Elections and Democracy

• Frequent elections are key to democracy and, in elections, principals (citizens) choose agents to act on their behalf.

• But there are two problems for principals:
  – Adverse selection: the problem of incomplete information, of choosing alternatives without fully knowing the details of available options
  – Moral hazard: the problem of not knowing all aspects of the actions taken by an agent
Institutions of Elections

- Elections rules consist of a mix of federal and state laws, court decisions, and local administrative practices.
- Four basic questions of election law:
  - Electoral composition: Who votes?
  - Ballot access and form: How do we vote?
  - Electoral districts: Where do we vote?
  - Criteria for victory: What does it take to win?
Who Votes? Electoral Composition

• The electorate has expanded throughout American history.
  – The Fifteenth Amendment allowed blacks to vote, but local laws restricted voting until the 1960s.
  – In most states, women could not vote until the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920.
  – Eighteen-year-olds could not vote until the Twenty-sixth Amendment was ratified in 1971.

• Voting is a right; it is not compulsory.
In June 2013, in *Shelby County v. Holder*, the Supreme Court struck down a provision of the Voting Rights Act requiring some jurisdictions to seek “pre-clearance” for new voting restrictions. The change effectively gives many jurisdictions the power to impose new voting restrictions.
Clicker Question

Should voters be required to provide government-issued identification in order to vote?

A. Yes
B. No
Voter Turnout Is Low in the United States
Voter Turnout Is Lower than It Was a Century Ago
Voter Registration Is a Key Obstacle to Voting

- Some voters do not vote on Election Day because they are not registered to vote.
- There are many reasons voters may not be registered to vote, but one common reason is that they have recently moved.
- One reason voter registration rates are lower among young people is because they move more often and are less likely to be registered where they currently live.
Demographic Differences in Voter Registration Rates, 2012

### By Annual Family Income
- Less than $20,000: 61.8%
- $20,000-$29,999: 67.7%
- $30,000-$39,999: 69.2%
- $40,000-$49,999: 73.8%
- $50,000-$74,999: 77.4%
- $75,000-$99,999: 81.7%
- $100,000 and over: 86.0%

### By Education
- College graduate: 81.7%
- Some college: 74.3%
- High school graduate: 63.7%
- Some high school: 50.6%

### By Employment
- Employed: 75.5%
- Unemployed: 64.1%

### By Ethnic Group
- White: 71.9%
- African American: 73.1%
- Asian American: 56.3%
- Hispanic American: 58.7%

### By Age
- 18-24: 53.6%
- 25-34: 58.1%
- 35-44: 71.4%
- 45-54: 73.6%
- 55-64: 77.4%
- 65-74: 79.7%
- 75 and over: 79.1%
The rise of the secret ballot and the Australian ballot came about in the late nineteenth century.

Australian ballot: an electoral format that presents the names of all the candidates for any given office on the same ballot.
The rise of the Australian ballot had all of the following effects EXCEPT

A. banning voters under 21 from voting.
B. encouraging ticket splitting.
C. helping incumbent candidates.
D. making the ballot longer.
The rise of the Australian ballot had all of the following effects EXCEPT

A. banning voters under 21 from voting.
B. encouraging ticket splitting.
C. helping incumbent candidates.
D. making the ballot longer.
Where Americans Vote: Electoral Districts

- Elected officials represent people in specific places.
- For the most part, the United States employs single-member districts; the electorate is allowed to elect only one representative from each district.
- Presidential elections are a special case in which the electoral college is employed.
Exceptions to One Person, One Vote

• Members of the U.S. Senate represent states, with each state given the same number (2) of senators.
• This violation of the one-person, one-vote standard is authorized by Article V of the Constitution.
• The electoral college is also an exception.
The Effects of Single-Member Districts

• Single-member districts tend to exaggerate the victory of the majority.
  – In 2010, Republicans won 53.5 percent of the national two-party vote but 55.6 percent of the seats.
  – In 2012, Barack Obama won 51 percent of the national vote but 62 percent of the electoral college.
  – This also shrinks the power of smaller groups

• Single-member districts also weaken third parties.
Redistricting

- Because of the one-person, one-vote standard, legislative districts are not static.
- They are redrawn every 10 years and, in most states, the power to do this resides with the state legislature.
- District boundaries may be manipulated to give one party or another an advantage.
- This is called gerrymandering.
Congressional Redistricting

Decennial census

Census bureau applies mathematical formula called “method of equal proportions” to determine the number of congressional seats to which each state is now entitled. Some states gain seats; some states lose seats; others remain unchanged.

Party strategists examine census findings, seat gains and losses, and voting data to try to develop state-by-state districting formulas that will help their party. Strategists also examine election laws and recent court decisions.

National parties invest money and other resources in state legislative races to try to exert maximum influence over reapportionment process.

Party strategists brief state legislators on possible districting schemes.

Members of Congress lobby state legislators for favorable treatment.

State legislatures and legislative commissions hold hearings to develop rules and procedures for redistricting.

New district boundaries are drawn.

Bill voted in state legislature—sent to governor.

Governor accepts or vetoes.

Losers appeal to state and federal courts, who make final decision.

Parties begin planning for next round.
Gerrymandering

- Gerrymandering is the apportionment of voters in districts in such a way as to give unfair advantage to a political party.
- Gerrymandering is creating less of a bias than in previous decades.
- One reason for this is that voters are already largely segregated into communities of like-minded voters.
Racial Gerrymandering

- Redistricting can also be done to the advantage or disadvantage of groups as well as parties.
- By breaking up communities of racial minorities, those drawing the maps can dilute their power and make it more difficult to elect minority legislators.
- This kind of gerrymandering is unconstitutional.
Criteria for Victory: What it Takes to Win

- Most American elections require a plurality of votes to win.
- Plurality Rule: a type of electoral system in which victory goes to the individual who gets the most votes in an election but not necessarily a majority of the votes cast.
- The main alternative to plurality rule is proportional representation, but this is not consistent with single-member districts.
Duverger’s Law

- Duverger’s Law of politics, formalized by Maurice Duverger, states that plurality-rule electoral systems will tend to have two political parties.
- Voters do not want to waste their votes, so if they understand that the more extreme candidate cannot win, they will vote for the more moderate alternative.
Direct Democracy: The Referendum and the Recall

- 24 states allow for the referendum, a measure proposed or passed by a legislature that is referred to the electorate for approval.
- 24 states also allow for the initiative, a process by which citizens may petition to put a proposal on the ballot for public vote.
- 18 states allow for the recall, the removal of a public official by popular vote.
How Voters Decide: Voters and Nonvoters

- Voting is strongly correlated with demographics, electoral choices, and context.
  - Older people vote.
  - Highly educated people vote.
  - People who have not moved recently vote.
  - People vote when they are interested in the issues.
- Weakening registration requirements would increase voting.
Clicker Question

What is your party affiliation?
A. Democrat  
B. Republican  
C. not sure/ other

In the 2014 election, are you planning to vote for the Democratic or Republican candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?
A. Democrat  
B. Republican  
C. don’t know / not sure / not voting
How Voters Decide: How to Vote

- Partisan loyalty is the single strongest predictor of a person’s vote.
  - There is a psychological attachment.
  - There is an ideological attachment.
  - There is an attachment to past experience with a party.
- The vast majority of voters consistently vote for one party or the other.
Party Identification and the 2012 Presidential Election

- Democrats: 92% voted for Obama, 7% voted for Romney, 1% voted for other
- Republicans: 93% voted for Romney, 6% voted for other, 1% voted for Obama
- Independents: 45% voted for Obama, 50% voted for Romney, 5% voted for other
How Voters Decide: Issues

• Voters also consider specific issues.
• Looking forward and back
  – Prospective: based on future performance
  – Retrospective: based on past performance
• Means and ends
  – Spatial issues: Voters care about how something is done.
  – Valence issues: Voters want a particular outcome.
Clicker Question

Voters are distributed evenly in Groups 1–5. Which position should a candidate take on the issue?

A. $X_1$
B. $X_2$
C. $X_3$
D. $X_4$
E. $X_5$
Median-Voter Theorem

- A proposition predicting that when policy options can be arrayed along a single dimension, majority rule will pick the policy most preferred by the voter whose ideal policy is to the left of half of the voters and to the right of half of the voters.
- The candidate whose position is closest to the median voter’s position is likely to win.
Consumer Confidence as a Valence Measure

The Consumer Confidence Index before an election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Incumbent party candidate</th>
<th>Opposing party candidate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Humphrey (D)</td>
<td>Nixon (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Nixon (R)</td>
<td>McGovern (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Ford (R)</td>
<td>Carter (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Carter (D)</td>
<td>Reagan (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Reagan (R)</td>
<td>Mondale (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>G. H. W. Bush (R)</td>
<td>Dukakis (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>G. H. W. Bush (R)</td>
<td>Clinton (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Clinton (D)</td>
<td>Dole (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Gore (D)**</td>
<td>G. W. Bush (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>G. W. Bush (R)</td>
<td>Kerry (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>McCain (R)</td>
<td>Obama (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Obama (D)</td>
<td>Romney (R)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How Voters Decide: Candidates’ Characteristics

- A candidate’s personal attributes—race, ethnicity, religion, gender, geography, and social background—influence voters’ decisions.
- Voters tend to prefer candidates more like themselves because they assume that such candidates are likely to have views close to their own.
How Voters Decide: Candidates’ Characteristics

- Voters also value particular characteristics like “honesty” and “vigor.”
- Incumbency can be thought of as another characteristic, and this is an advantage most of the time.
Clicker Question

Which of the following plays the most important role in voters’ decisions?

A. candidates’ characteristics
B. partisan identification
C. issues
D. position on the ballot
Which of the following plays the most important role in voters’ decisions?

A. candidates’ characteristics
B. partisan identification
C. issues
D. position on the ballot
What It Takes to Win

• All campaigns face similar challenges:
  – How to bring people in
  – How to raise money
  – How to coordinate activities
  – What message to run
  – How to communicate with the public

• There is no single best way to run for office.

• Campaigns are long and costly.
Campaign Organizations

• Most campaign organizations are temporary, created by a candidate to run for a particular office, and they disband shortly after Election Day.

• Parties have a number of permanent political organizations, and so do powerful interest groups.
Campaign Tactics

• Campaigns today are longer than ever before and they employ:
  – Television, radio, direct mail, and Internet ads
  – Get-out-the-vote activities
  – Campaign events such as rallies and debates

• All of this is very expensive, so there is a complex web of laws surrounding campaign finance.
### Campaign Finance Regulation

#### The Rules for Campaign Contributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who</th>
<th>may contribute . . .</th>
<th>to . . .</th>
<th>if . . .</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individuals</td>
<td>up to $2,000</td>
<td>a candidate</td>
<td>they are contributing to a single candidate in a single election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals</td>
<td>up to $28,500</td>
<td>a national party committee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals</td>
<td>up to $5,000</td>
<td>a PAC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACs</td>
<td>up to $5,000</td>
<td>a candidate</td>
<td>they contribute to the campaigns of at least five candidates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals and PACs</td>
<td>unlimited funds</td>
<td>a 527 committee</td>
<td>the funds are used for issue advocacy and the 527 committee’s efforts are not coordinated with any political campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals and PACs</td>
<td>up to $10,000</td>
<td>a state party committee</td>
<td>the money is used for voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals and PACs</td>
<td>unlimited funds</td>
<td>an independent expenditure committee (super PAC)</td>
<td>the money is used for political ads advocating for or against candidates and the committee’s efforts are not coordinated with any political campaign</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### The Rules for Campaign Advertising

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who</th>
<th>may not finance . . .</th>
<th>if . . .</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unions, corporations, and nonprofit organizations</td>
<td>broadcast issue ads mentioning federal candidates</td>
<td>they occur within 60 days of a general election or 30 days of a primary election</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### The Rules for Presidential Primaries and Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates . . .</th>
<th>may receive . . .</th>
<th>if . . .</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In primaries</td>
<td>federal matching funds, dollar for dollar, up to $5 million</td>
<td>they raise at least $5,000 in each of 20 states in contributions of $250 or less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In general elections</td>
<td>full federal funding (but may spend no more than their federal funding)</td>
<td>they belong to a major party (minor-party candidates may receive partial funding)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In any election</td>
<td>money from independent groups (PACs and 527 committees)</td>
<td>the groups’ efforts are not tied directly to the official campaign</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Important Definitions for Campaign Finance Regulation

- **Political action committee (PAC):** Private group that raises and distributes funds for use in election campaigns.
- **527 committee:** Tax-exempt organization that engages in political activities, often through unlimited “soft-money” contributions. The committee is not restricted by current law on campaign finance, thus exploiting a loophole in the Internal Revenue Service code.
- **501(c)(4):** Not-for-profit group that may engage in unlimited political spending so long as the amount spent does not exceed 50 percent of its budget. Unlike the 527s, 501(c)(4)s are not required to disclose contributor and recipient information.
- **Independent expenditure committee:** Organization that may engage in unlimited political spending to run advertising for or against candidates so long as their efforts are not coordinated with those of the candidates.
- **Federal matching funds:** Federal funds that match, dollar for dollar, all individual contributions of $250 or less received by a candidate. To qualify, the candidate must raise at least $5,000 in individual contributions of $250 or less in each of 20 states.
- **Federal Election Commission:** The commission that oversees campaign finance practices in the United States.
Can corporations spend money on political campaigns?

A. Yes
B. No
Can corporations spend money on political campaigns?

A. Yes
B. No
Congressional Campaigns

• The incumbent advantage is significant in congressional campaigns
• This is because of:
  – Greater name recognition
  – Fundraising advantages
  – Casework and voting record
The 2012 Election

- More than 128 million Americans voted for president, members of Congress, governors, and numerous other officials.
- President Obama was reelected and Democrats retained majority control of the U.S. Senate, but Republicans also held on to majority control of the U.S. House of Representatives.
The Electoral College in 2012

For Romney-Ryan (R): Total = 206
For Obama-Biden (D): Total = 332
Political Parties in 2012: Unity and Division

• There is a growing ideological split between the parties, but the parties are not ideologically uniform in themselves.
• The split within the Democratic Party was largely masked by the fact that the Democratic nominee was a given.
• The split within the Republican Party was exposed during the presidential primaries.
# Congressional Election Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>TURNOUT</th>
<th>PARTY RATIO</th>
<th>SEAT SHIFT</th>
<th>DEMOCRATS RE-ELECTED</th>
<th>REPUBLICANS RE-ELECTED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
<td>204 D, 230 R</td>
<td>+54 R</td>
<td>89.3%</td>
<td>99.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>207 D, 227 R</td>
<td>+3 D</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>91.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>211 D, 223 R</td>
<td>+4 D</td>
<td>99.5</td>
<td>97.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>212 D, 222 R</td>
<td>+1 D</td>
<td>98.0</td>
<td>97.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>205 D, 229 R</td>
<td>+8 R</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>97.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>201 D, 232 R</td>
<td>+3 R</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>99.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>233 D, 202 R</td>
<td>+30 D</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>89.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>257 D, 178 R</td>
<td>+24 D</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>92.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>193 D, 242 R</td>
<td>+64 R</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>98.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>201 D, 234 R</td>
<td>+8 D</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>90.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Congressional Election Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>TURNOUT</th>
<th>PARTY RATIO</th>
<th>SEAT SHIFT</th>
<th>DEMOCRATS RE-ELECTED</th>
<th>REPUBLICANS RE-ELECTED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
<td>47 D, 53 R</td>
<td>+10 R</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>45 D, 55 R</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>85.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>45 D, 55 R</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>92.3</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>50 D, 50 R</td>
<td>+5 D</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>64.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>48 D, 51 R</td>
<td>+1 R</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>93.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>44 D, 55 R</td>
<td>+4 R</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>50 D, 49 R</td>
<td>+6 D</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>57.1</td>
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<td>2008</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>59 D, 41 R</td>
<td>+8 D</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>53 D, 47 R</td>
<td>+6 R</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>55 D*, 45 R</td>
<td>+2 D</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>71.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 2012 presidential election was largely waged in 8 to 10 swing states.

The Obama campaign and allied groups spent about $400 million on advertisements, while the Romney campaign and allied groups spent about $500 million.

The Obama campaign was widely viewed as better organized on the ground.
Vote Shifts between 2008 and 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% Voted for Obama</th>
<th>% Voted for McCain (2008)</th>
<th>% Voted for Romney (2012)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENDER</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(45%)</td>
<td>(45%)</td>
<td>(52%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(55%)</td>
<td>(44%)</td>
<td>(44%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AGE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(60%)</td>
<td>(37%)</td>
<td>(45%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(52%)</td>
<td>(46%)</td>
<td>(45%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>51%</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(49%)</td>
<td>(51%)</td>
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<td>65+</td>
<td>45%</td>
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<td>56%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(43%)</td>
<td>(53%)</td>
<td>(56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PARTY</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(92%)</td>
<td>(7%)</td>
<td>(93%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6%)</td>
<td>(9%)</td>
<td>(93%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent or something else</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(45%)</td>
<td>(44%)</td>
<td>(93%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RACE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(36%)</td>
<td>(53%)</td>
<td>(58%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(95%)</td>
<td>(4%)</td>
<td>(6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(71%)</td>
<td>(31%)</td>
<td>(27%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(73%)</td>
<td>(35%)</td>
<td>(26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INCOME</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under $50,000</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000–100,000</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than $100,000</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Elections and Accountability

• The last several elections demonstrate the link between elections and accountability.
  – Voters angry with Obama and congressional Democrats punished Democrats in 2010.
  – Voters rewarded Obama for progress in 2012.
• It is clear that voters are using elections to hold elected officials accountable.