

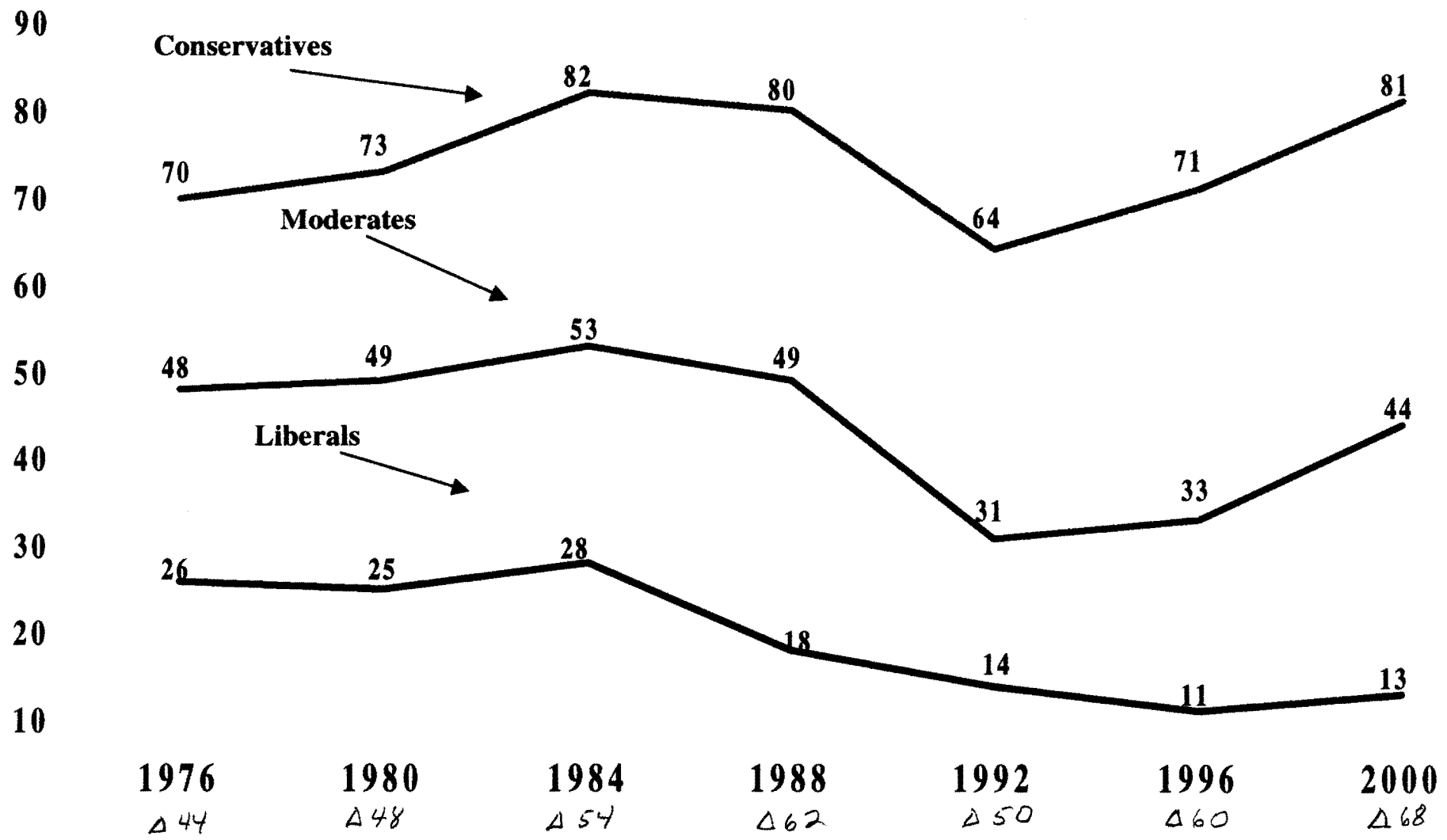
The original documents are located in Box 50, folder “ Post Election Analysis (1)” of the Frederick T. Steeper Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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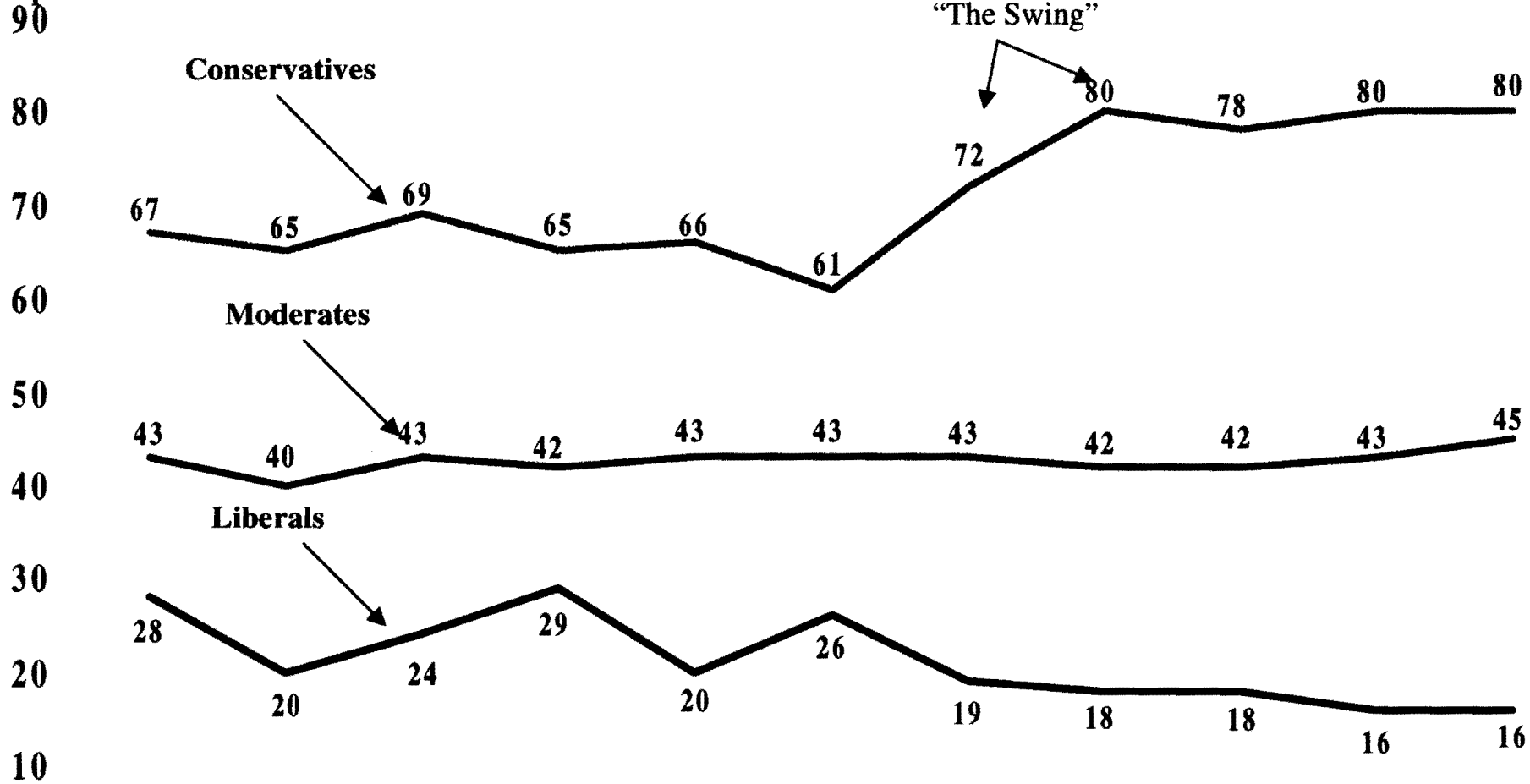
Ideological Patterns to the Presidential Vote

Republican Vote



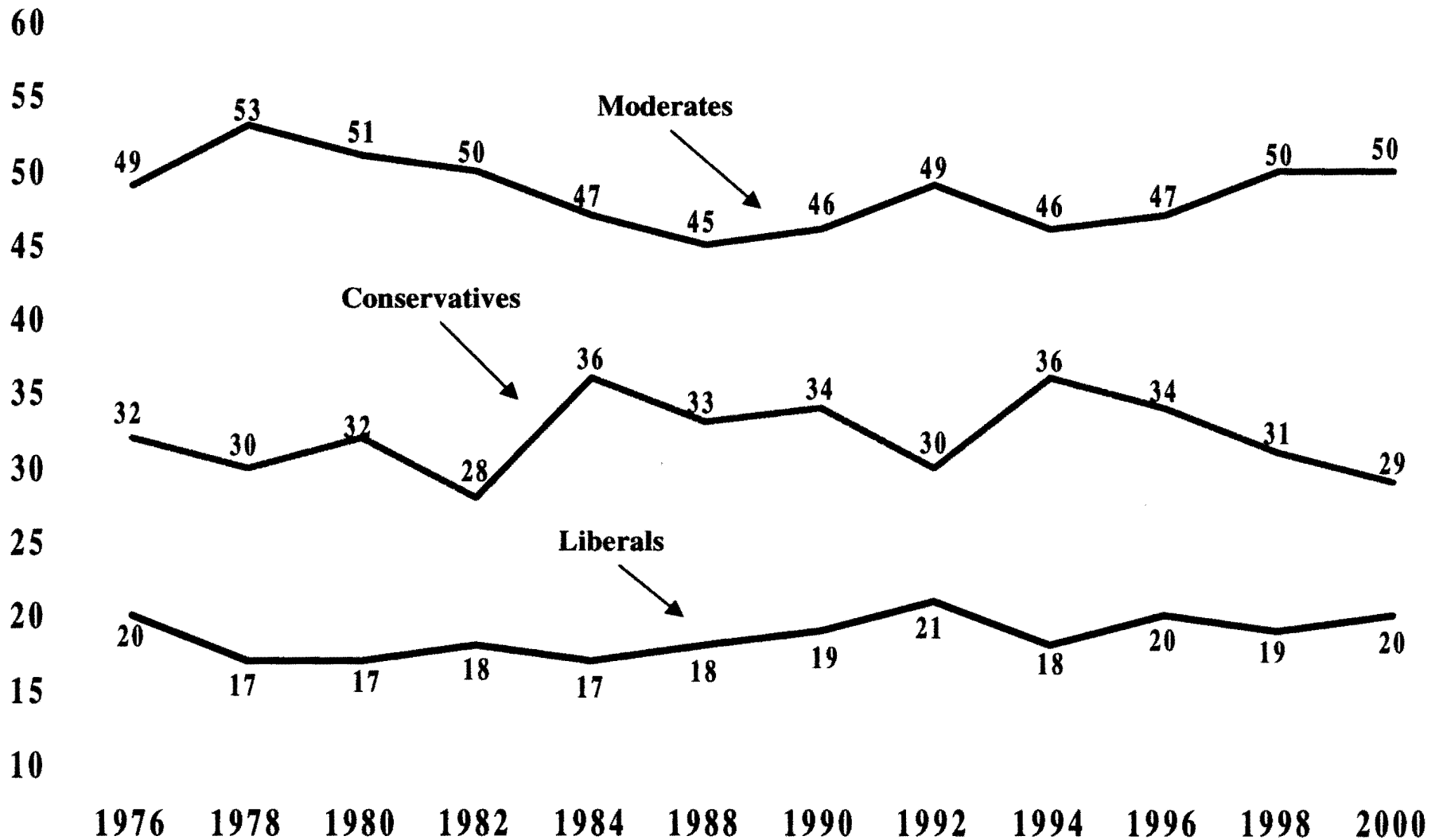
Ideological Patterns to U.S. House Vote

Republican Vote



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Ideological Composition of Voters: 1976-2000

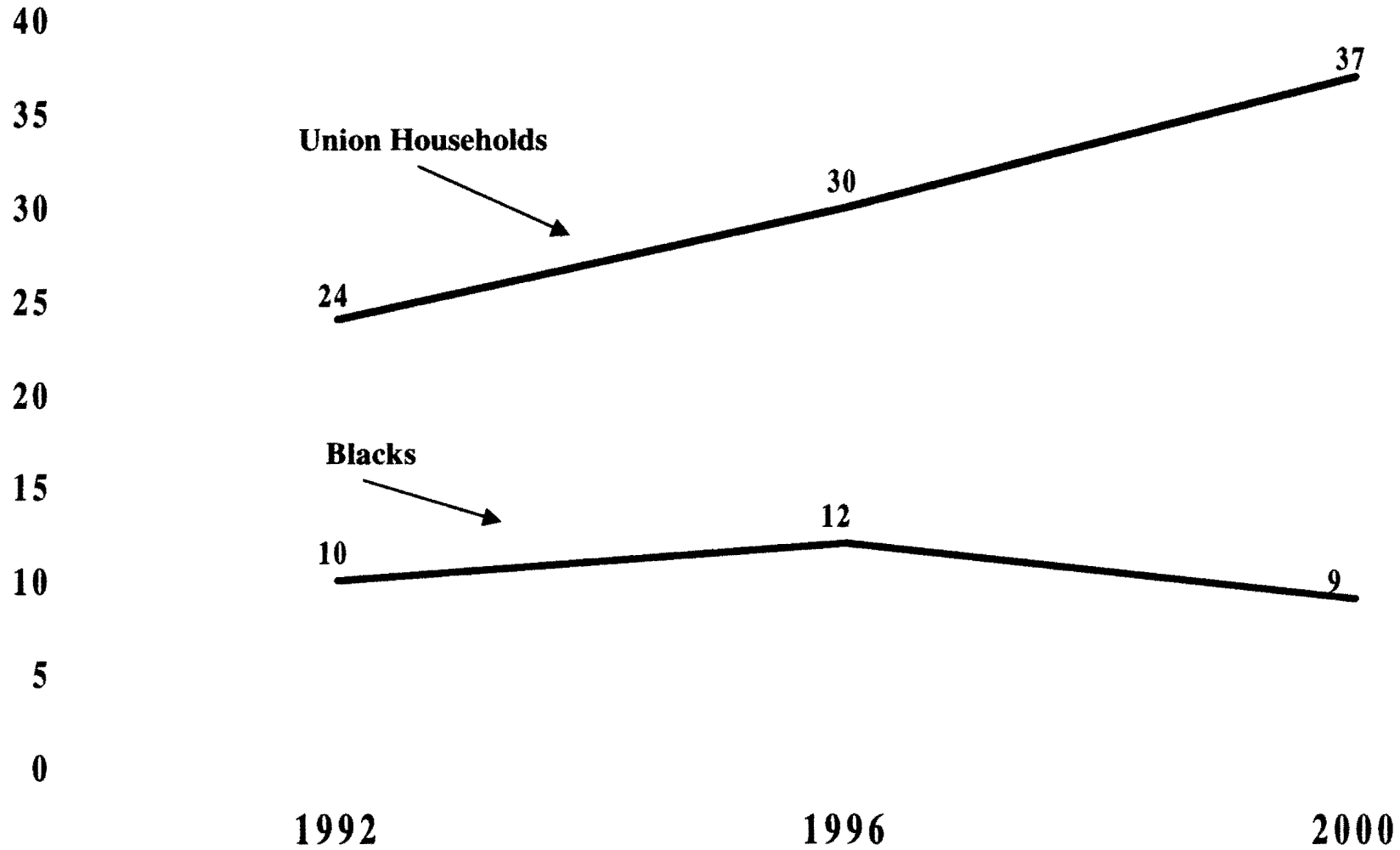


Sources: CBS 1976-1978; CBS/NYT 1980-1984, 1988; VRS 1990-1992; VNS 1994-1998
Results for 1986 are not available; VNS 2000.

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Presidential Vote Among Blacks and Union Members

Republican Vote



U.S. House Vote Among Blacks and Union Members

Republican Vote

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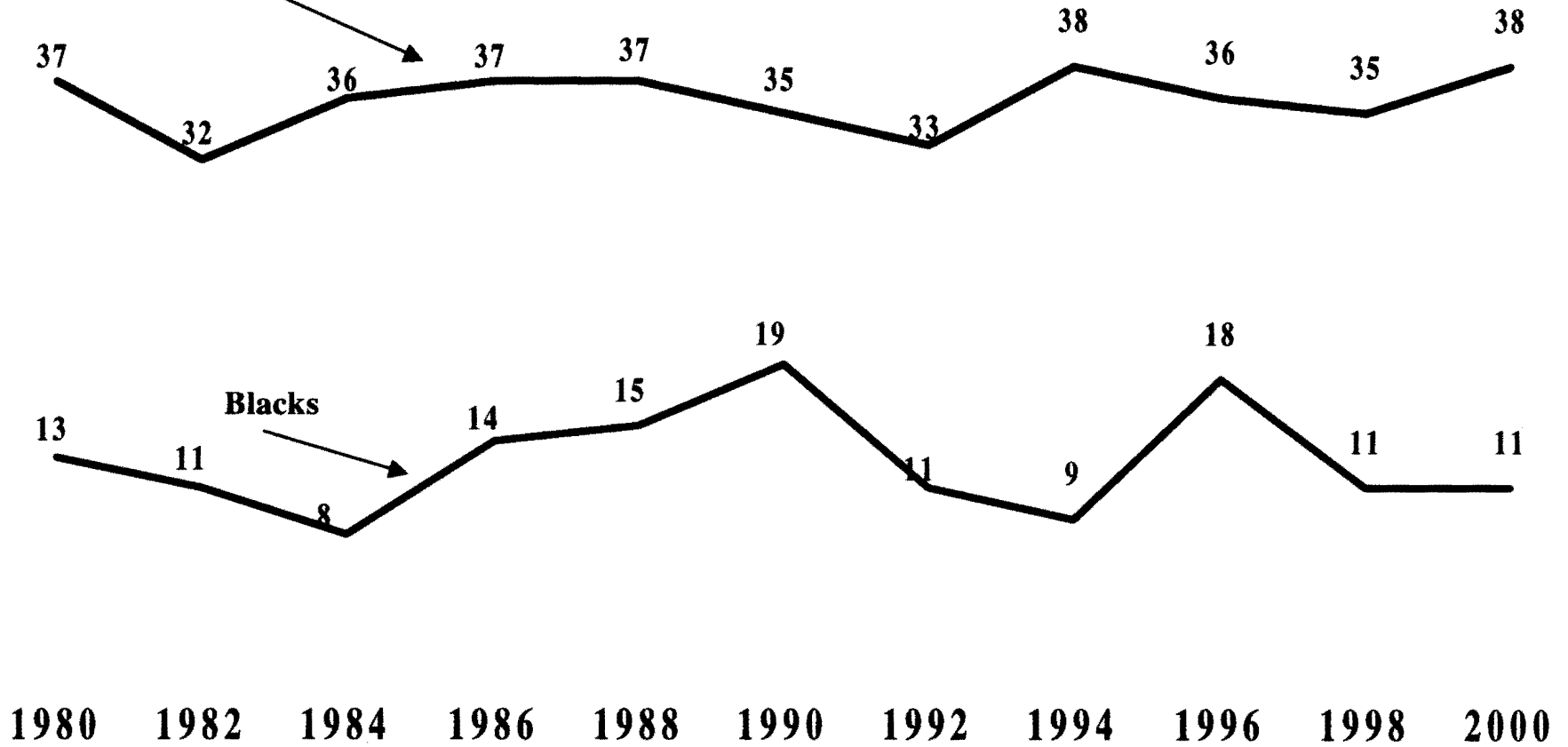
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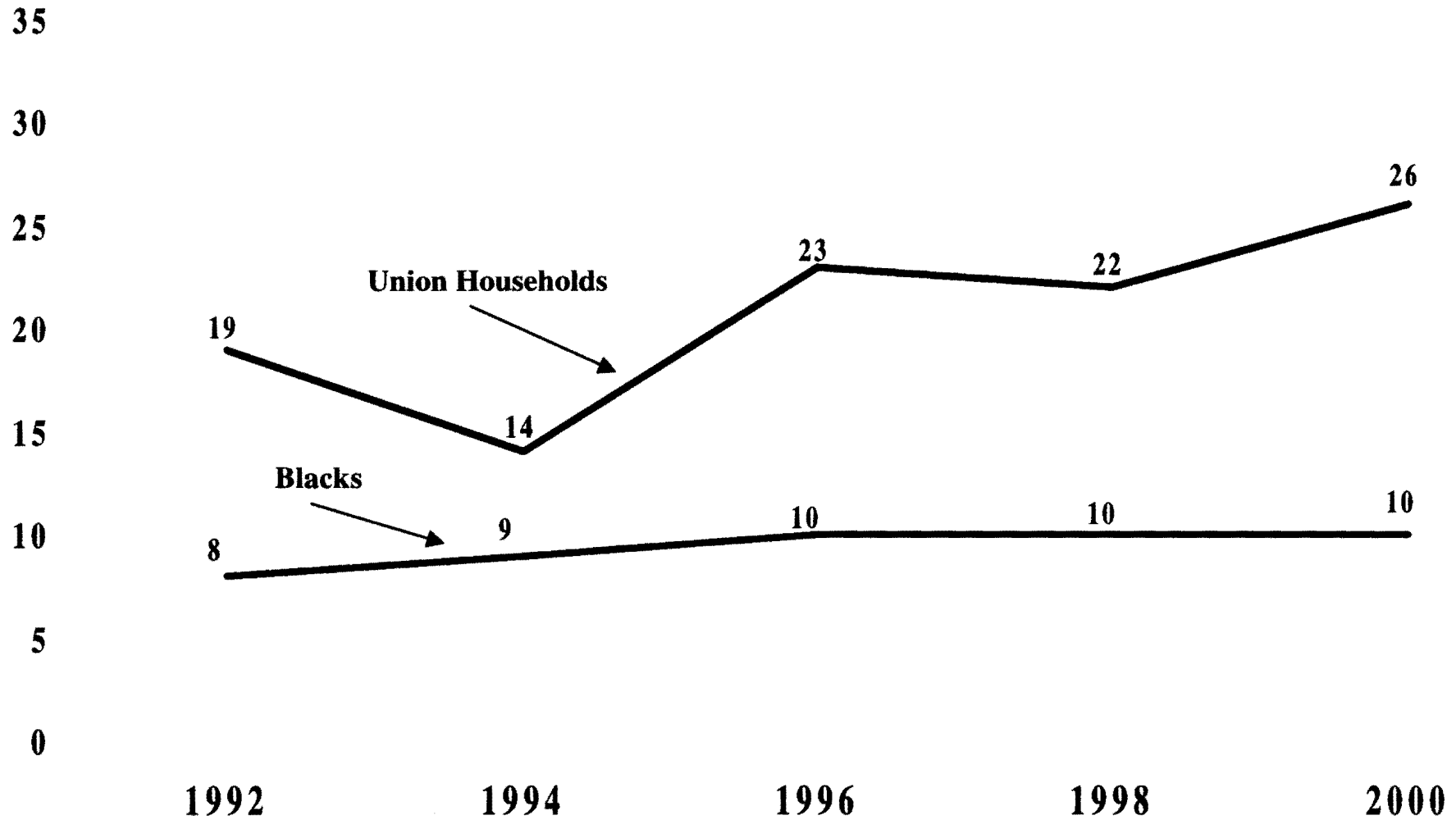
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Union Households

Blacks



Composition of Voters: Blacks and Union Members



Sources: CBS 1976-1978; CBS/NYT 1980-1984, 1988; VRS 1990-1992; VNS 1994-1998
Results for 1986 are not available; VNS 2000.

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Presidential Vote Among Blacks and Union Members

Republican Vote

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Union Households

Blacks

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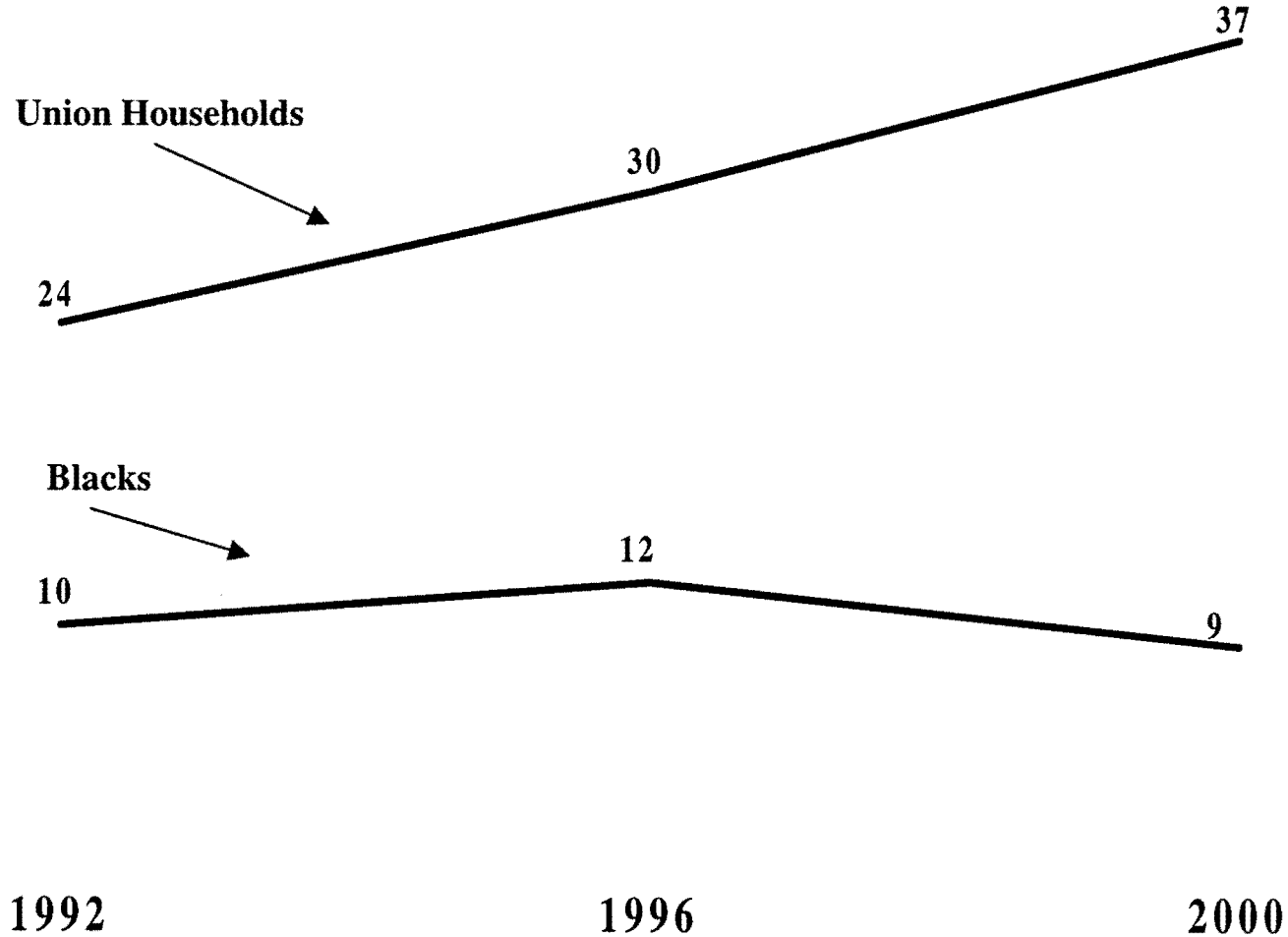
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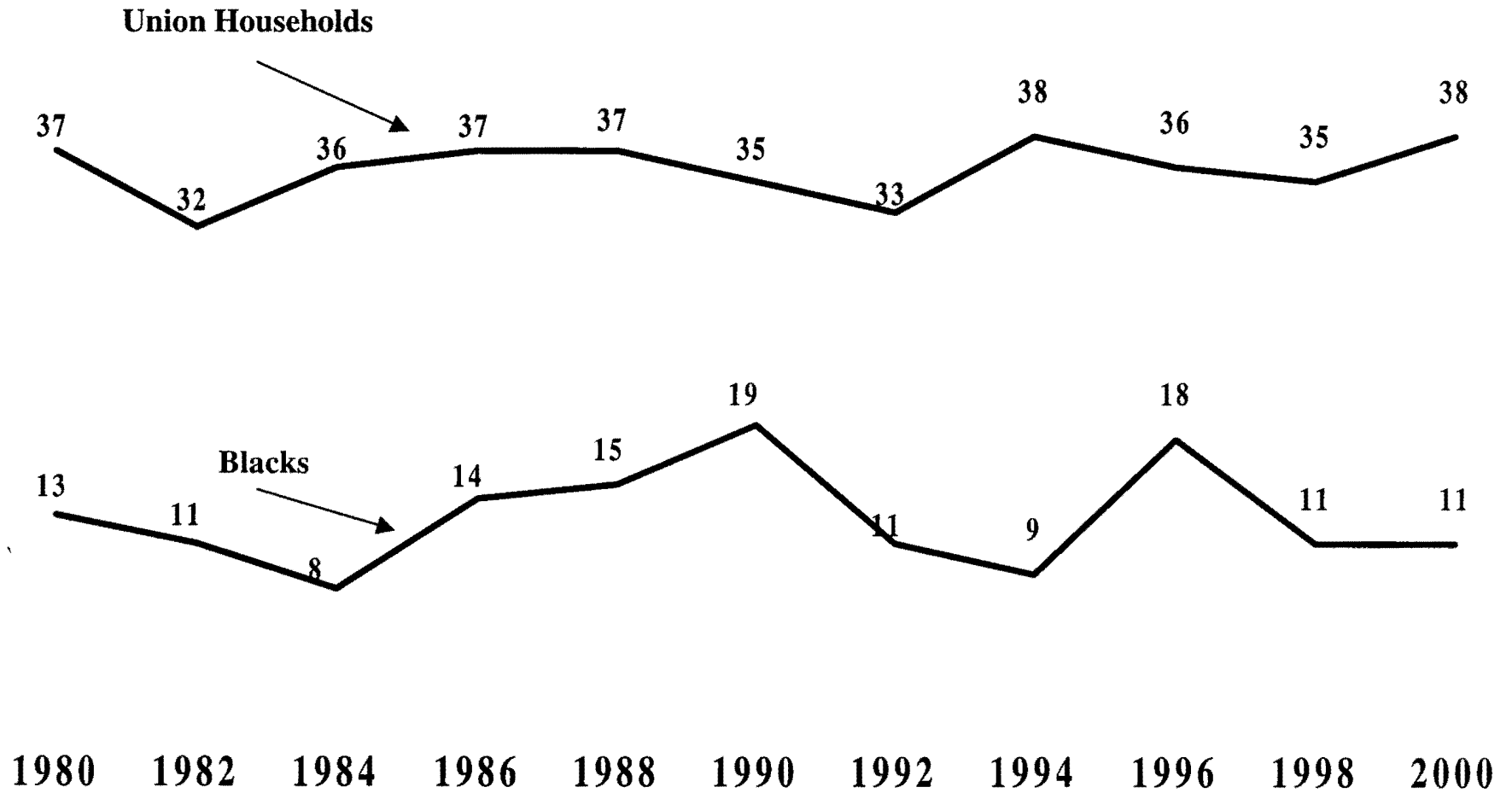
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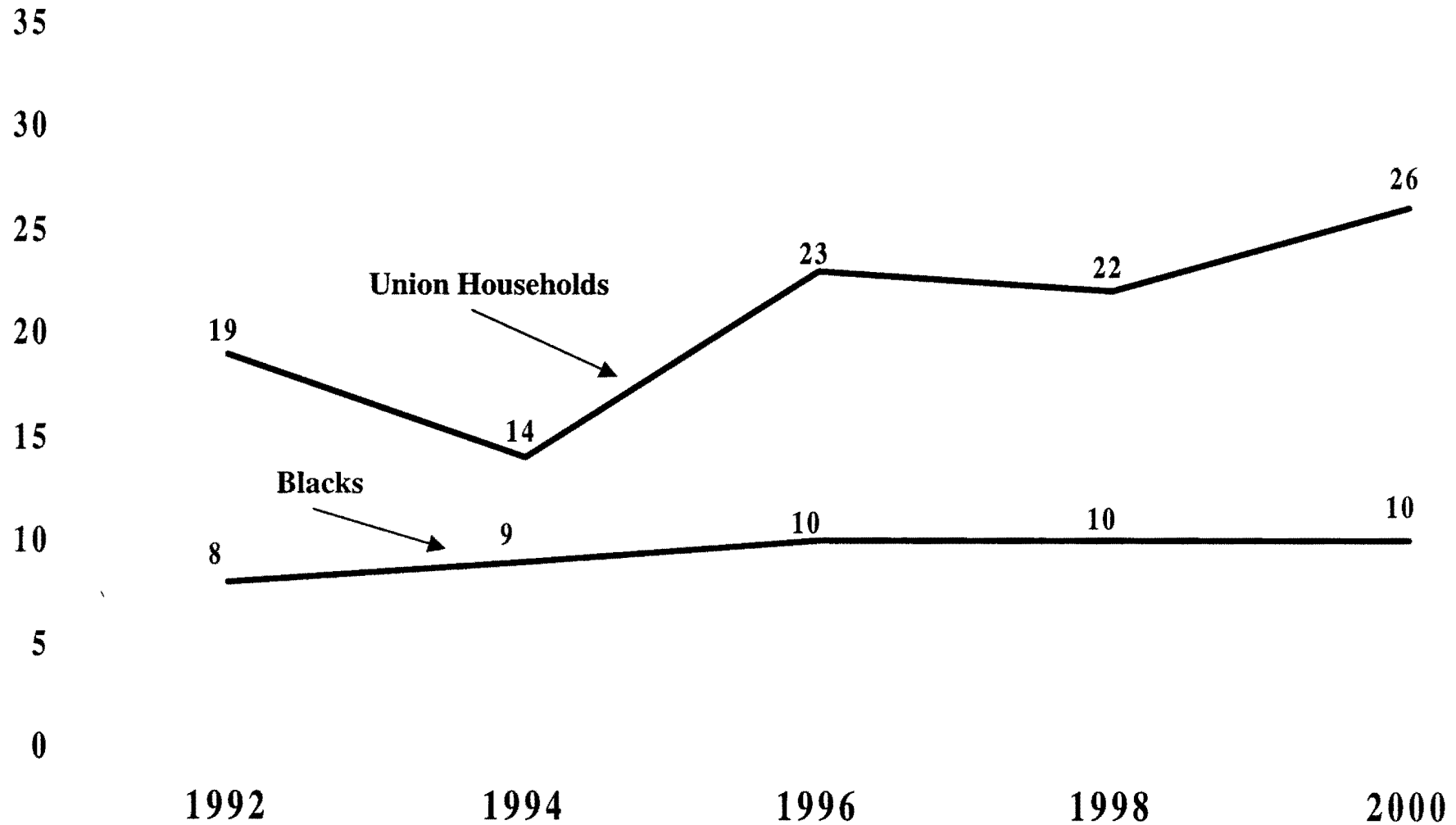
U.S. House Vote Among Blacks and Union Members

Republican Vote

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Composition of Voters: Blacks and Union Members



Sources: CBS 1976-1978; CBS/NYT 1980-1984, 1988; VRS 1990-1992; VNS 1994-1998
Results for 1986 are not available; VNS 2000.

St. Louis City Contribution to Missouri Election Outcomes						
	Number of Votes			Voter Registration		
	State	StL City	StL City Share	State	StL City	StL City Share
President 2000	2,359,063	125,230	5.3	3,676,664	216,650	5.9
Senate 2000	2,360,832	125,007	5.3			
President 1996	2,158,065	122,003	5.7	3,342,849	183,097	5.5
President 1992	2,391,565	147,404	6.2	3,067,955	206,000	6.7
Senate 1992	2,354,925	145,054	6.2			

Record

H. Fletcher Brown Boys and Girls Club to meet with participants of the Leadership Forum on Education. The group was "surrounded" by "more than 400 Delawareans, including several elected officials." Bush began his speech by "talking about his work with the Delaware delegation -- not only on legislative issues, but also on changing the way things are done in Washington." Bush: "Sen. (Thomas) Carper (D-DE) and I agree on some things. ... But when we disagree, it will be done in a respectful way" (4/4). Bush "touted" his education plan as Carper and Sen. Joe Biden (D-DE) "looked on." Bush "discussed his agenda to improve education by giving more local control to schools, increasing standardized testing and teaching children to read earlier." Bush: "We're going to spend more money, and that's important, but as well, there needs to be a systematic change" (Rosenkrantz, Bloomberg, 4/4). Bush "pitched his education plan to an enthusiastic audience" and said that DE "had already launched many of the improvements at the state level that he would like to implement federally" (Lounsberry, Philadelphia Inquirer, 4/4).

Dems Charge Prez Ignoring Biggest Electoral Prize

AP's Haussler writes that Bush's Cabinet has "more Californians than Texans and Silicon Valley executives form the backbone of his high-tech team, yet some Democrats say" he is "brushing off their pleas for help at a critical time." Dem leaders, "facing Republican attempts to pin blame for the energy problems" on Gov. Gray Davis (D-CA) and other "top" Dems, "spent much of the party's state convention" this past weekend "bashing" Bush. Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) "said she and Davis ... have gotten nowhere in trying to push" FERC to cap wholesale prices. Dems "also criticized Bush for refusing to extend emergency federal orders requiring natural gas and electricity wholesalers to continue selling to California despite concerns about the ability of its two largest utilities, both nearly bankrupt, to pay for it" (4/4).

A Hostile Env't?

Reporting on "IP," CNN's Crowley notes that the Bush admin. "is looking for ways to clean up its image." Crowley adds that Bush aides "are unapologetic about the decisions themselves, but, said one source, in fine food and in politics, presentation matters. ... The merits of the policy arguments aside, politicians inside the White House know they have a political problem of unknown duration. Said one aide, first impressions last, and the first impression was not good." Crowley, on what's ahead: "In Bush-friendly territory, they believe there is time to cultivate grassroots understanding. Time matters. Some within the administration feel pressured by two upcoming events which could rev up the president's environmental critics: the April 22nd celebration of Earth Day and the recommendations of the vice president's energy task force" (4/3).

FNC's Cosby also reports that "while the herd heads north, the debate over ANWR may be going south. President Bush seems to be backing off on his push for legislation to drill where caribou sometimes roam" ("Special Report," FNC, 4/3).

Nerves Of Steel

Indianapolis Star's Heikens writes that IN politicians "are joining steelmakers in seeking an investigation into alleged dumping of imported steel." Gov. Frank O'Bannon (D-IN) and 10 other gov's "late last week" sent a letter to Bush asking that he ask the Int'l Trade Commis. to "investigate alleged sales at prices below the cost of production" (4/4).

Back In Austin This Month To Dedicate Museum

Bush plans to return to Austin on 4/27 to "help dedicate" a state history museum that is being named after ex-TX LG Bob Bullock (D), who died in '99. While Bush was gov., he and Bullock "became close friends" and Bullock was "among the first to predict that Bush would become president" (4/3).

Transition Tracker

Boston Globe's Washington writes that sens are "expected" today to use Gov. Paul Cellucci's (R-MA) confirmation hearing to become U.S. amb. to Canada to "discuss other, more complex questions" as Canadian unity, enviro. concerns and trade "will dominate" the hearing (4/4). Cellucci "seeks final Senate approval" today, "despite a new state criminal probe into the Big Dig cost overruns that has blemished his last few days in office" (Battenfeld/Miga, Boston Herald, 4/4). On 4/3, Cellucci said that he "wasn't concerned" that a new investigation into the Big Dig "would derail" his nomination. Cellucci: "I'm actually happy that the attorney general is doing this investigation" (AP, 4/3).

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3 FLORIDA FALLOUT: Either Way You Have It, You Have A Victory

Pres. Bush's FL victory "almost certainly would have endured even if a recount stopped" by SCOTUS "had been allowed to go forward." A "comprehensive review" of 64,248 ballots in all 67 FL counties by the Miami Herald/Knight Ridder/USA Today consortium "found that Bush's slender margin of 537 votes would have tripled to 1,665 votes under the generous counting standards advocated" by ex-VP Gore. If SCOTUS had allowed the recounts "under almost all scenarios, Bush still would have won." And, "in one of the great ironies of the bitter 2000 election, Bush's lead would have vanished only if the recount had been conducted under severely restrictive standards advocated by some" GOPers. The review found that canvassing boards in Broward and Palm Beach counties "discarded hundreds of ballots that bore marks no different from those on scores of ballots that were accepted as valid presidential votes. Had those ballots instead been counted as valid votes, allowing dimples, pinpricks, and hanging chads, Gore would be in the White House today." The "multiple layers" of the findings "allowed both parties to claim validation." The project "examined only undervotes" and reviews of overvotes are also being conducted and that "should be concluded within a month, but those results will not affect the conclusions of the undercount review" because the FL Supreme Court "excluded overvotes from its sweeping recount." And "only one thing is truly clear: Precise numbers released on Election Night mask a world of imprecision and chaos" (Merzer, Knight Ridder/Miami Herald, 4/4). For details on how the review was conducted, [click here](#). For an overlook a various recount scenarios that could have occurred, [click here](#).

Bush "would have won a hand count" of FL's ballots "if the standard advocated by Al Gore had been used." The Miami Herald/Knight Ridder/USA Today group hired the nat'l accounting firm BDO Seidman to examine the undervotes. The firm "provided a report on what they found on each of the ballots." The papers "then applied the accounting firm's findings to four standards used in Florida and elsewhere to determine when an undervote ballot becomes a legal vote. By three of the standards, Bush holds the lead. The fourth standard gives Gore a razor-thin win."

- Under the lenient standard (any alteration in a chad) counted: Bush would lead by 1,665 votes.
- Under the Palm Beach standard (dimples count if there where dimples in other races on the same ballot), Bush would lead by 884 votes.
- Under the two-corner standard, Bush would lead by 363 votes.
- In the strict standard (a "clean punch") Gore would lead by 3 votes.

The "prevailing view" was that "minority or less-educated" Dem voters "were more likely to undervote because of confusion." The study took three months to complete and cost more than \$500K (Cauchon, USA Today, 4/4). For the "who, what, when, where, and how" of the review, [click here](#). For a review of results from punch-card ballots, [click here](#). For optical scan ballots, [click here](#). For a summary of the previous reviews reported, [click here](#). The Miami Herald/Knight Ridder/USA Today report "is the first statewide review of ballots" from the election (Engelhardt, Palm Beach Post, 4/4). The "survey did not address the issue of whether some groups, such as Jews or African Americans, were harmed by the voting system, as some alleged." The report "has been anticipated for months by Gore backers, who predicted it would show a strong" Dem victory, and "dreaded by many Bush supporters, who feared it would undermine" his authority (Kranish, Boston Globe, 4/4). Salon's Tapper: The numbers "do little to answer questions as to who really won Florida" (4/4).

How Does This Effect A Gore WH 2004 Run?

"The media recounts could be one of the many factors that determine whether Gore will be a strong candidate for the presidency in 2004. Gore aides have said previously that" he would "stand a better chance of being the nominee if the media recounts show decisively that he should have become president" (Kranish, Boston Globe, 4/4).

What It All Means

Miami Herald's Seibel, on what was discovered: "The great irony of this is that the Republicans actually have said all along, 'Count by a clean punch standard,' meaning that only ballots with clean punches counted. But that's the one that benefited Gore most. If you use the loose standard in the counties that were affected by the Florida Supreme Court order, Bush picks up more dimples, pin pricks and hanging chads than Gore would."

More Seibel, on whether future elections "will be run differently": "Absolutely. The punch-card ballot will be decertified in Florida. ... That's been voted in a committee and then the legislature will do it. And so we'll be looking for a new election system completely in Florida" ("Early Show," CBS, 4/4).

ABC's **Stephanopoulos**: "I think the bottom line is that this undercuts the Democrats' argument that the Republicans stole the election by having the Supreme Court stop the count. Democrats will still be able to say somehow that they were robbed because of unfair ballots, because of these overvotes, because the butterfly ballot was very confusing, but they can't say that the Supreme Court took away their rights and would have cost them the election" ("GMA," 4/4).

FL Gets A+ For Creative Voting

Reporters "saw many strange things in their ballot examinations":

- punch-card ballots inserted upside down in the machines
- some didn't punch, but circled numbers
- scribbled names or "unfathomable notes" on ballots
- one voter "used clear nail polish to paste a chad back into an absentee ballot. Others used tape."
- some ballots had "reversed chads" -- chads punched out and put back in -- backwards
- some had "no markings what so ever"
- one voter wrote: "I forgot my glasses and can not see this please put Bush down for my vote."
- coffee-stained ballots (**Merzer**, Knight Ridder/*Miami Herald*, 4/4).

We Won, No We Won

Dems "maintain that no" FL recount "can be accurate unless all ballots are counted: undervotes and 'overvotes,' valid ballots and invalid ballots. And they consistently hold that if that were done, Gore would have won easily." Ex-Gore CoS **Ron Klain**: "More people left the polls in Florida on Election Day thinking they voted for Al Gore than George Bush. No question about that." Ex-MT Gov. **Marc Racicot** (R): "The election is over. The people have accepted the result, and they're now focused on things more important to them like the economy and education" (**Benedetto**, *USA Today*, 4/4).

For History's Sake

Hillsborough Super. of Election **Pam Iorio**, who serves as FL's pres. of super. of elections assn., is organizing the Archival Cmte of the Pres. Election 2000. The team, "to be composed of academicians, elections supervisors and an archivist, will determine what should be included in the historical record, and where it might be kept." They will meet in April and May with material likely to go to the Smithsonian or other interested museums (**Arzula**, *Miami Herald*, 4/4).

Checking The Ballots Twice

A "second ballot review" of Palm Beach's 25 precincts "has resulted in slight changes to the numbers" the Palm Beach Post reported in March. The paper "reinspected the ballots because of discrepancies between its initial review and the county's hand recount in November." In undervotes, Gore's net gain was lowered to 716 from the 784 reported 3/10/01. In overvotes, "the results remained virtually unchanged." Gore could have gained 6,606 votes, not the 6,607 voters reported 3/11/01 (**Engelhardt/McCabe**, *Palm Beach Post*, 4/4).

The Clock is Ticking

"Election experts warned" 4/3 that "Congress had been so laggard in taking up an overhaul of the voting system that meaningful change by next year's midterm elections was increasingly remote." Kennedy School of Gov't prof. **David King**: "Many state legislators are under the mistaken impression that Congress is about to give them money to upgrade their voting equipment. So they are dragging their heels and in all likelihood, few significant reforms at the state level will be in place by the November 2002 elections." The "sparsely attended hearing" was sponsored by the Cong. Black Caucus. "More than two dozen bills were introduced this year to grant millions of dollars to the states to upgrade voting equipment, but they have all languished" (**Seelye**, *New York Times*, 4/4). A "bipartisan group" of Reps. introduced a bill 4/3 that would ensure "votes cast by overseas military personnel are counting by making it tougher to discount ballots without postmarks." The proposal "is endorsed by numerous veterans organizations" (**Hudson**, *Washington Times*, 4/4).

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4 CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM: Passing The Baton To Shays-Meehan

House sponsors of campaign finance reform yesterday said they will "try to persuade wary" Dems "to

accept the Senate-passed version to avoid at all costs a conference committee." Rep. **Chris Shays** (R-CT): "If you go to conference, you are basically allowing the opponents of campaign finance reform to write the bill. ... I don't see why we would want to do that." And Sen. **John McCain** (R-AZ) "went so far as to suggest" that a conference between the House and Senate "would be undemocratic." McCain: "We're not going to let a bill be written in conference that would emasculate the campaign finance reform. ... We've come too far. That's not democracy. Our strategy is clear: We would like to avoid a conference" (**Boyer**, *Washington Times*, 4/4). House backers said they "will seek a House vote by the end of next month and claimed the momentum to win "approval." But they "acknowledged it could be difficult to overcome resistance" among some GOPers. House co-sponsor **Martin Meehan** (D-MA): "This won't be a cakewalk, but we're here to say that we've overcome these obstacles before" (**Dewar**, *Washington Post*, 4/4).

Shays and Meehan yesterday "quickly took over the leadership on the issue," saying their "first concern was speed." Shays: "What we won't be comfortable with is delay. ... My goal would be that we take it up before the Memorial Day break." McCain, who "campaigns for 55" House GOP candidates last fall, "raised the possibility that he" and his co-sponsor Sen. **Russ Feingold** (D-WI) "would hold town hall meetings in the districts" of those GOP members "who might now be tempted not to back the bill." McCain: "Russ and I might go on the road again" (**Mitchell**, *New York Times*, 4/4).

House Administration Cmte chair Bob Ney (R-OH) said he "is prepared to begin hearings" on CFR "next month and bring it to the floor by July, despite pressure within his party to delay action until the fall." That timetable "closely follows one discussed" by House Speaker **Dennis Hastert's** office. Ney: "I think 90 days is a very practical time frame. We're not a rubber stamp for the U.S. Senate. ... We have members with a lot of opinions. But I'm saying right out front, I'm not killing this bill" (**Rogers**, *Wall Street Journal*, 4/4).

Rep. **Barney Frank** (D-MA), on CFR in the House: "I think we need to accept the whole Senate bill without a conference. You go to a conference committee, I predict, it's not hard, there'll be Senators who'll claim to be for it and House members who claim to be for it, in both cases picked by Republicans, but they'll never be for the same bill. It'll be like, you know, an old Keystone Cops comedy."

MSNBC's **Matthews**, to Frank: "Can you get a rule in the House for an up or down vote on the Senate version?" Frank: "Well, I think we may have to get a discharge petition. Again, the Republican leadership is obviously going to try and stop it. ... There were all these stories about how the Democrats were going to flake off on the bill, [but] on every single key vote on McCain-Feingold, the Democratic Senators overwhelmingly held firm and passed the bill."

Matthews: "You're optimistic that you can push this through and get it through as it is?" Frank: "If the Republicans are willing to stand up to their leadership." Matthews: "That's a big if" ("Hardball," MSNBC, 4/3).

To TV's Rescue?

"Key" House GOPers on the Energy and Commerce Cmtes said they "will seek to examine a provision in the Senate bill that would force television broadcasters to sell airtime to political candidates at deep discounts." Chairs **Billy Tauzin** (R-LA) and **Fred Upton** (R-MI) said they have "deep concerns" about the provision. Tauzin: "The lowest unit rate has always been suspect to me. ... I have some serious concerns about whether that is a taking." Tauzin said he spoke with GOP leaders "about holding hearings on the provision if the House decides to move the bill through regular order" (**Cillizza/Wegner/Mullins**, *Congress Daily*, 4/4).

San Francisco Chronicle's **Coile** writes on the impact of the "lowest unit rate" provision, noting that "lobbyists" for TV stations "hope to torpedo" it in the House. They argue that the provision "could have the perverse effect of allowing candidates to put more negative ads on the air." NAB CEO **Edward Fitts**: "(The bill) will not reduce the cost of campaigns, but rather will unleash a torrent of negative attack ads. ... Only in Washington can this be called reform" (4/4).

See You In Court

Washington Times's **Hallow** reports that a "conservative law firm, skeptical" of the ability to defeat CFR in Congress, "will file its own legal challenge." The Southeastern Legal Foundation "is gearing up to bring its own court challenge despite a vow" by Sen. **Mitch McConnell** (R-KY) "to name himself as a plaintiff" in a suit against the bill. Foundation dir. **Todd Young**: "We'd love to work with Senator McConnell, but we will bring this case regardless" (4/4).

Don't Throw Me In That Briar Patch?

In a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed, ex-CBS pol. dir./author **Martin Plissner** ponders the "winners and losers" of CFR and notes the \$100M raised by Pres. **Bush** in '00: "And that was with a \$1,000 limit on each

The Hotline

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Post

Monday, February 26, 2001

SPOTLIGHT

So Now Bush Won?

Call it post-election depression (or is it post-pardon depression?), but it seems the Florida story will just never go away. (#4)

-- Depends On Your Definition Of

"**Recount**": New *Miami Herald* count of undervotes in the four counties **Gore** initially sought recounts in (Miami-Dade, Broward, Palm Beach and Volusia), shows **Bush's** lead would have held at 140 (dimples, chads and all). Will the full statewide media recounts prove **Gore's** initial 4-county recount strategy was wrong?

-- **Won't Be A Problem Next Time?: Bob Novak** reports on a GOP demographic analysis of FL revealing the state could tilt even more Dem when Bush runs for re-election.

-- **Taken For Granite:** Speaking of Dem strongholds, Sen. **John Kerry** (D-MA) says if he'd been on the ticket instead of **Joe Lieberman** (D-CT), Gore would have carried NH making FL moot. (#15)

QUOTE OF THE DAY

"Even when he dies, we better make sure the coffin's nailed shut."

-- Historian **Douglas Brinkley**, on **Bill Clinton**, *Chicago Tribune*, 2/25.

Last Night's TV

TOP NEWS

■ Pardon Pains

Pardon investigations go forward as Dems look inward (#1)-(#2); 58% don't believe HRC's brotherly explanation.

■ Welcome To Clinton Country

Bush job approval hits 60% (#36); Is his real pres. kick-off tomorrow night? (#3)

■ Blow-Outs?

Conservative Steel beats Firestone for CA GOP chair; non-voting history of GOP Gov. hopefuls revealed. (#30)

■ Tomfoolery And Hijinks

SD Gov. Janklow (R) won't rule out House or Senate bid in '02. (#22)

■ Pardon Reflux

Accused murderer had received pardons. (#44)

■ Do You Know Who Your President Is?

Time and *The Hotline* to co-host event grading the transition. (#33)

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Reax From First Presser Still Coming In

Appearing on FNC's "Beltway Boys," UVA's **Larry Sabato** maintains Bush "wasn't happy to be there. He didn't seem terribly well-prepared. ... For a Yale and a Harvard graduate, he knows surprisingly little grammar. I do think that's a problem, and it is not good example for young people. So that is one little criticism of George W. Bush" ("Beltway Boys," FNC, 2/24).

The Standard's Brooks to CNN's **Blitzer**, on Bush's first press conference: "Well, 'her and he' didn't do too great. It was not like William F. Buckley using a lot of long words up there." **Blitzer**: "You mentioned that, you talk about the grammar. ... This is someone who got a masters degree from Harvard University." **Brooks**: "There's your explanation right there."

More **Brooks**, on Bush's syntax: "Listen, there's this publication that comes out called the *Hotline* where they report on shows like this one. And if you ever read your own comments, you sound like a moron. So, I don't rest a lot on that, but he's not the most articulate guy. But neither was **George Washington**, neither was **Dwight Eisenhower**. You can be a good leader and not be good at this particular facility" ("Late Edition," CNN, 2/24).

No Appointment Needed For Hughes

Wall Street Journal's Cummings and **VandeHei** profile Counselor to the president **Karen Hughes**, writing that when Bush makes his speech tomorrow, "one person who will already know every pause and inflection" will be **Hughes**, the "omnipresent aide with a booming laugh who is quickly becoming the most influential woman to serve" on a WH staff. **Hughes** is "among the few aides who don't need an appointment to see" Bush and she "speaks to him several times a day" (2/26).

Maybe "Too Tall" Is Still Available

NBC's **David Gregory** appeared this morning on "Imus," where he revealed that his Bush-given nickname has been taken away. **Don Imus**: "Here from the White House is 'ol **Stretch** -- **David Gregory**. ... Is it true that Bush walked into the press room the other day and asked where **Stretch** was?"

Gregory: "Yeah, but ironically enough, he no longer calls me that. Now he just refers to me as 'Gregory.' **Stretch** has now gone to a guy named **Dick Keil** who's with Bloomberg News who's even taller than I am. So, apparently he's edged me out for that." Asked if losing the nickname is a "big-time diss," **Gregory**: "I'm trying not to take it that way. ... We're in the White House now, we're not on the campaign trail. ... Just trying to spin that differently." **Imus**: "Well, it's not working" (MSNBC, 2/26).

Where's Mulder When You Need Him?

Las Vegas Review-Journal's Rogers reports that Bush, "following the course of his predecessor," has renewed the order to "protect secrecy the Air Force's 'operating location' at Groom Lake, commonly known as Area 51." In the "same words" as Clinton, Bush, in a 1/31 letter, informed Congress that, "information concerning activities at the operation center near Groom Lake has been properly deemed to be classified, and its disclosure would be harmful to national security." The annual review of the Groom Lake "secrecy order stems from litigation pressed by former workers who tried to obtain information about the base" in the mid-90's to "support claims they were exposed to toxic fumes at the installation, where they said coatings from radar-evading stealth aircraft were burned in open trenches in violation" of fed. enviro. laws. Despite the gov't effort to "make the installation nonexistent, it has been photographed from nearby mountains and by satellites overhead." In addition Lincoln Co. officials "last year acknowledged they had received a \$162,000 check from nowhere to pay taxes by an unknown contractor for work at a top-secret facility that the Air Force only describes as 'an operating location near Groom dry lake'" (2/26).

Powell Play

Newsweek's Barry and **Thomas** profile Sec/State **Powell** under the header, "Colin Powell:

Behind the Myth." They write that **Powell** is an "American hero," but a "hard look at his Vietnam-haunted past reveals many misjudgments in a long career. Has he learned from them?" Reservations and critiques of **Powell** "are usually voiced off the record, and then often with a tone of regret -- no one wants to appear churlish about an inspiring American success story." However, the criticisms "deserve to be examined." On the issue "the public cares most about -- deciding when and where to send American troops into combat -- **Powell's** judgement as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was at best uneven and at times unduly swayed by his profound loyalty to the institution he has described as 'my home, my life, my profession' -- the U.S. Army" (3/5 issue).

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4 FLORIDA FALLOUT: Media Recount Still Finds Gore Came Up Short

A *Miami Herald/Knight Ridder/USA Today* recount of the Miami-Dade Co. vote found that if FL Sec/State **Katherine Harris** (R) had let S. FL counties "complete manual recounts before certifying the results" from WH 2000, Pres. **Bush** "likely would have won the presidency outright" (**Driscoll**, *Miami Herald/Knight Ridder*, 2/26).

NBC's **Curry**: "An independent review of more than 10,000 undervotes in Miami-Dade county has been concluded, and counting even faintly dimpled chads, the review found that **Al Gore** would gain 49 votes in Miami-Dade. That would not have been enough to have overtaken **George W. Bush** in Florida" ("Today," 2/26).

According to the review, **Al Gore** "would have had a net gain of 49 votes if the most-lenient standard - counting even faintly dimpled chads - that had been used. ... If the standard had been more stringent," **Bush** "probably would have gained votes" (**Cauchon**, *USA Today*, 2/26). But as the review stands, even with **Gore's** additional votes, it is still "140 too few to overcome **Bush's** lead, even when joined with **Gore's** gains" in Volusia, Palm Beach, and Broward Co.'s - the "three other counties where **Gore** had requested manual recounts." **GOPers** hailed the recount as "further proof" that **Bush** won FL from the very beginning. **GOP** atty **Mark Wallace**: "After a ballot review using liberal standards unprecedented under the law, we find President **Bush** would still win. At some point, the Democratic National Committee needs to accept that, and that time is now." Ex-**Gore** spokesperson **Doug Hattaway** disagreed: "This underscores how unpredictable the whole recount strategy was, on both sides. This shows **Bush's** tactics of delaying and blocking vote counts didn't really benefit him." But **Hattaway** also said that the **Dems'** "may have been flawed in their approach." **Hattaway**: "Our strategy of focusing on four counties might not have benefited **Gore** either." The review "clearly shows that the **Gore** strategy of selective recounts was unlikely to have ended in victory" (**Driscoll**, *Miami Herald/Knight Ridder*, 2/26).

DNC Chair **Terry McAuliffe**, on **Gore** winning the EV: "I'll make the argument, and you'll see soon, that we also won the electoral vote. Many of the newspapers will be out soon that will show that **Al Gore** actually got the most votes" ("Capital Gang," CNN, 2/24).

FL Task Force Recommends Dumping Punch Card Ballots

A FL electoral reform task force recommended that the state "should scrap the punch-card ballots" and install a "uniform method of voting statewide" for '02, calling optical scanners and paper ballots the "best method available" (**Silva**, *Miami Herald*, 2/24). Task Force exec dir **Mark Pritchett**: "The purpose is to improve our voting system in any way we can" (**Pressley**, *Washington Post*, 2/24). But the chair's of the House and Senate elections cmtes said 2/23 "that they do not believe the state should spend taxpayers' money to update equipment in large counties that failed to replace their older technology" in 2000 (**Klas/Bennett**, *Palm Beach Post*, 2/24). State Sen. Pres **John MacKay** (R) called the "ridiculously expensive." Because of the apprehension, panel members 2/26 "will urge a less-ambitious technological update and a heavy focus on voter education." Cost

Post election

Published Thursday, December 28, 2000, in the Miami Herald
Blacks' votes were discarded at higher rates, analysis shows
BY ANDRES VIGLUCCI, GEOFF DOUGHERTY AND WILLIAM YARDLEY
aviglucci@herald.com

MORE NEWS

The analytic process
Black precinct in Gulf County theorizes about botched ballots
New supervisor vows to reform elections office
After holiday break, ballot review may take 3 weeks

OPINION

DAVE BARRY: Upon review, election goes to ...
EDITORIAL: Review the votes

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In nearly all of Florida's majority-black precincts, presidential ballots were invalidated at higher rates than in mostly white neighborhoods in the Nov. 7 election, a Herald analysis of the state's uncounted ballots shows. The analysis -- the first to examine precinct-by-precinct trends -- shows that the lopsided loss of black votes occurred throughout Florida and not just in widely publicized instances in Palm Beach and Duval counties. The study found that poor and less-educated voters of all races were more likely than better-off voters to spoil their ballots. However, Florida's balloting problems affected blacks in greater measure.

The analysis also points to a potential solution: Discard rates for all groups, including blacks, were minimal in precincts where electronic machines scan fill-in-the-oval ballots and immediately alert voters to botched ballots so they can correct them.

Those precinct scanners are critically important, the analysis shows. The optical-scan systems in counties that lack the error-notification feature had discard rates that were higher than in punch-card counties, where the now infamous hanging chad caused so many problems.

THE FINDINGS

Florida's patchwork of punch-card machines and optical-scan systems clearly hurt some voters more than others on Election Day, the study found:

Ballots in majority-black precincts were discarded at a rate three times higher than those in non-black precincts. Nearly one in every 10 ballots in majority-black precincts went unrecorded. In majority-white precincts, the discard rate was less than one ballot in 38.

Eighty-two percent of Florida's 463 majority-black precincts had discard rates above the statewide average of about 3 percent. By contrast, 41 percent of majority-white precincts had higher-than-average discard rates. Ballots in precincts with high poverty were discarded at a rate nearly double that of better-off precincts.

Voters in precincts with lower educational attainment spoiled their ballots at a rate 1 1/2 times that of other precincts.

Some experts say the unequal effects on black voters could leave Florida's voting system open to challenges under the federal Voting Rights Act, which prohibits government practices that -- intentionally or not -- dilute minority voting.

The NAACP has said it is contemplating a Voting Rights lawsuit. Experts say such a suit might seek to force the state to mandate and help pay for a uniform, state-of-the-art system across Florida.

Many African Americans are upset over what happened in Florida, and as

your data points out, with some reason," said Louis Seidman, an expert on voting rights at Georgetown University Law School. "I wouldn't be at all surprised to see litigation along these lines."

SEVERAL FACTORS

The balloting disparities were magnified on Election Day by a surge in black turnout that brought to the polls tens of thousands of new or infrequent voters, who are more likely to make mistakes, said David Bositis, senior political analyst at the Washington, D.C.-based Joint Center for Political Studies, which studies issues of concern to minorities.

The problem was compounded by a ballot crowded with 10 presidential candidates, Bositis said, because such long lists make voter errors more likely.

Some local ballot designs led to even more errors, the analysis found: At least 14 counties broke up the presidential candidates into two columns or spread them over two ballot pages -- and had discard rates twice that of the other counties.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights will hold a series of hearings in Florida early next year that will focus in part on how black voters fared under the state's voting systems.

The Herald analysis indicates they started off at a disadvantage. The study looked at precinct returns and demographic data for all but three of Florida's 67 counties.

For one thing, a higher proportion of black voters than white voters live in 24 counties that use error-prone punch-card machines. More than half of Florida's black voters are concentrated in five large urban counties, including Miami-Dade, Broward and Palm Beach, that use punch-card systems. Conversely, blacks are slightly less likely than white voters to live in the 25 counties equipped with optical-scan readers that alert voters to errors -- the places that had the lowest discard rates in the state. Those machines, which read fill-in-the-oval ballots at the precincts, are typically programmed to return the card if a voter marks more than one candidate in a race. In some places, the machines also return the ballot if they fail to register a vote in a race.

When these electronic readers are used in predominantly black areas, the discard rate drops to 3 percent, the analysis found. In contrast, the discard rate for blacks is 16 percent when they use scanning systems without the correction feature and 11 percent for punch-card machines.

DUVAL PROBLEMS

Nowhere was the trouble with punch cards more obvious than in Duval County in North Florida, where confusing instructions appear to have played a large role in the invalidation of 22,000 ballots for double-voting -- about 9,000 of them from majority-black precincts.

In fact, 19 of the 20 precincts with the highest spoilage rates in the state were heavily black neighborhoods in Duval, the analysis found. All had at least a fifth of their ballots tossed out. Elections officials blamed first-time voters and "people who didn't follow directions."

Tiny Bradford County, a mostly rural place that is home to Florida State Prison in Starke, has a more-modern fill-in-the-oval system. But voters don't get a chance to correct errors because the ballots from its 20 precincts are read at a central location, not precincts.

In Bradford's Precinct 7, where two-thirds of voters are black, 88 ballots out of 464 cast were not counted. That is 19 percent of the total, a figure that Elections Supervisor Terry Vaughan said worries him.

"I don't want anyone to think there was any systematic way that any group was targeted. There is nothing sinister going on. But we need to figure out why this happened and come up with a solution," he said.

ERROR NOTIFICATION

Some counties have already hit on one.

In Brevard County's Precinct 98, where 95 percent of voters are black and two-thirds of school-age children are poor enough to qualify for free

school lunches, the discard rate was only about two votes out of every 100. Scanners at all Brevard precincts return double-punched ballots to voters.

Brevard replaced its old punch-card system with the optical-scan machines about 18 months ago, said Gayle Graham, assistant supervisor of elections. ``Absolutely it's better. The voter isn't being disenfranchised if he makes a mistake,'' Graham said.

Some experts and many elections officials believe counties have an ethical obligation to make voting as simple as possible for voters, which may mean using systems like the scanners that alert voters to mistakes and lending extra assistance to those who need it.

``The fundamental problem is we have a history of discouraging people from voting and that history is very clear,'' said Henry Thomas, chair of the political science department at the University of North Florida in Jacksonville. ``Casting a vote ought not be rocket science. Ordinary folks should be able to do it.''

Yet only 1,720 of Florida's more than 5,885 precincts are equipped with the optical scanners that alert voters to mistakes, in part because they are relatively expensive.

``We don't have that luxury. We could not afford to go to that system,'' said Bradford County's Vaughan. Its optical system cost about \$35,000, but equipping all 20 precincts would have quadrupled the price, he said.

ERROR IS AN ERROR

In some cases, counties that have the mistake-proof equipment nonetheless don't believe in using it to help voters.

Okaloosa County, in the Panhandle, programs its precinct scanners to spit back fill-in-the-oval ballots only if they are completely blank.

On Election Day, Okaloosa's Precinct 12, where almost two-thirds of voters are black, had 35 uncounted ballots out of 364 cast. That's a discard rate of nearly 10 percent.

Elections Supervisor Pat Hollarn contends that giving voters a chance to redo an erroneous ballot would slow down voting too much. While acknowledging that the precinct has ``probably the lowest educational levels'' of the county, Hollarn said that voters, not elections officials, are responsible if they fail to follow directions.

``As simple as our system is, if people are functionally illiterate . . . Look, if the directions say fill in the oval, then you fill in the oval. What's so hard about that? If you screw it up, you screw it up. When you pander, low expectations make for low results.''

Some critics contend that more than economics has influenced county decisions on what kind of equipment and services to offer voters.

'DISENFRANCHISEMENT'

Echoing others, Adora Obi Nweze, state president of the NAACP, alleged that on Election Day many minority precincts were understaffed, run by poorly trained workers and unprepared for the deluge of black voters, who did not get the assistance that may have helped prevent voting errors.

``It's consistent with the overall plan and the overall actions in this state and in this country to treat blacks as though we don't count,'' Nweze said. ``All of it falls under one banner, the disenfranchisement of the black and minority voter.''

To be sure, other factors besides voting systems played into whether voters' choices were recorded and tallied.

In Duval County, where so many problems occurred, elections officials distributed inaccurate sample ballots just before Election Day.

The sample listed all presidential candidates on one page and instructed voters to ``Vote all pages.'' But at the polls, the official Election Day ballot instead listed presidential candidates on two pages and instructed voters to ``Vote appropriate pages.''

Critics say the conflicting directions led many voters to pick two presidential candidates. ``A lot of people thought that if you didn't vote on every page that your ballot won't be counted,'' said Rodney Gregory, an

attorney working with the Democratic Party in Duval.

In Gadsden County, the state's only majority-black county, the list of presidential candidates was broken into two columns on the optical-scan ballot -- and 1,900 voters, or 12 percent of the total, marked more than one choice for president. The county lacks the voter-alert system. When the canvassing board did a manual recount, officials found many voters had marked all 10 candidates and then scrawled Gore's name in the box for write-ins.

DESIGN FLAW

Some majority-white precincts also experienced problems. In heavily agricultural Hendry County, where the presidential ballot also featured a broken-column design, nearly one of every five ballots went uncounted in Precinct 6, where 82 percent of voters are white non-Hispanics. The county has optical scanners but not the error-alert system.

The blue-collar precinct, on the outskirts of Clewiston, is home to many sugar-industry workers and also is poor enough that more than half the children in the local elementary school qualify for free lunches.

County Commissioner Bo Pelham, whose district includes the precinct, said that although 96 presidential ballots were invalidated for overvotes, there were far fewer or no overvotes in his race and several others. That led him to conclude that the crowded ballot was the source of the problem. ``They weren't expecting to see 10 candidates for president,' ' Pelham said.

Exit polls suggest that many of those stumbling over their ballots in majority-black precincts may have been inexperienced voters. Thanks in part to an NAACP get-out-the-vote drive, black voters' share of the state vote rose from an estimated 10 percent in 1996 to about 15 percent this year.

NEW VOTERS

In Okaloosa County's mostly black Precinct 12, Election Day brought out many new faces from the black community, said poll clerk Aljonia Porter, who lives in the neighborhood. And while she noted that the precinct is home to some elderly white voters who also may have made errors on their ballots, she said, ``most of our problem was first-time voters or those who had not voted in a long time.' '

Some ballots registered as completely blank because voters had made their marks outside the borders of the ovals, Porter said. Those errors were caught. But the readers were not programmed to prevent other invalidating mistakes.

``I had one woman tell me on the way out that she colored in one oval and then wrote in the name of the candidate,' ' Porter said. ``That's an overvote. She was just making sure. But it didn't count.' '

Herald staff writer Brad Bennett contributed to this report.

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S.C. Manning

~~12-11-00~~

12-11-00

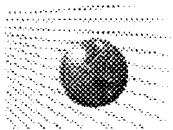
Nov 21 ^{FL} SC judgment istone

what is fed. jurisdiction

dec 8 SC and decision

Nov 26 certification by S of S

Scalia: ^{to correct} there is "no wrong" if deal not punched out a machine doesn't count
O'Connor: manual counts to correct tabulation error



Fred Steeper

12/10/00 03:18 PM

To: poconnor@newenergy.com, res08hwa@verizon.net,
andy.foster@esilicon.com, Petrocikj@Missouri.edu

cc:

Subject: More Florida Thoughts

This may not be embodied in any law, but I would think in a very close election you would want the most accurate count practical. That is the ideal, but what is the rule of law here? Here is what I think.

1.. Machines count perfectly cast votes per the machine's instructions. I take back the notion of "machine error." There is none, only voter error. It is like working with our computers. If we don't perfectly follow the assumptions of the software, things happen we do not intend. It is our error, not the computers, even though it was obvious to us what our intention was. Machines and computers are simplistic and, in a way, dumb. I would say very fast but very dumb. Machines are mechanical; computers are purely literal. They don't know nuances.

2. Interestingly, this whole controversy reflects the basic philosophies of the two parties. Republican philosophy puts a higher level on individual responsibility. We are the Party that would consistently say the voter should perfectly follow the vote instructions. Democrats, being Democrats, would cut the individual more slack than we would do, i.e. less individual responsibility for their actions. The legal arguments for both sides have been consistent with the respective philosophies of their clients. (If the outcome had been reversed, of course, it is likely they would have swapped arguments, and there would have been a very amusing inconsistency.)

3. The key, pivotal point: What does Florida law say? It does not require a perfectly executed vote. It does not require individual responsibility to a perfect level. It could have, but it does not. Instead, Florida law states, "no vote shall be declared invalid or void if there is a clear indication of the intent of the voter as determined by the canvassing board." It is the state legislature in quotation marks, not the four liberal SC justices. What this is saying, is that there are ways to count votes other than the way the machines and computers do it. They can be counted by the human mind, far superior to any computer or mechanical machine. Not as fast, but much more nimble - capable of dealing with new, unanticipated information in applying a general rule. It requires the human mind to intercede when elections are very close and the most accurate count is needed; not the fastest count, but the most accurate. Accuracy over finality. Accuracy now covering human intention and not just the amount of light shining through the ballot. The machine doesn't know the purpose of the election. The machine is measuring light waves. The human mind knows light waves and whole lot more - this was a general election in the United States; people came with intentions on what they wanted to do; some people read better than others; some people are more comfortable with a process that they only do once every two years or for the very first time; and some people are just plain stupid. But, they all came with intentions. Much too much for machines to handle. Just the situation for the human mind to handle, however. What best to understand a fellow human being than another human being? Certainly not a machine or a computer. All this is Florida law. Reread what I quoted. What else can that mean?

3a. There is some evidence that the punch card system is overly mechanical in voiding votes. And, there is some evidence these machines are disproportionately in low income counties. This will make this issue last a very long time, per my prior note. (The NYT categorized the non-vote by counties with scanners and those by punch cards. As I recall, the non-vote averaged 1% in the scanner counties and 3% in the punch card counties. The NYT did pair some affluent counties and poorer counties with different systems to control on the socioeconomic effect and found the method difference was still there. Sure there are people who intended NOT to vote for President. But, this intention should not be correlated to the voting method. I wish I had saved that table, but, alas, I did not.) Another thing. The NYT has indicated that someone, under the freedom of information act (probably the NYT), will ask to hand count these votes. So, it may be we get the hand count at some point in 2001. Beware that might happen. What will that do to the legitimacy of the Bush Administration? The libs are not going to let this one go.

4. Humans also can be partial, biased, and malicious. A human count can be dishonest while the machine count (unless programmed that way by humans) presumably is perfectly impartial. I assume either side could contest, yet again, the human count with evidence this happened. But, the human count is not prohibited by state law for this possibility; instead, the human count is advised.

5. Humans can use different standards in interpreting voter intent. (And, these different standards might be motivated for partisan reasons.) Again, I assume either side could contest, yet again, the human count with evidence that the different standards were such that they did not provide equal protection of the law.

Conclusion: Point 3 should have happened. Point 4 would be decided by the Florida state courts without appeal to SCOTUS (voting is ruled by the states). Point 5 would be handled by SCOTUS.

I have missed most of the Lions game to vent all this. Time to turn to football. Your thoughts, please. (Phil, I did write this after reading your six point mail.)

*Judge Charles Burton from Palm Beach
David Boies - Gore lead lawyer*



**poconnor@newenergy.
com (Philip R.
O'Connor)**

12/10/00 11:20 AM

To: sipple01@west.net
cc: fred_steeper@marketstrategies.com, andy.foster@esilicon.com,
petrocikj@missouri.edu, tbarnich@nprg.com
Subject: Re(2): Florida

No doubt there is serious and dangerous mythology developing about this matter of disenfranchisement of minorities etc. due to the types of voting equipment used. This could get up there with church burnings and James Byrd being killed by Bush as racially divisive and politically expedient myths -- spun largely by people who know the truth to be otherwise. Time for a reality check:

1) Voting equipment is a local choice in most every state -- Florida and Illinois included. A state body sets the standards as do state law that must be met for equipment to be used. Further, vendors meet a variety of Federal standards before selling their wares. All this means that if there is a plot against the poor and minorities it is being concocted by their very own local officials who are usually of the same party persuasion.

2) While the choice of equipment is a matter of local choice, it almost universally the case that within a given election jurisdiction (usually counties and large cities) the equipment is identical throughout the jurisdiction. This means that in my trendy neighborhood we use precisely the same technology and equipment as are used in the poorest precinct in the city.

3) The problem here is not so much machine error as voter error. Simple fact is that people either do not follow the instructions and punch thru or they are halfhearted in their voting. Many may be first time or very infrequent voters. The problem with asking for foolproof voting technology is that there is none. The idea that we can make an easy transition to computer screen voting is a joke. My mother has trouble with the ATM and my wife still can't set the VCR to tape a TV show.

4) States and localities differ quite a bit on what it is and how many things people vote on. In areas with few elected offices at any given election, optical scan is fine. But in Cook County, we have to vote on a million judges and where the ballot is printed in both English and Spanish. Optical scan is not well suited to so many recordation spots.

5) Non-voting is a complex phenomenon. Half the people do not vote even in the most heavily participated in election. Why is it so hard to believe that among the half that do go to the polls, a small % might not vote for President? The media told us for months how bad these two guys were.

6) There may be a psychological thing going on that causes differences between optical scan and punchcard that accounts for part of the differences. Similar to polling in which you can maximize undecided by posing the option and minimizing undecided by withholding the option of forcing a choice. The optical scan ballot format may induce people to go back and mark the spot while it is less apparent to voters in the punchcard case.

6) Most of the change in the Florida vote since election day has nothing at all to do with votes that people tried to cast and were not identified by counting machines. (a) A several hundred vote swing was a result of several precincts that had not been counted at all on election night. These showed up in the automatic machine recount. (b) Probably 400+ of Gore's gain during the handcounts were imaginary votes in Broward County where they "inferred" voter intent by concluding that whenever a voter cast votes for all the other Dems but not for Gore, the voter must have intended to vote for Gore. The actual change related to chads that were punched but not dislodged was quite small -- maybe a net gain of 200+ for Gore against about a 1100 Bush margin when the overseas ballots were

tabulated.

sipple01@west.net writes:

>Fred, Andy, Phil:

>When one looks at the percentage of votes counted by optical scanners vs. >punchcards...you only wonder how long it will be until some smart >enterprising lawyer files a complaint in federal court under equal >protection. The plain fact is that if you are a voter in punchcard >jurisdiction, you have a higher likelihood of you vote not being counted >than if you are in an optical scanner jurisdiction.

>You are correct, that minorities are disproportionately disenfranchised >by the vote counting equipment deployed.

>I still think that if the US Sup. Ct. was to issue a stay, it should have >been last night or very early in the a.m., as stopping the counting of >votes, when it was to be completed 24 hours later may not go down well.

>The polls will be important. My sense is that most americans will believe >it would have been more fair to count all the votes and then let the >chips fall where they may. Why this wasn't ordered earlier is a shame.

>Sip

>

>

>

>-----

>>From: Fred Steeper@marketstrategies.com

>>To: sipple01@west.net, poconnor@newenergy.com, andy.foster@esilicon.com

>>Subject: Florida

>>Date: Sun, Dec 10, 2000, 6:08 AM

>>

>

>> How is this not the case of the downtrodden being fucked over by having >> antiquated voting machinery? This surely will be the cry of the >liberals

>> for decades to come. I sure hate handing them this one. It will come >> right after big corporations making little kids work in coal mines if it >> weren't for government laws.

>>

>> Next week' public opinion polls will be very important. I fear a cat >got

>> out of the bag.

>>

>> I was right about the difficulty of segregating the non-votes. It takes >> special software that all counties don't have. (Miami did. DuVall is >> trying to load the Miami software or was; wonder if they still are?)

>Even

>> at that, the segregation process will necessarily generate new totals >for

>> Bush and Gore BEFORE one non-vote is reviewed. The machines come up >with a

>> new total each time the cards are passed through them, i.e. random >machine

>> error.

>>

>>

Philip R. O'Connor, Ph.D.
NewEnergy Midwest, LLC
309 W. Washington Street

Postelection

Karin Clissold
11/09/00 06:42 PM

To: Fred Steeper/MSI@MSI
cc:
Subject: Palm Beach Ballot

Not to belabor the point, but...

----- Forwarded by Karin Clissold/MSI on 11/09/00 06:38 PM -----



Don Dillman
<dillman@wsu.edu>
Sent by:
owner-aapornet@usc.edu

To: aapornet@usc.edu
cc:
Subject: Palm Beach Ballot

11/09/00 07:15 PM
Please respond to
aapornet

Yesterday I was interviewed by an AP reporter who faxed me a copy of the Palm Beach County ballot and interviewed me a few minutes later. I was quoted in her article that appeared today in a number of media outlets, where I was identified as being from the American Association for Public Opinion Research. Two things seemed apparent to me after the phone call. One was that I was likely to be called by other media people and asked to react, and second, that the visual design issues, at least as I see them, are somewhat complex.

Consequently, I decided to put together a written statement concerning the problems I think the ballot exhibits, which I am inserting below in this message. I am sending this to AAPORNET partly because of the number of messages that have appeared about the ballot in the last two days. Also I want to make it clear to the members of AAPOR that I am speaking as an individual on this issue, and not as a representative of AAPOR or my employer, Washington State University. Thus, I have added what I hope is a clarifying statement that this statement represents my personal opinions based on past research and experiences in the development of self-administered questionnaires.

November 9, 2000

Statement by Don A. Dillman on Palm Beach County Florida Ballot

Several people have asked for my opinion on whether the format of the November 7, 2000, general election ballot in Palm Beach County, Florida, resulted in more people voting for Buchanan than had intended to do so. This statement is in response to those requests.

I cannot say with certainty whether the format of this ballot affected a certain number of people who thus voted by mistake for Pat Buchanan, while intending to vote for another candidate. That would require knowledge of what specific people did in the voting booth Tuesday, which I don't have. However, based on my experiences and past research concerning how the visual format of questionnaires affects respondents to surveys, I believe it is likely that certain visual features of the ballot resulted in some individuals who wished to vote for Gore inadvertently punching the second hole in the column, thus resulting in a vote for Buchanan. These visual attributes may also have resulted in double punches as people attempted to correct their error. However, I do not think that voters who intended to vote for Bush were similarly affected.

I believe this outcome occurred because of the joint effects of several undesirable features of the Palm Beach County ballot, rather than a single attribute. These factors include: (1) the listing of some candidates for President on the left-hand page of the ballot, while others were listed in a separate group on the right-hand page; (2) use of a single column of circles between the pages to register one's vote, regardless of which page contained the candidate's name; (3) the lack of familiarity some people may have had with how to answer a punch ballot printed in this format; (4) the likelihood that most people knew which candidate they wanted to vote for prior to seeing any of the choices on the ballot; (5) the location of the presidential choices on the first pages of the ballot; and (6) the visual process people typically follow when registering preferences on a survey questionnaire or election ballot when it is unnecessary to read all choices (names of presidential candidates, for example) before registering one's vote.

In order to mark their ballot, it was necessary for people to insert their paper ballot underneath the booklet that showed the ballot choices. They were then required to use a stick-pin answering device to punch through a circle on the ballot to make a hole in the paper ballot.

When people open and/or begin to read material printed in a booklet format, they tend to look first at the left-hand page and focus their attention there. Because this is a ballot in which most people expect to vote on most or all of the choices, it is also likely that they would expect to answer the questions in order. It is therefore likely that many voters began reading the left-hand page without first looking at the second page and seeing what material was printed there. Thus, they may have been unaware that some of the candidates for president were listed on the opposite page.

Most people who completed the ballot knew who they wanted to vote for prior to reading the list of names. Thus, rather than attempting to read all of the answer possibilities before marking their choice, they simply looked for the name of the candidate for whom they wished to vote. The typical procedure would be to start at the top of the list and read downwards until the preferred candidate was found.

After reading the first candidate's name (Bush) on the left-hand page, people who wanted to vote for him should have been guided to the answer column by the number and an arrow. That circle was also the first (or top) circle in the answer column. It therefore seems quite unlikely that the voter would by-pass the first circle and mark the second circle, thereby voting for Buchanan, by mistake.

In contrast, people who wanted to vote for Gore, and had just seen Bush's name, would be expected to go straight down the page as they searched for Gore's name. After finding it, people are likely to have moved their fingers and thumb that held the stick-pin punching device to the appropriate punching location. It is likely that in the process of doing this some people (particularly those who are right-handed) did not see the number and arrow pointing to the appropriate answer circle because it was obscured by their hand. They may have also concluded that the second hole in the column was the correct one to punch, simply because Gore was the second candidate on the page. Thus, both the locational feature (being second) and mechanics of answering seem likely to have worked together in a way that led some people to inadvertently punch the second hole (Buchanan choice) rather than the third hole (Gore choice).

The possibility that some circles in the column of possible answers applied to Buchanan (on the next page) is unlikely to have occurred to some respondents. It is most unusual for any ballot or questionnaire to list choices to the first page to the right of the names, while choices to the second page are listed to the left of the names, and in addition to have all of them listed in a single column. Therefore, I would expect that some respondents had no idea that any of the choices in the answer column applied to the next page instead of to the candidates on page one. This problem was accentuated by the presidential preference being listed on the first page of the ballot, before the respondent had figured out, through experience, exactly how the ballot worked.

It does seem likely that some respondents who marked the second circle would have noticed that it was not aligned with the Gore box in the same way as the first circle was aligned with the Bush box. However, among those who noticed the different alignment this feature may have been discounted, because of their having to link together physically separate components (the actual paper ballot and the booklet listing candidate names) and the association of the second circle in the column with the second candidate (Gore) choice.

I would also expect that some ballots were double punched (Gore and Buchanan) as voters started to punch the second circle, realized they were making an error, and attempted to recover from it.

Despite the visual and mechanical problems that individually and jointly increase the likelihood that Gore preference voters unintentionally and unknowingly voted for Buchanan, the nature of the problem is such that it would not affect most voters. Most people are able to "figure-out" how to answer questions when they are presented in a visually inappropriate way, as was done in this situation. However, I am also confident that some Gore-preference voters would have made the error described above. At the same time, and for the reasons described above, Bush-preference voters were not likely to make the same mistake.

¹Don A. Dillman is the Thomas S. Foley Distinguished Professor of Government and Public Policy at Washington State University in Pullman, Washington. The opinions expressed here are his own and should not be attributed to his employer, Washington State University, or to the American Association for Public Opinion Research, for which he now serves as Vice-President and President-Elect. Background on the theory and research that lead to the interpretations reported here are published in Chapter 3 of Dillman, Don A. 2000 Mail and Internet Surveys: The Tailored Design Method, New York: John Wiley; and Jenkins, Cleo R. and Don A. Dillman 1997 "Towards a Theory of Self-Administered Questionnaire Design," Chapter 7 of Lyberg, Lars, et al., Survey Measurement and Process Quality, (pp.165-196,) New York: Wiley Interscience.

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Post Election

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: Ari Fleischer,

Mindy

November 9, 2000

Tucker or

Dan Bartlett

Statement by Bush/Cheney Spokesman Ari Fleischer on Palm Beach County:

"New information has come to our attention that puts in perspective the results of the vote in Palm Beach County. Palm Beach County is a Pat Buchanan stronghold and that's why Pat Buchanan received 3407 votes there.

According to the Florida Department of State, 16,695 voters in Palm Beach County are registered to the Independent Party, the Reform Party, or the American Reform Party, an increase of 110% since the 1996 presidential election. Throughout the rest of Florida, the registration increase for these parties was roughly 38%. In contrast, in neighboring Broward County, only 476 voters are registered to these parties.

In addition, in the 1996 presidential election, 14,872 ballots were invalidated for double counting in Palm Beach County, a figure comparable to the number of ballots dismissed this year, considering this year's higher turn out.

Given these facts, what happened on Election Night in Palm Beach County - a county whose elections are run by a Democrat - is an understandable event. The Democrats who are politicizing and distorting these routine and predictable events risk doing our democracy a disservice.

Throughout this process, it's important that no party to this election act in a precipitous manner or distort an existing voting pattern in an effort to misinform the public. Our nation will be best served by a responsible approach to this recount. This recount will be watched around the world. Its outcome should not only serve as a testament to the strength of our democracy, but also a reflection of how each candidate deals with a matter of the utmost national importance.

We remain confident that Governor Bush will win Florida and become the elected President of the United States."

Paid for by Bush-Cheney 2000, Inc.

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Post
Election

Fred:

Don't know if you saw this post election spin from your favorite "pollster".
Check out the note re: Calif.

----- Original Message -----

From: George Gorton <ggorton@san.rr.com>
To: Governor Wilson <PWilson@pacificcap.com>; <stwalsh@pacbell.net>; don
sipple <sipple01@west.net>; Lowery <mmorin@erols.com>; Larry Thomas
<LThomas@irvineco.com>; Joe Shumate <jsa@cwo.com>; John morris
<jgmucla@email.msn.com>; Don Bren <griffith@irvineco.com>; Gary Hunt
<hunt@irvineco.com>; chip nielsen <cnielsen@nmgovlaw.com>; Bob White
<bobwhite@calstrat.com>
Sent: Wednesday, November 08, 2000 4:56 PM
Subject: Fw: Bush Winning Coalition Analysis

> This was provided by the Bush campaign and you might want to use it with
> reporters, opinion leaders etc. However, as Californian's, I'd be careful
> about bragging about the Bush share of the minority vote. Pete Wilson
> regularly received twice the Bush support among African Americans, and he
is
> criticized for receiving the same 35% of the Hispanic vote. George

> ----- Original Message -----

> From: AList <AList@georgewbush.com>
> Sent: Wednesday, November 08, 2000 3:00 PM
> Subject: Bush Winning Coalition Analysis

> > November 8, 2000

> > TO: Interested Parties
> > FR: Matthew Dowd

> > Bush Winning Coalition Analysis

> > In a preliminary look at the national exit polls, a couple of important
> > points are apparent showing how Governor Bush put together a winning
> > national victory.

> > 1. Governor Bush carried 31 states. He thus far has received more
> > popular votes than Clinton did in 1992 and 1996; more votes than Reagan
in

> > 1980. Governor Bush also looks like he will receive more popular votes
> > than

> > President Bush in 1988. If this happens, Bush will have received more
> > popular votes than every other President except Ronald Reagan's
landslide

> > in

> > 1984.

> > 2. The turnout percentage this year was roughly equal to the 1996

> > turnout - approximately 50% - though net turnout was roughly 5 million
> > votes

> > higher.

> > 3. Minority turnout set a record as a percentage of the vote - roughly
> > 17%. This was 2 or 3 points higher than previous record levels.
Governor
> > Bush received 8% of the African-American, and a strong 35% of Hispanic
> > votes.
> > 4. Governor Bush won white voters by 12 or 13 points. He carried white
> > males by 24 points and white females by one point. White females were
a
> > key constituency for Clinton's victories in 92 and 1996. In addition,
> Bush
> > carried the all important suburban voters.
> > 5. Among voters 65 and older, the race was basically dead even. In
> > fact, the race was roughly even across all age groups.
> > 6. Governor Bush broke even among voters who earn \$30,000 - \$50,000 - a
> > key middle class constituency. Further, Gov. Bush carried 37% of union
> > households.
> > 7. Bush won Independent voters by 2 points; carried Republicans with
> > 91%; and even received 11% of the Democratic vote.
> > 8. Bush had a 30 point advantage on strong leader and a 22 point
> > advantage on likeable. Further, Bush had a 65% lead on honest and
> > trustworthy.
> > 9. Bush won by 4 points on who shares voters view of government.
> > 10. In spite of all discussion, if Nader and Buchanan were not in the
> > race, Bush would have actually won by a bigger margin.
> > 11. Bush won McCain/Independent voters by 22 points.
> > 12. The top three priorities voters want new President to work on are
> > Education, Tax Cuts, and Social Security - there are the three issues
> > Governor Bush made integral to his campaign.
> > 13. By 18 points, voters favor having the ability to invest Social
> > Security money.
> > 14. By 7 points, voters prefer across-the-board tax cut vs. targeted tax
> > cuts.
> >
> >
> >
>
>

07
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EXIT 8/15

Religion Right

1992

1994

1996

1998

2010

considerably put
of religion right
✓ 17%
NHT
RR

considerably

✓ 13%
White
Rel Right

✓ 14%

~~X~~

~~X~~

✓ 26% CL
✓ 65% D
✓ 83% Part

~~X~~

18%
80%
1 Bush
1 Newt

40% D
89% R

✓ 27% D
✓ 71% R

✓ 24% D
✓ 73% R

White
Borneo Agincourt Chamber / Fund

White Borneo
17

13%

~~X~~

CL 27 23

Bush 62



Part 15

Dms 37
Rep 66

20%
79%

1992

M If Ross Perot Had Not Been On The Ballot Today, Who Would You Have Voted For?

- 1 Bill Clinton (Dem)
- 2 George Bush (Rep)
- 3 Other: Who? _____
- 4 Would not have voted for President

N Which Comes Closest To Your Position? Abortion Should Be:

- 1 Legal in all cases
- 2 Legal in most cases
- 3 Illegal in most cases
- 4 Illegal in all cases

O Are You:

- 1 Out of work and looking for work
- 2 Employed full-time
- 3 Employed part-time
- 4 Full-time student
- 5 Homemaker
- 6 Retired

P Are You:

- 1 Married
- 2 Single, never married
- 3 Widowed
- 4 Divorced/Separated

Q Compared To Four Years Ago, Is Your Family's Financial Situation:

- 1 Better today
- 2 Worse today
- 3 About the same

R No Matter How You Voted Today, Do You Usually Think Of Yourself As A:

- 1 Democrat
- 2 Republican
- 3 Independent
- 4 Something else

S On Most Political Matters Do You Consider Yourself:

- 1 Liberal
- 2 Moderate
- 3 Conservative

T Are You:

- 1 Protestant
- 2 Catholic
- 3 Other Christian
- 4 Jewish
- 5 Something else
- 6 None

(X)

U 1991 Total Family Income:

- 1 Under \$15,000
- 2 \$15,000-\$29,999
- 3 \$30,000-\$49,999
- 4 \$50,000-\$74,999
- 5 \$75,000 or over

V Do Any Of The Following Apply To You: (Please Answer All Questions)

	YES	NO
First-time voter	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Born-again Christian/Fundamentalist	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Military veteran	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Someone in household belongs to a labor union	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Voted for Ronald Reagan in 1984	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Have a child under 18 living at home	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Attend religious services at least once a week	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Once thought that I would vote for Ross Perot	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gay/lesbian/bisexual	9 <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

1994

1994

[K] Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?

- Approve Disapprove

[L] Do you think that the condition of the nation's economy is:

- Excellent Not so good
- Good Poor

[M] Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?

- Approve Disapprove

[N] Do you consider yourself part of the religious right political movement?

- Yes No

[O] Do you agree or disagree that the government would work better if all new people were elected this year?

- Agree Disagree

[P] In general, which is better for the country?

- President and Congress of the same political party
- The President of one party; Congress of the other

[Q] Do you approve or disapprove of current U.S. policy toward Haiti?

- Approve Disapprove

[R] Which of the following apply to you: (Please check all that apply)

- Currently employed
- Currently married
- Born-again Christian/Fundamentalist
- Someone in household belongs to a labor union
- Agree with Ross Perot on most issues
- Frequently listen to political call-in shows on radio
- Of Hispanic descent
- Gay/lesbian/bisexual
- None of the above

[S] What was the last grade of school you completed?

- Did not complete high school
- High school graduate
- Some college, but no degree
- College graduate
- Postgraduate study

[T] No matter how you voted today, do you usually think of yourself as a:

- Democrat Independent
- Republican Something e

(N)

[U] Who did you vote for in the 1992 presidential election?

- Bill Clinton (Dem)
- George Bush (Rep)
- Ross Perot (Ind)
- Someone else
- Did not vote in 1992

[V] Are you:

- Protestant Jewish
- Catholic Something else
- Other Christian None

[W] On most political matters, do you consider yourself:

- Liberal Conservative
- Moderate

[X] Compared to two years ago, is your family's financial situation:

- Better today About the same
- Worse today

[Y] 1993 total family income:

- Under \$15,000 \$50,000-\$74,999
- \$15,000-\$29,999 \$75,000-\$99,999
- \$30,000-\$49,999 \$100,000 or more

Please fold the questionnaire and put it in the box. Thank you.

[N] In your vote for U.S. House of Representatives, how important were Bill Clinton and his policies?

- 1 Very important
- 2 Somewhat important
- 3 Not too important
- 4 Not at all important

[O] Is your opinion of Newt Gingrich:

- 1 Favorable
- 2 Unfavorable

[P] Regardless of how you voted today, are you concerned that a Democratic-controlled Congress will be too liberal?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[Q] Regardless of how you voted today, are you concerned that a Republican-controlled Congress will be too conservative?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[R] If these are the candidates in the next presidential election, would you vote for:

- 1 Al Gore (Dem)
- 2 Jack Kemp (Rep)
- 3 Would not vote for President

[S] Which party is more likely to reduce Medicare and Social Security benefits:

- 1 Democratic
- 2 Republican
- 3 Both equally
- 4 Neither

[T] Do you think Bob Dole would be able to reduce the federal budget deficit and cut income taxes by 15% at the same time?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[U] Do you think Bill Clinton would be able to reduce the federal budget deficit and pay for the programs he supports at the same time?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[V] Do you think the new federal welfare law:

- 1 Cuts welfare too much
- 2 Does not cut welfare enough
- 3 Is about right

[W] Do you or someone in your household belong to a labor union?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[X] Are you a gun owner?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[Y] Do you consider yourself part of the conservative Christian political movement also known as the religious right?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[Z] If these were the only two president candidates on the ballot today, who would you have voted for?

- 1 Bill Clinton (Dem)
- 2 Bob Dole (Rep)
- 3 Would not have voted for President

[AA] No matter how you voted today, do you usually think of yourself as a:

- 1 Democrat
- 2 Republican
- 3 Independent
- 4 Something else

[BB] In the 1992 election for President, did you vote for:

- 1 Bill Clinton (Dem)
- 2 George Bush (Rep)
- 3 Ross Perot (Ind)
- 4 Someone else
- 5 Did not vote for President in 1992

[CC] On most political matters, do you consider yourself:

- 1 Liberal
- 2 Moderate
- 3 Conservative

[DD] Compared to four years ago, is your family's financial situation:

- 1 Better today
- 2 Worse today
- 3 About the same

[EE] 1995 total family income:

- 1 Under \$15,000
- 2 \$15,000-\$29,999
- 3 \$30,000-\$49,999
- 4 \$50,000-\$74,999
- 5 \$75,000-\$99,999
- 6 \$100,000 or more

Please fold the questionnaire and put it in the box. Thank you.

1998

[O] Was one reason for your vote for Congress today:

- 1 To express support for Bill Clinton
- 2 To express opposition to Bill Clinton
- 3 Clinton was not a factor

[P] Compared to two years ago, is your family's financial situation:

- 1 Better today
- 2 Worse today
- 3 About the same

[Q] Is your opinion of Bill Clinton as a person:

- 1 Favorable
- 2 Unfavorable

[R] Are you of Hispanic descent?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[S] Are you:

- 1 Protestant
- 2 Catholic
- 3 Other Christian
- 4 Jewish
- 5 Something else
- 6 None

[T] Is your opinion of Newt Gingrich:

- 1 Favorable
- 2 Unfavorable

[U] What was the last grade of school you completed?

- 1 Did not complete high school
- 2 High school graduate
- 3 Some college, but no degree
- 4 College graduate
- 5 Postgraduate study

[V] Is your opinion of Hillary Rodham Clinton:

- 1 Favorable
- 2 Unfavorable

[W] No matter how you voted today, do you usually think of yourself as a:

- 1 Democrat
- 2 Republican
- 3 Independent
- 4 Something else

[X] In the 1996 election for President, did you vote for:

- 1 Bill Clinton (Dem)
- 2 Bob Dole (Rep)
- 3 Ross Perot (Ref)
- 4 Someone else
- 5 Did not vote for President in 1996

[Y] How much has the Clinton/Lewinsky matter hurt Bill Clinton's ability to lead the country effectively?

- 1 A great deal
- 2 Somewhat
- 3 Not much
- 4 Not at all

[Z] On most political matters, do you consider yourself:

- 1 Liberal
- 2 Moderate
- 3 Conservative

[AA] Should Congress impeach Bill Clinton and remove him from office?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[BB] Should Bill Clinton resign from office?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[CC] Should Congress censure Bill Clinton?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[DD] Do you work full time for pay?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[EE] Do you consider yourself part of the conservative Christian political movement, also known as the religious right?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[FF] 1997 total family income:

- 1 Under \$15,000
- 2 \$15,000-\$29,999
- 3 \$30,000-\$49,999
- 4 \$50,000-\$74,999
- 5 \$75,000-\$99,999
- 6 \$100,000 or more

Please fold the questionnaire and put it in the box. Thank you.

Fl seniors split Bush + 2 even w/ one stress
on soc sec/Rx

One won among late decisions

	<u>Tot</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>One's</u>	<u>Bnd</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>Date</u>
World Affirm	128	4A	5V	-2		
medicare/Rx	7	60	38	+12		
Health Care	8	67	33			
Econ/Trade	18	59	37	+10	21	61 27
Tax	17	17	80	+7	11	19 73
Educ	15	52	44	(+28)	12	78 16
Soc Sec	17	59	39	+13		
med/Soc Sec					15	67 26
For Policy					4	35 56
Support					12	27 52
1/2 C/R					7	40 50

from Haley Barbara mtg?
see reports. I received

Racial Composition of the Presidential Elections
Census Reporting of Registered Voters and VNS Exit Poll Results for Presidential General Election: 1996 and 2000

	Census: 1996 Voting and Registration			1996 VNS Exit Polls				2000 VNS Exit Polls			
	White	Black	Hispanic*	White	Black	Hispanic	Other	White	Black	Hispanic	Other
Arizona	94	4	12	88	2	8	1	78	(10)	4	7
Arkansas	82	17	1	90	9	0	1	87	11	1	1
California	70	8	14	77	6	11	6	71	7	14	8
Colorado	96	2	8	86	3	9	2	81	2	14	4
Florida	88	11	10	76	10	12	2	73	(15)	11	2
Georgia	70	29	1	73	25	1	2	73	24	1	2
Illinois	82	17	3	83	13	1	3	79	14	4	3
Iowa	97	2	1	96	3	1	0	97	1	0	1
Kentucky	92	7	1	93	6	0	1	93	6	0	1
Louisiana	71	29	1	68	29	1	2	70	29	1	1
Maine	99	0	0	97	1	0	1	98	1	0	0
Michigan	86	12	2	84	13	1	2	86	11	2	1
Missouri	92	8	1	92	5	1	2	86	(12)	1	2
Nevada	92	5	4	86	7	3	3	80	5	12	3
New Mexico	91	2	34	56	3	28	14	59	3	32	5
North Carolina	80	18	1	80	18	0	1	78	19	0	2
Ohio	91	9	2	92	6	0	2	87	9	3	2
Oregon	96	2	2	94	2	2	3	93	2	2	3
Pennsylvania	90	9	2	89	9	1	1	91	7	1	1
Tennessee	82	18	1	85	13	1	1	80	18	1	1
Texas	67	12	19	72	10	16	3	73	(15)	10	3
Washington	95	1	2	88	4	2	6	92	2	2	4
Wisconsin	96	3	1	94	4	1	1	93	3	2	2

Racial Composition of the Presidential Elections

Census Reporting of Race Groups and VNS Exit Poll Results for Presidential General Election: 2000

	Census: 2000 Voting Age Population (VAP)				2000 VNS Exit Polls			
	White**	Black	Hisp*	Other	White	Black	Hisp	Other
Alabama	74	¹⁹⁷⁶ 23 24	1	1	73	25	0	2
Arizona	72	3 4	19	7	78	10	4	7
Arkansas	83	14 14	2	1	87	11	1	1
California	53	7 7	28	8	71	7	14	8
Colorado	80	4 4	13	3	81	2	14	4
Florida	70	12 14	15	2	73	15 ^v	11	2
Georgia	82	25 27	3	2	73	24	1	2
Illinois	74	14 14	9	3	79	14	4	3
Iowa	95	2 2	2	1	97	1	0	1
Kentucky	91	7 7	1	1	93	6	0	1
Louisiana	66	29 29	3	2	70	29	1	1
Maine	97	1 1	1	1	98	1	0	0
Michigan	82	14 13	2	2	86	11	2	1
Missouri	87	10 10	2	1	86	12 ^v	1	2
Nevada	72	6 8	15	6	80	5	12	3
New Mexico	52	2 3	37	10	59	3	32	5
North Carolina	75	20 20	2	2	78	19	0	2
Ohio	87	10 11	2	1	87	9	3	2
Oregon	89	2 2	5	4	93	2	2	3
Pennsylvania	87	9 9	2	2	91	7	1	1
Tennessee	83	15 15	1	1	80	18	1	1
Texas	58	11 12	27	4	73	15 ^v	10	3
Washington	84	3 4	6	7	92	2	2	4
Wisconsin	91	5 5	2	2	93	3	2	2

* Hispanics may be of any race.

** 2000 VAP Figures for Whites are "Non-Hispanic Whites"

Racial Composition of the Presidential Elections

Census Reporting of Race Groups and VNS Exit Poll Results for Presidential General Election: 1996

	Census: 1996 Voting Age Population (VAP)			Census: 1996 Voting and Registration			Census: 1996 Reported Voting			1996 VNS Exit Polls			
	White	Black	Hisp*	White	Black	Hisp*	White	Black	Hisp*	White	Black	Hisp	Other
Alabama	76	23	1	77	23	0	76	24	0	76	22	0	1
Arizona	90	3	19	94	4	12	94	3	11	88	2	8	1
Arkansas	85	14	1	82	17	1	83	16	0	90	9↓	0	1
California	80	7	27	70	8	14	85	7	12	77	6	11	6
Colorado	93	4	12	96	2	8	96	2	8	86	3	9	2
Florida	86	12	13	88	11	10	89	10	9	76	10	12	2
Georgia	73	25	2	70	29	1	72	27	1	73	25	1	2
Illinois	82	14	8	82	17	3	82	17	3	83	13	1	3
Iowa	97	2	1	97	2	1	98	2	0	96	3	1	0
Kentucky	92	7	1	92	7	1	92	7	0	93	6	0	1
Louisiana	70	29	2	71	29	1	71	29	1	68	29	1	2
Maine	98	1	1	99	0	0	100	0	0	97	1	0	1
Michigan	84	14	2	86	12	2	85	13	2	84	13	1	2
Missouri	89	10	1	92	8	1	92	8	1	92	5	1	2
Nevada	87	6	12	92	5	4	94	4	4	86	7	3	3
New Mexico	89	2	42	91	2	34	93	2	33	56	3	28↓	14
North Carolina	77	20	1	80	18	1	81	17	0	80	18	0	1
Ohio	88	10	1	91	9	2	91	8	1	92	6	0	2
Oregon	94	2	4	96	2	2	96	2	1	94	2	2	3
Pennsylvania	90	9	2	90	9	2	90	9	1	89	9	1	1
Tennessee	84	15	1	82	18	1	81	19	0	85	13↓	1	1
Texas	87	11	27	67	12	19	87	11	17	72	10	16	3
Washington	90	3	5	95	1	2	95	2	2	88	4	2	6
Wisconsin	93	5	2	96	3	1	96	3	1	94	4	1	1

* Hispanics may be of any race.

**Proportions of the Electorate in Presidential Elections
By Party Identification and Ideology
1992, 1996, 2000**

Source: CBS/NYT-Voter News Service Exit Polls

	1992	1996	2000
Republican	35	35	35
Independent	27	26	27
Democrat	38	39	39
Conservative	30	33	29
Moderate	49	47	50
Liberal	21	20	20

1996 Presidential Election ExitPoll Results

% of Vote	National	Georgia	Illinois	Missouri	New Mexico	Ohio	Wisconsin
GOP	35	34	32	34	34	37	34
Independent	26	28	27	25	20	26	30
DEM	39	38	42	42	46	37	35
Black	10	25	13	5	3	6	4
Hispanic	5	1	1	1	28	0	1
Men	48	49	48	48	47	52	47
Women	52	51	52	52	53	48	53

% of Vote	National	Maine	Michigan	Oregon	Pennsylvania	Tennessee
GOP	35	29	32	33	39	37
Independent	26	37	27	27	19	24
DEM	39	35	41	39	42	39
Black	10	1	13	2	9	13
Hispanic	5	0	1	2	1	1
Men	48	49	48	47	48	46
Women	52	51	52	53	52	54



Judy Perry

11/02/00 11:48 AM

To: Fred Steeper/MSI@MSI

cc:

Subject: 1992 Exit Polls

I can't find anything for 1988, but here's 1992

	MO	IL	WI
Democrat	42	39	36
Republican	29	35	33
Independent/Other	29	27	31
Diff (R-D)	-13	-4	-3

EXIT POLL BALLOT by RACE 1992-1998

percentaged vertically

RACE	1992		1994		1996		1998	
	Presidential		House		Presidential		House	
	BUSH	CLIN	GOP	DEM	DOLE	CLIN	GOP	DEM
WHITE	94	79	95	76	83	73	92	71
BLACK	2	16	1	18	10	17	2	19
HISPANIC	2	3	2	4	5	7	4	7
ASIAN	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
OTHER	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2

percentaged horizontally

RACE	1992		1994		1996		1998	
	Presidential		House		Presidential		House	
	BUSH	CLIN	GOP	DEM	DOLE	CLIN	GOP	DEM
WHITE	40	39	57	41	46	43	55	42
BLACK	10	83	8	91	12	84	11	88
HISPANIC	25	61	37	59	21	72	35	59
ASIAN	55	31	44	53	48	43	42	54
OTHER	25	57	44	53	21	64	34	59

al Summary of General Election Exit Polls:
 Residential Elections: 1992, 1996, 2000

Subgroup	CBS/NYT 1992			VNS 1996			VNS 2000		
	Pop. Distr.	GOP Vote	GOP Margin	Pop. Distr.	GOP Vote	GOP Margin	Pop. Distr.	GOP Vote	GOP Margin
Total	100	38	-5	100	41	-8	100	48	
Men	47	38	-3	48	44	1	48	53	11
Women	53	37	-8	52	38	-16	52	43	-11
Whites	87	40	1	83	46	3	81	54	12
Blacks	8	10	-73	10	12	-72	10	9	-81
Hispanics	2	25	-36	5	21	-51	7	35	-27
White men	48	40	3 ^{Δ3}	48	49	11 ^{Δ16}	48	60	24 ^{Δ23}
White women	52	41	0	52	43	-5	52	49	1
18-29	21	34	-9	17	34	-19	17	46	-2
30-44	36	38	-3	33	41	-7	33	49	1
45-59	23	40	-1	26	41	-7	28	49	1
60 and older	20	38	-12	24	44	-4	22	47	-4
18-64	87	37	-6	84	40	-9	86	48	0
65 and older	13	39	-11	16	43	-7	14	47	-3
Men, 18-29				17	38	-9			
Men, 30-44				33	46	5			
Men, 45-59				27	43	-1			
Men, 60 and older				24	48	5			
Women, 18-29				17	31	-27			
Women, 30-44				33	37	-17			
Women, 45-59				26	40	-12			
Women, 60 and older				23	41	-12			
Family income < \$15K	14	23	-35	11	28	-31	7	37	-20
\$15K-\$29,999	24	35	-10	23	36	-17	16	41	-13
\$30K-\$49,999	30	38	-3	27	40	-8	24	48	-1
\$50K-\$74,999	20	41	1	21	45	-2	25	51	5
\$75,000-\$99,999				9	48	4	13	52	7
Over \$100,000	12	48	12	9	54	16	15	54	11
Not a HS grad	7	28	-26	6	28	-31	5	39	-20
HS grad	25	36	-7	24	35	-16	21	49	1
Some college	29	37	-4	27	40	-8	32	51	6
College graduate	23	41	2	26	46	2	24	51	6
Post grad education	16	36	-14	17	40	-12	18	44	-8
Married	66	41	1	66	46	2	65	53	9
Not married	33	31	-21	34	31	-26	35	38	-19
Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual	2	14	-58	5	23	-43	4	25	-45
Union Household	19	24	-31	23	30	-29	26	37	-22
Employed Full Time	55	38	-3	64	40	-8	67	48	-1
Working Women	29	35	-10	29	35	-21	31	39	-19
Children under 18	36	38	-2	37	41	-7	39	52	7
Gun Owner				37	51	13	48	61	25

al Summary of General Election Exit Polls:
 Presidential Elections: 1992, 1996, 2000

Subgroup	CBS/NYT 1992			VNS 1996			VNS 2000		
	Pop. Distr.	GOP Vote	GOP Margin	Pop. Distr.	GOP Vote	GOP Margin	Pop. Distr.	GOP Vote	GOP Margin
Protestant	42	45	9	38	50	9	54	56	14
Catholic	27	35	-9	29	37	-16	26	47	-3
Jewish	4	11	-69	3	16	-62	4	19	-60
Else	6	26	-27	6	23	-37	6	28	-34
None	7	18	-44	7	23	-36	9	30	-31
White Prot/Christian	56	47	14	56	53	17	56	63	29
White BA (92) Religious Rgt (96)	17	62	39	17	65	39	14	80	62
Abortion Always Legal	34	20	-38	25	21	-48	23	25	-45
Mostly Legal	29	34	-11	35	33	-22	33	38	-20
Mostly Illegal	23	56	30	25	57	25	27	69	40
Always Illegal	9	63	39	12	68	45	13	74	52
Republicans	35	73	63	35	80	67	35	91	83
Independents	27	32	-6	26	35	-8	27	47 115	2
Democrats	38	10	-67	39	10	-74	39	11 47	-75
Conservatives	30	64	46	33	71	51	29+	81	64
Moderates	49	31	-16	47	33	-24	50	44	-8
Liberals	21	14	-54	20	11	-67	20	13	-67
Voted Dukakis 88 (Clinton 92, 96)	27	5	-78	43	9	-76	46	15	-67
Voted Bush 88 (Bush 92, Dole 96)	53	59	38	35	82	69	31	91	84
Voted Perot 92, 96				12	44	22	6	64	37
Voted Other	2	5	-61	1	36	12	2	52	26
Did not vote	15	26	-22	9	33	-20	13	52	8
Financial Situation Better	24	61	37	33	26	-40	50	36	-25
Worse	34	14	-47	20	57	30	11	63	30
Same	41	42	1	45	45	-1	38	60	25
National Econ. Condition Excel.	1	35	-18	4	17	-61	28	46	-7
Good	18	82	74	51	31	-31	12	53	15
Not Good	47	37	-6	36	52	18	57	49	2
Poor	32	12	-52	7	51	28			
Country on Right Direction				53	24	-45	65	36	-25
Wrong Track				43	61	38	31	74	54

Historical Summary of General Election Exit Polls: US House of Representatives

Subgroup	NYT/CBS News							1980-92 Avg	MI 1994	VNS 1994	1994 Avg.	VNS 1996	VNS 1998	VNS 2000
	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992							
Total	48	43	49	48	46	45	46	46	51	51	51	49	49	49
Republican Vote														
Men	51	45	52	49	48	47	48	49	55	57	56	53	52	54
Women	45	42	46	46	43	43	45	44	47	46	46	44	46	45
Whites	52	46	54	51	50	47	50	50	56	58	57	54	55	55
Blacks	13	11	8	14	15	19	11	13	11	8	9	18	11	11
Hispanics	28	25	31	25	24	30	28	27	39	40	40	26	35	35
White men	54	48	57	53	53	52	51	53	60	63	62	58	57	59
White women	49	45	51	50	48	48	49	49	54	53	53	50	53	50
Black men	14	18	10	16	18	21	16	16	15		15			
Black women	12	6	6	12	12	20	8	11	8		8			
18-29	45	41	49	49	46	45	45	46	50	49	49	44	48	48
30-44	51	46	46	48	46	45	47	47	52	53	53	49	49	50
45-59	47	44	50	46	46	47	48	47	50	52	51	49	46	49
60 and older	49	42	52	48	45	45	44	46	48	50	49	50	54	47
Men, 18-29	48	40	53	52	48	51	48	49	54		54	49		
Men, 30-44	55	48	48	48	49	48	49	49	55		55	55		
Men, 45-59	50	46	53	50	51	52	50	50	58		58	52		
Men, 60 and older	50	44	54	49	46	48	44	48	50		50	54		
Women, 18-29	42	42	44	46	45	45	42	44	46		46	39		
Women, 30-44	47	43	44	48	43	46	46	45	49		49	44		
Women, 45-59	44	42	48	42	43	47	46	45	46		46	46		
Women, 60 and older	48	40	49	47	44	46	43	45	47		47	47		
Whites, 18-29	50	45	58	52	53	52	50	51	54	58	57			
Whites, 30-44	55	49	51	52	51	50	51	51	59	61	60			
Whites, 45-59	51	47	55	50	51	51	52	51	57	58	58			
Whites, 60 and older	51	44	55	51	48	48	46	49	52	54	53			
Blacks, 18-29	12	9	6	19	16	15	10	12	24		24			
Blacks, 30-44	12	12	7	16	14	16	12	13	11		11			
Blacks, 45-59	14	9	10	9	13	26	11	13	5		5			
Blacks, 60 and older	17	15	13	10	18	30	10	16	11		11			
Not a HS grad	40		40	43	37	39	33	39	39	40	40	34	41	41
HS grad	45		49	45	43	43	42	45	47	52	50	44	47	49
Some college	53		51	50	47	47	47	49	53	58	56	49	51	51
College graduate				54	53	48	54	52	57	55	56	56	53	53
Post grad education				44	46	46	45	45	47	42	44	49	45	45
Married		48	51	49	48	48	50	49	54	57	56	53	54	54
Not married		37	44	44	46	41	39	42	43		43	39	38	40
Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual						22	23	23	34	27	29	27	32	31
Married men		50	54	50	50	51	52	51	57		57	57		
Married women		46	48	47	47	49	49	48	52		52	50		
Unmarried men		39	47	46	46	44	42	44	48		48	44		
Unmarried women		35	41	42	37	39	37	39	38		38	36		
East	48	35	46	48	46	46	45	45	46	48	47			40
Midwest	50	51	50	47	45	51	48	49	55	54	54			50
South	46	41	48	44	46	46	47	45	54	52	53			55
West	51	47	52	49	47	46	44	48	45	51	51			49

Historical Summary of General Election Exit Polls: US House of Representatives

Subgroup	NYT/CBS News							1980-92 Avg	MI 1994	VNS 1994	1994 Avg.	VNS 1996	VNS 1998	VNS 2000
	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992							
White Prot/Christian	59	57	62	57	56	55	57	58	64	66	65	61	64	63
Catholic	41	37	42	45	45	42	43	42	49	52	51	45	45	48
Jewish	31	18	30	30	32	25	21	27	31	22	25	26	21	24
White BA Christian	57	54	65	69	66	66	66	63	75	80	78	71	73	77
Family income < \$15K	44	27	37	44	33	36	31	36	43	37	39	36	39	39
\$15K-\$29,999	47	40	46	47	43	43	43	44	47	47	47	43	44	42
\$30K-\$49,999	53	48	51	47	47	46	48	49	49	54	52	49	49	48
Over \$50,000	62	63	61	53	55	48	51	56	56	54	55	52	54	51
Over \$75,000							56	56	55	59	58	56	51	54
Over \$100,000					61	56		59	59	63	62	63	53	55
Union Household	37	32	36	37	37	35	33	35	36	39	38	36	35	38
Employed		45	49	48	48	46	49	48	52	52	52	48	48	48
Republicans	90	88	86	80	79	73	85	83	91	92	92	88	90	91
Independents	56	49	51	48	46	46	46	49	55	56	56	49	48	49
Democrats	17	10	15	19	17	20	11	16	12	11	11	14	11	11
White Democrats	19	11	18	22	20	21	13	18	15	14	14			
Black Democrats	3	3	2	6	7	19	4	6	3		3			
Conservatives	67	65	69	65	66	61	72	66	79	80	80	78	80	80
Moderates	43	40	43	42	43	43	43	42	42	42	42	42	43	45
Liberals	28	20	24	29	20	26	19	24	17	18	18	18	16	16
Voted for Reagan,Bush,Dole	77	69	79	65	72	63	85	73					89	
Voted Carter, Mondale, Dukakis or Clinton	13	11	7	17	16	19	11	13					17	
Approve of President		74		64		61		66	17	17	17	na	23	24
Disapprove		10		21		27		19	81	83	82	na	83	83
Liberal Rep.	91	73	87	77	65	56	69	74	86		86		75	
Moderate Rep.	87	86	85	75	76	40	81	76	85		85		85	
Conservative Rep.	92	92	89	83	82	78	90	87	96		96		95	
Liberal Indep.	34	22	35	40	26	34	24	31	26		26			
Moderate Indep.	52	47	47	45	44	43	42	46	49		49			
Conservative Indep.	72	67	68	56	61	57	70	64	76		76			
Liberal Dem.	11	7	8	15	12	16	7	11	6		6			
Moderate Dem.	17	10	13	19	18	20	13	16	14		14			
Conservative Dem.	25	14	25	27	22	26	18	22	22		22			
Men w/o HS diploma	42		41	44	40	41	33	40	44		44	39		
Women w/o HS diplom	36		39	43	34	40	35	38	35		35	28		
Men, HS grads	47		51	43	44	44	41	45	50		50	47		
Women, HS grads	44		48	47	43	44	43	45	46		46	41		
Men, some college	55		55	50	50	50	49	52	57		57	60		
Women, some college	51		47	49	45	47	45	47	49		49	46		
Men, college grads	57		53	54	54	52	53	54	56		56	58		
Women, college grads	45		45	43	45	45	48	45	49		49	46		
Whites in the East	51	37	50	52	51	47	47	48	50	52	51			44
Blacks in the East	14	10	7	13	10	24	17	14	12	8	9			13
Whites in the Midwest	52	54	55	50	48	53	50	52	58	56	57			54
Blacks in the Midwest	14	13	5	16	14	24	7	13	11	15	14			9
Whites in the South	52	45	55	50	52	50	53	51	61	65	64			65
Blacks in the South	11	7	8	7	18	20	12	12	13	6	8			10
Whites in the West	51	50	56	53	53	48	49	51	53	57	57			55
Blacks in the West			16	17	15	18	4	14	6	10	10			15