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## 2008 Primary Turnout Falls Just Short of Record Nationally, Breaks Records in Most States

*Report By Curtis Gans of AU's Center for the Study of the American Electorate Finds Democratic Turnout Far Exceeds GOP*

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WASHINGTON, D.C. (May 19, 2008)—Despite record high turnout in a majority of states holding 2008 presidential primaries, the percentage of eligible citizens casting ballots will fall just short of setting a national record, according to a report released today by **American University's Center for the Study of the American Electorate (CSAE)**.

In states that held nominating primaries for both parties, 23 of 34 states recorded records, but the overall turnout of 30.2 percent of the eligible electorate fell short of the record 30.9 percent who voted in 1972.

The report, based on final official vote counts from all states (34) that held primaries to date (except Indiana, North Carolina, Pennsylvania and West Virginia, whose results reported here are final but unofficial), also shows:

- Democratic presidential primary records were set in 23 states, but the overall turnout of 19.3 percent was smaller than the 21 percent who turned out in 1972.
- The Republicans set presidential primary turnout records in 10 states. The total turnout of 10.8 percent of eligibles was lower than GOP turnout in 2000 (10.9), 1980 (11.4) and 1976 (11.5). Earlier GOP presidential primaries—1964 (10.9), 1956 (11.9) and 1952 (19.9)—also had higher turnout, but with fewer GOP primaries being held.
- So far 54,753,664 have voted in this year's presidential primaries, with Democratic candidates garnering 35,006,878 votes (64 percent of the total vote) and the GOP 19,632,587 votes (36 percent). Candidates in primaries for other parties received 114,199 votes.
- With the exception of Nebraska's primary, which was held even though all the delegates were allocated in caucuses, every state reported higher primary turnout than in 2004.

According to Curtis Gans, director of CSAE, turnout is likely to be high in the 2008 general election, but not because primary turnout was high.

“High primary turnout does not necessarily augur high general election turnout,” Gans writes. “In 1972, the year of the highest presidential primary turnout, turnout in the general election experienced the largest decline (5.3 percentage points) of any election since World War II when turnout declined 6.8 percentage points between 1940 and 1944, largely because a large percentage of Americans were outside the country fighting that war. **(See chart 2 in Summary Charts section and commentary no. 1 below.)**”

“Rather it is very likely that this fall’s election will have high turnout because of the issues which will be in play and the economic condition of the nation,” Gans added. “But whether it will equal or exceed the 2004 general election turnout when President Bush served as a lightning rod and propelled 60.9 percent of the eligible electorate to the polls (the highest turnout since 61.9 percent voted in 1968) is up in the air at this time.”

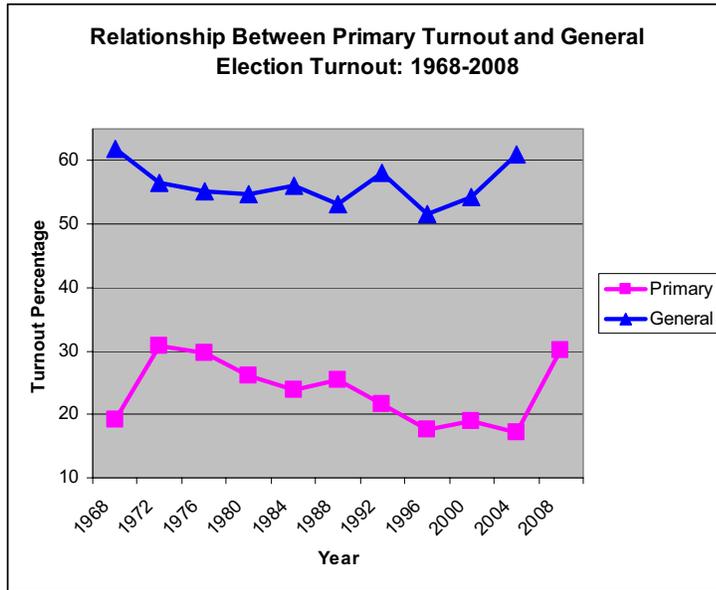
*Other findings in the report include:*

- Of the states that held presidential primaries in both parties and recorded record high turnouts, the highest were New Hampshire, where 51.9 percent of the electorate voted; followed by Ohio (40.3); Vermont (39.4); Massachusetts (38.2) and Indiana (36.8). The next two states in order of turnout were California (36.3) and Wisconsin (36.3), neither of which produced record turnouts. These last two were primary reasons why national turnout was not a record in 2008.
- At the top of Democratic record presidential primary turnout were the District of Columbia, where 33.4 percent voted, followed by Vermont (31.3), New Hampshire (28.5), Indiana (27.8), Ohio (27.5) and Massachusetts (27.3)
- Of the states where Republican voting recorded high presidential primary turnout, Alabama led the way with 16.3 percent of the eligible electorate turning out, followed by Florida (15.9), Georgia (15.3), Oklahoma (13.1) and Tennessee (12.3). The highest GOP turnout (not a record) was recorded in New Hampshire, where 23.3 percent of the eligible electorate voted.

*Below are the complete findings of the report:*

More charts giving the current rankings on the basis of turnout and the full presidential primary turnout history 1948-2008 will be available at <http://www.american.edu/media/electionexperts>, which will be updated with final official results and the late primaries.

**SUMMARY CHARTS**



**1. Presidential Primary Turnout Trend 1960-2008:** Average quadrennial turnout in presidential primaries as a percentage of eligible vote (citizens 18 years of age and older). Percentages for overall turnout are for states where primaries for both major parties were held. Average turnout is used because in any given year there are differing numbers of states which held primaries in each party and in both parties. Percentages are final and official for all years except 2008. This chart is based on 2008 final and official results for all states which have had primaries, except Indiana, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia, whose results are final and unofficial. This chart will be updated to include these states' final and official figures and the primaries in Kentucky, Oregon, Montana and South Dakota. For the years prior to 2008, the percentages are for all states which held primaries. (Note because only certain states had primaries in both parties, the percentages of Democratic and Republican turnout may not add up to the overall turnout percentages.)

| YEAR | OVERALL           | DEMOCRATIC | REPUBLICAN |
|------|-------------------|------------|------------|
| 2008 | 30.2 (unofficial) | 19.3       | 10.8       |
| 2004 | 17.2              | 9.7        | 6.4        |
| 2000 | 19.0              | 8.8        | 10.8       |
| 1996 | 17.5              | 8.3        | 9.1        |
| 1992 | 21.7              | 12.6       | 8.6        |
| 1988 | 25.5              | 16.0       | 9.1        |
| 1984 | 23.9              | 16.2       | 6.7        |

|      |      |      |      |
|------|------|------|------|
| 1980 | 26.0 | 14.0 | 11.5 |
| 1976 | 29.6 | 17.9 | 11.6 |
| 1972 | 30.9 | 21.2 | 8.5  |
| 1968 | 19.2 | 17.6 | 8.0  |
| 1964 | 35.7 | 18.6 | 16.2 |
| 1960 | 17.9 | 16.1 | 11.6 |

NOTE: Prior to 1972 and the implementation of the reforms mandated by the Democratic Party's reform commission headed by Sen. George McGovern (and largely also implemented by the GOP), which led to a proliferation of primaries, a small number of primaries was held in each year and the averages are not likely comparable to the years 1972 and later.

**2. Relationship Between Primary Turnout and General Election Turnout 1968-2008:** Below, using overall turnout figures for presidential primary turnout (those above) and figures for overall presidential general election turnout and the percentage point increases between years, one can see the correlation or more properly lack thereof between primary turnout and general election turnout.

| YEAR | PRIMARY TURNOUT |            | GENERAL ELECTION TURNOUT |            |
|------|-----------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|
|      | Pct. Voted      | Difference | Pct Voted                | Difference |
| 1968 | 19.2*           |            | 61.9                     |            |
| 1972 | 30.9            | 11.7       | 56.6                     | -5.3       |
| 1976 | 29.6            | -1.3       | 55.1                     | -1.5       |
| 1980 | 26.0            | -3.6       | 54.7                     | -0.4       |
| 1984 | 23.9            | -2.1       | 56.0                     | 1.3        |
| 1988 | 25.5            | 1.6        | 53.1                     | -2.9       |
| 1992 | 21.7            | -3.8       | 58.1                     | 5.0        |
| 1996 | 17.5            | 4.2        | 51.5                     | -6.6       |
| 2000 | 19.0            | 2.5        | 54.3                     | 2.8        |
| 2004 | 17.2            | -2.8       | 60.9                     | 6.6        |
| 2008 | 30.2            | 13         |                          |            |

\*1968 turnout was based on only seven states which held primaries in both parties that year.

**3. Turnout Records:** Figures below are percentages of eligible vote for both current year and previous record in parentheses. Overall turnout is for states with primaries in both parties:

| STATE          | OVERALL |             | DEMOCRATIC |             | REPUBLICAN |             |
|----------------|---------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
|                | New     | Old         | New        | Old         | New        | Old         |
| Alabama        | 32.1    | 21.3 (1988) | 15.8       | 15.2 (1984) | 16.3       | 7.8 (1980)  |
| Arizona        | 24.2    | 12.1 (2000) | 11.1       | 6.4 (2004)  |            |             |
| Arkansas       |         |             |            |             | 11.1       | 4.0 (1988)  |
| Connecticut    | 20.1    | 15.0 (2000) | 14.1       | 10.2 (1988) |            |             |
| Delaware       | 23.2    | 8.1 (1996)  | 15.2       | 5.6 (2004)  | 8.0        | 6.1 (1996)  |
| DC             | 35.2    | 23.3 (1984) | 33.4       | 18.8 (1988) | 1.7        | 1.6 (1980)  |
| Florida        |         |             |            |             | 15.9       | 10.3 (1976) |
| Georgia        | 32.1    | 22.8 (1988) | 16.8       | 16.6 (1984) | 15.3       | 11.3 (2000) |
| Illinois       | 34.3    | 31.9 (1952) | 23.8       | 21.0 (1984) |            |             |
| Indiana        | 36.7    | 34.3 (1976) | 27.8       | 26.0 (1968) |            |             |
| Massachusetts  | 38.2    | 24.1 (1992) | 27.3       | 22.2 (1980) |            |             |
| Mississippi    |         |             | 20.2       | 20.1 (1988) |            |             |
| Missouri       | 32.6    | 25.0 (1988) | 19.0       | 14.2 (1988) |            |             |
| New Hampshire  | 51.9    | 43.6 (2000) | 28.5       | 22.9 (2004) |            |             |
| New Jersey     | 28.9    | 24.1 (1952) | 19.3       | 12.8 (1984) |            |             |
| New York       | 20.5    | 13.1 (2000) | 15.0       | 12.8 (1988) |            |             |
| North Carolina | 32.4    | 28.5 (1972) | 24.4       | 23.7 (1972) | 8.0        | 5.1 (1976)  |
| Oklahoma       | 29.4    | 27.3 (1992) |            |             | 13.1       | 11.0 (1996) |
| Pennsylvania   | 33.9    | 33.1 (1980) | 25.4       | 18.9 (1984) |            |             |
| Rhode Island   | 27.0    | 11.5 (1976) | 23.6       | 9.3 (1976)  |            |             |
| South Carolina | 30.3    | 10.1 (1992) | 16.5       | 9.5 (2004)  |            |             |

|            |      |             |      |             |      |            |
|------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|------------|
| Tennessee  | 26.1 | 23.3 (1988) |      |             | 12.3 | 9.3 (1988) |
| Texas      | 28.6 | 25.4 (1988) | 19.3 | 16.2 (1988) | 9.3  | 9.3 (1988) |
| Vermont    | 39.4 | 29.3 (1980) | 31.3 | 19.4 (1984) |      |            |
| Virginia   | 26.5 | 13.7 (1988) | 17.7 | 8.3 (1988)  |      |            |
| Washington |      |             | 15.4 | 11.7 (2000) |      |            |

## COMMENTARY:

What follows is commentary on five issues of concern. They reflect the views, hopefully educated by fact and experience, of Curtis Gans, CSAE's director.

**1. The Disconnect Between Primary and General Election Turnout:** Turnout in this year's primaries was nearly a record high, and turnout in this year's general election is likely to be high also. But that is not because 2008 primary turnout was high (except in one respect). In 2004, national primary turnout was the lowest since 1968 while 2004 general election turnout was the highest since 1968. The modern day (in the era of many primaries) record for primary turnout was set in 1972 and that year's general election turnout recorded the sharpest decline from the previous election since World War II drive turnout down by a larger amount in 1944.

The principal reason for the disconnect is that primaries and general elections are separate political events. Primaries are, mainly, for the active and interested of each major political party, with the occasional engagement, as in this year, of independent voters where their participation is possible, states without partisan registration and states with open (all citizens regardless of party affiliation can vote) or modified open (independents can vote in party primaries but not registrants of the opposition party). Usually primaries draw less than half the percentage of voters who turn out for the general election. But in certain primary seasons, primaries not only help determine the nominee but also the future direction of the party. In 1972, because of the deep divisions within the Democratic Party over the war in Vietnam, turnout in the Democratic primaries reached a record high. But after the chaotic Democratic National Convention of that year, the major misstep by the Democratic nominee in failing to fully vet his vice-presidential choice leading to the replacement of the initial designee, the disaffection of major elements of the party from the nominee and the very one-sided general election turnout plunged in the general election. In 2004, thanks in part to the misguided efforts of Democratic National Committee Chairman Terry McAuliffe in seeking to end the nominating process as quickly as possible, the nomination contest was effectively over after the New Hampshire primary and, in a prevalent ethos lacking the religion of civic duty, turnout plunged in all subsequent contests. But the deeply polarizing nature of the Bush presidency and deep divisions over the United States' military engagement in Iraq drew citizens to the polls in percentages not seen since the 1960s.

This year there was near-record turnout in the primaries and there will likely be high turnout in the general election, but as a separate electoral event. Primary turnout was high, in part, because neither party had an incumbent national office-holder and presumptive nominee running. It was especially high in the Democratic Party because of the uniqueness of the eventual front-runners—the potential first woman and the potential first African-American nominee. That uniqueness was augmented, if exit polls are to be believed, by the largest youth primary participation since 1968 (for Sen. Eugene McCarthy and, to a lesser extent later for Sen. Robert Kennedy, including many who could not vote at a time when the voting age was 21 years old), by a much higher than usual African-American participation, by a larger than usual primary engagement of independent registrants and by a higher involvement of women.

Turnout in this year's general election will be driven by an extraordinarily discontented public. According to polls, more than 80 percent think the political direction of the country is on the wrong track, more than 70 percent of the nation disapproves of the performance of President Bush, more than two-thirds now oppose American involvement in Iraq and more than 80 percent believe the nation has slipped into recession. Add to that foreclosures, ever higher gas and commodity prices, a

general feeling of insecurity and a public which, by recent standards, is paying much greater attention to this electoral season and you have a recipe for very high levels of fall voting. Since 1960, turnout significantly increased in only three general elections—the mid-term election of 1982 and the 1992 and 2004 presidential elections. The turnout increases in both 1982 and 1992 were largely driven by citizen insecurity about economies perceived to be in recession and, as noted above, the 2004 turnout surge was propelled by the polarizing policy and presidency of President Bush. In this election both the economy and the policies of the Bush administration are in play. In addition, because Sen. Obama is the virtually certain Democratic nominee, he brings into the process two elements which would vote in substantially lesser numbers had he not been the nominee—college-educated young citizens and African-Americans.

Because of these factors there is no question that turnout will be high. Whether it will be higher than the 61 percent of eligibles who voted in 2004 is still in doubt. There could be a fall-off in the most conservative of evangelicals, not seeing Sen. McCain as having an authentic empathy for their concerns. There may be Republicans, like the followers of Rep. Ron Paul but not limited to that group, who abhor the war in Iraq but can't bring themselves to vote for a Democrat and some in the demographic du jour, the white working class, who can't bring themselves to vote for either Sen. Obama or a Republican. But it is equally likely that there will be a tidal wave of citizen discontent overwhelming many ill-prepared voting places.

**2. Who Benefits from High Turnout?** Despite the belief by some in the Republican Party that the best thing that could happen to them is rain on Election Day—that low turnout benefits them and high turnout benefits the Democrats (a myth that tends to lead to GOP efforts to minimize turnout), there is no recent evidence to support that belief. In 2004, the highest turnout election since 1968, President Bush won. In 1968, Richard Nixon won. Two of the three lowest turnout elections since the 1920s produced victories for Harry S. Truman (1948) and Bill Clinton (1996).

That said, there is no question that every increment in turnout in 2008 will benefit the Democrats. In each election in recent times in which economic discontent has been a major factor as in 1982 and 1992, voters have taken out that discontent on the party in power in the White House. In every election in which an extended and unpopular war tried public support and patience, as in 1966, 1968 and 1952, the party in power in the White House suffered. Every year that a president's popularity sank below 35 percent, as in 1952, 1980 and 1992, the nation voted to oust the party in power. All of these factors exist in 2008—to which may be added high oil and commodity prices and a profound public sense that the nation is on the wrong track. And on the two most important issues of the day—the economy and the war in Iraq—the Republican nominee promises a continuation of the basic policies of the Bush administration.

All of this should make for major Democratic gains in both houses of Congress, the nation's governorships, the state legislatures of most states and makes Obama a distinct favorite to be the nation's next president. He will have some hurdles to climb. He has no executive experience, but then neither does his opponent. His foreign policy credentials are skimpy, but the debate will be between lack of experience and a continuation of the current policies. He has developed a problem of connecting with and getting the support of the white working class, a problem he did not have in Connecticut, Maryland, Missouri and Wisconsin—or before he made his unfortunate and ill-thought-out remarks about working class bitterness and Sen. Clinton seized on them to create a class and race wedge issue. Both he and she will need to work hard to rebuild his connections to that segment of the population. The state of the economy should help them bring what became the Reagan Democrats

(those who bolted because of cultural issues) back into the Democratic fold. And then there is the question of race, a problem that clearly exists but is not quantifiable. When Clinton received more than 70 percent of the white vote in Mississippi, it showed clearly that while the deep South may be amenable to a conservative Democratic congressional candidate, it is not likely to support an African-American liberal presidential candidate. Clinton's vote did not include what is now the majority and lily-white Southern Republican Party. Race has also reared its divisive head in Massachusetts, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and West Virginia, and it is the one aspect of Obama's challenge which will be present everywhere that he won't be able to fully overcome. Some people will not vote for him simply because he is an African-American. But the nation wants a major change in direction; it wants someone who will at least attempt to end the persistent political polarization and get people of disparate views to work together. That has been the premise of his campaign, something he will need to define more fully in the light not of the half of the electorate which votes in primaries but the whole of the electorate which begins to give politics its full attention after Labor Day. The issue of race will not go away but its presence and its impact will be a test of what kind of nation we are and have become.

**3. The Press:** When the post mortems on the 2008 campaign are written, the press will not get high marks. The Project for Excellence in Journalism will certainly cover the press's foibles in great and accurate detail—particularly the degree to which it focused on the horse race and tactics to the exclusion of substance as a major concern, depriving the voting public of some preview of what candidates will do in office. This is not an attempt to compete with the Project's good work, but rather to highlight two issues of import that relate to CSAE's primary concern with respect to the motivation to vote. The first of these concerns is the degree to which the press chewed the bones of candidates' problems long beyond any public nourishment. There are, in this context, things the mainstream press should never have taken seriously—such as Obama sitting on a board with a reformed and middle-class person who participated in radical activities 40 years ago. It was, on the other hand, reasonable to show Rev. Jeremiah Wright's original remarks and Obama's response to it; Rev. Wright's opportunistic seizing of the spotlight and Obama's full separation from his former pastor; Clinton's claim of heroism in Bosnia and the film that put a lie to her claims; and Obama's "bitter" remarks and Clinton's use of them as a wedge issue. The problem lay not in the reportage of each of these events, but in keeping the spotlight on these issues via polling, continuous commentary and reportage often limited solely to these events, exaggerating their import almost to the exclusion of anything else. This helps feed citizen public cynicism about their political leaders, when, in truth, each of the potential candidates have many strengths to commend them.

The second concern is the press's 2007 role in narrowing the Democratic candidate field to the two presently surviving candidates before a single vote had been cast. Clinton and Obama each received six times the coverage of John Edwards, a ratio which would have been even worse had not the recurrence of Elizabeth Edwards's cancer been revealed. Clinton and Obama each received eight times the coverage of Sen. Biden with even lesser coverage for Sen. Dodd and Gov. Richardson. This, in turn, made it virtually impossible for Biden, Dodd and Richardson to compete and forced Edwards to virtually live in Iowa in the hope that a victory there might provide him the coverage and support the press had denied him. We will never know whether any of the candidates other than Clinton and Obama would have made better nominees or better presidents or might have been able to gain the support to make them competitive. We will never know because the press didn't allow us to know and that is an abuse of any canon of good journalism.

**4. The Nominating Process:** Part of the reason the press was allowed to abuse its power was the current nominating process—the long ersatz campaign, lasting a year or more before a single vote would be cast. Much of the criticism of the nominating process has been focused on two issues—frontloading, the move toward an ever-earlier start to the primary process; and the unrepresentative nature of the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary and their undue influence on the nominating outcome. It is true that a nominating process which begins in January creates too long a primary season and largely makes it impossible for states to hold their primaries for other offices on the same day, substantially increasing election administration expense and forcing citizens to go to the polls three times in an election year. It is not true that Iowa and New Hampshire exert undue influence on who emerges as the eventual nominee or that combined with other subsequent contests which provide more diverse populations, they are so unrepresentative. As David Broder, *Washington Post* columnist, has noted, both of these states are among those which are in contention in the general election campaign. In a larger sense, the history of Iowa and New Hampshire have not shown them to be determinative. Sen. Eugene McCarthy lost the New Hampshire primary but less than a month later drove President Lyndon Johnson from the race. Sen. Edmund Muskie won the New Hampshire primary only to be out of the race six weeks later. President Carter did focus on Iowa (and Florida) but virtually ignored New Hampshire. President Clinton lost the New Hampshire primary but won the presidency. Sen. John McCain was an upset winner of the New Hampshire primary in 2000, only to be relegated to also-ran status two weeks later. When Iowa and New Hampshire are followed by individual primaries and caucuses of different demographic profiles, they can and often have become one-week events.

The larger problem with the nominating process is the grouping of the primaries early in the primary season and the desire of large states to move their primaries forward to be part of the grouping. When 23 states, including some of the largest states hold primaries and caucuses on one day, as was the case February 5 of this year, it is imperative for candidates to raise large sums of money in advance to compete (conservatively estimated this year at \$50 million). When the maximum an individual can contribute is \$2,300, it means that candidates must announce a year in advance in order to raise the \$1 million a week needed to be potentially competitive. This needed ante to get in the game means that qualified candidates may not be able to compete and creates a money criterion for viability. It also, as noted, gives the press enormous power.

The one good aspect of this year's nominating process was that it provided a long enough track that at least the two Democratic candidates got thorough scrutiny. But because of the early grouping, there were far fewer states left in play to render final judgment. And those states which moved up their primaries to February 5 so that they could be part of the decision-making found that February 5 passed and their role was not at all decisive. It is reminiscent of how all this grouping got started. After the 1984 election, Southern Democratic state party chairs decided that one of the reasons that Sen. Walter Mondale lost was that he was too liberal and they decided to join together to create the first early Super Tuesday primary composed largely of Southern states. What they forgot was that while the South as a region was more conservative than the rest of the nation, the Southern Democratic Party with a substantial percentage of African-Americans in its membership was not more conservative than the rest of the nation. The result then was that the Rev. Jesse Jackson won five states, the "Northern" candidate, Gov. Michael Dukakis, won five states and the so-called Southern candidate, then Sen. Al Gore, won five states. But instead of saying, "Boy, was that a dumb idea," the Southerners kept their regional primary and other states began to move their dates forward leading to the present system.

It is time to finally say, “Boy, was that a bad idea.” The way to eliminate the heavy early pursuit of dollars, the ersatz campaign and the press’s untoward power is to start the process beginning with individual and diverse small state primaries which would permit candidates to establish their political support without having to raise enormous sums in advance. It would permit the results of the early contests to provide guidance on which candidates are deserving of both political and financial support and it would winnow out the field so that the larger states could then decide which of the winnowed in candidates should be nominated. It would ensure that candidates would be vetted over a sufficient period of time based on their qualities of leadership and their programs rather than their ability to raise early money.

A proposal which embodied these principles came within one day of being ratified by the Republican National Convention in 2000, only to be shot down by President Bush. A modified version of that proposal, called the Ohio plan, has been passed by the Republican rules committee and has drawn interest from the Democratic committee on rules and by-laws. That plan would have the same four states which initiated the process in 2008 begin the process again in 2012, followed by 15 smaller states encouraged to hold individual primaries. Then, in one manner or another, the larger states could weigh in. Some Republican leaders from larger states are resisting this effort, but perhaps they should have learned the lesson from this year’s nominating process—that coming early does not ensure influence and does ensure many of the same problems that have plagued the nominating system since 1988.

**5. There Is No Millennial Generation:** The large-scale involvement of college resident and educated youth is one of the most heartening aspects of this year’s nominating process. But the conclusions some have drawn from that participation—that we have a new politically engaged generation—is simply not supported by the facts.

Those involved this year are a fraction of the youth population and were brought in by the uniqueness of Obama’s candidacy—precisely because he seemed to offer something different than the politics they had been eschewing. They would not have stayed in—at least in anywhere near the numbers which have participated in the primaries—had Obama not won the nomination. They won’t stay in if he’s not elected and their interest and engagement won’t be sustained if he does not live up to the promise of his candidacy once in office.

The involvement of middle-class educated youth this year is not an isolated phenomenon. There is a reservoir of idealism, hope and a willingness to engage that has been part of every generation. In my lifetime, some of this group were madly for Adlai, others were engaged by the youth and energy of John F. Kennedy, still others formed the foot soldiers of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements and came clean for Gene (McCarthy) in New Hampshire’s primary campaign. They also were, for about eight months, enticed by the policy wonkishness on issues they cared about of Bill Clinton and Al Gore, were taken for about a month or two by the 2000 candidacy of John McCain and the 2004 candidacy of Howard Dean and came out in force in the battleground states against President Bush through the proxy of working for Sen. John Kerry.

The difference between the idealistic activism of the 1950s and 1960s and the activism of the 1980s and later is that the earlier generations were politically involved and interested and stayed in political activity even when their causes did not meet with success or their leaders showed feet of clay. They did so because there was a totally different ethos in America then. Schools were dominated by the ideas of John Dewey who made educated citizens a major educational aim. Parents discussed politics in the home. The media was more concentrated and more purposive. There was much less cynicism. The

institutions underlying democracy were strong and well-aligned. People could and did work together across partisan and ideological lines. Great things were accomplished, people felt good about politics and government and wanted to be a part of that enterprise and believed their participation mattered.

Those who were briefly active in the 1980s and later did not stay involved. They didn't because there is and has been for some time a totally different ethos. Participation in institutions has declined sharply. Media are fragmented and cynical. Politics tends to be a bad word, with most of the young having a dim view of the enterprise. Government is hamstrung by ideological polarization fed by political parties that are misaligned. Schools no longer train for citizenship (although some promote service which is not the same thing and does not have a carry-over effect to politics). Community has been eroded. Negativity in large volume dominates the conduct of politics. Civility is all too often absent. There is simply no grounding for a new engaged generation to emerge.

Anyone who has been taken by the idea of a "Millennial Generation" should read the work of William Damon, whose most recent book, "The Path to Purpose," gives a research-based and much more accurate account of today's youth. It is possible that should Obama ascend to the presidency, he may by his eloquence, actions, policies and approach create the seeds for reversal of the decay of a sustained, politically involved youth. But that is a great deal to ask of one man in very difficult times.

## NOTES

**1. What is Turnout?** Turnout should be a simple calculation in which the numerator is the number of votes cast and the denominator is the number of citizens eligible to vote. However, various anomalies in election statistics, some of which are outlined in detail below, make this calculation more complicated. By common usage, the numerator in every presidential election year is the vote for president (even though that tally is usually about one percentage point lower than the actual number of citizens who go to the polls). It is lower because many states, although an ever-diminishing number, do not keep records of all those who go to the polls, the total ballots cast. In mid-term elections, the numerator is the total of votes for the statewide race in each state which draws the highest number of votes and the aggregate total of votes for U.S. House of Representatives in those states which do not have statewide races. (This total tends to be between 1 and 1.5 percentage points lower than the actual total ballots cast but is used for the same reasons—that many states do not compile total ballots cast figures.)

Turnout is **NOT** the percentage of those registered who voted. There are three basic reasons for this:

- Using registration as a denominator does not account for the whole of the electorate, including those who are not registered. Thus, it gives a false picture of true citizen engagement.
- Changes in registration law can dramatically affect the figures. If the nation adopts, as it did, a registration law that provides for national mail registration, registration at motor vehicle bureaus and at social service agencies, registration will go up but turnout of those registered will decline artificially by a greater amount than it does when using the entire eligible electorate as a denominator.
- Registration figures are subject to the fluctuations of election administration. If a state conducts a thorough purge of its registration lists close to election, its registration figures will be lower and thus its percentage of registered voting will be higher. But if registration lists are not so purged, as they are not in many states, the figures for registration will be higher and the turnout based on these inflated registration figures will be lower. Consider how distorted a turnout percentage using registration as a base would be in a state such as Alaska, which because of lack of regular list cleaning and potential flaws with the Census Bureau's estimates of the state's eligible population, reports registration figures which are regularly in excess of 100 percent of the eligible citizen population.

**2. The Eligible Vote—The Denominator for Determining Turnout:** The eligible vote in this report is the number of people residing in the United States who are 18 years of age or over minus the number of non-citizens residing in the United States who are 18 years of age and over as of November 1. It is an interpolated figure from the 2000 Census, based on the methodology outlined below.

For years, CSAE and every other reputable organization working in this field had used the Census Bureau's estimates of November age-eligible population (VAP) to determine turnout. That figure came under legitimate criticism because it included non-citizens; convicted felons (in most states) and, in some states, ex-felons; and people deemed mentally incompetent in institutions who could not vote and did not include citizens residing in other countries, citizens naturalized during the election year and the citizen portion of the Census's undercount, all of whom could vote but were not part of the VAP estimate. The Census Bureau has ceased providing its VAP estimates.

For years also, professor Walter Dean Burnham, professor emeritus at the University of Texas at Austin, has been producing a denominator of age-eligible citizens (age-eligible population minus age-eligible non-citizens, interpolated by state and nation from and between decennial Censuses). After

some study of this matter, CSAE has come to believe that this denominator is the best for determining turnout, subject to the caveat below. It has come to this belief because of two factors:

1. Available data. One does not determine turnout simply for any given year but also as an historical comparison with previous years. Data for several of the issues involving the inadequacy of the age-eligible population (VAP) figures are simply not available, not available in a timely manner, not available over a given period of history, or not allocated to the states. Data on convicted and incarcerated felons are only available for a fairly recent time period. State laws on whether convicted felons and ex-felons can vote are changing and have changed over time. There is no accurate set of figures on those deemed mentally incompetent. The number of American citizens residing abroad is ascertainable in a ballpark fashion (since the Census bureau will not enumerate them), but the number of age-eligible has to be estimated and there are no figures which provide allocation of these citizens by state. Naturalization figures come in too late, often a year or two after the election year, to be usable in any current population accounting. And while any given Census undercount can be allocated by state, one can only estimate how much of that undercount is of citizens as opposed to non-citizens and estimates of undercounts only began in 1940.

2. The balance of the figures: In studying this statistical problem, CSAE has found that the most important issue is that of non-citizens. If one wants to have a relatively accurate picture of turnout, one must eliminate the non-citizens from the age-eligible population. On the other hand, the other adjustments to the denominator would not substantially differ from the denominator of citizen age-eligible population. In pursuing its inquiry into this topic, CSAE found that the factors which would lower the denominator—felons, ex-felons and people deemed mentally incompetent who can't vote—are roughly equal to two of the factors which would increase the denominator—citizens living in other countries and naturalization—who could vote. If one added a ballpark figure for the number of citizens in the undercount who could vote, to the other factors which would increase the denominator—the three factors (citizens living in other countries, naturalization and the undercount) would substantially exceed the factors other than non-citizens (felons and ex-felons and institutionalized citizens deemed incompetent).

The one caveat in adopting the Burnham methodology lock, stock and barrel is that Burnham interpolates from census to census. These censuses are accurate as of April 1 of each decennial year for all of the past 50 years. (In prior years, census results captured the population as of varying months.) In order to have more accurate figures for November, CSAE has, using the same methodology, projected citizen population to November. CSAE is using the April figure for this report.

## Methodology

Since the decennial census population figures are accurate as of April 1 in each census year, the VAP Burnham dataset calculates the difference in the required census figures between a base census year and the same figures as reported in the following census. To estimate the voting age population for the years between the censuses, the difference between them is simply multiplied by the number of months that have passed beyond April 1 of the base year and then added to the base year figure. For example, to arrive at the April 1, 1992, voting age population, the difference between the April 1, 1990, census population and the April 1, 2000, census population is multiplied by 24/120ths (for the 24 out of 120 months between the census counts) and added to the April 1, 1990 figure.

The process for arriving at the CSAE November-eligible figures is the same, except that the data is projected forward to November instead of April. To accomplish this, the multiplier is simply changed to the number of months that have passed since April of the base census year. For instance, to calculate the November 1996 voting age population, the difference between April 1, 1990, and April 1, 2000, is multiplied by 79/120ths and added to the April 1, 1990, count. The same interpolation process is applied to the decennial census counts of non-citizens of voting age in each state. Once estimates of the total voting age population and the non-citizen voting age population for each state have been calculated, the non-citizen figure is simply subtracted from the total to arrive at the appropriate figure.

Since the last decennial census occurred in 2000, it is necessary to project the figures forward to arrive at the voting age population for 2002 and 2004. To accomplish this, the difference between the 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses is used to establish a rate of growth. This rate of growth is then used to project forward based on the number of months passed since April 1990 out of the 120 months between the censuses. For instance, to obtain the voting age population for April 2004, the difference between April 1, 1990, and April 1, 2000, is multiplied by 168/120 and added to the April 1, 1990 total.

**3. The Votes:** 2008 vote totals are final and official and certified by the chief election officer in each state—except for Indiana, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia which are final and unofficial. Vote totals for previous years are final and official, certified by the chief election officer in each state, and verified by comparison with other compilations where available. CSAE will be adding the votes in later primaries, as well as the official results in the four states which are, in this report, unofficial, in an amended report which will be published on the American University and the center's Web site after all primaries are concluded. This report does not include turnout for caucuses because CSAE believes there are no valid comparables for caucus turnout. Note also that the vote averages for prior years in the large statistical charts in the back are based only on the primaries held so far. The summary charts below include all primaries for previous years.

**4. Acknowledgements:** Primary research for this report was done by Matthew Mulling, CSAE research associate, and to previous research associates Mark Harvey, Samuel Schreiber, Laura Lee Guimond, Dennis Galvin and Helen Lichtenstein, who helped in the compilation of historical figures.

Mark Harvey was also responsible for the calculations which extend Water Dean Burnham's census to census citizen voting age population to November. Organizing the analysis for this report was made profoundly easier by a custom database program developed by Samuel Schreiber, CSAE research associate emeritus. CSAE would also like to express its profound gratitude to Walter Dean Burnham, professor emeritus at the University of Texas at Austin, for sharing his database, helping to devise

CSAE's new November denominator for the analysis of registration and turnout and for his continuing help to CSAE's work. The Committee is also grateful to all the state election officials for helping to verify vote totals when needed.

The analysis contained in this report has been done by Curtis Gans, CSAE's director, who is solely responsible for any and all errors contained within.

**To interview Curtis Gans, contact him directly at 504-822-5292, 703-304-1283 or 202-885-6295. If you cannot reach Gans, please contact Jon Hussey in AU's Media Relations Office for assistance. Copies of the report plus detailed charts of turnout by state, overall and party from 1948–2008 will be available at <http://www.american.edu/media/electionexperts>**

Ranked Order - 2008

Total President - Primary Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Burnham

|        | 2008 VAP   | 2008<br>Turnout | 2008 % VAP<br>Voted |
|--------|------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1) NH  | 1,016,000  | 527,386         | 51.91%              |
| 2) OH  | 8,562,000  | 3,450,638       | 40.30%              |
| 3) VT  | 495,000    | 194,803         | 39.35%              |
| 4) MA  | 4,625,000  | 1,765,761       | 38.18%              |
| 5) IN  | 4,586,000  | 1,688,779       | 36.82%              |
| 6) CA  | 22,319,000 | 8,104,947       | 36.31%              |
| 7) WI  | 4,183,000  | 1,517,767       | 36.28%              |
| 8) DC  | 371,000    | 130,726         | 35.24%              |
| 9) IL  | 8,540,000  | 2,932,211       | 34.34%              |
| 10) PA | 9,450,000  | 3,097,723       | 32.78%              |
| 11) NC | 6,423,000  | 2,097,920       | 32.66%              |
| 12) MO | 4,328,000  | 1,411,161       | 32.61%              |
| 13) GA | 6,302,000  | 2,024,392       | 32.12%              |
| 14) AL | 3,394,000  | 1,088,781       | 32.08%              |
| 15) WV | 1,428,000  | 438,486         | 30.71%              |
| 16) SC | 3,224,000  | 977,650         | 30.32%              |
| 17) MD | 4,064,000  | 1,201,608       | 29.57%              |
| 18) OK | 2,561,000  | 752,261         | 29.37%              |
| 19) NJ | 5,904,000  | 1,707,400       | 28.92%              |
| 20) FL | 12,923,000 | 3,699,418       | 28.63%              |
| 21) TX | 14,886,000 | 4,253,116       | 28.57%              |
| 22) WA | 4,489,000  | 1,221,313       | 27.21%              |
| 23) RI | 790,000    | 213,435         | 27.02%              |
| 24) MS | 2,151,000  | 577,315         | 26.84%              |
| 25) VA | 5,560,000  | 1,475,455       | 26.54%              |
| 26) AR | 2,065,000  | 544,954         | 26.39%              |
| 27) TN | 4,512,000  | 1,178,399       | 26.12%              |
| 28) AZ | 4,117,000  | 996,670         | 24.21%              |
| 29) DE | 630,000    | 146,216         | 23.21%              |
| 30) NY | 12,653,000 | 2,590,221       | 20.47%              |
| 31) CT | 2,518,000  | 506,143         | 20.10%              |
| 32) MI | 7,490,000  | 1,465,625       | 19.57%              |
| 33) NE | 1,243,000  | 229,469         | 18.46%              |
| 34) LA | 3,338,000  | 545,515         | 16.34%              |

Total Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Burnham 2008 vs 2004 - 1988  
 President - Primary Races

| ST       | 2008 VAP    | 2008<br>Turnout | 2008           |                | 2004               |                | 2000               |                | 1996               |                | 1992               |                | 1988               |  |
|----------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|--|
|          |             |                 | % VAP<br>Voted | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-04<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-00<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-96<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-92<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-88<br>Points |  |
| AL       | 3,394,000   | 1,088,781       | 32.08          | 12.60          | 19.48              | 14.70          | 17.38              | 16.32          | 15.76              | 20.36          | 11.72              | 21.25          | 10.83              |  |
| AZ       | 4,117,000   | 996,670         | 24.21          | —              | —                  | 12.10          | 12.11              | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |  |
| AR       | 2,065,000   | 544,954         | 26.39          | 15.20          | 11.19              | 14.95          | 11.44              | 19.29          | 7.10               | 31.43          | -5.04              | 33.36          | -6.97              |  |
| CA       | 22,319,000  | 8,104,947       | 36.31          | 25.33          | 10.98              | 37.16          | -0.85              | 26.11          | 10.20              | 27.14          | 9.17               | 29.78          | 6.53               |  |
| CT       | 2,518,000   | 506,143         | 20.10          | —              | —                  | 14.98          | 5.12               | —              | —                  | 11.28          | 8.82               | 14.55          | 5.55               |  |
| DE       | 630,000     | 146,216         | 23.21          | —              | —                  | 7.27           | 15.94              | 8.09           | 15.12              | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |  |
| DC       | 371,000     | 130,726         | 35.24          | —              | —                  | 5.33           | 29.91              | 5.61           | 29.63              | 15.12          | 20.12              | 20.30          | 14.94              |  |
| FL       | 12,923,000  | 3,699,418       | 28.63          | —              | —                  | 11.30          | 17.33              | —              | —                  | 20.99          | 7.64               | 24.73          | 3.90               |  |
| GA       | 6,302,000   | 2,024,392       | 32.12          | 13.16          | 18.96              | 16.35          | 15.77              | 12.42          | 19.70              | 18.68          | 13.44              | 22.82          | 9.30               |  |
| IL       | 8,540,000   | 2,932,211       | 34.34          | —              | —                  | 18.45          | 15.89              | 19.67          | 14.67              | 28.84          | 5.50               | 29.57          | 4.77               |  |
| IN       | 4,586,000   | 1,688,779       | 36.82          | 17.49          | 19.33              | 15.88          | 20.94              | 18.94          | 17.88              | 22.92          | 13.90              | 27.04          | 9.78               |  |
| LA       | 3,338,000   | 545,515         | 16.34          | 7.15           | 9.19               | 8.15           | 8.19               | 7.50           | 8.84               | 17.32          | -0.98              | 26.26          | -9.92              |  |
| MD       | 4,064,000   | 1,201,608       | 29.57          | 16.11          | 13.46              | 23.91          | 5.66               | 15.22          | 14.35              | 23.03          | 6.54               | 21.78          | 7.79               |  |
| MA       | 4,625,000   | 1,765,761       | 38.18          | 15.10          | 23.08              | 23.63          | 14.55              | 9.94           | 28.24              | 24.14          | 14.04              | 22.02          | 16.16              |  |
| MI       | 7,490,000   | 1,465,625       | 19.57          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | 9.61           | 9.96               | 15.27          | 4.30               | —              | —                  |  |
| MS       | 2,151,000   | 577,315         | 26.84          | —              | —                  | 9.94           | 16.90              | 12.52          | 14.32              | 18.58          | 8.26               | 28.89          | -2.05              |  |
| MO       | 4,328,000   | 1,411,161       | 32.61          | 12.91          | 19.70              | 18.10          | 14.51              | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | 24.96          | 7.65               |  |
| NE       | 1,243,000   | 229,469         | 18.46          | 18.55          | -0.09              | 23.87          | -5.41              | 22.31          | -3.85              | 29.70          | -11.24             | 32.93          | -14.47             |  |
| NH       | 1,016,000   | 527,386         | 51.91          | 29.49          | 22.42              | 43.55          | 8.36               | 33.27          | 18.64              | 41.56          | 10.35              | 35.82          | 16.09              |  |
| NJ       | 5,904,000   | 1,707,400       | 28.92          | 6.18           | 22.74              | 10.98          | 17.94              | 8.69           | 20.23              | 12.71          | 16.21              | 16.20          | 12.72              |  |
| NY       | 12,653,000  | 2,590,221       | 20.47          | —              | —                  | 13.05          | 7.42               | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |  |
| NC       | 6,423,000   | 2,097,920       | 32.66          | —              | —                  | 14.91          | 17.75              | 15.64          | 17.02              | 18.99          | 13.67              | 19.82          | 12.84              |  |
| OH       | 8,562,000   | 3,450,638       | 40.30          | 23.68          | 16.62              | 28.09          | 12.21              | 21.24          | 19.06              | 23.70          | 16.60              | 28.31          | 11.99              |  |
| OK       | 2,561,000   | 752,261         | 29.37          | 14.61          | 14.76              | 10.45          | 18.92              | 26.28          | 3.09               | 27.34          | 2.03               | 26.74          | 2.63               |  |
| PA       | 9,450,000   | 3,097,723       | 32.78          | 17.70          | 15.08              | 14.73          | 18.05              | 15.13          | 17.65              | 25.29          | 7.49               | 26.75          | 6.03               |  |
| RI       | 790,000     | 213,435         | 27.02          | 4.99           | 22.03              | 11.12          | 15.90              | 3.13           | 23.89              | 9.01           | 18.01              | 9.01           | 18.01              |  |
| SC       | 3,224,000   | 977,650         | 30.32          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | 10.11          | 20.21              | —              | —                  |  |
| TN       | 4,512,000   | 1,178,399       | 26.12          | 10.75          | 15.37              | 11.05          | 15.07              | 10.74          | 15.38              | 15.06          | 11.06              | 23.32          | 2.80               |  |
| TX       | 14,886,000  | 4,253,116       | 28.57          | 10.84          | 17.73              | 14.40          | 14.17              | 15.54          | 13.03              | 19.49          | 9.08               | 25.42          | 3.15               |  |
| VT       | 495,000     | 194,803         | 39.35          | 23.37          | 15.98              | 28.90          | 10.45              | 20.54          | 18.81              | —              | —                  | 24.53          | 14.82              |  |
| VA       | 5,560,000   | 1,475,455       | 26.54          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | 13.68          | 12.86              |  |
| WA       | 4,489,000   | 1,221,313       | 27.21          | —              | —                  | 32.06          | -4.85              | 17.33          | 9.88               | 7.75           | 19.46              | —              | —                  |  |
| WV       | 1,428,000   | 438,486         | 30.71          | 25.76          | 4.95               | 25.95          | 4.76               | 30.86          | -0.15              | 31.81          | -1.10              | 33.30          | -2.59              |  |
| WI       | 4,183,000   | 1,517,767       | 36.28          | 24.49          | 11.79              | 22.24          | 14.04              | 24.79          | 11.49              | 34.63          | 1.65               | 39.18          | -2.90              |  |
| Overall: | 181,140,000 | 54,753,664      | 30.23          | 17.06          | 13.17              | 19.25          | 10.97              | 17.42          | 12.81              | 21.88          | 8.34               | 25.56          | 4.66               |  |

Total Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Burnham 2008 vs 1964 - 1948  
 President - Primary Races

| ST       | 2008 VAP    | 2008<br>Turnout | 2008           | 1964           |                    | 1960           |                    | 1956           |                    | 1952           |                    | 1948           |                    |
|----------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|
|          |             |                 | % VAP<br>Voted | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-64<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-60<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-56<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-52<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-48<br>Points |
| AL       | 3,394,000   | 1,088,781       | 32.08          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| AZ       | 4,117,000   | 996,670         | 24.21          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| AR       | 2,065,000   | 544,954         | 26.39          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| CA       | 22,319,000  | 8,104,947       | 36.31          | 46.03          | -9.72              | —              | —                  | 38.56          | -2.25              | 43.67          | -7.36              | 24.83          | 11.48              |
| CT       | 2,518,000   | 506,143         | 20.10          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| DE       | 630,000     | 146,216         | 23.21          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| DC       | 371,000     | 130,726         | 35.24          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | 0.00           | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| FL       | 12,923,000  | 3,699,418       | 28.63          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | 19.51          | 9.12               | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| GA       | 6,302,000   | 2,024,392       | 32.12          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| IL       | 8,540,000   | 2,932,211       | 34.34          | 14.55          | 19.79              | —              | —                  | 26.32          | 8.02               | 31.92          | 2.42               | 6.26           | 28.08              |
| IN       | 4,586,000   | 1,688,779       | 36.82          | 34.08          | 2.74               | —              | —                  | 22.81          | 14.01              | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| LA       | 3,338,000   | 545,515         | 16.34          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| MD       | 4,064,000   | 1,201,608       | 29.57          | 29.91          | -0.34              | —              | —                  | 14.29          | 15.28              | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| MA       | 4,625,000   | 1,765,761       | 38.18          | 5.45           | 32.73              | 5.18           | 33.00              | 3.55           | 34.63              | 13.68          | 24.50              | 4.19           | 33.99              |
| MI       | 7,490,000   | 1,465,625       | 19.57          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| MS       | 2,151,000   | 577,315         | 26.84          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| MO       | 4,328,000   | 1,411,161       | 32.61          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| NE       | 1,243,000   | 229,469         | 18.46          | 23.12          | -4.66              | 20.02          | -1.56              | 19.06          | -0.60              | 38.51          | -20.05             | 30.31          | -11.85             |
| NH       | 1,016,000   | 527,386         | 51.91          | 31.70          | 20.21              | 34.33          | 17.58              | 23.56          | 28.35              | 37.58          | 14.33              | 10.11          | 41.80              |
| NJ       | 5,904,000   | 1,707,400       | 28.92          | 0.63           | 28.29              | —              | —                  | 13.64          | 15.28              | 24.06          | 4.86               | 0.33           | 28.59              |
| NY       | 12,653,000  | 2,590,221       | 20.47          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| NC       | 6,423,000   | 2,097,920       | 32.66          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| OH       | 8,562,000   | 3,450,638       | 40.30          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | 13.67          | 26.63              | 25.18          | 15.12              | 13.89          | 26.41              |
| OK       | 2,561,000   | 752,261         | 29.37          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| PA       | 9,450,000   | 3,097,723       | 32.78          | 9.96           | 22.82              | 17.83          | 14.95              | 24.33          | 8.45               | 21.11          | 11.67              | 9.01           | 23.77              |
| RI       | 790,000     | 213,435         | 27.02          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| SC       | 3,224,000   | 977,650         | 30.32          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| TN       | 4,512,000   | 1,178,399       | 26.12          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| TX       | 14,886,000  | 4,253,116       | 28.57          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| VT       | 495,000     | 194,803         | 39.35          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| VA       | 5,560,000   | 1,475,455       | 26.54          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| WA       | 4,489,000   | 1,221,313       | 27.21          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| WV       | 1,428,000   | 438,486         | 30.71          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | 20.24          | 10.47              | 32.30          | -1.59              | 25.51          | 5.20               |
| WI       | 4,183,000   | 1,517,767       | 36.28          | 45.00          | -8.72              | —              | —                  | 34.68          | 1.60               | 46.03          | -9.75              | 9.04           | 27.24              |
| Overall: | 181,140,000 | 54,753,664      | 30.23          | 24.15          | 6.07               | 15.04          | 15.19              | 23.30          | 6.92               | 30.09          | 0.14               | 12.10          | 18.13              |

Ranked Order - 2008

Democratic President - Primary Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Burnham

|        | 2008 VAP   | 2008<br>Turnout | 2008 % VAP<br>Voted |
|--------|------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1) DC  | 371,000    | 123,994         | 33.42%              |
| 2) VT  | 495,000    | 154,960         | 31.31%              |
| 3) NH  | 1,016,000  | 290,005         | 28.54%              |
| 4) IN  | 4,586,000  | 1,276,261       | 27.83%              |
| 5) OH  | 8,562,000  | 2,354,721       | 27.50%              |
| 6) MA  | 4,625,000  | 1,263,764       | 27.32%              |
| 7) WI  | 4,183,000  | 1,113,285       | 26.61%              |
| 8) NC  | 6,423,000  | 1,580,157       | 24.60%              |
| 9) PA  | 9,450,000  | 2,307,759       | 24.42%              |
| 10) IL | 8,540,000  | 2,030,117       | 23.77%              |
| 11) RI | 790,000    | 186,439         | 23.60%              |
| 12) WV | 1,428,000  | 330,714         | 23.16%              |
| 13) CA | 22,319,000 | 5,066,978       | 22.70%              |
| 14) MD | 4,064,000  | 878,174         | 21.61%              |
| 15) MS | 2,151,000  | 434,029         | 20.18%              |
| 16) NJ | 5,904,000  | 1,141,199       | 19.33%              |
| 17) TX | 14,886,000 | 2,868,454       | 19.27%              |
| 18) MO | 4,328,000  | 822,734         | 19.01%              |
| 19) VA | 5,560,000  | 986,203         | 17.74%              |
| 20) GA | 6,302,000  | 1,060,851       | 16.83%              |
| 21) SC | 3,224,000  | 532,151         | 16.51%              |
| 22) OK | 2,561,000  | 417,207         | 16.29%              |
| 23) AL | 3,394,000  | 536,626         | 15.81%              |
| 24) WA | 4,489,000  | 691,381         | 15.40%              |
| 25) DE | 630,000    | 95,979          | 15.23%              |
| 26) AR | 2,065,000  | 314,234         | 15.22%              |
| 27) NY | 12,653,000 | 1,891,143       | 14.95%              |
| 28) CT | 2,518,000  | 354,539         | 14.08%              |
| 29) TN | 4,512,000  | 624,764         | 13.85%              |
| 30) FL | 12,923,000 | 1,749,920       | 13.54%              |
| 31) LA | 3,338,000  | 384,346         | 11.51%              |
| 32) AZ | 4,117,000  | 455,635         | 11.07%              |
| 33) MI | 7,490,000  | 594,398         | 7.94%               |
| 34) NE | 1,243,000  | 93,757          | 7.54%               |

Democratic Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Burnham 2008 vs 2004 - 1988  
 President - Primary Races

| ST       | 2008 VAP    | 2008         |             | 2004        |                 | 2000        |                 | 1996        |                 | 1992        |                 | 1988        |                 |
|----------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
|          |             | 2008 Turnout | % VAP Voted | % VAP Voted | +/-08-04 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-00 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-96 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-92 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-88 Points |
| AL       | 3,394,000   | 536,626      | 15.81       | 6.55        | 9.26            | 8.50        | 7.31            | 9.59        | 6.22            | 14.91       | 0.90            | 13.92       | 1.89            |
| AZ       | 4,117,000   | 455,635      | 11.07       | 6.38        | 4.69            | 2.57        | 8.50            | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| AR       | 2,065,000   | 314,234      | 15.22       | 13.29       | 1.93            | 12.66       | 2.56            | 16.98       | -1.76           | 28.48       | -13.26          | 29.34       | -14.12          |
| CA       | 22,319,000  | 5,066,978    | 22.70       | 14.41       | 8.29            | 16.37       | 6.33            | 13.07       | 9.63            | 15.36       | 7.34            | 17.42       | 5.28            |
| CT       | 2,518,000   | 354,539      | 14.08       | 5.36        | 8.72            | 7.52        | 6.56            | —           | —               | 7.17        | 6.91            | 10.16       | 3.92            |
| DE       | 630,000     | 95,979       | 15.23       | 5.57        | 9.66            | 1.96        | 13.27           | 2.00        | 13.23           | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| DC       | 371,000     | 123,994      | 33.42       | 10.87       | 22.55           | 4.74        | 28.68           | 4.91        | 28.51           | 13.94       | 19.48           | 18.83       | 14.59           |
| FL       | 12,923,000  | 1,749,920    | 13.54       | 6.28        | 7.26            | 4.99        | 8.55            | —           | —               | 11.69       | 1.85            | 14.48       | -0.94           |
| GA       | 6,302,000   | 1,060,851    | 16.83       | 10.47       | 6.36            | 5.01        | 11.82           | 1.81        | 15.02           | 9.35        | 7.48            | 13.89       | 2.94            |
| IL       | 8,540,000   | 2,030,117    | 23.77       | 14.39       | 9.38            | 9.66        | 14.11           | 9.72        | 14.05           | 18.58       | 5.19            | 18.79       | 4.98            |
| IN       | 4,586,000   | 1,276,261    | 27.83       | 7.05        | 20.78           | 6.65        | 21.18           | 6.96        | 20.87           | 11.57       | 16.26           | 16.11       | 11.72           |
| LA       | 3,338,000   | 384,346      | 11.51       | 4.95        | 6.56            | 4.93        | 6.58            | 4.99        | 6.52            | 12.81       | -1.30           | 21.32       | -9.81           |
| MD       | 4,064,000   | 878,174      | 21.61       | 12.19       | 9.42            | 13.73       | 7.88            | 8.16        | 13.45           | 16.18       | 5.43            | 15.81       | 5.80            |
| MA       | 4,625,000   | 1,263,764    | 27.32       | 13.58       | 13.74           | 12.55       | 14.77           | 3.50        | 23.82           | 17.99       | 9.33            | 16.46       | 10.86           |
| MI       | 7,490,000   | 594,398      | 7.94        | —           | —               | —           | —               | 2.06        | 5.88            | 8.65        | -0.71           | —           | —               |
| MS       | 2,151,000   | 434,029      | 20.18       | 3.63        | 16.55           | 4.33        | 15.85           | 4.75        | 15.43           | 10.27       | 9.91            | 20.05       | 0.13            |
| MO       | 4,328,000   | 822,734      | 19.01       | 9.94        | 9.07            | 6.48        | 12.53           | —           | —               | —           | —               | 14.20       | 4.81            |
| NE       | 1,243,000   | 93,757       | 7.54        | 6.50        | 1.04            | 8.64        | -1.10           | 7.93        | -0.39           | 13.05       | -5.51           | 14.92       | -7.38           |
| NH       | 1,016,000   | 290,005      | 28.54       | 22.89       | 5.65            | 17.15       | 11.39           | 9.52        | 19.02           | 20.19       | 8.35            | 15.64       | 12.90           |
| NJ       | 5,904,000   | 1,141,199    | 19.33       | 3.72        | 15.61           | 6.71        | 12.62           | 4.78        | 14.55           | 7.10        | 12.23           | 11.79       | 7.54            |
| NY       | 12,653,000  | 1,891,143    | 14.95       | 5.74        | 9.21            | 7.40        | 7.55            | —           | —               | 8.13        | 6.82            | 12.80       | 2.15            |
| NC       | 6,423,000   | 1,580,157    | 24.60       | —           | —               | 9.37        | 15.23           | 10.45       | 14.15           | 13.47       | 11.13           | 14.13       | 10.47           |
| OH       | 8,562,000   | 2,354,721    | 27.50       | 14.47       | 13.03           | 11.29       | 16.21           | 9.50        | 18.00           | 12.98       | 14.52           | 18.24       | 9.26            |
| OK       | 2,561,000   | 417,207      | 16.29       | 11.99       | 4.30            | 5.43        | 10.86           | 15.26       | 1.03            | 17.95       | -1.66           | 17.45       | -1.16           |
| PA       | 9,450,000   | 2,307,759    | 24.42       | 8.47        | 15.95           | 7.70        | 16.72           | 7.98        | 16.44           | 14.07       | 10.35           | 16.96       | 7.46            |
| RI       | 790,000     | 186,439      | 23.60       | 4.66        | 18.94           | 6.28        | 17.32           | 1.18        | 22.42           | 6.89        | 16.71           | 6.79        | 16.81           |
| SC       | 3,224,000   | 532,151      | 16.51       | 9.53        | 6.98            | —           | —               | —           | —               | 4.44        | 12.07           | —           | —               |
| TN       | 4,512,000   | 624,764      | 13.85       | 8.48        | 5.37            | 5.08        | 8.77            | 3.47        | 10.38           | 8.50        | 5.35            | 16.18       | -2.33           |
| TX       | 14,886,000  | 2,868,454    | 19.27       | 5.96        | 13.31           | 5.92        | 13.35           | 7.37        | 11.90           | 12.68       | 6.59            | 16.15       | 3.12            |
| VT       | 495,000     | 154,960      | 31.31       | 17.54       | 13.77           | 10.90       | 20.41           | 7.06        | 24.25           | —           | —               | 12.63       | 18.68           |
| VA       | 5,560,000   | 986,203      | 17.74       | 7.47        | 10.27           | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | 8.33        | 9.41            |
| WA       | 4,489,000   | 691,381      | 15.40       | —           | —               | 11.65       | 3.75            | 8.59        | 6.81            | 4.13        | 11.27           | —           | —               |
| WV       | 1,428,000   | 330,714      | 23.16       | 17.89       | 5.27            | 18.12       | 5.04            | 21.59       | 1.57            | 22.65       | 0.51            | 23.33       | -0.17           |
| WI       | 4,183,000   | 1,113,285    | 26.61       | 20.45       | 6.16            | 9.52        | 17.09           | 9.43        | 17.18           | 21.32       | 5.29            | 28.94       | -2.33           |
| Overall: | 181,140,000 | 35,006,878   | 19.33       | 9.74        | 9.59            | 8.95        | 10.38           | 8.30        | 11.02           | 12.80       | 6.53            | 16.14       | 3.18            |

Democratic Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Burnham 2008 vs 1984 - 1968  
 President - Primary Races

| ST       | 2008 VAP    | 2008         |             | 1984        |                 | 1980        |                 | 1976        |                 | 1972        |                 | 1968        |                 |
|----------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
|          |             | 2008 Turnout | % VAP Voted | % VAP Voted | +/-08-84 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-80 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-76 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-72 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-68 Points |
| AL       | 3,394,000   | 536,626      | 15.81       | 15.21       | 0.60            | 8.74        | 7.07            | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| AZ       | 4,117,000   | 455,635      | 11.07       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| AR       | 2,065,000   | 314,234      | 15.22       | —           | —               | 27.90       | -12.68          | 34.18       | -18.96          | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| CA       | 22,319,000  | 5,066,978    | 22.70       | 17.89       | 4.81            | 16.57       | 6.13            | 23.98       | -1.28           | 27.48       | -4.78           | 28.65       | -5.95           |
| CT       | 2,518,000   | 354,539      | 14.08       | 9.66        | 4.42            | 9.57        | 4.51            | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| DE       | 630,000     | 95,979       | 15.23       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| DC       | 371,000     | 123,994      | 33.42       | 22.09       | 11.33           | 13.53       | 19.89           | 6.84        | 26.58           | 5.89        | 27.53           | —           | —               |
| FL       | 12,923,000  | 1,749,920    | 13.54       | 15.00       | -1.46           | 15.75       | -2.21           | 21.87       | -8.33           | 25.68       | -12.14          | 13.05       | 0.49            |
| GA       | 6,302,000   | 1,060,851    | 16.83       | 16.56       | 0.27            | 10.18       | 6.65            | 14.63       | 2.20            | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| IL       | 8,540,000   | 2,030,117    | 23.77       | 20.96       | 2.81            | 15.32       | 8.45            | 17.48       | 6.29            | 17.08       | 6.69            | —           | —               |
| IN       | 4,586,000   | 1,276,261    | 27.83       | 18.28       | 9.55            | 15.36       | 12.47           | 16.92       | 10.91           | 21.95       | 5.88            | 25.99       | 1.84            |
| LA       | 3,338,000   | 384,346      | 11.51       | 11.05       | 0.46            | 12.63       | -1.12           | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| MD       | 4,064,000   | 878,174      | 21.61       | 16.01       | 5.60            | 16.06       | 5.55            | 21.36       | 0.25            | 22.11       | -0.50           | —           | —               |
| MA       | 4,625,000   | 1,263,764    | 27.32       | 15.01       | 12.31           | 22.24       | 5.08            | 18.83       | 8.49            | 16.55       | 10.77           | 7.48        | 19.84           |
| MI       | 7,490,000   | 594,398      | 7.94        | —           | —               | 1.23        | 6.71            | 11.75       | -3.81           | 27.96       | -20.02          | —           | —               |
| MS       | 2,151,000   | 434,029      | 20.18       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| MO       | 4,328,000   | 822,734      | 19.01       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| NE       | 1,243,000   | 93,757       | 7.54        | 13.26       | -5.72           | 13.81       | -6.27           | 16.60       | -9.06           | 19.31       | -11.77          | 18.48       | -10.94          |
| NH       | 1,016,000   | 290,005      | 28.54       | 14.12       | 14.42           | 17.19       | 11.35           | 14.18       | 14.36           | 17.42       | 11.12           | 13.21       | 15.33           |
| NJ       | 5,904,000   | 1,141,199    | 19.33       | 12.84       | 6.49            | 10.97       | 8.36            | 7.39        | 11.94           | 1.65        | 17.68           | 0.66        | 18.67           |
| NY       | 12,653,000  | 1,891,143    | 14.95       | 11.42       | 3.53            | 8.24        | 6.71            | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| NC       | 6,423,000   | 1,580,157    | 24.60       | 21.34       | 3.26            | 17.57       | 7.03            | 15.78       | 8.82            | 23.66       | 0.94            | —           | —               |
| OH       | 8,562,000   | 2,354,721    | 27.50       | 18.67       | 8.83            | 15.57       | 11.93           | 15.53       | 11.97           | 17.35       | 10.15           | —           | —               |
| OK       | 2,561,000   | 417,207      | 16.29       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| PA       | 9,450,000   | 2,307,759    | 24.42       | 18.90       | 5.52            | 18.69       | 5.73            | 16.66       | 7.76            | 17.20       | 7.22            | 8.29        | 16.13           |
| RI       | 790,000     | 186,439      | 23.60       | 6.38        | 17.22           | 5.69        | 17.91           | 9.26        | 14.34           | 6.02        | 17.58           | —           | —               |
| SC       | 3,224,000   | 532,151      | 16.51       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| TN       | 4,512,000   | 624,764      | 13.85       | 9.43        | 4.42            | 9.00        | 4.85            | 11.17       | 2.68            | 18.17       | -4.32           | —           | —               |
| TX       | 14,886,000  | 2,868,454    | 19.27       | —           | —               | 14.49       | 4.78            | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| VT       | 495,000     | 154,960      | 31.31       | 19.44       | 11.87           | 11.06       | 20.25           | 11.80       | 19.51           | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| VA       | 5,560,000   | 986,203      | 17.74       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| WA       | 4,489,000   | 691,381      | 15.40       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| WV       | 1,428,000   | 330,714      | 23.16       | 26.99       | -3.83           | 22.99       | 0.17            | 28.84       | -5.68           | 30.71       | -7.55           | —           | —               |
| WI       | 4,183,000   | 1,113,285    | 26.61       | 18.64       | 7.97            | 19.00       | 7.61            | 23.84       | 2.77            | 38.94       | -12.33          | 29.12       | -2.51           |
| Overall: | 181,140,000 | 35,006,878   | 19.33       | 16.30       | 3.03            | 14.01       | 5.32            | 17.91       | 1.41            | 21.09       | -1.77           | 17.22       | 2.10            |

Democratic Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Burnham 2008 vs 1964 - 1948  
 President - Primary Races

| ST       | 2008 VAP    | 2008            |                | 1964           |                    | 1960           |                    | 1956           |                    | 1952           |                    | 1948           |                    |
|----------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|
|          |             | 2008<br>Turnout | % VAP<br>Voted | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-64<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-60<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-56<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-52<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-48<br>Points |
| AL       | 3,394,000   | 536,626         | 15.81          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| AZ       | 4,117,000   | 455,635         | 11.07          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| AR       | 2,065,000   | 314,234         | 15.22          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| CA       | 22,319,000  | 5,066,978       | 22.70          | 24.60          | -1.90              | 21.84          | 0.86               | 22.11          | 0.59               | 22.46          | 0.24               | 12.75          | 9.95               |
| CT       | 2,518,000   | 354,539         | 14.08          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| DE       | 630,000     | 95,979          | 15.23          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| DC       | 371,000     | 123,994         | 33.42          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | 0.00           | —                  | 0.00           | —                  | —              | —                  |
| FL       | 12,923,000  | 1,749,920       | 13.54          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | 17.80          | -4.26              | 33.22          | -19.68             | 5.52           | 8.02               |
| GA       | 6,302,000   | 1,060,851       | 16.83          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| IL       | 8,540,000   | 2,030,117       | 23.77          | 1.42           | 22.35              | —              | —                  | 12.57          | 11.20              | 10.23          | 13.54              | 0.35           | 23.42              |
| IN       | 4,586,000   | 1,276,261       | 27.83          | 20.16          | 7.67               | —              | —                  | 9.11           | 18.72              | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| LA       | 3,338,000   | 384,346         | 11.51          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| MD       | 4,064,000   | 878,174         | 21.61          | 25.03          | -3.42              | 15.83          | 5.78               | 10.14          | 11.47              | 11.79          | 9.82               | —              | —                  |
| MA       | 4,625,000   | 1,263,764       | 27.32          | 2.59           | 24.73              | 3.19           | 24.13              | 1.77           | 25.55              | 1.72           | 25.60              | 1.74           | 25.58              |
| MI       | 7,490,000   | 594,398         | 7.94           | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| MS       | 2,151,000   | 434,029         | 20.18          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| MO       | 4,328,000   | 822,734         | 19.01          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| NE       | 1,243,000   | 93,757          | 7.54           | 7.09           | 0.45               | 10.68          | -3.14              | 6.94           | 0.60               | 12.63          | -5.09              | 8.16           | -0.62              |
| NH       | 1,016,000   | 290,005         | 28.54          | 7.89           | 20.65              | 14.10          | 14.44              | 7.31           | 21.23              | 10.52          | 18.02              | 1.34           | 27.20              |
| NJ       | 5,904,000   | 1,141,199       | 19.33          | 0.15           | 19.18              | —              | —                  | 3.48           | 15.85              | 4.67           | 14.66              | 0.04           | 19.29              |
| NY       | 12,653,000  | 1,891,143       | 14.95          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| NC       | 6,423,000   | 1,580,157       | 24.60          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| OH       | 8,562,000   | 2,354,721       | 27.50          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | 5.01           | 22.49              | 9.27           | 18.23              | 5.39           | 22.11              |
| OK       | 2,561,000   | 417,207         | 16.29          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| PA       | 9,450,000   | 2,307,759       | 24.42          | 3.57           | 20.85              | 3.68           | 20.74              | 9.92           | 14.50              | 2.55           | 21.87              | 5.14           | 19.28              |
| RI       | 790,000     | 186,439         | 23.60          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| SC       | 3,224,000   | 532,151         | 16.51          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| TN       | 4,512,000   | 624,764         | 13.85          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| TX       | 14,886,000  | 2,868,454       | 19.27          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| VT       | 495,000     | 154,960         | 31.31          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| VA       | 5,560,000   | 986,203         | 17.74          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| WA       | 4,489,000   | 691,381         | 15.40          | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| WV       | 1,428,000   | 330,714         | 23.16          | —              | —                  | 36.12          | -12.96             | 10.17          | 12.99              | 16.74          | 6.42               | 13.81          | 9.35               |
| WI       | 4,183,000   | 1,113,285       | 26.61          | 32.58          | -5.97              | 36.28          | -9.67              | 14.58          | 12.03              | 10.92          | 15.69              | 1.42           | 25.19              |
| Overall: | 181,140,000 | 35,006,878      | 19.33          | 12.45          | 6.88               | 15.65          | 3.68               | 11.47          | 7.85               | 11.47          | 7.86               | 5.16           | 14.17              |

Ranked Order - 2008

Republican President - Primary Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Burnham

|        | 2008 VAP   | 2008<br>Turnout | 2008 % VAP<br>Voted |
|--------|------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1) NH  | 1,016,000  | 236,884         | 23.32%              |
| 2) AL  | 3,394,000  | 552,155         | 16.27%              |
| 3) GA  | 6,302,000  | 963,541         | 15.29%              |
| 4) FL  | 12,923,000 | 1,949,498       | 15.09%              |
| 5) SC  | 3,224,000  | 445,499         | 13.82%              |
| 6) MO  | 4,328,000  | 588,427         | 13.60%              |
| 7) AZ  | 4,117,000  | 541,035         | 13.14%              |
| 8) CA  | 22,319,000 | 2,932,801       | 13.14%              |
| 9) OK  | 2,561,000  | 335,054         | 13.08%              |
| 10) OH | 8,562,000  | 1,095,917       | 12.80%              |
| 11) TN | 4,512,000  | 553,635         | 12.27%              |
| 12) WA | 4,489,000  | 529,932         | 11.81%              |
| 13) MI | 7,490,000  | 869,169         | 11.60%              |
| 14) AR | 2,065,000  | 229,882         | 11.13%              |
| 15) NE | 1,243,000  | 135,712         | 10.92%              |
| 16) MA | 4,625,000  | 501,997         | 10.85%              |
| 17) IL | 8,540,000  | 899,422         | 10.53%              |
| 18) WI | 4,183,000  | 404,482         | 9.67%               |
| 19) NJ | 5,904,000  | 566,201         | 9.59%               |
| 20) TX | 14,886,000 | 1,384,662       | 9.30%               |
| 21) IN | 4,586,000  | 412,518         | 9.00%               |
| 22) VA | 5,560,000  | 489,252         | 8.80%               |
| 23) PA | 9,450,000  | 789,964         | 8.36%               |
| 24) NC | 6,423,000  | 517,763         | 8.06%               |
| 25) VT | 495,000    | 39,843          | 8.05%               |
| 26) DE | 630,000    | 50,237          | 7.97%               |
| 27) MD | 4,064,000  | 320,989         | 7.90%               |
| 28) WV | 1,428,000  | 107,772         | 7.55%               |
| 29) MS | 2,151,000  | 143,286         | 6.66%               |
| 30) CT | 2,518,000  | 151,604         | 6.02%               |
| 31) NY | 12,653,000 | 699,078         | 5.52%               |
| 32) LA | 3,338,000  | 161,169         | 4.83%               |
| 33) RI | 790,000    | 26,996          | 3.42%               |
| 34) DC | 371,000    | 6,211           | 1.67%               |

Republican Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Burnham 2008 vs 2004 - 1988  
 President - Primary Races

| ST       | 2008 VAP    | 2008            |                | 2004           |                    | 2000           |                    | 1996           |                    | 1992           |                    | 1988           |                    |
|----------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|
|          |             | 2008<br>Turnout | % VAP<br>Voted | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-04<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-00<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-96<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-92<br>Points | % VAP<br>Voted | +/-08-88<br>Points |
| AL       | 3,394,000   | 552,155         | 16.27          | 6.04           | 10.23              | 6.20           | 10.07              | 6.73           | 9.54               | 5.46           | 10.81              | 7.33           | 8.94               |
| AZ       | 4,117,000   | 541,035         | 13.14          | —              | —                  | 9.53           | 3.61               | 11.61          | 1.53               | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| AR       | 2,065,000   | 229,882         | 11.13          | 1.91           | 9.22               | 2.29           | 8.84               | 2.31           | 8.82               | 2.95           | 8.18               | 4.03           | 7.10               |
| CA       | 22,319,000  | 2,932,801       | 13.14          | 10.48          | 2.66               | 20.79          | -7.65              | 12.70          | 0.44               | 11.57          | 1.57               | 12.37          | 0.77               |
| CT       | 2,518,000   | 151,604         | 6.02           | —              | —                  | 7.47           | -1.45              | 5.42           | 0.60               | 4.12           | 1.90               | 4.39           | 1.63               |
| DE       | 630,000     | 50,237          | 7.97           | —              | —                  | 5.30           | 2.67               | 6.09           | 1.88               | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| DC       | 371,000     | 6,211           | 1.67           | —              | —                  | 0.59           | 1.08               | 0.70           | 0.97               | 1.18           | 0.49               | 1.47           | 0.20               |
| FL       | 12,923,000  | 1,949,498       | 15.09          | —              | —                  | 6.32           | 8.77               | 8.68           | 6.41               | 9.29           | 5.80               | 10.25          | 4.84               |
| GA       | 6,302,000   | 963,541         | 15.29          | 2.70           | 12.59              | 11.34          | 3.95               | 10.61          | 4.68               | 9.34           | 5.95               | 8.94           | 6.35               |
| IL       | 8,540,000   | 899,422         | 10.53          | —              | —                  | 8.79           | 1.74               | 9.93           | 0.60               | 10.27          | 0.26               | 10.78          | -0.25              |
| IN       | 4,586,000   | 412,518         | 9.00           | 10.44          | -1.44              | 9.23           | -0.23              | 11.98          | -2.98              | 11.35          | -2.35              | 10.92          | -1.92              |
| LA       | 3,338,000   | 161,169         | 4.83           | 2.20           | 2.63               | 3.22           | 1.61               | 2.51           | 2.32               | 4.50           | 0.33               | 4.94           | -0.11              |
| MD       | 4,064,000   | 320,989         | 7.90           | 3.92           | 3.98               | 10.18          | -2.28              | 7.06           | 0.84               | 6.85           | 1.05               | 5.97           | 1.93               |
| MA       | 4,625,000   | 501,997         | 10.85          | 1.52           | 9.33               | 11.09          | -0.24              | 6.42           | 4.43               | 6.12           | 4.73               | 5.56           | 5.29               |
| MI       | 7,490,000   | 869,169         | 11.60          | —              | —                  | 19.60          | -8.00              | 7.55           | 4.05               | 6.63           | 4.97               | —              | —                  |
| MS       | 2,151,000   | 143,286         | 6.66           | —              | —                  | 5.61           | 1.05               | 7.77           | -1.11              | 8.30           | -1.64              | 8.84           | -2.18              |
| MO       | 4,328,000   | 588,427         | 13.60          | 2.92           | 10.68              | 11.61          | 1.99               | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | 10.76          | 2.84               |
| NE       | 1,243,000   | 135,712         | 10.92          | 11.05          | -0.13              | 15.24          | -4.32              | 14.37          | -3.45              | 16.65          | -5.73              | 18.01          | -7.09              |
| NH       | 1,016,000   | 236,884         | 23.32          | 6.60           | 16.72              | 26.41          | -3.09              | 23.75          | -0.43              | 20.96          | 2.36               | 20.17          | 3.15               |
| NJ       | 5,904,000   | 566,201         | 9.59           | 2.46           | 7.13               | 4.27           | 5.32               | 3.92           | 5.67               | 5.61           | 3.98               | 4.41           | 5.18               |
| NY       | 12,653,000  | 699,078         | 5.52           | —              | —                  | 5.65           | -0.13              | 8.76           | -3.24              | —              | —                  | —              | —                  |
| NC       | 6,423,000   | 517,763         | 8.06           | —              | —                  | 5.54           | 2.52               | 5.19           | 2.87               | 5.52           | 2.54               | 5.69           | 2.37               |
| OH       | 8,562,000   | 1,095,917       | 12.80          | 9.22           | 3.58               | 16.80          | -4.00              | 11.74          | 1.06               | 10.72          | 2.08               | 10.08          | 2.72               |
| OK       | 2,561,000   | 335,054         | 13.08          | 2.62           | 10.46              | 5.02           | 8.06               | 11.01          | 2.07               | 9.39           | 3.69               | 9.29           | 3.79               |
| PA       | 9,450,000   | 789,964         | 8.36           | 9.24           | -0.88              | 7.03           | 1.33               | 7.15           | 1.21               | 11.22          | -2.86              | 9.79           | -1.43              |
| RI       | 790,000     | 26,996          | 3.42           | 0.33           | 3.09               | 4.84           | -1.42              | 1.95           | 1.47               | 2.12           | 1.30               | 2.22           | 1.20               |
| SC       | 3,224,000   | 445,499         | 13.82          | —              | —                  | 19.50          | -5.68              | 9.95           | 3.87               | 5.67           | 8.15               | 7.91           | 5.91               |
| TN       | 4,512,000   | 553,635         | 12.27          | 2.27           | 10.00              | 5.97           | 6.30               | 7.27           | 5.00               | 6.56           | 5.71               | 7.14           | 5.13               |
| TX       | 14,886,000  | 1,384,662       | 9.30           | 4.88           | 4.42               | 8.48           | 0.82               | 8.16           | 1.14               | 6.81           | 2.49               | 9.27           | 0.03               |
| VT       | 495,000     | 39,843          | 8.05           | 5.84           | 2.21               | 18.00          | -9.95              | 13.30          | -5.25              | —              | —                  | 11.90          | -3.85              |
| VA       | 5,560,000   | 489,252         | 8.80           | —              | —                  | 13.20          | -4.40              | —              | —                  | —              | —                  | 5.35           | 3.45               |
| WA       | 4,489,000   | 529,932         | 11.81          | —              | —                  | 20.41          | -8.60              | 8.74           | 3.07               | 3.62           | 8.19               | —              | —                  |
| WV       | 1,428,000   | 107,772         | 7.55           | 7.86           | -0.31              | 7.83           | -0.28              | 9.26           | -1.71              | 9.16           | -1.61              | 9.97           | -2.42              |
| WI       | 4,183,000   | 404,482         | 9.67           | 3.96           | 5.71               | 12.72          | -3.05              | 15.37          | -5.70              | 13.31          | -3.64              | 10.25          | -0.58              |
| Overall: | 181,140,000 | 19,632,587      | 10.84          | 6.25           | 4.59               | 10.95          | -0.11              | 9.02           | 1.82               | 8.62           | 2.22               | 9.06           | 1.78               |

Republican Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Burnham 2008 vs 1984 - 1968  
 President - Primary Races

| ST       | 2008 VAP    | 2008         |             | 1984        |                 | 1980        |                 | 1976        |                 | 1972        |                 | 1968        |                 |
|----------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
|          |             | 2008 Turnout | % VAP Voted | % VAP Voted | +/-08-84 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-80 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-76 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-72 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-68 Points |
| AL       | 3,394,000   | 552,155      | 16.27       | —           | —               | 7.78        | 8.49            | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| AZ       | 4,117,000   | 541,035      | 13.14       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| AR       | 2,065,000   | 229,882      | 11.13       | —           | —               | —           | —               | 2.21        | 8.92            | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| CA       | 22,319,000  | 2,932,801    | 13.14       | 11.29       | 1.85            | 21.74       | -8.60           | 17.24       | -4.10           | 17.61       | -4.47           | —           | —               |
| CT       | 2,518,000   | 151,604      | 6.02        | —           | —               | 8.30        | -2.28           | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| DE       | 630,000     | 50,237       | 7.97        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| DC       | 371,000     | 6,211        | 1.67        | 1.22        | 0.45            | 1.59        | 0.08            | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| FL       | 12,923,000  | 1,949,498    | 15.09       | 4.37        | 10.72           | 8.82        | 6.27            | 10.25       | 4.84            | 8.41        | 6.68            | —           | —               |
| GA       | 6,302,000   | 963,541      | 15.29       | 1.23        | 14.06           | 5.29        | 10.00           | 5.49        | 9.80            | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| IL       | 8,540,000   | 899,422      | 10.53       | 7.52        | 3.01            | 14.41       | -3.88           | 10.34       | 0.19            | 0.47        | 10.06           | —           | —               |
| IN       | 4,586,000   | 412,518      | 9.00        | 10.93       | -1.93           | 14.81       | -5.81           | 17.39       | -8.39           | 12.18       | -3.18           | —           | —               |
| LA       | 3,338,000   | 161,169      | 4.83        | 0.58        | 4.25            | 1.47        | 3.36            | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| MD       | 4,064,000   | 320,989      | 7.90        | 2.33        | 5.57            | 5.63        | 2.27            | 5.99        | 1.91            | 4.48        | 3.42            | —           | —               |
| MA       | 4,625,000   | 501,997      | 10.85       | 1.57        | 9.28            | 9.83        | 1.02            | 4.82        | 6.03            | 3.27        | 7.58            | 3.20        | 7.65            |
| MI       | 7,490,000   | 869,169      | 11.60       | —           | —               | 9.33        | 2.27            | 17.63       | -6.03           | 5.93        | 5.67            | —           | —               |
| MS       | 2,151,000   | 143,286      | 6.66        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| MO       | 4,328,000   | 588,427      | 13.60       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| NE       | 1,243,000   | 135,712      | 10.92       | 13.06       | -2.14           | 18.42       | -7.50           | 19.77       | -8.85           | 19.52       | -8.60           | 22.78       | -11.86          |
| NH       | 1,016,000   | 236,884      | 23.32       | 10.55       | 12.77           | 22.60       | 0.72            | 19.22       | 4.10            | 22.98       | 0.34            | 24.75       | -1.43           |
| NJ       | 5,904,000   | 566,201      | 9.59        | 4.56        | 5.03            | 5.44        | 4.15            | 4.96        | 4.63            | —           | —               | 2.12        | 7.47            |
| NY       | 12,653,000  | 699,078      | 5.52        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| NC       | 6,423,000   | 517,763      | 8.06        | —           | —               | 4.01        | 4.05            | 5.05        | 3.01            | 4.84        | 3.22            | —           | —               |
| OH       | 8,562,000   | 1,095,917    | 12.80       | 8.49        | 4.31            | 11.25       | 1.55            | 12.81       | -0.01           | 9.92        | 2.88            | —           | —               |
| OK       | 2,561,000   | 335,054      | 13.08       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| PA       | 9,450,000   | 789,964      | 8.36        | 7.09        | 1.27            | 14.38       | -6.02           | 9.58        | -1.22           | 2.31        | 6.05            | 3.99        | 4.37            |
| RI       | 790,000     | 26,996       | 3.42        | 0.32        | 3.10            | 0.79        | 2.63            | 2.20        | 1.22            | 0.89        | 2.53            | —           | —               |
| SC       | 3,224,000   | 445,499      | 13.82       | —           | —               | 6.72        | 7.10            | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| TN       | 4,512,000   | 553,635      | 12.27       | 2.41        | 9.86            | 5.96        | 6.31            | 8.11        | 4.16            | 4.22        | 8.05            | —           | —               |
| TX       | 14,886,000  | 1,384,662    | 9.30        | 3.13        | 6.17            | 5.54        | 3.76            | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| VT       | 495,000     | 39,843       | 8.05        | 8.83        | -0.78           | 18.28       | -10.23          | 9.80        | -1.75           | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| VA       | 5,560,000   | 489,252      | 8.80        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| WA       | 4,489,000   | 529,932      | 11.81       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| WV       | 1,428,000   | 107,772      | 7.55        | 10.01       | -2.46           | 9.98        | -2.43           | 12.05       | -4.50           | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| WI       | 4,183,000   | 404,482      | 9.67        | 8.65        | 1.02            | 27.40       | -17.73          | 19.05       | -9.38           | 9.88        | -0.21           | 19.46       | -9.79           |
| Overall: | 181,140,000 | 19,632,587   | 10.84       | 6.43        | 4.40            | 11.50       | -0.66           | 11.57       | -0.73           | 8.23        | 2.61            | 6.89        | 3.95            |

Republican Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Burnham 2008 vs 1964 - 1948  
 President - Primary Races

| ST       | 2008 VAP    | 2008         |             | 1964        |                 | 1960        |                 | 1956        |                 | 1952        |                 | 1948        |                 |
|----------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
|          |             | 2008 Turnout | % VAP Voted | % VAP Voted | +/-08-64 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-60 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-56 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-52 Points | % VAP Voted | +/-08-48 Points |
| AL       | 3,394,000   | 552,155      | 16.27       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| AZ       | 4,117,000   | 541,035      | 13.14       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| AR       | 2,065,000   | 229,882      | 11.13       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| CA       | 22,319,000  | 2,932,801    | 13.14       | 21.44       | -8.30           | —           | —               | 16.45       | -3.31           | 21.22       | -8.08           | 12.08       | 1.06            |
| CT       | 2,518,000   | 151,604      | 6.02        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| DE       | 630,000     | 50,237       | 7.97        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| DC       | 371,000     | 6,211        | 1.67        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | 0.00            | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| FL       | 12,923,000  | 1,949,498    | 15.09       | 2.91        | 12.18           | —           | —               | 1.72        | 13.37           | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| GA       | 6,302,000   | 963,541      | 15.29       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| IL       | 8,540,000   | 899,422      | 10.53       | 13.13       | -2.60           | —           | —               | 13.74       | -3.21           | 21.69       | -11.16          | 5.90        | 4.63            |
| IN       | 4,586,000   | 412,518      | 9.00        | 13.92       | -4.92           | —           | —               | 13.70       | -4.70           | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| LA       | 3,338,000   | 161,169      | 4.83        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| MD       | 4,064,000   | 320,989      | 7.90        | 4.88        | 3.02            | —           | —               | 4.15        | 3.75            | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| MA       | 4,625,000   | 501,997      | 10.85       | 2.86        | 7.99            | 1.99        | 8.86            | 1.77        | 9.08            | 11.96       | -1.11           | 2.45        | 8.40            |
| MI       | 7,490,000   | 869,169      | 11.60       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| MS       | 2,151,000   | 143,286      | 6.66        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| MO       | 4,328,000   | 588,427      | 13.60       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| NE       | 1,243,000   | 135,712      | 10.92       | 16.03       | -5.11           | 9.34        | 1.58            | 12.12       | -1.20           | 25.88       | -14.96          | 22.14       | -11.22          |
| NH       | 1,016,000   | 236,884      | 23.32       | 23.81       | -0.49           | 20.23       | 3.09            | 16.26       | 7.06            | 27.06       | -3.74           | 8.77        | 14.55           |
| NJ       | 5,904,000   | 566,201      | 9.59        | 0.48        | 9.11            | —           | —               | 10.16       | -0.57           | 19.39       | -9.80           | 0.29        | 9.30            |
| NY       | 12,653,000  | 699,078      | 5.52        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| NC       | 6,423,000   | 517,763      | 8.06        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| OH       | 8,562,000   | 1,095,917    | 12.80       | —           | —               | —           | —               | 8.66        | 4.14            | 15.91       | -3.11           | 8.49        | 4.31            |
| OK       | 2,561,000   | 335,054      | 13.08       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| PA       | 9,450,000   | 789,964      | 8.36        | 6.39        | 1.97            | 14.15       | -5.79           | 14.41       | -6.05           | 18.56       | -10.20          | 3.87        | 4.49            |
| RI       | 790,000     | 26,996       | 3.42        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| SC       | 3,224,000   | 445,499      | 13.82       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| TN       | 4,512,000   | 553,635      | 12.27       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| TX       | 14,886,000  | 1,384,662    | 9.30        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| VT       | 495,000     | 39,843       | 8.05        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| VA       | 5,560,000   | 489,252      | 8.80        | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| WA       | 4,489,000   | 529,932      | 11.81       | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               | —           | —               |
| WV       | 1,428,000   | 107,772      | 7.55        | —           | —               | —           | —               | 10.08       | -2.53           | 15.56       | -8.01           | 11.70       | -4.15           |
| WI       | 4,183,000   | 404,482      | 9.67        | 12.41       | -2.74           | —           | —               | 20.10       | -10.43          | 35.11       | -25.44          | 7.62        | 2.05            |
| Overall: | 181,140,000 | 19,632,587   | 10.84       | 10.99       | -0.15           | 10.63       | 0.20            | 11.83       | -0.99           | 19.90       | -9.06           | 6.96        | 3.88            |