Chapter 10: Elections 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
Women Running for Congress (and Winning)

**FEMALE CANDIDATES FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

- **Number of Female Candidates for the House**
- **Number of Women Winning House Seats**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Female Candidates</th>
<th>Winning Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FEMALE CANDIDATES FOR THE SENATE**

- Each circle represents a female candidate for the Senate.
- A red circle denotes a winning candidate.

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★ The Twenty-First Century Campaign

★ The Changing Campaign

• Before most households had televisions, campaigning was personalized. Campaigns today are often less personal, with voters receiving information through the media.

• In recent decades campaigns have become less party-centered and more candidate-centered.

★ The Professional Campaign
The Strategy of Winning

★ Candidate Visibility and Appeal
★ The Use of Opinion Polls
★ Focus Groups
## 2008 National Elections, Money Raised and Spent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Raised</th>
<th>Total Spent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House candidates</td>
<td>$978,308,660</td>
<td>$937,263,589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senate candidates</td>
<td>$410,411,573</td>
<td>$428,569,374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidential candidates</td>
<td>$1,912,975,610</td>
<td>$1,759,232,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, all candidates</td>
<td>$3,201,605,843</td>
<td>$3,125,065,707</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Financing the Campaign

★ Regulating Campaign Financing

- Hatch Act (1925)
- Federal Election Campaign Act (1971)
These federal and D.C. employees may:

- be candidates for public office in nonpartisan elections
- register and vote as they choose
- assist in voter registration drives
- express opinions about candidates and issues
- contribute money to political organizations
- attend political fundraising functions
- attend and be active at political rallies and meetings
join and be an active member of a political party or club
sign nominating petitions
campaign for or against referendum questions, constitutional amendments, municipal ordinances
campaign for or against candidates in partisan elections
make campaign speeches for candidates in partisan elections
distribute campaign literature in partisan elections
hold office in political clubs or parties
These federal and D.C. employees may not:

★ use official authority or influence to interfere with an election

★ solicit or discourage political activity of anyone with business before their agency

★ solicit or receive political contributions (may be done in certain limited situations by federal labor or other employee organizations)

★ be candidates for public office in partisan elections
engage in political activity while:

- on duty
- in a government office
- wearing an official uniform
- using a government vehicle

wear partisan political buttons on duty
Financing the Campaign (cont.)

★ 1974 Reforms

- Created the Federal Election Commission
- Provided for public funding of presidential primaries and general elections
- Limited presidential campaign spending for those who accept public funding
- Placed limitations on contributions
- Required disclosure of the source of contributions and what the expenditures were for
★ Buckley v. Valeo

- The 1971 act had placed limits on how much money a candidate could spend on his or her own campaign. In 1976, the Supreme Court ruled that this provision was unconstitutional.
Financing the Campaign (cont.)

★ Interest Groups and Campaign Money

★ Campaign Financing Beyond the Limits
  • Contributions to Political Parties
  • Independent Expenditures
  • Issue Advocacy
  • Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, Texans for Truth, The Media Fund, America Coming Together
The Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (McCain–Feingold Act)

- Banned soft money contributions to the national party committees. It also placed limitations on issue advocacy advertisements and increased the individual contribution limit to $2,000 (from $1,000).

- 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
**Malapportionment**

- Drawing the boundaries of legislative districts so they are unequal in population.

**Gerrymandering**

- Drawing the boundaries of legislative districts in bizarre or unusual shapes to favor one party.
Political Action Committees (PACs)

- [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DmQ37zm7-uU](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DmQ37zm7-uU)

- Labor unions were the first to establish; businesses followed suit

- Individuals contributions to groups is not limited by legislation

- PACs can funnel money to campaigns
Type of PACs Reflect Dominance of Business in American Politics

PAC Contributions to Congressional Candidates, 1991–2006
### The Top 20 Contributors to Federal Candidates, 2005–2006 Cycle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAC Name</th>
<th>Total Amount</th>
<th>Dem. %</th>
<th>Rep. %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Association of Realtors</td>
<td>$1,953,005</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association of Trial Lawyers of America</td>
<td>1,806,000</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers</td>
<td>1,793,650</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Beer Wholesalers Association</td>
<td>1,762,500</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operating Engineers Union</td>
<td>1,697,135</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT&amp;T, Inc.</td>
<td>1,691,433</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit Union National Association</td>
<td>1,631,599</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Parcel Service</td>
<td>1,565,709</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Bankers Association</td>
<td>1,555,174</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Auto Dealers Association</td>
<td>1,541,100</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Association of Home Builders</td>
<td>1,421,250</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teamsters Union</td>
<td>1,383,275</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Auto Workers</td>
<td>1,381,850</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers Union</td>
<td>1,375,150</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters and Joiners Union</td>
<td>1,349,640</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees</td>
<td>1,306,671</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Association of Fire Fighters</td>
<td>1,163,705</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Federation of Teachers</td>
<td>1,137,000</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Line Pilots Association</td>
<td>1,096,500</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinists/Aerospace Workers Union</td>
<td>1,069,000</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes subsidiaries and affiliated PACs, if any.
Source: Center for Responsive Politics, 2006.
### Soft Money Raised by Political Parties, 1993–2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party</td>
<td>$45.6 million</td>
<td>$122.3 million</td>
<td>$92.8 million</td>
<td>$243.0 million</td>
<td>$199.6 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Party</td>
<td>59.5 million</td>
<td>141.2 million</td>
<td>131.6 million</td>
<td>244.4 million</td>
<td>221.7 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>105.1 million</strong></td>
<td><strong>263.5 million</strong></td>
<td><strong>224.4 million</strong></td>
<td><strong>487.4 million</strong></td>
<td><strong>421.3 million</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Is Reform Possible?

★ Free Media Time
★ Public Financing
★ Putting Distance Between Officeholders and Donors
★ Constitutional Amendment
Running for President: The Longest Campaign

★ “Beauty Contest”
★ Reforming the Primaries
Primary Elections

★ Types of Primaries
  • Closed, open, blanket, runoff

★ Front-Loading the Primaries: each state determines the date for its primary or caucus
  • Because early primaries are more influential, states have competed to schedule their primaries as early as possible
  • By choosing the nominees so early, there is a long lull in the news between the primaries and the national conventions.
The National Convention

★ Seating the Delegates

• A credentials committee approves all delegates. This is usually not controversial but there have been disputed delegations in the past.

★ Convention Activities

• The highlight of the convention is the nomination of the presidential candidate. Because the identity of the nominee is a foregone conclusion, the TV networks have drastically curtailed their coverage of the conventions in recent years.
The Electoral College

★ The Choice of Electors
★ The Electors’ Commitment
★ Criticisms of the Electoral College
It’s amazing how close this election was!

And can you believe they’re still using the electoral college? I thought they’d have scrapped that old chestnut by now!!

Bummer!
How Are Elections Conducted?

★ Ballots
  • Office-block ballot groups candidates for elective office together under the title of the office
★ States that use the party-column ballot list candidates in columns arranged by political parties
★ Voting by Mail
Voting Issues

★ Vote Fraud

• Failure to purge the electoral rolls of voters who have died or moved opens up possibilities of fraud.
• Mistakes by Voting Officials. In some locales voting officials have purged many legitimate voters from the rolls by mistake.
Voter participation in the United States is low compared with other countries.

- The Effect of Low Voter Turnout
- Is Voter Turnout Declining? Why?
Voter Turnout for Presidential and Congressional Elections, 1904 to 2006
## Voter Participation in Other Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Election Year</th>
<th>Turnout (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia*</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium*</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britian</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand†</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Compulsory registration and voting  
† Compulsory registration  

**Note:** Turnout for Russia is for the country’s presidential election. Data for all other countries are for elections for the national legislature.

**Sources:** International Foundation for Election Systems, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
Factors Influencing Who Votes

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

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Factors Influencing Who Votes

**Age**

- 18-24: 46.7%
- 25-34: 55.7%
- 35-44: 64.0%
- 45-54: 68.7%
- 55-64: 72.8%
- 65-74: 73.3%
- 75 years and over: 68.5%

**Education Level**

- Less than 9th Grade: 38.8%
- 9-12th Grade, No Diploma: 39.8%
- High School Graduate: 56.4%
- Some College or Associate Degree: 68.9%
- Bachelor’s Degree: 77.5%
- Advanced Degree: 84.2%

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

(Library of Congress, NAACP Collection)