

## ESTIMATES OF "ELIGIBLE" VOTERS IN SMALL AREAS: SOME FIRST APPROXIMATIONS\*

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Figures available on the voting-age population and on votes cast indicate that even in national elections Americans turn out in relatively small numbers on election day. In 1964, for example, out of a total population of voting age of 114 million, only 71 million reportedly voted for president. In other words, less than two-thirds of the resident population of voting age voted for president. There is a tremendous State variability about the national average of voter participation, ranging from a low of 35 percent in Mississippi to almost 80 percent in Utah.

The population used as a denominator in determining the percentage voting is the total resident population of voting age, without regard to voter eligibility. This type of arithmetic results in relatively low voter participation rates. This paper represents an attempt to identify and to isolate the various categories of apparent nonvoters, to demonstrate a methodology of distributing the various components of nonvoters to States and smaller areas, and to illustrate the impact on State voter participation rates when adjusted base populations are used. The results may throw light on the general problem indicated in the Report of the President's Commission on Registration and Voter Participation (chaired by one of our speakers, Mr. Scammon), as to whether the low voter participation of the American electorate is a matter of disinterest, or more a product of restrictive legal and administrative procedures.

#### Nature And Scope Of Problem

In virtually every State in the United States, voter participation is dependent upon eligibility and two actions of the potential voter: (1) the voter must register at the place and during the time specified by the locality where he will cast his vote; and (2) the voter must cast his ballot on the day specified for the election.

In developing estimates of the components of the nonvoting population, we have concerned ourselves with two separate categories, each of which has a different degree of attachment to the voting process, and for which estimates of varying levels of accuracy can be derived. First, we have a group that is most likely to be ineligible to vote. The group includes aliens, who are clearly ineligible, persons failing to meet specific residence requirements

of State, county, or precinct, and persons in specific kinds of institutions, such as correctional institutions, mental hospitals, and residential treatment centers, also usually ineligible.

The mobility of the American people is an important contributor to low voter participation because of length of residence requirements. About 21 million adults now move every year in the United States and are likely to have their voting eligibility affected because of residence rules. Of these, 3-1/2 million move across State lines and may become ineligible to vote because of State residence requirements. An additional 3-1/2 million move across county lines within the same State and are affected by county requirements on length of residence. The remaining 14 million local movers are affected to the extent that they cross local election district (precinct) lines. The majority of States (about 35) require one year of residence as a qualification for voting. About 14 States require only six months of residence as a qualification, but comparatively few of the most populous States are included in this group. To mitigate this length of delay in qualifying for voting, a number of States permit newcomers to vote for president and vice president if they were qualified as voters in their State of residence prior to their last move. A few States also permit the use of absentee ballots by persons who have moved from their States with insufficient opportunity to establish residence in their new States.

The second group this report deals with is made up of persons who are eligible to vote somewhere, but have a variety of obstacles in their paths. In many instances, their eligibility is in a place other than their current place of residence. This group includes Armed Forces (but not their dependents), college students away from home, and the population in such institutions as homes for the aged and dependent. Also included are persons who a priori appear eligible to vote by all criteria, but who are unexpectedly away from home on election day and thus cannot get to the polls to vote. This group includes persons called away on business or away on vacation (or in other travel status) and persons unexpectedly hospitalized.

#### Revised Estimates Of Voter Participation Rates

The bulk of the work of arriving at revised estimates of voter participation, in which the base resident population is modified to more closely approximate the population "exposed" to voting is found in the tables. They show each category that has been included in the estimates and the approximate number, by State. The

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sources and methods of deriving the national totals and State distributions are also given. Table 1 shows revised estimates of voter participation rates for 1964; tables 2 and 3 indicate the various components of the ineligible and marginal voter categories and, in effect, illustrate the method of arriving at revised participation votes; and table 4 shows the percentage of nonvoters explained by our estimates.

At the national level, of the approximately 43 million persons of voting age who presumably did not vote in 1964 (or at least did not vote for president), about 14 million, or one-third, fall into one or the other of these categories. According to the estimates, there are 2.5 million aliens, 4.8 million persons failing residence requirements, and about 1 million in correctional and mental institutions; that is, about 8.3 million persons fall into the so-called "ineligible" group. In the second category, there are 1.6 million Armed Forces (station strength), 1/2 million other institutionalized, mainly in homes for the aged, and also 1.6 million students away at colleges. Of those otherwise eligible but away from home on election day, we estimate approximately 1.6 million as staying overnight in hotels and motels, and about 1/2 million in general (short-stay) hospitals. Although these national levels are highly approximate, they suggest the magnitude of the problem and provide overall controls in estimating State distribution.

On a State-by-State basis, there are substantial differences in the proportion of nonvoters that can be explained, that is, fall into one or another of our nonvoting classifications. Aliens, for example, are highly concentrated and are found in appreciable numbers in only a few States. Both California and New York are estimated to have in the neighborhood of one-half million aliens of voting age. Texas has about 200,000. Within the specific length of residence requirements, fast-growing States like California and Florida will have a relatively larger number of recent arrivals than less rapidly growing States with substantially less in-migration.

Although nationally it is estimated that about one-third of all nonvoters come under our criteria, there are ten States where more than half the nonvoters are accounted for here. In California, for example, two million of the almost four million nonvoters in 1964 fall into our classifications. New York, with one-third of the nonvoters accounted for, is estimated to have about 1.3 million persons out of its base voting-age population of some 11 million who cannot be expected to vote.

On an overall basis, voter participation rates increased by about 10 percent after deducting the nonvoting groups identified here; that is, for the nation as a whole for November 1964, voter participation increased from 62 percent to about 71 percent. A number of States

make a relatively good showing in voter turnout. Nineteen States have voter participation rates in excess of 80 percent. On an unadjusted basis, no State had participation rates that high. Of course, there are many States where the adjustments suggested here have little impact on implied voter participation, since only a small portion of the nonvoters were estimated to fall into our categories. In many of the Southern States, for example, only about one out of four nonvoters can be accounted for here.

#### Sources Of Data And Adequacy Of Estimates

At this point, the utility of the estimates might be considered. Do they represent a set of usable numbers which provides relatively good guides to the State distribution of those ineligible to vote? The estimates are, of course, subject to unknown but probably a high degree of error. Not only is there a degree of uncertainty as to whether all persons assigned to a given category lacked voting rights in 1964, but there is also the possibility of overlap in the estimates of the population of each group. For example, persons failing residence requirements according to the estimates may also later be included as members of the Armed Forces.

Consideration of the sources provides the main guides into the acceptability of the estimates inasmuch as only fragmentary direct evidence on the potential error is available. Within the group labelled as "ineligible," the count of the number of aliens is relatively reliable, since the total number of aliens is reported annually by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. There is some uncertainty as to the number of voting age, but from census sources on "foreign born, in the United States in 1960, living abroad in 1955," we arrived at a rough percentage of the group that is of voting age. Thus the degree of error in this component is probably very small.

The residence requirements category is the largest component of ineligibility. To derive estimates for this group, we had available to us annual survey totals on interstate, inter-county, and intra-county movements. These were distributed to States on the basis of the 1955-60 distributions of the various categories for that period available from the 1960 Census. For each State, we allocated an appropriate proportion of the movers and migrants as being ineligible, based on the particular length of residence requirements for each area. No specific allowances were made for such probably nonvoting groups as drifters, hoboes, and persons of no fixed address.

Within this category (i.e., residence requirements) there is the problem of the 15 States that permit "newcomers" to register and vote. No attempt was made to determine how many people qualify for this particular category and actually go to the trouble of voting. In 1960

in California only 12,000 ballots were cast in this category, a number hardly large enough to have serious impact on our results. On the other hand, it is possible that many of these "new residents" are eligible for absentee ballots in their own States and choose that route for voting.

The estimates of persons in correctional or mental hospitals and institutions are basically from the 1960 Census, updated to take account of population growth since 1960. The estimates of this component are probably fairly firm. On the other hand, no allowances were made for former inmates of correctional institutions who may still be denied the right to vote.

We believe that the probability of error is largest within the group of "marginal voters." Here, for example, we do not know to what extent persons in this group cast absentee ballots. Nor do we know to what extent special arrangements may be made to vote for "shut-ins" such as those in homes for the aged or needy.

Practically all States permit persons who lived there before entering the Armed Forces to vote there. The military services apparently make strong efforts to circularize and send information to military personnel on absentee voting, but we do not know exactly how many take advantage of the opportunity. About 2.1 million servicemen of voting age (including those assigned overseas) would have been able to request an absentee ballot from their State of official residence in 1964. How many actually cast their votes and their distribution by State in 1964, however, are subject to conjecture, for the information available on the number of military ballots cast in the election is not sufficient to provide such detail.<sup>1</sup> What information we have, however, relates to 1960, and there appears to have been fairly light voting on the part of this group in that election year. In New York City, for example, somewhat less than 15,000 ballots were returned of a potential military vote of perhaps 75,000 to 80,000 (the estimated number of voting-age persons serving in the Armed Forces from New York City). Only 4,500 were counted in the city of Philadelphia; up to 10,000 were cast in Washington State (out of a potential military vote of 47,000); and about 4,000 in Rhode Island, of 15,000 possible votes.

Total votes cast by absentee ballot appear to have made up only a modest proportion of the

the population voting. From the limited information available, votes cast by absentee ballot run about five-percent of the total votes cast. In California in 1960, 243,000 absentee ballots were cast out of a total of 6-1/2 million ballots. In the State of Washington, 92,000 absentee ballots were cast out of a total of 1.3 million, and about 58,000 in Connecticut out of a total of 1.2 million votes cast. Because of the large number of persons identified as marginal voters, it appears that allowing for absentee ballots would have some, but not a very appreciable, impact on the overall level of non-voters indicated in the tables.

The estimated number of persons away from home on election day, either away on business or in hospitals is also very rough. The overall totals on those away on business or vacation were derived from data published by the hotel-motel industry, citing 1963 Census of Business data. The totals were distributed to States in proportion to population. The number in hospitals was developed from data published by the American Medical Association and the National Center for Health Statistics. Perhaps many of those away from home on business may have anticipated their need to vote and arranged for absentee ballots. Despite the uncertainty of the level, it is obvious that a relatively large number of persons who may otherwise be eligible do not get to the polls in elections because they are away from home. In fact, the estimate of only two million in this category is probably too low.

#### Registration Statistics As A Data Source

The foregoing represents a methodology and a framework for deriving approximate estimates of the population of voting age who have a clear field to the voting booth, or at least have no important obstacles to overcome on their way to the polls.

As election day approaches, it is the number of registered persons, of course, that actually determines the number of voting eligibles. In a fully automated and computerized society, one should expect the registration machinery to start whirling soon after the registration books are closed, and to generate tabular statistics more rapidly than the campaign speeches.

Unfortunately, such is not the case. In fact, there is a paucity of data readily available on registration statistics. Here is a set of administrative statistics that appears to have gone untapped over the years. Presumably, registration data could be compiled and summarized so as to present characteristics of the population registered to vote for all areas for which data are available. A highly sophisticated system of registration might even provide gross change data on registrants which may tell us something about changes in population composition and distribution.

<sup>1</sup> Recent information published by the Department of Defense indicates that overall voting by military personnel may be substantially higher than suggested here. See The Federal Voting Assistance Program, Fifth Report, prepared by the staff of the Federal Voting Assistance Program, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower), Washington, D. C.

In order to learn more about registration statistics, it would be desirable for some group to undertake a survey of State and local sources of the nature and the availability of registration statistics. The survey should not be concerned with the legal requirements of the registration process, but rather, would emphasize the statistical viewpoint to determine the kind of information actually obtained during the registration process. Statistics indicating the extent to which such data are tabulated, summarized, or published by the State or local jurisdiction as well as the characteristics of information available would be of particular interest.

In the interim, a review of available State documents which describes the registration system of each State indicates the following:

Age is obtained in about 30 States; 16 States obtain race; 22 States indicate male or female; 26 States ask for occupation; most States call for State of birth, and a goodly number request marital status. Unfortunately, this summary tells us nothing about availability of such data; the subject needs further consideration.

#### Other

One final observation is in order. After the last general election in November 1964, the Census Bureau in its November 1964 Current Population Survey asked whether persons voted in the November election. This item is scheduled again for November 1966. We believe it would be highly desirable to obtain information about nonvoters or nonregistrants, so as to be able to separate the "ineligible" from the voluntary nonparticipants.

Table 1.--RESIDENT POPULATION OF VOTING AGE AND PERCENT VOTING, BY STATE:  
 NOVEMBER 1, 1964  
 (Numbers in thousands)

Region, Division, and State	Resident population of voting age	Votes cast for president	Percent voting	Ineligibles or presumed nonvoters	Percent of "eligible" voters voting
UNITED STATES, TOTAL .....	113,795	70,642	62.1	14,015	70.8
Northeast .....	29,227	19,621	67.1	3,235	75.5
North Central .....	31,588	22,209	70.3	2,942	77.5
South .....	34,410	16,599	48.2	4,584	55.7
West .....	18,570	12,213	65.8	3,254	79.7
New England					
Maine .....	580	381	65.7	72	75.0
New Hampshire .....	398	288	72.4	54	83.8
Vermont .....	232	163	70.3	30	80.8
Massachusetts .....	3,267	2,345	71.8	490	84.4
Rhode Island .....	547	390	71.3	87	84.7
Connecticut .....	1,708	1,219	71.4	182	79.9
Middle Atlantic					
New York .....	11,280	7,166	63.5	1,348	72.2
New Jersey .....	4,131	2,848	68.9	404	76.4
Pennsylvania .....	7,085	4,823	68.1	568	74.0
East North Central					
Ohio .....	5,978	3,969	66.4	542	73.0
Indiana .....	2,831	2,092	73.9	226	80.3
Illinois .....	6,383	4,703	73.7	695	82.7
Michigan .....	4,673	3,203	68.6	407	75.1
Wisconsin .....	2,390	1,692	70.8	194	77.0
West North Central					
Minnesota .....	2,021	1,554	76.9	160	83.5
Iowa .....	1,636	1,185	72.4	122	78.2
Missouri .....	2,729	1,818	66.6	284	74.4
North Dakota .....	360	258	71.7	43	81.5
South Dakota .....	394	293	74.4	44	83.7
Nebraska .....	870	584	67.2	81	74.1
Kansas .....	1,324	858	64.8	143	72.7
South Atlantic					
Delaware .....	287	201	70.2	38	80.8
Maryland .....	2,003	1,116	55.7	271	64.4
District of Columbia ..	505	199	39.4	92	48.1
Virginia .....	2,538	1,042	41.1	414	49.1
West Virginia .....	1,064	792	74.4	80	80.5
North Carolina .....	2,751	1,425	51.8	274	57.5
South Carolina .....	1,357	525	38.7	177	44.4
Georgia .....	2,637	1,139	43.2	374	50.3
Florida .....	3,477	1,854	53.3	672	66.1
East South Central					
Kentucky .....	1,977	1,046	52.9	245	60.4
Tennessee .....	2,235	1,144	51.2	186	55.8
Alabama .....	1,923	690	35.9	207	40.2
Mississippi .....	1,231	409	33.2	209	40.0
West South Central					
Arkansas .....	1,123	560	49.9	118	55.7
Louisiana .....	1,901	896	47.2	225	53.5
Oklahoma .....	1,487	932	62.7	149	69.7
Texas .....	5,914	2,627	44.4	855	51.9

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Region, Division, and State	Resident population of voting age	Votes cast for president	Percent voting	Ineligibles or presumed nonvoters	Percent of "eligible" voters voting
Mountain					
Montana .....	396	279	70.4	50	80.5
Idaho .....	382	292	76.5	37	84.7
Wyoming .....	192	143	74.4	30	88.1
Colorado .....	1,122	777	69.3	189	83.3
New Mexico .....	517	329	63.6	99	78.7
Arizona .....	861	481	55.8	165	69.0
Utah .....	509	401	78.9	73	92.2
Nevada .....	249	135	54.3	31	61.9
Pacific					
Washington .....	1,751	1,258	71.8	279	85.5
Oregon .....	1,133	786	69.4	100	76.1
California .....	10,915	7,058	64.7	1,995	79.1
Alaska .....	139	67	48.3	62	87.2
Hawaii .....	402	207	51.5	145	80.6

Table 2.--ESTIMATES OF THE POPULATION INELIGIBLE TO VOTE, BY STATE: NOVEMBER 1, 1964  
(Numbers in thousands)

Region, Division, and State	Total ineligibles	Percent of voting-age population	Aliens	Failing residence requirements				Correctional and mental institutions
				Total	State	County	Pre-cinct	
UNITED STATES, TOTAL .....	8,282	7.3	2,470	4,820	3,142	890	789	992
Northeast .....	2,049	7.0	866	899	447	164	288	283
North Central .....	1,570	5.0	420	888	597	106	185	262
South .....	2,620	7.6	432	1,891	1,230	479	183	297
West .....	2,044	11.0	752	1,142	869	141	132	149
New England								
Maine .....	37	6.5	15	18	8	-	10	4
New Hampshire .....	32	8.1	8	21	8	3	10	3
Vermont .....	20	8.7	6	12	8	1	3	2
Massachusetts .....	318	9.7	102	183	67	-	116	34
Rhode Island .....	51	9.3	13	34	16	-	18	4
Connecticut .....	108	6.3	59	36	26	11	-	13
Middle Atlantic								
New York .....	927	8.2	456	338	154	136	48	132
New Jersey .....	238	5.8	129	76	63	13	-	33
Pennsylvania .....	316	4.5	78	180	98	-	83	58
East North Central								
Ohio .....	316	5.3	65	201	138	17	46	50
Indiana .....	109	3.8	20	65	38	13	14	23
Illinois .....	429	6.7	153	219	148	33	37	58
Michigan .....	214	4.6	102	72	41	-	30	40
Wisconsin .....	99	4.1	23	54	49	-	5	22

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

Region, Division, and State	Total ineli- gibles	Percent of voting- age popu- lation	Aliens	Failing residence requirements				Correctional and mental institu- tions
				Total	State	County	Pre- cinct	
West North Central								
Minnesota .....	70	3.4	16	36	24	-	12	17
Iowa .....	47	2.9	7	30	18	10	3	9
Missouri .....	160	5.9	15	123	78	18	27	21
North Dakota .....	19	5.4	2	15	10	3	1	2
South Dakota .....	22	5.6	2	18	12	4	2	3
Nebraska .....	30	3.4	6	18	13	3	1	6
Kansas .....	56	4.2	8	37	27	4	6	11
South Atlantic								
Delaware .....	21	7.5	3	16	14	(Z)	1	2
Maryland .....	156	7.8	24	114	85	29	-	18
District of Columbia	51	10.2	13	29	29	-	-	9
Virginia .....	211	8.3	14	168	108	51	9	29
West Virginia .....	46	4.4	4	32	22	4	5	10
North Carolina .....	112	4.1	8	80	63	-	17	24
South Carolina .....	88	6.5	4	75	38	16	21	10
Georgia .....	168	6.4	9	128	79	50	-	31
Florida .....	497	14.3	132	341	303	38	-	24
East South Central								
Kentucky .....	118	6.0	5	97	49	26	22	16
Tennessee .....	92	4.1	5	70	59	12	-	17
Alabama .....	130	6.7	4	107	50	25	32	19
Mississippi .....	151	12.2	3	138	63	39	36	10
West South Central								
Arkansas .....	70	6.3	2	58	36	17	5	10
Louisiana .....	136	7.1	13	106	47	30	28	17
Oklahoma .....	58	3.9	6	40	26	9	5	12
Texas .....	514	8.7	185	291	159	132	-	39
Mountain								
Montana .....	26	6.5	4	19	16	1	2	2
Idaho .....	18	4.6	3	13	10	1	2	1
Wyoming .....	19	9.7	2	15	13	1	(Z)	2
Colorado .....	106	9.5	16	80	66	12	2	10
New Mexico .....	63	12.2	12	48	43	4	2	3
Arizona .....	119	13.8	33	80	76	1	4	5
Utah .....	42	8.2	9	30	20	5	5	3
Nevada .....	17	6.8	5	10	10	(Z)	(Z)	1
Pacific								
Washington .....	155	8.8	39	102	78	15	9	14
Oregon .....	48	4.2	16	23	23	-	-	9
California .....	1,340	12.3	575	669	468	101	99	96
Alaska .....	24	17.4	2	22	21	-	1	(Z)
Hawaii .....	68	16.9	36	30	24	-	7	2

Z = Less than 500.

Table 3.--ESTIMATES OF PRESUMED NONVOTERS, BY STATE: NOVEMBER 1, 1964

(Numbers in thousands)

Region, Division, and State	Total presumed nonvoters	Percent of voting- age pop- ulation	Armed Forces	Homes for aged and needy	College students not living at home	Patients in short- term hospitals	Persons in travel status
UNITED STATES, TOTAL ....	5,733	5.0	1,611	508	1,560	460	1,594
Northeast .....	1,186	4.1	162	152	344	118	409
North Central .....	1,372	4.3	172	187	443	128	442
South .....	1,964	5.7	785	94	464	139	482
West .....	1,211	6.5	491	76	309	75	260
New England							
Maine .....	34	5.9	14	3	6	2	8
New Hampshire .....	22	5.4	5	4	5	2	6
Vermont .....	10	4.3	(Z)	2	4	1	3
Massachusetts .....	172	5.3	30	26	57	13	46
Rhode Island .....	36	6.5	16	4	6	2	8
Connecticut .....	74	4.3	10	10	22	7	24
Middle Atlantic							
New York .....	422	3.7	33	55	130	46	158
New Jersey .....	165	4.0	39	14	38	17	58
Pennsylvania .....	251	3.5	14	35	75	29	99
East North Central							
Ohio .....	226	3.8	16	31	72	24	84
Indiana .....	117	4.1	6	15	45	11	40
Illinois .....	266	4.2	38	33	79	26	89
Michigan .....	194	4.1	18	20	72	19	65
Wisconsin .....	95	4.0	4	16	32	10	33
West North Central							
Minnesota .....	90	4.4	4	17	32	8	28
Iowa .....	74	4.6	1	18	26	7	23
Missouri .....	125	4.6	25	16	34	11	38
North Dakota .....	24	6.7	8	2	7	1	5
South Dakota .....	22	5.5	5	2	7	2	6
Nebraska .....	52	5.9	15	7	13	4	12
Kansas .....	87	6.6	30	10	23	5	19
South Atlantic							
Delaware .....	16	5.6	8	1	3	1	4
Maryland .....	115	5.7	44	7	27	8	28
District of Columbia	41	8.1	11	4	17	2	7
Virginia .....	203	8.0	122	8	28	10	36
West Virginia .....	33	3.1	(Z)	3	10	4	15
North Carolina .....	162	5.9	73	7	32	11	39
South Carolina .....	88	6.5	48	2	14	5	19
Georgia .....	206	7.8	100	6	52	11	37
Florida .....	176	5.1	73	11	29	14	49
East South Central							
Kentucky .....	127	6.4	45	5	41	8	28
Tennessee .....	94	4.2	23	5	25	9	31
Alabama .....	77	4.0	18	3	22	8	27
Mississippi .....	58	4.7	17	3	16	5	17
West South Central							
Arkansas .....	48	4.2	13	3	12	5	16
Louisiana .....	90	4.7	28	3	24	8	27
Oklahoma .....	91	6.1	29	8	27	6	21
Texas .....	340	5.8	134	15	85	24	83

(continued)

Table 3 (continued)

Region, Division, and State	Total presumed nonvoters	Percent of voting- age pop- ulation	Armed Forces	Homes for aged and needy	College students not living at home	Patients in short- term hospitals	Persons in travel status
Mountain							
Montana .....	24	6.0	8	2	7	2	6
Idaho .....	20	5.1	5	1	6	2	5
Wyoming .....	11	5.8	4	1	3	1	3
Colorado .....	82	7.3	31	5	26	5	16
New Mexico .....	36	7.0	17	1	9	2	7
Arizona .....	46	5.4	16	2	13	3	12
Utah .....	31	6.2	3	2	17	2	7
Nevada .....	14	5.4	7	(Z)	2	1	3
Pacific							
Washington .....	125	7.1	47	15	31	7	25
Oregon .....	52	4.6	5	8	19	5	16
California .....	655	6.0	251	38	170	44	153
Alaska .....	38	27.2	33	(Z)	2	1	2
Hawaii .....	77	19.1	64	1	4	2	6

Z = Less than 500.

Table 4.--PROPORTION OF NONVOTERS BY CATEGORY, BY STATE: NOVEMBER 1, 1964

Region, Division, and State	Total nonvoters (thousands)	Percent of nonvoters		
		Ineligibles or presumed nonvoters	Ineligibles	Presumed nonvoters
UNITED STATES, TOTAL .....	43,152	32.5	19.2	13.3
Northeast .....	9,605	33.7	21.3	12.3
North Central .....	9,379	31.4	16.7	14.6
South .....	17,810	25.7	14.7	11.0
West .....	6,357	51.2	32.2	19.0
New England				
Maine .....	199	36.2	18.9	17.3
New Hampshire .....	110	49.3	29.6	19.7
Vermont .....	69	43.9	29.4	14.6
Massachusetts .....	922	53.1	34.5	18.6
Rhode Island .....	157	55.1	32.4	22.8
Connecticut .....	489	37.2	22.1	15.1
Middle Atlantic				
New York .....	4,113	32.8	22.5	10.3
New Jersey .....	1,283	31.5	18.6	12.9
Pennsylvania .....	2,262	25.1	14.0	11.1
East North Central				
Ohio .....	2,009	27.0	15.7	11.3
Indiana .....	740	30.5	14.7	15.8
Illinois .....	1,680	41.4	25.5	15.9
Michigan .....	1,470	27.7	14.5	13.2
Wisconsin .....	698	27.8	14.1	13.6

(continued)

Table 4 (continued)

Region, Division, and State	Total nonvoters (thousands)	Ineligibles or presumed nonvoters	Ineligibles	Presumed nonvoters	Percent of nonvoters
West North Central	467	34.2	14.9	19.3	19.3
Minnesota	452	26.9	10.4	16.5	16.5
Iowa	911	31.2	17.5	13.7	13.7
Missouri	102	42.7	19.0	23.7	23.7
North Dakota	101	43.5	22.0	21.5	21.5
South Dakota	285	28.5	10.4	18.1	18.1
Nebraska	466	30.7	12.0	18.7	18.7
Kansas	85	43.9	25.1	18.9	18.9
Delaware	887	30.5	17.5	13.0	13.0
Maryland	306	30.1	16.8	13.3	13.3
District of Columbia	1,496	27.7	14.1	13.6	13.6
West Virginia	272	29.3	17.0	12.3	12.3
North Carolina	1,326	20.6	8.4	12.2	12.2
South Carolina	833	21.2	10.6	10.6	10.6
Georgia	1,497	25.0	11.2	13.7	13.7
Florida	1,622	41.5	30.6	10.8	10.8
East South Central	931	26.3	12.7	13.6	13.6
Kentucky	1,091	17.0	8.5	8.6	8.6
Tennessee	1,233	16.8	10.5	6.3	6.3
Alabama	821	25.4	18.3	7.1	7.1
Mississippi	563	21.0	12.5	8.5	8.5
Arkansas	1,005	22.4	13.5	8.9	8.9
Louisiana	555	26.8	10.5	16.3	16.3
Oklahoma	3,287	26.0	15.6	10.4	10.4
Texas	117	42.4	22.0	20.4	20.4
Montana	90	41.3	19.5	21.8	21.8
Idaho	49	60.5	37.8	22.7	22.7
Wyoming	345	54.7	30.9	23.8	23.8
Colorado	188	52.7	33.6	19.1	19.1
New Mexico	381	43.3	31.2	12.1	12.1
Arizona	108	68.3	39.0	29.3	29.3
Utah	114	26.8	15.0	11.9	11.9
Nevada	493	56.7	31.4	25.3	25.3
Washington	347	26.8	13.8	14.9	14.9
Oregon	3,858	51.7	34.7	17.0	17.0
California	72	86.3	33.6	52.7	52.7
Alaska	195	74.4	34.9	39.5	39.5
Hawaii					

SOURCES AND METHODS USED IN DEVELOPING DATA  
PRESENTED IN TABLES 1 TO 4

Votes Cast and Population of Voting Age

The population of voting age was obtained from Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 342. The number of votes cast for president was reported in Governmental Affairs Institute, America At The Polls, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965.

Population "Ineligible" to Vote

Aliens.--The number of aliens who reported under the Alien Address Program is published by State of residence for 1964 in the Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1965, Table 36. These data are not broken down by age. From the 1960 Census tables on foreign born population living in the United States in 1960 but abroad in 1955, it is estimated that 67 percent of this population was of voting age. Since the aliens registered have entered this country over a much broader period of time, it is to be expected that the proportion of voting age would be larger than indicated for the 5-year period. Accordingly, we have assumed that 75 percent of aliens reporting were of voting age in each State.

Movers failing residence requirements.--The number of interstate, intercounty and intracounty movers for the year ending April 1964 as reported from the Current Population Survey in Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 141, was used as a base for estimating movers who failed to meet residence requirements. These numbers relate to the civilian resident population plus those Armed Forces living with their families either on-post or off-post (approximately one-half of the resident Armed Forces). Each of the U. S. control totals was distributed by State by the pattern of interstate, intercounty, and intracounty movement, respectively, shown for the period 1955 to 1960 in table 100 of each State volume of the 1960 Census of Population. To these resultant estimates of movers were applied length of residence factors derived for each State from the World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1966, page 113. Factors for State residence requirements (e.g., .5 if six months residence is required) were applied to interstate movers, county residence requirements factors to intercounty movers, and precinct residence requirement factors to intracounty movers. It was arbitrarily assumed that one-half of all intracounty movers would have crossed precinct boundaries.

Whenever there was a precinct residence requirement, but none at the county level, precinct residence factors were applied to all intercounty movers as well as to one-half the intracounty movers.

Inmates of correctional and mental institutions.--The number of inmates of correctional and mental institutions in 1960 is given in tables 34 and 35, respectively, of the 1960

Census of Population, Inmates of Institutions, Series PC(2)-8A. These numbers were adjusted to a 1964 level by allowing for U. S. population increase since 1960.

Presumed Nonvoters

Armed Forces.--Armed Forces station strength for November 1, 1964, was obtained from Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 342.

Homes for the aged.--Inmates of homes for the aged and needy were obtained by State from table 37 of the 1960 Census report, Inmates of Institutions, adjusted to a 1964 level by allowing for U. S. population increase since 1960.

College students not living at home.--The total number of college students of voting age in 1960 are shown in table 101 of each State volume of the 1960 Census of Population. A ratio of the students of voting age to all students for each State was applied to the State distribution of college students not living at home contained in table 19 of the 1960 Census Report PC(2)-2B, Mobility for States and State Economic Areas. This provided an estimate of the 1960 distribution of college students of voting age not living at home. This distribution was adjusted to a 1964 level by using a ratio of total college fall enrollment, 1964 to 1959, as reported in the U. S. Office of Education's annual publication Opening (Fall) Enrollment in Higher Education.

Hospital patients.--Estimates of short-term patients in hospitals were developed by using the average daily census in short-term hospitals for 1964, as reported in the American Medical Association's journal, Hospitals: Guide Issue, 1965, Part II, page 450. This total was distributed by age on the basis of National Health Survey data on discharges from short-term hospitals during Fiscal Year 1964, as published in NCHS Series 10, No. 30, Vital and Health Statistics Reports: Data From the National Health Survey, June 1966. This control total was distributed by State on the basis of the 1964 population of voting age.

Persons in travel status.--A national estimate of the number of travelers on election day was developed on the basis of data available on hotel occupancy. From the Harris, Kerr, Forster & Company report, Trends in the Hotel-Motel Business, 1965, the average number of rooms occupied per day in 1964 was estimated from 1965 and 1963 data. This number was adjusted for number of guests per occupied rooms and for seasonal variation, and further adjusted to exclude residential hotels, making use of data published in pages 1 through 11 of this report. It was arbitrarily assumed that 10 percent of the persons occupying these rooms were under voting age. This control total was distributed by State on the basis of the 1964 population of voting age.