

Chapter 8: Campaigns & Elections

- I. Political participation
 - A. Forms of participation
 - B. Why people participate
 - C. Who participates?

- II. Historical voting patterns
 - A. The rise of the American electorate
 - B. Voting turnout Table 8.1, p. 165

- III. Explaining and improving turnout
 - A. Individual factors
 - B. Systemic factors

- IV. Political campaigns
 - A. Kinds of elections Box, pp. 168-69
 - 1. **Primary election:** an election held prior to the general election to determine which candidate names will be placed on the general-election ballot.
 - a. **Partisan primary:** an *intra-party* contest in which each political party has a separate-primary election ballot with only that party's candidate names on the ballot.
 - (1) **Closed** (14 states): only party members can vote and only in their own party's primary; non-affiliated voters can not vote
 - (2) **Semi-closed** (13 states, including NC): non-affiliated voters can choose to vote in any one (but only one) party's primary; party members can only vote in their own party's primary
 - (3) **Open** (20 states): any voter can vote in any one (but only one) party's primary
 - b. **Nonpartisan primary:** all candidates appear on one primary ballot; there are no separate party ballots.
 - (1) Many municipal & county elections are nonpartisan with no party labels on the ballot
 - (2) **Blanket, free-love, wide-open, or jungle primary** – Washington (1935) & Alaska: party labels may be on the ballot, but all candidates compete against each other
 - (a) U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a state may not force political parties to hold a blanket primary (*California Democratic and Republican Parties v. Jones*, 2000) because that violates parties' 1st Amendment rights of association to determine their own rules
 - (b) Both parties had closed primaries until the Proposition 198 voter initiative imposed a blanket primary instead
 - (3) In Louisiana's **unitary (statewide blanket) primary**
 - (a) Voters can choose any candidate from any political party in the opening round of voting. If one candidate wins a majority of votes cast, that candidate is declared the winner. If no candidate wins a majority, the top two vote-getters -- regardless of party affiliation -- move on to the general election.
 - (b) The *CA v. Jones* ruling did not impact the LA unitary primary because both the Democratic & Republican parties in LA want that form of blanket primary.
 - c. **Runoff primary:** (esp. in the southern U.S.) a second primary between the two leading candidates of the first primary to provide nomination by majority rather than by plurality.
 - 2. **General election**
 - a. Partisan: an inter-party contest
 - b. Nonpartisan: candidates have no party labels on the ballot
 - B. Strategy Figure 8.1, p. 170
 - C. Using television

- V. The effects of campaigns Table 8.2, p. 172 & Box, p. 173
 - A. Single-issue groups

- VI. How to win the election
 - A. Party voting Figure 8.2, pp. 176-77
 - B. Issue voting: retrospective & prospective
 - C. Candidate appeal
 - 1. Trustworthiness
 - 2. Competence

- VII. Election outcomes

- A. Party realignments Pp. 178-80 and (pp. 125-27 & pp. 134-37 in Chapter 7)
 - 1. Definition of partisan realignment: a sudden, major, and enduring shift of voters across party lines
 - 2. Causes: new voters & new issues

3. Historical periods Figure 7.1, p. 126
 - a. **First party system** (1788-1820)
 - (1) Aligning issue: federalism (freedom v. order) – ratification & elite v. popular control
 - (2) Party positions
 - (3) Party balance -- one-party after 1816 – death of Hamilton & expansion of suffrage
 - b. **Second party system** (1824-1856) – Jackson/JQAdams/Clay
 - (1) Aligning issue: nation-building (freedom v. order) – laissez-faire v. govt. subsidization of business
 - (2) Party positions
 - (3) Party balance -- neither party dominant, fairly competitive elections
 - c. **Third party system** (1860-1892) Lincoln/Douglas(ND)/Breckinridge(SD)/Bell(CU)
 - (1) Aligning issues: slavery/states' rights (freedom v. order) – freedom of slave owners v. union
 - (2) Party positions – waving the bloody shirt
 - (3) Party balance -- competitive, after 1876 – end of Reconstruction & return of white supremacy
 - d. **Fourth party system** (1896-1928)
 - (1) Aligning issues: monetary, foreign trade, and immigration policies (freedom v. order)
 - (2) Party positions – industrial revolution
 - (3) Party balance -- Republicans dominant – shift of industrial labor
 - e. **Fifth party system** (1932-1964)
 - (1) Aligning issue: government regulation of the economy & public welfare (freedom v. equality) – 1st era in which freedom v. equality was realigning issue
 - (2) Party positions – a “new deal” for both parties
 - (3) Party balance -- Democrats dominant – shift of non-southern urban labor & minorities
 - f. **Sixth party system** (1968-2004?)
 - (1) *Dis-aligning* (wedge) issues: (a mix of freedom v. order & freedom v. equality issues)
 - (a) 1960s: Vietnam, civil rights, public order
 - (b) 1970s: Watergate, energy crisis, affirmative action
 - (c) 1980s: Iran-Contra, public education, family values
 - (d) 1990s: Zipper-gate, fall of Soviet Union, health care, social security
 - (e) 2000s: War on Terror, Iraq & Afghanistan Wars
 - (2) Party positions – internal division in both parties on many wedge issues
 - (3) Party balance: a two-tier, divided government – decline in pol. trust & participation
- B. Party decline
 - C. A winning coalition

VIII. Modern technology and political campaigns

- A. Television, radio, and newspapers
- B. Computers and direct mail
- C. Are today's voters “manipulated”?

IX. Elections and money

- A. Impact of money
- B. Where does the money come from? Box, p. 189
 1. **Hard money** (harder to raise):
 - a. Contributions from private individuals or organizations (PACs) to *candidates* – amounts are limited since 1974 and must be reported
 - b. Direct contributions from *corporations* or *unions* to candidates – any amount is banned since 1905
 2. **Soft money** (loopholes that make fund raising easier):
 - a. **Personal contributions**: campaign contributions from the *candidate or members of their immediate family* (unlimited since 1976 by *Buckley v. Valeo*, because an individual cannot “bribe” him or herself, *Buckley* allows no restrictions on a candidate's spending personal money on their own behalf)
 - b. **Bundling contributions** from many like-minded individuals by PACs before presenting them to a candidate increases the likelihood that the candidate will be influenced by the contributions.
 - c. **Section 527 spending**: non-profit groups registered with IRS that are free to collect unlimited soft-money contributions from corporations, unions, and individuals and spend it on issue-advocacy ads
 - d. **Independent spending**: money spent by individuals or organizations (PACs) mainly on media advertisements – (*Citizens United v. F.E.C.* (2010) struck down limits on corporate and union funding of independent political advertisements).
 - e. **McCutcheon v. FEC** (2014) struck down the \$48,600 cap on total contributions to candidates for federal office.

X. The effects of elections on policy