

Table 1

Correlations of Partisan Vote by State in Presidential Elections, 1896-2004

	<u>Democratic</u>			<u>Republican</u>		
	1916	1972	2004	1916	1964	2004
1896	.73	-.66	-.62	.78	-.69	-.59
1900	.94	-.68	-.40	.93	-.73	-.35
1904	.89	-.60	-.19	.89	-.38	-.19
1908	.94	-.65	-.37	.94	-.75	-.39
1912	.92	-.59	-.26	.73	-.60	-.18
1916	1.00	-.65	-.42	1.00	-.76	-.46
1920	.91	-.70	-.31	.90	-.67	-.35
1924	.86	-.64	-.25	.91	-.73	-.46
1928	.80	-.35	-.12	.73	-.57	-.13
1932	.88	-.59	-.42	.90	-.72	-.43
1936	.90	-.62	-.38	.89	-.71	-.39
1940	.88	-.59	-.22	.88	-.68	-.25
1944	.89	-.55	-.17	.87	-.65	-.22
1948	-.35	.29	-.02	.63	-.68	-.09
1952	.59	-.32	.03	.55	-.38	.03
1956	.51	-.31	-.17	.73	-.65	-.24
1960	.06	.33	.43	.48	-.30	.21
1964	-.75	.68	.60	-.75	1.00	.62
1968	-.67	.89	.76	.55	-.18	.31
1972	-.68	1.00	.81	-.66	.70	.76
1976	.31	.43	.56	.30	.17	.57
1980	.27	.40	.61	-.07	.43	.80
1984	-.30	.81	.86	-.34	.49	.85
1988	-.50	.88	.82	-.51	.62	.82
1992	-.10	.69	.85	-.62	.73	.85
1996	-.27	.76	.94	-.49	.67	.94
2000	-.33	.72	.96	-.43	.62	.98
2004	-.42	.81	1.00	-.46	.62	1.00

Correlations are Pearson's r at the state level.

Presidential election data on this and subsequent tables drawn from *Presidential Elections, 1789-2000* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 2001), pp. 130-156, and *The New York Times*, November 4, 2004, p. P2.

Table 2

Comparing Coalitions of States in Presidential Elections: 1896-1944 and 1964-2004

1896-1944	1964-2004		
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Cyclical/ Competitive</u>	<u>Democratic</u>
<u>Republican</u>	Kansas New Hampshire New Jersey North Dakota South Dakota	Connecticut Delaware Illinois Iowa Maine Vermont Wisconsin	Massachusetts Michigan Pennsylvania Rhode Island
<u>Cyclical/ Competitive</u>	Colorado Idaho Indiana Missouri Nebraska Utah Wyoming	California Ohio Oregon	Maryland Minnesota New York West Virginia Washington
<u>Democratic</u>	Alabama Arizona Florida Georgia Kentucky Louisiana Mississippi Montana Nevada North Carolina Oklahoma South Carolina Texas Virginia	Arkansas New Mexico Tennessee	

G= -.55

States classified in party coalitions voted for the indicated party, with percentages larger than the national vote for the party, in most Presidential elections in the period. All states not fitting in either party coalition are sorted as cyclical/competitive.

Table 3

**Ideological Alignment of States, 1964-1972, and
Partisan Realignment of States in Presidential Elections, 1916-2004**

Partisan Realignment 1916-2004	Ideological Alignment of States, 1964-1972		
	<u>liberal</u>	<u>moderate</u>	<u>conservative</u>
Republican, 1916 <u>Democratic, 2004</u>	Connecticut Massachusetts Michigan Minnesota New York Oregon Pennsylvania Rhode Island Wisconsin	Delaware Illinois Maine New Jersey Vermont	
<u>Electoral Stability</u>	Washington (D)	California (D) Iowa (R) Maryland (D) New Hampshire (D) South Dakota (R) West Virginia (R)	Indiana (R)
Democratic, 1916 <u>Republican, 2004</u>		Colorado Kentucky Missouri Montana New Mexico Ohio Texas	Alabama Arizona Arkansas Florida Georgia Idaho Kansas Louisiana Mississippi Nebraska Nevada North Carolina North Dakota Oklahoma South Carolina Tennessee Utah Virginia Wyoming

G= .98.

Partisan notation in parentheses indicates states voted for same party in 1916 and 2004.

Table 4

**Split Outcomes Between the Presidency and the House
by Incumbency, Party and Ideology, 1972-2000**

Candidates/Elections	1972	1976	House of Representatives					Senate	
			1980	1984	1988	1992	1996	2000	1972-2000
All contested seats	379 38	386 29	383 33	367 40	360 32	401 24	410 26	374 19	266 39
Incumbents	322 40	335 29	341 35	341 42	330 33	314 24	360 27	338 19	200 39
Democrats	178 70	212 34	210 50	202 69	187 50	190 23	156 10	173 21	100 47
Republicans	144 2	123 20	130 9	139 2	143 10	123 27	203 39	165 18	99 28
liberal Democrats	80 54	115 37	100 50	135 62	145 41	144 13	114 2	133 13	56 43
moderate/conservative Democrats	98 84	97 31	110 55	67 84	42 83	46 52	42 33	40 50	44 52
moderate/liberal Republicans	27 4	19 11	30 13	32 7	38 26	16 50	13 85	6 83	25 44
conservative Republicans	117 2	104 21	100 6	107 2	105 4	107 23	190 37	159 16	74 23
Partisan Ideologues	197 30	219 28	200 28	242 31	250 17	251 17	304 23	292 14	130 32
Moderates	77 56	83 32	92 42	78 61	68 55	53 35	52 44	43 51	50 48
Ideological Misfits	48 81	33 25	48 59	21 79	12 86	9 63	3 67	3 100	19 56
Open Seats	57 30	51 31	42 21	26 20	30 27	87 24	50 22	36 17	66 39

In each category, the higher number is the number of contested districts or Senate seats. The lower number is the percentage of contested districts producing divided results between the Presidential election and the House election. Party and ideology refer to the identity of the incumbent. Incumbents are sorted by ADA ratings, over 67 classified as "liberal" and under 33 classified as "conservative." "Moderates" are moderates of both parties, scored between 34 and 67 by the ADA, and "ideological misfits" are conservative Democrats and liberal Republicans. I presented most of this data in *Realignment and Party Revival*, Chapter 7. Data gathered from editions of *The Almanac of American Politics*, 1974-2002, written and edited by Michael Barone, et. al., and currently published by National Journal.

Table 5

**State Electoral Behavior in Presidential Election Years:
Vote for President and House of Representatives, 1964-1992**

President	House of Representatives		
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Cyclical/ competitive</u>	<u>Democratic</u>
<u>Republican</u>	Alaska Arizona Colorado Idaho Kansas Nebraska New Hampshire New Jersey New Mexico Utah Wyoming	Florida Indiana Nevada North Dakota Virginia	Alabama Louisiana Mississippi Oklahoma South Carolina South Dakota Texas
<u>Cyclical/ competitive</u>	Delaware Ohio Vermont	Arkansas California Connecticut Illinois Iowa Maine Michigan Montana Pennsylvania Tennessee Wisconsin	Georgia Kentucky Missouri North Carolina Oregon
<u>Democratic</u>		New York	D.C. Hawaii Maryland Massachusetts Minnesota Rhode Island Washington West Virginia

G= .58

For Tables 5 and 6: States classified in a party coalition voted for the indicated party, with percentages higher than the national vote for that party, in most elections in the period. All states not fitting in either party coalition are classified as cyclical/competitive. All Congressional election data for 1896-1998 on this and subsequent tables drawn from Jerrold G. Rusk, *A Statistical History of the American Electorate* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 2001), pp. 213-368. Congressional election data since 1998 drawn from the Clerk of the House of Representatives website at www.house.gov

Table 6

**Coalitions of States in Presidential and U.S. House Elections
1996-2004**

Presidential Elections	House Elections		
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Cyclical/ Competitive</u>	<u>Democratic</u>
<u>Republican</u>	Alabama Alaska Arkansas Arizona Colorado Florida Georgia Idaho Indiana Kansas Kentucky Louisiana Mississippi Montana Nebraska Nevada North Carolina Ohio Oklahoma South Carolina South Dakota Tennessee Texas Utah Virginia Wyoming		Missouri West Virginia
<u>Cyclical/ Competitive</u>			Oregon
<u>Democratic</u>	Delaware Iowa New Hampshire North Dakota Wisconsin	Vermont	California Connecticut Hawaii Illinois Maine Maryland Massachusetts Michigan Minnesota New Jersey New Mexico New York Pennsylvania Rhode Island Washington

Table 7

**1952 Convention Balloting for Republican Presidential Nomination
by 1964-1972 Ideological Alignment of States**

Ideological Alignment of States, 1964-1972			
	<u>liberal</u>	<u>moderate</u>	<u>conservative</u>
<u>Eisenhower</u>	Connecticut Massachusetts Michigan New York Oregon Pennsylvania Rhode Island Washington	Colorado Delaware Iowa Maine Maryland Missouri New Hampshire New Jersey Texas Vermont	Georgia Kansas Louisiana
<u>Taft</u>	Wisconsin	Illinois Kentucky Montana Ohio South Dakota West Virginia	Alabama Arizona Arkansas Florida Idaho Indiana Mississippi Nebraska Nevada New Mexico North Carolina North Dakota Oklahoma South Carolina Tennessee Utah Virginia Wyoming
<u>Favorite Sons</u>	Minnesota	California	

G= .83

States sorted according to plurality vote of delegates for President. For ideology, states which voted more Democratic than the country in all three Presidential elections from 1964 to 1972 are sorted as "liberal;" states voting more Republican than the country in 1964 and 1972, and casting a larger percentage of the vote for Nixon and Wallace combined than the country in 1968 are sorted as "conservative." All other states are sorted as "moderate."

Table 8

**1964 Convention Balloting for Republican Presidential Nomination
by 1964-1972 Ideological Alignment of States**

Ideological Alignment of States, 1964-1972			
	<u>liberal</u>	<u>moderate</u>	<u>conservative</u>
<u>Goldwater</u>	Washington Wisconsin	California Colorado Delaware Illinois Iowa Kentucky Missouri Montana Ohio South Dakota Texas Vermont West Virginia	Alabama Arizona Arkansas Florida Georgia Idaho Indiana Kansas Louisiana Mississippi Nebraska Nevada New Mexico North Carolina North Dakota Oklahoma South Carolina Tennessee Utah Virginia Wyoming
<u>Scranton</u>	D.C. Connecticut Massachusetts Pennsylvania Rhode Island	Alaska Maryland New Hampshire New Jersey	
<u>Rockefeller</u>	New York Oregon		
<u>Favorite Sons</u>	Michigan Minnesota	Hawaii Maine	

G= -.88

States sorted according to plurality vote of delegates for President. For ideology, states which voted more Democratic than the country in all three Presidential elections from 1964 to 1972 are sorted as “liberal;” states voting more Republican than the country in 1964 and 1972, and casting a larger percentage of the vote for Nixon and Wallace combined than the country in 1968 are sorted as “conservative.” All other states are sorted as “moderate.”

Table 9

**1976 Convention Balloting for Republican Presidential Nomination
by 1964-1972 Ideological Alignment of States**

Ideological Alignment of States, 1964-1972			
	<u>liberal</u>	<u>moderate</u>	<u>conservative</u>
<u>Ford</u>	Connecticut D.C. Massachusetts Michigan Minnesota New York Oregon Pennsylvania Rhode Island Wisconsin	Alaska Delaware Hawaii Illinois Iowa Kentucky Maine Maryland New Hampshire New Jersey Ohio Vermont West Virginia	Florida Kansas Mississippi North Dakota
<u>Reagan</u>	Washington	California Colorado Missouri Montana South Dakota Texas	Alabama Arizona Arkansas Georgia Idaho Indiana Louisiana Nebraska Nevada North Carolina Oklahoma South Carolina Tennessee Utah Virginia Wyoming

G= .87

States sorted according to plurality vote of delegates for President. For ideology, states which voted more Democratic than the country in all three Presidential elections from 1964 to 1972 are sorted as “liberal;” states voting more Republican than the country in 1964 and 1972, and casting a larger percentage of the vote for Nixon and Wallace combined than the country in 1968 are sorted as “conservative.” All other states are sorted as “moderate.”

Table 10
Classifications of Republican Presidential Nomination
By Party Conflict and Consensus
1936-2004¹

Classification of Nominations²

Nonconsensual	Semiconsensual	Consensual
		1936
1940		1944
1948		
1952		1956**
		1960*
1964		
	1968	
		1972**
1976**		
	1980	
	1988*	1984**
		1992**
	1996	
	2000	
		2004**

* Incumbent party.
** Incumbent party, President an active candidate.

¹ See Paulson, *Realignment and Party Revival*, Chapter 6, for previous presentation and analysis.

² William R. Keech and Donald R. Matthews, *The Party's Choice* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1977). Nominations 1936-1972 are classified by Keech and Matthews. Since that time, nominations are classified by the author according to this interpretation of their theory.

Table 11

**Distribution of Support for
Republican Presidential Nomination
By 1964-1972 Ideological Alignment of States
1964-2000**

	<u>liberal</u>	<u>moderate</u>	<u>conservative</u>	<u>National</u>
<u>1964</u>				
Goldwater	24	80	96	68
Scranton	30	15	2	16
Rockefeller	29	1		9
<u>1968</u>				
Nixon	29	52	72	52
Rockefeller	57	9	3	21
Reagan	2	23	14	14
<u>1976</u>				
Ford	59	49	43	50
Reagan	38	49	55	49
<u>1980</u>				
Reagan	33	45	68	52
Bush	44	29	19	29
Anderson	18	17	6	12
<u>1988</u>				
Bush	71	47	54	55
Dole	17	34	24	26
Robertson	6	11	15	12
<u>1992</u>				
Bush	71	67	69	69
Buchanan	23	24	24	24
<u>1996</u>				
Dole	55	49	49	50
Buchanan	23	22	24	23
Forbes	10	14	16	14
<u>2000</u>				
Bush	45	50	52	49
McCain	51	40	43	45

. For ideology, states which voted more Democratic than the country in all three Presidential elections from 1964 to 1972 are sorted as "liberal;" states voting more Republican than the country in 1964 and 1972, and casting a larger percentage of the vote for Nixon and Wallace combined than the country in 1968 are sorted as "conservative." All other states are sorted as "moderate."

For 1964 and 1968, figures represent percentages of convention delegates. Since 1976, figures represent mean percentage of vote in contested Presidential primaries.

Data for convention delegates derived from *National Party Conventions, 1831-2000* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 2001), pp. 215-217.

Data for Presidential primaries derived from *Presidential Elections, 1789-1996* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1997), pp. 178-227, and William G. Mayer, "The Presidential Nominations," in Gerald M. Pomper, et. al., *The Election of 2000* (New York: Chatham House, 2001), pp. 32 and 35.

Data and analysis originally presented in Paulson, *Realignment and Party Revival* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000), Chapters 4-6.

Table 12

**2000 Republican Presidential Primaries
by 1964-1972 Ideological Alignment of States**

	Ideological Alignment of States, 1964-1972		
	<u>liberal</u>	<u>moderate</u>	<u>conservative</u>
Primary Winner			
<u>Bush</u>	New York Washington	California Delaware Maine Maryland Missouri Ohio	Georgia South Carolina Virginia
<u>McCain</u>	Connecticut Massachusetts Michigan Rhode Island	New Hampshire Vermont	Arizona

G= -.50

For ideology, states which voted more Democratic than the country in all three Presidential elections from 1964 to 1972 are sorted as "liberal;" states voting more Republican than the country in 1964 and 1972, and casting a larger percentage of the vote for Nixon and Wallace combined than the country in 1968 are sorted as "conservative." All other states are sorted as "moderate."

Table 13

**Governing Coalitions Between Presidency and House:
Party Ticket and Split Ticket Outcomes in Presidential Election Years, 1980-1988
By 1964-1972 Ideological Alignment of States**

Ideological Alignment of States, 1964-1972			
	<u>liberal</u>	<u>moderate</u>	<u>conservative</u>
<u>Republican Ticket</u>		Alaska Colorado Maine New Hampshire New Jersey Ohio	Arizona Idaho Indiana Kansas Nebraska New Mexico Utah Virginia Wyoming
<u>Competitive/ Split Ticket</u>	Connecticut Massachusetts Michigan New York Oregon Pennsylvania Rhode Island (D) Washington Wisconsin	California Delaware (R) Illinois Iowa Kentucky (R) Maryland Missouri (R) Montana South Dakota (R) Texas (R) Vermont	Alabama (R) Arkansas (R) Georgia (R) Louisiana (R) Mississippi (R) North Carolina (R) North Dakota (R) Oklahoma (R) Florida (R) Nevada (R) South Carolina (R) Tennessee
<u>Democratic Ticket</u>	Minnesota	Hawaii West Virginia	

G= -.37

States voting for one party for President and House with percentages greater than the national percentage in two of the three elections are classified as party ticket states. All other states are classified as competitive or split ticket. Among competitive/split ticket states, a party is indicated in parentheses if the state voted for that party for President with percentages greater than the national percentage in two of the three elections, 1980-1988.

Table 14

**Governing Coalitions Between Presidency and House:
Party Ticket and Split Ticket Outcomes in Presidential Election Years, 2000-2004
By 1964-1972 Ideological Alignment of States**

Ideological Alignment of States, 1964-1972			
	<u>liberal</u>	<u>moderate</u>	<u>conservative</u>
<u>Republican Ticket</u>		Alaska Kentucky Montana Ohio Texas	Alabama Arizona Florida Georgia Idaho Indiana Kansas Louisiana Nebraska Nevada North Carolina Oklahoma South Carolina Tennessee Utah Wyoming
<u>Competitive/ Split Ticket</u>	Michigan (D) Oregon Pennsylvania (D) Wisconsin (D)	Colorado (R) Delaware (D) Iowa Missouri (R) New Hampshire South Dakota (R) Vermont (D) West Virginia (R)	Arkansas (R) Mississippi (R) New Mexico North Dakota (R) Virginia (R)
<u>Democratic Ticket</u>	Connecticut Massachusetts Minnesota New York Rhode Island Washington	California Hawaii Illinois Maine Maryland New Jersey	

G= -.83

States voting for one party for President and House with percentages greater than the national percentage in both elections are classified as party ticket states. All other states are classified as competitive or split ticket. Among competitive/split ticket states, a party is indicated in parentheses if the state voted for that party for President with percentages greater than the national percentage in both elections, 2000-2004.
