



POLIDATA® Political Data Analysis

DATABASE DEVELOPMENT, ANALYSIS AND PUBLICATION;
POLITICAL AND CENSUS DATA; REDISTRICTING SUPPORT

CLARK BENSEN

POLIDATA · 3112 Cave Court, Suite B · Lake Ridge, VA 22192-1167
Tel: 703-690-4066 · Fax: 703-494-4061 (24hrs) · email: clark@polidata.org
PUBLISHER OF THE POLIDATA® DEMOGRAPHIC AND POLITICAL GUIDES AND ATLASES
[website: www.polidata.org](http://www.polidata.org)

ELECTORAL COLLEGE WARFARE

The Coming Battle in the Trenches

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CLARK BENSEN¹

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The closeness of the 2000 presidential contest has renewed calls for electoral reform, including the abolition or modification of the Electoral College. While abolition would require an amendment to the federal Constitution, some modifications could be made by states at any time. The modification that has received the most discussion is to count the electoral votes by the congressional districts. This method is currently used in Maine and Nebraska. This paper will review some of the potential impacts of such a proposal from the perspective of the 13 Presidential elections held over the period from 1952 to 2000.

The Data. First, a caveat about the data used for this analysis. The calculation of the results of the presidential election by congressional district is a major effort. For the districts following the 1990 Census, over four hundred counties contain portions of more than one congressional district. Whereas local election officials will obviously tally the Congressional vote by the portions of each district in their jurisdictions, they have no reason to expend the same degree of effort or care to the Presidential votes for these arcane collections of geographic units.² Likewise, most efforts to compile the results for this level of political geography are focused on the use of the data as an indicator of political behavior and thus timeliness is not as critical an element.

Yet, even before Michael Barone's publication of the first edition of the ALMANAC OF AMERICAN POLITICS in 1972, the Presidential Results by Congressional District had been a standard barometer for the base political behavior of a congressional district. This indicator is especially useful for several reasons, notably the personal nature of many congressional campaigns and the increasing degree to which congressional elections are in the main uncontested, a phenomena that only increases as each redistricting decade nears its own demise.

¹ Clark H. Bensen, B.A., J.D., consulting data analyst and attorney doing business as POLIDATA® Polidata Data Analysis and a publisher of data volumes operating as POLIDATA® Demographic and Political Guides. POLIDATA is a demographic and political research firm located outside Washington, D.C.

² Considering the number of splits precincts and centrally counted absentee votes, one can hardly blame the clerically oriented election official for avoiding this difficult task.

POLIDATA principal consultant, Clark Bensen, has been involved in the calculation of the Presidential Results by Congressional Districts since the 1984 elections, in conjunction with the RNC, while the Director of Political Analysis, and in conjunction with Congressional Quarterly for 1992 and 1996. Therefore, there is a district-level dataset developed by the same methodology for this period of time.

The first volume of the ALMANAC OF AMERICAN POLITICS series included the results for the 1968 election. District-level data for years before 1968 do exist, having been compiled by Dr. Maurice Prendergast for the RNC/NRCC, probably in conjunction with Congressional Quarterly, which had been compiling these results since at least the 1956 election. The Prendergast compilations, obviously undertaken before computer technology was prevalent, were a retrospective review of available sources. There are inconsistencies and missing cases in this data compilation. In addition, it was compiled mainly as a campaign aid to assist in targeting districts for resource allocation and may include results reconfigured for current districts not contemporaneous with each election. More research is needed to clarify the status of these data.

The Questions. Despite these inconsistencies in the available data, one can analyze the prospective impact of the proposed method to answer the following questions.

- 1) *will the counting of votes in the Electoral College by congressional district improve the proportionality between the popular vote and the electoral vote?*
- 2) *would it have changed the result in any election?*
- 3) *what would be the impact on the Presidential nominees?*

To address these questions, we need the presidential results for each district, as they existed at the time of the presidential election. Notwithstanding the caveats mentioned above, there appears to be a sufficient level of confidence in these datasets to undertake a national level analysis.

A few problems do exist to undertake any state-by-state analysis due to the inconsistencies in the district-level data for early elections. However, assuming a modification would mean ALL electoral votes were to be cast by the choice in each district, and not used to determine a winner-take-all for each state, this first-cut analysis, with these data counted in total, can be undertaken.

For this analysis, the presidential nominee collects one electoral vote for each congressional district carried by popular vote and two for each state carried. We can thus analyze the districts without regard to the state in which they were created. Note that the estimated results in many districts are very close.

The Results.

1) Improvement in Proportionality. The intuitive assumption for improvement in the proportionality of the electoral vote is that ANY population-based breakdown of the vote below

ELECTORAL VOTES BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, 1952-2000
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the state would improve the proportionality, i.e., reduce, the disparity. An improvement here means a lessening of the absolute difference between the nominee's percentage of the popular vote and the percentage of the electoral vote. As will be seen by a review of these data, it is generally a correct assumption that the breakdown of the electoral vote by congressional district, being now based upon some degree of population equality, will generally assist in improving, i.e., reducing, this disparity.

The following table summarizes the reduction in disparity for these thirteen elections from the perspective of the winning nominee.

| Election | Winner % of Pop. Vote | Winner % by State Method | Winner % by District Method | Difference by State Method | Difference by District Method | Reduction in Disparity |
|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1952 R | 55.1 | 83.2 | 70.5 | +28 | +15 | -13 |
| 1956 R | 57.4 | 86.1 | 76.9 | +29 | +20 | -9 |
| 1960 D | 49.7 | 56.4 | 46.8 | +7 | -3 | -4 |
| 1964 D | 61.1 | 90.3 | 86.5 | +29 | +25 | -4 |
| 1968 R | 43.4 | 55.9 | 54.5 | +12 | +11 | -1 |
| 1972 R | 60.7 | 96.7 | 88.5 | +36 | +28 | -8 |
| 1976 D | 50.1 | 55.2 | 50.0 | +5 | -0 | -5 |
| 1980 R | 50.7 | 90.9 | 73.6 | +40 | +23 | -17 |
| 1984 R | 58.8 | 97.6 | 87.0 | +39 | +28 | -11 |
| 1988 R | 53.4 | 79.2 | 69.9 | +26 | +17 | -9 |
| 1992 D | 43.0 | 68.8 | 60.0 | +26 | +17 | -9 |
| 1996 D | 49.2 | 70.4 | 64.1 | +21 | +15 | -6 |
| <u>2000 R</u> | <u>48.1</u> | <u>50.4</u> | <u>53.5</u> | <u>+2</u> | <u>+5</u> | <u>+3</u> |

As might be expected, the improvement is most pronounced in the most extreme cases. Likewise, the closer the race, the less the improvement. Considering that it was the 2000 presidential election that prompted the call for modification, it is ironic that the 2000 election actually increases the disparity. Using this modification in 2000 would have increased the disparity from a popular vote dead-heat to an Electoral College advantage for Republican George W. Bush.

2) Impact on Past Elections. For the twelve elections held from 1952 to 1996, it appears that this method could have changed the result in two presidential elections.

In 1960, another very close race in the popular vote tally, Nixon lost by 0.2% of the popular vote and by 219-303 in the Electoral College. The Nixon/Lodge ticket carried 227 districts and the Kennedy/Johnson ticket carried 204, with 3 districts in Mississippi going to "Unpledged Democrats". These districts, combined with the 26 states won by Nixon/Lodge, produces 279 electoral votes to 250 for Kennedy/Johnson, a 29-vote margin for Nixon.

In 1976, another very close contest, the Ford/Dole ticket lost by 2.1% of the popular vote and lost 240-297-1 in the Electoral College. Combining the 215 districts won by Ford with the 27 states carried would produce 269 electoral votes for Ford. Similarly, Carter/Mondale won more districts than Ford, at 221, but fewer states, at 24. This combination would have produced 269 electoral votes also, a tie between Ford and Carter. I haven't run the delegation numbers yet but it seems fairly obvious that the Democrats would have controlled more delegations in the House following the 1976 election. So, it is likely that Carter would have been elected anyway though a faithless elector could have (as indeed they did in 1976) voted for someone else and broken the tie, thus obviating the House vote.

In 2000, notwithstanding the Florida recount, it is fairly clear from preliminary data that under such a proposal Bush would have won the modified Electoral College vote. Based upon the latest numbers, Bush won 228 districts to 207 for Gore. These 228 votes, combined with the 30 states carried by Bush/Cheney would result in an electoral vote of 288 to 250. Such numbers would *increase* the difference in the Republican % of the electoral vote compared to the Republican % of the popular vote. *This would be the only election of the thirteen studied here in which the modified electoral vote would not reduce the disparity.* (See Chart 2).

An important caveat in any consideration here is that there was very little campaigning done by the presidential campaigns at the district level. Just as we know many voters stayed home in states where the presidential race was not competitive, (thereby affecting the national popular vote totals), it is certainly probable that if districts actually mattered, the results in many close districts could be changed through campaigning.

Of course, an even more important consideration is that the congressional districts were created for many reasons, none of which, (Maine and Nebraska notwithstanding), have included their ability to be considered an important component in a presidential election. In addition, the makeup of districts for each redistricting decade has varied greatly. The comparability over time thus suffers from this major factor.

3) Impact on the presidential nominee. Would such a proposal help or hurt the presidential nominee? And if so, would it matter? In the elections where the winning candidate, of either party, won the popular vote by a large margin, the impact would be significant in terms of reducing the winner's percentage of the electoral vote. However, in such cases the margin would be large enough to withstand any negative impact to the candidate. We review it from the perspective of the Republican nominee over time.

Classifying the thirteen elections into the following groups might assist in this review.

- 1) Landslides: in which the popular vote margin is over 20% (1964 and 1972)
- 2) Big Wins: in which the popular vote margin is over 8% (1952, 1956, 1980, 1984 and 1996)
- 3) Third Party Contests: in which a third party candidate receives more than 8% of the popular vote (1968, 1980, 1992 and 1996 again)

- 4) Close Contests: in which the popular vote margin is under 8% and there is no third party candidate receiving more than 5% (1960, 1976, 1988 and 2000)

The real potential for a problem lies in the close contests. Because of the state limitation on the electoral votes, any winner with a large popular vote margin gets an extra bonus percentage of the electoral vote. For example, in the 1964 landslide election, Johnson/Humphrey won 61% of the popular vote but 90% of the electoral vote. With the modification by district the ticket would have won only 86% of the electoral vote. The 1972 landslide election with Nixon/Agnew was almost the mirror image of this.

In the third party elections, that is, in 1968, 1980, 1992 and 1996, the winner's percentage of the electoral vote would have been negatively affected. In each of these cases, however, the result of the modified electoral vote would still be a significant cushion for the winner.

In close contests, it is harder to predict what the effect could be. As mentioned above, in 1960, Nixon could have won under such a scenario and in 1976 Ford might have won. In the other close contests, Bush 1988 (Bush I) was at the high end of this cutoff, and the impact would have been minimal due to the breadth of his support. In 2000, the impact would have been positive.

However, based upon the preliminary data for 2000, George W. Bush would still have won under the modified electoral vote without winning Florida. The loss of Florida would have been only a loss of -2 for the statewide electoral votes as the 13 Bush CDs would have been added to the Bush column under this method.

A Florida loss would have reduced the modified vote from an estimated 288-250 to 286-252. Bush would have lost nationally under the modified plan only by losing 17 more CDs or 9 more states or some combination thereof.

Caveat on Control of the Legislative Process:

An overriding concern with any modified plan is the control of the state legislative process in each state. This is a critical element of both making the initial changeover, safeguarding the change to be a permanent one, and in the implementation through decade by decade redistricting.

The control of the legislative process in many states where the most electoral votes could theoretically be gained is mixed. The "cherry-picking" of states where the legislative and/or redistricting process is controlled by a party other than the winner of the winner-take-all electoral vote could create a significant disadvantage to the Presidential nominee of either party.

Pro:

1. An improvement in the proportionality between the popular vote and the electoral vote. (Generally true, but see 2000.)

2. An improvement with a preservation of the importance of the federal scheme of government in the American Republic, i.e., small state vis-à-vis large state, compared to an outright abolition of the Electoral College.
3. A change in the campaign operation of any presidential campaign with a focus on grassroots organization versus mass media.
4. Increased interest on the part of voters in states that would not otherwise be contested at the state level, e.g., states that consistently vote one way for President but have districts that vote the opposite.
5. It could encourage the more equal distribution of every citizen's vote if votes were equalized across district. On the other hand, it could increase the gerrymandering of districts to assure the presidential vote.
6. Would encourage the elimination of the "faithless elector".
7. Can be accomplished without an amendment to the federal Constitution.

Con:

1. Could perpetuate the "rotten borough" problem due to the current jurisprudential focus on equality of population without regard to the distribution of voters amongst districts. In 2000, 50% of the members of the U.S. House in the districts with the fewest number of votes in the presidential election represented only 42% of the votes cast in the presidential election.
2. Would exacerbate the unequal voting weight that occurs over the decade by population shifts by locking-in voters in fast-growing suburban districts.
3. Could complicate the election process of determining the winner even in races that aren't very close on a national level.
4. The existence of split precincts and centrally counted absentee, or early ballots would require local election officials to a) revise their precinct boundaries to avoid precincts split by a congressional boundary line and b) allocate all absentee votes back to precincts. The presence of split precincts and centrally counted absentees could require more time than is available on election night to local officials. Much advance planning would be required to facilitate appropriate designation of all votes to districts and quick aggregation.
5. Whereas many congressional contests are not close, many results for President in districts are close. Even assuming split precincts are eliminated (which they must be), recounts in more districts would be inevitable. Over a dozen districts in 2000 were decided by less than 1% for President.

Pro or Con?

1. The use of districts for the Electoral College would fundamentally alter the redistricting phase of the apportionment process.
2. It would greatly lessen the impact large states have on the political process as blocs of winner-take-all units.
3. It would greatly increase the importance of minor parties on elections in close, swing districts.

Summary. To review the questions asked at the outset:

- 1) *Q: will the counting of votes in the Electoral College by congressional district improve the proportionality between the popular vote and the electoral vote?* A: Yes, and No. In every case since 1952 except one (2000) a modified electoral vote would have reduced the disparity between the winner's percentage of the electoral vote and the popular vote. In 2000 it would have increased the disparity.
- 2) *Q: would it have changed the result in any election?* A: Yes, it might well have changed the results in 1960 and 1976, both close contests in which Republican nominees lost the popular vote. In 2000, it would have assured Bush a win even without winning the Florida recount.
- 3) *Q: what would be the impact on the Presidential nominees?* A: Historically it has been a mixed-bag vis-à-vis the effect on the nominees. Big winners would their electoral vote margins cut. The key ingredient to predicting the impact from 2004 onward is the general applicability (will it be nationwide or only in some states) and the degree to which the redistricting process gerrymanders voters and partisans into selected districts.

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Electoral Vote by State and Congressional District, 1952-2000

An analysis recalculating electoral vote by a combination of the the winner in each state and district.

One vote for each district, two votes for carrying the state (including DC after 1960).

See Accompanying notes as to the Aggregate Status of this Initial Analysis.

| 1952 | Popular Vote | | Electoral Vote | | States Carried | | Dsts. Carried | | Votes by State & CD | |
|--|--------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| GOP | 33,936,234 | 55.1 | 442 | 83.2 | 39 | 81.3 | 292 | 68.1 | 370 | 70.5 |
| Dem | 27,314,992 | 44.4 | 89 | 16.8 | 9 | 18.8 | 137 | 31.9 | 155 | 29.5 |
| Oth | 299,692 | 0.5 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Total | 61,550,918 | | 531 | | 48 | | 429 | | 525 | |
| GOP Adv | <u>6,621,242</u> | <u>10.8</u> | <u>353</u> | <u>66.5</u> | <u>30</u> | <u>62.5</u> | <u>155</u> | <u>36.1</u> | <u>215</u> | <u>41.0</u> |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States: | | | | 442 | 83.2 | | | | | |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States & Districts: | | | | 370 | 70.5 | | | | | |
| Net Difference by using States & Districts: | | | | -72 | -12.8 | -15.3 | (Relative Difference) | | | |
| 1956 | Popular Vote | | Electoral Vote | | States Carried | | Dsts. Carried | | Votes by State & CD | |
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| GOP | 35,590,472 | 57.4 | 457 | 86.1 | 41 | 85.4 | 323 | 74.9 | 405 | 76.9 |
| Dem | 26,022,752 | 42.0 | 73 | 13.7 | 7 | 14.6 | 106 | 24.6 | 120 | 22.8 |
| Oth | 413,684 | 0.7 | 1 | 0.2 | 0 | 0.0 | 2 | 0.5 | 2 | 0.4 |
| Total | 62,026,908 | | 531 | | 48 | | 431 | | 527 | |
| GOP Adv | <u>9,567,720</u> | <u>15.4</u> | <u>384</u> | <u>72.3</u> | <u>34</u> | <u>70.8</u> | <u>217</u> | <u>50.3</u> | <u>285</u> | <u>54.1</u> |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States: | | | | 457 | 86.1 | | | | | |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States & Districts: | | | | 405 | 76.9 | | | | | |
| Net Difference by using States & Districts: | | | | -52 | -9.2 | -10.7 | (Relative Difference) | | | |
| 1960 | Popular Vote | | Electoral Vote | | States Carried | | Dsts. Carried | | Votes by State & CD | |
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| GOP | 34,108,157 | 49.5 | 219 | 40.8 | 26 | 52.0 | 227 | 52.3 | 279 | 52.2 |
| Dem | 34,226,731 | 49.7 | 303 | 56.4 | 23 | 46.0 | 204 | 47.0 | 250 | 46.8 |
| Oth | 503,331 | 0.7 | 15 | 2.8 | 1 | 2.0 | 3 | 0.7 | 5 | 0.9 |
| Total | 68,838,219 | | 537 | | 50 | | 434 | | 534 | |
| GOP Adv | <u>-118,574</u> | <u>-0.2</u> | <u>-84</u> | <u>-15.6</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>6.0</u> | <u>23</u> | <u>5.3</u> | <u>29</u> | <u>5.4</u> |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States: | | | | 219 | 40.8 | | | | | |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States & Districts: | | | | 279 | 52.2 | | | | | |
| Net Difference by using States & Districts: | | | | 60 | 11.5 | 28.1 | (Relative Difference) | | | |
| 1964 | Popular Vote | | Electoral Vote | | States Carried | | Dsts. Carried | | Votes by State & CD | |
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| GOP | 27,178,188 | 38.5 | 52 | 9.7 | 6 | 11.8 | 60 | 13.9 | 72 | 13.5 |
| Dem | 43,129,566 | 61.1 | 486 | 90.3 | 45 | 88.2 | 371 | 86.1 | 461 | 86.5 |
| Oth | 336,838 | 0.5 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Total | 70,644,592 | | 538 | | 51 | | 431 | | 533 | |
| GOP Adv | <u>-15,951,378</u> | <u>-22.6</u> | <u>-434</u> | <u>-80.7</u> | <u>-39</u> | <u>-76.5</u> | <u>-311</u> | <u>-72.2</u> | <u>-389</u> | <u>-73.0</u> |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States: | | | | 52 | 9.7 | | | | | |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States & Districts: | | | | 72 | 13.5 | | | | | |
| Net Difference by using States & Districts: | | | | 20 | 3.8 | 39.8 | (Relative Difference) | | | |

| 1968 | Popular Vote | | Electoral Vote | | States Carried | | Dsts. Carried | | Votes by State & CD | |
|---------|----------------|------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| GOP | 31,785,480 | 43.4 | 301 | 55.9 | 32 | 62.7 | 229 | 52.5 | 293 | 54.5 |
| Dem | 31,275,166 | 42.7 | 191 | 35.5 | 14 | 27.5 | 161 | 36.9 | 189 | 35.1 |
| Oth | 10,151,229 | 13.9 | 46 | 8.6 | 5 | 9.8 | 46 | 10.6 | 56 | 10.4 |
| Total | 73,211,875 | | 538 | | 51 | | 436 | | 538 | |
| GOP Adv | <u>510,314</u> | <u>0.7</u> | <u>110</u> | <u>20.4</u> | <u>18</u> | <u>35.3</u> | <u>68</u> | <u>15.6</u> | <u>104</u> | <u>19.3</u> |

| | | | |
|--|--|-----|---------------------------------|
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States: | | 301 | 55.9 |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States & Districts: | | 293 | 54.5 |
| Net Difference by using States & Districts: | | -8 | -1.5 -2.7 (Relative Difference) |

| 1972 | Popular Vote | | Electoral Vote | | States Carried | | Dsts. Carried | | Votes by State & CD | |
|---------|-------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| GOP | 47,169,911 | 60.7 | 520 | 96.7 | 49 | 96.1 | 378 | 86.7 | 476 | 88.5 |
| Dem | 29,170,383 | 37.5 | 17 | 3.2 | 2 | 3.9 | 58 | 13.3 | 62 | 11.5 |
| Oth | 1,378,260 | 1.8 | 1 | 0.2 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Total | 77,718,554 | | 538 | | 51 | | 436 | | 538 | |
| GOP Adv | <u>17,999,528</u> | <u>23.2</u> | <u>503</u> | <u>93.5</u> | <u>47</u> | <u>92.2</u> | <u>320</u> | <u>73.4</u> | <u>414</u> | <u>77.0</u> |

| | | | |
|--|--|-----|---------------------------------|
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States: | | 520 | 96.7 |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States & Districts: | | 476 | 88.5 |
| Net Difference by using States & Districts: | | -44 | -8.2 -8.5 (Relative Difference) |

| 1976 | Popular Vote | | Electoral Vote | | States Carried | | Dsts. Carried | | Votes by State & CD | |
|---------|-------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------|------------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| GOP | 39,147,793 | 48.0 | 240 | 44.6 | 27 | 52.9 | 215 | 49.3 | 269 | 50.0 |
| Dem | 40,830,763 | 50.1 | 297 | 55.2 | 24 | 47.1 | 221 | 50.7 | 269 | 50.0 |
| Oth | 1,577,333 | 1.9 | 1 | 0.2 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Total | 81,555,889 | | 538 | | 51 | | 436 | | 538 | |
| GOP Adv | <u>-1,682,970</u> | <u>-2.1</u> | <u>-57</u> | <u>-10.6</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>5.9</u> | <u>-6</u> | <u>-1.4</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0.0</u> |

| | | | |
|--|--|-----|--------------------------------|
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States: | | 240 | 44.6 |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States & Districts: | | 269 | 50.0 |
| Net Difference by using States & Districts: | | 29 | 5.4 12.1 (Relative Difference) |

| 1980 | Popular Vote | | Electoral Vote | | States Carried | | Dsts. Carried | | Votes by State & CD | |
|---------|------------------|------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| GOP | 43,904,153 | 50.7 | 489 | 90.9 | 44 | 86.3 | 308 | 70.6 | 396 | 73.6 |
| Dem | 35,483,883 | 41.0 | 49 | 9.1 | 7 | 13.7 | 128 | 29.4 | 142 | 26.4 |
| Oth | 7,127,185 | 8.2 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Total | 86,515,221 | | 538 | | 51 | | 436 | | 538 | |
| GOP Adv | <u>8,420,270</u> | <u>9.7</u> | <u>440</u> | <u>81.8</u> | <u>37</u> | <u>72.5</u> | <u>180</u> | <u>41.3</u> | <u>254</u> | <u>47.2</u> |

| | | | |
|--|--|-----|-----------------------------------|
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States: | | 489 | 90.9 |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States & Districts: | | 396 | 73.6 |
| Net Difference by using States & Districts: | | -93 | -17.3 -19.0 (Relative Difference) |

| 1984 | Popular Vote | | Electoral Vote | | States Carried | | Dsts. Carried | | Votes by State & CD | |
|---------|-------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| GOP | 54,455,075 | 58.8 | 525 | 97.6 | 49 | 96.1 | 370 | 84.9 | 468 | 87.0 |
| Dem | 37,577,185 | 40.6 | 13 | 2.4 | 2 | 3.9 | 66 | 15.1 | 70 | 13.0 |
| Oth | 620,582 | 0.7 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Total | 92,652,842 | | 538 | | 51 | | 436 | | 538 | |
| GOP Adv | <u>16,877,890</u> | <u>18.2</u> | <u>512</u> | <u>95.2</u> | <u>47</u> | <u>92.2</u> | <u>304</u> | <u>69.7</u> | <u>398</u> | <u>74.0</u> |

| | | | |
|--|--|-----|-----------------------------------|
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States: | | 525 | 97.6 |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States & Districts: | | 468 | 87.0 |
| Net Difference by using States & Districts: | | -57 | -10.6 -10.9 (Relative Difference) |

| 1988 | Popular Vote | | Electoral Vote | | States Carried | | Dsts. Carried | | Votes by State & CD | |
|---------|------------------|------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| GOP | 48,886,097 | 53.4 | 426 | 79.2 | 40 | 78.4 | 296 | 67.9 | 376 | 69.9 |
| Dem | 41,809,074 | 45.6 | 111 | 20.6 | 11 | 21.6 | 140 | 32.1 | 162 | 30.1 |
| Oth | 899,638 | 1.0 | 1 | 0.2 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Total | 91,594,809 | | 538 | | 51 | | 436 | | 538 | |
| GOP Adv | <u>7,077,023</u> | <u>7.7</u> | <u>315</u> | <u>58.6</u> | <u>29</u> | <u>56.9</u> | <u>156</u> | <u>35.8</u> | <u>214</u> | <u>39.8</u> |

| | | | |
|--|--|-----|----------------------------------|
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States: | | 426 | 79.2 |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States & Districts: | | 376 | 69.9 |
| Net Difference by using States & Districts: | | -50 | -9.3 -11.7 (Relative Difference) |

| 1992 | Popular Vote | | Electoral Vote | | States Carried | | Dsts. Carried | | Votes by State & CD | |
|---------|-------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| GOP | 39,103,882 | 37.4 | 168 | 31.2 | 18 | 35.3 | 179 | 41.1 | 215 | 40.0 |
| Dem | 44,909,326 | 43.0 | 370 | 68.8 | 33 | 64.7 | 257 | 58.9 | 323 | 60.0 |
| Oth | 20,411,806 | 19.5 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Total | 104,425,014 | | 538 | | 51 | | 436 | | 538 | |
| GOP Adv | <u>-5,805,444</u> | <u>-5.6</u> | <u>-202</u> | <u>-37.5</u> | <u>-15</u> | <u>-29.4</u> | <u>-78</u> | <u>-17.9</u> | <u>-108</u> | <u>-20.1</u> |

| | | | |
|--|--|-----|--------------------------------|
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States: | | 168 | 31.2 |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States & Districts: | | 215 | 40.0 |
| Net Difference by using States & Districts: | | 47 | 8.7 28.0 (Relative Difference) |

| 1996 | Popular Vote | | Electoral Vote | | States Carried | | Dsts. Carried | | Votes by State & CD | |
|---------|-------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| GOP | 39,198,755 | 40.7 | 159 | 29.6 | 19 | 37.3 | 155 | 35.6 | 193 | 35.9 |
| Dem | 47,402,357 | 49.2 | 379 | 70.4 | 32 | 62.7 | 281 | 64.4 | 345 | 64.1 |
| Oth | 9,676,760 | 10.1 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Total | 96,277,872 | | 538 | | 51 | | 436 | | 538 | |
| GOP Adv | <u>-8,203,602</u> | <u>-8.5</u> | <u>-220</u> | <u>-40.9</u> | <u>-13</u> | <u>-25.5</u> | <u>-126</u> | <u>-28.9</u> | <u>-152</u> | <u>-28.3</u> |

| | | | |
|--|--|-----|--------------------------------|
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States: | | 159 | 29.6 |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States & Districts: | | 193 | 35.9 |
| Net Difference by using States & Districts: | | 34 | 6.3 21.4 (Relative Difference) |

| 2000 | Popular Vote | | Electoral Vote | | States Carried | | Dsts. Carried | | Votes by State & CD | |
|---------|--------------|------|----------------|------|----------------|------|---------------|------|---------------------|------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| GOP | 49,531,037 | 48.1 | 271 | 50.4 | 30 | 58.8 | 228 | 52.3 | 288 | 53.5 |
| Dem | 49,737,936 | 48.3 | 267 | 49.6 | 21 | 41.2 | 208 | 47.7 | 250 | 46.5 |
| Oth | 3,777,265 | 3.7 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Total | 103,046,238 | | 538 | | 51 | | 436 | | 538 | |
| GOP Adv | -206,899 | -0.2 | 4 | 0.7 | 9 | 17.6 | 20 | 4.6 | 38 | 7.1 |

| | | | |
|--|--|-----|---------------------------|
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States: | | 271 | 50.4 |
| GOP # and % of Electoral Vote by States & Districts: | | 288 | 53.5 |
| Net Difference by using States & Districts: | | 17 | 3.2 |
| | | | 6.3 (Relative Difference) |

For 2000, Dsts. Carried is an estimate based upon results to date.

Notes:

1. In the early years several states elected members at-large elections to avoid redistrictings. Data for these elections may be excluded from this analysis.

Minor discrepancies exist in district-level Presidential Results before 1984.

Chart 1. Republican % for Selected Vote Factors, 1952-2000

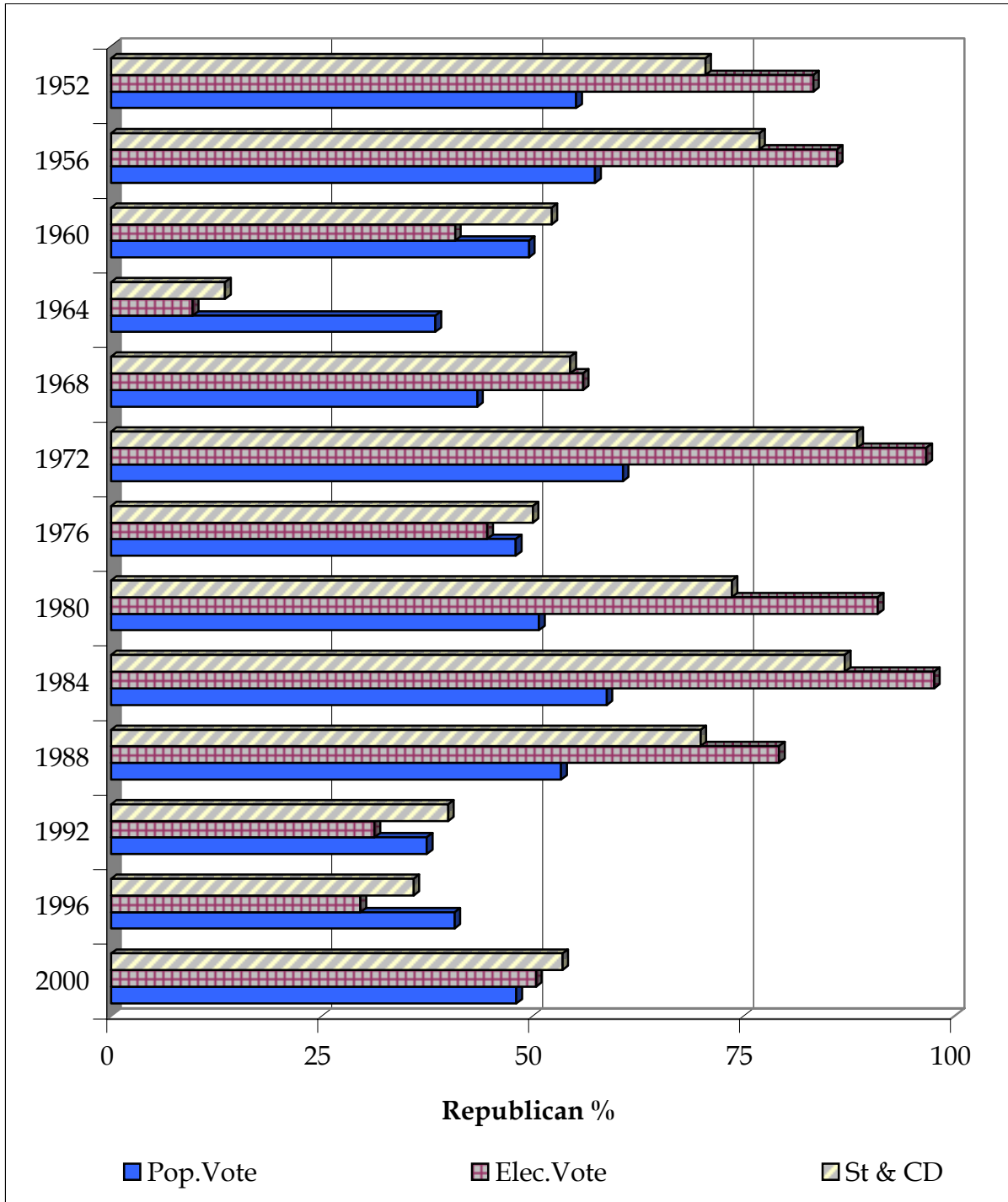


Chart 2. Difference Between GOP% of Electoral Vote and GOP% of Popular Vote

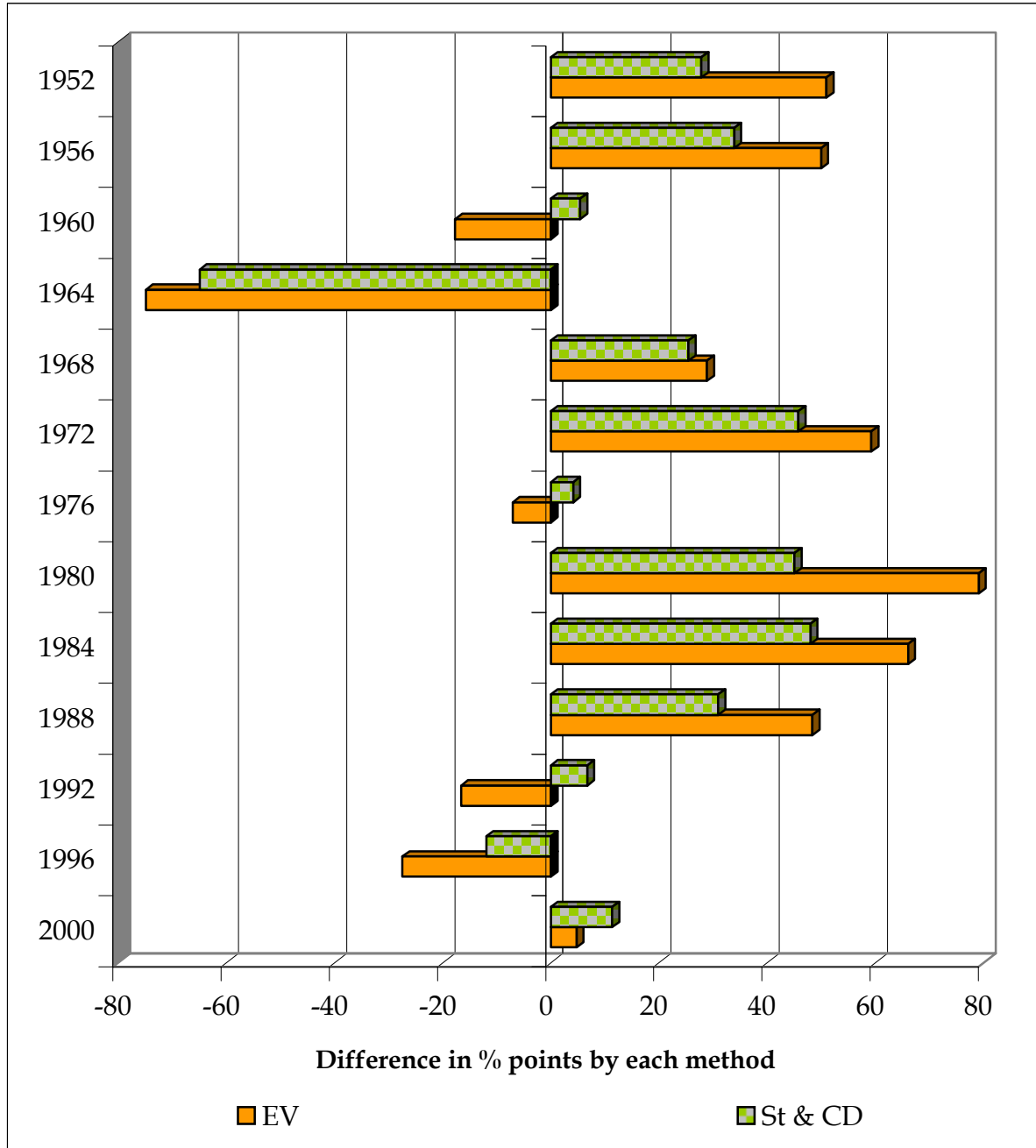


Chart 3. Relative Impact on Republican % of Electoral Vote

