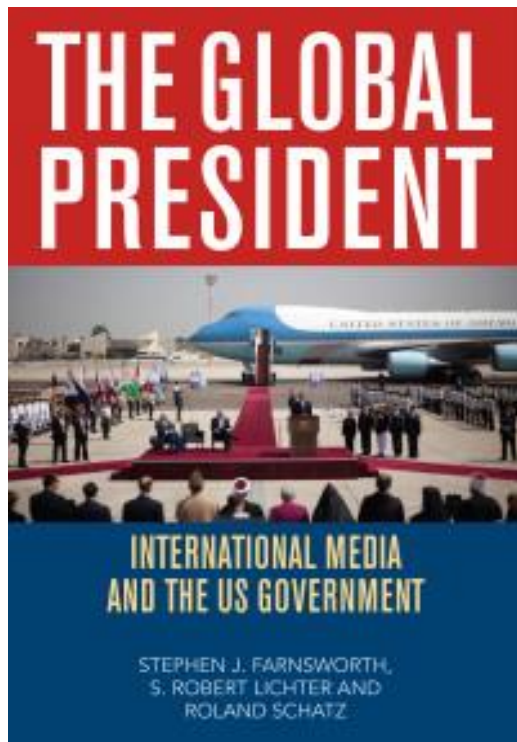






# Virginia Politics: Gerrymandering, Recent Elections and Public Opinion

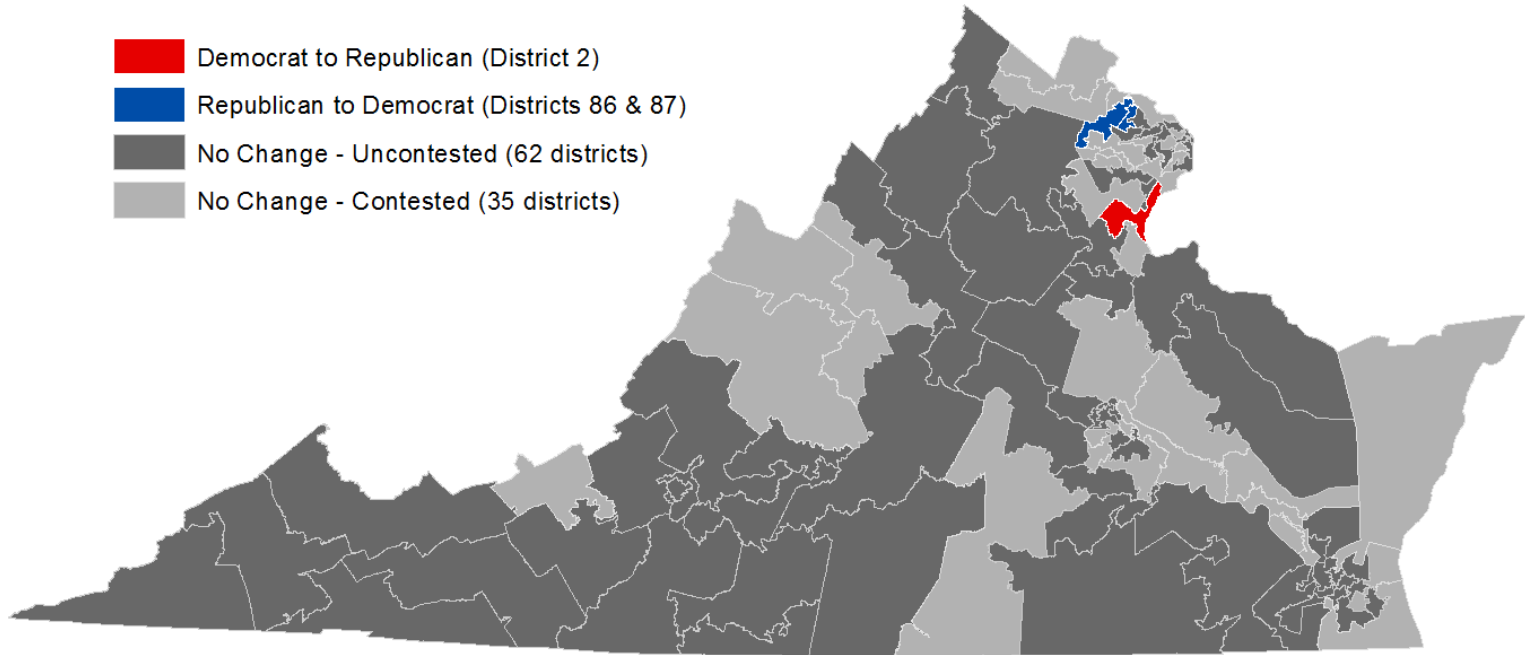
## November 2015



Stephen J. Farnsworth, Ph.D.  
Professor of Political Science  
Director, Center for Leadership & Media Studies  
University of Mary Washington  
Email: [sfarnswo@umw.edu](mailto:sfarnswo@umw.edu)  
Web: [stephenfarnsworth.net](http://stephenfarnsworth.net)  
Twitter: [@drsfarnsworth](https://twitter.com/drsfarnsworth)

# Election 2015: Changes in Virginia House of Delegates

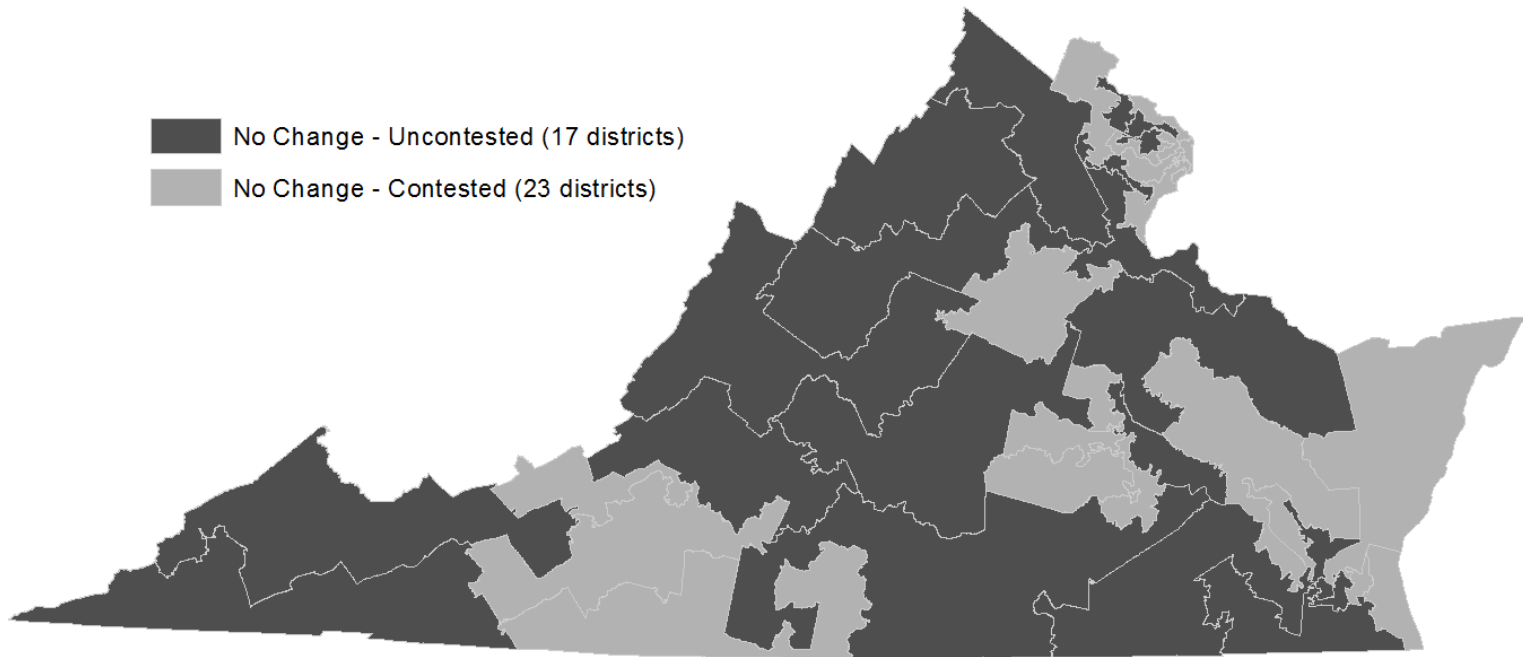
-  Democrat to Republican (District 2)
-  Republican to Democrat (Districts 86 & 87)
-  No Change - Uncontested (62 districts)
-  No Change - Contested (35 districts)



Map by Stephen P. Hanna  
UMW Geography Department

Source: Virginia Public Access Project Election Results  
<http://www.vpap.org/electionresults/house/>

# Election 2015: Changes in the Virginia Senate



Map by Stephen P. Hanna,  
UMW Geography Department.

Source: Virginia Public Access Project Election Results  
<http://www.vpap.org/electionresults/house/>

# Virginia & the Legislature: The Impact of Gerrymandering

<b><u>House</u></b>	R	D	2-Party?	<10 points?
2015	66	34	29	6
2013	67	33	44	14
2011	68*	32	37	6
2009	61*	39	69	15
2007	56*	44	41	9
2005	57	40	50	12
2003	61	37	38	10
<b><u>Senate</u></b>	R	D	2-Party?	<10 points?
2015	21	19	20	5
2011	20	20	26	7
2007	19	21	23	8
2003	24	16	20	4
1999	21	19	34	3

\*Includes independents who generally align with Republicans. Source: Virginia State Board of Elections

# Virginia & Congress: The Impact of Gerrymandering

	2012 R	2012 D	2014R	2014D
<u>President</u>	47	51	--	--
<u>Senate</u>	47	53	48	49
House 1	56	41	63	34
<u>House 2</u>	54	46	59	41
House 3	18	81	--	unopposed
House 4	57	43	60	38
House 5	55	43	61	36
House 6	65	35	unopposed	--
House 7	58	41	61	37
House 8	31	65	31	63
House 9	61	39	unopposed	--
House 10	58	39	56	40
House 11	35	61	41	57

Source: Virginia State Board of Elections

# Votes Cast: 2015 General Assembly Primaries

2015 Primaries: Senate of Virginia (40 seats): 5 Republican, 3 Democratic

House of Delegates (100 seats): 4 Republican, 6 Democratic

Top Turnout Senate Race: 12<sup>th</sup> District GOP (Parts of Hanover, Henrico [Stosch])

Siobhan S. Dunnavant	7,008	38.18%	[13%]
W. R. "Bill" Janis	5,573	30.36%	
Vince M. Haley	4,046	22.04%	
Edward S. Whitlock, III	1,728	09.41%	

Top Turnout House Race: 28<sup>th</sup> District GOP (Parts of Stafford, Fredericksburg city)

William J. Howell	4,751	62.09%	[15.6%]
Susan B. Stimpson	2,901	37.91%	

Note: Roughly 7.8 percent of the state's more than 5 million registered voters participated in the 2015 primaries. (Local candidates on some ballots.)

## Votes Cast: 2014 Virginia Congressional Primaries

7th Congressional District (Republican) 65,022

1st Congressional District (Republican) 17,444

8th Congressional District (Democratic) 38,847

### Comparison Figures (Statewide, with 11 Congressional Districts):

2014 Republican US Senate convention attendees 2,682

2013 Race for Governor of Virginia 2.2 million

2012 Presidential Election 3.85 million

2012 Republican US Presidential Primary 225,826

Note: The state has more than 5 million registered voters.

Source: Virginia State Board of Elections .

# Virginia Public Opinion Regarding Government

Overall, would you say that things in \_\_\_\_\_ are headed more in the right direction or the wrong direction?

	Right	Mixed (vol.)	Wrong
US	28	09	59
Virginia	40	09	44

Do you approve or disapprove of the way \_\_\_\_\_ is handling his job as \_\_\_\_\_? [IF DEPENDS OR IF RESPONDENT IS UNSURE, PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way \_\_\_\_\_ is handling his job as \_\_\_\_\_?]

	Approve	Disapprove
Barack Obama/President	43	50
Terry McAuliffe/Governor	44	31
Ralph Northam/Lt. governor	31	23
Mark Herring/Attorney General	39	27
Members of the Va. Legislature/Lawmakers	41	45

Source: University of Mary Washington survey, October 1-6, 2014 (N=1,000)



# Virginia Public Opinion Regarding State Issues

Do you favor or oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally in Virginia?\*

	Favor	Oppose
October 2014	50	42
March 2013	45	46

Do you support or oppose Virginia expanding access to health care for low-income, uninsured state residents, the “Medicaid expansion” plan?

	Support	Oppose
October 2014	64	29
September 2013	59	31

\*More than 95 percent of the October 2014 interviewing was conducted before the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision to deny hearing arguments to overturn rulings by lower federal courts on same-sex marriage in five states, including Virginia.

# Virginia Public Opinion Regarding former Governor McDonnell

As you may already know, former Governor Robert McDonnell recently was convicted in federal court on corruption charges. Do you think he should be sentenced to prison, or not?

Yes	No
60	28

[If yes] How many years in prison do you think Governor McDonnell should be ordered to serve? [IF NECESSARY: Please round to the nearest whole number.]

Less than one year	02
1-5 years	46
6-10 years	16
11-25 years	08
More than 25 years or for life	05

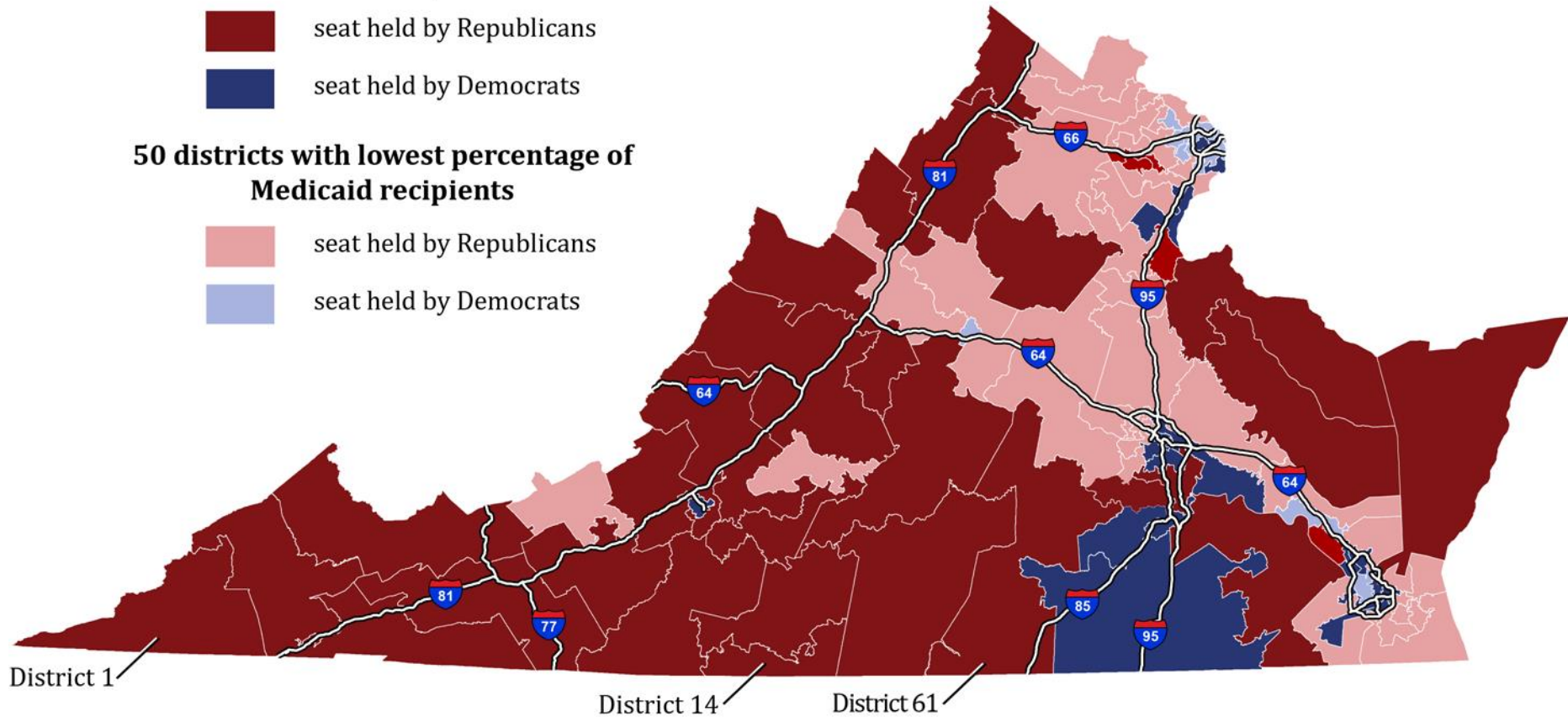
# Medicaid Recipients in Virginia's House of Delegates Districts

## 50 districts with highest percentage of Medicaid recipients

- seat held by Republicans
- seat held by Democrats

## 50 districts with lowest percentage of Medicaid recipients

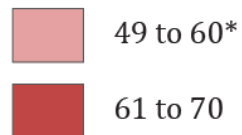
- seat held by Republicans
- seat held by Democrats



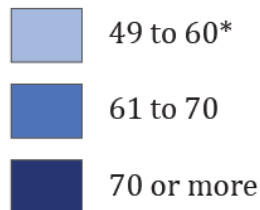
Source: Medicaid enrollment data are from the Virginia Department of Medical Assistance Services.  
Map by Stephen P. Hanna, UMW Geography Department.

# 2001 Gubernatorial Election Results (by county and independent city)

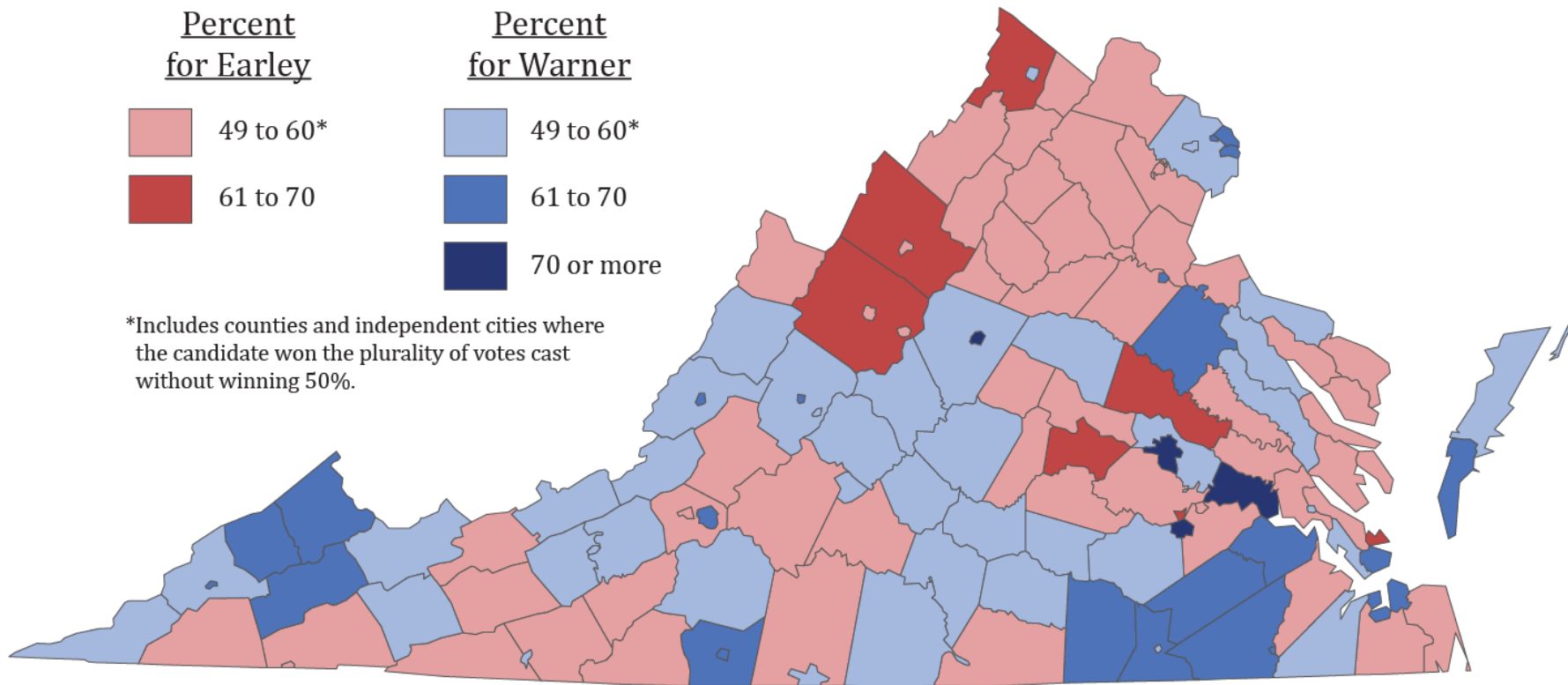
Percent  
for Earley



Percent  
for Warner



\*Includes counties and independent cities where the candidate won the plurality of votes cast without winning 50%.



Source: Electoral data are from the Virginia State Board of Elections website (<http://elections.virginia.gov/Files/ElectionResults/2001/nov2001/html/index.htm>).

Map by Stephen P. Hanna, UMW Geography Department.

# 2014 Senatorial Election Results (by county and independent city)

Percent  
for Gillespie

49 to 60\*

61 to 70

70 or more

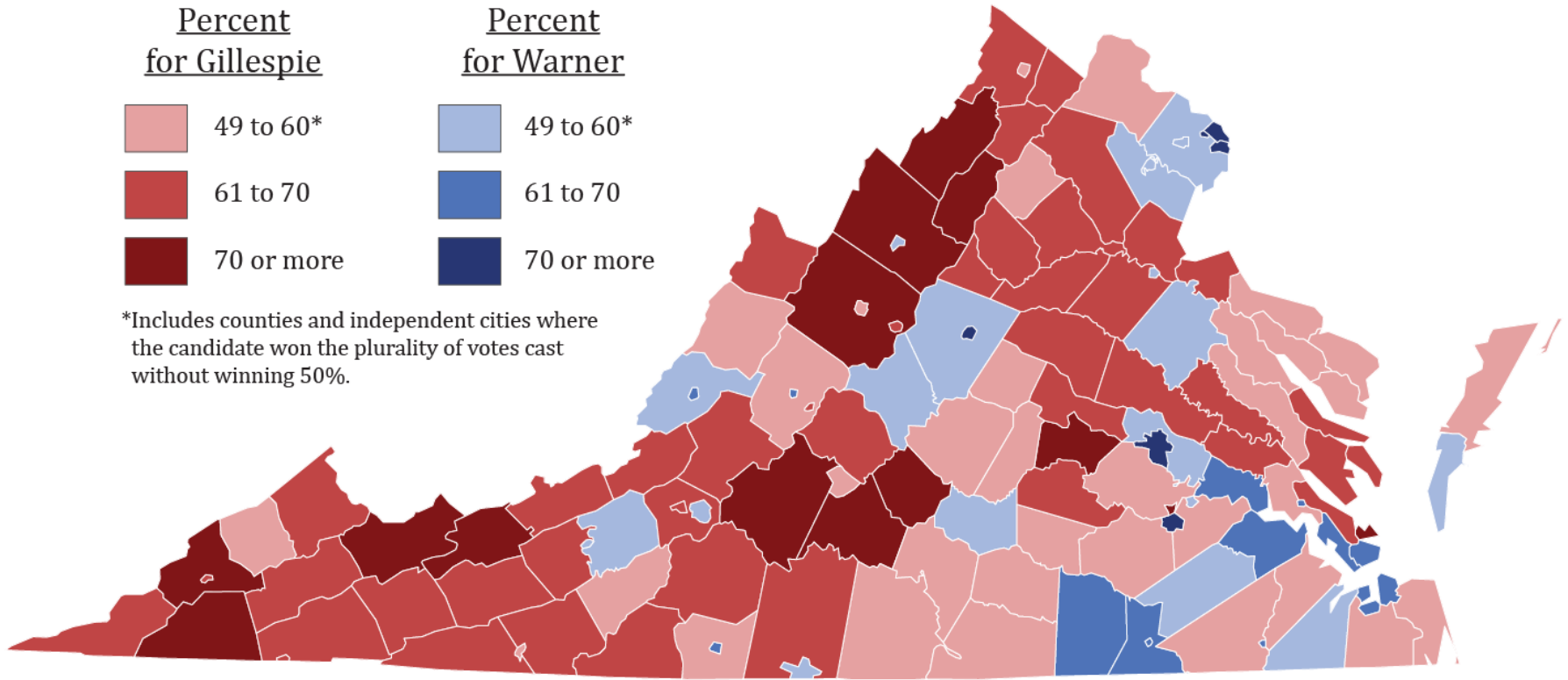
Percent  
for Warner

49 to 60\*

61 to 70

70 or more

\*Includes counties and independent cities where the candidate won the plurality of votes cast without winning 50%.



Source: Electoral data are from the Virginia State Board of Elections website ([www.sbe.virginia.gov/cms/Election\\_Information/Election\\_Results/Index.html](http://www.sbe.virginia.gov/cms/Election_Information/Election_Results/Index.html)).

Map by Stephen P. Hanna, UMW Geography Department.

# Virginia's Changing Political Geography

## comparing support for Mark Warner in 2014 to 2001

Increase in Percent of Votes Cast  
for Warner

for Opponent

less than 5

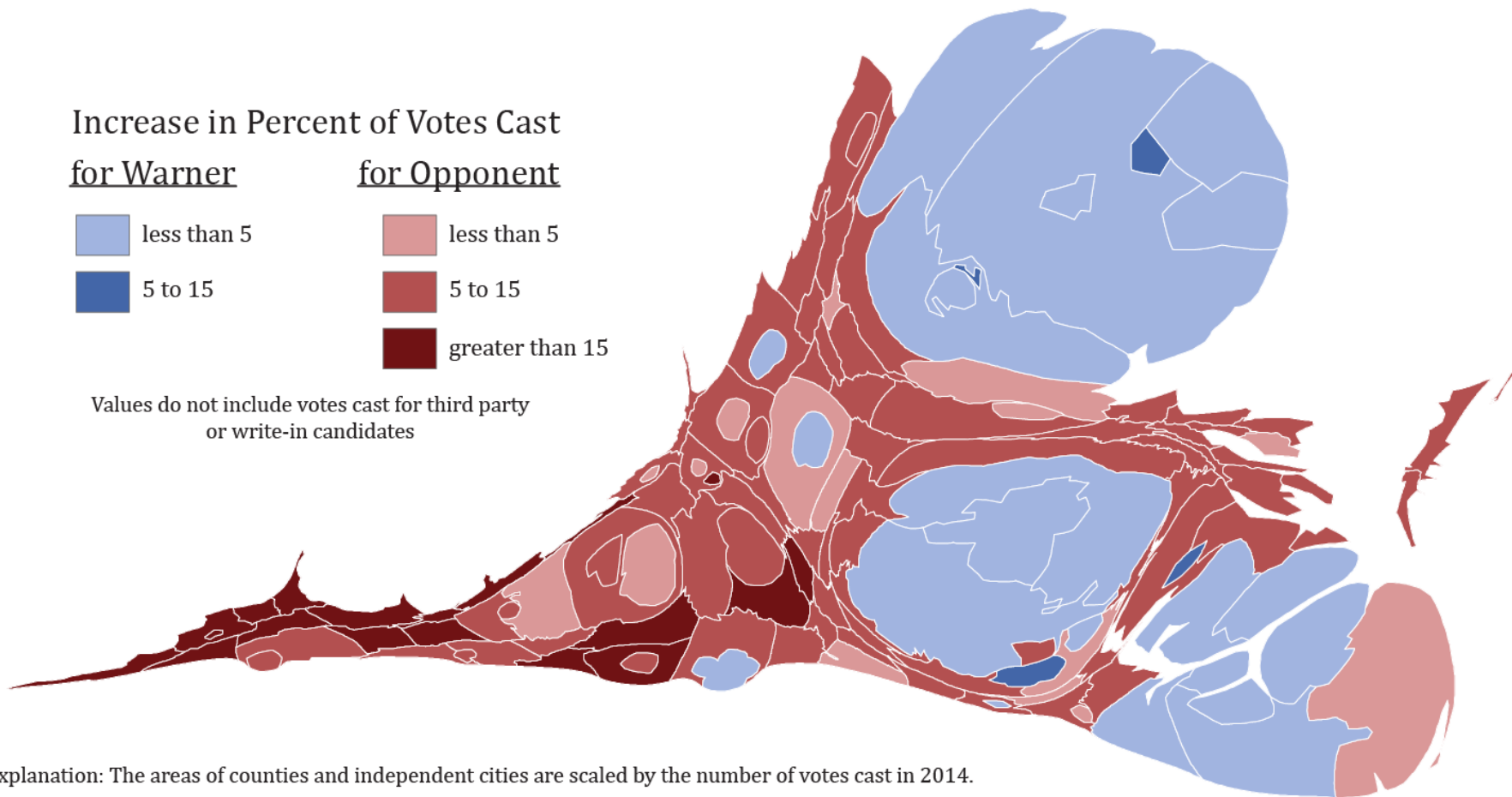
less than 5

5 to 15

5 to 15

greater than 15

Values do not include votes cast for third party  
or write-in candidates



Explanation: The areas of counties and independent cities are scaled by the number of votes cast in 2014.

Source: Electoral data are from the Virginia State Board of Elections website ([www.sbe.virginia.gov/cms/Election\\_Information/Election\\_Results/Index.html](http://www.sbe.virginia.gov/cms/Election_Information/Election_Results/Index.html)).

Map by Stephen P. Hanna, UMW Geography Department.

# Virginia Congressional Districts



## “Cooter Effect” in Seventh District? Little evidence of sabotage

	Cantor 2014	Cantor 2012	%GOP Nov 2012
<b>Entire District</b>	<b>28,902</b>	<b>37,369</b>	<b>58%</b>
Chesterfield*	5,924	<u>7,663</u>	57%
Culpeper	<u>1,479</u>	<u>1,898</u>	60%
Goochland	1,248	<u>1,551</u>	64%
Hanover	4,150	<u>6,838</u>	68%
Henrico*	9,423	<u>11,039</u>	54%
Louisa	1,050	<u>1,183</u>	57%
New Kent	758	<u>1,185</u>	66%
Orange	<u>1,226</u>	<u>1,468</u>	59%
Spotsylvania	<u>1,943</u>	<u>2,610</u>	57%
Richmond City*	<u>1,701</u>	<u>1,934</u>	49%

Underlined districts were won by Cantor in the primary.

\*District contains only a portion of the jurisdiction.

Source: Virginia State Board of Elections.



# Republican Nomination Preferences, 2016 cycle (national)

<b>Survey:</b>	<b>Sept. 17-19</b>	<b>Aug. 9-11</b>	<b>May 29-31</b>	<b>Feb.12-15</b>
Trump	<u>24%</u>	<u>24%</u>	03%	--
Fiorina	<u>15%</u>	05%	01%	01%
Carson	<u>14%</u>	<u>09%</u>	07%	08%
Rubio	11%	05%	<u>14%</u>	05%
Bush	09%	<u>13%</u>	<u>13%</u>	<u>14%</u>
Huckabee	06%	04%	<u>10%</u>	<u>16%</u>
Cruz	06%	05%	08%	03%
Paul	04%	06%	08%	10%
Christie	03%	01%	04%	07%
Kasich	02%	05%	01%	02%
Walker*	**	08%	<u>10%</u>	<u>11%</u>

\*No longer a candidate

\*\* Less than 0.5 percent

-- not asked

CNN/Opinion Research Surveys based on roughly 400 likely Republican voters per survey period.

# Democratic Nomination Preferences, 2016 cycle (national)

<b>Survey:</b>	<b>Sept. 17-19</b>	<b>Aug. 13-16</b>	<b>June 26-28</b>
Clinton	<u>42%</u>	<u>47%</u>	<u>58%</u>
Sanders	24%	29%	15%
Biden*	22%	14%	17%
O'Malley	01%	03%	01%
Webb	**	02%	01%
Chafee	**	**	**

\*Not a candidate      \*\* Less than 0.5 percent

CNN/Opinion Research Surveys based on roughly 400 likely Democratic voters per survey period.

# Republican Nomination Preferences in early states, 2016

	Iowa (Feb. 1)	N.H. (Feb. 9)	S.C. (Feb. 20)
<b>Survey:</b>	<b>Sept. 3-10</b>	<b>Sept. 9-14</b>	<b>Sept. 3-10</b>
Trump	<u>29%</u>	<u>22%</u>	<u>36%</u>
Fiorina	04%	<u>11%</u>	03%
Carson	<u>25%</u>	<u>18%</u>	<u>21%</u>
Rubio	06%	02%	03%
Bush	03%	09%	05%
Huckabee	04%	01%	03%
Cruz	<u>10%</u>	05%	<u>06%</u>
Paul	02%	04%	01%
Christie	01%	02%	04%
Kasich	02%	09%	04%
Walker*	05%	08%	03%

\*No longer a candidate

\*\* Less than 0.5 percent

-- not asked

Iowa: CBS ; NH: WBUR; SC: CBS

# Democratic Nomination Preferences in early states, 2016

	<u>Iowa (Feb. 1)</u>	<u>N.H. (Feb. 9)</u>	<u>S.C. (Feb. 20)</u>
<u>Survey:</u>	<u>Sept. 3-10</u>	<u>Sept. 9-14</u>	<u>Sept. 3-10</u>
Clinton	33%	31%	<u>46%</u>
Sanders	<u>43%</u>	<u>35%</u>	23%
Biden*	10%	14%	22%
O'Malley	05%	02%	**
Webb	01%	01%	01%
Chafee	01%	01%	**

\*Not a candidate      \*\* Less than 0.5 percent

Iowa: CBS ; NH: WBUR; SC: CBS