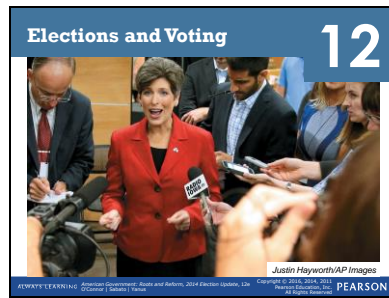


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Slide 1



In order to be elected to Congress, candidates must convince voters to turn out on Election Day. Senator Joni Ernst (R-IA) appeals to voters as a down-to-earth farm girl in 2014.

Slide 2

Learning Objectives 12

- How does the primary system work and what criticisms do people have about it? Pages 334-339
- How are voters limited in different types of primaries for candidates? Page 335
- How does the primary system work and what criticisms do people have about it? Pages 334-339
- What is the Electoral College and what determines how many electoral votes a state gets? Pages 340-343

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Slide 3

Learning Objectives 12

- What is an "incumbent" and what advantages does an incumbent have in elections? Pages 344-345
- Under what conditions are incumbents most likely to lose? Page 345-346
- What demographic groups are more likely to vote Democratic or Republican? Pages 347-350
- What is the difference between prospective voting and retrospective voting? Page 350

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Slide 4

Learning Objectives

12

What are six factors that affect voter turnout in the United States? Pages 350-354.

What factors are considered problems with voter turnout and what recommendations have been suggested to improve voter turnout? Pages 354-360


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Slide 5

How the primary system works & how it limits voters

12.1

- Primary Elections
 - Closed primaries
 - Open primaries
 - Crossover voting
 - Runoff primary



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The American electoral process has two stages: the primary election stage and the general election stage.

In a primary, voters decide which candidate from within a specific party will go on to challenge a candidate of an opposing party. There are several kinds of primaries. In a closed primary, only voters registered with a particular party can cast a ballot. In an open primary, however, independent voters and sometimes even voters registered with the opposing party can vote.

Some suggest that closed primaries are better because they are protected against crossover voting. This means a voter can vote in a primary of a party with which the voter is not affiliated, and not always with good intent. In some states voters may have

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the chance to vote in a runoff primary—a contest between the top two vote-getting candidates—when the regular primary fails to produce a winner.

Following the primary election comes the general election, in which all registered voters may participate.

Slide 6

Primaries and Caucuses 12.2

- Methods to select delegates
 - Winner-take-all primary
 - Proportional representation primary
 - Caucus
- Selecting a system
 - Front-loading

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The Constitution leaves it up to the states to run elections. State political party organizations use several different methods to pick the delegates who will attend the national convention. Some states use the winner-takes-all primary, in which the candidate who wins the most votes in a state secures all of that state's delegates. Democrats no longer use this process, but it is favored by Republicans.

Democrats prefer another method, the proportional representation primary, in which candidates who reach at least a minimum percentage of votes secure that same percentage of delegates. This may be fair, but it does tend to lengthen the presidential nomination process.

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Finally, there are caucuses, which have become more open in recent years but historically were closed-door sessions of party activists. States must select from among these three types of selection processes, and the trend has been moving toward the more open primaries.

That trend has been accompanied by another, called front-loading, in which states choose the earliest date possible on the nomination calendar in order to gain the most press attention for their state. This can give the frontrunner candidate an advantage.

Slide 7

Selecting a President: The Electoral College 12.2

Historical challenges

- Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, 1800
- John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, 1824
- George W. Bush and Al Gore, 2000

The slide features a map of the United States with states colored in red and blue, representing different electoral college outcomes. A legend at the bottom left identifies the colors: red for one candidate and blue for another. The slide also includes a small table of electoral college results for the years 1800, 1824, and 2000. The Pearson logo is visible in the bottom right corner.

It may seem hard to believe, given all the television ads during presidential election season, but Americans do not directly elect the president. That honor falls to the Electoral College, a uniquely American institution comprised of representatives from each state who cast the final ballots that actually elect the president. The total number of electors for each state is equivalent to the number of senators and representatives the state has. A candidate needs at least 270 votes of the Electoral College to win the presidency.

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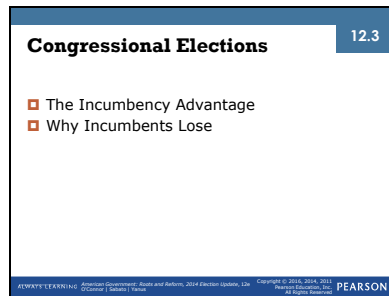
The Electoral College was created as a compromise between Framers who wanted Congress to choose the president and those who wanted a direct, popular election.

The system has not been without flaws and challenges. For example, in 1800 Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr received an equal number of Electoral College votes, and the House of Representatives had to break the tie.

In 1824, neither Andrew Jackson nor John Quincy Adams received a majority of the votes, and again the House was called in. And in 2000, George W. Bush was declared the winner of the Electoral College vote some five weeks after election, even though it was clear he had lost the popular vote.

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Slide 8



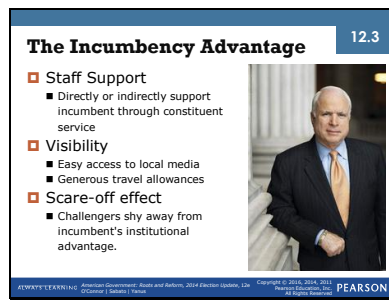
Congressional Elections 12.3

- The Incumbency Advantage
- Why Incumbents Lose

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Certainly when compared to presidential elections, battles to pick congressional representatives are held in relative obscurity. Incumbents enjoy an enormous advantage. But they can, and sometimes even do, lose.

Slide 9



The Incumbency Advantage 12.3

- Staff Support
 - Directly or indirectly support incumbent through constituent service
- Visibility
 - Easy access to local media
 - Generous travel allowances
- Scare-off effect
 - Challengers shy away from incumbent's institutional advantage.



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Candidates who are already in office, also known as the incumbents, have a huge advantage in congressional elections.

As a member of the House, incumbents are allowed to hire up to 18 permanent and four non-permanent aides to work in their Washington and state district offices. These staffers directly or indirectly promote the incumbent through constituent services, such as tracking a lost Social Security check or helping a veteran receive his or her benefits.

Incumbents also have the advantage of visibility. They have ready access to the local media, and a travel budget that allows them to visit the home district frequently. Finally, incumbents also enjoy the so-

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called “scare-off” effect, in which potential challengers decide not to subject themselves to the incumbent's institutional advantages.


Slide 10



Incumbent office holders enjoy many advantages in their reelection bids because they have greater visibility and recognition. In 2014, Senator McConnell spent more than \$25 million in campaign expenditures, compared to some \$15 million spent by his Democratic opponent, Alison Grimes. In addition, outside spending on behalf of Senator McConnell reached \$20.4 million, more than twice as much spent on behalf of his opponent.

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Slide 11



Why Incumbents Lose 12.3

- Redistricting
 - Can punish incumbents in the out-of-power party
- Scandals
 - Sexual improprieties
- Presidential Coattails
 - Incumbent presidential election loss can trickle down
- Mid-Term Elections
 - Can threaten incumbents of president's party

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Incumbents do lose. They can be pushed out via redistricting, which occurs every ten years when state lawmakers redraw the districts following the census. Incumbents can lose or even give up their seat mid-term by scandal.

Incumbents can also lose due to trickle-down effects of presidential coattails. If the president is unpopular and fails to win re-election, that could mean the public is unwilling to re-elect others in the president's party. For that same reason, mid-term elections can pose a threat to incumbents who share the president's party.

Thomas Foley, a Democrat from Spokane, and the only Speaker of the House from the state of Washington was turned out of office as voters in Eastern Washington re-aligned with the Republican Party after favoring the Democratic Party from the New Deal Days of FDR.

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Slide 12

TABLE 12.1 How does the president affect congressional elections? 12.3

Gain (L) or Loss (L) for President's Party

Presidential Election Year	Presidential Election Year		Mid Term Election Year	
	House	Senate	House	Senate
1948	+38	+19	-10	-8
1952	+45	+21	-16	-11
1956	+2	0	-10	-10
1960	+20	+2	-12	-14
1964	+28	+1	-10	-12
1968	+7	+6	-10	-17
1972	+10	+2	-12	-10
1976	+8	0	-16	-18
1980	+10	+10	-10	-11
1984	+10	+2	-10	-14
1988	+3	+1	-10	-11
1992	+10	+1	-10	-10
1996	+10	+1	-10	-11
2000	+10	+1	-10	-11
2004	+10	+1	-10	-11
2008	+10	+1	-10	-11
2012	+10	+1	-10	-11

Source: U.S. House of Representatives, U.S. Senate, Federal Election Commission, and the other 50 states of the United States, 2012.

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Table 12.1 shows how presidents have affected congressional elections from 1948 until 2014.

Source: *Congressional Quarterly Guide to U.S. Elections, 6th ed.* Washington, DC: CQ Press: 2010. Updated by the authors.

Slide 13

Party Identification and Ideology 12.4

- **Party Identity**
 - Most powerful predictor of vote choice
 - Doesn't fully eliminate ticket splitting
- **Ideology**
 - Liberals favor government involvement in social programs.
 - Conservatives favor ideals of individualism and market-based competition.



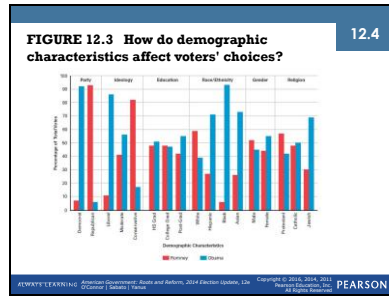
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Party identity and affiliation, and political ideology, are hands-down the most powerful predictors of how a person will vote. Party identity may not fully eliminate ticket-splitting, which is voting for candidates of different parties on the same ticket, but it also can help guide voters on races in which the voters are uninformed.

Ideology also motivates voters at the ballot box. Generally speaking, liberals tend to support government involvement in social programs that promote tolerance and social justice. Conservatives tend to support the ideals of individualism and market-based competition.

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Slide 14



Demographic characteristics can be powerful predictors of citizens' choices at the voting booth. Partisanship is the most significant predictor of these decisions. In 2012, for example, 92 percent of Democrats voted for President Barack Obama and 93 percent of Republicans voted for Mitt Romney.

Source:

<http://www.cnn.com/election/2012/results/race/president#exit-polls>.

Slide 15

Income and Education 12.4

- Lower-income voters
 - Tend to vote Democratic
- Higher-income voters
 - Tend to vote Republican
- Education
 - Most educated and least educated tend to vote Democratic.
 - Voters in the middle, such as those with a bachelor's degree, tend to vote Republican.

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Social scientists have noted that income had been a consistent predictor of voter choice. Put simply, the poor vote Democratic, while the well-off vote heavily Republican. As income and education are connected, it's not surprising that a similar pattern exists for education. The very educated and the least educated citizens tend to vote Democratic, while those with a moderate amount of education, such as a bachelor's degree, tend to vote Republican.

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Slide 16

Issues 12.4

- Economy often key issue
- Retrospective judgment versus prospective judgment




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While those strong feelings may influence an individual, there are other issues that motivate voters that are not directly connected to group identity. Often the economy is an issue that motivates individuals to vote a particular way. Voters tend to reward the president's party during good economic times, and punish that party during bad economic times. This is called retrospective judgment because it is based on past performance. To remember this, think of the hit song by Janet Jackson, What Have You Done For Me Lately? At other times, voters use prospective judgement by voting based on what a candidate says he or she will do if elected.

Slide 17

6 Factors for Voter Turnout 12.5

- Income & Education
- Race & Ethnicity
- Gender
- Age
- Civic Engagement
- Interest in Politics



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When we speak of voter turnout, we are referring to the proportion of eligible voters that actually cast a ballot. While some states may add additional restrictions for felons, generally speaking, any citizen who is at least 18 years old is eligible to vote.


Unfortunately, just because people can vote doesn't mean they do. Voter turnout in the United States, at 40 percent, is much lower than in other industrialized democracies.

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Slide 18

Income and Education 12.5

- Those with incomes over \$65,000 vote more than citizens with incomes under \$35,000.
- College graduates are more likely to vote than those with less education.




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Individuals with more money are more likely to believe that the system works for them and are, therefore, more likely to vote. People with incomes over \$65,000 vote more than citizens with incomes under \$35,000. And college graduates are more likely to vote than those with less education.

Slide 19

Race and Ethnicity 12.5

- Whites tend to vote more than African Americans, Hispanics, and other minorities.
- Long-term consequences of voting barriers



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When it comes to race and ethnicity, whites tend to vote more than African Americans, Hispanics and other minorities. Social scientists have pointed to the long-term consequences of voting barriers, especially in areas of the Deep South. It wasn't until the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which did away with discriminatory voting barriers, that African Americans began voting in significant numbers.

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Slide 20

Gender 12.5

- Women vote more than men, and account for a majority of the electorate.




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Besides income, education, race and ethnicity, several key factors influence voter turnout. Those include gender, age, civic engagement, and interest in politics. When it comes to gender, women have been voting more than men.

Slide 21

Age 12.5

- Older citizens vote more than younger citizens.



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Age is also a key factor—the youngest eligible voters tend to vote with the least frequency. Voter turnout increases for people over 30, and declines again after the age of 70.

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Slide 22

Civic Engagement 12.5

- Members of civic groups vote more.

Illustration: A diverse group of cartoon characters holding a large sign that says "VOLUNTEERS".

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It likely is no surprise that individuals who are involved in civic groups and those who identify as being very interested in politics tend to have high and consistent voter turnout.

Slide 23

Interest in Politics 12.5

- Reliable predictor of voting

Illustration: Silhouettes of a group of people holding flags.

PEARSON

It likely is also no surprise that individuals who have the greatest interest in politics have high and consistent voter turnout.

Slide 24

Problems with Voter Turnout 12.6

- Why Don't Americans Turn Out?
- Improving Voter Turnout

Illustration: Five women in business attire standing together.


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It can be difficult for elections officials and even candidates to inspire people to actually turn out to vote. That is especially true for mid-term elections, which garner just 40 to 45 percent of eligible voters. Even a presidential election may see just 50 or 60 percent of voters show up

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Slide 25

Why Don't Americans Turn Out? 12.6



- Other Commitments
- Difficulty of Registration
- Difficulty of Voting
- Number of Elections
- Voter Attitudes
- Weakened Influence of Political Parties

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When asked why they didn't make it to the polls, Americans have no shortage of reasons from which to draw. Many say they simply had other commitments, whether work or family, that kept them away from the polls. For others, the process of registering to vote is too complicated.

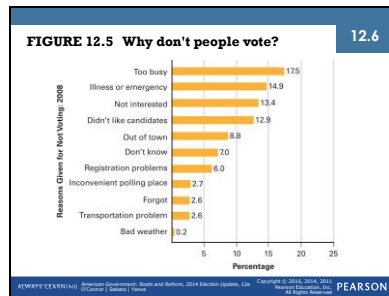
The United States is one of the very few democracies that place the burden of registering on the citizen rather than on the government. The National Voter Registration Act of 1993, commonly known as the Motor Voter Act, tried to reduce the burden by allowing people to register to vote at the DMV and other service agencies.

Then there is the difficulty of voting itself; in 30 states, voters must show some form of ID. In nine of those states, that has to be a photo ID.

Some Americans become overwhelmed by the sheer number of elections and thus don't vote. Voter attitude is also key; some voters may feel alienated, and others are simply apathetic or disturbed by the tone and tactics taken by campaigns.

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During November of each federal election year, the U.S. Census Bureau conducts a Current Population Survey that asks a series of questions related to voting and registration. Figure 12.5 shows how, in the November 2008 survey, respondents were asked whether they voted in the 2008 election and, if not, what their reasons were for not voting. The most common reason for not voting was being too busy.

Slide 27



A number of solutions have been proposed to boost voter turnout. One is to make Election Day a national holiday, so that fewer people would have work scheduling conflicts. This could backfire, however, if people used it to extend a weekend holiday.

Other suggestions include allowing mail and online voting. Mail-in ballots are already in use in many counties in Washington, California, and Oregon. And some states have begun experimenting with online voting. Further simplifying voter registration has been suggested, as has modernizing the ballot. The latter is intended to avoid the problems that surfaced in Florida

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in 2000 due to a poor ballot design.

Finally, stronger political parties could improve voter turnout, but adopting reforms that would enable party strengthening, such as allowing for increases in finances, raise questions about the role of money in elections.


Slide 28

Further Review 12

Complete your study guide questions.

Answer test prep questions on Naviance.

Study with table group members.



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