Potential Sources

Source A - 2013-2014 Top Organizational Campaign Contributors:
https://www.opensecrets.org/overview/toporgs.php

Source B - Cost of Winning a House and Senate Election (1986-2012):
http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/vital/VitalStats_t1.pdf

Source C - Three-Fifths Compromise (with annotation):
http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=163

Source D - Woman's Suffrage Cartoon:
http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/ppmsca.02919/

Source E - President Jackson's speech on Indian Removal Act:
http://www.nps.gov/museum/tmc/MANZ/handouts/Andrew_Jackson_Annual_Message.pdf

Source F - Definitions of democracy:
http://www.uiowa.edu/~c030142/DefinitionsOfDemocracy.html

Source G - Article about the demographics of non-voters:
http://www.people-press.org/2014/10/31/the-party-of-nonvoters-2/

Source H - Voter demographics 2004, 2008, and 2012: also saved as pdf
http://www.mikvachallenge.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/C3_Elections_Lesson-3.pdf (p. 10-14)

Top Organization Contributions: All Federal Contributions

View: All federal contributions <input

Totals on this page reflect donations from employees of the organization, its PAC and in some cases its own treasury. These totals include all campaign contributions to federal candidates, parties, political action committees (including superPACs), federal 527 organizations, and Carey committees. **Because 501(c) organizations do not disclose their donors, contributions to those groups are not included here, except in cases where the group discloses voluntarily.** Only contributions to Democrats and Republicans or liberal and conservative outside groups are included in calculating the percentages the donor has given to either party.

Toggle percentages

Rank	Organization	Total Contributions	Total Hard Money	Total Outside Money	To Dems & Liberals	To Repubs & Conservs		
1	Fahr LLC/Tom Steyer	$73,846,459	$119,667	$73,726,792	$73,846,459	$0	100%	0%
2	ActBlue	$41,241,343	$40,667,384	$573,959	$41,204,468	$33,675	100%	0%
3	National Education Assn	$24,713,076	$2,274,397	$22,438,679	$23,883,144	$218,475	99%	1%
4	Bloomberg Lp	$20,242,009	$211,440	$20,030,569	$19,726,709	$509,050	98%	3%
5	Carpenters & Joiners Union	$16,623,436	$2,137,250	$14,486,186	$16,182,186	$441,250	97%	3%
6	National Assn of Realtors	$14,739,454	$4,665,515	$10,073,939	$2,324,079	$2,338,720	50%	50%
7	Elliott Management	$12,336,919	$2,703,382	$9,633,537	$7,450	$12,329,469	0%	100%
8	Service Employees International Union	$12,279,380	$1,693,372	$10,586,008	$12,274,380	$0	100%	0%

https://www.opensecrets.org/overview/toporgs.php

Rank	Organization	Total Contributions	Total Hard Money	Total Outside Money	To Dems & Liberals	To Repubs & Conservs		
9	American Federation of Teachers	$9,205,638	$2,707,620	$6,498,018	$9,169,638	$16,000	100%	0%
10	Senate Majority PAC	$9,183,379	$250	$9,183,129	$9,183,379	$0	100%	0%
11	Renaissance Technologies	$8,796,150	$726,150	$8,070,000	$455,300	$8,340,850	5%	95%
12	Democratic Governors Assn	$8,767,373	$25,250	$8,742,123	$8,767,373	$0	100%	0%
13	American Fedn of St/Cnty/Munic Employees	$8,274,728	$2,753,325	$5,521,403	$8,115,478	$11,250	100%	0%
14	Newsweb Corp	$8,136,750	$226,750	$7,910,000	$7,736,750	$250,000	97%	3%
15	AFL-CIO	$8,080,110	$496,912	$7,583,198	$7,951,110	$128,000	98%	2%
16	Koch Industries	$7,789,085	$3,634,985	$4,154,100	$50,250	$7,819,835	1%	99%
17	United Food & Commercial Workers Union	$7,187,266	$2,369,704	$4,817,562	$7,129,666	$12,600	100%	0%
18	Plumbers/Pipefitters Union	$6,807,935	$2,269,000	$4,538,935	$5,880,897	$173,800	97%	3%
19	United Steelworkers	$6,749,650	$854,750	$5,894,900	$1,436,500	$8,500	99%	1%
20	Intl Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	$6,386,760	$4,087,218	$2,299,542	$6,250,920	$95,840	99%	2%

https://www.opensecrets.org/overview/toporgs.php

Rank	Organization	Total Contributions	Total Hard Money	Total Outside Money	To Dems & Liberals	To Repubs & Conservs		
21	Operating Engineers Union	$5,839,336	$3,251,567	$2,587,769	$5,214,711	$624,625	89%	11%
22	Las Vegas Sands	$5,717,950	$677,950	$5,040,000	$500	$5,717,450	0%	100%
23	Laborers Union	$5,707,353	$2,558,554	$3,148,799	$3,908,398	$413,955	90%	10%
24	Uline Inc	$5,543,925	$356,325	$5,187,600	$0	$5,546,525	0%	100%
25	Honeywell International	$4,990,830	$4,964,880	$25,950	$2,108,318	$2,886,012	42%	58%
26	TD Ameritrade	$4,921,750	$49,150	$4,872,600	$5,050	$4,919,300	0%	100%
27	American Assn for Justice	$4,604,463	$2,912,713	$1,691,750	$4,477,963	$101,000	98%	2%
28	Alliance Resource Partners	$4,551,345	$766,345	$3,785,000	$2,000	$4,549,345	0%	100%
29	Comcast Corp	$4,482,122	$4,399,271	$82,851	$2,380,032	$2,103,690	53%	47%
30	Blue Cross/Blue Shield	$4,368,760	$4,307,957	$60,803	$1,724,239	$2,642,271	40%	61%
31	Northrop Grumman	$4,302,224	$4,295,074	$7,150	$1,807,098	$2,494,231	42%	58%
32	AT&T Inc	$4,085,976	$4,034,801	$51,175	$1,408,331	$2,664,895	35%	65%

https://www.opensecrets.org/overview/toporgs.php

Rank	Organization	Total Contributions	Total Hard Money	Total Outside Money	To Dems & Liberals	To Repubs & Conservs		
33	National Air Traffic Controllers Assn	$4,074,593	$2,185,450	$1,889,143	$3,430,093	$641,000	84%	16%
34	Lockheed Martin	$4,055,485	$4,043,252	$12,233	$1,598,463	$2,456,710	39%	61%
35	National Beer Wholesalers Assn	$3,972,700	$3,972,700	$0	$1,636,900	$2,330,800	41%	59%
36	General Electric	$3,971,423	$3,953,423	$18,000	$1,598,221	$2,374,977	40%	60%
37	Stephens Group	$3,920,450	$875,450	$3,045,000	$8,500	$3,911,950	0%	100%
38	Soros Fund Management	$3,892,700	$282,700	$3,610,000	$3,823,700	$34,000	99%	1%
39	Google Inc	$3,891,377	$2,869,469	$1,021,908	$2,465,352	$1,107,311	69%	31%
40	Goldman Sachs	$3,844,896	$3,407,796	$437,100	$1,704,904	$2,183,342	44%	56%
41	American Federation of Govt Employees	$3,722,083	$1,050,375	$2,671,708	$3,665,833	$56,250	99%	2%
42	Houston Texans	$3,685,000	$132,400	$3,552,600	$0	$3,687,600	0%	100%
43	American Bankers Assn	$3,549,133	$3,366,323	$182,810	$902,250	$2,625,373	26%	74%
44	National Assn of Letter Carriers	$3,496,820	$1,614,610	$1,882,210	$1,551,110	$62,500	96%	4%

https://www.opensecrets.org/overview/toporgs.php

Rank	Organization	Total Contributions	Total Hard Money	Total Outside Money	To Dems & Liberals	To Repubs & Conservs		
45	Communications Workers of America	$3,400,587	$1,594,200	$1,806,387	$3,343,999	$27,750	99%	1%
46	Raytheon Co	$3,394,235	$3,386,648	$7,587	$1,176,541	$2,218,531	35%	65%
47	Berkshire Hathaway	$3,373,858	$3,337,908	$35,950	$1,219,589	$2,162,906	36%	64%
48	Home Depot	$3,331,226	$2,745,001	$586,225	$679,495	$2,657,031	20%	80%
49	Citadel LLC	$3,284,455	$459,455	$2,825,000	$112,980	$3,171,475	3%	97%
50	New York Life Insurance	$3,206,331	$3,183,881	$22,450	$1,545,569	$1,680,262	48%	52%

This table lists the top donors in the 2013-2014 election cycle. **Before 2010, the organizations themselves did not donate, rather the money came from the organizations' PACs, their individual members or employees or owners, and those individuals' immediate families.** From 2010, it is possible for companies to donate directly to super PACs and those contributions are included here. Organization totals include subsidiaries and affiliates.

NOTE: Figures include contributions from spouses and dependent children. Additionally, federal law prohibits the use of contributor information for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for any commercial purpose.

Based on data released by the FEC on 10/25/14 and the IRS on 8/4/14.

To view data for previous cycles, visit our **Big Picture** section.

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B

Table 3-1 The Cost of Winning an Election, 1986-2012 (in nominal and 2012 dollars)

	House Winners		Senate Winners	
	Nominal Dollars	2012 Dollars	Nominal Dollars	2012 Dollars
2012	1,596,953	1,596,953	10,351,556	10,351,556
2010	1,434,760	1,511,799	8,993,945	8,276,415
2008	1,362,239	1,452,718	7,500,052	7,998,198
2006	1,259,791	1,434,762	8,835,416	10,062,557
2004	1,038,391	1,262,120	7,183,825	8,731,637
2002	911,644	1,163,499	3,728,644	4,758,737
2000	845,907	1,127,876	7,198,423 [a]	9,597,897
1998	677,807	954,751	4,655,806	6,558,117
1996	686,198	1,004,150	3,921,653	5,738,761
1994	541,121	838,336	4,488,195	6,953,371
1992	556,475	910,668	3,353,115	5,487,350
1990	423,245	743,512	3,298,324	5,794,148
1988	400,386	777,081	3,746,225	7,270,780
1986	359,577	753,274	3,067,559	6,426,200

Note: Inflation adjustment based on average 2012 CPI.
ftp://ftp.bls.gov/pub/special.requests/cpi/cpiai.txt

a. Jon Corzine (D-N.J.) spent $63,209,506. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.) spent $29,941,194. The remaining Senate winners in 2000 spent an average of $4,737,365.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

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The Three-Fifth Compromise
Digital History ID 163

Date:1787

Annotation:

The Constitution was a document based upon compromise: between larger and smaller states, between proponents of a strong central government and those who favored strong state governments, and, above all, between northern and southern states. Of all the compromises on which the Constitution rested, perhaps the most controversial was the Three-Fifths Compromise, an agreement to count three-fifths of a state's slaves in apportioning Representatives, Presidential electors, and direct taxes.

The three-fifths figure was the outgrowth of a debate that had taken place within the Continental Congress in 1783. The Articles of Confederation had apportioned taxes not according to population but according to land values. The states consistently undervalued their land in order to reduce their tax burden. To rectify this situation, a special committee recommended apportioning taxes by population. The Continental Congress debated the ratio of slaves to free persons at great length. Northerners favored a 4-to-3 ratio, while southerners favored a 2-to-1 or 4-to-1 ratio. Finally, James Madison suggested a compromise: a 5-to-3 ratio. All but two states--New Hampshire and Rhode Island--approved this recommendation. But because the Articles of Confederation required unanimous agreement, the proposal was defeated. When the Constitutional Convention met in 1787, it adopted Madison's earlier suggestion.

The taxes that the Three-Fifths Compromise dealt with were "direct" taxes, as opposed to excise or import taxes. It was not until 1798 that Congress imposed the first genuine direct taxes in American history: a tax on dwelling-houses and a tax on slaves aged 12 to 50.

The Three-Fifths Compromise greatly augmented southern political power. In the Continental Congress, where each state had an equal vote, there were only five states in which slavery was a major institution. Thus the southern states had about 38 percent of the seats in the Continental Congress. Because of the 1787 Three-Fifths Compromise, the southern states had nearly 45 percent of the seats in the first U.S. Congress, which took office in 1790.

It is ironic that it was a liberal northern delegate, James Wilson of Pennsylvania, who proposed the Three-Fifths Compromise, as a way to gain southern support for a new framework of government. Southern states had wanted representation apportioned by population; after the Virginia Plan was rejected, the Three-Fifths Compromise seemed to guarantee that the South would be strongly represented in the House of Representatives and would have disproportionate power in electing Presidents.

Over the long term, the Three-Fifths Compromise did not work as the South anticipated. Since the northern states grew more rapidly than the South, by 1820, southern representation in the House had fallen to 42 percent. Nevertheless, from Jefferson's election as President in 1800 to the 1850s, the three-fifths rule would help to elect slaveholding Presidents. Southern political power increasingly depended on the Senate, the President, and the admission of new slaveholding states.

Document:

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative.... [In 1929, Congress fixed the total number of Representatives at 435; currently, there is one Representative for about every 519,000 persons].

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[The sky is now her limit]

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- Title: [The sky is now her limit] / Bushnell.
- Date Created/Published: [1920 Oct.]
- Medium: 1 photomechanical print.
- Summary: Cartoon showing a woman carrying buckets on a yoke, looking up at ladder ascending up to the sky, bottom rungs labeled "Slavery," "House Drudgery," and "Shop Work." Top rungs labeled "Equal Suffrage," "Wage Equity," and "Presidency."
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- Notes:
    - Illus. in: New York times current history; a monthly magazine. New York : New York times company, 1920 October, p. 142.
    - Published in: American women : a Library of Congress guide for the study of women's history and culture in the United States / edited by Sheridan Harvey ... [et al.]. Washington : Library of Congress, 2001, p. 8.
- Subjects:
    - Women--Domestic life--1920.
    - Ladders--1920.
    - Women's rights--1920.
- Format:
    - Cartoons (Commentary)--1920.
    - Periodical illustrations--1920.
    - Photomechanical prints--1920.
- Collections:
    - Miscellaneous Items in High Demand
- Bookmark This Record:
  http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2002716769

Andrew Jackson's Speech to Congress on Indian Removal

"It gives me pleasure to announce to Congress that the benevolent policy of the Government, steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements is approaching to a happy consummation. Two important tribes have accepted the provision made for their removal at the last session of Congress, and it is believed that their example will induce the remaining tribes also to seek the same obvious advantages.

The consequences of a speedy removal will be important to the United States, to individual States, and to the Indians themselves. The pecuniary advantages which it promises to the Government are the least of its recommendations. It puts an end to all possible danger of collision between the authorities of the General and State Governments on account of the Indians. It will place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters. By opening the whole territory between Tennessee on the north and Louisiana on the south to the settlement of the whites it will incalculably strengthen the southwestern frontier and render the adjacent States strong enough to repel future invasions without remote aid. It will relieve the whole State of Mississippi and the western part of Alabama of Indian occupancy, and enable those States to advance rapidly in population, wealth, and power. It will separate the Indians from immediate contact with settlements of whites; free them from the power of the States; enable them to pursue happiness in their own way and under their own rude institutions; will retard the progress of decay, which is lessening their numbers, and perhaps cause them gradually, under the protection of the Government and through the influence of good counsels, to cast off their savage habits and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community.

What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12,000,000 happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization and religion?

The present policy of the Government is but a continuation of the same progressive change by a milder process. The tribes which occupied the countries now constituting the Eastern States were annihilated or have melted away to make room for the whites. The waves of population and civilization are rolling to the westward, and we now propose to acquire the countries occupied by the red men of the South and West by a fair exchange, and, at the expense of the United States, to send them to land where their existence may be prolonged and perhaps made perpetual. Doubtless it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers; but what do they more than our ancestors did or than our children are now doing? To better their condition in an unknown land our forefathers left all that was dear in earthly objects. Our children by thousands yearly leave the land of their birth to seek new homes in distant regions. Does Humanity weep at these painful separations from everything, animate and inanimate, with which the young heart has become entwined? Far from it. It is rather a source of joy that our country affords scope where our young population may range unconstrained in body or in mind, developing the power and facilities of man in their highest perfection. These remove hundreds and almost thousands of miles at their own expense, purchase the lands they occupy, and support themselves at their new homes from the moment of their arrival. Can it be cruel in this Government when, by events which it cannot control, the Indian is made discontented in his ancient home to purchase his lands, to give him a new and extensive territory, to pay the expense of his removal, and support him a year in his new abode? How many thousands of our own people would gladly embrace

the opportunity of removing to the West on such conditions! If the offers made to the Indians were extended to them, they would be hailed with gratitude and joy.

And is it supposed that the wandering savage has a stronger attachment to his home than the settled, civilized Christian? Is it more afflicting to him to leave the graves of his fathers than it is to our brothers and children? Rightly considered, the policy of the General Government toward the red man is not only liberal, but generous. He is unwilling to submit to the laws of the States and mingle with their population. To save him from this alternative, or perhaps utter annihilation, the General Government kindly offers him a new home, and proposes to pay the whole expense of his removal and settlement."

Citation: President Jackson's Message to Congress "On Indian Removal", December 6, 1830; Records of the United States Senate, 1789-1990; Record Group 46; Records of the United States Senate, 1789-1990; National Archives and Records Administration (NARA]

F

Selected Definitions of Democracy

William M. Reisinger

The basic sense of democracy as a form of governance rests on its etymology as rule by the entire people rather than, as Shapiro puts it, by any "aristocrat, monarch, philosopher, bureaucrat, expert, or religious leader." Beyond that, actual definitions of democracy come in all shapes and sizes. On the next page are a variety of others' definitions for your perusal, presented in chronological order. Each emphasizes one or more things thought to be true about democracy: 1) it is a dangerous form of government; 2) it includes genuine competition for power; 3) it permits mass participation on a legally equal footing; 4) it provides civil and other liberties that restrict the sphere of state power within the society; or 5) it promotes widespread deliberation about how to make and enforce policy so as to promote the common good.

This table shows which of the authors' definitions below fall into each category:

Author	Danger	Competition	Mass & Equal Participation	Liberty Rights	Deliberation
Aristotle	✓				
Calhoun				✓	✓
Mencken	✓				
Shaw	✓				
OED			✓		
Bauer		✓			
Schattschneider		✓	✓		
Murakami			✓		
Aron		✓			
Pennock (the ideal)			✓	✓	✓
Pennock (the practice)			✓		
Powell		✓	✓		
Przeworski		✓			
Bobbio			✓		
Przeworski		✓			
Schmitter & Karl		✓			
Seidenfeld					✓
Vanhannen		✓	✓		

Finer			✓	✓	
Huber, Rueschemeyer & Stephens		✓	✓	✓	
Dahl		✓	✓	✓	
Danziger		✓	✓		
Cohen			✓	✓	✓
Shapiro					
Weale			✓		

1. "A constitution [or *politeia*] may be defined as 'the organization of a city [or *polis*] in respect of its offices generally, but especially in respect of that particular office which is sovereign in all issues. . . . In democratic cities, for example, the people [*demos*] is sovereign. . . . [W]hen the masses govern the city with a view to the common interest, the form of government is called by the generic name . . . of 'constitutional government'. . . . Democracy is directed to the interest of the poor [only, not to the interests of everyone--WR]." (Aristotle 1995, 97-101)

2. "Democracy [is] not majority rule: democracy [is] diffusion of power, representation of interests, recognition of minorities." (John Calhoun, as paraphrased by Roper 1989, 63)

3. "Democracy is the theory that the common people know what they want and deserve to get it good and hard." (H.L. Mencken, quoted in Danziger 1998, 155)

4. Democracy is "the substitution of election by the incompetent many for appointment by the corrupt few." (G.B. Shaw, quoted in Danziger 1998, 155)

5. Democracy is "government by the people; that form of government in which the sovereign power resides in the people as a whole, and is exercised either directly by them . . . or by officers elected by them." (Oxford English Dictionary, 1933)

6. "Democracy is the form of state within which the distribution of power in the state is determined *exclusively* by the social factors of power, but is not shifted in favor of any one class through the application of material means of coercion." (Otto Bauer, quoted in Meyer 1957 [1986], 65)

7. "Democracy is a competitive political system in which competing leaders and organizations define the alternatives of public policy in such a way that the public can participate in the decision-making process." (Schattschneider 1960, 141)

8. "[A] social decision function F(D1, D2, . . . , D*n*) is called a *democracy*, if the function can be expressed only by voting operators--without any resort to negations and constants--and the function is nondictatorial, where nondictatorial is defined as follows: . . . 'A social decision function F(D1, D2, . . . , D*n*) is called *nondictatorial*, if there is no individual whose preference is always adopted by the society." (Murakami 1968, 28-29)

9. A democratic regime is one ". . . in which *the peaceful rivalry for the exercise of power exists constitutionally*." (italics in original) The phrase "exercise of power" implies temporary control. (Aron 1969, 41)

10. A definition of the *ideal*: "Government by the people, where liberty, equality and fraternity are secured to the greatest possible degree and in which human capacities are developed to the utmost, by means including free and full discussion of common problems and interests." (Pennock, 1979, 7)

11. And of the *practice*: "Rule by the people where 'the people' includes all adult citizens not excluded by some generally agreed upon and reasonable disqualifying factor . . . . 'Rule' means that public policies are determined either directly by vote of the electorate or indirectly by officials freely elected at reasonably frequent intervals and by a process in which each voter who chooses to vote counts equally . . . and in which a plurality is determinative." (Pennock, 1979, 9)

12. "The competitive electoral context, with several political parties organizing the alternatives that face the voters, is the identifying property of the contemporary democratic process . . . . [D]emocratic systems [are] . . . characterized by competitive elections in which most citizens are eligible to participate." (Powell 1982, 3)

13. "[D]emocracy is a form of institutionalization of continual conflicts . . . [and] of uncertainty, of subjecting all interests to uncertainty . . . ." (Przeworski 1986, 58)

14. A 'democratic regime' is "first and foremost a set of procedural rules for arriving at collective decisions in a way which accommodates and facilitates the fullest possible participation of interested parties." (Bobbio 1987, 19)

15. "Democracy is a system in which parties lose elections. There are parties: divisions of interest, values and opinions. There is competition, organized by rules. And there are periodic winners and losers." (Przeworski 1991, 10)

16. "Modern political democracy is a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives." (Schmitter and Karl 1991, 76)

17. "According to civic republicanism, the state acts legitimately only if it furthers the 'common good' of the political community. . . . [C]ivic republicanism embraces an ongoing deliberative process, inclusive of all cultures, values, needs, and interests, to arrive at the public good. Civic republicans see the development of a conception of the common good as a fundamental purpose of democracy--a purpose necessary for individual self-identity and self-fulfillment. Civic republicanism also posits that no individual acting in her political capacity should be subservient to other political actors. Hence, the theory does not equate the public good that legitimates government action with majority rule. Social consensus about what is best for the community *as a community*, not as the aggregation of individuals' private interests, is the defining feature of the common good." (Seidenfeld 1992, 1528-29; italics in original)

18. "Democracy is a political system in which different groups are legally entitled to compete for power and in which institutional power holders are elected by the people and are responsible to the people." (Vanhannen 1997, 31)

19. Democracy is "a state where political decisions are taken by and with the consent, or the active participation even, of the majority of the People. . . . [L]iberalism, though recognizing that in the last resort the 'legal majority' must prevail, tries to protect the minorities as it

does the civil rights of the individual, and by much the same methods. . . . Liberal democracy is *qualified* democracy. The ultimate right of the majority to have its way is conceded, but that way is made as rough as possible." (Finer 1997, 1568-1570)

20. "We begin by defining formal, participatory and social democracy. By formal democracy we mean a political system that combines four features: regular free and fair elections, universal suffrage, accountability of the state's administrative organs to the elected representatives, and effective guarantees for freedom of expression. . . . [F]ormal democratic countries will differ considerably in social policies that reduce social and economic inequality. We therefore introduce two additional dimensions: high levels of participation without systematic differences across social categories (for example, class, ethnicity, gender) and increasing equality in social and economic outcomes. (Huber, Rueschemeyer & Stephens 1997, 323-324)

21. "Democracy provides opportunities for 1) effective participation, 2) equality in voting, 3) gaining enlightened understanding, 4) exercising final control [by the people--WR] over the agenda, and 5) inclusion of adults." The political institutions that are necessary to pursue these goals are "1) elected officials, 2) free, fair and frequent elections, 3) freedom of expression, 4) alternative sources of information, 5) associational autonomy, and 6) inclusive citizenship." (Dahl 1998, 38 & 85)

22. Democracy is "governance by leaders whose authority is based on a limited mandate from a universal electorate that selects among genuine alternatives and has some rights to political participation and opposition." (Danziger 1998, 159)

23. The fundamental idea of democratic, political legitimacy is that the authorization to exercise state power must arise from the *collective decisions* of the equal members of a society who are governed by that power." Collective decisions can be either aggregative (based on counting preferences) or deliberative. "[A] decision is collective just in case it emerges from arrangements of binding collective choice that establish conditions of *free public reasoning among equals who are governed by the decisions.* In the deliberative conception, then, citizens treat one another as equals not by giving equal consideration to interests--perhaps some interests ought to be discounted . . .--but by offering them justifications for the exercise of collective power . . . ." (Cohen 1998, 185-6; italics in original)

24. "Democrats are committed to rule by the people. They insist that no aristocrat, monarch, philosopher, bureaucrat, expert, or religious leader has the right, in virtue of such status, to force people to accept a particular conception of their proper common life. People should decide for themselves, via appropriate procedures of collective decision, what their collective business should be." "Communitarian democrats make wrongheaded assumptions both about the nature of democracy and about its appropriate place in everyday life. . . . [P]articipation plays a necessary but circumscribed role in ordering social relations justly. Valuable as democratic participation is in managing the power dimensions of collective activities, it is not the point of the exercise." (Shapiro 1999, 29-30 & 23)

25. "[I]n a democracy important public decisions on questions of law and policy depend, directly or indirectly, upon public opinion formally expressed by citizens of the community, the vast bulk of whom have equal political rights." (Weale 1999, 14)

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OCTOBER 31, 2014

The Party of Nonvoters

Younger, More Racially Diverse, More Financially Strapped

With just four days before the midterm elections, the spotlight understandably is focused on the estimated 40% of voting age adults who are expected to show up at the polls next Tuesday. There has been less attention on the much larger share who most probably will not.

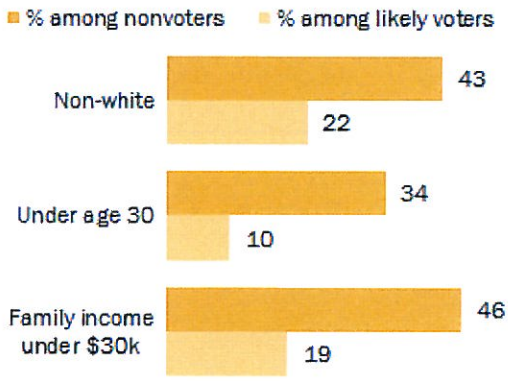
As in past elections, nonvoters [1] – those who are either not registered to vote or are considered unlikely to vote in the upcoming midterms – are very different demographically from likely voters:

(http://www.people-press.org/2014/10/31/the-party-of-nonvoters-2/10-31-2014_01/) **They're younger.** Roughly a third (34%) of nonvoters are younger than 30 and most (70%) are under 50; among likely voters, just 10% are younger than 30 and only 39% are under 50.

They're more racially and ethnically diverse. Fully 43% of those who are not likely to cast ballots Tuesday are Hispanic, African American or other racial and ethnic minorities, roughly double the percentage among likely voters (22%).

They're less affluent and less educated. Nearly half of nonvoters (46%) have family incomes less than $30,000, compared with 19% of likely voters. Most nonvoters (54%) have not attended college; 72% of likely voters have completed at least some college.

Wide Demographic Divides Between Nonvoters and Likely Voters



Survey conducted Oct. 15-20, 2014.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

These demographic differences are not new; similar gaps were seen between the likely electorate and nonvoters in 2012 (http://www.people-press.org/2012/11/01/nonvoters-who-they-are-what-they-think/) and 2010 (http://www.pewresearch.org/2010/10/29/the-party-of-nonvoters/) . Yet this new analysis, based on an October national telephone survey (http://www.people-press.org/2014/10/23/as-midterms-near-gop-leads-on-key-issues-democrats-have-a-more-positive-image/) by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and a

September wave of the American Trends Panel (http://www.people-press.org/2014/10/17/political-polarization-in-action-insights-into-the-2014-election-from-the-american-trends-panel/), underscores the vast gulf in financial well-being between voters and nonvoters.

(http://www.people-press.org/2014/10/31/the-party-of-nonvoters-2/10-31-2014_02/) Fully 45% of nonvoters say they have had trouble paying bills in the past year, compared with 30% of likely voters. Nonvoters are also much more likely than voters to borrow money from family or friends (41% vs. 21%) and to receive a means-tested government benefit (33% vs. 18%).

And many nonvoters lack the financial tools commonplace in today's economy: Just 52% say they have a credit card, while about as many (55%) have a savings account. And just 37% of nonvoters say they have a 401(k) or another retirement account; among the older and more financially secure likely voters, 72% have a retirement account.

Just 52% of Nonvoters Have a Credit Card; 37% Have a Retirement Account

% who have ...

	All adults	Likely voters	Non-voters
	%	%	%
Had trouble paying bills in the past 12 months	39	30	45
Borrowed money from family or friends	33	21	41
Received a means-tested government benefit in the past 12 months	27	18	33
Checking account	81	91	75
Savings account	62	73	55
Credit card	62	77	52
IRA, 401(k), pension plan, other retirement account	52	72	37
Health insurance coverage			
Covered	83	93	76
Not covered	17	7	24

American Trends Panel (wave 7). Survey conducted September 9 – October 3, 2014. 'Means-tested' gov't benefits include food aid (such as SNAP), Medicaid, unemployment, welfare or housing assistance.

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Nonvoters' Weak Partisan Ties

(http://www.people-press.org/2014/10/31/the-party-of-nonvoters-2/10-31-2014_03/) Reflecting their low levels of political engagement, only about half of nonvoters (47%) identify with either political party; 29% identify as Democrats, 18% as Republicans while 45% are independents. Among likely voters, 68% identify with a party (37% Democrat, 31% Republican) and just 30% are independents.

Taking into account the party leanings of independents, about half of nonvoters (51%) either identify as Democrats or lean Democratic; just 30% affiliate with the GOP or lean Republican, while 20% do not lean toward either party. Among likely voters, 50% identify as Democrats or lean Democratic, 44% identify as Republicans or lean Republican, and just 6% have no party leanings.

Nonvoters Much Less Likely than Voters to Affiliate with a Party

	All adults	Likely voters	Non-voters
Party affiliation	%	%	%
Republican	24	31	18
Democrat	33	37	29
Independent	38	30	45
	100	100	100
Republican/Lean Rep	37	44	30
Democrat/Lean Dem	50	50	51
No lean	13	6	20
	100	100	100
Unweighted N	2,003	1,126	877

Survey conducted Oct. 15-20, 2014.

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(http://www.people-press.org/2014/10/31/the-party-of-nonvoters-2/10-31-2014_04/) Nonvoters do not have particularly positive views of President Obama's job performance, or of either political party. About as many approve (44%) as disapprove of the way Obama is handling his job as president.

Nonvoters' views of the Democratic Party are more favorable than unfavorable. Still, only about half (48%) view the party favorably, while 40% have an unfavorable impression. Among likely voters, both parties are viewed negatively, on balance.

Modest Differences Between Nonvoters, Voters on Selected Issues

(http://www.people-press.org/2014/10/31/the-party-of-nonvoters-2/10-31-2014_05/) On a few specific issues, differences between voters and nonvoters are relatively modest. Voters and nonvoters hold similar views on what to do about undocumented immigrants living in the U.S. Just 27% of voters, and 23% of nonvoters, believe that undocumented immigrants should be required to leave the U.S.

Nonvoters' Mixed Views of Obama's Job Performance

	All adults	Likely voters	Non-voters
Obama job rating ...	%	%	%
Approve	43	42	44
Disapprove	51	54	47
Don't know	6	3	9
	100	100	100
Views of Republican Party			
Favorable	38	41	35
Unfavorable	54	55	53
Don't know	8	3	12
	100	100	100
Views of Democratic Party			
Favorable	47	45	48
Unfavorable	46	52	40
Don't know	7	4	12
	100	100	100

Survey conducted Oct. 15-20, 2014

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Skepticism about government performance is nearly as strong among nonvoters as it is among likely voters. Voters and nonvoters are about equally likely to say government is almost always wasteful and inefficient (60% among voters, 54% among nonvoters). On the specific issue of the 2010 health care law, 42% of voters approve, while just over half (54%) disapprove. Even though nonvoters are more likely to be uninsured, and thus to be eligible for the law's benefits, they too are divided on its merits: 44% say they approve of the law, 49% disapprove.

However, on another issue related to the social safety net, more nonvoters say that government aid to the poor does more good than harm than say the opposite (51% vs. 43%). Likely voters, by 52% to 43%, say that government aid to the poor does more harm than good.

Demographics of Nonvoters: A Deeper Look

(http://www.people-press.org/2014/10/31/the-party-of-nonvoters-2/10-31-2014_06/) Nonvoters are younger, less educated and less affluent than are likely voters. More than half (54%) of nonvoters have a high school diploma or less, compared to 28% among likely voters. Nonvoters are also far less likely to have a post graduate degree (5% of nonvoters, 17% of likely voters).

Low education levels and low incomes go hand-in-hand: 46% of nonvoters have family incomes under $30,000, compared with just 19% among likely voters.

A much higher proportion of nonvoters identify as racial or ethnic minorities than voters. Only 6% of likely voters identify as Hispanic or Latino, compared to 23% of nonvoters. Three quarters (77%) of likely voters are white, compared with just 55% among nonvoters.

Fewer nonvoters than voters are affiliated with a religion. Among voters, 21% identify as atheist, agnostic, or "nothing in particular"; among nonvoters, it's 27%.

Nonvoters Are Divided over ACA, But More Likely to Have Positive View of Aid to Poor

	All adults	Likely voters	Nonvoters
	%	%	%
Immigrants currently living in the U.S. illegally who meet certain requirements ...			
Should have a way to stay in U.S. legally	71	69	74
Should be able to apply for U.S. citizenship	42	42	42
Should not be allowed to stay in the country legally	25	27	23
Don't know	3	4	3
	100	100	100
View of 2010 health care law			
Approve	43	42	44
Disapprove	51	54	49
Don't know	5	4	7
	100	100	100
Government...			
Is almost always wasteful and inefficient	56	60	54
Often does a better job than people give it credit for	40	37	43
Don't know	3	3	4
	100	100	100
Government aid to the poor...			
Does more harm than good	47	52	44
Does more good than harm	48	43	51
Don't know	5	5	5
	100	100	100

Survey conducted Oct. 15-20, 2014.
American Trends Panel (wave 7). Survey conducted September 9 – October 3, 2014.

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Demographic Profile of Nonvoters

	All adults	Likely voters	Non-voters
	%	%	%
Men	49	48	51
Women	51	52	49
White	66	77	55
Black	11	9	13

Hispanic	15	6	23
18-29	22	10	34
30-49	33	29	36
50-64	26	34	19
65+	18	25	10
Post grad	11	17	5
College grad	16	20	12
Some college	31	34	28
High school or less	41	28	54
Family income			
$75,000 or more	27	37	18
$30,000 - $74,000	30	33	27
Under $30,000	33	19	46
Religious affiliation			
Protestant	46	51	41
Catholic	22	20	23
Other religion	7	7	7
Unaffiliated	24	21	27
Sample size	2,003	1,126	877

Survey conducted Oct. 15-20, 2014. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Figures read down. Don't know responses not shown.

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1. Nonvoters are designated as any respondent who does not meet the criteria for "likely voters" as used in Pew Research Center polls. Likelihood of voting is determined as a function of several questions including self-reported frequency of past voting, likelihood of voting in the coming election, whether voted in the previous presidential election, amount of thought given to the election and attention to election news and politics in general. See "Understanding Likely Voters."

H

Voting Statistics: 2004/2008/2012 Elections

Sources: U.S. Census, CNN, and Project Vote

2004

Age Group	% of Age Group Registered	% of Age Group Who Voted
All Voters 18+	*65.9*	*58.3*
18–24	51.5	41.9
25–44	60.1	52.2
45–64	72.7	66.6
65–74	76.9	70.8
75+	76.8	66.7

2008

Age Group	% of Age Group Registered	% of Age Group Who Voted
All Voters 18+	*71.0*	*63.6*
18–24	58.5	48.5
25–44	68.2	60
45–64	74.9	69.2
65–74	78.1	72.4
75+	76.6	67.8

2012

Age Group	% of Age Group Registered	% of Age Group Who Voted
All Voters 18+	*71.2*	61.8
18-24	53.6	41.2
25–44	68.7	57.3
45–64	75.4	67.9
65–74	79.7	73.5
75+	79.1	70.0

Voter demographics 2004, 2008, and 2012: also saved as pdf

http://www.mikvachallenge.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/C3_Elections_Lesson-3.pdf (p. 10-14)

Sex	% of Group Who Voted in 2004	% of Group Who Voted in 2008	% of Group Who Voted in 2012
Female (all ages)	60.1	65.7	59.7
Male (all ages)	56.3	61.5	63.7

Race	% of Group Who Voted in 2004	% of Group Who Voted in 2008	% of Group Who Voted in 2012
White Non-Hispanic	65.8	66.1	64.1
Black	56.3	64.7	66.2
Asian	29.8	47.6	47.3
Latino	28.0	49.9	48.0

2008

Household Income	% of Group Registered	% of Group Who Voted
less than $20,000	63.7	51.0
$20,000–$39,999	69.3	59.5
$40,000–$49,999	72.6	64.7
$50,000–$74,999	78.2	70.9
$75,000–$99,999	81.9	76.4
$100,000 and over	84.8	79.8

2012

Household Income	% of Group Registered	% of Group Who Voted
less than $20,000	**50.4**	**76.9**
$20,000–$39,999	**58.3**	**83.5**
$40,000–$49,999	**67.0**	**85.4**
$50,000–$74,999	**72.5**	**87.9**
$75,000–$99,999	**77.6**	**90.3**
$100,000 and over	**81.9**	**91.3**

Describe the trend correlating household income with voter turnout.

2008

Education Level	% of Group Who Voted
No High School	38.1
Some High School	39.9
High School Graduate	54.9
Some College or Associate's Degree	68.0
Bachelor's Degree	77.0
Advanced Degree	82.7

2012

Education Level	% of Group Who Voted
No High School	37.1
Some High School	38.3
High School Graduate	52.6
Some College or Associate's Degree	64.2
Bachelor's Degree	75.0
Advanced Degree	81.3