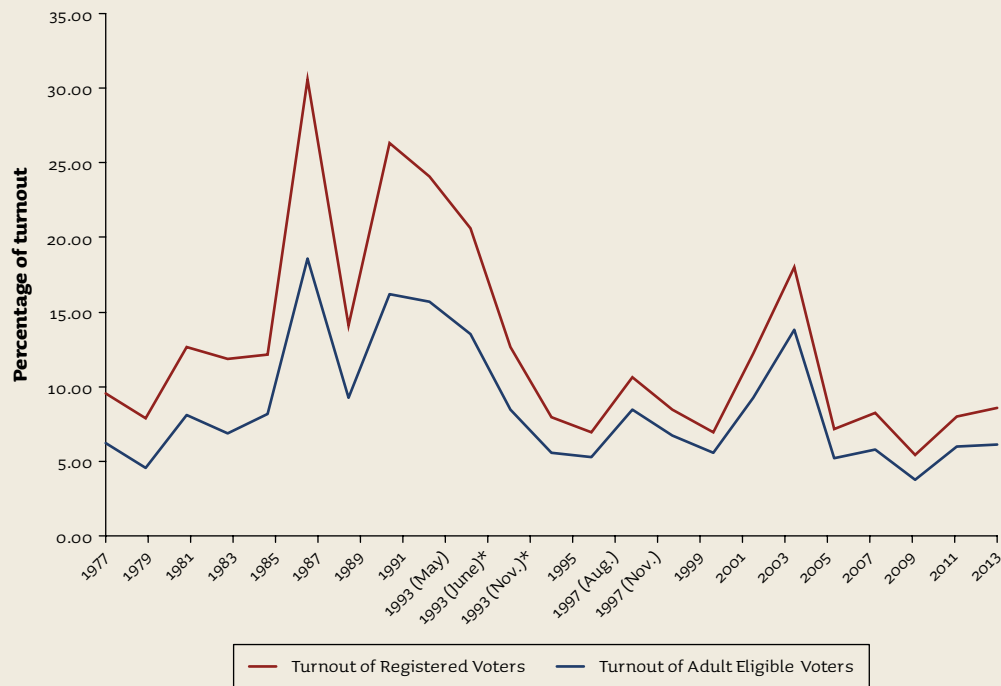


**FIGURE 9.3****Turnout in Texas Special Elections, 1977–2013**

**Source:** Compiled by the authors from data available from the Texas Secretary of State, “Election Results,” [www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/historical/index.shtml](http://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/historical/index.shtml) (accessed September 8, 2014).

**Note:** The June 1993 election was a runoff for the U.S. Senate; a constitutional election occurred in November 1993.