

U.S. Presidential Election: **2008 Electoral Vote Analysis – Final**

The following represents a final assessment on a state-by-state basis of the winner and the corresponding share of the electoral vote.

Based on this assessment, the Democratic ticket of Senator Barack Obama of Illinois and Senator Joe Biden of Delaware will win 27 states (including the District of Columbia) and part of one state (Nebraska) with 339 electoral votes. The Republican Presidential ticket of Senator John McCain of Arizona and Governor Sarah Palin of Alaska will win 23 states and parts of one state (Nebraska) with 199 electoral votes. The number of electoral votes needed to win is 270.

This final assessment represents a shift of two states (Florida, Ohio) and part of one state (Nebraska) for a total of 48 electoral votes from the Republican ticket to the Democratic ticket since the October assessment. A detailed analysis of the shifts in these two states and one Congressional District is provided below.

The methodology used gives significant weight to recent trends in state polls. The data bases used incorporate state polls conducted by many organizations. Some of the polling organizations focus only on some states. Others poll in many states. Polling results are sometimes modified to reflect other factors.

Polling results are also supplemented by reports from state-based Democratic political activists who have agreed to provide their own assessment of the results if the election were held now.

Two caveats about this methodology. First, since this methodology relies heavily on state polls, which in turn typically only poll registered voters, it does not take into account the potential impact that newly registered voters will have. Second, since polling organizations typically call residential phone numbers, their results do not reflect potential voters (particularly young voters) whose primary telephones are cellular.

The methodology used also gives weight to: each state's historical voting patterns in Presidential and other state-wide elections; key demographic groups (age, ethnicity, religion); 2008 primary/caucus results; other current political

developments (e.g., other statewide races for Senator and Governor, voter registration and party identification trends); and recent economic developments.

States in **Red** are assessed to be solidly for the Republican ticket. There are 20 such states with a total of 163 electoral votes.

States in **Blue** are assessed to be solidly for the Democratic ticket. There are 15 such states (including the District of Columbia) with a total of 190 electoral votes.

States in *Italics* are the remaining “battleground states.” Of the 16 “battleground states” with 185 electoral votes, following the table below are an analysis and rationale for each state’s assessment.

An asterisk (*) indicates a change from the previous assessment in October.

The right-hand column provides up-dated voter registration numbers for each state. Over 36 million new potential voters have been added to the registration rolls, an increase of over 25% from 2004. The total of registered voters is now 176,598,000.

(This total does not include updated numbers from North Dakota and Utah, which are not yet available. Adding the 2004 voter registration numbers of these two states brings the total number of registered voters in 2008 to 178,151,000.) The percentage of voter-age Americans who have been registered has risen from just over 62% in 2004 to just over 78% today.

Of the total of two states and part of one state whose assessments have shifted since October, all have shifted in the direction of the Democratic ticket. None has shifted in the direction of the Republican ticket.

The final section is an updated analysis of three key swing groups – Catholics, Hispanics-Latinos, and older voters (particularly women) -- who are critical to the chances of the Democratic Presidential ticket winning on Election Day.

A new part of the final section contains an analysis of the likely impact of increased voter registrations in each battleground state.

An Appendix lists all of the sources, as well as the names of state-based Democratic political activists, used in compiling this analysis.

| State | Obama- Biden | McCain- Palin | Registered Voters |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Alabama (AL) | | 9 | 3,000,000 |
| Alaska (AK) | | 3 | 479,000 |
| Arizona (AZ) | | 10 | 2,713,000 |
| <i>Arkansas (AR)</i> | | 6 | 1,642,000 |
| California (CA) | 55 | | 16,100,000 |
| <i>Colorado (CO)</i> | 9 | | 3,200,000 |
| Connecticut (CT) | 7 | | 2,022,000 |
| Delaware (DE) | 3 | | 578,600 |
| District of Columbia (DC) | 3 | | 427,000 |
| <i>Florida (FL)</i> | *27 | | 11,248,000 |
| Georgia (GA) | | 15 | 5,598,000 |
| Hawaii (HI) | 4 | | 691,000 |
| Idaho (ID) | | 4 | 711,000 |
| Illinois (IL) | 21 | | 7,200,000 |
| Indiana (IN) | | 11 | 4,260,000 |
| <i>Iowa (IA)</i> | 7 | | 2,111,800 |
| Kansas (KS) | | 6 | 1,659,000 |
| Kentucky (KY) | | 8 | 2,900,000 |
| Louisiana (LA) | | 9 | 2,800,000 |
| Maine (ME) | 4 | | 993,700 |
| Maryland (MD) | 10 | | 3,400,000 |
| Massachusetts (MA) | 12 | | 4,000,000 |
| <i>Michigan (MI)</i> | 17 | | 7,470,000 |
| <i>Minnesota (MN)</i> | 10 | | 3,145,000 |
| Mississippi (MS) | | 6 | 1,873,700 |
| <i>Missouri (MO)</i> | | 11 | 4,000,000 |
| Montana (MT) | | 3 | 663,300 |
| Nebraska (NE) | *1 | 4 | 1,140,400 |
| <i>Nevada (NV)</i> | 5 | | 1,453,500 |
| <i>New Hampshire (NH)</i> | 4 | | 850,800 |
| New Jersey (NJ) | 15 | | 5,200,000 |
| <i>New Mexico (NM)</i> | 5 | | 991,000 |
| New York (NY) | 31 | | 11,245,000 |
| <i>North Carolina (NC)</i> | | 15 | 6,200,000 |
| North Dakota (ND) | | 3 | Unknown |
| <i>Ohio (OH)</i> | *20 | | 8,160,000 |

| | | | |
|----------------------------|------------|------------|--------------------|
| Oklahoma (OK) | | 7 | 2,169,000 |
| Oregon (OR) | 7 | | 2,146,500 |
| <i>Pennsylvania (PA)</i> | 21 | | 8,730,000 |
| Rhode Island (RI) | 4 | | 665,100 |
| South Carolina (SC) | | 8 | 2,478,000 |
| South Dakota (SD) | | 3 | 508,200 |
| Tennessee (TN) | | 11 | 3,100,000 |
| Texas (TX) | | 34 | 12,752,400 |
| Utah (UT) | | 5 | Unknown |
| Vermont (VT) | 3 | | 422,000 |
| <i>Virginia (VA)</i> | 13 | | 5,021,000 |
| Washington (WA) | 11 | | 3,609,000 |
| <i>West Virginia (WV)</i> | | 5 | 1,200,000 |
| <i>Wisconsin (WI)</i> | 10 | | 3,437,000 |
| Wyoming (WY) | | 3 | 233,000 |
| TOTALS | 339 | 199 | 176,598,000 |

BATTLEGROUND STATES ANALYSIS

Arkansas (6 electoral votes): McCain-Palin. Bush won this state by 9% in 2004, a 4-point increase over his 5% margin in 2000. Arkansas has voted for the winners of the last nine Presidential elections. This state typically votes Republican in Presidential elections, unless the Democrats nominate a Southerner (e.g., Clinton in '96 and '92, Carter in '76). Arkansas does not have party registration. According to 2006 Gallup party identification figures, however, Democrats have an 11-point advantage in Arkansas. In 2006, Democrat Mike Beebe won with 55% of the vote for Governor. This represented a shift to the Democratic Party of 8 percentage points. Senator Hillary Clinton won the Arkansas Democratic primary by a margin of almost 40 percentage points. Senator McCain lost the Arkansas Republican primary.

Colorado (9 electoral votes): Obama-Biden. Bush won this state by 5% in 2004, a 3-point decrease from his 8% margin in 2000. This state has voted Democratic in Presidential elections only three times since Franklin Roosevelt's candidacies: Clinton in '92; Johnson in '64; Truman in '48. It has voted Republican for President in nine of the last ten presidential elections. Colorado is one of the fastest-growing states in the nation. Registration increased by 10% in 2004. Of Colorado's registered voters, almost 36% are Republican, 30% are Democratic,

and 34% are "Other." According to 2006 Gallup party identification figures, however, Democrats have a 3-point advantage in Colorado, but Democratic voter registration has reportedly increased significantly in 2008. In 2006, Democrat Bill Ritter was elected Governor with 56% of the vote. This represented a shift to the Democratic Party of 20 percentage points. In 2008, Republican Senator Wayne Allard, who was first elected to the U.S. Senate in 1996 with 51% of the vote, is not running for re-election, as he has retired. In 2002, Allard was re-elected with 51% of the vote. Recent polls show Democratic Rep. Mark Udall winning against former Republican Rep. Bob Schaffer to succeed Senator Allard. Senator Obama won the Colorado Democratic caucuses by a margin of just over 34%. Senator McCain lost the Colorado Republican caucuses.

Florida (27 electoral votes): Obama-Biden. Bush won this state by 5% in 2004, a 5-point increase from his margin of less than 1% in 2000. This state has voted Democratic in Presidential elections only three times since 1964 and each time the Democratic candidate received barely 50% of the state's votes: Clinton in '96; Carter in '76; and Johnson in '64. Of Florida's registered voters, just over 40% are Democratic, almost 38% are Republican, and almost 22% are "Other." According to 2006 Gallup party identification figures, however, Democrats have a 1-point advantage in Florida. In the first six months of 2008, however, Democrats reportedly registered almost 107,000 new voters versus fewer than 17,000 new Republicans, extending the Democratic voter registration advantage in the state to 42%-37%. Updated registration numbers now show a Democratic advantage of over 600,000 voters. Republicans, however, are reportedly leading in mail-in absentee ballot requests by over 200,000. In the 2006 U.S. Senate race, Democratic incumbent Bill Nelson defeated Republican Katherine Harris by a margin of 22%. This was an increase of 23 percentage points from his margin in 2000. Florida has no state-wide races in 2008. Senator Clinton won the non-binding Florida Democratic primary by a margin of almost 17%. Senator McCain won the Republican Florida primary.

Reasons for the change in assessment:

- *The Obama-Biden campaign has made a more intensive effort to attract older voters, who comprise almost 44% of registered voters, including focusing on Social Security and Medicare as critical issues. The campaign has been running ads aimed at elderly voters in South Florida. The ads assert that McCain's previous support for Bush's Social Security privatization proposal would "gamble with your life savings."*

- *The Obama-Biden campaign has increased its support among Hispanic-Latino voters, who comprise almost 17% of the population and comprised just under 12% of Florida's voters in 2006. Hispanic-Latino voters are projected to comprise 14% of the Florida vote in 2008. The Obama-Biden campaign is focusing on the growing number of Puerto Ricans in Orlando and Tampa, and on other new immigrants in South Florida who have largely registered and voted for Democrats. Cuban-Americans, who typically vote Republican, are no longer the majority of Hispanic-Latino registered voters in Florida. (The Kerry-Edwards ticket lost Hispanic-Latino voters in Florida in 2004 by a margin of 12% points.)*
- *The Obama-Biden campaign is effectively mobilizing young voters, who comprised 9% of the 2008 Florida primary vote, and African-American voters, who comprise almost 14% of the population and comprised 12% of the Florida vote in 2004, with key concentrations in Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, and Tampa. The Obama-Biden ticket may win as much as 98% of the African-American vote in Florida.*
- *A successful voter registration campaign has added over 3 million new voters to Florida's rolls. A substantial Democratic advantage of as much as 70%-30% in new voters and an overall advantage of nearly 660,000 voters should overcome the Bush-Cheney margin of almost 381,000 votes in 2004.*
- *Early voting, which began October 20th in Florida, is huge and trending more Democratic than in the past, especially in urban South Florida, including Miami-Dade and Broward counties, which together account for one-in-five of the state's voters. Democrats have also greatly improved their absentee ballot performance. At this time four years ago, Republicans were 52.4% of early and absentee voters, while Democrats were 36%. Today, they are nearly tied, with about 43% of early and mail-in votes cast by Republicans and about 42% cast by Democrats. More than 2.5 million voters have already cast ballots in person or by mail, with the former group enduring long lines in many parts of the state, compelling Republican Governor Charlie Crist to extend early voting polling place hours.*
- *The Obama-Biden ticket is making inroads with Catholic voters, who comprise just under 13% of Florida's population, but comprised 25% of those who voted in 2006.*
- *The Obama-Biden ticket is making major inroads with Jewish voters, who overwhelmingly supported Senator Clinton in the Florida Democratic primary, and has increased its lead, 77-20%. Campaign appearances by both Hillary and Bill Clinton in Florida have helped here.*
- *The Obama-Biden ticket has increased its lead among women voters, 51%-41%, with 8% undecided. Women comprised 54% of Florida voters in 2004 and 52% in 2006.*

- *The Obama-Biden ticket is also now slightly leading with white working-class voters, who overwhelmingly supported Senator Clinton in the Florida Democratic primary, especially in Pasco County, just north of Tampa/St. Petersburg. Campaign appearances by both Hillary and Bill Clinton in Florida have helped here.*
- *The Obama-Biden ticket appears to be doing better than Democrats typically do in the I-4 Corridor, running from Tampa in the west to Daytona Beach in the east, which accounts for nearly 30% of Florida's population and is the most politically competitive section of Florida having the largest concentration of independent voters. The ticket appears to be doing particularly well in the counties of Hillsborough (Tampa), Orange (Orlando), and Pinellas (St. Petersburg).*
- *The Obama-Biden ticket appears to be doing better than Democrats typically do even in North Florida due to a strong grass-roots organization.*
- *Florida's economy is depressed, with unemployment at 6.6% and a seriously declining housing market with large numbers of home foreclosures. Polls show that voters strongly favor the Democratic Party on most economic issues. Florida is the state with the worst job market conditions. Since January, employers here have announced 37,160 job cuts and the unemployment rate is up 2.4% points from a year ago, the largest increase in unemployment among the battleground states.*
- *Poor economic conditions in central Florida and parts of northeast Florida have put these areas in play for the Obama-Biden ticket.*
- *The Florida Republican Party appears to have serious dissension that may affect its ability to get out its vote.*
- *Concerned over potential voter suppression activities and irregularities, the U.S. Election Assistance Commission is sending representatives to Florida. 2008 marks the third voting system in use in the last three Presidential elections for a number of Florida counties, including Miami-Dade and Broward, two of the state's most populous. Recent problems managing an election on optical scanners in Palm Beach County has done little to allay fears that Florida will have at least some problems on Election Day. The state's "no-match, no-vote law" is also causing concern and some advocacy groups have claimed that some new registrants might not get on voter rolls due to errors in databases. The Democratic Party has recruited almost 5,000 lawyers to monitor precincts, assist voters turned away at the polls, and litigate voting disputes.*
- *There are, however, enough late undecided voters to result in a McCain-Palin win in Florida.*

Iowa (7 electoral votes): Obama-Biden. Bush won this state by less than 1% in 2004 and Gore won it by less than 1% in 2000. This was the first time the Republican Presidential ticket carried the state since 1984. Iowa is generally close in recent Presidential elections, with only Democratic Presidential candidate Michael Dukakis winning by a substantial margin (10%) in 1988, which represented the largest Democratic margin since 1964, when the Johnson-Humphrey ticket carried Iowa with by a margin of 24%. Of Iowa's registered voters, just over 31% are Democratic, 30% are Republican, and almost 39% "Other." According to 2006 Gallup party identification figures, however, Democrats have a 6-point advantage in Iowa. Democrat Chet Culver was elected Governor in 2006 with 54% of the vote. He succeeded former Democratic Governor, Tom Vilsack, who was elected in 1998 with 52% of the vote and re-elected in 2002 with 53% of the vote. In 2008, Democratic Senator Tom Harkin, who was first elected to the Senate in 1984, is up for re-election. In 2002, Senator Harkin won re-election with 54% of the vote. He leads Republican businessman Christopher Reed by double-digit margins in recent polls. Senator Obama won the Iowa Democratic caucuses by a margin of just over 8%. Senator McCain lost the Iowa Republican caucuses.

Michigan (17 electoral votes): Obama-Biden. Kerry won this state by 3% in 2004, a 2-point decrease from Gore's margin of 5% in 2000. Michigan has voted for the Democratic Presidential ticket in each of the last four elections. Michigan does not have party registration. Democrat Jennifer Granholm was re-elected Governor in 2006 with just over 56% of the vote. This represented a shift to the Democratic Party of 5 percentage points. In 2008, Democratic Senator Carl Levin, who was first elected to the Senate in 1978, is up for re-election. In 2002, Senator Levin won re-election with 61% of the vote. He leads Republican state representative Jack Hoogendyk by double-digit margins in recent polls. Senator Clinton won the non-binding Michigan Democratic primary by a margin of almost 11%. Senator McCain lost the Michigan Republican primary.

Minnesota (10 electoral votes): Obama-Biden. Kerry won this state by 3% in 2004, a 1-point increase over Gore's margin of 2% in 2000. Minnesota has voted for the Democratic Presidential candidates in the last eight elections. The only Republican Presidential candidates to carry this state in the past fifty years were Dwight Eisenhower in 1952 and Richard Nixon in 1972. Minnesota does not have party registration. Republican incumbent Norm Coleman and Democratic challenger Al Franken are in a close race for Senator. Senator Obama won the Minnesota Democratic caucuses by a margin of almost 35%. Senator McCain lost the Minnesota Republican caucuses.

Missouri (11 electoral votes): McCain-Palin. Bush won this state by 7% in 2004, a 4-point increase over his margin of 3% in 2000. With one exception (1952), Missouri has voted with the winner of every Presidential election since 1900. No other state has that record of accuracy. The only Democratic Presidential candidates to carry this state since 1964 were Clinton in '92 and '96, and Carter in '76. Missouri does not have party registration. According to 2006 Gallup party identification figures, however, Democrats have an 8-point advantage in Missouri. In the 2004 race for Governor, Republican Secretary of State Matt Blunt defeated Democratic State Auditor Claire McCaskill with 51% of the vote. He succeeded Democratic Governor Bob Holden, who won in 1998 with 49% of the vote. This represented a shift to the Republican Party of 2 percentage points. Governor Blunt is not running for re-election in 2008. Representative Kenny Hulsof is the Republican candidate against Democratic attorney general Jay Nixon. In 2006, Claire McCaskill defeated the Republican incumbent U.S. Senator, Jim Talent, by a margin of 3%. Talent had been elected in 2002 with 50% of the vote against Democrat Jean Carnahan. This represented a shift to the Democratic Party of 3 percentage points. Senator Obama won the Missouri Democratic primary by a margin of just over 1%. Senator McCain won the Missouri Republican primary.

Nebraska's 2nd Congressional District (1 electoral vote): Obama-Biden. Bush won this district by 22% in 2004, a 3-point increase from his margin of 19% in 2000. Republican Representative Lee Terry won this district by 10% in 2006 against Democrat Jim Esch. This was a decrease of 5 points from his margin of 15% in 2004. Nebraska is one of only two states (the other is Maine) that splits its electoral votes, awarding two to the statewide winner and the remaining three electoral votes on a Congressional District basis.

Reasons for the change in assessment:

- *The Obama-Biden campaign has aggressively targeted this district, by having two offices and 15 paid staffers there.*
- *This district is nearly 98% urban and includes most of the city of Omaha, which has been booming. Omaha has long had competitive politics, with Democrats particularly strong on the south and northeast.*
- *This district is much more diverse than the rest of Nebraska with over 10% of its population African-American, residing mostly in North Omaha, and over 6% Hispanic-Latino mostly to the south.*
- *The Obama-Biden campaign has also made inroads with Catholic voters in South Omaha. Bush barely won this part of the District in 2004.*

- *Due to a successful voter registration drive and an effective get-out-the-vote plan, a turnout of twice as many voters in the district's Democratic areas than in 2004 is expected.*

Nevada (5 electoral votes): Obama-Biden. Bush won this state by 3% in 2004, a 1-point decrease from his margin of 4% in 2000. Since 1964, Nevada has voted Democratic in Presidential elections only twice: Clinton in '92 and '96. Of Nevada's registered voters, just over 40% are Democratic, just over 39% are Republican, and just over 20% are "Other." According to 2006 Gallup party identification figures, however, Democrats have a 12-point advantage in Nevada. Republican Jim Gibbons was elected Governor in 2006 with 48% of the vote. He succeeded Republican Kenny Gunn, who had first been elected Governor in 1998 with 52% of the vote and re-elected in 2002 with 68% of the vote. In the 2006 election for the U.S. Senate, Republican incumbent John Ensign defeated Democrat Jack Carter by a margin of 14%. Ensign had first been elected to the Senate in 2000 with 55% of the vote. Senator Clinton won the Nevada Democratic caucuses by a margin of almost 6%. Senator McCain lost the Nevada Republican caucuses.

New Hampshire (4 electoral votes): Obama-Biden. Kerry won this state by 1% in 2004, and Bush won this state by 1% in 2000. Since 1948, this state had voted Democratic in Presidential elections only twice before: Clinton in '92 and '96. Of New Hampshire's registered voters, just over 30% are Republican, 26% are Democratic, and almost 44% are "Other." According to 2006 Gallup party identification figures, however, Democrats have a 14-point advantage in New Hampshire. In 2006, Democratic Governor John Lynch was re-elected with almost 74% of the vote. This represented a shift to the Democratic Party of almost 23 percentage points. Governor Lynch is running for re-election in 2008 against Republican state senator Joe Kenney. Republican incumbent John Sununu is in a close race against Democratic challenger former Governor Jeanne Shaheen for U.S. Senate. Recent polls show Shaheen with a slight lead. Senator Clinton won the New Hampshire Democratic primary by a margin of almost 3%. Senator McCain won the New Hampshire Republican primary.

New Mexico (5 electoral votes): Obama-Biden. Bush won this state by less than 1% in 2004 and Gore won this state by less than 1% in 2000. New Mexico has had major demographic changes in recent years. The overall state population grew by 20% in the 2000 U.S. census, making it the fastest growing state in the nation. Of New Mexico's registered voters, just over 49% are Democratic, 33% are Republican, and almost 18% are "Other." According to 2006 Gallup party identification figures, however, Democrats have an 8-point advantage in New Mexico. Democrat Bill Richardson was first elected Governor of New Mexico in 2002 with 56% of the vote. He was re-elected in 2006 with 69% of the vote. He had succeeded Republican Governor Gary Johnson, who had first been elected in 1994 with 50% of the vote and re-elected in 1998 with 55% of the vote. In the 2006 election for the U.S. Senate, Democratic incumbent Jeff Bingaman defeated Republican Allen McCulloch by a margin of 42%. Bingaman was first elected to the U.S. Senate in 1982 with 54% of the vote. He had last been re-elected in 2000 with 62% of the vote. In 2008, Republican Senator Pete Domenici, who was first elected to the U.S. Senate in 1972 with 54% of the vote, is retiring. In 2002, Domenici won re-election with 65% of the vote. Democratic Congressman Tom Udall is leading Republican Congressman Steve Pearce in recent polls. Senator Clinton won the New Mexico Democratic primary by a margin of almost 1%. Senator McCain won the New Mexico Republican primary.

North Carolina (15 electoral votes): McCain-Palin. Bush won this state by 12% in 2004, a 1-point decrease in his margin of 13% in 2000. Since 1964, the Democratic Presidential ticket has carried this state only once – Carter-Mondale by 11% in 1976. North Carolina has voted for the Republican ticket in nine out of the last ten Presidential elections. Of North Carolina's registered voters, over 45% are Democratic, over 34% are Republican, and 20% are "Other." In the 2004 race for Governor, Democratic incumbent Michael F. Easley was re-elected with 56% of the vote. Easley had been first elected Governor in 2000 with 52% of the vote. In 2008, Democratic Lt. Governor Bev Perdue is running against Republican Pat McCrory, Mayor of Charlotte, to succeed Governor Easley. In 2008, Republican incumbent Elizabeth Dole is being challenged by Democratic state senator Kay Hagan for the U.S. Senate. Senator Dole is trailing in recent polls. Senator Obama won the North Carolina Democratic primary by a margin of over 14%. Senator McCain won the North Carolina Republican primary.

Ohio (20 electoral votes): Obama-Biden. Bush won this state by 2% in 2004, a 2-point decrease from his margin of 4% in 2000. No Republican has ever been elected President without carrying Ohio. Ohio does not have party registration. According to 2006 Gallup party identification figures, however, Democrats have a 7-point advantage in Ohio. Democrat Ted Strickland was elected Governor in 2006 with 60% of the vote. This represented a shift to the Democratic Party of 18 percentage points. He succeeded Republican Bob Taft, who had first been elected Governor in 1998 with 50% of the vote. Taft was re-elected in 2002 with 58% of the vote. In the 2006 election for the U.S. Senate, Democrat Sherrod Brown defeated Republican incumbent Mike DeWine by a margin of 12%. This represented a shift to the Democratic Party of 22 percentage points. DeWine was first elected to the U.S. Senate in 1994 with 53% of the vote and had been re-elected in 2000 with 60% of the vote. Republican George Voinovich, who was first elected to the U.S. Senate in 1998 with 56% of the vote, won re-election in 2004 with 64% of the vote. Senator Clinton won the Ohio Democratic primary by a margin of over 10%. Senator McCain won the Ohio Republican primary.

Reasons for the change in assessment:

- *The Obama-Biden campaign has made a more intensive effort to attract older voters, who comprise almost 28% of registered voters, including focusing on Social Security and Medicare as critical issues. "Bring Back Ohio," a 527 organization, has also run effective ads against McCain's previous support for Social Security private accounts.*
- *The Obama-Biden campaign is effectively mobilizing younger voters, who comprised 16% of Democratic primary voters in 2008, and African-American voters, who comprise over 11% of the population. The Obama-Biden campaign is reaching out to traditional African-American communities around Cleveland (20% African-American), Columbus (13%) and Cincinnati (11%),, as well as to smaller cities, such as Lima and Sandusky. The Kerry-Edwards ticket in 2004 did not do as well with African-American voters in Ohio, winning 84% of this vote here vs. 89% nationwide. African-Americans comprised 10% of the voters in Ohio in 2004.*
- *A successful voter registration campaign has added over 2 million new voters to Ohio's rolls. A substantial Democratic advantage in new voters, especially African-Americans, should overcome the Bush-Cheney margin of just under 119,000 votes in 2004.*
- *Early voting, which began September 30th in Ohio and is expected to comprise one-third of the total vote here, is trending Democratic.*

- *The Obama-Biden ticket is making inroads with Catholic voters, who comprise just under 19% of Ohio's population, but comprised 25% of those who voted in 2006.*
- *The Obama-Biden ticket has increased its lead among women voters, 54%-38%, with 8% undecided. This is a significant improvement over the Kerry-Edwards ticket, which split women voters with Bush-Cheney in Ohio. Women comprised 53% of Ohio voters in 2004 and 52% in 2006.*
- *The Obama-Biden ticket is also now leading with white working-class voters, who overwhelmingly supported Senator Clinton in the Ohio Democratic primary and comprise key portions of the vote in Akron, Canton, Columbus, Toledo, and Youngstown.*
- *Ohio's economy is depressed, with unemployment at over 7%, and polls show that voters strongly favor the Democratic Party on most economic issues.*
- *Concerned over potential voter suppression activities and irregularities, the U.S. Election Assistance Commission is sending representatives to Ohio. The Democratic Secretary of State, Jennifer Brunner, is also making voter protection a priority. The U.S. Supreme Court has handed Ohio Democrats a victory, dissolving a court order obtained by Republicans to force state officials to release the list of 200,000 new voters whose names or addresses don't match government databases, such as drivers' licenses or Social Security records.*

Pennsylvania (21 electoral votes): Obama-Biden. Kerry won this state by 3% in 2004, a decrease of 1 percentage point from Gore's margin of 4% in 2000. Of Pennsylvania's registered voters, almost 48% are Democratic, just over 40% are Republican, and 12% are "Other." The ratio of newly registered Democrats to Republicans in this state in 2008 is reportedly 4-to-1. The ratio of registered voters switching parties is reportedly 11-to-1 Democratic – Democrats in Pennsylvania have gained 11 voters for every one gained by Republicans. Democratic Governor Ed Rendell was re-elected in 2006 with 60% of the vote. He had been elected Governor in 2002 with 53% of the vote. Senator Clinton won the Pennsylvania Democratic primary by a margin of just over 9%. Senator McCain won the Pennsylvania Republican primary.

Virginia (13 electoral votes): Obama-Biden. Bush won this state by 8% in 2004 and in 2000. The Republican Presidential ticket carried the state by 2% in 1996 and by 4% in 1992. No Democratic Presidential candidate has won Virginia since 1964. Virginia does not have party registration. In the 2006 election for the U.S. Senate, Democrat Jim Webb defeated Republican incumbent George Allen by a

margin of 1%. This represented a shift to the Democratic Party of 3 percentage points. Allen had first been elected to the Senate in 2000 with 52% of the vote. In 2008, Republican Senator John Warner, who was first elected to the Senate in 1978, is retiring. In 2002, Warner won re-election with 83% of the vote. Former Gov. Mark Warner, who was elected in 2001 with 52% of the vote, had considered being a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 2008, but decided not to run. He is running for the U.S. Senate seat of John Warner and is leading his opponent, former Governor James Gilmore, by double digits in recent polls. Democrat Tim Kaine was elected Governor in 2005 with 52% of the vote. Senator Obama won the Virginia Democratic primary by a margin of over 28%. Senator McCain won the Virginia Republican primary.

West Virginia (5 electoral votes): McCain-Palin. Bush won this state by 13% in 2004, an increase of 7 percentage points over his margin of 6% in 2000. No Democrat has won the White House since 1916 without carrying West Virginia. Of West Virginia's registered voters, 57% are Democratic, 30% are Republican, and almost 13% are "Other." According to 2006 Gallup party identification figures, however, Democrats have a 13-point advantage in West Virginia. Democratic Governor Joe Manchin was elected with over 63% of the vote in 2004. He succeeded Democratic Governor Bob Wise. His election marked the first time that two persons of the same political party have followed one another in the West Virginia Governor's office since 1964. He is running for re-election in 2008 against former Republican state senator Russ Weeks. Democratic incumbent Senator Jay Rockefeller is running for re-election in 2008. Senator Clinton won the West Virginia Democratic primary by a margin of almost 45%. Senator McCain won the West Virginia Republican primary.

Wisconsin (10 electoral votes): Obama-Biden. Kerry won this state by less than 1% in 2004 and Gore won this state by less than 1% in 2000. The last Republican Presidential candidate to win Wisconsin was Ronald Reagan in 1984. Wisconsin does not have party registration. Democratic Governor Jim Doyle was elected in 2002 with 45% of the vote, defeating Republican incumbent Scott McCallum. Governor Doyle was re-elected in 2006 with almost 53% of the vote. Senator Obama won the Wisconsin Democratic primary by a margin of over 17%. Senator McCain won the Wisconsin Republican primary.

KEY SWING GROUPS ANALYSIS

For the Democrats to win the Presidency, they must do better than they have in recent elections with three key swing groups of voters: Catholics; Hispanics-Latinos; and older voters, particularly women. With each of these key groups, Senator Obama has made significant progress, but he needs to continue to improve or sustain his appeal.

Catholics

Catholics will make up just over one-in-four voters nationwide in November. Of Catholic voters in 2004, the Republican Presidential ticket had a margin of 5 percentage points, which was a significant shift from the Democratic Presidential ticket's margin of 2 percentage points in 2000. Among this segment, 56% of white Catholics voted for the Republican Presidential ticket.

Catholics comprise significant percentages of the population in the key battleground states of Pennsylvania (29%), Wisconsin (29%), Nevada (28%), New Hampshire (24%), Minnesota (22%) and New Mexico (21%). National polls have shown large variations among Catholic voters, but recent polls show the Obama-Biden ticket making inroads and running better than the Kerry-Edwards ticket in 2004.

According to John Halpin and Ruy Texeira, writing in *The American Prospect* in 2006, the top reason cited by white Catholics on why Kerry lost the 2004 election was "not clear on what he stood for." Nearly one-in-two Catholic voters selected this reason as one of the two top reasons Kerry lost, and this was twice as many as selected "permissive views on issues like abortion and gay marriage" as one of the reasons.

Having Senator Joe Biden, a Catholic, on the ticket as Vice President, particularly since he has roots in Pennsylvania (one of the above states), may help a bit. The Democratic Party platform's language on issues like abortion may also cause some Catholic voters to give Senator Obama more consideration than they typically give to progressive Democrats. Overall, however, his chances of making major gains among this segment of the electorate remain slim, especially if Republicans succeed in characterizing him as a "flip-flopper."

Hispanics-Latinos

Hispanics-Latinos comprise almost 15% of the U.S. population, and 9% of the voting-age population nationwide. As a percentage of actual voters, however, they are expected to represent less than 7% of the turnout. Approximately 57% of Hispanic-Latino registered voters identify themselves as Democrats or say they lean to the Democratic Party, while just 23% align with the Republican Party.

In 2004, the Democratic ticket nationwide won Hispanic-Latino voters by a margin of 11 percentage points. In 2000 and 1996, the Democratic tickets nationwide won Hispanic-Latino voters by margins of 36 and 51 percentage points respectively. The 2004 Presidential election represented a continuing trend of Hispanic-Latino voters away from the Democratic ticket.

Hispanics-Latinos comprise significant percentages of the population in the key battleground states of New Mexico (42%), Nevada (20%), Colorado (17%), and Florida (17%).

The most recent polls show the Obama-Biden with a 40 percentage-point lead with the Hispanic-Latino vote over the McCain-Palin ticket, which is a significant improvement over his primary/caucus performance, earlier polls, and that of the Kerry-Edwards ticket in 2004.

The Democratic Party needs to keep its focus on mobilizing this segment, which will also help Democrats with the small but growing Hispanic-Latino portion of Catholic voters and with the youth vote. Nearly three-quarters of Hispanics-Latinos are Catholic and they make up over half of the U.S. Catholic population. While 56% of white Catholics voted for the Republican Presidential ticket in 2004, 58% of Hispanic Catholics voted for the Democratic Presidential candidate. Approximately two-out-of-three young voters are Hispanic-Latino.

Older Voters

Voters age 60 and older comprise about one-quarter of the voting population nationwide. Boomers (between ages 44 and 62) comprise about one-third.

In 2004, the Democratic ticket nationwide lost older voters to the Republican ticket by a margin of 8 percentage points. In 2000, the Democratic ticket nationwide won older voters by a margin of 4 percentage points. This represented a shift of 12 percentage points away from the Democratic Party.

Older women, however, have been shifting noticeably toward Democratic candidates. Senator Obama consistently lost the votes of older women in the primaries/caucuses. Many were fervent supporters of Senator Clinton, who harbored negative feelings about Senator Obama because of the type of campaign he waged and the perception of unfairness in the Democratic Party's rules, especially in connection with caucuses. Senator Clinton's campaigning for the Obama-Biden ticket, especially in key battleground states where she did well in Democratic primaries, appears to be making a considerable difference with her supporters.

Older voters comprise significant percentages of the voting-age population in the key battleground states of Florida (44%), Nevada (40%), New Mexico (33%), Pennsylvania (32%), West Virginia (32%), North Carolina (30%), Iowa (29%), Ohio (28%), Virginia (27%), and Missouri (26%).

Current polls show the Obama-Biden ticket pulling ahead of the McCain-Palin ticket among older voters. This represents a dramatic turnaround from earlier polls that showed the McCain-Palin ticket with double-digit leads. The Democratic ticket has been making Social Security and Medicare priority issues, which is having very positive results in many of the above battleground states.

New Voter Numbers and Likely Impact

Barring an attempt to disrupt, destabilize or delegitimize the results of next Tuesday's election, the number of newly registered voters in key battleground states virtually guarantees the election of the Obama-Biden ticket.

Based on official tallies of new voters reported by the secretaries of state of nearly every state, there are approximately 178 million registered voters eligible to vote this year, an increase of more than 25% over 2004. Assuming the same turnout rate of 88% as in 2004, the total number of voters will be close to 158 million.

It appears that the Democratic Party has gained a substantial advantage from this unprecedented influx of new voters. Many more newly registered voters have selected the Democratic Party over the Republican Party in those states that have party registration. In those states that do not, the residences of new voters are predominantly from largely Democratic cities and suburbs.

Assuming that 60% of new voters are likely to vote Democratic and 40% Republican, the increase in Democratic voters in key battleground states is sufficient to overcome the 2004 Republican margins of victory, or add to the Democratic margins, in those states. The result will be a rout by the Obama-Biden ticket.

Of the 16 battleground states with a total of 185 electoral votes, 12 with a total of 148 electoral votes have a clear Democratic edge when factoring in newly registered voters. They are:

| <u>State</u> | <u>Electoral Votes</u> | <u>2004 Winner -Margin</u> | <u>New Voters</u> | <u>New Democratic Margin</u> |
|---------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Colorado | 9 | Bush-Cheney - 99,523 | 893,000 | 178,600 |
| Florida | 27 | Bush-Cheney - 380,978 | 3,029,000 | 605,800 |
| Iowa | 7 | Bush-Cheney - 10,059 | 437,800 | 87,560 |
| Michigan | 17 | Kerry-Edwards - 165,437 | 2,106,000 | 752,074 |
| Minnesota | 10 | Kerry-Edwards - 98,369 | 65,000 | 113,319 |
| Nevada | 5 | Bush-Cheney - 21,500 | 488,500 | 97,700 |
| New Hampshire | 4 | Kerry-Edwards - 9,274 | 134,800 | 36,234 |
| New Mexico | 5 | Bush-Cheney - 5,988 | 55,000 | 11,000 |
| Ohio | 20 | Bush-Cheney - 118,601 | 2,157,000 | 431,400 |
| Pennsylvania | 21 | Kerry-Edwards - 144,248 | 2,249,000 | 594,048 |
| Virginia | 13 | Bush-Cheney - 262,217 | 1,580,000 | 316,000 |
| Wisconsin | 10 | Kerry-Edwards - 11,384 | 212,000 | 42,400 |

What would it take to change this likely outcome? The only conceivable paths to victory for the Republican ticket sound inconceivable. One intervening variable would be an attempt to disrupt voting on Election Day by acts of terrorism. New Yorkers remember that Tuesday, September 11, 2001, was the date on which a primary election was scheduled here that had to be postponed. Similar acts, perhaps directed at selected polling places early in the morning, might either cause a postponement of the election nationwide or seriously reduce turnout. They might also cause many voters to make national security a more salient issue than the economy and switch their vote to the Republican ticket.

Another possibility is a large-scale Republican effort in many of the states identified above to keep down the vote through new-voter registration purges and activities designed to discourage turnout. According to organizations like Common Cause and the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University

School of Law, there is already evidence of such destabilizing activity in Colorado, Florida, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. A nationwide 866-OURVOTE hotline has been set up to report voting problems. Should these six states with 107 electoral votes go Republican, then the result would be a 307-231 McCain-Palin triumph.

There is also the prospect that allegations of widespread voter fraud and tampering may delegitimize much of the election. Even if the Democratic ticket appears to have won, Republicans may take to the courts to overturn the results in selected states.

None of these scenarios bodes well for the political stability of our country, especially at this time of economic turmoil. The reputation of the United States as the beacon of democracy would be very much at stake.

Final Report and Analysis

A final report on, and analysis of, the results will be completed after the November election.

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