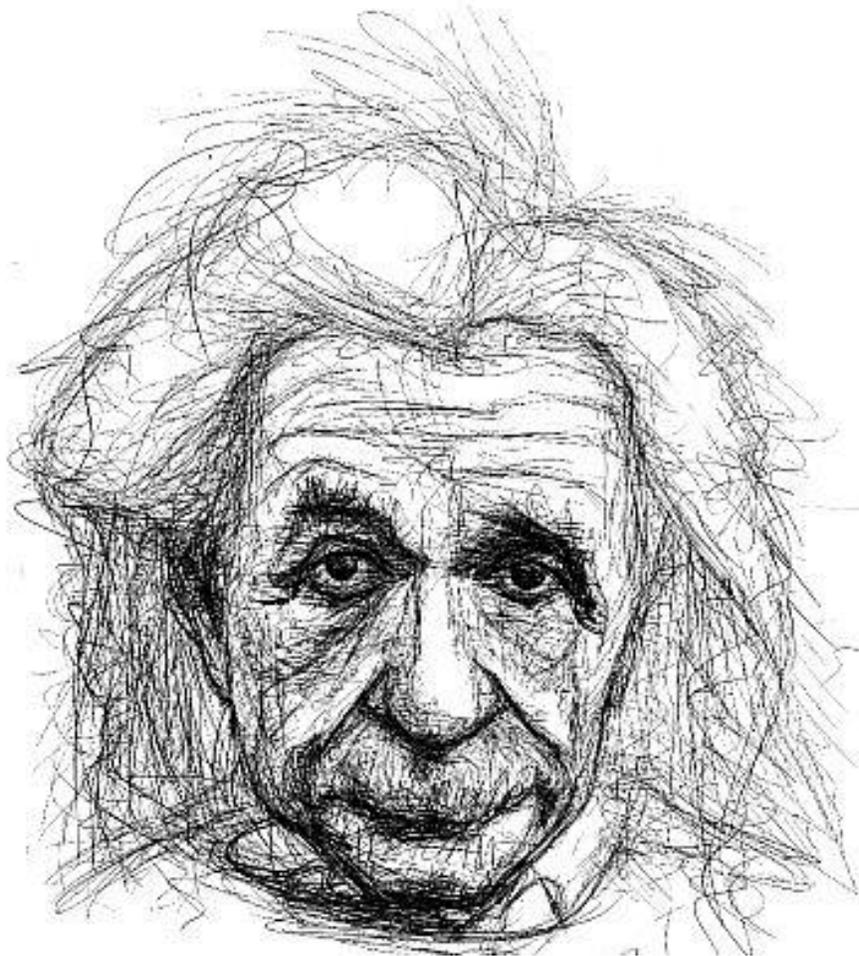


# **AP**

## **U.S. Government & Politics**

### **Quick Notes**



# **UNIT 3**

## **POLITICAL BELIEFS AND BEHAVIORS**

## APGoPo Unit 3-1

# FORMING POLITICAL OPINIONS AND VALUES

### HOW DO WE GET OUR POLITICAL OPINIONS AND VALUES?

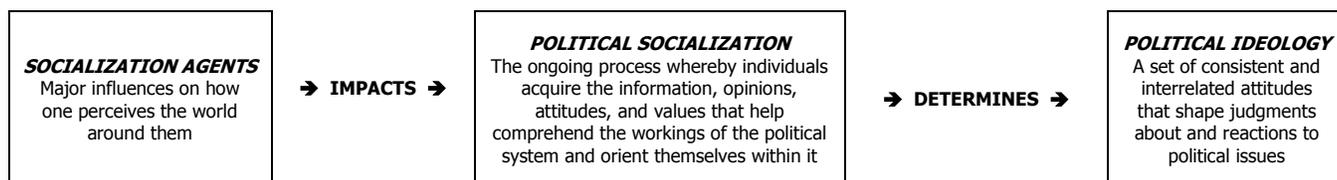
Political attitudes are shaped by political socialization, a lifelong process through which an individual acquires opinions through contact with family, friends, coworkers, the media and other group associations. Political attitudes in turn determine how individuals participate, who they vote for, and what political parties they support. Many factors - including family, gender, religion, education, social class, race and ethnicity, and region - all contribute to American political attitudes and behavior.

### *SOURCES (AGENTS) OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION*

<b>Family</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strongest</li> <li>• Correlation between parent's party affiliation and child's party affiliation</li> <li>• Less of a correlation on civil liberties and racial issues</li> <li>• Fairly equal influence of mother and father; When parents differ, child tends to associate w/beliefs of parent with whom he/she more closely identifies</li> </ul>
<b>Schools</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Convey basic values (e.g., civic duty, patriotism)</li> </ul>
<b>Religion</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Protestant             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Generally more conservative</li> <li>○ Evangelicals, especially, are most conservative on social issues</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Catholic             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Traditionally more liberal</li> <li>○ Greater acceptance of Catholics, greater inclusion into mainstream of society, and increasing importance of various social issues (abortion, gay rights) &gt;&gt; greater degree of conservatism. A majority of Catholics voted for Clinton, but Bush 43 won Catholic vote in 2004</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Jewish             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Liberal influence, support for the Democratic Party</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Mass Media</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wide exposure to papers, Internet, movies, TV</li> <li>• Media provides link between individuals and values/behavior of others</li> <li>• In 2000 attention was directed to problems of voting systems, Electoral College</li> </ul>

### AWARENESS AND INTEREST

- Varying levels of interest in politics
  - **Elites**
    - Those w/disproportionate amounts of political resources
    - Raise issues and help set national agenda
    - Influence the resolution of issues
  - **Attentive public**
    - Those with an active interest in gov't and politics
    - Better educated
  - **Mass public**
    - Those with little interest in gov't and politics
    - Many are nonvoters (subset "political know-nothings")
- Political efficacy - belief that one can make a difference in politics by expressing an opinion and acting politically
  - Internal efficacy - the belief that one can understand politics and therefore participate in politics
  - External efficacy - the belief that one is effective in making a difference when participating in politics, for example that the government will respond to one's demands



## APGoPo Unit 3-2

# PUBLIC OPINION

### WHAT IS PUBLIC OPINION?

Public opinion is the distribution of individual attitudes toward a particular issue, candidate, or political institution. Although the definition is simple enough, public opinion encompasses the attitudes of millions of diverse people from many racial, ethnic, age, and regional groups. As a result, the study of American public opinion is especially complex, but also very important.

- Definitions
  - Public opinion is the distribution of individual preferences for or evaluations of a given issue, candidate, or institution within a specific population
  - Distribution means the proportion of the population that holds one opinion or viewpoint as compared to those with opposing opinions or those with no opinion at all
  - Individual preference means that when we measure public opinion, we are asking individuals about their opinions

### THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

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An event takes place



The media reports on the event

Without reporting by the media, political events would depend on eye witnesses and word of mouth communication. How the media report on an event, and whether they report the event at all, becomes critically important.



Individuals respond to the event

Two individuals may respond to the same event in entirely different ways: one may put a conservative and the other a liberal spin on the event.



Peer and secondary groups form opinions

The various publics respond to events that are brought to their attention in terms of their prior socialization, group memberships, and political knowledge. How they respond to events depends on their prior political education.



Polls measure national public opinion about the event



PUBLIC OPINION IS FORMED

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### MEASURING PUBLIC OPINION

The measurement of public opinion is a complex process often conveying unreliable results. Elections, interest groups, the media, and personal contacts may signal public opinion on certain issues; however, the most reliable measure of public opinion is the public opinion poll. Businesses, governments, political candidates, and interest groups use polls.

Should politicians monitor the polls? Candidates have been criticized for "WAFFLING" — shifting their positions based on the results of public opinion polls. But if a politician is supposed to represent the true will of the people, shouldn't public opinion be highly regarded.

Poll results must be carefully and accurately compiled and reported. This is not always an easy task, especially for tracking polls that are measuring changing public opinion. A good example is an election poll. Statistics that are a week old are not usually very reliable when trying to predict a close presidential race.

Polls can never be completely accurate because a sample cannot replicate the universe exactly. Pollsters allow for this slight chance of inaccuracy with a margin of error. Standard samples of about 1,000 to 1,500 individuals can usually represent a universe of millions of people with only a small amount of error. A typical margin of error — a measure of the accuracy of a public opinion poll — is about 3%.

- By elections: deceiving — does not tell us WHY people voted as they did
- By straw polls — inaccuracies
- By scientific polls
  - Random means = each person in universe has an equal chance of being selected (most important factor)
  - National polls typically require ~1,500-2,000 respondents
  - Margin of error: expressed in +/- terms
  - Can reduce margin of error by adding more respondents, but at some point diminishing returns set in
  - Questions must carefully worded and avoid a bias
- Uses of polls (remember - polls are a snapshot of opinion at a point in time)
  - Informing the public; Informing candidates; Informing office-holders
  - Making election night projections through the use of exit polls
- Abuses of polls
  - "Horse race" mentality emphasized during campaigns at expense of issues >> Focus on who is in the lead
  - Pandering to whims of public by candidates and office-holders
  - Early projections from exit polls may discourage voter turnout, esp. in West

### TYPE OF OPINIONS

- Stable = Change very little (e.g., death penalty)
- Fluid = Change frequently (e.g., presidential popularity)
- Latent = Dormant, but may be aroused (e.g., military draft)
- Salient = Personal importance to individuals (e.g., Brady and gun control)
- Consensus = Shared by 75% of the people or more (e.g., balanced budget)
- Polarized = Shared by less than 75% (e.g., gun control)

## APGoPo Unit 3-3

### POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS GOVERNMENT

#### Ideology

An ideology is a consistent set of beliefs and values that shape a person's views. A political ideology is a set of beliefs about politics and public policy that creates the structure for looking at government and public policy. Political ideologies can change over time. Differences in ideology generally occur in the arena of political, economic, and social issues.

#### Ideology: A Political Spectrum

- **radical:** favors rapid, fundamental change in existing social, economic, or political order; may be willing to resort to extreme means, even violence or revolution to accomplish such change (extreme change to create an entirely new social system)
- **liberal:** supports active government in promoting individual welfare and supporting civil rights, and accepts peaceful political and social change within the existing political system
- **moderate:** political ideology that falls between liberal and conservative and which may include some of both; usually thought of as tolerant of others' political opinions and not likely to hold extreme views on issues
- **conservative:** promotes a limited governmental role in helping individuals economically, supports traditional values and lifestyles, favors a more active role for government in promoting national security, and approaches change cautiously
- **reactionary:** advocates a return to a previous state of affairs, often a social order or government that existed earlier in history (may be willing to go to extremes to achieve their goals)

<b>LIBERALISM (GENERALLY DEMOCRATS)</b>	<b><i>CARDINAL ATTRIBUTES OF LIBERALISM</i></b>	<b><i>CRITICISMS OF LIBERALS</i></b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Positive uses of government to bring about justice and equality of opportunity (larger government) such as social programs in the past</li> <li>• Emphasis on protection of individual rights and liberties</li> <li>• Emphasis on human rights in issues regarding foreign aid</li> <li>• Less emphasis on military spending</li> <li>• Higher taxes for the rich than for the poor</li> <li>• Larger government</li> <li>• Believe in possibility of progress, better future, equality of opportunity, minimum income level</li> <li>• Liberals charge that conservatives act in self-interest, concerned with rich; Liberals concerned government should take care of weak</li> <li>• Liberal view holds all people equal; wish to lesson impact of great inequalities of wealth</li> <li>• Corporations seen as chief threat to liberty; Need for a strong central govt. to "smooth out the rough edges of capitalism."</li> <li>• Set up programs to help criminals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Too much reliance on governmental solutions, higher taxes, and bureaucrats</li> <li>• Forgets that government has to be limited</li> <li>• When government grows too big, it tends to start dictating us</li> <li>• Too many governmental controls and too much taxation undermine the self-help ethic</li> <li>• Welfare and regulatory state pushed by liberals will destroy true equality of economic opportunities</li> </ul>

<b>CONSERVATISM (GENERALLY REPUBLICANS)</b>	<b><i>CARDINAL ATTRIBUTES OF CONSERVATISM</i></b>	<b><i>CRITICISMS OF CONSERVATIVES</i></b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Private property rights and belief in free enterprise (free market economy)</li> <li>• Keep government small except in the area of national defense; Strong defense budget</li> <li>• Government needs to ensure order; more pessimistic about human nature</li> <li>• Preference for the status quo and desire change only in moderation</li> <li>• Taxes should be low for everyone</li> <li>• Prayers in public schools should not be banned</li> <li>• Abortion is the murder of a fetus</li> <li>• Don't make America a welfare state</li> <li>• Lock up criminals for crimes</li> <li>• Government social activism has been expensive and counterproductive; Human needs cared for by families/charities</li> <li>• Emphatically pro-business</li> <li>• Favor dispersing power broadly to avoid concentration of power at the national level</li> <li>• Subordinate economic and social equality to liberty and freedom</li> <li>• In 2000 campaign, Bush built upon churches in providing aid to needy but also tried to avoid hostility to all government assistance ("compassionate conservatism")</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hostility to government as counterproductive and inconsistent</li> <li>• Conservatives have a selective opposition to government</li> <li>• Government deficits grew during the 1980s when conservatives were in control</li> <li>• Insensitivity to the social needs of the homeless and mentally ill</li> <li>• Too much faith in our market economy</li> <li>• Failure to acknowledge and endorse policies that deal with racism and sexism</li> </ul>

#### LIBERTARIANISM

- An ideology that cherishes individual liberty and insists on a sharply limited government (Federal government should only be used for national defense); Preaches opposition to government and just about all its programs
- Opposes all government regulation (end government subsidies for businesses and farmers, no gun laws, no drug laws, no gambling laws)

## APGoPo Unit 3-4

# COUNTING VOTES

<b>VOTING</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political activity most often engaged in by Americans</li> <li>• Originally the Constitution left the individual states free to determine the question of who could vote; eligibility standards for voting have been expanded by legislation and constitutional amendments             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Religion (eliminated by state legislatures), Property (eliminated by state legislatures), Race (eliminated by 15<sup>th</sup>)</li> <li>◦ Gender (eliminated by 19<sup>th</sup>), Income (eliminated by 24<sup>th</sup> banning poll tax)</li> <li>◦ Literacy (eliminated by Voting Rights Act of 1965), Minimum of age 21 (eliminated by 26<sup>th</sup>)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Current qualifications = Citizenship; Residency; Age; Registration (in all states but ND)</li> </ul>
<b>TURNOUT</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Turnout is highest in presidential general elections &gt;&gt; election is seen as more important</li> <li>• Turnout is higher in general elections than in primary elections and higher in primary elections than in special elections</li> <li>• Turnout is higher in presidential general elections than in midterm general elections and higher in presidential primary elections than in midterm primary elections</li> <li>• Turnout is higher in elections in which candidates for federal office are on the ballot than in state elections in years when there are no federal contests</li> <li>• Local elections have lower turnout than state elections, and local primaries have even lower rates of participation</li> </ul>
<b>REASONS FOR LOW TURNOUT</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Voter turnout in U.S. is one of the lowest of any industrialized nation; deceiving because the U.S. doesn't penalize for not voting</li> <li>• Institutional barriers             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Registration; Long ballot; Weekday voting; Weakness of parties in mobilizing voters; Type of election; Difficulties in obtaining absentee ballots; Too many elections; Voting in 19<sup>th</sup> century was filled with fraud – turnout may have been overstated – Progressive reforms (registration, Australian ballot) may have reduced fraud and therefore "turnout"</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Political reasons             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Lack of Political Efficacy; "Costs" of voting seem to outweigh benefits to many; Dissatisfaction with candidates, parties, and politics in general; Young people tend to have the lowest turnout. When the 26<sup>th</sup> Amendment was ratified, turnout "naturally" declined</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>WHO VOTES?</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Educational level             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ High levels of educational achievement are more likely to vote than those with low levels</li> <li>◦ Greatest predictor of voting that cuts across other factors</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Race             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Whites vote at a higher rate than Blacks; Blacks vote at a higher rate than Hispanics</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Gender             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Women voters exceed that of men</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Income and career             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Higher family incomes are more likely to vote than those with lower incomes</li> <li>◦ Higher-status careers are more likely to vote than those with lower-status jobs</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Age             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Older people, unless they are very old and perhaps infirm, are more likely to vote than younger people</li> <li>◦ Persons 18 to 24 years of age have a poor voting record; so do persons over 70</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

### OTHER FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION (INVOLVEMENT OTHER THAN VOTING)

- Petitions
- Demonstrations/marches/rallies
- Local party meetings
- Making campaign contributions
- Writing letters to the editor (or the internet equivalent)
- Trying to persuade others

## VOTING CHOICES: FACTORS AFFECTING VOTER BEHAVIOR

<b>POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Probably the strongest predictor of voting</li> <li>• More people now “vote the man, not the party” than in the past → increase in Independents</li> <li>• Straight ticket voting             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Voting for candidates from the same political party for every office on the ballot</li> <li>○ Easier to do with party-column ballot</li> <li>○ Decline in recent years (“vote the man, not the party”)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Split ticket voting             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Voting for candidates from two different political parties</li> <li>○ Increase in recent years (“vote the man, not the party”)</li> <li>○ Harder to do with office-column ballot</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>GEOGRAPHY</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• South: Solidly Republican (because of Civil Rights Acts in 60s)</li> <li>• Great Plains: Republican</li> <li>• Rocky Mountain Region: Republican (Colorado swinging democratic)</li> <li>• New England: Democratic</li> <li>• West Coast: Democratic</li> <li>• Great Lakes Region: Democratic</li> <li>• Metropolitan/Urban Centers: Democratic</li> <li>• Rural Areas: Republican</li> </ul>
<b>OTHER FACTORS</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gender             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Women are more likely to vote Democratic, especially if they are single                 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ More liberal on issues such as military action, capital punishment, gun control, social programs such as Social Security, education funding, and environmental initiatives</li> </ul> </li> <li>○ Men are more likely to vote Republican</li> <li>○ Sex-sensitive issues (e.g., abortion, pornography, gun control, war) provoke different views among the sexes</li> <li>○ Gender gap – in voting refers to the difference in the percentage of women and the percentage of men voting for a given candidate.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Race             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Whites: more conservative, greater support for Republicans</li> <li>○ Blacks: more liberal, STRONGEST SUPPORTERS of Democratic Party (&gt;90% Dem. in recent presidential elections)</li> <li>○ Hispanics:                 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans more liberal and supportive of Democrats</li> <li>▪ Cubans more conservative and supportive of Republicans</li> </ul> </li> <li>○ Asians: supportive of Democrats (Obama won 62% in 2008 and 73% in 2012 elections)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Social class             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Lower: more likely than upper to vote Democratic</li> <li>○ Upper: more likely than lower to vote Republican</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Religion             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Protestant: more likely to vote Republican</li> <li>○ Catholic: more likely to vote Democratic, but some slippage in recent years</li> <li>○ Jewish: more likely to vote Democratic</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Issues (state of the economy -&gt; can be good or bad; war -&gt; rally point is good)</li> <li>• Retrospective voting: looking back on whether or not things have gotten better or worse since the last election</li> <li>• Prospective voting: looking at the candidates’ views on the issues, and how they will accordingly handle the office if elected</li> <li>• Candidate appeal – how voters feel about a candidate’s background, personality, leadership ability, and other personal qualities</li> <li>• Time             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Midterm elections: party in power has lost seats in Congress every year since 1938 (except 1998 &amp; 2002)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

## APGoPo Unit 3-6

# ELECTIONS: THE RULES OF THE GAME

### REGULARLY SCHEDULED ELECTIONS

Local, state, and federal laws determine when elections are held. Congress has established that congressional and presidential elections will be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. Congressional elections are held every even-numbered year, and presidential elections are held every fourth year.

Since congressional elections are held every even-numbered year, midterm elections occur during the year when no presidential election is held. Voter turnout in midterm elections is generally lower than during presidential election years. During presidential election years, the popularity of a presidential candidate may create a coattail effect, allowing lesser-known or weaker candidates from the presidential candidate's party to win by riding the "coattails" of the nominee.

- Elections are held at fixed intervals that cannot be changed by the party in power.
  - National government establishes WHEN they will be
  - States determine HOW the voting will occur with some restrictions from National government
- It does not make any difference if the nation is at war, as we were during the Civil War, or in the midst of a crisis, as in the Great Depression; when the calendar calls for an election, the election is held.
- Elections for Congress occur on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of even-numbered years.
- Although there are some exceptions (for special elections or peculiar state provisions), participants know *in advance* just when the next election will be.
- The predetermined timing of elections is one of the defining characteristics of democracy in the United States.

### FIXED, STAGGERED, AND SOMETIMES LIMITED TERMS

- Electoral system is based on fixed terms, meaning that the length of a term in office is set, not indefinite
  - The term of office for the U.S. House of Representatives is two years (can be elected as many times as they want)
  - The term of office for the Senate is six years (can be elected as many times as they want)
  - The term of presidency is four years (can only serve two full terms – 22<sup>nd</sup> amendment)
- Our electoral system has staggered terms for some offices = not all offices are up for election at the same time
  - All House members are up for election every two years
  - Only one-third of the senators are up for election at the same time
  - President is elected every four years
- Our electoral system has limits on the number of terms a person can hold a particular office
  - The Twenty-second Amendment limits presidents to two terms
  - Despite their popularity, proposals for term limits have repeatedly lost when they have come to a vote in Congress
  - If term limits are to be imposed on Congress, it will have to be done either by an amendment to the U.S. Constitution since the Supreme Court has ruled term limits for congressional offices (as set by the states) unconstitutional

### WINNER-TAKES-ALL

In most American elections, the candidate with the most votes wins. The winner does not have to have a majority (more than 50%), but may only have a plurality - the largest number of votes. Most American elections are single-member districts, which means that in any district the election determines one representative or official. For example, when the U.S. Census allots to each state a number of representatives for the U.S. House of Representatives, virtually all state legislatures divide the state into several separate districts, each electing its own single representative.

This system ensures a two-party system in the U.S., since parties try to assemble a large coalition of voters that leads to at least a plurality, spreading their "umbrellas" as far as they can to capture the most votes. The winner-takes-all system contrasts to proportional representation, a system in which legislative seats are given to parties in proportion to the number of votes they receive in the election. Such systems encourage multi-party systems because a party can always get some representatives elected to the legislature.

- The candidate with the most votes wins
- Most American election districts are single-member districts, meaning that in any district for any given election, the voters choose one representative or official
- When a single-member district is combined with the winner-takes-all rule, there is a powerful push to sustain a two-party system
- In contrast to the winner-takes-all rule, proportional representation rewards minor parties and permits them to participate in government

## APGoPo Unit 3-7

# RUNNING FOR CONGRESS

### PRIMARY ELECTIONS

The primary began in the early part of this century as a result of reforms of the Progressive Movement that supported more direct control by ordinary citizens of the political system. A primary is used to select a party's candidates for elective offices, and states use three different types.

- Definition – elections in which the voters choose which candidate will represent their political party in the general election (Democrat vs. Democrat; Republican vs. Republican)
- Closed
  - A voter must declare in advance his or her party membership, and on election day votes in that party's election
  - Only registered party members can vote for partisan offices, no crossing of party lines
  - Used in most states
- Open
  - A voter can decide when he or she enters the voting booth which party's primary to participate in
  - Only a few states have open primaries
  - Crossing of party lines allowed >>> danger of "raiding"
- Blanket ("free love")
  - A voter marks a ballot that lists candidates for all parties
  - A voter can select the Republican for one office and a Democrat for another
  - Unconstitutional

### FACTORS AFFECTING OUTCOMES OF CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

- Incumbency: The Greatest Influence
  - Scope of incumbency advantage
    - +90% of Congressmen who run are reelected, +80% of Senators
    - Lack of competitiveness >> charges of "permanent congress" and the call for congressional term limits (ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court)
  - Advantages of Incumbents
    - Franking Privilege
    - Staff already in place
    - Patronage
    - Casework done for constituents
    - Gerrymandered Districts (Safe Seats)
    - Name Recognition
    - Pork Barrel projects for the district
    - "War Chest" built up to discourage challengers from running
- Coattail effect – The extent of presidential popularity affects both House and Senate elections
  - President's party generally gains seats in the House and Senate in presidential election year
  - President's party generally loses seats in the House and Senate in midterm election year
- Media, especially in Senate Elections
- Party Affiliation – still a strong predictor of voting behavior
- Issues – House seats lost relates to presidential popularity/economic conditions

### THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

- Incumbent campaigns - In 2000, 98% of House incumbents were successful
- Weak challenger campaigns (don't have perks such as franking privilege)
- Strong challenger campaigns (due to incumbent vulnerability and challenger wealth)
- Open seat campaigns (through death, retirement, redistricting - promotes some turnover)

### THE SENATE

- The six-year term and the national exposure make a Senate seat competitive
- The essential tactics of Senate races are much like those for the House
- Incumbency is an advantage for senators, although not as much as for representatives
- Competitive elections increase in number when Senate only controlled by a few votes

## RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT

<b>STAGE 1: THE NOMINATION PHASE (CANDIDATE MUST BEGIN CAMPAIGN WELL BEFORE PRIMARIES)</b>	<p>Primary</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Used by more than three-fourths of the states</li> <li>• More power to the people because of increased use of primaries (more direct form of democracy)             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Political parties have less control over nominations</li> <li>○ More money is spent on elections to win peoples' votes</li> </ul> </li> <li>• The main feature of a presidential primary is that the voters of a particular state are deciding which "delegates" they will send to the national party convention             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Delegates may be selected on a proportional basis or</li> <li>○ Delegates maybe selected on a "winner-takes-all" basis</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Importance of the New Hampshire Primary: 1<sup>st</sup> state to hold primary each election year.</li> <li>• "Super Tuesday" – Date in which many southern states held their primaries early in the election season</li> <li>• "Front Loading" trend – primaries are held earlier and earlier in the year (California moved primary to March 2000 – since moved back) for states to be more relevant</li> </ul> <p>Caucus</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some states use caucus (also called convention or conference) method of sending delegates to National Convention</li> <li>• A caucus is a meeting of party members and supporters of various candidates; it centers on the party organization</li> <li>• The process starts at local meetings open to all party members, who take positions on candidates and issues and elect delegates to represent their views at the next level; this process repeats until national nominating convention delegates are chosen</li> <li>• Local Caucuses &gt;&gt; District Convention &gt;&gt; State Convention &gt;&gt; National Convention. Each level selects delegates to attend higher level.</li> <li>• Importance of Iowa Caucuses – first in nation (even before New Hampshire primary)</li> </ul>
<b>STAGE 2: THE NATIONAL CONVENTION</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Selection of presidential nominee             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Candidate that wins the majority of the overall delegate vote is the party's nominee</li> <li>○ A mere formality since the winner is known well ahead of time</li> <li>○ Emphasis on "image" instead of "scrimmage" - "ratification rather than nomination"</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Selection of Vice-President Nominee             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Chosen by the Presidential nominee and rubber stamped by the convention</li> <li>○ "Balancing the Ticket"</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Development of Party Platform</li> <li>• Reconciliation and unification of party by the end of the convention ("healing the wounds")</li> </ul>
<b>STAGE 3: THE GENERAL ELECTION</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fall Campaign – mainly in large, competitive "swing" states</li> <li>• Election Day – First Tuesday after the first Monday in November in years divisible by four</li> <li>• Electors Election – Monday after the second Wednesday in December</li> <li>• Inauguration Day – January 20 (as established by the 20<sup>th</sup> Amendment)</li> </ul>

### ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING SYSTEM

- Pro:
  - Highly participatory: caucuses, primaries, conventions
  - Highly representative
  - Weeds out weaker candidates
- Con:
  - Low rates of turnout
  - Too lengthy
  - Does not test candidates for qualities they need as President. Too much emphasis on media game – horse race.
  - Delegates at caucuses and conventions tend to be unrepresentative: more ideological, more activist, more educated, less moderate, much more wealthy. "Selectorate" replaces the "electorate."
  - Voters in primaries tend to be better educated and more affluent than those in general elections -> more ideological

## APGoPo Unit 3-9

# THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

### RATIONALE FOR SUCH A SYSTEM AT THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

- Poor communication >> common people would lack essential information
- Desire to have the nation's elite select the President. Fear that demagogues might sway the common people (mobocracy)
- A compromise by those who wanted direct election and those who wanted the Congress to elect the President

### ALLOTMENT OF ELECTORAL VOTES TO THE STATES

- Each state has as many electoral votes as it has members of Congress
- Minimum Number = 3 (1 House Rep and 2 Senators)
- Washington D.C. has 3 votes by virtue of Amendment 23
- Total of 538 Votes
- California has the highest number (55)
- Implications of movement of people from "Rust Belt" to "Sun Belt" – California and other western and southern states picked up votes in Census 2000 and Census 2010

### SELECTION OF ELECTORS

- Each party develops a "slate" of electors prior to the election within each state
- Typically loyal party members

### WINNING OF ELECTORAL VOTES

- Candidate with most popular votes (plurality) wins ALL of that state's electoral votes (winner-take-all) >> concentration of campaigning in large, competitive states (swing states)
- Electors meet in state capitals in December to cast actual electoral ballots (one for president, one for vice president)

### WINNING THE ELECTION

- Majority of electoral votes (270) needed to win
- If no candidate has majority – 12<sup>th</sup> amendment
  - House selects President among top 3 candidates
    - Each state has 1 vote
    - Done in 1800 and 1824
  - Senate selects V.P. from among top two candidates
    - Every senator casts a vote

### CRITICISMS

- Concentration of campaigning in a few large, swing states to tip the balance of the electoral college
- The allocation of electoral votes in the winner-take-all system exaggerates the margin of victory
- President can be elected with only a plurality, rather than a majority, of popular votes, especially with presence of strong 3<sup>rd</sup> party candidates
- Possibility of a "minority" President (1824, 1876, 1888, 2000)
- "Faithless Electors" - no federal law requires electors to vote the way they are "supposed" to vote
- Small states proportionally over-represented (because of two "Senate" electoral votes)
- Small states ridiculously over-represented if election goes to the House (Alaska would have same voting power as California)
- Inhibits development of third parties

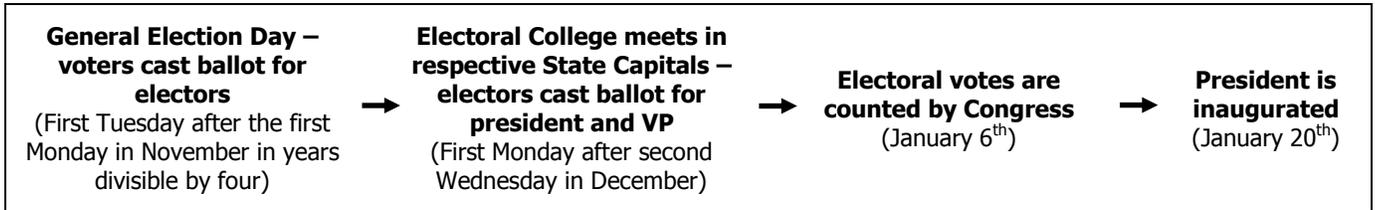
### ALTERNATIVES

- Direct Election: Everyone's vote would be worth the same
- District System: Candidate who wins a Congressional District wins that district's electoral vote; Candidate who wins the overall state popular vote wins the two "Senate" electoral votes (Maine and Nebraska currently use this system)
- Proportional System: Candidate gets same % of electoral votes as popular votes
- Keep electoral votes but abolish the electors themselves

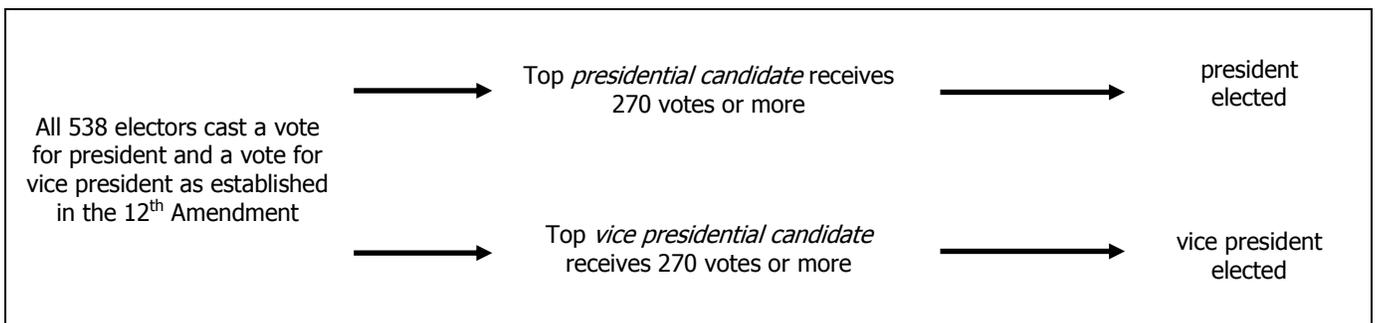
## APGoPo Unit 3-10

# HOW THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT ARE ELECTED

### The Electoral College Timeline



### The Electoral College as established by the Constitution and the 12<sup>th</sup> Amendment



### What happens if the top presidential and vice presidential candidates receive fewer than 270 electoral votes?

The decisions are made in the House and the Senate based on the 12<sup>th</sup> Amendment of the U.S. Constitution

Presidential candidate receives 26 votes or more → president elected

#### **House of Representatives vote by state for president from top 3 candidates**

Majority of states (26 votes) needed to win

If no presidential candidate receives 26 votes by January 20<sup>th</sup> and the vice president has been elected, vice president becomes acting president until president is elected by the House

If neither candidate is elected by January 20<sup>th</sup>, House Speaker becomes acting president until president is elected by House

Vice presidential candidate receives 51 votes or more → vice president elected

#### **Senators vote individually for VP from top 2 candidates**

Majority of senators (51 votes) needed to win

If no vice presidential candidate is elected by January 20<sup>th</sup> and a president has been elected, a vice president is appointed by the president, 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment

## MONEY IN U.S. ELECTIONS

### EFFORTS TO REFORM

- Strategies to prevent abuse in political contributions
  - Imposing limitations on giving, receiving, and spending political money
  - Requiring public disclosure of the sources and uses of political money
  - Giving governmental subsidies to **PRESIDENTIAL** candidates, campaigns, and parties, including incentive arrangements
- The Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA):
  - established a fund for public donations to presidential campaigns (not done for congressional campaigns)
  - set up rules for the disclosure of all campaign financing and spending information
  - established the Federal Election Commission to regulate campaign financing
- Post-Watergate reforms
  - 1974 amendments to FECA established realistic limits on contributions and spending, tightened disclosure, and provided for public financing of presidential campaigns
  - The law had to be amended after the 1976 *Buckley v. Valeo* decision, but the basic outline of the act remained unchanged
  - *Buckley v. Valeo (1976)*
    - SC case that challenged most of the provisions in the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended in 1974.
    - SC upheld the law's requirements that candidates, parties, PACs and groups engaging in express advocacy disclose their fund-raising and spending.
    - SC also affirmed voluntary public financing and limits on individual contributions.
    - SC struck down, as infringements on free speech, limits on campaign spending (unless the candidate accepts public financing), limits on contributions by candidates to their own campaigns (unless publicly financed)
- Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA)
  - Enacted in 2002, BCRA constituted the first major revision of campaign finance law in more than 25 years
  - Bans unlimited soft money contributions to the national political parties and prohibits federal officeholders from soliciting soft money
- Soft money
  - Definition – Funds given to state and local parties by political parties, individuals, or PACs for voter registration drives and party mailings
  - Federal law does not require disclosure of its source or use
  - Although soft money is supposed to benefit only state and local parties, it influences federal elections
  - Mostly illegal now; Soft money >> purchased access to elected officials >> influence and the possibility or appearance of corruption

## RESISTING REFORM

<b>Issue Advocacy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Definition – Promoting a particular position or an issue paid for by interest groups or individuals but not candidates</li> <li>• SC ruled that groups were free to run ads during the campaign season as long as the ads did not use words such as “vote for” or “vote against” a specific candidate, “defeat” or “elect”</li> <li>• Interest groups found ways to avoid disclosure or to communicate an electioneering message</li> </ul>
<b>Independent Expenditures</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Definition – Money spent by individuals or groups not associated with candidates to elect or defeat candidates for office</li> <li>• Current finance laws do not constrain independent expenditures by groups or individuals who are separate from political candidates due to free speech</li> <li>• Political parties have the same rights to make independent expenditures afforded to groups and individuals</li> </ul>
<b>Super PACs</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Definition – Type of organization that can receive unlimited money from individuals, unions, and corporations</li> <li>• <i>Citizens United v. FEC</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ SC rejected longstanding ban on unions and corporations using their general funds on ads about the election or defeat of a candidate</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Independent expenditures only – cannot coordinate directly with a candidate running for office</li> </ul>

### CONTINUING PROBLEMS WITH CAMPAIGN FINANCE

- Rising costs of campaigns
  - Since the FECA became law in 1972, total expenditures by candidates for the House have more than doubled after controlling for inflation, and they have risen even more in Senate elections
- Declining competition
  - The high cost of campaigns dampens competition by discouraging individuals from running for office (challengers in both parties are underfunded)
- Dependence on PACs for congressional incumbents
  - PACs do not want to offend politicians in power, and politicians in power want to stay in office
  - Politicians turn to individual donors who can contribute \$500 or \$1,000 to their campaigns
  - Donors want access and politicians to respond to their concerns and/or pass certain policies
  - PAC defenders argue there is no proven link between contributions and legislators’ votes
- Candidates’ personal wealth
- Growth in individual contributions and use of the internet to fund campaigns

# KEY COURT CASES – UNIT 3

## **CAMPAIGN FINANCE**

**Buckley v. Valeo (1976)** - 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment protects campaign *spending*; legislatures can limit *contributions*, but not how much one spends of his own money on campaigns.

**Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission (2010)** - A provision of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act prohibiting unions, corporations and not-for-profit organizations from broadcasting electioneering communications within 60 days of a general election or 30 days of a primary election violates the free speech clause of the First Amendment.

## **APPORTIONMENT/GERRYMANDERING**

**Baker v. Carr (1962)** - "One man, one vote." Ordered state legislative districts to be as near equal as possible in population; Warren Court's political judicial activism.

**Wesberry v. Sanders (1963)** - Ordered House districts to be as near equal in population as possible.

**Shaw v. Reno (1993)** - No racial gerrymandering; race cannot be the *sole* or *predominant* factor in redrawing legislative boundaries; majority-minority districts okay if race isn't sole factor.

# AMENDMENTS

<b>Date</b>	<b>#</b>	<b>Change or Addition to Constitution</b>
<b>1804</b>	<b>12</b>	Electors will vote for President and Vice President on separate ballots
<b>1870</b>	<b>15</b>	African American males were guaranteed the right to vote
<b>1913</b>	<b>17</b>	Senators elected directly by people of each state
<b>1920</b>	<b>19</b>	The right to vote cannot be denied because of a person's gender
<b>1951</b>	<b>22</b>	President of the U.S. now limited to serving no more than two full terms in office
<b>1961</b>	<b>23</b>	People who live in Washington, D.C. are allowed to vote for President and granted three electoral votes
<b>1964</b>	<b>24</b>	People cannot be denied the right to vote in federal elections because they had not paid a tax on voting
<b>1971</b>	<b>26</b>	18-year-olds granted right to vote