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0. Untitled introduction: turnout can matter – Florida in 2000 presidential election
 - A. When the popular-vote recount was stopped by the US Supreme Court, Bush won over Gore by 537 votes
 - B. Florida, like 48/50 states uses the winner-take-all translation rule to convert popular votes into electoral votes

 - I. The low turnout in American elections
 - A. Definition
 1. Precise but no reliable data sources: $(\# \text{ of voters}) / (\# \text{ of voting age adults} - \# \text{ not eligible}) = ?$
 2. Walter Dean Burnham estimates: $(\# \text{ of voters}) / (\# \text{ of voting age adults} - \# \text{ not citizens}) = ?$
 3. Best alternative: $(\# \text{ of voters}) / (\# \text{ of voting age adults}) = \text{about } 40\text{-}60\%$
 4. Worst alternative (used by local media): $(\# \text{ of voters}) / (\# \text{ of registered voters}) = \text{about } 80\%$
 - B. Long-term trends Figure 8.1, p. 138 – Burnham estimates
 - C. Current level
 1. By election type
 2. By state/region
 3. Compared to other democracies

 - II. The expanding right to vote
 - A. Constitutional authority
 1. Pre-civil war
 2. Post-civil war
 - B. Basic rationale
 1. Restrictive policies Box, p. 142
 2. Inclusive policies

 - III. Legal barriers to voting
 - A. Former restrictions, no longer imposed
 1. Religion
 2. Class
 3. Race
 4. Election of U.S. Senators (17th amendment, 1913)
 5. Gender (19th amendment, 1920)
 6. D.C. residency (23rd amendment, 1961)
 7. Age: 18 or over (26th amendment, 1971)
 - B. Currently imposed by some or all states
 1. Largest impact
 - a. Citizenship
 - b. Residence
 - c. Registration
 2. Lesser impact -- disqualifications
 - a. Felony conviction
 - b. Mental health

 - IV. The special case of voting rights for American blacks
 - A. The long struggle for voting rights
 1. 1865-1876: *de jure* discrimination prohibited by 14th & 15th amendments
 2. 1876-1965: disenfranchisement
 - a. Post-reconstruction *de jure* discrimination (Jim Crow laws) Box, p. 148
 - (1) Grandfather clause (overturned by Supreme Court, 1915)
 - (2) White primary (overturned by Supreme Court, 1944)
 - (3) Poll tax (prohibited by 24th amendment, 1964)
 - (4) Literacy test (restricted by Congress, 1965)
 - b. *De facto* intimidation
 - (1) Economic sanctions (prohibited by Congress, 1964)
 - (2) Physical sanctions (prohibited by Congress, 1965)
 - c. Current *de jure* methods of limiting the impact of black votes
 - (1) At-large representation in local elections
 - (2) Municipal annexation & consolidation
 - (3) Legislative redistricting
 - B. The growth of black registration in the south Figure 8.2, p. 143
 - C. From voting rights to representation: majority-minority districts
 1. Republican support
 2. Supreme Court rulings
 - D. Getting blacks' votes counted
 1. Butterfly ballots

2. Older, less reliable voting machines
3. Discriminatory drug laws

- V. Political influences on turnout
- A. Voter registration
 1. Responsibility: government v. citizen
 2. Convenience:
 - a. Mail-in
 - b. In-person: day(s), times, location(s)
 3. Eligibility: length of residency
 - B. The excitement of the election
 1. Length of election campaigns
 2. Scheduling of Election Day
 3. Frequency of elections
 4. Number of offices contested
 - C. The nature of the party system
 1. Inter-party competitiveness
 2. Representativeness of party system: two-party v. multiparty
 3. Party discipline: control of candidate nominations and campaigns
 - D. Other structural arrangements
 1. Fragmentation (federal v. unitary; presidential v. parliamentary)
 2. Number of offices contested: long v. short ballot
 3. Nature of election campaigns: cost & length
- VI. Turnout: individual differences Figure 8.3, p. 147; & Figure 8.4, p. 148
- A. Socio-demographic
 1. Strong predictors:
 - a. Class
 - b. Age
 - c. Social connectedness
 2. Weak predictors: race, region, or gender
 - B. Psychological
 1. Strong predictors
 - a. Strength of party identification
 - b. Level of interest in current campaign
 - c. Strength of external political efficacy (opposite = anomie)
 2. Weak predictor: level of political trust (opposite = cynicism)
- VII. Why isn't voter turnout even higher?
- A. The puzzle of low turnouts
 1. Factors encouraging increased turnout
 - a. Rise of education levels
 - b. Expanded legal access
 - c. Decline of traditional gender roles
 2. Factors discouraging turnout
 - a. Decline in external efficacy
 - b. Decline in strength of partisanship
 - c. Decline in social connectedness
 - B. What could stimulate more participation?
 1. Systemic-level remedies
 2. Individual-level remedies

- VIII. Why do these changes in turnout matter?
- A. Long-range effects
 1. Changing electorate
 - a. Newly enfranchised
 - b. Newly mobilized
 - c. Aging
 - d. Migrating
 2. Non-representative electorate
 - a. Marginalization of disadvantaged
 - b. Moderation and pragmatism
 - B. Short-range effects on particular elections
 1. Surge and decline in House seats won by presidential party
 2. Selective mobilization in get-out-the-vote efforts

- IX. The challenge to the parties Box, p. 154