

incumbent's money but also his credit claiming, mailing privileges, and free publicity from sponsoring legislation.

ELECTIONS AND PARTY ALIGNMENTS

Several factors determine who wins elections. Party identification still matters, but Democrats are more likely to vote for a Republican than vice versa. Republicans also tend to get more of the independent vote. Issues, in particular that of the economy, help determine elections. A poor economy is difficult for an incumbent president to overcome; a strong economy generally means reelection. Campaigns do make a difference in an election, however, mainly by reawakening voters' loyalties and allowing voters to see the character and core values of a candidate. Retrospective voters, those who look at how things have gone in the recent past, often decide elections. They vote for the party in the White House if they like what has happened and vote against that party if they do not.

If a candidate is going to win, he or she must build a winning coalition, or combination of several distinct groups. Traditionally the Democratic coalition has been African Americans, Jews, Hispanics, Catholics, southerners, and union members. Republicans have long had a coalition of business and professional people as well as many farmers. Coalitions historically have been reorganized under certain conditions. Realignment describes this reorganization of a party's following. Realignment occurs when a new issue arises that cuts across existing party divisions—for example, slavery or a weak economy. Some political scientists feel that the nation is due for another realignment and that the 1980s might have started one. Yet neither the 1984 nor the 1988 election truly signaled a realigning shift among the voters. Perhaps parties are actually decaying far more than they are realigning as twenty-first-century politics begins to emerge—a process called dealignment by some.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Presidential and congressional races differ in all of the following ways EXCEPT
 - A) presidential races are more competitive than races for the House of Representatives
 - (B) a much smaller proportion of people vote in congressional races in nonpresidential election years
 - (C) members of Congress can get credit for the constituent service they provide
 - (D) candidates for Congress can disassociate themselves from what is going on in Washington, D.C.
 - (E) congressional elections receive more national funding than presidential elections

2. How does federal law restrict fund-raising for presidential campaigns?
- I. Individual contributions are limited to \$2,000.
 - II. PAC contributions are limited to \$5,000.
 - III. Federal matching funds are available to candidates who raise \$5,000, in individual contributions of \$250 or less, in twenty states.
 - IV. Candidates are limited to \$2,000 in spending their own personal funds.
- (A) I and II
 - (B) I, II, and III
 - (C) I, II, and IV
 - (D) I, III, and IV
 - (E) I and IV
3. Which of the following is the best example of gerrymandering?
- (A) drawing a congressional district boundary down a narrow strip of highway no wider than six blocks
 - (B) drawing boundaries so that districts are of very unequal size
 - (C) drawing boundaries to allow fair and equal representation of voters
 - (D) creating a new district to reapportion seats following a census
 - (E) eliminating an existing district to reapportion seats following a census
4. Which of the following is the most accurate statement about the impact of party identification on voting behavior?
- (A) Party identification is only one factor in choosing a candidate.
 - (B) Only a third of the electorate identifies with one of the major parties.
 - (C) Party identification plays a key role in voting choices.
 - (D) Party identification plays a key role in deciding whether or not to vote.
 - (E) Independent voters are more likely to strongly favor one candidate over another.
5. Which of the following is a valid criticism of the caucus system?
- (A) Everyday citizens are not welcome to participate.
 - (B) Caucuses are not held in convenient locations.
 - (C) The first caucus is in Iowa, which is not representative of the population as a whole.
 - (D) The first caucus is held in New Hampshire, which is not representative of the population as a whole.
 - (E) Caucuses often last several days and become endurance contests.
6. Which of the following groups would be most likely to receive direct mail from a conservative candidate?
- (A) college students and auto workers
 - (B) fundamentalist Christians and business owners
 - (C) teachers and small business owners
 - (D) bankers and Native Americans
 - (E) African Americans and Jews

7. All of the following are part of the Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act of 2002 EXCEPT
- (A) "soft money" contributions to national political parties from corporations were banned
 - (B) money given to national parties must be in the form of individual donations and PACs
 - (C) independent organizations cannot use their own money in ads that refer to a clearly identified federal candidate during the sixty days before an election
 - (D) individuals can no longer spend unlimited amounts of their own money on their campaigns
 - (E) "soft money" contributions to national political parties from unions were banned
8. Which of the following is most likely to help an incumbent president get reelected?
- (A) good economic times
 - (B) a strong vice president
 - (C) his stance on abortion
 - (D) the addition of new groups of voters
 - (E) favorable reporting by the press

Table 10.2 Presidential Fundraising and Expenditures, 1976–2008

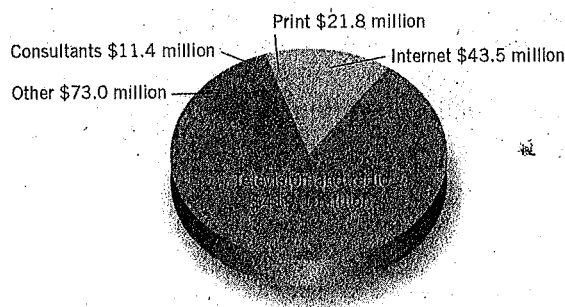
Year	\$Raised	\$Spent	Percent change from previous election	
			Raised	Spent
1976	\$171 million	\$70 million	—%	—%
1980	\$162 million	\$92 million	−5%	+31%
1984	\$202 million	\$104 million	+24%	+13%
1988	\$324 million	\$211 million	+60%	+102%
1992	\$331 million	\$162 million	+0%	−9%
1996	\$428 million	\$240 million	+28%	+48%
2000	\$529 million	\$343 million	+24%	+42%
2004	\$881 million	\$718 million	+66%	+10%
2008	\$1.81 billion	\$1.76 billion	+105%	+145%
1976–2008 Increase	+\$1.63 billion	+\$1.67 billion	+95%	+241%
Inflation Adjusted	+\$436 million	+\$452 million	+25%	+64%

Source: Adapted from Federal Election Commission, summary reports, January 2009 and May 2009. Dollar figures rounded. Inflation adjustment keyed to consumer price index 1976–2008, 3.74 (i.e., assumes that what cost \$1.00 in 1976 cost \$3.74 in 2008).

9. The table above supports which of the following conclusions?
- (A) Spending by presidential candidates has increased in every election since 1976.
 - (B) Presidential campaigns are more expensive than congressional campaigns.
 - (C) Campaign spending has not increased from 1976 to 2008 when those figures are adjusted for inflation.
 - (D) Campaign finance regulations have been effective in reducing the effect of money on campaigns.
 - (E) Presidential campaign fundraising and expenditures more than doubled between 2004 and 2008.

10. Which type of voters has the most impact on an election?
- (A) prospective voters, who cast their ballots for the person they think has the best ideas for handling matters in the future
 - (B) ideological voters, who carefully match the candidates with their own views on the issues
 - (C) split-ticket voters, who vote for one party for Congress and the other party for the presidency
 - (D) retrospective voters, who look at how things have gone in the recent past
 - (E) voters who are more interested in foreign affairs than in domestic policy
11. Which of the following best describes those who vote in primary elections?
- (A) voters from both parties who tend to be moderate in their beliefs
 - (B) Democrats who tend to be more conservative in their beliefs
 - (C) Republicans who tend to be more liberal in their beliefs
 - (D) voters in both parties who tend to be more active in party politics
 - (E) those who vote in primaries suffer from voter fatigue and are "less likely to vote in the general election"

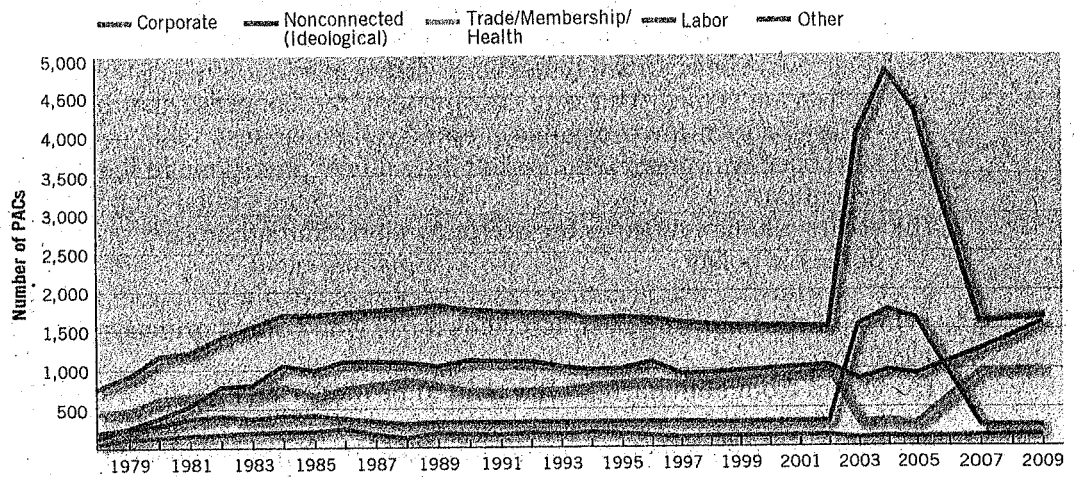
Figure 10.1
Presidential Campaigns, Spending on Media, 2009



Source: Federal Election Commission, Summary reports, May 2009.
 Figures rounded.

12. The figure above best supports which of the following statements?
- (A) Most of the spending in presidential campaigns goes toward television and radio ads.
 - (B) The Internet is growing in popularity as a means of campaigning.
 - (C) Print media is becoming a less popular means of campaigning.
 - (D) Most radio and television campaign ads are negative toward the opposing candidate.
 - (E) High-tech campaigning is becoming increasingly expensive.

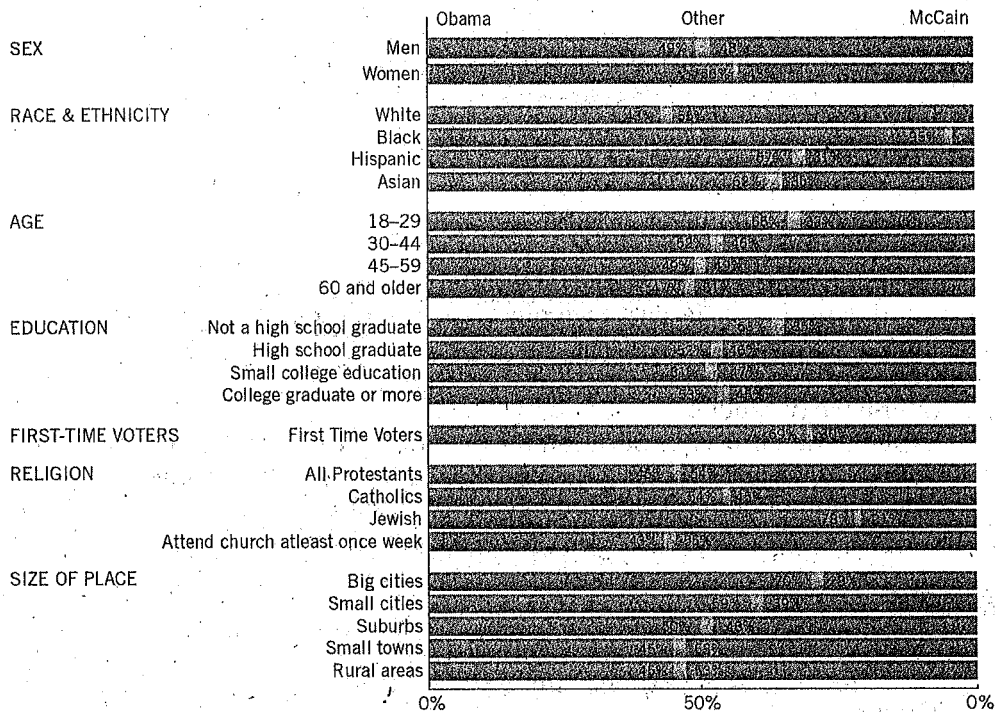
Figure 10.2
Growth of PACs 1979–2009



Source: Federal Election Commission, March 9, 2009.

13. The figure above best supports which of the following statements?
- (A) The number of PACs has increased at a steady rate from 1976 to 2009.
 - (B) Since 2007, there are more than five times as many corporate PACs as labor PACs.
 - (C) Corporate and trade PACs have much more influence in the political system than labor PACs.
 - (D) PAC donations to political campaigns have grown steadily from 1976 to 2009.
 - (E) Campaign finance laws have been effective in reducing the number and influence of PACs.

Figure 10.3
Presidential Exit Poll Results, 2008



Source: *The New York Times*, November 5, 2008, reporting data on 17,836 votes bearing 300 polling places around the country on Election Day and telephone interviews with 2,378 absentee and early voters.

14. All of the following statements are supported by the table above EXCEPT
- more women than men voted for Obama
 - the highest percentage of support for Obama came from African American voters
 - college graduates were more likely to vote for Obama than for McCain
 - Asians were less likely to support Obama than white voters
 - Protestants who attend church once a week were more likely to support McCain
15. Using the information from the figure above and taking all of the statistics into account, which voter would be most likely to support McCain?
- a white female who has some college and lives in a small town
 - a black male college graduate living in a rural area
 - an Asian male high school graduate who is Protestant
 - a 54-year-old Jewish man living in a small town
 - an Hispanic female who has some college and lives in a big city

Free-Response Questions

1. The role of money in elections is controversial. Pick TWO of the items listed below and explain how they relate to the role of money in elections.
 1973 campaign finance reform law
Buckley v. Valeo (1976)
 Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act of 2002
2. In the United States, there are several different kinds of elections, and candidates use different strategies depending upon the kind of election.
 - a. Define primary election.
 - b. Define party caucus.
 - c. Explain one difference between how candidates campaign in a primary or caucus and in a general election. Be sure to include a definition of general election in your discussion.

Answers

MULTIPLE CHOICE

1. (E) All of the statements are true except the last one. Only qualifying presidential candidates receive federal funding (*American Government*, 11th ed., pages 226–227 / 12th ed., pages 227–228).
2. (B) There is a limit on spending by individuals of \$2,000 and by PACs of \$5,000. (These amounts are raised periodically to adjust for inflation.) To qualify for matching funds, candidates must raise at least \$5,000 in \$250 contributions in twenty states. However, there is no limit on the amount a candidate may spend on his or her own campaign (*American Government*, 11th ed., page 228 / 12th ed., page 229).
3. (A) Gerrymandering means drawing a district boundary in some bizarre or unusual shape to make it easy for the candidate of one party to win an election (*American Government*, 11th ed., pages 226–227 / 12th ed., page 235).
4. (C) Party identification plays a major role in voters' choices. Those who strongly identify with a party are more likely to favor that party's candidate (*American Government*, 11th ed., pages 247–248 / 12th ed., pages 247–248).
5. (C) Iowa receives a disproportionate share of attention from the media and candidates because it holds the first caucus. This state is not representative of the population as a whole

(*American Government*, 11th ed., pages 231–233 / 12th ed., pages 233–235).

6. (B) Direct mail is usually sent to groups already sympathetic to the candidate. The groups most likely to sympathize with a conservative candidate are fundamentalist Christians and business owners, who tend to vote Republican (*American Government*, 11th ed., page 238 / 12th ed., page 239).
7. (D) The campaign finance reform law banned soft money contributions from unions and corporations. Independent organizations must stop advertising for a particular candidate in the sixty days before the election. Candidates are limited to accepting “hard money” from individuals and PACs (*American Government*, 11th ed., pages 241, 244–245 / 12th ed., pages 242–244).
8. (A) In good economic times, the party holding the White House normally does well. This is called the “pocketbook” vote (*American Government*, 11th ed., pages 246–247 / 12th ed., pages 246–247).
9. (E) Fund-raising in presidential campaigns more than doubled between 2004 and 2008, making the last election the most expensive in history. Even adjusted for inflation, the amount of money raised was unprecedented (*American Government*, 12th ed., page 225).
10. (D) Retrospective voters, who look at how things have gone in the recent past, decide elections. They vote for the party in the White House if they like what happened and vote against that party if they don’t like what occurred (*American Government*, 11th ed., page 249 / 12th ed., pages 249–250).
11. (D) Voters in primaries tend to be party activists (*American Government*, 11th ed., pages 232–233 / 12th ed., pages 234–235).
12. (A) Of the \$568.8 million spent by presidential candidates, \$419.1 million went toward television and radio spots. Although the Internet may be growing in popularity as a way of campaigning, spending on the Internet is a small fraction of the total (*American Government*, 12th ed., page 225).
13. (B) In 2007, there were 1,586 corporate PACs and 273 labor PACS. In 2009, these numbers were 1,598 and 272 respectively. This means there are five times more corporate PACs than PACs representing labor (*American Government*, 12th ed., page 242).
14. (D) Sixty-two percent of Asian voters supported Obama, while his support among white voters was 45 percent (*American Government*, 12th ed., page 244).