

**TWO “PARTIES” AMONG REGISTERED OKLAHOMA
DEMOCRATS: THE CLARK, EDWARDS AND KERRY
CONSTITUENCIES**

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This research is based on a sample of 807 registered Democrats who voted in the 2004 presidential primary. It seeks an answer to the question of why Oklahoma was unique in the “third round” of the nomination process in putting two candidates ahead of national front runner Senator John Kerry. The data suggest one reason is that many registered Democrats do not identify with the Democratic Party in Oklahoma. Instead, they identify themselves as independents through strong Republicans despite still being registered as Democrats. While Kerry won most of the strongest Democratic identifiers, he lost support among the lighter shades of blues as well as among independents and plums. So one reason Oklahoma put two candidates ahead of the front runner is that registered Democrats, especially conservative Democrats, prefer to vote their individual preference rather than for the Democrat seen as most likely to win the presidency.

The late state Senator Keith Leftwich (D, OKC) introduced a bill in the 2003 Oklahoma legislature that established the first Tuesday in February as the date of the state's presidential primary (e.g., February 3, 2004).¹ Senator Leftwich's measure put Oklahoma back in the presidential nomination game (Jenkins n.d.). Prior to 2004, Oklahoma had been invisible in the vast "Super Tuesdays" held in March that included California and New York as well as Texas and Florida.² Oklahoma's presidential primary would now occur only one week after New Hampshire's primary on January 27, 2004 and about two weeks after the Iowa caucuses on January 19th, 2004. In 2004, Oklahoma's presidential primary was held along with the Arizona, Delaware, Missouri, South Carolina primaries and the New Mexico and North Dakota caucuses.³

While Democrats in Iowa and New Hampshire together provide only a very small portion of the delegates to the national Democratic convention, they have for decades been very powerful cue givers for other states. In fact, Iowa alone probably cued the whole nation as to the likeliest Democratic presidential contender when they put Kerry way ahead of the then frontrunner Howard Dean (Lawrence and Page 2004).

A central fact in Oklahoma politics is that the state is realigning away from the Democrats toward independency and Republicanism. If registered Democrats in Oklahoma are in flux, how would they vote? Would they vote party – i.e. for the Democrat with the best chance of winning the presidency – or would they vote for their favorite contender regardless of what the media were saying about who was the Democratic frontrunner?⁴

In the end, Oklahomans voted for their favorites. Unlike any other state, Oklahoma put two contenders ahead of frontrunner Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts. General Wesley Clark (Arkansas) came in first with 29.94 percent of the vote (N = 90,526) followed by Senator John Edwards (North Carolina) with 29.54 percent of the vote (N = 89,310). National front-runner John Kerry ran third in Oklahoma with 26.81 percent of the vote (N = 81,073) (Oklahoma State Election Board 2004). While South Carolina put North Carolinian John Edwards ahead of frontrunner John Kerry, only Oklahoma put two candidates ahead of Kerry (Roper Center 2004).

Why? Our hypothesis is that there are actually two “parties” among registered Democrats in Oklahoma. Oklahoma has been in transition from a one-party Democrat state toward a two-party state throughout the latter half of the last century. This change began at the presidential level and is still continuing toward the less visible or “low stimulus” elections at the state and local levels.

We shall call one of the two “parties” “blue.” These Democrats are quite similar to Democrats nationally. However, those registered Democrats who identify themselves as either independent, independent leaning Republican or weak or strong Republican identifiers are not like national Democrats. They are moving right – i.e. away from the Democratic Party toward the Republican Party in both their voting and in their self-identification. They remain registered Democrats in many instances, however, because changing one’s registration often lags far behind either voting behavior or self-identification in changing one’s party preference.

We call these latter voters “plums” because they tend away from some hue of blue to a blue/red mixture – i.e. plum. A purplish or plum color results when Democratic blue and Republican red are mixed. If the color white represents independency, exactly between deep blue and deep red, then some hue of plum would represent the independents leaning Republican or weak or strong Republicans. Ergo, the two “parties” among registered Democrats in Oklahoma are the “blues” and the “plums.”

Method: We surveyed Oklahoma presidential primary voters beginning the night of the presidential primary (February 3, 2004).⁵ The chief means of finding out why Oklahomans voted for their favorites as opposed to the national frontrunner was to characterize the different contender constituencies demographically and attitudinally.

The list we used on the heels of the presidential primary was furnished through the State Election Board with phone numbers added by Blaemire Communications. These sources and services were purchased by the Democratic Party of Oklahoma (ODP) and we purchased the resulting list of names and phone numbers from the ODP. Because a current list would not be available for some time after the presidential primary, we were obliged to use the latest list of voters available. This was a list of state primary voters from 2002. Unfortunately,

this 2002 list of state primary voters was composed of “heads of households” and would provide a disproportionate number of males as a result.

We finished polling with the 2002 list about March 3rd. There were 508 completed interviews in this first sampling. Whereas every voter had an equal chance of being selected in this list, it was, in fact, not representative by gender and among the youngest voters, because the 2002 list was two years old. We would do a second survey of presidential primary voters more than a year later (i.e., May 7 through mid-June 2005). This second list composed of 368,288 primary voters was used to offset the large male and small age biases in the list from 2002. The second survey was a quota sampling. That is, we polled enough females and youngest voters to make the combined sample representative by gender and age.

Although the second sample was a quota sample, there was no male or age bias in it since it included all primary voters along with nearly all of their individual telephone numbers. The second survey yielded 299 sufficiently completed interviews (those giving their candidate choice plus enough additional information to be useful). When we combined the first and second samples, the total number of respondents with sufficiently completed interviews was 807.

In our combined sample of 807 completed interviews, 55% were females and 45% were male. Among all primary voters there were 54% who were female and 46% who were male. So our combined sample is only about 1% off. The average age of the combined interviewed samples (807 respondents) was almost exactly the same as the population of registered Democratic voters in the presidential primary. The average age among voters was 57.77 for males and 57.6 years for females and 57.7 years combined. The average age of our interviewed male respondents was 57.9 years. For females it was 57.5 years. The average age for all our respondents was 57.7 years. So the difference in the average age of our combined sample and the population was never more than about five months.

We also found the percentage of males and females in four different age groups (18-29, 30-44, 45-59 and 60+). The percentages of male voters were either identical or within .5% in each of the four age groups in our combined sample of 807 and the male Democratic

presidential voting population. The females within each age group varied from only .5% to 1.5% across the sample interviewed and the universe of female Democratic presidential primary voters.

The figures from the State Election Board established Clark as the winner with 29.94% of registered Democrats voting. Our sample of 807 put Clark at 30.48%. Edwards won 29.54% of the registered Democrats according to the State Election Board whereas he won 28.38% of our sample of 807. Kerry won 26.81% according to the State Election Board figures whereas 28.38% of our sample remembered voting for him.

So there is slight evidence in the second sampling that people remembered voting for the eventual nominee Kerry slightly more often than they actually did. There was not much evidence of an aftermath effect for the other two contenders, however. In any case, our sample of 807 respondents produced percentages for the three leading candidates that were within .5 to 1.5 percent of the Oklahoma State Election Board figures.⁶

As with the actual primary results, our combined sample of 807 respondents demonstrated that registered Oklahoma Democrats tended to vote for their favorite rather than for the Democrat with the best odds of winning the presidency, except for Senator Kerry's constituents. Kerry's constituents favored voting for the Democrat with the best odds by a slight margin. Whereas registered Democrats in Iowa caucuses thought in terms of picking a president, registered Democrats in Oklahoma voted for their favorite, especially among the Clark and Edwards constituents.

Let's take a look at some of the demographic characteristics (age, gender, SES and minority/majority membership)⁷ of the Clark, Edwards and Kerry Oklahoma constituents.

THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE CLARK, EDWARDS AND KERRY OKLAHOMA CONSTITUENCIES

As may be seen in **Table 1**, Kerry was the most attractive of the three candidates among the youngest voters. The appeal among those voters hitting their stride occupationally (30 - 44 years) is similar for all

Table 1**Age Cohorts Related to Candidate Preference**

Age	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
18 – 29	25.6% (N=11)	23.3% (N=10)	39.5% (N=17)	11.6% (N=5)	100% (N=43)
30 – 44	27.2% (N=31)	31.6 % (N=36)	29.8% (N=34)	11.4% (N=13)	100% (N=114)
45 – 59	30.0 % (N=75)	32.0 % (N=80)	24.0 % (N=60)	14% (N=35)	100% (N=250)
60+	31.8 % (N=119)	25.9 % (N=97)	29.4% (N=110)	12.9% (N=48)	100% (N=374)

Source: Authors' calculations from data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

three candidates although Clark is very slightly behind the other two and Edwards slightly ahead. Things change a bit among voters from 45 to 59 years of age. Edwards and Clark are well ahead of Kerry among this age group. However, Kerry is only very slightly behind Clark among the oldest voters (60+). Edwards, the youngest of the three candidates, trails both Clark and Kerry among this oldest age cohort.

Perhaps the 45 to 59 year olds and some of the 60+ respondents disapprove of Kerry because of his anti-war protest after returning from Vietnam. John E. O'Neill, the leader of what would become the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth during the general election, was publicly antagonistic toward John Kerry as soon as he himself returned from Vietnam. O'Neill's book, *Unfit for Command: Swift Boat Veterans Speak Out Against John Kerry* (O'Neill and Corsi 2004), was published in August 2004, just a few months before the general election in November.

Film footage about Kerry's anti-war protests, supplied by both the news and paid political ads, was plentiful. Even coverage of O'Neill's earliest criticisms of Kerry, such as their debate on the Dick Cavett

Show in 1971 would be publicized again once Kerry became a candidate for president (Amazon.com.2004, p. 3). Maybe the sum effect of such coverage hurt Kerry's standing among Oklahoma voters between 45 and their mid-60s, especially the males as evinced in **Table 2**.

As noted, males preferred Clark and Edwards to Kerry. However, females liked Clark and Kerry better than Edwards. Males may have been more supportive of General Clark's military background than Lieutenant Kerry's. But why did males prefer Edwards to Kerry? As will be demonstrated shortly, self-designated conservatives preferred Clark or Edwards over Kerry whereas Kerry had the support of more liberals. Our data also indicates that Oklahoma males are somewhat more conservative than females.⁸ So, males may have preferred Edwards to Kerry because of Edwards' more conservative appeal.

Working class voters tended to favor General Clark. The middle row of socio-economic (SES) scores is quite similar for all three constituencies although Clark is slightly behind the other two. Voters with the highest SES scores favored Kerry. Clark and Edwards constituents had similar proportions with the highest SES scores.

Why is Clark's constituency more working class? Respondents who felt service in the military was important or who resided in cities or counties with a large military installation tended to favor Clark.⁹ Respondents in the easternmost counties of Oklahoma where Clark ran

Table 2

Gender Related to Candidate Preference

Gender	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
Males	31.1% (N=113)	30.9% (N=112)	24.5% (N=89)	13.5% (N=49)	100% (N=363)
Females	30.0% (N=133)	26.4% (N=117)	31.5% (N=140)	11.4% (N=54)	100% (N=444)

Source: Authors' calculations from data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

Table 3**Socioeconomic Status (Occupational Prestige Scores) Related to Candidate Preference**

SES	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
Lowest Scores:19-49	33.6 % (N=125)	27.7 % (N=103)	28.8% (N=107)	9.9% (N=85)	100% (N=420)
Middle Scores:50-69	27.7 % (N=88)	28.3 % (N=90)	28.6 % (N=91)	15.4% (N=50)	100% (N=319)
Highest Scores:70+	26.5 % (N=18)	27.9 % (N=19)	30.9 % (N=21)	14.7% (N=10)	100% (N=68)

Source: Authors' calculations of data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

fairly well, albeit second to Edwards in most cases, are more likely to be working class than in other regions of the state. Moreover, respondents who believe service in the armed forces is important are more likely to be working class or middle class than upper class.¹⁰ Thus, Clark's coalition would tend toward a significant working class component.

What of minority versus majority status among voters? Two Oklahoma minority groups with sufficient numbers in our sample of 807 include the Native-Americans and Afro-Americans. A third group of minorities include members of various religious minorities. The latter included Christian fundamentalists for the most part although not exclusively (four were Muslim). Members of various minority groups tended to favor Clark. Kerry had the second highest proportion of minority members and Edwards the least (Moore 2004).

Why does Clark have the highest percentage of minority members among his supporters? Although the numbers of each minority are relatively small, **Table 5** indicates that Native-Americans tended to favor Clark while Afro-Americans favored Kerry. Religious and "other"

Table 4**Minority/Majority Group Membership Related to Candidate Preference**

Ethnicity	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
Minority Members	36.6 % (N=37)	18.8 % (N=19)	31.7 % (N=32)	12.9% (N=13)	100% (N=101)
Majority Members	29.6 % (N=207)	29.7 % (N=208)	28.0 % (N=196)	12.7% (N=89)	100% (N=700)

Source: Authors' calculations of data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

Table 5**Native-American, Afro-American Related to Candidate Choice**

Ethnicity/ Race	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
Native American	37.0% (N=17)	28.3% (N=13)	23.9% (N=11)	10.8% (N=5)	100% (N=46)
African American	29.0% (N=9)	6.5% (N=2)	41.9% (N=13)	22.5% (N=7)	100% (N=31)
Majority Members	29.6% (N=207)	29.7% (N=208)	28.0% (N=196)	12.7% (N=89)	100% (N=700)

Source: Authors' calculations of data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

minority members are excluded because their numbers are quite small. If they suggest anything it is that Clark and Kerry are similarly favored as compared with Edwards.

Candidate support tends to vary with different minority concentrations in different counties. For instance, Native-Americans tend to occur most frequently in the eastern part of Oklahoma. Perhaps this is why they tend to favor Clark over Kerry. African-American Oklahomans are more urban than Native-American Oklahomans. Urban counties were more supportive of Kerry according to the Oklahoma State Election Board data (See Appendix II. "Results by County").¹¹

Senator Edwards does not lead among any minority cell of **Table 5** with the exception of a slightly higher frequency of Native-American supporters compared to Kerry. If these relatively small cell populations can be trusted and Edwards actually does have more support among Native-Americans than Kerry, why does he? Perhaps it is because Edwards, like Clark, was strongest in those eastern, less urban counties where Native-Americans are most concentrated.

The demographics of each of the Democratic contenders' constituencies may be summarized as follows:

SUMMARY OF CONSTITUENCIES DEMOGRAPHICALLY

Constituency Characteristics	Clark	Edwards	Kerry
Age	Oldest	Middle	Youngest & Oldest
Male/Female Balance	Male	Male	Female
SES Scores	Lowest	Middle	Highest
Native-Americans	Most	Middle	Least
Afro-Americans	Middle	Least	Most
Majority Support	Tied	Tied	Lowest

Source: Authors' calculations from data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THE CLARK, EDWARDS AND KERRY CONSTITUENCIES

We asked respondents whether Oklahoma Democrats should vote for their favorite Democrat or for the Democrat most likely to win the presidency.¹² The strongest Democratic partisans would probably think in terms of backing the Democrat with the best odds whereas less partisan respondents and those leaning toward Republicanism would prefer to vote for their personal favorite.

Other attitudes or opinions that serve as voting criteria include the respondent’s ideology, which candidate was believed to be “right on the issues,” certainty about one’s issue priorities and which foreign and domestic issues were most important. Opinions were also sought on the importance of a candidate being from the Sunbelt or having served in the armed forces. There was one behavioral question – i.e., did the respondent decide early or late on which candidate to support?

As **Table 6** evinces, a strong plurality of blue Democrats preferred Kerry. Among weak Democratic identifiers or light blues (i.e., “not-so-strong” Democrats and independents who leaned toward the

Table 6

Partisanship Related to Candidate Preference

Partisanship	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
Strong Democrats (blue)	24.8% (N=77)	21.2% (N=66)	44.7% (N=139)	9.3% (N=29)	100% (N=311)
Middle Scores: 50-69	34.3% (N=130)	32.5% (N=123)	20.1% (N=76)	13.1% (N=50)	100% (N=379)
Highest Scores:70+	33.9% (N=39)	33.9% (N=39)	11.3% (N=13)	20.9% (N=24)	100% (N=115)

Source: Authors’ calculations from data from samples of 807 presidential primary respondents.

Democrats), there are significantly more Clark and Edwards supporters than there are Kerry supporters. The registered Democrats identifying themselves as independent leaning Republican or Republican are plums. Plums produced three times the rate of support for Clark and for Edwards as for Kerry. Clearly the blues favored Kerry whereas light blues and, most especially, plums favored either Clark or Edwards. Our data also indicates that the strongest Democrats are also the most likely to vote for the Democrat with the best odds of winning the presidency.¹³

The strength and direction of partisanship is related to approval or disapproval of President Bush.¹⁴ Those most disapproving of President Bush favored Kerry. Constituencies who were balanced in their views of the President or who, in fact, approved of him were more likely to support either Clark or Edwards.

Kerry supporters were more likely than either Clark's or Edwards' to favor the "candidate most likely to win." In fact, according to our data, more than half of the entire sample of 807 (56.8%, N = 458) believed Kerry had the best chance of winning the presidency. Only about one in eight respondents (12.8%, N = 103) felt Clark would win and less than one in five (18.8% N = 152) felt Edwards would.

Respondents who voted for the Democrat most likely to win the presidency cast a "party vote." That is, their first concern was a Democratic victory. Those who voted for their favorite Democrat voted individualistically. Thus, all of the variables that underline strength of Democratic partisanship favor Kerry. In plain words, Kerry's support

Table 7

Approval/Disapproval of President Bush Related to Candidate Preference

Attitude Toward Bush	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
Approve of Bush	30.2% (N=73)	35.5% (N=86)	16.5% (N=40)	17.8% (N=43)	100% (N=242)
Disapprove of Bush	30.6% (N=173)	25.3% (N=143)	33.5% (N=189)	10.6% (N=60)	100% (N=565)

Source: Author's calculations from data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

is the bluest. There is much more plum coloration in both Clark's and Edwards' support.

Conservative voters preferred Clark and Edwards to Kerry. Liberal voters preferred Kerry to the other two contenders.¹⁵ Edwards supporters are the most conservative and the least liberal. Clark is in the middle. As with partisanship, Kerry supporters are more distinct from Clark and Edwards than the latter two are from one another. There is not much difference in candidate preference among those voters who identified themselves as "middle of the road."

Table 8
Voting Criteria Related to Candidate Preference

Voting Criteria	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
Vote for most likely to win	25.6% (N=63)	18.3% (N=45)	45.9% (N=113)	10.2% (N=25)	100% (N=246)
Vote for Favorite	32.7% (N=181)	32.9% (N=182)	20.4% (N=113)	14% (N=77)	100% (N=553)

Source: Author's calculations from data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

Table 9
Voter Ideology Related to Candidate Preference

Ideology	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
Conservative	30.4% (N=88)	30.8% (N=89)	23.9% (N=69)	14.9% (N=43)	100% (N=289)
Middle of the Road	31.2% (N=115)	29.5% (N=109)	29% (N=107)	10.3% (N=38)	100% (N=369)
Liberal	29.9% (N=43)	20.1% (N=29)	34.7% (N=50)	15.3% (N=22)	100% (N=144)

Source: Authors' calculations from data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

As might be expected, Oklahoma voters believed their candidate the middle. As with partisanship, Kerry supporters are more distinct from Clark and Edwards than the latter two are from one another. There is not much difference in candidate preference among those voters who identified themselves as “middle of the road.” was “right on the issues.” This is hardly surprising in itself, but Kerry is not distinctive in this regard. Nearly ninety percent of those who felt Clark to be right on the issues (88.9%) voted for him. A little more than eighty percent (81.8 %) of those who felt Kerry was right on the issues supported him. A little more than three-quarters (77.1%) of those feeling Edwards was right on the issues gave Edwards their vote. So Clark’s issue appeal appears to be the strongest and Edwards the weakest.

Voters who were most certain of their own issue priorities (i.e., felt either foreign or domestic issues were more important rather than being unable to decide) favored Kerry. Voters placing foreign affairs over domestic affairs were almost as likely to favor Clark as Kerry whereas Edwards was the least likely to get the vote of those stressing foreign affairs. Voters stressing domestic affairs were about as likely to favor one contender as another.

Table 10
Foreign/Domestic Issues Related to Candidate Preference

Foreign vs. Domestic Issues	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
Foreign Affairs More Important	30.5% (N=61)	23.5% (N=47)	32.0% (N=64)	14% (N=28)	100% (N=200)
Domestic Affairs More Important	29.8% (N=132)	28.2% (N=125)	28.9% (N=128)	13.1% (N=58)	100% (N=443)
Couldn't Decide	31.7% (N=46)	34.5% (N=50)	23.4% (N=34)	10.4% (N=15)	100% (N=145)

Source: Authors' calculations from data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

Table 11 and **Table 12** explore specific issues within the domains of domestic and foreign affairs. Domestic issues are the responses given to the question “What was the single most important domestic issue (i.e., within the country) at that time? _____.” Foreign affairs priorities were evinced through the question “In your opinion, what was the single most important issue in foreign affairs (international issue) facing the country at the time? _____.” Responses were coded into six compound categories for domestic issues and three categories for foreign affairs.

Table 11**Voter Concerns in Domestic Affairs Related to Candidate Preference**

Domestic Affairs	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
Economy/Jobs /Aliens	32.7% (N=140)	29.4% (N=126)	26.2% (N=112)	11.7% (N=50)	100% (N=428)
Healthcare/ Social Security	25.9% (N=44)	25.9% (N=44)	32.4% (N=55)	15.8% (N=27)	100% (N=170)
Homeland security	43.8% (N=14)	25% (N=8)	21.9% (N=7)	9.3% (N=3)	100% (N=32)
Quality of Life	30.0% (N=30)	28.0% (N=28)	29.0% (N=29)	13.0% (N=13)	100% (N=100)
Taxes/Prices	10.5% (N=2)	47.4% (N=9)	26.3% (N=5)	15.8% (N=3)	100% (N=19)
Government Deception/ Malfeasance	13.3% (N=2)	26.7% (N=4)	46.7% (N=7)	13.3% (N=2)	100% (N=15)

Source: Author’s calculations from data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

Table 12**Voter Concerns in Foreign Affairs Related to Candidate Preference**

Foreign Affairs	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
Iraq Involvement/ Deception	27.7% (N=142)	28.1% (N=144)	32.7% (N=168)	11.5% (N=59)	100% (N=513)
Terrorism/ WMD Proliferation	35.1% (N=46)	29.0% (N=38)	17.6% (N=23)	18.3% (N=24)	100% (N=131)
Internationalism /Trade	37.1% (N=43)	29.3% (N=34)	22.4% (N=26)	11.2% (N=13)	100% (N=116)

Source: Author's calculations from data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

National front-runner Kerry led among those respondents most concerned with health care or social security. This issue domain combined concerns for affordable drugs and health care, wide spread diseases such as aches or cancer and the soundness of such programs as Medicare or Social Security. Kerry also led among respondents most concerned with "Government Deception/Malfeasance." This category of issues included unkept promises and dishonesty generally in government and among politicians, particular agency malfeasance, mismanagement of agricultural or welfare programs, government itself, corruption/money, drug lobbyists, judges making law, etc. This may be a consequence of Kerry focusing on the Republican President and governmental malfeasance and deception more than his Democratic opponents by this stage of the game.

Edwards led among those most concerned with taxes or the high price of necessities. "Taxes and high prices" also included taxes being burdensome on making a living, especially with the middle class, tax breaks for wealthy, too much dependence on government by poor, price of fuel, particularly gasoline, etc. Edwards appeal among those concerned

with taxes and/or high prices of necessities may be due to his appeal among conservative voters who were most concerned with the imposition on individual circumstances by both the public and private domains.

General Clark somewhat among respondents most concerned with the sluggish economy or the scarcity of jobs, with deficit spending or with aliens taking jobs away from U.S. citizens or with the outsourcing of jobs abroad. Clark also led among those most concerned with the homeland security (e.g., domestic terrorism, safety of the country, dealing with nation's own acute problems, etc) Although these particular issues are domestic, they may also be those concerns most related in the voter's mind with our country's relations with other nations.

Clark had slightly more supporters among respondents concerned with such "quality of life" issues as education, decline of moral values, freedom and protection of civil liberties, religious divisions and conflict, drug abuse, crime, safety of children, immigration, poverty and welfare culture, intrusion of homosexual life style, mistreatment of minorities, high costs of living and the environment. He is followed by Kerry who had a slight lead over Edwards. Thus, "quality of life" issues did not evince strong distinctions across candidate constituencies.

What of foreign issues and the pattern of support among the three leading contenders? Foreign affairs were divided into three issue domains. These included U.S. involvement in Iraq and/or governmental deception about that involvement. The second issue domain dealt with terrorism internationally and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The third issue, "Internationalism/Trade" dealt with respondent concerns about "going it alone" in Iraq and about internationalism in terms of the imbalance of trade.

General Clark was favored by Oklahomans who were most concerned with international terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or with the nation's international relations and trade. As suggested above, these issues in foreign affairs may be related to those domestic concerns most affected by our relations with other nations. Thus, General Clark is favored by Oklahomans most concerned with this country's economic security as well as with the security of its interests abroad.

Former Vietnam Navy Lieutenant John Kerry was favored, albeit not by much, among those respondents who opposed the war in Iraq.

This appeal may stem from Kerry's experience in Vietnam and from the attention focused on his latter opposition to the war. Perhaps Democratic voters felt Senator Kerry had seasoned judgment on what sort of wars the U.S. could get into and those it should avoid. Perhaps Senator Kerry focused more attention on the war in Iraq.

Not surprisingly, **Table 13** suggests that General Clark was the favorite of those respondents who felt that service in the armed forces made a "great deal" or "some" difference in their voting decision. Not too surprisingly, Lieutenant Kerry was second in this regard. Edwards, who had not served in the military, was third. The pattern is reversed for those feeling military service made "not much, if any" difference in their decision or "none."

Coming from the "Sunbelt" (the South or the Southwest)" made little felt difference in the voter's estimation of a candidate according to **Table 14**. Around 85% said coming from the Sunbelt made little or no difference. Still, as might be expected, Clark, the Arkansan, led in this regard. Senator Edwards of South Carolina was second and the Senator from Massachusetts third.

The figures given for Sunbelt origins being unimportant do not show a lot of difference across the three constituencies. Some 29.3%, 27.1% and 30.9% chose Clark, Edwards and Kerry respectively among respondents feeling Sunbelt origins were not important. While these figures reverse the sequence evinced by those feeling such origins were

Table 13

Importance of Service in the Military Related to Candidate Preference

Service in the Military	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
Some/ Great Deal	35.4% (N=144)	23.3% (N=95)	30.5% (N=124)	10.8% (N=44)	100% (N=407)
Little/No Deal	25.0% (N=99)	33.8% (N=134)	26.3% (N=104)	14.9% (N=59)	100% (N=396)

Source: Authors' calculations from data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

Table 14**Importance of Sunbelt Origins Related to Candidate Preference**

Sunbelt Origins Importance	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
Some/ Great Deal	37.2% (N=42)	36.3% (N=41)	12.4% (N=14)	14.1% (N=16)	100% (N=113)
Little/None	29.3% (N=202)	27.1% (N=187)	30.9% (N=213)	12.7% (N=87)	100% (N=689)

Source: Authors' calculations from data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

at least somewhat important, the differences seem to be no more important than the voters themselves suggest.

As may be seen in the appended map entitled "Per County Rankings of Clark, Edwards and Kerry. . .," Edwards support is often even higher than Clark's in those eastern counties proximate to Arkansas. Why? Although Clark visited Oklahoma several times, Edwards campaigned even more diligently, especially in the eastern counties proximate to Arkansas. Roughly speaking, electoral success tended to follow Edwards' tracks at the county level and, very nearly, at the state level as a consequence.

Clark won more of the western counties of Oklahoma (excluding the panhandle) than anyone else. Early polls indicated that Clark was the frontrunner in Oklahoma. (American Research Group, Inc., 2004) Therefore, Edwards' first priority in Oklahoma was to beat Clark (By and For The People, n.d.). Probably Edwards' stress on the eastern part of the state was intended to overcome Clark where Clark was presumed to be strongest. Besides the effects of Edwards' rigorous campaigning, there was a last minute rush in Oklahoma for Kerry in the wake of his victories in New Hampshire and Iowa. These effects were quite sufficient to overcome the original preference for Clark in Oklahoma although they came very close.

Table 15**Late vs. Early Voting Decision Related to Candidate Preference.**

	Clark	Edwards	Kerry	Others	Total
Late Deciders	25.3% (N=84)	30.7% (N=102)	37.3% (N=124)	6.7% (N=22)	100% (N=332)
Early Deciders	34.1% (N=160)	26.9% (N=126)	22.2% (N=104)	16.8% (N=79)	100% (N=469)

Source: Authors' calculations from data produced by samples of 807 presidential primary voters.

Kerry supporters were much more likely to be "Late Deciders." Late deciders in Oklahoma may be most like the Iowan voters in this regard. Polls indicated that Howard Dean was the leader before the last-minute rush toward Kerry (Lawrence and Page 2004). In fact, Kerry's support rushed upwards in Oklahoma shortly after Iowa and New Hampshire (Keep Media 2004).

SUMMARY OF CONSTITUENT PROFILES ATTITUDINALLY

	Clark	Edwards	Kerry
Constituency Characteristics			
Partisanship	Weak	Weak	Strong
Right on the Issues	Highest %	Lowest %	Middle %
Voter Ideology	Conservative to Moderate	Conservative to Moderate	Moderate to Liberal
Approve/Disapprove Bush	Balanced	Approved	Disapproved
Certainty of Issue Priorities	Middle	Least	Most
Domestic Issues			
Economy/Jobs/Aliens	Most Often	Less Often	Least Often
Health Care/Social Sec	Less Often	Less Often	Most Often
Homeland Security	Most Often	Less Often	Least Often
Quality of Life	Most Often	Least Often	Less Often
Taxes/Prices	Least Often	Least	Less Often
Gov. Decept/Malfeasance	Least Often	Less Often	Most Often
Foreign Issues			
Iraq Involvement/Deception	Least Often	Less Often	Most Often
Terrorism/WMD Prolifera.	Most Often	Less Often	Least Often
Internationalism/Trade	Most Often	Less Often	Least Often
Military Serv. Importance	Highest	Lowest	Middle
Importance of Sunbelt Origins	Highest	Middle	Lowest
Late/Early Deciders	Earliest	Somewhat Later	Latest
Vote Favorite/ Likely Winner	Favorite	Favorite	Likely Winner

CONCLUSIONS

A TALE OF TWO “PARTIES:” BLUES AND PLUMS AMONG REGISTERED DEMOCRATS IN OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma’s unique role in the 2004 presidential primaries is actually a tale of two “parties.” As the grassroots of the Oklahoma Democratic Party shift toward the right and Republicanism, two “parties” are created among registered Democrats. The first includes strong Democrats and

to a lesser degree the not-so-strong Democrats along with those independents who lean toward the Democrats. This “party” is most like the Democrats at the national level, especially the strong Democrats. For our purposes, we have referred to this “party” as the Oklahoma “blues.”

The other “party” among registered Democrats in Oklahoma is composed of self-described independents, independents who lean toward the Republicans plus weak and even strong Republican identifiers. These are not yet as red as Republicans are nationally because they are still registered as Democrats (i.e., blue). However, it might be considered light to dark plum. So we have dubbed them Oklahoma plums.

Oklahoma blues feel comfortable in the national Democratic Party whereas Oklahoma plums do not. The latter may change their registration some day but, as yet, they have not gotten around to it. In realigning their party loyalties, voters typically change their behavior before anything else – that is, they vote increasingly for the “other” party. After a while, they decide they do, in fact, belong to the “other” party (i.e., attitudinal). The last step the voter typically takes is to change their party registration.

The fact that many registered Democrats in Oklahoma feel closer to the Republican Party may be fairly unique to Oklahoma, but it is not surprising. Most states in America have already developed resilient blue or red tendencies in presidential politics. Oklahoma is still shifting from blue to red. This might be due to the “social agenda” of Ronald Reagan given the degree of religious fundamentalism in Oklahoma.

Our data demonstrates that Senator Kerry’s Oklahoma supporters are most like Democrats nationally. The national Democratic Party is attractive to both the youngest and the oldest voters. Females are more supportive of the Democrats at the national level as are minorities and, particularly, Afro-Americans (Jones 2004). As may be seen in “Summary of Constituencies Demographically,” Kerry’s Oklahoma blues are quite similar to Democrats across the country in these regards.

Across the country there is rising support for the Democrats among young white-collar professionals. The largest portion of the highest SES scores in our sample was composed of professionals and they favored Kerry. However, Clark had more blue-collar support than did Kerry (or Edwards). Union households and other working-class voters tend to support the Democratic Party nationally (Jones 2004). Thus, national Democrats and Kerry’s Oklahoma blues are, with one exception (i.e., SES), quite similar demographically.

How do they compare attitudinally? By definition, the starkest differences between Oklahoma blues and plums involved the strength (and direction) of partisanship. Kerry's Oklahoma blues were much stronger Democrats than were the Clark or Edwards plums. Democrats across the nation could be expected to be especially critical of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president (Jones and Carroll 2004). The same was true of Kerry's Oklahoma blues.

Kerry's Oklahoma blues were also way more inclined to vote for the Democrat with the best chance of winning the presidency. Voting for the Democrat most likely to win is a party vote whereas voting for one's favorite is individualistic. Thus, unlike Kerry's Oklahoma blues, Clark and Edwards's Oklahoma plums were cued more by candidate appeal than party appeal.

Given that Kerry's Oklahoma blues are stronger partisans, how do they compare attitudinally otherwise to the national Democratic Party? Like the national Democrats (Jones 2004), there are more liberals among Kerry's blues than among Clark or Edward plums although Kerry had impressive support among moderates and even conservatives in Oklahoma.

The Democrats are the out-of-power party nationally and so stress governmental malfeasance and deception in domestic affairs. There is also more opposition to the war in Iraq among Democrats (Jones and Carroll 2005) in part because of their perception of President Bush as being deceptive about weapons of mass destruction as a rationale for getting involved.

Like the national Democrats (Jones and Carroll, 2005), Kerry's Oklahoma blues were more likely to stress health care and social security. However, Clark and Edwards supporters were more inclined than Kerry's to stress traditional Democratic issues such as the economy and jobs (Jones and Carroll 2005). As may be seen in "Summary of Constituent Profiles Attitudinally," Kerry's Oklahoma blues are very much like Democrats across the country attitudinally with the exception of a similar emphasis on the economy and jobs.

It is the peculiar balance between blues and plums among registered Democrats in Oklahoma that produced its unique voting pattern in the 2004 Democratic presidential primaries. To the extent registered Democrats in Oklahoma are unique in their shift towards independency and the Republican Party, they will continue to produce voting preferences that are uniquely Oklahoman and atypical of the nation.

NOTES

¹Senator Keith Leftwich served in the Oklahoma Senate from 1991 to September 19, 2003 when he passed due to cancer. It was he who took the responsibility for putting the Oklahoma primary earlier in presidential primary season. This article is dedicated to Senator Keith Leftwich for his foresight, service to Oklahoma and civic responsibility.

²There are only three primaries or caucuses prior to Oklahoma's. These are the District of Columbia Presidential Primary (January 13th), the Iowa Presidential Caucuses (January 19th) and the New Hampshire Presidential Primary (January 27). Those states holding their presidential nomination events with Oklahoma (February 3rd) included the Arizona Primary, the Delaware Primary, the New Mexico Caucuses, the Missouri Primary and the South Carolina primaries. ("*2004 Presidential Election Primaries Calendar*," n.d.) John Kerry (Ma) came in first in Iowa and New Hampshire as well as in Arizona, Delaware, New Mexico and Missouri. Senator John Kerry (Ma) was second to Senator John Edwards (NC) in South Carolina and third behind Wesley Clark (Ark) and John Edwards in Oklahoma. ("*How Our Approved Candidates Have Fared and Presidential Primary Dates*," n.d.)

³The states having nomination events on *Super Tuesday* (March 2, 2004) included California, Connecticut, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, Vermont and Washington. State primaries held one week later on March 9 include Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas. Thus, the nation's first and third largest states – i.e., California and New York - hold their nomination events about a month after Oklahoma and the six other "*Super Seven*" states). The second and fourth largest states (Texas and Florida) hold their primaries on week later. ("*2004 Presidential Election Primaries Calendar*," n.d.).

⁴See question number 10 on the questionnaire in the Appendix I.

⁵These students include Lori Allen, Matt Barnard, Mac Boyle, Dan Branum, Cody Brown, Cory Burkett, Mike Carnuccio, Clay Cooper, Travis Crocker, Jessica Cuellar, Monica Dudley, Jeremy Espinoza, Matt Fracek, Summer Cummins, Catarina DeAraujo, Hillary Elliott, John Filonow, Jeremy Fulda, Nikki Godwin, Robert Goodbear, Mimi Helton, Michelle Kogler, Robert H. Hill, Jerad Lindsey, Rebekah Long, Jessica Lover, Kassie McCoy, Scott Miller, Dustin Morgan, Paula Ogunbanjo, Tim O'Neil, Kyle Riddle, Rachael Rummage, Jessie Sikich, Jon Sobey, Meghan Spears, David Stanford, Jane Ann Stinchcomb, Aaron Switzer, Natalie Trissell, Calvin Wahn, Amanda Wilkerson, Caroline Wilson, John Wood.

⁶Our original list was derived from a list of 469,171 secured through from the Oklahoma Democratic Party (ODP). The first calling with the 2002 list produced 507 completed interviews (i.e., include the respondent's voting choice and most of the other information called for). The margin of error was $\pm 4.4\%$.

The second list was purchased from the same sources. It included all voters in the presidential primary of February 3, 2004. This list also included nearly every voter's phone number whether they were the head of the household or not.

⁷This demographic information was provided by questions 14 through 21 on the appended questionnaire.

⁸Our data indicates that nearly 40% (39.7%) of the male respondents consider themselves conservative as compared to about one-third of the females (32.7%). Females are somewhat more inclined to consider themselves moderate or "middle of the road" (M = 42.7%, F = 48.2%). Liberals have the smallest percentage among these three ideological self-designations (C = 35.8%, N = 289; M = 45.7%; N = 369; L = 17.8%, N = 144). There is not much difference between percentages of males and females who identify themselves as liberal (M = 17.1%, N = 62; F = 18.5%, N = 82)

⁹There are major military installations in Comanche County (Fort Sill), Jackson County (Altus Air Force Base) and Garfield County (Vance Air Force Base). These three counties put Clark first. There is a large U.S. Army Ammunition Depot in Pittsburg County in eastern Oklahoma. Clark came within 47 votes of Edwards in Pittsburg County (2,292 to 2,245) The largest payroll in the state is Tinker Air Force Base which is proximate to Midwest City and Del City. Both of these are part of greater Oklahoma City in Oklahoma County. Our calling gave us an impression of strong support for Clark in Midwest City and Del City although we do not have figures specific to cities.

¹⁰Whereas low and medium SES scores yield a slightly greater preference for a background in the military, high scores yielded over 60% saying military service made little or no difference.

¹¹The most urban counties in Oklahoma include Oklahoma, Tulsa and Cleveland counties. Kerry was first in each of these, as may be seen in the appended “*Per County Rankings of Clark, Edwards and Kerry...*”

¹²Political attitudes or opinions are evinced by questions 1 through 13 of the appended questionnaire.

¹³*Strong Democrats* were about as likely to vote for the Democrat with the best odds as they were to vote for their favorite Democrat. (50.0% to 48.7%). However, among *weak Democrats* and *non-Democrats*, very strong majorities favored voting for their favorite over the Democrat with the best chance of winning the presidency. (*weak Democrats* = 19.0% to 82.6%, *non-Democrats* = 16.5% to 82.6%). These data clearly suggest the Democratic registrants in Oklahoma are now in a state of flux.

¹⁴The percent of strong Democrats who disapproved of President Bush is 97.4% (N = 303). Among weak Democrats the percentage disapproving of President Bush is 64.1% (N = 243). Among the non-Democrats (i.e., independents, independence leaning Republican as well as weak and strong Republicans) the percent disapproving of Bush is only 14.8% (N = 17). Conversely, strong Democrats were quite unlikely to approve of the President (2.6%, N = 8). Weak Democrats were more inclined toward approval (35.9%, N = 136). Non-Democrats tended toward whole hearted approval of the President (85.2%, N = 98).

¹⁵Some 13.91% of our respondents considered themselves to be “*very conservative*,” 18.81% “*somewhat conservative*” and 6.75% to be “*slightly conservative*.” Only 6.13% considered themselves to be “*slightly liberal*,” 5.11% “*somewhat liberal*” and 2.26% “*very liberal*.” All other respondents considered themselves to be “*middle of the road*” (47.03%)

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE for OKLAHOMA PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

(February 3, 2004)

Hello. This is _____ at Oklahoma State University. May I please speak with _____? (Mr or Ms _____ (same name). I teach American Politics at Oklahoma State University. Last year my students and I conducted a poll of Democratic Presidential Primary voters as a class project. We are now trying to make the sample a little more representative with some follow-up calling.

May we ask if you were registered as a Democrat at that time?

If they say "YES" say:

May we have 2 or 3 minutes of your time?

If they say, "No" OR "I voted in the Republican Primary,"

thank them courteously and end the conversation.

If they say, "I'm a Republican," ask,

Were you registered as a Republican at that time?

If they say "Yes,"

thank them courteously and end the conversation.

If they say "No"

thank them courteously and end the conversation.

If they say "... bad time" or "... is not in," ask

When would be a better time?

If they say "YES," say

Great, thank you very much and begin with:

The contenders for the Democratic nomination for president included:

General Wesley CLARK	1
Governor Howard DEAN	2
Senator John EDWARDS	3
Senator John KERRY	4
Congressman Dennis KUCINICH	5
Senator Joe LIEBERMAN	6
Reverend Al SHARPTON	7
DON'T KNOW	8
REFUSED TO SAY	9
Congressman RICHARD GEPHARDT	10
Other (e.g. Lyndon La Rouche, Jr) _____	11

NOTE: Circle answer on the following questions.

1. Whoever your choice was at that time, which Democratic contender did you think had the best chance of being elected President?

General Wesley CLARK	1
Governor Howard DEAN	2
Senator John EDWARDS	3
Senator John KERRY	4
Congressman Dennis KUCINICH	5
Senator Joe LIEBERMAN	6
Reverend Al SHARPTON	7
DON'T KNOW	8
REFUSED TO SAY	9
Congressman RICHARD GEPHARDT	10
Other (e.g. Lyndon La Rouche, Jr) _____	11

2. Whoever your choice was at the time, which Democratic contender did you think was most often right on the issues (i.e., Who did you find yourself agreeing with most)?

CLARK	1
DEAN	2
EDWARDS	3
KERRY	4
KUCINICH	5
LIEBERMAN	6
SHARPTON	7
ANY OR MOST OF THEM	8
DON'T KNOW /REFUSED	9
RICHARD GEPHARDT	10
Other(e.g.,Lyndon LaRouche, Jr. _____)	11

3. How much difference did it make to you if a candidate was from the Sunbelt (i.e., the South or Southwest)?

A GREAT DEAL	1
SOME	2
NOT MUCH, IF ANY	3
NONE	4
DON'T KNOW /REFUSED	5

4. How much difference did it make to you if a candidate had served in the armed forces?

AGREAT DEAL	1
SOME	2
NOT MUCH, IF ANY	3
NONE	4
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	5

5. If we may ask, whom did you vote for in the Democratic presidential primary?
(Note: You may have to clarify that you are talking about the Democratic presidential primary, NOT the general or presidential election)

CLARK	1
DEAN	2
EDWARDS	3
KERRY	4
KUCINICH	5
LIEBERMAN	6
SHARPTON	7
DON'T REMEMBER	8
REFUSED TO SAY	9
GEPHARD	10
Other e.g., Lyndon LaRouche _____	11

6. About when did you decide to vote for (candidate's name)?

Was it in the last week before our Oklahoma primary	1
OR Was it earlier (i.e. before New Hampshire)?	2

7. While there were a number of very important problems facing the country at the time, which did you think were the most important?

Foreign affairs (e.g., international issues)	1
OR Domestic affairs (e.g., within the U.S.)?	2
If they indicate they were equally important or can't decide:	3

8. In your opinion, what was the single most important issue in foreign affairs (i.e., international issue) facing the country at that time?

9. What was the single most important domestic issue (i.e. within the country) at that time? _____

10. Which of the following two statements do you tend to agree with more?

- | | |
|--|---|
| At that stage in the Presidential Primaries (i.e., after Iowa and New Hampshire, about the third round), Oklahoma Democrats should have voted for their favorite | 1 |
| OR At that stage of the game, Oklahoma Democrats should have voted for the Democrat most likely to win | 2 |

11. Do you usually think of yourself as conservative, middle of the road or liberal?

- | | |
|---|---|
| If conservative ask: would you consider yourself: | |
| VERY Conservative | 1 |
| SOMEWHAT Conservative | 2 |
| SLIGHTLY Conservative | 3 |
| If moderate or middle of the road, just put | |
| MIDDLE OF THE ROAD | 4 |
| If liberal, Would you consider yourself: | |
| SLIGHTLY liberal | 5 |
| SOMEWHAT Liberal | 6 |
| VERY liberal | 7 |
| DON'T KNOW | 8 |
| REFUSED TO SAY | 9 |

12. Whatever your formal party registration, generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent or what?

- | | |
|--|---|
| If Democrat, ask Would you consider yourself a: | |
| STRONG DEMOCRAT | 1 |
| NOT-SO-STRONG DEMOCRAT | 2 |
| If Independent or Other, ask Do you consider yourself: | |
| CLOSER TO THE DEMOCRATS | 3 |
| INDEPENDENT/NO PARTY | 4 |
| CLOSER TO THE REPUBLICANS | 5 |
| If Republican, Would you consider yourself a: | |
| NOT-SO-STRONG-REPUBLICAN | 6 |
| STRONG REPUBLICAN | 7 |
| If "other" or "another party," ask which one? _____ | |

13. How strongly would you say you approved OR disapproved of the way George Bush was handling his job as president?

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| STRONGLY APPROVED | 1 |
| APPROVED SOMEWHAT | 2 |
| DISAPPROVED SOMEWHAT | 3 |
| STRONGLY DISAPPROVED | 4 |
| DON'T KNOW, NO OPINION | 5 |
| REFUSED TO SAY | 6 |

14. What is (or was) the occupation of the main "bread winner" in your household?

(If they say "RETIRED," try to get their occupation before retirement. If they say something too general – e.g., "worked for the government," gently try to get them to be more specific. You may try to get both the husband's and wife's occupation.)

In any case, put the best answer you can get here: _____

15. Do you consider yourself a member of a minority group?

(They may say "Baptist" or "Methodist" whereas we are looking for such religious minorities as Jewish, Muslim, Hindu or even Catholic. If they give you a main-stream Protestant faith, circle "NO" but write the faith in the blank provided.)

- YES 1
NO 2

If "YES" ask which minority group and PRINT IT HERE) _____

If the person says "Native American," ask what tribe: _____

Conclude with: Thank you so much for your time

THE INTERVIEW IS OVER BUT be sure to **CODE IN FOLLOWING PAGE:**

16. NAME: _____

COUNTY: _____

(Note: We will not code in their name. But it helps us at this point because it allows us to look up information to add below from the original data base.)

17. From the respondent's voice or name or the data, were they:

MALE 1

OR

FEMALE 2

18. From the list, put the

RESPONDENT'S AGE _____

TIME _____

DATE _____

INTERVIEWER'S PRINTED NAME and SIGNATURE

(Interviewers: You are now finished with your part of this particular interview)

(POLLING ADMINISTRATORS FILL IN THE FOLLOWING)

19. CENSUS CLASSIFICATION _____

20. SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: _____

21. MARITAL STATUS _____

22. STRAIGHT TICKET VOTER? YES 1 OR NO 2

23. ELECTION PERCENTAGE _____

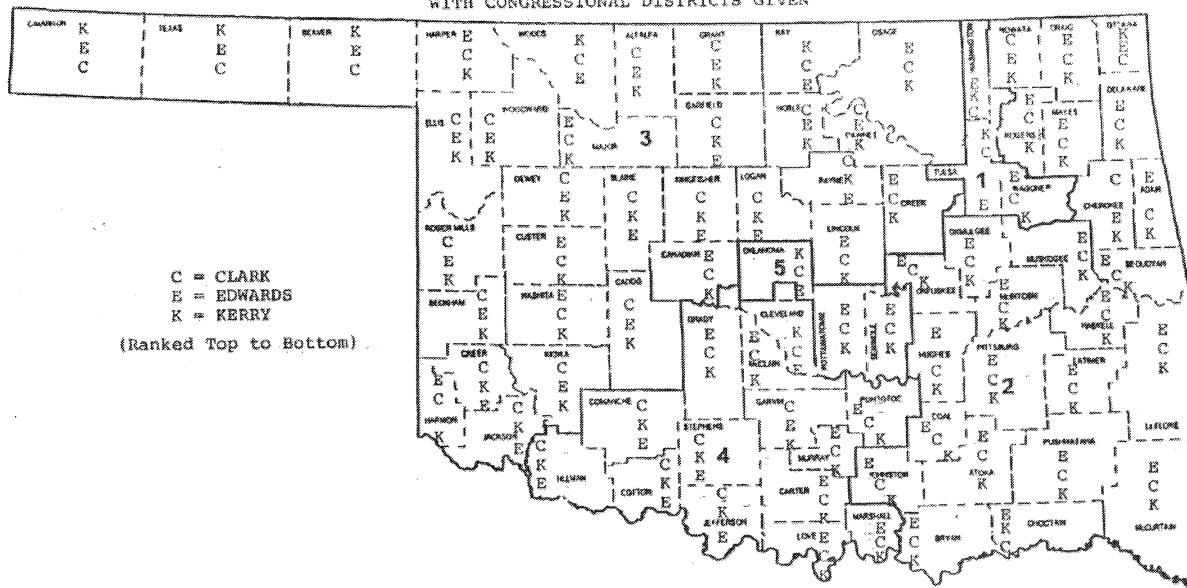
24. GENERAL ELECTION PERCENTAGE _____

25. PRIMARY ELECTION PERCENTAGE _____

PER COUNTY RANKINGS OF CLARK, EDWARDS AND KERRY

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY (February 3, 2004)

WITH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS GIVEN



Oklahoma State Election Board; Results by County, 2004

