

## Index

- accessibility, psychological priming and, 34–35  
 activation strategy, 12–13, 39–40  
   of Calderón, 46, 75–76, 79  
   of Clinton, 39, 40, 77  
   political context for, 44–46  
 Adenauer, Konrad, 130  
 advertising. *See* political advertising  
 affective priming, 32  
 Amigos de Fox, 110  
 AMLO. *See* López Obrador, Andrés Manuel  
 Atwater, Lee, 57  
 Aznar, José María, 83–84
- Baker, James, 38–39, 57, 58–59  
 Barzel, Rainer, 129, 131–133  
   behavior as candidate, 152  
   economic messaging by, 132, 134–135  
 Basic Law, 130, 131  
 Basic Treaty, 120, 129–130, 134, 147  
 Bradley, Bill, 100, 101  
 Brandt, Willy, 120, 129, 130–131, 145  
   Basic Treaty and, 120, 129–130, 134, 147  
   economic voting and, 148  
   *Ostpolitik* and, 130–132  
 Brazil. *See* 2002 presidential election, in Brazil  
 Brown, Jerry, 59  
 Buchanan, Pat, 53, 55, 57  
 Bundestag elections. *See* 1972 elections, in West Germany  
 Bush, George H. W., 16–17, 38–39, 40, 45, 51, 103, 145  
   economic messaging strategy, 54–57, 153  
   political advertising by, 60  
   U.S. economy under, 53
- Bush, George W., 43, 125–126, 127  
   deactivation strategy of, 41–42, 43, 95–96, 111, 152–153  
   economic voting models and, 1–2, 148  
   political advertising by, 69–70, 103, 104  
*Bush v. Gore*, 97
- Calderón, Felipe, 16–18, 19, 23, 38–39, 75–76, 78, 145, 193  
   activation strategy of, 46, 75–76, 79  
   behavior as candidate, 152  
   Dick Morris and, 83, 153  
   economic messaging of, 81–85, 135–136, 146  
   economic voting and, 148, 149–150  
   political advertising by, 154  
   during 2000 election, 99–100  
   during 2006 primaries, 81  
 campaign priming, 20–21. *See also* psychological priming  
   activation strategy, 12–13, 39–40  
   political context for, 44–46  
   candidate behavior and, 38–42  
   opponents influenced by, 42–44  
   deactivation strategy, 40–42  
   political context for, 44–46  
   purpose of, 41  
   evidence of, in prior research, 14, 32, 35, 36  
   global context for, 157–158  
   implications of, economic voting and, 46–49  
 campaigns, campaign strategy and, 12–13. *See also* activation strategy; deactivation strategy; *specific elections*

- campaigns, campaign (cont.)  
 advertising, 14  
 “economy stupid” and, 51–52  
 enlightened preference theory and, 19, 20, 31  
 for Gore, failures of, 99  
 minimal effects hypothesis and, 18,  
 20–21, 31  
 predictability of, 13–14, 44–46, 151–153  
 Canada. *See also* 2006 election, in Canada  
 Conservative Party in, 125–129  
 Liberal Party in, 125–129  
 Progressive Conservative Party in, 128  
 Cárdenas, Cuauhtémoc, 107, 110, 111–112  
 Carter, Jimmy, 45–46  
 Carville, James, 39, 58  
 CDU. *See* Christian Democratic Union  
 Chávez, Hugo, 82–83  
 Chrétien, Jean, 125–126  
 Christian Democratic Union (CDU) (West  
 Germany), 129, 132–133  
 Christian Social Union (CSU) (West  
 Germany), 129  
 Chung Dong-young, 120–121, 123, 181  
 Chung Ju-yung, 122  
 clarity of responsibility hypothesis, 21–24,  
 150–151  
 competency shocks, 21–22  
 electoral candidates in, 5  
 individual-level constraints in, 23  
 political communications strategy in, 5  
 potential limitations of, 23–24  
 priming theory and, 150–151  
 sanctioning model, 30  
 selection model, 30  
 voters in, 4–5, 21–22  
 Clinton, Bill, 23, 45, 127, 145  
 activation strategy of, 39, 40, 77  
 campaign messaging by, 51–52  
 economic strategy in, 57–59  
 through political advertising, 60, 68–73  
 economic voting and, 148, 149–150  
 Flowers scandal and, 57–58, 123, 146  
 Gore’s political distancing from, 100–101  
 War Room for, 57–59  
 Coelho, Tony, 101  
 competency shocks, 21–22  
 Conservative Party (Canada), 125–129  
 Creel, Santiago, 81  
 CSU. *See* Christian Social Union  
 deactivation strategy, defined, 13–13, 40–42  
 issue salience in, 41–42  
 democracy, democracies and  
 economic priming and, 159–161  
 minimal effects hypothesis and, 20–21  
 predictions of economic voting model, 5–12  
 Democratic Party (U.S.). *See* Bush, George  
 H. W.; Bush, George W.; Clinton, Bill;  
 Gore, Al  
 Dukakis, Michael, 45, 57, 58–59  
 economic voting, 1–6, 30  
 campaign-centered approach, 12–16, 38–42  
 activation strategy, 12–13, 39–40  
 candidates and, 12–14, 42–44, 147–149,  
 151–153  
 compared to conventional model, 47, 93–94  
 deactivation strategy, 13–13, 40–42  
 economic stimuli, 34–36  
 predictability of strategy, 13–14, 44–46,  
 151–153  
 psychological priming, 31–38  
 conventional approaches to  
 campaigns and, 31, 46–48  
 clarity of responsibility hypothesis, 5,  
 21–24, 30, 150–151  
 enlightened preference theory, 19, 20, 31,  
 150–151  
 prospective economic voting, 5  
 sanctioning model, 30  
 selection model, 30  
 sociotropic *versus* egocentric, 5  
 development of, historical context for,  
 143–145  
 globalization and, 143  
 methodological identification of  
 correspondence effect, 61–63  
 observational equivalence, problem of,  
 65, 144  
 panel data solution, 65–68  
 “minimal effects” and, 18, 29–31  
 voters and, 3–5, 14, 145–147  
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 15  
 enlightened preference theory, 19, 20, 31,  
 98, 109  
 equivalency framing, 37  
 explicit memory effect, 33–34  
 Flowers, Gennifer, 57–58, 123, 146  
 Fox, Vicente, 23, 76, 78, 107–117, 145  
 deactivation strategy of, 111  
 economic messaging by, 96, 110–115, 148  
 economic performance under, 78–79  
 as maverick candidate, 110, 148

## Index

217

- FPD. *See* Free Democratic Party  
 Free Democratic Party (FPD) (West Germany), 129
- Germany. *See* 1972 elections, in West Germany;  
 West Germany  
 gestalt method, for constant coding,  
 151–154  
 Gore, Al, 16–17, 23, 46, 145  
 deactivation strategy against, 41–42, 43  
 political distancing from Clinton,  
 100–101  
 Greenberg, Stan, 101  
 Grunwald, Mandy, 58
- Hallstein Doctrine, 130  
 Harkin, Tom, 57  
 Harper, Stephen, 125–129  
 Heinz, John, 55  
 Hoover, Herbert, 54, 193
- Iacocca, Lee, 56  
 Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)  
 (Mexico), 75. *See also* Labastida,  
 Francisco; Madrazo, Roberto  
 dominant party rule by, 75, 77–78, 96  
 neoliberal economic policy of, 108  
 2000 presidential election and,  
 107–117  
 regime opposition during, 108  
 issue priming, 64, 68. *See also* psychological  
 priming  
 issue salience, 31, 34–36  
 defined, 34  
 political advertising and, 38  
 priming theory and, 156
- Jiménez, Alberto Cárdenas, 81  
 Johnson, Lyndon, 153–154
- Kennedy, John F., 42–43  
 Kim Dae-jung, 122  
 Kinsley, Michael, 102–104  
 Knapp, Bill, 101–102
- Labastida, Francisco, 96, 107–117  
 Layton, Jack, 127  
 learning effects, 37  
 Lee Hoi-chang, 122  
 Lee Myung-bak, 119, 120–125, 127,  
 146–147, 153  
 Lewinsky, Monica, 100–101  
 Liberal Party (Canada), 125–129
- López Obrador, Andrés Manuel (AMLO), 6,  
 46, 75–76, 123  
 economic messaging of, 81–85, 135–136  
 during primaries, 80
- Lozado, Gonzalo Sánchez de, 38–39  
 Lula da Silva, Luiz Inácio, 136
- Madrazo, Roberto, 75, 80–81, 112–113  
 political messaging of, 81–85
- Martin, Paul, 125–126, 147  
 Matalin, Mary, 56–57  
 Mendonça, Duda, 136
- Mexico. *See* 2000 presidential election, in Mexico;  
 2006 presidential election, in Mexico  
 minimal effects hypothesis, 18, 20–21  
 Montiel, Arturo, 81  
 Morris, Dick, 38–39, 76, 83  
 Calderón and, 83, 153  
 Mossbacher, Robert, 56
- NAFTA. *See* North American Free Trade  
 Agreement
- National Action Party (PAN) (Mexico), 75–76,  
 78, 96. *See also* Calderón, Felipe; Fox,  
 Vicente; 2000 presidential election, in  
 Mexico
- negative priming, 32  
 1972 elections, in West Germany, 129–135. *See  
 also* Barzel, Rainer; Brandt, Willy  
 campaign strategy during, 132–133,  
 134–135, 138–141  
 campaign-centered voting model for, 135  
 CDU and, 129, 132–133  
 CSU and, 129  
 economic context during, 132  
 economic voting during, 133–135, 189  
 FPD and, 129  
 political advertising during, 132–133  
 SPD and, 129, 133
- 1992 presidential election, in U.S. *See also* Bush,  
 George H. W.; Clinton, Bill  
 activation strategies during, 40  
 economic, 61–68  
 economic context for, 53–61  
 economic priming in, 61–68  
 causes of, 68–73  
 panel data solution and, 65–68
- Perot and, 52  
 political advertising during, 57–59, 60–61  
 by Bush, G. H. W., 69–70  
 by Clinton, 60, 69–70  
 economic content of, 60  
 by Perot, 59

- Nixon, Richard, 42–43  
 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 55, 59
- Obama, Barack, 36  
 observational equivalence, 144
- PACs. *See* Political Action Committees  
 PAN. *See* National Action Party  
 Park Geun-hye, 121–122  
 Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), 75–76, 111–112. *See also* Cárdenas, Cuauhtémoc  
 Penn, Mark, 101  
 Perot, Ross, 52, 58  
   as protest candidate, 59  
 persuasion, priming compared to, 36–37  
 Political Action Committees (PACs), 158–159  
 political advertising, 14. *See also* campaign  
   priming; campaigns, campaign strategy and  
   campaign opponents influenced by, 42–44  
   issue salience and, 38  
 Poniatowska, Elena, 84  
 PRD. *See* Party of the Democratic Revolution  
 presidential elections. *See* 1992 presidential election, in U.S.; 2000 presidential election, in Mexico; 2000 presidential election, in U.S.; 2002 presidential election, in Brazil; 2006 presidential election, in Mexico  
 PRI. *See* Institutional Revolutionary Party  
 Progressive Conservative Party (Canada), 128  
 projection effect, 19  
   correspondence effect/observational equivalence, 61–63, 144  
 prospective economic voting, 5  
 psychological priming, 28–29, 31–38, 64, 68, 102, 135  
   accessibility and, 34–35  
   *versus* alternative effects  
     framing, 37–38  
     learning, 37  
     observational equivalence and, 61–63, 144  
     persuasion, 36–37  
     projection, 19  
   as assimilation effect, 32  
   economic stimuli and, 34  
   evidence for, 32  
   as explicit memory effect, 33–34  
   exposure and, 34  
   long-term implications of, 46–49, 155–156  
   rhetorical leadership and, 147–149  
   salience and, 34–36, 156  
     defined, 34  
   satisficing and, 14, 33–34  
   spread activation, 35, 47, 135, 158  
   variants of, 32  
     affective, 32  
     racial, 32, 61  
     semantic, 32
- Quayle, Dan, 55
- racial priming, 32, 61  
 Reagan, Ronald, 32, 35, 60, 154  
 Republican Party. *See* Bush, George H. W.; Bush, George W.  
 retrospective economic voting. *See* economic voting  
 rhetorical leadership, by candidates, 147–149  
 Roh Moo-hyun, 121, 124  
 Romero, Vidal, 95, 113  
 Rove, Karl, 43, 95
- Sawyer, Diane, 100  
 Scheel, Walter, 130  
 Schiller, Karl, 131  
 semantic priming, 32  
 “Shin-gate,” 121–122  
 Skinner, Samuel, 57  
 Social Democratic Party (SPD) (West Germany), 129, 133  
 sociotropic voting. *See* economic voting  
 Sola, Antonio, 83–84  
 South Korea. *See* 2007 election, in South Korea  
 SPD. *See* Social Democratic Party  
 Stephanopolous, George, 56  
 Sununu, John, 55  
 super PACs. *See* Political Action Committees
- Todos Unidos Con México (TUCOM), 81  
 Treaty of Moscow, 130, 132  
 Treaty of Warsaw, 130, 132  
 Truman, Harry, 15  
 Tsongas, Paul, 57, 61  
 TUCOM. *See* Todos Unidos Con México  
 2000 presidential election, in Mexico. *See also*  
   Calderón, Felipe; Fox, Vicente;  
   Labastida, Francisco; Zedillo, Ernesto  
   campaign strategy during, 96, 110–115  
   economic priming and, 99–100  
   political advertising during, 111, 113–115

## Index

219

- PRD and, 111–112
- PRI and, political transition from, 107–117
- 2000 presidential election, in U.S., 97–107. *See also* Bush, George W.; Gore, Al
- Bush v. Gore*, 97
- communication strategies during, 100–105
- deactivation strategies during, 41–42, 43
- economic messaging during, 95–96, 100, 102, 104
- by Bush, G. W., 102–104
- by Gore, 100
- economic voting during, 105–107
- political advertising during, 103–104, 115
- political context for, 98
- 2002 presidential election, in Brazil, 136. *See also* Lula da Silva, Luiz Inácio
- 2006 election, in Canada, 125–129. *See also* Harper, Stephen
  - campaign strategies during, 126–128
  - economic context for, 120
  - economic voting in, 128–129
- 2006 presidential election, in Mexico. *See also* Calderón, Felipe
  - as democratizing election, 77
  - economic context for, 77–79
  - economic messaging during, 79–85, 135–136, 146
  - economic priming in, 85–87, 89
  - election outcome, 75–76
  - overview of, 75–77
- PAN and, 75–76, 78
- political advertising during, 87–90
- PRD and, 75–76
- PRI and, 75
- primaries for, 80–81
- 2007 election, in South Korea. *See also* Chung Dong-young; Lee Myung-bak
  - economic messaging during, 123, 124–125
  - economic voting estimates, 181–186
  - economic voting in, 120–125
- United States (U.S.). *See* 1992 presidential election; 2000 presidential election, in U.S.
- Walters, Barbara, 100
- War Room, 57–59
- West, Darrel, 163
- West Germany. *See also* 1972 elections, in West Germany
  - Basic Law in, 130, 131–132
  - Hallstein Doctrine in, 130
  - Ostpolitik* in, 130–132
  - political coalitions in, 129, 130–132
- Wofford, Harris, 55
- Wolf, Naomi, 100–101
- Zedillo, Ernesto, 16–17, 78, 79
  - economic stabilization under, 108–109