To the Graduate Council:

I hereby submit a Master's thesis authored by Jennifer Simpson Weems entitled "Issue Saliency and Voting Turnout in the 1996 General Election: The Case of Knox County, Tennessee." I have examined the final copy of this thesis and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Arts, with a major in Political Science.

John M. Scheb, II, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

"Issue Saliency and Voting Turnout in the 1996 General Election: The Case of Knox County, Tennessee."

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Jennifer Simpson Weems
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my husband

Charles Burch Weems III

and my parents

Donna Carballo Simpson

and

Pervie Blanton Simpson, Jr., M.D. ,

who believed in me.

Acknowledgments

There are many people who made this "pit-stop" on my life journey so rewarding, and to them I am truly grateful. First, I would like to thank some faculty members who may not have realized what an impact they had made: Dr. Hyrum Plaas, for planting the seed; Joe Anderson, for taking the time; and Dr. Thomas Ungs, for pats on the back. I am also grateful to the members of my thesis committee: Dr. William Lyons, for his knowledge; Dr. Michael Fitzgerald for his style of teaching and grueling, yet rewarding exams; and Dr. John Scheb, for the countless hours of work, time, effort, and mentoring. Without Dr. Scheb, none of this would be possible. I would also like to thank the staff of the Social Science Research Institute for all their help and words of encouragement, especially Linda Daugherty, who gave of her time and energies, and Grant Neeley, who basically made everything work.

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Lastly, to my husband, Chas, I would like to thank him for the faith, support, and love that he gives me throughout this journey. And to God - for everything.

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to determine why voter turnout was significantly higher in Knox County, Tennessee in the 1996 General Election than it was generally in the state and nation. My hypothesis is that a salient local issue, namely, the proposed unification of Knoxville and Knox County governments, produced extremely high levels of voter turnout despite the fact that interest in the Presidential Election was low. To test this hypothesis I employ data from a telephone survey of Knox County conducted before and after the 1996 election. The data show that interest in the unification issue was the leading determinant of voter turnout among the numerous attitudinal and demographic variables included in the survey. This finding supports the theory that salient issues can animate potential voters who would otherwise abstain from voting.

Preface

The purpose of this thesis is to determine the relative impact of interest in a local referendum on voter turnout in the 1996 General Election in Knox County, Tennessee. The data and research demonstrate that the unification referendum did have a significant impact on the Knox County 1996 General Election. This preface lays out the process by which this thesis unfolded.

Chapter One begins by examining national, state, and local turnout data. The research question is defined, hypotheses are presented, and the methodology is discussed as well as the demographics of the sample. Chapter Two discusses the literature relevant to the research topic as well as the significant variables in the thesis model.

Chapter Three gives the reader the background information on the unification campaign of 1996. It is in this chapter that one can see the intense issue salience of the unification referendum. This chapter also discusses the low levels of interest on the national level in the Presidential campaigns. This chapter is where the relationship between issue salience and turnout, as manifested in the Knox County 1996 General Election, is fully explained.

Chapter Four summarizes the findings and draws the conclusion that the research question has been validated and the hypotheses are confirmed. This chapter also draws attention to the need for more research in this field.

Issue Saliency and Voting Turnout in the 1996 General Election: The Case of Knox County, Tennessee

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Chapter One

Introduction

Voter participation in Presidential Elections has been declining since 1960 (Figure 1). Turnout has yet to see the higher levels of voting as it did in the past, despite increasing levels of education and income, both positively related to voter turnout, the lessening of restrictions on voter registration, and innovations which make registration and voting easier, such as early voting and non-traditional polling locations. Tennessee's turnout has fluctuated since the 1960 Presidential Election, increasing some years while dropping in others with no particular pattern; however, Tennessee has never reached over a fifty-five percent turnout in a Presidential Election from 1960 to 1996.

The Research Question

While there are many factors that affect turnout such as age, education, previous voting history, this thesis demonstrates that demographic, psychological, and legal

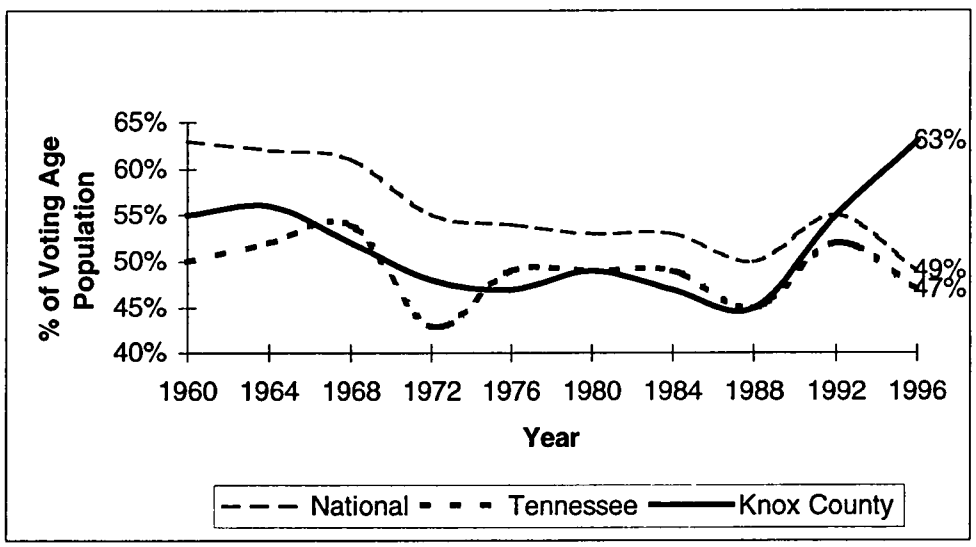


Figure 1. Participation in Presidential Elections, 1960-1996

Source: Federal Election Commission and Knox County Election Commission.

considerations which affect turnout, have not changed to a large degree since the 1992 election, and therefore, have not contributed to such a significant increase in turnout as occurred in 1996. While the literature on voting behavior and turnout have sought to explain voting behavior primarily in terms of "who votes and why" and "which candidate will the person choose once they have made the decision to vote" and "what factors effected that decision," what has not been introduced into the "funnel of causality" is: Are there other factors that affect a person's decision to vote beyond personal and legal factors and candidate choice? This thesis seeks to introduce a new variable into the equation: issue salience. Traditionally, issue voting has been defined in terms of a citizen's voting for a candidate based on how that citizen perceives a candidate's or party's alignment with certain issues in which that citizen has minimally intense feelings (Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes 170). The more salient the issues are for the citizen, the stronger his attachments will be to that candidate or party. For the purpose of this research, issue salience is not related to a candidate choice, but rather to the interest in the referendum that would be on the 1996 election ballot. Therefore, the research question is: **When issue salience is high, will voter turnout also be high?** The hypotheses for this research question are as follows:

1. The strong interest in the referendum on unification of Knox County and the City of Knoxville will increase turnout.

2. The significant increase in turnout was not due to early voting.

The Methodology

The initial purpose of this thesis was to discover whether negative political advertising caused Independents to stay home while it motivated partisans to go to the polls; if the answer was "no," then the questions emerges "What caused them to vote?" However, as the research progressed, the data proved to be more suitable to examine why turnout was significantly higher than the state and national levels.

The Social Science Research Institute at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville conducted a survey to test this hypothesis. The survey began on November 3, 1996 and concluded on November 9, 1997. The survey was conducted using a Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI) System. The telephone interviews lasted approximately twenty minutes in length. The sample was taken from a database of registered voters in Knox County, which was compiled by Aristotle Industries of Washington D.C. Respondents were selected by random-digit dialing from this database. The sample size was 534 for the initial survey; 262 of these respondents, who did not vote early, were recontacted after the election to see if they actually did vote. The margin of error for the initial sample is 4.5 percentage points with a ninety-five percent confidence level.

In this analysis, regression models are used to compare various independent variables with the respondent's decision to vote.

Limitations

Due to the financial constraints on the Social Science Research institute, a local calling sample was the most economical route to take. The research that is based upon this survey does not profess to be a representation of the population as a whole, but of the residents of Knox County, Tennessee. Because the sample is compiled of registered

voters, one must be aware that the data are skewed toward the characteristics of citizens who vote. Also, not every citizen had the same chance of being chosen for the survey since the sample was comprised of registered voters. Because of the skewness, the data were weighted to the actual turnout levels of Knox County in order to present a more accurate picture of the sample's characteristics. Another limitation with the survey or survey data is that the number of people who said that they voted and the actual number of people who vote are not always equal. There has always been a discrepancy between reported turnout and actual turnout. The social desirability to answer "yes" to "Did you vote" or "Do you plan to vote" leads to overestimation of expected or actual turnout. Luttbeg and Gant warn that one can expect a discrepancy between reported and actual turnout (92). Nevertheless, the data are still useful.

Demographics of the Sample

Table 1 presents the demographics of the sample taken for this research. The table reflects both the weighted and unweighted data of the sample. The table similarly reflects the 1990 Census Bureau statistics for Knox County, noting that some changes in demographics are expected to fluctuate somewhat after six years since the census was taken.

Table 1. Demographics of Sample

	Unweighted Data	Weighted Data
Gender		
Male	40%	43%
Female	60%	57%
Race		
White	92%	94%
Black	6%	4%
Other	2%	2%
Age		
18-25	10%	15%
26-35	14%	13%
36-45	19%	19%
46-55	21%	21%
56-65	14%	12%
Over 65	22%	20%
Education		
Not high school graduate	7%	7%
High school graduate	42%	45%
College graduate	33%	28%
Graduate or professional degree	19%	19%
Income		
Less than $12,500	10%	11%
$12,500 - $25,000	17%	19%
$25,000 - $35,000	17%	16%
$35,000 - $50,000	19%	19%
Over $50,000	37%	36%
Party Identification		
Democrats	29%	31%
Independents	33%	36%
Republicans	35%	30%
Not sure/other	3%	3%
Ideology		
Liberal	14%	15%
Moderate	46%	46%
Conservative	35%	34%
Not sure	5%	5%
Live Inside City of Knoxville?		
Yes	50%	54%
No	50%	46%
Voted in 1992 General Election?		
Yes	85%	77%
No/Not sure	15%	23%
Voted in 1996 General Election?		
Yes	93%	69%
No	7%	31%

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Previous research on the factors which affect turnout provide the evidence that is needed to justify this thesis' data and research. The research in this thesis indicates that voter's age, income, interest in the election, and interest in unification are significantly related to turnout in the 1996 General Election (Table 2).

Table 2.
Variables Significantly Related to Turnout in the 1996 Knox County General Election

Variable	Beta
Gender	.15
Interest in the Presidential Election	.13
Age	.12
Income	.14
Interest in Unification	.18
Party Identification	.13

Note: Adjusted R-squared = .18 all Betas significant at .05 or less

This thesis will focus on the three factors which have an effect on turnout and how they apply to the 1996 General Election in Knox County (Luttbeg and Gant 96). The three factors are as follows:

1. Legal Factors
2. Personal and Demographic Factors
3. Psychological Factors.

Legal Factors

Legal factors such as suffrage and registration laws have an effect on turnout. Rosenstone and Wolfinger explain that registering to vote is actually more difficult than voting because registration is "done at a time when interest in the campaign

is far from its peak" (22). Moreover, the personal costs of voting determine the impact of registration on turnout (28). There are two major costs of voting. The first is the relationship between cost of voting and the probability that a person will vote. "The more time and energy required to vote, the less likely the probability that that individual will vote" (28). Secondly, "Registration laws have the greatest impact on people with less education" (28). The reasoning for this is twofold: (1) People with lower levels of education tend to have lower levels of interest in politics and, (2) The "bureaucratic skills acquired in school" make it easier to overcome the hurdles and inconveniences of registration (28). Rosenstone and Wolfinger conclude that by changing the four provisions of registration that have impacted the probability of voting: (1) Eliminating the closing date; (2) Keep the registration office hours open during the forty hour work week; (3) Keep the office work days open on evening or Saturdays; and (4) Keep absentee voting open to the sick, disabled, and absent (35). Changing these four provisions would increase the probability of voting and would especially be beneficial for the least educated (41).

Nagler refutes this argument and says that "restrictive registration laws do not dissuade individuals with lower education levels from voting any more than individuals with higher levels of education" (1393). Nagler explains that what Rosenstone and Wolfinger found was caused by their methodology (1393). By reworking their models by testing the effect of registration laws on a group of individuals (1393-1394), Nagler concludes

> ... [F]or 1972 and 1984 both tests of the differential effects of closing on education groups lead us to reject the contention that there is an individual level interaction

> between education and closing dates that make little-educated individuals more sensitive to registration impediments.... And when individuals were broken down by level of education, the less-educated individuals were not found to be especially sensitive to changes in the closing date. (1403)

Teixeira makes the conclusions that registration reform is unlikely to solve the turnout problem (125). However, Teixeira points out that any registration reform program should provide a serious boost to the quite low levels of turnout (125) by at least eight percent (146).

Stein and Garcia-Monet's findings on early voting, although marginal, are that early voting does have a significant impact on turnout (665). Non-traditional early voting sites such as grocery stores and malls show a positive impact on increased early voting turnout (668). However, the increased number of traditional early voting sites such as government buildings and schools did not increase early voting turnout (665). Quality versus quantity was found to be what mattered to voters (665). Perhaps the most important finding was that early voting did not produce voters who would not have voted on Election Day (668).

Registration and voting in Knox County is relatively easy, and there are a number of ways that one can register in Knox County. One may register at the following locations in Knox County: Knox County Election Commission, County Clerk offices, Tennessee Highway Patrol offices, Health Department offices, Register of Deeds office, Human Service Department offices, libraries, and by mail, in which forms may be "available at all area post offices as well as at some banks and branch libraries" (Knox County Election Commission). One may also vote via absentee ballot (Knox County

Election Commission). Early voting at least two weeks prior to the election is also available in Knox County to facilitate the voting process and encourage participation (Lyons and Scheb 20). However, the overall impact has been hard to estimate if it has reached its goal according to Richardson and Neeley (Lyons and Scheb (a) 3). Lyons and Scheb (a) found that early voting has produced, not more voters, but more older registered voters (10). If early voting was to introduce more voters into the electorate then its purposes, in general, failed (10).

Personal and Demographic Factors

People have long been interested in discovering voting patterns in the United States. Frederick Jackson Turner is noted for his early studies of voting patterns by examining such things as maps, income, occupation, a person's place of residence (Luttbeg and Gant 7). Socioeconomic factors have proven to be related to voting behavior. "...[A] relationship occurs between socioeconomic variables associated with individuals and groups and how these people vote in partisan and nonpartisan elections," (Lee 47-48). He also points out that others concur that "age, income, ethnic origin, religion, and party affiliation can serve to predict how an individual will vote" (48). This thesis will examine the characteristics that proved to be significantly related to turnout in the 1996 election.

Gender

Researchers have been interested in the differences between men and women and their political participation. Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet conclude, "Sex is the only personal characteristic which affects non-voting, even if it is held constant. Men are better citizens, but women are more reasoned; if they are not interested, they do not

vote," (48). Past trends indicate that men voted more than women did. Although the turnout percentages were very similar, researchers noted that women outnumbered men in the adult population; therefore, men were more apt to vote than women (Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes 484). However, this trend has changed in recent years. Since the 1980 election, where turnout was the same for men and women, women have begun to outnumber men in turnout (Figure 2).

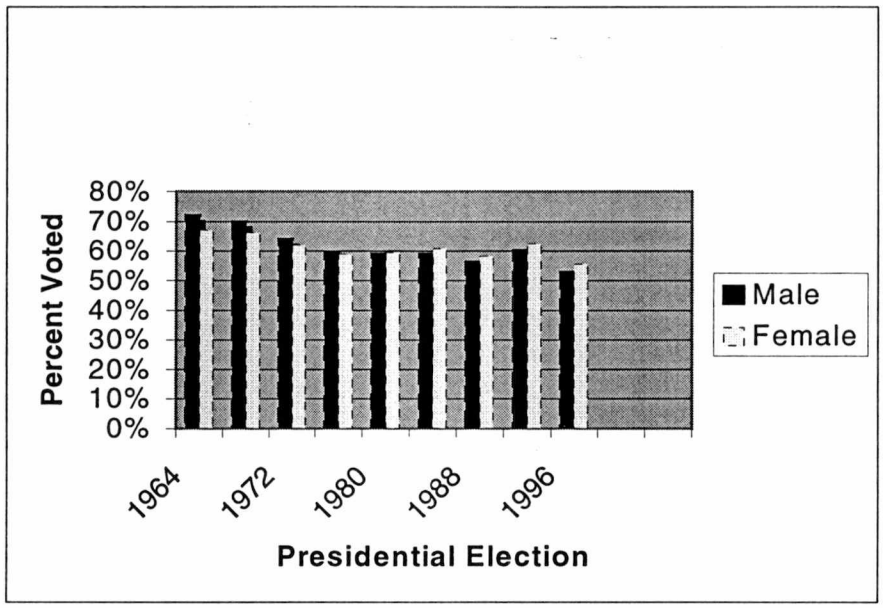


Figure 2. Percent Reported Voting by Gender in a Presidential Election: 1964-1996

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Luttbeg and Gant point out that the "trends among males and females can't account for the increase in abstention" because women vote more now than men do (115).

Age

Age is also related to turnout. "Older people have more interest in the election than the younger," (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet 44). As one gets older, the level of interest in politics and voting becomes increased, with the exception of reduced interest,

but maintained turnout after the age of fifty-five (Campbell et al. 496). Younger people vote less because they are not bound to a political party, which has been strongly related to turnout (497).

More recent studies have found that partisan attachments are not the only factors that are related to age and turnout. Young adults tend to lack political experience and are not as skillfully equipped "to make political participation both easier and more meaningful" (Strate, Parrish, Elder, and Ford 443). Non-political concerns, among younger people have also been found to have an affect on participation (443). Younger people tend to be more concerned with "obtaining and education, finding a mate, and establishing a career" (443). Middle-aged adults, who are more likely to attend church, have strong community attachments, participate in organizations, and are growing financially, are also more likely to form political attachments, process political information more easily, and increase political participation (444). However, as adults get older, their focuses shift to things such as their health and their reduction in income, and their political participation declines (444). Declining turnout levels can also be attributed to the changing age distribution (Luttbeg and Gant 115). That is, as the baby boomers are getting older, we can expect a significant drop in turnout as the aging baby boomers drop out of participating in the election (115-116). Luttbeg and Gant accurately predicted a drop in turnout after the 1992 Presidential Election (116). However, Knox County did not experience this national trend.

Income

Studies have shown that income has a direct impact on political participation and turnout (Cassel and Hill 185). People with higher income tend to vote more than those

with lower income. One characteristic of non-voters is low income (Lee 45). Those people with higher income levels have been found to participate more in government (Lazarsfeld et al. 16). Specifically related to referenda voting, those with higher income tend to turnout at higher levels than those with lower income levels (Schley Lyons 24).

Party Identification

Previous research has found party identification, to be highly influential in voting behavior. Luttbeg and Gant summarize major points from the findings in The American Voter:

1. Identification with a political party is the single most important influence in determining political behavior, especially voting.
2. Partisan identification is learned through one's parents at an early age.
3. Politics is not a major concern of Americans; voting is the primary extent to which most citizens will participate in politics.
4. Because people are not particularly interested in politics, few people vote for candidates based on their issues. Partisans will vote for the party with which they identify themselves. Fewer partisans will vote on candidate personality or not at all. (19-20)

Research has concluded that there is a positive relationship between strength in partisanship and turnout in that people with stronger partisan attachments are more likely to vote (Campbell et al. 97).

Psychological Factors

Psychological factors have been found to strongly influence a person's decision to vote. "...[T]he decision to vote... rests immediately on psychological forces," (Campbell et al. 90). The stronger one's psychological involvement in the election, the more likely he is to vote (102). Luttbeg and Gant find that "intense psychological factors contribute to participating in the elections (Table 3) (103).

Table 3.
Interest in Campaign and Voter Turnout, 1956-1992

Degree of interest in the campaign	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	1976	1980	1984	1988	1992
High	87%	90%	88%	88%	86%	84%	79%	89%	90%	89%
Medium	72%	76%	78%	76%	76%	72%	64%	70%	72%	70%
Low	58%	38%	63%	52%	51%	47%	64%	50%	40%	36%

Source: Luttbeg and Gant, 103: National Election Studies, 1956-1992

This thesis will focus on those forces that were found to be significant in our model.

Interest in Presidential Election

People who are interested in government are typically people who vote. However, the Presidential Election generally peaks more people's interest than other elections. National data shows that citizens turnout at higher rates in a Presidential Election more than they do in Congressional Elections (Figure 3). In Presidential Elections versus Congressional Elections, visibility of the campaign is higher. There is more election coverage. More is known about the candidates and their positions. If we are to assume that the average man is rational, then the costs of gaining knowledge and

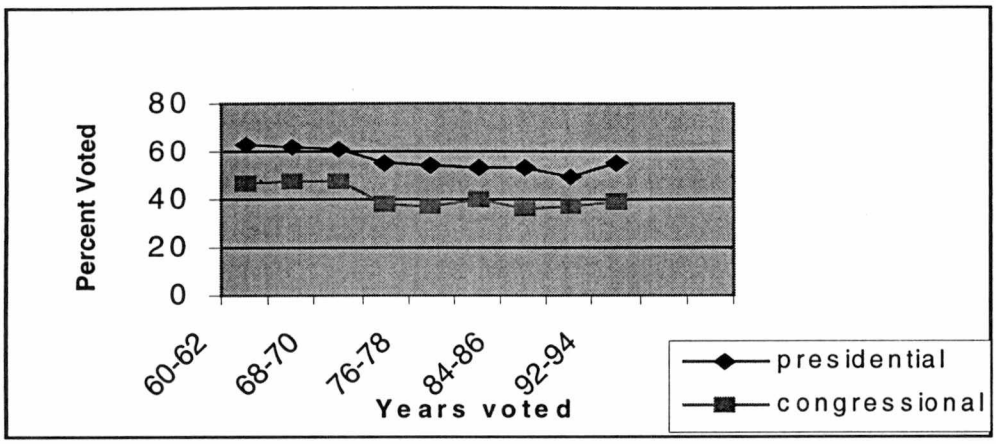


Figure 3.Interest in Presidential Elections v. Congressional Elections

Source: Federal Election Commission

information is easier to obtain in a Presidential Election versus a Congressional Election; therefore, the average man is more likely to vote in the Presidential Election because of the high coverage of the candidates and their campaigns which facilitate the gathering of knowledge and information about the candidates. Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet found that people with a higher level of interest in the elections voted more often (41); therefore, non-voting is a function of the level of interest in the campaign (46). More recent studies have also concluded that decreasing levels in concern for the outcome of the election have been found to depress turnout (Cassel and Hill 192).

Issue Salience/Interest in Unification

The main hypothesis of this thesis is that high issue salience of unification is what contributed to the high levels of turnout out in Knox County; therefore one must look at what constitutes issue voting. However, there is little known about the impact of local issues on turnout in national elections. RePass found that it while it is impossible to

predict which issues will be salient in a given election, the public responds to those issues which are the most "current and reoccurring news events" (393). Issue voting, as defined by political scientists, has been defined in terms of voting for a candidate or a party. Campbell et al. set forth these terms that must be met in order to constitute issue voting:

1. The issue must be cognized in some form.
2. It must arouse some minimal intensity of feeling.
3. It must be accompanied by some perception that one party represents the person's own position better than do the other parties. (170)

Because unification of Knoxville and Knox County is a nonpartisan issue, the third "term" which deals with political parties must be substituted with "for" or "against" unification. Chapter Three will prove that unification was (1) cognized, (2) aroused minimal intensity of feeling, and (3) there was a perception of differences between the two options: support or oppose unification.

Conclusions

There have been a myriad of variables that have been found to affect turnout in a given election. These variables may be broken down intro three general categories: legal, personal/demographic, and psychological. Voting and registration laws, which can be costly to a citizen, were not factors in this election. Personal demographics, specifically age, income, and party identification, were factors in affecting turnout in the Knox County General Election. However, the psychological factor, issue salience, which was the intense interest in unification, was the most significantly related to turnout in the 1996 General Election. In short, more people were voting for an issue than a candidate.

Chapter Three

The 1996 Election in Knox County

Knox County experienced a significantly higher turnout than the national and state levels (Table 4). This difference can be explained by the intense issue salience of the unification referendum of the Knox County and City of Knoxville governments.

Table 4.
Turnout in 1996 Election: Local, State and National Levels

	% of Voting Age Population Casting Ballots
United States	49%
Tennessee	47%
Knox County	63%

Source: Federal Election Commission and Knox County Election Commission

History of the 1996 Unification Campaign

In 1959 Knoxville/Knox County governments made their first attempt to unify their governments (Lyons and Scheb 11). This was repeated three more times (unsuccessfully) in 1978, 1983, and again during the 1996 General Election (11). In fact, between 1945 and 1978, seventeen out of seventy-seven attempts to unify were successful (Stewart 1). In 1989, the city and county passed a law that would merge the county and city school systems (Lyons and Scheb 12). The success of the vote prompted some to think that a reattempt at unifying the two governments could be a likely possibility (12). Despite its poor showing in early polls, the pro-unification camp decided to back the issue again, and a Charter Commission was appointed in 1995 to hammer out the details of the new government that it was to create (14-16).

The decision on whether or not to unify instantly became a heated controversy. The pro-unification camp, those people primarily from the business elites, community and city residents, sparred with the anti-unification camp, politicians who feared loosing their jobs and county residents. Because the vote had to be won in the county for unification to pass (Venable, 11-7-96), getting county voters to accept the idea of unification was crucial. Most county residents feared higher taxes, more services that they did not want, less protection from the police and fire departments, and they disliked the idea of losing certain elected officials (Keim, 11-7-96, A6). The Charter Commission did all that they could to alleviate it those fears, even promising a moratorium on property taxes for three years once unification went into effect (Lyons and Scheb, 17), but the "fear tactics" from the anti-unification side (primarily the law enforcement and fire protection services) mounted a successful grassroots campaign (Keim, 11-7-96, A1, A6). Dr. John Scheb, pollster for Citizens for Unified Government, explained to the *News-Sentinel*, "The other part [opposing unification at the polls] was [that] the intensity was more on the side of (unification opponents)," (A1). "Anti-unity signs sprouted along the rights of way, at subdivision entrances and at polling places in the days before the vote," (A6). Jack Barnes, a member of the Fraternal Order of the Police, with the help of fourteen public employees, "put about 2,500 sign around town" (A6). Barnes told the *News-Sentinel*, "That's what I call a blitz," (A6). Despite a well-financed campaign, the pro-unification side could not sway the opinions of the anti-unification side.

The proponents of unification were comprised of well-to-do community elites.

An elaborate fundraising structure was put together,

> led by James Haslam, President of Pilot Oil Corporation and one of the most influential members of the Knoxville elite. A "citizens committee" of civic notables, calling themselves "Citizens for Unified Government," was constituted to participate in fundraising and oversee the campaign. (Lyons and Scheb, 18)

Because past unification efforts had failed, Citizens for Unified Government were committed to a professionally-run campaign. Jim Pratt, former press secretary for Senator Jim Sasser, was chosen to manage the campaign (Lyons and Scheb, 18). Under Pratt's tutelage, Citizens for Unified Government was able to raise over $300,000 to promote unification (Keim, 10-30-96, A1). The group was also able to have "some two hundred community meetings, public debates, and extensive media coverage" (Keim, 11-7-96, A6). To most people who lived inside the city, unification seemed like a common sense way to get rid of waste and duplication in government, "save money, and increase efficiency" (Moskos, 8-11-96).

Opponents of unification saw it differently. Citizens for a Fair Government, whose figurehead for the group was Sheriff Tim Hutchison, led the opposition forces against unification. "This group appealed largely to voters outside the City and drew support from groups who had opposed Knoxville Mayor Victor Ashe's annexation policies. Their message was essentially that consolidation was a Trojan Horse, merely annexation by another name," (Lyons and Scheb, 19). County residents, who despised Mayor Victor Ashe's efforts to annex parts of the county into the city, were diametrically opposed to unification. County residents did not want to be "annexed" into what they considered to be the "urban" City of Knoxville; their identity was wrapped up in living in the county, and they wanted it to continue that way. "I don't like nothing to do with the

city," says a county resident, "I'm a county boy, and that's the way I think it ought to stay," (Keim, 11-7-96, A6). County residents typically did not favor change and were happy with the county services that they were receiving. One county voter said, "I don't know.... Just don't want any changes, (Keim, 11-11-96, A3). "People are comfortable with what they've got in this community, (deciding) to live in an urban or suburban area, whichever was pleasant to them," said Bill Warwick, the "president of the anti-unification Knoxville Fire Fighters Association" (Keim 11-11-96, A3). When the firefighters and policemen came out against unification, they inflamed the fears of those county residents, who were already concerned with less fire and police protection, and confirmed their suspicions that county residents would not receive the same kind of protection that they had enjoyed if unification passed. The money that came in for the opposition was stepped-up as Election Day drew closer.

> The International Fire Fighters Association loaned the Knoxville Fire Fighters Association $46,000 to wage their campaign. The Knoxville Fire Fighters also donated $22,000 of their own money. Another $10,000 came from the Fraternal Order of Police, and nearly $5,000 from another local employees group. Under the mantle of Lenoir City Alliance for Progress, the Lenoir City Utilities Board, which serves customers in West Knox County, orchestrated fundraising of some $10,000 to fight Consolidation. (Lyons and Scheb, 19)

The firefighters were able to wage an effective campaign with primarily only billboards and yard signs (19). Near the end they also sent out fliers claiming that "unification boosts taxes and reduces citizen access to government" (Keim, 11-01-96). The intensity on both sides of the issue were obvious, "It's highly unusual for that number of people to be willing to give to a campaign where you have no candidate...," (Keim, 10-30-96, A5).

Although it passed in the city, on Election Day, unification lost by a landslide in the county (Knox County Election Commission).

The 1996 Presidential Election

While all of Knox County was unusually preoccupied with the impending unification issue, the rest of the nation was less interested in the Presidential Election. "[P]eople have... walked away from this race to a very large degree. I can't remember a Presidential race in my memory at least that attracted so little interest among the electorate and so little enthusiasm," (Kittle, 10-23-96). *The Economist* reported, "With lackluster debates, repetitive oratory, and boring scandals, the issue par excellence of the 1996 Presidential Election is the sheer crashing boredom among the voters," (11-19-96, 34). In a series of polls done by The Pew Research Center, most American found the campaign dull, "An overwhelming majority of Americans (73%) think the Presidential campaign is dull so far," (1). Due to the lack of interest in the campaign, The Pew Research Center predicted low turnout in the elections, "The lackluster contest may take its toll on turnout in November," (1). This trend is markedly different than the 1992 Presidential Election. "Compared to four years ago, fewer voters have given a lot of thought to the election, fewer say they are interested *and* fewer say they are absolutely certain to vote (see Table 5)," (1). Cook attributes this lack of interest to Clinton's lead over Dole to the nature of this particular race,

> As Election Day approaches, the Presidential race is not close, not exciting, and not nearly as significant as it was expected to be, and the level of public interest is not high. One of the principle reasons for the lack of interest has been the nature of the race, with President Clinton enjoying a large and clear cut lead over Bob Dole. (2350)

Table 5
Election Interest Indicators

Thought given to Presidential Election	June 1992	July 1996
Quite a lot	55%	47%
Some (VOL.)	6%	2%
Little/None	38%	51%
More/less interested in politics than during last Presidential Election		
More	55%	42%
Less	24%	38%
Same (VOL.)	19%	19%
How certain are you that you will vote?		
Absolutely certain	75%	69%
Fairly certain	12%	18%
Not certain	2%	2%

Source: The Pew Research Center, August 2, 1996

According to The Pew Research Center, twenty-five percent of the seventy-five percent who said that the campaign was dull, also said that it was due to the nature of the campaign (see Table 6) (8-2-96, 1). Twenty percent were bored with the campaign because of the quality of the candidates, and sixteen percent blame the media (8-2-96, 1).

Table 6.
Reason for Disinterest in the Election from Uninterested Voters

Reasons for Disinterest with the Election	
Nature of the Campaign	25%
Quality of the Candidates	20%
Media Coverage	16%

Source: The Pew Research Center, August 2, 1996

Even on the state level, Tennessee's electorate appeared uninterested in the elections.. "... [T]here are signs of disinterest among Tennessee's three million registered voters. Pollsters report a less-than-normal number of voters paying attention to the Presidential campaign in this state and around the nation," (*Nashville Banner*, 11-1-96). According to the University of Tennessee Social Science Research Institute Director, Dr. John Scheb, "[O]nly thirty percent of respondents said that they had been following the contest closely," (*Nashville Banner*, 11-1-96).

Another indicator of disinterest in the election is the lack of interest in the Presidential debates. "[F]ewer Americans intend to watch the televised debates between Presidential candidates this year than in recent elections and few think the debates will be crucial to their decision on election day," (The Pew Research Center, 10-4-96, 4). Thirty percent of respondents said that the debates will mean anything to them (5). This is sharply different than the previous Presidential Elections (see Table 7).

Table 7.
Interest in Watching the Debates

Election	**Likelihood of Watching Debate % of Very Likely**
1996	43%
1992	67%
1988	55%
1984	55%

Source: The Pew Research Center, October 4, 1996

Elving speculates that Americans are not watching the debates because of the "apparent lack of suspense" (2898)

Turnout in Knox County in the 1996 General Election

Because the purpose of this thesis is to discover why Knox County turnout achieved such a high turnout percentage when state and national percentages were relatively low, it is important to see if Knox County always had relatively high levels of voter turnout. Figure 1 demonstrates that Knox County voting trends have been lower than national voting patterns until 1992, when the turnout percentages were the same and in 1996 when turnout was significantly higher in Knox County (page 1). Knox County and Tennessee's turnout percentages have been very close over the years; the 1996 Presidential Election, however, was also significantly higher in Knox County than in Tennessee. Because Knox County has been below national turnout rates and maintained similar rates as the state level, one can say that the 1996 turnout rate was not the normal trend for Knox County but was dramatically different than the pattern that it had displayed in previous elections.

Voting as a Function of Rational Choice

The rational choice model is based on the premise that voting is merely an issue of a cost/benefits analysis. That is, for voting to be rational, the benefits of voting must outweigh the costs. Downs purports that knowledge may be imperfect and costly for a citizen to obtain (138). Therefore, one might conclude that if the costs of gaining knowledge and voting do not outweigh the benefits of voting, which is that one's vote will produce the desired outcome, then the voter is rational (146).

Downs points to the irrationality of voting: (1) Gaining knowledge about the parties and the candidates is costly; and (2) The effort of voting based on the knowledge of perceived differences in the parties and candidates (of which the voter believes his

vote for one over the other must produce some benefit for him) is costly because the probability that his vote will make a difference in the election is infinitesimal (146). However, Downs points out that the costs of voting are not irrational if: (1) The voter enjoys being well-informed; (2) He believes the election is close enough that his vote may make a difference in the outcome; (3) He may need to gather information to influence others' votes; and (4) He may need information to influence government policy as a lobbyist (147). Nevertheless, Downs emphasizes the probability that one person's vote is not enough to sway the outcome on the election, and so concludes that, political ignorance and nonvoting are rational (148).

Downs' theory is useful for explaining turnout in the Knox County 1996 General Election. While Downs' model focuses on choosing candidates and parties, for the purpose of this thesis, they will be substituted with "supporting or defeating" unification. Out of all the issues on the ballot that would have the most influence on the daily lives of citizens in Knox County, unification was understood to be the greatest. Therefore, the cost of gaining information about whether to support or defeat unification and the cost of voting was seen to outweigh the costs of having unification passed or defeated.

Riker and Ordershook (1968) reinforce Downs' theory of "rational nonvoting." They began their research as an attempt to discern whether or not voting was based on a rational choice (25). They began with the assumption that a voter will receive the reward of voting (**R**) if the differential benefit of a voter from his winning candidate (**B**) multiplied the probability of getting that reward (**P**) is higher than the cost of voting (**C**) (**R = (BP) – C**) (25). They introduce into this model a variable, in which they assign it the letter D, which represents civic duty (27). They formulate a new model which says

that the voter will receive the reward of voting (**R**) if the differential benefit of a voter from his winning candidate (**B**) multiplied by the probability of getting that reward (**P**) is higher than the cost of voting (**C**) in addition to his sense of civic duty (**D**) (**R= (BP) – C + D**) (28). However, this was not the case in Knox County. It cannot be argued that citizens in Knox County had more civic pride than was manifested in the act of voting. Referring back to Figure 1, voting in Knox County had, in general, been lower than state and national turnout levels. Therefore, civic duty can be excluded from our model.

Because early voting was not a factor in the increase in turnout (Lyons and Scheb (a) 10), the legal factor can be ruled out as having a significant effect on turnout. What our model looks like is that voting in the 1996 General Election was largely a function on personal/demographic factors and psychological factors which were discussed in Chapter Two: gender, age, income, party identification, interest in the Presidential Election, and interest in unification (Figure 4). When Chi-square tests were performed, some variables which were found to be significant, such as education (which is primarily an indicator of income), living inside the city versus the county, and whether the voter participated in the past Presidential Election, dropped out of the regression model because the relationship was not found to be as strong (Table 8). The data show that while the personal/demographic factors are significant, the interest in unification was clearly the most significantly related to turnout in our weighted model.

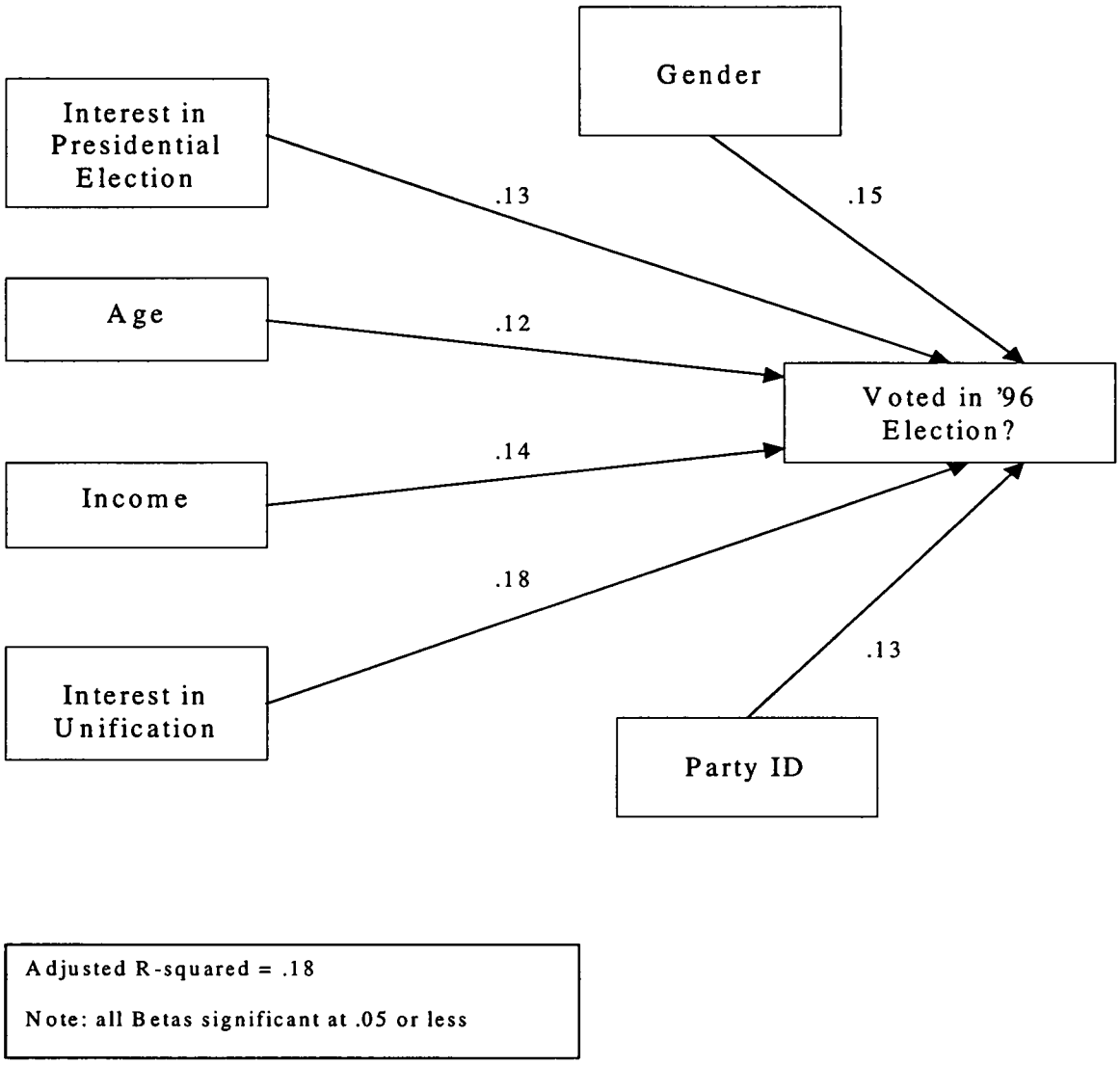


Figure 4. A Model of Voting Turnout in Knox County in the 1996 General Election (weighted data)

Table 8. Turnout by Selected Characteristics
(% reporting having voted)

	Unweighted Data	Weighted Data
Gender		**
Male	91%	63%
Female	94%	74%
Race		
White	92%	68%
Black	95%	77%
Other	100%	100%
Age	*	***
18-25	68%	27%
26-35	93%	69%
36-45	94%	74%
46-55	95%	76%
56-65	97%	83%
Over 65	96%	80%
Education	**	***
Not high school graduate	89%	59%
High school graduate	89%	57%
College graduate	97%	86%
Graduate or professional degree	94%	74%
Income		***
Less than $12,500	88%	55%
$12,500 - $25,000	87%	54%
$25,000 - $35,000	95%	77%
$35,000 - $50,000	92%	67%
Over $50,000	96%	79%
Party Identification	*	***
Democrats	91%	64%
Independents	90%	61%
Republicans	97%	83%
Ideology		
Liberal	89%	57%
Moderate	94%	71%
Conservative	93%	71%
Live Inside City of Knoxville?	**	***
Yes	90%	61%
No	95%	78%
Voted in 1992 General Election?	***	***
Yes	96%	80%
No/Not sure	67%	74%
Level of Interest in Presidential Election	***	***
Low	70%	29%
Moderate	90%	62%
High	98%	87%
Level of Interest in Unification	***	***
Low	76%	36%
Moderate	93%	69%
High	98%	87%

Note: Chi-square significant at: * .1 ** .05 *** .01

Conclusions

Although Knox County's voting percentages have never reached above national levels and have remained very similar to Tennessee state levels, Knox County experienced its highest turnout level since 1960 in the 1996 General Election. While personal/demographic characteristics such as gender, age, income, and party identification were significantly related to turnout, the driving force behind turnout in November of 1996 was a function of interest in unification, the issue that was understood to have the greatest impact on the lives of the residents of Knox County. While interest in the Presidential Election was found to be significant, it could be assumed that the survey instrument could have affected the responses to interest in the Presidential Election. That is, that interest in the Presidential Election could be an artifact of interest in the unification election referendum. What this means is that respondents may have grouped together as a whole the Presidential, Congressional, and local issues, to mean "interest in the Presidential Election." This conclusion is made by examining (a) research which demonstrated low levels of interest in the Presidential Election; and (b) national, Tennessee, and Knox County turnout data in Presidential Elections since 1960 in which Knox County behaved roughly the same as the state and national levels, never experiencing high turnout. Because Knox County's turnout has never been higher than the national turnout for almost forty years, one could conclude that Knox County's interest in the Presidential Election should not exceed national interest levels since interest is positively related to turnout. Therefore, one must conclude that unification was the greatest concern of Knox Countians during the 1996 General Election, thus, having the most significant effect on turnout.

Chapter Four

Conclusions

The original research question was, "When issue salience is high, will voter turnout also be high?" The answer to this question can be demonstrated in the 1996 General Election of Knox County. While interest levels in the Presidential Election were very low nationally, turnout at the state and national level was equally as low. Because Knoxville had behaved in a similar pattern with regards to turnout in the previous Presidential Elections, one would expect that turnout would also follow the same trends in the 1996 General Election. However, that is not what happened in Knox County; instead, turnout levels were significantly higher than the state and national levels. The main difference in this election from the past elections is the strength of salience of a local referendum issue, unification of the City of Knoxville with Knox County.

The high turnout in Knox County in the 1996 Election was not a product of the increased ease of voting, nor was it a function of interest in the Presidential Election. Turnout was driven primarily by concern over the issue of unification, which clearly was the issue that would have had the greatest impact on the everyday lives of Knox Countians. Both camps, the people who supported unification and those who were against it, felt that they had either more to gain or to lose by its defeat or passage.

What does this kind of research mean for political scientists? The first implication for issue voting (voting for an issue versus voting for a candidate) is a new field that must be explored. Because initiatives and referendums are becoming more and more popular ways to legislate, campaigns are built around and financed for issues. There is little research being done on turnout in referendum elections. While rational choice

models have been useful in dealing with candidates and parties, they fail to mention issues. When political scientists discuss issue voting, it is never about referendums, but about candidates or parties. Therefore, one might suggest a paradigm shift in the way that rational choice models and issue voting models are studied to include referendums in such models.

Another implication derived from this research is how referendums can affect candidate elections. That is, if a referendum is strongly associated with one party, it could have an effect on that party's turnout. For example, if there is a referendum on school choice, which to a large extent is identified with the Republican Party, Republicans at all levels of elected government could benefit from such an issue if there was strong support for the referendum, and it had high issue salience. If the voting community overwhelmingly supported school choice, the Republican candidates could fashion their messages around the issue, and this could benefit them at the polls. Conversely, if the community was against school choice, it could have a negative effect on Republican candidates.

Issue salience for a particular election can also produce skewed turnouts for a certain party; therefore, predicting the outcome of an election could be made easier depending on which types of people are more likely to be highly motivated to turnout to defeat or ensure passage of a certain issue. If an issue is on the ballot that is likely to motivate intense Democratic support, one might predict that the Democratic candidate will have a better chance of winning an election if an unusually high number of Democrats turnout for the election. Therefore, the Republican candidate would have to overcompensate to ensure that he is able to mobilize his own party and supporters to

turnout in the election. One example is the legalized gambling issue in Arkansas. Proponents, such as the prospective casino owners, were ready to bus minorities to the polls to support the initiative; the opponents, casinos from border states, were, likewise, ready to bus minorities to the polls to defeat it. Because minorities in Arkansas have traditionally voted for Democratic candidates, the increased number of minorities voting in the general election worried Republican party candidates and officials. However, there are certain times when issues, such as the lottery, are likely to motivate both parties to turnout to support or defeat the issues. This is one case in which turnout would be difficult to predict since both sides would be motivated to vote.

Another benefit of this type of research is that it may help political scientists discover if there is a relationship between the frequency of referendums and turnout. Does the electorate become "hardened" to the barrage of referendums that are put on the ballot? What types of people are more likely to turn out for frequent referendums? What are their demographics? If we can discover their demographics, then we have a better chance of predicting which candidates will win the election.

The field of referendum voting is relatively new and needs to be further explored. The impact of referenda on the ballot and the effect on turnout should be carefully studied and added to the "funnel of causality." Political scientists, as well as campaign consultants and candidates could benefit from studying how a referendum can affect the volume of turnout and which candidate will win in a given election.

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Appendix

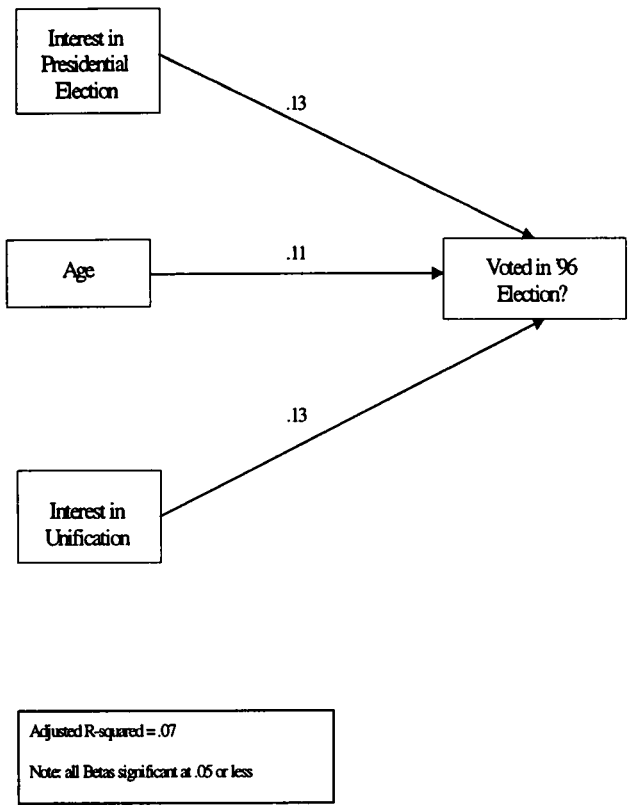


Figure 5. A Model of Voting Turnout in Knox County in the 1996 General Election (unweighted data)

U.T. SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH INSTITUTE
KNOX COUNTY PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SURVEY
November 3-7, 1996

I. The Pre-Election Survey (11-3, 11-4)

"Hi, my name is _____ and I'm calling from the Social Science Research Institute at the University of Tennessee. We're conducting a survey to find out what people think about a variety of political issues The survey will take about five minutes and all your responses will be completely confidential. Do you mind if I ask you a few questions? First, are you 18 or older?" [If Yes, proceed with survey; if No, ask to speak to someone over 18]

Note: Throughout survey, EXCEPT WHERE NOTED OTHERWISE, '8' is for 'not sure, 'don't know' or 'no opinion.'

DO NOT READ
1 MALE
2 FEMALE

How closely have you followed the presidential election campaigns this year, not at all, somewhat, or very closely?

1 NOT AT ALL
2 SOMEWHAT
3 VERY CLOSELY
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Did you early vote or absentee vote in this election?

NO ⇩

If you were voting in the presidential election would you vote for [ROTATE] Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, Ross Perot, or some other candidate?

1 CLINTON
2 DOLE
3 PEROT
4 OTHER
7 WOULD NOT VOTE
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

YES ⇩

Who did you vote for in the presidential election, [ROTATE] Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, Ross Perot, or some other candidate?

1 CLINTON
2 DOLE
3 PEROT
4 OTHER
7 WOULD NOT VOTE
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

How closely have you followed the issue of unification of Knoxville and Knox County governments, not at all, somewhat, or very closely?

1 NOT AT ALL
2 SOMEWHAT
3 VERY CLOSELY

How would you vote on the issue of whether to unify Knox County and Knoxville City governments, for or against unification?

1 FOR UNIFICATION
2 AGAINST UNIFICATION
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

How did you vote on the issue of whether to unify Knox County and Knoxville City governments, for or against unification?

1 FOR UNIFICATION
2 AGAINST UNIFICATION
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

In the race for U.S. Senate, would you vote for [ROTATE] Fred Thompson, the Republican, or Houston Gordon, the Democrat?

1THOMPSON
2 GORDON

In the race for U.S. Senate, did you vote for [ROTATE] Fred Thompson, the Republican or Houston Gordon, the Democrat?

1THOMPSON
2 GORDON

Did you vote in the 1992 presidential election? If so, did you vote for Bill Clinton, George Bush, Ross Perot, or some other candidate?

1 DID NOT VOTE
2 CLINTON
3 BUSH
4 PEROT
5 OTHER
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

When it comes to determining the future of the country, do you think this presidential election is more or less important than most presidential elections, or is it about the same?

1 MORE IMPORTANT
2 LESS IMPORTANT
3 SAME
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Generally speaking, are you pleased or displeased with the way presidential campaigns are conducted in this country? [Follow-up with...] Are you very pleased/displeased?

1 VERY DISPLEASED
2 SOMEWHAT DISPLEASED
3 SOMEWHAT PLEASED

4 VERY PLEASED
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Next I'd like to ask you about some aspects of presidential elections about which some people have raised concerns. For each one I read, I'd like you to tell me whether you think it is not a problem, a somewhat serious problem, or a very serious problem?"

How money is raised?

1 NOT A PROBLEM
2 SOMEWHAT SERIOUS
3 VERY SERIOUS
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

The role of special interest groups?

1 NOT A PROBLEM
2 SOMEWHAT SERIOUS
3 VERY SERIOUS
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

The role of political parties?

1 NOT A PROBLEM
2 SOMEWHAT SERIOUS
3 VERY SERIOUS
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

The role of the media?

1 NOT A PROBLEM
2 SOMEWHAT SERIOUS
3 VERY SERIOUS
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Negative campaigning?

1 NOT A PROBLEM
2 SOMEWHAT SERIOUS
3 VERY SERIOUS
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Lack of focus on real issues?

1 NOT A PROBLEM
2 SOMEWHAT SERIOUS
3 VERY SERIOUS
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

The role of political consultants?

1 NOT A PROBLEM
2 SOMEWHAT SERIOUS
3 VERY SERIOUS
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

The emphasis on polls?

1 NOT A PROBLEM
2 SOMEWHAT SERIOUS
3 VERY SERIOUS
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

There's been a lot of discussion lately over what are called negative ads or attack ads on television. Generally speaking, what is your reaction to negative ads, very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

1 VERY UNFAVORABLE
2 SOMEWHAT UNFAVORABLE
3 SOMEWHAT FAVORABLE
4 VERY FAVORABLE
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Do you think that negative ads help you make up your mind in deciding who to vote for?

1 YES
2 NO
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Do negative ads make you more or less likely to vote, or do they not make any difference?

1 LESS LIKELY
2 NO DIFFERENCE
3 MORE LIKELY
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Have you seen any television ads dealing with this presidential election that you would consider to be negative ads?

1 YES
2 NO
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

YES


Would you say that you have seen a few of these ads or a lot of them?"

1 A FEW
2 A LOT
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Would you say that there have been more negative ads this year than in past presidential contests, less political ads this year, or has the number been about the same?

1 MORE THIS YEAR
2 ABOUT THE SAME
3 LESS THIS YEAR
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Did more of the ads you saw during this election year attack Mr. Clinton or Mr. Dole, or were they about even?

1 ATTACKED CLINTON
2 ATTACKED DOLE
3 ABOUT EVEN
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Next I'm going to read you a series of statements about politics and government. For each one I read, I'd like you to tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, have mixed feelings, disagree or strongly disagree.

Most politicians are willing to tackle the real problems facing this country.

1 STRONGLY DISAGREE
2 DISAGREE
3 MIXED FEELINGS
4 AGREE
5 STRONGLY AGREE
8 NOT SURE

9 MISSING

Having elections makes government responsive to the views of the people.

1 STRONGLY DISAGREE
2 DISAGREE
3 MIXED FEELINGS
4 AGREE
5 STRONGLY AGREE
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

People like me have no say about what the government does.

1 STRONGLY DISAGREE
2 DISAGREE
3 MIXED FEELINGS
4 AGREE
5 STRONGLY AGREE
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Politics and government are too complicated for most people to understand.

1 STRONGLY DISAGREE
2 DISAGREE
3 MIXED FEELINGS
4 AGREE
5 STRONGLY AGREE
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right [ROTATE] just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

1 JUST ABOUT ALWAYS
2 MOST OF THE TIME
3 ONLY SOME OF THE TIME
4 NEVER
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Overall, do you consider yourself to be a [ROTATE] Democrat, Independent, or Republican? [Follow-up with] Do you consider yourself a strong Dem/Rep? or if Ind.. "Do you tend to lean more to the Democrats, or Republicans?

0 STRONG DEMOCRAT
1 DEMOCRAT
2 INDEPENDENT LEANING DEMOCRAT
3 INDEPENDENT

4 INDEPENDENT LEANING REPUBLICAN
5 REPUBLICAN
6 STRONG REPUBLICAN
7 OTHER
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Overall, do you consider yourself to be a [ROTATE] liberal, moderate, or conservative? [Follow-up with...] Do you consider yourself a strong liberal/conservative?... or if moderate... Do you tend to lean more toward being a liberal or conservative?

1 STRONG LIBERAL
2 LIBERAL
3 MODERATE LEANING LIBERAL
4 MODERATE
5 MODERATE LEANING CONSERVATIVE
6 CONSERVATIVE
7 STRONG CONSERVATIVE
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Finally, I need to ask you a few background questions so that your responses can be compared to others. Remember, all your responses are completely confidential.

First, what is your age?" (code years... leave blank for no answer) _____ [2 DIGITS]

[99 = MISSING]

Do you live inside or outside the city limits of Knoxville?

1 INSIDE
2 OUTSIDE
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Which of the following best describes your level of education, not a high school graduate, a high school graduate, a college graduate, or a graduate or professional degree?

1 NOT HS GRAD
2 HS GRAD
3 COLLEGE GRAD
4 GRADUATE/PROFESSIONAL DEGREE
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

What is your race? Are you Black or African American, White, Hispanic, Asian or Pacific Islander, or American Indian?"

1 BLACK

2 WHITE
3 HISPANIC
4 ASIAN
5 INDIAN
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

Counting income from all sources, including earnings from all jobs, unemployment insurance, pensions, welfare, and so on, and counting income for everyone living in your home, which of the following ranges did your household income fall into last year? [Read quickly]

1 LESS THAN $12,500
2 $12,500 - $25,000
3 $25,000 - $35,000
4 $35,000 - $50,000
5 $50,000 +
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

May I have your first name so that we can call you back after the election to ask a couple of follow-up questions?" _____

[If agree to participate in follow-up] "What's the best time to reach you?"

That's all my questions. Thanks a lot for your participation in the survey!

II. The Post-Election Survey

"Hi, may I speak to _____. I'm calling from the UT Social Science Research Institute. We're following up on the survey we did the other night. Can I ask you just three questions?

Were you able to vote in the presidential election [today] Tuesday?

1 YES
2 NO
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

YES
⇩

Did you vote for Clinton, Dole, Perot or some other candidate?

1 CLINTON
2 DOLE
3 PEROT
4 OTHER
8 NOT SURE
9 MISSING

NO



Why were you unable to vote?

1 DIDN'T HAVE TIME (TOO BUSY)
2 WORKING (ANYTHING HAVING TO DO WITH JOB)
3 ILLNESS (RESPONDENT'S ILLNESS OR SOMEONE ELSE'S)
4 WEATHER
5 NO TRANSPORTATION
6 AWAY FROM HOME
7 DON'T LIKE ANY OF THE CANDIDATES
8 SATISFIED WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE
9 MY VOTE DOESN'T MATTER
10 PUT OFF BY PROCESS (PROCESS IS TOO NEGATIVE)
11 DON'T CARE ABOUT THIS ELECTION
12 NO PARTICULAR REASON
13 OTHER
99 MISSING

That's all my questions—thanks for your time!

Vita

Jennifer Simpson Weems was born in Jackson, Mississippi on May 24, 1973. She attended private and public schools in Pine Bluff, Arkansas and received her high school diploma from Saint Mary's College, an all-female boarding school and two-year college in Raleigh, North Carolina in 1991. She attended Emory University for the 1991-1992 school year and then transferred to the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in 1992. At the University of Tennessee, she received her Bachelor of Arts in Political Science in 1995. She entered graduate school the same year and received her Master's degree in Political Science at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in 1998.

She is presently working in Washington, D.C. for Congressman Jay Dickey, a Republican representing the Fourth District of Arkansas.