%	21.70%	78.30%	22.40%	77.60%	22.70%	77.30%	23.20%	76.80%
<b>Oak Grove</b>	42.70%	57.30%	41.20%	48.80%	40.10%	48.80%	38.60%	47.70%	39.40%	52.30%	41.10%	52.70%
<b>Old 1<sup>st</sup></b>	48.40%	51.60%	48.90%	51.10%	51.20%	58.80%	52.30%	48.80%	48.70%	51.30%	47.30%	52.70%
<b>Old 9<sup>th</sup></b>	39.40%	60.60%	40.20%	59.80%	41.10%	58.90%	36.60%	63.40%	35.80%	64.20%	34.70%	65.30%
<b>Palmetto</b>	29.80%	70.20%	28.70%	71.30%	26.50%	73.50%	26.40%	73.60%	27.40%	72.60%	25.90%	74.10%
<b>Pooles</b>	21.30%	78.70%	20.70%	79.30%	20.60%	79.40%	19.80%	80.20%	20.20%	80.80%	24.50%	75.50%
<b>Red Oak</b>	19.50%	80.50%	21.20%	78.20%	22.30%	77.70%	21.40%	78.60%	20.70%	79.30%	19.70%	80.30%

	1952		1956		1960		1964		1968		1972	
	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian
<b>Roswell</b>	6.30%	93.70%	7.80%	92.20%	8.20%	91.80%	7.40%	92.60%	7.30%	92.70%	8.90%	91.10%
<b>Sandtown</b>	32.30%	67.70%	33.10%	66.90%	32.80%	67.20%	32.40%	67.60%	31.80%	68.20%	33.40%	67.60%
<b>Union</b>	28.70%	71.30%	27.10%	72.90%	26.50%	75.50%	21.20%	78.80%	19.80%	80.20%	17.80%	82.20%
<b>Union City</b>	49.10%	50.90%	48.20%	51.80%	47.80%	52.20%	47.60%	52.40%	46.90%	53.10%	47.10%	52.90%

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **COUNTY PROFILES**

Each county in the study has its own unique profile. Within each individual county are districts that contained large populations of African-Americans as well as areas that contained larger populations of Caucasians. These profiles offer a more nuanced look at each county and the make-up of each districts within these counties.

#### **Bibb County**

Bibb County is located in the center of Georgia and the county seat is Macon. Bibb is the only county in this study that kept the segregated voting returns separate before the passage of the Voting Rights Act. Each main district contained separate boxes for Caucasian and African-American voters. There were nine districts in Bibb County, with six reporting segregated returns. The other three districts are more rural and contain a smaller proportion of the voters than the six more suburban and urban precincts. These votes were tallied separately and presented to the state as separate votes. However the totals were combined to find the county totals. After the passage of the Voting Rights Act, the boxes were no longer segregated and the voting patterns are compiled based on heavily African-American precincts.

#### **Clarke County**

Clarke County contains the city of Athens as well as the University of Georgia. With the presence of the university, Athens-Clarke County has been known as a primarily liberal county. A large percentage of the population of the county is connected to the university including students and until 1961 there were no African-American students present. The majority of the African-Americans were employed as

service workers at the university. There are four city wards and seven suburban precincts. The city wards had higher percentages of African-Americans than the suburban precincts. There are two exclusively Caucasian precincts and the rest are a combination of African-Americans and Caucasian.

### **Fulton County**

Fulton County contains the capital of Georgia, Atlanta. Fulton County had the largest total population as well as the largest African-American population of all the counties contained in the study. This county contained seven city wards and twenty-six outlying districts. Some of these districts became full cities with their own wards that were contained in the Fulton County classification. This county contains a mixture of African-Americans and Caucasians in almost every district, but there are several districts that contain less than one-third African-Americans.

### **Muscogee County**

Muscogee County is on the border of Georgia and Alabama. It contains the city of Columbus and Fort Benning. The number of districts in Muscogee County varied with the maximum reaching eighteen districts. Out of the eighteen precincts, five had a majority African-American population, while three precincts were almost exclusively Caucasian. The rest of the count contains a mixture of Caucasian and African-American with two other precincts reaching a mixture of over one-third African-American. The voting patterns are compiled using the precinct returns in conjunction with the Census tracks.

### **Richmond County**

Richmond County is in northeast Georgia and contains the city of Augusta. Augusta is known for hosting the Master's Golf tournament every spring. The population of Richmond County consisted of upper-middle class Caucasians and lower middle class African-Americans mostly employed in service jobs at the golf course and the homes of the rest of the county. The county consists of eight city wards and seven surrounding suburban precincts. Out of these fifteen precincts, four have a make-up of over one-third African-Americans. Three of the precincts are exclusively Caucasian. The other eight precincts are a mixture of African-Americans and Caucasians, but the percentage of African-Americans is less than one third of the precinct population.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **ELECTION PROFILES**

Each presidential election offered its own set of circumstances. However, when these elections are looked at in a timeline and their results are compared, certain voting patterns can be found. Each county had its own results for each election and these results can describe the patterns for urban Georgia voting.

#### **1952**

The 1952 presidential election was a race between Democrat Adlai Stevenson and Republican Dwight Eisenhower. Georgia was one of only nine states to go Democratic and the election of Eisenhower ended the twenty-year reign of Democrats in the White House. In all of the counties present in the study, for local and state level there was a single party ticket. The only election where there were different Party candidates was the Presidential election. While voters were able to write-in Republican and Independent candidates, the number of these voters was negligible in each county. Each county resulted in a Democratic local government even though the views and platforms of many of the elected officials actually corresponded to the Republican Party views.

#### **1956**

The election of 1956 saw a rematch of Stevenson and Eisenhower, with Eisenhower easily gaining reelection. Neither candidate highlighted civil rights issues in his campaigns. Rather there was a focus on gaining the “housewife” vote with a general silence on race issues. Georgia was one of seven states to go for Stevenson. However, despite the state going Democratic, several counties went for Eisenhower

in support of his military stances and the strong economic state of the nation. Again, all counties in the study had straight party ballots for all state and local elections. However, in 1956 there was a third party candidate who was on the ballot in 2 counties and received write-in votes in 4 other counties. Fulton County did not have any votes for Andrews. The inclusion of the Constitutional Party candidate Andrews can have an effect on the voting patterns. This inability to vote for other party candidates effectively left control of the state and counties in the hands of the white voting elite, to the detriment of minority voters.

### **1960**

The election of 1960 was one of the closest races since 1916. The margin of victory Kennedy claimed in the popular votes remains one of the closest to date. A main factor in the 1960 election was the national Democratic Party's support of civil rights and voting rights. These issues created some controversies in the South, with several Southern states not requiring Democratic electors to vote for Kennedy. Kennedy had written in support for Martin Luther King Jr. during his imprisonment and as a result, Kennedy was not widely popular with Caucasians in Georgia until Governor Ernest Vandiver, who was a popular political figure, publicly supported him.

### **1964**

The election of 1964 was unique because Lyndon Johnson had only gained office within the last year, after the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Johnson had the backing of Kennedy supporters and was riding on the Kennedy's policies that were in place. Barry Goldwater galvanized the conservative base by voting against

the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and his stance that civil rights issues should be decided by each state and not the federal government. However, Democrats painted Goldwater as an extremist who would escalate the Cold War into nuclear war. Goldwater's strong win in the Deep South states was a turning point. This was the first election since Reconstruction that the "solid South" had not gone for a Democrat and was the first election ever for Georgia to vote for a Republican for president.

### **1968**

The election of 1968 was unique because it was the last election where an independent third party candidate was able to win state electors. The Democrats had nominated Hubert Humphrey who was regarded as anti-war and would continue Johnson's policies despite their successes or failures. Richard Nixon was the Republican candidate and was a strong front-runner for the election. The main aspect of the election was the inclusion of George Wallace who was running a pro-segregationist campaign. Wallace's bid had been rejected by the rest of the Democrats, but was very popular with the Deep South. Wallace ended up carrying five southern states including Georgia, and hoped to skew the Electoral College results in order to sway the election outcome. In the end, Nixon won with a slim margin of victory. However, despite Wallace carrying the state, eleven African-Americans were able to win elections in Atlanta, Columbus, Savannah, and Augusta.

### **1972**

The 1972 election was between Democrat George McGovern and incumbent President Nixon. Nixon was a popular president at the time. There was a strong economy and the United States seemed to have reached peace with China and Russia.

The Watergate scandal had not yet come to light, and he easily won reelection. McGovern won the nomination after a chaotic Democratic convention, and many past Democrats moved to support Nixon instead. This hurt the McGovern campaign. Nixon won in every state except Massachusetts and the District of Columbia. The notable aspect of the 1972 election was the expansion of voting rights to 18 years old, which resulted in lower voter turnout. Nixon's "Southern Strategy" of making school desegregation a non-issue and reducing federal pressure to protect African-Americans insured his victory in the South.

## CHAPTER 7

### INDIVIDUAL COUNTY LEVEL ELECTION RESULTS

The elections highlight a range of time before and after the passage of the Voting Rights Act. Each county had different reactions to each election. Every district has different make-ups and exhibit different patterns after each election. A close look at a selected group of districts in each county can reveal voting patterns that would not be evident otherwise.

#### **Bibb County**

In the 1952 presidential election, Bibb County went Democratic by 70.5% of the total votes. There were 21,771 total votes which equaled approximately 60% of the registered voters in the county (Vote Returns, 1952). Out of the 21,771 voters there were only 2,681 African-American voters (Historical Census Browser, 2007). 65% of these African-American voters voted Democratic. Fewer than 300 African-Americans voted for the Republican candidate. The Vineville precinct contained the highest percentage of Republicans, Caucasian and African-American. This precinct contained over one-third of the Republican African-American voters. Vineville had \$10,000 per capita income which was the highest level in the county, so the vote pattern may reflect economic status and not the racial patterns (Historical Census Browser, 2007).

The most notable aspect of the 1952 election in Bibb County was the number of votes which were voided. The various reasons for voiding votes included voting in the wrong precinct, not being registered in time to qualify for the election, and not passing a literary test before voting. Of the total 21,771 voters 963 votes were voided

in 1952 (Vote Returns, 1952). One-third of the voided votes were from Caucasian voters, while the other two-thirds were African-American votes. 31% of the total African-American votes were voided, but only 2% of all Caucasian votes were voided. These voided votes were not reported in the county totals and for all official purposes, they did not exist. There were no specific reasons given for voiding individual votes, and there is speculation that a portion of the African-American votes were voided to reduce their impact on the election outcome.

### ***1956***

In 1956, Bibb County went Republican. This was the first time that the county went for a Republican presidential candidate since before Reconstruction. Eisenhower's platform of strong military presence and victory in the Korean War appealed to many Southerners, in addition, many urban Southerners were flourishing under a strong national economy. Bibb did not have Constitution Party candidate Andrews on the ballot despite his presence on other ballots across the state. Out of the 22,750 votes, 15,382 or 67% went for Eisenhower (Vote Returns, 1956). However, only 8% (1,224) of those Republican votes were from African-Americans (Vote Returns, 1956). African-American voters in Bibb continued to vote Democratic by 64%. The African-Americans in Vineville still voted Republican by 32%, but this percentage was eclipsed by the East Macon precinct which reported that 42% of its African-American voters went for Eisenhower.

The city wards went heavily for Stevenson. His emphasis on social programs for the less privileged appealed to African-Americans in this area who were still being kept at less than equal status. Vineville, despite having a large showing of

Republican African-Americans, also held the highest number of African-Americans in the county and carried 727 votes for Stevenson.

The strong showing for Stevenson among the African-Americans in Bibb County had a reduced impact upon the county totals because of voided votes. The number of voided votes was fewer than in the 1952 election, but there were still over 300 African-American votes voided as opposed to only 67 voided Caucasian votes. The election of new officials who were not as resistant to African-American electoral incorporation as older generations of officials had an impact on the number of votes voided (Vote Returns, 1964).

### ***1960***

Bibb County returned to its roots and voted for John F. Kennedy, but at a smaller margin than had been seen before 1956. 11% of the Republican vote came from African-Americans, which was the highest percentage of Republican votes from African-Americans in the county since the Reconstruction era (Vote Returns, 1960). A total of 25,708 voters voted in the election with 56% (14,387) going Democrat and the remaining 44% (11,321) going Republican (Vote Returns, 1960). Vineville and East Macon continued to have larger percentages of African-American voters with 39% and 35% respectively, but now were joined by Godfrey with 36% of the African-Americans in the area voting Republican. The percentage of Republican voters in the other precincts hovered under 35%.

The city wards continue to vote Democratic at a rate of almost 2 to 1. Vineville, East Macon, and Godfrey were the fastest growing precincts and as a result, they had the greatest number of Republican voters as well as having the

greatest number of Democratic African-American voters with 770, 580, and 622 respectively (Vote Returns, 1960). Bibb County was growing at this time and the number of voters, both Caucasian and African-American had increased from 1952 to 1960 (Historical Census Browser, 2007).

In 1960, only 132 African-American votes were voided, and these votes had paperwork filed to explain the reasons for each void. Most of the votes were voided because the voter had not been registered for the proper amount of time before the election. The rest of the votes were voided because the voters were voting in the wrong districts. There were 56 Caucasian votes voided for the same reasons. .

### ***1964***

In 1964, seven Republican state and local candidates were placed on the ballot in Bibb County. This was also the first year that segregated ballot boxes were no longer used. The passage of earlier civil rights acts had made an impression upon Bibb and the boxes were combined to include all votes. The county returned to going Republican with 60% of the total support going for Barry Goldwater. The Caucasian vote went strongly for Goldwater because of his stance on civil rights.

Since earlier civil rights acts had made Bibb County remove segregated ballot boxes, the African-American voting patterns are now determined by comparing the Census data of racial residential areas with the voting returns from each polling location in each district. The county totals resulted in 24,717 votes for Republican Barry Goldwater and 17,410 votes for Democrat Lyndon Johnson (Vote Returns, 1964).

The Census data show that a majority of African-Americans lived in East Macon, Vineville, the Lower City Ward, and Godfrey. However, the African-Americans are often confined to certain areas within the districts, making the racial distribution uneven. The distribution is highly lopsided in Vineville, with the majority of African-Americans living in the 1<sup>st</sup> Ward and only a few individuals scattered throughout the rest of the precinct. Upper-class African-Americans were concentrated in areas in the 5<sup>th</sup> Precinct. The Lower City Ward contained over 50% African-Americans (Historical Census Browser, 2007). East Macon's 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> precincts also contained more than 50% African-Americans. Godfrey contained the largest overall percentage of African-Americans, and the numbers are highly concentrated in the first, second, third, and seventh wards.

In all of the heavily African-American precincts, the percentage of votes for Johnson is over 40%. Vineville has the lowest percentage of Democratic votes at 42% in the fifth precinct, but also has the second highest percentage of Democratic votes with 85% in the 1<sup>st</sup> Ward. East Macon, the most densely populated African-American area also shows the highest Democratic vote at 97%. Godfrey showed the most consistent support with the African-American precincts coming in with 58%, 81%, 64%, and 61%. Only 41% of the county voted Democrat so the higher percentages of Democratic votes in African-American precincts show strong support for the parties differed by race. The Caucasian area kept its support for Johnson hovering around 30% or lower. Also the more rural precincts such as Hazzard, voted for Goldwater by 75%. The African-American support for Johnson was strong, but it was not enough to override the enormous amount of support for Goldwater in the county.

### **1968**

This was the first election after the passage of the Voting Rights Act. Bibb County went for Wallace by a plurality of 43%. Nixon received the next highest percentage with 31% with Humphrey gaining the remaining 26%. In the precincts that fewer African-Americans, the votes for Wallace reached as high as 65%. Humphrey saw nominal support in those areas, receiving support as low as 7%. Nixon received moderate Caucasian support in Bibb County and across the state.

George Wallace did not receive any significant support from the African-American community. While Wallace did receive votes in primarily African-American precincts, no precincts were comprised entirely of African-Americans, and Caucasians in these areas continued to vote for Wallace. However, Wallace only received from 3% to 31% of the votes in the racially mixed precincts, which is a large drop from the supermajorities he received in the Caucasian districts.

Humphrey receives support in African-American precincts. In the East Macon precinct, Humphrey received 55% of the votes of the 1<sup>st</sup> Ward election location and 95% of the vote in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Ward. Humphrey received the largest number of votes in the Lower City, but it was a close election with Wallace coming in second by under 100 votes. Nixon received a nominal amount of votes in Upper and Lower City with totals of 903 and 99 votes respectively (Vote Returns, 1968). These totals did not outnumber the votes for either Wallace or Humphrey in the African-American precincts. While the entire county went for Wallace, the African-American precincts went for Humphrey. The passage of the Voting Rights Act does not appear to have

had a large impact upon the voter turn-out or the results of the election in Bibb County.

### ***1972***

Bibb County continued to vote for Republican candidates with Nixon garnering 73% of the total vote. Bibb County had now become a strong Republican county. Support for McGovern was limited in the Caucasian precincts with levels as low as 12%. However, McGovern's support was increased in the African-American areas of Vineville, Godfrey, and East Macon.

Vineville had once had the highest levels of African-Americans within the county, but slowly the African-American population had been decreasing. The lower socio-economic African-Americans, with a per capita income level of \$11,000 or less, remained in the Lower City wards and in the regions of East Macon. As the levels of African-Americans in each precinct changed, the percentage of the vote received by the Democrats shifted in direct proportion.

The African-American precincts still strongly supported the Democratic candidate. Their support for McGovern reached as high as 91% in the 3<sup>rd</sup> East Macon Ward, and a low of 49% in the 1<sup>st</sup> East Macon Ward. In Godfrey, Nixon only received 33% of the vote from all of the African-Americans despite his victory in the precinct (Vote Return, 1972). Despite the decreased percentage of African-Americans in Vineville, the fourth district still contained a high percentage of upper-class African-Americans who voted for McGovern by 80%. The rest of the Vineville precinct went for Nixon by 68%. The Lower City ward contained 3 to 2 votes for

McGovern, whose social programs were seen as helpful to the lower socio-economic voters.

### **Clarke County**

Clarke County was known as a liberal county before 1952, and it continued that tradition by voting 68% for Stevenson. The remaining 32% went for Eisenhower. The precincts kept low percentages of votes for Eisenhower. The city wards went strongly for Stevenson by 66% (Vote Returns, 1952). The first city ward is heavily African-American. The votes from this ward went for Stevenson by 69%. The precincts of Whitehall and Bradbury were found to be almost exclusively Caucasian in the 1950 Census. However, these areas did not differ from the rest of the county in voting trends and continued to vote for Stevenson.

### ***1956***

Clarke County allowed an independent to run on the ballot in 1956. He only earned 7 votes, so his impact upon the election results is insignificant. The county went 67% for Stevenson again in 1956. Despite other counties shifting to vote for Eisenhower, Clarke County remained solidly Democratic. The city wards contained 5,272 votes and 66% (3,461) went for Stevenson (Vote Returns, 1956). The 1<sup>st</sup> Ward continued to be the most heavily populated by African-Americans and their votes went 68% for the Democratic Party. Whitehall and Bradbury remained Caucasian precincts which also went Democratic, but they also had stronger Republican support with levels reaching 42%.

### ***1960***

The 1960 election in Clarke County went strongly for Kennedy. The final vote was 67% for Kennedy out of the total 6,819 votes (Vote Returns, 1960). Only one precinct in the county went for Nixon, Winterville with a result of 56 to 24. Despite the presence of African-Americans, Winterville contained the higher socio-economic Caucasians of the county with per capita income levels of over \$10,000, many who disliked Kennedy's strong social programs (Historical Census Browser, 2007). The city wards went Democratic by 67%, with the 1<sup>st</sup> Ward supporting Kennedy by 69%. The strong support for Kennedy in the city wards highlights the African-American support for the Democratic push for civil rights and equal voting status.

### ***1964***

In 1964, Clarke County went for Johnson. 77% of the registered voters showed up at the polls (Vote Returns, 1964). These voters continued to support the Democratic Party. The city wards stayed Democratic with 52% supporting Johnson and 48% supporting Nixon (Vote Returns, 1964). The racial breakdown of the city wards was 52% African-American and 48% Caucasian. The 52% of the voters being African-American matched the 52% Democratic vote. The African-American wards enjoyed Johnson's support of civil rights and were able to move the election in his direction. Whitehall had gone Democratic in 1960, but it went for Goldwater in 1964 which was indicative of the high levels of Caucasians. Goldwater took Gaines School, Kenney, Puryear, and Bradbury, while Johnson kept the city and also swept Sandy Creek, Winterville, and Princeton.

### ***1968***

In 1968, Clarke County had a plurality for Nixon. The turnout was 14, 676 and 39% of the total votes went for Nixon (Vote Returns, 1968). Humphrey won 37% of the vote, and Wallace came in last with only 23% of the vote. There were three write in votes for independent local citizens. Nixon took five precincts and Wallace took three. The precincts that Wallace carried were the more rural areas of the county such as Sandy Creek which had small to no African-American populations.

Nixon took Puryear, Bradbury, Gaines School, Kenney, and Princeton. These precincts were suburban which had less than 35% African-American populations. Humphrey received the votes from the city wards. These wards had less than 35% support for Wallace mainly because the city wards were over 50% African-American who had little to no desire for Wallace to win.

### ***1972***

In 1972, Clarke County went Republican by 65%. This was a shift from earlier elections which had Clarke County reporting results of 65% thru 67% for the Democratic Party. The high support for Nixon shows the level of support that a majority of Americans had for the strong economy and military safety found under Nixon. Bradbury continued to be almost exclusively Caucasian and the votes show that 74% of the population voted for Nixon. While the percentage of African-Americans in Whitehall had increased to 12%, the precinct's voting returns show that the Caucasian majority were able to keep the precinct staunchly Republican.

The first city ward continued to be African-American and the voting record showed that 69% (779) chose McGovern (Vote Returns, 1972). The city total had

shifted from levels of 67% Democratic to 61% support for Nixon. Nixon's popularity and strong military presence when compared to McGovern had an effect of moving traditional Democrats to vote Republican.

### **Fulton County**

In 1952, Fulton County supported Stevenson with 62% of the vote: 45,222 to 26,327 (Vote Returns, 1952). Fulton County contained the largest African-American population in the state and their support was crucial in Stevenson's overwhelming win of the county (Historical Census Browser, 2007). The city wards had a majority of African-Americans, while the suburban precincts contained a majority of the Caucasians. Precincts such as Buckhead had no African-Americans, while the first 1<sup>st</sup> city ward contained less than 15% Caucasians (Historical Census Browser, 2007).

Only seven city wards went for Eisenhower (Vote Returns, 1952). The precinct returns that were Republican were the primarily Caucasian, upper-class precincts in the more historic areas of the city. The 1<sup>st</sup> city ward went for Stevenson 471,9 to 1,695 (Vote Returns, 1952). The city carried the strongest support for Stevenson since it contained the majority of the population in Fulton County. Suburban precincts such as Buckhead went for Eisenhower by 55% which was a large contrast from the 63% support for Stevenson in the city. There were a few voided votes in Fulton, but not at the levels seen in Bibb County and these voided votes did not have a significant impact on the county election outcome.

### **1956**

There was a solid showing of support for Eisenhower by the African-Americans in Fulton County. Fulton did not allow an independent candidate on the

ballot as other counties had. These voters tended to be more professional and have higher socio-economic status than the African-American voters in the other urban counties. The county still went for Stevenson by 58% (Vote Returns, 1956).

Buckhead continued to have almost an exclusive Caucasian population which supported Eisenhower by 59%.

The city continued to show strong levels of support for the Democratic Party with the 1<sup>st</sup> Ward reporting 69.09% of votes for Stevenson. The 8th Ward contained African-Americans who had higher levels of education with 16% of males reporting 4 years of high school education and supported Eisenhower by 57% (Historical Census Browser, 2007). Other precincts showed that they supported Stevenson by levels over 60%. Most African-Americans supported Stevenson's social programs; however, many supported the strong economy that flourished under Eisenhower and wanted to continue the economic success seen in the city.

### ***1960***

In 1960, 143,076 people were registered to vote in Fulton County. The total votes resulted in 57% for Kennedy (Vote Returns, 1960). However, in a switch from past years and other counties, African-Americans in Fulton County supported Nixon 56%. Buckhead which had been strongly Republican supported Kennedy with 78%. The 1<sup>st</sup> ward continued to go for the Democratic candidate but the level of support had shrunk from 69% to 55% for Kennedy. Many African-Americans supported Kennedy's push for civil rights and his support for Martin Luther King Jr., but others supported Nixon's strong economic policies. The 8<sup>th</sup> city ward went strongly for Nixon at 64.22%. This area, while African-American, contained many businessmen

and they wanted the support that the Republican Party offered for business owners (Historical Census Browser, 2007).

The city which had been Democratic remained so, but at levels that gave Kennedy a relatively small margin of victory. Fulton County was growing in the 1960's and the influx of new voters strengthened the existing patterns as well as brought new ideology into the county. There were now twenty-four suburban precincts. These precincts only contained 20% of the voters in Fulton County and the majority of these voters were still Caucasian. They voted for Kennedy by 60%. The 80% of voters in the city also had a majority for Kennedy, but this majority was not as large as it once would have been.

### ***1964***

With the strong African-American presence, Johnson was able to take the county. Buckhead continued to have a strong majority of Caucasians and this was evident in the vote outcome. Goldwater held Buckhead with 90.23%. This was a reversal of the outcome in the first city ward which went for Johnson by a margin of 70.15% to 30.70%. The level of support for the Democratic Party from African-Americans was on the rise not only in the first ward, but across the county. Many of the city wards supported Johnson with levels reaching over 65%, however; the 8<sup>th</sup> Ward continued the trend for supporting Republicans with 56.44% of the vote going for Goldwater.

In this election, Caucasian voters had attempted to get 200 African-American votes disqualified. They claimed the votes were fraudulent, but they lacked support for these claims. The Caucasian voters also claimed that since the votes had been cast

after the stated closing time of the polls they should be tossed out, despite the voters being in line before the closing time (Ball, Krane, and Lauth 1982, 59).

### **1968**

The Voting Rights Act placed Federal examiners to monitor areas that were most likely to violate the voting rights of African-Americans. While some areas of Georgia warranted examiners, Fulton County did not. However, during the 1968 election, men dressed in official uniforms with "Voting Rights Examiner' badges kept African-Americans from casting their ballots in three city wards (Ball, Krane, and Lauth 1982,63-73). These men were not officials of any kind, but by the time the correct authorities were notified, close to a thousand votes had been lost (Ball, Krane, and Lauth 1982, 63-73).

The Fulton County voters gave a plurality of their votes to Humphrey by 44%. Nixon followed with 35%, and Wallace trailed in the county with 21%. The high levels of African-Americans prevented Wallace from gaining a strong foothold in the county. In several city wards Wallace received less than 5 votes, and in eleven precincts, he received no votes at all (Vote Returns, 1968). Wallace did have support in the suburban precincts, but he only won eight precincts in the county. One of those was Buckhead. Wallace did not receive a majority of the votes in Buckhead, but he did receive a plurality and gained the precinct. The city wards had a majority of their support go for Humphrey. The 1<sup>st</sup> ward went for Humphrey with 64.83% of the vote. Nixon received levels of support in the Caucasian areas, and Wallace received only nominal levels of support in the city wards.

### **1972**

In 1972, Fulton County went for McGovern by 53%: 85,778 to 77,732 (Vote Returns, 1972). Fulton was one of the few counties in Georgia to support McGovern over Nixon. The total precinct returns were not available for 1972 due to an accident in the county office, but totals showed that McGovern had strong support in the county (Vote Returns, 1972).

The precincts surrounding the city wards still only comprised 22% of the total county votes. The suburban precincts were split between Nixon and McGovern. Buckhead maintained its traditional support of the Republican candidate with 56% going for Nixon. The City of East Point's wards which began as Democratic when first created were now Republican areas in 65% for the city.

The city wards remained strongly Democratic, but the 8<sup>th</sup> Ward which was heavily upper-class went for Nixon. New areas had been incorporated into the city such as East Point in an effort to preserve the shrinking Caucasian voting power. Despite the newly incorporated areas of the city, there was still a majority of support for McGovern. The primarily African-American first ward went for McGovern by 63%. The large African-American population in Fulton County enabled McGovern to defeat Nixon's "Southern Strategy" and carry the largest county in the state.

### **Muscogee County**

Muscogee County results showed 58% of 18,879 votes going for Stevenson (Vote Returns, 1952). In 1952, the county was relatively small and had only eight precincts (Historical Census Browser, 2007). Bibb went Democratic by 73%. This precinct had the highest percentage of African-Americans with 53% being African-

American. Many of the precincts in Muscogee had levels of African-Americans being spread evenly throughout the county. With the African-American population being spread throughout the county, their votes in this election were not as significant as the African-Americans in other counties. Upatoi was a 98% Caucasian precinct and two-thirds of the votes went for the Republican.

### ***1956***

Muscogee County went Republican in 1956. There were 172 write in votes for the independent Constitutional Party candidate (Vote Returns, 1956). The total vote was 51% for Eisenhower and 49% for Stevenson (Vote Returns, 1956). This close vote shows the beginning of a shift away from a “Solid South” and towards a more conservative base. The independent candidate received less than 1% of the total county vote. The county had expanded since 1952 and had added several new precincts.

Wynnton was the largest precinct and went Republican by 66% (Vote Returns, 1956). Upatoi also went Republican, but with only 49 total votes, it had a limited effect upon the county outcome (Vote Returns, 1956). A new precinct, St. Elmo, attracted new upper class residences and as a result it added 987 Republican votes to the county total. These three areas were primarily Caucasian. Upatoi contained less than 5% African-Americans.

The city ward continued to be primarily African-American and voted for Stevenson by 61%. A new district, Fox, also went Democratic by 69% helping to increase the total Democratic vote in the county. The closeness of the election shows

that those who voted for the Constitution Party candidate had the ability to swing the county outcome in a different direction.

One problem with the vote outcome in Muscogee in 1956 was the discrepancy with the ballot. The ballot had an unopposed Democratic ticket for all local and state elections, and there was a ballot option to vote a straight ticket (Historical Census Browser, 2007). However, this option did not include the presidential vote. This confused many voters who assumed that voting a straight ticket included the President. This resulted in 1,218 ballots to have been completed except for the presidential vote (Vote Returns, 1956). This may have had an effect upon the voting pattern in 1956.

### ***1960***

Muscogee County went for Nixon by 51%: 7,890 to 7,476 (Vote Returns, 1960). This was one of the closest margins in the county going for a Republican since Reconstruction. The county had expanded further since 1956 and now had eighteen precincts (Historical Census Browser, 2007). Eight of the precincts went Republican, but since these contained the largest precincts, including Wynnton and St. Elmo, they had a larger pull for Nixon than the ten smaller precincts which went for Kennedy. These areas had nominal numbers of African-Americans, but they contained a majority of Caucasians and did not have the levels of African-Americans that would cause candidates to be responsive to the African-American concerns.

The city precinct, Bibb, went Democratic by 59%. This precinct had a large percentage of African-Americans, but this level was still under 50% and they supported Kennedy's civil rights stances. Double Churches had expanded its African-

American community and now contained one of the largest African-American populations in the county. Rigdon had begun to draw African-Americans to the area. The support for Kennedy was only 47%, and the percentage of African-Americans in the precinct was approximately 40%. East Highland also saw an influx of African-Americans and had 60% support for Kennedy. The other precincts which went Democratic were around one-third African-American, which caused minimal support for Kennedy to swing the precinct for the Democrats. These precincts also had strong numbers of Caucasians which supported Nixon and reduced the overall impact of the African-American support for Kennedy.

### *1964*

The election of 1964 was the last election before the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Muscogee County went Republican again in 1964, but by a greater margin than in 1960. The Republican won by 63% of the county vote, as opposed to the 51% in 1960 (Vote Returns, 1964). This shift towards a strong Republican base was a reaction of many to the Democratic support of civil rights. Thirteen precincts went Republican as compared to the eight precincts four years earlier. Areas that had been historically Democratic were now becoming staunchly Republican. Upatoi which still remained the smallest and most exclusive precinct continued to vote Republican as it had since the 1950s. Wynnton and St. Elmo continued to pull in larger numbers of voters for Goldwater.

The city ward had now become two wards, one which was primarily African-American and the other which was Caucasian. However, despite the differences in the racial composition of the wards, Bibb County was no longer able to report segregated

returns. The city went Democratic by 62 % since the African-American ward outnumbered the Caucasian ward. Double Churches had become strongly African-American, and the county voted Democratic 1,687 to 716 (Vote Returns, 1964). It was a more rural precinct and the Democratic platform appealed to the Caucasian voters with their social programs as well as appealing to African-Americans with their support for civil rights.

The voters in Double Churches had higher levels of per-capita income than other African-Americans in the county by almost \$2,000, and while still eager to support civil rights, also wanted economic protection which was offered by the Republicans (Historical Census Browser, 2007). The African-American vote in Muscogee was not entirely Democratic because of the gradual increase in socio-economic status. Marshall had grown to be an African-American suburban precinct with 877 votes to 3 votes (99%) going for Johnson (Vote Returns, 1964). Other areas such as Baker Court and Brown Ave. went for Johnson in lesser margins than Marshall. The county was steadily growing larger, and many of the new citizens were able to voice their opinions in the county elections. This voice included electing the second African-American to represent the county in the Georgia State Senate.

### ***1968***

Like most of Georgia, Muscogee went for George Wallace in 1968. His anti-segregation policy appealed to many Caucasian voters who were concerned with integration across the state. Muscogee's vote breakdown was 47% (15,098) for Wallace, 31% (10,005) for Nixon, and 22% (7,076) for Humphrey (Vote Returns, 1968). Wallace swept many of the precincts that usually went for the Republican and

garnered support from the Caucasians in the more rural areas who were generally sympathetic to the Democratic platform. Wynnton and St. Elmo continued to give a plurality of support to the Republican Party, but lost the majority because of Wallace's presence on the ballot.

Marshall had expanded its African-American population and was one of the few precincts to have less than 10% support for Wallace. 89% of the votes in Marshall went for Humphrey (Vote Returns, 1968). Other suburban precincts had expanded their African-American populations to over one-third of the district. Rigdon supported Humphrey by 58% and only had 19% support for Wallace. Humphrey did poorly in many Georgia precincts, including African-American areas because of his low charisma and poor party support.

### ***1972***

Muscogee was now firmly entrenched as a Republican county. The total in 1972 was 77% for Nixon and only 23% for McGovern (Vote Returns, 1972). The Republican precincts of Wynnton and St. Elmo's were joined by an increase in population in Upatoi to create a strong base for the county. Double Churches which had been a strongly liberal precinct in 1960 had seen a decrease of African-Americans to more suburban areas and was now Republican by 92% (Historical Census Browser, 2007). The few remaining African-Americans had high socioeconomic status and were more supportive of conservative economic policies than concerned with social programs.

The city wards continued to be divided along racial lines as well as by socioeconomic status. The Court House Ward was the primarily African-American ward

which went Democratic by 64%, while Bibb center went Republican by 87%.

However, the total city breakdown was 53% Democratic to 47% Republican. The African-American ward outnumbered the Caucasian ward.

Marshall which had become the largest African-American precinct went for McGovern with 83% of the vote (Vote Returns, 1972). The Republican votes were from the more wealthy areas of the precinct, but the overall precinct went Democratic by 83%. Rigdon was the second largest African-American precinct and went for McGovern 70%, 595 votes out of 851. The remaining 30% was Republican and supported Nixon's strong economy and strong military stance. In 1972, the voting patterns in Muscogee had become more distinct and were defined not only by race, but also by socio-economic status.

### **Richmond County**

Richmond County went Democratic in 1952, but at a closer margin than the other counties. The county only went for Stevenson by 52%. This close margin for Stevenson highlights the more conservative members of the county outside of the African-American community. In Richmond, African-Americans were concentrated in the city wards, with Caucasians living in the suburban areas. Out of the 13,866 votes in the city wards, 55% (7,558) went Democratic (Vote Returns, 1952). In the suburban precincts, 57% of the vote went Republican. The one precinct outside of the city that had a significant percentage of African-Americans was district 123 which had 75% of the votes for Stevenson (Vote Returns, 1952). Since Richmond was highly segregated, the patterns of votes are more apparent than in other counties where there was a higher mixture of Caucasians and African-Americans. However,

the racial divide also worked in favor of African-Americans allowing an African-American, W.C. Ervin, to be elected to the school board in the city wards.

### ***1956***

Richmond County went heavily for Eisenhower in 1956. The Republican won the county with 75% of the total vote. Eisenhower frequently visited Augusta to play golf on the Master's course. He had his little White House in Augusta and could be considered to be a hometown candidate. The Democratic candidate won 22% and the Constitutional Party candidate won the remaining 3%. The county had previously gone Democratic in the closest margin of the study. Eisenhower received strong support for the large business class in Richmond .

The percentage of African-Americans in the 1760<sup>th</sup> and 169<sup>th</sup> Districts had increased in 1956 (Historical Census Browser, 2007). The city had begun to grow more upscale and there was an African-American migration into the suburbs. However the 8th City Ward continued to have a large population of African-Americans. These precincts supported Stevenson with 62%, 52%, and 67% of the votes respectively. The 116<sup>th</sup> District also has a strong African-American population; however, Stevenson received only 47% of the vote. While many of the African-American precincts had over 50% support for the Democratic candidate, the 116<sup>th</sup> District had less than a majority supporting the Democratic candidate.

The Constitutional Party candidate received 910 votes (Vote Returns, 1956). The precincts that had large support for Andrews also had closer margins of victory for the winner of the precinct. In these areas, the votes from the independent party would have had the ability to swing the district from one main party candidate to the

other. The inclusion of the third party can have an effect upon the voting patterns in the county for the election.

### ***1960***

Richmond County also went Republican in 1960 by 55%. Richmond had been shifting towards a more Republican stance in the past years, and this election signified a more permanent stance for the Republican Party. The 1269th district was primarily Caucasian and went Republican by 81% (Vote Returns, 1960). Nine total precincts went Republican while the remaining precincts went for Kennedy (Vote Returns, 1960). The Democratic precincts were not as highly populated as the Republican ones and were overshadowed by the numbers voting for Nixon.

The city wards had once been primarily African-American, but in the past years, an increase of African-Americans in the suburbs had led to a return of Caucasians to the more historic and upper-class city areas. The 2<sup>nd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup> city wards had remained African-American and their votes for the Democratic Party were 556, 966, and 1,216 respectively (Voting Returns, 1960). The 123<sup>rd</sup> District and the 1760<sup>th</sup> District saw a marked increase in the percentage of African-Americans (Historical Census Browser, 2007). These precincts still maintained some levels of Caucasians, but were seeing an increase of African-Americans (Historical Census Browser, 2007). The 123<sup>rd</sup> District went Democratic by 55%. The 1760th District was one of the smaller precincts in the county with a total of 202 votes in 1960. Of the 202 votes, 146 were for Kennedy, while 56 were for Nixon (Voting Returns, 1960). The levels of Democratic support in the precinct reflected the increase of African-Americans in the more suburban areas.

**1964**

Richmond County went for Goldwater by 59%: 13,893 to 9,606 (Voting Returns, 1964). This continued the pattern in Richmond of going for the Republican candidate. The Republican precincts in the county continued to be the highest populated, thus overshadowing the effects of the African-Americans and the other Democratic voters. The 1269<sup>th</sup> District continued to be primarily Caucasian and voted for the Republican by 73%. Ten of the precincts in Richmond went Republican, with only three going Democratic.

The city wards continued to experience an increase of Caucasians while due to African-American percentages increasing in the suburbs. However, the first, second, third, and fourth wards continued to have a plurality of African-Americans. The second ward contained African-Americans at a ratio of three to one. The first three city wards were the only precincts in the county to go for Johnson. These wards went for Johnson by 61%, 84%, and 53% respectively. The fourth city ward, while still principally African-American, went for Goldwater by 77%. This ward had become a more upscale area of the city and attracted African-Americans and Caucasians who were upper middle class.

**1968**

In 1968, Richmond County was one of the few counties to not go for George Wallace. There was a plurality of support for Nixon with 39%, Humphrey received the second greatest support with 35% and Wallace received only 26% of the county vote. Only four precincts went for Wallace, while five went for Nixon. Wallace

contrived to split the typically Republican vote and took away the Republican majority that had existed in the past three presidential elections.

The primarily Democratic city wards had a plurality for Humphrey with 47% of the vote. The large first, second, third, and fourth wards that held African-American majorities carried the largest numbers for Humphrey. These wards also had low numbers for Wallace, reporting 351, 86, 501, and 234 respectively (Voting Returns, 1968). The 7<sup>th</sup> Ward that once held a majority of African-Americans now had only 38% of African-Americans and the vote shows that the ward had a majority vote for Nixon at 52%.

Three of the precincts that Wallace carried were the more rural areas whose populations contained under one-third African-Americans. These precincts were the most vocal in rejecting desegregation. The remaining precinct was a city ward which was concerned that the desegregation of schools would place a number of African-American students from other city wards into their schools (Historical Census Browser, 2007). They opposed this plan and voted for Wallace in an attempt to halt the desegregation.

### ***1972***

In 1972, Richmond returned to a Republican majority with 59% going for Nixon. Twelve districts returned to having a Republican majority with five precincts going for McGovern. The 1269<sup>th</sup> District continued to be one of the largest precincts that went strongly Republican by 86%: 4,401 votes to 718 (Voting Returns, 1972). This large percentage of votes for Nixon occurred in a location that still had less than one-third of its population as African-Americans. This precinct remained the most

Caucasian and showed its support for Nixon's suppression of racial issues during the campaign.

The city wards persisted in voting Democratic at the smallest margin since before 1952: 51% (Voting Returns 1972). The first four city wards continued to be primarily African-American, and their votes bolstered the Democratic stance in the city. These wards supported McGovern by 70% while the remaining four city wards only had 26% support for McGovern. These wards had smaller proportions of African-Americans and held the historic districts which were expensive to live in and maintain. The African-Americans in these wards were higher socio-economic class than the first wards.

The 1760<sup>th</sup> District also supported McGovern: 163 to 65. This precinct had the largest percentage of African-Americans in all of the suburban precincts and supported McGovern's social policies as well as his pledge of federal support for protecting racial equality. According to the Census the 123<sup>rd</sup> District had a 46% of African-Americans living in the precinct, but they were not able to shift the vote (Historical Census Browser, 2007). The 123<sup>rd</sup> District went for Nixon by 52%. The other suburban precincts were also more inclined to go for Nixon because of their lower levels of African-Americans, and their desire to prevent further desegregation.

## CHAPTER 8

### OVERALL VOTING PATTERNS

The voting patterns seen in the five counties indicate that African-American trends of voting for the Democratic Party began before the 1950s and strengthened after the passage of the Voting Rights Act. The trends are not obvious at first glance at the county totals since in all counties, African-Americans were the minority race. The individual county and district trends are shown in the above section of the study, but the overall trends are not as apparent. The trends were most evident in Bibb County which kept their ballot returns segregated, but the comparison of Census data to precinct returns was able to provide a clear picture of the voting patterns across the state.

**Table 6: Bibb County African-American Segregated Returns**

	1952 Presidential Election		1956 Presidential Election		1960 Presidential Election	
	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Kennedy	Nixon
<b>Upper City</b>	71.62% (159)	28.38% (63)	71.46% (218)	28.52% (87)	62.78% (167)	37.22% (99)
<b>Lower City</b>	83.05% (196)	16.95% (40)	61.65% (181)	38.43% (113)	65.79% (175)	34.21% (91)
<b>Vineville</b>	83.43% (549)	16.57% (109)	68.07% (727)	31.93% (341)	60.92% (770)	39.08% (494)
<b>Godfrey</b>	92.48% (332)	7.52% (27)	65.03% (558)	34.97% (300)	63.66% (622)	36.34% (355)
<b>East Macon</b>	90.09% (518)	9.91% (57)	57.62% (488)	42.38% (359)	65.02% (580)	34.98% (312)
<b>Total Returns</b>	85.56% (1754)	14.44% (296)	64.41% (2172)	35.59% (1200)	63.14% (2314)	36.86% (1351)

\*All percentages are row percentages. Figures in parenthesis are exact election returns.

When the ballots were kept separated, the African-American voting patterns are evident. An overwhelming majority of African-Americans in every precinct voted Democratic consistently (Table 6). As Table 6 shows, the Democratic Party enjoyed

strong support from African-Americans. The votes for the Republicans, especially the higher levels seen in Vineville, are from the higher socio-economic status of the precinct members. Vineville was the precinct which reported the highest income levels in the county (Historical Census Browser, 2007). However, simply having a higher economic class did not make African-Americans immune to the appeals of the Democratic Party. Vineville still saw a majority of its African-American votes going for the Democratic candidate in the presidential elections (Table 6). Several African-American precincts saw less than 40% support for the Republican candidates in the years before the Voting Rights Act. This trend is also seen in the other counties.

Since Bibb was the only county to report segregated returns, crosstabs were needed to highlight the African-American voting patterns. As Table 7 shows, election cycles saw an increase in support for the Democratic Party as the percentage of African-Americans in the precinct increased. In precincts with less than 20% African-American populations, the vote was within 10%, while in precincts with greater than 81% African-Americans, the vote was strongly Democratic (Table 7). The Kendall tau c coefficient is .68 which indicates a strong association between racial percentages and voting patterns.

**Table 7: Cross Tab Evaluation of the 1952 Election**

	<b>Percentage Of African-Americans Per Precinct</b>				
	<b>0-20%</b>	<b>21-40%</b>	<b>41-60%</b>	<b>61-80%</b>	<b>81-100%</b>
<b>Democratic Votes</b>	53.81%	61.84%	67.90%	73.92%	74.12%
<b>Republican Votes</b>	46.19%	48.16%	32.10%	26.08%	25.88%
N= 77	N= 16	N=24	N=19	N=9	N=9
Tau c= .68					

Support for the Democratic Party remained steady in the 1964 election because of its strong push for other civil rights legislation. After the passage of the Voting Rights Act, the Georgia urban voting patterns further strengthened and solidified. This trend continues in all elections from 1952 thru 1972.

**Table 8: Cross Tab Evaluation of the 1956 Election**

		Percentage Of African-Americans				
		0-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%
<b>Democratic Votes</b>		55.42%	53.56%	52.78%	47.32%	70.22%
<b>Republican Votes</b>		44.58%	46.44%	47.22%	52.68%	29.78%
N= 88		N=18	N=24	N=23	N=10	N=10
Tau c= .63						

**Table 9: Cross Tab Evaluation of the 1960 Election**

		Percentage Of African-Americans				
		0-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%
<b>Democratic Votes</b>		36.61%	40.89%	56.28%	57.07%	64.63%
<b>Republican Votes</b>		63.39%	59.11%	43.72%	42.93%	35.37%
N= 84		N=19	N=21	N=23	N=12	N=9
Tau c= .53						

**Table 10: Cross Tab Evaluation of the 1964 Election**

		Percentage Of African-Americans				
		0-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%
<b>Democratic Votes</b>		47.56%	53.33%	55.55%	62.45%	71.32%
<b>Republican Votes</b>		52.78%	46.67%	44.45%	37.55%	28.68%
N= 71		N=18	N=19	N=17	N=9	N=8
Tau c= .66						

As seen in the preceding tables, as the percentage of African-Americans increased in a precinct, the percentage of votes cast for the Democratic Party increased. The Kendall tau c coefficient for these elections are .63, .53, and .66 respectively. These coefficients indicate that there is a strong association present

between the racial percentages and voting patterns for every election. Perhaps the best indication of this trend was seen in the 1968 election. Table 11 highlights pattern where the percentage of votes for George Wallace is indirectly proportionate to the percentage of African-Americans in the precinct. This election saw the strongest level of tau c with a value of .83.

**Table 11: Cross Tab Evaluation of the 1968 Election**

	Percentage Of African-Americans				
	0-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%
<b>Democratic Votes</b>	5.81%	21.84%	33.47%	75.12%	82.67%
<b>Republican Votes</b>	20.54%	11.44%	23.67%	14.72%	13.29%
<b>George Wallace Votes</b>	73.33%	66.72%	42.16%	10.16%	4.04%
N= 80 Tau c= .83	N=17	N=21	N=24	N=9	N=9

The precincts with less than 21% African-American vote for Wallace on average of 73%, while precincts with over 81% of African-Americans voted against Wallace by 95%. The African-American voters turned out in force in this election in an attempt to prevent Wallace from gaining the presidency (Appendix 2 and 3). With the highest percentages of African-Americans in the state, Fulton was able to prevent Wallace from reaching high levels of support in the county (Appendix 2 and 3). The pattern continues in 1972 with a tau coefficient of .71 which indicates that the association is still strongly present, but not as strong as the association found in 1968. The returns in the 1972 did not reach the levels that were present in the 1968 election.

**Table 12: Cross Tab Evaluation of the 1972 Election**

	Percentage Of African-Americans				
	0-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%
<b>Democratic Votes</b>	47.32%	50.37%	58.58%	63.34%	72.21%
<b>Republican Votes</b>	52.68%	49.63%	41.42%	36.66%	29.79%
N= 68 Tau c= .71	N=12	N=22	N=19	N=9	N=6

**Table 13: Cross Tab Evaluation of the Pre-Voting Rights Act Elections (1952-1964)**

	Percentage Of African-Americans				
	0-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%
<b>Democratic Votes</b>	49.99%	54.37%	57.64%	65.51%	68.72%
<b>Republican Votes</b>	50.01%	45.63%	42.36%	34.49%	31.28%
N= 317 Tau c= .73	N=71	N=88	N=82	N=40	N=36

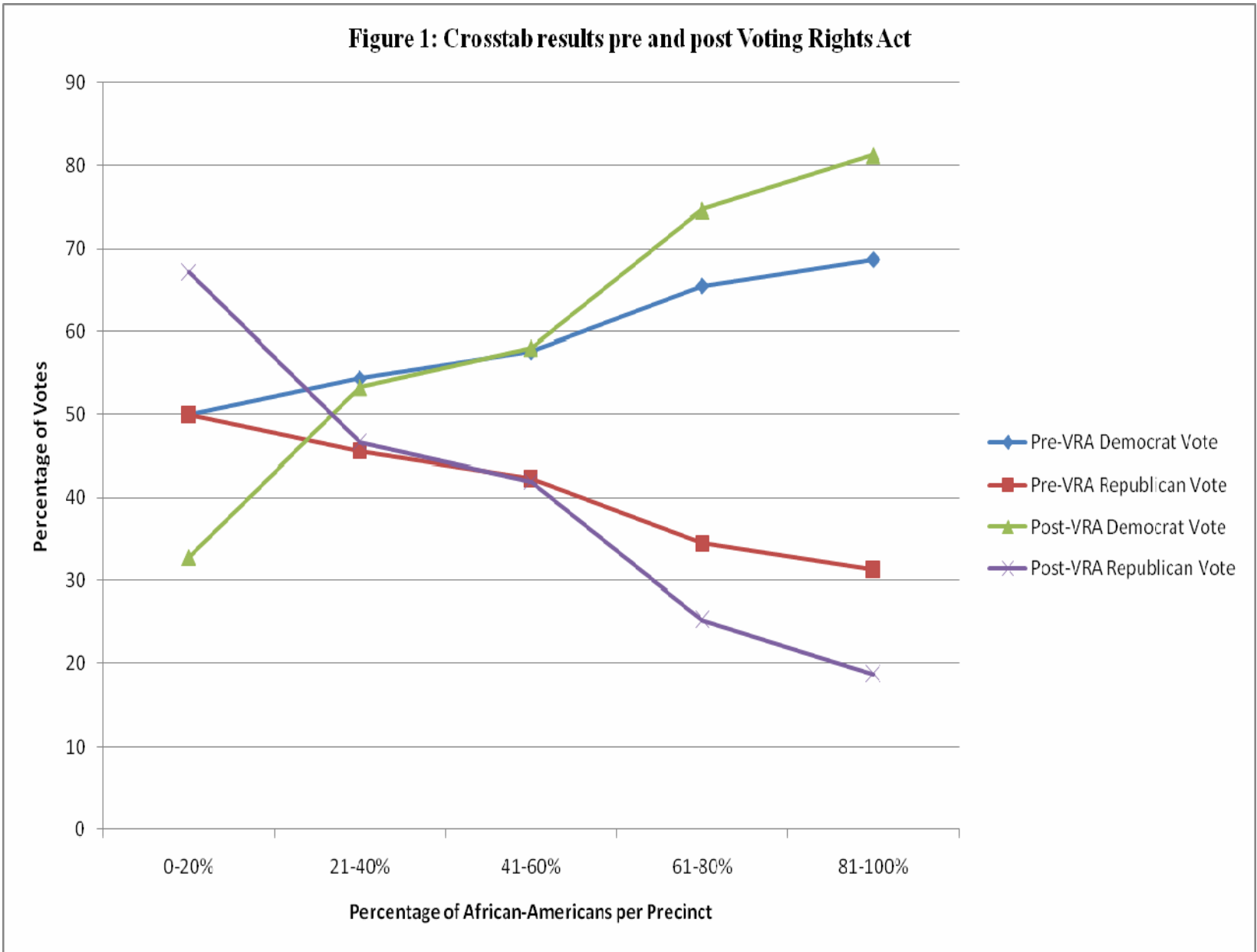
**Table 14: Cross Tab Evaluation of the Post-Voting Rights Act Elections (1968-1972)**

	Percentage Of African-Americans				
	0-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%
<b>Democratic Votes</b>	32.81%	53.34%	58.07%	74.66%	81.28%
<b>Non- Democratic Votes</b>	67.19%	46.66%	41.93%	25.34%	18.72%
N= 148 Tau c= .81	N=29	N=43	N=43	N=18	N=15

As table 13 shows, precincts with higher levels of African-Americans were more likely to vote Democrat. This trend continues when the pre-Voting Rights Act elections are compared to the post-Voting Rights Act elections. These tables show that before the Voting Rights Act, precincts with 81% or more African-Americans voted for the Democratic candidate, 68.72%, while precincts with less than 21% African-Americans voted Democrat only 49.99%. When this is compared to the cross tabs for the elections post-Voting Rights Act, a change is seen. Table 14 shows that

after the Voting Rights Act, areas with over 80% African-Americans voted Democratic at 81.28%. Precincts with less than 21% of African-Americans voted Democratic with 32.81%. This dramatic difference may be attributed to the inclusion of George Wallace in the 1968 election returns. The Kendall tau c coefficient for Pre-Voting Rights Act elections is .73 which suggests that there is a strong association between the percentage of African-Americans in a precinct and their votes. The Post Voting Rights Act elections have a tau coefficient of .81 which suggests that the strength of the association increased after the passage of the act.

The trend can be viewed clearly in figure 1. The graph highlights the increase of Democratic votes from percentage levels of African-Americans as well as pre and post Voting Rights Act. These trends suggest that there is a strong correlation between Voting Rights Act and the trend of African-Americans voting Democratic. As the years progress, the percentage of votes for Democratic candidates increased with the increase after the passage of the Voting Rights Act more pronounced than the increase prior to the passage.



**CHAPTER 9**  
**ECOLOGICAL REGRESSION MODELS**

**Table 15: Vote Results From 1952-1972**

	African-Americans	Caucasian
<b>Voting for the Democratic Candidate</b>	74.23%	43.32%
<b>Voting for the Republican Candidate</b>	25.63%	56.79%

N=468

Using King's model of ecological regression finds that for the election periods from 1952 until 1972, African-Americans vote for the Democrat at a rate of 74.23%. African-Americans only vote for a Republican candidate by 25.63% during this period. Caucasians only had a probability for voting for the Democratic candidate by 43.32%. Caucasian returns show that there is a downward trend in their support for Democratic candidates. The model explains 54.36% of the variance in the data. The model shows that African-Americans are more likely to vote for the Democratic candidate than they are to vote for a Republican. This outcome is supported in each election year model.

**Table 16: Vote Results From 1952**

	African-Americans	Caucasian
<b>Voting for the Democratic Candidate</b>	72.32%	45.62%
<b>Voting for the Republican Candidate</b>	27.68%	54.38%

N=77

Running the model for each election year has shown that a majority of African-Americans are more likely to vote for Democrats than Republicans or

Independents. As table 15 shows, in 1952 the results find that African-Americans voted for Stevenson 72.32%, while Caucasians voted for Stevenson by 45.62%. This supports the patterns found by comparing Census track data to precinct election returns. The model explains 44.48% of the variance in the data which is slightly less than the variance explained by the model of all elections. Caucasian voters hovered around 50% support for the Democratic candidates, and this level of support remained steady across the years.

**Table 17: Vote Results From 1956**

	African-Americans	Caucasian
<b>Voting for the Democratic Candidate</b>	72.28%	46.88%
<b>Voting for the Republican Candidate</b>	27.89%	52.99%

N=88

**Table 18: Vote Results From 1960**

	African-Americans	Caucasian
<b>Voting for the Democratic Candidate</b>	59.81%	51.32%
<b>Voting for the Republican Candidate</b>	40.07%	49.21%

N=84

The model explains a majority of the variance of the data for each election year. Before the Voting Rights Act, the model explains 44.48% of the variance in 1952, which increased every election from 46.61% of the variance in 1956, 48.21% of the variance on 1960, and 51.10% of the variance in 1964. The model shows that the level of African-American support for the Democratic Party fluctuates, but has been rising since the Voting Rights Act. The 1960 election had the lowest support from African-Americans, while the 1968 election reached the highest level of

support. The 1960 election saw an increase in African-American support for Nixon, especially in Fulton County. While support for Nixon increased, Kennedy still retained a majority from African-American voters.

**Table 19: Vote Results From 1964**

	African-Americans	Caucasian
<b>Voting for the Democratic Candidate</b>	69.29%	48.88%
<b>Voting for the Republican Candidate</b>	30.08%	52.12%

N=71

**Table 20: Vote Results From 1968**

	African-Americans	Caucasian
<b>Voting for the Democratic Candidate</b>	85.37%	26.78%
<b>Voting for the Republican Candidate</b>	12.36%	42.83%
<b>Voting for the Independent: George Wallace</b>	1.12%	30.39%

N=80

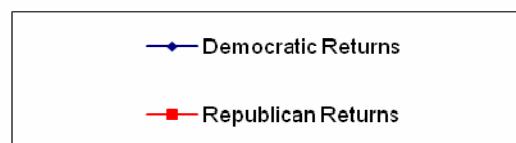
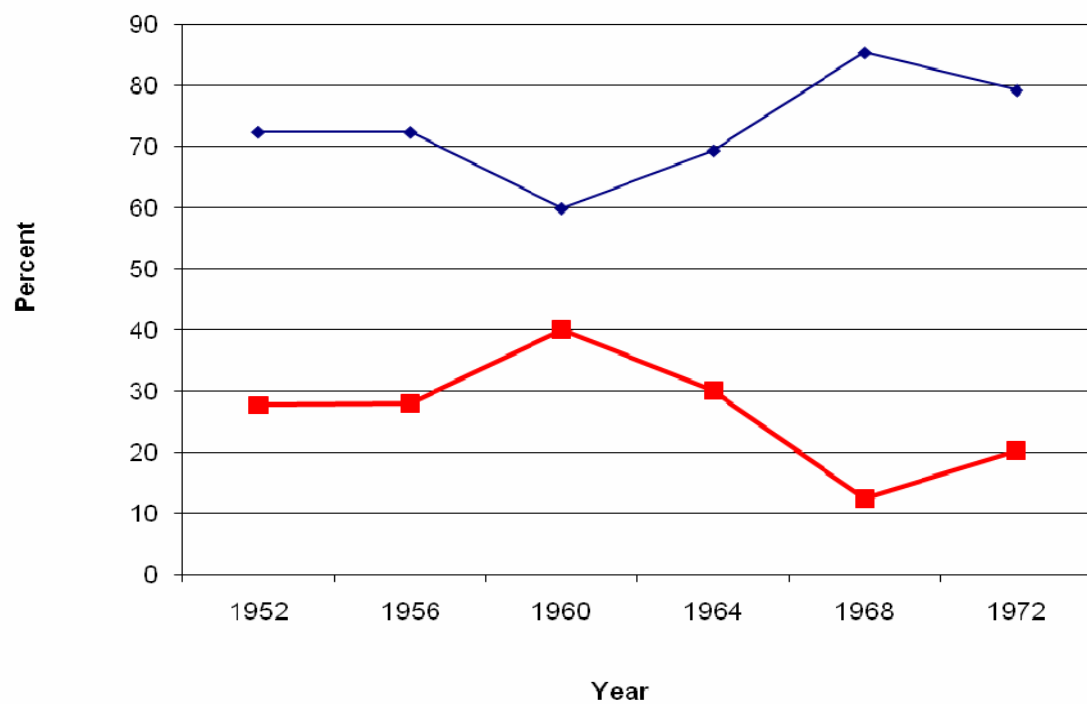
In the 1968 election, African-Americans supported Humphrey with levels of 85.37% in an effort to quell the growing support of Wallace as shown in the above table. They had scant levels of support for Nixon. The level of support for Humphrey by Caucasians was under one-third, 30.39% of Caucasian support went for Wallace, with the remaining percentage going for Nixon. However, Wallace had nonexistent levels of support from African-American voter. The ecological regression model for this election explained the largest percentage of the variance, with a value of 59.34%.

**Table 21: Vote Results From 1972**

	African-Americans	Caucasian
<b>Voting for the Democratic Candidate</b>	79.16%	40.26%
<b>Voting for the Republican Candidate</b>	20.21%	59.62%

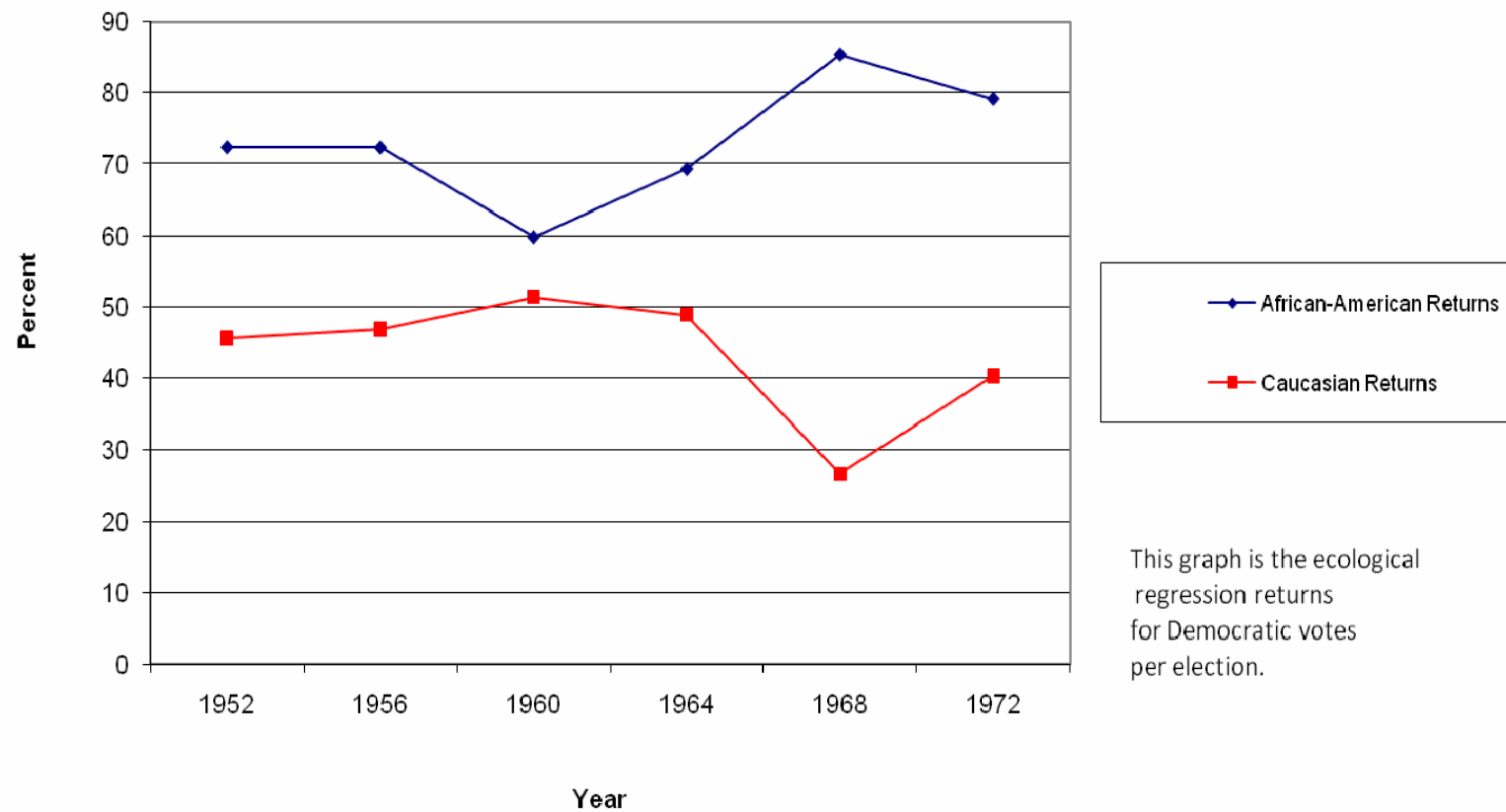
N=68

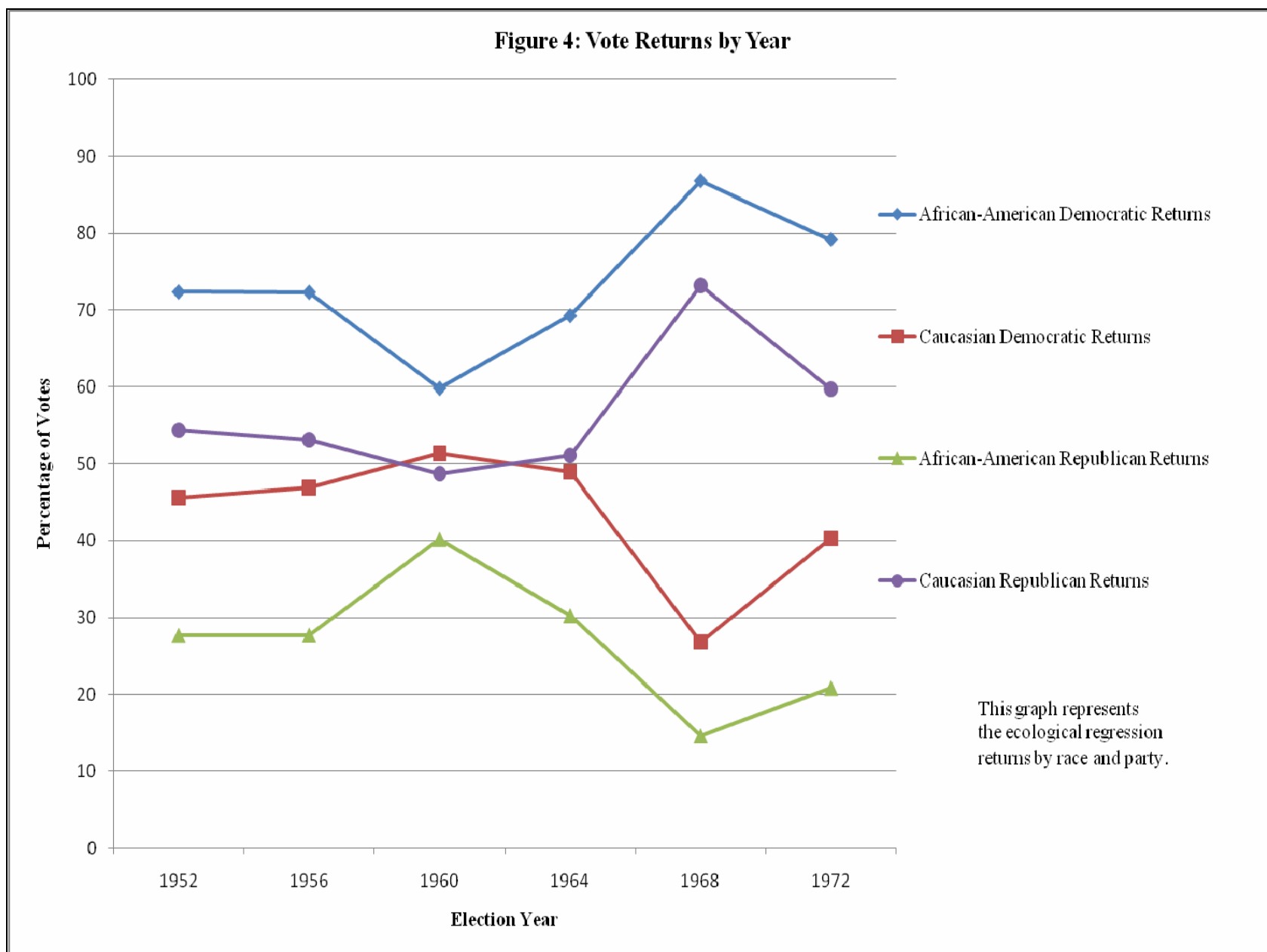
Before the Voting Rights Act, the levels of support for the Democratic Party by African-Americans were majorities which increased to higher levels after the passage of the Act as shown in figure 2. The levels of African-American support began around 72%, reached a low of 59% in 1960, raised up to 86% in a reaction to George Wallace, and finally ended around 80%. The Caucasian trends showed a slight rise in support for Democratic candidates, but the trend was not as pronounced as it was with African-American voters as seen in figure 3. However, the Caucasian trend showed a huge drop in Democratic support in the 1968 election most likely due to Wallace's inclusion in the race. The fluctuating levels of support are indicative of individual factors of each election, but the overall pattern indicates an upward trend in African-American support for Democratic candidates in presidential elections. Figure 4 combines the total results from each election in order to capture the voting trends. As the figure shows, African-American Democratic returns are far greater than the returns for the Republicans and Caucasian returns. As African-American support for Democrats increased, Caucasian support for Republicans increased. The voting patterns shown in the following figures further cements the trends found using the crosstab

**Figure 2: African-American Voting Percent Return**

This graph represents the ecological regression returns for African-American votes by party.

Figure 3: Democratic Vote Returns





## CHAPTER 10

### CONCLUSION

The passage of the Voting Rights Act appears to have had an impact upon the voting patterns of urban African-Americans in Georgia. However, the Act did make it possible for an African-American to gain political office. There was a shift in voting patterns in stronger support for the Democrats beginning in 1964. Since Democratic candidates were more likely to support civil rights legislation, the shift in African-American votes could be a reaction to the passage of that legislation. African-Americans supported Democratic candidates since these candidates had supported them. The Voting Rights Act further cemented their loyalty to the Democratic Party. It cannot be said that the Voting Rights Act exclusively increased African-American support, but the study does suggest that the passage of the Voting Rights Act did correspond to a rise in support for the Democratic Party.

The Voting Rights Act allowed more African-Americans to register to vote and brought them to the polls. The Voting Rights Act corresponded to a rise in voter registration. The effects of the Voting Rights Act may have altered voting patterns not only with the increase of support from the existing African-American voting pool, but also with the addition of new voters to the voting population. After the passage of the Act, African-Americans were able to vote more freely, but there were still some barriers in their path. The obstacles began to dissipate as federal support for underrepresented voters increased. The Voting Rights Act was one step in the process of bringing African-Americans equality in voting.

The results of this study found that while African-Americans were already voting for Democratic candidates, the strength of their support increased after the passage of the Voting Rights Act. Before the passage of the Act, African-Americans were voting for Democrats at levels around 70%, but these levels rose to above 80% after the passage of the Voting Rights Act. These levels are seen to be a result of the Democratic support for civil rights and their support for the passage of the Voting Rights Act.

The strong levels of support for the Democratic Party before the Voting Rights Act were somewhat unexpected since African-Americans had long been associated with the Republican Party as the party that had liberated them from slavery. However, the results of the study after the passage of the Voting Rights Act were expected. The Voting Rights Act helped to bring larger numbers of African-Americans to the polls, and these numbers were able to influence the vote outcomes in urban Georgia counties.

Further research into voting patterns at levels under the presidential level should also aid the understanding of the impact of the Voting Rights Act. A study of the 1966 gubernatorial election in Georgia which was hotly contested between a Republican, the Democratic segregationist, and an independent liberal candidate could help further highlight African-American patterns. With the endorsed Democratic candidate being segregationist, the African-American patterns should shift away from normal voting patterns to support either the Republican candidate or the independent liberal. A further study to map the voting trends of African-Americans since Reconstruction should highlight the reasons behind the switch from

staunch Republicans to Democrats. This shift occurred before the 1950s and is still present in presidential elections. In current elections, Republicans attempt to woo African-Americans away from the Democratic Party.

Before the passage of the Voting Rights Act, African-American voters were limited in their ability to influence election outcomes. After the passage of the Act, their influence in elections increased, and they were able to alter county level outcomes in several cases. The Voting Rights Act had a large impact on urban voting in Georgia. It altered the voting population and the voting impact of African-Americans on a significant level. The Voting Rights Act in conjunction with the Civil Rights movement was a turning point in elections in the United States, and this influence can still be seen in elections today.

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## APPENDIX 1: Population Statistics

**Table 22: Census-reported Population Totals by Race**

	1950 Census		1960 Census		1970 Census	
	Total County Population	Total African-American Population	Total County Population	Total African-American Population	Total County Population	Total African-American Population
<b>Bibb County</b>	114,079	40,839	141,249	47,131	169,467	54,672
<b>Clarke County</b>	36,550	9,928	45,363	11,522	51,824	13,986
<b>Fulton County</b>	473,572	145,016	556,326	193,024	602,799	207,119
<b>Muscogee County</b>	118,028	30,692	158,623	37,929	199,534	44,724
<b>Richmond County</b>	108,876	36,516	135,601	42,513	156,804	50,413

**Table 23: Total Number of Registered Voters per year**

	1954	1956	1958	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<b>Bibb County</b>	32,076	32,864	31,037	31,869	46,720	54,872	59,041	64,944	59,296
<b>Clarke County</b>	14,493	15,555	17,391	10,703	11,473	16,807	18,585	20,806	22,389
<b>Fulton County</b>	124,978	124,808	133,291	145,096	177,497	224,031	241,036	273,339	288,437
<b>Muscogee County</b>	35,000	29,962	26,588	26,549	32,396	45,106	47,316	53,709	54,582
<b>Richmond County</b>	26,588	28,620	29,080	28,867	32,844	43,636	50,588	55,717	54,383

**Table 24: Reported Registered Voters by Race 1954-1958**

	Registered Voters in 1954		Registered Voters in 1956		Registered Voters in 1958	
	African- American Registered Voters	Caucasian Registered Voters	African- American Registered Voters	Caucasian Registered Voters	African- American Registered Voters	Caucasian Registered Voters
<b>Bibb County</b>	5,270	26,806	4,913	27,724	5,140	26,124
<b>Clarke County</b>	2,238	10,015	3,136	12,689	2,866	14,255
<b>Fulton County</b>	21,731	103,247	28,414	100,367	24,441	104,877
<b>Muscogee County</b>	7,400	27,600	3,729	19,975	9,987	22,859
<b>Richmond County</b>	4,461	22,127	5,820	23,248	5,372	23,260

**Table 24 continued: Reported Registered Voters  
by Race 1960-1962<sup>2</sup>**

	Registered Voters in 1960		Registered Voters in 1962	
	African- American Registered Voters	Caucasian Registered Voters	African- American Registered Voters	Caucasian Registered Voters
<b>Bibb County</b>	5,042	26,827	N/A	
<b>Clarke County</b>	N/A		N/A	
<b>Fulton County</b>	35,919	109,262	46,461	131,036
<b>Muscogee County</b>	N/A		27,595	4,798
<b>Richmond County</b>	5,610	23,257	6,747	26,097

<sup>2</sup> After 1962, racial breakdowns were no longer reported to the Georgia State Department.

## APPENDIX 2: Precinct Level Election Returns

**Table 25: District Returns for the 1952, 1956, and 1960 Presidential Elections in Bibb County**

	1952 Presidential Election		1956 Presidential Election		1960 Presidential Election	
	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Kennedy	Nixon
<b>Upper City Caucasians</b>	1533	644	446	1279	759	463
<b>Upper City African-Americans</b>	159	63	218	87	167	99
<b>Lower City Caucasians</b>	926	166	136	745	426	146
<b>Lower City African-Americans</b>	196	40	181	113	175	91
<b>Vineville Caucasians</b>	3834	2425	2067	4187	3428	3230
<b>Vineville African-Americans</b>	549	109	727	341	770	494
<b>Godfrey Caucasian</b>	3405	771	740	4002	3475	2027
<b>Godfrey African-Americans</b>	332	27	558	300	622	355
<b>East Macon Caucasian</b>	1742	825	767	1997	1963	1404
<b>East Macon African-Americans</b>	518	57	488	359	580	312
<b>Howard</b>	706	614	740	1096	1291	1453
<b>Hazzard</b>	100	40	252	252	249	113
<b>Warrior</b>	167	61	46	170	176	126
<b>Rutland</b>	378	114	122	499	413	311

**Table 25 continued: District Returns for the 1964, 1968, and 1972  
Presidential Elections in Bibb County**

	1964 Presidential Election		1968 Presidential Election			1972 Presidential Election	
	Johnson	Nixon	Humphrey	Nixon	Wallace	McGovern	Nixon
<b>Upper City</b>	975	971	462	903	500	331	1254
<b>Lower City</b>	707	573	406	99	324	334	231
<b>Vineville</b>	4892	6266	2457	2165	3435	2093	4389
<b>Godfrey</b>	5178	7859	3012	2864	6517	2425	7878
<b>East Macon</b>	3318	4017	2126	1400	2589	2177	4036
<b>Howard</b>	1389	3134	770	2795	1716	780	4675
<b>Hazzard</b>	161	467	48	197	340	90	616
<b>Warrior</b>	142	397	77	118	377	75	453
<b>Rutland</b>	302	1109	380	1139	812	517	1872

**Table 26: District Returns for the 1952 and 1956 Presidential Elections in Clarke County**

	1952 Presidential Election		1956 Presidential Election		
	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Andrews
<b>City Ward 1</b>	1096	489	1106	509	2
<b>City Ward 2</b>	679	402	736	426	0
<b>City Ward 3</b>	766	415	815	426	3
<b>City Ward 4</b>	783	422	804	443	2
<b>Whitehall</b>	104	7	96	14	0
<b>Puryear</b>	60	13	42	31	0
<b>Sandy Creek</b>	116	27	115	24	0
<b>Winterville</b>	243	45	247	44	0
<b>Bradbury</b>	63	29	84	25	0
<b>Kenney</b>	96	36	108	48	0
<b>Princeton</b>	87	39	91	42	0

**Table 26 continued: District Returns for the 1960 and 1972 Presidential Elections in Clarke County<sup>3</sup>**

	1960 Presidential Election		1972 Presidential Election	
	Kennedy	Nixon	McGovern	Nixon
<b>City Ward 1</b>	1080	486	779	690
<b>City Ward 2</b>	925	486	817	1614
<b>City Ward 3</b>	940	481	1034	1174
<b>City Ward 4</b>	858	379	553	1208
<b>City Ward 5</b>		N/A	824	6319
<b>Whitehall</b>	92	23	39	97
<b>Puryear</b>	44	15	287	76
<b>Sandy Creek</b>	124	41	204	539
<b>Winterville</b>	24	56	187	548
<b>Bradbury</b>	82	22	202	566

<sup>3</sup> Exact district returns were not available for Clarke County in 1964 and 1968. All data was gathered from the county district percentages reporting.

**Table 27: District Returns for the 1952 and 1956 Presidential Elections in Fulton County**

	1952 Presidential Election		1956 Presidential Election	
	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Stevenson	Eisenhower
<b>City Ward 1</b>	4719	1695	4390	1964
<b>City ward 2</b>	1289	463	N/A	
<b>City Ward 3</b>	4457	1482	5076	6857
<b>City Ward 4</b>	7887	3446	7082	3450
<b>City Ward 5</b>	5932	3865	6606	5226
<b>City Ward 6</b>	4896	2900	5998	4805
<b>City Ward 7</b>	1169	2189	7224	5415
<b>City Ward 8</b>	4775	5697	3951	5167
<b>City Ward 9</b>	4466	2184		N/A
<b>Adamsville</b>	31	15		N/A
<b>Alpharetta</b>	353	109	365	83
<b>Big Creek</b>	69	12	76	9
<b>Bryants</b>	387	211	N/A	
<b>Buckhead</b>	195	239	358	524
<b>Campbellton</b>	50	29	59	12
<b>College Park</b>	144	911	1583	826
<b>Double Branch</b>	85	358	84	38
<b>East Point</b>		N/A	7262	1847
<b>Fairburn</b>	646	127	100	100
<b>Goodes</b>	125	16	15	14
<b>Grograns</b>	64	42	N/A	
<b>Hapeville</b>	1417	712	1694	475
<b>Little River</b>	74	33	85	27
<b>Newton</b>	69	20	78	17
<b>Oak Grove</b>	376	387	602	643
<b>Old 1st</b>	67	8	63	0
<b>Old 9th</b>	136	45	148	39
<b>Palmetto</b>	218	57	215	57
<b>Pooles</b>	41	23		N/A
<b>Red Oak</b>	418	167	513	129
<b>Rivertown</b>	34	9	44	9
<b>Roswell</b>	491	156	466	168
<b>Sandtown</b>	109	56	N/A	
<b>Union</b>	49	18	56	23
<b>Union City</b>	164	54	201	47
<b>Utoy Springs</b>		N/A	77	48

**Table 27 continued: District Returns for the 1960 and 1964  
Presidential Elections in Fulton County**

	1960 Presidential Election		1964 Presidential Election	
	Kennedy	Nixon	Johnson	Goldwater
<b>City Ward 1</b>	3741	3055	6922	2946
<b>City Ward 2</b>		N/A		N/A
<b>City Ward 3</b>	7566	7641	19758	3308
<b>City Ward 4</b>	6516	4819	9898	9196
<b>City Ward 5</b>	6030	5242	5199	7116
<b>City Ward 6</b>	6164	5547	11839	5043
<b>City Ward 7</b>	8316	8082	15042	7481
<b>City Ward 8</b>	3631	6518	5592	7249
<b>Alpharetta</b>	376	152	472	607
<b>Big Creek</b>	70	35	56	90
<b>Buckhead</b>	577	184	936	1866
<b>Campbellton</b>	38	37	53	88
<b>College Park</b>	1332	1215		N/A
<b>Double Branch</b>	82	67	113	203
<b>East Point</b>	3829	2905	3064	5766
<b>Fairburn</b>	397	306		N/A
<b>Goodes</b>	93	25	84	91
<b>Grograns</b>	80	63	124	169
<b>Hapeville</b>	3155	769	1161	1809
<b>Little River</b>	91	52	118	159
<b>Newton</b>	81	36	70	113
<b>Oak Grove</b>	860	1498	N/A	
<b>Old 1st</b>	58	16	83	49
<b>Old 9th</b>	93	82	116	346
<b>Palmetto</b>	203	107	274	270
<b>Red Oak</b>	371	251	350	827
<b>Rivertown</b>	29	16	38	43
<b>Roswell</b>	504	286	762	861
<b>Sandtown</b>	153	129	190	418
<b>Union</b>	43	47	41	153
<b>Union City</b>	175	114		N/A
<b>Utoy Springs</b>	112	87	220	242

**Table 27 continued: District Returns for the 1968 Presidential Elections in Fulton County<sup>4</sup>**

	1968 Presidential Election		
	Humphrey	Nixon	Wallace
<b>City Ward 1</b>	5266	989	1868
<b>City ward 2</b>	15987	1390	1670
<b>City Ward 3</b>	12481	346	321
<b>City Ward 4</b>	3811	4754	2918
<b>City Ward 5</b>	4499	7970	2597
<b>City Ward 6</b>	6996	3737	1857
<b>City Ward 7</b>	5184	7402	4368
<b>City Ward 8</b>	4480	16982	1410
<b>Alpharetta</b>	274	800	632
<b>Big Creek</b>	37	157	190
<b>Buckhead</b>	519	1003	1179
<b>Campbellton</b>	39	68	90
<b>College Park</b>	983	2071	1505
<b>Double Branch</b>	218	507	606
<b>East Point</b>	2761	8159	1404
<b>Fairburn</b>	336	496	700
<b>Goodes</b>	42	68	127
<b>Grograns</b>	183	655	479
<b>Hapeville</b>	1131	1941	1443
<b>Little River</b>	65	163	175
<b>Newton</b>	226	151	323
<b>Oak Grove</b>	332	957	1002
<b>Old 1st</b>	35	64	69
<b>Old 9th</b>	31	38	77
<b>Palmetto</b>	29	135	203
<b>Red Oak</b>	435	1072	778
<b>Rivertown</b>	14	67	102
<b>Roswell</b>	720	2290	1730
<b>Sandtown</b>	153	195	362
<b>Union</b>	24	23	44
<b>Union City</b>	94	310	406

<sup>4</sup> Exact district breakdowns were unavailable for 1972. All results were derived from county percentage returns and returns from city districts.

**Table 28: District Returns for the 1952 and 1956 Presidential Elections in Muscogee County**

	1952 Presidential Election		1956 Presidential Election		
	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Andrews
<b>Bibb</b>	734	268	231	148	2
<b>Wynnton</b>	175	93	865	1669	33
<b>Gentian</b>	592	435	305	825	26
<b>Upatoi</b>	15	31	20	29	
<b>Fire Station</b>	396	380	362	618	27
<b>Midland</b>	62	56	51	54	3
<b>Baker Village</b>	342	285	402	356	3
<b>Court House</b>	8665	6350	477	560	10
<b>St. Elmo</b>		N/A	328	987	20
<b>Spencer</b>		N/A	123	309	0
<b>Fox</b>		N/A	739	322	9
<b>Johnson</b>		N/A	113	342	23
<b>Double Churches</b>		N/A	196	99	6
<b>Bealwood</b>		N/A	330	176	2
<b>Brown Ave.</b>		N/A	511	474	6
<b>East Highland</b>		N/A	643	385	0

**Table 28 continued: District Returns for the 1960 and 1964  
Presidential Elections in Muscogee County**

	1960 Presidential Election		1964 Presidential Election	
	Kennedy	Nixon	Johnson	Nixon
<b>Bibb</b>	130	92	85	187
<b>Wynnton</b>	877	1525	1276	2260
<b>Gentian</b>	605	774	501	2283
<b>Upatoi</b>	25	15	43	53
<b>Midland</b>	46	49	44	71
<b>Baker Village</b>	567	486	886	1234
<b>Court House</b>	466	453	925	445
<b>St. Elmo</b>	661	1056	793	1348
<b>Spencer</b>	161	197	N/A	
<b>Fox</b>	610	413	417	1193
<b>Johnson</b>	886	886	744	2332
<b>Double Churches</b>	183	16	1687	716
<b>Bealwood</b>	493	438	316	81
<b>Brown Ave.</b>	553	474	1048	913
<b>East Highland</b>	553	362	532	888
<b>Clubview</b>	480	686	488	1749
<b>Eastway</b>	398	410	905	1437
<b>Rigdon</b>	392	444	942	914
<b>Marshall</b>		N/A	877	3
<b>Arnold</b>		N/A	523	1592

**Table 28 continued: District Returns for the 1968 and 1972  
Presidential Elections in Muscogee County**

	1968 Presidential Election			1972 Presidential Election	
	Humphrey	Nixon	Wallace	McGovern	Nixon
<b>Bibb</b>	10	46	197	18	149
<b>Wynnton</b>	138	600	286	84	842
<b>Gentian</b>	114	691	1193	84	1194
<b>Upatoi</b>	47	28	61	51	107
<b>Fire Station</b>		N/A		526	111
<b>Midland</b>	31	56	118	39	196
<b>Baker Village</b>	438	454	719	363	748
<b>Court House</b>	598	145	300	423	234
<b>St. Elmo</b>	348	595	588	297	1156
<b>Spencer</b>		N/A		135	1542
<b>Fox</b>		N/A		379	793
<b>Johnson</b>	140	328	726	135	946
<b>Double Churches</b>	73	359	597	99	1170
<b>Bealwood</b>		N/A		236	1120
<b>Brown Ave.</b>	543	266	593	312	596
<b>East Highland</b>	212	132	582	166	459
<b>Clubview</b>	125	761	325	115	1317
<b>Eastway</b>	349	349	1052	131	938
<b>Rigdon</b>	611	246	198	595	256
<b>North Lumpkin</b>		N/A		329	528
<b>Britt David</b>	68	645	921	297	409
<b>St. Mary's</b>	720	720	683	623	719
<b>Morningside</b>	N/A			123	1685
<b>Jordon</b>	46	256	602	73	765
<b>Carver</b>	717	25	406	840	151
<b>Eddy</b>	215	378	511	199	1307
<b>Edgewood</b>	132	342	516	141	1397
<b>Blanchard</b>		N/A		75	940
<b>North Highland</b>	164	214	1232	208	869
<b>Hardaway</b>	80	666	386	103	1223
<b>Dimon</b>	24	52	41	558	1631
<b>Marshall</b>	770	77	13		N/A
<b>Arnold</b>	85	553	846		N/A

**Table 29: District Returns for the 1952 and 1956 Presidential Elections in Richmond County**

	1952 Presidential Election		1956 Presidential Election		
	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Stevenson	Eisenhower	Andrews
<b>City Ward 1</b>	601	611	565	604	34
<b>City Ward 2</b>	550	250	679	703	6
<b>City Ward 3</b>	1073	321	675	1068	11
<b>City Ward 4</b>	1494	489	272	795	321
<b>City Ward 5</b>	1935	698	291	567	12
<b>City Ward 6</b>	972	1193	392	1161	32
<b>City Ward 7</b>	933	2746	449	1070	0
<b>City Ward 8</b>		N/A	339	207	5
<b>116</b>	509	790	446	502	11
<b>123</b>	654	219	360	998	30
<b>124</b>	33	97	71	64	0
<b>1269</b>	523	1264	490	1082	430
<b>143</b>	113	144	80	128	14
<b>1760</b>	74	45	80	128	2
<b>1660</b>		N/A	71	64	2

**Table 29 continued: District Returns for the 1960 and 1964  
Presidential Elections in Richmond County**

	1960 Presidential Election		1964 Presidential Election	
	Kennedy	Nixon	Johnson	Nixon
<b>City Ward 1</b>	100	925	2237	1451
<b>City Ward 2</b>	556	477	1753	331
<b>City Ward 3</b>	893	1094	1631	1441
<b>City Ward 4</b>	966	605	194	634
<b>City Ward 5</b>	1216	708	489	1479
<b>City Ward 6</b>	778	1191	455	1741
<b>City Ward 7</b>	542	1177	853	1558
<b>City Ward 8</b>	600	1191	709	1783
<b>116</b>	590	868	N/A	
<b>123</b>	1809	1498		N/A
<b>124</b>	197	62		N/A
<b>1269</b>	396	1704	941	2512
<b>1434</b>	360	199	136	386
<b>1760</b>	146	56	49	116
<b>1660</b>	109	125	118	332
<b>121</b>	596	425	21	129

**Table 29 continued: District Returns for the 1968 and 1972  
Presidential Elections in Richmond County**

	1968 Presidential Election			1972 Presidential Election	
	Humphrey	Nixon	Wallace	McGovern	Nixon
<b>City Ward 1</b>	1011	296	351	1025	621
<b>City Ward 2</b>	1958	181	86	1962	267
<b>City Ward 3</b>	1451	836	501	1468	1307
<b>City Ward 4</b>	1873	227	234	1881	461
<b>City Ward 5</b>	166	519	946	204	1322
<b>City Ward 6</b>	229	1262	548	445	1556
<b>City Ward 7</b>	666	1041	410	734	1412
<b>City Ward 8</b>	519	1296	309	612	1365
<b>119</b>	591	1513	1275	1015	2362
<b>121</b>	48	8	164	51	172
<b>123</b>	2005	2275	2512	3260	3532
<b>124</b>	30	403	140	43	477
<b>1269</b>	539	1125	1089	718	4401
<b>1434</b>	131	185	250	201	348
<b>1760</b>	92	44	92	163	65
<b>1660</b>	97	163	199	163	295