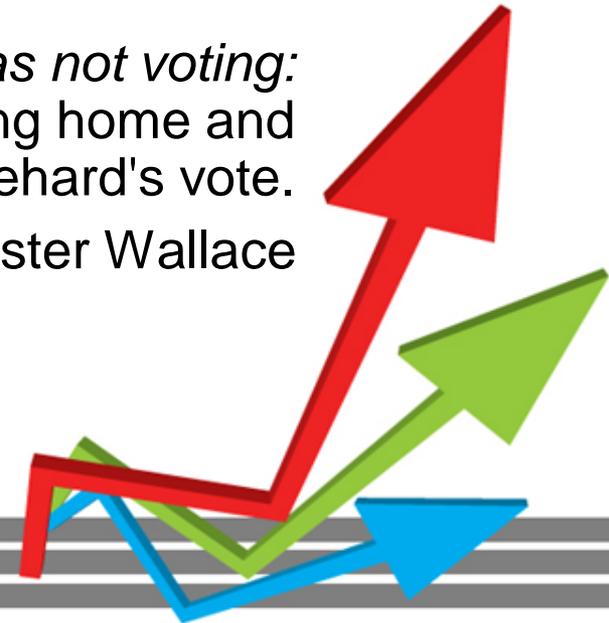




Voting: Right and Responsibility

In reality, there is *no such thing as not voting*: you either vote by voting, or you vote by staying home and tacitly doubling the value of some diehard's vote.

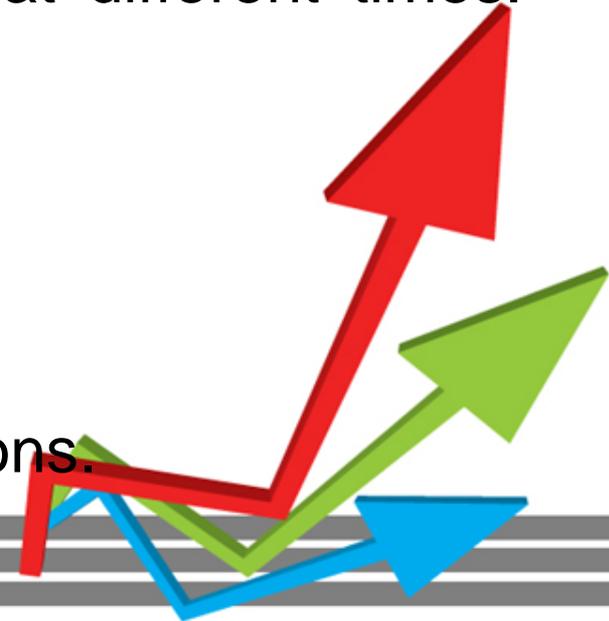
David Foster Wallace





History of the Franchise in the US

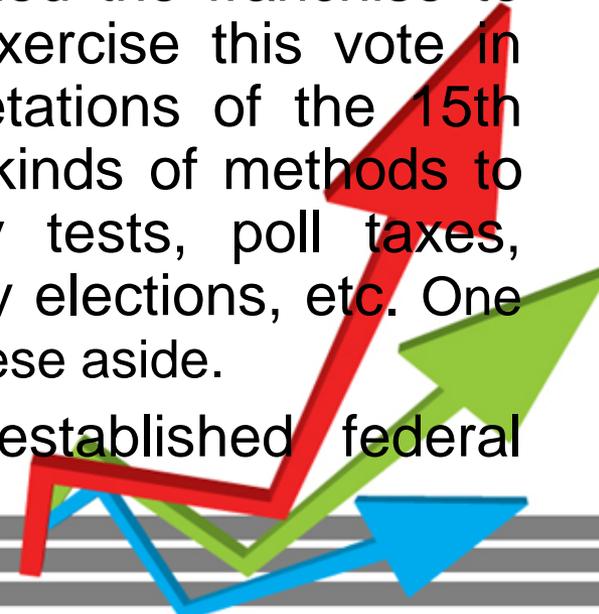
- The right to vote in the US has been a story of continual, if uneven, **expansion**.
- The franchise was limited in the early years of the US. The Constitution said little about voting.
- Initially, voter eligibility was left to the **states**, which extended suffrage in different ways at different times. Most states **limited** the franchise.
 - white males
 - property-owners
 - taxpayers
 - A few states had religious restrictions.





History of the Franchise in the US

- Restrictions based on property, tax-paying and religion mostly disappeared by 1829.
- Restrictions based on race, gender, and age ended only after difficult and painful struggles.
- Between the Civil War and 1971 a series of constitutional amendments expanded electoral access.
 - The **15th Amendment** (1870) extended the franchise to black males, but many could not exercise this vote in parts of the South. Varying interpretations of the 15th Amendment opened the door to all kinds of methods to keep blacks from voting - literacy tests, poll taxes, keeping blacks from voting in primary elections, etc. One by one the Supreme Court set most of these aside.
 - The **Voting Rights Act** (1965) reestablished federal oversight of southern elections.



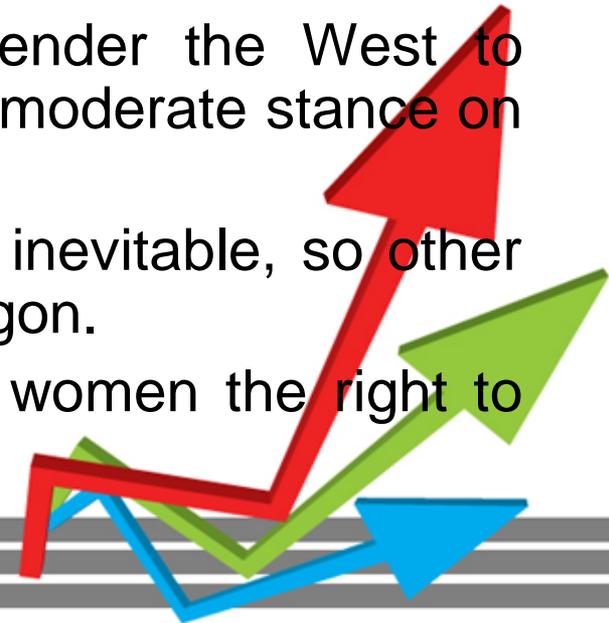


History of the Franchise in the US

- Women's suffrage was also a slow process.
 - Wyoming allowed women to vote in national elections in 1890. Eleven other states gave women the right to vote by 1916. Most were western states.
 - **Woodrow Wilson and the 1916 election**
 - Wilson's opponent supported women's suffrage and women could vote in the West.
 - Wilson could not afford to surrender the West to Charles Hughes so he adopted a moderate stance on women's suffrage.
 - Women's suffrage began to look inevitable, so other politicians jumped on the bandwagon.
 - In 1920, the **19th Amendment** gave women the right to vote in every state.



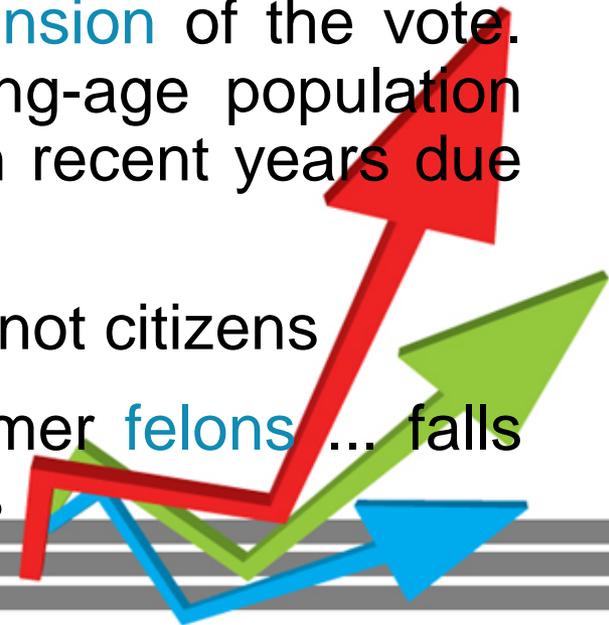
*Stanton and Anthony,
National Archives, 1180-1920*





History of the Franchise in the US

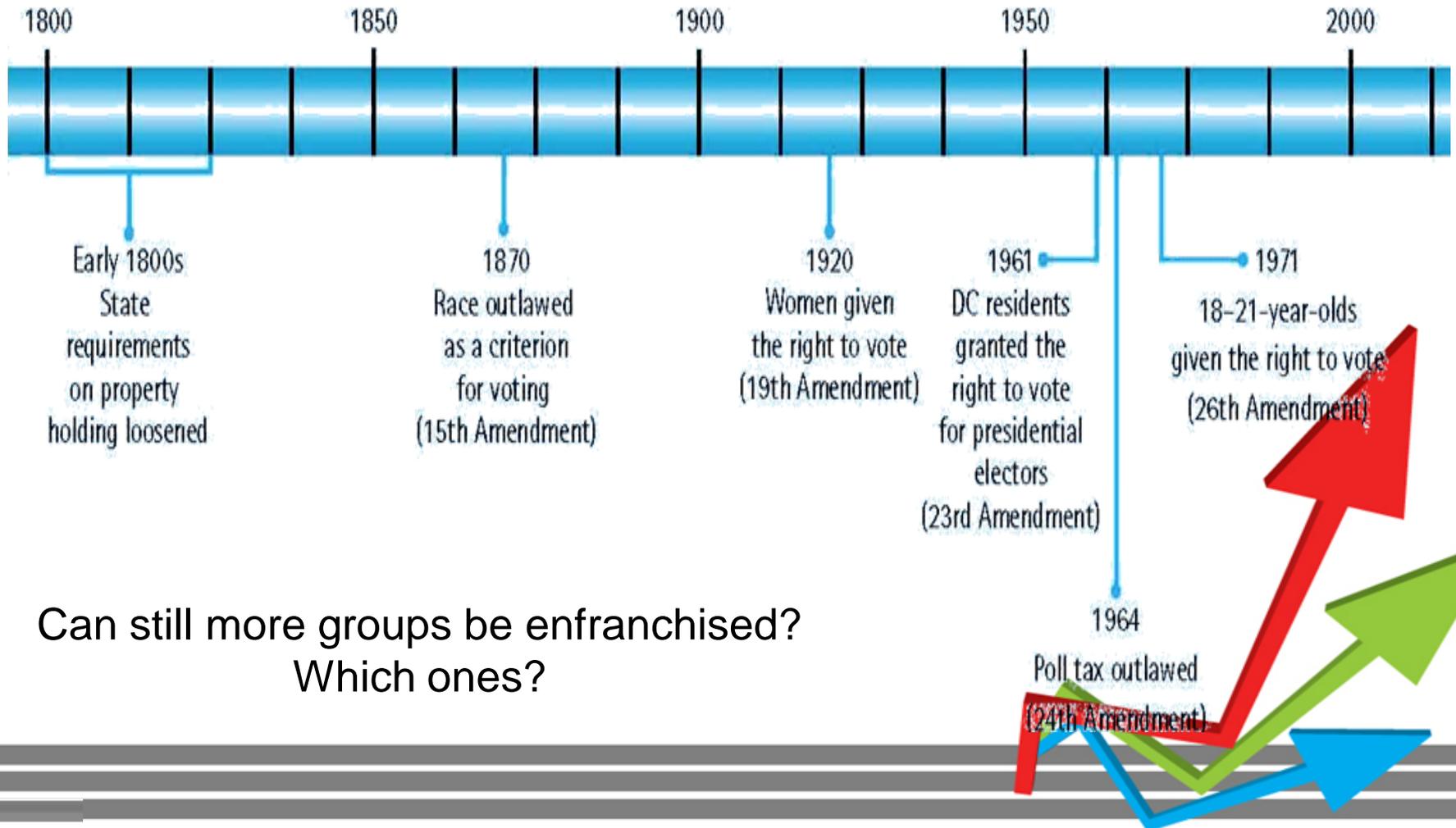
- The **23rd Amendment** (1961) granted residents of Washington DC the right to vote for presidential electors.
- The **26th Amendment** (1971) guaranteed voting rights to those under 21. (States could use a lower age limit if they chose.) Signed into law by Nixon.
- The trend is toward the **steady expansion** of the vote. However, the proportion of the voting-age population that is *eligible* to vote has dropped in recent years due to:
 - large influx of **immigrants** who are not citizens
 - denial of the right to vote for former **felons** ... falls heavily on African American males





History of the Franchise in the US

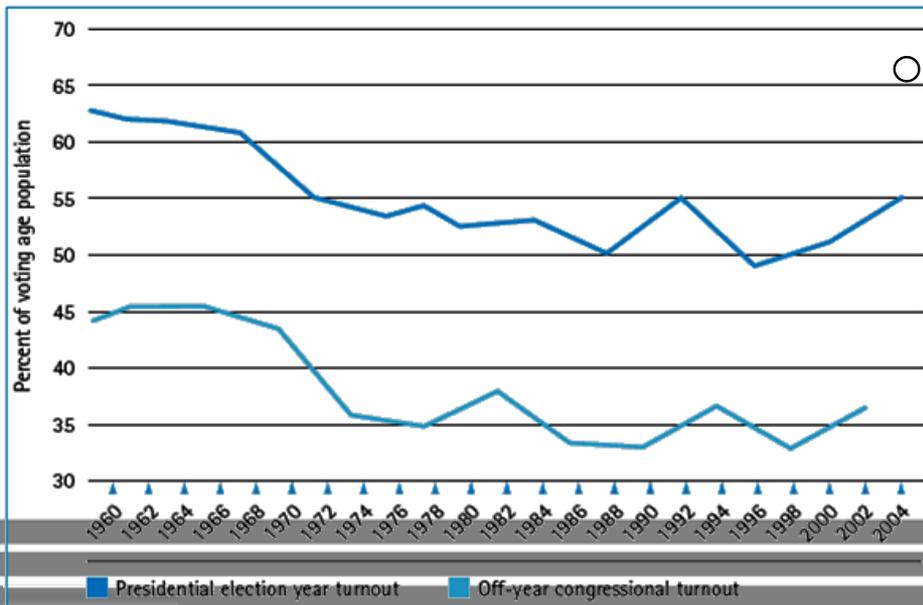
TIMELINE The Right to Vote in the United States



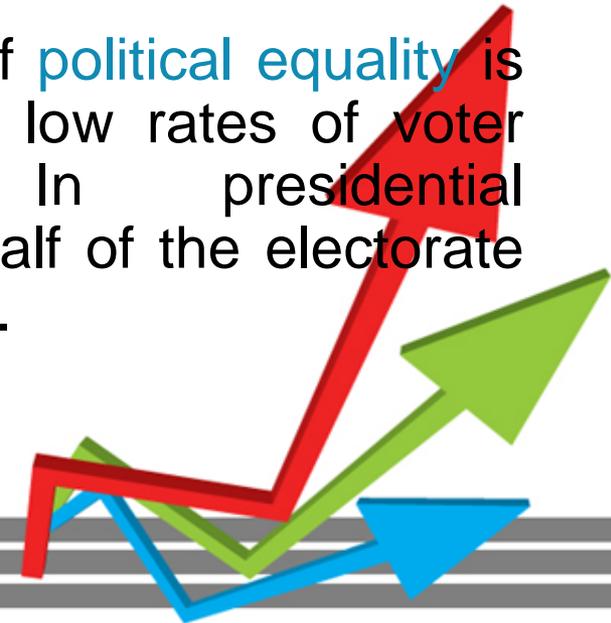


Voter Turnout in the US

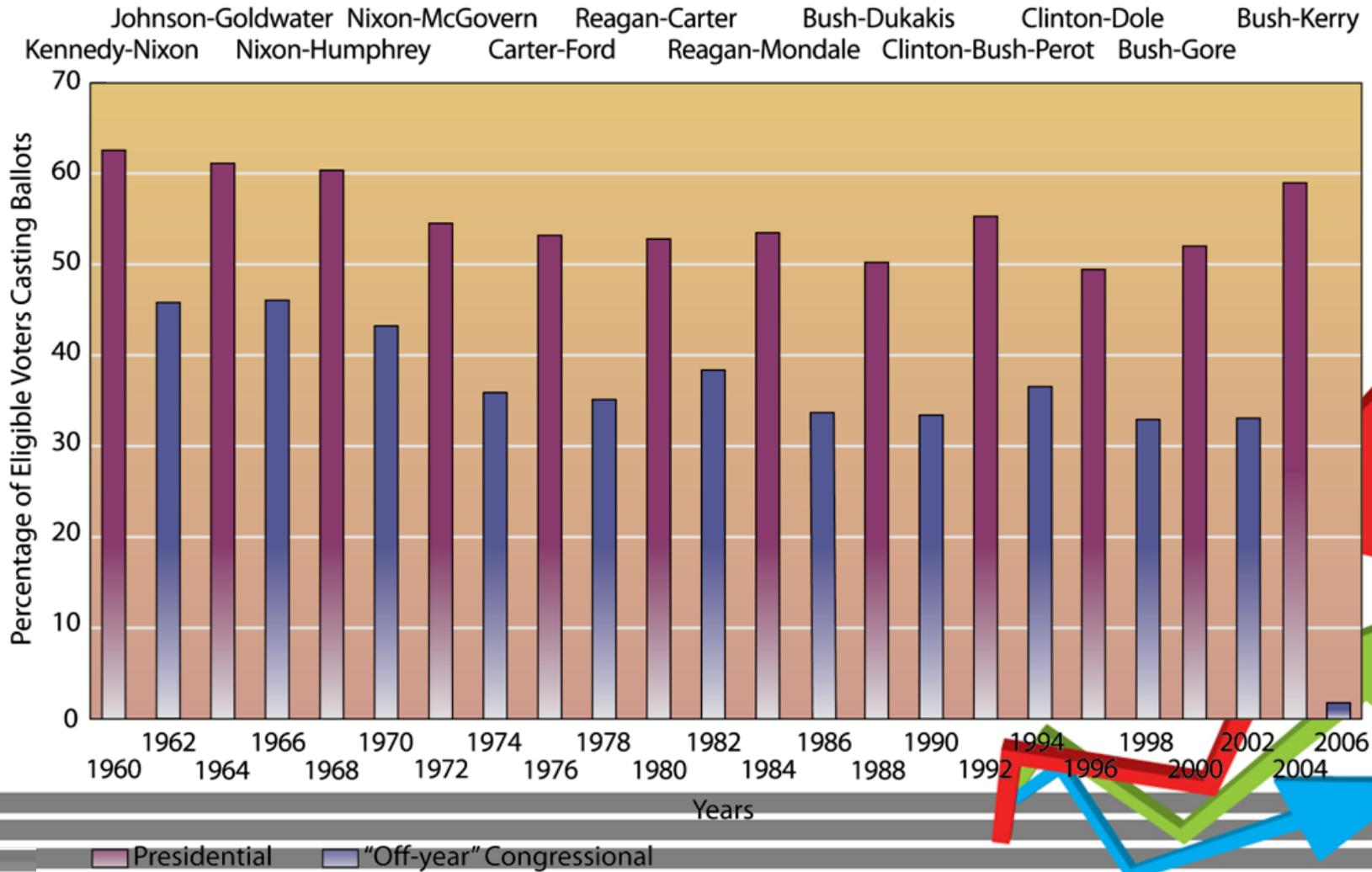
- During the first century of American history, suffrage expanded to more groups, and larger and larger proportions voted.
- But extending suffrage has not led to increased **voter turnout** (the proportion of the voting-age public that votes) over time. In recent decades, voting rates have declined dramatically and seldom reach 1960s levels.



The ideal of **political equality** is violated by low rates of voter turnout. In presidential elections, half of the electorate stays home.

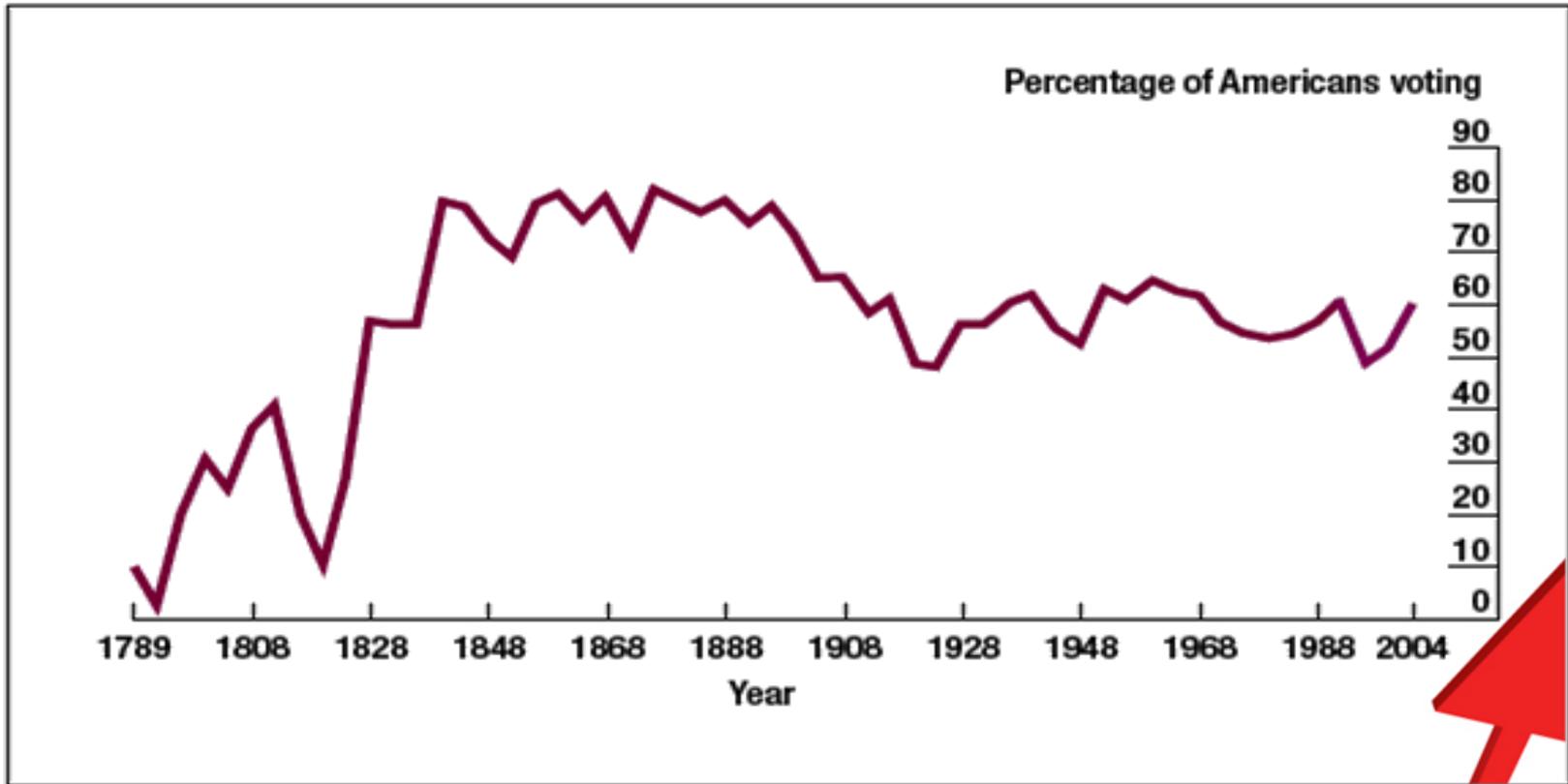


Voter Turnout in Presidential and Congressional Elections



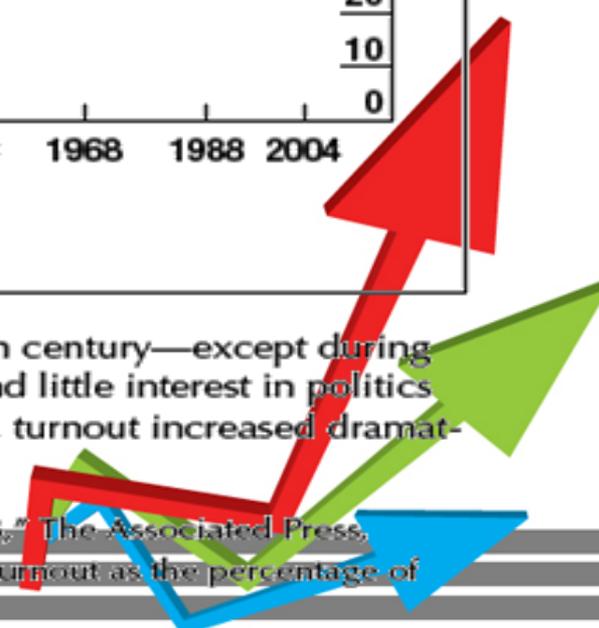


Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections



Turnout in presidential elections rose sharply during the nineteenth century—except during the “era of good feelings” when there was no party competition and little interest in politics among the public—but declined in the twentieth century. In 2004, turnout increased dramatically, but only to a level typical of the 1950s and 1960s.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census; “Biggest Turnout of Voters Since 1968,” The Associated Press, November 3, 2004. From 1920, the Census Bureau has calculated voting turnout as the percentage of the voting-age population voting.



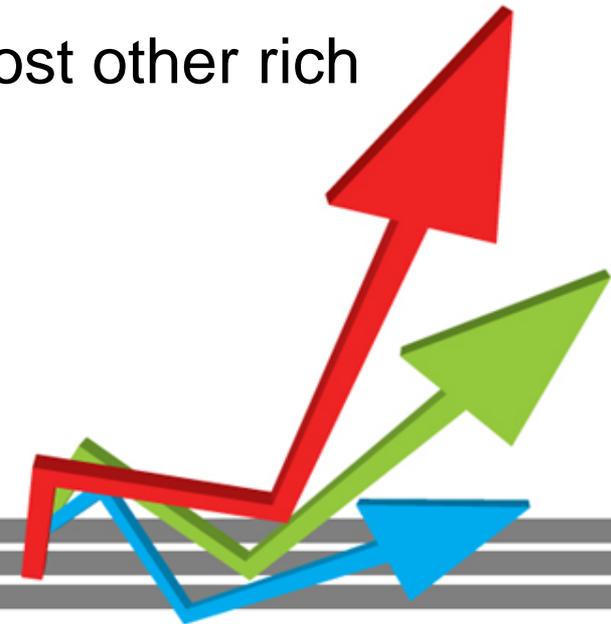


Voter Turnout in the US

The US expansion of suffrage actually lowered turnout by enfranchising populations less likely to vote (poor, minority, young, etc).

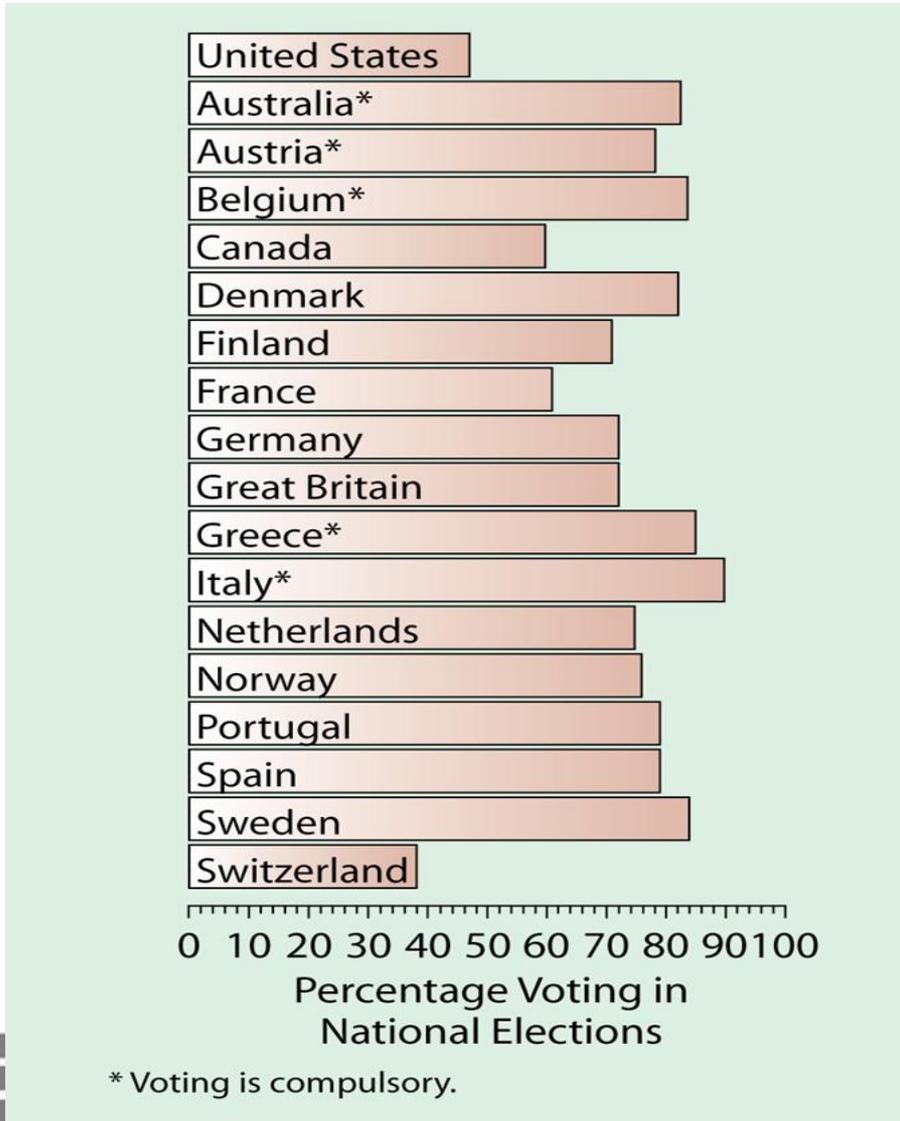
Americans vote at lower levels than people in most other countries.

US turnout is much lower than in most other rich democracies.

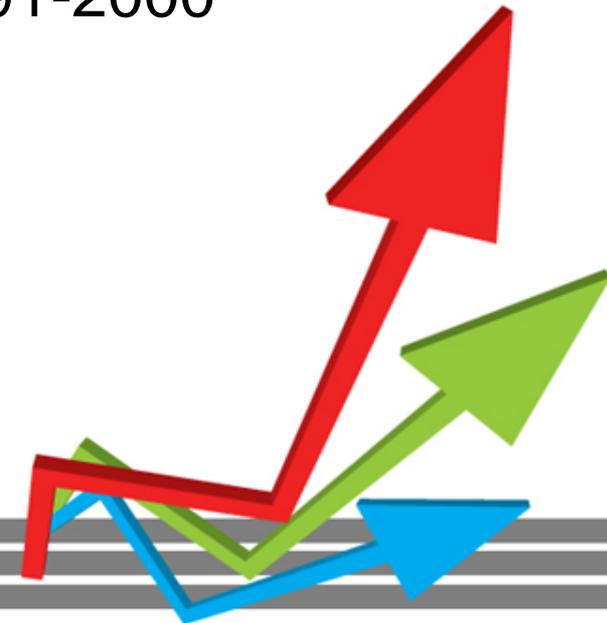




Voter Turnout in Western Democracies



Average Turnout
1991-2000





Voter Turnout in Democracies

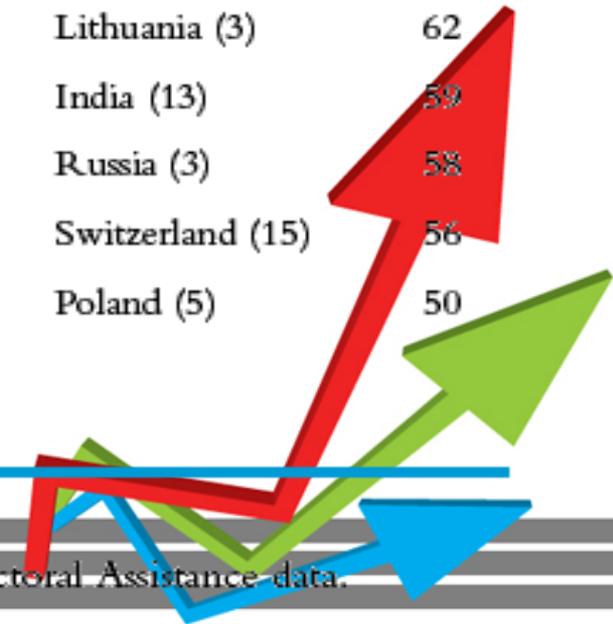
AMERICANS ARE LESS LIKELY TO VOTE THAN THE CITIZENS OF OTHER DEMOCRACIES

The following figures represent the average turnout (in percentages) in elections to the lower house of the legislature or parliament in 37 countries, 1945–2005.

Australia (23)*	95	Venezuela (11)	80	Bulgaria (4)	71
Belgium (19)	93	Greece (18)	80	Latvia (5)	70
Austria (17)	91	Israel (16)	80	Japan (22)	69
Italy (15)	90	Brazil (14)	78	Hungary (4)	69
Luxembourg (13)	89	Costa Rica (14)	77	United States (28)	67
Iceland (17)	89	Finland (16)	76	Estonia (5)	66
New Zealand (20)	89	Portugal (11)	76	Lithuania (3)	62
Malta (15)	88	United Kingdom (16)	75	India (13)	59
Netherlands (18)	87	France (16)	75	Russia (3)	58
Denmark (23)	86	Canada (18)	74	Switzerland (15)	56
Sweden (18)	86	Spain (8)	74	Poland (5)	50
Germany (15)	85	Czech Republic (5)	73		
Norway (15)	80	Ireland (16)	73		

* Number of elections.

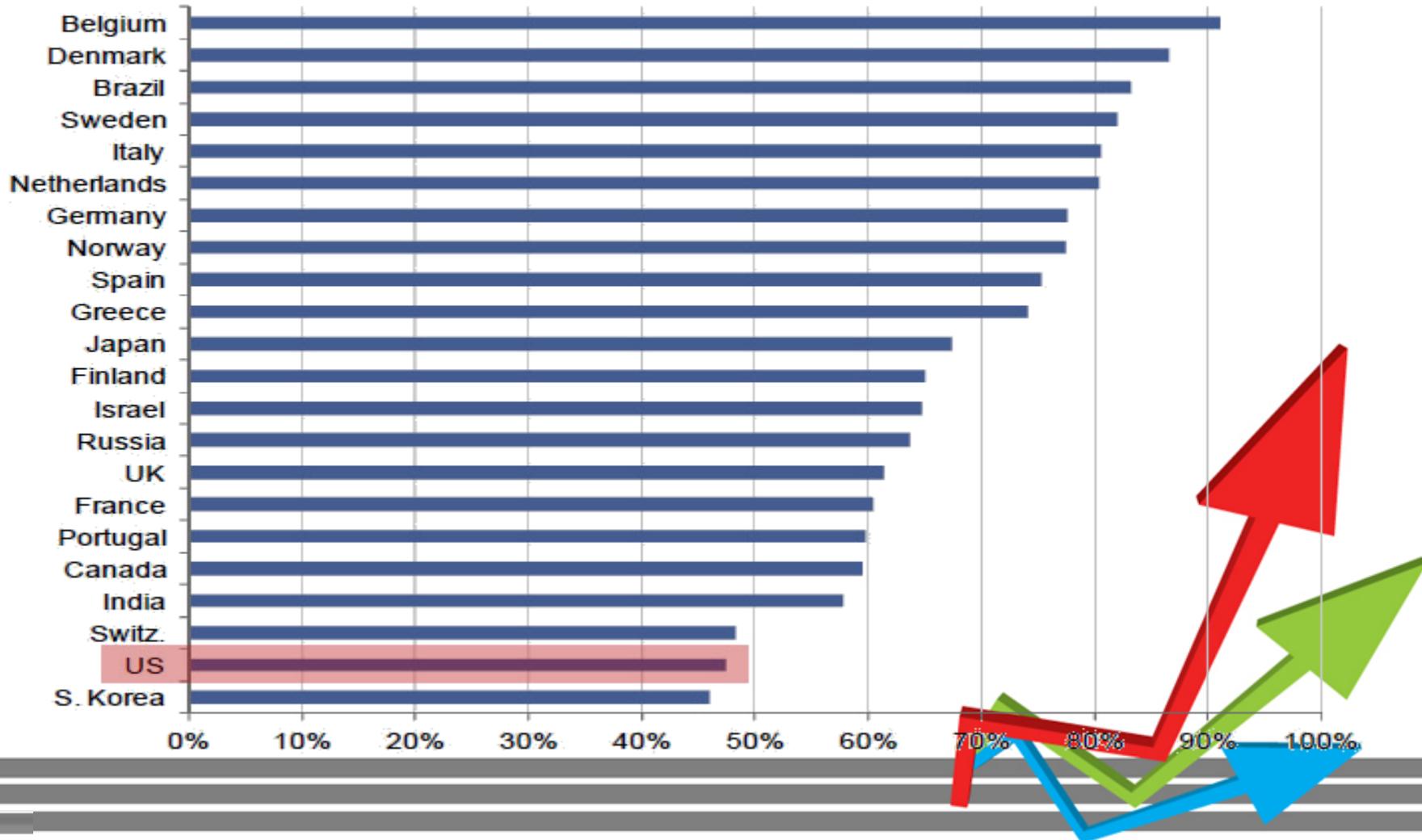
Source: Calculated from International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance data.





International Voter Turnout

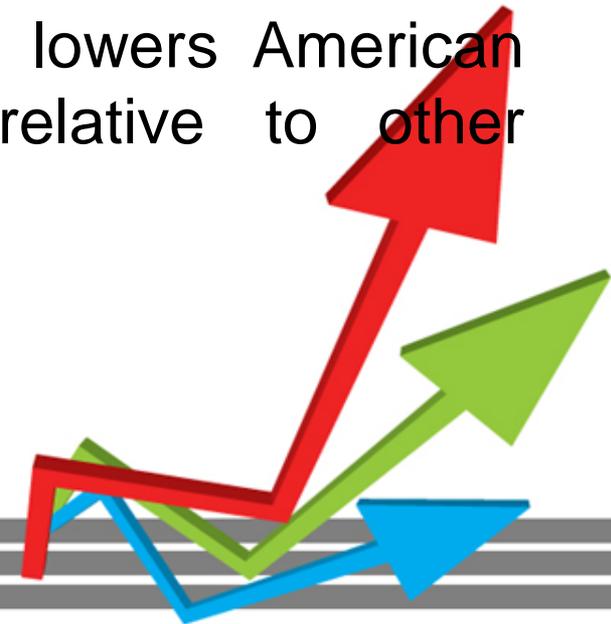
Voting turnout rates in the most recent election





Voter Turnout in the US

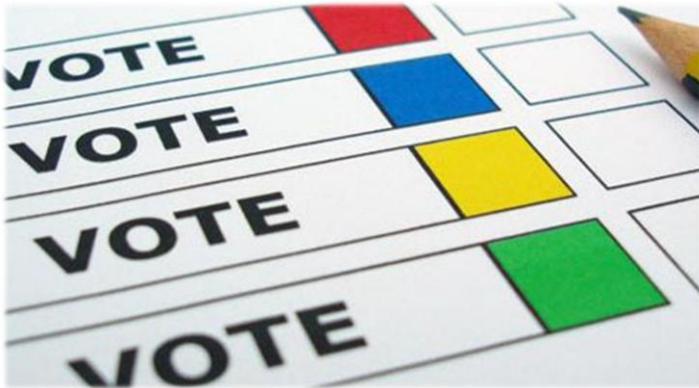
- The way turnout is **measured** varies.
- In the US, turnout is measured by the number of people voting for president (numerator) divided by the number of people in the voting-age population or **VAP** (denominator).
- This method of measurement lowers American turnout as much as 5% relative to other countries.





Voter Turnout in the US

- problems with the numerator
 - **undervote**: ballot that has no vote for a particular office, because the voter abstained or because the voter's intention could not be determined
 - **overvote**: ballot has votes for more than one candidate for an office



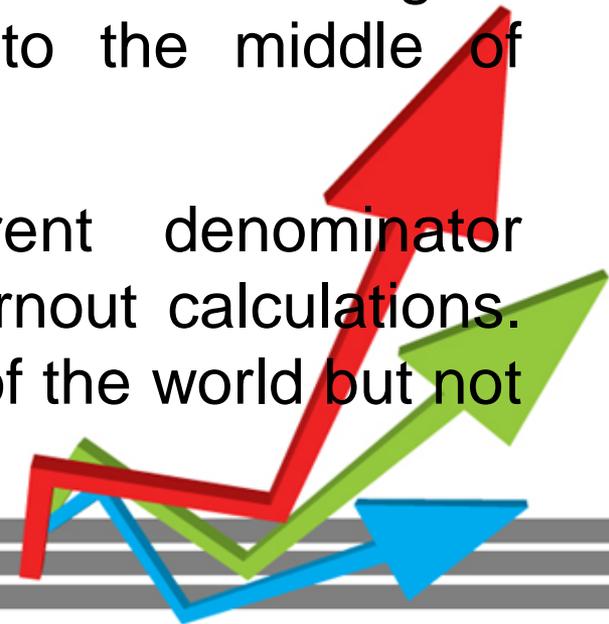
- About 8-10% of people misreport their voting habits.





Voter Turnout in the US

- problems with the denominator
 - Counting the entire VAP rather than the **eligible VAP** (nonfelon citizens) lowers turnout figures.
 - More than 30% of the American voting-age population is not registered. When US voting is calculated this way, we move to the middle of turnout for industrial democracies.
 - Other countries use a different denominator (**registered population**) in their turnout calculations. Registration is automatic in most of the world but not in the US.





Patterns in US Voter Turnout

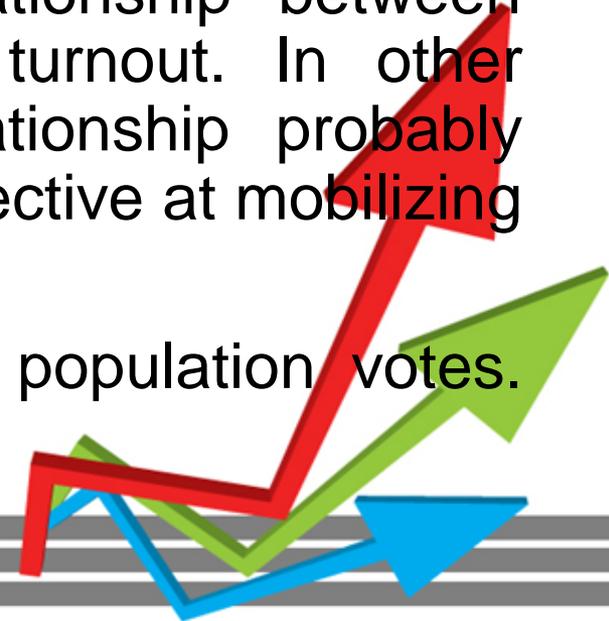
- People differ in



- their **ability to bear the costs** of voting
- their **strength of civic duty**
- how often they are **targets of mobilization**

- In the US, there is a strong relationship between **socioeconomic characteristics** and turnout. In other countries, there isn't a strong relationship probably because political parties are more effective at mobilizing voters.

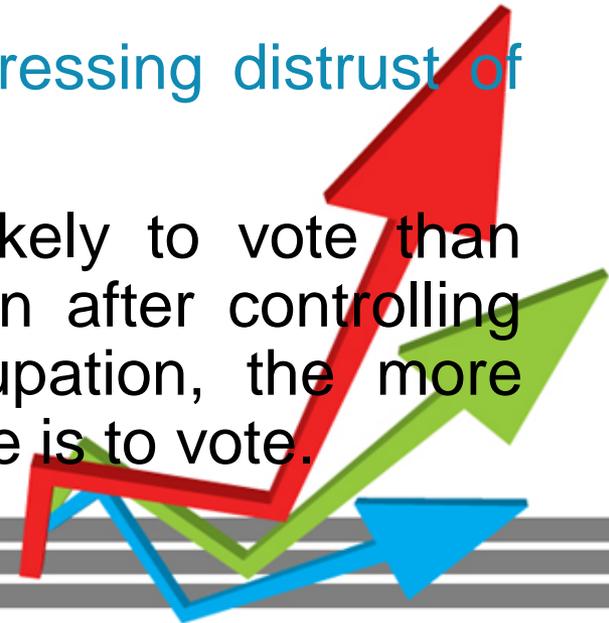
- 40% of the eligible American adult population votes. 25% are occasional voters.





Patterns in US Voter Turnout

- Turnout increases with **age** until very old age reverses the trend. Younger people vote less. The turnout is higher among those who are over 45 than among those who are under 35.
- **Religious involvement** also increases the likelihood of turnout.
- There is no correlation between **expressing distrust of political leaders** and not voting.
- Highly-educated people are more likely to vote than those without formal **education**. Even after controlling for differences in income and occupation, the more education one has, the more likely one is to vote.



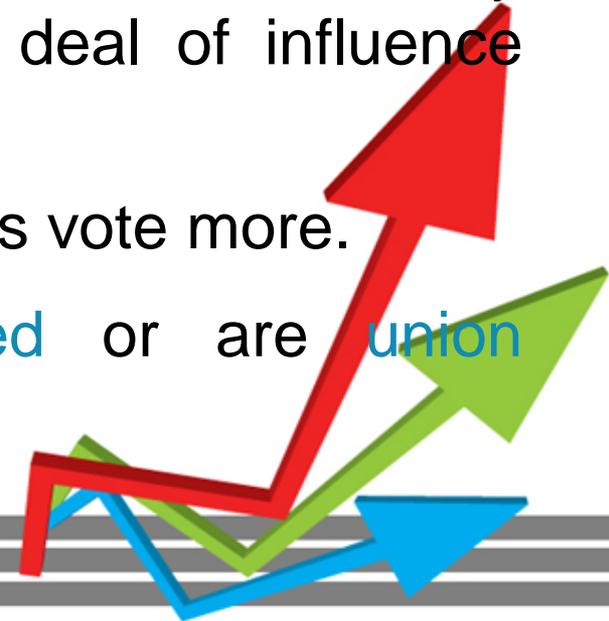
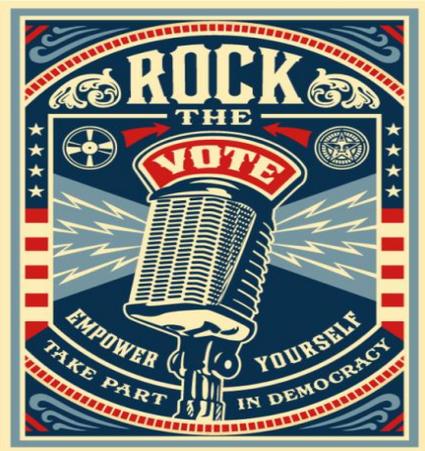


Patterns in US Voter Turnout

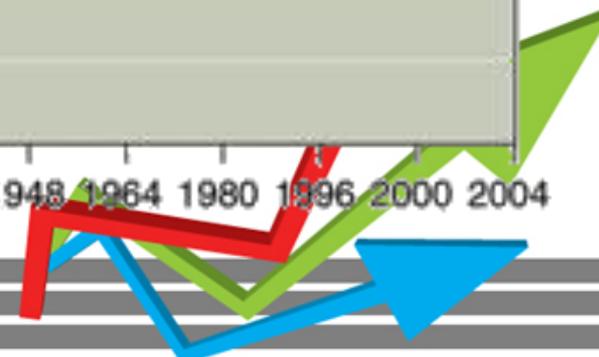
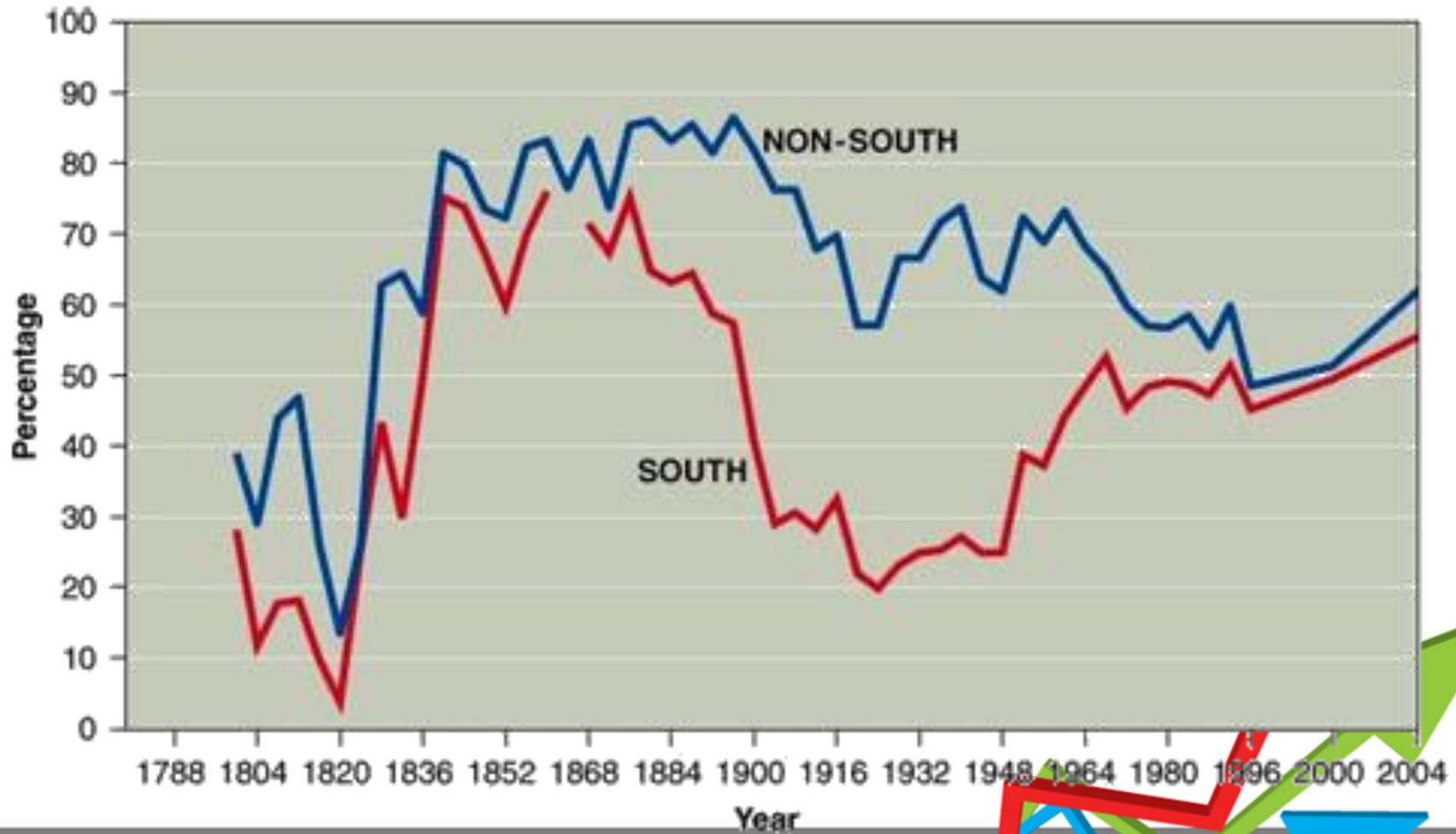
- More voters than nonvoters have higher **incomes**.
- **Whites** vote more regularly than African Americans but that is related to income and educational differences in the two groups.
- **Hispanics** vote less than African Americans but they have the potential to wield a great deal of influence given their increasing size.

- Those **interested** in politics vote more.

- Those who are **married** or are **union members** vote more.



Presidential Voter Turnout: South Versus Non-South



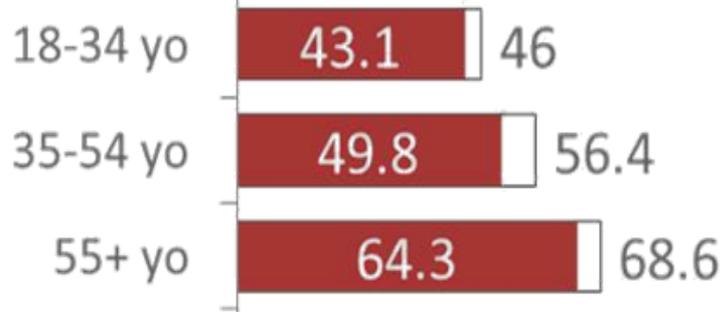


Patterns in US Voter Turnout

All Adults



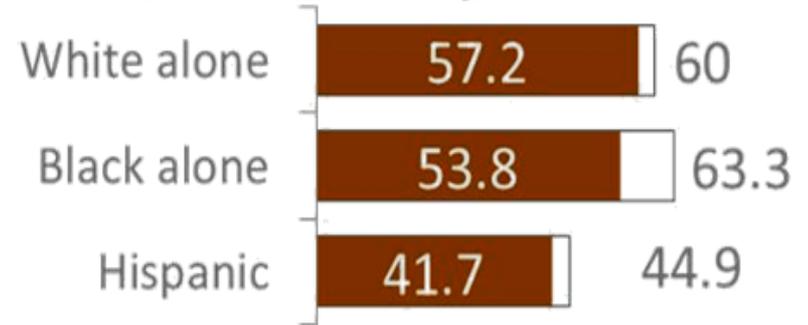
Age



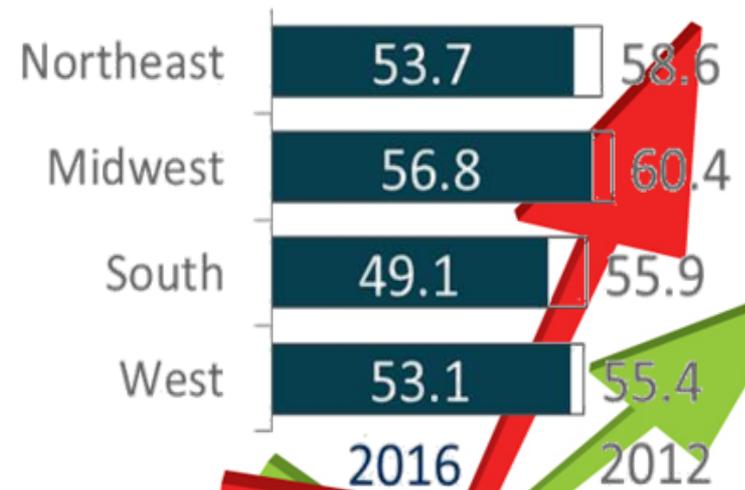
Gender



Race/Ethnicity



Region

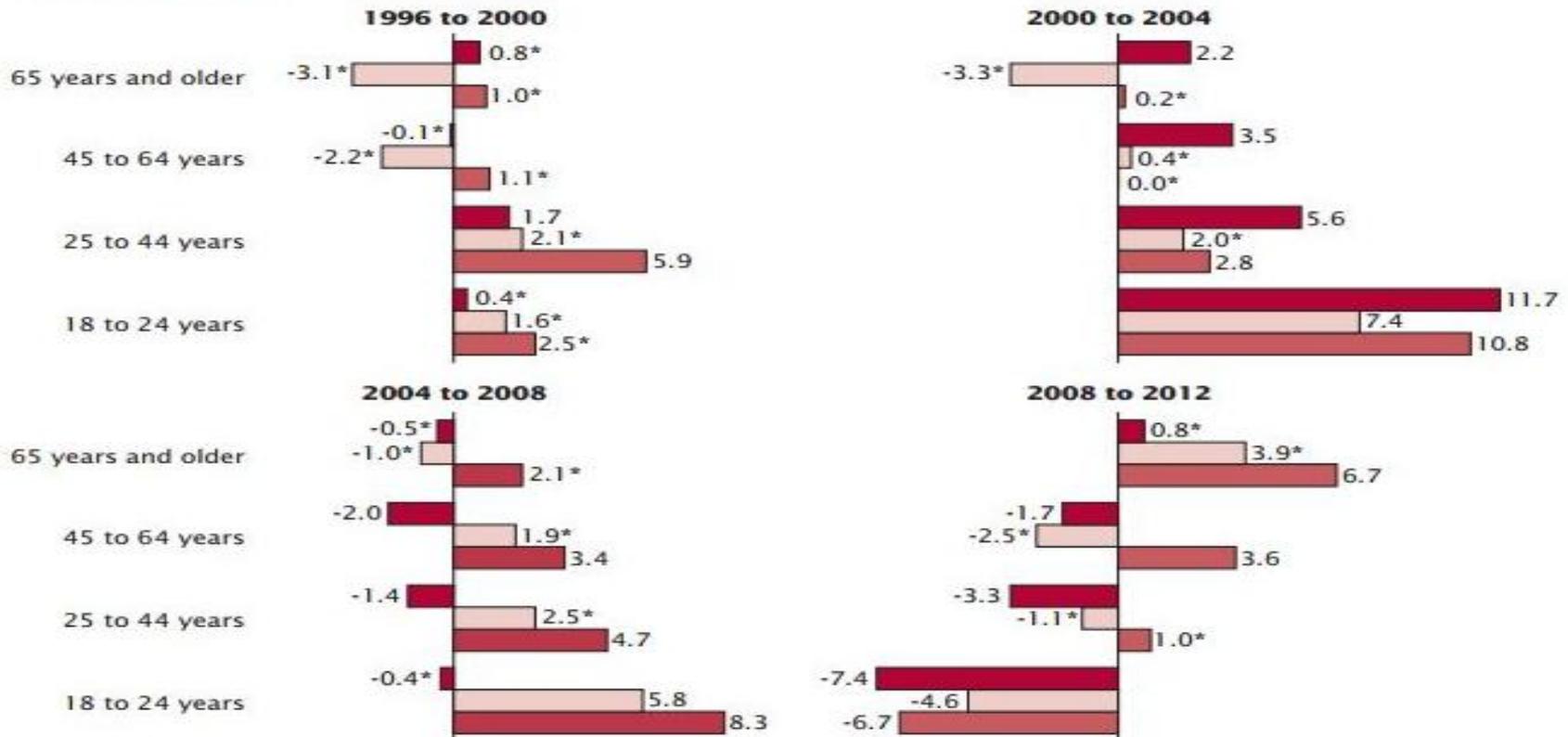




Patterns in US Voter Turnout

Voting Rate Changes By Age and Race and Hispanic Origin: 1996-2012

(In percentage points)



* Not a statistically significant change.

Note: Between 2000 and 2004 there was no observable statistical difference in voting rates among Blacks between the ages of 45 and 64 (the difference rounds to zero). This figure presents voting rate changes by election for various race groups and Hispanic origin. For example, voting rates for non-Hispanic Whites between the ages of 25 and 44 increased about 3 points in 2000, increased about an additional 6 points in 2004, decreased about 1 point in 2008, and then decreased about an additional 3 points in 2012.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November Select Years.

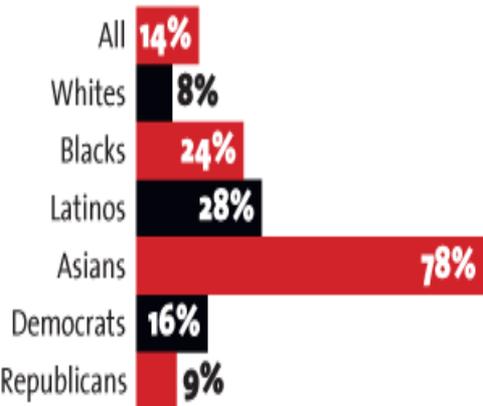


Causes of Low Voter Turnout

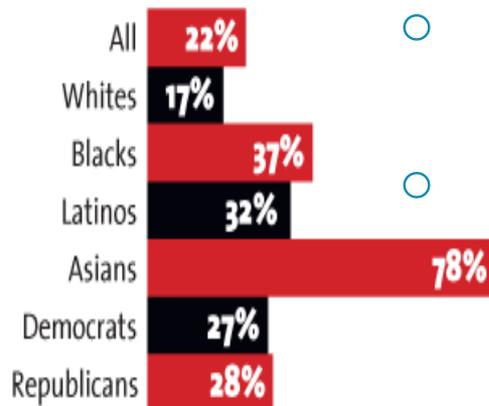
- registration difficulty
- absentee voting / voting difficulty, can't get to polls, disability, weather, wrong ID
- voter attitudes: alienation, apathetic to politics and voting in general, don't like the partisan bickering underlying the voting process, think vote doesn't count

Why voting-age adults say they didn't vote in 2008*

HAD WRONG ID

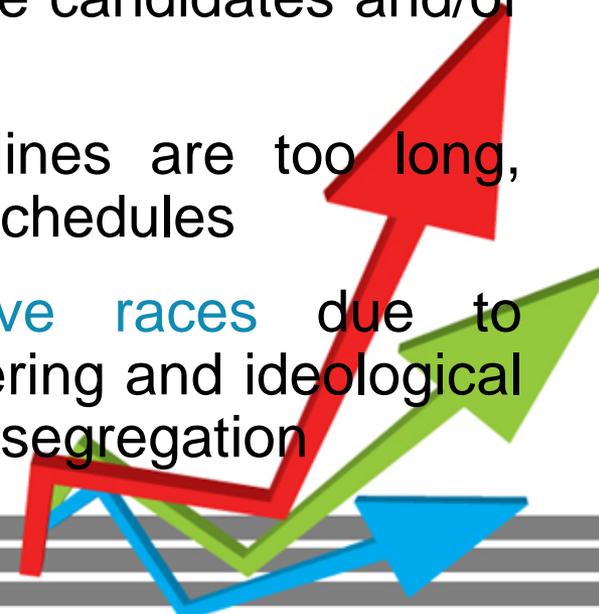


REGISTRATION PROBLEMS



- don't like the candidates and/or issues
- too busy, lines are too long, conflicting schedules
- uncompetitive races due to gerrymandering and ideological geographic segregation

*Respondents could give multiple reasons for why they didn't vote.

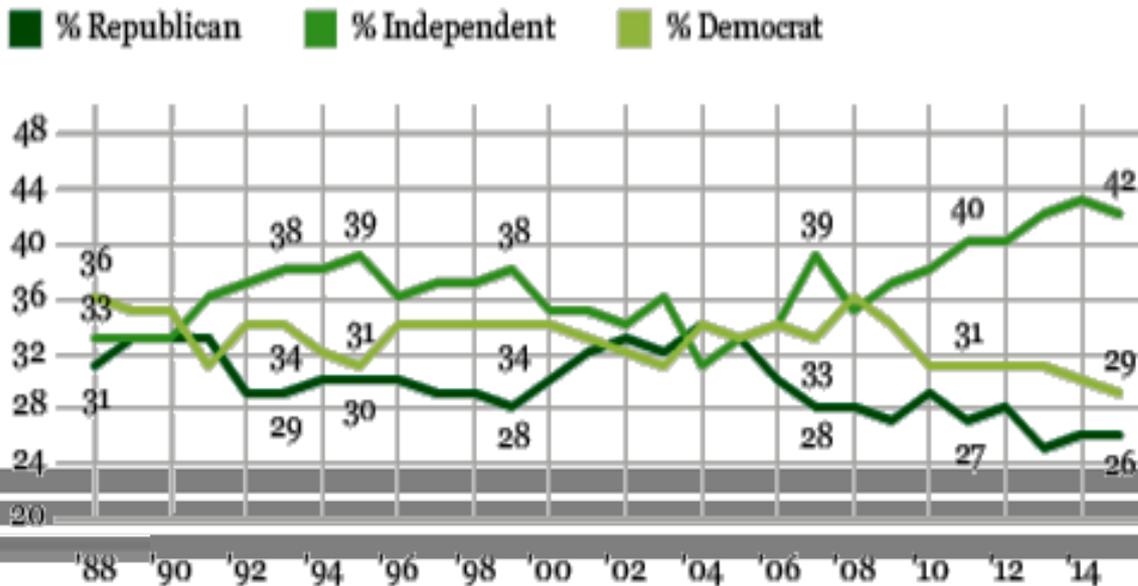




Causes of Low Voter Turnout

- **perceived lack of benefit:** There has been a decline in the proportion of people who feel that elections matter a lot and an increase in cynicism and mistrust of government.
- **weak political parties, lack of voter mobilization:** Party identification is the best predictor of voting and party affiliation is most often used to make voting decisions but party ID has weakened and parties are no longer as effective as they once were at mobilizing voters, ensuring that they are registered and getting them to the polls.

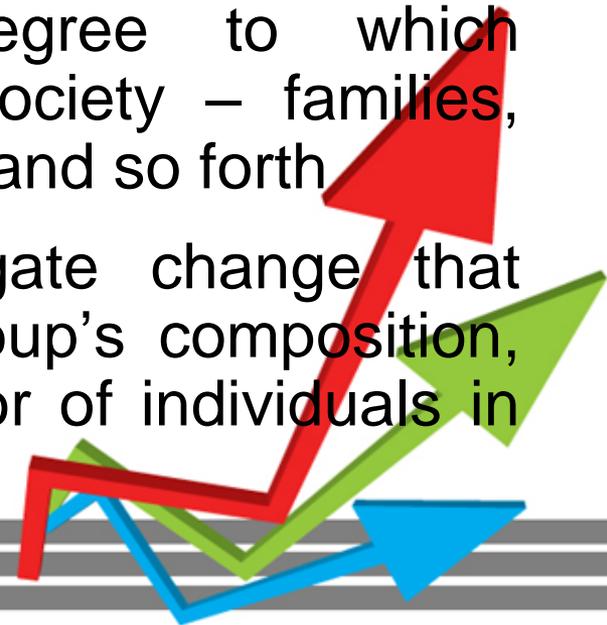
U.S. Party Identification, Yearly Averages, 1988-2015





Causes of Low Voter Turnout

- One view is that the decline in turnout has been the result of a decline of popular **interest** in elections and a weakening of the **competitiveness** of the two major parties.
- **declining social connectedness**
 - **social connectedness**: the degree to which individuals are integrated into society – families, churches, neighborhoods, groups and so forth
 - **compositional effect**: an aggregate change that results from a change in the group's composition, not from a change in the behavior of individuals in the group

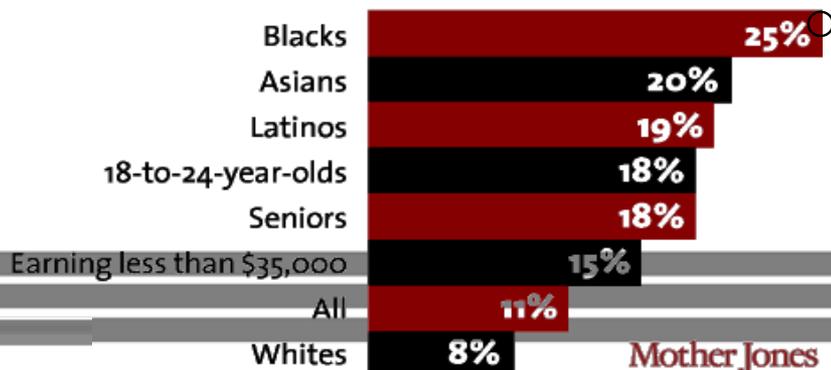




Causes of Low Voter Turnout

- In the US, elections are traditionally held on Tuesdays, a **work day** for many. Other countries hold elections on Sundays or make election day a holiday.
- Italian workers receive free train fare back to their place of registration.
- It **costs more** to vote in the US, and individuals receive **less support** for voting than do citizens in other countries.
- **voter fatigue**: In the US, there are multiple elections so voters must turn out many times during each four year period.

Adults Without Valid Photo ID



Being registered to vote also used to mean being registered for jury duty but that has changed in recent years.



Causes of Low Voter Turnout

Reasons for Not Registering and Voting, by Selected Characteristics: 2008

(Numbers in thousands)

Characteristic	Total	Percent distribution of reasons for not voting and registering												
		Race and Hispanic origin					Age				Educational attainment			
		White alone	White alone, non-Hispanic	Black alone	Asian alone	Hispanic (any race)	18-24 years	25-44 years	45-64 years	65 years and older	Less than high school graduate	High school graduate or GED	Some college ¹	Bachelor's degree or more
Total nonvoters	15,167	12,929	11,172	1,242	543	1,862	2,567	5,819	4,291	2,581	2,556	6,915	4,427	2,189
Reasons for not voting²														
Too busy, conflicting schedule	17.5	17.3	16.2	16.8	26.8	24.8	21.0	24.3	14.9	3.0	12.2	15.0	20.2	16.9
Illness or disability	14.9	15.0	15.8	20.3	6.8	10.8	3.2	6.8	14.8	45.3	25.6	14.3	10.9	12.5
Not interested	13.4	14.1	14.1	8.5	9.4	14.0	12.1	14.2	15.2	9.9	13.8	13.6	11.4	10.8
Did not like candidates or campaign issues	12.9	14.2	15.2	4.3	4.5	7.6	6.0	12.7	16.5	12.5	13.6	14.0	11.9	11.4
Other reason	11.3	11.0	10.9	12.7	11.8	11.7	11.6	11.7	12.5	8.0	10.8	10.9	11.6	12.4
Out of town	8.8	8.9	9.1	6.4	12.0	7.8	14.2	8.4	8.3	5.1	4.0	6.8	11.1	15.3
Don't know or refused	7.0	6.3	6.1	13.0	11.0	7.3	11.2	7.2	5.8	4.6	5.3	6.6	6.7	6.8
Registration problems	6.0	5.7	5.8	5.6	7.9	7.0	9.0	7.3	4.3	2.6	3.2	5.8	7.2	7.4
Inconvenient polling place	2.7	2.5	2.3	3.3	5.5	4.1	2.6	3.0	2.6	2.3	3.1	2.6	2.5	3.0
Transportation problems	2.6	2.4	2.4	4.8	1.7	2.5	2.4	1.4	3.4	4.5	4.7	2.8	1.9	1.4
Forgot to vote	2.6	2.4	2.4	3.1	2.6	2.4	4.5	2.8	1.8	1.3	3.0	2.5	2.7	1.9
Bad weather conditions	0.9	0.2	0.2	1.2	-	-	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.8	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.3
Total not registered	30,402	24,848	20,524	2,961	1,546	4,663	6,294	11,882	2,464	3,763	7,614	12,799	7,043	2,947
Reasons for not registering³														
Not interested in the election/not involved in politics	46.0	46.1	50.5	33.7	35.5	36.2	42.2	45.4	50.1	44.9	43.9	48.9	45.6	39.9
Did not meet registration deadlines	14.7	14.6	14.4	17.7	12.2	15.8	21.3	16.0	11.9	7.0	10.3	13.8	16.3	20.7
Not eligible to vote	8.6	7.6	5.6	14.0	12.2	17.2	7.6	10.1	8.5	5.6	11.4	8.2	6.8	7.9
Other	6.1	5.9	6.3	7.4	6.1	4.3	6.1	6.0	6.0	8.2	5.1	5.9	6.9	7.2
Permanent illness or disability	6.0	5.8	6.0	8.8	3.2	4.7	2.8	3.3	6.8	17.7	10.4	5.7	2.7	3.5
Don't know or refused	5.7	5.4	5.5	7.0	6.3	5.3	6.3	5.6	4.6	3.6	4.9	6.1	6.4	4.1
Did not know where or how to register	4.2	3.9	3.7	4.6	6.8	5.3	6.2	4.2	2.9	3.5	4.7	4.0	4.4	3.2
My vote would not make a difference	4.0	4.2	4.6	3.4	2.7	2.1	3.6	3.7	4.8	4.1	4.0	3.8	4.4	4.2
Did not meet residency requirements	3.5	3.5	2.9	2.7	5.6	5.8	3.0	4.5	3.0	2.0	2.9	2.8	3.7	7.8
Difficulty with English	1.4	0.9	0.5	0.7	9.3	3.0	0.4	1.1	1.5	3.6	2.5	0.8	1.1	1.5

- Represents zero or rounds to zero.

¹ Only individuals who reported being registered and also reported not voting were asked the question about reason for not voting.

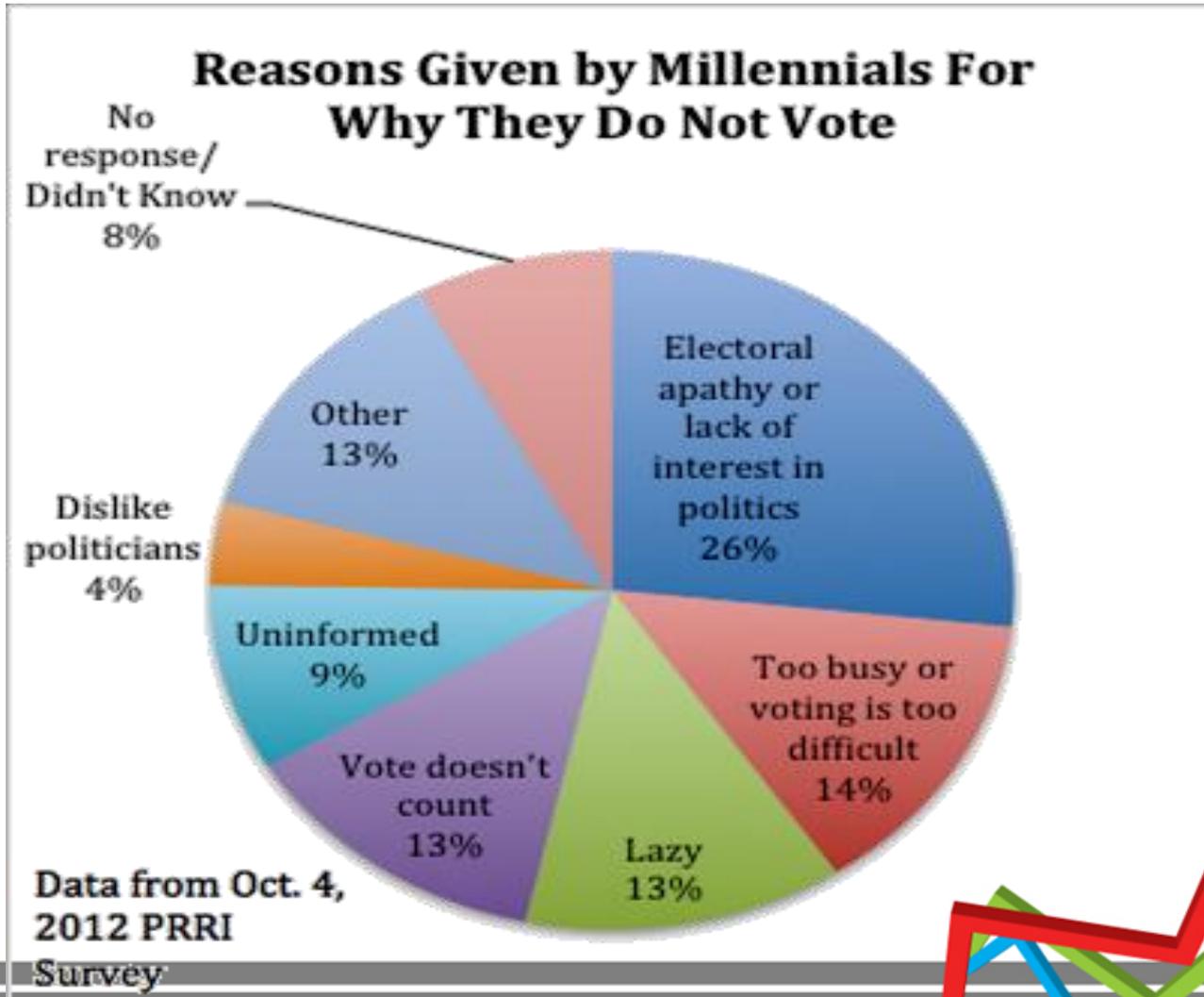
² Includes only those respondents who answered "no" to the question, "Were you registered in the election of November 2008?"

³ Includes individuals reporting an associate's degree.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2008.



Causes of Low Voter Turnout

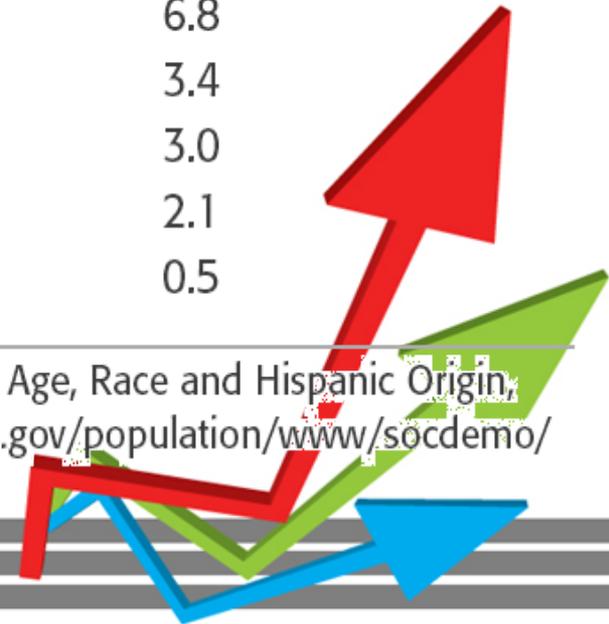




Causes of Low Voter Turnout

Too busy, conflicting schedule	19.9%
Illness or disability	15.4
Other reason	10.9
Not interested	10.7
Did not like candidates or campaign issues	9.9
Out of town	9.0
Don't know or refused	8.5
Registration problems	6.8
Forgot to vote	3.4
Inconvenient polling place	3.0
Transportation problems	2.1
Bad weather conditions	0.5

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Reasons for Not Voting, by Sex, Age, Race and Hispanic Origin, and Educational Attainment: November 2004," at <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/voting/cps2004.html>





Does It Matter Who Votes?

- Some argue that the rate of participation is unimportant because the preferences of those who vote are **similar** to those who do not vote.
- However, nonvoters are clearly different from voters.
- Broader participation would increase **popular sovereignty** and **political equality**.





Improving US Voter Turnout

- easier registration and absentee voting
- strengthen parties ... Voter mobilization (the efforts of parties, groups and activists to encourage turnout) can matter.
- make election day a holiday

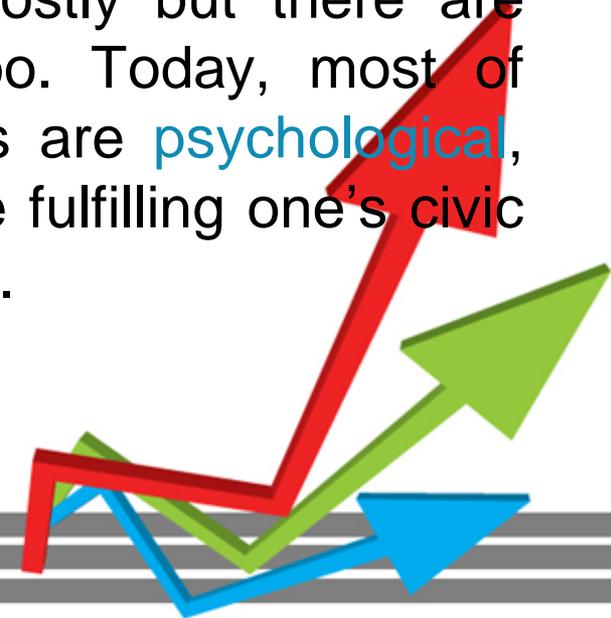
The Theory | Benefits of participation



Participation should have a positive benefit for the person being involved. It should also influence at one (or more!) level:

- **Practice**
 - services people use
- **Policy**
 - plans and strategies
- **Perception**
 - communities and society

- Voting is costly but there are benefits, too. Today, most of the benefits are **psychological**, for example fulfilling one's civic duty to vote.

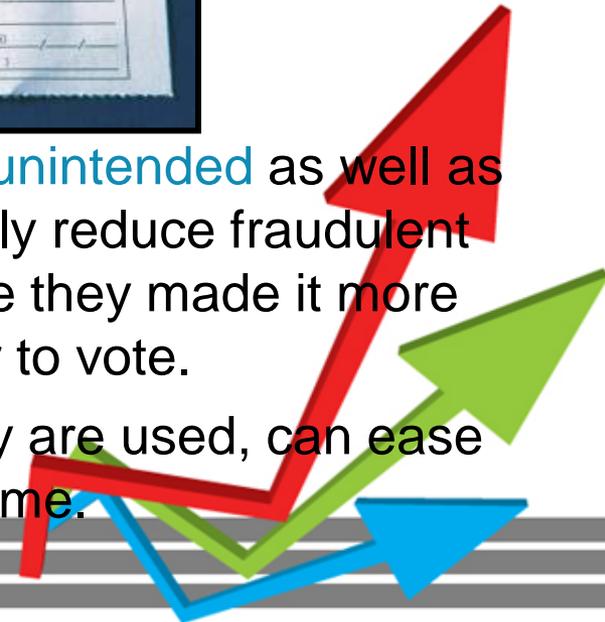




Voter Registration

Strict voter-registration procedures tend to have unintended as well as intended consequences. These changes not only reduce fraudulent voting but also reduce voting generally because they made it more difficult for certain groups to register to vote.

Spanish-language registration forms, where they are used, can ease the burden of registration for some.





Voter Registration

Of those who register (only 2/3 VAP), the majority vote.

The real source of the participation problem in the US is that a relatively low percentage of the adult population is registered to vote.

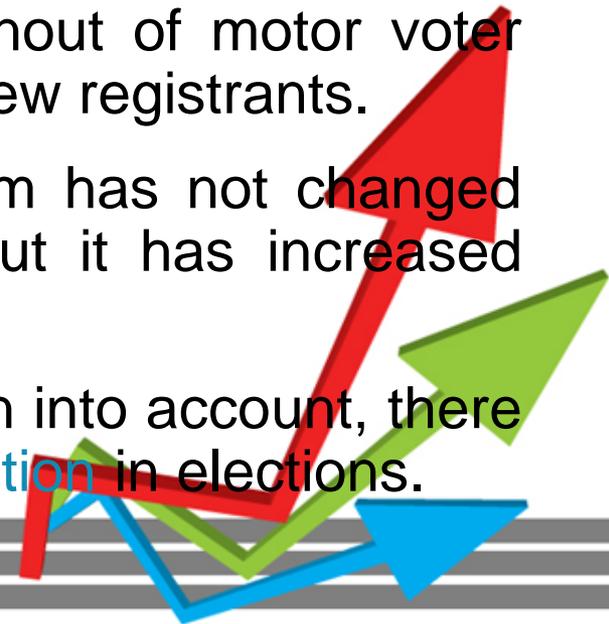
In an effort to make registration easier, states have made **registration forms** available at motor vehicle stations, schools, public buildings and even highway tollbooths.





Voter Registration

- In 1993 Congress passed a law designed to make it easier to register to vote. Known as the **motor-voter law**, the law requires states to allow people to register to vote when applying for a driver's license and to provide registration through the mail and at some state offices.
- The results of the law have so far been mixed. It has not had much of an impact on either voter turnout or election outcomes. A 2001 study found that turnout of motor voter registrants was lower than that of other new registrants.
- The adoption of the motor-voter program has not changed the two-party balance of registration, but it has increased independent registration.
- Even after all the legal changes are taken into account, there has still been a **decline in citizen participation** in elections.





Mobilization and Turnout

- American parties have declined as **mobilizing agents**.
- Interest groups act as mobilizing agents, but they are not as deeply rooted in American politics.
- Overall, weaker mobilization efforts **depress turnout by about 10% to 15%**.

HOW TO INCREASE VOTER TURNOUT...

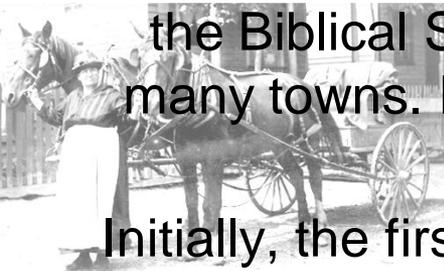


Tuesday after the first Monday in November



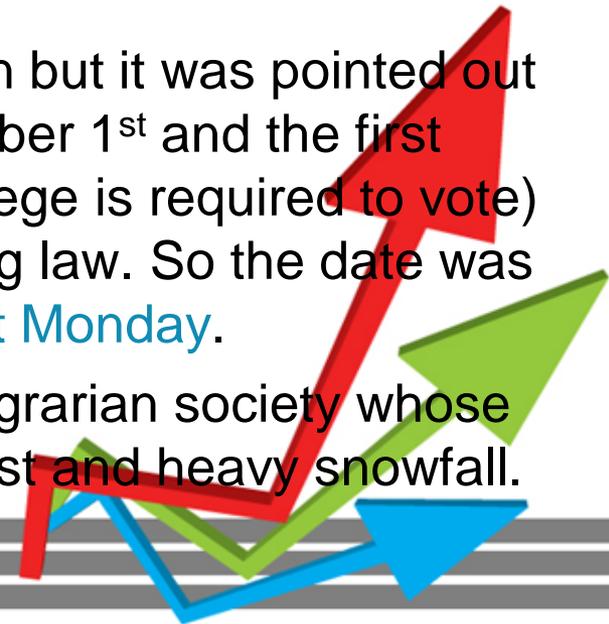
In 1845, when Congress established a **uniform date** for citizens to cast their ballots, the largely rural population often needed a full day to travel by horse-drawn vehicles to the county seat to vote.

Tuesday was established as election day because it did not interfere with the Biblical Sabbath or with market day, which was on Wednesday in many towns. Farmers could leave on Monday, vote on Tuesday and be back in time for market day.



Initially, the first Tuesday in November was chosen but it was pointed out that in some years the period between November 1st and the first Wednesday in December (when the Electoral College is required to vote) would be more than 34 days, in violation of existing law. So the date was changed to **the Tuesday after the first Monday**.

As for **November**? It made perfect sense for an agrarian society whose members were enjoying the break between harvest and heavy snowfall.





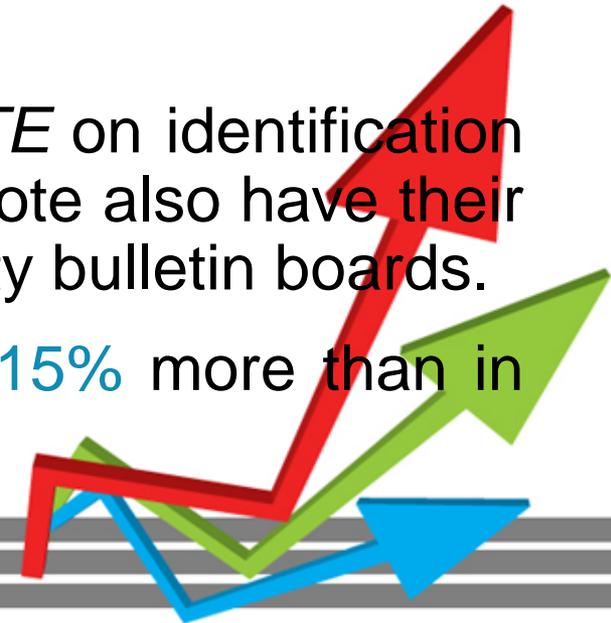
Compulsory Voting

- Some countries attach **costs** to nonvoting.
- Voting is **compulsory** in some countries.
 - Australia and Belgium fine nonvoters.

Greek electoral law provides for imprisonment of nonvoters for up to 12 months (rarely applied).

- Italy stamps *DID NOT VOTE* on identification papers. People who don't vote also have their names posted on community bulletin boards.

- Compulsion **raises turnout by about 15%** more than in democracies without it.





Does Low Turnout Matter?

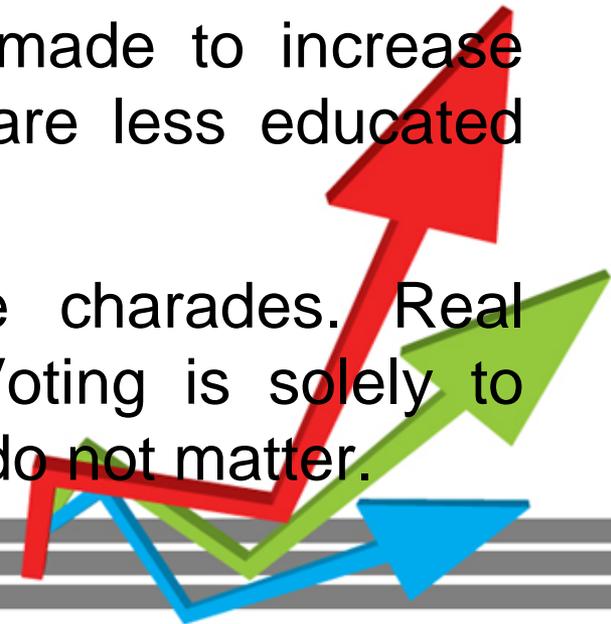
- Some argue low turnouts are not a critical problem.
- The preferences of nonvoters are not much different from those who vote. It has long been argued that because the poor, less educated and minorities are overrepresented among nonvoters, universal turnout would benefit Democratic candidates and liberal causes. But a careful study of nonvoters found they mirror the demographically diverse and ideologically divided population that goes to the polls.
- Election results would be the same regardless.
- Nonvoting is voluntary.
- Nonvoting is driven by acceptance of the status quo.





Does Low Turnout Matter?

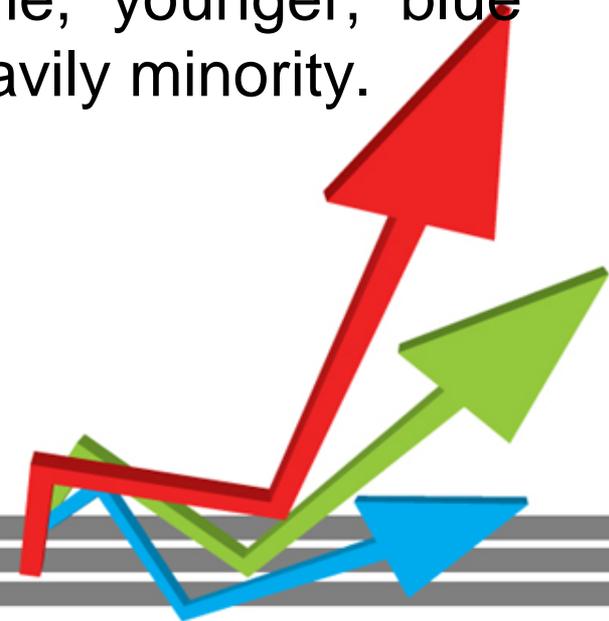
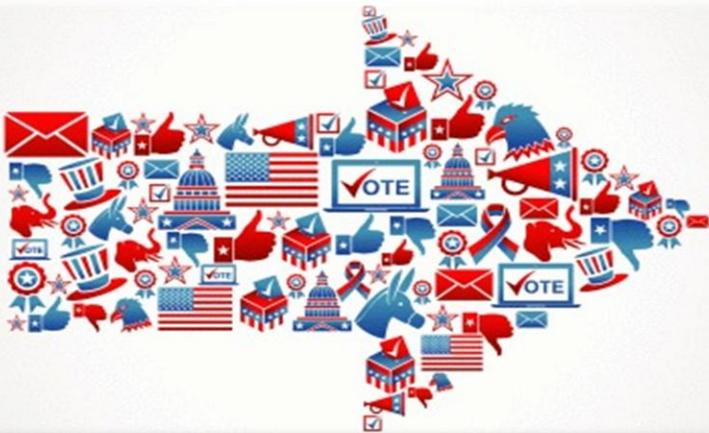
- Three arguments say low turnout doesn't matter.
 - **conservative argument:** High turnout is related to strife and conflict. If relatively no conflict, we should expect a low turnout.
 - **elitist argument:** Quality of electoral decisions is higher if a special effort is not made to increase turnout. On average, nonvoters are less educated and informed than voters.
 - **cynical argument:** Elections are charades. Real decisions are made by elites. Voting is solely to placate the masses. So elections do not matter.





Does Low Turnout Matter?

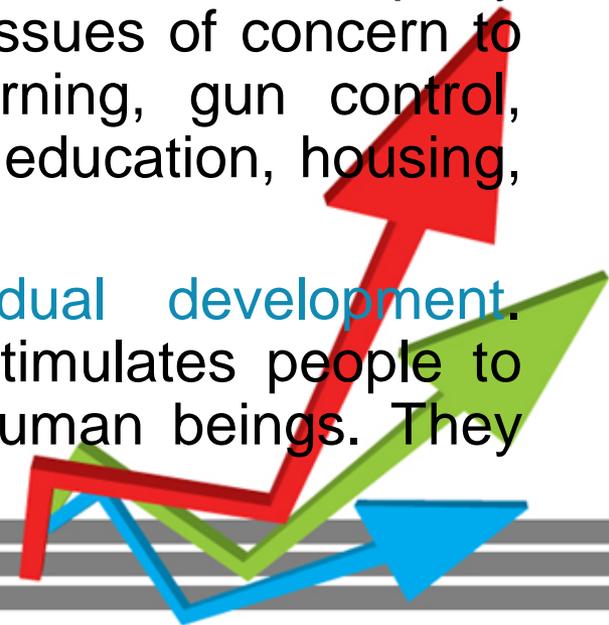
- Others believe low turnouts are a problem.
 - Voters do not **represent** nonvoters.
 - The social make-up and attitudes of nonvoters today are significantly **different** from those of voters.
 - **Nonvoters** tend to be low income, younger, blue collar, less educated and more heavily minority.





Does Low Turnout Matter?

- Three arguments say low turnout matters.
 - **Voters are unrepresentative** so elections are biased and thus public policies that are adopted are biased as well. Research says this argument is overstated. Why? The policy views and candidate preferences of voters and nonvoters appear to differ relatively little.
 - **Low turnout reflects phony politics** because the party system does not address the “real” issues of concern to people. Phony issues are flag burning, gun control, school prayer. Real issues are jobs, education, housing, healthcare.
 - **Lower turnout discourages individual development.** Participation in democratic politics stimulates people to become better citizens and better human beings. They then take politics to a higher level.



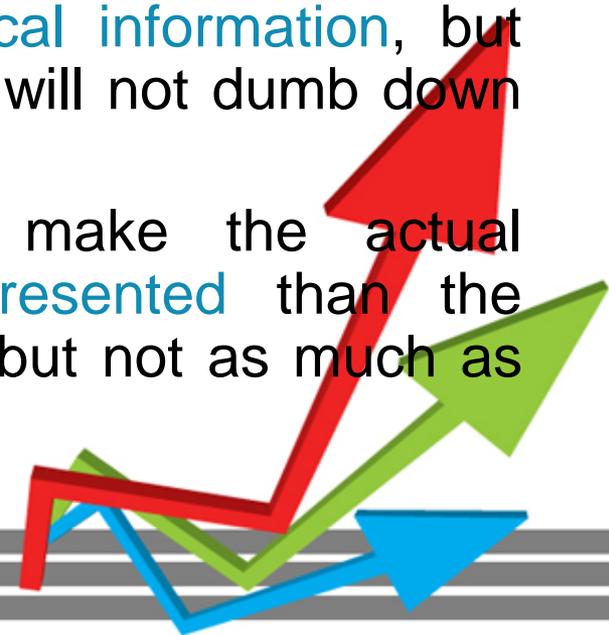


Does Low Turnout Matter?

- What do you think? Is low turnout a cause for concern?
 - Nonvoters and voters have **diverse motives**. Some nonvoters are content ... others alienated. The same goes for voters.
 - High turnout can mean **high approval** of the political order or **serious dissatisfaction** with it. So can low turnout.
 - Nonvoters do not have much **political information**, but neither do voters. So raising turnout will not dumb down the electorate.



- Low turnout may make the actual electorate **less represented** than the potential electorate, but not as much as assumed.





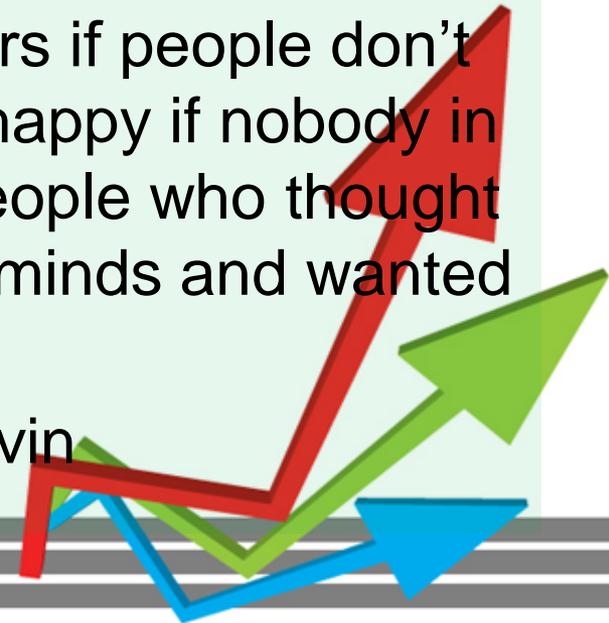
Does Low Turnout Matter?

“A huge army of nonvoters hangs over the democratic process like a bomb ready to explode and change the course of history.”

-Arthur Hadley

“I’m not going to shed any crocodile tears if people don’t care enough to vote ... I’d be extremely happy if nobody in the United States voted except for the people who thought about the issues and made up their own minds and wanted to vote.”

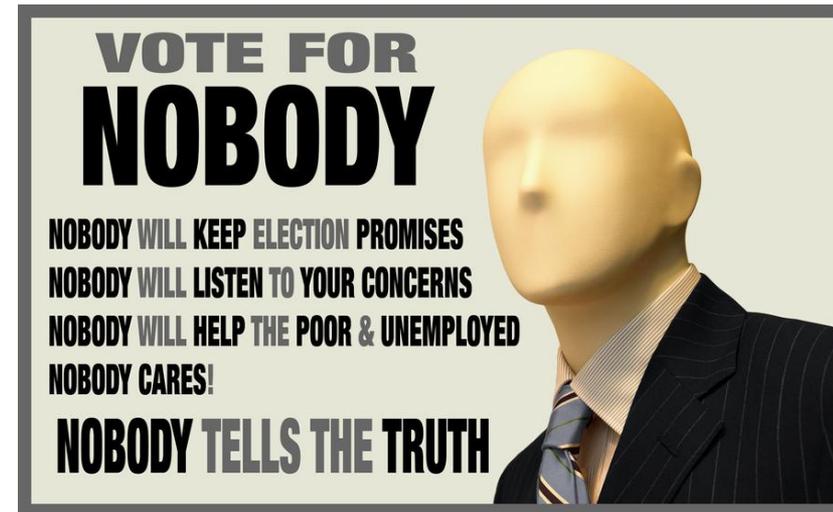
- the late Senator Sam Ervin





Election Outcomes: How Voters Decide

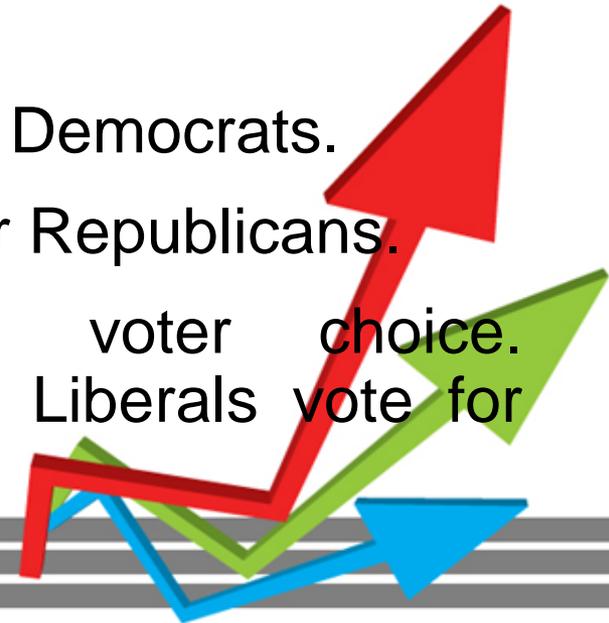
- A number of things have substantial effects on how people vote.
 - social characteristics
 - party loyalties
 - candidates
 - issues
 - retrospective voting
 - the economy
 - foreign policy
 - cultural issues





How Voters Decide: Patterns in Voter Choice

- Whites tend to vote Republican.
- African Americans vote overwhelmingly for Democrats.
- Hispanics also tend to identify with and vote for Democrats.
- Women today are more likely to support Democratic candidates.
- The poor vote less often and more for Democrats.
- The well-to-do vote more often and for Republicans.
- Ideology is related closely to voter choice. Conservatives vote for Republicans. Liberals vote for Democrats.

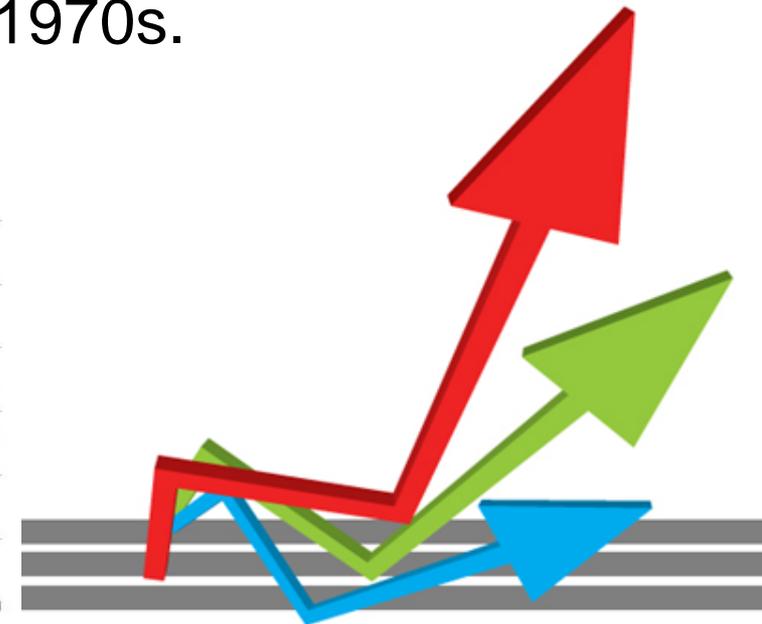
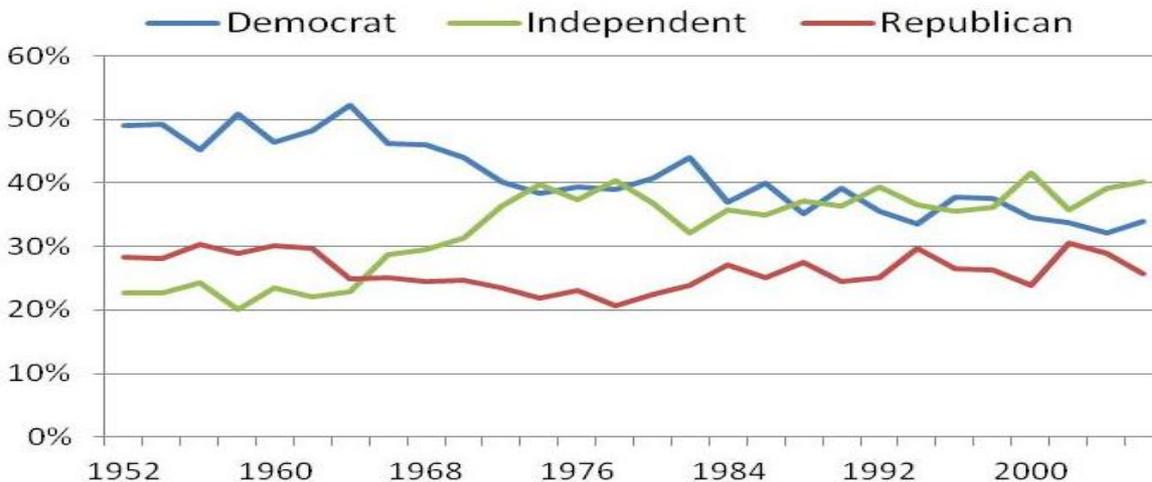




How Voters Decide: Voting on the Basis of Party

- In the absence of reasons to vote otherwise, people depend on **party identification** (an informal and subjective affiliation with a political party that most people acquire in childhood) to simplify their voting choices.
- However, there has been a dramatic increase in self-declared **Independents** since the 1970s.

Party identification: American National Election Studies



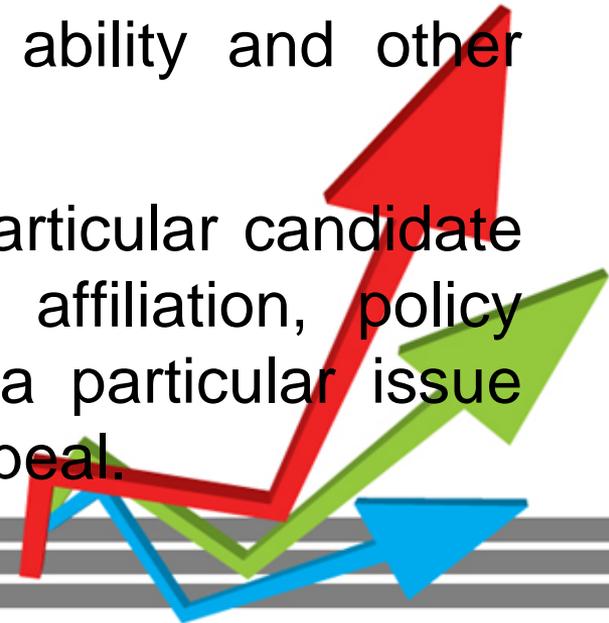


How Voters Decide: Voting on the Basis of Candidates

- The 1980s marked a critical threshold in the emergence of **candidate-centered politics**.
- Increasingly, campaigns focus on the **negative** elements of candidates' histories and personalities.
- **candidate appeal**: how voters feel about a candidate's background, personality, leadership ability and other personal qualities



- Voters choose a particular candidate because of party affiliation, policy vision, interest in a particular issue and/or personal appeal.



How Voters Decide: Voting on the Basis of Issues



Prospective-Issue Voting

voting based on what a candidate pledges to do about an issue in the future, if elected

Retrospective-Issue Voting

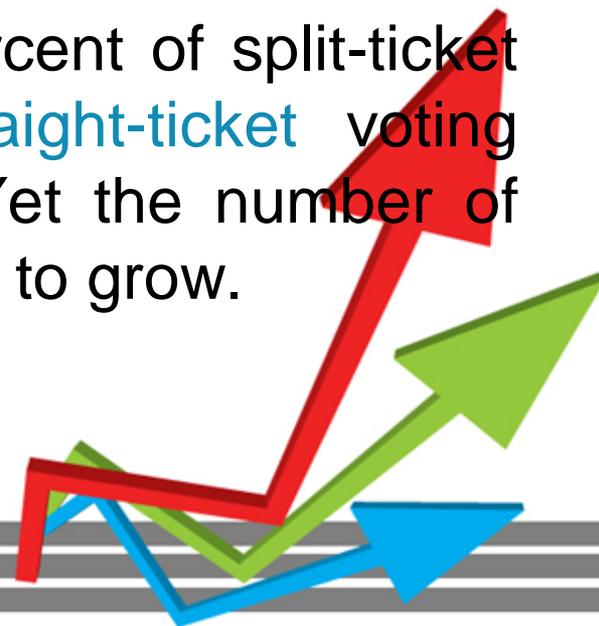
holding incumbents responsible for past performance on issues



How Voters Decide: Ticket-Splitting



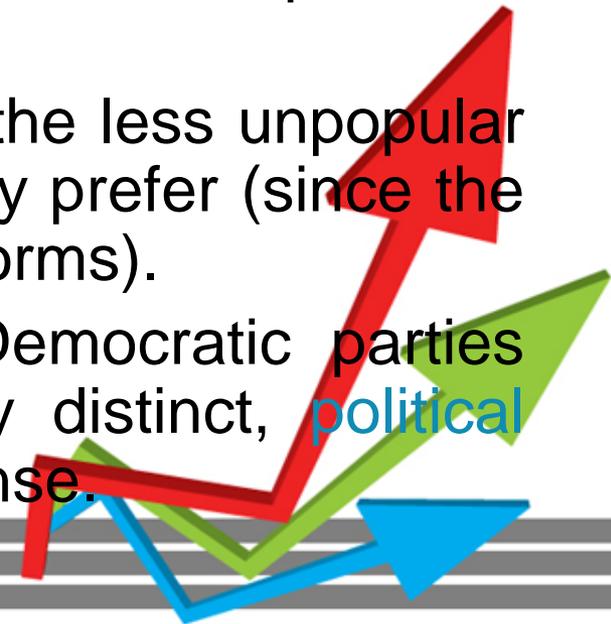
- **ticket-splitting**: voting for candidates of different parties for various offices in the same election
- From 1960 to 1992 almost 40% of states holding simultaneous presidential and gubernatorial elections recorded split results.
- From 1992 to 1996, the average percent of split-ticket voting dropped to 26%. More **straight-ticket** voting implies greater party identification. Yet the number of self-identified independents continued to grow.



Prospective (Responsible Party) Voting Model



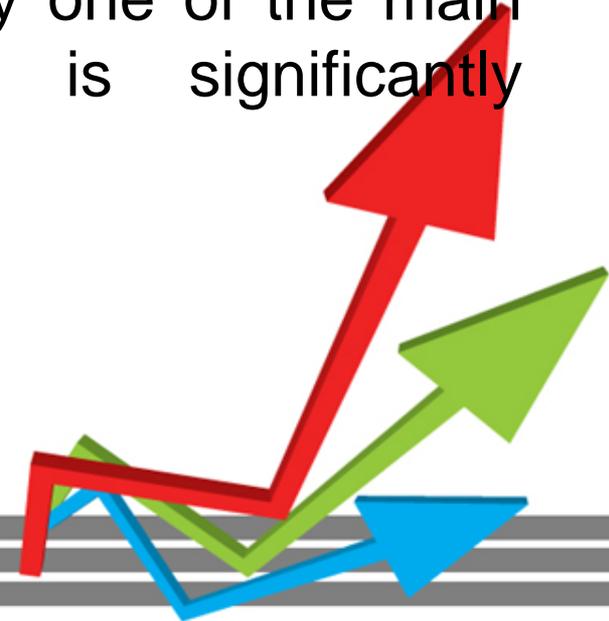
- **Theory:** Voters decide what government will do in the near future by choosing one or another **responsible party** (a party that takes a clear stand on the issues and enacts them as policy).
- **Problems:**
 - American parties may not behave as responsible parties.
 - Voters may actually be choosing the less unpopular stand rather than the one that they prefer (since the public does not choose party platforms).
 - As the Republican and Democratic parties become more ideologically distinct, **political conflict** becomes more intense.



Electoral Competition Voting Model

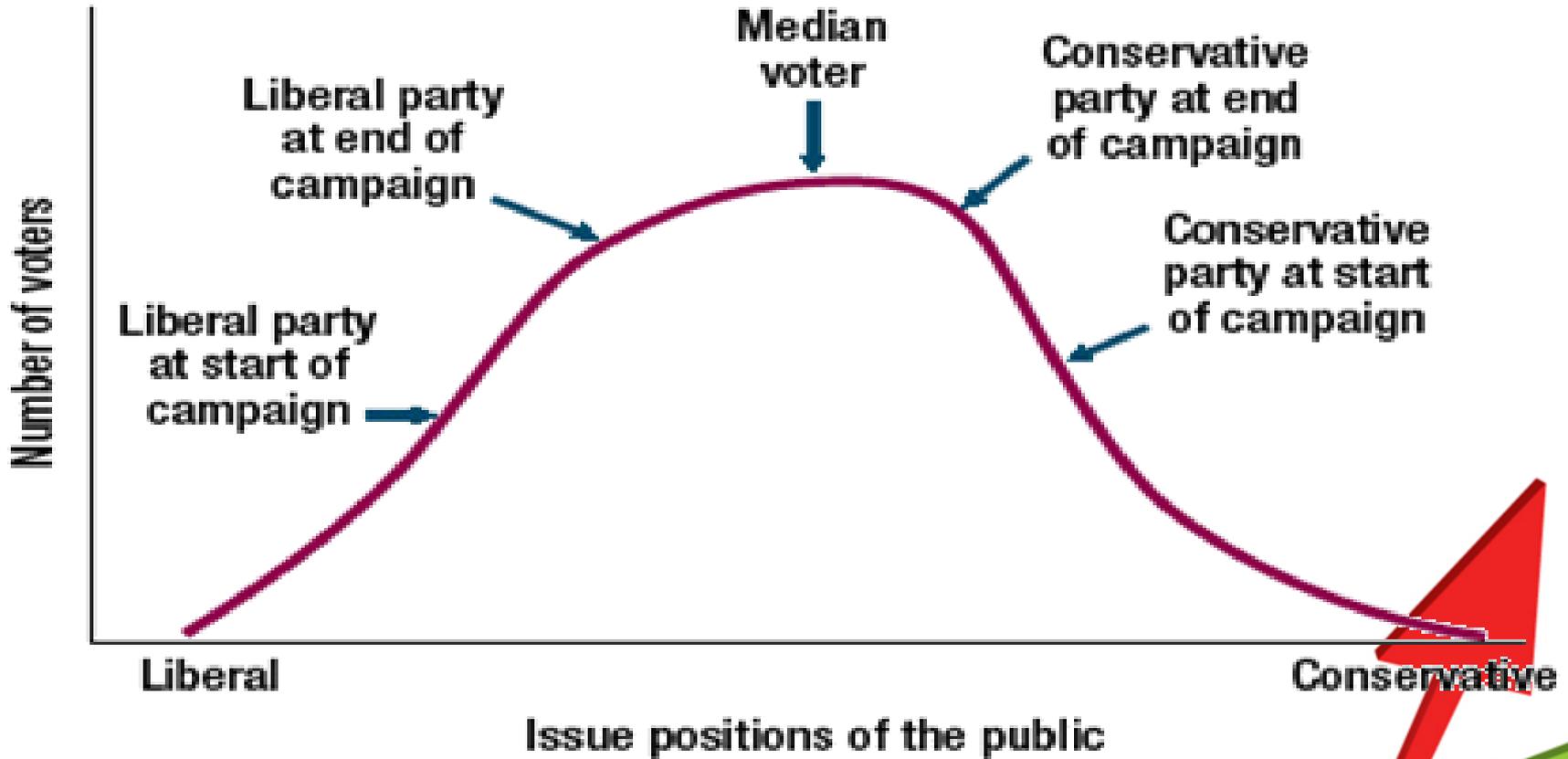


- **Theory:** Parties seeking votes move toward the median voter or the center of the political spectrum.
- **Problems:** Voters must consider nothing but the issues and must know exactly where the parties stand.
- Still, **electoral competition** is probably one of the main reasons that government policy is significantly influenced by public opinion.

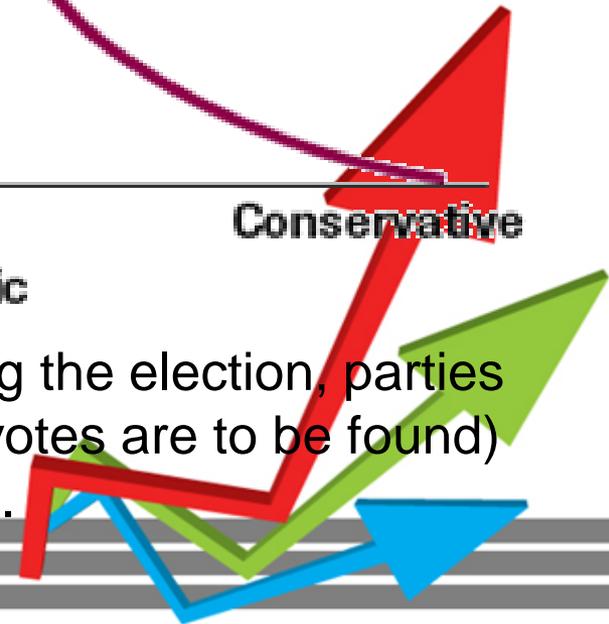




Electoral Competition Voting Model



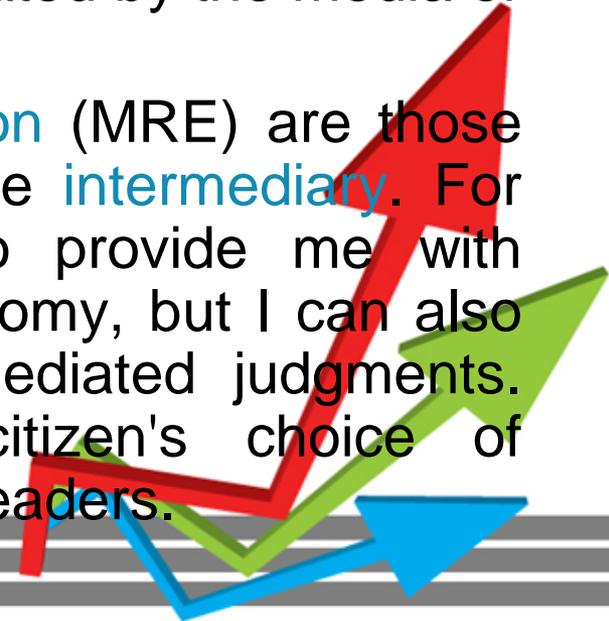
This model suggests that in the interest of winning the election, parties will move toward the **median voter** (where most votes are to be found) as the campaign progresses.



Retrospective (Reward and Punishment) Voting Model



- **Theory:** Voters look back at the performance of a party in power and cast ballots on the basis of how well it did in office.
- **Simple Retrospective Evaluation (SRE):** Based mainly on personal finance, war, civil rights, etc. These are things that voters have **direct experience** with, so their retrospective evaluations are unmediated by the media or anything else.
- **Mediated Retrospective Evaluation (MRE)** are those evaluations that depend on some **intermediary**. For example, I need the media to provide me with information about the macroeconomy, but I can also use my experience to make mediated judgments. MREs are mediated by a citizen's choice of information sources and opinion leaders.

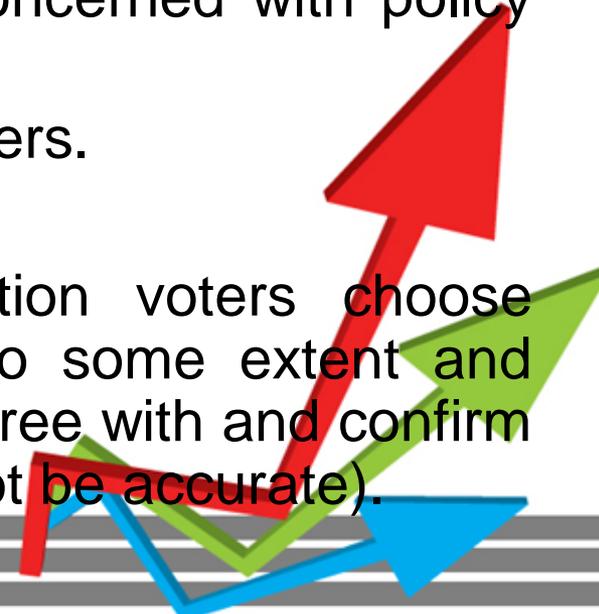


Retrospective (Reward and Punishment) Voting Model



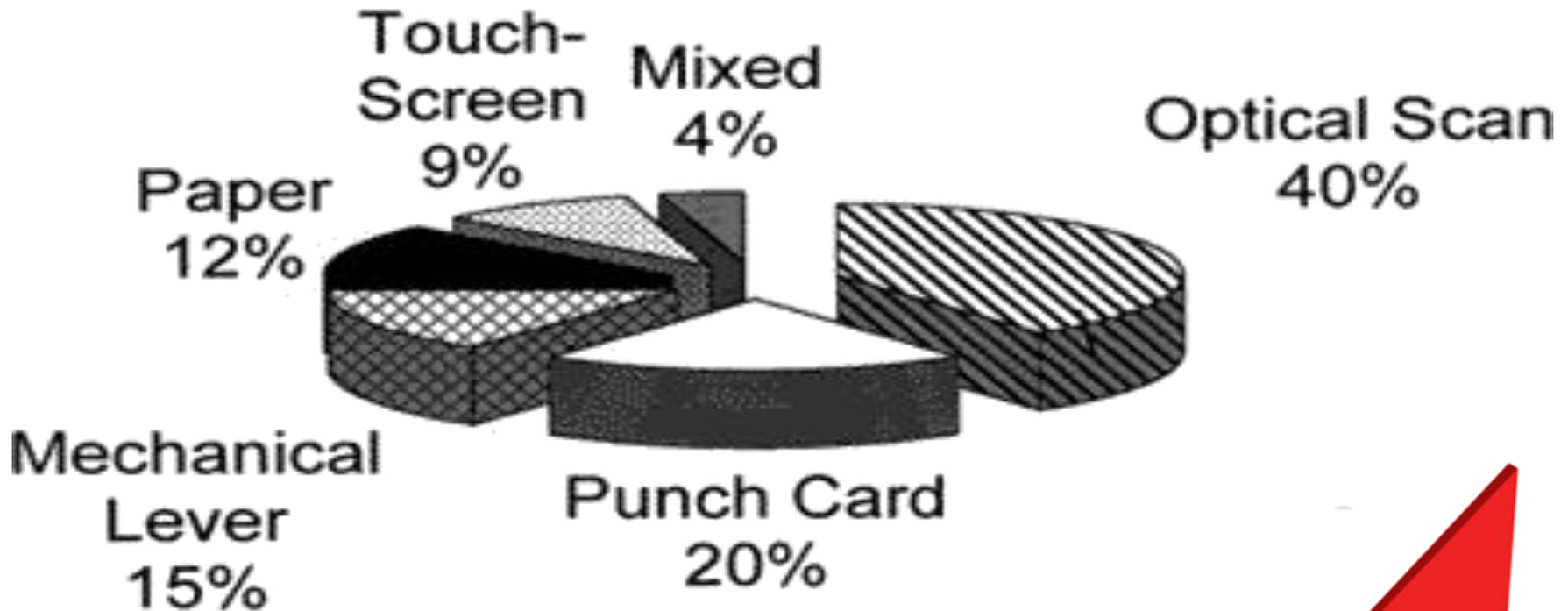
- **Problems:**

- Often candidates' records are mixed.
- Usually know more about an incumbent's record than about the opponent's record.
- There is no guarantee that candidates will act the same after winning or that future leaders will be better.
- It presumes that people are more concerned with policy outcomes than policy instruments.
- Who votes and who doesn't vote matters.
- Voters who are content may not vote.
- In MREs, the sources of information voters choose matters. Most sources are biased to some extent and voters tend to choose sources that agree with and confirm what they already think (which may not be accurate).





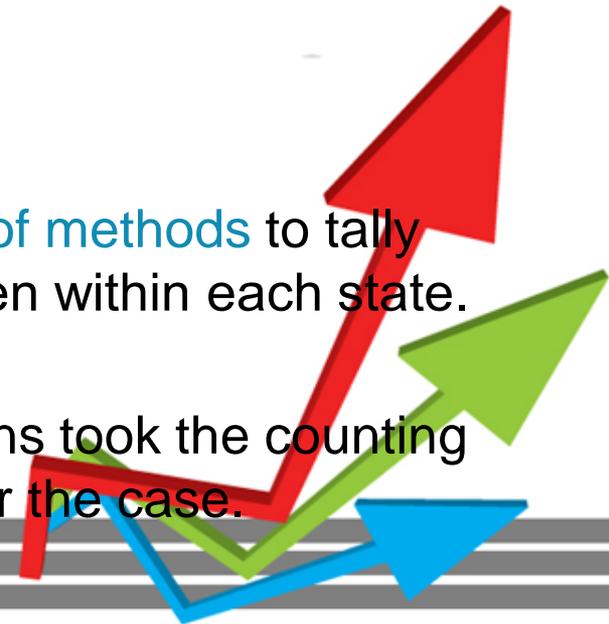
How America Votes



The US voting system relies on a [patchwork of methods](#) to tally voters' choices, with different methods used even within each state.

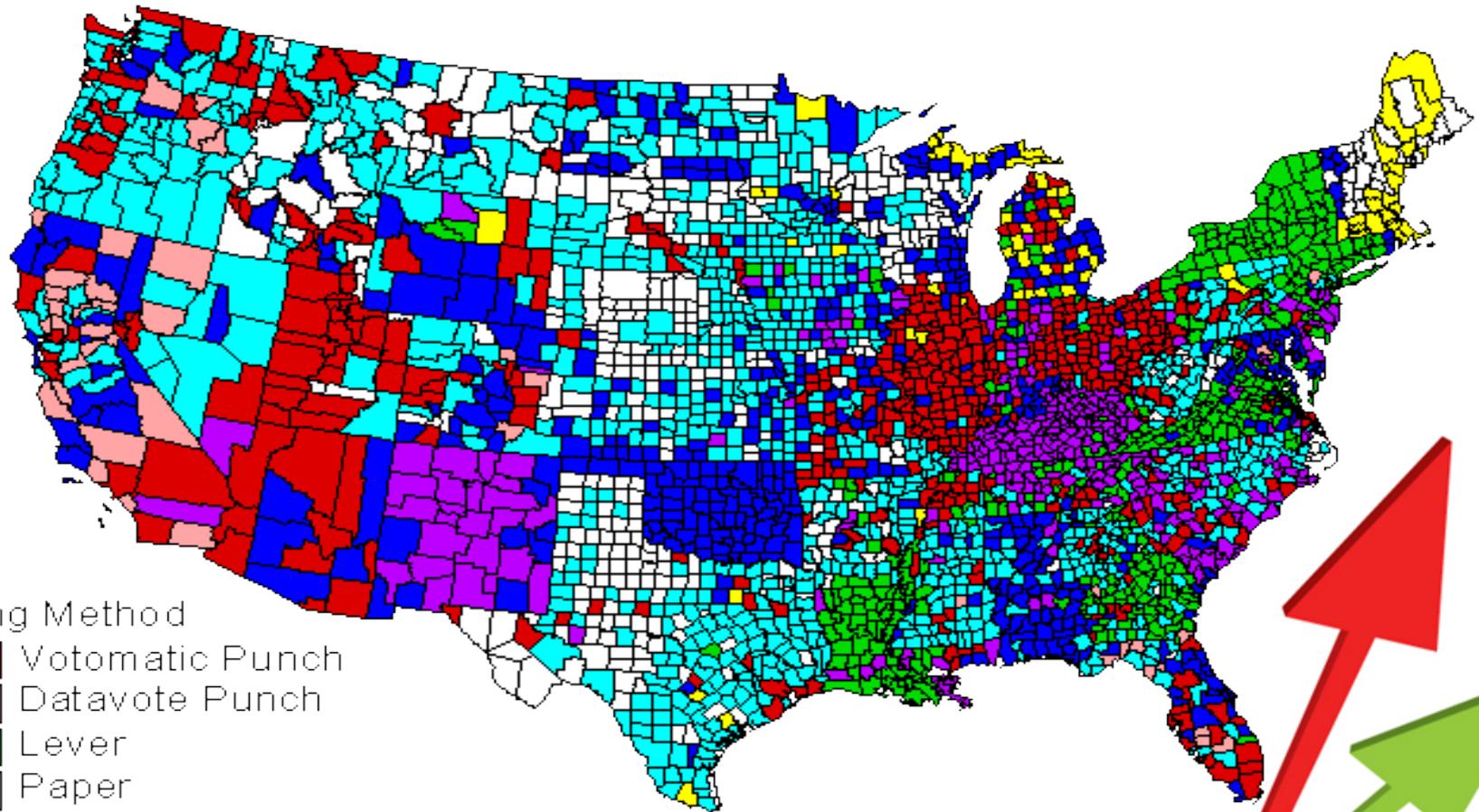
(See next slide.)

Until the 2000 election (Bush v. Gore), Americans took the counting of ballots for granted. That is no longer the case.



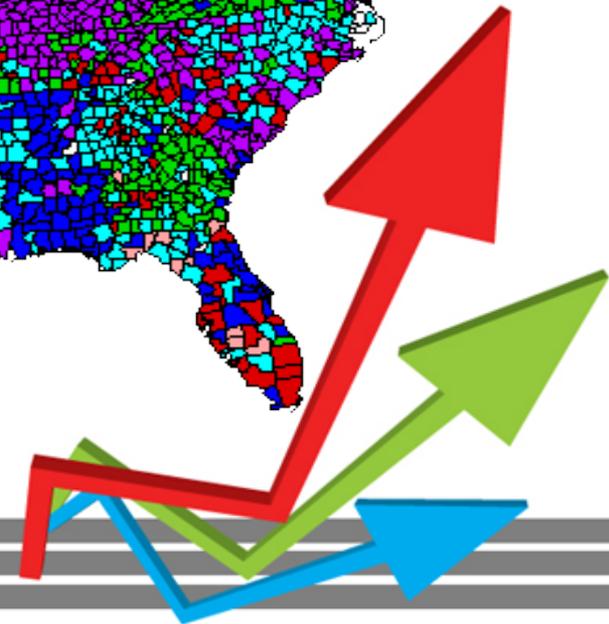


How America Votes



Voting Method

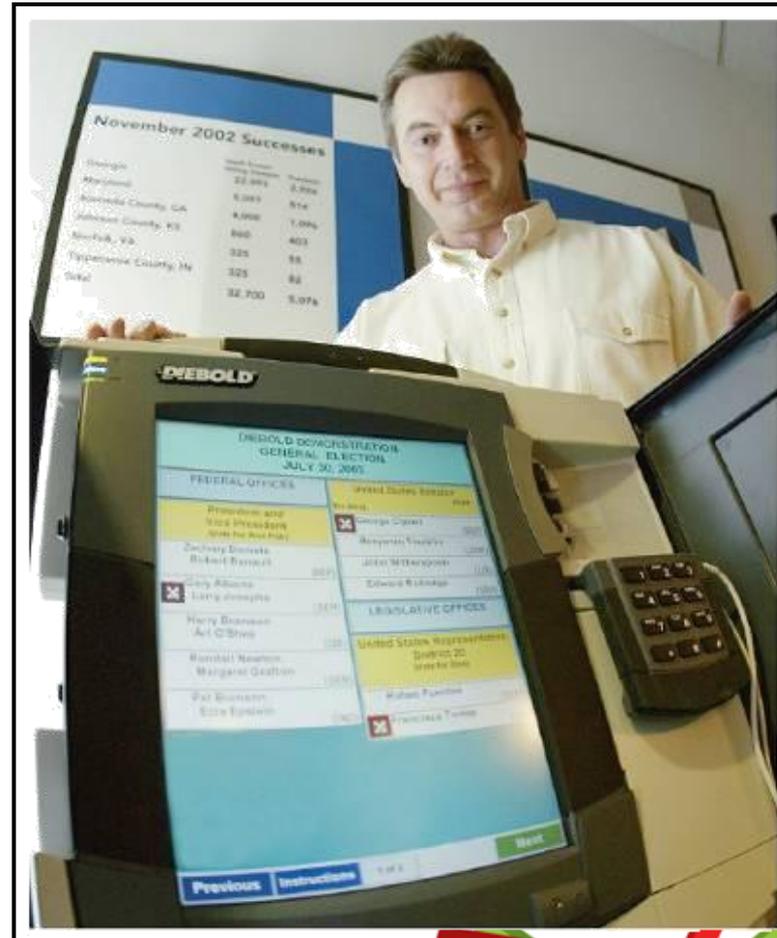
-  Votomatic Punch
-  Datavote Punch
-  Lever
-  Paper
-  Central Scan
-  Precinct Scan
-  DRE
-  Mixed





Reforming How We Vote

The touch-screen voting machine is an example of a new way for voters to register their choices.





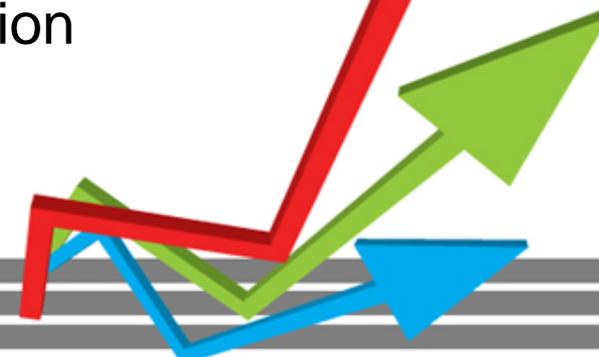
Beyond the Voting Booth

- Citizens participate beyond the voting booth. Despite low voter turnout levels, Americans are **more likely** than people in other countries to participate actively in campaigns.
- Areas of involvement
 - contact officials
 - give money
 - attend meetings
 - attend political rallies
 - work actively in a campaign organization
 - volunteer for work in their community
 - engage in political protest

STAY FIT with EXERCISE MACHINES

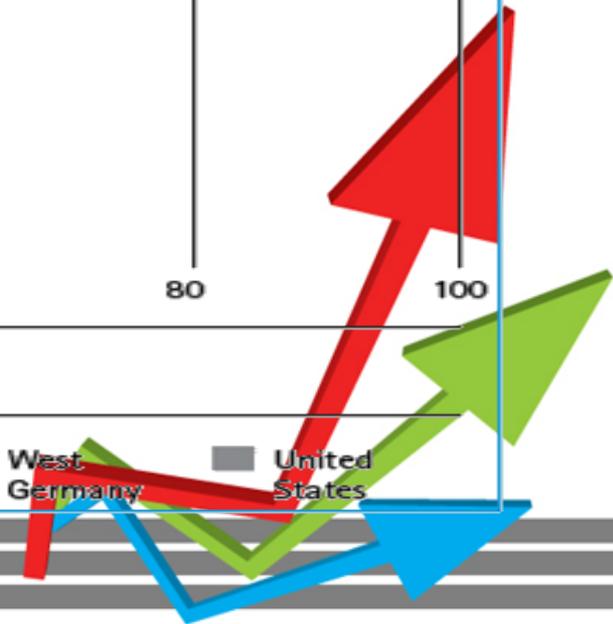
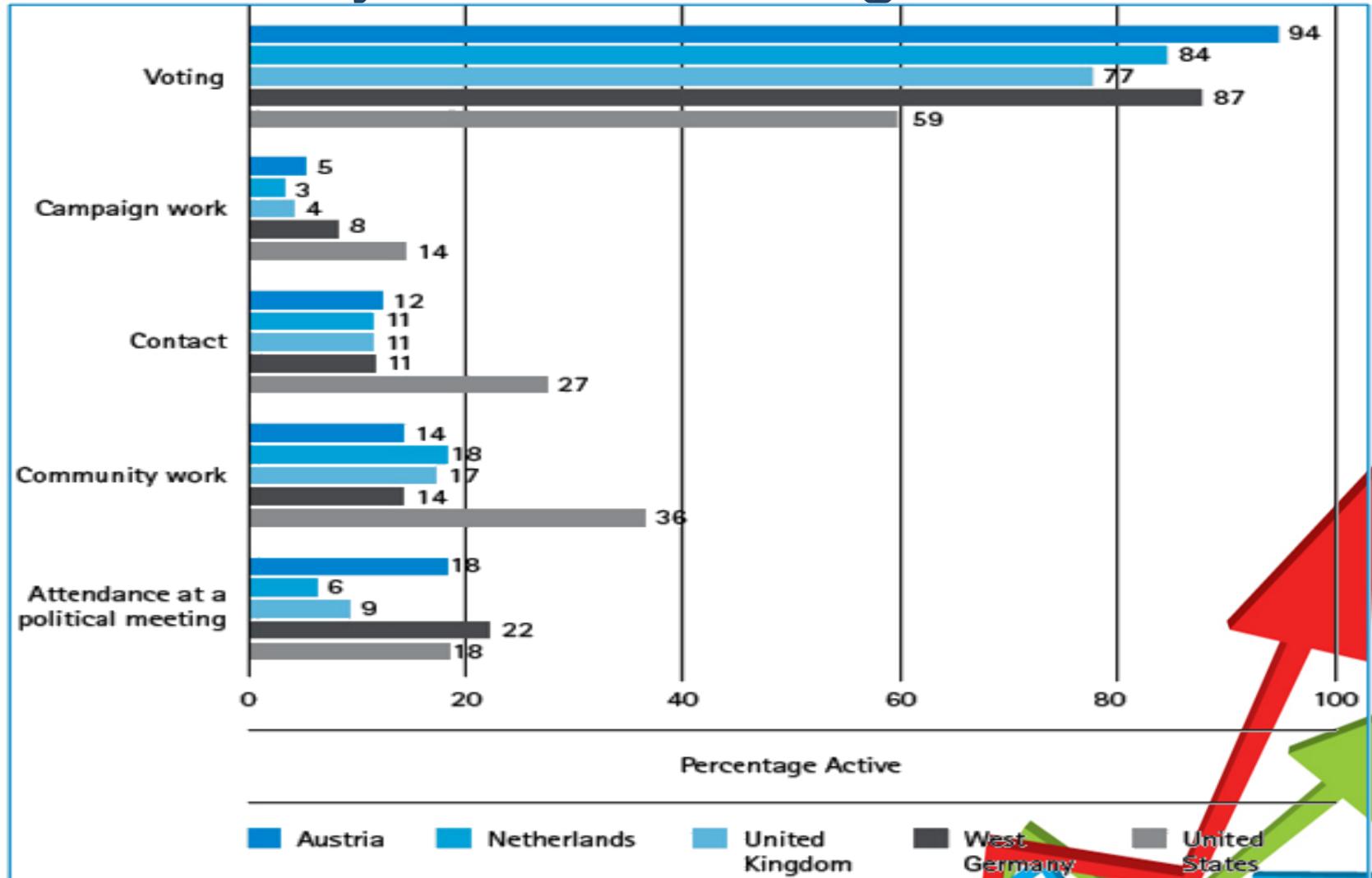


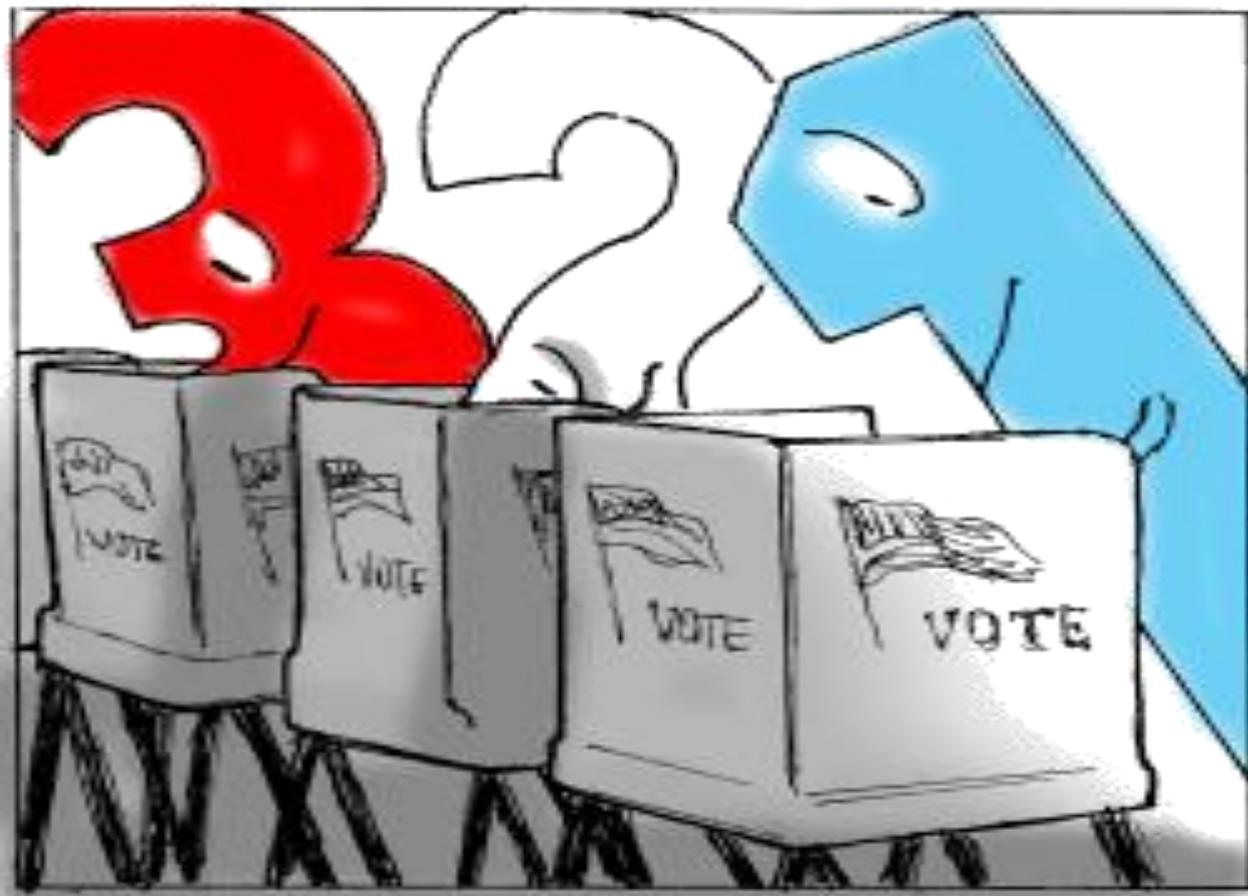
BY THE GREATNESS OF THE CHALLENGE





Beyond the Voting Booth





Continued in
Elections 101

