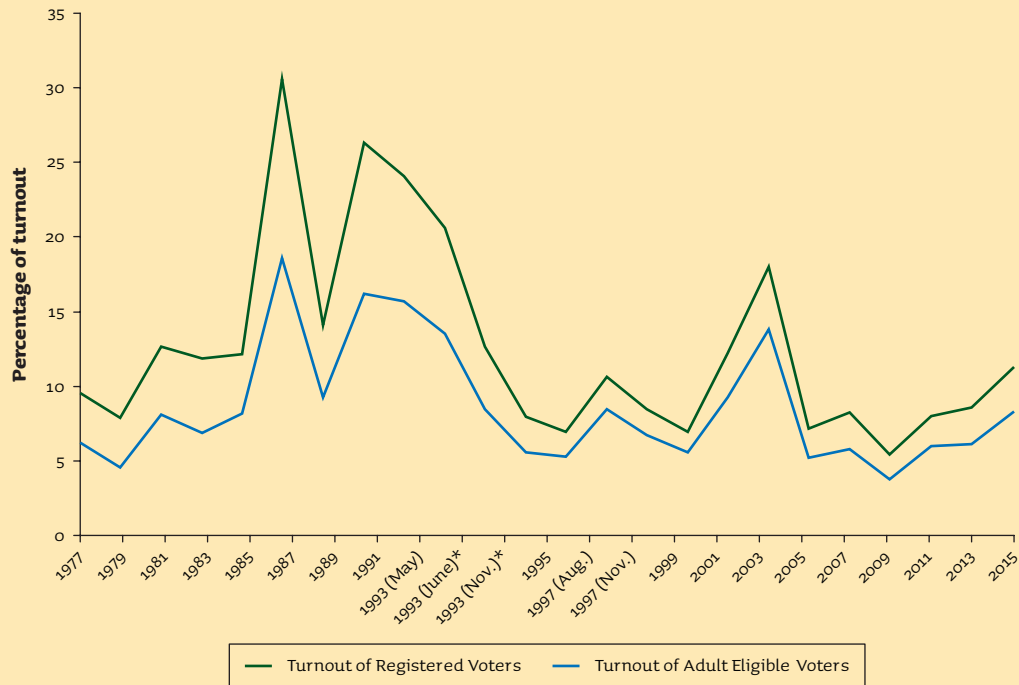


FIGURE 9.3**Turnout in Texas Special Elections, 1977–2015**

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 (accessed August 9, 2016).

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