Contents

List of Figu	ires	xi xiii
List of Tables Preface		
One	Introduction	1
	1.1 Economic Inequality, Income Bias, and Turnout	4
	1.2 Policy Choices and Turnout	6
	1.3 Economic Inequality and Voting Inequality	7
	1.4 Voter Turnout and Election Laws	10
	1.5 Data and Chapter Outline	11
Two	Demographics of Turnout	16
		18
	2.1 Measuring Voter Turnout	23
	2.2 Measuring Socioeconomic Status2.3 Measuring Race and Ethnicity	25
	2.4 Demographics of Turnout, 1972–2008 (CPS)	27
	2.5 A More or Less Representative Voting Population?	35
	2.6 More or Less Income Bias?	37
	2.7 Representation: Of the Eligible or the Available?	43
	2.8 Conclusion	45
	Appendix 2.1: Current Population Survey: Sample and Variable Details	46
	Appendix 2.2: Additional Data on the Representativeness	
	of Voters, 1972–2008	48
Three	Theoretical Framework and Models	52
Timee		54
	3.1 Costs, Benefits, and Demographics	55
	3.2 Model Specification 3.3 Education and Income	58

viii CONTENTS

	3.4 Race and Ethnicity	67
	3.5 Age	72
	3.6 Gender and Marital Status	76
	3.7 Conclusion	79
	Appendix 3.1: Estimation Results for the Demographic	
	Models of Voter Turnout	84
	Appendix 3.2: Additional First Differences for Income	88
Four	The Legal Context of Turnout	90
	4.1 Electoral Innovation in the United States	91
	4.2 Previous Research on Electoral Rules and Turnout	95
	4.3 Research Design and the Search for Effects 4.4 The Effects of Electoral Reforms:	97
	Difference-in-Difference Estimates	100
	4.5 Cross-Sectional Time Series Analysis of Aggregate	
	Turnout	112
	4.6 Conclusion	117
	Appendix 4.1: Voter Registration and Election Law	
	Data Set	119
	Appendix 4.2: Sources of State-Level Turnout and	
	Demographic Data	120
Five	Policy Choices and Turnout	121
	5.1 Policy Choices and the Costs and Benefits of Voting5.2 Policy Choices: Conceptualization and	122
	Measurement	124
	5.3 Perceived Policy Choices, 1972–2008	126
	5.4 Multivariable Analysis: Perceived Policy Alienation and Perceived Policy Difference	128
	5.5 Perceived Policy Difference and Perceived Policy	
	Alienation across Income Groups	135
	5.6 Conclusion	139
	Appendix 5.1: Comparing Alternative Measures of	
	Alienation and Indifference	147
Six	On the Representativeness of Voters	154
	6.1 The Conventional Wisdom	155
	6.2 Political Differences between Voters and Nonvoters: 1972 and 2008	158
	6.3 Who Votes Matters: Policy Differences between Voters	150
	and Nonvoters	161
	6.4 A More Detailed Look at Preferences: 2004	167
	6.5 Conclusion	176
	Appendix 6.1: Survey Question Wording	177

CONTENTS		ix
Seven	Conclusion 7.1 The Politics of Candidate Choices and Policy	182
	Choices	183
	7.2 Turnout and Institutions	185
	7.3 On Turnout and Political Inequality	187
References	References	
Index		201