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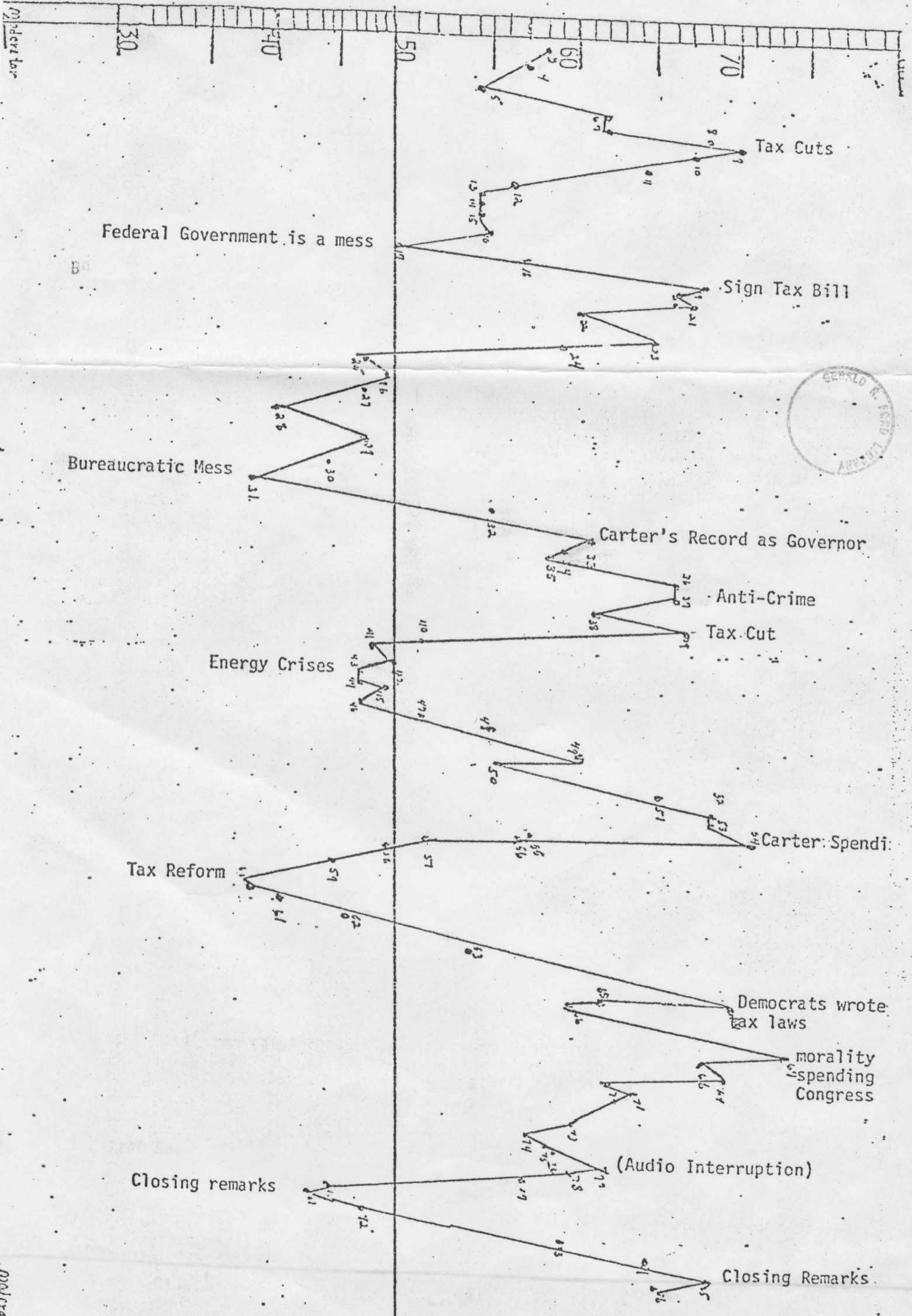
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FIRST DEBATE

PRO CARTER

PRO FORD

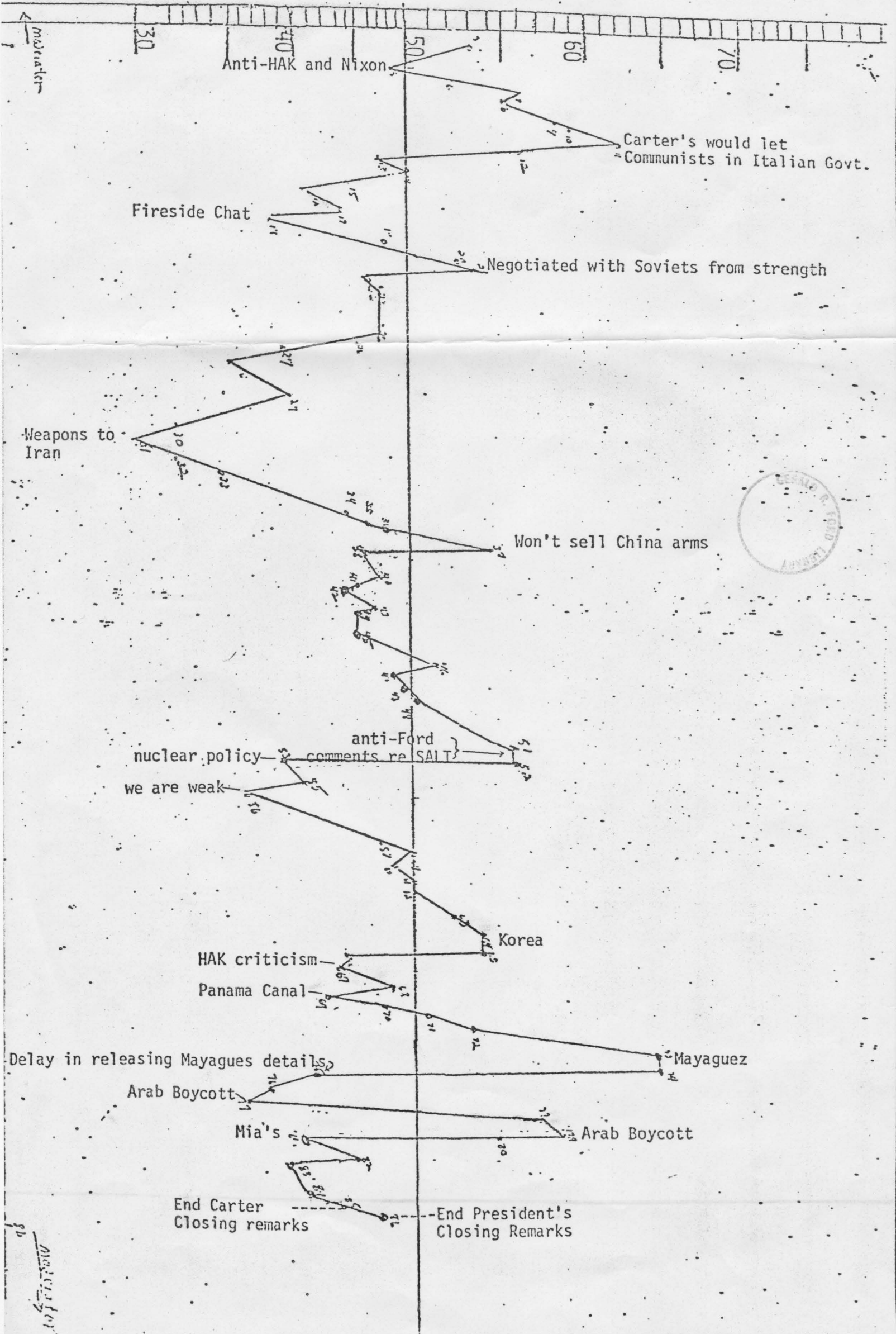


84  
 Moderator

SECOND DEBATE

PRO CARTER

PRO FORD



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M E M O R A N D U M

TO: RT, FS

FROM: S. Greendale

DATE: December 2, 1976

RE: 1976 Presidential Election Turnout Update



As a result of Jack Vandenberg's comments about Wisconsin's election day registration laws, I have pursued the matter of differing registration laws as a factor in effecting turnout. My source for the status of voter registration laws is the Federal Elections Clearinghouse in Washington, D.C. with the information confirmed by Professor Richard Smolka of American University (He is considered by the FEC to be the country's foremost authority on the subject and is the editor of Election Administration Reports, a newsletter sent out to all election officials in the country - we will soon be receiving a copy from him.). I have looked particularly at states with election day registration and postcard registration and believe this to be a course worth pursuing.

Election Day Registration States

There are six states generally accepted to be within this category, although I would personally take issue with one of those, North Dakota. North Dakota does not have registration at all and so is considered to be a member of this group, however I would argue that for the purposes of our analysis we should eliminate it from this classification. For the other five states generally considered in this category, election day registration represents a change in the state's registration laws since the last presidential election while North Dakota has not experienced a change at all in their legal requirements, thus we would not expect a significant difference in the trend of voter turnout in their state.

| <u>Election Day<br/>Registration States</u> | <u>% Turnout<br/>of Voting Age<br/>Population</u> | <u>Change from 1972<br/>Presidential<br/>Election Turnout</u> |
|---|---|---|
| Alaska                                      | 55.5%   | +7.7  |
| Maine                                       | 64.6  | +3.5  |
| Minnesota                                   | 71.5  | +3.1  |
| Oregon                                      | 60.8  | -0.9  |
| Wisconsin                                   | 65.1  | +3.1  |

There are only four states outside the South where voter turnout increased this year and all four have election day registration. Even Oregon's 0.9 decline in turnout is well above the non-South average decline of 2.9. I think this is worth pursuing further.

Postcard Registration States

There are currently eighteen states that allow residents to register to vote by mail. Although this system was highly touted by its proponents as a good means of easing the restrictions to voter registration, it does not seem to have the desired effect of increasing voter turnout. In states like California and New York where

strong drives for voter registration by mail were held, we see the greatest drops in turnout, indicating that their efforts were less than successful.

| <u>Postcard<br/>Registration States</u> | <u>% Turnout<br/>of Voting Age<br/>Population</u> | <u>Change from 1972<br/>Presidential<br/>Election Turnout</u> |
|---|---|---|
| Alaska                                  | 55.5%   | +7.7*   |
| California                              | 50.2  | -8.9  |
| District of Columbia                    | 30.6  | -0.2  |
| Delaware                                | 58.0  | -4.4  |
| Iowa                                    | 62.9  | -0.4  |
| Kansas                                  | 58.8  | -0.2  |
| Kentucky                                | 47.0  | -1.4  |
| Maryland                                | 48.2  | -2.1  |
| Minnesota                               | 71.5  | +3.1*   |
| Montana                                 | 60.5  | -7.3  |
| New Jersey                              | 57.3  | -2.7  |
| New York                                | 49.4  | -7.2  |
| Oregon                                  | 60.8  | -0.9*   |
| Pennsylvania                            | 52.9  | -3.1  |
| Tennessee                               | 49.7  | +6.1  |
| Texas                                   | 46.0  | +0.7  |
| Utah                                    | 66.9  | -1.5  |
| Wisconsin                               | 65.1  | +3.1*   |

\* indicates those states which also have election day registration.

Increases in voter turnout in this election are concentrated in the Deep South and in states that have election day registration. The only deviation from this pattern is Tennessee with its 6.1% increase. To check this out further, perhaps we should trend turnout in states. That would confirm whether the change we have observed in election day registration states actually did occur between 1972 and 1976 when the change in the laws occurred. In addition, we can find out if 1972 was an unusually low turnout year in Tennessee and the current increase thus only a by-product of the abnormal 1972 turnout.

Dr. Smolka has invited us to publish any findings in his newsletter as he believes any data on the effects of various forms of registration on turnout would be immensely valuable to his readership.



MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: RT, FS  
FROM: S. Greendale  
DATE: November 9, 1976  
RE: 1976 Presidential Election Turnout



Despite early media reports of heavy voter turnout, it is now obvious that turnout of the voting age population has continued its downward trend. According to nearly complete vote counts in the presidential race (as reported in the New York Times on November 4, 1976), 52.8% of the adult population actually cast a ballot for president. Considering the high levels of undecided voters observed by both public and private polls as the race drew to a close, it seems possible that the reported long lines at the polls were more a function of voters, fraught with indecision, taking more time than usual to cast their final vote decision than the initially presumed circumstance of a greater vote turnout.

Only in the deep South did voter turnout show an increase over the 1972 presidential election, with an additional 2.1% of the voting age population casting votes there. There were increases in turnout registered across the deep South, except in Florida where turnout declined by 2.0%. The relatively high increase of +4.2% turnout in Georgia can easily be attributed to the state's pride in their "hometown boy making good," but to what factors can one ascribe the +7.7% turnout in Louisiana and the +6.1% turnout in Tennessee (the only border state, incidentally, to show an increase in voter turnout)? These figures deserve further scrutiny as we seek to understand what caused large numbers of non-voters in these states to become voters this year.

As one might expect, states which were carried by President Ford displayed a greater decline in voter turnout than those carried by Mr. Carter. The % change in turnout from 1972 for Carter states is 0.4% while Ford states declined an average of -3.6%. Even removing the deep South from consideration, where regional pride may account for increases in turnout, Carter states exhibited a -1.4% turnout decline while Ford states decreased in voter turnout by 3.76% on the average. This result would support those who claim



that greater voter turnout typically serves as a benefit to the Democratic candidate.

The decline in the Republican proportion of major party vote, compared to 1972, averages 12.9 across the United States with the most dramatic declines, as expected, in the South.

The most important distinction in the decline of major party vote is clearly the South/Non-South difference. Removing that region from consideration, the Middle Atlantic Region becomes the key. With a regional average decline of 11.8%, the Middle Atlantic states drop 1.5 points more than any other Northern or Western region. If the number of New Majority voters in the Middle Atlantic who went with Nixon in 1972 had not declined so dramatically in this election (and, as a result, the decline in major party vote more closely resembled other Northern regions), this region would have gone for Ford and so would the election.

Just a final note on the effects of vice-presidential candidates. It is generally believed that, if nothing else, the vice-presidential candidate should carry his own state strongly for his running mate. The evidence from Kansas and Minnesota does not bear out this assumption. With a decline of 15.7% in Republican proportion of major party vote, Kansas declined more than the 10.3% average of its region while Minnesota, with a 9.4% decrease, declined less. One would have normally expected the situation to have been reversed, thus bringing us to question the real impact of vice-presidential candidates on the vote.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

1976 Presidential Election Turnout by Region

|                      | % Turnout<br>of Voting Age<br>Population | Change from 1972<br>Presidential<br>Election Turnout |
|----------------------|--|--|
| United States        | 52.8%                                    | - 2.6  |
| Deep South           | 46.2                                     | + 2.1  |
| Louisiana            | 52.0                                     | + 7.7  |
| Georgia              | 42.1                                     | + 4.2  |
| Arkansas             | 50.7                                     | + 2.8  |
| Mississippi          | 47.7                                     | + 2.7  |
| Alabama              | 46.1                                     | + 2.6  |
| South Carolina       | 40.3                                     | + 1.7  |
| Virginia             | 46.4                                     | + 0.9  |
| Texas                | 46.0                                     | + 0.7  |
| North Carolina       | 43.5                                     | + 0.1  |
| Florida              | 47.3                                     | - 2.0  |
| Border               | 48.0                                     | - 0.7  |
| Tennessee            | 49.7                                     | + 6.1  |
| District of Columbia | 30.6                                     | - 0.2  |
| Kentucky             | 47.0                                     | - 1.4  |
| Maryland             | 48.2                                     | - 2.1  |
| Oklahoma             | 54.7                                     | - 2.2  |
| West Virginia        | 57.8                                     | - 4.6  |
| West North Central   | 62.0                                     | - 0.9  |
| Minnesota            | 71.5                                     | + 3.1  |
| Kansas               | 58.8                                     | - 0.2  |
| Missouri             | 57.1                                     | - 0.2  |
| Iowa                 | 62.9                                     | - 0.4  |
| Nebraska             | 54.9                                     | - 1.0  |
| North Dakota         | 65.2                                     | - 2.8  |
| South Dakota         | 63.4                                     | - 5.3  |
| East North Central   | 59.2                                     | - 1.3  |
| Wisconsin            | 65.1                                     | + 3.1  |
| Michigan             | 58.3                                     | - 1.2  |
| Indiana              | 59.4                                     | - 1.4  |
| Ohio                 | 54.5                                     | - 3.0  |
| Illinois             | 58.9                                     | - 3.8  |
| New England          | 59.7                                     | - 3.0  |
| Maine                | 64.6                                     | + 3.5  |
| Rhode Island         | 60.4                                     | - 1.6  |
| Massachusetts        | 58.7                                     | - 3.3  |
| Connecticut          | 62.0                                     | - 4.3  |
| Vermont              | 55.0                                     | - 5.8  |
| New Hampshire        | 57.7                                     | - 6.5  |
| Middle Atlantic      | 54.4                                     | - 4.4  |
| New Jersey           | 57.3                                     | - 2.7  |
| Pennsylvania         | 52.9                                     | - 3.1  |
| Delaware             | 58.0                                     | - 4.4  |
| New York             | 49.4                                     | - 7.2  |
| Mountain             | 55.9                                     | - 4.4  |
| Utah                 | 66.9                                     | - 1.5  |
| Colorado             | 58.1                                     | - 2.1  |
| Arizona              | 47.1                                     | - 3.4  |
| Idaho                | 58.9                                     | - 4.2  |
| New Mexico           | 52.8                                     | - 4.7  |
| Wyoming              | 58.2                                     | - 5.6  |
| Nevada               | 44.8                                     | - 6.2  |
| Montana              | 60.5                                     | - 7.3  |
| Pacific              | 52.8                                     | - 6.0  |
| Oregon               | 60.8                                     | - 0.9  |
| Hawaii               | 47.6                                     | - 2.8  |
| California           | 50.2                                     | - 8.9  |
| Washington           | 52.5                                     | -11.3  |





MARKET OPINION RESEARCH


1976 Presidential Election  
Major Party Vote by Region

|                           | 1976 Republican<br>Proportion of<br>Major Party Vote | Change From<br>1972 Republican<br>Proportion of<br>Major Party Vote |
|---------------------------|--|---|
| United States             | 48.9   | -12.9   |
| <u>New England</u>        | <u>50.1</u>  | <u>- 7.8</u>  |
| Massachusetts             | 41.9   | - 3.6   |
| Connecticut               | 52.6   | - 6.4   |
| Vermont                   | 56.0   | - 7.2   |
| Rhode Island              | 44.2   | - 8.9   |
| New Hampshire             | 55.7   | - 9.0   |
| Maine                     | 50.3   | -11.2   |
| <u>Pacific</u>            | <u>50.2</u>  | <u>- 8.4</u>  |
| Oregon                    | 50.0   | - 5.3   |
| California                | 50.8   | - 6.2   |
| Washington                | 51.4   | - 8.2   |
| Hawaii                    | 48.7   | -13.8   |
| <u>East North Central</u> | <u>51.3</u>  | <u>- 8.5</u>  |
| Michigan                  | 52.7   | - 4.6   |
| Wisconsin                 | 49.2   | - 5.8   |
| Illinois                  | 51.1   | - 8.2   |
| Ohio                      | 49.9   | -11.1   |
| Indiana                   | 53.8   | -12.7   |
| <u>Mountain</u>           | <u>57.2</u>  | <u>- 9.1</u>  |
| Montana                   | 53.6   | - 6.9   |
| Utah                      | 64.9   | - 7.0   |
| Arizona                   | 58.6   | - 8.4   |
| Colorado                  | 55.9   | - 8.5   |
| Idaho                     | 61.8   | - 9.4   |
| Wyoming                   | 59.9   | - 9.5   |
| Nevada                    | 52.3   | -11.4   |
| New Mexico                | 51.0   | -11.5   |
| <u>West North Central</u> | <u>51.4</u>  | <u>-10.3</u>  |
| South Dakota              | 50.9   | - 3.4   |
| Iowa                      | 50.5   | - 8.2   |
| Minnesota                 | 43.4   | - 9.4   |
| Nebraska                  | 60.3   | -10.2   |
| North Dakota              | 52.9   | -10.5   |
| Missouri                  | 48.2   | -14.1   |
| Kansas                    | 53.9   | -15.7   |
| <u>Middle Atlantic</u>    | <u>48.7</u>  | <u>-11.8</u>  |
| New York                  | 47.8   | -10.9   |
| New Jersey                | 51.0   | -11.6   |
| Pennsylvania              | 48.6   | -11.6   |
| Delaware                  | 47.3   | -13.0   |
| <u>Border</u>             | <u>40.9</u>  | <u>-21.2*</u>   |
| District of Columbia      | 16.5   | - 5.1   |
| Maryland                  | 46.9   | -15.2   |
| Kentucky                  | 46.2   | -18.4   |
| West Virginia             | 41.9   | -21.7   |
| Oklahoma                  | 50.5   | -24.9   |
| Tennessee                 | 43.5   | -26.0   |
| <u>Deep South</u>         | <u>44.1</u>  | <u>-27.7</u>  |
| Texas                     | 48.0   | -18.6   |
| Virginia                  | 50.7   | -18.6   |
| Louisiana                 | 47.0   | -22.7   |
| Florida                   | 46.8   | -25.3   |
| North Carolina            | 44.4   | -26.2   |
| South Carolina            | 43.5   | -20.4   |
| Alabama                   | 43.5   | -30.4   |
| Mississippi               | 49.2   | -30.7   |
| Arkansas                  | 35.0   | -34.2   |
| Georgia                   | 33.0   | -42.3   |

\*The District of Columbia data is not included in the regional average as it is artificially low.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Eddie Mahe and R. Teeter  
FROM: Fred Steeper and Alex Gage  
DATE: December 16, 1976  
SUBJECT: Long-Term Trends in Republican Party Strength



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Given the speculations on the demise of the Republican Party signaled by the failure to rebound from 1974 has led us to do some searching as to just how low the G.O.P. has sunk in recent years. So far we have charted two indicators: (1) the congressional vote over the past 36 years and (2) Gallup's questions on which party would best avoid WWII and which party would keep the country prosperous.

The first conclusions are:

1. We are at a low point but we have been even lower in the past; 1976 does not represent an "unprecedented" or "dramatic" difference from the past.
2. Our proportion of seats in the house runs significantly lower than our proportion of the national vote especially when we are on the downside. There is an exaggerated effect at work.
3. The 41% of the congressional vote in 1974 was our lowest since 1936 and was a significant danger sign. However, compared to our 46% average from 1932 to 1974 that is not exactly a huge drop-off. The 1976 national result is not yet available, but if it is in the 43% to 45% range, I don't think we will be able to say the situation today is any darker than it has been all along.

MEMORANDUM

TO: RT

FROM: FS

DATE: December 1, 1976

RE: 1976 Reported Vote by Some Selected Demographic Groups



Before deciding upon the demo groups for the demographic run on the U.S. National, I had the vote cut by some selected demos to see where the action was and wasn't.

Findings:

1. The Catholic women pre-election support for Ford disappeared, nationally, and goes the other way in the post data -- if it can be believed.
2. The key variations in Ford's vote were:

|                   |     |      |
|-------------------|-----|------|
| Black             | 7%  | Ford |
| Spanish           | 24% |      |
| Jewish            | 31% |      |
| Catholic          | 38% |      |
| Baptist           | 45% |      |
| Other Protestants | 59% |      |

3. Surprisingly, a south/non-south division within each of the above groups DID NOT make any reliably large differences in the vote. Ford's lower vote in the south stems from more blacks and more Baptists there and not a unique regional appeal beyond the Baptist phenomenon.
4. One surprisingly large and reliable difference -- Carter was 14% stronger with Baptist men compared to Baptist women. I have no idea why. I had hoped a sex difference would exist with the Catholics which would have given us a nice continuing finding on the election. Instead, our post data shows it with the Baptists.



Vote by Demographic Groups: U.S. Post-Election Study

|                           | <u>Total</u> | <u>Ford</u> | <u>Carter</u> | <u>Other/<br/>McCarthy</u> | <u>Number of<br/>Cases</u> |
|---------------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Black                     | 100%         | 7%          | 93%           | --                         | (138)                      |
| Black South               | 100%         | 12          | 88            | --                         | ( 68)                      |
| Black Non-South           | 100%         | 3           | 97            | --                         | ( 70)                      |
| Jews                      | 100%         | 31          | 69            | --                         | ( 58)                      |
| Jews S                    | 100%         | 22          | 78            | --                         | ( 9)                       |
| Jews NS                   | 100%         | 33          | 67            | --                         | ( 49)                      |
| Spanish                   | 100%         | 24          | 74            | 2                          | ( 42)                      |
| Spanish S                 | 100%         | 15          | 77            | 8                          | ( 13)                      |
| Spanish NS                | 100%         | 29          | 71            | --                         | ( 28)                      |
| Catholic                  | 100%         | 38          | 60            | 2                          | (383)                      |
| Catholic S                | 100%         | 43          | 55            | 2                          | ( 60)                      |
| Catholic NS               | 100%         | 37          | 61            | 2                          | (322)                      |
| Catholic men              | 100%         | 43          | 55            | 2                          | (208)                      |
| Catholic men S            | 100%         | 50          | 47            | 3                          | ( 34)                      |
| Catholic men NS           | 100%         | 41          | 57            | 2                          | (174)                      |
| Catholic women            | 100%         | 31          | 66            | 3                          | (175)                      |
| Catholic women S          | 100%         | 37          | 63            | --                         | ( 27)                      |
| Catholic women NS         | 100%         | 30          | 67            | 3                          | (148)                      |
| Baptist                   | 100%         | 45          | 54            | 1                          | (185)                      |
| Baptist S                 | 100%         | 43          | 57            | --                         | (109)                      |
| Baptist NS                | 100%         | 47          | 49            | 4                          | ( 76)                      |
| Baptist men               | 100%         | 38          | 60            | 2                          | ( 97)                      |
| Baptist men S             | 100%         | 34          | 66            | --                         | ( 59)                      |
| Baptist men NS            | 100%         | 45          | 50            | 5                          | ( 40)                      |
| Baptist women             | 100%         | 52          | 47            | 1                          | ( 88)                      |
| Baptist women S           | 100%         | 55          | 45            | --                         | ( 51)                      |
| Baptist women NS          | 100%         | 49          | 49            | 2                          | ( 37)                      |
| Other Protestants         | 100%         | 59          | 39            | 2                          | (533)                      |
| Other Protestants S       | 100%         | 60          | 40            | --                         | (134)                      |
| Other Protestants NS      | 100%         | 59          | 38            | 3                          | (398)                      |
| Other Protestant men      | 100%         | 60          | 37            | 3                          | (238)                      |
| Other Protestant men S    | 100%         | 62          | 38            | --                         | ( 58)                      |
| Other Protestant men NS   | 100%         | 59          | 37            | 3                          | (180)                      |
| Other Protestant women    | 100%         | 58          | 40            | 2                          | (295)                      |
| Other Protestant women S  | 100%         | 58          | 42            | --                         | ( 76)                      |
| Other Protestant women NS | 100%         | 58          | 39            | 3                          | (219)                      |
| Agnostic/None             | 100%         | 35          | 57            | 8                          | ( 92)                      |
| Agnostic/None S           | 100%         | 42          | 58            | --                         | ( 12)                      |
| Agnostic/None NS          | 100%         | 34          | 56            | 10                         | ( 80)                      |