Voting and Elections

I. Voting
   A. Types of Participation
   B. Turnout Trends
   C. Who Votes?

II. Elections
   A. The Election Process
   B. Money and Elections
   C. Variations in Federal Elections
   D. How Voters Decide
Voting

- Historical Expansion of the Franchise
- Voting for Multiple Offices at Different Levels
- Voting beyond Elections for Office
  - Referenda
  - Initiatives
  - Recall
NON-VOTING PARTICIPATION

Conventional: Petitions
   Letters to representatives
   Campaign Activity (Canvassing; Money)
   Regular Protest

Unconventional: Disruptive Protest March (Seattle, Genoa)
   Occupying/Blocking Access to Buildings (Abortion Clinics)
   Vandalism (Greenpeace)
   Political Violence (Oklahoma City, 9-11)
Presidential Turnout Trends

Turnout in Presidential Elections, 1824-2004
Congressional Election Trends

Turnout in Presidential and Midterm Elections, 1960-2004

Average Difference in Turnout = -15%
Who Votes?

Q: Why is turnout so low?
- Difficulty in Registration
- Number and Frequency of Elections
- Weak Political Parties
- Voter Apathy

Voting is Related to:
- Age
- Income
- Education
- Race
Q: Does it MATTER if lots of people do not vote?

YES: Legitimacy of System
     Potential Policy Bias
     Functional Disenfranchisement

NO: Opportunity for All
    Most Informed/Interested are Participating
    Non-voting and Contentment
    Participation and Discontent
II. Elections

Basic Election Rules:
- Regularly scheduled elections
- Fixed, staggered, and sometimes limited terms
- Winner-take-all, single-member districts
- Primaries
- The electoral college
Money and Elections

- For 2006, House campaigns averaged about $1.2 million; Senate averaged $9.6 million, but varies by state size
  - NY 2004 (Clinton and Lazio) spent $69 million
- Jon Corzine (NJ) spent $60 million (mostly own money) to win Senate seat in 2000 (now Governor)
- President needs about $25 million to start a credible campaign
  - Total spending in 2004 = $700 million
## Campaign Contributions

![Bar chart showing campaign contributions by source.](chart.png)

### Table: Campaign Contributions by Source

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Large Individual</th>
<th>Small Individual</th>
<th>PACs</th>
<th>Self-Financing</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House (D)</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>Na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House (R)</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senate (D)</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senate (R)</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Opensecrets.org
## Spending by ‘527 Groups’

### Major 527's 2004 Election Cycle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Committee</th>
<th>Total Receipts</th>
<th>Expenditures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>America Coming Together</td>
<td>$79,795,487</td>
<td>$78,040,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Joint Victory Campaign 2004</td>
<td>$71,811,666</td>
<td>$72,588,053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Media Fund</td>
<td>$59,414,183</td>
<td>$57,694,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Service Employees International Union</td>
<td>$48,426,867</td>
<td>$47,730,761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Progress for America</td>
<td>$44,929,178</td>
<td>$35,631,378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>American Fedn of St/Cnty/Munic Employees</td>
<td>$25,537,010</td>
<td>$26,170,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Swift Vets &amp; POWs for Truth</td>
<td>$17,008,090</td>
<td>$22,565,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>MoveOn.org</td>
<td>$12,956,215</td>
<td>$21,565,803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>College Republican National Cmte</td>
<td>$12,780,126</td>
<td>$17,260,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>New Democrat Network</td>
<td>$12,726,158</td>
<td>$12,524,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Citizens for a Strong Senate</td>
<td>$10,853,730</td>
<td>$10,228,515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Club for Growth</td>
<td>$10,645,976</td>
<td>$13,074,256</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sierra Club</td>
<td>$8,727,127</td>
<td>$6,261,811</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>EMILY's List</td>
<td>$7,739,946</td>
<td>$8,100,752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Voices for Working Families</td>
<td>$7,466,056</td>
<td>$7,202,695</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>AFL-CIO</td>
<td>$6,585,072</td>
<td>$6,541,896</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>League of Conservation Voters</td>
<td>$6,049,500</td>
<td>$5,078,116</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Intl Brotherhood of Electrical Workers</td>
<td>$5,457,928</td>
<td>$8,182,245</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Democratic Victory 2004</td>
<td>$3,696,869</td>
<td>$2,346,179</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Laborers Union</td>
<td>$3,455,921</td>
<td>$3,294,785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>$456,063,105</strong></td>
<td><strong>$462,082,794</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Where the Money Goes…

Figure 11-6 House and Senate Campaign Expenses

House Campaign Expenses

- Electronic media advertising 27%
- Persuasion mail 15%
- Actual campaigning 8%
- Fund-raising 13%
- Other expenses 7%
- Overhead 24%
- Polling 3%
- Other media 3%

Senate Campaign Expenses

- Electronic media advertising 42%
- Fund-raising 20%
- Actual campaigning 5%
- Overhead 24%
- Persuasion mail 3%
- Other expenses 2%
- Polling 3%
- Other media 1%

Source: Based on data reported by Dwight Morris and Murielle E. Gamache in *Handbook of Campaign Spending: Money in the 1992 Congressional Races* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1994), Table 1-3, 8; and Table 1-6, 12.
Who Benefits from Spending?

Figure 11-4 Increasing Returns: Challenger Spending in House Elections

**Spending Range (thousands of dollars, adjusted for inflation)**

- Orange bars: Percentage of challengers whose spending fell in range
- Peach bars: Winners as a percentage of challengers within spending range

Source: Compiled by the authors from Federal Election Commission data.
Challengers!!!

**Figure 11-5 Heavy Campaign Spending: The Sign of a Weak Incumbent**

*Percent*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spending Range (thousands of dollars, adjusted for inflation)</th>
<th>Percentage of incumbents whose spending fell in range</th>
<th>Winners as a percentage of incumbents within spending range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0–99</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100–199</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200–299</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300–399</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>400–499</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>500–599</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>600–699</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>700–799</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>800–899</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900+</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Compiled by the authors from Federal Election Commission data.
House and Senate Reelection Rates, 1964–06
Running for Congress

HOUSE
- Raising Money (‘Money Primary’)
- Personal Organization
- Gaining Visibility
- Benefits of Incumbency (franking, casework, ‘pork’ to district, TV access, gerrymandering)

SENATE
- Different ‘District’ (Entire State)
- District can have split representation (Lugar and Bayh)
- MUCH More Money
- More Distant from Constituents (thus less safe)
Gerrymandering
Running for President

- **Step 1:** *The Nomination* (caucuses, primaries)
- **Step 2:** *The Convention* (party platform, selecting the vice-presidential candidate, kicking off campaign)
- **Step 3:** *The General Election*
  - Personal Campaign
  - Organizational Campaign
  - Media Campaign (battleground states, debates)

“I’m John Kerry and I’m reporting to blow it…”
How to Lose the Popular Vote and Win the Electoral College

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gore (D)</th>
<th>Bush (R)</th>
<th>Electoral Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,912,253</td>
<td>2,913,790</td>
<td>25 to Bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,589,026</td>
<td>2,019,421</td>
<td>22 to Gore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>5,501,279</td>
<td>4,933,211</td>
<td><strong>BUSH WINS!</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Electoral College

This image illustrates the map of the United States showing each state's electoral votes. The states are labeled with their respective electoral vote totals, ranging from 3 (Alaska) to 55 (California). The map is used to explain the electoral college system in American politics.
RealClearPolitics Electoral College
(270 Electoral Votes Needed To Win)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RealClear Electoral Count</th>
<th>No Toss Up States</th>
<th>Create Your Own Map</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Last Ten Elections: 2004</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama/Biden 306</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCain/Palin 157</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toss Up 75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

259 Solid
47 Leaning
137 Solid
20 Leaning
75 Toss Up

(Check on State or Table Below for Latest Polls and to Change Status)

State-by-State Changes Last 3 Months
Voting Choices

- Voting on the Basis of Party Loyalty
- Voting on the Basis of Policy Issues
  - Prospective?
  - Retrospective?
  - General or Specific?
- Voting on the Basis of Candidate Image
Presidential Approval

George W. Bush Quarterly Job Approval Averages

GALLUP POLL