

[Refereed Article]

# THE 2008 CALIFORNIA PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY ELECTION: —Focus on the Democratic Party and the Latino Vote—

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## I Preface

The Democratic presidential primary election in 2008 was recorded in history for various reasons. Two leading candidates, Illinois Senator Barack Obama and New York Senator Hillary Clinton, competed with each other for the Democratic Party nomination, and the nominee was not decided until the last presidential primary election held in Montana and South Dakota on June 3<sup>1)</sup>.

One of the reasons neither was able to rise as a front runner during the early stages was their appearances in addition to their brilliant achievement. If Senator Obama were elected President of the United States of America (the U.S.), he would be the first African-American President in the U.S. history. On the other hand, if Senator Clinton became President, she would be the first female President and also the first President who was the former First Lady<sup>2)</sup>.

Therefore, it was difficult for voters to choose which was preferable for them—or rather, it seems that voters split their votes for those historical reasons. That was why the number of registered voter in the primary had tended to be higher in many states although most of them selected a candidate within their own party, especially for the Democratic Party<sup>3)</sup>. The slogan “Change We Can” by Obama attracted African-American voters, young voters, and voters who felt the need to change the policy of the George W. Bush Administration. The preeminence of a female candidate also pushed up the women voters.

Furthermore, there were at least three other conditions for this highly competitive Democratic race at the national level. First, the presidential election in 2008 was a rare contest because there was no incumbent Presidential or Vice Presidential candidate since the 1928 election running for their party's nomination, and moreover neither an incumbent President nor an incumbent Vice President for the general election since 1952<sup>4)</sup>.

Second, some voters had strong feelings against the Bush administration which had taken an aggressive foreign policy stance in Iraq, proceeding without certain evidence on their having a weapon of mass destruction.

Third, there was confusion in the Democratic Party while the Democratic primaries were running neck-to-neck races. The states of Michigan and Florida held their primaries regardless of having sanctions by the Democratic National Committee. The controversial argument to “count or not count” their delegates in those states continued till the end of May (I will show you later).

As commonly known, the party nominee is usually decided by the early stages of the primaries in some eastern states, or at least by Super Tuesday when populous states like California and New York hold their

presidential primaries simultaneously. Therefore, the general idea was that by switching Super Tuesday earlier in 2008 the distinguished candidate would be named earlier than usual. However, this time the myth collapsed.

The purpose of this article is to analyze the characteristics of the California Democratic nominee contest and the Latino vote in the most populous state in the U.S., and to examine the situations which are the decisive factors for California in 2008 with some materials including my own research and questionnaire<sup>5)</sup>. The reason I focus on the Latino vote is that, “Senator Clinton would not have won primaries in the nation’s two largest states—California and Texas— if Latinos had not turned out in such large numbers and if they had not voted so heavily in her favor, according to an analysis of exit polling data<sup>6)</sup>.” It seemed California should have played an important role in the Democratic nominee contest.

## II Toward the most influential primary election in California

### 1. The elections in California, 2008

Voters in California held three elections in 2008. The first was the presidential primary election held on February 5 with four Propositions which was the qualified initiatives of direct democracy in a state level. In this stage, voters choose the best candidate within the party, and the majority numbers of delegates were allocated in accordance with the outcome. The second was a June 3 primary election in which they chose the state Senate and Assembly members, Supervisor, City council members, in addition to some other Propositions, and Measures which would also direct democracy in the city or town level. The third is the General Election at which time the voters choose one of the tickets for President in reality, Congressperson, other state and local level politicians and also some other initiatives including Propositions and Measures. In this Article, I will focus on the first one.

The road to the presidential primary election in California was decided by a state law—the Governor’s presidential primary election proclamation shall issue by September 10, 2007 (Election Code § 12000); the registration closed on January 22, 2008 (Election Code § 2102); polls are open at 7 a.m., close at 8 p.m. (Election Code § 100, 1200, and 14212); absent voters ballots should be received by 8 p.m. to the County Elections Official’s office or at any polling place in the county presidential primary election on the Election Day (Election Code § 3017 and 3020); and the official canvass must be completed within 28 days of the election, which was March 4 in 2008 (Election Code § 15372-15375), and so on<sup>7)</sup>.

Voters in the U.S. must be registered in advance of an election<sup>8)</sup>. They also need to select a certain party or register as a decline-to-state voter. In California, the Democratic and American Independent Parties allow voters who have not registered with their political party to vote in an election, but the Republican Party does not. Moreover, one may not request more than one party’s ballot; if one does not request a specific ballot, one would be given a nonpartisan ballot containing only the names of candidates for nonpartisan offices and the measures to be voted upon at the February 5, 2008 election. Furthermore, registered voters can vote by mail in California by requesting a vote-by-mail ballot from their county elections office at least seven days before Election Day<sup>9)</sup>.

After the primary, the state delegates gather in one location. In 2008, the Democrats held the national convention in Denver, Colorado, from August 25-28, and the Republicans from September 1-4 at Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota. From this point, the competition officially has begun between the parties

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toward the General Election in November.

## 2. Date setting for early primary in California—An attempt to emerge from the fundraising contributor

The actual nominations in each party of the presidential primary election are usually determined at an early stage; the front runner has emerged at least by Super Tuesday in most cases. So the rest of the primaries seem like a game played after the championship had been decided. For example, the nomination in 2000 was decided at the earliest point in history, on March 7 before half of the states had even voted. Moreover, when the last presidential primary was held in California in 2004, Massachusetts Senator John Kerry was certain to win the Democratic nomination no matter how Californians voted<sup>10</sup>.

So when did Californians possess a big role in the past? It was in 1972 that the voters in California gave Democratic candidate George McGovern the push he needed to secure the nomination. As for the Republican side, Californians voted for Ronald Reagan as a strong rival for the incumbent Gerald Ford in 1976<sup>11</sup>. Although California is the most populous state in the U.S., we have not seen them play a major role in primary elections recently.

In the 2008 presidential primary, some different things happened. Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger tried to elevate California's influence in the 2008 presidential primary election, and moved its primary to February 5, 2008. It was the earliest case in the history of California to hold the presidential primary in February. Until then, the earliest presidential primary was held on March 2, 2004. They had been held in June constantly since the end of the World War II till 1992<sup>12</sup>.

Then why did the primary in California need to move to February? This is because every state tends to struggle for the broadest impact toward the primary. The Press Secretary for the Governor issued a statement regarding California's presidential primary in response to the passage of Senate Bill 113 by the Senate Committee on Elections, Reapportionment and Constitutional Amendments on February 7, 2007. It says, "The Governor is a strong advocate for moving the primary forward so California voters can have an impact on choosing the eventual nominees<sup>13</sup>."

After careful observation and a debate lasting over the span of a month, Governor Schwarzenegger signed Senate Bill 113 on March 15, 2007, and California's presidential primary was held earlier than usual. By moving the primary earlier, he assured that presidential candidates would be encouraged to campaign in California, and to debate and discuss issues and policies important to the people of California.

As for the Governor, this change was one of his first steps on the political reform discussion. He wanted to change the following situation that "presidential candidates had viewed California as a place in which to raise large campaign contributions to spend in other states" and they had "historically traveled to California to raise money—not to engage voters on the issues important to California communities." He even said that politicians could no longer use California solely as a campaign ATM by moving California's presidential primary earlier. In 2004, individual Californians gave more than \$66 million to presidential candidates—\$20 million more than the next largest donor state. Then he concluded, "California voters should have a far greater voice in determining who earns their party's nomination<sup>14</sup>."

California, having decided to hold its primary earlier, prompted some other states to follow suit. Finally, 23 states and a territory moved its primaries and caucuses to February 5. The nation's first presidential primary itself, which takes place traditionally in New Hampshire, moved ahead. The primary in New

Hampshire was held on March 12 in 1968, February 17 in 1980, January 27 in 2004, and finally January 8 in 2008, just seven days after New Year's Day<sup>15)</sup>.

### Ⅲ The political situation before the primary in California

#### 1. The results of other states before Super Tuesday

The race began when Senator Obama entered the presidential primary race in January, 2007. Before the primary started, Clinton seemed to be a better-known and more formidable candidate than Obama. Once the primary started, the situation changed. In a surprise result, Obama won the caucus in Iowa where 95% of voters are whites. After that, Clinton and Obama kept a good match.

By Super Tuesday, six caucuses and primaries including Michigan and Florida were held (Table 1). These numbers show the results of voting and the numbers of pledged delegates each candidate got.

**Table 1 The results of primary before Super Tuesday (percentage and the number of National pledged delegates vote count)**

	Election Date	Barack Obama	Hillary Clinton	John Edwards	others
Iowa caucuses	January 3	37.6% 【16】	29.5% 【15】	29.8% 【14】	3.2%
New Hampshire primary	January 8	36.5% 【 9】	39.1% 【 9】	16.9% 【 4】	7.5%
Nevada caucuses	January 19	45.1% 【13】	50.8% 【12】	3.7% 【 0】	0.4%
South Carolina primary	January 26	55.4% 【25】	26.5% 【12】	17.6% 【 8】	0.5%
Total Pledged Delegate Vote		【63】	【48】	【26】	
Michigan*	January 15	0%	54.6%	0%	45.4%**
Florida*	January 29	32.9%	49.8%	14.4%	-

\*Those two states were under sanctions by Democratic National Committee at that time.

\*\*In Michigan, there was no name Obama on a ballot. Since write-in candidates did not admitted in Michigan Democratic Primary, Obama supporters selected others at the primary.

【 】 indicates the number of pledged delegate vote count (election result)

Source: Iowa Democratic Caucuses, 2008 ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iowa\\_Democratic\\_caucuses,\\_2008#Results](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iowa_Democratic_caucuses,_2008#Results), July 8, 2008); New Hampshire Democratic primary, 2008 ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New\\_Hampshire\\_Democratic\\_primary,2008#Results](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Hampshire_Democratic_primary,2008#Results), July 8, 2008); Nevada Democratic Caucuses, 2008 ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nevada\\_Democratic\\_caucuses,\\_2008#Results](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nevada_Democratic_caucuses,_2008#Results), July 8, 2008); South Carolina Democratic primary, 2008 ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South\\_Carolina\\_Democratic\\_primary,2008#Results](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Carolina_Democratic_primary,2008#Results), July 8, 2008); Democratic Party (United State) presidential primaries, 2008 ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Party\\_\(United\\_States\)\\_presidential\\_primaries,\\_2008#Candidates\\_and\\_results](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Party_(United_States)_presidential_primaries,_2008#Candidates_and_results), June 3, 2008).

There had been nine candidates in the Democratic nominating contests since February, 2007. However, six of them were already retired from the race before Super Tuesday. Even former North Carolina Senator John Edwards suspended his race on January 30, 2008. Of those candidates, three of them included Edwards endorsed Obama, but none of them supported Clinton.

Before the California primary, some characteristics had already formed: Obama was supported by African-Americans, the higher-educated, and the young, while Clinton was popular among women, senior citizens, and Latino voters.

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**2. Counting the number of Democratic delegates**

The total number of California delegates was 441. There were 370 pledged delegates and 71 unpledged delegates (so called “superdelegates”; they were members of Congress, other elected officials and members of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) who made up nearly 40% of the delegates needed to secure the nomination. They were not chosen by voters and were free to vote at the National Democratic Convention for whomever they chose regardless of the result on the primaries). The pledged delegates were also divided by 241 district-level delegates who were distributed proportionally in each congressional district based on their share of the primary election vote and 129 other delegates (statewide or at-large or party leaders and elected official (PLEO) delegates who awarded in proportion to statewide vote. Of those, 81 delegates were at-large, and 48 delegates were PLEO)<sup>16)</sup>.

In spite of moving their primaries earlier than California, the delegates in the states of Florida and Michigan were not counted for the first time. So why did their delegates not count? Because the DNC adopted a proposal by its Rules and Bylaws Committee in August 2006, stating that only the four states of Iowa, New Hampshire, Nevada, and South Carolina would be permitted to hold primaries or caucuses before February 5, 2008. California followed that rule, but Florida and Michigan did not. So the confusion on the Democratic nominee lasted long in the closest race<sup>17)</sup>.

Delegates represent the gender balance between female and male (50% vs. 50%), and also meet the requirements of affirmative action goals<sup>18)</sup>. The district-level delegates were chosen in California on April 13, 2008 after the primary election was over. The number of applicants for the delegates was too large at that time<sup>19)</sup>.

**3. Other features**

Under the existing conditions of two victories for both sides, voters in California had an influence on the outcome of the primary. To win Super Tuesday, both candidates made desperate efforts.

With this timing, Obama was endorsed by Maria Shriver, California First Lady. Her cousin Caroline Kennedy, daughter of former President John F. Kennedy, and Massachusetts Senator Ted [Edward] Kennedy<sup>20)</sup>, the former President’s brother, had already endorsed Obama after he had won in South Carolina. At a rally with talk-show hosted by Oprah Winfrey at University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) rally on February 3, 2008, Shriver (whose husband Governor Schwarzenegger was a Republican and who had endorsed Republican candidate Arizona Senator John McCain) made a surprise appearance and offered her support for Obama in front of his wife Michelle Obama and Caroline Kennedy. This rally was reported to aim squarely at female voters, and a famous singer Stevie Wonder also attended Obama’s rally<sup>21)</sup>. However Obama did not attend this rally.

On the other hand, Clinton held a rally at California State University at Los Angeles on February 2, while her husband and former President Bill [William] Clinton reached out to the Obama camp of African American churches in Los Angeles on February 3<sup>22)</sup>. For Clinton, the American Nurses Association, California Representatives Maxine Waters, Los Angeles County Supervisor Gloria Molina, and Actor Jack Nicholson endorsed her just before the California primary<sup>23)</sup>, to say nothing of her husband’s strong support.

When Obama and Clinton had a one-on-one debate at the Kodak Theatre in Los Angeles for the first time on January 31, 2008, the issues were on illegal immigrants, health care, taxes, foreign policy, and the

war in Iraq. With California having the highest number of illegal residents in the U.S., Clinton said that driver's licenses for illegal immigrants should be considered only after they were required to pursue a path to citizenship, including learning English and paying fines and back taxes. On the contrary, Obama said economic problems of African Americans should not be blamed on immigrants. He supported the policy for issuing driver's licenses to immigrants, regardless of their legal status. As for health care, Clinton emphasized her plan to use tax credits to make it affordable, while Obama asserted his plan would reduce costs of insurance rather than mandating purchase<sup>24)</sup>. In this debate before Super Tuesday, the tone in general between two candidates was not aggressive. They avoided "the slashing assaults" of recent days and told voters just what a difference a Democrat in the White House would make<sup>25)</sup>.

The most prominent feature to see in this primary was that the candidates paid attention to Latinos who had previously not been targeted by candidates in campaigns because a high percentage of Latinos were not citizens. Before the mid-1990s, Latino turnout was relatively low due to the influence of motivation, opportunities, and mobilization, so Latinos have generally been excluded from a political object by the major political parties<sup>26)</sup>.

According to Professor Kim Geron, who is assistant professor of political science at California State University at East Bay, there were 20.3 million Latinos who were eighteen years and over in the U.S. in 1998. Of these, 12.4 million Latinos were U.S. citizens of voting age. Only an estimated 4 million Latinos out of 12.4 million voted in the 1998 Elections—that is to say 32.8% of Latino U.S. citizens cast their votes. Moreover, while 57% of Latino adult citizens were registered to vote in 2000 (this was the second lowest registration rate among major racial groups), but only an estimated 5.9 million Latinos voted, which was 5% of the total vote. Mexican Americans, who comprise the largest Latino group in California and the U. S., were significantly less likely to vote than other Latinos such as Cuban Americans and Puerto Ricans. The growth of anti-immigrant efforts in the mid-1990s through Proposition 187, 209 and 227 in California, however, helped spur Mexicans and other Latino communities to naturalize and begin voting<sup>27)</sup>.

In general, "naturalized citizens are less likely to vote than comparably situated U.S.-born coethnics," however, "an exception of this pattern may have appeared in California beginning in the mid-1990s<sup>28)</sup>." As a result, the Latino vote in this primary was expected to increase.

The population and electorate of Latinos in California, 2006 compared with that of United States as follows (Table 2-1). We will soon see Latinos can not be overlooked any longer.

Table 2-1 Population and Electorate in the United States and California

	United States	California	California State Rank
Total population (thousands)	299,398	36,458	1
Percent of the population (all ages) that is Hispanic*	14.8	35.9	2
Percent of all eligible voters (citizens ages 18 and older) who are Hispanic	8.7	22.9	3
Percent of Hispanic population (all ages) that is eligible to vote	40.6	38.3	26

\* In this survey, the terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" are used interchangeably.

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from the 2006 American Community Survey in "Hispanics in the 2008 Election: California," Fact Sheet, Pew Hispanic Center, February 1, 2008 (<http://pewhispanic.org/files/factsheets/vote2008/California.pdf>, December 17, 2008), p.1.

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Next, we will examine how important it is to consider Latino voters in California (Table 2-2). The numbers of Latino eligible voters are twice as many as Asians, and three times as African-Americans. Some other characteristics of Latino eligible voters are younger than any other groups; about 30 percent of them are naturalized citizens; one fourth of them are limited English speakers; the lowest educational attainment and the second lowest income of all.

Table 2-2 Characteristics of Eligible Voters in California by Race and Ethnicity

	Non-Hispanic			
	Hispanic	White	Black	Asian
<b>Population (in thousands)</b>				
Total Population	13,088	15,585	2,209	4,419
Eligible voters (citizens ages 18 and older)	5,011	12,165	1,542	2,468
<b>Percent of Eligible Voters</b>				
<b>Age</b>				
18-29	33.9	18.2	25.0	21.0
30-44	30.6	24.9	30.8	29.4
45-59	21.9	29.8	26.9	28.2
60 and older	13.6	27.1	17.3	21.5
<b>Gender</b>				
Female	50.3	50.9	51.8	52.1
Male	49.7	49.1	48.2	47.9
<b>Type of citizen</b>				
Citizen by birth	70.3	93.2	96.3	30.3
Naturalized citizen	29.7	6.8	3.7	69.7
<b>English-speaking ability</b>				
Does not speak English "very well"	23.1	2.4	0.8	36.0
Speaks only English or English "very well"	76.9	97.6	99.2	64.0
<b>Educational attainment</b>				
Did not complete high school	27.8	7.6	14.6	12.0
Completed high school	31.8	23.3	29.7	16.8
Some college	29.3	34.9	37.5	27.9
Bachelor's degree or more	11.2	34.1	18.1	43.3
<b>Marital status</b>				
Married	46.8	52.1	30.6	59.2
Never Married	36.9	25.8	43.4	28.2
Other	16.3	22.1	26.0	12.7
With child (ren) younger than 18 in home	33.2	23.5	25.0	28.8
In owner-occupied homes	60.8	67.8	43.2	70.7
<b>Household income</b>				
Less than \$30,000	19.6	16.3	28.5	14.3
\$30,000-\$49,999	20.2	15.0	19.2	12.6
\$50,000-\$74,999	22.1	18.1	19.4	17.2
\$75,000-\$99,999	15.9	14.7	13.6	15.2
\$100,000 or more	22.2	35.9	19.4	40.7

\* In this survey, the terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" as well as "Black" and "African American" are used interchangeably. Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from the 2006 American Community Survey in "Hispanics in the 2008 Election: California," Fact Sheet, Pew Hispanic Center, February 1, 2008 (<http://pewhispanic.org/files/factsheets/vote2008/California.pdf>, December 17, 2008), p.3.

Obama was reported to have been trailing Clinton for Latino votes in California. He was not just idly standing by hoping to secure Latino voters. The Obama campaign had set Latino outreach as one of its top priorities. They put a sign-up sheet at their headquarters in Los Angeles titled: “We really need your help reaching out to Spanish speakers.” The list was full of signatures. The campaign’s extensive Latino outreach program included 6,000 precinct captains and 223 teams of 1,500 trained volunteers. They were the first to use Spanish language TV and radio ads, and had placed tens of thousands of phone calls reaching out to Latino households<sup>29)</sup>. Both Obama and Clinton spent about \$300,000 for advertising on Univision, which is the Spanish-language television station, a week before the primary<sup>30)</sup>.

In addition, Obama carried a full-page advertisement in *La Opinión*, which is the most influential and largest circulated daily newspaper in the Los Angeles Latino Community. This advertisement showed the Kennedy’s support for Obama using the photo with Caroline and Senator Ted Kennedy<sup>31)</sup>. *La Opinión* itself endorsed Obama while promoting votes for Latinos, “To vote is very easy!<sup>32)</sup>” The reason why this newspaper supported Obama was that “he has the qualities to change the bitter tone that dominates in Washington and to take the actions that are needed for our country at this time. No one doubts the skill and experience of Senator Hillary Clinton, but these are not sufficient to revitalize our nation. With his multicultural sensibilities and humble origins, Obama demonstrates deep conviction as he has done in the area of immigration. He is the best option for truly visionary change<sup>33)</sup>.”

However, Clinton had spread her arms wide and barred his way. Obama had to face her formidable machine in California. Her campaign had placed “nearly 650,000 calls to Latino women — part of the nearly two million they’ve done total, twice as many as the Obama campaign — across the state, 12,000 of them to Latinas in the 37th district,” located in the county of Los Angeles. They had made the targeted decision long before to focus their resources on where they could have the biggest effect for Latino, African-American, white, and Asian women. In short, it was cleared that Clinton had prepared her campaign to the minutest detail for as long as it took<sup>34)</sup>.

#### 4. Polls—Could they read the outcome?

Thus, people’s attention would be higher in Super Tuesday under the close race. From the political point of view so far, it seemed California was expected to play a big role. According to a survey in California, the transition margin between the candidates had changed as follows (See Table 3). As the primary grew closer, Obama’s popularity continued to grow. Finally in late January, 2008, the margin between Clinton and Obama was narrowed by just 2% although Clinton’s lead had not changed.

**Table 3 Voter preferences in the California Democratic primary for president among likely voters in the California Democratic primary (percent)**

	Late-January 2008	Mid-January 2008	December 2007	October 2007	August2007	March 2007
Hillary Clinton	36	39	36	45	49	41
Barack Obama	34	27	22	20	19	28
Others	12	14	22	21	20	22
Undecided	18	20	20	14	12	9

This survey is based on a random sample survey of 511 likely voters in the Democratic primary election.



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Interviewing was conducted by telephone in English and Spanish January 25–February 1, 2008. The maximum sampling error for results based on the overall sample of 511 likely Democratic primary voters is  $\pm 4.5\%$  points.

Source: *The Field Poll*, Release #2264, February 3, 2008, pp.2, 10.

Another survey for the two candidates in California showed that according to the 15 polls which had taken place after January 25 in 2008 including *the Field Poll*, 11 polls showed Clinton's lead and 4 polls indicated Obama's lead. The characteristics of the latter surveys are all within small margins (1–6%) except one (The Reuters, C Span and Zogby tracking poll conducted on February 4 showed Obama's lead at 13%), compared with the former one scattered between 2–17%. In addition, more than 14% of "Unsure" is 7 of 15 polls (a survey conducted by Suffolk University on February 2 has 22% of "Unsure") even in the nearest surveys<sup>35)</sup>.

Table 4 shows the tendency in California's Democratic likely voters in 2008. From this table, we will see women voters are in the majority, and we can also not neglect the attitude of non-partisan voters. Majority of voters are still White non-Hispanic, while Latino voters also consist of 20%.

**Table 4 Likely voter preferences in the California Democratic primary for President by subgroup (percent)**

	Clinton	Obama	Others	Undecided
Statewide	36	34	12	18
Party				
(.87) Democrat	37	31	13	19
(.13) Non-partisan*	32	54	3	11
Area				
(.76) Coastal	36	36	10	18
(.24) Inland	37	28	16	19
Region				
(.29) Los Angeles County	42	34	6	18
(.26) Other Southern California	36	34	11	19
(.26) San Francisco bay Area	31	41	14	14
(.19) Other Northern California	37	27	17	19
Gender				
(.44) Men	31	44	11	14
(.56) Women	40	27	13	20
Race/ethnicity				
(.59) White non-Hispanic	35	35	13	17
(.20) Latino	52	19	9	20
(.12) Black*	19	55	7	19
(.09) Asian/other*	32	36	14	18
Age				
(.13) 18-29*	31	42	**	27
(.36) 30-49	38	39	10	13
(.30) 50-64	34	37	14	15
(.21) 65 or older	40	18	20	22

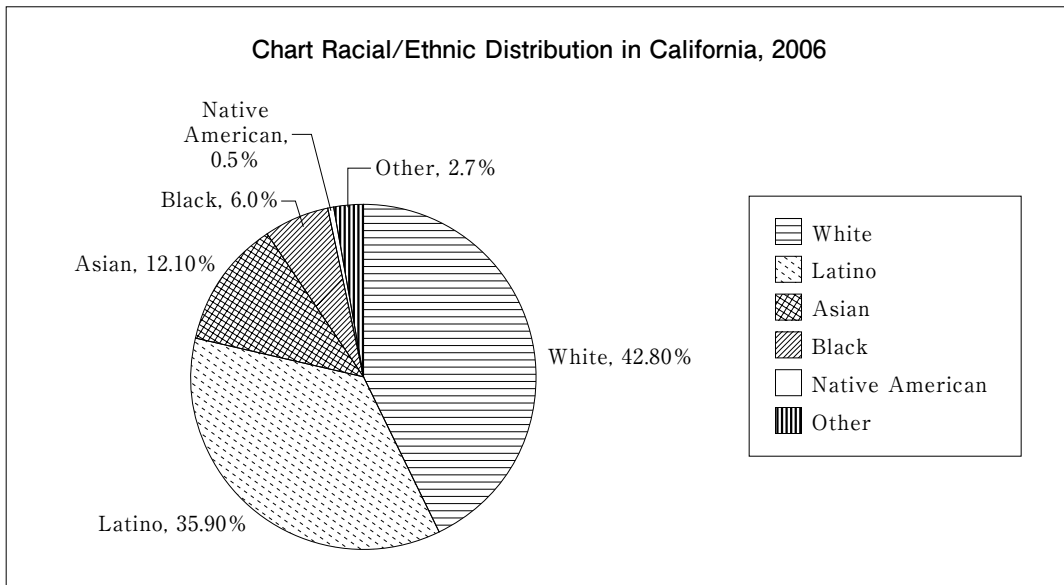
Political ideology				
(.38) Liberal	31	42	11	16
(.45) Middle-of-the-road	39	33	9	19
(.17) Conservative*	43	22	20	15
Education				
(.23) High School or less	44	19	15	22
(.28) Some college/trade school	37	38	12	13
(.23) College graduate	35	39	8	18
(.25) Post-graduate work	31	42	11	16
Household income				
(.27) Less than \$40,000	36	25	12	27
(.31) \$40,000-\$79,999	43	33	8	16
(.42) \$80,000 or more	32	45	12	11
Voting method				
(.57) Precinct voter	40	36	6	18
(.43) Mail ballot voter	31	32	20	17

\*Small sample base \*\*Less than 2/1 of 1%

This survey is based on a random sample survey of 511 likely voters.

Source: *The Field Poll*, Release #2264, February 3, 2008, p.4.

Though Table 4 indicates the Latino likely voter consists of less than half of White non-Hispanic likely voter, the number of eligible voters in Latino population is increasing with certainty. In fact difference between White population (42.8%) and Latino population (35.9%) in California, 2006 is only 6.9 % (See Chart).



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, State and County QuickFacts (<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06000.html>, October 10, 2008).

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## IV Voting on February 5, 2008

### 1. The characteristic of registration and voting

The characteristic of voter registration in California is as follows (Table 5). There were 15,712,753 registered voters out of 22,948,059 eligible voters by January 22, 2008. In short, 68.47% of the eligible voters are registered including 6,749,406 Democrats (42.95%), 5,229,425 Republicans (33.23%), 328, 261 American Independents (2.09%), and 3,043,164 decline-to-state voters (19.37%)<sup>36)</sup>.

**Table 5 Historical voter registration and voter participation in statewide primary elections 1998–2008**

Primary Date	Eligible	Democratic	Republican	Other	Decline-to-state	Total	Total Votes	Turnout Registered	Turnout Eligible
Jun. 2, 1998	20,653,000	6,830,530	5,225,686	685,871	1,863,590	14,607,677	6,206,618	42.49%	30.35%
Mar. 7, 2000 P	21,220,772	6,684,668	5,140,951	773,528	2,032,663	14,631,805	7,883,385	53.88	37.15
Mar. 5, 2002	21,507,390	6,873,476	5,354,358	798,155	2,254,819	15,280,808	5,286,204	34.59	24.58
Mar. 2, 2004 P	21,887,894	6,518,631	5,364,832	727,658	2,480,039	15,091,160	6,684,421	44.29	30.54
Jun. 6, 2006	22,542,844	6,685,288	5,387,865	704,313	2,890,973	15,668,439	5,269,142	33.63	23.37
Feb. 5, 2008 P	22,948,059	6,749,406	5,229,425	690,758	3,043,164	15,712,753	9,068,415	57.71	39.52

P following after the year indicates a presidential election year.

Source: [http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008\\_primary/106\\_historical\\_voter\\_res\\_primary\\_feb08.pdf](http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008_primary/106_historical_voter_res_primary_feb08.pdf) (May 9, 2008).

This election brought record breaking numbers of voters in many aspects. The total official registration numbers above was the highest in the history of California. As Table 4 points out, the percentage of the registered turnout (57.71%) and the eligible turnout (39.52%) in 2008 were not the highest. The highest was 72.60% in 1976 and 52.83% in 1952, respectively, but both of them were the highest since 1980 (63.34% and 44.40%, respectively). Thus the total voters were up to 9,068,415.

The following is how the registered voters in California cast their vote. The precincts voters, who went to their own precincts and voted, were 58.35% (5,291,351) and vote-by-mail voters were 41.65% (3,777,094) of the state total<sup>37)</sup>. Furthermore, the rise in nonpartisan registrations was about one in five in January, 2008. In California, decline-to-state voters were allowed to cast ballots in the Democratic race. Those voters cast their ballots for Obama by a two to one margin<sup>38)</sup>.

### 2. Some confusions on voting

#### 1) The increase in numbers of vote-by-mail ballots

When I researched the polling station near UCLA, the line to vote flowed smoothly. However, some voters mistook their polling station which was on the same street but on the opposite side within 30 meters. Voters from more than one precinct vote at one polling place. Someone who might be a nonpartisan asked a poll worker where he could cast his vote.

The primary election procedure is as follows: The poll workers start their preparation one and a half hours before opening. A voter brings a pamphlet which has been sent to his/her home address and

ascertains that the polling place is correct. The voter gives the worker the address and last name. In California, the voters are not required to show the poll workers their ID<sup>39)</sup>. The worker then gives the voter the ballot of the political party for which he or she has registered, and explains how to use the ballot machine. When I visited the polling station, a voter went to the polling booth of the party he/she has declared. Then he/she mark the ballot with a special bold-shaped pen to the right of the candidate's name, and his/her choice for the Propositions. After he/she completes marking the ballot, it is delivered to "the ballot box" and the vote is cast. If the voter is not sure of his or her status as a registered voter because of a change of address or some other reason, the voter places the ballot into a pink envelope and hands a polling worker the envelope. Once this process is completed, a poll worker gives the voter an "I voted" seal as a sign.

One of the characteristics of the California primary in 2008 was that there were many vote-by-mail ballots. The deadline to request a vote-by-mail ballot was January 29 in 2008. In Placer County, 182,862 people had registered to cast their ballot, and more than half of the 98,468 voters had requested to vote-by-mail. In Sacramento County, nearly two-fifths of its 611,954 registered voters requested vote-by-mail ballots. Of those, some 85,000 vote-by-mail ballots arrived by the end of January in the county<sup>40)</sup>.

According to the California Secretary of State, elections officials count all legally cast ballots and include vote-by-mail ballots in the final election results, but some counties may take longer to count ballots than others. Elections officials must receive vote-by-mail ballots by the 8:00 p.m. poll closure on election day. These ballots may be turned in at the main elections office or to any polling place in the county where voters are registered to vote in addition to receiving them before the election day. Registration records are verified for vote-by-mail ballots received by county elections officials prior to election day, and then held for counting on election night. However, vote-by-mail ballots which are received in the mail or returned to polling places on election day cannot be counted until they are verified against voter registration records<sup>41)</sup>.

As a result, many counties in California could not count all ballots even after more than three weeks of the election. By February 27, 2008, there were 893,186 unprocessed ballots statewide including 603,344 vote-by-mail, 260,357 provisional, and 29,125 other ballots (for example, ballots that are damaged, ballots that could not be machine read, and ballots diverted by optical scanners for further review)<sup>42)</sup>.

In addition, vote-by-mail ballots produced many wasted votes. I found the names of eight Democratic candidates on the ballot during my research at the polling station in spite of the fact that five out of eight major Democratic candidates had already withdrawn or suspended before Super Tuesday. Those voters may suffer from voter's remorse. If the voters chose a candidate who had already dropped out of the race, the practical values of these ballots was lost although the ballot would be counted. Some voters who cast their vote-by-mail ballots earlier for Democrat Edwards and for Republican former mayor of New York Rudy Giuliani (both of them withdrew from the race on January 30) might regret their votes and try to request a second chance if it is possible<sup>43)</sup>.

## 2) Systematic problems

Before the primary, some problems had already evolved. For example, it was discovered that the voting machines in Sacramento County had some systematic troubles at each of the county's 548 polling places, and counting the votes would not be expected until the next morning around nine o'clock despite the fact that the vote count was usually completed by midnight of election day. Scanning the ballots on the spot

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allows voters to know their ballots are not botched by voting for too many candidates in the same race<sup>44)</sup>.

It is amazing that there are many ways of voting in California alone. Ironically, some of the delay were the result of new rules by California Secretary of State Debra Bowen which required many counties to use paper ballots instead of electronic voting machines to ensure accuracy<sup>45)</sup>. The voter marked the ballot sheet with a fixed pen at some of the polling stations in Los Angeles County, whereas the voting procedure changed in Riverside County and the voters connected two points with a line by a pencil when they voted. So the different methods of voting might cause troubles for voters and for counting the vote quickly.

Moreover, one of the newspapers had a headline, "Could be a record: Crush of voters in many parts of state causes long lines at polls, some ballot shortages<sup>46)</sup>." According to this newspaper, there were reports of long lines of voters in numerous parts of the state, resulting in shortages of ballots in Santa Clara and other counties, in addition to polls that remained open as late as 9 p.m. in Alameda County, along with complaints about voting procedures for independent voters in Los Angeles. At least four major precincts in the East Bay suburbs of Contra Costa County were running short of Democratic ballots. Furthermore, even when the voters cast their absentee ballots at City Hall in San Francisco, they had to stand in a long line<sup>47)</sup>.

Some of these troubles might have led to a legal action. The nonpartisan or decline-to-state voters had to take additional steps to mark the right place on the ballot to assure that the vote would be counted if they were voting for Democratic candidates. Otherwise the vote would not be counted. The Courage Campaign, a California-based grassroots group, prepared to mount a legal challenge to the Los Angeles County voting system, charging that confusing procedures in that major urban area could disenfranchise the estimated 776,000 voters there who declined to state a party affiliation. It was felt that ballots of thousands of decline-to-state voters who wanted to choose a Democratic candidate might not be counted in the state's largest voting districts unless the voters filled in a separate bubble indicating they wanted to vote for the Democrat<sup>48)</sup>.

### 3. The election results and their background

#### 1) Results of Super Tuesday

There were 23 primaries or caucuses in states and territories on February 5, 2008. As for the Democratic Party, Clinton won in 10 states, mainly the populous states such as California, New Jersey, and New York, whereas Obama won in 13 relatively sparsely populated states like Alaska, Delaware and Illinois. The allocation of 42% of the Democratic delegates was determined on Super Tuesday alone. By this result, Clinton won 1045 delegates and Obama won 960 delegates. Both candidates, however, did not reach the minimum required number of total delegates (at that time 2025) and the difference was within reach for both sides even after the biggest primary<sup>49)</sup>.

In California, the turnout of voters by exit polls made public the day after the primary (Table 6). We can see five characteristics from this table. First, the voting behavior was different from the voter's party affiliation. Democrats voted for Clinton by a margin of 19%, whereas Independents voted for Obama by a margin of 24%.

Table 6 Demographic profile of California voters by the exit poll

Percent of electorate		Items	Hillary Clinton	Barack Obama	John McCain	Mitt Romney	Mike Huckabee
Democrats	Republicans	Party affiliation*					
80	3	Democrat	57	38	—	—	
18	19	Independent	34	58	49	26	9
3	79	Republican	—	—	42	37	12
		Political ideology					
50	12	Liberal	50	45	57	20	7
37	27	Moderate	55	38	54	22	10
13	61	Conservative	50	42	35	43	14
		When decided vote					
14	13	Today	51	43	44	27	18
12	14	Last 3 days	44	52	42	36	12
73	73	Before	54	41	42	37	11
		Gender					
46	53	Men	45	48	45	33	11
54	47	Women	59	36	40	36	13
		Women					
55**	41	Less than 45	58	40	35	32	18
53**	49	More than 45	59	33	41	36	10
53	60	Less than college	63	31	40	36	13
47	40	More than college	53	41	38	35	12
		Race					
52	76	Whites	46	45	42	38	11
7	2	Blacks	18	78	—	—	—
30	13	Latinos	67	32	39	27	16
8	6	Asians	71	25	66	8	10
		Age					
16	10	18-29	49	49	35	33	20
25	20	30-44	49	48	42	30	15
40	42	45-64	54	38	44	35	10
19	28	65+	51	34	45	35	10
		Religion					
33	59	Protestant/other Christian	49	41	39	38	16
34	25	Catholic	66	30	46	29	8
5	2	Jewish	47	49	—	—	—
		Income					
19	12	Less than \$30,000	58	37	45	26	8
18	16	\$30,000-\$49,999	60	33	41	30	15

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20	21	\$50,000-\$74,999	48	41	47	35	10
40	52	\$75,000 or more	47	49	41	38	13
Education							
53	50	Less than college	57	36	46	32	12
47	50	More than college	46	48	40	36	12

\*Not party registration; party the voter identifies with.

\*\*Percentages are over 100% in the original.

- Indicates no results or subgroup too small to break out.

Percentages may not add up to 100% when not all categories are shown.

The National Election Pool Exit Poll was conducted by Edison/Mitofsky. The sample was 1,105 voters who cast ballots in the California Republican primary and 1,908 in the California Democratic primary, and they were interviewed as they existed 40 polling places in addition to the about 300 absentee and/or early voters who were interviewed in a pre-election telephone poll.

Source: *National Election Pool Exit Poll*, quoted in *The Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 2008, A17.

Second, we will see that one fourth of the voters had decided within 3 days for the candidate of their choice. Third, women voters outnumbered men by 54% vs. 46%, and the majority of women supported Clinton regardless of their age and educational backgrounds. In addition, more people over the age of 45 and the less than college educated supported Clinton. These characteristics are also true for the age and education sections including men. Fourth, as for income, 40% of the voters earn more than \$75,000, whose ratio does not represent the national proportions, and Clinton received a significant number of voters who earn less than 49,999 dollars.

Finally, Whites consisted of only half of the voters, whereas Latinos made remarkable progress (30%) compared with Asians and Blacks, and they cast their votes two to one for Clinton which followed closely the same patterns of Catholic votes. As for Whites, they actually made up almost half (48%) of the adult population. However, before the primary in 2008, seven out of ten of the state's likely voters were White (72%), while Latinos consisted of 31% of California's adult population. Despite this number they comprised only 14% of California likely voters, and two out of three Latino likely voters live in Southern California, about 40% of them living in Los Angeles County<sup>50</sup>.

**Table 7 The final statewide results on the Democratic presidential primary in the state of California**

Ranking	Candidate	The vote	Percentage
1	Hillary Clinton	2,524,789	51.8
2	Barack Obama	2,093,318	42.9
3	John Edwards	188,634	3.9
4	Dennis Kucinich	23,077	0.5
5	Bill Richardson	19,367	0.4
6	Joe Biden	17,748	0.3
7	Mike Gravel	7,870	0.1
8	Chris Dodd	7,807	0.1

Statewide Results 100%, 23,109 of 23,109 precincts, reporting as of March 4, 2008.

Source:<http://primary2008.sos.ca.gov>Returns/pres/dem/59.htm> (June 20, 2008).

According to this election result, Clinton received 204 and Obama 166 pledged delegates in California<sup>51)</sup>. Later, California Secretary of State Bowen validated the final result on the California Democratic primary as shown in Table 7. This includes vote-by-mail ballots. From this table, we will see how difficult it is to predict the voter's behavior compared with the information from Table 1 conducted by *the Field Poll*. The final outcome shows the numbers are beyond their margin.

## 2) Latino votes

The Latino vote was highly focused in this primary as I previously mentioned. What was the significant difference before the primary in 2008 and what were the issues for them? According to Professor Luis DeSipio, University of California at Irvine, the new aspect in 2008 was that Whites accepted the importance of traditional themes for Latinos. There were three important issues for Latinos in California: Economy (54%), medical (22%), and the war in Iraq. Professor DeSipio stressed the importance of the war in Iraq for Latinos because there were many Latinos in the army and many casualties among them<sup>52)</sup>. We can tell Latinos hoped to change the status quo established by the Bush administration, so they affiliated with Democrats<sup>53)</sup>.

As Table 6 indicates, Latino votes for Democrats in California were increasing dramatically up to 30% although Table 4 shows 20% of Latinos before the primary. This number was near their demographic distribution, whereas Latinos for Republicans comprised only 13%. Other research on party affiliation shows that the share of California Democrats are divided with 23% of Latinos and 77% of non-Latinos, and among these registered Latino voters number 18% and non-Latinos 82%<sup>54)</sup>. These numbers prove how Latinos have made a contribution on the 2008 Democratic primary.

I will now compare Latino votes in California with other states. The percentage of Latinos is relatively high in California (35.9%) as compared with that of Colorado (19.5%), and New York (16.3%), except for New Mexico (44.7%). Clinton won a majority of Latino votes in several states, such as her own base in New York, and in New Jersey, Massachusetts, and California. The Latino votes in Arizona and New Mexico also indicated nearly the same patterns as 60% for Clinton and 34% or 37% for Obama. He offered a close fight to Clinton in Illinois (48% vs. 51%) where he was elected as Senator; approximately 15% of those Democratic votes were Latinos. Obama also made a good fight in Connecticut<sup>55)</sup>.

In view of the fact that Obama, regardless of his popularity as a whole, could not get the majority of Latino votes in any state, we must pay special attention as to why Obama lost those Latino votes. Obama, who called himself as “half-white and half-black,” referred to this racial issue in his South Carolina victory speech, saying, “The assumption that African-Americans can't support the white candidate, whites can't support the African-American candidate, blacks and Latinos can't come together—but we are here tonight to say that this is not the America we believe in<sup>56)</sup>.” However, these results seemed to show that in reality deep-rooted racial tensions still exist between Latinos and African-Americans.

## 4. Campaign Finance and California

During any campaign, money is a very important factor for candidates. After the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act took into effect in 2004, the limit in hard money contributions to a candidate is limited to a maximum of \$2,000 per person and this has been indexed for inflation in future years<sup>57)</sup>. In addition, any corporation or trade union is prohibited from contributing to a presidential candidate or the candidate's



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campaign committee. Within this limitation, candidates must raise enough money to operate their campaigns apart from soft money which is donations to party committees. The key factor for the campaign finance is to obtain small but many contributors.

Now why is so much money needed on their campaigns? Candidates need to cover coast to coast campaign expenses in the U.S. According to the Federal Election Commission and the Associated Press, for example, Obama used his money for a 30-second Super Bowl advertisement (\$250,000), and in the October-December period, \$709,578 for printing costs, \$1 million for postage, \$353 to Dunkin' Donuts, and \$5.7 million for travel and lodging costs. Clinton paid for ads in California, Arizona and six other states (since January 23, more than \$1.6 million), and in the October-December period, \$1.3 million for printing costs, \$332,001 for postage, \$18,552 for an event at Morton's steakhouse in Chicago, and \$4.1 million for travel and lodging costs<sup>58</sup>). From all those numbers, we see that their campaign travel expenditures raised their expenses.

Table 8 shows how the people in California made big contributions to the candidates as of December 31, 2007. Before the presidential primary began, Californians had already made significant contributions for both candidates. At this point, Clinton gained more contribution dollars from California than Obama.

**Table 8 The Top Five Contributions from Individuals by State**

Rank	Hillary Clinton				Barack Obama			
	State	Contribution Count	Contribution Amount (dollars)	Percent of Total	State	Contribution Count	Contribution Amount (dollars)	Percent of Total
1	New York	16,751	23,414,276	24.65	California	15,147	14,412,132	19.91
2	California	14,895	18,527,362	19.51	Illinois	12,275	10,676,121	14.75
3	Florida	4,666	6,109,700	6.43	New York	9,122	9,361,497	12.94
4	New Jersey	3,474	4,791,033	5.04	Massachusetts	4,047	3,596,896	4.97
5	DC*	3,969	4,783,821	5.04	Florida	4,122	3,383,804	4.68

\*District of Columbia

Source: Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton Biography and Political Campaign Contributions ([http://www.campaignmoney.com/biography/barack\\_obama.asp?cycle=08](http://www.campaignmoney.com/biography/barack_obama.asp?cycle=08), July 3, 2008); Barack Hussein Obama Biography and Political Campaign Contributions ([http://www.campaignmoney.com/biography/hillary\\_clinton.asp?cycle=08](http://www.campaignmoney.com/biography/hillary_clinton.asp?cycle=08), July 3, 2008).

However, once the primary started on January in 2008, the trend changed. Obama received more contributions than Clinton in California. Before the primary in California, Obama raised \$32 million in January alone, more than double that of Clinton. On the other hand, Clinton raised \$27 million in three months from November, 2007 to January, 2008. Those amounts are relatively high compared with Republican candidates. For example, Republican presidential candidate McCain raised \$32 million in the first nine months in 2007, whereas Clinton raised \$91 million and Obama got \$80 million<sup>59</sup>).

After the California presidential primary election ended, the trend did not change. The campaign finance raised in California through May 31, 2008 was that Obama got \$1,954,317, while Clinton got \$1,451,667<sup>60</sup>). The difference on contributions in California between the two candidates increased dramatically after Obama became the predominant presidential candidate for Democrats. Obama gained \$4,065,489, on the

other hand, Clinton gained \$226,745 through July 31, 2008<sup>61)</sup>.

On February 6, 2008, the day after Super Tuesday, Clinton suddenly made public that her campaign debts had swelled to \$5 million in January, and that some of her top staff members were currently working without pay. On the same day Obama announced that he had raised an additional \$5.2 million since the polls closed Tuesday. According to *the Los Angeles Times*, Clinton's purpose in revealing her debts was an attempt to narrow the financial gap between the two candidates<sup>62)</sup>. This announcement itself also seemed to be her strategy to obtain voter's sympathy, and obtain more contributions. Obama had taken positive steps ahead of Clinton to earn more donations from voters through homepages or blogs selling original campaign goods with his name on such items as T-shirts, buttons, caps, stickers, and "Support Packs." Thus, the role of using the Internet was a huge device and savings box to communicate with the public in this campaign.

## V Grassroots Opinion in California

So far I have analyzed the California Democratic presidential primary depending on public papers, the newspapers, and other materials where most of the public opinion showed Clinton's lead. However, I personally felt that most of the people who lived in the area of Los Angeles where I lived and went to UCLA support Obama. As a result, I decided to conduct a personal questionnaire in February 2008<sup>63)</sup>.

The sample involved a small group of people, but I found some detailed reasons why they chose their candidates. Of those 13 likely voters for Democrats, 8 persons supported Obama, 4 persons supported Clinton, and one had not chosen a candidate for he was still unsure of his choice. The supporters for Clinton were all females over 50 years old.

The reasons for supporting Obama varied. Some said, "He shows promise of being one who can unite the country", "He brings young people into the political process", and "He shows promise of being able to work with both sides of Congress". Some others wrote, "More of a Washington outsider", "Has broad support-bottom up", "More closely of what than Clinton". In addition to these answers, they explain using the word "change" such as "change more likely with Obama", "progress-change" and "social and economic change with a bottom-up view."

In contrast, Clinton's supporters stressed her personal character and experience. For example, they said "Smart and savvy", "Experienced and substantial", "Women and what a change", "Loyalty to her as a woman and a feminist", "She'll be highly competent", "She knows more about the job of President" and "She will be a sharp and fair President."

Concerning the issues, I presented them with 6 items : 5 subject headings, and one titled "Others." I asked participants to rank these items in order of their importance (Table 9).

Table 9 Ranking of most important issues for California

Rank (points)	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total points	Persons	Average
Issues	(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)			
Education	5	4	0	2	0	0	56	11	5.09

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Health Care	2	6	3	0	1	0	56	12	4.67
The Economy	3	1	4	2	1	1	48	12	4.00
Immigration	1	0	3	3	3	2	35	12	2.92
Environmentally Friendly	1	0	0	5	5	0	31	11	2.82
Others	1	1	1	0	1	4	21	8	2.63

It may come as a surprise, but Education, Health Care and the Economy were the top three issues for these California voters, and Immigration was fourth place near Environmentally Friendly. Some even said they were not at all concerned about Immigration. Other issues were the following: War in Iraq (2) (Answers of rank 1 and 2), Housing (2), Poverty, Public Transportation in California, race/gender/class justice, and “Thinks well and will carry out”.

At the same time, many reasons were given as to why they ranked those issues. Those who answered Education was the first priority said, “By addressing this issue, leaders can solve a lot of other issues. The Economy and Health Care are huge as I move later into my life”, “We need a longer range view of our own self interest. Good education is the key to an opportunity for a decent life for those who now left behind, and for the good of all of us and future generations” and “The two most important things for society are Education and Health Care, everything else follows when these two issues are addressed.” Some other voters who chose Health Care as a first rank said, “Health Care affects everything, and Education is the most important means to affect changes.” Furthermore, some voters who thought the Economy should be the first said, “The economy must be healthy in order to provide better educational and health care opportunities. Immigration must be controlled—too much of taxpayers’ dollars are being spent to support illegal immigrants’ needs”. Finally, some who chose Others (War in Iraq) as the second in importance said, “We need to keep economy healthy for all our citizens, so the Iraq veterans can find jobs when the war is over.” We can see that the five items I have picked are related to each other.

My last question was whether they would still support the candidate in the same party if their previous candidate was not selected as the party representative. There were eight likely voters who answered yes, three no, and two voters said not sure. Those who answered yes said that either candidate was acceptable because they agreed with their ideology, the party’s platform, and is the Democratic candidate. Some others said they needed to switch out of the entrenched Republicans and get out of the war and improve the economy, and some worried about the Republican candidate’s age. The most unique answers for me were that voters would be willing to accept the party’s choice even if the candidate was not the voter’s first choice. A supporter for Clinton said, “In fact I think it would be better if Obama won the nomination. He can run a stronger race against McCain and that there is a chance that he could be really great. Clinton will be good but not likely to be great.” On the other hand, an Obama backer said, “I like Hillary and think she would pursue policies and values that I believe in.”

Three persons said no; in one case, an Obama supporter would not vote, and two (for Obama and Clinton) said that they would vote for the best person regardless of the party the candidate represents. One of the latter said that she hoped a Democrat would win because the next president would probably appoint two Supreme Court justices and the Republicans who already have too many appointees on the court. A voter for Obama who answered not sure said that it would depend on the running mate McCain

chose. She worries because Clinton is too divisive, and has too much “excess baggage (i.e., husband Bill, rigidity in wanting to have her way).”

For all the answers I received, I got the impression that voters placed their hopes on this primary, giving me a clue as to why Californians really wanted to change their politics.

## VI Conclusion

The 2008 California Democratic presidential primary election still did not produce a decisive candidate even after Super Tuesday. Clinton’s victory in the state prevented Obama from becoming the front-runner. Despite the probable reliability of the poll showing a margin of error of  $\pm 4.5\%$  points in California, the exact outcome was unpredictable. This occurred mainly because consideration was not given to a particularly distinctive factor in California: that of the strong solidarity between Clinton and Latinos. Obama was unable to overcome this despite his intense popularity and a larger amount of monetary contribution.

So, how could Clinton defeat Obama in California? And why did Obama lose the biggest contest in the nation? Suffering from an unexpected uphill battle before Super Tuesday, Clinton’s political strategy kept building up an energetic campaign. She made every steady effort to grasp the heart of voters. There are four clues as to why Clinton won in California.

First of all, her campaign strategy was superior in quality to Obama’s. She succeeded in corralling voters, especially the block votes by labor unions, women, and Latinos. Clinton’s California campaign manager directed a statewide army of volunteers with cell phones dialing furiously for voters. The team made 2 million calls over the final weekend of the campaign, and a million more from 5 to 8 p.m. on Super Tuesday alone to reach the absentee voters, women and Latinos who had been identified as likely Clinton supporters in the Democratic primary. These unprecedented efforts blunted Obama’s surge, and brought Clinton a big win with about a 10-point margin in California<sup>64</sup>.

Second, Clinton carried out her rallies energetically using other politicians. Her professional connections, especially those of politicians who have their roots in the local community, really made a difference. In her final Bay Area campaign, she was surrounded by “a routine of high-profile Democrats,” including California Senator Dianne Feinstein, Assembly Speaker Fabian Núñez and Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa<sup>65</sup>. Clinton has presented a clear and concrete vision, and her name recognition made all the difference for Obama.

Third, Clinton succeeded in capturing the Latino vote and many Latinos went to vote. High turnouts of Latino votes in this election also should be the fruits of the Latino community promoting the acquisition of citizenship and voter registration. A professor of political science at California State University at Fullerton Raphael Sonenshein pointed out, “Hillary Clinton is a totally familiar and trusted brand name in the Latino community and the Democratic Party<sup>66</sup>.” Clinton’s California campaign manager paid particular attention to the 120,000 Latino absentee voters and Latinos in general, enlisting surrogates for face to face campaigning who included Los Angeles Mayor Villaraigosa, Assembly Speaker Núñez and United Farm Workers co-founder Dolores Huerta who led the United Farm Workers with Cesar Chavez. Thus, Clinton drew a huge turnout from Latino voters, who had loyalty and were looking for leadership<sup>67</sup>.

For Latino votes, it is important that “face-to-face contact between voters and those seeking their

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support has been replaced by modern campaign tactics<sup>68)</sup>” as Clinton did. So she got a significant turnout from them. Judging from the Latinos’ economic conditions, I estimated at least 30% of Latino voters’ annual incomes were relatively low, especially because those who became citizens recently included immigrants or their children<sup>69)</sup>. They supported Clinton as a protector to maintain their position.

In addition to the fact of her name recognition, her position in favor of labor, her husband’s presidency and securing early endorsements from some of California’s Latino leaders, we must consider at the same time the racial antagonism between African-Americans and Latinos as countermeasures to Obama’s gaining Latino votes. Obama attempted to get the Latino vote, but in reality was unable to succeed.

Another reason Obama could not gain the majority of Latino vote is his position on illegal immigrants. Both candidates supported a path to legal status for the nation’s estimated 12 million illegal immigrants, and both called for tougher immigration enforcement<sup>70)</sup>. As I mentioned before, the difference between the two candidates was especially on driver’s licenses for undocumented immigrants. Obama supported licenses, drivers training and insurance to protect public safety, whereas Clinton said in a statement, “As president, I will not support driver’s licenses for undocumented people<sup>71)</sup>.” A newspaper introduced an article of about 70 Latino voters’ opinions in Oakland that Obama would make immigration reform a higher priority if elected, and they criticized Clinton for backpedaling on whether to let undocumented immigrants become licensed drivers<sup>72)</sup>. However, I doubt that Latinos who obtain citizenship really want to take Obama’s position. Latino voters will not indiscriminately approve the undocumented immigrants because of their illegalities and economic rivals among Latinos.

Fourth, the factor that numbers of female voters are larger than males also tends to create an advantage for Clinton. In addition, the number of females among Latino immigrants has grown since 1970 even with the well-established, traditionally male-dominated migration flow from Mexico<sup>73)</sup>. Latino female voters expected to surpass males by 51% vs. 49% before California’s primary<sup>74)</sup>. In short, these characteristics pushed Latino votes for Clinton.

Other factors which might affect directly or indirectly the voting patters are the following. Clinton not only opened her home page, but also sent her message directly to registrants by email nearly everyday using their first name. On the other hand, Obama put the word “Friend” instead of using each registrant’s name. Her email had a very sophisticated style as a whole. It was easy to read using the same framework every time with a tricolor American flag, and sometimes putting stress on important sentences in bold letters. When one opened her email, one could soon contribute to her from the first page. In those emails, she wrote the messages as if she spoke directly to the people. She often used the words, “you and I” and “we”. Before Super Tuesday, Bill Clinton and their daughter Chelsea Clinton also sent messages to registrants. Her homepage was also well organized, so readers could easily find the issues as well as her ideas with some pictures, and a discussion board in addition to watching her address on video.

Furthermore, Clinton showed the white feather by accident. During the campaign, she always acted like a strong woman with great self-respect, at least before the media. However, people’s prying eyes changed after she showed another aspect of herself. It happened on January 7 at a restaurant in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. A woman asked Clinton, “How did you get out the door every day? I mean as a woman, I know how hard it is to get out of the house and get ready. Who does your hair?” Clinton chuckled, putting her elbows on the table, and could not answer decently. This was the only moment in this campaign when Clinton publicly displayed vulnerability<sup>75)</sup>. Politics is a sort of speculation and voting is conducted by

human beings with emotion. This action by Clinton was repeated by the news media, allowing her to draw sympathy from some voters in California, especially women and the undecided.

In conclusion, Clinton's shrewd strategy and capacity for organization defeated Obama, and brought her victory in California. On May 11 after Super Tuesday when Obama took a Mother's Day break, however, the superdelegates for Obama amounted to 273 and created a tie between the two leading Democratic presidential candidates for the first time. Clinton always surpassed him in the number of superdelegates and the difference was at one time more than 100 in Clinton's favor at the beginning of January, 2008<sup>76)</sup>. That was her advantage. After that, the situation changed in favor of Obama's advantage despite the DMC's count of the delegates in Michigan and Florida.

Did California play a big role in moving their primary forward to February? As *the Los Angeles Times* pointed out, the California primary gave the state a taste of real participation in the presidential nomination process for the first time in decades. In hindsight, California could have played another key role if their primary had maintained its early March primary<sup>77)</sup>.

In view of all these aspects, the voters in California had high expectations in playing a big role once Super Tuesday had begun. Therefore, the turnout was so high. Every state, including the territory in Puerto Rico, paid attention to the candidates, the media, and the voters, so interest in the primary remained active till the end. As for the candidates, however, this primary showed us that they might lose even though they won the big and strong constituency. Now it is time to think the lesson from the Democratic primary in 2008 not depending on the big state and big money.

According to a recent survey, the number of eligible voters in Latino population is increasing with certainty. The younger generation will prove to be a force among voters<sup>78)</sup>. A demographic researcher estimates that Latinos, who form the largest legal immigrant group in California, are two-thirds of children between the age of 12 and 17 in immigrant families. He adds that these future voters are likely to be sympathetic toward policies that promote immigrant integration<sup>79)</sup>. For all those reasons, the Latino vote will be paid more attention by politicians and the political parties in the future.

After finishing the nomination contest for the Democratic Party, Clinton and Obama called for unity in the Democratic Party on June 27. Now, Democratic presidential candidate Obama who is 47 years old and Republican candidate McCain for who is 72 years old are considerably aware of young and minority voters. For example, both Obama and McCain made a speech on June 28, 2008 at the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials attempting to court the Latino vote. After revealing their policies on immigration issues, Obama criticized McCain's policy toward Iraq while McCain said Obama did not understand the situation. Obama has now changed to a more moderate position and is trying to gain from broader voters<sup>80)</sup>.

Now Obama picked Delaware Senator Joe Biden, not Clinton, as a candidate of Vice President at the Democrat National Convention at the end of August, 2008. Biden is a Catholic, as most Latinos are, and an expert for foreign policies which Obama needs to be helped. On the other hand, McCain nominated Governor of Alaska Sarah Palin as his running mate who is younger than Obama and is extremely aware of the Clinton's votes or women's votes at the Republican National Convention in September, 2008. Thus another campaign has begun. Will California truly play a key role in the race for the 2008 General Election?

### Note

- 1 ) The word primary is not only use for the presidential primary election but also for some elections when officials are chosen at a local level. In this article, I will use the word primary meaning the presidential primary hereafter unless otherwise indicated.
- 2 ) Barack Obama was born on August 4, 1961 in Hawaii. He received a BA in international relations from Columbia University and went to Harvard Law School where he became the first African-American president of the *Harvard Law Review*. He became a Senator of Illinois on November 2, 2004, after he served for seven years as an Illinois state senator. *The Time* magazine dubbed him one of the 100 most influential people in the world in 2005. His father is a Harvard-educated economist who was born in Kenya and his mother is a Caucasian anthropologist (Barack Obama, *Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance*, New York, Three Rivers Press, 2004, pp. vii-viii ; "Meet the Candidate," [http://www.barackobama.com/learn/meet\\_barack.php](http://www.barackobama.com/learn/meet_barack.php), February 5, 2008; "Barack Obama's profile," <http://www.ndtv.com/convergence/ndtv/popups/obamaprofile.asp>, July 10, 2008).  
Hillary Clinton was born on October 26, 1947 in Illinois. Having graduated from Wellesley College, she did not choose Harvard where she encountered a male-dominated society at that time. She began her career as a lawyer after she graduated from Yale Law School. Then she moved to Arkansas, and married Bill Clinton. She was listed as one of the 100 most influential lawyers in the U.S. in 1988-1991. She served as the First Lady of Arkansas from 1979-1981 and 1983-1992, and was the First Lady of the U.S. in 1993-2001. After moving to New York, she was elected as U.S. Senator in 2000 and 2006 (Hillary Rodham Clinton, *Living History*, New York: Scribner, 2003, pp.2, 57; "Hillary Clinton's Profile," <http://www.ndtv.com/convergence/ndtv/popups/hillaryprofile.asp>, July 10, 2008).
- 3 ) Democratic primary turnout exceeded Republican one in most states except six by March 4 when John McCain clinched the Republican nomination. The six states included McCain's home state Arizona, Florida and Michigan in which Democratic primaries were nullified, and the rest three states were overwhelmingly strong for Republican (Democratic Party (United State) presidential primaries, 2008, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Party\\_\(United\\_States\)\\_presidential\\_primaries,\\_2008#Candidates\\_and\\_results](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Party_(United_States)_presidential_primaries,_2008#Candidates_and_results), June 6, 2008).
- 4 ) United States presidential election, 2008 ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/U.S.\\_presidential\\_election,\\_2008](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/U.S._presidential_election,_2008), July 8, 2008).
- 5 ) I have researched and interviewed at the polling stations (University Cooperative Housing Association Hardman-Hansen Hall at 500 Landfair, Los Angeles and Christ-Centered Fraternity at 515 Landfair, Los Angeles) on February 5, 2008 and conducted a survey in California. Please see details in Chapter IV. 2 and V.
- 6 ) Pew Hispanic Center, "Hispanics Key to Clinton Victories in Nation's Two Biggest States," *Fact Sheet*, March 7, 2008, p.1 (<http://pewhispanic.org/files/factsheets/vote2008/HispanicsKey.pdf>, December 17, 2008).
- 7 ) Los Angeles County, Registrar-Recorder/County Clerk, "Calendar of Events, Presidential Primary Election, February 5, 2008," ([http://www.lavote.net/Voter/PDFS/CALENDAR\\_EVENTS/02052008.pdf](http://www.lavote.net/Voter/PDFS/CALENDAR_EVENTS/02052008.pdf), June 6, 2008).
- 8 ) In California, the pre-election cut-off period for registering to vote was reduced by the Legislature to 15 from 29 days in 2001 (Historical Voter Registration and Voter Participation in Statewide Primary Elections:1910-2008, Secretary of State in California Debra Bowen, [http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008\\_primary/106\\_historical\\_voter\\_res\\_primary\\_feb08.pdf](http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008_primary/106_historical_voter_res_primary_feb08.pdf), May 9, 2008).
- 9 ) Secretary of State Bowen, *California Presidential Primary Election, Official Voter Information Guide* (Sacramento, California: Secretary of State, December 13, 2007), pp.5-6.
- 10) Fact Sheet, Governor Elevates California's influence in the 2008 Presidential Election, Setting Stage for Broader Political Reforms, Office of the Governor (<http://www.gov.ca.gov/index.php?/fact-sheet/5646/>, July 10, 2008). In

the election of 2004, Senator Kerry emerged from the pack just after the winning of the Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary in January, 2004 (Samuel Kernell and Gary C. Jacobson, *The Logic of American Politics*, third edition, Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 2006, pp.11, 488).

- 11) "Finally, California's presidential primary count," ([http://www.mercurynews.com/localnewsheadlines/ci\\_8155851](http://www.mercurynews.com/localnewsheadlines/ci_8155851), July 10, 2008).
- 12) Historical Voter Registration and Voter Participation in Statewide Primary Elections—1910–2008, Secretary of State Bowen ([http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008\\_primary/106\\_historical\\_voter\\_res\\_primary\\_feb08.pdf](http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008_primary/106_historical_voter_res_primary_feb08.pdf), May 9, 2008).
- 13) Press Release, Governor Schwarzenegger's Press Secretary Issues Statement Regarding California's Presidential Primary, Office of the Governor, February 7, 2007 (<http://www.gov.ca.gov/index.php?/print-version/press-release/5382/>, June 22, 2008).
- 14) Press Release, Governor Schwarzenegger Signs to Move California's Presidential Primary to February, Office of the Governor, March 15, 2007 (<http://www.gov.ca.gov/index.php?/print-version/press-release/5649/>, June 22, 2008); Governor Elevates California's Influence in the 2008 Presidential Election, Setting Stage for Broader Political Reforms, Fact Sheet, Office of the Governor, n.d. (<http://www.gov.ca.gov/index.php?/fact-sheet/5646/>, June 22, 2008).
- 15) Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey M. Berry and Jerry Goldman, *The Challenge of Democracy: Government in America*, 9th ed. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008), p.269. The reason why the primary in New Hampshire moved to January 8 in 2008 was that they should move its primary ahead of Michigan's. There is a state law says New Hampshire must vote at least a week before any other primary ("Election 2008, primary calendar: Democratic nominating contests," *The New York Times*, June 6, 2008, <http://politics.nytimes.com/election-guide/2008/primaries/democraticprimaries/index.html>, June 6, 2008).
- 16) "The definitions on the delegates are followed by Delegate Dance," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 7, 2008, A1; "California: Super Tuesday's big prize," *The Los Angeles Times*, February 1, 2008, B2.
- 17) "Democratic Party (United States) presidential primaries, 2008," The DNC allowed Nevada and South Carolina to move their contests to January to provide regional and ethnic balance ("Election 2008, primary calendar," *The New York Times*).

The Florida legislature passed a bill in May 2007 against the DNC regulation, so the DNC ruled that their delegates would not be seated at the Democratic National Convention. The presidential candidates promised not to campaign in Florida. On the other hand, the state of Michigan also moved its primary to January 15, 2008 in violation of party rules. The DNC ruled that Michigan's pledged delegates would not be counted. Regardless of this rule, they held their primary with only Clinton and other three candidates on the Ballot. Although the voter turnout in both states was relatively low, Clinton claimed wins in Florida and Michigan. After careful negotiations between the DNC and the state parties, the DNC Rules and Bylaws Committee finally voted unanimously (27–0) to restore half–votes to all the Florida Delegates including superdelegates on May 31, 2008 regardless of unfair conditions. Michigan delegates as well were given half–votes (Democratic Party (United State) presidential primaries, 2008).

- 18) "2008 National Democratic Delegate Overview, The California Democratic Party," (<http://www.cadem.org/site/c.jrLZK2PyHmF/b.3643973>, May 29, 2008). The delegate Affirmative Action goals are 26% of Latino/Hispanic, 16% of African–American, 9% of Asian and Pacific Islander, 1% of Native American, and 10% of youth under 30 and so on; Press Release, Governor Schwarzenegger's Press Secretary Issues Statement Regarding California's Presidential Primary, Office of the Governor.



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- 19) "2008 National Democratic Delegate Overview," The California Democratic Party.
- 20) Ted Kennedy appeared at an Obama rally on February 1, 2008 at East Los Angeles Community College, where he invoked his late brother Robert's and the family's work with Latino farm workers ("Clinton has roots with Latinos," *The Los Angeles Times*, February 2, 2008, A14). He is also known as the architect of an immigration reform measure that would have created a path to legal status for most of the nation's undocumented immigrants, and this is also an important issue for many Latino voters ("Dems vie for Latino voters in California," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 1, 2008, A15).
- 21) "Statement is the epicenter of Dems' Epic Day at Polls," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 4, 2008, A1, 6; "Obama's surprise endorser," *The Sacramento Bee*, February 4, 2008, A1, 14.
- 22) "Rally with Hillary Clinton, Hillary for President," (<http://hillaryclinton.com/actioncenter/event/view/?id=7983>, February 1, 2008); "State is epicenter of Dems' epic day," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 4, 2008, A6. Former President Bill Clinton is famous for a supporter in favor of labor and labor union.
- 23) "News Room," (<http://www.hillaryclinton.com/news/>, February 5, 2008).
- 24) "A friendlier feud," *The Sacramento Bee*, February 1, 2008, A1, 14; "Clinton has roots with Latinos," *The Los Angeles Times*.
- 25) "Dems' debate is virtual lovefest," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 1, 2008, A1.
- 26) Melissa R. Michelson, "Getting out the Latino Vote: How Door-to-Door Canvassing Influences Voter Turnout in Rural Central California," *Political Behavior*, vol.25, no.3, September 2003, pp.248-249.
- 27) Kim Geron, *Latino Political Power* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishing, 2005), pp.98-99. In the November 2000 election, 60 % of Latinos in the U.S. are not eligible to vote. There are more than 12 million Latinos under eighteen, and 9 million voting-age Latinos are not U.S. citizens.
- 28) Rodolfo O. de la Garza and Louis DeSipio, "Reshaping the Tub: The Limits of the VRA for Latino Electoral Politics," David L. Epstein and Richard H. Pildes etc. eds., *The Future of the Voting Rights Act* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006), p.152.
- 29) "The Battle for Latino Vote," *The Time*, February 1, 2008 (<http://www.time.com/time/politics/article/0,8599,1709033,00.html>, July 25, 2008).
- 30) "Dems battle over Latino voters," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 1, 2008, A15.
- 31) "Generaciones de Kennedys respaldan a Barack Obama para Presidente," *La Opinión*, February 3, 5A. In fact, presidential endorsements by Kennedy family were divided. See details on "Kennedy clan endorsements: a house divides," *The Los Angeles Times*, February 8, 2008, A18.
- 32) "¡ Votar es muy fácil !" *La Opinión*, February 3, 2008, 8A.
- 33) "Nuestras recomendaciones—Partido Demócrata : Barack Obama," *La Opinión*, February 3, 2008, 10A.
- 34) "The Battle for Latino Vote," *The Time*.
- 35) "California Polls-2008 Primary Presidential Election Results Exit Poll," (<http://www.presidentpolls2008.com/primary-election-poll-results/california-democratic-republican-polls.html>, July 3, 2008). Other surveys conducted by Rasmussen Reports and released on February 2, 2008 also showed the small margin on Obama leads (45% vs. 44%) for 798 likely Democratic voters ("Election 2008:California democratic Presidential Primary," February 3, 2008, [http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public\\_content/politics/election\\_20082/2008\\_presidential\\_election/california/election\\_2008\\_california\\_democratic\\_presidential\\_primary](http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/politics/election_20082/2008_presidential_election/california/election_2008_california_democratic_presidential_primary), June 6, 2008). The unpredictable polls happened not only for the Democrats, but also for the Republicans in California. Six out of nine polls which took place after February 1 in 2008 showed Mitt Romney's (a former governor of Massachusetts) lead though the

- margin is not so high.
- 36) Report of Registration as of January 22, 2008, Voter Registration Statistics by County, Secretary of State Bowen ([http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008\\_primary/03\\_county\\_reg\\_totals\\_012208.pdf](http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008_primary/03_county_reg_totals_012208.pdf), May 9, 2008). The rest of the registers were 0.81% for Green, 0.51% for Libertarian, 0.36% for Peace and Freedom and 0.62% for others.
  - 37) Voter Participation Statistics by County, Secretary of State Bowen ([http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008\\_primary/04\\_voter\\_stats\\_by\\_county\\_feb08.pdf](http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008_primary/04_voter_stats_by_county_feb08.pdf), May 9, 2008). In Los Angeles county, which has the biggest registered voters of a state total (3,963,780; 25.23%), and the total voters for presidential primary in 2008 are 2,183,998. Of those numbers, the precinct voters were more than average (1,701,077; 77.89%, state average is 58.35%) and vote-by-mail voters were about half of a state total (482,921; 22.11%, state average is 41.65%).
  - 38) "Primary: nonpartisan on the rise," *The Sacramento Bee*, January 31, 2008, B2; "Election," *The Daily News*, February 7, 2007, A10.
  - 39) Some states need not ID, but some others need one or even double ID when they vote.
  - 40) "Vote in-candidate gone," *The Sacramento Bee*, January 31, 2008, B1
  - 41) Vote-By-Mail Status, Secretary of State Bowen (<http://primary2008.sos.ca.gov/Misc/votebymail.htm>, July 19, 2008).
  - 42) Unprocessed Ballots 2008 Presidential Primary-February 5, 2008, updated February 27, 2008 ([http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/election\\_2008/unproc\\_ballots/6feb23.pdf](http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/election_2008/unproc_ballots/6feb23.pdf), May 5, 2008).
  - 43) "Vote in-candidate gone," *The Sacramento Bee*.
  - 44) "Long election night likely," *The Sacramento Bee*, January 23, 2008, B1, 3.
  - 45) "Record turnout, long wait forecast," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 5, 2008, A7. It is still fresh in our memory that some confusions came to national attention during the disputed results of the 2000 presidential election. That was "undervoting" (voters do not mark a selection in a contest) and "overvoting" (voters mark too many selections in the same contest) in addition to "punching a hole or not."
  - 46) "Could be a record," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 6, 2008, A1.
  - 47) "Record turnout, long wait forecast," *The San Francisco Chronicle*.
  - 48) Ibid, A15.
  - 49) "Democrat results," *The USA Today*, February 7, 2008, 10A. When the primary was over in California, the headlines on the newspapers bore the caption: "Split decision for Clinton, Obama; McCain takes major states handily," *The Los Angeles Times*, February 6, 2008, A1; "California swings to Clinton, McCain," *The Daily News*, February 6, 2008, A1, and "McCain wins key states; Clinton, Obama fight on," *The USA Today*, February 6, 2008, 1A.
  - 50) "Latino Voters in California," *Just the Facts*, Public Policy Institute of California, September 2007 ([http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/jtf/jtf\\_latinovotersjtf.pdf](http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/jtf/jtf_latinovotersjtf.pdf), July 24, 2008).
  - 51) Democratic Party (United State) presidential primaries, 2008. The result of Republican candidates was as follows: John McCain for 42% (985,900 votes), Mitt Romney for 34% (801,568 votes), and Mike Huckabee for 12% (272,638 votes) ("President," *The Daily News*, February 7, 2008, A10).
  - 52) "Latinos irrumpen en arena política," *La Opinión*, February 6, 2008, 12A. No share was shown in this article on the war in Iraq.
  - 53) The share of Latino voters who registered as the Democratic Party increased 57% in 2007, while the Republican Party lost their shares by 23% ("Latino voters," *The Los Angeles Times*, February 2, 2008, A14).
  - 54) "Party affiliation," NALEO Educational Fund, n.d., quoted in *The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 1, 2008, A15.
  - 55) "Latinos irrumpen en arena política," *La Opinión*, February 6, 2008, 1A; "Se despierta 'el gigante dormido'" *La*

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- Opinión*, February 7, 2008, 1A, 8A; "Super Tuesday a watershed for Latino voters" *The Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 2008, A12.
- 56) "The Battle for the Latino Vote," *The Time*.
- 57) Janda, Berry and Goldman, *The Challenge of Democracy*, p.281. According to the homepage by Obama, the maximum amount an individual is up to \$2,300 per election, and the primary and general elections count separately (The Official Online Store for Barack Obama for President Campaign, <http://store.barackobama.com/>, February 5, 2008).
- 58) "Where the money goes," *The Los Angeles Times*, February 8, 2008, A18.
- 59) "Race towards the \$1bn presidency," *The Financial Times*, February 2/3, 2008, p.2.
- 60) "The finance primaries and caucuses: California Democratic Party, campaign finance," *The Washington Post* (Archives; <http://projects.washingtonpost.com/2008-presidential-candidates/primaries/states/ca/d/>, July 8, 2008).
- 61) Ibid.
- 62) "Clinton camp tries to fill money gap," *The Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 2008, A16.
- 63) I conducted my questionnaire on February 3-28, 2008 to 15 Californian, at the University of California at Los Angeles, UCLA Tiverton House, and over the Internet by sending out a questionnaire through the internet or by person-to-person contact. Of those 15 likely voters, there were 13 Democrats and 2 Republicans. The gender balance was 8 females, and 7 males including 2 Republicans. This time I only used the answers provided by the Democrats.
- 64) "Millions of cell calls for Clinton," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 7, 2008, A12.
- 65) "Crowds cheer Clinton in San Jose as she calls California 'the future'," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 1, 2008, A6.
- 66) "Super Tuesday a watershed for Latino voters," *The Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 2008, A12.
- 67) Ibid. Clinton won the absentee vote by an estimated margin of 20%. Furthermore, exit polls showed Clinton's victory by at least 2-1 among Latinos; "Clinton has roots with Latinos," *The Los Angeles Times*, A18.
- 68) Michelson, "Getting out the Latino Vote," *Political Behavior*, p.248.
- 69) According to "the Latino Voters in California," *Just the Facts*, 36% of Latinos likely voters earns less than \$40,000.
- 70) "Dems vie for Latino voters in California," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 1, 2008, A15.
- 71) "Driver's licenses for undocumented immigrants," *The Sacramento Bee*, January 28, 2008, A15.
- 72) "Dems vie for Latino voters in California," *The San Francisco Chronicle*.
- 73) Saskia Sassen, *Globalization and its Discontents* (New York: The New York Press, 1998), p.36.
- 74) "Latino Voters in California," *Just the Facts*.
- 75) "Hillary tears up?: A muskie moment, or a helpful glimpse of 'the real Hillary?'," *The Newsweek*, January 7, 2008 (<http://www.newsweek.com/id/85609>, June 29, 2008).
- 76) "Obama picked up an endorsement from California superdelegate Crystal Strait, a Young Democrats of America board member and a former California Young Democrats president," CNN reported on May 11, 2008. It was an irony that Clinton won the presidential primary election in California, but the turning point of the superdelegates was also by a superdelegate in California.
- 77) "Parting thoughts on Super Tuesday," *The Los Angeles Times*, February 8, 2008, A18.
- 78) U.S. Census Bureau, *Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement, 2006*, Ethnicity and Ancestry Statistic Branch, Population Division (Internet release date is October 5, 2007) (<http://www.census.gov/>

population/socdemo/hispanic/cps2006\_tabl.2a.xls, June 28, 2008).

79) "New wave of voters forecast," *The Sacramento Bee*, April 29, 2008, A1.

80) Candidates intensify the difference in their policies with each other in the primary, yet they tend to seek the median voters towards the General Election. For example, Obama supported the supreme court decision overturning a gun ban in Washington D.C. in June, 2008, though he supported gun control in the past ("Obama supports supreme court reversal of gun ban," *The Guardian*, June 27, 2008, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/jun/27/barackobama.usa>, July 10, 2008). It was reported, "Barack Obama, as he introduces himself to the broader voting public, is emphasizing centrist—even conservative—positions on hot-button issues," ("Obama is shifting to the center," *The Los Angeles Times*, June 28, 2008, A1).

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