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## Government in America; 15<sup>th</sup> Edition Chapter 9

### Nominations and Campaigns

### Who Wants to be a Candidate?

- There are two categories of individuals who run for office—the self-starters and those who are recruited by the party
- The nomination process
- Who is eligible?
- Who runs?
  - Women as candidates
  - Lawyers as candidates

### The Nomination Game

- Nomination – party endorsement for office
- Campaign strategy – ways a candidate tries to win nomination
- Deciding to Run:
  - Campaigns in other countries last two months
  - Presidential candidates in US campaigns for at least a year
- Competing for Delegates:
  - National Party Convention – meets every four years; nominates president and VP, and creates the party's platform
  - Delegates to the convention used to be chosen by political leaders
  - **McGovern-Fraser Commission** – helped allow for more input from public for Democratic Conventions (result of 1968 convention)
    - Delegate selection must not be done in secret – primary election or open meeting
  - **Superdelegates** – guaranteed to be delegates to the convention based on their position (member of Congress or member of national committee)
    - 19% of Democrats and 6% of Republicans
    - Can support ANY candidate

### Nominations and Campaigns

- Two stages
- **Nomination**: party's official endorsement of a candidate for office (requires money, media attention, and momentum)
- **Campaign strategy**: Way in which candidates attempt to manipulate each of these elements to achieve nomination
- **National Party Convention**: Functions to select presidential and vice presidential candidate and write a party platform
- **Caucus**: Meeting of state leaders where they select their delegates to the national convention (Iowa 1<sup>st</sup>)

### The Nomination Game Cont.

- The Caucuses (state)
  - Caucus – voters meet in person to select a candidate for president
    - Much more time-consuming than a primary
    - Iowa caucus is the first in the country
    - Campaigns last for many months
    - As a result, many candidates drop out
  - Presidential Primaries
    - NH is traditionally the first primary
    - Like Iowa, they receive a lot of media attention
    - Winning Iowa and/or New Hampshire is a big deal
  - Frontloading – states moving primary elections earlier in the year
    - a majority of delegates are chosen in the first few states
  - As the primary season goes on, more candidates drop out
- Evaluating the Primary and Caucuses
  - Criticisms include: too much attention on a few states; too many politicians run and complete the process; participation is low, media is very influential



### The Nomination Game

- Competing for Delegates
  - The Caucus Road
    - Caucus: meetings of state party leaders for selecting delegates to the national convention
    - Organized like a pyramid from local precincts to the state's convention
    - A handful of states use a caucus—open to all voters who are registered with a party
    - The Iowa caucus is first and most important.

## Path to President

### □ **Caucuses:**

- **First real test of public opinion and receives a great deal of publicity**
- **Party members choose delegates to district or State conventions**
- **Happens in 12 states—First one in Iowa**
- **Any voter registered with a party gathers with other members of same party to nominate a candidate**
- **Caucus-goers debate issues, consider candidates, choose delegates, and discuss party platform.**

Hilary Clinton <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NLxIP2UhSLY>

### Why Iowa for the First Caucus?

• While Iowa is not the largest state, and does not have a large urban population, Iowa has many good things to offer:

- The Iowa Caucus system makes **candidates campaign in person, and discuss issues with voters face to face**. Candidates cannot rely entirely on advertisements to get votes. They must go out and meet the people.
- Iowa's **population size** ranks right in the middle of the 50 states.
- Iowans are **politically aware**. We study the issues and take our role in the nomination process.
- By comparison, **campaign costs are lower** in Iowa.
- Iowa caucus begins a long process of delegate selection and issue discussion.



Obama thanks Iowans for putting him on path toward presidency, November 2008

## The Nomination Game

### □ **Competing for Delegates**

- Nomination game is an elimination contest
- Goal is to win a majority of delegates' support at the national party convention, or the supreme power within each of the parties
  - The convention meets every four years to nominate the party's presidential and vice-presidential candidates.
  - Conventions are but a formality today.

## The Nomination Game

### □ **Competing for Delegates**

- **The Primary Road**
  - Primary: elections in which voters in a state vote for a nominee (or delegates pledged to the nominee)
    - Began at turn of 20<sup>th</sup> century by progressive reformers
    - McGovern-Fraser Commission led to selection of delegates through primary elections
    - Most delegates are chosen through primaries.
    - Superdelegates: democratic leaders who automatically get a delegate slot
  - Frontloading is the tendency of states to hold primaries early to capitalize on media attention. New Hampshire is first.
  - Generally primaries serve as elimination contests.

### Primary Elections:

Today, most delegates that get to the national conventions are selected in **presidential primaries in which voters in a state go to the polls and vote for a candidate or for delegates pledged to a candidate.**

**\*\*FRONTLOADING:** States like to hold primaries early in calendar year to capitalize on media attention.

**Begins in New Hampshire—campaign not for delegates but for “images**

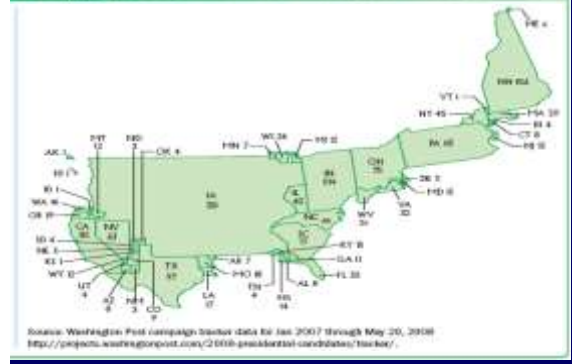
**More like a general election. Voters go to the polls to cast their votes for a presidential candidate.**

Most states have “direct primary” to nominate candidates. Some are “closed” so only party members can vote; others are “open” so any voter can participate.

## Negatives (Criticisms) of primaries and caucuses

- ❑ **Disproportionate amount of attention goes to the early caucuses and primaries:** Too long; focus on image of candidate more than issues; few people vote
- ❑ Running for presidency has become a full time job, and prominent politicians find it difficult to take time out from their duties to run
- ❑ **Participation is low and not representative of the population**
- ❑ Voters in primaries and caucuses also tend to be better educated and more affluent than voters in general.

## How Obama and Clinton Visited Some States Far More Than Others During the 2008 Nomination Campaign



## The Nomination Game

- ❑ Competing for Delegates
  - Evaluating the Primary and Caucus System
    - ❑ Disproportionate attention to early ones
    - ❑ Prominent politicians do not run.
    - ❑ Money plays too big a role.
    - ❑ Participation in primaries and caucuses is low and unrepresentative; 20 percent vote in primaries.
    - ❑ The system gives too much power to the media.

## Caucusing Activity

- ❑ Presidential Candidates: Why should people vote for you?
- ❑ Election Signs: Last Name
- ❑ Caucus Signs call to order
- ❑ Form Groups by candidate preference
- ❑ Align with Initial Preference Group
- ❑ Gather in assigned area
- ❑ Count delegates. Who is non-viable?
- ❑ Non-Viable groups realign (solicit members from other groups and non-viable groups. Why should they come to your group? Make people feel welcome and know the issues!)
- ❑ Caucus Chair count number of delegates per group

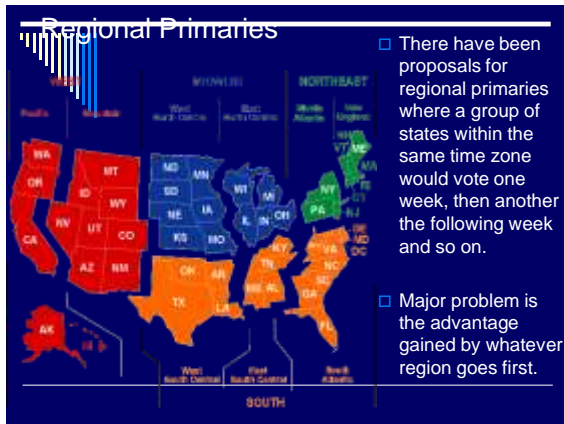
- ❑ Critics of NATIONAL PRIMARY say that it would require a run-off election between top two finishers to avoid having a candidate win with only a plurality of the vote.

- ❑ Big money and media coverage would be more crucial than ever and obscure candidates would not stand a chance.

## Proposals for national and regional presidential primaries

- ❑ Proponents of a NATIONAL PRIMARY to select party nominees believe that this would bring directness and simplicity to the process for both voters and candidates.
- ❑ Length and cost of campaign reduced
- ❑ Concentration of media coverage would increase political interest and public understanding of the issues involved.





### Path to the Presidency

**PRECINCT CAUCUSES:** Held in January for Iowa at 1,784 Precincts throughout Iowa. Delegates are elected to represent the precinct at Party County Conventions in March.

**COUNTY CONVENTIONS:** Held in each of 99 counties in March. Delegates are elected to represent the county parties at District and State Conventions

**DISTRICT CONVENTIONS:** Held in April in 5 Congressional Districts to select representatives from the five districts at the State Party Conventions.

**STATE CONVENTIONS:** Held in June. Delegates are selected to represent Iowa at National Republican and Democratic Conventions.

### Path to Presidency

**NATIONAL CONVENTIONS: DEMOCRATS—AUGUST  
REPUBLICANS—SEPTEMBER**

Delegates from each party's convention nominate a President and Vice President Candidate to represent their party in general election.

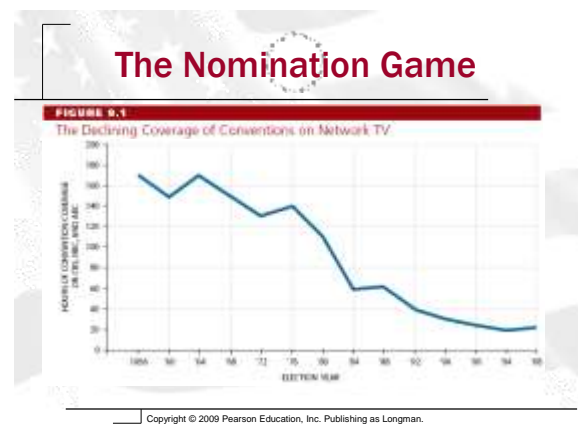
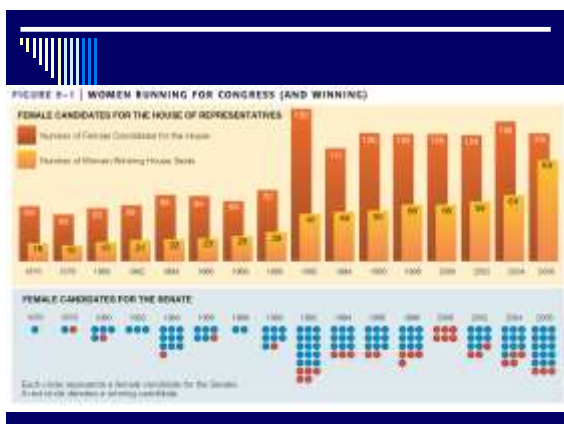
*Main purpose is to unify party members behind:*

1. Party's platform (statement of its goals and policies for the next four years)
2. Nominate candidates for president/vice-president.

Presidential Candidate Names are put on the General Election Ballot of Each State  
One Democratic Candidate  
One Republican Candidate

### The Nomination

- The Convention Send-Off
  - Prior to the Convention, there will win the nomination
  - 38 million people (little more watched Obama receive nomination)
  - In years past, virtually all delegates over 40
  - The weeklong convention (informal)
    - Day 1: keynote speaker (2004)
    - Day 2: Party Platform – outlines the goals and policies
    - Day 3: nomination of the candidate
    - The final step is the candidate giving his/her speech





## The Campaign

- The High-Tech Media Campaign
  - TV is most common way to reach voters
  - Internet is incredibly important
    - Smaller donations, but many
  - Direct mail – potential support
  - The importance of media:
    - Provides a source of advertisement, and “free” advertising via news
    - Half of presidential campaign \$ is spent on TV ads
    - News coverage does not always focus on issues, but rather campaign details
- Organizing the Campaign:
  - Requirements to run an effective campaign:
    - Campaign manager, fund-raiser, campaign lawyer, media expert, campaign staff – many young volunteers, research staff and advisers, pollster, press secretary, website.....
    - All of this costs \$, lots of \$
  - Great Movie – *Ides of March* – George Clooney, Ryan Gosling, and CINCINNATI



## The Campaign Game

- The Maze of Campaign Finance Reforms:
  - Federal Election Campaign Act (1974):
    - Created the Federal Election Commission (FEC) – administered campaign laws
    - Created the Presidential Election Campaign Fund: FEC gives \$ to candidates (\$3 on tax returns)
    - Provides partial public funding for presidential primaries: **matching funds** - \$250 for candidates that raise \$5,000 in at least 20 states; candidates must limit spending to receive matching funds
      - Bush in 2000 refused matching funds
    - Provides full public financing for major party candidates in election: grant to candidates (\$85 million in 2008)
      - Obama in 2004 refused the \$85 million
    - Requires full disclosure of who contributes and how much \$
    - Limited contributions: limits individual contributions to campaigns (\$2,300 in 2008)
  - *Buckley v. Valeo*:
    - SC ruled that individuals could contribute as much to their own campaign as they wish (Ross Perot spent \$60 million in 1992)



## The Campaign Game Cont.

- Soft Money – money not given to a specific candidate but used for campaign expenses – no limits on contributions
- McCain-Feingold Act – banned soft \$ contributions and limited corporations and unions ability to pay for ads 60 days prior to an election
  - The second part was later overturned in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* (2010)
- 527 groups:
  - Independent groups that have no restriction on funding, provided they do not explicitly endorse a candidate (Swift Boat Veterans for Truth – 2004, Kerry; Moveon.org – 2004, Bush)
- 501(c) groups:
  - Groups that can receive unlimited contributions and do not have to report them, provided no more than half of money spent is on political activities



## The Campaign Game Cont.

- The Campaign Game Cont.
  - Are Campaigns Too Expensive?
    - 2008 costs for Congress and Presidential campaigns?
      - \$5 billion
      - .05% of the GDP
    - Why is campaign finance reform difficult to achieve?
      - Congress is hesitant to tie their own hands



- Two-thirds of Presidential Campaign Is in Just 6 States
- Two-thirds (273 of 399) of the general-election campaign events in the 2016 presidential race were in just 6 states (Florida, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, and Michigan).
- 94% of the 2016 events (375 of the 399) were in 12 states (the 11 states identified in early 2016 as “battleground” states by *Politico* and *The Hill* plus Arizona). This fact validates the statement by former presidential candidate and Governor Scott Walker of Wisconsin on September 2, 2015, that “The nation as a whole is not going to elect the next president. Twelve states are.”



## The Impact of Campaigns

- 3 effects of campaigns on voters:
  - Reinforcement: campaigns can reinforce a person's preference for a candidate
  - Activation: campaigns can get voters to get involved by spending \$ or volunteering
  - Conversion: campaigns can change voters' minds
  - Out of the 3, campaigns most often do NOT convert voters
- Selective Perception – paying attention to issues that people agree with or are interested in
  - Buying a car – see that car everywhere

## The Campaign Game



Heavily dependent on **technology**; TV more prevalent means however media focuses on who is winning rather than policy issues.

Computer technology targets mailing to prospective supporters.

- **DIRECT MAIL**: sending information and request for money to names obtained from list of people who have supported candidates in the past with similar issues.

Once nominated, candidates concentrate on campaigning for the general election in November

**Three things needed to project right image to voters:**

- **High tech media campaign**—get attention through advertising or free attention as news makers; Slogans; Target audience
- **Organization**
  - Campaign manager
  - Fund Raisers
  - Campaign Counsel and Campaign Staff
  - Media consultants
  - Research staff and policy advisors
  - Hire a pollster
  - Press secretary
  - website
- **Money**

- Get name mentioned as possibility (name recognition)
- Speeches (Reagan)
- Be famous (John Glenn)
- Sponsor Legislation (Bradley, McCain)
- Be a Governor - recent trend (Bush, Carter, Clinton)

(To Right: Former President Clinton and Carter)

*Getting Elected as President: What helps?*



## TV Exposure (in Primary & later)

- **"SPOTS"** - ads - **ineffective** (like ads tend to be) and expensive - much info - no effect - boring
- **"VISUALS"** - news **soundbites** or filmed activity of candidate - cheap - you're not paying - big effect on human interest
- **Debate** - **risky**, may look bad with a slip (incumbent normally adverse to debates) - Dole with a yawn, Bush checking watch, sweaty Nixon, boring stock answers repeated, Romney betting "10,000..."

## Understanding Nominations and

- Are Nominations...
  - In most cases, a few...
  - Many un... (Clinton)
  - Some be... "gn" thing
  - Some A...
- Do Big Campaigns... of Government?
  - Campaigning can lead to many more promises
    - Farm subsidies in Iowa
    - These promises increase the involvement of federal government in local affairs



## Quick Recap

- Primary vs. caucus
- Delegate vs. Superdelegate
- Importance of image during primaries
- Role of Media in Campaigns
- Federal Election Commission
- 527 groups
- 501(C) groups
- PACs
- Benefits and weaknesses of American campaigns vs. other countries

### The National Party Convention Send-Off

- Winner of Convention is already known by the time of the convention
- **Convention responsible for nominating party's presidential and VP candidates**
- Today conventions are **scripted to present the party in the best light**
- Conventions are **significant rallying point for the parties and is the supreme power within each the two parties**
- Conventions are **important in developing the party's policy positions (platform)** and in promoting political representation.

### Winner Takes All Rule

- **Presidential Election Day: Every four years on Tuesday following the first Monday in November.**
- **The Winner-takes-all system:** *Presidential candidate who wins the most popular votes in a state receives the state's electors.*
- **Two exceptions: Maine and Nebraska**

### After the General Election in November. . .

- The *Presidential candidate receiving the absolute majority of the electoral votes (minimum 270) becomes President*



### After the General Election in November. . .

- **Monday following the second Wednesday of December, electors meet at their state capitals to officially cast their ballots.**
- Their votes are representative of the popular vote.
- Votes are sealed and sent to the President of the Senate
- **On January 6<sup>th</sup>, the President of the Senate reads the results from each state before Congress.**



### After the General Election in November. . . .

- **January 20, the newly elected President and Vice President are sworn into office by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.**



"I, do solemnly swear, that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Article 11, Section 8. (Pictured left is JFK's inauguration)



•President's salary is called "compensation"

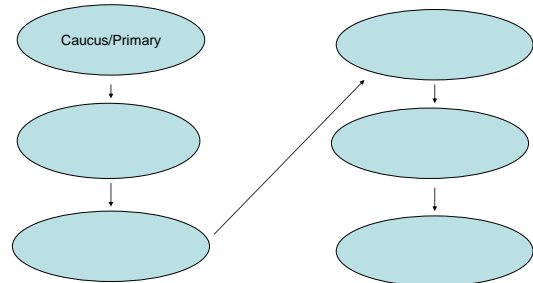
•President gives a "State of the Union" message to Congress every year.

•The President cannot exceed 10 years in office as President.

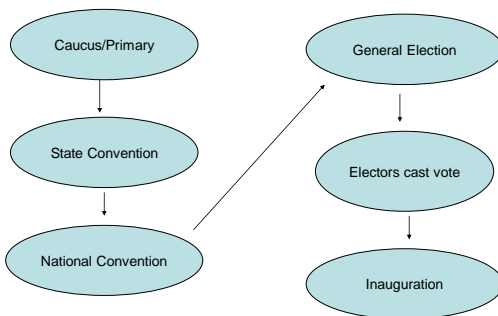
•The Vice-President presides over the Senate.

•According to the 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment, the Vice President will succeed the President in case of death or negligence of duty. Following the V.P., the next in succession is the Speaker of the House.

## Can you name the order of events leading to the Presidency?



Can you name the order of events leading to the Presidency?



## Congress v. Presidency

- Congress easier to win
- Less competitive
- Incumbent wins often - 80% in Senate, 90% in House (why?)
- No term limit & low voter turnout
- Get more credit for success than President from Constitution
- Less responsibility than President - less blame for bad stuff

## President has little effect on congressional election

- Normally the party in power (2010 is the Democrats) loses seats in midterm election and maintains a divided government - however there are exceptions ('02)



## Financing the Campaign

- Regulating Campaign Financing
  - ▢ Hatch Act (1925)
  - ▢ Federal Election Campaign Act (1971)



## Money and Campaigning



### □ The Maze of Campaign Finance Reforms

- Federal Election Campaign Act (1974)
  - Created the Federal Election Commission (FEC) to administer campaign finance laws for federal elections
  - Created the Presidential Election Campaign Fund
  - Provided partial public financing for presidential primaries
    - Matching funds: Contributions of up to \$250 are matched for candidates who meet conditions, such as limiting spending.
  - Provided full public financing for major party candidates in the general election
  - Required full disclosure and limited contributions

## The Maze of Campaign Finance Reforms

- Soft Money: political contributions (not subject to contribution limits) earmarked for party-building expenses or generic party advertising
- The McCain-Feingold Act (2002) banned soft money, increased amount of individual contributions, and limited "issue ads."
- 527s: independent groups that seek to influence political process but are not subject to contribution restricts because they do not directly seek election of particular candidates



## Campaign Finance Reform

### Federal Election Campaign Act:

- 1. Tightened reporting requirements for contributions
- 2. Limited overall expenditures

Challenged in 1976 in *Buckley V. Valeo*  
 Supreme Court struck down as a violation of free speech, the portion of the act that limited the amount **individuals could contribute to their own campaigns**

**Soft Money:** money raised for campaigns (not subject to any contribution limits)

## McCain-Feingold Act



1. Banned soft money contributions
2. Increased amount that individuals could give to candidates from \$1000 to \$2000 and can rise with inflation
3. Barred groups from running "issue ads" within 60 days of a general election if they refer to a federal candidate and are not funded by a PAC

## Money and Campaigning

### □ The Proliferation of PACs

- Political Action Committees (PACs): created by law in 1974 to allow corporations, labor unions and other interest groups to donate money to campaigns; PACs are registered with and monitored by the FEC.
- As of 2006 there were 4,217 PACs.
- PACs contributed over \$372.1 million to congressional candidates in 2006.
- PACs donate to candidates who support their issue.
- PACs do not "buy" candidates, but give to candidates who support them in the first place.

## Political Action Committees

- Loopholes with PACs
- Any interest group can now get into the act by forming its own PAC to directly channel contributions of up to \$5000 per candidate in both the primary and general election





## The Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002

- Banned soft money contributions to the national party committees. It also placed limitations on issue advocacy advertisements and increased the individual contribution limit to \$2000 (from \$1000).
- Will hurt the ability of the political parties to help the candidates running on the party label. This could lead to less cohesiveness within the parties.
- May help incumbents, who are less likely to need soft money contributions and issue advocacy ads.

## Outcomes of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act

- Challenges to the 2002 Act
- The Rise of the 527s

TABLE 9-2 | SOFT MONEY RAISED BY POLITICAL PARTIES, 1993 TO 2002

	1993-1994	1995-1996	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002
Democratic Party	\$40.6 million	\$123.3 million	\$30.0 million	\$243.0 million	\$100.0 million
Republican Party	\$0.5 million	\$81.3 million	\$11.0 million	\$24.8 million	\$22.7 million
Total	\$41.1 million	\$204.6 million	\$41.0 million	\$267.8 million	\$122.7 million

Source: www.fec.gov, 2003.

## Running for President: The Longest Campaign

- "Beauty Contest"
- Reforming the Primaries

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8

## Public Opinion and Voting



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### LEARNING OUTCOMES

- 1 Describe the political socialization process
- 2 Explain how public opinion polls are conducted, problems with polls, and how they are used in the political process
- 3 Discuss the different factors that affect voter choices
- 4 Indicate some of the factors that affect voter turnout, and discuss what has been done to improve voter turnout and voting procedures

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## People & Political Opinions

- **Public opinion:** Complex collection of opinions held by many people on issues in the public arena
- **Political socialization:** Learning process through which people acquire their political attitudes, opinions, beliefs, and knowledge

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## People & Political Opinions

- **Agents of political socialization:** People and institutions that influence the political views of others
- Importance of family
  - *Child first sees the political world through the eyes of his or her family*
  - *Political party of the parents becomes the political party of the children*

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## Schools & Churches

- Education strongly influences an individual's political attitudes
- Level of education influences a person's political values
- Strong religious beliefs contribute significantly to political socialization

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## Media

- Newspapers, magazines, television, radio, Internet, and any other printed or electronic means of communication
  - *Has an impact on political socialization*
  - *Television - Most influential form of media*
  - *Internet and social media are important sources of information for younger citizens*

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## Opinion Leaders

- Public officials, religious leaders, teachers, or celebrities
- Play a significant role in the formation of public opinion

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## People & Political Opinions

- Major life events
  - *Political attitudes of an entire generation may be influenced by a major event*
    - Great Depression (1929–1939)
    - World War II (1939–1945)
- **Peer group:** Associates, close in age to one another
  - *Include friends, classmates, co-workers, club members, or religious group members*

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## People & Political Opinions

- *Socialization occurs when the peer group is involved with political activities or other causes*
- Economic status and occupation
  - *Person's economic status influences her or his political views*
  - *Co-workers may influence each other*

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## Public Opinion Polls

Survey of the public opinion on a particular topic at a particular moment

- *Results are frequently cast in terms of percentages*
- **Sample:** *Group of people selected to represent the population being studied*
  - Used in polling techniques for measuring public opinion

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## Early Polling Efforts

- **Straw poll:** Nonscientific poll
  - *No way to ensure that the opinions expressed are representative of the larger population*
  - Drawback - *Biased sample*
    - **Biased sample:** Poll sample that does not accurately represent the population

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## Early Polling Efforts

- Literary Digest fiasco
  - *In 1936, Digest forecast that Alfred Landon would easily defeat Franklin D. Roosevelt in the presidential elections*
  - *Roosevelt won by a landslide*
- First scientific poll takers
  - *Gallup organization*
  - *Roper associates*

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## Polling Today

- Polling is used extensively by political candidates and policymakers
- Polls can be accurate when they are conducted properly
- Types of polls
  - *Telephone*
  - *Internet*

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## Polling Today

- Sampling
  - *Successful sampling requires people who are typical of the population*
  - **Random sample:** *Each person within the entire population has an equal chance of being chosen*
    - Important principle in sampling

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## Polling Today

- What polls really tell us
  - *Public opinion polls are fundamentally statistical*
  - *True result of a poll is a range of probabilities*
  - **Sampling error:** *Difference between the poll results and what the results would have been if:*
    - Everyone in the relevant population had been interviewed
  - **Statistical noise**
    - Fluctuation in the figures due to random error

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## Problems with Opinion Polls

- Statistical modeling and house effects
  - *Impossible to obtain a body of respondents that truly reflects the population at large*
  - **Weighting**
    - Polling firms respond to difficulties by weighting the responses of various groups
  - **House effect:** *Consistent tendency to report results more favorable to one of the political parties*

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## Problems with Opinion Polls

- Bias in framing questions
  - *Poorly worded or misleading questions*
  - *Yes and no questions*
  - *Inadequate information*
  - *Other problems*
    - Influence of interviewer's personality or tone of voice

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## Problems with Opinion Polls

- Timing of polls
  - *Opinion polls of voter preferences cannot reflect rapid shifts in public opinion*
- Polling problems in 2012
  - *Gallup overestimated turnout among Republican voters*
    - Underestimated turnout among Democrats
  - *Rasmussen weighted Republican responses more heavily than independent ones*

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**Figure 8.1**

**Final Poll Results for the 2012 Presidential Elections**



Source: "RealClear Politics and RealClearElection.com"

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## Misuse of Polls

- Polls create public opinion, instead of measuring it
  - *Bandwagon effect*
- Media companies report only the polls conducted by their affiliated pollsters

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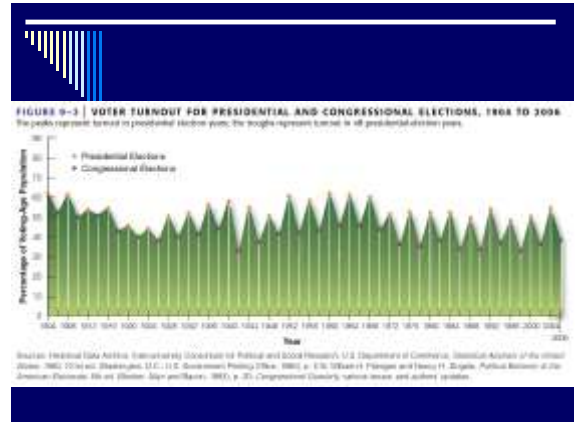
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## Problem of Push Polls

- **Push polls:** Ask fake polling questions that are designed to push voters toward one candidate or another
- Political manipulation
  - *Spreading of rumors and lies by one candidate about another*

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## Voter Turnout

- Voter participation in the United States is low compared with other countries. In congressional elections in years when a president is not elected, the turnout rates are lower. Turnout rates are even lower yet for most local elections.
  - The Effect of Low Voter Turnout
  - Is Voter Turnout Declining? Why?

## Factors Influencing Who Votes

- Age
- Education
- Minority status
- Income
- Party competition

**TABLE 9-4 | ELECTED BY A MAJORITY?**

Most presidents have won a majority of the votes cast in the election. We generally judge the extent of their victory by whether they have won more than 51 percent of the votes. Some presidential elections have been perceived as lopsided, meaning that the candidate won by an extraordinary majority of votes cast. As indicated below, however, no recent president has been elected by more than 56 percent of the total voting-age population.

Year–Winner (Party)	Percentage of Total Possible Vote	Percentage of Voting-Age Population
1932–Roosevelt (D)	57.4	30.1
1936–Roosevelt (D)	60.8	34.8
1940–Roosevelt (D)	54.7	32.2
1944–Roosevelt (D)	55.8	29.9
1948–Truman (D)	49.6	29.3
1952–Eisenhower (R)	55.1	34.0
1956–Eisenhower (R)	57.4	34.1
1960–Kennedy (D)	49.7	31.2
1964–Johnson (D)	61.1	33.0
1968–Nixon (R)	43.4	26.4
1972–Nixon (R)	60.7	33.1
1976–Carter (D)	50.1	26.4
1980–Reagan (R)	50.7	26.7
1984–Reagan (R)	58.8	31.2
1988–Bush (R)	33.4	26.4
1992–Clinton (D)	43.3	23.1
1996–Clinton (D)	46.2	23.2
2000–Bush (R)	47.8	24.5
2004–Bush (R)	51.0	23.6

Source: Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, January 31, 1999, p. 117; The New York Times, November 6, 1988; The New York Times, November 7, 1992; and The New York Times, November 22, 2004.

## Factors Influencing Who Votes

**TABLE 9-5 | VOTING IN THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS BY AGE GROUP**

Turnout is given as a percentage of the voting-age citizen population.

Age	Turnout Percentage
18–24	46.7
25–34	53.7
35–44	64.0
45–54	68.7
55–64	72.8
65–74	73.3
75 years and over	68.5

Source: U.S. Census of the Census, May 26, 2005.

**TABLE 9-6 | VOTING IN THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS BY EDUCATION LEVEL**

Turnout is given as a percentage of the voting-age citizen population.

Years or Less Completed	Turnout Percentage
Less than 9th grade	48.8
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	56.6
High school graduate	64.4
Some college or associate degree	66.9
Bachelor's degree	73.3
Advanced degree	84.2

Source: U.S. Census of the Census, May 26, 2005.

## Why People Do Not Vote



- Uninformative media coverage and negative campaigning
- The rational ignorance effect
- Plans for improved voter turnout

## Restrictions on Voting

- Historical Restrictions
  - Property Requirements
  - Further Extensions of the Franchise
  - Is the Franchise Still Too Restrictive?
- Current Eligibility and Registration Requirements
- Extension of the Voting Rights Act

## Factors that Influence Voter Choices

- Party identification
  - *Voters have a standing allegiance to a political party*
  - *Emotional attachment to a party that is influenced by family, age, peer groups, and other factors*
- Perception of the candidates
  - *Voters frequently base their decisions on the perceived character of the candidates*

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## Factors that Influence Voter Choices

- Policy choices
  - *People vote for candidates who share their positions on particular issues*
    - Policy voting
- Socioeconomic factors
  - *Educational attainment*
    - People with more education are likely to vote Republican

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## Factors that Influence Voter Choices

- *Occupation and income*
  - Businesspersons tend to vote Republican
  - Manual laborers, factory workers are likely to vote for the Democrats
- *Age*
  - Young are liberal and the old are conservative
  - People's attitudes are shaped by the events that unfolded as they grew up

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## Factors that Influence Voter Choices

- *Gender*
  - Women and men tend to vote for the various candidates in roughly equal numbers
  - **Gender gap:** Difference between the percentage of votes cast for a particular candidate by women and men
    - ▶ Major determinant of voter decision making in the 1980 presidential elections

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## Factors that Influence Voter Choices

- *Religion and ethnic background*
  - Regular church attendance
  - Minority group members
  - Muslim Americans
- *Geographic region*
  - **Solid south:** Tendency of the southern states to vote Democratic after the Civil War
  - Southern conservatism

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## Factors that Influence Voter Choices

- Ideology
  - *Significant percentage of Americans identify themselves as conservatives*
  - *Liberals and moderates vote for Democrats*
  - *Conservatives vote for Republicans*

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## Voter Turnout

- Percentage of those who actually turn out to vote from among those eligible to vote
- Factors affecting voter turnout
  - *Nonvoters do not feel that they have a duty to vote*
  - *Lack of information about the candidates*
  - *Belief that vote will not make any difference*

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**Figure 8.3** Voter Turnout Since 1968



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## Legal Right to Vote

- Citizens who are at least eighteen years of age and who are not felons have the right to vote
- Historical restrictions on voting
  - *States limited suffrage to adult white males who owned property*
  - *Restrictions based on race and gender existed for a long time*

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## Legal Right to Vote

- *Preventing African Americans from voting*
  - **Literacy test:** Given to voters to ensure that they could read and write
    - Evaluate political information
  - **Poll tax:** Fee of several dollars that had to be paid before a person could vote
  - **Grandfather clause:** Restricted voting rights to those whose ancestors had voted before the 1860s

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## Legal Right to Vote

- **White primary:** Primary election in which African Americans were prohibited from voting
  - Banned by the Supreme Court in 1944
- Voting rights today
  - *Constitutional amendments and Voting Rights Act, 1965 outlawed the devices that restricted voting rights*
  - *United States citizenship is required for voting*

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**Table 8.1** Extension of the Right to Vote

Year	Action	Impact
1870	Fifteenth Amendment	Discrimination based on race outlawed.
1915	Carter v. Woodlawn	Discrimination based on race outlawed by the Supreme Court.
1920	Nineteenth Amendment	Discrimination based on gender outlawed.
1924	Congressional act	All Native Americans gain citizenship.
1944	Smith v. Allwright	Supreme Court prohibits white primary.
1957	End Rights Act of 1957	Justice Department can sue to protect voting rights in certain states.
1960	End Rights Act of 1960	Courts authorized to appoint referees to oversee voter registration procedures.
1961	Twenty-Fourth Amendment	Removal of poll tax at Columbia gives right to vote for贫民 and non-poor.
1968	Twenty-Fourth Amendment	Poll tax in national elections outlawed.
1965	Voting Rights Act of 1965	Literacy tests prohibited; federal voter registrars authorized to oversee elections; states voting system subject to federal oversight.
1970	Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970	Voting age for federal elections reduced to eighteen years; minimum thirty-day residency required for presidential elections; state literacy tests abolished.
1971	Twenty-sixth Amendment	Minimum voting age reduced to eighteen for all elections.
1975	Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1975	Federal voter registrars authorized in ten more states; bilingual ballots to be used in certain circumstances.
1982	Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1982	Extended provisions of Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1965 and 1970; private parties allowed to sue for violations.
2000	Voting Rights Act extension	Extended Voting Rights Act for another twenty-five years.

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## Attempts to Improve Voter Turnout

- Motor Voter Law
  - *National Voter Registration Act, 1993*
    - Simplified the voter-registration process
  - *Requires states to provide all eligible citizens with the opportunity to:*
    - Register to vote when they apply for or renew a driver's license

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## Attempts to Improve Voter Turnout

- Mail-in voting
  - *States have made ballots an option for all voters*
- Laws that may discourage voting
  - *Certain laws require that voters produce photographic identification to register or vote*

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## Attempts to Improve Voting Procedures

- Help America Vote Act, 2002
  - *Provided funds to the states to purchase new electronic voting equipment*
- Problems in 2006
  - *Half of the states using new electronic voting systems reported problems*

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## Attempts to Improve Voting Procedures

- Voting systems in recent elections
  - *Voter-verified paper audit trail (VVPAT) printers*
    - Led to the reintroduction of electronic machines in many states
  - *Two-thirds of all votes nationwide were cast using paper ballots*
  - *Early voting at polling places ensured all systems were working properly by election day*

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## Who Actually Votes

- Educational attainment
  - *People with high education are more likely to be a regular voter*
- Income level and age
  - *Wealthy people tend to be overrepresented among regular voters*
  - *Older voters turn out to vote more regularly than younger voters*

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## Who Actually Votes

- Minority status
  - *Participation of African Americans and Hispanics in the recent elections has increased*
- Immigration and voter turnout
  - *High rates of immigration in recent decades has effected voter-turnout figures*



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## Who Actually Votes

- **Voting-age population:** *Number of people residing in the United States, at least eighteen years old*
- **Vote-eligible population:** *Number of people who are actually eligible to vote in an American election*
- *In the recent years, voter turnout has improved by any calculation method*

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## President Obama Harnesses Celebrity Power to Raise Funds for Re-election



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## Questions

- What did the 2008 election reveal about the changing electoral landscape?
- “Four years ago, Barack Obama was able to raise a lot of money from Hollywood, from Silicon Valley, and from Wall Street.” Why do you think this was possible? Discuss.
- Why is the entertainment industry excited to fund Obama’s cause?

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## KEY TERMS

- Public opinion
- Political socialization
- Agents of political socialization
- Media
- Peer group
- Public opinion poll
- Sample
- Straw poll
- Biased sample
- Random sample
- Sampling error

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## KEY TERMS

- House effect
- Push poll
- Gender gap
- Solid south
- Literacy test
- Poll tax
- Grandfather clause
- White primary
- Voting-age population
- Vote-eligible population

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## SUMMARY

- Political socialization is the learning process through which people acquire political attitudes, opinions, beliefs, and knowledge
- Polling is used extensively by political candidates and policymakers
- Party identification is one of the most important and lasting predictors of how a person will vote

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## SUMMARY

- Economic issues have the strongest influence on voters' choices
- Devices used to restrict voting rights are explicitly prohibited by constitutional amendments
- States do not permit prison inmates or felons to vote

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