

Standing Up for

# EQUALITY

A Report on the Impact of Marriage-Related Votes  
on State Legislative Races

A Report by The Human Rights Campaign and The Equality Federation  
**JANUARY 2005**



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RIGHTS  
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The Human Rights Campaign is the largest national gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender advocacy organization. A bipartisan organization, HRC works to advance equality based on sexual orientation and gender expression and identity, to ensure that gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender Americans can be open, honest and safe at home, at work and in the community. *[www.hrc.org](http://www.hrc.org)*.

The Equality Federation, *[www.equalityfederation.org](http://www.equalityfederation.org)*, is a national coalition of statewide lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender advocacy organizations, working to secure full civil rights in every U.S. state and territory.

# INTRODUCTION

In February 2004, President Bush called for the passage of an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to prohibit marriage for same-sex couples. Measures to similarly amend state constitutions were put on the November ballots in 11 states. The president's appeal to his conservative base and the capacity of the ballot measures to motivate conservative voters created widespread speculation that "gay marriage" was one of the key moral issues driving voting behavior in 2004.<sup>1</sup>

Since the election, political observers have provided compelling arguments to discredit the belief that the marriage issue contributed in any significant way to the outcome of the national elections.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this report is to look at this issue on the state level: Did their votes against measures to prohibit marriage for same-sex couples cost state legislators their jobs?

The data are compelling — state legislators of both parties who voted against these measures were overwhelmingly re-elected in nearly every corner of the country.

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

>> In 2004, legislators in 28 states cast votes on proposed bills, constitutional amendments and resolutions that dealt specifically with the right of same-sex couples to marry. These measures generally denied the right to marry to these couples and many sought also to deny any legal protections for same-sex couples and their families. Legislators in 22 of these 28 states faced the voters in November.

>> Eight hundred and eighty-one legislators in these 22 states cast votes opposing discrimination. Of those 881 legislators, 640 faced re-election in 2004.<sup>3</sup>

>> Of the 640 legislators for whom the issue of marriage could have factored into their election, 604 won.

>> In the races of the 36 legislators who lost, the legislator's vote against discrimination was cited as a factor in only 11 races.

**Conclusion: Only 1.7 percent of state legislators running for re-election lost their race because of their vote against banning marriage for same-sex couples.**

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1. See for example David Kirkpatrick, "Some Backers of Bush Say They Anticipate a 'Revolution,'" *The New York Times*, Nov. 4, 2004.

2. See for example Paul Freedman, "The Gay Marriage Myth: Terrorism, Not Values, Drove Bush's Re-election," <http://slate.msn.com/id/2109275>, Nov. 5, 2004.

3. The remainder did not seek re-election, were not up for re-election, ran for other offices or were subject to term limits.

## OTHER FINDINGS

>> Ninety-four percent of legislators who voted against discrimination were re-elected. This re-election rate is consistent or higher than the average rate of re-election for all state legislators.<sup>4</sup>

>> Ninety-eight percent of legislators of color who voted against discrimination were re-elected.

>> In California, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota and Tennessee, not a single legislator who voted against discrimination and ran for re-election lost his or her race. Seven of these nine states went to George W. Bush in the 2004 presidential election.

>> In Arizona, Idaho, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Utah, Wisconsin and Wyoming only one legislator in each state who voted against discrimination and ran for re-election lost his or her race.

>> In just five states, more than one legislator who voted against discrimination and ran for re-election lost his or her race. These states were Georgia (two), Kansas (eight), Maine (nine), Missouri (two) and New Hampshire (seven). Even in the three states that suffered the worst losses — Kansas, Maine and New Hampshire — the re-elect rates of legislators who had voted against discrimination were 81 percent, 87 percent and 94 percent, respectively.

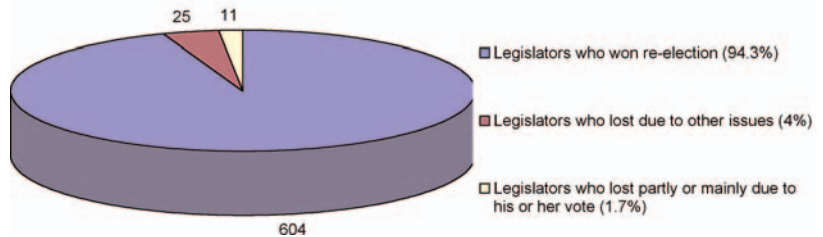
>> There is no correlation between the outcome of the presidential race in a state and the re-elect rate of the state legislators who voted against banning marriage for same-sex couples.

>> In Georgia, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Utah, the same voters who approved constitutional amendments banning marriage for same-sex couples re-elected 97 percent of the legislators who had voted against referring the amendment to the ballot.

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4. The last time that incumbent re-election rates for all state legislative races were tabulated was in 1994. At that time, the National Conference of State Legislatures found that 90 percent of state House incumbents and 92 percent of state Senate incumbents won re-election.

**Does A Vote Against Measures Prohibiting Marriage for Same-Sex Couples Hurt a Re-election Campaign?**



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## ANALYSIS OF LOSSES

Thirty-six legislators who voted against amendments, bills or resolutions to ban marriage for same-sex couples lost their re-election bids. Of these 36, five cite their vote on marriage as a major factor in their loss. An additional six point to their vote as one of multiple factors contributing to their loss. Thus, among 640 state legislators who voted against discrimination and sought re-election, only 11, or 1.7 percent, saw their votes on marriage used as a theme by their opponents during the campaign and only five, or 0.8 percent, lost their seats primarily because of their vote against banning marriage for same-sex couples. Just as prevalent were cases in which incumbent state legislators lost their seats at least in part due to their vote for constitutional amendments and other marriage restrictions, particularly in Democratic primaries.<sup>5</sup> For a detailed examination of the 36 legislators who lost and the factors contributing to their losses, see Appendices B and C.

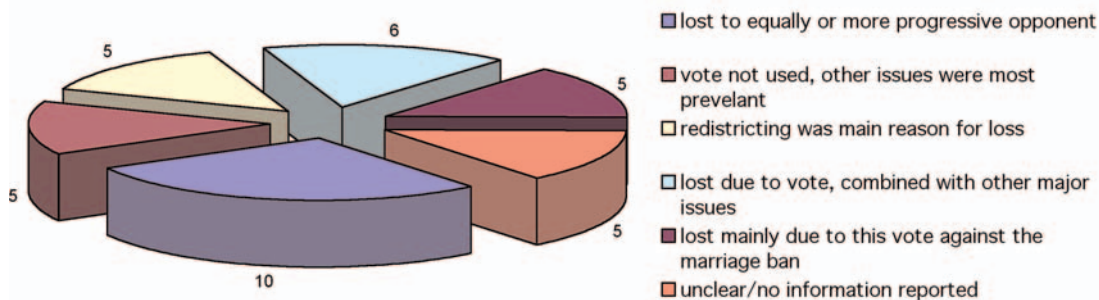
In the states where more than one legislator who voted against marriage bans lost their seats, several state-specific factors played a role in those outcomes. For example, redistricting played a role in Georgia, Maine and New Hampshire, where incumbents were forced to run in redrawn districts that were less favorable to progressive issues. Also in New Hampshire, state legislative races are multi-candidate races with multiple winners, so other factors like name recognition usually outweigh social issues in the voting booth. Kansas is the only state where more than one legislator who voted against the proposed constitutional amendment lost his or her race in whole or in part because of this vote.

Ten of the 36 legislators who lost were defeated by candidates who also opposed banning marriage for same-sex couples. In these races, the marriage issue was irrelevant because both candidates were opposed to measures that denied the right to marry to same-sex couples.

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5. Although we did not collect data on anti-gay legislators for this report, we did become aware of instances in Massachusetts, Michigan and Ohio in which anti-gay legislators lost at least in part due to their votes for discrimination.

## REASONS FOR 36 LOSSES



## SUMMARY OF LOSSES

- >> Ten legislators lost to equally or more progressive candidates.
- >> Five legislators lost mainly due to redistricting.
- >> Six legislators lost due to other factors that far outweighed their votes against banning marriage for same-sex couples.
- >> Five legislators lost due to their vote against banning marriage for same-sex couples and other issues.
- >> Five legislators lost predominantly because their vote against banning marriage for same-sex couples was used against them.
- >> Five legislative races are unclear, with no information reported.



## **OHIO REP. DAN STEWART, D-COLUMBUS**

Stewart is a perfect example of a candidate who held off an anti-gay challenger's strategic attempts at exploiting the "gay issue." Stewart had fought vigorously against Ohio's so-called "Defense of Marriage Act," denouncing it on the statehouse floor and even speaking at an HRC rally on the eve of the adoption of the act. While campaigning in conservative areas of the district, Stewart's opponent, Republican Andy Bowers, pointed to Stewart's vote as a reason to not re-elect him. The strategy backfired when Stewart won handily (54.8 percent) in a moderate suburban district.

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## **DID RACE PLAY A FACTOR?**

Ninety-three percent of white legislators who voted against discrimination won re-election. African-American legislators voting against marriage bans fared even better, with 101 of 104 winning their re-election. Of the three African-American legislators who lost, none of the losses were attributable to their vote against a marriage ban. In fact, two of these three African-American legislators lost to equally or more progressive candidates.

Every Latino legislator who voted against marriage bans won re-election, as was the case for the handful of American Indian and Asian-American legislators.

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## **WISCONSIN SEN. LENA TAYLOR, D-MILWAUKEE**

Taylor ran for a state Senate seat. During this campaign she repeatedly had to defend her vote against the state's so-called "Defense of Marriage Act" and her vote against a proposed amendment to the state constitution. Her main opponent in a fiercely-contested Democratic primary was her colleague Rep. Johnnie Morris-Tatum, also an African American. Morris-Tatum had voted for DOMA and the constitutional amendment and had the backing of many of the district's African-American religious leaders. Despite a concerted attempt by Morris-Tatum to use Taylor's pro-equality record against her, Taylor won the primary election by 10 percentage points and went on to be unopposed in the general election.



## **BATON ROUGE MAYOR DEMOCRAT MELVIN "KIP" HOLDEN**

While serving as state senator, Holden took tremendous political risks in 2004 when he passionately spoke out and twice voted against the proposed Louisiana constitutional amendment banning marriage for same-sex couples. Holden cast these votes while in the middle of a very competitive campaign to become the mayor of Baton Rouge. Addressing his Senate colleagues, he urged them to see that "our country is big enough to embrace differences in people" and that "tolerance is the foundation of this country." Holden's opponent in the mayor's race, Mayor Bobby Simpson, spotlighted Holden's vote against the marriage ban in television ads. Not once during this process did Holden apologize or minimize his support for fairness and equality for all Louisianans. The majority of voters of Baton Rouge liked what they saw in Holden and on Nov. 2, 2004, elected him as their first African-American mayor.

Equality California, California's statewide gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender organization, asked each 2004 state legislative candidate to respond to a questionnaire regarding support for GLBT issues. One of the questions was whether the candidates supported the right of same-sex couples to marry. All 25 of the state Assembly candidates who indicated pre-election support for the right of same-sex couples to marry won their election. Nearly one-half of these assembly members were people of color: seven Latino legislators, three Asian-American legislators and two African-American legislators.

## **HOW DID REPUBLICANS FARE WHO VOTED AGAINST MARRIAGE BANS?**

Of the 881 state legislators who voted against marriage bans for same-sex couples, 140 were Republicans. Their votes were often in opposition to their party caucus and many speculated that their votes would wreak havoc on their re-elections (especially in the primary elections). This speculation did not pan out; in fact, of 82 Republicans voting against marriage bans who ran for re-election, all but four (95 percent) advanced to the general election.

Of these 78 Republican legislators who advanced to the general election, 11 lost. However, five New Hampshire Republicans lost re-election in multi-candidate/multi-winner races (four of which were forced to run in newly drawn districts). Notably, five Republican legislators were defeated by candidates who also opposed banning marriage for same-sex couples. Only Ohio Republican Rep. Nancy Hollister attributes her loss in part to her vote against discrimination.



## **GEORGIA REP. JILL CHAMBERS, R-ATLANTA**

Chambers was the only Republican in either chamber of the Georgia Legislature who voted against a state constitutional amendment purporting to ban marriage and other legal arrangements for same-sex couples. Some political observers thought that her vote would put her on the defensive against an anti-gay Republican primary challenger. While her vote angered many in the Georgia Republican Party, even costing her financial support, Chambers faced no challenger in the primary election and cruised to a 55-45 percent victory in the general election.

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## **DID LOCATION OF DISTRICT PLAY A ROLE?**

Legislators representing predominantly rural or suburban districts who voted against marriage bans did not lose their re-election races. In fact, the percentage of legislators from suburban districts winning re-election mirrored the percentage of urban legislators who won, at 95 percent for both categories. Legislators from mixed districts (either urban/suburban or suburban/rural) also won 95 and 96 percent of their races, respectively. Rural legislators who voted against marriage bans were thought to have been vulnerable because of the more socially conservative tendencies of rural voters. However, these rural legislators held their own by winning their races at a rate of 91 percent.

## **DID GEOGRAPHY PLAY A ROLE?**

A state's geographic region did not correlate with the number of legislators who voted against marriage bans who went on to lose re-election. Unexpectedly, the highest re-election rates were in the South, where 98 percent of the legislators voting against marriage bans won re-election. The re-election rates were also quite high in the West, at 96 percent; Northeast, at 94 percent; and the Midwest, at 93 percent.

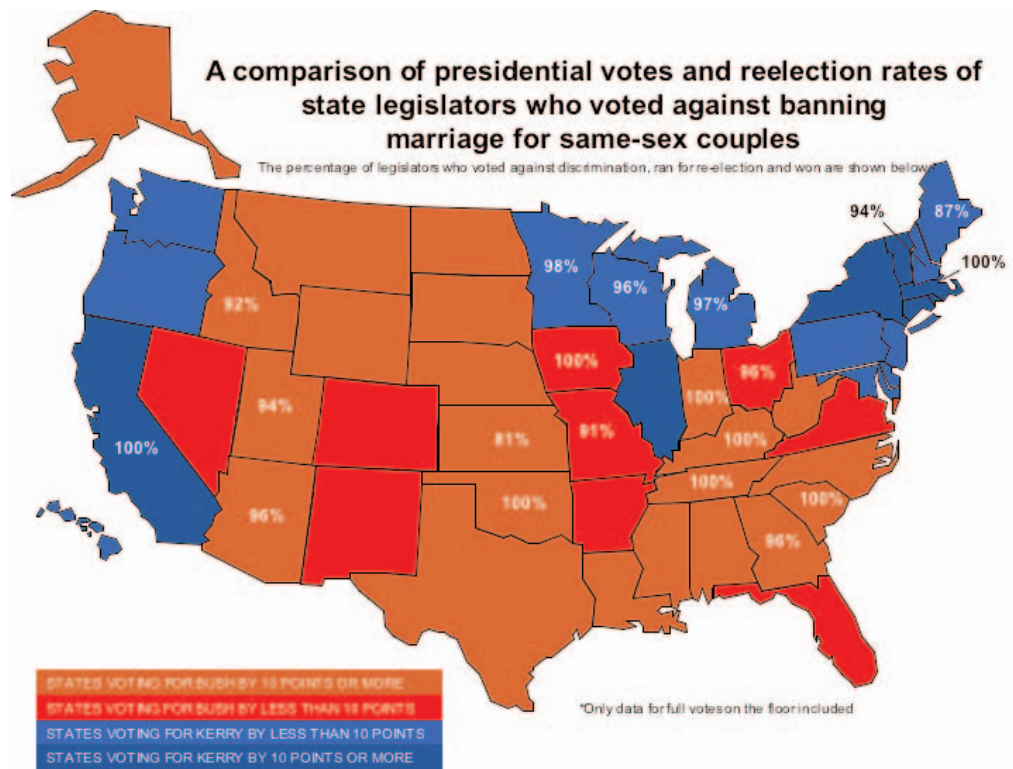
## **WAS THERE A CORRELATION BETWEEN RE-ELECTION RATES AND THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE?**

There was no correlation between how a state voted in the 2004 presidential race and the number of state legislators who voted against marriage bans who lost re-election. Overall, the re-election rate for legislators in "red states" was 93 percent while the re-election rate for legislators in "blue states" was 95 percent. Voters in Indiana, Kentucky, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota and Tennessee who voted for President Bush by more than 10 percentage points also re-elected every state legislator who voted against marriage bans. No state, red or blue, had a re-election rate lower than 81 percent for those legislators who voted against marriage bans.

A group calling itself “Minnesota Citizens in Defense of Marriage” went to great lengths and spent enormous sums sending so-called “Truth Trucks” around the state to specifically-targeted state legislative districts. The trucks carried large billboards that displayed the words, “Want Gay Marriage? Vote Democrat this November,” along with a picture of two men kissing. Knowing that the trucks would be completely ineffective in the Twin Cities, the group specifically targeted Democratic legislators in rural and suburban districts who had voted against a proposed amendment to the state constitution. Rural and suburban voters around the city of Duluth in northern Minnesota were the targets of the “Truth Trucks,” which even made a trip to the state fair. Our opponents’ message and strategy was completely ineffective; in fact, it may have backfired. According to OutFront Minnesota, the state’s leading GLBT advocacy group, “Thirteen incumbent candidates who voted against us on the proposed constitutional amendment were defeated. And, even more encouraging is the news that all but one of the incumbents who voted with us on the constitutional amendment won their campaign for re-election (the one exception — Rep. Jim Rhodes, St. Louis Park, was defeated by a candidate who is equally GLBT supportive — Steve Simon). Clearly, Minnesota’s voters are voting for fairness for all Minnesotans.”

## **WAS THERE A CORRELATION BETWEEN RE-ELECTION RATES AND VOTER APPROVAL OF STATE CONSTITUTIONAL MARRIAGE BANS?**

In August 2004, Missouri voters approved a measure amending their constitution to define marriage as the union of one man and one woman; the same voters three months later re-elected 91 percent of the legislators who voted against the amendment in the Legislature. On Nov. 2, 2004, voters in four states decided on similar state constitutional measures the same day they voted on state legislators. In Georgia, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Utah, the same voters who approved constitutional amendments banning marriage for same-sex couples simultaneously re-elected a combined 97 percent of the legislators who had voted against referring those amendments to the ballot. Each of these five ballot measures were approved by between 66 percent (Utah) and 76 percent (Georgia) of the voters; therefore, a significant percentage of voters voted both for the marriage bans and for legislators who voted against the bans.



## ANTI-GAY LEGISLATIVE LOSSES

In several states, legislators who championed marriage bans for same-sex couples lost their re-election bids. In Massachusetts, two such incumbents were defeated by challengers who vowed to vote against a proposed amendment to the Massachusetts constitution that would take the right to marry away from same-sex couples. (See the story on Carl Sciortino below.)

In Minnesota, 13 legislators who voted for the proposed constitutional amendment to prohibit marriage for same-sex couples were defeated. An equally progressive candidate replaced Minnesota Republican Rep. Jim Rhodes, the only legislator who voted against the proposed amendment who lost re-election. (See the “Truth Truck” story on page 8.)

## GAY AND LESBIAN LEGISLATORS

None of the country’s openly gay and lesbian state legislators, who often were the de facto spokespeople for the marriage issue, lost their bids for re-election. In fact, two states that could face a state constitutional amendment in 2005 elected their first openly gay or lesbian legislator — Julia Boseman (North Carolina Senate) and Nicole LeFavour (Idaho House of Representatives). Additionally, voters in Missouri, who in August approved a state constitutional amendment banning marriage for same-sex couples, elected Jeannette Mott Oxford, the state’s first openly lesbian legislator, to their House of Representatives.



## **MASSACHUSETTS REP. CARL SCIORTINO, D-MIDDLESEX DISTRICT**

Twenty-six-year-old, openly gay Carl Sciortino challenged anti-gay Democratic incumbent Rep. Vincent Ciampa, a Massachusetts legislator for 16 years and a vocal opponent of marriage for same-sex couples. During the campaign Sciortino faced attacks not only on his position on issues but also on his character. Sciortino stood his ground, however, even stating on his election website, “Carl supports equal marriage rights and will oppose any effort to write discrimination into the Massachusetts state constitution. Carl will work to ensure that the state protects and respects all families in Medford and Somerville.” Many observers of this race believe that if Sciortino’s opponent had not made such a major issue out of Sciortino’s sexual orientation and support for marriage equality, he might still be a member of the Massachusetts Legislature. But the voters, fed up with Ciampa’s personal attacks, elected Sciortino as their new representative.

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# **CONCLUSION**

Legislators who voted against bills, constitutional amendments and resolutions that sought to deprive same-sex couples of the right to marry were re-elected at phenomenal rates. This held true in all regions of the country, with the South leading the way with a 98 percent re-election rate; for legislators of color, with 97 percent of African-American and 100 percent of Latino legislators winning re-election; and for suburban and rural legislators.

On Nov. 2, 2004, voters re-elected 94 percent of those incumbents who voted against bans on marriage. For the 36 incumbents who lost, only 11 had their vote used against them by their opponent.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The Human Rights Campaign and Equality Federation would like to thank Seth Bringman, HRC field department intern, for his contributions to this report. We would also like to thank the state GLBT leaders and state legislators who provided information and assistance for this report.

## APPENDIX A

### RE-ELECTION INFORMATION FOR STATE LEGISLATORS WHO VOTED AGAINST MARRIAGE BANS FOR SAME-SEX COUPLES

BREAKDOWN	RUNNING	WON	LOST	% WON
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>640</b>	<b>604</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>94</b>
<b>RACE</b>				
White	503	470	33	93
African-American	104	101	3	97
Latino	25	25	0	100
Asian-American	7	7	0	100
American Indian	1	1	0	100
<b>PARTY</b>				
Democrat	547	526	21	96
Republican	82	67	15*	82
Other	11	11	0	100
<b>DISTRICT</b>				
Urban	210	200	10	95
Urban/suburban	135	128	7	95
Suburban	167	158	9	95
Suburban/rural	24	23	1	96
Rural	104	95	9**	91
<b>REGION</b>				
West	92	88	4	96
Midwest	202	188	14	93
South	88	86	2	98
Northeast	258	242	16	94
<b>RED V. BLUE</b>				
“Red States”	252	235	17	93
“Blue States”	388	369	19	95

\*Ten of the 15 Republican losses were due to factors other than the marriage ban vote.

\*\*Six of the nine rural losses were due to factors other than the marriage ban vote.

## APPENDIX B

### MAIN REASONS FOR LOSSES

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#### **LOST TO EQUALLY OR MORE PROGRESSIVE OPPONENT (10)**

Arizona Rep. Wally Staughn  
Idaho Rep. Tim Ridinger  
Kansas Rep. Ruby Gilbert  
Kansas Rep. Jan Scoggins-Waite  
Kansas Sen. Mark Buhler  
Maine Rep. Edward Suslovic  
Maine Sen. Pamela Hatch  
Minnesota Rep. Jim Rhodes  
New Hampshire Rep. Eric Daniels  
Utah Sen. James Evans

#### **LOST PRIMARILY DUE TO REDISTRICTING (5)**

Maine Rep. Raymond Wotton  
New Hampshire Rep. Nancy Ford  
New Hampshire Rep. Leo Fraser  
New Hampshire Rep. Randy Perkins  
New Hampshire Rep. Cynthia Sweeny

#### **LOST DUE TO OTHER ISSUES (5)**

Georgia Rep. Lawrence Roberts  
Maine Rep. Susanne Ketterer  
Maine Sen. Neria Douglass  
Maine Sen. Chris Hall  
Wyoming Sen. Keith Goodenough

#### **LOST DUE TO VOTE COMBINED WITH OTHER ISSUES (6)**

Georgia Rep. Pat Dooley  
Kansas Rep. William Kassebaum  
Kansas Sen. Henry Helgerson  
Michigan Rep. Jennifer Elkins  
Missouri Rep. Vicki Walker  
Wisconsin Rep. Joe Plouff

#### **LOST MAINLY DUE TO VOTE (5)**

Kansas Rep. John Ballou  
Kansas Rep. Mary Compton  
Kansas Rep. Stanley Dreher  
Missouri Rep. Mike Sager

#### **UNCLEAR OR UNCERTAIN ABOUT LOSS (5)**

Maine Rep. Bonita Breault  
Maine Rep. William Earle  
Maine Rep. Edward Pellon  
New Hampshire Rep. Thomas Katsiantonis  
New Hampshire Rep. William Mosher

## APPENDIX C

### LEGISLATORS WHO VOTED AGAINST BANS ON MARRIAGE FOR SAME-SEX COUPLES WHO LOST RE-ELECTION

LEGISLATOR	STATE	PARTY	RACE	PERCENT OF VOTE WON	DISTRICT COMPOSITION	LOSS CLASSIFICATION
Rep. Staughn, Wally	AZ	D	W	**	Urban/Sub	Lost to equally or more progressive opponent
Rep. Dooley, Pat	GA	D	W	46.5%	Suburban	Lost due to vote, combined with other major issues
Rep. Roberts, Lawrence	GA	D	B	44.3%	Urban	Vote not used, other issues were most prevalent
Rep. Ridinger, Tim	ID	R	W	49.0%	Rural	Lost to equally or more progressive opponent
Rep. Kassebaum, William	KS	R	W	46.4%	Suburban	Lost due to vote, combined with other major issues
Sen. Helgeson, Henry	KS	D	W	42.0%	Urban/Sub	Lost due to vote, combined with other major issues
Rep. Ballou, John	KS	R	W	46.8%	Suburban	Lost mainly due to this vote
Rep. Compton, Mary	KS	R	W	49.1%	Suburban	Lost mainly due to this vote
Rep. Dreher, Stanley	KS	R	W	46.6%	Suburban	Lost mainly due to this vote
Rep. Gilbert, Ruby	KS	D	B	43.2%	Urban	Lost to equally or more progressive opponent
Rep. Scoggins-Waite, H. Jan	KS	D	W	32.0%	Urban/Sub	Lost to equally or more progressive opponent
Sen. Buhler, Mark	KS	R	W	43.0%	Suburban	Lost to equally or more progressive opponent
Rep. Suslovic, Edward	ME	D	W	40.5%	Rural	Lost to equally or more progressive opponent
Sen. Hatch, Pamela	ME	D	W	46.4%	Rural	Lost to equally or more progressive opponent
Rep. Wotton, Raymond	ME	D	W	46.9%	Rural	Redistricting was main reason for loss
Rep. Breault, Bonita	ME	D	W	46.7%	Rural	Unclear/no information reported
Rep. Earle, William	ME	D	W	47.2%	Rural	Unclear/no information reported
Rep. Pellon, Edward	ME	D	W	41.4%	Urban	Unclear/no information reported
Rep. Ketterer, Susanne	ME	D	W	47.7%	Urban/Sub	Vote not used, other issues were most prevalent
Sen. Douglass, Neria	ME	D	W	47.6%	Urban/Sub	Vote not used, other issues were most prevalent
Sen. Hall, Chris	ME	D	W	44.1%	Urban/Sub	Vote not used, other issues were most prevalent
Rep. Elkins, Jennifer	MI	D	W	48.3%	Rural/Sub	Lost due to vote, combined with other major issues
Rep. Rhodes, Jim	MN	R	W	44.2%	Urban	Lost to equally or more progressive opponent
Rep. Walker, Vicki	MO	D	W	49.0%	Urban/Sub	Lost due to vote, combined with other major issues
Rep. Sager, Mike	MO	D	W	47.1%	Urban	Lost mainly due to this vote
Rep. Daniels, Eric	NH	R	W	**	Suburban	Lost to equally or more progressive opponent
Rep. Ford, Nancy	NH	R	W	**	Suburban	Redistricting was main reason for loss
Rep. Fraser, Leo	NH	R	W	**	Suburban	Redistricting was main reason for loss
Rep. Perkins, Randy	NH	R	W	**	Suburban	Redistricting was main reason for loss
Rep. Sweeny, Cynthia	NH	R	W	**	Urban	Redistricting was main reason for loss
Rep. Katsiantonis, Thomas	NH	D	W	**	Urban	Unclear/no information reported
Rep. Mosher, William	NH	R	W	**	Urban	Unclear/no information reported
Rep. Hollister, Nancy	OH	R	W	48.3%	Rural	Lost mainly due to this vote
Sen. Evans, James	UT	R	B	46.2%	Urban	Lost to equally or more progressive opponent
Rep. Plouff, Joe	WI	D	W	45.9%	Rural	Lost due to vote, combined with other major issues
Sen. Goodenough, Keith	WY	D	W	49.3%	Urban	Vote not used, other issues were most prevalent