Campaigns and Voting Behavior
Video: The Big Picture

http://media.pearsoncmg.com/ph/hss/SSA_SHARED_MEDIA_1/polisci/presidency/Edwards_Ch09_Campaigns_and_Voting_Behavior_Seg1_v2.html
Learning Objectives

13.1 Evaluate the fairness of our current system of presidential primaries and caucuses

13.2 Explain the key objectives of any political campaign
Learning Objectives

13.3 Outline how the financing of federal campaigns is regulated by campaign finance laws

13.4 Determine why campaigns have an important yet limited impact on election outcomes
Learning Objectives

13.5 Identify the factors that influence whether people vote

13.6 Assess the impact of party identification, candidate evaluations, and policy opinions on voting behavior
Learning Objectives

13.7 Evaluate the fairness of the Electoral College system for choosing the president

13.8 Assess the advantages and disadvantages of the U.S. system of campaigns and elections
Video: The Basics

Do you think money is important in elections?

http://media.pearsoncmg.com/ph/hss/SSA_SHARED_MEDIA_1/polisci/presidency/Seg2_Elections_v2.html
Nomination Game

- Competing for Delegates
- Convention Send-Off
Competing for Delegates

- National party convention
  - State delegates meet and vote on nominee
  - Nomination process more democratic today
  - McGovern-Fraser Commission
Riots at the 1968 Democratic national convention
Competing for Delegates

- National party convention
  - Superdelegates
Competing for Delegates

- Invisible primary
  - Woo support out of the public eye
  - Craft positive personal image
  - Distinguish themselves from other candidates
  - Seek media attention but avoid blunders
2012 Republican primary debate
Competing for Delegates

Caucuses and primaries
- Iowa caucus
- New Hampshire primary
- Proportional versus winner-take-all primaries
Competing for Delegates

- Evaluating the primary and caucus system
  - Disproportionate attention goes to early caucuses and primaries
FIGURE 13.1: 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
  - System gives too much power to the media
Convention Send-Off

- Winner foregone conclusion
  - Reduced TV coverage

- Party infomercial
  - Carefully scripted

- Party platform
  - Policy goals for next four years
13.1 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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Campaign Game

- High-Tech Media Campaign
- Organizing the Campaign
High-Tech Media Campaign

- Main means of reaching voters = TV
  - 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
- Hire a good press secretary
- Establish a Web site
13.2 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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a. Press secretary
b. Pollsters
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d. All of the above
Money and Campaigning

- Regulations on Campaign Contributions
- Regulations on Independent Political Expenditures
- Are Campaigns Too Expensive?
- Does Money Buy Victory?
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 13.2: 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

Citizens United
Regulations on Independent Political Expenditures

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


- 501(c) groups

- Super PACs
### TABLE 13.1: Biggest 10 Super PAC donations in 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Donated by:</th>
<th>To:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>Sheldon and Miriam Adelson, casino owners</td>
<td>Restore Our Future, supported Mitt Romney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000,000</td>
<td>Bob Perry, owner of Perry Homes</td>
<td>Restore Our Future, supported Mitt Romney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3,500,000</td>
<td>James Simmons, Renaissance Technologies</td>
<td>Priorities USA Action, supported Barack Obama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3,500,000</td>
<td>Fred Eychaner, Newsweb Corp.</td>
<td>Priorities USA Action, supported Barack Obama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3,000,000</td>
<td>Jeffrey Katzenberg, DreamWorks Animation</td>
<td>Priorities USA Action, supported Barack Obama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2,750,000</td>
<td>Oxbow Carbon Corp.</td>
<td>Restore Our Future, supported Mitt Romney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2,003,850</td>
<td>Steve Mostyn, Mostyn Law Firm</td>
<td>Priorities USA Action, supported Barack Obama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2,000,000</td>
<td>Jon Stryker, Architect</td>
<td>Priorities USA Action, supported Barack Obama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2,000,000</td>
<td>Irwin Jacobs, Qualcomm</td>
<td>Priorities USA Action, supported Barack Obama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,500,000</td>
<td>Ann Chambers, Cox Enterprises</td>
<td>Priorities USA Action, supported Barack Obama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Are Campaigns Too Expensive?

- Yes
  - 2008 federal elections cost $5 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?
Video: In the Real World

http://media.pearsoncmg.com/ph/hss/SSA_SHARED_MEDIA_1/polisci/presidency/Seg5_Elections_v2.html
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
13.3 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
13.3 What are independent political expenditures?

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c. Money spent without coordination with a campaign
d. Money spent to endorse a candidate explicitly
Impact of Campaigns

- How important are campaigns?
  - Reinforcement
  - Activation
  - Conversion

- Campaigns mainly reinforce and activate

- Why are conversions rare?
  - Selective perception
  - Party identification
  - Incumbent advantage

- Wedge issues
In what way is a campaign least likely to influence voters?

a. Activating voters to participate or contribute money
b. Converting voters to switch sides
c. Reinforcing voters’ preference for candidates
d. None of the above
13.4 In what way is a campaign least likely to influence voters?

a. Activating voters to participate or contribute money
b. Converting voters to switch sides
c. Reinforcing voters’ preference for candidates
d. None of the above
Whether to Vote: A Citizen’s First Choice

- Deciding Whether to Vote
- Registering to Vote
- Who Votes?
2008 Minnesota Senate race
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
Video: In Context

http://media.pearsoncmg.com/ph/hss/SSA_SHARED_MEDIA_1/polisci/presidency/Seg3_Voting_v2.html
Registering to Vote

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

- Voter ID laws
  - Show government-issued photo ID to vote
New voter ID laws
Who Votes?

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

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

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

- **Gender, marital status, govt. employment**
### TABLE 13.2: Reported turnout rates for groups of U.S. citizens in 2008 and 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% Voting in 2008</th>
<th>% Voting in 2010</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18–24</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25–34</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35–44</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45–54</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55–64</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and over</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No high school diploma</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school diploma</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College degree</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced degree</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White non-Hispanic</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
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<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government workers</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work in private industry</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rock the Vote
13.5 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
13.5 Which demographic group is most likely to vote?

a. Young Hispanics with high school diplomas
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c. Older married people with college degrees
d. Older single people without high school diplomas
Video: Thinking Like a Political Scientist

http://media.pearsoncmg.com/ph/hss/SSA_SHARED_MEDIA_1/polisci/presidency/Seg4_Elections_v2.html
How Americans Vote: Explaining Citizens’ Decisions

- Party Identification
- Candidate Evaluations: How Americans See the Candidates
- Policy Voting
- 2012
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
  - Differences between candidates on issues
  - Vote for candidate closest to own preferences
  - Preferences may not line up with one candidate
  - Candidates deliberately ambiguous
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
Obama wins reelection
FIGURE 13.3: Electoral College and exit poll results for 2012
% voting for Obama in 2012
13.6 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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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 = number of Congressmen
  - 48 states are winner-take-all

- Battleground states
13.7 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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c. Same as number of senators plus number of representatives in the House
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Explore the Electoral College: Is the Electoral College Democratic?

Understanding Campaigns and Voting Behavior

- Are Nominations and Campaigns Too Democratic?
- Do Elections Affect Public Policy?
- Do Campaigns Lead to Increases in the Scope of Government?
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
Oath of office
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
13.8 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
13.8 How does democracy increase the scope of government?

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Explore the Simulation: You Are a Voter Registration Volunteer

The United States holds more elections than any other democracy. Yet, more people in the United States watch the Super Bowl than exercise their right to vote. Demographics still play a major role in deciding who is more likely to show up on election day.

In this simulation, you will learn more about how demographics impact voter turnout as you face five challenges as a voter registration volunteer.

Discussion Question

Who votes and who doesn’t in America? What factors influence whether or not someone is likely to vote? Why is voter participation lower in the United States than in most other democracies?
Video: So What?

http://media.pearsoncmg.com/ph/hss/SSA_SHARED_MEDIA_1/polisci/presidency/Edwards_Ch09_Campaigns_and_Voting_Behavior_Seg6_v2.html
Further Review:
On MyPoliSciLab

- Listen to the Chapter
- Study and Review the Flashcards
- Study and Review the Practice Tests