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Ticket Splitting in Arkansas Elections

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SENIOR THESIS APPROVAL

This Honors thesis entitled

Ticket Splitting in Arkansas Elections

written by

Chase Carmichael

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for completion of the
Carl Goodson Honors Program
meets the criteria for acceptance
and has been approved by the undersigned readers.

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Abstract

The Republican Party is sweeping the South, or is it? Throughout the Old South Republicans have been making gains in an area that has traditionally been a bastion of Democratic strength in American politics. While Arkansas may appear to be following this trend, in reality GOP gains in the Natural State may be only superficial. Despite strong showings by Republican candidates for higher offices in Arkansas, a GOP contender has yet to win a statewide office past the Lieutenant Governor's race.

This research paper examines "ticket splitting" in Arkansas elections. Ticket splitting is the practice of voting for candidates of different political parties in the same election as opposed to voting for all candidates of a given party (a straight ticket). My research shows Arkansas voters heavily split their tickets in the Republican-Democrat direction. Meaning that they vote for the Republican candidate at the top of the ballot and vote for Democrats at the bottom of the ticket. Furthermore, Republican roll-off in Arkansas is sizeable for GOP candidates while Democrats enjoy strong voter support all the way down the ballot. These results yield greater insight into the strength of the two parties in Arkansas, and the cause of divided government in Arkansas politics.

In the past, the most reliable way to predict a person's voting behavior was to know their party identification. To a certain degree, this is still true. However, today people are increasingly splitting their tickets, even though the two main political parties are more polarized and homogenous than ever.

For the purposes of this research paper "ticket splitting" is defined as the practice of voting for candidates of different political parties in the same election as opposed to voting for all candidates of a given party (a "straight ticket").¹ This study will only cover elections held in the United States.

Despite electoral gains by the Republican Party in Arkansas, the GOP may not be as strong as it appears. Arkansas voters are favorable to Republicans at the top of the voting ballot, but they also overwhelmingly vote for Democrats further down the ballot. An examination of voter rolloff (which occurs when people vote for some but not all candidates in a given election) shows that Republican candidates take a severe hit in down ballot races, while Democrats running for lower state offices acutely stand to pick up votes. Voters do not split their ballots intentionally; rather ticket splitting is due to one, the structural features built into the American electoral system and two, short term factors such as noncompetitive congressional elections and issue identification.

Ticket splitters are a minority of the electorate; however, they do have the potential to influence elections. Weak partisans and independents tend to be more susceptible to ticket splitting, the very ones that campaigns have recently focused a great amount of resources on.

Political Scientist Morris Fiorina stated in his 1996 book, *Divided Government*, that ticket splitting should be a "central focus" for political researchers, because of its

¹ PBS, <http://www.pbs.org/democracy/glossary/print.html>

potential to produce divided government.² Before investigating ticket splitting one needs to ask, does divided government matter?

David Mayhew's landmark 1991 work, *Divided we Govern*, where he questioned the importance of divided government, examined the effects of split-party control of government during the post-World War II era. The old conventional wisdom held that divided government has ill effects on the policy making process by producing gridlock, intense conflict, and budget deficits to name a few. Mayhew attempts to debunk this old view by claiming, "unified versus divided government has probably not made a notable difference during the postwar era."³ However, there are some major criticisms of this study. Mayhew only looks at the quantity and not the quality of legislation. Also, he analyzes the supply of legislation and not the demand, failing to consider bills that never passed. Furthermore, Congress has changed since the time in which Mayhew did his study. Similar research conducted since 1994 may draw a different conclusion.⁴

Thus split-party control of government most definitely matters. Inter-branch conflict increases with divided government. Presidents find it more difficult to get Congress to confirm nominees for the courts and other posts. Also, when support cannot be gained in the Congress the executive must take legislative proposal directly to the public, leading to weaker policy. Furthermore, divided government reduces the voters' ability to hold public officials accountable, because it is more difficult to assign blame.

²Burden, Berry and Kimball David, "A New Approach to the Study of Ticket Splitting." *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 92, No. 3 Sep. 1998 (pp. 533 – 544)

³ Mayhew, David. *Divided We Govern*. Yale U. Press. P. 179 New Haven. 1991.

⁴ Burden, Berry and Kimball David, *Why Americans Split Their Tickets: Campaigns, Competition, and Divided Government*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2004.

Three approaches exist for studying ticket splitting. First, one can use survey data, in which individuals answer if they split their tickets when voting.⁵ If the response is yes, then the reason for splitting their vote is determined along with their partisanship. The main problem with using survey data is that national survey samples are generally not large enough to make inferences about voting behavior in particular districts. The respondent is also questioned as to how they view divided government. Second one can use nation survey information, such as the data from the National Election Study. Burden and Kimball note that the survey method suffers from the “ecological fallacy.” The ecological fallacy refers the hazards of making individual-level inferences, according to Burden and Kimball, from aggregate data. Third, one uses election; for estimating returns this is the best method eliminates the ecological fallacy by using election returns. Statistics are utilized to obtain individual-level inferences from aggregate data.⁶

There is another school of thought, which claims that ticket splitting is not worth studying. Frank Feigert’s study, “Illusions of Ticket-Splitting” asserts that theories involving ticket splitting are fundamentally flawed because they assume that voters will split their ballots. Feigert suggests that the high number of incomplete ballots causes divided government, not ticket splitting.⁷

The first two significant studies on ticket splitting both used survey data. In their 1952 Michigan election study, Campbell and Miller found that weak party identification

5 Burden, Berry and Kimball David, “A New Approach to the Study of Ticket Splitting.” *American Political Science Review*.

6 Burden, Berry and Kimball David, *Why Americans Split Their Tickets: Campaigns, Competition, and Divided Government*4.

7 Feigert, Frank B. “Illusions of Ticket-Splitting.” *American Politics Quarterly*; Oct. 79, Vol. 7 Issue 4, p470, 19p

causes people to split their ballots. They also found that ticket splitters are most likely to be male, less educated, urban dwellers, and living in the South.

In their 1972 book *The Ticket-Splitter*, Walter DeVries and V. Lance Tarrance reject Campbell and Miller's weak party identification theory. They found that nearly half of self-identified ticket splitters claimed to be independents. These ticket splitters were more likely to be younger, better educated, and from a higher social economical background; half were partisan, and they were much more "media oriented" than respondents in 1952. In 1981 Maddox and Nimmo conducted a study that showed that media's influence was growing over time as technology improved.

More recent scholarship has suggested several possible causes for split ticket voting. First, voters split their tickets intentionally.⁸ Second, ticket splitting is the unintentional by-product of other factors, such as the relative competitiveness of congressional elections. Third, ticket splitting is the result of ideological blurring of the lines between the two parties. Fourth rationalization is "ballot mechanisms." Fifth, ticket splitting results from lopsided congressional campaigns.

All of these explanations can be grouped into one of two schools of thought in the general debate over ticket splitting. The first is the "policy balancing" argument, this states that voters make a conscientious effort to split their ballot and thus cause divided government. The second school of thought is that voters do not intentionally split their ballots; rather, divided government is a byproduct of the structural features of the American electorate. The policy balancing argument is most popular among American economists. Many leading economists hold a favorable view of divided government.

⁸ Burden, Berry and Kimball David, "A New Approach to the Study of Ticket Splitting." *American Political Science Review*.

They believe it leads to fiscal policy moderation and more cooperation between the two parties. Journalists have also come to accept the policy balancing argument as a result of observing several election cycles this reinforced this of the predominantly cynical view of American politics, which many modern journalists hold. They assume that people do not like either party, so they purposely split their tickets to make politicians cooperate. Several politicians have also accepted policy balancing view. A frustrated President Clinton once suggested that American voters prefer divided government after suffering heavy midterm Democrat losses during his first term, and in 1996 the Republican Party ran their “crystal ball” television advertisement, which in effect conceded the presidential race to Clinton, but still urged voters to support Republicans for Congress, so they could “balance” Clinton.⁹

On the other hand, Berry Burden and David Kimball support the argument that voters unintentionally create divided government in their newly released book, *Why Americans Split Their Tickets*. They cite structural explanations. A good place to start is the constitutional separation of powers. By having separate elections for the executive and the legislative branches the possibility for divided government always exists in America. The United States also uses staggered elections for different offices, making it unlikely that a party could “ride the coattails” of one popular president into office.

This viewpoint has also given rise the popular “surge and decline” theory. It states that the president’s party will typically lose seats in midterm elections, and gain seats during presidential election years. The basis for this premise is that down-ballot

⁹ Burden, Berry and Kimball David, *Why Americans Split Their Tickets: Campaigns, Competition, and Divided Government*. (pp. 24-25)

candidates of the same party as the winning presidential candidate will also reap the benefits of the elected president's success.

The introduction of Australian ballot has been one of the main structural changes that helped to facilitate the rise in ticket splitting. Voting has not always occurred in secret; in the early days of the republic voters cast "oral-votes" on Election Day. Next, printed ballots distributed by the political parties replaced the oral vote. By using this system party workers could observe which ballots voters grabbed, thus knowing how they voted; if the local political machine had performed a favor for someone, they expected to have that favor returned on election day. The Australian ballot, named after its country of origin, was a product of Progressive Era reforms, which sought to curtail government corruption. The government-printed Australian ballot is cast in secret, thus making it more difficult for party bosses to intimidate voters. The introduction of the Australian ballot coincided with a sudden rise in ticket splitting; for the first time people were free to cast their votes in private without the fear of party bosses looking over their shoulder.

Several scholars have attempted to explain long-term Republican dominance of the White House and Democratic control of the Congress. One reason they cited is gerrymandering caused by Democratic controlled state legislatures. For most of the postwar era Democrats held the incumbency advantage in Congress, allowing them to have better access to campaign resources, more name recognition, and longer records of constituency services.

These long-term trends can also be impart explained by issue identification. Republicans have long been viewed as the party strongest on foreign policy and national

security, and Democrats have been view as the party best suited to take care of the domestic agenda. By the nature of the two institutions the Presidency has more control over the foreign policy agenda while the Congress is better suited to make domestic policy.¹⁰

Republican weakness is also due to the fact that State legislatures have become more professional. Republicans are more prone to having lucrative careers, which they are less willing to give up to enter into public service. Therefore, a significant number of quality Republican candidates have been discouraged from running for office, because they would have to give up their jobs in the private sector.

On the other hand, Republicans may be better at winning the presidency because they are more homogenous. Inter-party conflict is significantly less than in the Democratic camp. In earlier elections when there were heated primary races in both parties, Republicans usually came out with a candidate well ahead of Democrats, and with much less political damage to repair going into the general election.

There are also many short-term factors that could add to ticket splitting. Many more issues exist in campaigns now than in previous years. This has given rise to “issue ownership.” That is one party better identifying with certain issues. When a voter identifies strongly with different issues at both the national and local levels, they may be more inclined to cast split ballots.

The rise of candidate-centered politics has certainly increased ticket splitting. Partisan attachments amongst voters have weakened in recent decades, meaning that voters will be less likely to vote straight tickets. The party organization has less control

¹⁰ Shafer, Byron and William Claggett. *The Two Majorities: The Issue Context of Modern American Politics*. John Hopkins Press, 1995.

over the nomination process, and thus less control over candidates themselves.

Candidates can afford to hold differing views than that of the party. The increased media resources that candidates have at their disposal also aid them in promoting their own candidacy. Therefore, voters are now less inclined to vote based on just party or issue, they are more inclined to base their vote on individual candidate factors.

On the other hand while candidate-centered politics have helped, weak congressional candidates have also contribute to split tickets. Entrenched incumbents are more likely to attract weaker candidates than an open seat race. For example, a lot of people who voted for George Bush in 2004 will also voted for Blanche Lincoln. This is because her Republican challenger did not put forth a strong campaign.

Finally, with the increase in the number issues, voters are much more likely to face greater numbers of “cross pressures” than before. This occurs when a person identifies with two or more key issues that produce internal tensions or conflict. For example, someone who is pro-choice and is opposed to gun control is more likely to vote a split ticket.

Divided government is an unintentional byproduct of long term and short-term effects in United States’ elections. The long-term structural argument certainly provides for a great possibility of divided government. The short-tem factors coupled with the decline in party identification help explain a rise in ticket splitting in recent years. Lastly, it is highly unlikely substantial portion of the American electorate would take the time to purposely split their voting ballots to cause divided government.

In the past twelve years Arkansas has witnessed a substantial rise in the number of Republicans being elected to office, outside of the party’s traditional stronghold in the

northwestern corner of the state. Jay Dickey unseated incumbent Beryl Anthony in 1992 to claim Arkansas's Fourth Congressional district for the Republican party. In 1994 Arkansas voters sent Tim Hutchinson to the United States Senate, marking the first time that a Republican had held such a seat since Reconstruction.

Ticket Splitting in Arkansas elections

For all the good that the secret ballot has brought to American elections, it creates serious problems for researchers studying election returns. It is very important to note that there is no way to exactly determine the amount of ticket splitting. This is most likely one of the reasons why scholars have shied away from the topic. However, considering that divided government has been the norm rather than the exception over the past half century, I feel this is a worthy topic to study. Furthermore, given the growing strength of the Republican Party in the South, this topic has important implications for Arkansas as well as the rest of the nation.

Data from the National Election Study would be impractical for this study because it is impossible to apply national level data to Arkansas and districts within its borders. That is why aggregate state election returns are used in the study. The measuring techniques employed assume that voters mark their ballots from the top down, starting with the most prominent races. As they go down the ballot they have four choices: vote a straight ticket, vote a split ticket, abstain from voting, or mark their ballot incorrectly, thus negating their vote. There is no way to determine the number of mutual crossovers between parties. Likewise, it is also difficult to determine the amount of ballot roll off between races and the exact number of ballots with errors.

Aggregate election data can be utilized to determine where ticket splitting exists. This is accomplished by means of the “method of bounds,” which uses election returns to create intervals that must contain the true values of unknown quantities. In this case the unknown quantities are the minimum and maximum numbers of voters who split their tickets between two given races. Contest can also be compared to examine the differences in ticket splitting between races.

I will first prove that ticket splitting does in fact exist. Using the election returns it is mathematically given that some portion of the voters had to split their tickets to produce the outcomes. Next, I will attempt to explain to what degree voters split their ballots, and look at how many of the votes can be explained by ballot roll-off. Finally, I will examine why this occurs in Arkansas and what implication it will have on the future.

Currently, Republicans hold two of the state’s Constitutional offices. After coming into the office of Governor following Democrat Jim Guy Tucker’s 1996 resignation, Mike Huckabee won another term in 2002 Winthrop Rockefeller retained the Lieutenant Governor’s seat after winning reelection by a large margin in 2002. In 2002 House member Bozeman retained his seat. After Arkansans sent their native son Bill Clinton to the White House in 1992 and 1996, they voted for Republican George W. Bush in the past two presidential elections.

Despite Republican gains over the last decade, Democrats still have a strong hold on Arkansas. Although Republicans have made notable progress at the top of the ticket, positions further down the ballot remain in Democrats’ hands. An examination of Arkansas’s political history shows that it has a strong tradition of Democratic voting patterns, even for the Old South.

For twenty-three straight election cycles ranging from 1876 to 1964, Arkansas went for the Democratic presidential candidate in every race. This one party domination extended from the local courthouse to the White House. Jim Ranchino stated in his 1972 book, *Faubus to Bumpers*, to deny the power of the Democratic Party in Arkansas was “both foolish and unrewarding.”

My research focuses on Arkansas elections from 1992 to 2004. I chose this time period because five major events occurred in Arkansas during the 1990s that changed the political landscape in favor of the Republican Party.

First, the “big three” in Arkansas politics, all Democrats, left the state’s political scene at roughly the same time, the most notable name of course, Bill Clinton. In 1992, the second longest serving governor in Arkansas’s history left the state for the White House. In addition, Dale Bumpers and David Pryor both retired from the Senate, thus leaving those seats to open competition.

Second, in 1992 Arkansas voters approved what was unquestionably the strictest term limits in the nation. While the United States Supreme Court struck down term limits for the national offices, but they remained for state offices. This had the effect of forcing many entrenched state Democratic representatives out of office at the same time. In one session fifty-seven freshmen members joined the state house.

Third, Little Rock was rocked by scandals in the mid-90s that forced several prominent Democrats out of office. Most notably, Governor Jim Guy Tucker had to resign, thus allowing Republican Mike Huckabee to take office. These three events took many of the major players in Arkansas Democratic politics out of the picture, and left the party leaderless and without direction. It also allowed Republicans to gain a foothold.

Fourth, a new voter emerged in Arkansas. The 1992 with term limits gave the electorate a sense of empowerment. Arkansans became more willing to bypass the legislature if lawmakers refuse to act. In the 2004 election they fiercely protected their gains by flatly rejecting a ballot measure designed to lengthen the terms of state representatives to in the 2004 election.

Fifth, the Republican Party has been sweeping the South. Democrats' grip on the Solid South first started to slip at the presidential level and then Republicans began to gain seats on down the ballot. In most Southern states Republican now control the governor's office and a significant amount of state legislatures. In the 2004 presidential race the entire South was all claimed as "red states."

Although Republicans have made gains, the voting habits of Arkansans suggest that the old Democratic loyalties still run deep. Aside from the offices of governor and lieutenant governor, no other constitutional offices in the state of Arkansans have been won by Republicans since Reconstruction.

Structural features that Arkansas shares with the rest of the nation affect election outcomes to some degree. Staggered elections take away the coattail effect that down ballot candidates might receive from running in the same year as a presidential contest. Also Arkansas utilizes a secret ballot, this has the effect of promoting ticket splitting and making the phenomena more difficult to study.

Structural features that are particular to Arkansas also affect election outcomes. Arkansas's "closed un-enforced primary" takes the power to influence who receives the party's nomination out of the hands of party leaders. In addition stringent term limits

have proven more harmful to Democrats, as it makes it more difficult for individuals to establish themselves in the legislature.

As the graph on the next page illustrates Arkansas voters preferred Bush to Gore in 2000 and Kerry in 2004. Republicans also competed well in other races at the top of the ballot. In a rather unusual outcome, more people voted for Huckabee and Bumpers in the 1992 Senate race than voted for Presidential candidates Bill Clinton and George H. W. Bush. However, below the office of Lieutenant Governor, Republican votes dropped off sharply.

Even when a candidate was in position to benefit from strong coattails they did not win on the Republican side. In the 2002 mid-term elections Governor Mike Huckabee ran in the same year that his wife Janet Huckabee was running for to the office of Secretary of State. This unusual election suggests that even strong coattails might not be enough to help Republican candidates further down the ballot.

Bar Graph

Methods:

I primarily used two methods to analyze the data. First, I employed the "Method of Bounds." This method cannot tell the exact amount of ticket splitting in a given race, however it can demonstrate that it does occur and most importantly what direction the ticket splitting takes. By comparing two races the method of bounds reveals a range of voters that had to split their tickets in order to produce the outcomes of the two races. "RD" and "DR" are used to denote the direction of the ticket splitting being measured. RD stands for Republican-Democrat ticket splitting and DR stands for Democrat-Republican splitting.

Secondly, I will also utilize voter roll-off as tool of examining ticket splitting. Two races are compared and the total amount of roll-off is given. Next the ballot roll-off for the Democrat and Republican candidates are compared side-by-side to examine the difference in roll-off between the two parties down the ballot.

1992 President and Arkansas Senate Race

The first table displays the data for 1992 the President and U.S. Senate races. The method of bounds shows that greater ticket splitting occurred between Republican-Democrat ticket splitters, those who voted for George H.W. Bush for president and for Dale Bumpers for Senate. The minimum number of RD ticket splitters was 47,812 and the maximum possible was 337,324. Conversely, the range for Democrat-Republican ticket splitters was 0 to 337,324.

Roll-off results are consistent throughout this thesis, with there being a normally greater Republican roll-off. Roll-off between Republican votes for President and

Republican voters for U.S. Senate was 951, while the Democrats picked up 47,812 between the two races. (Table 1)

1992 President and Arkansas Supreme Court Associate Justice

When the 1992 presidential race was compared to a down ballot partisan judicial race, Republican-Democrat ticket splitting became evident. In this race it is logical to assume that far fewer voters were familiar with the judicial race between (D) David Newbern and (R) Scott Manatt than they were with the presidential race between (D) Bill Clinton and (R) George H.W. Bush. The method of bounds shows that at least 17,909 of the voters that voted for Bush in the presidential race must have voted for David Newbern in the associate justice race. While it being mathematically possible, but not likely, none of the Bill Clinton voters would have voted for the Republican candidate Scott Manatt.

1992 Roll-off

An analysis of the roll-off from the president and judicial race mirrors the ticket splitting results. Democrats had negative voter roll-off picking up 17,909 votes between the two races, while Republicans had a roll-off of 81,919. Roll-off between the 1992 and U.S. Senate race and Associate Justice race had similar results. Democrats lost 29,903 votes while Republicans had a much greater roll-off of 110,868. (Table 2)

1994 Governor and Auditor of State Ticket Splitting

The vote totals in the race between the Governor and Auditor of State are such that it is impossible to find a ticket splitting range by moving from the top down. Thus, I had to reverse the formula and find out how many of the voters who voted in the Auditor of State race voted in the Governor's race. The results show that that the range of

Arkansas voters who voted for (D) Gus Wingfield and (R) Sheffield Nelson in the race for Governor to be 42,621 to 423,307, while the Democrat-Republican range for the same race is 5,571 to 179,826. (Table 3)

1994 Lieutenant Governor and Auditor of State

A weak showing by (D) Charlie Chaffin for the 1994 Lieutenant Governor's race led to greater ticket splitting by Democrats between this race and the contest for Auditor of State. Of those who voted for the Democrat for Auditor of State, 168,140 voted for Republican Mike Huckabee for Lieutenant Governor. Of those who voted for the Republican candidate for Auditor of State, 173,350 voted for the Democrat in the Lieutenant Governor's race. (Table 4)

1994 Governor and Lieutenant Governor

The 1994 general elections for Governor and Lieutenant Governor witnessed a sizable victory for (D) Jim Guy Tucker for Governor and (R) Mike Huckabee for Lieutenant Governor. Going from the top of the ballot down, there was greater Democrat-Republican ticket splitting. The range for voters who voted for Tucker in the Governor's race and Huckabee in the Lieutenant Governor's race was 126,519 to 417,191. The Range for RD ticket splitting was 0 to 294,957. (Table 5)

1994 Governor and Secretary of State

Moving from the Governor's race to the contest for Secretary of State, greater Democrat-Republican ticket splitting occurred. Of the 428,878 voters who cast their ballots for (D) Jim Guy Tucker in the Governor's race, at least 41,251 had to have voted for the Republican candidate for Secretary of State. The range for Republican-Democrat ticket splitting was 0 to 290,672. The greater top down DR ticket splitting in

these two races can be partially explained by the weak showing in the Governor's race by Republican Sheffield Nelson. (Table 6)

1994 Governor and Attorney General

A comparison of the 1994 Governor's race and the Attorney General's race speaks volumes about ticket splitting in Arkansas. Despite (R) Sheffield Nelson's poor showing in the race for Governor, 290,672 votes, Republican-Democrat ticket splitting from the top down was much greater than Democrat-Republican ticket splitting. Of those who voted for Sheffield Nelson for Governor, 131,836 had to have voted for (D) Winston Bryant for Attorney General, the maximum number was 290,672. The Range for Republican-Democrat ticket splitting was 0 to 136,078. (Table 7)

1994 Roll-off Analysis

When the 1994 race for Governor was compared to the rest of the races on the ballot the Republicans actually picked up votes down to the Secretary of State's race, but the trend quickly reversed after the Attorney General's race. Republicans added 126,519 votes between the Governor's race and the Lieutenant Governor's race, while Democrats had a roll-off of 178,921. Republicans had 41,251 more votes in the Secretary of State's race than they did in the Governor's race, while the Democrats lost 96,955.

Republicans lost a staggering 154,594 votes between race for Attorney General and race for Governor, while the Democrats picked up 131,836 votes. Both parties had roll-off between the Governor's race and the Auditor of State's race, however the Republican roll-off was notably higher at 41,621 voters compared to only 5,571 votes for the Democrats. The significance of the roll-off comparison for the 1994 general election is that despite the Republican candidate for Governor receiving only 290,672 votes,

Republican roll-off down ballot races still remained quite significant, while Democrat candidates were more likely to hold their number from past races or even pick up more votes. (Table 8)

1994 Roll-off Analysis from the Lieutenant Governor's Race

The roll-off from the 1994 Lieutenant echoes that of the Governor's race. Comparing this Republican victory against down ballot races proved how much stronger the Democratic Party performed in 1994. In all of the other races Republican candidates suffered roll-off from Mike Huckabee's victory total. Democrats were more likely to stay strong on the ballot from top to bottom, while Republicans suffered from severe ballot roll-off in races past the Lieutenant Governor. (Table 9)

1996 President and U.S. Senate

After Arkansans vote to re-elect one of their own to the White House they elected Republican Tim Hutchinson to the U.S. Senate. Ticket splitting between the 1996 Presidential race and U.S. Senate race favored Democrat-Republican. The range of voters who voted for Bill Clinton for President and chose Tim Hutchinson for the U.S. Senate was 120,526 to 445,942. The Republican-Democrat range was 0 to 400,241. (Table 10)

1996 President and Lieutenant Governor

Running a bounds test for the President's race and Lieutenant Governor's race from top down only illustrated that that the maximum number of ticket splitters was higher in the Republican Democrat direction. Determining how many voters voted for (D) Charlie Chaffin in the Lieutenant Governor's race and voted for Bob Dole in the

Presidential races yielded a range of 112,921 in the Democrat-Republican direction, this was primarily due to the weak preference by Bob Dole. (Table 11)

1996 Roll-off Analysis

Only those voters who voted for two major party candidates were taken into account in figuring the roll-off from the Presidential race. Democrats had a roll-off of 74,930 between the Presidential race and the U.S. Senate race, while Republicans had a negative roll-off of 120,526. The same can be said for the roll-off between the Presidential race and Lieutenant Governor's race; Democrats lost 46,834 votes and Republicans picked up 113,300 votes between the two races.

These three races are significant because they demonstrated that Republicans could have strength on the ballot down to the Lieutenant Governor's office. In both the U.S. Senate race and the Lieutenant Governor's races Democrats suffered voter roll-off, while Republicans picked up votes. Those two races were both Republican victories that could have been considered to be high profile races featuring high profile candidates.

(Table 12)

1998 U.S. Senate and Governor

Ticket splitting between the U.S. Senate race and the Governor's race was in the Democrat-Republican direction. The range of voters who voted for (D) Blanch Lincoln for U.S. Senate and for (R) Mike Huckabee for Governor was 126,119 to 295,870, the range for Republican-Democrat ticket splitting was 0 to 272,923. (Table 13)

1998 Governor and Lieutenant Governor

Ticket splitting between the Governor's race and the Lieutenant Governor's race was predominantly in the Democrat-Republican direction. The range of (D) Kurt Dilday voters who split their ballots for (R) Win Rockefeller in the Lieutenant Governor's race was 39,441 to 272,923. The range for Republican-Democrat ticket splitters was 0 to 272,923. (Table 14)

1998 Governor and Attorney General

The 1998 elections followed the normal trend for Arkansas elections. Roll-off fell off sharply past the Lieutenant Governor's race while Republican Roll-off picked up dramatically. Ticket splitting between the Governor's race and Attorney General's race was heavily in the Republican-Democrat direction. The range for people who cast their vote for (R) Mike Huckabee in the Governor's race and also voted for (D) Mark Pryor for Attorney General was 138,644 to 272,923; the range for Democrat-Republican ticket splitters was 0 to 287,844. (Table 15)

1998 Governor and Secretary of State

Ticket splitting between the Governor's race and the Secretary of State's race was greater than between any other two races for constitutional offices on the 1998 ballot. Most of the ticket splitting was in the Republican-Democrat direction. The range for voters who cast their ballots for (R) Mike Huckabee for Governor and (D) Sharon Priest for Secretary of State was 203,082 to 421,989. The range for Democrat-Republican ticket splitting was 0 to 211,585. (Table 16)

1998 Roll-off Analysis

More Arkansans voted in the 1998 Governor's race than the U.S. Senate Race. This was due in part to a sizable victory by (D) Blanche L. Lincoln in the U.S. Senate race over (R) Fay Boozman. Democrats lost 112,955 votes between the two races while Republicans picked up 126,119 votes. Democrats also suffered voter roll-off between the Governor's race and the Lieutenant Governor's race, losing 42,193 votes between the two races. Republican victor Win Rockefeller benefited by picking up 39,441 votes between the two races. After losing voters in the races for Governor and Lieutenant Governor (D) Mark Pryor picked up 138,644 votes between the Governor's race and the Attorney General's race. Republicans had a roll-off of 134,145. (Table 17)

1998 Roll-off Analysis

Democrats picked up the most votes between the Governor's race the race for Secretary of State, the last statewide race on the ballot. Democrat Sharon Priest saw a gain of 203,082 votes and Republican Ross Jones suffered a roll-off of 210,404. (Table 18)

2000 President and 4th District Congressional Race (Select Counties)

There were no statewide partisan races to compare to the Presidential race, so I had to compare election results between the Presidential race and 4th District Congressional race in five Arkansas counties. Ashley County saw primarily Democrat-Republican ticket splitting. The range of Ashley County voters who voted for (D) Al Gore for President and (R) George W. Bush was 197 to 4,073. The range of Republican-Democrat voters who split their tickets was 0 to 4,249.

Bradley County voters split their ballots more heavily in the Democrat-Republican direction. The range for DR ticket splitting was 202 to 1,995. The range for Republican Democrat ticket splitting was 0 to 2,029. (Table 19)

2000 President and 4th District Congressional Race (Select Counties)

Calhoun County voters split their ballots in the Republican-Democrat direction. The range of (R) George W. Bush voters who split their ballots for (D) Congressional candidate Mike Ross was 172 to 1,017. The range for Democrat-Republican ticket splitting was 0 to 1,053.

Clark County ticket splitting favored the Republican-Democrat direction. 200 of (R) George W. Bush's voters had to have split their ballots for (D) Mike Ross with a maximum of 3776. Democrat-Republican ticket splitting range was 0 to 3,683.

Union County witnessed the majority of ticket splitting in the Democrat-Republican direction, with a range of 576 to 6,261. The range for Republican-Democrat ticket splitting was 0 to 5,785. (Table 20)

2002 U.S. Senate and Governor

Ticket splitting between the U.S. Senate races and the contest of Governor favored Democrat-Republican. In the Senate contest (D) Mark Pryor upset incumbent (R) Tim Hutchinson. At least 56,429 of Mark Pryor's supporters voted for (R) Mike Huckabee in the Governor's race, the maximum number that could have split their ballots for Huckabee was 370,653. The range for Republican-Democrat voters was 0 to 370,653. (Table 21)

2002 Governor and Lieutenant Governor, Governor and Secretary of State, and Governor and State Treasurer

Ballot splitting between the Governor's race and the Lieutenant Governor's races was very close. The minimum amount of ticket splitting for both DR and RD ticket splitting was 0. However, there was slightly more DR ticket splitting in this race.

As in 1998 ticket splitting in the Republican-Democrat direction picked up drastically past the Lieutenant Governor's race. In this rather unusual election incumbent Republican Governor Mike Huckabee ran for reelection to the Governor's seat at the same time that his wife Janet Huckabee was on the ballot for Secretary of State. Despite Governor Huckabee's sizable win, his wife still lost to Democrat Charlie Daniels. The range for Republican-Democrat ticket splitting was 114,371 to 478,250. The range for Democrat-Republican ticket splitting was 0 to 300,293.

Ballot splitting between the Governor's race and State Treasurer's race was in the Republican-Democrat direction. The range for voters who voted for (R) Mike Huckabee for Governor and for (D) Gus Wingfield for State Treasurer was 67,389 to 427,082. The range for Democrat-Republican ticket splitting was 0 to 329,468. (Table 22)

2002 Governor and Commissioner of State Lands

Ticket splitting in this race was in the Republican-Democrat direction. The range of voters who voted for (R) Mike Huckabee and (D) Mark Wilcox for Land Commissioner was 67,683 to 427,082. The range for Democrat-Republican ticket splitting was 0 to 314,468. (Table 23)

2002 Roll-off Analysis

More people voted in the 2002 Governor's race than did in the U.S. Senate race. Democrats lost 55,056 votes between the two races and Republicans gained 56,429 votes.

Republicans also experienced a negative roll-off of 49,980 between the Governor's race and the Lieutenant Governor's race. Democrats lost 59,658 between these two races.

Democrats picked up 114,371 votes between Governor's race and the Secretary of State's race. Republicans had a roll-off 126,789. (Table 24)

2002 Roll-off Analysis

Democrats picked up 67,389 votes between the Governor's race and the State Treasurer's race. Republicans lost 97,714.

Democrats gained 64,099 votes between the Governor's race and the Land Commissioner's race. Republicans had a roll-off of 102,103 votes between the two races.

Republican suffered their greatest roll-off between the races of Governor and Land Commissioner with a loss of 112,614 votes. Democrats had a negative roll-off of 67,683 between the to contest. (Table 25)

Conclusions

Divided government is the norm in U.S. politics today. Following each election journalists look at the results and claim that the outcomes are mandates for divided government and bi-partisanship, thus implying that voters purposely split their ballots to create divided government. I concur with Burden and Kimball in disagreeing with this hypothesis. It is far more likely that divided government results from the structural arrangements and short-term forces rather than a cohesive effort on the part of millions of voters.¹⁰

Burden and Kimball assert that ticket splitting results mainly from: absence of competition, incumbency, campaign spending, candidate name recognition, and cross pressure on key issues. My study agrees with their analysis. Such factors as incumbency played a role in the reelection of Jay Dickey, Win Rockefeller, and Mike Huckabee. While I did not test factors such as campaign spending and name recognition, I do believe they likely played a role in Republican victories.

I disagreed with Burden and Kimball. They state, "Now that Republicans are competitive in all national contests in the South, RD splitting is no higher in the South than in other regions of the country." My study challenges this assertion. The vast majority of measurable ticket splitting in Arkansas from 1992 to 2002 was in the Republican-Democrat direction.

While at first glance it might appear that Republicans are making strong gains in Arkansas, their successes at the top of the ballot have not helped further down the ticket. Past the office of Lieutenant Governor, Republicans simply have not. Therefore, is it

¹⁰ Burden, Berry and Kimball David, *Why Americans Split Their Tickets: Campaigns, Competition, and Divided Government*.

possible to say that Arkansas has jumped on the political bandwagon with the rest of the New South in regards to higher offices, but the GOP of far from claiming Arkansas.

In modern Arkansas elections GOP candidates can compete at the top of the ballot in statewide contests. From President to Lieutenant Governor (high profile races,) a candidate's personality trumps partisanship. However, past the Lieutenant Governor's race, partisan loyalties trump personalities. No Republican won a statewide vote in Arkansas past the office of Lieutenant Governor from 1992 to 2002. Even when Republicans would seemingly benefit from the coattail of other Republicans at the top of ballot, they still did not have much success in down ballot races.

I have identified four key reasons to explain the Democrats' strength in Arkansas. First, Arkansas has a strong tradition voting Democrat. Republicans have made gains in the South, but Arkansas remains a bastion of Democratic strength in the South. One of the key factors that correlated with growing Republicanism in the South a rise in socio-economical status in Southern states.¹¹ However, Arkansas's SES level has not matched the rise of other Southern states.

Second, there remains a great number of Democrats in office in Arkansas. From each of the seventy-five local courthouses to the Capitol Building in Little Rock, many Democrats remain in power. Democrats across Arkansas reap the benefits of incumbency up and down the ballot.

Third, the overall weakness of the Republican Party in Arkansas is reflected in poor election returns for the party's candidates. The state Republican Party has been in disarray for a number of years. Lack of funds, lack of organization, and lack of staff have

¹¹ Shafer, Byron and Richard Johnston. *The End of Southern Exceptionalism: Class, Race, and Partisan Change in the Postwar South*. Harvard Press, 2006.

kept the Arkansas Republican Party from engaging in key party building efforts in Arkansas. Furthermore, Arkansas Democrats have a solid network of county organizations across the state from which to run grassroots operations. Conversely, in many of Arkansas seventy-five counties Republican county committees barely exist, if at all.

Fourth, a weak party translates into weak candidates, or a lack of candidates. If possible Republican candidates see that they do not stand to receive adequate support from their party, those most qualified to run for public office might be discouraged from doing so. Similarly, many officials at the local levels of government might choose to run as Democrats because they feel they would have more influence running as Democrats than Republicans.

The main significance of this research is that the Democratic Party is still strong in Arkansas. If the assumption is correct that when a person does not recognize a political candidate they will defer to their partisan loyalties, the majority of Arkansas voters still feel strong allegiance to the Democratic Party. Furthermore, the Republican “takeover” of the South did not take hold in Arkansas as strongly as it did in other Southern states.

1992 U.S. President & Vice President compared to 1992 Arkansas Senate Race

(Table 1)

	Bounds				
	D	R			
Senate	Dale Bumpers	Mike Huckabee			
President			Bill Clinton	505823	D
President			George H.W. Bush	337324	R
	553635	336373		843147	
	DR Splitting		RD Splitting		
	553635				
	-505823				
	47812	337324		337324	337324
	DR Range		RD Range		Rolloff
	47812 to 337324		0 to 337324		843147
					-890008
					-46861
	Democrat Rolloff		Republican Rolloff		
	505823		337324		
	-553635		-336373		
	-47812		951		Greater Republican Rolloff

1992 U.S. President & Vice President Compared to Associate Justice Race
(Table 2)

Bounds for President/Associate Justice Splitting

	D	R		
Justice	David Newbern	Scott Manatt		
President			Bill Clinton	505823 D
President			George H.W. Bush	337324 R
	523732	255505		<u>843147</u>

DR Ticket Splitting

523732	
<u>-505823</u>	
17909	337324

DR Range 17909 to 337324

RD Ticket Splitting

0	337324
---	--------

RD Range 0 to 337324

Roll off between President and Associate Justice Race

843147
<u>-779237</u>
63910

Roll off between U.S. Senate Race and Associate Justice

553635	920008
366373	<u>-779237</u>
920008	140771

Democrat Roll off President/Associate Justice

505823
<u>-523732</u>
-17909

Greater Republican Rolloff

Republican Roll off President/Associate Justice

337324
<u>-255505</u>
81819

Democrat Rolloff U.S. Senate/Associate Justice

553635
<u>-523732</u>
29903

Greater Republican Rolloff

Republican Roll off U.S. Senate/Assoc. Justice

366373
<u>-255505</u>
110868

1994 Governor and Auditor of State

(Table 3)

D	R		
Gus Wingfield	Darrel Gal		
		D Jim Guy Tucker	428878
		R Sheffield Nelson	290672
423307	249051		

RD Governor/Auditor of State

DR Governor/Auditor of State

0 to 290672	0 249051
-------------	----------

Auditor of State/Governor

D	R		
Jim Guy Tucker	Sheffield Nelson		
		D Gus Wingfield	423307
		R Darrel Gal	249051
428878	290672		

RD Auditor of State/Governor

DR Auditor of State/Governor

428878	428877	290672	
-423307	-249051	-249051	
5571 to 179826 41621 to 423307			

1994 Lieutenant Governor & Auditor of State

(Table 4)

D		R	
Gus Wingfield		Darrell Gla	
		Charlie Co	D 294957
		Mike Huckabee	R 417191
423307		249051	

RD Lt. Governor/Auditor of State

0 to 423307

DR Lt. Governor/Auditor of State

0 to 249051

D		R	
Charlie Co		Mike Huckabee	
		Gus Wingfield	D 423307
		Darel Gla	R 249051
249957		417191	

RD Auditor of State/Lt. Governor

DR Lt. Governor/ Auditor of State

423307
-249957

417191
-249051

173350 417191

168140 249051

1994 Governor Compared to Lieutenant Governor

(Table 5)

	D	R		
Lt. Governor	Charlie C	Mike Huckabee		
Governor			D Jim Guy Tucker	428878
Governor			R Sheffield Nelson	290672
Lt. Governor	294957	417191		

RD Governor/Lt. Governor Ticket Splitting

DR Governor/Lt. Governor Ticket Splitting

417191
 -290672
 126519 417191

0 to 294957

126519 to 417191

1994 Lt. Governor/Governor Ticket Splitting

	D			
	Jim Guy Tucker	Sheffield Nelson		
			Charlie C	294957
			Mike Huckabee	417191
	428878	290672		

RD Lt. Governor/Governor Ticket Splitting

DR Lt. Governor/Governor Ticket Splitting

428878 417191
 -294957 -290672

133921 to 417191 126519 to 290672

1994 Governor & Secretary of State Races

(Table 6)

	D	R		
	Sharon Priste	Julia Hugh		
Governor	[Redacted]		D Jim Guy Tucker	428878
Governor			R Sheffield Nelson	290672
	366620	331923		

RD Governor/Secretary of State Ticket Splitting

[Redacted] 0 to 290672

DR Governor/Secretary of State

331923

-290672

[Redacted] 41251 to 331923

	D	R		
	Jim Guy Tucker	Sheffield Nelson		
	[Redacted]		D Sharon Priset	366620
			R Hulia Huge	331923
	428878	290672		

RD Sectary of State/Governor

428878

-366620

[Redacted] 62258 to 366620

RD Secretary of State/Governor

[Redacted] 0 to 290672

1994 Governor and Attorney General

(Table 7)

	D		R		
	Winston Bryant		Dan Ivy		
Governor	560714 136078			D Jim Guy Tucker	428878
Governor				R Sheffield Nelson	290672

RD Governor/Att. General

DR Att. General

560714
-428878
131836 to 290672

0 to 136078

	D		R		
	Jim Guy Tucker		Sheffield Nelson		
	428878 290672			D Winston Bryant	560714
				R Dan Ivy	136078

RD Att. General/Governor

DR Att. General/Governor

0 428878
 -136078
 292800

0 to 292800

0 to 136078

1994 Roll off Analysis

(Table 8)

Governor	
D Jim Guy Tucker	428878
R Sheffield Nelson	290672
	<u>719550</u>
Lieutenant Governor	
D Charlie Co	249957
R Mike Huckabee	417191
	<u>667148</u>
Secretary of State	
D Sharon Priest	366620
R Julia Hugh	331923
	<u>698543</u>
Attorney General	
D Winston Bryant	560714
R Dan Ivy	136078
	<u>696792</u>
Audior of State	
D Gus Wingfield	423307
R Darrell Gla	249051
	<u>672358</u>

Governor/Lieutenatn Governor

719550
-667148

52402 Total rolloff

Democrat Rolloff

428878
-249957

178921

Republican Rolloff

290672
-417191

-126519

Governor/Secretary of state

719550
-366620

352930 Total Rolloff

Democrat Rolloff

428878
-331923

96955

Republican Rolloff

290672
-331923

-41251

Governor/Attorney General

719550
-696729

22821 Total Rolloff

Democrat Rolloff

428878
-560714

-131836

Republican Rolloff

290672
-136078

154594

Governor/Audior of State

719550
-672358

47192 Total Rolloff

Democrat Rolloff

428878
-423307

5571

Republican Rolloff

290672
-249051

41621

1994 Roll off Form the Lt. Governor's Race (Table 9)

Lt. Governor/Secretary of State

712148
-698543

13605 Total Rolloff

Democrat Rolloff

294957
-366620

Republican Rolloff

417191
-331923

-71663

85268

Lt. Governor/Attorney General

712148
-696792

15356 Total Rolloff

Democrat Rolloff

294957
-560714

Republican Rolloff

417191
-136078

-265757

281113

Lt. Governor/Audior of State

712148
-672358

39790 Total Rolloff

Democrat Rolloff

294957
-423307
-128350

Republican Rolloff

417191
-249051
168140

1996 Elections

President/U.S. Senate Ticket Splitting (Table 10)

D	R		
Winston Bryant	Tim Hutchinson		
		D Bill Clinton	475171
		R Bob Dole	325416
400241	445942		

RD President/Senate

DR President/Senate

445942
-325416

0 to	400241	120526 to	445942
------	--------	-----------	--------

D	R		
Bill Clinton	Bob Dole		
		D Winston Bryant	400241
		R Tim Hutchinson	445942
475171	325416		

RD Senate/President

DR Senate/President

475171
-400241

445942
-325416

74930	325416	120526	325416
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1996 President and Lieutenate Governor (Table 11)

D Charlie Chaffin	R Win Rockefeller		
		D Bill Clinton R Bob Bole	475171 325416
428337	438716		

RD President/Lt. Governor

DR President/Lt. Governor

0 to 428337

0 to 325416

D Bill Clinton	R Bob Dole		
		D Charlie Chaffin R Win Rockefeller	428337 438716
457171	325416		

475171

438337

-428337

-325416

46834 to	438716	112921 to	325416
----------	--------	-----------	--------

1996 Roll Off (Table 12)

President	
D Bill Clinton	475171
R Bob Dole	325416
	<u>800587</u>
U.S. Senate	
D Winston Bryant	400241
R Tim Hutchinson	445942
	<u>846183</u>
Lieutenant governor	
D Charlie Chaffin	428337
R Win Rockefeller	438716
	<u>867053</u>

President/U.S. Senate

800587
-846183
 -45596

Democrat Rolloff

475171
-400241
 74930

Republican Rolloff

325416
-445942
 -120526

President/Lt. Governor

800587
-867053
 -66466

Democrat Rolloff

475171
-428337
 46834

Republican Rolloff

325416
-438716
 -113300

1998 General Election (Table 13)

Governor/U.S. Senate

D		R		
Blanche Lincoln		Fay Boozman		
			D Bill Bristow	272923
			R Mike Huckabee	421989
385878		295870		

RD Governor/U.S. Senate

DR Governor/U.S. Senate

385878
-272923

112955 to	272923	0 to	295870
-----------	--------	------	--------

U.S. Senate/Governor

D		R		
Bill Bristow		Mike Huckabee		
			D Blanch Lincoln	385878
			R Fay Boozman	295870
272923		421989		

RD U.S. Senate/Governor

DR U.S. Senate/Governor

421989
-295870

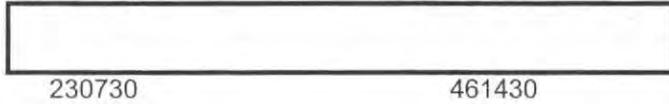
0 to	272923	126119 to	295870
------	--------	-----------	--------

Governor/Lieutenant Governor

(Table 14)

D
Kurt Dilday

R
Win Rockefeller



D Bill Bristow
R Mike Huckabee

272923
421989

RD Governor/Lt. Governor

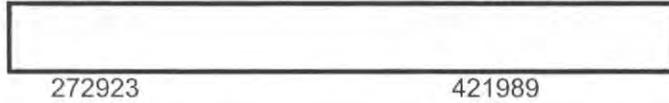
DR Governor/Lt. Governor

461430
-421989



D
Bill Bristow

R
Mike Huckabee



D Kurt Dilday
R Win Rockefeller

230730
461430

RD Lt. Governor/Governor

DR Lt. Governor/Governor

272923 to
-230730

42193 to 272923

0 to 421989

Governor/Attorney General 1998

(Table 15)

D
Mark Pryor

R
Betty Dickey



411567

287844

D Bill Bristow
R Mike Huckabee

272923
421989

RD Governor/Attorney General

DR Governor/Attorney General

411567
-272923



D
Bill Bristow

R
Mike Huckabee



272923

421989

D Mark Pryor
R Betty Dickey

411567
287844

RD Attorney General/Governor

DR Attorney General/Governor

421989
-287844



0 to

272923

134145 to

411567

1998 Governor/Secretary of State

(Table 16)

D
Sharon Priest

R
Ross Jones



D Bill Bristow
R Mike Huckabee

272923
421989

RD Governor/Secretary of State

DR Governor/Secretary of State

476005
-272923



D
Bill Bristow

R
Mike Huckabee



D Sharon Priest
R Ross Jones

476005
211585

RD Secretary of State/Governor

DR Secretary of State/Governor

476005
-421989



1998 Roll Off	
U.S. Senate	
D Blanche L. Lincoln	385878
I Charley E. Heffley	18896
R Fay Boozman	295870
	<u>700644</u>
Governor	
D Bill Bristow	272923
I Keith Carle	11099
R Mike Huckabee	421989
	<u>706011</u>
Lieutenant Governor	
D Kurt Dilday	230730
R Win Rockefeller	461430
	<u>692160</u>
Attorney General	
D Mark Pryor	411567
R Betty Dickey	287844
	<u>699411</u>
Secretary of State	
D Sharon Priest	476005
R Rose Jones	211585
	<u>687590</u>

(Table 17)

U.S. Senate & Governor

700644
-706011
-5367

Democrat Rolloff Republican Rolloff

385878	295870
-272923	-421989
112955	-126119

Governor & Lt. Governor

706011
-692160
13851

Democrat Rolloff Republican Rolloff

272923	421989
-230730	-461430
42193	-39441

Governor & Attorney General

706011
-699411
6600

Democrat Rolloff Republican Rolloff

272923	421989
-411567	-287844
-138644	134145

Governor & Secretary of State

(Table 18)

421989

-687590

-265601

Democrat Rolloff

272923

-476005

-203082

Republican Rolloff

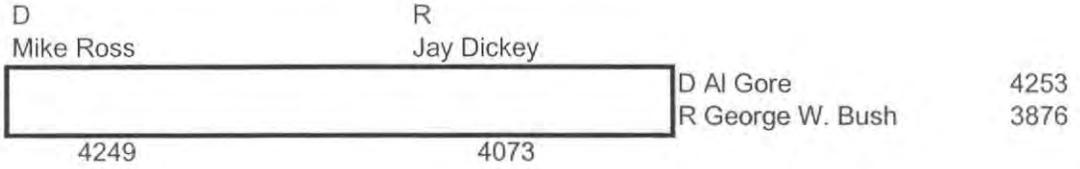
421989

-211585

210404

2000 General Election (Table 19)

Ashley County

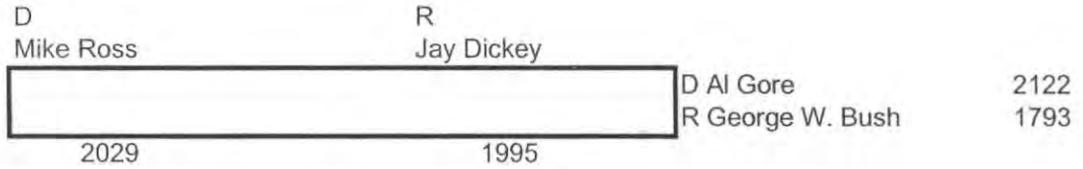


RD President/Congress

DR President/Congress



Bradley County

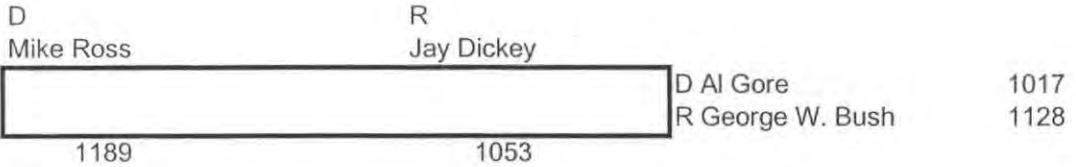


RD President/Congress

DR President/Congress



Calhoun County

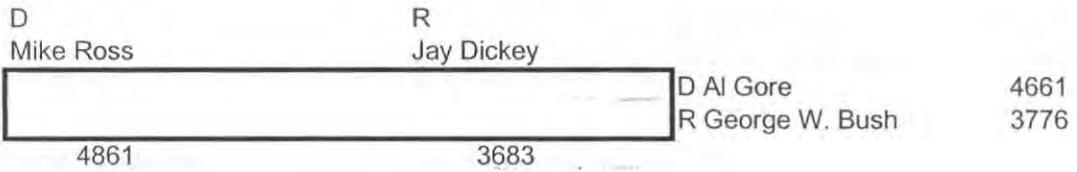


RD President/Congress

DR President/Congress



Clark County

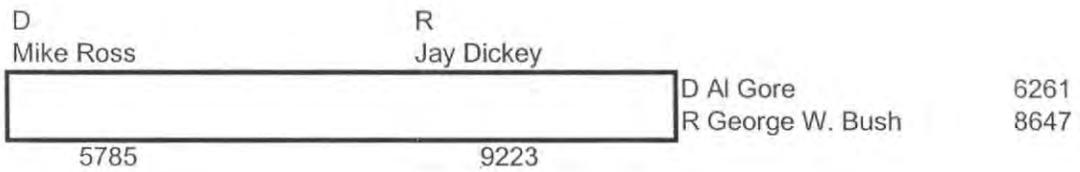


RD President/Congress

DR President/Congress



Union County



RD President/Congress

DR President/Congress



2002

(Table 21)

U.S Senate & Governor

D		R		
Mark Pryor		Tim Hutchinson		
			D Jimmie Lou Fisher	378250
			R Mike Huckabee	427082
433306		370653		

RD U.S. Senate/Governor

DR U.S. Senate/Governor

433306
-378250

55056 to	427082	0 to	370653
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Governor/U.S. Senate

D		R		
Jimmie Lou Fisher		Mike Huckabee		
			D Mark Pryor	433306
			R Tim Hutchinson	370653
378250		427082		

RD Governor/U.S. Senate

DR Governor/U.S. Senate

427082
-370653

0 to	370653	56429 to	370653
------	--------	----------	--------

2002 Governor & Lieutenant Governor (Table 22)

D
Ron Sheffield

R
Win Rockefeller



D Jimmie Lou Fisher 378250
R Mike Huckabee 427082

318592

477062

RD Governor/Lt. Governor

DR Governor/Lt. Governor

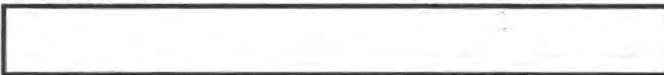
0 to 318592

0 to 427082

Governor & Secretary of State

D
Charlie Daniels

R
Janet Huckabee



D Jimmie Lou Fisher 378250
R Mike Huckabee 427082

492621

300293

RD Governor/Secretary of State

DR Governor/Secretary of State

492621

-378250



114371 to

378250

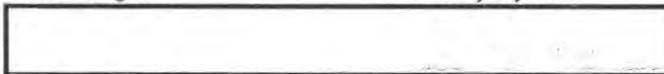
0 to

300293

Governor & State Treasurer

D
Gus Wingfield

R
Randy Bynum



D Jimmie Lou Fisher 378250
R Mike Huckabee 427082

445639

329468

RD Governor/State Treasurer

DR Governor State Treasurer

445639

-378250



67389 to

427082

0 to

329468

2002 Governor & Commissioner of State Lands

(Table 23)

D
Mark Wilcox

R
Dennis D. Wohlford



D Jimmie Lou Fisher
R Mike Huckabee

378250
427082

445933

314468

RD Governor/Land Commissioner

DR Governor/Land Commissioner

445933

-378250

67683 to	427082	0 to	314468
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2002 Rolloff (Table 24)

U.S. Senate

D Mark Pryor	433306
R Tim Hutchinson	<u>370653</u>
	803959

Governor

D Jimmie Lou Fisher	378250
R Mike Huckabee	427082
Write-In	154
Write-In	160
Write-In	15
Write-In	<u>35</u>
	805696

Lieutenant Governor

D Ron Sheffield	318592
R Win Rockefeller	<u>477062</u>
	795654

Secretary of State

D Charlie Daniels	492621
R Janet Huckabee	<u>300293</u>
	792914

State Treasurer

D Gus Wingfield	445639
R Randy Bynum	<u>329468</u>
	775107

Auditor of State

D Jim Wood	442349
R Mary Jane Rebick	<u>324979</u>
	767328

Commissioner of State Lands

D Mark Wilcox	445933
R Dennis D. Wohlford	<u>314468</u>
	760401

2002 Rolloff (Table 25)

U.S. Senate & Governor

803959

-805696

-1737

Democrat Rolloff

Republican Rolloff

433306

-378250

55056

370653

-427082

-56429

Governor & Lieutenant Governor

806696

-795654

11042

Democrat Rolloff

Republican Rolloff

378250

-318592

59658

427082

-477062

-49980

Governor & Secretary of State

806696

-792914

13782

Democrat Rolloff

Republican Rolloff

378250

-492621

-114371

427082

-300293

126789

2002 Rolloff

Governor & State Treasurer

806696
-775107
31589

Democrat Rolloff

378250
-445639
-67389

Republican Rolloff

427082
-329368
97714

Governor & Auditor

806696
-767328
39368

Democrat Rolloff

378250
-442349
-64099

Republican Rolloff

427082
-324979
102103

Governor & Commissioner of State Lands

806696
-760401
46295

Democrat Rolloff

378250
-445933
-67683

Republican Rolloff

427082
-314468
112614

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