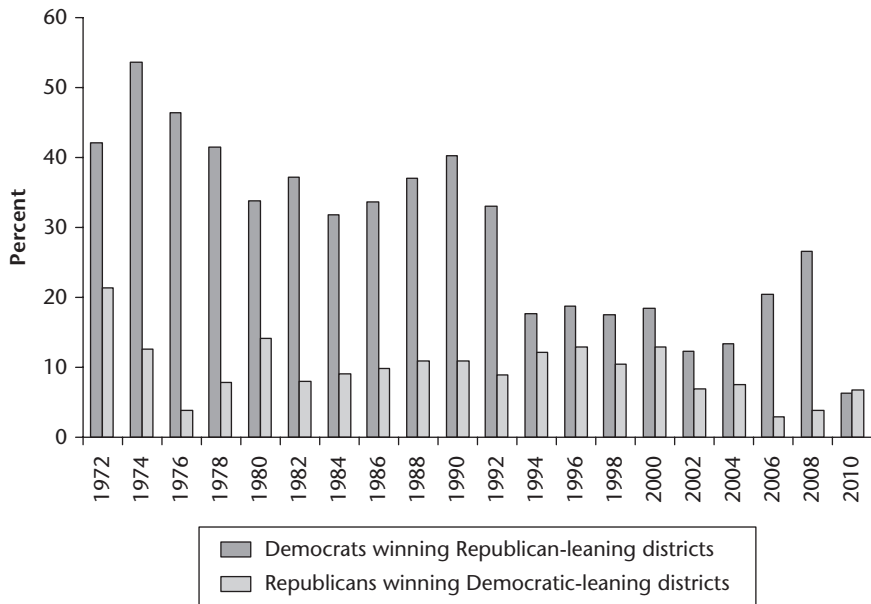


**Figure 5-17** Winning Against the Partisan Grain, 1972–2010



*Note:* Leaning districts are defined as those in which the district-level presidential vote was at least two percentage points higher than the national average for that party for that year's election, or, for midterms, the previous presidential election.

*Source:* Compiled by author.