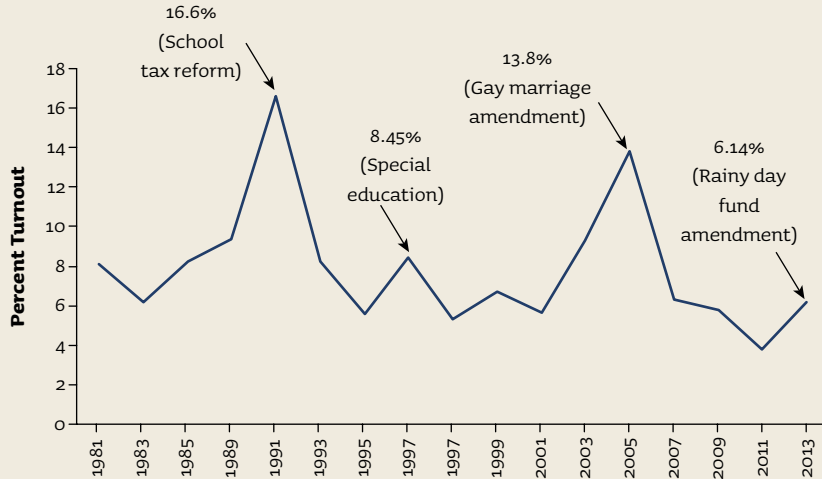


FIGURE 2.3 Voter Turnout during Special Elections and Off-Year Elections, 1981–2013



Source: Texas Secretary of State, www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/historical/70-92.shtml (accessed August 8, 2014).