1:56

foreign all right folks welcome

2:03

to uh the Rubin odsu Department of government's post midterm election

2:10

Roundtable I am Dr Brian kreichen here in the department I will be serving as

2:16

moderator for tonight uh tonight we are um we are blessed with many of our

2:24

faculty members here to give their input onto the uh the election that just occurred uh we have Dr kuzan

2:31

distinguished University Professor Dr David Ramsey associate professor and chair of the department

2:37

Dr Adam Caton associate professor and as a special guest uh Dr Jacob Shively is

2:44

here as well associate professor so we have a full house in terms of the

2:50

faculty here in the department to give a breakdown of what just happened in terms of how this is going to work tonight

2:56

we're going to start out with our faculty members offering a little bit of

3:01

insight into what just took place and I guess is still ongoing some of the

3:06

counting is still ongoing give their thoughts uh it's sort of insights and what they think is

3:13

happening uh where we'll start with Dr kuzan uh then we'll go with Dr Ramsey uh

3:18

Dr Shively and then we'll finish with Dr Caton after that we'll open the floor up to questions from the audience uh please

3:26

type the questions that you have uh into the the question box uh so we can see

3:32

them and pick them out uh in that way uh hopefully we can answer your questions uh with that I'm going to go ahead and

3:40

get out of the way and turn it over to our our panelists we'll start with Dr

3:45

puzan offering a little bit of insight here and in particular Dr kuzan we're

3:50

interested to know how the election results um how your predictions uh played up

3:57

with the election results so please Dr kuzan well first of all I never made a

4:03

prediction but what I did do was I sort of uh looked at the Historical records and I I

4:12

wanted to see what would be a Baseline so given the historical record uh under the

4:20

circumstances that we have a Democratic president uh uh in the midterm uh what would be

4:26

expected uh given history in other words what was the average and what I looked

4:32

at uh I looked at it as the percentage of the um or the membership in the uh

4:37

Democratic uh caucus so to speak and uh basically that could that that sort of

4:45

computed into a loss of about 27 seats I believe that was kind of the

4:51

expected loss now uh eight other political scientists they actually did have forecasting

4:58

models and they assembled the models and the models were published Believe It or

5:03

Not uh in the Figaro a French newspaper uh because one of the members of the

5:10

political forecasting group uh in the association of the political science Association he's a Frenchman so he took

5:18

in all these models and and he kind of looked at the forecast and he uh posted that on the Figaro and when I

5:26

averaged all those models that range from uh unexpected forecast of 19 States lost

5:34

for the Democrats all the way up to the upper 30s for the Democrats So High Teens high 30s well you know we tend to

5:42

kind of average we don't go by any one model we'd rather average them out and so when you average them the the

5:50

forecast was 28 seats just one more than than the expected seats uh seat that I

5:56

have now there was a lot of hype going on to the election no matter the Red Wave a

6:01

red tsunami and I was kind of skeptical of that because I didn't see the conditions for that and um but

6:08

nevertheless I said well what would be expected what would be what would it look like if there were a right wave

6:13

what would it look like and basically by taking a statistical a

6:19

statistic that I don't need to get into uh what I set it at if if the Democrats

6:25

lose more than 40 seats that would be a red wave if they lose more than 50 that will be a

6:33

tsunami but um the fact is that the Democrats didn't have a very large membership in this in

6:40

the in the house they only had 222 seats that was a very thin margin so they did

6:46

not have that many seats to lose that's one thing that people were not taking into account a lot of these models

6:52

except one which I will mention in a moment Alan abramowitz from Emory University

6:58

uh he's a very good forecaster he's been very good uh forecasting presidential elections and very and this time he did

7:05

a very good job forecasting the the the midterm election he estimated 19 seats

7:10

now it was he still overshot the mark but it was a he came the closest and what he did was he looked at what

7:18

was the membership uh in the in the house and um and the other variable was what

7:24

was the um the congression of you know when you when you ask people whom do you intend to vote I think it's called the

7:31

um um when anyway the when you ask people whom

7:36

would you expect whom would you like to see in Congress uh people respond uh and

7:41

uh it was very close about one one point or two points off uh difference so based

7:48

on those two variables alone he estimated that the Democrats would lose 19 seats uh I think they've lost uh

7:54

according the latest counter so today they've only lost maybe 11 seats so they have it they haven't lost very many

8:00

seats really but and that's what they still want the the Republicans still one need one one more seat to lose to gain

8:07

to gain control of the house and they're expected to gain control the house move in a couple of days

8:13

so so much for the horse race if you will uh but there are a couple of other interesting things that came out of the

8:19

election one uh is that um there was the the the shift uh against

8:26

it's only other margins it's only a exchange a shift but the the Democrats

8:31

still have a majority of the vote uh in Black voters uh so-called Hispanic

8:39

voters and Asian voters so all those ethnic groups still vote a majority of

8:44

them according to the exit polls still voted for the Democrats however there was a shift uh to the Republicans and

8:52

this goes contrary to a lot of the conventional wisdom uh in fact it All Began in 2016. uh there was a small but

9:01

uh but but measurable shift to Trump in 2016. that was that kind of fluent

9:07

defense in the face of a lot of you know a lot of expectations and there was actually made stronger in 2020 and now

9:16

it continues in 2022 so there's something interesting how that's a very

9:21

interesting phenomenon I Tennessee I didn't say about the Jewish vote and I I

9:27

can't I'm not gonna I'm not gonna speak from memory because I don't I looked I looked at the exit polls but I don't

9:33

remember about the Jewish book well that would be another interesting one if there was a shift I can't say maybe one of my colleagues

9:40

can tell me that uh so that's the second interesting thing and uh of course then

9:46

the big story of course that everybody's talking about is Florida right uh they they there was there was a Red Wave in

9:52

Florida that's where everybody knows but also there's another wave uh in um in

9:57

New York surprisingly enough uh certain parts of New York voted a republican uh

10:04

that had not been expected um it was kind of a surprise again uh uh that that

10:09

they voted for um for the report again if you they they picked up I think we're

10:15

like four seats in New York uh which is you you wouldn't expect that uh in in New York so I think those are the uh the

10:22

two interesting things then you have Ohio where the Republican did very well uh but uh the news were uh the the

10:29

goodness of the for the Republicans were was were scarce Florida

10:34

Ohio uh and uh and and a little bit of New York which was you know kind of

10:40

surprising it's just a marginal thing anyway in New York uh so now we're still waiting for for Georgia let's see I see

10:47

what happens there but um so and I guess I guess the last thing I

10:52

would mention is uh that uh uh president Trump former president Trump I did not do well uh in his predictions uh and his

11:01

uh endorsements the only the only person who uh the only permanent endorsement uh that won election was advanced in Ohio

11:09

but probably any any more at least a republican would have won an Ohio

11:14

because every other every other like the governor won't handily and so you know

11:20

if it had not been some kind of crazy guy running in Ohio well the library Republicans would have wanted to uh so I

11:27

don't I don't think the endorsement the endorsement help vans in the primary but I don't think I don't think it did that

11:33

much good for him in the in the general election

11:39

all right thank you Dr kuzan uh Dr Ramsey uh if you would uh please give us

11:45

in your Insight and again I want to remind the audience members uh that as you're you're listening to uh the

11:51

panelists uh if questions are uh coming to you go ahead uh click on the the Q a

11:57

box down towards the bottom of your screen and go ahead into your questions so we can uh we will have plenty of

12:02

questions for the Q a session uh okay Dr Ramsey

12:07

yeah I was trying to think what can I say that uh Dr kuzan hasn't already said I'll focus on uh the law that's a good

12:15

thing to do so one thing I was paying attention to was that um how we vote has changed uh when we vote

12:23

what what's considered election it's no longer election day but election season and um but I'm trying to figure

12:30

out sort of what explains uh how these elections went I I think there's

12:36

evidence that um changes to uh voting laws in several States during covet

12:43

um have given Democrats an advantage they have a better get out the vote effort and have been uh very successful

12:50

in sort of using uh in some states about harvesting and uh really getting locked

12:56

in early mail-in ballots uh that will be counted and um that might be sort of a

13:02

just a if you're the party that's Progressive and looking to the Future uh it would make sense that you'd be

13:08

tuned into what's happening right now and what's changed and if you're a conservative party you might be slow to catch on to how

13:15

things have changed since the last election you might pay Consultants who are saying don't worry we know how these

13:21

things go and we're on top and really it looks like uh Republicans the country

13:27

over um not prepared for how voting uh habits uh

13:33

how turnout has changed and when voters are locking in their votes the other

13:38

interesting thing you know I'm sure more stuff will come out but uh I was interested to see how how few

13:45

candidates National candidates uh would debate and that's uh of course a

13:51

troubling sign that if we don't have candidates who are willing to sort of air their views and disagree with each

13:57

other Stakeout positions commit to a platform in advance of uh voters casting

14:04

their ballots um that's that's a real breakdown in how the system should work there should be

14:09

an opportunity for voters to hear the differences between candidates what

14:15

how what the theories the race are and uh and then cast their vote and that gives a real mandate

14:22

um so when we have uh you know I think back to the the last election we we see

14:28

all these changes in foreign policy that are going on and and we didn't have a foreign policy debate and I wish we

14:34

would have had one uh that would have been a nice thing to know uh where Biden and Trump stood and here also I think

14:40

just things are going to be so close in in the Senate and the house now it would be nice to know where

14:47

candidates stand on the issues and not just speaking to their base but how they

14:53

respond to questions maybe giving them the opportunity to question each other uh and show how they hold up under

15:00

other theories of the case you know how they would explain themselves to the opposition

15:05

um that would be a healthy thing and I was very discouraged to see how few debates took place

15:15

thank you uh Dr Ramsey uh Dr Shively uh would you go ahead and please give us a

15:21

little bit of your Insight sure I'll focus a little bit on foreign

15:27

policy implications um and then a grab bag of small

15:32

observations since I'm not an americanist this is sort of my uh my

15:37

informed opinion on on those but on foreign policy one thing we were looking for was whether or not the Republicans

15:44

would have a big win because some of them were raising some issues about

15:51

um Ukraine and how much the bite Administration has been spending on the Ukraine war

15:56

now you know maybe they if they if it was Trump was President maybe he'd be doing the same thing that's a different

16:03

discussion but certainly that was going to be up for debate and I think that Ukraine Aid is probably not going to be

16:10

under threat now because the Republican majorities will be thin enough that

16:17

there will probably be in and they're kind of divided on this issue so we'll probably see that that support continue

16:23

and I think I I mentioned that partly because that's a big symbolic issue right now for you know International

16:31

Affairs and U.S foreign policy it really represents um where the US may be going in the

16:37

world um and then some on on the GOP side for instance have said we shouldn't be

16:43

spending any more so it's a good symbolic issue another representative issue would be

16:49

um China and you know U.S competition with China does the change in composition will will that affect

16:55

congress's disposition toward U.S trade with China and so forth and again I

17:01

think we'll probably see pretty much continuity on this as you know Dr Ramsey

17:07

said we didn't have a good foreign policy debate during the last presidential election

17:13

um which is unfortunate because in some ways Biden has carried forward some of

17:18

Trump's approaches and completely thrown over others um but the parties do seem to be fairly

17:24

consistent on their desire to confront China and in this case confront Russia so we don't we're probably not going to

17:30

see a lot of of change so basically on foreign policy you know sometimes you

17:35

you will see a big shift because Congress has the levers of

17:41

the you know foreign policy budget but in this case I don't think we'll we can expect too much except I I would expect

17:48

that the house is now going to investigate the Biden administration's withdrawal from Afghanistan so next year

17:55

so I think we'll probably that'll be something to watch for and that may bring foreign policy back into the

18:01

political debate now regarding um just a few quick hits on on the

18:06

election itself and American politics one one argument I'll make is that

18:12

there's a trump effect on the vote and on polling which is to say Trump I think attracts people to

18:19

um who don't normally respond to polls but he'll bring them out to the to vote but only when he's on the ticket so like

18:27

the polls were a little off in 2016 and 2020 but a little more accurate for the 2018 midterm and this midterm and it may

18:34

be that he just has a kind of unique effect on the voting public now whether that and all what that also does though

18:42

is mobilize a lot of folks against him right there's a huge turnout and Biden

18:47

got the edge in 2020. so I think that's something that Republicans are looking at as as they look forward is

18:54

As Trump has just announced that he'll be running for president um that that he does seem to have this

19:00

kind of unusual effect on the on the voting public but that's just my my take my colleagues may agree or disagree with

19:07

that um they it's also worth noting and this

19:12

is just sort of the conventional read I think at this point that there were some issues that affected turnout like abort

19:19

if abortion was on the ballot in some states and um you know voter Integrity that sort of

19:27

thing uh this sort of laws and policies um Florida went strongly for Republicans

19:33

partly because DeSantis looked at abortion and said I'm not going to touch that right now and I think that probably helped him where it may have hurt

19:40

Republicans in other states um one other minor note and then I'll hand it off which is I think that uh

19:48

Democrats may enjoy a small advantage in these midterms going forward because uh

19:55

more educated people tend to come out to vote in midterms and you know folks with

20:00

college degrees and so forth and that population has shifted quite a bit from

20:06

leaning Republican to leaning Democrat so in midterm elections it may be that

20:11

there's a kind of structural Advantage whereas Dr guzan said some uh some

20:16

groups black Americans Asian Americans and so on are are shifting a little bit toward Republicans

20:22

on the margins at the same time educated voters are shifting toward Democrats and that that may cancel that out or balance

20:29

it out so those are just my initial thoughts observations to add to the discussion

20:37

thank you Dr Shively uh and finally uh Dr Caton would you please give us uh your thoughts on what we've been

20:43

witnessing here you bet hi everybody um so I um

20:51

so one observation goes along with some of what Dr Shively said is that what is

20:59

a bit abnormal this year and that it goes against recent um recent Trends and

21:05

back towards more historical Trends is that there were large state level effects in the midterm election results

21:10

uh the the U.S electorate has become increasingly nationalized over the last

21:15

few decades meaning um you know every state and county in the country you know for the most part

21:21

swings the same way presidential voting is becoming more and more correlated with voting for other offices and that

21:28

had become steadily more and more the case over the last several decades and in this this recent election we saw

21:36

um you know New York and Florida shifting strongly in the Republican Direction you know not enough to bring

21:42

Republicans to power in New York but much better performance by them than usual and then places like

21:50

um Pennsylvania and Ohio and Oklahoma shifting in the

21:57

Democratic Direction you know not enough to bring Democrats to power in Oklahoma and Ohio but but more than usual so you

22:02

have different states going different ways and the effects do seem to to map

22:07

onto state borders really well so it's not house districts it's not local effects it's something Statewide

22:14

um and Dr Shively identified what seemed to be the major issues there which is that

22:20

when abortion was on the ballot either directly or indirectly that gave

22:26

Democrats an advantage by directly I mean was there a ballot measure directly related to the right to abortion either

22:32

protecting it or um or restricting it and in in all cases

22:39

there seemed to be a coattail effect for those ballot measures Democrats did better in elections up and down the

22:45

ballot um when those were on the ballot

22:50

um and then the other Statewide effect and so that those are direct measures indirect measures would be if unified

22:56

control of the state government would give Republicans the power to pass more restrictive abortion laws or if a

23:03

gubernatorial candidate had said they were going to do so um Democrats did better that tended to

23:09

not benefit Republicans um the other Statewide effect was about

23:15

um about election security um

23:21

put scare quotes around that if you like where Republican candidates who

23:28

parroted Trump's claims that the 2020 election was stolen from him which was you know used to justify

23:36

um what I think can accurately be called an attempted coup d'etat Republicans did worse up and down the

23:42

ballot and those candidates in particular did worse and that tended to to hurt

23:49

Republicans Statewide and explains a lot of the differences in Senate candidates those effects were much greater in

23:54

gubernatorial elections and um senate elections than they were in house elections

24:01

um and I believe there might be one exception but I believe all of the

24:06

candidates running for governor or secretary of state that

24:12

um you know believed or or claimed the 2020

24:19

election was stolen lost um at least in in Battleground States

24:25

um and if you know candidates who didn't make such claims won um so that's one big takeaway there

24:32

seemed to be state level policy issues that had big effects

24:38

nudging states away from the typical midterm electoral pattern which is is interesting and is historically normal

24:45

but not normal by um according to recent history

24:53

um let's see another interesting takeaway again related to Dr Shively and

24:58

Dr kuzan's points is there's conventional wisdom that Democrats have a structural disadvantage in legislative

25:05

elections because their voters are inefficiently distributed across districts because Republicans attract

25:12

more support from rural and Suburban voters and Democrats from Urban voters

25:17

you have more highly uncompetitive Democratic districts

25:23

or you have a lot of Highly uncompetitive Democratic districts where the Democratic incumbents are safe but

25:29

there aren't enough of those districts to get close to a majority and then Republicans can win by smaller margins

25:35

in more districts and so there's a you know the conventional wisdom as recently as a couple of years ago was that

25:41

Democrats needed a um three saw claims that they needed a

25:46

three or four point popular vote margin to to win a majority in the House of Representatives

25:53

um and that seems like it's not actually the case for some of the reasons that Dr

26:00

Shively and Dr kuzan addressed and I'm actually working on a research project right now on um

26:08

ideology in Congress you know the stuff I'm always going on about in class and one of the interesting things we found

26:13

is that over the last 10 years um the number of Americans who

26:20

call themselves conservatives has actually gone down by a pretty

26:25

substantial amount and there's a another conventional wisdom that an American politics you know it's a it's a

26:33

center-right country where most people think of themselves as conservative and are generally sympathetic to conservative attitudes but there are a

26:41

lot of liberal policy positions that are also very popular and so Democrats campaign on popular policy but are never

26:49

they're never advertising the fact that they're liberals they just talk about policies people like and and

26:55

conservatives are advertising the fact or Republicans advertise the fact that they are conservative to tap into the

27:01

more popular um identity that people have and and general General Outlook and

27:08

um you know conservatism is much more common in rural than urban areas

27:14

so what a co-author and I have found is that over the last

27:19

20 years but in particular over the last 10 years the clear majority of the public that cause

27:27

itself conservative has vanished that it's basically

27:32

um it's basically 50 50 now and a lot of the public still identifies

27:38

as or still supports liberal policy positions which means the the structural

27:44

Foundation of a republican House Majority has started to has started to erode so it used to be the case that

27:52

Republicans could win a majority in the house by only appealing to districts where most voters were conservatives and

27:59

they didn't need to pick up any liberal districts and that Democrats could only win House Majority if they won liberal

28:05

districts and flipped conservative districts but as of the last like four years or so

28:13

that's no longer the case Democrats can win a majority only by picking up

28:19

liberal districts because more districts these you know a lot of these Suburban districts that have flipped

28:24

during the Trump Administration have become liberal not just in supporting Democrats but the people who live there are actually more likely to call

28:31

themselves liberal than they used to be and to think of themselves as liberal so the um so Democrats now you know

28:40

think of it as having they have a higher floor they can just about get a majority

28:45

in the house by only winning liberal districts and they don't need to flip very many conservative ones

28:51

whereas Republicans need to win conservative districts and are more likely to need to flip some liberal

28:57

districts too in order to win so the tables have kind of turned on the parties

29:02

um and so the the parties are trading voters a bit it's like a very a very small

29:10

um realignment where Republicans are doing a little bit better among black Asian

29:15

Latino and perhaps Jewish Americans I know there there's tremendous diversity within all three of those categories

29:22

Democrats are doing a bit better among educated Suburban folks um but

29:28

Republicans are picking up voters that were part of those groups who were inefficiently distributed across

29:34

districts and Democrats are picking up more voters that were contributing to Republican structural advantages so it's

29:41

a it's a trade that at least in the short term and in legislative elections seems to benefit Democrats more than

29:49

Republicans um which you know partially perhaps explains

29:55

um last week's results um let's see

30:01

I will I have a million things I could talk about but I will I will leave time for

30:08

questions all right thank you uh don't get too comfortable Dr Kate I'm throwing this

30:14

first question back at you uh so we we've gotten a lot of good questions here and I think we're gonna we're gonna

30:19

start with just talking about Florida a little bit uh so we have a question here about the Red Wave in Florida that Dr

30:26

kuzan uh brought up uh and we have a question about maybe how seriously the

30:31

Democrats uh attempted to do well in Florida that there's been criticisms that when you look at the elections that

30:38

the Democrats ran in Florida they were frankly lackluster

30:43

um we didn't see a lot of advertisement maybe not necessarily a high level of spending so

30:49

does this play a role the fact that it seemed like um the Democrats were necessarily uh

30:56

trying very hard in Florida is that playing a role here or something else going on in Florida uh so I'm going to

31:02

pass this off to Dr Caton and the other panelists uh you guys are more than welcome to jump in on these questions as

31:08

well yeah I think the campaign and campaign spending plays a fairly

31:15

small role candidate quality plays a modest sized role but I don't know that

31:21

that was an issue in Florida necessarily um and this is the second

31:26

election cycle in a row or midterm cycle in a row in Florida where the senatorial

31:33

candidates and the gubernatorial candidates of the same party got virtually the same vote share

31:39

um so the um you know we we didn't have a big

31:44

split like um you know Mike dewine we talked about Ohio earlier Mike dewine the governor of

31:50

Ohio got 62 percent of the vote in Ohio and JD Vance the um Trump endorsed

31:58

Senate candidate only got 53 percent of the vote in Ohio that's a huge gap right

32:03

A lot of people are showing up to vote for Mike dewine and not for JD Vance

32:08

um but in Florida um Rubio and DeSantis got nearly identical

32:16

shares of the vote there wasn't a big split so that to me suggests it's not merely a question of candidates it's not

32:22

merely a question of campaigns unless you know Rubio and DeSantis were both running better ones than their opponents

32:29

but I think there are some some other other things that work here so campaigns

32:34

affect election results at the margins they have small effects but in a close race small effects decide the outcome so

32:39

campaigns are still important but in Florida I think a few things besides

32:45

that are going on one is that um the population of Florida is just

32:51

becoming more Republican I don't know if it's more Republicans moving to Florida from other states the

32:59

Latino population in Florida is disproportionately Republican you know Cubans and Venezuelans and in particular

33:05

who are more likely because of their distinctive experiences and and

33:10

terrible things that have happened under left-wing regimes in both of their countries are more likely to gravitate

33:15

towards the Republican Party um you know which is a so they're outpacing that shift among

33:24

Latino voters in other states um part of it also has to do with or

33:30

potentially has to do with um coveted response so the

33:38

so desantis's response to covid was very popular in Florida his you know not very

33:44

much in the way of restrictions not very much in the way of school closures and that sort of thing was very was very

33:51

popular here and um was sometimes at odds with the national

33:58

response the response in New York was much stricter and was far

34:06

less popular and in both cases the governor is the is the

34:11

lightning rod is the focal point for that policy response so I think among

34:16

um among some voters I don't know how many but certainly among some you're seeing

34:21

covid backlash or whatever the opposite of the backlash is

34:28

um and that could be part of it um so in Florida for instance DeSantis has

34:35

been more moderate on abortion than some other Republicans he's um backed a 15-week abortion ban but not

34:43

a complete abortion ban that's a more moderate position than other Governors and as a result there seemed to be less

34:51

uh mobilization counter mobilization than other Governors experienced you know it's hard to answer questions like

34:56

this because there's only one election outcome and there are dozens of possible

35:01

explanations for it and so in statistics you call that a degrees of freedom problem we have more variables than we

35:06

have data points so it's in you can kind of tell whatever story you want and they're all plausible

35:12

but I would I would caution it's not just campaigns

35:22

I'll throw out one related observation here which was simply that and it's not really an explanation but

35:29

um I saw a political scientist at FSU I think who pointed out that the

35:36

um Democratic turnout and like strong Democratic counties really cratered uh

35:42

they they didn't show up so they they showed up in much lower numbers and at the same time Republicans came out in

35:48

higher numbers than uh 2020 or 2018 I don't remember what the comparison was

35:54

so um yeah I agree with everything Dr Caton said I and for whatever reason it was it

36:01

wasn't just that Republican like I don't know how many people may have switched to voting Republicans so much as

36:08

Republicans came out in force there are more Republicans in Florida than there used to be and at the same time

36:13

Democrats just didn't didn't show up and there might be different reasons for that but

36:19

um I think we would imagine probably closer votes in two years in the presidential election it'll probably

36:25

still lean Republican but it'll probably be a closer vote at that time

36:34

I have a question for uh Dr Crusher um when you mentioned the um the shift

36:41

away from the conservatives people self-described conservatives um is that does that include this

36:47

election Dr Kate and I'm pretty sure that's for you

36:52

yes for Caton yeah it doesn't I have the measure I'm using for that is the Cooperative congressional election study

36:58

um so the data is only up through the 2020 election season okay um recently in

37:05

the field yeah the reason I ask is because the Wall Street Journal I saw the exit ball there and and I I didn't

37:11

see that there uh but I'm only speaking for a memory but you may want to look I'll send you well you can get it

37:17

yourself but I cannot you have the exit poll numbers for this election

37:23

not handy yeah no no I mean right now but you have access to them have you seen them yet

37:29

some of them yeah I'm a little skeptical I mean you know like Dr Ramsey was talking about the way people are voting

37:34

is changing I'm not sure that the way exit polls are conducted if kept up with that and so as we see partisan and

37:40

demographic differences by the um mode of voting I'm not sure

37:47

you know if it if exit polls are still disproportionately in person and election day they're going to have

37:54

probably a republican lien that they didn't in the past some exit pollsters might have accounted for that and others

37:59

haven't I think we have so I think the quality varies and I haven't kept up with which ones are good and which ones

38:05

aren't so keeping

38:11

on the the topic of the Red Wave uh we have a really good question here uh in terms of uh the expectations of the Red

38:19

Wave do you think the Public's expectation for a red wave in the midterms did it maybe cause a bit of

38:25

complacency in red voters uh at all or maybe helped spur uh Democrats into

38:30

action causing the expected Red Wave to be smaller uh or was this just an example of the actual wave size being

38:37

more or less what was reasonably expected so then maybe uh the the media plane up the Red Wave did that maybe

38:43

hold back Republicans in some states and maybe help uh help them in other states so I'll leave that as an open question

38:50

for the panel

38:59

I'll jump in since everybody's quiet um and I don't actually know the answer but I'll I'll do my do my best

39:06

[Music] um I don't I'm skeptical that it had too much of an effect I mean sometimes

39:11

there's a media narrative about an election that comes completely true and

39:18

sometimes they're wrong and you know so I don't know that we can consistently say building up one candidate means

39:24

their um means they're doomed

39:30

um but it might have had some effect on ticket

39:36

splitting that happened if voters thought if Republicans thought their party was going to do well regardless that might have caused

39:43

them to leave the ballot blank for candidates they didn't like because they thought maybe the candidate would win

39:49

anyway and they didn't feel like voting for them that is um that's speculation though I'm not sure

39:56

uh by the way another question for Dr Caton um I I think I saw a reference today or

40:02

yesterday uh some claim that that more Republicans the Republicans got

40:10

more votes overall than Democrats is that is that is that true this time around

40:16

probably the votes haven't all been counted yet in California so the apparent Gap now will come down but it

40:22

looks like um yeah Republicans if you add up all the house races um Republicans got more votes I mean you

40:29

have to be a bit careful with those numbers because you have it's best practices to impute the results of

40:35

uncontested races so um you know there were plenty of races where there was only

40:42

a Republican or only a Democrat on the ballot in which case the Republicans in those districts if it's a if there were

40:48

only Democrats on the ballot wouldn't have had their votes counted in the popular vote total so a lot of analysts

40:53

take the election results and then sort of guesstimate what the popular vote would have been in a district that only

40:58

had one party on the ballot that work hasn't been done yet but that's sort of a elaborate way of saying I still think

41:05

yes there were more total votes for republicans in house races the other thing that nobody has yet

41:12

mentioned is um the Democrats are nominating uh Charlie Chris for uh for

41:18

governor yeah I I you know I don't know why it would do something like that that would

41:25

be uh that was a very strange uh not I don't know that anybody would have done any better but why Chris can anybody

41:31

explain to me why Chris

41:37

I haven't I I suspected yeah it surprised me too but my best guess was

41:43

um Democrats were feeling threatened and so

41:48

they figured the best option they had against a strong Republican would be another

41:54

Republican basically a republican adjacent um you know is sort of the logic of

42:01

um in the 2020 election if you've got Trump running maybe you don't want to

42:06

run a big leftist you want to run somebody like Biden who has more of a reputation of being more you know uh

42:14

traditional or something so that that was my um you know off the cuff Theory because

42:20

I I uh the Democrats made that decision right Democratic voters so they must have been thinking in terms and those

42:27

voters do think in terms of electability so that that would be a plausible thought process for them

42:35

um but yeah because it was a well you know financed on both sides in that

42:40

primary you know Dr Ramsey spoke of electoral law and I'm wondering uh if we could uh

42:47

you know shift in that direction a little bit um for example Georgia is going to have

42:52

a runoff election and I'm wondering whether more States uh should adopt a

42:59

runoff uh when no candidate receives the an absolute majority of the vote in an election or maybe maybe the the the

43:06

parties could do that for their primary one of the I think one of the problems that we have is that in the primary vote

43:13

uh oftentimes The Vortex Source split the summer with a quarter of the water a third of the vote then becomes a nominee

43:21

um and then the other thing is like uh for example in Alaska now they have this uh ranked order voting uh Which is

43:28

popular in some uh in Australia and other countries but but not not in the

43:34

US we're betraying it now in New York City now Alaska I believe in another New England state was also trying it out so

43:41

I don't know uh Dr Clayton if you have any uh uh have you looked into that at all and and how it's affecting

43:47

nominations and elections I haven't really looked into it to be

43:54

honest I think it's potentially very important but I haven't done any real research

44:00

and do you think it would be a good idea to have a runoff like in Georgia

44:06

personally I kind of like it but that's just a just a matter of personal preference I like the legitimacy of if

44:12

we're going to have elections I like the legitimacy of the majority winning

44:19

I didn't say if we're going to have elections to insinuate that I don't want to have elections but I think if we're

44:25

you know the uh yeah anyway

44:30

I'm in favor of Elections and I'm in favor of the majority being able to decide who wins elections

44:39

well I think Dr kuzan hinted something that's a completely different discussion that we shouldn't get off on too much

44:45

which is the primary system seems to have gone a little off the rails uh you know it's out of the control of the

44:50

parties uh it's kind of out of the control of the voters you know as he said

44:56

very small sometimes it doesn't take much of a percentage of the boat to carry it so that it's kind of entrenched

45:04

but I think most people agree it's kind of become a different creature than what

45:09

it was intended to be one one thing I'll add I was thinking about the Red Wave thing now they've had

45:15

a chance to process it in in media influence I it's probably worth

45:21

re-stating Dr Caton's earlier point that states seem to matter a lot in what

45:27

issues and candidates were performing in given States so if that wasn't if if the

45:33

Red Wave was kind of suppressed by media coverage and hype you would probably see

45:39

that as a national phenomenon but the variation was more it seems based on

45:46

different states right in the issues and the candidates in those different states so there may have been some kind of

45:51

media effect a hype effect but um the the more relevant variable seems

45:58

to have been other other factors um and for what it's yeah I'll stop

46:03

there so in terms of uh this discussion of the

46:10

Waves so maybe not necessarily just talking about the Red Wave uh one of the things that a couple of you have noted

46:16

uh is that um we actually could argue we had a Blue Wave uh here and there uh whether

46:22

Pennsylvania uh my home state of Michigan uh had a a pretty significant

46:28

Blue Wave over the election but in terms of just waves in general not necessarily Blue Wave or Red Wave

46:34

um should we see should we see these as blips uh blips on the Electoral radar or

46:43

does this point to maybe long term right so how long should we expect sort of a Florida to remain as red as it is how

46:50

long should we expect Michigan to remain as blue as that is uh so is it a blip in the radar are we seeing more long-term

46:56

trends in some of these states

47:03

uh I'll jump in on this I'll try to keep it short but one way we could approach it in some ways

47:10

the election isn't going to be remembered rather it's what's accomplished as a consequence of the election what changes in our politics

47:16

are there changes to the law are the parties themselves sort of Dr Kate

47:22

mentioned the realignment that's probably underway in some form there's a sort of sifting out that's going on and

47:28

people aren't voting the way we thought they would um but but maybe you know you sort of have

47:34

to wait and see what did happen as a consequence of this election what you know are are there going to be new

47:39

voting coalitions that form is it possible to see movements um within State legislatures on issues

47:46

like the abortion issue you know the court has handed that back to the States now are are States going to uh

47:54

move behind a 15-week uh prohibition on abortion will they move further further

48:00

in to give give access to particle birth abortions um at that level it'll be interesting at

48:06

the national level are there is it possible to get more things done given a a pretty closely divided House and

48:13

Senate or do we just see more deadlock and it has to break one way or the other before anything can really be

48:19

accomplished um but maybe that's the more political

48:24

science maybe the media way of talking about it is there was a wave you know it was red or it was blue or it was mixed

48:29

or and and the political sciencey way is like well what's going to happen because of this and what caused it you know and so I I

48:38

do think a big um to speak also to Dr kuzan's question about runoffs

48:45

um that maybe the media would prefer to have an

48:51

election night an event that they can lead up to and they can thump for a month and then there's a big night and it's a like like the Super Bowl of

48:58

politics um and it's a lot less satisfying for ratings and all that to

49:05

have like uh we don't really know what's going to happen it's going to be a few weeks just uh we'll get back to you you

49:12

know results are still coming in and so that takes uh some of the influence out of the hands of the media they're

49:17

already fairly unpopular with both sides of the uh the electorate right now um and puts it in the hands of

49:24

um political actors right and the voters so those are things that I see going on and

49:31

I'm just not sure how helpful it is to sort of uh you know either try to activate a voter base or or chill one by

49:38

labeling or predicting some kind of wave or another

49:46

you don't think the media would actually like to have um uh a runoff they would actually extend

49:54

the extent the the excitement uh further another another four weeks you know they

50:01

uh no no sooner has the midterm over they stop talking about 2024.

50:07

so uh they could actually talk about the next four weeks um I don't even know you need four weeks but

50:13

but you know two maybe maybe so I'm gonna have to see what France does I don't think France

50:20

takes four weeks they might take a little less uh in France they have a runoff If no candidate wins not only for

50:26

the presidency but also for the late for the congressional districts for the Assembly districts if nobody wins a

50:32

majority they have to go they have to have to a second round and um

50:38

and and we we you know we could start with the primaries you know let the parties decide if I if if we did that

50:46

you know not not to mention names but but some candidates you know who have a strong

50:53

25 to 30 percent uh base uh they they may not be able to to obtain a majority

50:59

uh once once the other parties you know once once the other candidates sort of drop off

51:05

um and I don't know what uh what the Republicans would do uh in 2024 but uh

51:11

one of the things that they did last time they were so divided uh what were the 16 candidates at one time at one

51:18

point and and now already um you're talking about Pompeo thinking they're gonna run pens you're thinking

51:24

about going to run uh there's gonna be so I think I think it would be good the

51:31

Republican party and the Democratic party both for that matter uh I think they will do well uh to begin another

51:37

state level just you have to see how it goes you know one of the things about somebody mentioned not long ago I wrote

51:42

an article that says that you know states were supposed to be the well one interpretation of State politics was

51:48

that they were Laboratories as democracy that we could start doing some things at the estate level and then if if it

51:55

worked it could be imitated by other states well I think that's what they're trying to do uh with

52:02

the rank order voting

52:09

um and so with that's that's what you know maybe maybe we should start that in Florida

52:15

uh maybe maybe we should try to talk the parties into having Runners uh just for

52:20

their primary and see how that goes let me let me jump in uh on that sorry

52:27

but uh and just to say um you know I think that that concerns me

52:33

is seeing since 2000 that uh people who lose elections tend to think that they're spot right and that's not good

52:40

in a democracy for lose you know the losing part of the uh of the voting uh populace to think that

52:48

uh the only way my side could lose is if there was uh fraud going on and so

52:53

something that is healthy under those conditions is to have robust discussion of what a legitimate election would look

53:00

like and to realize that there can be changes to how we hold elections and for that experiment station to take place

53:07

and because of things happening I always see things through the eyes of the court because of changes that have been made

53:13

at the level of the Supreme Court there is now more freedom for states to um

53:19

experiment with how they run their elections uh and there's also if you recall I mean the the first bill the

53:25

Democrats wanted to put forward after 2020 was a a federal law about what uh

53:31

legitimate elections look like you know to make things sort of the same everywhere um

53:37

and I don't think that kind of experimentation and discussion and then analysis is a bad thing I think it's a

53:42

sign of healthful healthy uh sort of like participation I think voting rates are up in in recent years more people

53:50

are voting and more often so all that looks like maybe signs of

53:56

of Health in the country rather than something to be concerned about

54:03

uh Dr Ramsey I'm going to go ahead and put words in your mouth and say I appreciate the fact that you are behind

54:08

my my crusade for making an intro to comparative politics uh a requirement uh

54:13

for all students so we can learn about all these different electoral systems and see how they're supposed to operate so I appreciate your support in that

54:21

um so another question so uh Dr Kate and I know you said we have a degrees of

54:26

freedom problem here with one election but I'm going to go ahead and push it even further um so we've been talking about uh maybe

54:33

some of the legislative issues or the court cases that might have been impacting whether it's abortion uh or

54:39

other issues that impacting this particular election could there have possibly been an impact

54:45

of January 6th uh in what happened uh with the 2020 election did that maybe

54:51

hang over uh the midterms as well and could that have had a little bit of an impact on what we saw

54:59

uh yes I think so um and I think so in a couple of ways

55:05

on the one hand um you know this is a this is a very

55:11

depressing topic to me um but that's all right

55:17

um so the um okay on the one hand there was a

55:25

there's a struggle happening within the Republican Party um for

55:30

for control of the party um between former president Trump and basically uh people who don't want him

55:38

to be the face of the party and he endorsed a bunch of candidates congressional candidates in state state

55:45

level candidates and Senate candidates and one of the things the candidates he endorsed have in common

55:51

is that they tend to um to repeat the lie that the 2020 election

55:59

was stolen and they also and this is pre why this is particularly Salient and state level

56:05

races is they were running for offices as a governor and Secretary of State where they would be in charge of of

56:11

implementing election laws um and so what happened in a lot of these

56:18

races is that the candidates he endorsed um end up losing I was looking at some analysis

56:24

um and it seems like a trump endorsement carried a five-point penalty in the

56:30

general election um help these candidates win the primaries but then cost them in the

56:35

general election and you know this is what depresses me about this is that there's such a stark partisan division

56:42

on the interpretation of this um so

56:47

Republicans seem to be based on opinion polls somewhat divided between thinking

56:53

that the election actually was stolen and that we are currently living under a legit an illegitimate Administration

57:00

and thinking that it's actually not a big deal people are overreacting people went into you know people went into

57:07

Nancy Pelosi's office so what um kind of attitude and

57:12

to however to Democrats and to more

57:19

Independence than not um January 6th was more like uh it was

57:27

in in some ways like a 911 type moment but without the casualties but in terms

57:32

of its disturbing implications very it's very disturbing um because you know you had a sitting

57:39

president of the United States using multiple strategies to try to stay in power many of those strategies

57:45

illegal um you know the January 6th attack on the capital being the most visible one

57:51

but um you know but frankly asking you know he asked the vice president not to sort

57:56

of to not count election results from Battleground States that's unconstitutional if he remains in power

58:02

by breaking the Constitution that's a coup and this you know so for a lot of Independents

58:11

and Democrats they've spent the last you know couple of years with their heads exploding that this is not a bigger deal

58:16

to more people so I think there's a there is a

58:21

Republicans don't appreciate the level of freak out that's happening among Democrats because if you'd ask most of

58:28

them you know six years ago 10 years ago whatever would Republicans even consider

58:36

accepting the endorsement of someone who had done this Democrats would have said no they

58:42

wouldn't do that um but it turns out most of them will and then you have candidates you know

58:48

the the um Republican gubernatorial candidate in Wisconsin

58:53

um who underperformed the Senate candidate quite a bit said that if he won Democrats would never win another

59:00

Statewide election in Wisconsin like you know so think about what that sounds

59:08

like to Democrats living in Wisconsin so I think that that drives it a lot and

59:14

it had a couple of effects one it caused it caused Republicans to nominate some

59:20

pretty weak candidates in a lot of States these candidates underperformed because this position is is really not

59:28

popular you know it doesn't really mobilize Republicans and it mobilizes Democrats and a lot of Independence

59:34

against it um that's one effect on the results

59:40

um which is you know may precipitate a power struggle within the Republican party or it may not I don't know

59:46

um party Civil Wars are often prophecied and rarely actually arrive

59:51

um so that's okay that's one effect which drives the results I think it's going to

59:57

affect um the divisions within the parties going forward and I think it has a a lot to do

1:00:04

with Democratic resilience in some places you know and a lot of the states where Democrats did really well

1:00:10

um or better than you would have expected places like Pennsylvania and Arizona

1:00:15

um this was this was a factor

1:00:21

um you know one of many possible factors but it's a big one so

1:00:27

um I don't know if that adequately answers the question but it's

1:00:33

it's um part of it I think you know what what I think and well I guess one final point is um it's interesting that at least

1:00:41

among members of Congress I'm always paying attention to the way members of Congress react to this sort of thing and among members of Congress there seems to

1:00:48

be much more open criticism of um president Trump

1:00:54

in uh coming from congressional Republicans and you know there are these what I've what I tend to think are are

1:01:01

mostly right but also kind of over simplistic theories of congressional politics which is that they only care about winning they only care about you

1:01:08

know winning the majority or we can understand a lot of their behavior on those terms

1:01:13

um and you know I always kind of think yeah that there's a lot to that but it's got to be it's got to be over

1:01:21

simplified but then you know um

1:01:28

Trump loses in 2020. but Republicans gained House Seats

1:01:33

and they weren't and the Republican house caucus wasn't that upset with him and then in 2022 his endorsements likely

1:01:41

cost them the Senate after I believe costing them I I think you could argue that that Trump

1:01:47

directly cost the Republicans four Senate seats while he was in office I think

1:01:53

I think you can lay the blame at both Arizona and Georgia Senate seats at his

1:01:58

feet personally um you know and then costing them the

1:02:03

chance of retaking this into this election almost costing them a chance of retaking the house and it's interesting

1:02:08

that that is what has provoked republicans in Congress to say yeah he shouldn't run again we don't we don't

1:02:15

want him to lead the party anymore um I I don't know I think it's a it's a

1:02:20

good day for the political scientists David Mayhew and Francis Lee who say that this is really all members of

1:02:26

Congress care about um because it seems to be the case to me

1:02:36

all right so let's let's shift our attention maybe a little to moving forward and Dr Ramsey I'm on a wait we

1:02:43

have a question that kind of goes back to a point you raised and that was the

1:02:48

uh the the sort of new tradition uh following elections of claiming fraud and the only

1:02:56

reason why I lost is because there must have been cheating and at least in terms of what we've seen thus far with the

1:03:02

midterm election we're we're not seeing a whole lot of that uh we're seeing a lot of folks

1:03:08

um exit relatively gracefully not not claiming uh fraud and cheating uh and

1:03:13

things like that with some of the exception of what we've seen in Arizona um so do you think this this bodes well

1:03:19

uh moving forward uh mayor we may be switching to

1:03:24

um beyond what happened in 2020 maybe we're going back to uh sort of losing with Grace and you know does this have

1:03:30

potentially impacts on maybe maybe we don't see the level of political violence following elections that we saw

1:03:36

in 2020.

1:03:43

uh let's see political violence is bad exploding heads are bad it's not good

1:03:48

that no yeah apparently uh Dr Caton's analysis Donald

1:03:55

Trump is the cause of much ill in American politics um

1:04:01

all right who knows I I'm not in the prediction business uh so I'm really not sure that's just the truth

1:04:10

okay oh but we'll see right yeah so let's pay attention and see

1:04:16

yeah I you know there's a um

1:04:22

political leaders have a have more of an effect on public opinion Than People realize I think

1:04:29

um and I think it matters it matters a lot whether the the political culture of

1:04:35

um politicians you know is um is inclined to attribute all defeats to

1:04:43

fraud or to accept them when that when they come um you know so I I don't think

1:04:49

you know I wouldn't say you know I I

1:04:56

um I wouldn't say that this is you know an entirely like this tendency is entirely

1:05:01

president Trump's fault I mean if you look at opinion polls after elections um the party that loses a presidential

1:05:08

election their supporters in the public for a little while after the election do tend to mostly think the election was

1:05:13

stolen um that was true of Democrats in 2004 and 2000 and in 1988 you know it goes

1:05:20

all the way back so it's not the case that it's only Republicans or that it's it's you know what I think was unique

1:05:28

about you know so there's this there's this appetite for believing that your losses are illegitimate because nobody

1:05:34

wants to find out they're wrong and that most of the public doesn't support the same candidates they they support that

1:05:40

doesn't make you wrong but nobody wants to find out that their preferred view is unpopular so if you know if you look at

1:05:46

opinion polls it's of do you think you know do you think votes in the election were counted correctly

1:05:52

um the losing party always says no and the winning party always says yes and 2020 was a little bit more extreme in

1:05:59

that regard but not a lot what is different is that American political Elites are very

1:06:07

careful not to tap into that sentiment most of the time and certainly not presidents and presidential candidates

1:06:13

that's the thing that's relatively new so I think um I think it really matters that Elites

1:06:18

are careful and only only bring accusations of fraud when they really think it happened

1:06:24

um you know and and I totally agree with Dr Ramsey like changing the way elections work to make

1:06:31

to instill public confidences and and experimenting with that is obviously a way I think that's a wonderful thing to

1:06:37

do um right that's not not quite the same thing

1:06:44

the other thing on on the uh people who shout fraud right um

1:06:52

even that's a sign of Health compared to one other step which is where nobody even mentions it anymore because they

1:06:58

know the system is rigged right that that's where you really don't want to be that's that's a truly dangerous place

1:07:04

for a popular regime and so it is you

1:07:09

there's still signs for it it's okay that people are speaking out about when

1:07:14

they do about their concerns about elections not being on the up and up and the best way to respond is to as much as

1:07:21

possible try to show concern for the people who who think it's illegitimate

1:07:26

and to try to be as transparent as possible to invite election Watchers in to pronounce and promulgate the rules

1:07:34

make sure that those rules are enforced and that when there is any kind of impropriety detected that it's punished

1:07:41

right the you know there's there's a prompt response to it just to instill trust in people who are not very

1:07:48

trusting in in that decline ins in trust is probably pretty bad for

1:07:55

for regime like ours uh when we when we just don't trust most things that we're told

1:08:01

um I I don't think that's a good thing we can question right but but there's got to be some level of trust of your

1:08:08

fellow citizen uh uh um and of um the form of government you have the

1:08:13

elected officials who represent you once they do win an election um

1:08:19

so at least we haven't gotten to the point where um people silently take in the results

1:08:25

of an election and when they feel like it was wrong they they don't even speak up because they just know it's rigged

1:08:30

like that would be really bad if that were where we were as a country

1:08:36

one one thing I'll add here I is that I feel I do feel somewhat optimistic

1:08:42

uh I've gone from pessimistic or or alarmed at you know the prominence of

1:08:48

this rhetoric to be feeling somewhat optimistic because the reality is no matter how much you challenge these

1:08:54

results uh sometimes in a lot of these elections the the U.S system first of

1:09:01

all is not a single system it's it's a bunch of different states at the local level and almost all of these people are

1:09:07

are very reliable professionals who take their job seriously most poll workers

1:09:13

are very serious about what they're doing and you know bottom line is the votes are reliable uh there are very you

1:09:20

know vanishingly small numbers of cases of Fraud and so forth so that helps you

1:09:27

know with that that legitimacy that Dr Ramsey was talking about is that even though people you know or the

1:09:32

frustration that Dr King was talking about you know after a bad loss people

1:09:38

will just want to think somehow it was rigged but um the votes are are reliable

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and no matter how much you push on it um and and take it to the courts and so forth

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um you know they do come out uh as as reliable that there's just no systematic

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evidence anywhere that that that's really a problem um so uh spend some quality of time with

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our local County elections official David Stafford and you'll get some idea of um you know of

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what I'm talking about here uh it's it's not treated as a political issue typically it's it's treated as like a

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technical uh professional thing to manage and there's lots of people there

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are lots of procedures already in place for observation and so forth so most of

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these claims get people spun up but they don't really go anywhere substantively because there's just nowhere to go

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yeah that's a great Point um and and that it reminds me of another consistent finding and polling year

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after year where people um even when they express skepticism of

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the legitimacy of the outcome of an election or the Integrity of the account of the vote they're all they tend to be

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very confident that their their vote was counted accurately and that the results

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were counted accurately in their Precinct or their County so people have a much higher opinion of their local

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election officials um than election officials elsewhere in the country

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um you know it's always it's always distant right the the election officials in some distant place where the other

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party is in control is always the culprit and there are plenty of examples of both of both parties doing that

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um and employing that rhetoric um so yeah I mean I think that there's a lot

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to I think that's a pretty good system overall

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you know I think what I think one of the um I'm I'm not sure about this but I think

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one of the reasons that you see some suspicion uh is the large number of

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mailing ballots uh there is a good number uh this is a good concern for many quarters that that

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this mainly about us is subject to or vulnerable to uh fraud

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uh so uh what what do you all think about that you know I you know I am old enough to to kind of I I I look back to

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the days when everybody voted on Election Day and very few people would actually vote

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early let alone you know mailing ballots and all of a sudden you know Dr uh

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Ramsey was talking about this you know that the the whole voting system the the habits of the cultures change has

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changed rapidly you just a couple of election cycles and so I think when you

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have hundreds of thousands of those male in and they come in days after the

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election you know I I I think that's what you know that's what a lot of you know what Republicans in this case they

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they they they tend to say well you know my my my guy was ahead and then all of a

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sudden you know they you know I want to remember is machine politics and you

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know there was an old story attributed to um to um

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major daily Richard Daley of Chicago and I don't know if this is true or not it could be a Pocketful but but uh the

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story went that uh Kennedy was elected in 1960 uh largely because as I started

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when I went on in Alabama but uh in Chicago apparently a daily held back a

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couple of precincts he wanted to know how many votes have been cast in Southern Illinois

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before he released the boss in in Chicago and I said how many how many

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voted over there so anyway once they got the vote then he released some votes and who knows you know whether there was any

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hanky pancakes the the uh the implication was that you know some some of those were manufactured uh to to

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bring Academy over the top and so those those kinds of things are the kind of thing that that that you know uh a lot

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of people get suspicious and I think I think this would actually foreign

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if something was done about this huge number of mailing ballots I know that in

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Pennsylvania I think I read I don't know if it's true or no but you know you never can you never can be too sure what

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you're doing in the media uh but I read in the media that the Fatima Camp when

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they were still very close and they thought maybe they might lose uh they wanted to they went to court to sue uh

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to count mail-in ballots that were undated so that would Impressions that will vary

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the law you have to take the ballot then you have to actually sign it and how

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much control is really exercised on on this kind of main imbalance you know

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so anyway I just throw that in to see if anybody if any of you would have some

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answers to that and any anything that could be done to to make the the reduce the number of mailing bottles and and

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actually get a better control and better transparency that you know better Assurance to people like the

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professional I saw the other day that uh that you know million ballots are are

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not to be so suspect so suspect I I have one comment it it might be sort

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of silly but I'll throw it out there anyway and that is right after the election there was a story that hit some some national media about um a crash and

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a cryptocurrency exchange uh FTX and um and as the stories have come out

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about sort of what what what was being done there it became clear that we're just not quite sure what cryptocurrency

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is and how to regulate it exactly like it's a new thing on the scene and um

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and in the same way whenever anything's new right when something changes when cell phones came along right and we and

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then we realized I probably shouldn't use those when you're driving you know when new things happen it takes a while

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for us to step in and decide what are the dangers what are the abuses

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what's going to kill us you know and then to start deliberating and making sensible rules uh after 2000 when there

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was a lot of mistrust about elections there was that Baker Carter commission and one of their bright lines was

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mail-in ballots are extremely problematic and so um yeah as a starting point it would be

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it would be worth talking about um you know states that have

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Incorporated the changes host covered in states that haven't and where where are the public mistrust

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issues and what can be done to

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dispel Notions you know to shine a light to let sunlight be a disinfectant

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um because whenever something's new there will be people that are sort of mistrustful of it because they don't understand it and there's and also new

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things really can be abused that's the other thing uh not they're understood by some

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quicker than others and um so anyway all all that's out there I

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guess but the the crypto analog is really uh for me an interesting way of

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thinking about um what government response is to Innovation and where laws might be needed

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I've thought about this actually more than I should have because has a foreign policy person because a couple of years

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ago during the 2020 election this was coming up a lot I was doing a few local interviews and a couple with David

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Stafford so I've thought about this um and then there's a couple thoughts one I'm sorry Dr Ramsey but I'm going to

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start advocating blockchain voting so we're just going to move all online

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um but when it comes to mail-in ballots I think you guys are both making a good point which is

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it feels new and out of control to people and so that seems like there's

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some place for abuse there and then you're hearing people say that abuse is

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happening um in the particular case of mail-in voting though it's not quite as novel

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and uncontrolled or dark as you might think I mean that the first male voting

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happened in Mass during the Civil War because they wanted to make sure those guys you know had access to voting

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so it's not like it's a system that isn't tested I I my first presidential

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vote was was by mail because I was living out of state going to college um so

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um and you know didn't occur to me that that would be an issue of military you know U.S military have been voting uh

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from their bases and so forth but the what is more new is mass mailing voting

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but even in that case like Florida after 2000 actually expanded access to mail-in

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voting because um I think the Republican legislature thought well we make sure the older

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Republican voters in particular have access to voting but it was it's you know Universal it's not partisan in

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terms of who can access it so Florida for example has a pretty well established system a couple of like

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Oregon all of their voting is by ballot I think um now and what they do is basically

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compare the names on the list versus the votes that come in

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um so it's not as if you could just throw in a bunch of names or people duplicate voting it has to be on the

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roster um and and then it's compared to that in a very specific way it the other now you

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know like I don't know about the fetterman campaign suing about unmarked

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um uh ballots but in that case it would go to the courts and the courts would

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say you know no you can't do that here's here's the rule so there's always a backstop which is the courts and you saw

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them acting pretty active after 2020 um in that case there were like 40

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lawsuits that the Trump campaign brought in different places and the courts you know including a lot of trump appointed

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judges or or republican leaning judges said you know that this isn't working

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because there's there's a clear transparent system um that that's accountable so if I I it

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feels a little weird and you know as you guys are saying and that there are these kind of dark

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points in the system but most of these modern voting systems are pretty clear that you know that in which they're

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lining up um the existing voting roles with the

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ballots that come in so there's not a lot of space actually for um fraud to occur at least on a mass

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scale you do occasionally get people going around and collecting ballots and that sort of thing from time to time but

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those are almost always very limited uh cases I don't know how to make people feel you know make your local

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professional feel better you know because I don't know where they're getting their information um but because it's a kind of boring

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topic here here are the you know practical reasons that that it's pretty reliable but

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um you know that said I never uh I always I like to vote early but I always like to go to the polling place you know

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that feels more um you know reliable to me it won't get the to me it gets something getting lost

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in the mail would be more of a problem than fraud occurring but um you know that that's my nutshell

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argument for why in this case mail and voting is more reliable than it might feel to some people

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we're in Estonia when I was in 2016 they actually have electronic voting and um

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and I'm not sure I really don't know how they do it actually they never really looked into that but they have

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electronic voting so there must be ways in which people can if people can go

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into their Banks or they can actually move around uh their own money you know from one account to the other and so

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forth um there might be there might be secure ways electronically but actually that

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that might even be even not many original more suspicious

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minds of people but but again I'm wondering what can be done to to

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reassure people who are suspicious of all these bottles coming in after the

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election and um is there I mean I don't know I'm

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just speaking on the top of my head you know I could good good uh balance be be notarized I mean with that that might be

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I don't know uh I but but I that's that's what where I think a lot of these suspicious suspicions uh come uh all

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these bottles are coming after the election day and like like you say I mean they have always been

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um mailing models for people who are ill at home that requested them but when the

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Secretary of State May melts out all these bottles to other people then that's what that's what people get you

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know people people who have a that's just who are really mistrustful

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uh and whoever suspicious character of mine uh they they I I think there must

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be something that should be done uh to assure people that that it's all in the

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up or not

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uh believe it or not I would say um if I can uh interject if I can get the last word here uh as the moderator

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um is that in terms of the mail-in ballots be more like Florida

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um Florida actually does a really good job you have to have your mail-in ballot in um before the deadline uh and Florida is

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counting the the mail-in ballots uh right along with the other results uh so there is no surprise

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um you know thousands of vote dump uh after the fact in Florida because they're already counted uh I think

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that's probably the best way and when you look at something like Pennsylvania where this seems to be the biggest issue

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of all these after the deadline mail-in ballots that's a legislative issue where

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they had tried to change the election laws to where they counted these things ahead of time and the legislature kept

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saying no um so in many ways it was a self-created uh issue with an obvious solution of

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looking to Florida that wasn't uh taken taken into account so

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it seems odd to say it but uh look to Florida Florida seemed to have learned its

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lesson uh after 2000. uh so uh with that we had planned on going 75 minutes we're

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a little beyond that I I appreciate everybody sticking with us uh thank you for all of your questions they were

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phenomenal questions and I sincerely apologized for not getting to all of your great questions uh I wish we had

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more time uh but we do not I do suggest uh if you did have a burning question

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and you really wish it was answered uh please feel free to email us uh we'd be more than happy uh to have a little bit

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of a dialogue with you um so uh by all means email us these questions uh I appreciate you all

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showing up tonight again thank you so much for your questions uh a special thanks to our panelists offering some

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great Insight uh and I look forward to the department hosting another one of

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these Roundtable events soon uh with that we're gonna call it a night thank you all I hope you all have a great

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evening and I hope you all have a great Thanksgiving holiday as well thank you all