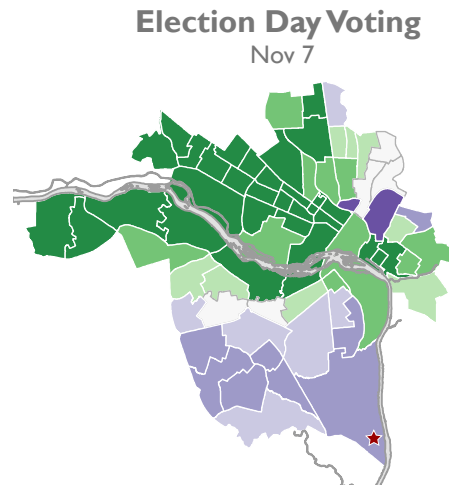
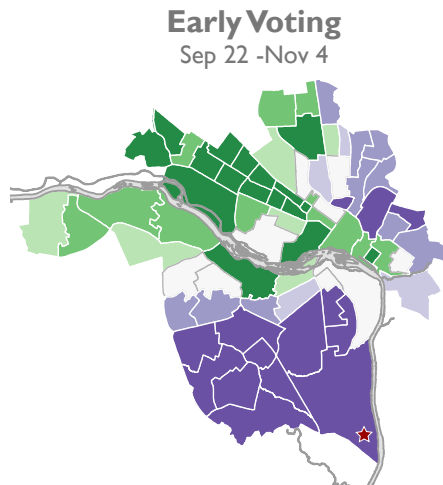


No Dice!

The Growth of Casino Opposition in Richmond, VA, 2023

In November 2021, voters in Richmond, Virginia, rejected a casino referendum by a razor-thin 50.95% to 49.05% margin. Unsatisfied with this result, casino interests pushed for another bite at the apple in 2023. They spent a shocking \$10 million to try to sway voters, set against less than \$500,000 raised by casino opponents. In the closing days of the campaign, casino opponents brought to light racially inflammatory remarks made on air by important casino supporters. Whatever the cause—resistance to the pressure campaign or the detestable remarks or something else—every precinct in the city save one shifted more toward opposition between the end of early voting and election day. On November 7, 2023, the second casino referendum was soundly—if surprisingly—defeated **61.91% to 38.09%**.

Percentage of Opposition by Precinct



Map created by Eric Johnson, 11/19/2023. Projections: USA Contiguous Albers Equal Area Conic modified as follows: central meridian, 77.49°W; First Parallel, 37.51°N, Second Parallel, 37.55°N.

Sources: City of Richmond Office of Elections, Virginia Department of Elections, City of Richmond GIS Team, Richmond Times-Dispatch, ESRI.

Shift in Opposition in Percentage Points between Early Voting and Election Day, by Precinct

