

Elections and Campaigns - Wilson Chapter 8

Congressional vs. Presidential 1

- Two phases
 - getting _____ and
 - getting _____
- Getting nominated
 - Getting your name on the _____
 - An individual effort
 - U.S. parties now stress _____ more than organization
 - Parties used to play larger role

Congressional vs. Presidential 2

- Presidential races are more _____ than House races.
 - White House has made more _____ changes than the House.
 - Winning _____ are narrower for presidential races.
 - Term limits cut a president's _____ advantage.
 - e.g. Al Gore in _____

Congressional vs. Presidential 3

- Fewer people vote in _____ elections.
 - Candidates must appeal to more _____ and _____ voters.
- Congressional incumbents can serve their _____.
 - Credit for government _____, programs, etc., can be claimed by Congress member via mailings and visits home.
 - President can't (power is not local) and must communicate by mass _____

Congressional vs. Presidential 4

- _____ candidates can campaign against Washington.
 - _____ is held accountable.
 - But congressional candidates suffer when their party's _____ policies fail.
- Power of presidential _____ has declined
 - Congressional elections have become largely _____ of presidential election.
 - Reduces meaning (and importance) of _____

Running for President 1

- Getting _____ as being presidential _____
 - Using _____, trips, speeches
 - Sponsoring legislation, _____ of large state
- Setting aside _____ to run
 - Reagan: _____ years;
 - Mondale: four years
- May have to _____ from office first (_____ in 1996), though many campaign while in office

Running for President 2

- Money
 - Individuals can give \$ _____,
 - PACs can give \$ _____ in each election to each candidate.
 - Qualifying for _____ funds for _____

- Candidates must raise \$_____ in twenty states in individual contributions of \$_____ or less

Running for President 3

- Organization
 - [large paid](#) _____
 - e.g., [Kerry Campaign Staff](#)
 - _____
 - _____ on issues

Running for President 4

- _____ and _____
 - Incumbents defend their _____; challengers _____ incumbents.
 - Setting the _____ (positive or negative)
 - Developing a _____: “trust,” “confidence,” etc.
 - Judging the _____ (early momentum vs. reserving resources for later)
 - Choosing a _____: who’s the audience? Who will change their vote?

Primary and General Campaigns

- What works in a primary election may not work in a general election, and vice versa.
 - Different _____, workers, media attention
 - Must mobilize _____ who will give _____, _____, and attend _____
 - Activists are more ideologically _____ than are the voters at large.

Iowa Caucuses

- Held in _____ of presidential election year
- Candidates must do _____ or be disadvantaged in media attention, contributor interest
- Winners tend to be most _____ Democrat, most _____ Republican

The Balancing Act

- Being conservative enough or liberal enough to get _____
- Then move to _____ to get elected
- Apparent _____ can alienate voters from all candidates.
- Even primary voters can be more _____ ideologically than average voters;
 - e.g., _____ in 1972

Two Kinds of Campaign Issues

- _____ issues:
 - rival candidates have opposing views,
 - voters are _____ and a partisan _____ may result
 - Position issues in 2000: social security, defense, public school choice systems
- _____ issues:
 - candidate supports the public, widely held view
 - Dominated the 1996 election
 - Increasingly important because _____ leads to a reliance on popular symbols and admired images

Television

- Paid advertising (_____)
- Little known candidates can increase _____ recognition through the frequent use of spots (example,

_____ in 1976).

– Probably less effect on general than _____ elections because most voters rely on many sources for information

- News broadcasts (“_____”)

- Cost little

- May have greater _____ with voters

- Rely on having television _____ crew around

- May actually be less _____ than spots and therefore make less of an impression

Debates

- Usually an advantage only to the _____

- _____ in 1980:

- _____ voters by his performance

- 1988 primary debates with little _____ on voters

Slips of the _____

- _____ in debates and visuals

- Forces candidates to rely on _____ speeches—campaign themes and proven applause-getting lines

- Sell _____ as much or more than ideas

Ross _____’s Campaign

- depended on television.

- _____ appearances (Larry King)

- _____

- Televised _____ with major party contenders

The Computer

- Makes possible _____ campaigns

- Allows candidates to address _____ voters via direct mail

- Mailing to _____ groups, so more _____ views can be expressed

Gap Between Campaigning & Governing

- Has been widening in recent years

- Party leaders had to worry about their candidates’ reelection so campaigning and government

- _____

- Today’s _____ work for different people in different elections—no participation in governing.

The Sources of Campaign Money 1

- Presidential _____:

- part private,

- part public money

- Federal _____ funds for all individuals’ donations of \$_____ or less

- Gives candidates an incentive to raise money from _____ donors

- Government also gives lump-sum grants to parties to cover _____ costs.

The Sources of Campaign Money 2

- Presidential _____ elections:

- all _____ money

- 1996:
 - \$61.8 million for major party candidates,
 - \$29 million for Perot

The Sources of Campaign Money 3

- Congressional elections:
 - all _____ money
 - individuals,
 - _____, and
 - political parties
 - Most money comes from _____ small donors (\$100—\$200 a person).
 - \$ _____ maximum for individual donors
 - Benefit performances by rock stars, etc., can raise large amounts of money.
 - \$ _____ limit for PACs
 - but most give just a few hundred dollars
 - Incumbents receive _____ of their campaign funds from PACs and spend little of their own money.
 - Challengers must supply much of their own money.

Campaign Finance Rules 1

- _____ and illegal donations from corporation, unions, and individuals
- Brought about the _____ federal campaign reform law and _____ Commission (FEC)

Campaign Finance Rules 2

- Reform law
 - Set _____ on individual donations (\$1,000) per candidate per election)
 - Reaffirmed _____ on corporate and union donation...
 - but allowed them to raise money through _____s
 - _____s in turn raised money from members or employees
 - Set limit on PAC donations (\$5,000 per election per candidate)
 - Primary and general election counted separately for donations

Campaign Finance Rules 3

- Supreme Court ruled that limits could not be set on campaign spending by an individual candidate _____ federal funding was being received.
 - _____ v. _____
- Limit of \$ _____ on out-of-pocket spending by a presidential candidate who accepted federal financing

Campaign Finance Rules 4

- Law did not limit _____ political advertising—no consultation with candidate or campaign organization
 - Typically done by ideologically oriented _____s
 - Sometimes _____ or _____ advertising is involved

Campaign Finance Rules 5

- _____ in the law
 - Allows _____ money—money for local party activities, e.g., getting out the vote
 - Allows bundling
 - “The practice of _____ individual contributions from various people -- often those employed by the same business or in the same profession -- in order to maximize the political _____ of the bundler. “ (<http://www.campaignfinancesite.org/structure/terms/b.html>)

Effects of Reform

- Goal: To expose and _____ fundraising
- Successful, but it has limitations
 - greatly increased _____ of PACs and thus of special interests
 - shifted control of money away from _____ to candidates
 - given advantage to _____ challengers
 - given advantage to _____ candidates
 - penalized candidates who start campaigning late, who don't have _____ chests
 - helped _____ and hurt challengers

Campaign Finance Reform

- Further reforms may be _____ and also unsuccessful.
- Popular, questionable reforms:
 - Cut _____ donations
 - Free _____ for candidates
 - Ban _____ money
 - Federal funding
 - Abolish _____s

Money and Winning 1

- Presidential candidates have similar funds because of _____ funding, but parties may have different amounts of soft money.
- Other factors whose influence on the presidential campaign is usually over-stated:
 - _____ presidential nominee
 - Political _____
 - _____ of the presidential candidate
 - Abortion as a single issue
 - New voting _____
- _____ affiliation, state of the _____, and candidate character influences voting in presidential elections.

Money and Winning 2

- _____ races—money has a greater effect
 - [Your teacher disagrees with Wilson on this. Recent economic studies show little correlation.]
 - Challenger must spend to be _____.
 - Jacobson: big spending _____ do better
 - Big spending incumbents also do better and higher spending has become the norm.
 - [Your teacher questions whether the money produced _____ or, more likely, likely _____ attracted money.]

Money and Winning 3

- Money doesn't make the only difference.
 - Party, _____, and _____ also have a role.
- Advantages of incumbency, in fundraising
 - Can provide _____ to constituency
 - Can use _____ mailings
 - Can get free publicity by _____ legislation or conducting investigations

Money and Winning 4

- Ideas for reform
 - Unlikely: Congress won't agree since _____ had advantage
 - The "constitutional right to _____" involved

- Public financing of congressional races would give _____ even more of an advantage.
- Abolishing PAC money might allow _____ to reemerge as a major force
- Shorter campaigns might help incumbents.

What Decides Elections?

- an overview

- _____ Identification
- _____
- The _____
- Finding a Winning _____

Party Identification

- Why don't _____ always win?
 - Democrats less _____ to their party than are Republicans
 - GOP does better among _____.
 - Republicans have higher _____.

Issues 1

- "It's the _____, stupid!"
- V. O. Key: most voters who switch parties do so in their own _____
 - They know what issues affect them personally.
 - They have strong _____ about certain issues (abortion, etc.).
- _____ voting is used by relatively few voters.
 - Those voters know the _____ and vote accordingly.
 - Most common among _____ and special interest groups

Issues 2

- _____ voting practiced by most voters, and decides most elections
 - Judge the incumbent's _____ and vote accordingly
 - Have things gotten _____ or _____, especially economically?
 - _____ in 1980 debate
 - Examples: presidential campaigns of 1980, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1996
 - Usually helps incumbent..., unless _____ has gotten worse
 - Midterm elections: voters turn against _____'s party
 - 2002 exception (_____)

The Campaign

- Does make a difference
 - reawaken voters' _____ loyalties
 - let voters see how candidates handle and apply _____
 - let voters judge candidates' _____ and core values
- Tend to emphasize _____ over details
 - True throughout American history
 - What has changed is importance of _____ elections
 - Gives more influence to _____ - _____ groups with loyal members who vote as a block

Finding a Winning Coalition 1

- Ways of looking at various groups
 - How _____, or percentage voting for party
 - How _____, or number voting for party

Finding a Winning Coalition 2

- Democratic Coalition

- _____ most loyal
- _____ slipping somewhat
- Hispanics somewhat mixed because of underlying _____ differences
 - Political _____ does not yet match numbers.
 - Turnout will increase as more become citizens.
 - See box, The Hispanic Vote.

Finding a Winning Coalition 3

- Republican Coalition

- Party of _____ and professional people who are very loyal
 - exception: 1964 (_____!)
- _____ are often Republican, but are changeable.

- Representatives of different _____ of the coalition stress loyalty or numbers, because can rarely claim both

Party Realignments 1

- Definition: sharp, lasting _____ in the popular coalition supporting one or both parties occurring during an election or early in a presidential administration
- Issues that distinguish the parties change, so supporting voters change for each party.
 - 1800: Jeffersonians defeated _____
 - 1828: Jacksonian Democrats came to power
 - 1860: Whigs collapsed; _____ won (Lincoln)
 - 1896: Republicans defeated William Jennings _____
 - 1932: _____ Democrats came to power

Party Realignments 2

- Kinds of realignments

- Major party is so badly defeated that it _____ and new party emerges
 - 1800
 - 1860
- Parties continue, but voters _____ from one party to another
 - 1896
 - 1932

Party Realignments 3

- Clearest cases of realignment

- 1860: _____
- 1896: _____
- 1932: _____

- 1980 not a _____ realignment

- Dissatisfaction with _____ led to Reagan victory.
- Also left Congress _____

Party Realignments 4

- Major change in 1972—1996: shift in presidential voting patterns in the _____

- Southern whites:
 - _____ Democrats,
 - _____ Republicans,
 - _____ independents
- Southern white independents vote _____.

– Given votes of independents, southern whites are now close to fifty-fifty Democratic, Republican.

- In general, party _____, not realignment, because party labels lost meaning for so many voters.

Party Decline

- Fewer people identify with _____ party.
- Increase in ticket _____, which creates divided government
- Seeing the effect of a change from the _____-column ballot to the office-bloc ballot

Effects of Election on Policy 1

- Argument: Public policy remains more or less the same no matter which official or party is in office.
 - Depends on the _____ and the _____
 - Voters must _____ numerous officeholders.
 - Parties have a limited ability to build _____ of officeholders.
 - Winning coalitions may change from policy to policy.

Effects of Election on Policy 2

- Comparison: Great Britain, with _____ system and strong parties, often sees marked changes, as in 1945 and 1951.
- Conclusion: Many American elections do make differences in policy, though constitutional system generally _____ the pace of change.

Effects of Election on Policy 3

- Why, then, the _____ that elections do not matter?
 - Because _____ alternates with _____;
 - most elections are retrospective judgments about the incumbent president and existing congressional _____.

The End!