## Chapter 3 Ballots Counted

One would think that determining how many people turned out for an election would be a simple proposition. Not in the current state of the American election system. Different states, and even different jurisdictions in a given state, use different definitions, and, therefore, report different numbers. Some states and local jurisdictions simply report the number of people who voted as the total number of votes cast for all the candidates for the office on the ballot that received the highest number of votes. Immediately after World War II, nearly three-quarters of the country followed this practice. But as time went on and states began keeping track of vote history in voter registration files, it became apparent that slightly more people actually turned out to vote than voted for the highest office on the ballot. By 2002, thirty-nine states were reporting real turnout numbers. By 2004 several more states had either passed laws or adopted administrative procedures to report this data.

The Election Day Survey, however, adds another definition to the mix by asking for the "total number of ballots counted" as well as the number of ballots cast. Are ballots that were rejected included in this number-that is, one cast by a voter who showed up at the polls and cast what he or she thought was a valid vote? The definition section of the survey said, "The number provided in response to this question should include all ballots that were counted during Election Day, absentee, early voting, or late counting for the November 2, 2004, election (e.g., paper, electronic, military, absentee, and provisional ballots." But what is being counted? We heard reports that some jurisdictions responding to this survey reported the total number of actual physical ballots or pieces of paper they counted, so that when an individual voter was provided with several ballot cards upon which to vote for different contests or measures, the number of ballots counted were two or three times the number of people who turned out.

## Applicability and Coverage

An analysis of the 2004 data reported to the EAC showed that in 903 jurisdictions in 21 different states, including the entire state of Arkansas and most of the states of Vermont and Wisconsin, the reported number of ballots counted was identical to the number of votes cast for the office of president. The states where small numbers of jurisdictions submitted similar reports are Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Hawaii, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Utah, Virginia, and Wisconsin. Data and reports from all other states clearly showed that more people participated in the election than those that just voted for president.

In addition, Election Data Services maintains its own data collection of election returns and turnout measures. Comparing what we call "Maximum Vote Turnout"-i.e., the highest of either the total voter turnout, or, where not reported, the total number of votes cast for all the candidates for the office on the ballot that received the highest number of votes -to the numbers that were reported on the survey to the EAC, we found that nearly 2.4 million more people voted in the 2004 election than was reported to the EAC. Several states turned in data that was incomplete: data was missing from
certain local jurisdictions. For example, the state of Pennsylvania left out data for the largest counties—Erie, Berks, Philadelphia, and Allegheny (Pittsburgh)—along with 17 other counties. All told, 6,488 of the 6,568 jurisdictions in our database provided data on the number of ballots counted.

Overall, 53 jurisdictions in the EAC database showed more ballots cast than there were registered voters in the jurisdiction. More than half of these occurred in Wisconsin, which allows Election Day registration and has nearly 2,000 townships and municipalities. Minnesota also has several jurisdictions with more than 100 percent of persons on the registration rolls turning out to vote. Like Wisconsin, Minnesota also allows Election Day registration, but the data is at the county level.

When one shifts to voting age population, 78 jurisdictions showed more persons voting than the estimated voting age population, and 83 jurisdictions showed more votes cast than the estimated citizen voting age population. Most of these, however, are very small jurisdictions (notably in Maine and Wisconsin) where small numbers of people can be slightly off in the estimating process and are therefore more likely to be in contrast with other small data for the jurisdiction. For example, the estimation process may calculate 85 persons of voting age while the registration counts show there are 87 persons registered.

Election administrators tend to look at turnout as measured against registered voters. These are two numbers that they know for their own jurisdiction and they can calculate for each election. On the other hand, academics and some political observers tend to calculate turnout against the base of voting age population. They do this because of the general belief that registration rolls contain varying levels of "deadwood" and inaccuracies and that voting age population provides a better base to use for comparative analysis. In the past several years, some academics (including the consultant on this project) have sought to modify the voting age population to take out the impact of noncitizens and other demographic groups not eligible to be part of the electorate. For the purposes of this study, we have calculated turnout using all three methods.

## Historical Context

Traditionally, turnout in United States elections has been measured by the total number of votes cast for the "highest office." In a presidential election, such as 2004, the highest office is the president. In other elections, particularly in non-presidential election years, highest office has been defined as the highest vote-getting office among U.S. Senate, governor, or the sum of all the U.S. House races in the state.

Although similar sounding, the total number of ballots cast or counted is not the same as the total number of ballots cast for the highest office. Some voters, either intentionally or by error, may not record a vote for the highest office on the ballot. Yet, not all blank ballots are errors. For example, 3,688 Nevada voters, or 0.44 percent, choose "None of these Candidates" in the 2004 presidential race. Although that choice in Nevada is generally considered a "candidate" in the traditional sense of the word, Nevada's choice suggests that in states where voters do not have a similar choice, many abstain from the presidential election, but may vote for another office on the same ballot.

In testimony before the EAC in May 2004, this study's author presented a historical compilation of the difference between the total number of ballots cast and the vote for highest office. It was shown

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as percent drop-off, and is reproduced below in Table 3a. For more information on drop-off, see Chapter 7.

Table 3a. Electoral Drop-Off Rates, 1948-2004

| Year | Number of States <br> Reporting Voter <br> Turnout | Actual Voter <br> Turnout | Highest Office <br> Turnout | Drop-Off Rate |
| :--- | :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 2004 | 44 | $105,357,390$ | $104,322,648$ | $0.98 \%$ |
| 2002 | 40 | $62,219,507$ | $60,795,899$ | $2.29 \%$ |
| 2000 | 40 | $82,563,022$ | $81,059,934$ | $1.82 \%$ |
| 1998 | 40 | $57,597,179$ | $55,856,233$ | $3.02 \%$ |
| 1996 | 37 | $70,638,630$ | $69,216,868$ | $2.01 \%$ |
| 1994 | 39 | $55,805,112$ | $54,313,318$ | $2.67 \%$ |
| 1992 | 36 | $73,974,912$ | $72,629,643$ | $1.82 \%$ |
| 1990 | 34 | $44,890,326$ | $43,409,816$ | $3.30 \%$ |
| 1988 | 33 | $58,081,471$ | $56,668,654$ | $2.43 \%$ |
| 1986 | 34 | $42,197,435$ | $40,400,221$ | $4.26 \%$ |
| 1984 | 33 | $58,509,636$ | $57,113,439$ | $2.39 \%$ |
| 1982 | 32 | $45,713,433$ | $44,314,060$ | $3.06 \%$ |
| 1980 | 34 | $55,797,469$ | $54,670,075$ | $2.02 \%$ |
| 1978 | 29 | $37,827,229$ | $36,520,648$ | $3.45 \%$ |
| 1976 | 29 | $49,489,395$ | $48,377,768$ | $2.25 \%$ |
| 1974 | 26 | $31,624,018$ | $30,604,755$ | $3.22 \%$ |
| 1972 | 26 | $42,582,628$ | $41,458,146$ | $2.64 \%$ |
| 1970 | 25 | $32,836,937$ | $31,973,277$ | $2.63 \%$ |
| 1968 | 24 | $37,968,112$ | $37,389,644$ | $1.52 \%$ |
| 1966 | 23 | $31,645,227$ | $30,952,233$ | $2.19 \%$ |
| 1964 | 22 | $37,724,809$ | $36,995,735$ | $1.93 \%$ |
| 1962 | 23 | $30,439,966$ | $29,813,476$ | $2.06 \%$ |
| 1960 | 23 | $38,670,435$ | $38,076,980$ | $1.53 \%$ |
| 1958 | 19 | $28,893,207$ | $28,075,937$ | $2.83 \%$ |
| 1956 | 18 | $33,935,458$ | $33,250,227$ | $2.02 \%$ |
| 1954 | 17 | $23,986,530$ | $23,395,912$ | $2.46 \%$ |
| 1952 | 17 | $31,467,386$ | $30,985,652$ | $1.53 \%$ |
| 1950 | 18 | $24,614,402$ | $23,883,751$ | $2.97 \%$ |
| 1948 | 17 | $28,121,161$ | $27,485,591$ | $2.26 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |

*Total number of votes cast for all the candidates for the office on the ballot that received the highest number of votes.
Source: Election Data Services, Inc.

The Election Day Survey represents the first systematic attempt by a federal agency to collect the total number of ballots cast in a federal election. Previously, some states have reported the total number of ballots cast as a part of their election results. In post-World War II elections, 17 states reported total number of ballots cast in 1948 and 39 reported in 2002. Although the data for 2004 is not complete, the request for total number of ballots cast on the Election Day Survey has produced a greater number of voter turnout reports.

## Survey Results

Table 3 presents data on the number of ballots counted from question 2 on the Election Day Survey. In the table, the number of ballots counted is calculated as a percentage of the reported total number of registered voters as well as the voting age population (VAP) and the citizen voting age population (CVAP). The column headings in Table 3 are as follows:

| Column Headings for Table 3. Ballots Counted |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Col. | Heading | Description |
| 1 | Code | State census code |
| 2 | Name | Respondent to Election Day Survey |
| 3 | Jurisdiction | Number of local election jurisdictions from survey question 22 |
| 4 | 2004 Estimated VAP | Estimated November 2004 voting age population (VAP) from col. 4 of Table 1 |
| 5 | 2004 Est. Citizen VAP | Estimated November 2004 citizen voting age population (CVAP) from col. 4 of Table 1 |
| 6 | Cases | Number of jurisdictions for which 2004 VAP and CVAP estimates were constructed |
| 7 | Total Registration | Number of active and inactive registered voters, number of persons who voted on Election Day in six states, and VAP data for North Dakota and jurisdictions in Wisconsin that do not have voter registration, from col. 4 of Table 2 |
| 8 | Cases | Number of jurisdictions that responded to survey question 1 , that provided Election Day registration data, or for which VAP data was substituted for voter registration data |
| 9 | Total Ballots Counted | Number of ballots counted from survey question 2 |
| 10 | Cases | Number of jurisdictions that responded to question 2 |
| 11 | Percent Ballots Counted of Registration | Number of ballots counted (col. 9) divided by the number of registered voters (col. 7) |
| 12 | Cases | Number of jurisdictions that responded to survey questions 1 and 2, that provided Election Day registration data, or for which VAP data was substituted for voter registration data |
| 13 | Cases > 100\% | Number of jurisdictions where the reported number of ballots counted (col. 9) is greater than the reported number of registered voters (col. 7). |
| 14 | Percent Ballots Counted of VAP | Number of ballots counted (col. 9) divided by the estimated voting age population (col. 4)) |
| 15 | Cases | Number of jurisdictions that responded to survey question 2 and for which 2004 VAP estimates were constructed |

## Column Headings for Table 3 (cont.)

Col.

## Heading Description

Cases $>100 \% \quad$ Number of jurisdictions where the reported number of ballots counted (col. 9) is greater than the estimated VAP (col. 4).

7 Percent Ballots Number of ballots counted (col. 9) divided by the estimated citiCounted of Citizen VAP zen voting age population (col. 5)

Cases Number of jurisdictions that responded to survey question 2 and for which 2004 CVAP estimates were constructed

Cases $>100 \% \quad$ Number of jurisdictions where the reported number of ballots counted (col. 9) is greater than the estimated CVAP (col. 5).

## Analysis of Survey Results

The following is our analysis of the data in Table 3 for each of the 18 cross-tabulation factors described earlier in this report. A description of each factor follows a general summary and a statelevel summary of the survey data.

1) Regions
2) Changed Voting Equipment since 2000
3) Urban to Rural
4) Size of Jurisdiction
5) Statewide Voter Registration Database
6) Race and Ethnicity
7) Election Day Registration
8) Median Income
9) High School Education
10) Section 203 Language Minority Requirements
11) Provisional Ballot Acceptance
12) No Excuse Absentee Balloting
13) Early Voting
14) Battleground States
15) Section 5 Pre-clearance of Voting Procedures
16) Presidential Margin of Victory
17) Type of Voting Equipment
18) Red versus Blue Jurisdictions

This analysis is based only on data that was reported to the EAC on the Election Day Survey. Many state responses to a survey question or part of a question did not cover all local election jurisdictions. In Table 3 as well as other tables in this report, a jurisdiction was excluded from a statistical calculation if its response was missing for one or more of the data items (i.e., columns) used in the calculation. A column labeled "Cases" next to each statistical calculation shows the number of jurisdictions covered by that calculation.

## Summary

Overall, the EAC Election Day Survey found that over 121.8 million ballots were reported as counted in the 2004 general election, but not all jurisdictions reported data to the EAC. Other election studies have shown that over 123 million ballots were cast. We attribute the difference to jurisdictions not reporting total ballots counted. The EAC dataset shows that 70.4 percent of the total registered voters turned out to vote. Because states differ on whether their registration counts include "inactive voters" or not, we have also calculated turn-out percentages on the basis of just "active" registrations, which are available from all states. This has the impact of raising the percent of active registered voters that turned out to 74.6 percent. However, when voting age population is used as the denominator, only 55.8 percent of persons over 18 voted last fall. If non-citizens are excluded, the turnout rate increases to 60.4 percent of the citizen voting age population. Despite the data missing from some jurisdictions, these overall turnout rates are in line with other studies of turnout rates.

## States

State turnout rates vary widely. The variation is widest when one studies turnout rates of registered voters because the registration numbers themselves are different based on the state's inclusion or exclusion of "inactive" registrations. Minnesota reported the highest turnout of registered voters ( 95.5 percent), while Wyoming came in second at 89.7 percent. On the opposite end of the scale, Texas reported the lowest turnout of registered voters, at just 57.3 percent. This is more likely because inactive voters were included in Texas’ registration figures, thereby driving up the denominator in the turnout equation. Table 3b ranks states by turnout percentages for three different methods.

By excluding registration from the mix and just studying the percent of the voting age population that had their ballots counted, Minnesota still remains at the top of the list. This is also the case for citizen voting age population. The northern states of Maine, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, Oregon and South Dakota round out the half dozen top turnout states for voting age population as well as citizen voting age population.

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Table 3b Turnout Rates Sorted

| Ranking | Name | Percent Ballots Counted of Registration | Name | Percent Ballots Counted of VAP | Name | Percent Eallots Counted of Citizen Vap |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Minnesota | 95.5 | Minnesota | 73.4 | Minnesota | 76.1 |
| 2 | Wyoming | 89.7 | Maine | 72.7 | Wisconsin | 74.1 |
| 3 | Connecticut | 87.1 | Wisconsin | 72.4 | Maine | 73.7 |
| 4 | Oregon | 86.5 | New Hampshire | 68.6 | Oregon | 71.4 |
| 5 | Washington | 82.2 | South Dakota | 68.5 | New Hampshire | 70.4 |
| 6 | Puerto Rico | 81.6 | Oregon | 66.9 | South Dakota | 69.4 |
| 7 | South Dakota | 78.6 | Alaska | 66.9 | Alaska | 69.2 |
| 8 | Georgia | 78.1 | Iowa | 66.8 | Iowa | 68.4 |
| 9 | Nevada | 77.5 | Ohio | 66.0 | Ohio | 67.2 |
| 10 | Arizona | 77.1 | North Dakota | 64.5 | Colorado | 66.4 |
| 11 | Maryland | 77.1 | Vermont | 64.4 | Michigan | 66.2 |
| 12 | California | 75.6 | Michigan | 64.0 | Vermont | 65.7 |
| 13 | Florida | 74.2 | Montana | 63.7 | Washington | 65.4 |
| 14 | Utah | 73.7 | Missouri | 63.7 | North Dakota | 65.2 |
| 15 | Maine | 73.5 | Wyoming | 63.6 | Missouri | 64.9 |
| 16 | Alabama | 72.7 | Colorado | 62.1 | Wyoming | 64.6 |
| 17 | New Jersey | 72.6 | Pennsylvania | 61.3 | Montana | 64.3 |
| 18 | Wisconsin | 72.5 | Washington | 61.0 | Massachusetts | 64.0 |
| 19 | New Hampshire | 72.2 | Nebraska | 60.2 | Connecticut | 63.4 |
| 20 | Illinois | 72.0 | Delaware | 60.0 | Florida | 63.3 |
| 21 | Ohio | 71.9 | Idaho | 59.8 | Pennsylvania | 62.6 |
| 22 | Pennsylvania | 71.7 | Connecticut | 59.4 | Delaware | 62.3 |
| 23 | Montana | 71.4 | Massachusetts | 59.1 | Nebraska | 62.3 |
| 24 | Massachusetts | 71.4 | Kansas | 58.5 | Idaho | 62.1 |
| 25 | Virginia | 71.4 | Louisiana | 58.3 | New Jersey | 62.0 |
| 26 | Kansas | 70.8 | Kentucky | 57.5 | Illinois | 61.6 |
| 27 | Vermont | 70.7 | Utah | 57.3 | Utah | 60.8 |
| 28 | South Carolina | 70.2 | Maryland | 57.0 | Kansas | 60.8 |
| 29 | Colorado | 69.2 | Florida | 56.8 | Maryland | 60.8 |
| 30 | Oklahoma | 68.8 | Virginia | 56.6 | Virginia | 59.8 |
| 31 | Nebraska | 68.3 | Illinois | 56.3 | Louisiana | 59.2 |
| 32 | Delaware | 68.1 | North Carolina | 35.7 | Kentucky | 58.4 |
| 33 | Michigan | 68.1 | Alabama | 55.4 | North Carolina | 58.3 |
| 34 | Iowa | 68.0 | New Jersey | 55.4 | California | 58.2 |
| 35 | Idaho | 66.9 | Okiahoma | 55.3 | New York | 57.6 |
| 36 | Loulisiana | 66.7 | Tennessee | 54.4 | Oklahoma | 56.9 |
| 37 | Hawaii | 66.6 | Mississippi | 54.4 | District of Colum | 56.8 |
| 38 | Alaska | 66.6 | Indiana | 54.2 | Alabama | 56.2 |
| 39 | Missouri | 65.9 | West Virginia | 53.8 | Rhode Island | 56.1 |
| 40 | Mississippi | 65.9 | Rhode Island | 52.3 | Tennessee | 55.6 |
| 41 | West Virginia | 65.9 | South Carolina | 51.2 | Indiana | 55.4 |
| 42 | Tennessee | 65.6 | New Mexico | 51.1 | New Mexico | 55.2 |
| 43 | Kentucky | 65.0 | District of Colum | 51.0 | Mississippi | 54.9 |
| 44 | North Carolina | 64.6 | Arkansas | 51.0 | West Virginia | 54.1 |
| 45 | New Mexico | 64.6 | Georgia | 50.8 | Nevada | 54.1 |
| 46 | North Dakota | 64.5 | New York | 50.4 | Arizona | 54.1 |
| 47 | New York | 62.9 | Arizona | 48.6 | Georgia | 53.9 |
| 48 | Rhode Island | 62.3 | Nevada | 47.9 | South Carolina | 52.4 |
| 49 | Arkansas | 62.1 | California | 47.3 | Arkansas | 52.1 |
| 50 | Virgin Islands | 61.9 | Texas | 46.2 | Texas | 52.0 |
| 51 | District of Colum | 59.9 | Hawail | 44.0 | Hawail | 47.9 |
| 52 | Indiana | 58.5 | American Samoa |  | American Samoa |  |
| 53 | Texas | 57.3 | Guam |  | Guam |  |
| 54 | American Samoa |  | Puerto Rico |  | Puerto Rico |  |
| 55 | Guam |  | Virgin Islands |  | Virgin Isiands |  |
|  | Total | 70.4 | Total | 55.8 | Total | 60.4 |
|  | Maximum | 95,5 | Maximum | 32.0 | Maximum | 76.1 |
|  | Average | 72.0 | Average | 10.0 | Average | 61.4 |
|  | Minimum | 57.3 | Minimum | 1.0 | Minimum | 47.9 |

At the bottom of the scale, Texas and Hawaii report the lowest turnout rates when compared with voting age population and citizen voting age population. Southern states dominate the lowest turnout jurisdictions.

## Regions

Reported turnout of registered voters is highest in the West, more than likely due to the dominance of California in the region and that California excludes inactive voters from its registration counts. Turnout is lowest in the southern part of the nation.

When calculating turnout rates based on voting age population, there is a reversal in the West. That region of the nation becomes the lowest in turnout of voting age population and the second lowest in turnout by citizen voting age population. The Midwest region reported the highest turnout in the nation on either basis.

## Urban to Rural

Suburban communities in the nation reported the highest turnout rates of any population group. This was the case, for all population groups except citizen voting age, where urban areas has slightly higher turnout rate.

Rural areas reported the lowest voting rates among registered and citizen voting age population. Urban areas reported the lowest voting age population turnout rate, due to the sizable non-citizen population in urban areas. When excluding non-citizen, urban areas had a eight percentage point increase in turn-out, from 53.4 for total voting age population to 61.4 for citizen voting age population.

## Size of Jurisdiction

Reported turnout rates are generally higher in the smallest jurisdictions than in the largest jurisdictions, though the differences are slight when studying the impact of registration. The pattern is more pronounced when the voting age population and citizen voting age population is examined. For example, turn-out of voting age population was 71.4 percent in jurisdictions with less than 1,000 people, but dropped to just 47.4 percent for jurisdictions that had more than 1 million persons.

## Race and Ethnicity

Turnout rates are highest in predominately white communities and the lowest, by a significant degree, in predominately Native American areas. This is true for both registration and citizen population based calculations. However, when overall voting age population is used, the predominately Hispanic communities had the lowest turnout rate (41.3\%).

## Median Income

Higher median income is related to the higher reported turnout rate for all methods of calculating turnout rates.

## High School Education

Higher levels of high school education are related to higher turnout rates for all methods of calculating turnout rates.

## Section 203 Language Minority Requirements

Jurisdictions covered by Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act requiring language assistance at the polls tended to report lower turnout rates than jurisdictions not covered by the provisions. The difference is slight for registration turnout rates, largest for voting age population (over 10 percentage points), and about five percentage points for citizen voting age population.

## Section 5 Preclearance of Voting Procedures

Jurisdictions covered by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act reported lower voting rates than those jurisdictions not covered, for all methods of calculating turnout rates.

## Type of Voting Equipment

Jurisdictions that used hand-counted paper ballots reported the highest turnout rates of any type of voting system for population-based turnout rates. However, when calculating turn-out as a percent of registered voters, those jurisdictions using optical scan voting equipment had the highest turnout rate of all voting systems. Jurisdictions that used lever machines had the lowest turnout rate for registration and voting age population based methods of calculating turnout rates. Surprisingly, jurisdictions that used electronic voting machines reported the lowest turnout rates when measured by citizen voting age population and the second lowest on overall voting age population.

## Changed Voting Equipment since 2000

Jurisdictions that changed voting equipment in the past four years reported slightly higher turnout rates among registered voters than those jurisdictions that did not change. For voting age population and citizen voting age turnout rates, jurisdictions that changed voting equipment reported slightly lower turnout rates.

## Statewide Voter Registration Database

Jurisdictions in states with a statewide voter registration database reported slightly higher turnout rates for registration and voting age population than jurisdictions in other states. Jurisdictions with statewide voter registration databases reported a slightly lower citizen voting age population turnout rate.

## Election Day Registration

States that allow Election Day registration reported a significantly higher turnout rate than other states for all methods of calculating turnout rates. The difference in this category was the largest of any type of election administration procedure.

## Provisional Ballot Acceptance

Turnout rates based on voter registration are slightly higher in jurisdictions that accept provisional ballots cast anywhere in a jurisdiction than in other jurisdictions. The pattern is reversed for turnout rates calculated for voting age or citizen voting age population.

## No Excuse Absentee Balloting

Jurisdictions that allowed no excuse absentee balloting reported a slightly higher registration and citizen voting age population turnout rate but a lower voting age population turnout rate.

## Early Voting

Surprisingly, early voting actually had the opposite effect from what one would have anticipated. According to the data in the EAC dataset, jurisdictions that allow early voting actually reported a lower turnout rate than other non-early-voting jurisdictions, for all methods of calculating turnout rates.

## Battleground States

Being a battleground state clearly had a positive impact on getting out the vote. Battleground states reported higher turnout rates than other states for all methods of calculating turnout rates.

## Presidential Margin of Victory

Presidential margin of victory within a jurisdiction was unrelated to turnout rates, regardless of which method of calculating turnout rates was used.

Red versus Blue Jurisdictions
Jurisdictions won by Kerry in the 2004 election tended to report a slightly higher turnout rate than those carried by President Bush, for all methods of calculating turnout rates.

| Ballots Counted |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| EAC Election Day Survey |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Cases $=$ Number of Jurisdictions Reporting Subject Matter |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ballots Counted 2004 General Election |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Code | Updated: 11/ 30/ 2005 18:23:20\|| Name |  | $\begin{array}{r} 2004 \\ \text { Estimated VAP } \end{array}$ | 2004 Est. Citizen Vap | Cases | Reported Registration | Cases | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Total } \\ \text { Ballots } \\ \text { Counted } \end{array}$ | Cases | Percent Ballots Counted of Registration $\|$ | Cases | $\begin{array}{\|c} \text { Cases } \\ >100 \% \end{array}$ | Percent Ballots Counted Of Active Registration | Cases | $\begin{array}{\|c\|c\|} \hline \text { Cases } \\ >100 \% \end{array}$ | Percent <br> Ballots Counted of VAP | Cases | $\begin{array}{\|c} \text { Cases } \\ >100 \% \end{array}$ | Percent Ballots Counted of Citizen VAP | Cases | $\begin{gathered} \text { Cases } \\ >100 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| 01 | Alabama | 67 | 3,425,821 | 3,376,112 | 67 | 2,597,629 | 67 | 1,683,735 | 61 | 72.7 | 61 |  | 72.7 | 61 |  | 55.4 | 61 |  | 56.2 | 61 |  |
| 02 | Alaska | 1 | 470,027 | 454,708 | 1 | 472,160 | 1 | 314,502 | 1 | 66.6 | 1 |  | 66.6 | 1 |  | 66.9 | 1 |  | 69.2 | 1 |  |
| 04 | Arizona | 15 | 4,194,390 | 3,770,203 | 15 | 2,642,120 | 15 | 2,038,077 | 15 | 77.1 | 15 |  | 77.1 | 15 |  | 48.6 | 15 |  | 54.1 | 15 |  |
| 05 | Arkansas | 75 | 2,069,560 | 2,024,200 | 75 | 1,699,934 | 75 | 1,055,510 | 75 | 62.1 | 75 |  | 70.6 | 75 |  | 51.0 | 75 |  | 52.1 | 75 |  |
| 06 | California | 58 | 26,647,955 | 21,671,670 | 58 | 16,646,555 | 58 | 12,359,633 | 53 | 75.6 | 53 |  | 75.6 | 53 |  | 47.3 | 53 |  | 58.2 | 53 |  |
| 08 | Colorado | 64 | 3,456,263 | 3,233,934 | 64 | 3,101,956 | 64 | 2,148,036 | 64 | 69.2 | 64 |  | 89.3 | 64 |  | 62.1 | 64 | 2 | 66.4 | 64 | 2 |
| 09 | Connecticut | 169 | 2,684,372 | 2,514,118 | 169 | 1,831,567 | 169 | 1,595,013 | 169 | 87.1 | 169 | 6 | 87.1 | 169 | 6 | 59.4 | 169 | 1 | 63.4 | 169 |  |
| 10 | Delaware | 3 | 629,009 | 605,748 | 3 | 553,917 | 3 | 377,407 | 3 | 68.1 | 3 |  | 70.9 | 3 |  | 60.0 | 3 |  | 62.3 | 3 |  |
| 11 | District of Columbia | 1 | 451,039 | 405,042 |  | 383,919 |  | 230,105 |  | 59.9 | 1 |  | 59.9 | 1 |  | 51.0 | 1 |  | 56.8 | 1 |  |
| 12 | Florida | 67 | 13,441,568 | 12,076,990 | 67 | 10,300,942 | 67 | 7,639,949 | 67 | 74.2 | 67 |  | 74.2 | 67 |  | 56.8 | 67 |  | 63.3 | 67 |  |
| 13 | Georgia | 159 | 6,534,852 | 6,159,729 | 159 | 4,248,802 | 159 | 3,317,336 | 159 | 78.1 | 159 |  | 78.1 | 159 |  | 50.8 | 159 |  | 53.9 | 159 |  |
| 15 | Hawaii | 5 | 980,154 | 900,647 |  | 647,238 |  | 431,203 | 4 | 66.6 | 4 |  | 74.3 | 4 |  | 44.0 | 4 |  | 47.9 |  |  |
| 16 | Idaho | 44 | 1,025,457 | 986,664 | 44 | 915,637 | 44 | 612,786 | 44 | 66.9 | 44 |  | 76.8 | 44 |  | 59.8 | 44 |  | 62.1 | 44 |  |
| 17 | Illinois | 110 | 9,518,482 | 8,704,683 | 110 | 7,195,882 | 104 | 5,361,048 | 110 | 72.0 | 104 | 1 | 72.0 | 104 | 1 | 56.3 | 110 |  | 61.6 | 110 |  |
| 18 | Indiana | 92 | 4,635,665 | 4,534,543 | 92 | 4,296,602 | 92 | 2,512,142 | 92 | 58.5 | 92 |  | 58.5 | 92 |  | 54.2 | 92 |  | 55.4 | 92 |  |
| 19 | Iowa | 99 | 2,274,174 | 2,221,452 | 99 | 2,226,721 | 98 | 1,513,894 | 98 | 68.0 | 98 |  | 72.8 | 98 | 1 | 66.8 | 98 | 1 | 68.4 | 98 | 1 |
| 20 | Kansas | 105 | 2,049,512 | 1,972,661 | 105 | 1,695,457 | 105 | 1,199,590 | 105 | 70.8 | 105 |  | 75.8 | 105 | 1 | 58.5 | 105 |  | 60.8 | 105 |  |
| 21 | Kentucky | 120 | 3,157,197 | 3,110,923 | 120 | 2,794,286 | 120 | 1,816,867 | 120 | 65.0 | 120 |  | 65.0 | 120 |  | 57.5 | 120 |  | 58.4 | 120 |  |
| 22 | Louisiana | 64 | 3,358,452 | 3,305,044 | 64 | 2,932,142 | 64 | 1,956,590 | 64 | 66.7 | 64 |  | 72.6 | 64 |  | 58.3 | 64 |  | 59.2 | 64 |  |
| 23 | Maine | 517 | 1,037,050 | 1,022,248 | 505 | 1,026,219 | 517 | 754,777 | 517 | 73.5 | 517 |  | 73.5 | 517 |  | 72.7 | 506 | 27 | 73.7 | 505 | 26 |
| 24 | Maryland | 24 | 4,200,854 | 3,940,414 | 24 | 3,105,370 | 24 | 2,395,127 | 24 | 77.1 | 24 |  | 77.1 | 24 |  | 57.0 | 24 |  | 60.8 | 24 |  |
| 25 | Massachusetts | 351 | 4,956,454 | 4,577,316 | 351 | 4,098,634 | 351 | 2,927,455 | 351 | 71.4 | 351 |  | 79.4 | 351 | 1 | 59.1 | 351 | 3 | 64.0 | 351 | 4 |
| 26 | Michigan | 83 | 7,616,344 | 7,369,271 | 83 | 7,164,047 | 83 | 4,876,237 | 83 | 68.1 | 83 |  | 68.1 | 83 |  | 64.0 | 83 |  | 66.2 | 83 |  |
| 27 | Minnesota | 87 | 3,872,349 | 3,736,578 | 87 | 2,977,496 | 87 | 2,842,912 | 87 | 95.5 | 87 | 12 | 95.5 | 87 | 12 | 73.4 | 87 |  | 76.1 | 87 |  |
| 28 | Mississippi | 82 | 2,139,817 | 2,118,126 | 82 | 1,469,608 | 66 | 1,163,460 | 82 | 65.9 | 66 |  | 65.9 | 66 |  | 54.4 | 82 |  | 54.9 | 82 |  |
| 29 | Missouri | 116 | 4,344,660 | 4,263,417 | 116 | 4,194,416 | 116 | 2,765,960 | 116 | 65.9 | 116 |  | 75.9 | 116 |  | 63.7 | 116 | 2 | 64.9 | 116 | $\underline{2}$ |
| 30 | Montana | 56 | 715,495 | 709,037 | 56 | 638,474 | 56 | 456,096 | 56 | 71.4 | 56 |  | 87.7 | 56 |  | 63.7 | 56 |  | 64.3 |  |  |
| 31 | Nebraska | 93 | 1,316,475 | 1,272,795 | 93 | 1,160,193 | 93 | 792,910 | 93 | 68.3 | 93 |  | 68.3 | 93 |  | 60.2 | 93 |  | 62.3 | 93 |  |
| 32 | Nevada | 17 | 1,737,781 | 1,536,969 | 17 | 1,073,869 | 17 | 831,833 | 17 | 77.5 | 17 |  | 77.5 | 17 |  | 47.9 | 17 |  | 54.1 | 17 |  |
| 33 | New Hampshire | 242 | 1,000,557 | 975,065 | 238 | 950,292 | 241 | 686,390 | 241 | 72.2 | 241 | 1 | 80.2 | 241 | 2 | 68.6 | 239 | 6 | 70.4 | 238 | 6 |
| 34 | New Jersey | 21 | 6,573,010 | 5,871,639 | 21 | 5,011,693 | 21 | 3,639,612 | 21 | 72.6 | 21 |  | 78.4 | 21 |  | 55.4 | 21 |  | 62.0 | 21 |  |
| 35 | New Mexico | 33 | 1,402,999 | 1,316,405 | 33 | 505,356 | 20 | 328,636 | 21 | 64.6 | 20 |  | 70.3 | 20 |  | 51.1 | 21 |  | 55.2 | 21 |  |
| 36 | New York | 58 | 14,790,540 | 12,924,433 | 58 | 11,837,068 | 58 | 7,448,266 | 58 | 62.9 | 58 |  | 70.0 | 58 |  | 50.4 | 58 |  | 57.6 | 58 |  |
| 37 | North Carolina | 100 | 6,414,796 | 6,129,162 | 100 | 5,526,981 | 100 | 3,571,420 | 100 | 64.6 | 100 |  | 71.7 | 100 |  | 55.7 | 100 |  | 58.3 | 100 |  |
| 38 | North Dakota | 53 | 490,179 | 484,528 | 53 | 490,179 | 53 | 316,049 | 53 | 64.5 | 53 |  |  |  |  | 64.5 | 53 |  | 65.2 | 53 |  |
| 39 | Ohio | 88 | 8,680,792 | 8,532,693 | 88 | 7,965,110 | 88 | 5,730,867 | 88 | 71.9 | 88 |  | 82.8 | 88 | 2 | 66.0 | 88 |  | 67.2 | 88 |  |
| 40 | Oklahoma | 77 | 2,664,520 | 2,589,344 | 77 | 2,143,978 | 77 | 1,474,304 | 77 | 68.8 | 77 |  | 80.1 | 77 |  | 55.3 | 77 |  | 56.9 | 77 |  |
| 41 | Oregon | 36 | 2,766,936 | 2,594,416 | 36 | 2,141,249 | 36 | 1,851,671 | 36 | 86.5 | 36 |  | 86.5 | 36 |  | 66.9 | 36 |  | 71.4 | 36 |  |
| 42 | Pennsylvania | 67 | 9,615,172 | 9,395,376 | 67 | 8,366,455 | 67 | 3,006,146 | 46 | 71.7 | 46 |  | 71.7 | 46 |  | 61.3 | 46 |  | 62.6 | 46 |  |
| 44 | Rhode Island | 39 | 842,911 | 785,112 | 39 | 707,234 | 39 | 440,743 | 39 | 62.3 | 39 |  | 62.3 | 39 |  | 52.3 | 39 | 1 | 56.1 | 39 | 1 |
| 45 | South Carolina | 46 | 3,174,262 | 3,106,879 | 46 | 2,318,235 | 46 | 1,626,720 | 46 | 70.2 | 46 |  | 70.2 | 46 |  | 51.2 | 46 |  | 52.4 | 46 |  |
| 46 | South Dakota | 66 | 576,196 | 569,346 | 66 | 502,261 | 66 | 394,930 | 66 | 78.6 | 66 |  | 78.6 | 66 |  | 68.5 | 66 |  | 69.4 | 66 |  |
| 47 | Tennessee | 95 | 4,516,679 | 4,423,433 | 95 | 3,748,235 | 95 | 2,458,213 | 95 | 65.6 | 95 |  | 73.3 | 95 |  | 54.4 | 95 |  | 55.6 | 95 |  |
| 48 | Texas | 254 | 16,263,861 | 14,443,878 | 254 | 13,098,329 | 254 | 7,507,333 | 254 | 57.3 | 254 |  | 68.2 | 254 |  | 46.2 | 254 | 1 | 52.0 | 254 |  |
| 49 | Utah | 29 | 1,645,366 | 1,548,346 | 29 | 1,278,912 | 29 | 942,045 | 29 | 73.7 | 29 |  | 73.7 | 29 |  | 57.3 | 29 |  | 60.8 | 29 |  |
| 50 | Vermont | 246 | 487,977 | 478,434 | 246 | 444,508 | 246 | 313,973 | 245 | 70.7 | 245 |  | 70.7 | 245 |  | 64.4 | 245 | 2 | 65.7 | 245 | 3 |
| 51 | Virginia | 134 | 5,695,220 | 5,388,364 | 134 | 4,515,675 | 134 | 3,223,156 | 134 | 71.4 | 134 |  | 77.1 | 134 |  | 56.6 | 134 |  | 59.8 | 134 |  |
| 53 | Washington | 39 | 4,732,158 | 4,414,206 | 39 | 3,508,208 | 39 | 2,885,001 | 39 | 82.2 | 39 |  | 82.2 | 39 |  | 61.0 | 39 |  | 65.4 | 39 |  |
| 54 | West Virginia | 55 | 1,430,254 | 1,422,042 | 55 | 1,168,694 | 55 | 769,645 | 55 | 65.9 | 55 |  | 65.9 | 55 |  | 53.8 | 55 |  | 54.1 | 55 |  |
| 55 | Wisconsin | 1,910 | 4,188,206 | 4,091,525 | 1,888 | 4,179,774 | 1,894 | 3,009,491 | 1,880 | 72.5 | 1,872 | 32 | 85.2 | 311 | 49 | 72.4 | 1,872 | 32 | 74.1 | 1,869 | 36 |
| 56 | Wyoming | 23 | 386,170 | 380,564 | 23 | 273,950 | 23 | 245,789 | 23 | 89.7 | 23 |  | 105.8 | 23 | 16 | 63.6 | 23 |  | 64.6 | 23 |  |
| 60 | American Samoa | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 66 | Guam |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 72 | Puerto Rico | 110 |  |  |  | 2,440,131 | 110 | 1,990,372 | 110 | 81.6 | 110 |  | 81.6 | 110 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 78 | Virgin Islands | 1 |  |  |  | 50,731 |  | 31,391 |  | 61.9 | 1 |  | 61.9 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Total | 6,568 | 221,279,989 | 204,440,432 | 6,417 | 177,265,030 | 6,512 | 121,862,353 | 6,488 | 70.4 | 6,457 | 52 | 74.6 | 4,843 | 91 | 55.8 | 6,356 | 78 | 60.4 | 6,351 | 83 |
|  | Maximum | 1,910 | 26,647,955 | 21,671,670 | 1,888 | 16,646,555 | 1,894 | 12,359,633 | 1,880 | 95.5 | 1,872 | 32 | 105.8 | 517 | 49 | 73.4 | 1,872 | 32 | 76.1 | 1,869 | 36 |
|  | Average | 119 | $4,338,823$ 386,170 | 4,008,635 | 125 | $\begin{array}{r}3,344,623 \\ \hline 50,731\end{array}$ | 122 | 2,299,289 | 122 | 71.0 | 121 | 10 | 75.1 | 93 | 9 | 58.4 | 124 | 7 | 61.3 | 124 | 7 |
|  | Minimum | 1 | 386,170 | 380,564 | 1. | 50,731 | 1. | 31,391 | 1 | 57.3 | 1. | 1 | 58.5 | 1 | 1 | 44.0 | 1 | 1 | 47.9 | 1 | 1 |

Ballots Counted




