

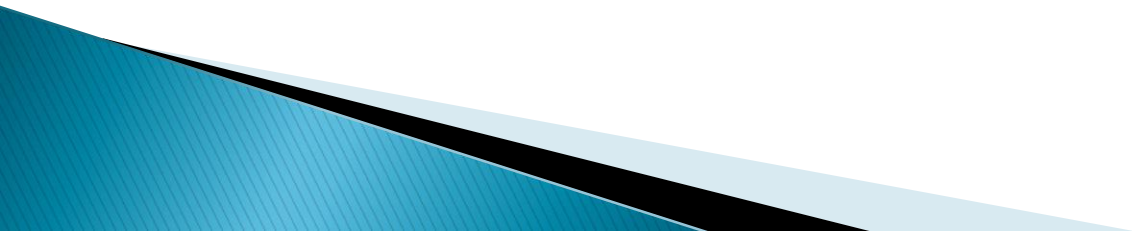
Does the U.S. Supreme Court decision on the
*Citizens United v. the Federal Election
Commission* case affect the voluntary
departure of United States Senators?

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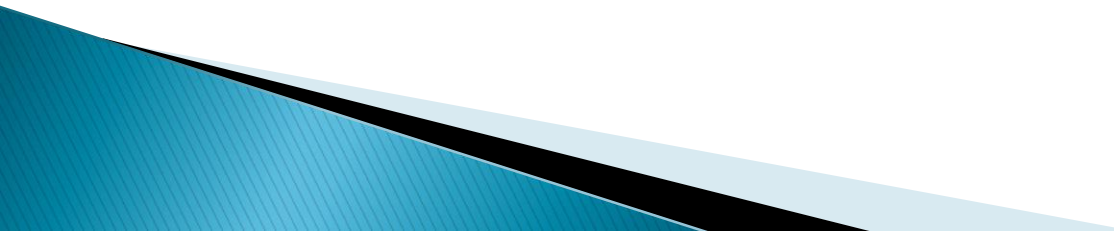


Hypothesis

The Supreme Court decision to recognize associations as persons and allow them to use unlimited funds as political speech will make elections more competitive and increase the number of Senators who choose to voluntarily depart from Congress, therefore there should be an increase in the rate of departure, a decrease in the number of service years, and a decrease in age of non-retiring Senators.



Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission

- Decided January 21, 2010
 - Strikes down prohibitions on independent expenditures and election communications for associations
 - previous restriction violated the 1st Amendment's freedom of speech
 - Organizations are free to call on others to vote for or against specific candidates.
 - Basically, makes elections more competitive
- 

President Obama



– 2010 State of the Union Address

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9bR_9wmNnD4

John McCain's Response to the Citizens United decision

- "I predict to you that there will be huge scandals associated with this huge flood of money".
- "I think there will be scandals associated with the worst decision of the United States Supreme Court in the 21st century"



Russ Feingold's Response to the Citizens United decision

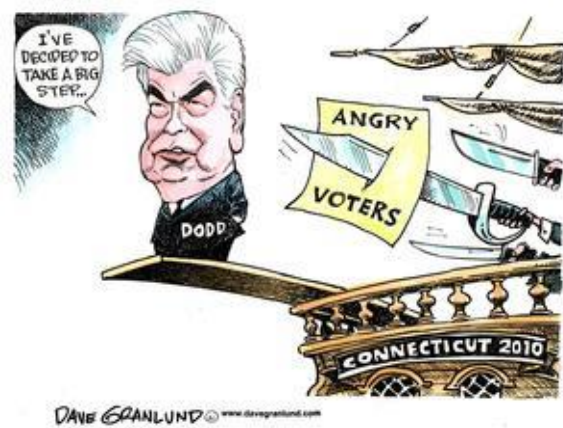
- "What they have clearly become is a partisan arm of corporate America. This is a real serious problem for our democracy", "It's essentially a court that rules in one direction".
- "This is one of those moments where the court thinks it's the legislature."



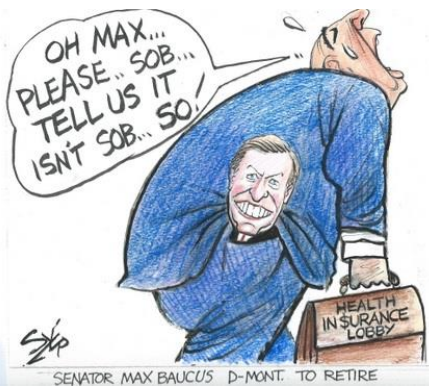
Why study retirement?

- Historic number of retirements
- Departures are often unplanned change in the composition of the Senate
- Not much research on Senate retirements

Why do Senators Voluntarily Depart?



Retirement	Resignation
Classic retirement	Higher office
Anticipation of Loss/Not wanting to run for reelection	Dissatisfied with the job
Better job	Scandal



Pre– Citizens United Departures

108 Congress 2002–2004

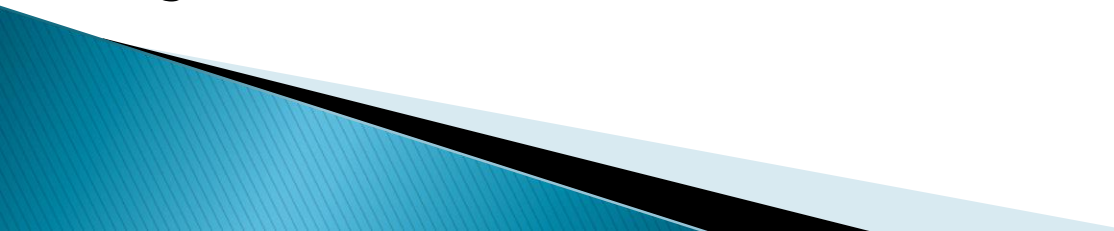
Ernest Hollings, Don Nickles, John Breaux, Bob Graham, Ben Nighthorse Campbell, Peter Fitzgerald, John Edwards, Zell Miller

109 Congress 2004–2006

Paul Sarbanes, Jim Jeffords, Bill Frist, Jon Corzine, Mark Dayton

110 Congress 2006–2008

Pete Domenici, John Warner, Trent Lott, Larry Craig, Wayne Allard, Chuck Hagel , Barack Obama



Post-Citizens United Departures

111 Congress 2008–2010

Joe Biden, Chris Dodd, Kit Bond, Byron Dorgan, Judd Gregg, Jim Bunning, George Voinovich, Evan Bayh, Hillary Clinton, Mel Martinez, Ken Salazar, Roland Burris, Carte Goodwin, George LeMieux, Paul G. Kirk, Ted Kaufman

112 Congress 2010–2012

Joe Biden, Chris Dodd, Kit Bond, Byron Dorgan, Judd Gregg, Jim Bunning, George Voinovich, Evan Bayh, Hillary Clinton, Mel Martinez, Ken Salazar, Roland Burris, Carte Goodwin, George LeMieux, Paul G. Kirk, Ted Kaufman

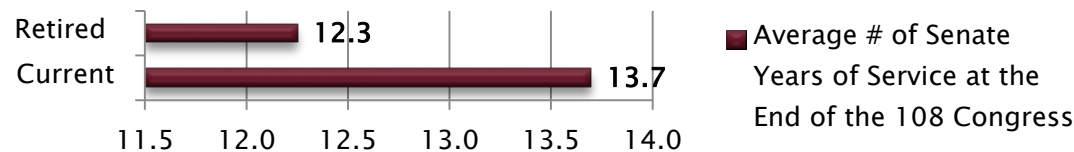
113 Congress 2012–2014

Max Baucus, Carl Levin, Tom Harkin, Jay Rockefeller, Tim Johnson, Saxby Chambliss, Mike Johanns, John Kerry

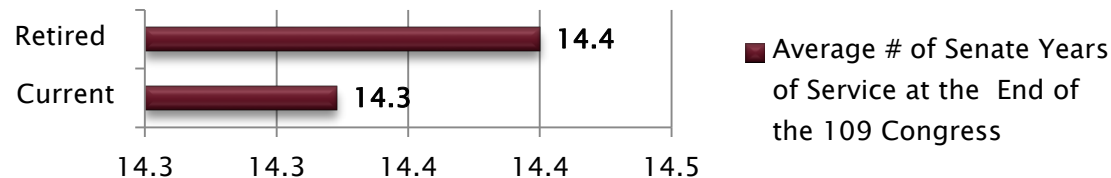


Pre-Citizens United – Years of Service

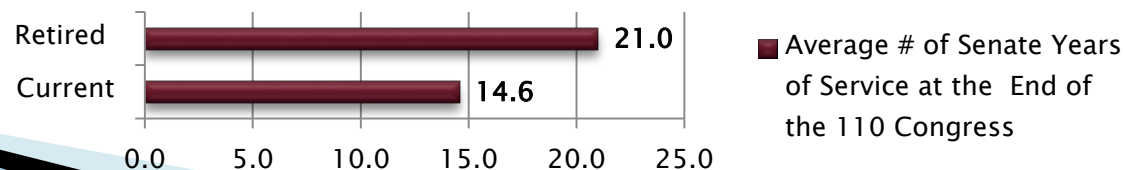
Average # of Senate Years of Service at the End of the 108 Congress



Average # of Senate Years of Service at the End of the 109 Congress

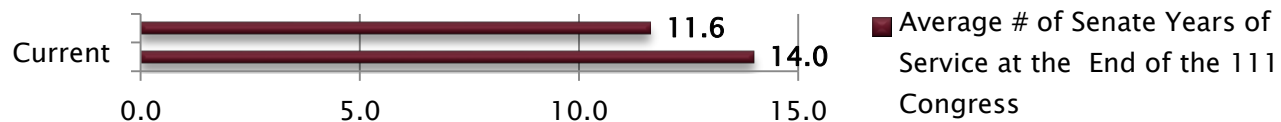


Average # of Senate Years of Service at the End of the 110 Congress

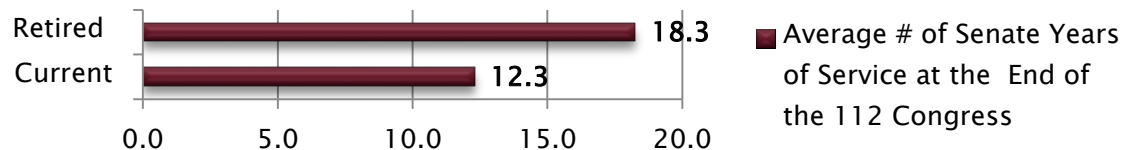


Post-Citizens United – Years of Service

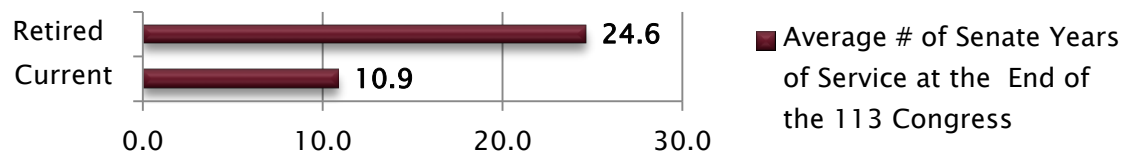
Average # of Senate Years of Service at the End of the 111 Congress



Average # of Senate Years of Service at the End of the 112 Congress

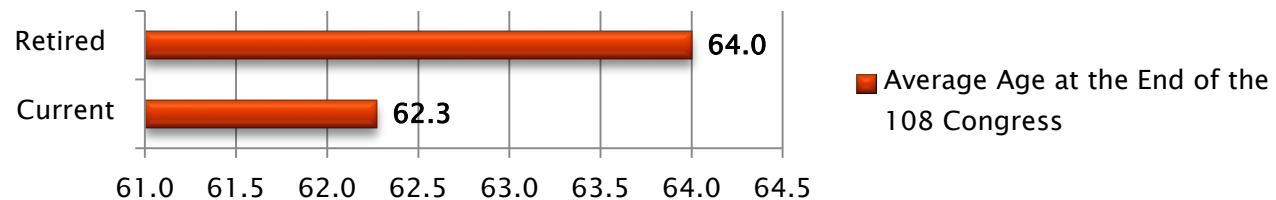


Average # of Senate Years of Service at the End of the 113 Congress

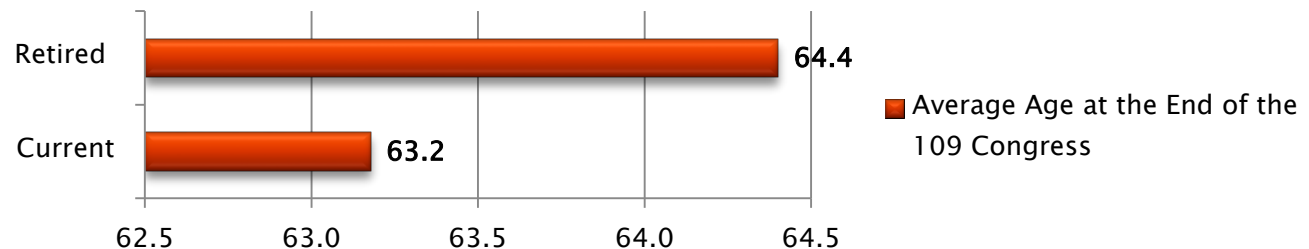


Pre-Citizens United – Age

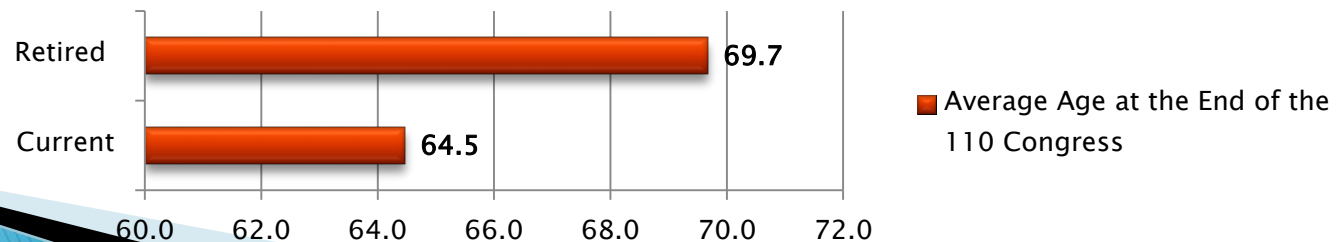
Average Age at the End of the 108 Congress



Average Age at the End of the 109 Congress

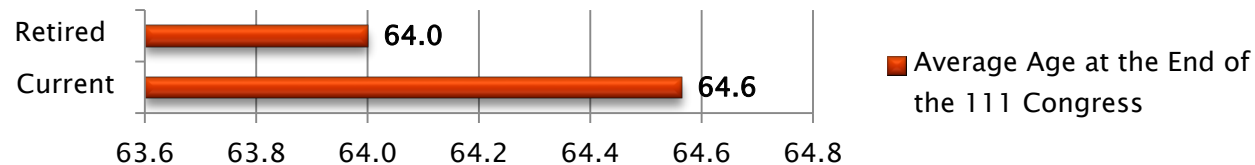


Average Age at the End of the 110 Congress

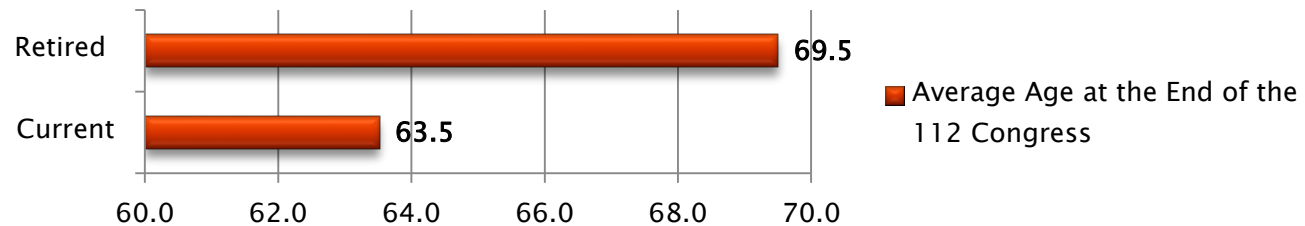


Post Citizens United – Age

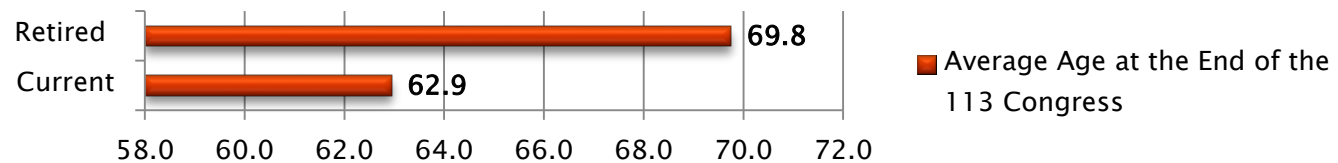
Average Age at the End of the 111...



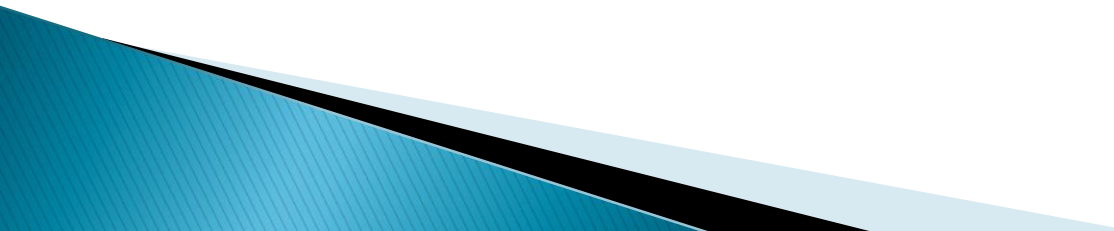
Average Age at the End of the 112 Congress



Average Age at the End of the 113 Congress



Conclusion

- ▶ Incumbents are more safe from the effects of Citizens United
 - ▶ Less career politicians
 - ▶ Less experienced Senate
 - ▶ No significant difference in age
 - ▶ Continued trend of voluntary departure
- 

Limitations

- ▶ Time
- ▶ Only 6 Congresses

Future Research

- ▶ More Congresses
- ▶ House of Representatives
- ▶ Find out more details about departing Senators

Works Cited

- ▶ –Bernstein, Jeffrey L. and Wolak, Jennifer. *Political Research Quarterly*. "A Bicameral Perspective on Legislative Retirement: The Case of the Senate". Sage Publications.
<http://prq.sagepub.com/content/55/2/375>. May 2002.
- ▶ –Wolak, Jennifer. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, XXXII.
"Strategic Retirements: The Influence of Public Preferences on Voluntary Departures from Congress". University of Colorado at Boulder. May 2007. p. 285–308.