

Contents

List of Illustrations xiv

Preface xvii

Acknowledgments xxii

Chapter 1 Campaigns and Elections in American Democracy 1

What Are Campaigns and Elections? 3

Further Distinctions: Campaigns and Elections for Different Offices and Levels of Government 5

Campaigns and Elections in Democratic Theory 7

Free and Fair Elections 7

The Role of Campaigns and Elections 12

The Functions of Elections 12

The Functions of Campaigns 17

Normative Considerations 18

Conclusion 20

Pedagogical Tools 21

Role-Play Scenario 21

Discussion Questions 22

Online Resources 22

Suggested Reading 22

Chapter 2 Voting Rights and the US Electoral System 26

Campaigns and Elections in the Constitution 27

Election-Related Protections Afforded by Constitutional Amendments 28

The Right to Vote 29

Clearing the Hurdles of Race and Gender 30

Restricting the Right to Vote 30

Dismantling Obstacles and Extending the Right to Vote 31

Contemporary Restrictions on the Right to Vote 36

The Legislative Electoral System 39

- Choosing Legislators: Single-Member Plurality Versus Proportional Representation 39
- Legislative Redistricting 41

Presidential Elections 46

- The Electoral College 46
- Some States Matter More Than Others 50
- Advantages and Disadvantages 51
- Reform Proposals 54
- State-Level Elections 56

Conclusion 58

Pedagogical Tools 59

- Role-Play Scenario 59
- Discussion Questions 59
- Online Resources 59
- Suggested Reading 59

Chapter 3 Election Administration and the Campaign Finance System 68

Election Administration 68

HAVA and “Motor Voter” 69

Voting Equipment and Election Day Operations 71

Election Integrity 76

Assessing Election Administration 79

Campaign Finance: Norms and Background 80

- Debates Over Campaign Finance Reform: Freedom, Fairness, and Anti-Corruption 80
- Early Efforts to Regulate Money in Campaigns 82
- The Federal Election Campaign Act and Public Funding 83
- Contributions, Expenditures, and Magic Words 85
- Soft Money, Issue Ads, and 527s 87

The Current Campaign Finance System 89

- The Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act 89
- Citizens United, SpeechNow.org, and the Emergence of Super-PACs 92

Campaign Finance Laws in the States 94

The Future of Campaign Finance Reform 95

Conclusion 98

Pedagogical Tools 99

- Role-Play Scenario 99
- Discussion Questions 99
- Online Resources 99
- Suggested Reading 99

Chapter 4 Political Parties 107**What Is a Political Party? 107****The Two-Party System 108**

- The Five “Party Eras” 108
- Exceptions to the Two-Party System 110

Why Only Two Parties? 113**Parties as Organizations 114**

- Organizational Structure 114
- National Committee Chairs 115
- Other Party Committees 116
- Organizational Activity and Reform 118

Party in the Electorate and in Government 120

- Party Identification 120
- Partisan Polarization and Negative Partisanship 122
- Issue Ownership and the Permanent Campaign 123

The Nomination Process 125

- State and Local Direct Primaries 126
- Presidential Nominations 127
- Arguments for Reform 130

The National Conventions 133**General Election Activity 135**

- Campaign Support 135
- Fundraising 136
- Getting Out the Vote 138

Conclusion 139**Pedagogical Tools 140**

- Role-Play Scenario 140
- Discussion Questions 140
- Online Resources 141
- Suggested Reading 141

Chapter 5 Interest Groups 146

Interest Groups: What They Are and What They Do 147

- The Varied Missions of Interest Groups 147
- The Explosion in Organized Interests 149

Types of Advocacy Groups 151

Interest Group Campaign Activity 153

- Candidate Preparation 154
- Endorsing Candidates 155
- Scorecards, Hit Lists, and Voter Guides 161
- Contributions to Candidates 163
- Independent Expenditures 164
- Voter Contact and Mobilization 167
- The Effectiveness—and Consequences—of Interest Group Activity 168
- Electoral Influence 170
- Negative Effects of Interest Group Activity 171
- The Value of Interest Groups 173

Conclusion 174

Pedagogical Tools 175

- Role-Play Scenario 175
- Discussion Questions 175
- Online Resources 175
- Suggested Reading 176

Chapter 6 The Media 181

The Contemporary Media Environment 182

- Media Organizations 183
- Media Effects 187

Reporting Campaign News 190

- “Horsrace Coverage” and Polls as News 194
- Campaign Strategy as News 198
- Informing Voters 200

Election Night Coverage 202

Pursuing the Common Good? 206

Conclusion 207

Pedagogical Tools 208

- Role-Play Scenario 208

Discussion Questions	208
Online Resources	208
Suggested Reading	208
Chapter 7 Voters	214
Voter Turnout	214
Comparing Aggregate Turnout Levels	215
Explaining Aggregate Turnout Levels	220
Explaining Individual Voter Turnout	223
Sociological Factors	223
Psychological Factors	226
Vote Choice	228
Aggregate Voting Patterns	228
Individual Voting Behavior	233
The Role of Partisanship	233
The Role of Issues	236
The Role of Candidate Evaluations	239
Normative Considerations	240
Is Low Turnout a Problem?	240
Can We Trust the Voters?	242
Conclusion	244
Pedagogical Tools	245
Role-Play Scenario	245
Discussion Questions	246
Online Resources	246
Suggested Reading	246
Chapter 8 Candidates and Campaign Organizations	251
Who Runs for Office?	252
Candidate Emergence: Deciding to Run	256
Incumbency and the Decision to Run for Office	256
The Influence of Economic and Political Factors	258
Practical Considerations	260
Candidate Recruitment	262
Running for Office	263
Issue Positions and Image	263
Under the Microscope	265
Grueling Schedules	265

The Structure of Campaign Organizations 268

- Campaign Committees 268
- Campaign Staff 269
- Political Consultants 272

Conclusion 275

Pedagogical Tools 275

- Role-Play Scenario 275
- Discussion Questions 276
- Online Resources 276
- Suggested Reading 276

Chapter 9 Campaigns 281

How Campaigns Differ 282

The Campaign Plan 284

- The Campaign Environment 284
- Candidates' Backgrounds and Records 285
- The Audience 285
- Resources 286

Campaign Strategy 287

- The Campaign Message 287
- Candidate Positioning 289

Campaign Tactics 291

- Fundraising 291
- Television Advertising 293
- Other Forms of Communication 297
- Free Media Coverage and Debates 301
- Polling 303
- Voter Mobilization 303

Normative Considerations 306

Conclusion 309

Pedagogical Tools 310

- Role-Play Scenario 310
- Discussion Questions 310
- Online Resources 310
- Suggested Reading 311

Chapter 10 Elections 316

The Uniqueness of Presidential Elections 316

- The "Invisible Primary" 317

Nomination Contests	319
The General Election	322
Categorizing Elections	323
Explaining Election Outcomes	328
Presidential Elections	328
Congressional Elections: District Level	332
Congressional Elections: Aggregate Level	336
Do Campaigns Matter?	342
Do Elections Matter?	346
Conclusion	348
Pedagogical Tools	350
Role-Play Scenario	350
Discussion Questions	350
Online Resources	350
Suggested Reading	351
Chapter 11 The Permanent Campaign	356
Campaigns and Elections: The Big Picture	356
Campaign Ethics	358
The “Permanent Campaign”	360
Pedagogical Tools	365
Role-Play Scenario	365
Discussion Questions	366
Online Resources	366
Suggested Reading	366
<i>Appendix: Constitutional Provisions Directly Related to Elections</i>	369
<i>Bibliography</i>	374
<i>Index</i>	413