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Decades Of
Democratic
Dominance

For the first 200 years of Virginia's existence, state politics was dominated by the Democratic Party

- From 1791-1970 there were:
 - 50 Democrats who served as Governor (including Democratic-Republicans)
 - 9 Republicans who served as Governor (including Federalists and Whigs)
- During this same period:
 - 35 Democrats represented Virginia in the United States Senate
 - 3 Republicans represented Virginia in the United States Senate

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Democratic Dominance – *General Assembly*

- Likewise, this first Republican majority in the Virginia General Assembly did not occur until 1998.
- Democrats had controlled the General Assembly every year before that time.

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What Was A Democrat?

- These were not your “modern” Democrats
- They were a very conservative group of Democrats in the southern tradition
- A great deal of their focus was on fiscal conservatism – *Pay As You Go*
- They were also the ones who advocated for Jim Crow and Massive resistance up until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of in 1965

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Byrd Democrats

- These were the followers of Senator Harry F. Byrd, a former Virginia Governor and U.S. Senator
- Senator Byrd's "Byrd Machine" dominated and controlled Virginia politics for this entire period



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From Blue To Red & *Governor Campaigns*

- Virginia didn't really become a competitive two-party state until 1869, and the first real competition emerged at the statewide level
- From 1869 to 1890 there were 10 Democratic governors in Virginia, and only 1 Republican governor
- Since 1890 there have been 12 Republican Governors and 10 Democratic Governors

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Virginia Governors 1776-1862

Republicans

- Linwood Holton (1858-1933)
- Mills Godwin (1811-1888)
- John Dalton (1808-1882)
- George Allen (1811-1888)
- Jim Gilmore (1862-1942)
- Bob McDonnell (1950-2010)

Democrats

- Chuck Robb (1927-2014)
- Gerald Baliles (1927-2014)
- Doug Wilder (1932-2014)
- Mark Warner (1950-2014)
- Tim Kaine (1952-2014)
- Terry McAuliffe (1956-2014)
- Ralph Northam (1971-2014)

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From Blue To Red U.S. Senate Campaigns

- From 1980-1990 Virginia elected 3 Democratic U.S. Senators, and only 1 Republican U.S. Senators
- Since 1990 Virginia has elected 2 Democratic U.S. Senators and 2 Republican U.S. Senators

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U.S. Senators From Virginia 1980 - 2020

| | |
|--|---|
| <h3>Republicans</h3> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ William Scott (1980 - 1987) ◦ Paul Trible (1987 - 1991) ◦ John Warner (1991 - 2001) ◦ George Allen (2001 - 2003) | <h3>Democrats</h3> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Chuck Robb (1987 - 2001) ◦ Jim Webb (2003 - 2007) ◦ Mark Warner (2007 - Present) ◦ Tim Kaine (2007 - Present) |
|--|---|

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From Blue To Red *House of Representatives*

- We saw the same changes in Virginia's delegation in the U.S. House of Representatives
- From 1980 - 1991 Virginia's nine congressional districts were 83% occupied by Democrats
- The first Republicans in 26 years were elected to Virginia's congressional delegation in 1991
 - Richard Poff 9th District
 - William Wampler 10th District
- By 2007 Republicans had taken solid control of Virginia's congressional delegation
 - 8 Republicans vs 1 Democrat

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From Blue To Red the Virginia General Assembly

- Virginia did not become a competitive two-party state in legislative races until the 1980s
- Prior to the 1980s, Democrats had controlled both house of the Virginia General Assembly since Reconstruction
- Republicans achieved parity in the Senate of Virginia in 1987, and won their first majority in the Senate of Virginia in 1990
- From 1990 - 2000 Republicans controlled the Senate of Virginia for 10 years, while Democrats have only controlled the General Assembly for 10 years.

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From Blue To Red

- In the House of Delegates, Republicans gained control in 1991, and controlled the House for 10 consecutive years, until the Democrats gained control in 2001.

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From Blue To
Red &
*Republican
Dominance*

During the last decade of the 18th century (1790s) and the first decade of the 19th century (1800-1810) most political observers felt that Virginia was a solid Republican state. During this time Virginia had:

- Republican Governors
- Controlled both houses of the Virginia General Assembly
- Held both of Virginia's U.S. Senate seats
- Occupied 7 of 10 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives, and
- Republican presidential candidates carried Virginia in every presidential election

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What in the world happened?

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From Blue To Red And Back Again

Since 2009, Democrats have won:

- Two statewide campaigns for Governor
 - McAuliffe and Northam
 - Including statewide campaigns for Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General
- Four campaigns for the U.S. Senate
 - Kaine, Warner, Kaine and Warner again
- Four presidential campaigns
 - Obama, Obama, Clinton and Biden

Republicans have not won a statewide campaign in Virginia since 2009

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A Provocative Thought

In the past decade, Republicans have won more statewide campaigns in Massachusetts and Maryland than they have won in Virginia!

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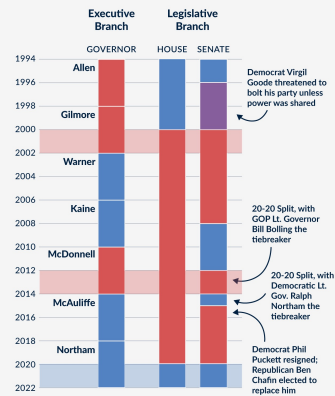
From Blue To Red Ad Back Again

- Taken control of Virginia's congressional delegates
 - From 7 Republican to 7 Democratic
- Taken control of both house of the Virginia General Assembly
 - 20-20 in the Senate of Virginia
 - 20-20 in the Virginia House of Delegates

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End of Divided Government

For much of the last quarter-century, one party has controlled Virginia's executive branch while another controlled one or both chambers of the legislative branch. That will change next year, when Democrats, who currently occupy the Executive Mansion, gain control of the House of Delegates and State Senate.



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What in the world happened?

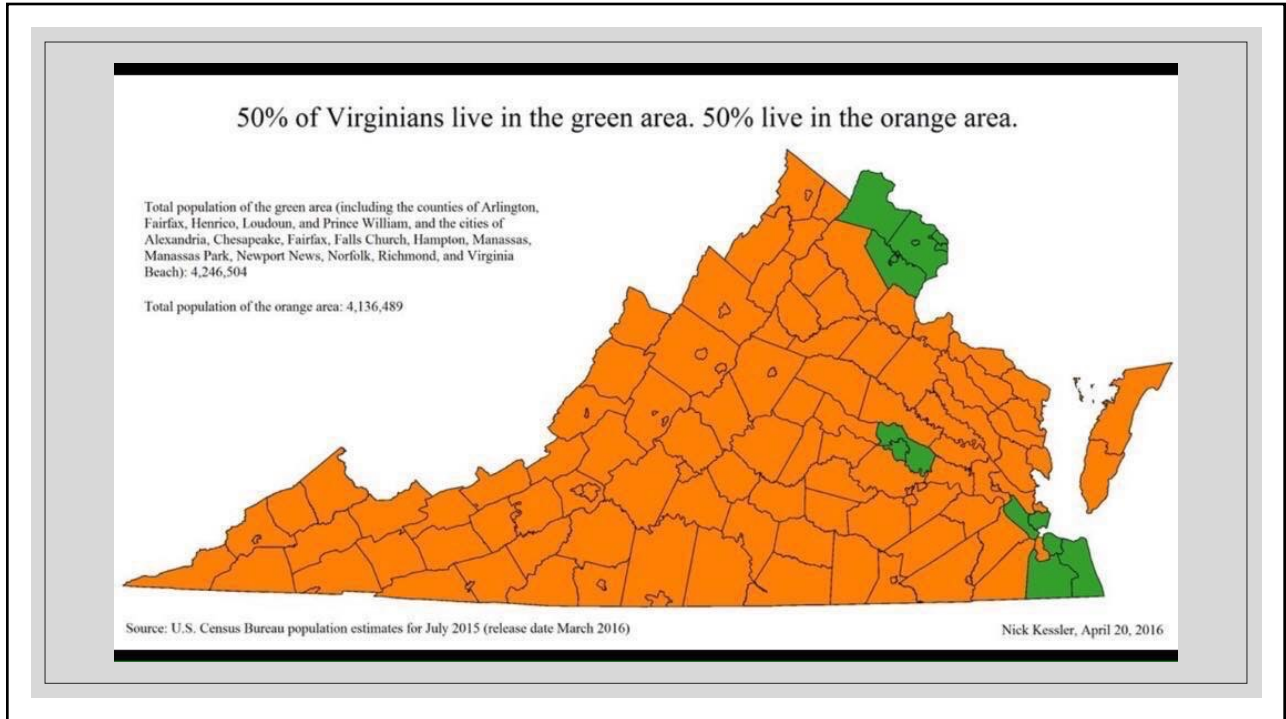
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#O- Virginia
Changed

Residential mobility patterns have changed

- More and more of the state's population is concentrated in major urban/suburban centers, which have been voting more and more Democratic
- Less and less of the state's population is concentrated in rural centers, which have historically voted overwhelmingly for Republicans

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| REPUBLICAN VOTE DECLINES IN KEY GEOGRAPHIC AREAS | | | |
|--|------|------|--------------|
| LOCALITY | 2008 | 2012 | VOTE DECLINE |
| Fairfax | 50% | 47% | -3% |
| Loudoun | 50% | 47% | -3% |
| Prince William | 50% | 47% | -3% |
| Henrico | 48% | 45% | -3% |
| Chesterfield | 48% | 45% | -3% |
| Virginia Beach | 48% | 45% | -3% |
| Chesapeake | 48% | 45% | -3% |


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***The Virginia General Assembly
2015***



Senate of Virginia

19 members
Elected for four-year terms
10 Republicans and 9 Democrats




**Virginia House of
Delegates**

112 members
Elected for two-year terms
55 Republicans and 57 Democrats

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***The Virginia General Assembly
2017***



Senate of Virginia

19 members
Elected for four-year terms
10 Republicans and 9 Democrats




**Virginia House of
Delegates**

112 members
Elected for two-year terms
55 Republicans and 57 Democrats


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The Virginia General Assembly 2019



Senate of Virginia

19 members
Elected for four-year terms
50 Democrats and 50 Republicans



Virginia House of Delegates

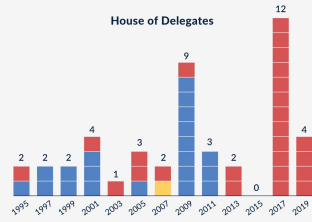
112 members
Elected for two-year terms
55 Republicans and 57 Democrats

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Incumbent Defeats

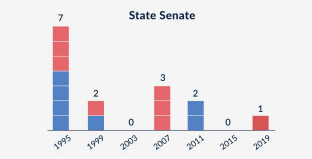
If unofficial results hold, five General Assembly incumbents were defeated last week. The charts below show the number of sitting legislators since 1995 who lost a general election.

House of Delegates



| Year | Defeats |
|------|---------|
| 1995 | 2 |
| 1997 | 2 |
| 1999 | 2 |
| 2001 | 4 |
| 2003 | 1 |
| 2005 | 3 |
| 2007 | 2 |
| 2009 | 9 |
| 2011 | 3 |
| 2013 | 2 |
| 2015 | 0 |
| 2017 | 12 |
| 2019 | 4 |

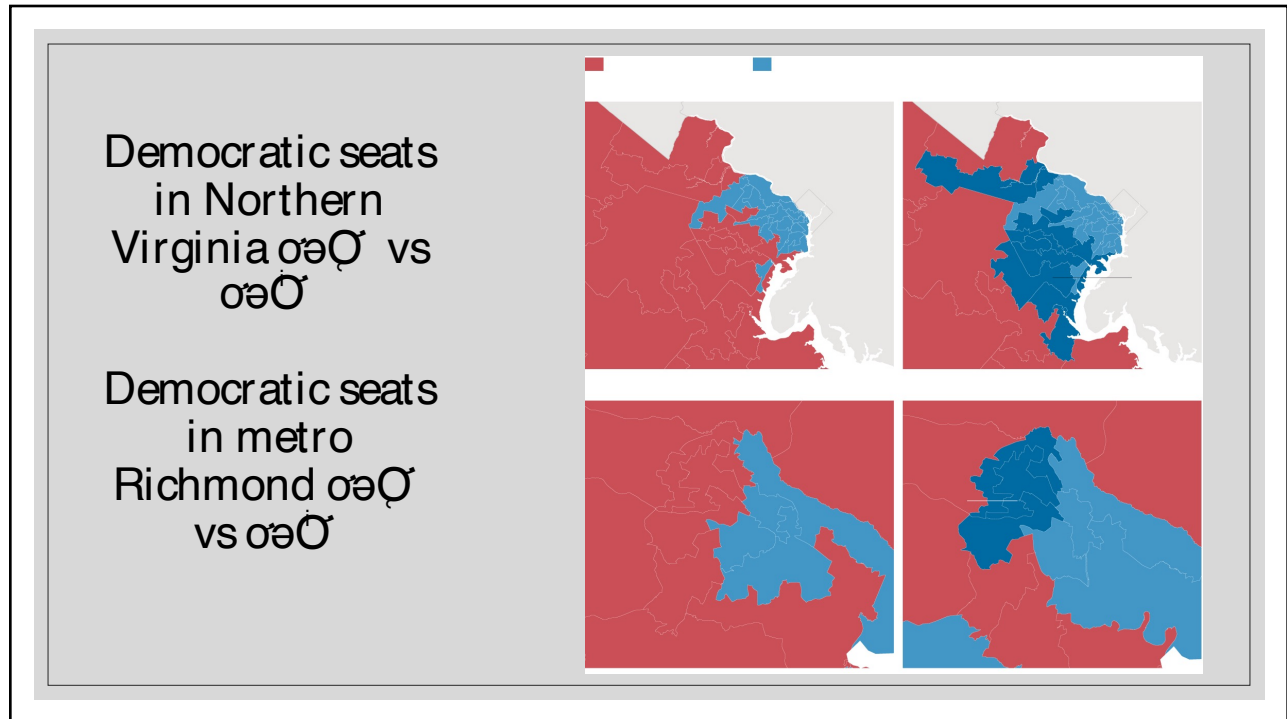
State Senate



| Year | Defeats |
|------|---------|
| 1995 | 7 |
| 1999 | 2 |
| 2003 | 0 |
| 2007 | 3 |
| 2011 | 2 |
| 2015 | 0 |
| 2019 | 1 |

Source: Virginia Public Access Project vpap.org

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Almost all the Democratic gains in the Virginia General Assembly have come in Northern Virginia and the suburbs in and around Richmond


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#σ - The Republican Party Changed....In Some Ways, But Not For The Better

In the past decade, due to the influence of the Tea Party and the Trump movement, the Republican Party has moved farther to the right, in policy and in style; while Virginia, has moved closer to the center because of population and demographic changes.

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#σ - The Republican Party Changed....In Some Ways, But Not For The Better

- The Republican Party has become more ideologically rigid, more anti-government, and more focused on issues and candidate styles that have driven voters away from the party and not drawn them in.

Politics is is about addition and multiplication, not subtraction and division

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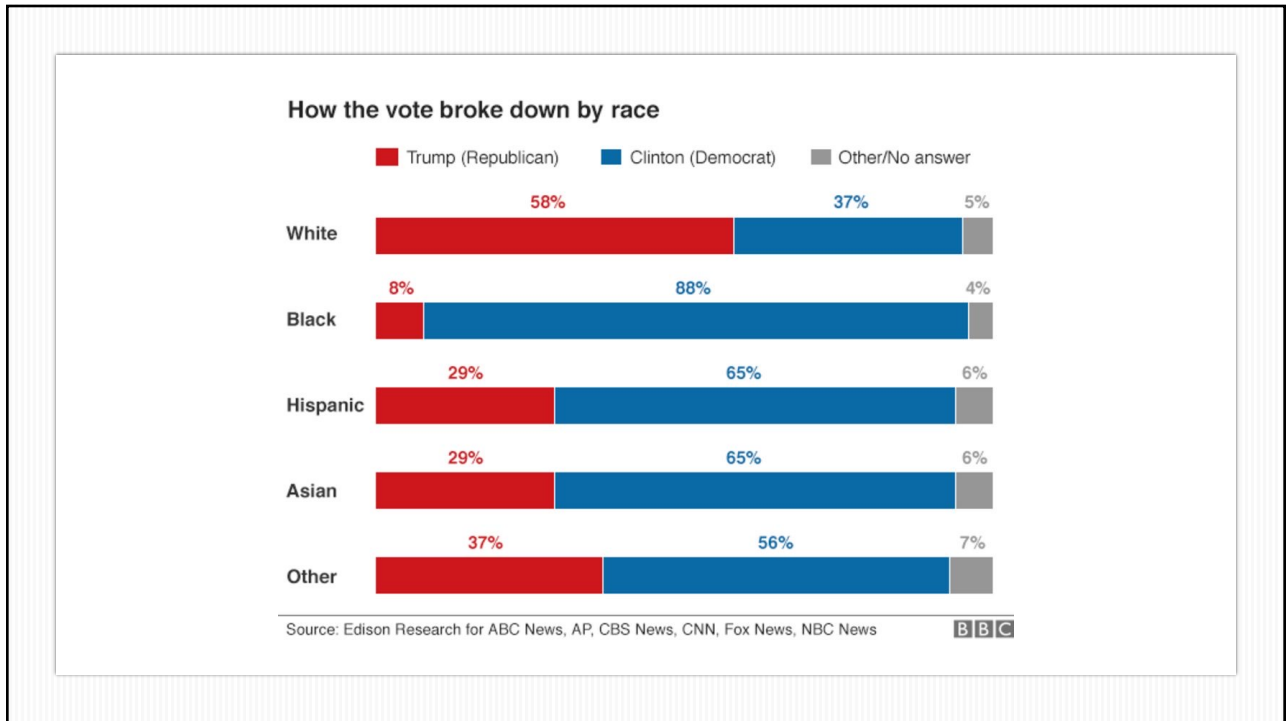
The Republican Party Failed To Change In Other Ways

- In the past decade, Virginia has become a much more diverse state, but the Republican party has remained a monolithic party
- The Republican Party has not changed to reflect or embrace the *-ehanging face of Virginia“*

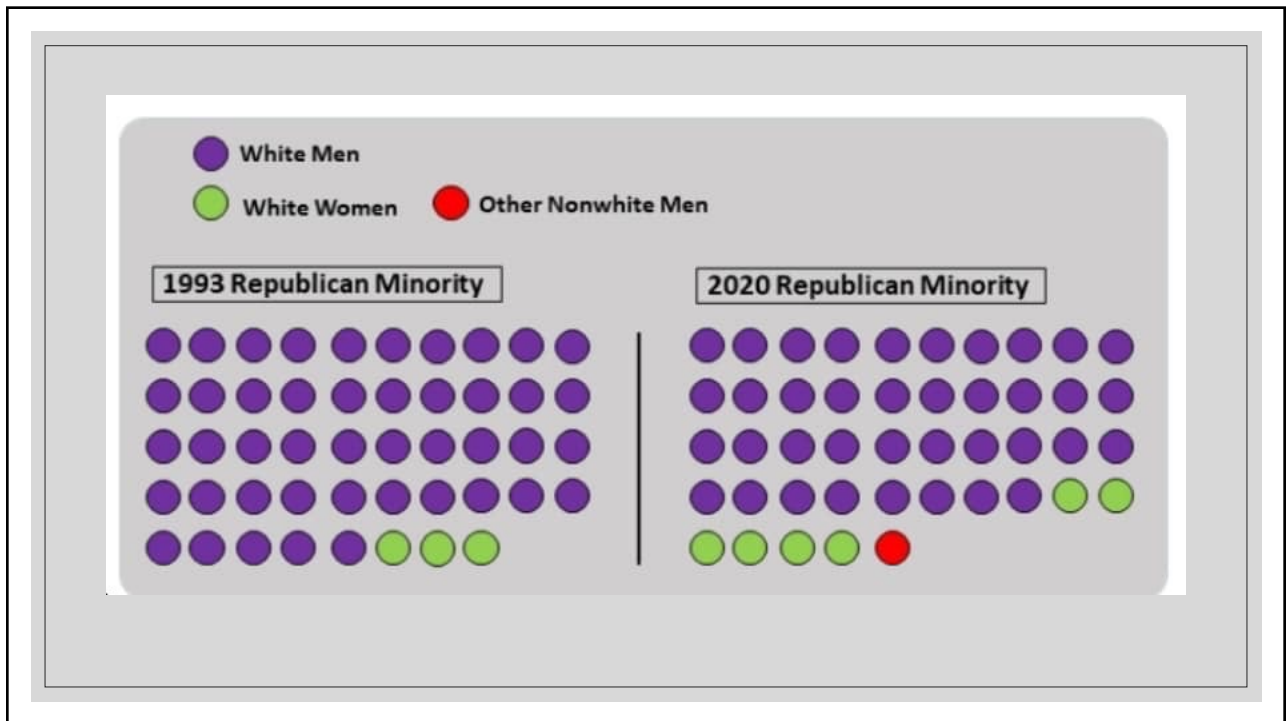
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| VIRGINIA POPULATION CHANGES BY RACE | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| 2000-2020 | | | | |
| | 2000 | 2010 | 2020 | Change |
| White | 60.0% | 57.8% | 55.2% | -4.8% |
| Black | 13.8% | 15.2% | 17.5% | +3.7% |
| Hispanic | 4.2% | 7.1% | 10.3% | +6.1% |
| Asian | 1.2% | 2.1% | 3.5% | +2.3% |

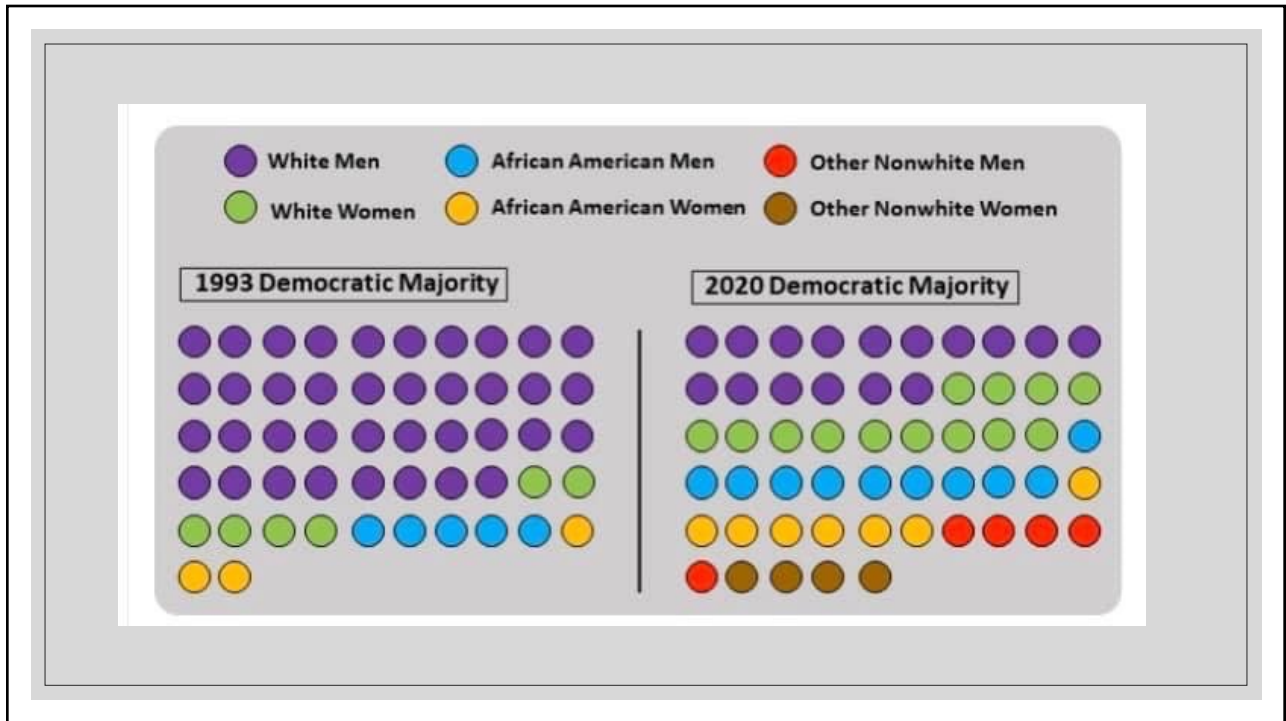
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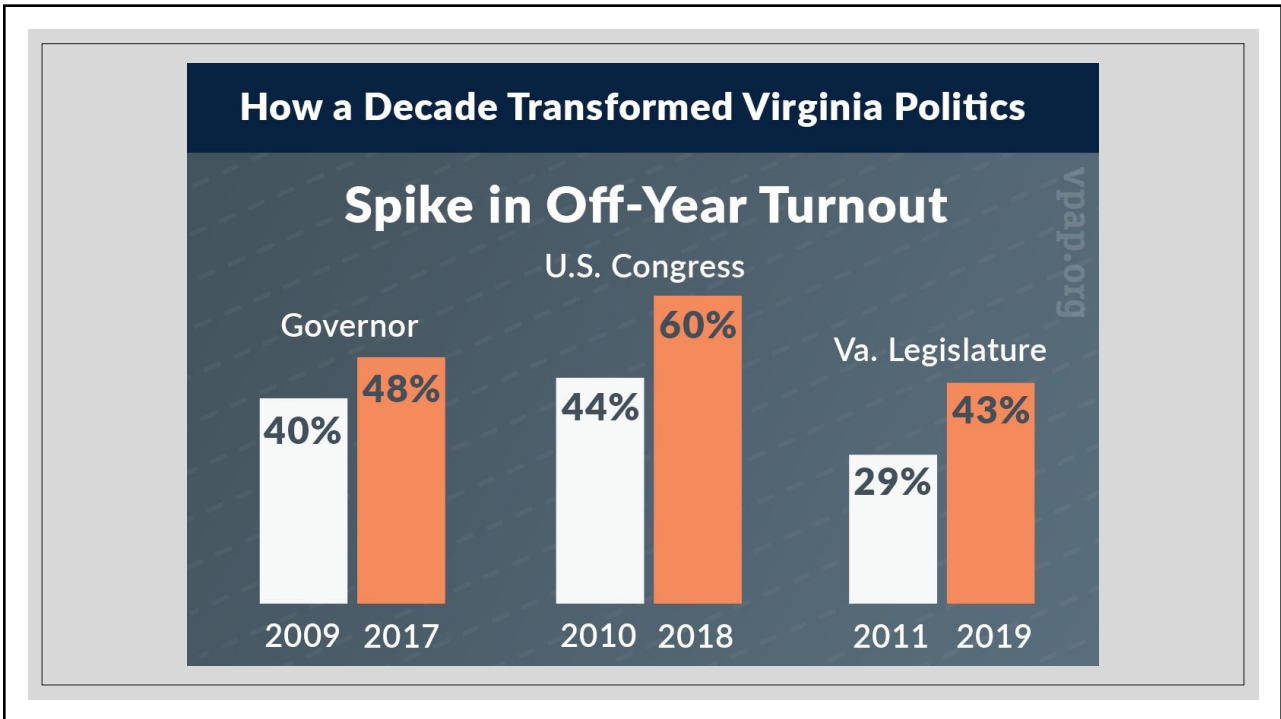
Democrats have adjusted to the changing face of Virginia, while Republicans have not

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- Trump Happened

- Republicans loved Donald Trump
- Nobody else loved Donald Trump, at least not in Virginia
- There aren't enough Republicans in Virginia to elect anybody to anything these days
- To win in Virginia, Republicans must be able to appeal to more moderate and independent voters and more conservative Democrats

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What do you think was driving this record turnout in recent elections?

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The Trump Example

- 2020 Trump 31% Clinton 26%
- 2020 Trump 31% Biden 26%
- No Republican received less than 10% of the vote in Virginia since Thomas Dewey in 1952
 - 1948 Dewey received 41% of the vote, but Strom Thurman received 10% of the vote
 - 1968 Richard Nixon received 43% of the vote, but George Wallace received 24% of the vote

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The Gillespie Example

- In 2013, Republican Ed Gillespie came within 100,000 votes of defeating a popular, well-known and well-funded Democratic Senator, Mark Warner. Gillespie received 48.5% of the popular vote
- In 2017, Ed Gillespie lost the Virginia Governor's race to Democrat Ralph Northam by 1,000,000 votes. Gillespie was defeated by a relatively unknown Democrat, who was not that popular and not seen as that strong of a candidate, by a margin of 4.5% - 4.5%.
- Ed Gillespie's campaign strategists later attributed his 2013 defeat to being run over by the *Trump train*.

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Is Virginia still a competitive two-party state?

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Let's Revisit Virginia's Political Change

Republicans (1992-2010)

- 3 Republican Governors
- Republicans controlled both houses of the Virginia General Assembly
- Republicans held both of Virginia's U.S. Senate seats, and
- Republicans occupied 8 of 11 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives
- Republican presidential candidates carried Virginia in 1992, 1996, 2000 and 2004

Democrats (2010-2020)

- Two consecutive Democratic governors
- Democrats now control both houses of the Virginia General Assembly
- Democrats now hold both U.S. Senate seats in Virginia
- Democrats occupy 7 of Virginia's 11 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives
- Democratic candidates won the presidency in Virginia in 2008, 2012, 2016 and 2020

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Is Virginia still a competitive two-party state?



No!

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Can Virginia become a competitive two-party state again?



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What Must Republicans Do?



Nominate electable candidates

- Center right candidates



Run smart campaigns

- Can't focus on the far-right issues that merely energize the base of the party
- Must focus on more "kitchen table" issues that appeal to targeted groups



Get lucky

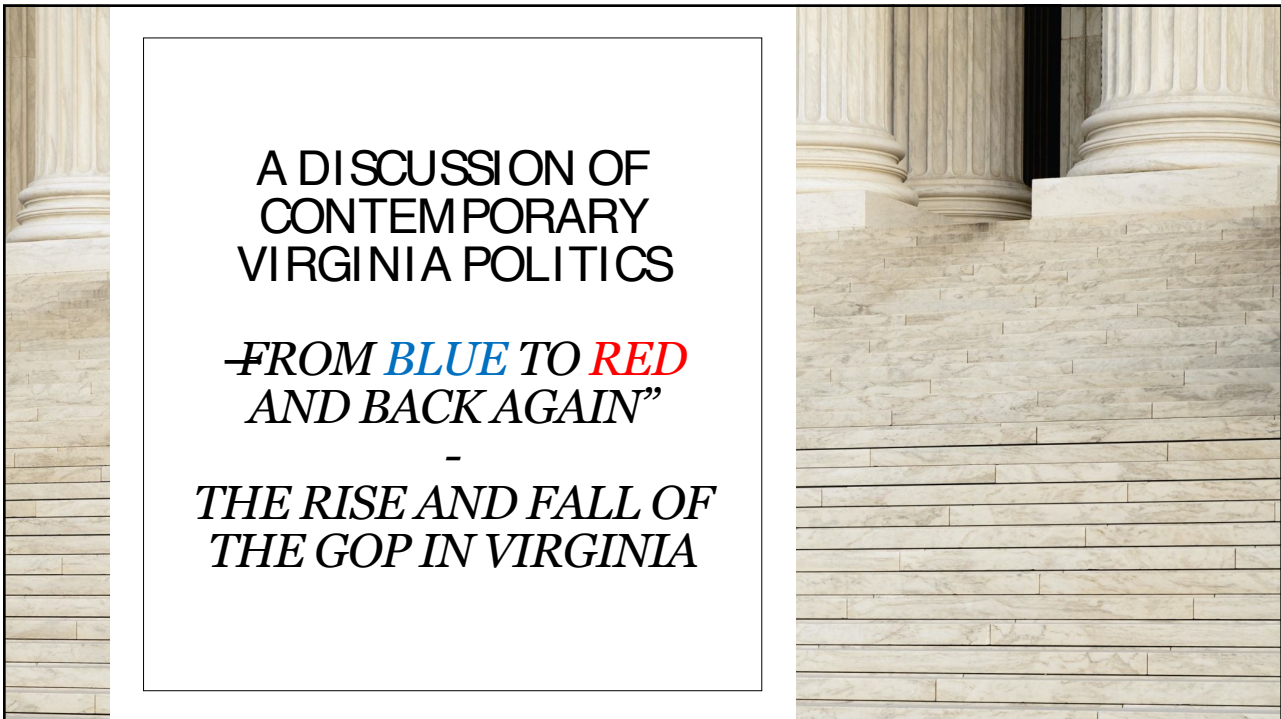
- Democrats must make some mistakes
- The national political mood must be favorable

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We should all want a competitive two-party political system in Virginia

Political balance or a division of power or typically results in a more centrist approach to policy

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A DISCUSSION OF
CONTEMPORARY
VIRGINIA POLITICS

*~~FROM BLUE TO RED
AND BACK AGAIN~~*

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*THE RISE AND FALL OF
THE GOP IN VIRGINIA*

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Virginia Government and Politics

- During this 11-week course, you'll learn about Virginia's unique political history, with lectures focusing on the following topics:
 - Colonial Period
 - Revolutionary Period
 - Disruptive Period (Civil War and Reconstruction)
 - Era of Jim Crow and Massive Resistance
 - Modern Period
- You'll also learn about the unique structure and operation of Virginia's state government, with sessions covering:
 - Executive, Legislative & Judicial Branches
 - State Bureaucracy
 - Budget Process and State Finances
 - Local Government in Virginia

