Chapter 9 – Campaigns and Voting Behavior (Elections)

AP Government
The Nomination Game
Competing for Delegates

- National party convention
  - State delegates meet and vote on nominee
  - Nomination process more democratic today
  - McGovern-Fraser Commission
    - New Rules for Democratic Party
    - Delegate Selection in open
    - Everyone participates (primary or caucus)
Competing for Delegates

- The Caucuses and primaries
  - Iowa caucus
  - New Hampshire primary
  - Proportional versus winner-take-all primaries
**Primary Elections** - used by political parties to select their candidates for general elections

**Open or Closed.**

**Open primaries** –
Voter can wait until day of primary to choose which party to enroll

**Closed primaries** –
Voters must choose which party to enroll in prior to day of primary

**Blanket primaries** –
All political parties on one ballot. Picking two for general election

**Invisible primaries** –
Candidate announces running and first actual vote
Competing for Delegates

- National party convention
  - Superdelegates
Competing for Delegates

- The invisible primary
  - Woo support out of the public eye
  - Craft positive personal image
  - Distinguish themselves from other candidates
  - Seek media attention but avoid blunders
Competing for Delegates

- Evaluating the primary and caucus system
  - Disproportionate attention goes to the early caucuses and primaries
FIGURE 9.1  A count of Clinton and Obama events during the 2008 nomination campaign
Competing for Delegates

- Evaluating the primary and caucus system
  - Prominent politicians find it difficult to take time out from their duties to run
  - Money plays too big a role in the caucuses and primaries
  - Participation in primaries and caucuses is low and unrepresentative
  - The system gives too much power to the media
The Convention Send-Off

- Winner foregone conclusion
  - Reduced TV coverage
- Party infomercial
  - Carefully scripted
- Party platform
  - Policy goals for next four years
9.1 Why were party primaries introduced?

a. Previous nominating process was undemocratic
b. Candidates refused to run without a change of nominating procedure
c. Party leadership demanded it
d. All of the above
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The High-Tech Media Campaign

- Main means of reaching voters is TV
  - The internet increasingly important
- Direct mail now digital
- Digital campaigning via Twitter, Facebook
  - Obligatory for the modern campaign
- Two ways to get attention
  - Television advertising
  - News coverage
Organizing the Campaign

- Get a campaign manager
- Get a fund-raiser
- Get a campaign counsel
- Hire media and campaign consultants
- Assemble a campaign staff
- Plan the logistics
- Get a research staff and policy advisers
- Hire a pollster
- Get a good press secretary
- Establish a Web site
9.2 Which staff members does a modern candidate need to hire?

a. Press secretary
b. Pollsters
c. Campaign manager
d. All of the above
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Money and Campaigning
Regulations on Campaign Contributions

- Federal Election Campaign Act (1974)
  - Who contributed
  - How money spent
  - Limits on individual and interest group contributions
  - Federal Election Commission (FEC)
  - Public financing

- Loopholes
  - No limits on spending own money
  - Soft money
Figure 9.2  How Obama raised more campaign money by declining federal funds

- Actual spending by Obama in 2008
- Spending limits, if he had accepted federal funds
Regulations on Independent Political Expenditures

- 527 groups
  - New route for soft money
  - Independent expenditures
  - Endorsements forbidden

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- 501(c) groups

- Super PACs
Are Campaigns Too Expensive?

- **Yes**
  - 2012 federal elections cost $6.3 billion
  - Fundraising distracts from official duties

- **No**
  - Only .05% of GDP spent on elections
  - About the cost of one DVD per person

- **How to reform system?**
Does Money Buy Victory?

- Is there a link between money and votes?
  - Some say no
  - Spend more only when weak

- Doctrine of sufficiency
  - No need to outspend opponent to win
9.3 What are independent political expenditures?

a. Money spent between campaigns to keep an official visible to voters
b. Money spent on bumper stickers and lawn signs to support a candidate
c. Money spent without coordination with a campaign
d. Money spent to endorse a candidate explicitly
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Whether to Vote: A Citizen's First Choice
Deciding Whether to Vote

- Does one vote matter?
- Voting is costly
  - Tuesday is a workday
- Is it rational to vote?
  - Policy differences
  - Political efficacy
  - Civic duty
Registering to Vote

- Voter registration laws differ by state
  - Motor Voter Act (1993)

- Voter ID laws
  - Show government-issued photo ID to vote
Electoral Composition

• What is the oldest way to manipulate elections?
• Manipulate the electorate
  – (Keep certain people away from polls)
    • Poll Taxes
    • Literacy Tests
    • Placement of polls and scheduling hours
  – New - New voter ID laws
    • Picture Voter Identification cards
• Registration – significant decline in voter turnout between 1890 and 1910 (Political Parties weakened)
• 19\textsuperscript{th} Amendment (1920) – Women right to vote
• 26\textsuperscript{th} Amendment (1971) – Lower age to 18
**ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE**

Voter turnout for American presidential elections was significantly higher in the nineteenth century than in the twentieth. What institutional change caused the sharp decline in turnout between 1890 and 1910? Why did this change have such a dramatic effect? Did it have any positive outcomes?

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**FIGURE 10.2 Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections**


NOTE: Data reflect the population of eligible voters, the percentage of the voting-age population that voted would be smaller.
Who Votes?

- **Education**
  - Main factor
  - Increased sense of political efficacy
  - Ease of clearing bureaucratic hurdles

- **Age**
  - Older are more likely to vote
  - Younger citizens less settled

- **Race and ethnicity**
  - Black and Hispanic turnout lower

- **Gender, marital status, govt. employment**
TABLE 9.1 Reported turnout rates for groups of U.S. citizens in 2012 and 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% Voting in 2012</th>
<th>% Voting in 2010</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18–24</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25–34</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35–44</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>43</td>
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<tr>
<td>45–54</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td>55–64</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>59</td>
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<tr>
<td>65 and over</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No high school diploma</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>High school diploma</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
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<tr>
<td>College degree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Advanced degree</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>67</td>
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<tr>
<td>White non-Hispanic</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>43</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asian American</td>
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<td>Men</td>
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<td>Women</td>
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<td>Married</td>
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<tr>
<td>Single</td>
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<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td>Government workers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
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<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work in private industry</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.5 Which demographic group is most likely to vote?

a. Young Hispanics with high school diplomas
b. Young single whites with college degrees
c. Older married people with college degrees
d. Older single people without high school diplomas
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How Americans Vote: Explaining Citizens' Decisions
Party Identification

- Provide perspective
  - Similar to sports teams and religion
  - Cue to who is on one's side
  - Simplifies candidate selection

- "My party—right or wrong" no more
  - Floating voters
  - Likely to be younger
Candidate Evaluations: How Americans See the Candidates

- Image is key to getting votes
  - Integrity
  - Reliability
  - Competence

- Superficial and irrational?
Policy Voting

- Voting based on issue preferences
  - Clear sense of policy preferences
  - Know where candidates stand on issues
    - Trump, Carson in 2016
  - Differences between candidates on issues
  - Vote for candidate closest to own preferences
    - Preferences may not line up with one candidate
  - Candidates deliberately ambiguous
    - Not working well with today's voters
2012: A Battle for the Middle-Class Vote

- Obama's "titanic struggle" for reelection
  - Economy and voting behavior

- Change versus experience
  - McCain linked with unpopular Bush in 2008
  - Obama linked with economic woes in 2012
FIGURE 9.3 Electoral College and exit poll results for 2012
% voting for Obama in 2012

- Female: 45, Male: 55
- Under 30K income: 46, 30–49K income: 44, 50–100K income: 57, Over 100K income: 69
- Protestant: 42, Catholic: 50, Jewish: 69, No religion: 70
9.6 Why is it difficult for voters to choose candidates based on issue preferences?

a. Candidates are deliberately ambiguous on policy
b. Voters change preferences often
c. Party platforms are not released publicly
d. Issues change from election to election
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The Last Battle: The Electoral College

- Unique American institution
  - Most people want it abolished
  - Archaic and undemocratic

- Founders' plan and revisions
  - President elected by elites
  - Electors is equal to the number of Congressmen
  - 48 states are winner-take-all

- Battleground states
9.7 How many electors does each state have?

a. Same as number of senators
b. Same as number of representatives in the House
c. Same as number of senators plus number of representatives in the House
d. Same number for each state, regardless of size
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Understanding Campaigns and Voting Behavior
Are Nominations and Campaigns Too Democratic?

- Outsiders have a way in
  - Candidates chosen by voters, not party elites

- The permanent campaign
  - Voters overwhelmed
  - Lengthy process discourages candidates
  - Fundraising is worrisome burden
Do Elections Affect Public Policy?

- Two-way street
  - Elections affect public policy to some degree
  - Public policy decisions affect electoral outcomes to some degree
  - Depends on policy differences between candidates
Do Campaigns Lead to Increases in the Scope of Government?

- Local promises add up
- Government as servant rather than master
9.8 How does democracy increase the scope of government?

a. Voters have less fear of power in a government they can change
b. Candidates promise to bring tax money home in the form of programs and subsidies
c. Both of the above
d. Neither of the above
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