# JOHN F. KENNEDY-INSTITUT FÜR NORDAMERIKASTUDIEN Abteilung für Politik 

WORKING PAPER NO, 25/1990

UWE W, GEHRING, COMP.
The 1988 U.S. Elections
A Collection of State Data

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# The 1988 U.S. Elections <br> A Collection of State Data 

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## KURZES GELEITWORT

Es gehört zu den erfreulichen, wenn auch - oder gerade darum nicht allzu häufigen überraschungen der akademischen Lehrtätigkeit, wenn Studenten oder Studentinnen aus eigener Initiative und ohne dazu spezifisch angeregt worden zu sein, forschung betreiben. Nicht alles, was heute als "Forschung" firmiert, verdient diesen Namen; die Arbeit von Herrn Uwe W. Gehring hingegen verdient ihn.

Herr Gehring ist Student der Politikwissenschaft mit einem Schwerpunkt-Interesse für die USA und hat sein ihm vom DiplomStudiengang vorgeschriebenes Praktikum in den USA absolviert. Es traf sich gewiß aufs glücklichste, daß dieses während des Wahlkampfs 1988 stattfand.

Uber die politischen Erfahrungen, die Herr Gehring dort gemacht hat, sagt seine Forschungsarbeit nichts aus. Es handelt sich vielmehr um eine überaus nüchterne, ja geradezu bewußt distanzierte Zusammenstellung von Wahldaten, wie sie - das darf wohl behauptet werden - in dieser Form nirgends zugängig sind. Es war eben das Fehlen der einzelstatlichen Wahlergebnisse in allen ihren Aspekten, die den forscherischen Impuls des jungen Wissenschaftlers stimulierten. Mit einer Verzögerung, die nicht ihm sondern dem offensichtlich schwerfälligen US-amerikanischen Datenverarbeitungssystem anzulasten ist, liegt dieses "offizielle Endergebnis" hiermit nunmehr vor.

Während der Teil II die Wahlergebnisse der Einzelstaaten bringt nicht das geringste Verdienst dieser Arbeit besteht darin, bei der Gelegenheit auch die zahlreichen mitabgestimmten Wählerinitiativen und Referenten aufgeführt zu finden - gibt der Teil I
einen überblick über die 1988er Wahlen im Gesamtzusammenhang, liefert in Schaubildern, Grafiken und Statistiken Erklärungen zur (1988 besonders niedrigen) Wahlbeteiligung, zur Wahlkampffinanzierung, zur regionalen Stimmverteilung usw., wobei sich der Verfasser jeglicher Wertung enthält.

Solche Wertungen darf der Benutzer unseres Materials selbst vornehmen, und es ist sicher nicht nur die Hoffnung des Verfassers, daß seine Arbeit auch wirklich genutzt werde. Schon bei den nächsten Präsidentschaftswahlen, 1992, dürften gerade diese Daten eine wichtige Vergleichsbasis abgeben, werden also die dann neuen Daten die vorliegenden in einem neuen Licht erscheinen lassen und ihnen neue Bedeutung geben zur Bestimmung von möglichen Tendenzen oder auch Brüchen im US-amerikanischen Wählerverhalten.

Ich bin Herrn Gehring außerordentlich dankbar für seine engagierte Mühe und die wissenschaftliche Akribie, die man wohl durchaus als vorbildlich bezeichnen kann.

Ekkehart Krippendorff
Mai 1990

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## Introduction

This paper is the expanded version of a data compllation completed after a three-month internshtp with the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) in Washington, D.C., during the 1988 election campatgn. One of my last duties at the DSCC was to gather and verify information for the 1990 election cycle. While working on this, I found it hard to find a single accurate information source for all states and at different election levels. Ultimately, I undertook the task of developing this kind of resource myself. The result is this state-by-state collection of election returns, from the presidential election to state legislatures and initiatives \& referenda.

Section II of this paper contains official election results for the principal elections in each state. ${ }^{1}$ These are in every state, the presidential election and the election to the House of Representatives. Where applicable, the same information for the senatorial and the gubernatorial election and the elections to the state legislatures is given. For several states, the information about major initiatives \& referenda is also provided. In addition to that, the number of registered voters and, where applicable, the number of registered voters by party are given. Furthermore, I have added some background information relating to the election results - state and population statistics like the Voting Age Population (VAP) - and some basic information pertaining to recent and upcoming elections. Thus, the data section can be used as a reference for multiple purposes.

As far as I know, no other single publication covers this variety of information, neither the Congressional Quarterly nor the Almanac of American Politics nor the Congressional Ditrectory. Of course, all of these publications are invaluable sources of information, but either they lack information like the number of registered voters or they ignore the results of the state legislatures or the initiatives \& referenda.

Due to the absence of a national agency that holds this variety of information on file ${ }^{2}$, it was necessary to contact the election office in each state directly. Fortunately, most states answered promptly and with detalled information, and I wish to express my thanks to all office employees who responded to my inquiry.

The first section of this paper - a descriptive analysis of the election outcomes - has several aims. First, the state-by-state data, including registration and turnout, the vote for state legislatures, the presidential vote and the vote for the U.S. House of Representatives, will be aggregated to give an overview at the national level. This will then be discussed in a historical context. Since most publications about the U.S. elections focus on the last two topics, they are discussed here only briefly. More comprehensive, however, will be the discussion about voter registration and turnout - an important part of the electoral process in this society. Further background information on individual campaigns will be provided about the senatorial and the gubernatorial vote and for the vote on initiatives \& referenda.

Of course, I would not have been able to write this paper without the help of my colleagues at the DSCC, Rick Goss and Michele Ports, and especially Hollis J. Brookover, who managed my internship in Washington.

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## Election Results

## Notes on the Data

Unless otherwise noted, all figures in this paper are based on information from the principal election offices in each state and the District of Columbia. The Source after each state in section II gives the address of the principal office, most of them are located within the Department of State or the Office of the Leutenant Governor. Some states have instead (or in addition to that) a Board of Elections, whose address is submitted as well. However, the results of the 1984 presidential election are obtained from: Harold W. Stanley/Richard G. Miemi, Vital Statistics on American Polttics, Washington 1987, and the results of the 1984 and 1986 congressional elections are obtained from: Congressional Quarterly Alamanac, Vol. 40 (1984) and Vol. 42 (1986) resp.

One possible other source is the U.S. Bureau of the Census. However, the figures supplied by the states can be seen as the official figures on registration and voting, whereas the figures by the Census Bureau are based on a sample survey. They contain self-reported numbers on registration and voting and are therefore usually different from those provided by the states. On the other hand, the Census Bureau's study is one of the most important sources of information on the demographic characteristics of the registered and voting populations in the U.S.

As for the states' figures, it has to be considered that the states' registration statistics might be filled with so-called "deadwoods" - persons who have died or moved out of the principal jurisdiction charged with registration and are not yet purged from the files. But only this mere fact is known. It is, however, unclear how many people this are.

Another difference in turnout figures may appear when one uses the number of votes cast for the highest office (that is what I have done here) for the computations on turnout rather than the actual number of persons who cast a ballot in the election. But only 28 states provide any information on the latter and so it seemed to be better for this state-bystate analysis to use the figure which is available for all states. But the difference appears as a tiny one anyway: A comparison between the votes cast for the highest office and the total votes cast within the 28 states which provide both figures reveal a difference of only 1.29 percentage points. And the mean for this difference over the last 40 years is 1.42 percentage points. ${ }^{3}$ This means that we have to realize that the actual turnout in U.S. Elections is higher than what is depicted in this and most other publications but the difference may be seen as a "quantité négligeable".

The population statistics are obtained from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstracts of the United States: 1989 (109th edition) Washington, D.C. 1989, and: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstracts of the United States: 1988 (108 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ edition) Washington, D.C. 1987. The projections for VAP are based on the resident population of the U.S. including numbers of the Armed Forces where they reside on their duty stations, aliens and institutional populations. Excluded is the population overseas who would be eligible to vote by absentee ballot ( 520,000 Armed Forces; 65,000 Federal civilian employees plus their dependents of voting age plus an unknown number of other American citizens overseas).

Area means the total area of 1980, but the denominator for the calculations of population per sqkm is only the land area. The proportion of the population in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas is current as of July 1,1987 and refers to Metropolitan

[^1]Statistical Areas (MSA's) as defined by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), last revised on June 30,1988. OMB standards provide that each MSA must include at least

- one city with 50,000 or more inhabitants, or
- a Census Bureau-defined urbanized area of at least 50,000 inhabitants and a total MSA population of at least 100,000 ( 75,000 in New England states).

In 1987, $76.9 \%$ of the total U.S. population lives in 282 MSA's (by definition as of June 30,1988 ).

The regional division which is used here follows the division by the Congressional Quarterly. It differs from the division by the Bureau of the Census in classifying three states - Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia - and the District of Columbia. These are treated here as "East" rather than as "South" by the Bureau of the Census.

## Voter Registration and Turnout

In $1988125,647,073$ voters nationwide registered to vote (70.3\% of the VAP4, North Dakota and Wisconsin excluded), while 91,561,094 voters turned out to vote in the general election (50.1\% of VAP, with ND and WI; 70.9\% of registered voters, ND and WI excluded). ${ }^{5}$

The $50.1 \%$ turnout in 1988 marks a 64 year low in presidential elections and follows the declining trend of the last 28 years. Only in 1920 and 1924 was turnout lower: $43.4 \%$ and $43.9 \%$ respectively 6 . The $70.3 \%$ who registered to vote led to a relatively stable for registration rate over the last 40 years (see Chart 1).

Chart 1 shows that after World War II turnout in presidential election years rose steadily to $63 \%$ in 1952, then hovered around $60 \%$ until 1968 and dropped to $55.2 \%$ in 1972 (similar to the situation in 1920, this was the result of the $26^{\text {th }}$ Amendment in 1971 which reduced the voting age from 21 to 18 years).

The general trend of voter turnout in non-presidential election years is similar to that in presidential election years, though on a lower level. Voter turnout rose slightly until it reached $48.2 \%$ in 1966, then declined to a post World War II low of $36.4 \%$ in 1986. As chart 1 also shows, the registration rate in presidential and non-presidential election years are almost equal and rather stable over this 40 year period. ${ }^{7}$

Chart 2 shows registration and turnout in 1988 broken down by regions. As in the past, the Midwest has the highest rates of both registration and turnout, while the South has the lowest turnout rate ( $45 \%$ ) and the East the lowest registration rate. It should be noted that the basis for these figures - the VAP - differs between the regions: $24.1 \%$ of the VAP resides in the states of the Midwest, $20.4 \%$ in the West, $31.2 \%$ in the South and $24.2 \%$ lives in the East.

[^2]Among states, we find the highest turnout in Minnesota ( $66.3 \%$ ), which has been among the top-three in presidential election years since 1964. Georgia has the lowest turnout (38.7\%), ranging among the bottom-three in presidential election years since 1968.

## Party Registration

Twenty-eight states and the District of Columbia required or allowed party registration in 1988 (these are virtually all states with closed or semt-closed primaries). In these states $110,126,000$ people registered to vote ( $68.8 \%$ ), with $47.6 \%$ registering as Democrats, $32 \%$ as Republicans, and $18.3 \%$ as Others (most of these as Independents). Comparisons between regions reveal that the South is solid Democratic - 62.6\% of those who registered in that region did so as Democrats, $31.6 \%$ as Republicans and only $5.6 \%$ as Others (see Chart 3). The proportion of Republicans in the South is only a little below the average level, but is higher than in the East ( $28.6 \%$ ) and the Midwest ( $28.9 \%$ ). The Republican's best showing is in the West with $38.5 \%$ of registered voters. The Midwest, with $37.3 \%$, has the highest proportion of Others, this is higher than that of Democrats (33.6\%) or Republicans (28.9\%).

## Demographic Characteristics of Registration and Turnout

As was mentioned above, the data provided by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, based on a sample of approximately 50,000 households, is almost unevitable for breakdowns by sex, age and other demographic characteristics. It overestimates the actual turnout by roughly 7 percentage points - a stable rate since the Census Bureau began with voter registration and turnout surveys in $1964 .{ }^{8}$ The basic findings of the survey are shown in Chart 4.

In its statement, the Bureau of the Census concluded that the typical voter profile remained similar between 1984 and 1988. Females show a higher turnout than males, whites turn out to vote more frequently than blacks and people of hispanic origin, and the turnout rate of employed persons is higher than that of unemployed. Crossbreaks by the Census Bureau show that the lowest turnout occurs among young male hispanics (14\%) whereas elderly white males have the highest turnout rate (74.5\%).

From 1984 to 1988 turnout and registration dropped among all groups except the elderly: Their turnout increased by 1.1 percentage points (registration: 1.5 percentage points). Turnout among whites dropped by 2 points (registration: 1.7), among blacks 4.3 points (1.8), among those with at least elementary school education 6.2 points (5.9) and among those with at least a college education 2.1 points (1.3). From these figures it is possible to draw the conclusion that among those groups that already have lower turnout and registration rates the drop is greater than among those that had higher "participation" rates.

## Explanations of Turnout Decline

Clearly, age and education are the most important factors to determining turnout. The elderly turnout was almost twice as high as that of the youngest voters; similarly the turnout of those with college education was twice as high as those with less than a high school education. Splitting the age group of 65 years and over into those between 65 and 74 years and those 75 years and over, the turnout for the former is $73.1 \%$, for the latter $62.6 \%$ respectively. When we split the group with college education in those with 1 to 3 years in college and those with 4 years or more, the turnout for the former is $64.5 \%$ and for the latter 77.6\%.

[^3]The low turnout among those 75 years and older is explained by their lower level of formal education. As the overall education level increased after World War II, turnout rates increased as well. But the low turnout among the youngest voters is no longer consistent with the relatively high level of formal education among these cohorts. Turnout declined after 1960 despite the continuing increase in overall formal education. But still it explains in part voter turnout since research suggests that the decline in turnout would have been twice as great as was actually the case if levels of formal education had not increased. ${ }^{9}$

It is a common assumption in political science that changing attitudes among the electorate toward the political system contributed to the decline of turnout since 1960. Information about these changes, however, cannot be obtained from the Census Bureau. The fact that the Census Bureau is a government property prohibits questions about political attitudes being asked. Thus, to determine how people voted can only be concluded from surveys like the American National Election Study (NES), conducted by the Center for Political Studies (CPS) of the Institute of Social Research at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. Because researchers in the CPS have been studying American voting behavior since 1948 they are able to analyze voting behavior for the entire post-war period.

To examine the changing political attitudes toward the political system, NES focuses on the erosion of party loyalittes and declining beliefs that the government is responsive. Unfortunately, the data set for the 1988 pre-post election surveys are not yet available for analysis. But in their analysis of the 1984 election, Abramson et al. concluded "that $44 \%$ of the decline in reported turnout resulted from weakening partisanship and eroding feelings of political effectiveness." ${ }^{10}$

A discussion of what might be the "feelings of political effectiveness" in 1988 would go beyond the purpose of this paper. But party affiliation in 1988 (as in the past as well) shall be discussed in brief. NES asked respondents if they thought of themselves as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or another unmentioned group. Persons calling themselves a Republican or a Democrat were asked if they would call themselve a strong Republican/Democrat or not a very strong Republican/Democrat. Other respondents were asked if they thought of themselves as being closer to the Republicans or to the Democrats ("leaners"). By putting strong and weak Republicans into the Republican column, strong and weak Democrats into the Democratic column, and adding leaners to Independents, one can calculate proportions in party affiliation as it is shown in Chart 5.

The chart illustrates the general trend since 1960 away from party labels and toward an "independent" Identfication. Since World War II, the persons who identify themselves as Democrats clearly outnumber persons who identify themselves as Republicans. But the gap between these two parties narrowed from 19\% in 1952 to $7 \%$ in 1988, the smallest difference since NES studies have been conducted. The most important change, however, is the increase in the proportion of those who Identify themselves as Independents. From 1960 to 1978 this group grew from $23 \%$ to $38 \%$, declined temporarlly, but then rose even above the Democrat's share, toward a margin of $36 \%$ as compared to the Democrats $35 \%$. After a decline from $30 \%$ in 1960 to $22 \%$ in 1978, the proportion of Republicans rose steadily from this lowpoint until they accounted for $28 \%$ of all voters in 1988 .

The trend of weakening party affliation is further illustrated by the next chart. Here, those identifying themselves as "strong" Republicans or "strong" Democrats have been categorized as "strong partisans", and those identifying themselves as "weak"

[^4]Republicans/Democrats as "weak partisans". Leaners are included as independents as in Chart 5.

As can be seen in the chart, the percentage of strong partisans dropped heavily from $38 \%$ in 1964 to $28 \%$ in 1966. Thereafter there was a moderate decrease until 1978 when there was a low of $23 \%$. After 1978 the proportion of persons strongly identifying with a party increased until it reached $31 \%$ in 1988. The percentage of week partisans slightly declined from a peak in 1966 of $43 \%$, to $37 \%$ in 1986. This, then dropped sharply to $32 \%$ in 1988.

One can conclude from these numbers that since 1964 more and more people have avoided a party label, especially that of a "strong" partisan, and instead have preferred to call themselves a "weak" partisan or "independent". Since 1978, however, it seems that it has again become more appealing to declare oneselve as a "strong partisan", although the proportion of persons who do so is still lower than in the early 1960's. and it seems that the increase in the number of Independents has not yet come to an end.

## The Presidential Vote

48,882,805 U.S. citizens - $53.4 \%$ of all voters - voted for George Bush in the 1988 election. Mike Dukakis won $41,807,733$ votes ( $45.7 \%$ ) while other candidates accumulated only 870,569 votes ( $0.9 \%$ ). Bush won 40 states with 426 electoral votes; Dukakis 11 states with 112 electoral votes (including Washington, D.C.). However, on Dec. 16, one elector from West Virginia decided to cast her vote for Lloyd Bentsen instead of Michael Dukakds. Thus, the official result of the presidential election is: 426 votes for George Bush, 111 votes for Michael Dukakis and 1 vote for Lloyd Bentsen.

A regional breakdown, as is illustrated in Table 1, shows that George Bush won barely $50 \%$ of the popular vote in the East, $52.3 \%$ in the West, $52.4 \%$ in the Midwest, and $58.2 \%$ in the South, which was enough to win all states in that region. Mike Dukaks' best showing was in the East with $49.2 \%$ of the popular vote and five out of thirteen states in that region.

Table 1 .- Share of popular vote, states and electors won by presidential candidates for region

|  | West |  | Midwest |  | South |  | East |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\%$ | States | $\%$ | States | $\%$ | States | $\%$ | States |
| Bush | 52.28 | $10(90)$ | 52.37 | $9(108)$ | 58.15 | $13(155)$ | 49.99 | $8(73)$ |
| Dukakis | 46.22 | $3(21)$ | 46.85 | $3(29)$ | 41.05 | 0 | 49.15 | $5(62)$ |

Source: State's Election Offices

On a state rather than on a regional level one finds that Mike Dukakis won 2 out of the 23 states which have been won by Republican presidential candidates since 1968 (Iowa and Oregon). Additionly, he also won 2 out of 13 states that, since 1968, had been won only once by a Democratic presidential candidate (Washington and Wisconsin). Espectally the victories in Oregon and Washington (and his narrow defeat in California) were recognized because they showed that a (allegedly "liberal") candidate from the northeast is able to win states in the far west.

A closer look at the Nov. 8 result shows that, across the country, Mike Dukakis ran much better than Walter Mondale did four years before. He won back many counties that had voted Democratic before Reagan and even in some Republican strongholds Dukakis increased the Democrats' share by more than five percentage points. Further, Dukakis was able to carry 64 counties that had not voted Democratic since Lyndon B. Johnson's landslide of 1964.

However, Dukakis had no major breakthrough in any one particular voting group which could have laid the groundwork for upcoming elections. Instead, he lost voters in many Democratic bastions due to a lower turnout rate. As Rhodes Cook put it: "(...) in most of the Democratic cities, turnout was not just down, it was down dramatically."11 In turn, most places where more voters turned out in 1988 were Republican strongholds such as wealthy, high-growth suburbs or metropolitan areas in fast-growing portions of the Sun Belt, the problematic "two S's" for the Democrats. But, by no means, can the election results of 1988 be interpreted as a "landslide" for George Bush.

By using the results of exit polls of the 1988 election one can examine the voting behavior of some demographic subgroups of the population. In Chart 7 one finds a description of voting behavior according to party afflilation, political philosophy, sex, race, and union households.

The chart shows that voters with Republican party affiliation voted more consistently for their party than Democrats - $92 \%$ vs. $82 \%$. Those who declared themselves as Independent voted 57\% Republican and 43\% Democratic (Democrats represented $42 \%$ of the sample size, Republicans 38\% and Independents $18 \%$ ). The voting behavior of Liberals and Conservatives seems to be equal: $84 \%$ of each group voted for "their" party. However, Liberals represented only $25 \%$ of the sample size, while Conservatives represented $43 \%$. Those who declare themselve as Moderate - $32 \%$ of the sample size - voted $55 \%$ Democratic and $45 \%$ Republican. Women - who represent $52 \%$ of the sample - are more likely to vote Democratic than men - but nevertheless $51 \%$ of all women voted Republican as compared to $58 \%$ of all men. The overwhelming majority of Blacks - $90 \%$ - voted Democratic, but because Blacks represent only $8 \%$ of the sample size this proved to be little advantage: $87 \%$ of the sample is white and of those $59 \%$ voted Republican. The same is true for other minor groups such as hispanics (3\%) and union households (10\%), where the Democrats won a $67 \%$ and a $65 \%$ share respectively. Thus, these exit poll results illustrate why the Democrats could not win the White House: They are still a party of minorities.

## Vote for the U.S. House of Representatives

With 270 (as compared to 165 for the Republicans) winning candidates, the Democrats not only prolonged their control of the House of Representatives, they in fact had a net gain of two seats as compared to the 1986 election. This was a notable occurance since 1988 was a presidential election year, in which the party of the winning president usually gain seats. Moreover, one of the most significant results in 1988 was the margin of incumbents reelected: 402 of the 408 who seeked reelection succeeded ( $98.5 \%$ ), the highest margin in recent history. Only four Republicans and two Democrats were defeated - among them veteran Ferdinand J. St Germain of Rhode Island, who was the chairman of the Banking committee and was first elected to Congress in 1974. One Republican incumbent was already defeated in his party's primary, raising the overall number of defeated members to 7 - a post-World War II low.

[^5]Of the 15 open house seats which were held by Republicans before the election, Democrats captured two, while they lost one of the 12 open seats they previously held.

This result, especially among the open seat races, is obviously embarrassing for the Republicans and their national ticket. George Bush is the first president since John F. Kennedy who was elected without winning seats in the Congress. And the Republican's share of the House seats ( $40.2 \%$ ) is the lowest proportion won by a party of a winning presidential candidate in history.

The lack of competition in house seat races is further underlined by the fact that 81 members (almost $20 \%, 61$ Democrats and 20 Republicans) were reelected with no major party competion at all, and only 38 members were reelected with $55 \%$ of the vote or less.

Apparently both less competition and the small number of seats that changed party hands were the result of a decline in straight party voting. Prior to the mid-sixties the incumbent reelection rate averaged less than $90 \%$. Following the concept of ebb and flow, dozens of new house members were swept into office with the winning president of their party at the top of the ticket. In the following midterm elections, dozens of his party's house members were swept out of office. But as split-ticket voting emerged the election advantage shifted to incumbents, who are aided by large house staff, frank mail, and PAC money.

In 148 of 435 districts ( $34 \%$ ), voters elected a president of one party and a congressman of the other. Bush carried 135 of those, meaning that 135 Democrats were elected to the House while their district went to Bush. More than half of these districts - 66-are in the South, a region which is an electoral lock for the Republicans at the national level. But as a breakdown of the house vote shows, things are different at the regional level (see Chart 8).

## Campaign Finance

Overall spending in the 1988 election cycle exceeded $\$ 256.5$ million, an increase of $7.2 \%$ from the $\$ 239.3$ million spent in 1986 (1984: $\$ 203.6$ million). These figures are for all candidates, including primary losers (1988: 1581 candidates; 1986: 1611 ; 1984: 1782). By tabulating only the general election candidates (995), the spending exceeds $\$ 222.3$ million, compared to $\$ 210.3$ million in 1986 ( 962 candidates) and $\$ 177.6$ million in 1984 (1008 candidates). Since the 186 candidates of other partles account for only $0.34 \%$ of this amount in 1988 ( $\$ 750,000$ ). Table 2 shows disbursements of house candidates for the two major parties only.

Table 2 -- Net House Expenditures by Party and Type of Campaign, 1988 (in million \$ US)

|  | Democrats | Republicans | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Incumbents | $88.84(248)$ | $67.03(164)$ | $155.87(412)$ |
| Challengers | $21.95(153)$ | $19.18(193)$ | $41.13(346)$ |
| Open Seats | $12.00(26)$ | $12.51(25)$ | $24.52(51)$ |
| Total | $122.79(427)$ | $98.72(382)$ | $221.51(809)$ |

Note: Number of Candidates in Parenthesis
Source: FEC

## The Senatorial Vote

Thirty-three seats in the U.S. Senate were up for reelection in 1988, eighteen had been held by Democrats and fifteen by Republicans. Three Democrats - Lawton Chiles of Florida, William Proxmire of Wisconsin, and John C. Stennis of Mississippi - and three Republicans - Daniel J. Evans of Washington, Robert T. Stafford of Vermont, and Paul S. Trible of Virginia - decided not to seek another term.

Two of these six open seat races were virtually decided long before the election. In Virginia, Junior Senator Paul S. Trible stepped back after just one term in office, announcing that he might run for governor in 1989 (He actually did that, but falled to win his party's nomination last summer). His decision might have also been caused by the strong position of Charles $S$. Robb, the Democratic candidate in this race. Robb was Lieutenant Governor from 1977 until 1981, when he was elected as Governor. Barred by state law from seeking another term, he retired in 1985 . No one expected him to loose in his senatorial bid and therefore no republican officeholder tried to oppose him. Hence, Maurice A. Dawkins, a retired baptist minister and lobbyist was nominated. Dawkins is the first black the Virginia GOP has nominated for statewide office and the first southern black nominated to the Senate by either party since Reconstruction. But, as was to be expected, Dawkins was chanceless against Robb who received 71\% of the vote on election day. Robb, son-in-law of the late President Lyndon B. Johnson, is expected to use his Senate seat to further his ambitions for nationwide office.

Since announcing his candidacy, Republican James M. Jeffords was the clear frontrunner in Vermont. Jeffords represented Vermont's at-large district in the U.S. House of Representatives for 14 years and was the ranking member on the House Education and Labor Committee. Democrat William Grey, former U.S. attorney and campaign manager for Democratic Senator Patrick J. Leahy in 1986, had virtually no chance against the "progressive" Jeffords - Jeffords voted against the Reagan administration more than half the time and earned support from many Democrats and Independents in the state (and was in turn criticized by conservatives). As a result, Jeffords got two thirds of the total vote.

The races in Washington and Florida were so-called "dead heats" - with no clear favorite in the running. U.S. Representative Mike Lowry (Democrat) and former U.S. Senator Slade Gorton (Republican), both loosers of the two previous senate contests in Washington, tried to "reconstruct" their own image while depicting the continuing bad image of the other. As both politicians received highly negative ratings in the polls, Gorton had the advantage on election day with approximately 40,000 votes in his favor. In Florida as late as Oct. 4, 1988 the Democrats chose their candidate, U.S. Representative Buddy MacKay, a well known and popular politician in Florida. But the late nomination battle may have caused his narrow defeat by Republican U.S. Representative Connle Mack, who was able to carry out a much longer campaign. Mack won by a bare margin of not quite 34,000 votes.

Wisconsin and Mississippi saw the open seat contests come to an end with the expected outcome. In Wisconsin Herbert Kohl, a multimillionatre who had not been in politics before he announced his candidacy as late as May 1988, won the democratic primary by spending more than $\$ 2$ million. Republican nominee Susan Engeleiter, a lawyer and minority leader in the State Senate, could not compete against this flow of money. Her charges against Kohl's use of money and lack of experience turned out to be uneffective. In turn, Kohl sold himself as too rich to be bought - ironcally the obverse argument of his predecessor, who did not need anyone's money because he did not spend any in his last reelection campaign. With an overall spending of almost $\$ 7.5$ million, Kohl "bought" $52 \%$ of the vote.

In Mississippi it may have been the political experience of Republican Candidate Trent Lott that helped him to win by a $54 \%$ to $46 \%$ margin against his Democratic opponent

Wayne Dowdy. Both had served in the U.S. House of Representatives, Lott as Minority Whip of his party, Dowdy as chairman of the Subcommittee on Education and Training. Observers conceded, that Lott ran an excellent campaign by setting an agenda that put him in the "middle of the road" and at the same time attracted black voters. With his victory Lott captured a seat that had been held for 41 years by democratic veteran John C. Stennis, the former President pro-tempore of the Senate.

With regard to these open seat contests, the republican party may be seen as the winner of the 1988 senatorial elections. They won four out of six races and carried two states with traditionally Democratic constituencies (Florida and Mississippi).

Two Republicans who seeked reelection were expected to lose in 1988, while no Democratic incumbent faced this danger. Only the reelection of Quentin N. Burdick of North Dakota was questionable because of his age. Burdick is now 81 years old and was already urged to step aside by fellow Democrats before the campaign began. But Burdick dispelled these fears and drew $59 \%$ of the vote, almost his margin in 1982 when he received $62 \%$. But, surprisingly, another incumbent Democrat was defeated: John Melcher of Montana. He lost by a $48 \%$ to $52 \%$ margin to Republican Conrad Burns, a farm broadcaster on the Northern Agricultural Network and County Commissioner since 1987. Despite the knowledge that the National Republican Party had targeted that state, no one expected Melcher to loose his seat, because of his lead in the polls throughout the campaign. But, due to this fact he decided to ignore Burns in his campaign ads, which may have caused his defeat.

But this loss by the Democrats was cushioned by the victory of Joseph I. Leebermann of Connecticut over Republican Senator Lowell P. Weicker, Jr. As Connecticut's attorney general since 1983, Liebermann was not expected to win this contest although Democrats had set their hopes on him. Both contenders were fairly well recognized in the state, Lebermann for his efforts in consumer's affairs and environment protection; Weicker for his "liberal" viewpoint in social issues. And it was Weicker, not Liebermann, who got the endorsement by the state's AFL-CIO, the first time this group had ever endorsed a Republican for Senate. Finally, Lebermann's victory was so close that Weicker requested a recount, but - nevertheless - Liebermann won with 10,045 votes ahead of his opponent. And another Democratic challenger almost established a surprise on election day. John Vinich of Wyoming, state senator since 1974 , recelved $49.6 \%$ of the vote against staunch conservative Malcolm Wallop, the Republican incumbent. Wallop was only 1,322 votes ahead - just enough to keep Wyoming in the republican column.

Nebraska and Nevada were those states in which the democratic challenger was favored to win against the Republican incumbent. Robert Kerrey was the clear favorite in Nebraska's senate race against Senator David K. Karnes, a political novice who was appointed to the Senate seat by Governor Kay A. Orr to succeed the late Democratic Senator Edward Zorinsky in March 1987. Kerrey, who was Governor from 1983-1987, had not had a difficult time to win $57 \%$ of the vote and oust Karnes from office. Nevada's Senator Chic Hecht was the clear underdog in his reelection bid against the well known acting governor Richard H . Bryan. Bryan, who has had a storybook political career, began in the State Assembly in 1969 with stations in the State Senate and as attorney general. Governor since 1983, he was reelected to that office in 1986 with $72 \%$ of the vote, whereas Hecht won the Senate seat for the first time in 1982 by a close margin. With his election, Bryan also received a mandate against a planned national nuclear-waste dump in Nevada, a project he previously fought during his gubernatorial tenure.

The remaining 21 contests were saved for their principal incumbent. Among the ten Democrats and four Republicans who won reelection easily were Edward M. Kennedy, D-MA
(65\% of the vote), George J. Mitchell D-ME (81\%), Lloyd Bentsen D-TX (60\%), and Richard G. Lugar R-IN (68\%).

Based on their preelection expectations, neither party experienced an overwhelmingly breakthrough or downfall. Statistics show that a party usually remains in the minority for a dozen years or more when it fails to regain control of the Senate after two years. But this rule failed to hold true in the early 80's and it may fail now. We see that the Republicans won 4 out of 6 open seat races and captured three traditionally Democratic states (Mississippi, Florida, and Montana). The overall result of the senatorial election is a repetition of that in 1986 when the Democrats restored a 55 to 45 margin, which was, however, again changed by the death of Edward Zorinsky in 1987.

## Campaign Funance

The overall spending in the 1988 election cycle exceeded $\$ 201.2$ million. This is a decrease of $5 \%$ from the $\$ 211.7$ million in 1986 (1984: $\$ 170.5$ million). Note that these figures are for all candidates, including primary losers (1988: 210 candidates; 1986: 235; 1984: 248). By tabulating only the general election candidates (108), the spending exceeds $\$$ 185.2 million, compared to $\$ 189.7$ million in 1986 ( 100 candidates) and $\$ 143.7$ million in 1984 ( 101 candidates). Since the 42 candidates of other parties accounts only for $.12 \%$ of this amount in 1988 ( $\$ 230,000$ ), Table 3 shows, in analogy to table 1, disbursements of senatorial candidates for the two major parties only.

Table 3 -- Net Senate Expenditures by Party and Type of Campatgn, 1988 (in mullion US-\$)

|  | Democrats | Republicars | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Incumbents | $51.86(15)$ | $49.41(12)$ | $101.27(27)$ |
| Challengers | $25.81(12)$ | $23.23(15)$ | $49.04(27)$ |
| Open Seats | $19.18(6)$ | $15.45(6)$ | $34.63(12)$ |
| Total | $96.85(33)$ | $88.09(33)$ | $184.94(66)$ |

Note: Numbers of Candidates in Parenthesis
Source: FEC

One can see that the overall spending of Democratic candidates exceeded that of Republican candidates by almost $\$ 9$ million. Spending by incumbents acounted for more than half of the overall spending in 1988 with an average of $\$ 3.75$ million for each campaign, as compared to $\$ 1.82$ million for challengers and $\$ 2.89$ million for open seat contests (this number is highly inflated by the extraordinary spending of Herb Kohl in Wisconsin). Related to the number of candidates, republican incumbents spent more than democratic incumbents ( $\$ 4,12$ million vs. $\$ 3.46$ million). Democratic challengers, however, spent more than their Republican counterparts (\$2.15 million vs. \$ 1.55 million).

## The Gubernatorial Vote

Only 12 states held gubernatorial elections in 1988. The majority - 36 states - will hold gubernatorial elections in 1990. Among these are three states with two year Governor terms (NH, RI, VT) which were also in the 1988 races. New Jersey and Virginia have gubernatorial
elections in 1989; Kentucky, Louisiana, and Mississippi will have gubernatorial elections in 1991. In Arizona the state house voted Feb. 5, 1988 to impeach Republican Governor Evan Meecham. Democratic Secretary of State Rose Mofford then became acting governor. She was sworn in as governor on April 5, the day after the Arizona Senate voted to convict and oust Meecham from office. Mofford will serve out the rest of the four year term beginning in 1986.

In nine out of the twelve states holding elections in 1988 a sitting governor seeked reelection, and only one was defeated: West Virginia's Republican Arch A. Moore, Jr. lost against his Democratic challenger businessman Gaston Caperton, obviously because of the state's troubled economy. Caperton, a fresh-faced millionaire, head of one of the country's largest insurance-brokerage firms, spent about $\$ 3.8$ million to sell himself as a successful modern businessman, and not an old-style politician like Moore. He won by a clear margin of $59 \%$ to $41 \%$.

Two other incumbents won only with bare majorities, Republicans Edward D. DiPrete of Rhode Island by $51 \%$ to $49 \%$ and Norman H. Bangerter of Utah by $40 \%$ to $38 \%$. Despite Rhode Island's booming economy, which had already helped him to win reelection in 1986 with almost $65 \%$ of the vote, DiPrete got in trouble in his 1988 bid because of charges of impropriety. In July 1988, it was disclosed that his family made nearly a $\$ 2$ million profit in a real estate deal that was favored by a timely zoning-board decision. Hence, businessman Bruce Sundlun, his democratic contender, came closer to him than expected, but the apparent good record in office ultimately helped DiPrete to win by 6,614 votes.

In Utah, polls indicated a victory for democratic challenger Ted Wilson, a former Mayor of Salt Lake City and director of the University of Utah's Hinckley Institute of Politics. But Republican Governor Bangerter struck back on Election Day and won by a margin of about 11,000 votes ahead of his democratic opponent. Governor Bangerter was the expected looser because, in 1984, he had promised not to raise taxes in his first two years in office. He kept this promise, but supported a $\$ 160$ million tax increase in 1987. This resulted not only in his waning popularity among voters, but also in the candidacy of a former Republican, Merril Cook, who left his party to run under an independent label. Cook drew $21 \%$ of the total vote on election day. Maybe Gov. Bangerter's best move was that he pushed through a tax-refund in the state's legislature during the summer - despite suspicions that the refund seemed to be premature and excessive. But checks arrived in voters' mallboxes just after Labor Day ...

Six other incumbents were reelected quite easily. Governors of Delaware, Missour, North Carolina, North Dakota, Vermont, and Washington profited largely by the relatively good economic condition of their states. James G. Martin of North Carolina is the first republican governor to win a second term in that state and the election of Jim Gardener to Leutenant Governor of North Carolina brought the first Republican to that office since Reconstruction.

In one of the three open seat races in 1988, Republican Judd Gregg, former U.S. Representative in the $2^{\text {nd }}$ District since 1981, won easily in solid-republican New Hampshire. In another contest, Montanians not only unseated Democratic U.S. Senator John Melcher, but also prevented a comeback of former democratic governor Thomas L. Judge (1973-1980). Instead, they elected the former majority leader of the State Senate, Republican Stan Stephens, to succeed retiring Democratic Governor Ted Schwinden. Both politicians stressed proposals for Montana's struggling economy. While Judge called for public-private partnerships, the promotion of state products in national and international markets, and advocated a state tuition savings bond program for higher education, Stevens favored entrepreneurial approaches to economic growth, and held that less government and lower taxes would improve the state's economy better than government programs. It seems.
that in the midst of a conservative resurgance in Montana, voters hailed the latter, drawing this state back into the republican column.

Evan Bayh, then Secretary of State in Indiana, was consistently ahead in the polls, but the gap between he and his Republican contender John Mutz, Lieutenant Governor, narrowed after Dan Quayle's nomination as Vice-President of the U.S. at the Republican National Convention in mid-August. But despite Quayle's coattails. Indiana voters elected Bayh to succed Republican Governor Robert D. Orr, who was barred by state law from seeking another term. By marketing himself as fiscally conservative, Bayh played the second part in a drama of sorts with the theme personal revenge: His father, U.S. Senator Birch Bayh, was beaten by Dan Quayle in his reelection-bid in 1980. In 1986, Evan Bayh became the first Democrat to win statewide office since 1980, and his gubernatorial victory in 1988 ended 20 years of republican hegemony over the Indiana governorship.

Democrats now hold 28 governorships, this is a net gain of one governorship prior to the election, and is less than the four that they expected.

## State Legislatures

The immense number of seats in the State Legislatures across the country makes it almost impossible to focus on certain races or certain states. The importance the State Legislatures have for the national level is that their members have to decide about the reapportionment following the census in 1990. Therefore it seems better to count chambers and specify how they differ depending on under which party's control they are.

Out of the total of 98 chambers (Nebraska has a unicameral, bipartisan Legislature), Democrats held 67 chambers, Republicans 29 and two were evenly occupied before the election. There were 28 states in which both chambers were controlled by the Democrats; Republicans controlled both chambers in 9 states and 12 states were tied or had split control.

In the election, Democrats took control of the Montana House of Representatives and the previously tied New Mexico Senate while Republicans gained a majority in the Montana Senate (previously tied) and the Vermont House of Representatives. The Indiana House of Representatives, which was controlled by the Republicans, is now tied. As a result, Democrats will still control both chambers in 28 states, the Republicans will control both chambers in 8 states with 13 split or tied. Democrats will hold 68 chambers, the Republicans 29, with a tie in the Indiana House of Representatives.

Out of the total of 7,412 seats in 49 State Legislatures, Democrats hold now 4,482 seats ( $60.4 \%$ ), Republicans hold 2,923 seats ( $39.4 \%$ ), with 3 seats by Independents and 4 seats vacant. The Democrats had only a net gain of ten seats, Republicans had a net loss of 14 seats with one more Independent than prior to the elections. This is the fewest number of seats that ever changed hands, and only the second time in the last 30 years that the party which won the presidency lost seats in state legislatures. ${ }^{12}$ In the presidential election years of 1980 and 1984, the Republicans gained about 300 seats; in the midterm elections of 1982 and 1986 the Democrats gained about 200 seats.

A regional breakdown shows that the Democrats won a net of 27 seats in the West and a net of 21 seats in the Midwest. On the other hand, the Republicans made a net gain of 34 seats in the South, with the East unchanged (sic!) in numbers of seats. As shown in Chart 9,

[^6]the Democrats still hold a vast majority of seats in the state legislatures in the South (74\%), a slight majority in both the East ( $58.4 \%$ ) and the Midwest ( $54.4 \%$ ), and they have virtually no advantage in the West (50.6\%).

In terms of reapportionment, the Republicans lost one important battle. Now they must rely on the 1990 elections to strengthen their base in State Legislatures for the upcoming "gerrymandering". Experience has shown, however, that the President's party usually loses seats in midterm elections, suggesting that the prospects are rather bad. But the GOP's performance in the South reaffirms the apparent shift from the Democrats to the Republicans in that region, and this is disquieting for the Democrat's future in the South.

## Initiatives and Referred guestions

In November 1988 the American voter was also questioned about 230 initiative and referenda propositions (1986: 226; 1984,1982: 237). One hundred seventy-stx proposals were submitted through legislative action, state constitutional requirements or other noninitiative mechanisms (referred questions). The remainder, 50 initiatives and 4 popular referenda came to the ballot as a result of cittzen pettioning and reflects the highest number since the 1930s.

The results have been ambiguous. For example, voters in Oregon, who backed Mike Dukaks by a $51 \%$ to $46 \%$ margin and brought about democratic victories at all other levels, at the same time repealed Governor Goldschmidt's executive order banning discrimination against gay and lesbians in the state executive branch. They also voted against an extension of the Indoor Clean Air Act and for an initiative requiring that second time felony offenders must serve their full sentences without the possibility of parole.

Other results are ambiguous as well. Voters in Maryland upheld the gun-control commission by a surprisingly clear margin of $58 \%$ to $42 \%$ - and inflicted a decisive defeat upon the National Rifle Association, which spent about $\$ 7$ million against the gun-ban. However, people in Nebraska voted $65 \%$ to $35 \%$ to assert "the right to keep and bear arms". Californians voted $66 \%$ to $34 \%$ against AIDS test reporting and insurance testing for AIDS, but $62 \%$ voted in favor of AIDS tests for sex crime suspects. Despite their general avoidance of new taxes, the same California voters approved a $25 \$$ per pack increase in cigarette taxes; in Utah voters disapproved of a reduction in individual tax rates and in Washington voters approved to a $1 \%$ tax on hazardous substances in order to finance a hazardous cleanup program.

This list continues and it is not within the scope of this paper to undertake a comprehensive study of political initlatives. The results for 24 states are, however, shown in the state-by-state data section.

Nevertheless the abortion issue, which seems to be important for current and upcoming U.S. politics, is worth discussing here. The ruling by the Supreme Court on July 3, 1989, by adjudging more competence to regulate abortion to the states, shed new light on the decision voters have made in three states in November 1988. The Supreme Court's ruling is likely to cause further activity in States' Legislatures as well as on the States' Ballots and therefore will likely be an issue in upcoming election campaigns at all levels.

Michigan is now the $37^{\text {th }}$ state to have banned public funding of abortion. By a margin of $57 \%$ to $43 \%$ voters approved Proposal A to ban tax financing of abortion. Catherine Deeds of the Institute for Government and Politics noted about the campatgn in Michigan that "there is little doubt that in this confrontation they [the pro-lifers] completely outdid thetr
opponents in straight-forward political organization."13 According to Deeds, the Committee to End Tax-Funded Abortions had not only the advantage of a grass-roots campaign of 30,000 people workdng across the state, a budget of over $\$ 1$ million spent on radio and TV ads, and an estimated total support of $\$ 3$ million (compared with $\$ 1.3 \mathrm{~m}$ illion of the People's Campaign for Choice). The Committee also set the agenda by framing the abortion issue as a tax issue and stressed the question of funding. Hence the People's Campaign adopted this theme, trying to point out that it would ultimately cost the state more to pay for the birth and rearing of the "unwanted" children than to pay for abortion. This proved to be a boomerang. Deeds argues that "the combination offirm pro-lifers thoroughly organized with a more libertarian "middle" in the state electorate unwilling to see tax dollars go for abortion yielded a decisive vtctory for the abortion funding ban".

In Colorado, voters, with a majotity of $60 \%$ rejected the Proposed Amendment 7 which would have repealed an 1984 instiative by allowing taxpayer financing of abortion. And in Arkansas the vote was $52 \%$ to $48 \%$ for an indtiative to ban the funding of abortion, even though, due to a legislative decision no tax dollars have been spent on poor women's abortions since 1976.

Although the victories pro-lifers enjoyed in these three states seem to be related to tax issues, trackers of past initiatives and referenda point out that there is evidence of a greater shift in public opinion toward the abortion issue. Deeds concludes: "It is posstble, nonetheless, to describe this year's election as the best day the pro-life movement has had at the ballot box since 1973."

And Patrick B. McGuigan, editor of the Inttiattive and Referendum Report argues, by discussing the general results of the 1988's initiative and referendum petitioning, that the electorate has traditionally been cautious, usually rejecting wide policy swings. According to McGuigan the increasing willingness the electorate show towards approving aggressive initiatives on the left and right in 1988 might be indicative of change. ${ }^{14}$

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Source: NES Codebooks




Source: States' Election Offices


## Section II

State Data


Source: Secretary of State, Alabama State House, Montgomery, AL 36130-7701




Presidential Election: (6 Electors)
George H. W. BUSH: $\quad 466,578$ ( $56.3 \%$ ) Reagan 1984: 534,774 ( $60.4 \%$ )
Michael S. DUKAKIS: $349,237(42.1 \%) \quad$ Mondale 1984: 338,646 (38.2 \%)
Others: $\quad 11,923$ ( $1.4 \%$ )
TOTAL: 827,738 ( $47.0 \%$ of VAP, $68.8 \%$ of Reg. Vot.) | TOTAL: 884,406 ( $51.8 \%$ of VAP 1984 )

Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: (4 Seats)

Republicans: 1 votes for unopposed candidates! | 1986: $1 \quad 1984$ | 1

## Senatorial Election:

No Senatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990
Senior Senator: Bumpers, Dale (D) (up 1992) / Junior Senator: Pryor, David (D) (up 1990)

Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990
Governor: Clinton, Bill (D)

Election for the State House of Representatives: (100 Seats) (2 year term)

Dem.: 88 Rep.: 11 Ind.: 1

State Senate Election: (35 Seats; 17 up for reelection) (4 year term)
Dem.: 31 Rep.: 4

## Major initiatives and referenda

Arkansas voters
adopted with 398,107 votes to 368,117 votes ( $52 \%$ to $48 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment stating that no public funds will be used to pay for any abortion, except to save the mother's life; that the policy of Arkansas is to protect the life of every unborn child from conception until birth, to the extent permitted by the Federal Constitution; and that this amendment will not affect contraceptives or require an appropriation of public funds.

- adopted with 370,662 votes to 304,113 votes ( $55 \%$ to $45 \%$ ) a referred question from an act authorizing the Arkansas Soll and Water Conservation Commission to issue specific bonds in total principal amount not to exceed $\$ 250$ million in series from time to time in principals amount not to exceed, without prior approval of the General Assembly, $\$ 50$ million in any biennium for the purpose of financing waste disposal and pollution abatement facilitles.
- adopted with 428,134 votes to 258,704 votes ( $62 \%$ to $38 \%$ ) an inttiative petition to provide for several regulations concerning lobbying and state officials.



## Presidential Election: (47 Electors)

George H. W. BUSH: 5,054,917 (51.1 \%)
Michael S. DUKAKIS: 4,702,233 (47.5 \%)
Others: $\quad 129,915$ ( $1.3 \%$ )

Reagan 1984: 5,467,009 (57.5 \%)
Mondale 1984: 3,922,519 (41.2 \%)
Others 1984: 115,895 ( $1.2 \%$ )

TOTAL: $9,887,065$ ( $47.3 \%$ of VAP, $70.6 \%$ of Reg. Vot.) | TOTAL: $9,505,423$ ( $49.5 \%$ of VAP 1984 )

Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: (45 Seats)

| Democrats: 27 | (with $4,944,446$ votes statewide) | 1986: 27 | 1984: 27 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Republicans: 18 (with $4,173,715$ votes statewide) | $1986: 18$ | $1984: 18$ |  |

TOTAL: 9,381,040 votes statewide (44.9 \% of VAP)

## Senatorial Election:

| Democrat: McCarthy, Leo; Lieutenant Governor: | $4,287,253(44.0 \%)$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Republican: Wilson, Pete; U.S. Senator: | $5,143,409(52.7 \%)$ |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  | TOTAL: $9,743,598(46.6 \%$ of VAP) |

Senior Senator: Cranston, Alan (D) (up 1992) / Junior Senator: Wilson, Pete (R)

Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Governor: Deukmejian, George (R)

Election for the Assembly: ( 80 Seats) (2 year term)

Dem.: 47 Rep.: 33
State Senate Election: (40 Seats; 20 up for reelection) (4 year term)

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Dem.: 24 Rep.: 15 Ind.: 1
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## Major initiatives and referenda

## California voters

- rejected with $6,116,276$ to $3,208,787$ votes ( $66 \%$ to $34 \%$ ) an initiative to require public health authorities to report AIDS cases and to allow insurance testing for AIDS.
- adopted with $5,758,706$ to $3,468,214$ votes ( $62 \%$ to $38 \%$ ) an initiative statute to require AIDS test for sex crime suspects or for assaults on law enforcement and medical emergency personnel.
- adopted with $5,607,386$ to $4,032,644$ votes ( $58 \%$ to $42 \%$ ) an initiative constitutional amendmend and statute to provide a $25 \$$ per pack hike in cigarette tax, while revenue are for education/medical research and help medical expenses of cancer victims.
- adopted with $4,853,298$ to $4,630,689$ votes ( $51 \%$ to $49 \%$ ) an initiative statute to mandate a $20 \%$ car insurance rate rollback and to provide elected instead of appointed insurance commissioner.



## Major initiatives and referenda

Colorado voters

- adopted with 829,617 votes to 527,053 votes ( $61 \%$ to $39 \%$ ) an initiative to amend to the Constitution that the English language is the official language of the State of Colorado.
rejected with 809,078 votes to 534,070 votes ( $60 \%$ to $40 \%$ ) an initiative to repeal Article V. Section 50 of the Colorado Constitution and to provide instead that the state and its agencies, institutions and political subdivisions shall not prohibit the use of public funds for medical services for a woman solely because of her choice of whether or not to continue her pregnancy.


Source: Secretary of State, 30 Trinity Street, Hartford, CT 06106


## Senatorial Election:

| Democrat: Woo, S.B.; Lieutenant Governor: |  | $92,378(37.9 \%)$ |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | :--- |
| Republican: Roth, William V., Jr.; U.S. Senator: | $151,115(62.0 \%)$ |  |

Senior Senator: Roth, William V., Jr. (R) / Junior Senator: Biden, Joseph R., Jr. (D) (up 1990) Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)
Democrat: Kreshtool, Jacob; Attorney: 70,236 (29.2 \%)

Republican: Castle, Michael N.; U.S.Governor:
169,733 ( $70.7 \%$ )

TOTAL: 239,969 ( $48.9 \%$ of VAP)

Governor: Castle, Michael N. (R)
Election for the State House of Representatives: ( 41 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 18 Rep.: 23
State Senate Election: (21 Seats; 10 up for reelection) (4 year term)

Dem.: 13 Rep.: 8

Source: State Election Commisstoner, 101 Court Street, Dover, DE 19901


Senatorial Election:

| Democrat: MacKay, Buddy; U.S. Congressman: | $2,015,717$ (49.5 \%) |
| :--- | ---: |
| Republican: Mack, Connie, III; U.S. Congressman: | $2,049,329(50.4 \%)$ |
| * Open Seat: Chiles, Lawton (D) (Sen. Senator) retired |  |
| Senior Senator: Graham, Robert (D) (up 1992) / Junior Senator: Mack, Connie, Ill (R) |  |
| Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term) |  |

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Governor: Martinez, Bob (R)

Election for the State House of Representatives: (120 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 73 Rep.: 47
State Senate Election: ( 40 Seats; 21 up for reelection) (4 year term)

Dem.: 23 Rep.: 17

## Major initiatives and referenda

## Florlda voters

- adopted with $2,840,296$ votes to $1,085,751$ votes ( $72 \%$ to $28 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to provide that county court judges shall be subject to impeachment by the Legislature (instead of Governor's authority to suspend county court judges).
- adopted with $3.629,963$ votes to 394,617 voters ( $90 \%$ to $10 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to grant victims of crime, and the next of kin of homicide victims the qualified right to be informed, to be present and to be heard at all crucial steps of criminal proceedings.
- adopted with $2,723,848$ votes to $1,225,915$ votes ( $69 \%$ to $31 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to authorize the creation of a Department of Veteran Affars and a Department of Elderly Affairs.
- adopted with $3,457,039$ votes to 664,861 votes ( $84 \%$ to $16 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to establish English as the offictal language of the State of Florida.

Source: Secretary of State, Capttol Bullding, Tallahassee, FL 32399-0250


## Presidential Election: (12 Electors)

| George H. H. BUSH: | $1,081,331(59.7 \%)$ | Reagan 1984: $1,068,722(60.1 \%)$ |  |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | ---: |
| Michael S. DUKAKIS: | $714,792(39.5 \%)$ | Mondale 1984: $706,628(39.7 \%)$ |  |
| Others: | $13,534(0.7 \%)$ | Others 1984: | $770(0.0 \%)$ |

TOTAL: $1,809,657$ ( $38.7 \%$ of VAP, $61.6 \%$ of Reg. Vot.) | TOTAL: $1,776,120(41.9 \%$ of VAP 1984)

Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: (10 Seats)

| Democrats: | 9 (with $1,115,343$ votes statewide) | 1986: 8 | 1984: 8 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Republicans: 1 (with 556,817 votes statewide) | $1986: 2$ | 1984: 2 |  |

TOTAL: $1,672,160$ votes statewide ( $35.8 \%$ of VAP)
Senatorial Election:

No Senatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990
Senior Senator: Nunn, Sam (D) (up 1990) / Junior Senator: Fowler, Wyche (D) (up 1992)
Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Governor: Harris, Joe Frank (D)

Election for the State House of Representatives: (180 Seats) (2 year term)

Dem.: 144 Rep.: 36
State Senate Election: (56 Seats; 56 up for reelection) (2 year term)

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Dem.: 45 Rep.: }1
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## Major initiatives and referenda

## Georgia voters

adopted with 711,506 votes to 652,329 ( $52 \%$ to $48 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to authorize the General Assembly to provide by general law for additional penalties or fees in any case in any court in Georgia in which a person is adjudged guilty of an offense against the criminal or traffic laws of the state or an ordinance of a political subdivision of the state. The General Assembly is authorized to provide for the allocation of such additional penalties or fees for the construction, operation and staffing of jails, correctional institutions and detention facilities by counties.

- adopted with 840,889 votes to 548,431 votes ( $61 \%$ to $39 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to authorize the General Assembly for the creation of an Indigent Care Trust Fund for the purpose to expand Medicaid eligibility to persons and for services which would otherwise not be eligtble for Medicaid coverage and for other purposes.



## Major initiatives and referenda

## Hawall voters

- voted with 172,026 to 156,594 ( $52 \%$ to $48 \%$ ) in favor of an constitutional amendment which would have provided the elimination of the one-year residency requirement to vote in Hawail. However, the amendment has been rejected because votes in favor does only represent $47 \%$ of the total votes cast.

Source: Office of the Lieutenant Governor, State Capitol, Honolulu, HI 96813


## Senatorial Election:

No Senatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Senior Senator: McClure, James A. (R) (up 1990) / Junior Senator: Symms, Steven D. (R) (up 1992)

Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Governor: Andrus, Cecil D. (D)

Election for the State House of Representatives: ( 84 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 20 Rep.: 64
State Senate Election: (42 Seats; 42 up for reelection) (2 year term)
Dem.: 19 Rep.: 23

## Major initiatives and referenda

Idaho voters

- adopted with 212,877 votes to 198,062 votes ( $52 \%$ to $48 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to remove the prohibition against the Legislature to authorize a lottery or gift enterprise.

Source: Secretary of State, Statehouse, Room \#203, Boise, ID 83720


## Major initiatives and referenda

Illinois voters

- adopted with $2,086,744$ votes to $1,162,258$ votes ( $64 \%$ to $36 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to extend the right to vote to those between 18 and 21 years old and reduce residency requirement for voting from 6 months to 30 days.

Source: State Board of Elections, P.O. Box 4187, Springfield, IL 62708


## Major initiatives and referenda

## Indiana voters

rejected with $1,070,004$ votes to 578,326 votes ( $65 \%$ to $35 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to allow elected county officials to be reelected to their offices without limitation on the number of consecutive terms.

Sources: Secretary of State, 201 State House, Indianapolts, IN 46204
Indiana State Election Board, 850 North Meridian Street, Indianapolis, IN 46204
Midwest 145,753 sqkm


## Presidential Election: (8 Electors)

| George H. W. BUSH: | 545,355 ( $44.5 \%$ ) |
| :--- | ---: |
| Michael S. DUKAKIS: | $670,557(54.7 \%)$ |
| Others: | $9,720(0.7 \%)$ |

Reagan 1984: 703,088 (53.2 \%)
Mondale 1984: 605,620 (45.8 \%)
Others 1984: 11,097 ( $0.8 \%$ )

TOTAL: 1,225,614 (59.2 \% of VAP, $72.5 \%$ of Reg. Vot.) | TOTAL: 1,319,805 (62.2\% of VAP 1984)

Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: (6 Seats)

| Democrats: | 2 (with 580,200 votes statewide) | 1986: 2 | 1984: 2 |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Republicans: | 4 (with 606,647 votes statewide) | $1986:$ | 4 | $1984:$ | 4 |

TOTAL: $1,188,758$ votes statewide (57.4 \% of VAP)
Senatorial Election:

No Senatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990
Senior Senator: Grassley, Charles E. (R) (up 1992) / Junior Senator: Harkin, Tom (D) (up 1990)
Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Governor: Bransted, Terry E. (R)

Election for the State House of Representatives: (100 Seats) (2 year term)

Dem.: 61 Rep.: 39
State Senate Election: (50 Seats; 25 up for reelection) (4 year term)

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Dem.: }30\mathrm{ Rep.: }2
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## Major initiatives and referenda

Iowa voters

- adopted with 541,645 votes to 271,331 votes ( $67 \%$ to $33 \%$ ), and with 607,321 votes to 158,555 votes ( $79 \%$ to $21 \%$ ) respectively, two constitutional amendments to provide that the Governor and the Leutenant Governor are elected as a team and that the duties of the Lieutenant Governor are assigned by the Governor and the Legislature.


Presidential Election: (7 Electors)


Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: (5 Seats)

| Democrats: | 2 | (with | 366,757 v | votes statewide) | 1986: | 2 | 1984: 2 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Republicans: | 3 | (with | 565,308 v | votes statewide) | 1986: | 3 | 1984: 3 |

## Senatorial Election:

No Senatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990
Senior Senator: Dole, Robert (R) (up 1992) / Junior Senator: Kassebaum, Nancy L. (R) (up 1990)
Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990
Governor: Hayden, Mike (R)

Election for the State House of Representatives: (125 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 58 Rep.: 67
State Senate Election: (40 Seats; 40 up for reelection) (4 year term)
Dem.: 18 Rep.: 22


## Major initiatives and referenda

## Kentucky voters

- adopted with 594,577 votes to 446,937 votes ( $57 \%$ to $43 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to provide that the General Assembly may establish a Kentucky State Lottery or a state lottery to be conducted in cooperation with other states.



## Senatorial Election:

No Senatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Senior Senator: Johnston, J. Bennett (D) (up 1990) / Junior Senator: Breaux, John B. (D) (up 1992)

Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1991

Governor: Roemer, Buddy (D)
Election for the State House of Representatives: (105 Seats) (4 year term)
No election in 1988; Next election in 1991

Current Distribution: Dem.: 86 Rep.: 18 Vac.: 1

State Senate Election: (39 Seats) (4 year term)

No election in 1988; Next election in 1990
Current Distribution: Dem.: 34 Rep.: 5

Source: Secretary of State, P.O. Box 94125, Baton Rouge, LA 70804-9125
Population 1984: $1,158,000$
Population 1988: 1,206,000 (+ $4.1 \%)$
Black: $0.3 \%$
White: $97.8 \%$

| Voting Age Population 1984: | $854,000(73.7 \%$ of Pop.) |
| :--- | :--- |
| Voting Age Population 1988: | $893,000(74.0 \%$ of Pop.,$+4.5 \%)$ |
| Black: $0.3 \%$ |  |


| Metropolitan Population (1987): | $36.1 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Nonmetropolitan Pop. (1987): | $63.9 \%$ |


| Registered Voters 1988: | $854,764(95.7 \%$ of VAP) |
| :---: | :--- |
| as Democrats: | $264,375(30.9 \%)$ |
| as Republicans: | $237,883(27.8 \%)$ |
| as Others: | $284,414(33.2 \%)$ |

Deadline: Election Day Registration! (Party Registration as of Primary!)


## Senatorial Election:


Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990
Governor: McKernan, John R., Jr. (R)
Election for the State House of Representatives: (151 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 97 Rep.: 54
State Senate Election: (35 Seats; 35 up for reelection) (2 year term)
Dem.: 20 Rep.: 15

## Major initiatives and referenda

Maine voters

- adopted with 292,335 votes to 232,456 votes ( $56 \%$ to $44 \%$ ) a Constitutional Amendment to remove gender-blased language from the state's constitution in order to clarify that the constitution applies to all individuals.

Source: Department of State, State House Station 101, Augusta, ME 04333


Presidential Election: (10 Electors)

| George H. W. BUSH: | $876,167(51.1 \%)$ | Reagan 1984: | $879,918(52.5 \%)$ |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | ---: | :--- |
| Michael S. DUKAKIS: | $826,304(48.2 \%)$ | Mondale 1984: | $787,935(47.0 \%)$ |
| Others: | $11,887(0.6 \%)$ | Others $1984:$ | $8,020(0.4 \%)$ |

TOTAL: $1,714,358$ ( 49.1 \% of VAP, $74.2 \%$ of Reg. Vot.) | TOTAL: $1,675,873$ ( $51.4 \%$ of VAP 1984)

Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: ( 8 Seats)

| Democrats: | 6 | (with | 936,963 votes statewide) | 1986: 6 | 1984: 6 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Republicans: | 2 (with 624,021 votes statewide) | $1986: 2$ | 1984: 2 |  |  |

TOTAL: 1,560,984 votes statewide (44.7\% of VAP)

## Senatorial Election:

| Democrat: Sarbanes, Paul S.; U.S. Senator: | 999,166 (61.7 \%) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Republican: Keyes, Alan; Fm. State Dept. Official: | 617,537 (38.1 \%) |

TOTAL: $1,617,065$ ( $46.3 \%$ of VAP)
Senior Senator: Sarbanes, Paul S. (D) / Junior Senator: Mikulski, Barbara A. (D) (up 1992)

Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Governor: Schaefer, William Donald (D)

Election for the State House of Delegates: (141 Seats) (4 year term)

No election in 1988; Next election in 1990
Current Distribution: Dem.: 125 Rep.: 16

State Senate Election: (47 Seats) (4 year term)

No election in 1988; Next election in 1990

Current Distribution: Dem.: 40 Rep.: 7

## Major initiatives and referenda

Maryland voters

- adopted 927,947 votes to 663,424 votes ( $58 \%$ to $42 \%$ ) an initiative to prohibit the manufacture and sale of certain handguns and to establish a nine-member Handgun Roster Board that will compile, by considering various characteristics stated in the law, a roster of permitted handguns found to be useful for sporting, self-protection or law enforcement purposes.



## Senatorial Election:

| Democrat: Kennedy, Edward M.; U.S. Senator: | $1,693,344$ ( $64.9 \%$ ) |
| :--- | ---: | :--- |
| Republican: Malone, Joe; St. Party Executive Director: | $884,267(33.9 \%)$ |

TOTAL: $2,606,225$ ( $57.4 \%$ of VAP)
Senior Senator: Kennedy, Edward M. (D) / Junior Senator: Kerry, John F. (D) (up 1990)
Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990
Governor: Dukakis, Michael S. (D)

Election for the State House of Representatives: (160 Seats) (2 year term)

Dem.: 128 Rep.: 32
State Senate Election: ( 40 Seats; 40 up for reelection) (2 year term)
Dem.: 32 Rep.: 8

## Major initiatives and referenda

Massachusetts voters

- $\quad$ rejected with $1,781,172$ votes to 713,999 votes (71\% to $29 \%$ ) an initiative petition to require the Commissioner of the Department of Food and Agriculture to issue regulations to ensure that farm animals are maintained in good health and that cruel or inhumane practices are not used in the raising, handling or transportation of farm animals.
- rejected with $1,626,402$ votes to 770,800 votes ( $68 \%$ to $32 \%$ ) an initiative petition to provide that, after July 4, 1989, there should not be any further generation of electric power by commercial nuclear power plants in the Commonwealth by means which result in the production of nuclear waste.

Presidential Election: (20 Electors)

| George H. W. BUSH: | $1,965,486(53.5 \%)$ | Reagan $1984: 2,251,571(59.2 \%)$ |
| :--- | ---: | :--- |
| Michael S. DUKAKIS: $1,675,783(45.6 \%)$ | Mondale 1984: $1,529,638(40.2 \%)$ |  |
| Others: | $27,894(0.7 \%)$ | Others 1984: |

TOTAL: $3,669,163$ ( $54.0 \%$ of VAP, $61.6 \%$ of Reg. Vot.) | TOTAL: $3,801,658$ ( $57.9 \%$ of VAP 1984)
Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: (18 Seats)

| Democrats: | 11 | (with $1,824,103$ votes statewide) | 1986: 11 | 1984: 11 |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Republicans: 7 (with $1,604,946$ votes statewide) | 1986: 7 | 1984: 7 |  |  |

Senatorial Election:

| Democrat: Riegle, Donald W., Jr.; U.S. Senator: | $2,116,865(60.3 \%)$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Republican: Dunn, Jim; Businessman/Fm. U.S. Congress: | $1,348,219(38.4 \%)$ |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  | TOTAL: $3,505,985(51.6 \%$ of VAP) |

Senior Senator: Riegle, Donald W., Jr. (D) / Junior Senator: Levin, Carl (D) (up 1990)
Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Governor: Blanchard, James J. (D)

Election for the State House of Representatives: (110 Seats) (2 year term)

Dem.: 61 Rep.: 49
State Senate Election: (38 Seats) (4 year term)
No election in 1988; Next election in 1990

Current Distribution: Dem.: 18 Rep.: 20

## Major initiatives and referenda

## Michigan voters

- adopted with $1,959,727$ votes to $1,486,371$ votes ( $57 \%$ to $43 \%$ ) a referendum to approve a law that states that tax funds shall not be used to pay for an abortion for a person recetving public assistance unless necessary to save the mother's life.
- adopted $2,662,796$ votes to 650,515 votes ( $80 \%$ to $20 \%$ ) a proposal to include crime victim's rights in the Constitution.



## Major initiatives and referenda

## Minnesota voters

- adopted with $1,645,090$ votes to 375,752 votes ( $81 \%$ to $19 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to establish a Minnesota Environment and National Resources Trust Fund for environmental, natural resource, and wildlife purposes.

Source: Secretary of State, 180 State Office Bullding, Saint Paul, MN 55155



Presidential Election: (11 Electors)

| George H. W. BUSH: $1,084,953(51.8 \%)$ | Reagan $1984: 1,274,188(60.0 \%)$ |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | ---: |
| Michael S. DUKAKIS: $1,001,619(47.8 \%)$ | Mondale 1984: | $848,583(39.9 \%)$ |  |
| Others: | $6,656(0.3 \%)$ | Others $1984:$ | $12(0.0 \%)$ |

TOTAL: $2,093,228$ ( $54.7 \%$ of VAP, $71.1 \%$ of Reg. Vot.) | TOTAL: $2,122,783$ ( $57.2 \%$ of VAP 1984)

Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: (9 Seats)

| Democrats: | 5 (with $1,148,292$ votes statewide) | 1986: | 5 | 1984: 6 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Republicans: | 4 (with 909,599 votes statewide) | $1986:$ | 4 | 1984: |

TOTAL: 2,070,079 votes statewide (54.1 \% of VAP)

## Senatorial Election:

Democrat: Nixon, Jeremiah; State Senator:
660,045 ( $31.7 \%$ )
Republican: Danforth, John C.; U.S. Senator:
$1,407,416$ (67.7 \%)
TOTAL: $2,078,871$ ( $54.4 \%$ of VAP)
Senior Senator: Danforth, John C. (R) / Junior Senator: Bond, Christopher S. (R) (up 1992)

Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

Democrat: Hearnes, Betty; St. Representative: Republican: Ashcroft, John; U.S. Governor:
724.919 (34.7 \%)

1,339,531 (64.2\%)

TOTAL: $2,085,917$ (54.5 \% of VAP)

Governor: Ashcroft, John (R)

Election for the State House of Representatives: (163 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 105 Rep.: 58

State Senate Election: (34 Seats; 17 up for reelection) (4 year term)

Dem.: 22 Rep.: 12


## Senatorial Election:

Democrat: Melcher, John; U.S. Senator: 175,809 (48.1 \%)

Republican: Burns, Conrad; Radio Talk Show Host:
189,445 ( $51.8 \%$ )
TOTAL: 365,254 ( $62.3 \%$ of VAP)
Senior Senator: Baucus, Max (D) (up 1990) / Junior Senator: Burns, Conrad (R)

Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

Democrat: Judge, Thomas L.; Former Governor: Republican: Stephens, Stanley G.; Fm. St. Senator:

* Open Seat: Schwinden, Ted (D) retired

Governor: Stephens, Stanley G. (R)
Election for the State House of Representatives: (100 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 52 Rep.: 48

State Senate Election: (50 Seats; 25 up for reelection) (4 year term)

Dem.: 23 Rep.: 27

Source: Secretary of State, State Capttol, Helena, MT 59620


## Senatorial Election:

| Democrat: Kerrey, Robert; Former Governor: |
| :--- |
| Republican: Karnes, David K.; U.S. Senator: |
|  |
| Senior Senator: Exon, James J. (D) (up 1990) / Junior Senator: Kerrey, Robert (D) |
|  |
| Gubernatorial Election: |

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Governor: Orr, Kay A. (R)
Election for the Legislature: ( 49 Seats; 27 up for reelection) (4 year term)
Nebraska has a unicameral, nonpartisan Legislature.
Members are refered to as Senators.

## Major initiatives and referenda

## Nebraska voters

- rejected with 414,394 votes to 225,174 votes ( $65 \%$ to $35 \%$ ) an initiative petition to withdraw Nebraska from the central interstate low-level radioactive waste-compact, and to require the approval of a majority of electors statewide and a majority of electors of the local area affected prior to the construction of any low-level radioactive waste-disposal facility in Nebraska other than nuclear power plants or facilities already approved for such disposal or storage and faclitites on the site of medical treatment or institutional research which store or dispose of radioactive materials produced as a by-product at the side.
- adopted with 393,829 votes to 216,528 votes ( $65 \%$ to $35 \%$ ) an initiative petition to amend to the Constitution of Nebraska a right to keep and bear arms for lawful purposes, and to provide that such right not be infringed by the state or any subdivision of the state.
- adopted with 366,682 votes to 219,438 votes ( $63 \%$ to $37 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to authorize wagering by the pari-mutuel method on horseraces run either within or outside of the state if such wagering is conducted at a licensed racetrack.
- adopted with 380,863 votes to 177,861 votes ( $68 \%$ to $32 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to provide that only registered voters, instead of electors, may sign petitions for initiatives or referendums.





Source: Secretary of State, State House CN 300, Trenton, NJ 08625


## Major initiatives and referenda

## New Mexdco voters

- adopted with 224,091 votes to 145,206 votes ( $61 \%$ to $39 \%$ ) a Joint Resolution by the State Legislature proposing an amendment to the Constitution of New Mexico to enable the governor to remove gubernatorial appointees from office without stating a reason for doing so in cases where there are no other provisions in state law for their removal (so far, appointees may be removed by the governor for "incompetency, neglect of duty or malfeasance in office").
Population 1984: 17,713,000
Population 1988: $17,898,000$ (+ $1.0 \%$ )
Black: $15.6 \%$
White: $80.6 \%$

Metropolitan Population (1987): $90.5 \%$
Nonmetropolitan Pop. (1987):

Population
per sqkm: 145.9

```
Voting Age Population 1984: 13,301,000 (75.0 % of Pop.)
Voting Age Population 1988: 13,480,000 (75.3% of Pop. ,+ 1.3%)
    Black: 14.5%
    White: 82.5%
Registered Voters 1988: 8,581,276 (63.6 % of VAP)
        as Democrats: }\quad3,494,050(40.7%
        as Republicans: }\quad2,472,438(28.8%
        as Others: 1,508,839(17.5 %)
(as of 11/08/1988) Deadline: 10/11/1988
    (Party Registration as of Primary!)
```

Presidential Election: (36 Electors)
George H. H. BUSH: $3,081,871(47.7 \%$ ) Reagan 1984: 3,664,763(53.8\%)
Michael S. DUKAKIS: 3,347,882 (51.8 \%) Mondale 1984: 3,119,609 (45.8 \%)
Others: $\quad 27,963(0.4 \%)$
TOTAL: $6,457,716$ ( $47.9 \%$ of VAP, $75.2 \%$ of Reg. Vot.) | TOTAL: $6,806,810(51.1 \%$ of VAP 1984 )
Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: (34 Seats)

| Democrats: 21 (with 2,940,813 votes statewide) | 1986: 20 | 1984: 19 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Republicans: 13 (with $2,462,912$ votes statewide) | 1986: 14 | 1984: 15 |

TOTAL: 5,502,907 votes statewide ( $40.8 \%$ of VAP)

## Senatorial Election:

| Democrat: Moynihan, Daniel P.; U.S. Senator: | $4,048,649(67.0 \%)$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Republican: McMillan, Robert; Attorney: | $1,875,784(31.0 \%)$ |
| Senior Senator: Moynihan, Daniel P. (D) / Junior Senator: D'Amato, Alfonse (R) (Up 1992) |  |
| Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term) |  |

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Governor: Cuomo, Mario M. (D)

Election for the Assembly: (150 Seats) (2 year term)

Dem.: 92 Rep.: 58
State Senate Election: (61 Seats; 61 up for reelection) (2 year term)
Dem.: 27 Rep.: 34


George H. W. BUSH: $1,237,258(57.9 \%$ )
Michael S. DUKAKIS: 890,167 ( $41.7 \%$ ) Others: $\quad 6,945$ ( $0.3 \%$ )

Reagan 1984: 1,346,481 (61.9\%)
Mondale 1984: 824,287 ( $37.8 \%$ )
Others 1984: $\quad 4,593(0.2 \%)$

TOTAL: $2,134,370$ ( $43.4 \%$ of VAP, $62.1 \%$ of Reg. Vot.) | TOTAL: $2,175,361$ ( $47.3 \%$ of VAP 1984)
Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: (11 Seats)

## Senatorial Election:

No Senatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990
Senior Senator: Helms, Jesse A. (R) (up 1990) / Junior Senator: Sanford, Terry (D) (up 1992)
Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)
Democrat: Jordan, Bob; Lt. Governor:
957.687 (43.9\%)

Republican: Martin, James G.; U.S. Governor:
TOTAL: $2,180,025$ ( $44.3 \%$ of VAP)
Governor: Martin, James G. (R)

Election for the State house of Representatives: (120 Seats) (2 year term)

Dem.: 74 Rep.: 46
State Senate Election: (50 Seats; 50 up for reelection) (2 year term)
Dem.: 37 Rep.: 13


| Presidential Election: | (3 Electors) |  |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |



TOTAL: 299,982 votes statewide ( $62.1 \%$ of VAP)

## Senatorial Election:

| Democrat: Burdick, Quentin N.; U.S. Senator: |  | $171,899(59.4 \%)$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Republican: Strinden, Earl; St. Rep. (Maj. Leader): | $112,937(39.0 \%)$ |  |

Senior Senator: Burdick, Quentin N. (D) / Junior Senator: Conrad, Kent (D) (up 1992)
Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)
Democrat: Sinner, George A.; U.S. Governor: $\quad 179,094$ (59.8 \%)
Republican: Mallberg, Leon; Businessman:
119,986 (40.1 \%)

TOTAL: 299,080 ( $61.9 \%$ of VAP)
Governor: Sinner, George A. (D)
Election for the State House of Representatives: (106 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 45 Rep.: 61
State Senate Election: (53 Seats; 26 up for reelection) (4 year term)
Dem.: 32 Rep.: 21

## Midwest 107,044 sqkm


Presidential Election: (23 Electors)

| George H. H. BUSH: | $2,416,549(55.0 \%)$ | Reagan 1984: $2,678,560(58.9 \%)$ |
| :--- | ---: | :--- |
| Michael S. DUKAKIS: $1,939,629(44.1 \%)$ | Mondale 1984: 1,825,440(40.1\%) |  |
| Others: | $37,407(0.8 \%)$ | Others 1984: |

TOTAL: $4,393,585$ ( $55.1 \%$ of VAP, $73.9 \%$ of Reg. Vot.) | TOTAL: $4,547,619$ ( $58.0 \%$ of VAP 1984)
Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: (21 Seats)

| Democrats: 11 (with 2,167,966 votes statewide) | 1986: 11 | 1984: 11 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Republicans: 10 (with 2,143,991 votes statewide) | \|1986: 10 | 1984: 10 |

TOTAL: $4,312,567$ votes statewide ( $54.1 \%$ of VAP)
Senatorial Election:

| Democrat: Metzenbaum, Howard M.; U.S. Senator: | $2,480,038(56.9 \%)$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | ---: |
| Republican: Voinovich, George; Mayor of Cleveland: | $1,872,716(43.0 \%)$ |  |
|  |  |  |
|  | TOTAL: $4,352,905(54.6 \%$ of VAP) |  |

Senior Senator: Glenn, John H., Jr. (D) (up 1992) / Junior Senator: Metzenbaum, Howard M. (D)

Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Governor: Celeste, Richard F. (D)

Election for the State House of Representatives: ( 99 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 59 Rep.: 40

State Senate Election: (33 Seats; 16 up for reelection) (4 year term)

Dem.: 14 Rep.: 19


## Major initiatives and referenda

## Oklahoma voters

- adopted with 935,168 votes to 172,675 votes ( $84 \%$ to $16 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to allow bail to be denied to a person who commits a violent offense, an offense which is punished by life imprisonment or life imprisonment without parole, a felony offense after the person has been convicted of two or more felony offenses or certain drug offenses. Batl may be denied only if proof of guilt is evident and the safety of the community or of any person is not assured.
- adopted with 745,846 votes to 309,188 votes ( $71 \%$ to $29 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to provide that the Commissioner of Labor is to be elected by the people (with a four-year term) rather than appointed by the governor.

251,419 sqkm


## Presidential Election: (7 Electors)

| George H. H. BUSH: | 560,126 (46.6 \%) | Reagan 1984: | 685,700 (55.9 \%) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Michael S. DUKAKIS: | 616,206 (51.2 \%) | Mondale 1984: | 536,479 (43.7 \%) |
| Others: | 25,487 ( 2.1 \%) | Others 1984: | 4,348 ( 0.3\%) |

Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: (5 Seats)

| Democrats: | 3 | (with | 493,346 votes statewide) | 1986: | 3 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |$|$| 1984: | 3 |
| :--- | :--- |
| Republicans: | 2 (with 357,441 votes statewide) |

TOTAL: 850,984 votes statewide ( $41.4 \%$ of VAP)

## Senatorial Election:

No Senatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Senior Senator: Hatfield, Mark O. (R) (up 1990) / Junior Senator: Packwood, Robert H. (R) (up 1992)
Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990
Governor: Goldschmidt, Neil (D)
Election for the State House of Representatives: ( 60 Seats) (2 year term)

Dem.: 31 Rep.: 29
State Senate Election: (30 Seats; 17 up for reelection) (4 year term)
Dem.: 19 Rep.: 11

## Major initiatives and referenda

Oregon voters

- adopted with 947,805 votes to 252,985 votes ( $79 \%$ to $21 \%$ ) an initlative petition to require full sentences without parole, probation or other reduction for certain repeat felony offenders.
- rejected with 737,779 votes to 430,147 votes ( $63 \%$ to $37 \%$ ) an initiative petition to expand the Indoor Clean Air Act banning public smoking.
- adopted with 626,751 votes to 561,355 votes ( $53 \%$ to $47 \%$ ) an initiative petition to revoke the ban on sexual ortentation discrimination in the state's executive branch.



## East

 3,940 sqkm

## Senatorial Election:

| Democrat: Licht, Richard; Lieutenant Governor: |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| Republican: Chafee, John H.; U.S. Senator: | $180,717(45.4 \%)$ <br>  |
|  |  |
|  | TOTAL: |
|  | $397,990(52.0 \%$ of VAP) |

Senior Senator: Pell, Claiborne (D) (up 1990) / Junior Senator: Chafee, John H. (R)
Gubernatorial Election: (2 year term)

Democrat: Sundlun, Bruce G.; Businessman:
Republican: DiPrete, Edward D.; U.S. Governor:
$196,936(49.1 \%)$
$203,550(50.8 \%)$
TOTAL: $\quad 400,486(52.4 \%$ of VAP)

Governor: DiPrete, Edward D. (R)
Election for the State House of Representatives: (100 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 82 Rep.: 18
State Senate Election: (50 Seats; 50 up for reelection) (2 year term)



## Major initiatives and referenda

## South Dakota voters

- adopted with 153,168 votes to 140,188 votes ( $52 \%$ to $48 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to remove the Legislature of South Dakota from the initiative process (so far, Article III of the State Constitution had required the Legislature to enact a measure proposed by a petition and signed by $5 \%$ of the electors before submitting it to the electorate.




## Senatorial Election:

| Democrat: Sasser, James R.; U.S. Senator: | $1,020,061(65.0 \%)$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Republican: Andersen, Bill; Attorney: | $541,033(34.5 \%)$ |
|  | TOTAL: $1,567,181(42.8 \%$ of VAP) |

Senior Senator: Sasser, James R. (D) / Junior Senator: Gore, Albert (D) (up 1990)
Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Governor: McWherter, Ned Ray (D)
Election for the State House of Representatives: ( 99 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 59 Rep.: 40

State Senate Election: (33 Seats; 16 up for reelection) (4 year term)

Dem.: 22 Rep.: 11


## Senatorial Election:

| Democrat: Bentsen, Lloyd; U.S. Senator: |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| Republican: Boulter, Beau; U.S. Congressman: | $3,149,806(59.1 \%)$ |
| $2,129,228(40.0 \%)$ |  |

Senior Senator: Bentsen, Lloyd (D) / Junior Senator: Gramm, Phil (R) (up 1990)
Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Governor: Clements, William P., Jr. (R)
Election for the State House of Representatives: (150 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 93 Rep.: 57
State Senate Election: (31 Seats; 15 up for reelection) (4 year term)

```
Dem.: 23 Rep.: }
```

Population 1984: $1,624,000$
Population 1988: $1,691,000(+\quad 4.1 \%)$
Black: $0.7 \%$
White: $97.2 \%$

Metropolitan Population (1987):
Nonmetropolitan Pop. (1987):

Population
per sqkm: $\quad \mathbf{8 . 0}$

Voting Age Population 1984: 1,023,000 (62.9\% of Pop.)
Voting Age Population 1988: 1,078,000 (63.7 \% of Pop. ,+ $5.3 \%$ )
Black: 0.7\%
White: $95.7 \%$
Registered Voters 1988: $\quad 806,934$ ( $74.8 \%$ of VAP)

No Party Registration in Utah

Deadline: 10/18/1988
Presidential Election: (5 Electors)

| George H. W. BUSH: | $428,442(66.2 \%)$ | Reagan 1984: | $469,105(74.5 \%)$ |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | ---: |
| Michael S. DUKAKIS: | $207,343(32.0 \%)$ | Mondale 1984: | $155,369(24.6 \%)$ |
| Others: | $11,223(1.7 \%)$ | Others 1984: | $5,182(0.8 \%)$ |

TOTAL: $647,008(60.0 \%$ of VAP, $80.1 \%$ of Reg. Vot.) | TOTAL: 629,656 ( $61.5 \%$ of VAP 1984)
Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: (3 Seats)

| Democrats: | 1 | (with | 260,123 | votes statewide) | 1986: | 1 | 1984: 0 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Republicens: | 2 | (with | 341,056 | votes statewide) | 1986: | 2 | 1984: 3 |
|  |  | OTAL: | 608,668 | votes statewide | VAP) |  |  |

## Senatorial Election:

| Democrat: Moss, Brian; Businessman: | $203,364(31.7 \%)$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Republican: Hatch, Orrin G.; U.S. Senator: | $430,089(67.1 \%)$ |
|  |  |
|  | TOTAL: $640,702(59.4 \%$ of VAP) |

Senior Senator: Garn, Edwin J. (R) (up 1992) / Junior Senator: Hatch, Orrin G. (R)
Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

Democrat: Wilson, Ted; Former Salt Lake C. Mayor: 249,321 (38.4 \%)
Republican: Bangerter, Norman H.; U.S. Governor:
260,462 (40.1 \%)

TOTAL: 649,114 ( $60.2 \%$ of VAP)

Governor: Bangerter, Norman H. (R)

Election for the State House of Representatives: ( 75 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 28 Rep.: 47
State Senate Election: (29 Seats; 14 up for reelection) (4 year term)

```
Dem.: }7\mathrm{ Rep.: }2
```


## Major initiatives and referenda

## Utah voters

- adopted with 470,519 votes to 140,296 ( $77 \%$ to $23 \%$ ) a constitutional amendment to allow bail to be denied to persons charged with a serious crime if the person may be a danger to another person or to the community or is likely to flee the court's jurisdiction if released; and to clarify language regarding necessary evidence to deny bail.
- rejected with 390,627 votes to 239,284 votes ( $62 \%$ to $38 \%$ ) an initiattve to reduce 1 . the individual tax rates, depending on income, from $2.6 \%$ to $2 \%, 3.55 \%$ to $3 \%, 4.5 \%$ to $4 \%, 5.45 \%$ to $5 \%, 6.4 \%$ to $6 \%, 7.35 \%$ to $7 \% ; 2$. the state's sale tax by $0.5 \% ; 3$. the tax on motor and specials fuels by $5 \$$ per gallon; 4 . the tax on cigarettes by $11 \$$ per pack.


Source: Secretary of State, Redstone Butlding, Montpelter, VT 05602


## Major initiatives and referenda

## Virginia voters

- adopted with $1,086,996$ to 858,850 votes ( $56 \%$ to $44 \%$ ) a 1988 Act of the General Assembly to authorize pari-mutuel betting on horse-racing and also provide for its regulation.



## Major initiatives and referenda

## Washington voters

- adopted with $1,354,454$ votes to 414,926 votes ( $77 \%$ to $23 \%$ ) an indtiative petition to increase the state minimum wage from \$ 2.30 to $\$ 3.85$ (Jan. 1, 1989) and then to $\$$ 4.25 (Jan. 1, 1990) and to include agricultural workers.
- adopted with $1,307,638$ votes to 224,486 ( $85 \%$ to $15 \%$ ) an initiative petition to enact a hazardous cleanup program, partially funded by $7 / 10$ of $1 \%$ tax on hazardous substances (and with 860,835 votes to 676,469 votes against a referred alternative proposal by the State Legislature which would have retained the legislature's cleanup program with $0.8 \%$ hazardous substances tax raising less money and with less coverage of petroleum).



Population
per sqkm: $\quad 34.5$
Deadline: Election Day Registration!
Presidential Election: (11 Electors)
George H. W. BUSH: $1,047,499(47.8 \%)$
Michael S. DUKAKIS: $1,126,794(51.4 \%)$
Others:

\[\)| $17,316(0.7 \%)$ |
| :--- |

\]

TOTAL: $2,191,609(61.9 \%$ of VAP)

| Reagan 1984: | $1,198,584(54.1 \%)$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Mondale 1984: | $995,740(45.0 \%)$ |
| Others 1984: | $17,365(0.7 \%)$ |

| TOTAL: $2,211,689$ ( $63.4 \%$ of VAP 1984)
Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: (9 Seats)

| Democrats: | 5 (with $1,035,249$ votes statewide) | 1986: 5 | 1984: 5 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Republicans: | 4 (with 997,265 votes statewide) | $1986: 4$ | $1984: 4$ |

TOTAL: $2,035,482$ votes statewide ( $57.5 \%$ of VAP)

## Senatorial Election:



No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990
Governor: Thompson, Tommy G. (R)

Election for the Assembly: ( 99 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 55 Rep.: 44
State Senate Election: ( 33 Seats; 17 up for reelection) (4 year term)
Dem.: 20 Rep.: 13


| Presidential Election: $\quad$ (3 Electors) |  |
| :--- | ---: |
| George H. W. BUSH: $\quad 106,867(60.5 \%)$ |  |
| Michael S. DUKAKIS: | $67,113(38.0 \%)$ |
| Others: | $2,571(1.4 \%)$ |


| Reagan 1984: | $133,241(70.5 \%)$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Mondale 1984: | $53,370(28.2 \%)$ |
| Others 1984: | $2,357(1.2 \%)$ |

TOTAL: 176,551 ( $50.3 \%$ of VAP, $78.0 \%$ of Reg. Vot.) | TOTAL: $188,968(53.3 \%$ of VAP 1984)
Election for the U.S. House of Representatives: (1 Seat)

| Democrats: | 0 | (with | 56,527 votes statewide) | 1986: 0 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Republicans: | 1 (with | 118,350 votes statewide) | 1984: 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | TOTAL: | 177,651 votes statewide ( $50.6 \%$ of VAP) |  |  |

## Senatorial Election:

Democret: Vinich, John; State Senator: 89,821 (49.6 \%)
Republican: Wallop, Malcolm; U.S. Senator:
91.143 (50.3\%)

TOTAL: 180,964 ( $51.5 \%$ of VAP)

Senior Senator: Wallop, Malcolm (R) / Junior Senator: Simpson, Alan K. (R) (up 1990)
Gubernatorial Election: (4 year term)

No Gubernatorial Election in 1988; Next Election in 1990

Governor: Sullivan, Michael J. (D)
Election for the State House of Representatives: ( 64 Seats) (2 year term)
Dem.: 23 Rep.: 41

State Senate Election: (30 Seats; 15 up for reelection) (4 year term)

Dem.: 11 Rep.: 19

## East 178 sqkm



## Presidential Election: (3 Electors)



Election for the Delegate to Congress: (1 Seat)
Democrat: Fauntroy, Walter E.: 121,817 (71.2\%)
Republican: Evans, H. Ronald : 22,936 (13.4\%)

$$
\text { TOTAL: } \quad 170,933(34.9 \% \text { of VAP) }
$$


[^0]:    1 The District of Columbia is treated here as a state.
    2 The Clerk of the House, for example, holds on file election returns for House candidates only.

[^1]:    3 Historic data from CRS Report for Congress: Voter Registration and Tumout 1948-1988, published March 15, 1989 by the CRS, Library of Congress. The number of states which provide both figures range from 17 to 34 in this period.

[^2]:    4 The nationwlde Voting Age Population (1988: 182,630,000) has grown by 8,162,000 persons since 1984 (4.7\%) and represents 74.4\% (1984: 73.8\%) of the total population in 1988 (Federal Republic of Germany 1987: 76.5\% "wahlberechtigt").

    5 It is necessary to exclude ND and WI from all figures on reglstration because WI does not have statewide figures on reglstration and ND does not have any registration requirement at all.
    6 Women were enfranchised to vote with the $19^{\text {th }}$ Amendment in 1920, thereby enlarging the VAP tremendously. But women who came of age before 1920 have been less likely to vote than women who came of age after 1920.
    7 Unlike the turnout figure, the registration rate is not based upon all states which hold elections. In 1948 only 20 states provide registration figures. This number rose to 30 states ten years later , 40 states in 1964 and since 197649 states hold reglstration statistics on file.

[^3]:    8 U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 435: Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1988 (Advance Report). Washington, D.C., February 1989. The difference occures largely because of misreporting by respondents.

[^4]:    9 Abramson, Paul R./Aldrich. John H./Rohde, David W., Change and Continuity in the 1984 Election, rev. ed., Washington 1987.

    10 fid., p 117.

[^5]:    11 Congressional Guarterly Weekly Reports, Dec. 3, 1988, pp 3442-3448.

[^6]:    12 Information by the National Conference of State Legislatures, Washington, D.C. See also: Karen Hansen, 1988: An Election Without Change, in: State Legislatures, Vol. 14 (1988) 10, pp 12-25.

[^7]:    13 Catherine Deeds, Pro-LIfers Celebrate Htstortc Initiative Victorles in Three States, in: Initlative and Referendum Report, Vol. 9 (1988) 10, pp 2-6.

    14 Patrick B. McGuigan, Direct Democracy in 1988: Conservatue Morally, Liberal Economics, in: Election Politics, Winter 1988 89, pp 18-21.

