# What Can We Learn From Unusual Elections?

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**Introduction**

In the summer of 2012, a majority of the Americans they interviewed told pollsters that they found the presidential election campaign to be dull and uninteresting, and two-thirds said they expected it to be exhausting and annoying (Pew Research Center 2012). For a large share of the citizenry to be bored by elections is not necessarily a bad thing. Elections in places like Iraq and Pakistan are much more exciting, as is life in general, but that is because of the element of danger that is involved. And is not the case that American national elections are inherently uninteresting, like celebrity gossip or most television commercials. The reason why national elections bore and annoy so many people in the U.S. is because they are so repetitive. There is sometimes a third-party candidate in the mix, and the candidacy of Barack Obama in 2008 stirred more interest than usual. But each election is much like the last one. Not a single person alive today in the U.S. has voted in a presidential election that did not pit a relatively liberal Democrat against a relatively conservative Republican. What makes these elections uninteresting to most people is that they are so normal, so familiar, and so routine.

Some Americans, of course, are fascinated by presidential and congressional elections, and political scientists most definitely belong to this group. Since the dawn of the polling age they have subjected national elections to intense and unrelenting scrutiny. The nationwide sample surveys conducted by the American National Election Studies in every election since 1948 have produced an incomparable time series of voting data. Cited by over 6,300 books, articles, dissertations, and conference papers, the ANES surveys are by far the largest source of voting data examined by American political scientists.

But this is not necessarily a good thing, or at least not entirely a good thing. It means that what we know (or at least what we think we know) about voters is heavily conditioned upon their behavior in elections that pit the same type of candidates, representing the same parties, running the same types of campaigns, and saying the same sorts of things that they have said for many decades. The main findings of the classic *The American Voter* study (Campbell *et al*. 1960) are well-known: most Americans tend to support either the Republicans or Democrats on a consistent basis, but their partisan predilections are mainly a product of childhood socialization and a sense of

which party seems more or less congenial to certain groups. Only a small minority of voters reason about politics with a significant amount of knowledge and sophistication, and a large share of them choose not to vote. Political sophistication is largely a function of educational attainment, as is the decision to vote and to engage in other forms of political participation. These were essentially the same conclusions that Lewis-Beck *et al.* (2008) reached nearly fifty years later in *The American Voter Revisited.*

This is not to say that this massive ongoing research effort has not been worthwhile, or that the major findings are wrong or not robust. But it has resulted in an inefficient allocation of research effort. Over thirty years ago, Arnold (1982) bemoaned the intense "overtilling" of certain fields in political science and the overly heavy reliance upon certain methods. In his view the two fields that had attracted far more research effort than they warranted were 1) the effect of economic conditions on voting behavior and 2) the incumbency advantage in congressional elections, and in both cases researchers had come to rely far too heavily upon the ANES data. Arnold urged researchers to instead undertake case studies and adopt other analytical perspectives, and to take a much broader perspective in the study of elections.[1]

More importantly, the concentration of research upon American national elections and heavy reliance upon ANES survey data means that the picture of voters and elections that they paint is incomplete. In such elections, voters' choices are seen as roughly analogous to purchases of durable goods such as cars or refrigerators, and campaigns as another form of mass advertising. More can be learned, we think, about voters, candidates, parties, and political strategy by looking at their behavior in unusual elections. By this we mean elections that are held under unusual conditions, or elections that produced unusual or unexpected outcomes. In these elections voters need to do more than decide between the new model year of Democratic and Republican candidates, and campaigns are more than exercises in mass advertising. They resemble military campaigns instead, in which party leaders seek to marshal their forces against their opponents, and where outcomes are products of both clear-headed strategy and abject miscalculation.

In the following sections of the paper we briefly discuss several unusual elections. It is our sense, or at least our hunch, that there is considerable scientific merit to focusing at least some attention

on unusual elections. Science has not proceeded by watching the same phenomena occur over and over again, but rather from experiments that subject matter, energy, and living tissue to extreme conditions that do not typically occur in nature. Unusual elections provide conditions under which theoretical predictions can be analyzed more readily. They allow us to expand the set of questions we can ask and the range of inferences that we can make.

**French Presidential Election of 2002**

In the days leading up to the first round of the presidential election, incumbent center-right candidate Jacques Chirac was polling around 20%, the Socialist (incumbent Prime Minister) Lionel Jospin around 18%, and National Front candidate Jean-Marie LePen around 13-15%. An intention to vote for LePen was not something that everyone would announce publicly or declare to a pollster, and so it was suspected that the polls were understating LePen's true level of support.

Despite clear evidence that Jospin's lead over LePen was narrow and uncertain, most voters on the French left blithely ignored the danger signs. Instead of falling in behind Jospin, who received 16.2% of the votes in the first round, they voted instead for one of seven small parties that collectively garnered 26.3% of the vote. The entries in Table 1 show that support for the center-right was also fragmented, but to a lesser degree. Four parties located in this area of the ideological spectrum took 13.8% of the votes cast, while 19.9% voted for Chirac. The only party to siphon support away from LePen was the National Republican Movement, which received 2.3% of votes cast in the first round. Because of the extreme fractionalization of votes on the left, Jospin finished about 200,000 votes behind LePen and so failed to advance to the second round.

<p style="text-align:center">Table 1 about here</p>

The most important feature of this election is the failure of leftist voters to coordinate their votes. Had even a tiny fraction more of them cast tactical votes, Jospin would have advanced to the second round and might well have defeated the unpopular incumbent Chirac. But it gets worse. A colleague who was in France at the time tells us that he was aware of a sort of irrational expectations disequilibrium, in that most people he talked to felt that Jospin was sure to advance to the

second round and so they were planning to vote for someone else in order to signal their policy preferences. Blais' (2004) analysis indicates that perhaps a third of Jospin's supporters engaged in this sort of hubris-driven reverse tactical voting, which Cox (1997) identifies as plausible but inherently risky. Many of Jospin's supporters, in short, were too clever by half. Had all of Jospin's supporters simply voted sincerely he would have easily outdistanced LePen and advanced to the second round.

Duverger (1951), an early proponent of runoff elections, argued that under simple plurality rule a minority party, i.e., the communists, could win if its opponents failed to coordinate and split their votes between two or more parties. A run-off between the top two vote getters in the first round, he reasoned, would encourage party fractionalization, but it would obviate the need for tactical voting and party/voter coordination. Unfortunately, the 2002 French presidential election shows that the runoff does not protect voters from themselves, and that coordination is required to achieve more preferred outcomes (Niou 2001). This election further shows that voters may fail to coordinate and cast tactical votes—or to over-coordinate and cast tactical votes against a front-running candidate—even when the circumstances for doing so are quite favorable, i.e., an unpopular incumbent and a clear front-runner who shares their general ideological proclivities.

In the second round of the election most French voters, left, right, and center, followed the campaign directive to "Vote for the Crook, Not the Fascist." On May 5 Chirac won by a margin of 82% to 18%, making it the most lopsided elections in modern electoral history. The outcome of the second round was a foregone conclusion, and the number of "thwarted" voters was at an all time high (Pierce 1995), but this did not discourage voters from showing up at the polls. Indeed, turnout was considerably higher in the second round. Over 31 million voters were cast, compared to 28.5 million in the extremely competitive first round. This is perhaps the most extreme demonstration possible that voters do not necessarily care about the closeness of an election in deciding whether or not to vote. What this also means is that an election between two candidates is sometimes something more than a way to decide which of them will be elected to office. In May 2002, 31 million French voters went to the polls fully knowing that the outcome was certain. They went anyway, and reportedly with great enthusiasm, in order to convey the message

that they themselves did not harbor fascist and/or anti-Semitic views, and that France was not a country where fascist or anti-Semitic views would be accorded legitimacy.

**California Assembly District 50, 2012**

In recent years political observers in the US have come to see American politics as increasingly polarized along partisan lines, and that in most elections moderate voters are left with the choice of a Democrat who is much too liberal for their taste and a Republican that is much too conservative. Party primaries are seen as a major cause of polarization, in that candidates must initially defeat all other opponents in their party before moving on to the general election. In order to win the primary candidates must adopt policy positions that appeal to strong partisans and not to voters in the middle of the ideological spectrum. In California and in Washington reformers used the initiative process to replace the standard party primary with a nonpartisan "top two" primary system, which they believe facilitates the election of more moderate candidates (McGhee 2010). Under this arrangement, known informally as the "jungle" primary, all candidates from all parties run in an initial primary election and the top two vote getters, regardless of party, advance to the general election. Because the top two candidates may belong to the same party and because California is a strongly Democratic state, many Republicans have argued that the top-two primary is just the latest mechanism the Democrats have installed to suppress political competition.[2]

If one adopts a basic one dimensional spatial model perspective, it is easy to see that the impact of the top-two system depends heavily upon how many candidates are running, where they are positioned ideologically, and whether or not voters vote sincerely for the candidates who are ideologically closest to them or instead cast tactical votes. Too many candidates close together might well commit electoral fratricide, even though any one of them could win the second round of the election. In 2012, the extremely competitive 50th Assembly District appeared likely to produce precisely that outcome—but did not. This district includes Santa Monica and West Hollywood, and so is a liberal Democratic stronghold in a liberal Democratic state.  Four candidates ran in the election:  1) Democrat Torie Osborn, a former Executive Director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, who had no previous experience as a candidate but a long history of service to liberal causes;  2) Democrat Betsy Butler, an incumbent member of the Assembly who

had moved to the district as a consequence of redistricting and was the endorsed candidate of the state Democratic party;  3) Democrat Richard Bloom, the Mayor of Santa Monica;  4)  Republican Brad Torgan, President of the Los Angeles Log Cabin Republicans.

As shown in Figure 1, a McKelvey-Ordeshook scaling of survey data indicates that voters viewed Osborn as the most liberal, Butler slightly less so, Bloom as more centrist than Butler and Osborn, and Republican Torgan as the most conservative candidate. This alignment is consistent with how local experts described the contest (Sinclair 2013).  If voters voted sincerely for the candidate that was closest to them ideologically, this placement of the candidates implies that the most liberal and most conservative candidates, i.e., Osborn and Torgan, would advance to the second round. Those in the middle of the distribution (Butler and Bloom) would be squeezed out, and Osborn would have defeated Torgan in the general election in November.

Figure 1 about here

This is not what happened. The race was extremely close, with less than a thousand votes separating the candidate who came in first from the one who came in last.  It was, however, the two candidates in the middle, Butler and Bloom, rather than the two to their flanks, who advanced to the next round.  In the ensuing general election, Santa Monica mayor Richard Bloom defeated the incumbent and party-endorse Betsy Butler, 93,455 votes to 91,740.

Why did Bloom win?  Bloom did have some attractive attributes. The mayor of a fashionable city in a fashion-conscious metropolitan area, he also benefited from the fact that mayoral positions in California are nonpartisan.  This led large numbers of Republican Torgan's supporters to view him as demonstrably more moderate than the other two Democrats, and so to "cross over" and cast tactical votes for Bloom in the first election. They reasoned correctly that tactical votes for Bloom would reduce Torgan's vote share and perhaps keep him from advancing to the general election, but that Torgan would have been defeated by any of the Democrats who ran against him (Sinclair 2013).  Torgan's campaign, furthermore, chose not to compete with Bloom for votes, but rather to attack and hopefully eliminate Osborn, whom they viewed as the most liberal of the Democrats. In the end, then, it was not the structure of the top-two runoff primary that led

to the election of a centrist candidate (i.e., centrist in the 50th assembly District). It was instead a shrewd campaign on the part of Torgan and a sufficient amount of tactical voting by his supporters in the first round that led to the election of Bloom, who was clearly the Condorcet winner.[3]

**The Argentine Constitutional Assembly Election of 1957**

In September 1955 a military coup deposed Juan Peron and sent him into exile. In early 1957 President (and General) Aramburu called for a constitutional assembly to replace the 1949 Peronist constitution. Aramburu asserted this to be the necessary first step toward restoring electoral democracy to Argentina. Political opponents to the military rulers viewed it instead as a move to keep the Peronists down and out, and it is true that in the period leading up to the election Aramburu had embarked upon an intense campaign of de-Peronization. A 1956 decree made it illegal to speak his name out loud. The personal extravagance of Peron and the late Eva Peron was widely publicized, and her body was spirited from its grave and hidden at a series of secret locations. Peronist elements were purged from the government and the CGT, Peronist leaders imprisoned, and the Justicialist party banned from participating in politics.

Shortly before the election, the largest remaining party, the Union of Civil Radicals, split into two factions: the anti-Peronist People's Radicals (UCR-P), who had the support of the military regime, and the Intransigent Radicals (UCR-I), headed by Arturo Frondizi, who signaled a willingness to recognize and eventually rehabilitate the Peronists. Choosing not to accept the overtures from the Intransigents, Peron instructed his supporters to cast blank votes in the July 1957 Constitutional Assembly election, and as the entries in Table 2 indicate, large numbers of them did so. In an election that featured turnout in excess of 90%, the largest number of votes cast went to neither the UCR-P (24.2%) nor the UCR-I (21.2%), but were instead left blank (24.7%).

Table 2 about here

Our first impression was that the plurality won by blank votes represented an impressive ability on the Peronists' part to orchestrate a strategy of casting protest votes, especially given that their leaders were in exile or in jail, Peronists had no voice in the press, they were not allowed to

meet, and that the world was still sixty years away from Twitter and Facebook. Upon reflection, however, it does not appear to have been all that effective, and to have divided the votes of the military regime's opponents. Most Peronists likely did cast blank votes, but we suspect many of them did not accept the wisdom of casting a blank vote and voted instead for the Intransigents— a sort of tactical vote for their second choice. The UCR-I's strategy of appealing to the Peronists also fell short of its intended objective. As Torre and De Riz (1993) put it, "In spite of having achieved considerable electoral support, the UCR-I had to resign itself to having failed to co-opt the *peronista* electorate (p. 270). In 1958, in contrast, the Peronists and UCR Intransigents did join forces after Peron endorsed Frondizi four days before the presidential election. Frondizi won nearly half the popular vote and over two-thirds of the electoral college votes.[3]

**Peru 2000 Presidential Election**

As in France, presidential elections in Peru call for a runoff election if no candidate wins an absolute majority of the vote in the first round.  Incumbent president Alberto Fujimori had consolidated almost all political power in the presidency in the "auto-coup" of 1992, and the shock treatment economic reforms he instituted appeared to go well at first. By 2000, however, Peru had experienced years of rampant inflation and political turmoil. According to the official results, Fujimori, running as the Peru 2000 candidate, nevertheless obtained 49.9% of the vote, just short of the majority required to avoid a runoff with Alejandro Toledo of the Peru Posible party. Toledo and international election observers strongly protested the government's use of states resources for campaign purposes, control of the news media, absence of an independent election authority, irregularities in the vote count, and inexplicable delays in announcing election results (Carter Center 2002; Schmidt 2002).

The first round vote totals, reported in Table 3, raise a number of questions. First, if Fujimori was truly cheating, and most everyone in Peru believed he was, then why did he stop at 49.9% when 50.0% would have obviated the need for a second round of balloting? His people would have needed to find only another 15,000 ballots, or to declare 30,000 others to be invalid, to put him over the threshold?  Some observers argue that Fujimori had indeed intended to achieve and declare a first-round victory, but backed off in the face of domestic pressure and international

opprobrium (Schmidt 2000). We doubt it. It seems more likely that an overconfident Fujimori slightly underestimated the number of votes needed, or that he was confident of defeating Toledo in the second round and so was not overly anxious about achieving a first-round absolute majority. This question certainly calls for more research. In any case, Toledo demanded that the second round should be postponed until the fairness and integrity of the electoral process could be guaranteed in the runoff. When it was not postponed, Toledo withdrew from the contest and urged his supporters to cast protest votes by either spoiling the ballot, e.g., by writing NO TO FRAUD or something along those lines, or by leaving it blank.

Table 3 about here

Most of Toledo's supporters followed his directive, and in the second round nearly 3.7 million voters, or about 31% of those who participated in the election, cast a blank or spoiled ballot. As in the case of the 1957 Argentine Constitutional Assembly election, however, the tactic of casting blank or spoiled ballots was only a partially successful act of opposition. Even though Toledo had withdrawn and endorsed the blank vote strategy, over two million Peruvians voted for him anyway in the second round. It is true that the sum of the Toledo and blank/spoiled votes was still exceeded by Fujimori's total, but it is also the case that fewer voters went to the polls in the second round than in the first round. This may have been due to discouragement and confusion among Toledo supporters after his withdrawal form the contest. It seems to us that Toledo might well have done better and even succeeded if he had pursued a different strategy. Instead of pulling out and urging blank protest votes, he could have placed his supporters at as many voting sites as possible to deter fraud, and sought even more scrutiny from international observers. As it turns out, Fujimori was subsequently pressured to call for new elections to be held in April 2001. Following the Montesinos corruption scandal, however, Fujimori faxed in a letter of resignation from Tokyo in November 2000. Congress chose to fire him instead, citing permanent moral disability as the grounds for his removal.

**Sinn Fein and Abstentionism**

Urging voters to cast a blank ballot as a protest vote, as Peron did in the 1957 Constitutional Assembly election and Alejandro Toledo in the 2000 Peruvian presidential election, appears to be a problematic strategy. Many of their supporters seem to have been unpersuaded that anything would be accomplished by casting a blank ballot, and so in 1957 cast votes for the relatively pro-Peronist UCR-I and in 2000 for Toledo anyway, even though he had told them not to. We suspect that they may have been reluctant to cast a ballot that they knew by definition would not count. They may have also seen this as defeatist strategy, or have not understood why a blank ballot would convey any information whatsoever. Others might have thought that it would make no sense to show up at the polls only to cast a blank ballot. But what better way is there to signal support for a candidate who has been banned from competing, or that one perceives the electoral process to be fraud-ridden or otherwise illegitimate?

In reviewing the many forms that protest voting might take, we have concluded that there is a method of protest voting that does not discourage or confuse some of one's supporters. This is the policy of abstentionism that Sinn Fein has adopted in Northern Ireland with respect to elections to the UK Parliament. Sinn Fein places their candidates on the ballot, and they participate in the election like all other candidates. If elected, however, they simply refuse to serve.[4] Their supporters thus do not have to do anything out of the ordinary when they vote in the election— they can cast a protest vote against British rule in Northern Ireland by simply voting for Sinn Fein. The costs of this strategy, both financial and political are minimal. The abstentionist MP's cannot collect their salary but they can claim living expenses. Politically, it is hard to imagine a bloc of five Sinn Fein MP's casting a pivotal vote in Parliament.

**Winchester Election and By-election, 1997**

In formulating their "calculus of voting," Riker and Ordeshook (1968) acknowledged that it was difficult to justify voting in a large-scale election as an instrumental act, given that the odds of casting a pivotal vote, and so affecting the outcome of the election, were astronomically small. Rational choice theorists and election analysts have grappled with this basic issue since then,

usually by testing comparative static predictions. Two such predictions are 1) turnout should be higher the closer the election is expected to be, and 2) a close contest between the top two candidates in a plurality election should encourage higher rates of tactical voting by supporters of other candidates.

But can a large election ever get close enough for considerations of pivotality to matter? According to Myerson (2000), even in elections that are expected to be quite close the odds of casting a pivotal vote are still vanishingly small. The dreams of rational choice theorists everywhere were realized, then, in the May 1997 General Election in Winchester. The winner, Liberal Democrat Mark Oaten, received 26,100 votes, which was only 2 votes more than the 26,098 received by Conservative candidate Gerry Malone. This means that if we stretch the definition a little bit— the change of one vote would have produced a tie—a pivotal vote was cast. After several recounts and much legal wrangling, the court subsequently declared the outcome to be uncertain and ordered a new election for the seat to be held in November.

It is hard to see how voters could receive any greater degree of confirmation that support for the Liberal Democrats and the Conservatives was evenly split. Not surprisingly, both parties invested considerable effort into the by-election campaign, reasoning that if they retained the support of those who had voted for them in May a small increase in turnout could be decisive. We would thus expect the November election to have elicited a high level of voter interest and a high level of turnout. We would further expect to have seen supporters of other parties in the first election to become more inclined to cast a tactical vote for one of the top two parties. None of them had fared very well in the first election, and the contest between the top two parties could not have been closer.

How did these hypotheses rooted in rational choice theory fare? As the entries in Table 4 indicate, the prediction of more tactical voting certainly was validated. Between the May and November elections the number of votes received by the Labour candidate fell from 6,598 (10.5%) to 944 (1.7%), which is all the more remarkable given that large numbers of Labour supporters most likely cast tactical votes in the first election. The Referendum candidate who had received 2.6% of the vote in May dropped out, and the number of voters who fell for Richard Huggett's

ruse of running under labels that were intentionally almost identical to the Liberal Democrat label fell from 540 to 59. As a consequence, the share of votes won by the top two candidates increased from 84.2% to 96.4%.


Table 4 about here


The closeness of the May election, however, did not produce a high level of turnout in November. The total number of votes cast actually fell by over 12%, which of course is consistent with the general tendency for turnout to be lower in by-elections. The most surprising feature of the November election, however, was the outcome. Instead of winning by 2 votes, Oaten crushed Malone by a margin of 68% to 28%. More than four out of those who had cast a vote for Malone in May either failed to show up at the polls in November or, if they did, cast a vote for Oaten instead.

It is true that much could have happened between May and November, but did political experts expect such a blowout? No. Was Malone caught in an embarrassing scandal? No. Did he reveal that he had a terminal disease? No, he actually lost nearly 30 pounds and affected a more casual wardrobe. So what did him in? As far as we can tell, Malone's fatal weakness was that he was widely perceived to be a sore loser who should have simply graciously accepted defeat after the first election in May, even if it was by the smallest of margins. The whispering campaign waged against him was "When the umpire gives you out, you should walk" (Castle 1997).

The Winchester elections of 1997, then, tell us some interesting things. The closeness of the May election led many more voters to cast tactical votes in November, but it did not encourage higher turnout. But it tells us more than that. Political scientists have expended enormous effort in an effort to determine the relative importance of partisan loyalties, issue positions, and retrospective performance evaluations in voters' decisions to support one candidate as opposed to another. What the results of this pair of elections suggest is that none of these considerations are necessarily given a great deal of weight. For many voters, or at least for many voters in Winchester in 1997, party loyalty, retrospective evaluations of the government, and calculations of ideological

congeniality were trumped by the entirely non-political consideration that Malone had been a spoiled sport and should be rejected accordingly.

**Conclusion**

So is there anything that we have learned from looking at this small set of unusual elections? We think we have learned a few things and that they are important. They are, however, things we have known all along but just tend to forget about. First, one cannot design a electoral system that will save voters from themselves. Runoff elections have the desirable property of insuring election of a Condorcet winner if one exists and voters vote strategically (Niou 2001), and we see that strategic voting in the first round of the 2012 California 50th Assembly District election was instrumental in bringing about this outcome. This does not happen, however, when voters either fail to cast tactical votes, or, as in the French presidential election of 2002, miscalculate badly and cast tactical votes in the wrong direction.

Secondly, candidates who instruct their supporters to engage in protest voting, either by casting a blank ballot or by otherwise spoiling it, appear to be choosing a problematic strategy. In both the Argentine Constitutional Assembly election in 1957 and the Peruvian presidential election of 2000, large numbers of those instructed to cast a blank or spoiled ballot seem not to have been able to bring themselves to do it. They chose instead to vote for their preferred candidate any-way, or for the best choice available on the ballot. Sinn Fein has solved this problem through their policy of abstentionism. By pledging not to serve if elected, they make a vote for Sinn Fein in UK parliamentary elections a vote of protest against British rule. Whenever candidates ask their supporters to do something other than to cast a vote for them, they are going to have trouble keeping everybody on the same page.

These findings are thus evidence of a second psychological factor affecting voters' choices, and this factor works against Duverger's psychological factor. Duverger's factor, of course, is the assertion that voters believe that to vote for a party that is certain to lose means "wasting their vote," and it is this consideration that induces minor party supporters to vote tactically. Almost all studies of tactical voting in plurality elections, however, find that only a minority of voters

who are in a position to cast a tactical vote (i.e., their preferred choice has no chance of winning) actually do so. Most choose instead to vote sincerely for their preferred candidate, so a good name for this second factor might be "sincerity bias." One of the more remarkable features of the 1997 Winchester elections was that the overwhelming majority of Labour supporters appear to have voted tactically in the second election. It is thus possible for Duverger's psychological factor to overcome sincerity bias, but most of the time sincerity bias appears to win out.

**Endnotes**

1. Arnold's paper had roughly the same impact of King Canute's command that the sea recede, and papers in the overtilled areas that he identified continued to proliferate. Also like Canute, Arnold was probably aware that his words would be utterly ineffectual.

2. In 1972 Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards survived a competitive and damaging Democratic primary, followed by a general election contest against a relatively unscathed Republican. Although he won, Edwards did not want to repeat the experience, and persuaded the state legislature to adopt the nonpartisan runoff ("jungle") primary in order to suppress electoral competition. The California and Washington "top two" systems differ from Louisiana's in that the second stage of the election always takes place, even if one candidate gets more than fifty percent of the vote in the primary.

3. This does not fully account for why Osborn failed to advance to the second round. Although Torgan's attacks likely hurt, local pundits believe that many voters on the left saw her and Butler as ideologically interchangeable. The other advantages Butler enjoyed—greater name recognition and the endorsement of the state party—thus became decisive.

4. In the end, Frondizi's quasi-Faustian bargain with the Peronists led to his undoing. In 1962 he lifted the ban on the Peronists and allowed them to compete in provincial elections. The Peronists did well, winning the governorship of Buenos Aires and 9 out of the 13 other governorships. Frondizi was deposed and exiled by the military a few weeks later.

5. Technically the Sinn Fein members are not permitted to serve in Parliament due to their refusal to swear an oath of allegiance to the crown, but the effect is the same.

# Table 1   French Presidential Election, 2002

| | First Round Votes | Percent | Second Round Votes | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Parties of the Left** | | | | |
| Socialists | 4,610,1113 | 16.2 | --- | --- |
| Worker's Struggle | 1,630,045 | 5.7 | --- | --- |
| Citizens' Movement | 1,518,528 | 5.3 | --- | --- |
| Greens | 1,495,724 | 5.2 | --- | --- |
| Revolutionary Communist League | 1,210,562 | 4.3 | --- | --- |
| French Communists | 960,480 | 3.4 | --- | --- |
| Radical Party of the Left | 660,447 | 2.3 | --- | --- |
| Worker's Party | 132,686 | 0.5 | --- | --- |
| **Center/ Right Parties** | | | | |
| Rally for the Republic | 5,665,855 | 19.9 | 25,537,956 | 82.1 |
| Union for French Democracy | 1,949,170 | 6.8 | --- | --- |
| Liberal Democracy | 1,113,484 | 3.9 | --- | --- |
| Citizenship, Action, etc. | 535, 837 | 1.9 | --- | --- |
| Forum of Social Republicans | 339,112 | 1.2 | --- | --- |
| **Nationalist Parties** | | | | |
| National Front | 4,804,713 | 16.9 | 5,525,032 | 17.8 |
| NRM | 667,026 | 2.3 | --- | --- |
| **Others** | | | | |
| Hunting, Fishing, etc. | 1,204,689 | 4.2 | --- | --- |
| Spoiled, Null | 997,262 | 3.4 | 1,769,307 | 5.4 |
| Total | 29,495,733 | | 32,832,285 | |

**Table 2 Constitutional Assembly Election and Presidential Election,
Argentina 1957-58**

| Party | 1957 | 1958 |
|---|---|---|
| Radical Civic Union – People's | 24.2 | 30.7 |
| Radical Civic Union – Intransigents | 21.2 | 47.6 |
| Center Federation | 6.1 | --- |
| Popular Conservative | --- | 2.0 |
| Socialist | 6.0 | 3.1 |
| Christian Democratic | 4.8 | 3.4 |
| Democratic Progressive | 3.0 | 1.5 |
| Communist | 2.6 | --- |
| Others | 7.2 | 2.0 |
| Blanks | 24.3 | --- |
| Other Invalid | .4 | --- |
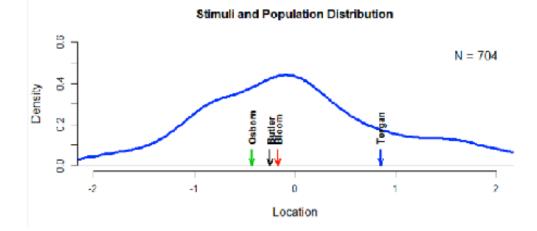
# Table 3   Presidential Election, Peru 2000

|  | First Round | Second Round |
|---|---|---|
| Peru 2000 | 49.9 | 74.3 |
| Peru Posible | 40.2 | 25.7 |
| Somos Peru | 3.0 | --- |
| Avancemos | 2.2 | --- |
| Sol. Nacional | 1.8 | --- |
| APRA | 1.4 | --- |
| FREPAP | 0.7 | --- |
| Accion Popular | 0.4 | --- |
| UPP | 0.3 | --- |
| Valid Votes | 91.9 | 68.9 |
| Blanks | 5.9 | 1.2 |
| Spoiled | 2.3 | 29.9 |

## Table 4   Winchester Elections, 1997

| | May | | November | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Votes | Percentage | Votes | Percentage |
| Liberal Democrat | 26,100 | 42.1 | 37,006 | 68.0 |
| Conservative | 26,098 | 42.1 | 15,450 | 28.4 |
| Labour | 6,528 | 10.5 | 944 | 1.7 |
| Referendum | 1,598 | 2.6 | --- | --- |
| L.D. "Top Choice" | 640 | 1.0 | 59 | 0.1 |
| UKIP | 476 | 0.8 | 521 | 1.0 |
| Independent | 307 | 0.5 | --- | --- |
| MRL | 307 | 0.5 | 316 | 0.6 |
| Natural Law | --- | --- | 48 | 0.1 |
| Ind. Conservative | --- | --- | 40 | 0.1 |
| Total | 62,054 | | 54,384 | |

Figure 5: Candidate Placements in AD50



**Stimuli and Population Distribution**

N = 704

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