FairVote Research
REPORT

A Survey and Analysis of Statewide Election Recounts. 1980-2006.

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ABSTRACT

This report takes an in-depth look at election recount outcomes and practices in the United States, using data from statewide elections held between 1980 and 2006. The purpose is to quantify various aspects of the process, such as the frequency of recounts, vote differences involved, and recount outcomes, and analyze how these figures vary with the size of the electorate and recount methodology.

The major findings are as follows:

1. Historically speaking, recounts are a very rare occurrence.
2. Recounts usually result in insignificant alterations in vote tallies.
3. The larger the number of votes cast in an election, the less the likelihood of a recount.

These findings will provide a substantive basis for commenting on election disputes, reforming state laws on recounts, and forecasting the recount scenario in the event of nationwide direct presidential elections.

Report Outline

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1. Introduction

The ability to handle the recounting of votes to ensure fair, accurate, and genuinely democratic outcomes is broadly recognized as a critical component of effective election administration. Errors by humans and machines typically mean that every count of large numbers of ballots will result in at least slightly different totals, but most elections result in clear winners and losers that avoid controversies over those differences. However, particularly close elections may necessitate recounts, either because the losing candidate disputes the outcome on grounds of fraud, or the narrow margin of victory creates hope for the losing candidate that a reversal of random errors in the initial count will change the outcome. Trust in elections requires trust in this recount process.

The following questions arise: How often do we have recounts in the United States? What is the margin of victory involved in most recounts? How often do recounts lead to a change in the original result? Are recounts less likely in larger electorates? The purpose of this report is to address these questions through the lens of statewide elections and shed light on the conditions and controversies surrounding recounts. The summary conclusions are:

- **Recounts take place very rarely:** There was less than one statewide recount per year between 1980 and 2006, out of a yearly average of 250-300 statewide contests.

- **Recounts change the margin by insignificant numbers:** The mean change in victory margin for automatic recount cases analyzed in this report is 276 votes, or 0.041 percent of the total votes cast. For requested recounts, the mean is 272 votes, or 0.037 percent of the total votes cast. Thus, the winner's victory margin on average changes by less than one vote out of every 2,500 ballots that are recounted. For requested recounts, the median is less than one-third this percentage, i.e. fewer than one out of every 7,500 ballots.

- **The odds of a recount changing an outcome are very low:** Recounts altered the outcome in only two of all the elections held in this period – that is to say, a recount changed a statewide election outcome twice out of more than 7,000 statewide elections during the 1980-2006 period.

- **As the number of voters increases, the need for a recount declines:** The margin of victory that establishes a credible opportunity for a recount to change the outcome decreases in percentage terms based on the number of votes cast in the election.

2. Recounts in Statewide Elections since 1980

2.1 Number of Statewide Elections

Several thousand statewide general elections occurred in the 27 years of elections from 1980 to 2006 – almost certainly more than 7,000 elections total. In the seven years of election from 2000 to 2006, for example, there were 1,699 statewide general elections for the offices of president, senator, governor, secretary of state, attorney general, judicial offices, and ballot measures, for an average of more than 283 elections a year (see Table 4). Repeated over the entire 1980-2006 period, this yearly average number of statewide elections would have meant 7,645 elections between 1980 and 2006.

2.2 Low number of statewide recounts

A survey of state election results reveals that election officials conducted 23 recounts around the nation in that 26-year period, that is, less than one per year. Of these 23 recounts, 19 were conducted at the statewide level, while the remaining four were partial recounts. In order to draw valid comparisons, this report includes only the 19 statewide recounts (see Table 3). It divides these 19 recounts into eight races in which an automatic recount was started before all absentee and provisional ballots had been counted and eleven races in which the recounts took place after all ballots had been counted.

2.3 Extremely close margins needed for result reversal

The mean margin of victory in elections that ended in statewide automatic recounts was 0.528 percent, while the median was 0.109 percent. For requested recounts, the mean margin of victory was 0.280 percent, while the median was 0.121 percent.

The mean percentage change in margin as a result of automatic recount was 0.041 percent and the median was 0.024 percent. For requested recounts, the mean percentage change in margin was 0.037 percent and the median 0.012 percent. The difference in mean and median figures is due to three outliers in the data from small states – the 2006 Vermont auditor race in which the change in vote margin was 0.107 percent, the 1980 Vermont Senate race in which it was 0.152 percent (both requested), and the 1996 referendum in North Dakota (automatic) in which it was 0.129 percent. On excluding the outliers, the mean for requested recounts comes out to be 0.017 percent, i.e. closer to the median value. (It is worth noting here that in the 2006 Vermont auditor race a full hand counting of ballots took place, with errors primarily from ballots that had originally been hand-tallied.)

Estimating on the basis of median values, then, in a typical statewide election with one million votes cast, the trailing candidate would need to be within 240 votes (if the recount is automatic) or 120 votes (if the recount is requested) to have a reasonable chance to overturn a defeat.

To provide additional perspective, consider a presidential race with 100 million votes cast. The trailing candidate would have to be within 24,000 votes before all ballots were counted or 12,000 votes after all ballots were counted to have any credible chance to win. Moreover, even these narrow margins are inflated estimates because, according to the data available, the percentage change in margin declines as the size of the vote pool increases – that is to say, in a 100 million vote election, the margin likely would need to be less than 12,000 votes for the trailing candidate to have any real chance of overturning the outcome.

These are extremely narrow margins that are unlikely to occur in reality. Since the 19th century, the closest nationwide margin of victory in a presidential election was in 1960, when John Kennedy defeated Richard Nixon by 118,574 votes out of 68,832,482 votes cast. The next closest margin was in 1968, when Nixon defeated Hubert Humphrey by 510,314 votes out of 73,199,998 votes cast.

2.4 Rareness of result reversal

Of course, even the narrowest margin presents no guarantee of success for the trailing candidate. Of the 19 statewide recounts, the two in elections with the closest margins did not reverse the outcome. In 15 of these 19 full statewide recounts, the trailing candidates increased their vote tallies, but the vote change for either candidate in most recounts was negligible in contrast to the margins of victory involved.

2.5 Exceptional races with a reversal in outcome

The two recounts that reversed the original outcome were the 2004 gubernatorial race in Washington State (an automatic recount) and the 2006 auditor race in Vermont (requested), meaning that there was not a single recount in the many thousands of statewide elections between 1980 and 2003 that changed the outcome of an election.

The Washington election was decided in favor of Democrat Christine Gregoire by 129 votes out of 2,746,593 votes cast, i.e. a margin of victory of 0.005 percent. Gregoire initially lost the race by 261 votes, or 0.0095 percent of the votes cast for both candidates.

The Vermont race initially went to Republican incumbent Randy Brock by a margin of 137 votes, or 0.062 percent of total votes. In the recount, however, Democratic challenger Thomas Salmon overturned the result and won election by a margin of 102 votes, i.e. 0.046 percent; most of the changes occurred in localities that had inaccurately tallied ballots by hand on election night.

2.6 Negligible vote gains from recounts

Of the 38 candidates considered in these 19 elections with recounts, 27 candidates' vote totals increased slightly after the recount. The votes cast increased for both candidates in 11 of the 19 recounts. In contrast, in only three elections did both candidates lose votes in a recount. Out of the remaining five recounts, the winning candidate lost votes while the losing candidate gained more in four recounts, while in one case the winning candidate gained votes while the losing candidate lost votes. In the majority of cases (13 out of 19), margins between the winner and loser decreased slightly in a recount. However, as shown in Table 3, the number of votes gained by the loser relative to the winner was miniscule.

2.7 Recount process

Eight recount cases analyzed here were triggered automatically because the victory margin was below a predetermined threshold established by state law, while in the remaining eleven cases the recount was conducted upon the request of one of the candidates.

The process of conducting recounts depended on the circumstances of the dispute and also showed some variation from state to state. In the 2004 Alaska Senate race, for example, all ballots were re-scanned and there was a manual counting of a sample of ballots, which was done in order to evaluate allegations that the machines were not tallying the vote accurately. Full

manual recounts decided the 2006 state auditor race in Vermont, the 2004 constitutional amendment referendum in Alabama, and the 2004 gubernatorial race in Washington. All recounts prior to the introduction of voting machines involved manual counting, while the 2000 State Education Board election in Colorado involved automatic machine recounts.

2.8 No partial recount since 1980 changed the initial outcome

In four statewide elections held in the same period, partial recounts were conducted upon the request of the losing party: the 1988 Senate race in Florida, the 1995 Maine referendum on seat belts, the 1998 attorney general race in New York, and the 1998 Senate race in Nevada.

In the 1988 Senate race in Florida, a partial manual recount was conducted in a few counties upon the request of the losing candidate. The recount in Maine began as a complete statewide manual counting of ballots, but was halted midway when the requesting party withdrew their demand. In the 1998 attorney general race in New York, votes in New York City were recounted after allegations of machine malfunctioning. In the 1998 Senate race in Nevada, a judge ordered the manual recounting of 6,000 absentee ballots in Reno upon allegations that their misprinting had resulted in incorrect tallying by machines. None of these recounts reversed the previous result.

3. Recount Laws

3.1 Laws about automatic recounts and conducting recounts vary widely

Laws regarding recounts vary from state to state and have evolved over the years. Out of fifty states and the District of Columbia, twenty have automatic recount provisions for state and federal elections, based on a specified threshold. Eight states automatically conduct a recount within a margin of 0.5 percent between the top two candidates, four states do so if the margin is 1 percent or less, four do so at margins between 0.1 percent-0.25 percent, and one (Michigan) conducts automatic recounts for margins equal to or below 2,000 votes. Three states allow an automatic recount only in the case of a tie vote. (See Table 1.)

Older automatic recount laws are less sophisticated – automatic recount laws in the case of tied votes date back to the early decades of the twentieth century. The first states to pass automatic recount laws using thresholds around 0.5 percent were Connecticut, Florida, Michigan, Ohio, and Oregon in the 1970s. The introduction of an automatic recount law often follows a close election and mimics the threshold used in existing laws in other states. Delaware, Alabama, and Texas have passed automatic recount laws since 2000. In Alabama's case, this law was in response to a close election.

Thirty states and the District of Columbia have no procedure for automatic recounts in the event of a close election. Of these, six have no or very limited statutory procedures for recounts. Fourteen states and the District of Columbia allow candidates to petition if they pay costs or fees – generally to be returned if the recount changes the result in the petitioner's favor, thus discouraging frivolous recount requests. Ten states only allow candidates to petition within certain margins – two allow a requested recount within a 5 percent margin, four within a 1 percent margin, and three within a 0.5 percent margin. (See Table 2 for a summary.)

3.2 Automatic v. requested recounts

In states that have automatic recount laws, the process begins either immediately after the initial tallying of ballots, or after the final official canvassing is complete, along with the fulfillment of any other provisions required by law, such as the institution of recount committees. For example, in Maine, if after an initial tally of ballots the margin between the 1st and 2nd place candidates is less than 1 percent of the total votes cast for that office, a recount is automatically triggered and must take place as soon as the State Police takes charge of all ballots. Maine also permits recount requests, which must be made within five business days of an election and require a deposit if the margin is more than 2 percent of the total number of votes cast. In Maine, absentee ballots must be received before the polls are closed.

In states without automatic recount laws, a candidate seeking a recount has to file the requisite petition within a specified number of days. In several states, the candidate has to make a deposit, which is forfeited in case the recount does not change the result. For example, under Massachusetts law, a candidate has up to thirty days to file a petition for recount.

The major difference between automatic and requested recounts, therefore, is the timeline of the process. Since automatic recounts are conducted right after the initial counting of ballots, and states provide for a certain amount of post-election wait period for the arrival of absentee ballots, the final totals after automatic recounts may include absentee ballots that had not been counted when the recount was triggered. The data on automatic recounts listed in this report should be read with this caveat in mind. The figures under the recount tally are the final official figures; hence, the change in votes from the original count to the recount reflect not only the actual change in result, but also any absentee ballots that were not included in the original count.

In Florida, for example, a recount is triggered automatically if the initial tally shows a difference of less than 0.5 percent, which implies only those absentee ballots which were received by the time of the election are included in the process. Hence, the automatic recount that was held the night of the 2000 presidential elections in Florida did not include all absentee ballots. However, the post-recount figures indicated in the table below, which are the official figures, are inclusive of all ballots cast in the election. In other words, for the Florida presidential race, the differences in vote tally between the original and the recount columns are not solely due to the recount – absentee ballots account for a part of the changes in margin and total numbers of votes cast for each candidate.

The 2000 presidential election in Florida is one of eight instances analyzed in this report in which an automatic recount was held. The remaining eleven cases were recounts conducted on the request of one of the candidates.

4. Likelihood of Recounts and Outcomes

4.1 Figures involved in recounts

The data reveal that recounts are most likely to happen in very close elections, with a mean margin of victory of 0.5 percent of the total votes cast in the case of automatic recounts, and 0.3 percent in the case of requested recounts.

Among automatic recounts, the 2000 presidential race in Florida involved the largest vote total of 5,816,486 votes and had an election night victory margin of 1,784 votes, or 0.031 percent of

votes cast. For requested recounts, the largest vote total was 2,396,567 votes in the 2000 Senate race in Washington State. The original victory margin was 1,953 votes, or 0.081 percent.

In the automatic recount cases, the lowest vote total was 109,246 in the 1996 ballot initiative in North Dakota, with an original victory margin of 0.273 percent, that is, 298 votes. For requested recounts, the analogous case was 205,597 in the 1980 Vermont Senate race, with a 1.34 percent, or 2,755 votes, victory margin.

In the set of automatic recounts, the largest original victory margin, in terms of absolute number of votes, was 9,568 out of a total of 289,324 votes cast in the 2004 U.S. Senate race in Alaska. This was also the largest margin in percentage terms – 3.31 percent. The margin after recount was 3.23 percent. In the set of requested recounts, the 2000 Secretary of State race in Washington involved the largest original victory margin in terms of absolute number of votes – 10,489 – which amounted to 0.491 percent of the votes cast. In percentage terms, the largest victory margin was 1.34 percent in the 1980 Vermont Senate race, which corresponded to 2,755 out of a total of 205,597 votes cast.

Out of the eight automatic recount cases, the lowest victory margin, in terms of raw number of votes, was 135 votes in the 1996 Commissioner of Agriculture race in North Dakota, and it corresponded to 0.052 percent of the votes cast. In percentage terms, the lowest victory margin was 0.0095 percent in the 2004 Washington gubernatorial race. Out of the eleven requested recounts, the lowest raw number victory margin was 137 votes in the 2006 Vermont Auditor-General race, corresponding to 0.061 percent of votes cast. In percentage terms, the lowest margin of victory was 0.017 percent in the 2005 Virginia Attorney General race.

Overall, the change in victory margin upon recount was fewer than 400 votes in 17 of the 19 recounts.

4.2 Unlikelihood of result reversal deters frivolous calls for recounts

The rarity of holding recounts is underscored by the fact that several elections in which victory margins were comparable to the cases included in this report were settled without a recount. For example, in the 1994 gubernatorial race in Maryland, the losing candidate made allegations of fraud but ultimately decided not to press for a recount, conceding that the gap of 5,993 votes was too large to be overturned. Similarly, in the 1982 gubernatorial race in Illinois, the losing candidate abandoned his challenge in a race where the final victory margin was 5,074 votes. The 2002 U.S. Senate race in South Dakota was won by 524 votes without a recount.

In states where there is no provision for automatic recounting, cost constraints as well as the sheer unlikelihood of closing the gap and changing the outcome of an election deters many losing candidates from demanding unnecessary recounts.

4.3 Implications for a national popular vote for president

The graph below plots the percentage change in victory margin upon recount as a function of the total number of votes cast in an election. It excludes the eight cases in which an automatic recount was held as the figures under the recount tally in these cases also include new absentee ballots that were not included in the original tally.

The graph indicates a decreasing trend in the percentage change in vote margin upon recount as the number of votes in an election increases. The implication is that the larger the number of

votes cast in an election, the smaller the percentage of votes changing hands in the event of a recount, meaning that the likelihood of a candidate winning or losing votes upon recount decreases with an increasing number of votes cast in an election.

The median change in margin for requested recounts is 0.012 percent. To make a rough estimate, then, in a race with 100 million votes it would take a margin of 12,000 to trigger the need for a recount where a change in outcome is plausible, unless there was clear evidence of corruption affecting an inordinate number of votes. However, the data show declining margins with increasing vote totals, and this trend is likely to continue beyond the domain of vote totals covered in this analysis. Hence, the required margin would be much less than 12,000 for a race with 100 million votes cast.

University of Pennsylvania Professor Jack Nagel and co-researchers report a similar conclusion in a forthcoming paper. According to their research, the disputability of an election (wherein the outcome is close enough to challenge in the hope that a recount will turn up enough errors to reverse the result) is significantly less for a single nationwide vote pool than for the current Electoral College system in which each state's votes are counted separately.

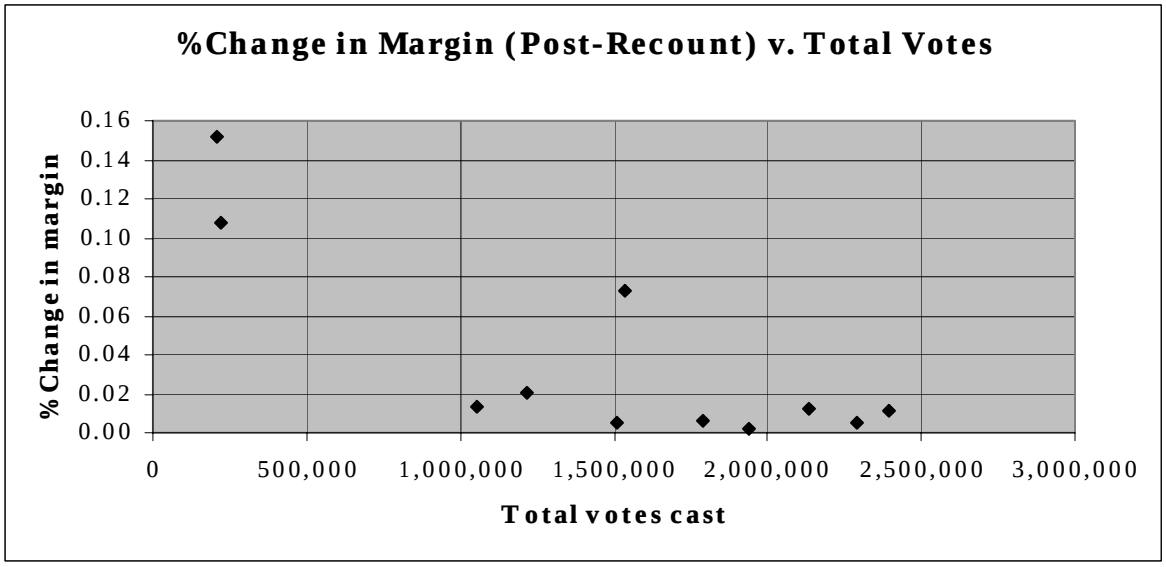

Fig. 1 %Change in Margin (Post-Recount) v. Total Votes

5. Conclusion

The current system of administering recounts is characterized by wide-ranging differences among states regarding various aspects of the process, such as the timing of recounts, prerequisites, and counting techniques. Moreover, regardless of standard criteria for handling recounts in close elections, candidates have the option of petitioning recounts even in not-so-close elections and/or challenging the outcome in court.

Nevertheless, the past record indicates that the overwhelming majority of elections are non-disputatious. In the relatively few instances where recounts have taken place, they have mostly upheld the original result and only slightly changed the margin of victory. Furthermore, the larger the vote pool in an election, the less disputatious it tends to be.

Implications of our findings for policymakers include:

- **Automatic recounts**: States with automatic recounts may want to consider decreasing the percentage of the vote that triggers such a recount. Our numbers suggest that a 1 percent trigger, or even a 0.5 percent trigger, is unnecessarily generous without evidence of corruption. We recognize the contention that such a higher threshold might act as a check against efforts to steal elections, but that seems to be more of a theoretical argument that one grounded in facts.

- **Nationwide elections**: Some political scientists have spoken against a national popular vote for president because of their concerns about managing a nationwide recount. This concern has not stopped other nations with large populations from developing recount procedures when they hold national elections for president, but it also seems groundless as a realistic concern. Only one out of every 326 statewide elections triggered a recount and less than one out of every 3,500 statewide elections was overturned in a recount. Given that the odds of a recount decrease with larger electorates, one can conservatively estimate that the chance of an election that might be overturned in a recount is about one in 4,000, which means likely to happen once about every 16,000 years of presidential elections.

6. Data Sources and Acknowledgment

The data used in this report were obtained from election results archived on secretaries of state websites, by calling their offices, and from the Lexis-Nexis news database. Its completeness, therefore, is contingent upon the completeness of the information obtained from these sources. We thank former FairVote staffer Bill Shein and former interns Scott Epstein and Erin Creegan for their initial research for this report.

Table 1. Automatic Recount Laws (20 States)

State	<= 1%	<= 0.5%	0.1%-0.25%	Tie Vote	Other Provisions
Alabama		0.5%			
Alaska				Tie Vote	
Arizona			0.1%		<= 0.01% of total votes cast for top two candidates/ both options in ballot measures <= 200 if votes cast > 25,000 <= 200 votes on ballot measure <= 50 if votes cast <= 25,000
Colorado		0.5%			<= 0.5% of top vote-winner's share
Connecticut		0.5%			< 0.5% but not > 2,000 votes or < 200 votes
Delaware		0.5%			< 0.5% or 1,000 votes
Florida		0.5%			
Idaho			<= 0.1%		
Maine	< 1%				
Michigan					<= 2,000 votes
Minnesota		0.5%			< 0.5% or <= 100 votes
Nebraska	1%				
North Dakota	<= 1% for Primaries	<= 0.5% for General Elections			
Ohio			0.25%		
Oregon			0.2%		<= 0.2% of total votes for top two candidates
South Carolina	< 1%				
South Dakota				Tie Vote	
Texas				Tie Vote	
Washington		0.5%			< 0.5% or 2,000 for automatic recount < 0.25% or 1,000 votes for a manual recount
Wyoming	< 1%				

Table 2. Non-Automatic Recount Laws (30 States and District of Columbia)

State	Option to Petition	Thresholds to Petition	Limited or no Recount Procedure
Arkansas	Candidate must petition by precinct		
California	Any voter/candidate can petition if they bear costs*		
District of Columbia	Candidate must pay fee		
Georgia		Candidate may petition within margin of 1%	
Hawaii			No recount laws
Illinois		Candidate may petition if received 95% of votes of lowest elected vote-getter for that office	
Indiana	Candidate/party must bear costs		
Iowa	Candidate may petition free if within 1%/50 vote margin, otherwise must pay fee*		
Kansas	Candidate may petition free within 0.5%, otherwise must bear costs*		
Kentucky	Candidate/party must bear costs		
Louisiana			Only absentee ballots may be recounted, candidate must bear costs*
Maryland	Candidate must bear costs*		
Massachusetts		Candidate may petition within margin of 0.5%	
Mississippi			No recount laws
Missouri		Candidate may petition within margin of 1%	
Montana		Within margin of 0.25% State will pay, 0.25-0.5% petitioner must bear costs	
Nevada	Candidate must bear costs*		
New Hampshire	Candidate must pay graduated fees depending on margin		
New Jersey	Candidate must bear costs*		
New Mexico	Candidate must pay fee per precinct*		
New York			Machines double-counted for every face, court must order additional recounts
North Carolina		Candidate may petition within 0.5% or 10,000 votes in a statewide election, 1% non-statewide	
Oklahoma	Candidate must pay fee*		
Pennsylvania			No statewide recount procedure, must petition by

			precinct
Rhode Island		Candidate may request within 5% or if machine shows discrepancies	
Tennessee			Recounts only available in the case of a tie, fraud, or voting machine malfunction
Utah		Candidate may request if within margin of 1% in every precinct	
Vermont		Candidate may request if within margin of 5%	
Virginia		Candidate may request if within margin of 1%	
West Virginia	Candidate must pay fee*		
Wisconsin	Candidate must pay fee if margin is >0.5% or 1,000 votes		

* -Fees or costs may be reimbursed if elections results overturned or significantly changed.

Table 3. Statewide Election Recounts 1980-2006

Automatic Recounts

State	Year Office / Ballot Initiative	Recount Result	Original Tally				Recount Tally				Vote Gained/Lost Winner	% Vote Gained/ Lost Winner	Vote Gained/Lost Loser	% Vote Gained/Lost Loser	Change in Margin	% Change in Margin
			Votes – Winner	Votes – Loser	Margin	Margin (%)	Votes – Winner	Votes – Loser	Margin	Margin (%)						
Alabama	2004 Amendment 2 to State Constitution	Upheld	691,300	689,450	1,850	0.134	690,376	688,530	1,846	0.134	-924	-0.134	-920	-0.133	-4	0.00029
Alaska	2004 Senate	Upheld	149,446	139,878	9,568	3.,307	149,773	140,424	9,349	3.,222	327	0.219	546	0.39	-219	0.07569
Alaska	1994 Gubernatorial	Upheld	87,701	87,118	583	0.333	87693	87,157	536	0.307	-8	-0.009	39	0.045	-47	0.02689
Florida	2000 President	Upheld	2,909,135	2,907,351	1,784	0.031	2,912,790	2,912,253	537	0.01	3,655	0.126	4,902	0.169	-1,247	0.02144
Georgia	July 2004 Court of Appeals Judge	Upheld	207,416	207,068	348	0.048	207,499	207,136	363	0.05	83	0.040	68	0.033	15	0.00362
Washing-Ton	2004 Gubernatorial	Overturned	1,371,414	1,371,153	261	0.010	1,373,232	1,373,361	-129	0.005	1818	0.133	2,208	0.161	-390	0.01422
North Dakota	1996 June Election - Initiated Measure Relating to Hazardous Waste Facilities	Upheld	54,772	54,474	298	0.273	55,322	55,165	157	0.142	550	1.004	691	1.268	-141	0.12907
North Dakota	1996 Comm. of Agriculture	Upheld	129,187	129,052	135	0.052	129,423	129,140	283	0.110	236	0.183	88	0.068	148	0.05731
						Avg: 0.528				**Avg: 0.502**						**Avg: 0.041**

Contd.

Requested Recounts

State	Year Office / Ballot Initiative	Recount Result	Original Tally				Recount Tally				Vote Gained/Lost Winner	% Vote Gained/ Lost Winner	Vote Gained/Lost Loser	% Vote Gained/Lost Loser	Change in Margin	% Change in Margin
			Votes – Winner	Votes – Loser	Margin	Margin (%)	Votes – Winner	Votes – Loser	Margin	Margin (%)						
Colorado	2000 State Ed Board	Upheld	768,915	767,704	1,211	0.143	767,561	767,471	90	0.006	-1,354	-0.176	-233	-0.03	-1,121	0.07295
Missouri	1994 Referendum on Gambling	Upheld	528,287	527,011	1,276	0.121	528,697	527,285	1,412	0.134	410	0.078	274	0.052	136	0.01289
New Jersey	1981 Gubernatorial	Upheld	1,145,465	1,143,788	1,677	0.073	1,145,999	1,144,202	1,797	0.078	534	0.047	414	0.036	120	0.00524
Vermont	1980 Senate	Upheld	104,176	101,421	2,755	1.34	104,089	101,647	2,442	1.187	-87	-0.084	226	0.223	-313	0.15224
Vermont	2006 State Auditor	Overturned	111,486	111,349	137	0.061	111,668	111,770	102	0.046	182	0.163	421	0.378	-239	0.10725
Virginia	2005 Attorney General	Upheld	970,886	970,563	323	0.017	970,981	970,621	360	0.019	95	0.01	58	0.006	37	0.00191
Virginia	1989 Gubernatorial	Upheld	897,139	890,285	6,854	0.383	896,936	890,195	6,741	0.377	-203	-0.023	-90	-0.01	-113	0.00632
Washington	2000 Senate	Upheld	1,199,260	1,197,307	1,953	0.081	1,199,437	1,197,208	2,229	0.009	177	0.015	-99	-0.008	276	0.01152
Washington	2000 Secretary of State	Upheld	1,074,083	1,063,594	10,489	0.491	1,073,911	1,063,689	10,222	0.478	-172	-0.016	95	0.009	-267	0.01249
Washington	1991 Initiative 120 (Affirming Abortion Rights)	Upheld	756,653	752,354	4,299	0.285	756,812	752,590	4,222	0.28	159	0.021	236	0.031	-77	0.00510
Washington	1990 SJR 8212 (Taxation of Low-Income Housing)	Upheld	608,338	606,552	1,786	0.147	608,223	606,683	1,540	0.127	-115	-0.019	131	0.022	-246	0.02025
						Avg: 0.280				**Avg: 0.249**						**Avg: 0.037**

Table 4. Total Number of Statewide Elections 2000-2006

Office	Number of Elections (2000-06)
President	102
U.S. Senator	134
Governor	86
Secretary of State	62
Attorney General	80
Treasurer	57
Auditor	41
Comptroller	16
Public Service Commissioner	18
Agriculture / Industries Commissioner	20
Labor Commissioner	6
Insurance Commissioner	18
Public Lands Commissioner	8
Tax Commissioner	2
Corporation Commissioner	8
Railroad Commissioner	4
Public Utilities Commissioner	2
Mine Commissioner	2
Superintendent of Public Instruction	25
Board of Education (at large)	7
University Regent (at large)	8
State Supreme Court Justice	79
Court of Appeals Judge	77
Ballot Measures	837
Total	**1,699**

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