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Option: Civilization
The Electoral College Misrepresentation in Donald Trump and Hilary Clinton Presidential Elections.

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## Dedication

I am dedicating this dissertation to a beloved person who has meant and continue to meanthe world to me, although he is no longer of this world "Selmane Messaoud"

I also want to dedicate this work to my loving
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## Dedication

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#### Abstract

Presidential elections in the United States remain one of the most debatable voting systems. Voting for the president goes through two stages; popular vote, and Electoral College vote. Elections final decision, however, falls exclusively to the Electoral College. When Americans cast their ballots, they actually give their voices to electors, who in turn, pledge to vote for party's candidate. The problem in this system lies in the fact that electors do not always keep their promises. Although in founding years, the Electoral College role in elections was not a concern, today, the possibility of the Electoral College vote not matching the popular vote causes social and political tensions. In this run, the present research paper investigates the emerging conflict between the popular vote and the Electoral College vote in the case of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. The election of Donald Trump is a pivotal example which demonstrates how the Electoral College overruled popular vote and raises important questions on the system sense of fair play and justice.


الملخـــص
ما زالت الانتخابات الرئاسية في الولايات المتحدة تشكل واحدا من أكثر أنظمة التصويت إثارة للجدال. إن التصويت لانتخاب الرئيس يمر بمرحلتين؛ النصويت الثنبي، وصوت الهيئة الانتخابية. بيد أن القرار النهائي للانتخابات يقع حصرا على عاتق الهيئة الانتخابية. عندما يدلي الأميركيون بأصو اتهم، فإنهم يعطون أصواتهم للناخبين، الذين بدور هم يتعهوون بالتصويت لمرشح الحزب. وتكمن المشكلة في هذا النظام في حقيقة مفادها أن الناخبين لا يفون بوعودهم دوما. و على الرغم من أن دور الهيئة الانتخابية في الانتخابات لم يكن مصدر فلق في سنوات التأسيس، إلا أن إمكانية عدم تطابق تصويت الهيئة الانتخابية مع الأصوات الثعبية تتسبب اليوم في توترات اجتماعية وسياسية. في هذا السباق، تبحث هذه الورقة البحثية في الصراع الناشئ بين التصويت الشعبي وبين تصويت الهيئة الانتخابية في حالة هيلاري كلينتون ودونالد ترامب. يشكل انتخاب دونالد ترامب مثالا محوريا يظهر كيف ألغت الهيئة الانتخابية التصويت الشعبي، ويثير تساؤلات مهمة حول حس النظام بالإنصاف في اللعب

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## List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

| DT | Donald Trump |
| :--- | :--- |
| EC | Electoral College |
| EP | Electoral Process |
| FPTP | First Past The Post |
| NC | National Convention |
| NEC | National Electoral Campaign |
| NPV | National Popular Vote |
| WTA | Winner Takes All |

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## Introduction

In contemporary political context, presidential elections are perceived as a significant event regardless of the electoral system adopted and the process of election that take place. Nowadays, two major systems of elections are highly adopted; the direct election system where the election results are taken directly from the national popular vote. Second, the indirect electoral system, on the other hand, is more complex process as it goes through a variety of sub stages to reach the final stage; the Electoral College which is a system where the candidate can win the elections by simply getting the majority of electoral votes 270 to be more precise In this run, the election process of selecting the next president does not depend on the votes gained from the popular votes, but mainly on the votes collected from the electoral college. This imbalance between the popular and the electoral votes is the main reason why people started questioning its authenticity and fairness.

Throughout the US history, many have criticized the Electoral College system. Hundreds of constitutional amendments intended to reform or abolish the system have been proposed and debated in Congress since the early nineteenth century (Pearce \& Longley, 2000). Proponents and other critics of the Electoral College system argue that the system is undemocratic and outmoded for several reasons (Shelley). As a result many studies were done concerning the misrepresentation of the Electoral College. For instance, the work entitled Does Money Matter in the American Presidential Electoral Campaign? It deals on how money can lead to misrepresentation of the electoral college in the election process, in the Case Study; Donald Trump's Presidential Electoral Campaign. Moreover, the article entitled "Elections, Electoral Systems Nd Party Systems." by Sisk, Timothy D. Who pointed out to the role of the Electoral

College system and its function in the election process? Furthermore, Bolinger pointed out to the injustice of the Electoral College stating that "When the votes of some citizens count more than those of others, America has failed to honour its commitment to equal representation "(179). Because this process goes against everything that democracy stands for because elections are considered to be the most important aspect of democracy. People may express their thoughts, hopes and dreams, choose their leaders, and ultimately influence the fate of their country through voting.

This research paper sheds light on the misrepresentation of the Electoral College which lies in the system itself. In most cases, presidential candidate give people empty promises in the sense that they manipulate people to vote for them but once they do they fail to uphold their pledge, so this research addresses the following research question: what are the criteria that demonstrates the misrepresentations of the electoral college during the 2016 elections? As this will be demonstrated in this current thesis with the case study of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump presidential elections In addition to other cases which will be analyzed in order to provide a comprehensive foundation of the Electoral College and its role in shaping the election and demonizing the importance of democracy.

Currently, the conflicts between the role of the popular vote and the Electoral vote are increasing. This issue resulted in the majority of Americans asking for amending the constitution in order to come up with new alternatives than the Electoral College to choose a president. Eventually it was amended to a certain extent in the sense that they preserved the essence of the original Electoral College that was first established by the founding fathers. Henceforth, many states adopted what is known as the interstate compact which guarantees that these states electors will vote for the winner of the popular vote.

This dissertation is divided into three main chapters. Each chapter discusses quite different issues in relation to the current topic. The first chapter is a theoretical one under the title of "US Presidential Elections: Electoral College VS Popular Vote " This chapter tends to reflect the existing data about the main concepts related to the electoral process and its sub stages as it tackles the concept of the national popular vote and the Electoral College in the U.S electoral system. Moreover, it deals with the concept of democracy and its relation to U.S presidential elections especially the popular vote and the Electoral College.

The second chapter is entitled "Misrepresentation throughout US Presidential Elections". It attempts to explain the election process by explaining the four main sub processes that take place before announcing the election results. Moreover, it studies the interrelation between the national popular vote and the Electoral College. In addition to that, this chapter discusses five cases of presidents who won the election through the Electoral College system in 1824, 1876, 1888, 2000 and 2016 respectively. Besides, it examines the strategies these candidates used to get people to vote for them.

The pivotal part of this paper is the third and the last chapter because it tackles the research paper's case study; "Misrepresentation in the Case of Trump and Clinton". First, it gives a brief overview on both candidates' biographies and political careers. It also gives insights about their campaigns and analyses how Donald Trump was able to win the elections through the Electoral College despite losing the popular vote. The 2016 election results initiated a debate whether this system should be abolished and replaced with other fair system of selecting a president, ones that ensures to represent and include everyone.

In a nutshell, the research is concluded with a brief conclusion in which the whole work was summarized in few lines as mentioned previously, the paper discusses a significant and recent
topic; which is The Electoral College Misrepresentation in Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton Presidential Elections.

This study requires a lot of analysis and investigation as a result it will be conducted through both descriptive and analytical methods. Based on this understanding, The primary research method used in this study is descriptive, through which we seek to get a full understanding of the four cases of the US presidents that exemplifies the misrepresentation of the electoral college .whereas the second method is purely analytical where we analyze in depth both candidates of the 2016 US presidential elections; Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in order to demonstrate the role played by the electoral college in shifting the election results and examine the imbalance between the popular and the electoral vote and how one is more valuable than the other.

## Chapter One

## US Presidential Elections: Electoral College vs Popular Vote

Presidential elections are, by all means, the most significant event in all countries political context. It is regarded as the reflection of citizens' political preferences, it gives citizens a voice. Thereby, it portrays the representatives' results. Throughout history, elections were perceived as an attribute to contextualize popular sovereignty for political, legislative and executive representatives. The election process may undertake a variety of electoral systems, the most prominent ones are; the first system is direct voting through national popular vote where the citizens are given equal chance to elect their leaders and their votes affect equally the electoral results. It is called direct voting because the results of the election are based directly on the number of popular votes. The second system can be referred to as the indirect process that takes place after the preliminary phase of the popular vote elections. Whereby, people have the opportunity to appoint and vote for representatives in the Electoral College. Thus, in return the selected electoral college will further proceeds in transferring the popular votes that expresses people interest into electors votes that will eventually decides if a certain candidate meet the desiring qualities of becoming a president and results in electing a president and vice president. However, the adoption of such electoral system paved the way for critics to oppose such systems, basing their argumentation on the fact that the main aim of election is to reflect democracy, and that Electoral College violates most of democracy principles. Although there are people who disagree with the decision of the Electoral College due to the fact, it may seem as if people votes have no meaning and they are not given the importance to declare their voices. Yet, many political experts and critics in the field of political science who believe that the Electoral College as a system is serving the fundamental principles that the founding fathers adopted. For
instance, the founding fathers believed that American people are not well qualified to make the right political judgments. Therefore, the role of the Electoral College was to make such wise political decision.

In the light of the aforementioned ideas, the current chapter tends to explore the electoral process in addition to review the most prominent data about elections, electoral system, and U.S presidential elections. Furthermore, this chapter is fully dedicated to reflect existing data about the main concepts related to the electoral process and its sub stages, regardless of the system adopted. In addition to that, this chapter tackles the concepts of national popular vote and the Electoral College in U.S electoral system, and finally analyzes the entire presidential electoral process from a democratic point of view.

### 1.1 Elections

In contemporary political world, Elections as introduced by Powell are the core component of democracy, which means elections are regarded as "The fundamental instruments that compel or pursue the policy-makers to pay attention to citizens". That is to say, the political view of elections is considered as the most important tool through which citizens choose their leaders. On that note, Sisk defines the election process as a, "Critical component of an effective methodology to overcome corruption in policy-making context" (qtd. in Mesfin 1). Indeed, elections are a crucial means to ensure a political context that is free from corruption and oppression. Once more, the election process is defined as follows:

Election is the official process of choosing a candidate for public office or of approving or rejecting a political proposition through voting. It is critical to differentiate between the form and the substance of elections. In certain circumstances, electoral forms are present
but the substance of an election is not there meaning that voters do not have a free and genuine option between at least two alternatives (Gibbins).

Certainly, the election process, it is highly necessary stage that normally ensures a fair expression of rights. However, elections are not always a far process, it can be a subjected to manipulations and subjectivity; thus, every system has its one limitations even the US democratic system itself. Furthermore, the elections process it is a systematic procedure. For instance, it requires more than one political party i.e. "multiparty system". Henceforth, these political parties should "demonstrate divergent political views" and express "variant governmental alternatives". Therefore, citizens will have to elect the most prominent candidate from a variety of competing political views (Mesfin 1). Basically speaking, elections are defined as the different attempts that take place under specific conditions, which fulfill global and local standards of credibility. Which consequently guarantee the proper manifestation of democracy's core values and standards such as political equality and governors' accountability (Sisk 2).

### 1.1.1 The Electoral System

Systemically speaking, Elections are perceived as "A set of rules embedded in the constitutions or laws that reflects the process of transmitting votes into seats that maybe a single presidential seat, a member of parliament's seat or even a mayor or local councilor's seat." (Sisk 2). In another words, the votes counted from the elections results uncovers people interest. Similarly, the role of the electoral system and its function is explained as follows. First, it reflects the rules according to which citizens may express their political preferences. Second, it permits the conversion of those political preferences into parliamentary seats or in government posts (Nohlen 20). Electoral systems are essentially classified into three basic types; the plurality system, the majority system, and the proportional representation system.

### 1.1.1.1 The Plurality System

First-past-the-post (FPTP) or winner-takes-all (WTA) are two terms used to describe this system, according to Shively "This system aims at collecting the voices of major states with the largest number of voice, without taking into consideration smaller states that contain a considerable number of votes". Consequently, the candidate who gets to win the support of major states simply will win the election campaign with the political candidate or party receiving the most votes prevailing in a single round, even if the number of votes won is not enough to form a majority (qtd. in Mesfin 3). Furthermore, there are various advantages and disadvantages of the plurality System. One advantage of this system is that it creates unambiguous winners or winning coalitions in the majority of cases (majority coalitions). Because of the quantity of votes cast for parties or candidates removed in either round (Sisk 7).

### 1.1.1.2 The Majority System

It is a variation on the plurality system in which guarantying an absolute majority of the votes cast in the constituency by the candidate is highly required. In simple terms, achieving more than half of the total actual votes steps the candidate forward to realize the majority system (Bauer 108-109). On a different perspective, both the plurality system and the majority system have a similar effect in exaggerating the political depiction of the largest political party (Rakner \& Svåsand 6). Which means, both systems relay on the voices of the majority; thus, neglecting the minority's rights.

### 1.1.1.3 The Proportional Representation

The ultimate purpose of the Proportional Representation system is to align the percentage of votes collected in an election for a specific party or candidate with the number of seats collected within an electoral framework (Sisk 9). Therefore, the main purpose of this system is to assure
that all political parties may be legislatures and can assume a political representation. The Proportional Representation system is viewed as the process of comprising 'the most adequate system to govern any society with a high degree of segmentation (Boix 613), In other terms, this system adopts the notion that the most suitable way to govern a given society is to share political legislation with the implementation of different political candidates or parties in the political context.

### 1.1.2 The Electoral Process

By putting all the aforementioned definitions into practice, a sequence of stages and steps are highly required. These steps are summed up in the following figure labeled the electoral cycle.

Figure 1: The Electoral Cycle


Source: (Wall, et al. Electoral Management Design: The International IDEA Handbook Stockholm, International IDEA, 2005).

Based on the aforementioned electoral cycle, it is evident to claim that each electoral process has to go through three main phases. In the pre-election phase, future candidates prepare their working calendar and operational work-plans and decide upon the financial funding of their future electoral campaign. In addition to that, they go through an operational training for electoral officials and many other steps to reach the final stage of this phase, which is the registration of both candidates and voters (Sisk 3).

The next stage is the most important phase since the main aim of the electoral process takes place in this stage, starting by announcing the nominated candidates competing in the ongoing elections, who immediately start their electoral campaign. Further, the voting takes place either by direct popular voting or through indirect popular voting to finally count the number of votes and announce the results. The final phase is highly significant, during which the winners of the elections starts enact their political agendas through the use of amendments and series of legal reforms (Sisk 3). All in all, elections are an ongoing process that has to go through many phases and stages; it is a systemic procedure rather than a one-time event. It has three main stages regardless of the adopted electoral system or the type of voting that is to take place.

### 1.2 Presidential Elections in US

In American politics, presidential elections are regarded as highly significant occasion. Therefore, an election campaign is held for appointing a US President who serves as the head of state, head of government, and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces all at the same time. In addition, the president has duties to fulfill since the president is practically is in charge of carrying out and enforcing the laws passed by the congress. As a result, the presidential elections are viewed as a significant and vital aspect of American politics. Moreover, he has the ultimate
authority to sign treaties, nominates, and selects US ambassadors as well as Supreme Court judges (Parry and Cirlig 1).

Constitutionally speaking, only three requirements under the US constitution are listed for candidates to become President of the United States. Initially, the president must be at least 35 year old. Furthermore, he must demonstrate a 14 years citizenship in other terms, he must live in US for 14 years; moreover, he has to be a natural-born us citizen (Parry and Cirlig 2). To put it differently, there are several requirements and standers that need to be meet by the candidates in order to run for presidency.

The first or second Tuesday in November is usually the presidential Election Day. Practically speaking, some key election rules, such as the date when presidential elections will take place and who can vote, are established by the Constitution and the federal government. Henceforth, state governments make Most of the choices about how presidential elections are conducted ("presidential election process").

From a similar perspective, this decision made upon the presidential election process implies that voter registration, early voting, absentee voting, and vote counting follow distinct regulations and schedules in each state. Consequently, this also explains why election results from some states may appear ahead of those from others ("presidential election process").

### 1.2.1 National Popular Vote

The NPV or what is commonly referred to as the national popular election of country politicians, president, or vice-president. The term popular vote is defined in some online dictionaries as a type of formal decision-making process that reflects population's election of individuals to hold public or civic office. According to Oxford Advanced Learner Dictionary, the national popular vote is the act of voting by people who have the right to vote in a country or an
area, moreover it may refer to the choice reflected in an electoral process by the majority of individuals or citizens who have voted. However, this may not necessarily entail who wins the elections by putting in mind the different electoral systems adopted in each country ("Oxford Advanced Learner ..."). In this regard, understanding and being aware of the electoral system followed in that given country is highly required to decide if the national popular vote results will be directly interpreted into winner of the elections or the national popular vote is just a primary step in the electoral process.

### 1.2.2 Electoral College

In indirect electoral system, Electoral College is one of the highly essential processes in electing a president. According to Matic and parry, the Electoral College is process that takes place every four years they identified it as "Four-year cycle electoral body framed". Moreover, they highlighted that it is directly related to federal elections when electing the president and the vice president of the United States (2). In the same vein, Belenky estimated the existence of a number of politicians called presidential electors responsible for electing U.S President and a Vice President every four years who are often referred to as the EC. Furthermore, functionally speaking, there are two main functions of the EC that might be perceived as "The appointed presidential electors assemblage, as it might be regarded as the process through which America elects its presidents and vice-president, or both." (Belenky 2).

Constitutionally, the essential legislative foundation of the EC process is embedded in section one of the second article in the U.S constitution 1787. Later on, in 1804 it was re-interpreted in the 12 amendment; henceforth, it is supported by federal and state legislations as well as political party limits (Matic and parry 2). From the aforementioned idea, it is undoubtedly evident to claim that this meaning is equivalent to the phrase on that note Belenky states, "All the
presidential electors appointed by (currently) 50 states and by D.C. (since the 1964 election) as Article 2 and Amendment 23 of the Constitution direct." (2). Indeed, the electoral college at that time has emerged from the necessity to keep, as a result the electoral college took place and still exists until this very day.

### 1.2.2.1 Origins of the Electoral College

Initially, the foundation of the Electoral College dates back to $18^{\text {th }}$ century; however, the U.S Constitution does not provide either such explanations or any hints about why the Electoral College as a manner of electing a President was adopted at the 1787 Constitutional Convention (Belenky 4). Most importantly, the aims behind adopting the Electoral College, as an electoral system require digging deeper in its historical context. Furthermore, analyzing the problems encountered by its founding fathers mainly demonstrated in the difficulty faced in selecting a president of a nation that contained 4.000 .000 people distributed over thirteen large and small states opting for their central national government (Kimberling 1).

The Electoral College was established in the Constitution, in part, as a compromise between the President being elected by a vote in Congress and the President being elected by a popular vote of qualifying individuals. The word "electoral college," on the other hand, does not occur in the Constitution. The 12th Amendment and Article II of the Constitution both refer to "electors," but not to the "electoral college."The Electoral College procedure is part of the original architecture of the United States Constitution, therefore changing it would require a constitutional amendment. The procedure has been significantly altered by the ratification of the 12th Amendment, the expansion of voting rights, and the use of the popular vote by states to choose who would be appointed as electors ("Electoral College History").

In the light of the previously presented argument, there are two major reasons behind adopting such system. First, the Founding Fathers made sure to not give the Electoral College the ultimate authority in the election process, which evidently may be related to the "checks and balances" system of government, which was embedded in 1787 in the U.S constitution by Constitutional Convention participants (Belenky 5). Interestingly, the branches of the United States have mechanism technique that would ensure a fair distribution of power. Second, the Founding Fathers opted for indirect President Elections. They believed that ordinary people could hardly make the right choice of a President due to their lack of knowledge about individuals who would make good Presidents. In addition, many researchers believe that the Founding Fathers wanted to avoid the "tyranny of majority," which would depreciate and neglect the role of small states in electing a President (Belenky 5). Thereby, the minorities would have no voice in the election campaign; thus, they would be deprived of their rights as US citizens.

Significantly, the initial aim of the Electoral College was to reconcile differing state and federal interests, provide a degree of popular participation in the election, give the less populous states some additional leverage in the process by providing "senatorial" electors, preserve the presidency as independent of Congress and generally insulate the election process from political manipulation. To include, the voice of the people to a certain degree as well as to combine the desires of both the national state and the public states in a hope it would preserve the integrity of the election process from being manipulated ("Electoral College").

### 1.2.2.2 Current Electoral College

The current Electoral College is highly distinct from the one created by the Founding Fathers, In the sense that the previous electoral college is composed of two distinguishable election mechanisms. In this regard, the founding fathers estimated that the EC would function as an
effective mechanism in selecting candidates for presidency and a vice-presidency. However, the EC system has been exposed to several local and national changes. Yet, it preserved its fundamental characteristics as the one created by the founding fathers (Kimberling 5).

Moreover, the contemporary reforms of the Electoral College resulted from both the design and experience of U.S electoral system (Kimberling 10). Meaning that once the Electoral College has been put into practice, flaws have been detected in the system and despite all its deficiencies, the EC effectively served the Constitution's basic concept. In another sense, many Americans perceive Electoral College as an important part of the "checks and balances" system established by the Founding Fathers as a result of the 1787 Constitutional Convention reforms (Belenky 43).

### 1.3 The Concept of Democracy

Throughout the years there has been several definition of democracy by different scholars, critics and politicians. For instance, the Webster New Encyclopedic Dictionary 1995 defines democracy as, "A form of governance in which supreme authority is manifested in the people, and exercised directly or indirectly through representation." (qtd. in Nwogu 131).To put it differently, the power is from the people to the people in another words, those selected parties from government officials, president and vice president represents people needs; thus, approved by the people. Furthermore, according to Lindell and Scott the term democracy" derives from the Greek word (demokratia) "rule of the people," which was formed in the 5th century B.C. from (demos) "people" and (kratos) "power" or "rule".(qtd. in Nwogu 131). Indeed, the word democracy and its origins traces back to the ancient times of the Greeks during the 5th century; therefore, it indicates that people have always had a right in choosing their representative leader
as it is the only way to ensure both freedom of choice and maintain order in a world that constantly seek to defy authority.

Additionally, the process of democracy is divided into four major elements. Hence, the process of democracy is described as a system of fair elections for electing government representatives, in addition to that, the concept of democracy entails People's active involvement in politics and civic society as citizens; moreover, it is perceived as a mean for a better civic protection. Thereby, democracy is the process of applying equal rules and procedures over all citizens (Larry Diamond).

Subscribing to a new understanding of democracy, Schumpeter defines democracy as "the process of putting emphasis on the accumulation of preferences" which occurs through political parties for which people can vote at regular occasions. In other words, democracy is a systemic process, which allows citizens to choose their representatives and political entities in regular voting process (qtd. in Nwogu 133).

### 1.3.1 Democracy and U.S Presidential Elections

Throughout history, elections had been a highly effective process of choosing political leaders and representatives, from a representative democracy viewpoint, elections are an attempt to decide who holds legislative and executive powers. Furthermore, The democratizes of elections can be characterized by their representation of democratic fundamental traits (Lindberg 23). Correspondingly, the notion of "Democracy is the election" (Chitlaoarporn 1). In another words, the notion of democracy reflects the belief that elections are a core process to promote democracy and that their fraud affects negatively the political regime and moves towards dictatorship. Besides, the election strategy is a means to enhance the actualization of the essence of democracy "The rule of the people by the people" (Lindberg 18). This means the core value of
democracy, is self-government characterized by three important attributes, first the equality of political participation by viewing democracy as an attribute rather than an object. Second free political completion, where he argued that in contemporary political context, it is more suitable to use a "Degree approach" rather than a combination of democracy and non-democracy to promote political variation and political competition, Third procedural legitimacy, where he affirmed that the empirical definition of democracy must be based on a legitimate justification (Lindberg 38).

In U.S presidential elections context the founders of U.S constitution based their public policy and governmental decisions on democratic principles; henceforth, they opted to make their government less accountable to the electorate through a democratic process of electing the president, Since the US is highly recognized of having what supposed to be the closet system that denotes the true meaning of democracy. Therefore, on those bases the election process should proceed (Holcombe 52).

### 1.3.1.1 Democracy and Popular Vote

Concerning the national popular vote, the election process is generally grantee free choice by enabling the citizens to practice "equal voting power via secret ballots". In this regard, it is highly evident to claim that this collective decision-making promotes the contextualization of democracy basic-concepts that are embodied in the concept of popular sovereignty (McKay 116). From the same perspective, the notion of "one person-one vote" is highly regarded as an essential factor in democracy. Dahl and Shapiro, points out to five main criteria in order to establish a democratic voting process. One of these criteria is "voting equality". In their words, they emphasized the main purpose of the popular vote i.e. everyone can vote and all votes are counted equally (65).

Functionally speaking, the resulting design of popular vote processes established in a particular jurisdiction attempts to reflect the consensus or majoritarian nature of the broader democratic system. (McKay 118). That is to say, democracy is significantly achieved through majoritarian system and the voting process should incorporate all legislative minorities and citizens.

### 1.3.1.2 Democracy and Electoral College

In current electoral process, a raising opposition of Electoral College appears. It has been criticized from different standpoints; in this regard, Dahl and Shapiro presented in their book several criteria to establish a democratic electoral process, starting by effective participation where the principle of "equal chance" is implemented. Moreover, for a democratic voting considering equality in voting and counting those votes is mandatory (37). Furthermore, it is required to spread equal knowledge about how political elections process takes place, as an "Enlightened understanding". In which the control of electors' agenda and adults' inclusion in the political context might promote democracy in elections. In the light of what was introduced; thus, it can be said that the Electoral College violates some of the previously mentioned criteria." (Dahl and Shapiro 38).

Recently, the EC is perceived as the least understood and the most unpopular aspect of American constitutional democracy; therefore, the Electoral College is mostly criticized based on its undemocratic, outmoded, unrepresentative results (Villegas 3); however, from a different standpoint. Electoral College supporters believe that it serves other democratic principles such as balancing electoral interests of small and large states through preserving the two-party system henceforth; it minimizes the possibility of fraud.

Despite the contradicting views, the most prominent viewpoint is that Democratic principles are significantly violated by the implementation of the EC in the voting process "indirect voting". On that note, Dahl and Shapiro question the undemocratic status of Electoral College by claiming, "It does not reflect equal voting chance and it does not allow all voters to influence the elections, illustrating by the number of votes in California State, which is greater than the number of votes in Wyoming State." (37).

To conclude, presidential elections are perceived as a process rather than a one-day event, since it goes through different stages and sub-stages before and after the voting day. This process defers depending on the adopted electoral system in a given country, in the case of U.S presidential elections the founding fathers of the U.S constitution opted for an indirect voting through Electoral College. Since they assumed that, there are certain categories of citizens who could not vote for the appropriate person so they adopted the EC to help these categories to better choose the best men in power. However, this system is highly debatable some political scientists and scholars assumed it is undemocratic, from their standpoint they believe that democracy means direct elections, they adopt the notion of "the role of the people by the people", and that each vote is important and has a direct influence on elections' results. In a contradictory viewpoint, pros of this electoral system argued that it preserve its fundamental and core principles that were taken into consideration by the Founding Fathers; in addition to, balancing the tow-party system and the election between states, and enables a better control of elections misconducts.

## Chapter Two

## Misrepresentation throughout US Presidential Elections

U.S. presidential elections have witnessed many cases of Electoral College misrepresentation and fraud. Even though, United States has always claimed to be a democratic country, and that its electoral system is based on democratic fundamentals. The election process in U.S adopts indirect elections starting by preliminary stages known as primaries and caucuses by which the presidential nominees of each party are voted for through secret ballots in primaries, and through face-to-face discussion in caucuses. It is worthy to mention that each state adopts a particular method, primary, caucus, or both and each state held these elementary elections in variant place and time. The next stage is the national convention that is held in the summer. The delegates gather to decide the final presidential candidate, who in his jurisdiction chooses his vicepresident after this event the general national campaign where the presidential nominees attempt to win popular sovereignty. The most important stage of the entire electoral process is the national popular vote and the Electoral College; these two processes are significantly interrelated. The national popular vote resulted in choosing electors of the Electoral College to represent them in the presidential elections; however, there were many flagrant cases of misrepresentation in the U.S elections through history.

In this regard, the current chapter attempts to deeply analyze the election process through explaining the four main sub-processes that take place before announcing the presidential winner, In addition to that, the interrelation between the national popular vote and the Electoral College. This chapter also demonstrates the four cases of misrepresentation that marked the U.S election history, and how those four presidents were able to win the election despite the fact that they lost the popular vote. As well as, the strategies they used to get voters and in some cases
they were able to manipulate the election process. Moreover, it deals with how the Electoral College had played a major role in shifting the result of the election in a way that it has more power than the popular vote, which created an unbalance between the two systems.

### 2.1 The Interrelation between the National Popular Vote and Electoral College Processes

In U.S presidential elections, the national vote is not the only process through which president and vice-presidents are elected; the Founding Fathers opted for indirect elections through implementing the Electoral College process as a decisive entity in the presidential elections. However, understanding the relation between the two processes requires an in-depth understanding of the Electoral College Process. In addition to understanding, how these two substages function in a correlation. To begin with, the candidate has to meet the requirements in order to be nominated, then comes the primaries and caucuses processes, and finally appointing electors through popular vote. The process of electing the President goes through four main stages.

### 2.1.1 Primaries and Caucuses Elections

The first stage is referred to as "the predomination phase", through which "competition between presidential candidates" takes place in "state primary elections and caucuses" to end up by electing or selecting "delegates to the national party conventions" (Coleman et al. 1). In detailed terms, primary election is the process of determining which candidate will represent each political party in the general ("What Are Primary Elections..." 1). Each of the democrats and the republicans nominate a president and a vice president. These latter represent their political viewpoint through the upcoming stages of the presidential elections.

Furthermore, Political parties hold private gatherings called caucuses. These caucuses are held at the County, district, and level. Throughout most cases, participants are divided into
groups based on which nominee they favor. Undecided voters tend to create their own group. Each group makes speeches in favor of its candidate and strives to recruit new members. The number of voters in each group ultimately determines how many delegates each nominee receives ("Presidential Elections Process")

In this regard, a primary election is a way of choosing a candidate that is similar to a general election. The state government organizes a statewide event in which people cast a secret ballot for the candidate of their choice. The winner is the one who earns the most votes. This candidate then runs for office in state and local elections. The victor of a presidential primary, on the other hand, receives a majority of the state's delegates to the nominating convention. Most states only allow voters to vote in the primary of the political party to which they belong ("Primaries and caucuses").

A caucus, on the other hand, is a quite different process. Caucuses are a "gathering of neighbors" organized by political parties themselves. Citizens gather in local assemblies to debate which candidate they believe will be the greatest. At the conclusion of the meeting, delegates to a county or state convention who promise to support the majority candidate are chosen in an election. These delegates then choose the delegates to the national convention, who will ultimately elect the party's candidate for office ("Primaries and caucuses")

The primary process is adopted in some states; however, there are different processes adopted by other states through which casting ballots through typical channels is replaced by a face- toface election. Henceforth, a caucus invites party members to meet and vote in person. Consequently, each party has the jurisdiction to go for their own caucuses and held them separately from the other. In simpler terms, caucuses are note uniformed in all states hence, they
may even occur on different days and through different meetings ("What Are Primary Elections..." 1).

Generally, primaries and caucuses are regarded as the initial testing ground for the next President. It may refer to as a small version of national elections. The primary and caucuses elections perform a significant role in presidential elections by narrowing the field of major party candidates. Furthermore, systemically speaking, the candidate who holds a majority of delegates at the party convention is the nominated for the national convention; however, under current electoral system for choosing delegates, one candidate is likely to emerge with a majority by the end of the primary season (Coleman et al. 5).

As a matter of qualification, the "guidelines that candidates add here to in order to be qualified for primaries and caucuses differ from state to another. In primary states, the Secretary of State or other chief elections officer is the authority for listing candidate names on the ballot, meanwhile, in caucus states, the parties oversee the procedures for candidates to gain ballot access" (Coleman et al. 4). With a different terminology, party members are not required to file a statement to be eligible for delegates in caucus states.

### 2.1.2 The National Convention and the General Election Campaign

After conducting the primaries and caucuses at the level of the state convention, the final decision is taken in the national convention, the following titles tackle in details the national convention and the general electoral campaign that each presidential candidate go through in his presidential election journey.

### 2.1.2.1 The National Convention

The National Party Convention, takes place in the summer before the general election, this national convention is held when delegates choose the candidate selected during the primaries
and caucuses and the party platform is accepted in which the two major parties nominate candidates for President and Vice President. as well as ratify a framework of the parties' policy stances and intentions. National party conventions began to be conducted in the twentieth century, just prior to the start of the general election campaign for President. Every convention has been held in July or August since 1952 (Coleman el al. 9).

Each party has decided presidential and vice presidential nominees are sent to the national conventions. Broadly speaking, Contestant must normally win a majority of delegates to become the presidential nominee. Typically, this occurs during party's primaries and caucuses. It is then confirmed at the national convention by a vote of the delegates if no candidate receives a majority of a party's delegates during the primaries and caucuses, the nominee is chosen by convention delegates through different voting ("presidential elections process").

In line with this, when selecting a final presidential candidate, each party has a national convention during which State delegates chosen to represent the people in primaries and caucuses will at this level publically support their favored candidates. This national convention provides the final presidential nominee of each party. In addition, the presidential candidate selects a running mate i.e. Vice Presidential candidate. The Candidates goes for president campaign across the country to gain support from the public ("National Conventions").

Technically speaking, the date and place of the national convention is announced 18 months in advanced by the national committees of the two major parties. Furthermore, the call also contains details on delegate assignments and the procedures for resolving delegate credential disputes. In recent national conventions, the Democrats have added rules controlling affirmative action in delegate selection, convention committee activities, and procedures and scheduling for various committees and convention events ("National Convention").

### 2.1.2.2 General Elections Campaign

During this stage of the U.S. presidential elections process, the final nominees go through a variety of obstacles and challenges immediately following the national conventions; generally, these tasks include rallying the party behind the candidates, forming a general election campaign organization, and developing a campaign strategy (Coleman el al. 31).

In other words, the candidate pass through different stages in order to reach the final phase and throughout this process the nominees create campaigns and while campaign strategies are frequently extensive, they are typically flexible. During these campaign plans, the candidates try to predict potential events, developing concerns, and shifts in voter sentiments, allowing candidate and organization efforts to be perfectly implemented as needed to strengthen the ticket and spend resources most efficiently. Technically speaking, the national election campaign plan contains a detailed prescription of all the needed resources, organizational and financials to ensure a better investment of all human and financial resources to achieve a successful campaign (Coleman el al. 32).

### 2.1.3 The National Popular Vote and the Electoral College

U.S presidential elections are regarded as a unique and highly complicated electoral process in worldwide politics. Hence, the national popular vote is a preliminary sub-stage that has a different function then its regular one; it is used as a means to choose representative electors to vote for the future president. The following subtitles deeply analyze the interrelation between the NPV and the EC.

### 2.1.3.1 The National Popular Vote for Electors

During the NPV held on November, people vote for both the president and the electors of the EC. This process seems highly complicated to go through, however investigating it deeply makes
it significantly achievable. The political parties in each state govern the initial stage of the procedure, and it differs from one to the next. Parties either nominate slates of possible electors at their State party conventions or choose them by a vote of the central committee. This occurs in each state for each party according to the rules established by the State party and in some cases the national party. Each presidential candidate has their own slate of possible electors as a result of the first stage of the process ("About the Electors").

During the general election, the second stage of the procedure takes place. When voters in each state vote for their preferred presidential candidate, they are electing electors for that state. Depending on the election procedures and ballot formats in each State, the names of possible electors may or may not appear on the ballot below the names of the Presidential candidates. The State's electors are chosen from the winning Presidential candidate's list of possible electors. ("About the Electors").

The procedures for nominating presidential electors are not specified in the United States Constitution. Nomination by state party convention and nomination by state party committee are the two most prevalent techniques used by states. In some states, electors' names appear on the ballot alongside the presidential and vice presidential candidates. In most states, however, the names of electors are not written on the ballot. When a voter casts a ballot for a presidential nominee, he or she is actually voting for the presidential electors chosen by that candidate's political party ("The Electoral College").

In line with the aforementioned details, The Constitution makes no mention of the procedures for nominating candidates for the position of presidential elector. The two most popular methods of elector candidate nomination are state party conventions, which are used in 36 states, and state party committees, which are used in ten states. In reality, elector candidates are frequently well-
known state and local politicians, party activists, and other members of the public who support the party in which they are nominated. The President and Vice President are elected in a formal election. When voters cast ballots on Election Day, they are essentially voting for electors to represent a presidential candidate. The Electoral College is a system composed of a group of electors. Each state receives the same number of Senate and House delegations combined. However, the number of electors differs according to the state size population, which may alter the election results (Coleman el al. 43).

### 2.1.3.2 The Electoral College Phase

The Electoral College has 538 members, one for each U.S. senator and representative, plus three electors for the District of Columbia. Each state receives the same number of electoral votes as its congressional delegation, and each state legislature is allowed to choose the process for electing its own electors. Electors are currently chosen by popular vote in all states (though the process varies), but this was not always the case throughout American history; however, they were chosen by the state legislature in several states until the mid-nineteenth century ("The Electoral College").

From a practical standpoint, the electors assemble to approve the popular selections for President and Vice President after the people have chosen the members of the Electoral College. They must gather in their respective states according to the Constitution (again, in the 12th Amendment). The first Monday after the second Wednesday in December is the date of casting electoral ballots it was designated by Congress. At such location in each state as the legislature specifies. Electors nearly always convene in the state capital, generally at the State House or Capitol Building, and frequently in one of the legislative chambers. The votes are counted and
recorded, and the Governor certifies the results before sending them to the President of the Senate (Coleman el al. 43).

### 2.2 Cases of Misrepresentation in U.S. Presidential Elections

US presidential elections have witnessed many cases of Electoral College misrepresentation of the National Popular vote. In these cases, electors' manipulation of the popular vote is evidently depicted. Hence, the following titles provide more details about the concept of misrepresentation and the most flagrant cases U.S elections.

### 2.2.1 The Concept of Misrepresentation

A misrepresentation occurs when a candidate or the party who receives the most votes from an electorate does not receive the electoral votes or parliamentary seats, hence, loses the election. Put differently, a party can win the majority of the popular votes but still loses the election that is why the public commentary commonly uses terms such as "wrong winner" and "representative inconsistency" (Miller 93). As a matter of a fact, throughout U.S electoral system's history there were five elections in which the president won the office by receiving the most electoral votes while losing the popular vote. These elections took place in 1824, 1876, 1888, 2000, and 2016 (Maffucci 18).

In the light of what was introduced, these five presidential elections significantly influenced the Electoral College and resulted in driving many to work towards altering to prevent similar incidents (Maffucci18). In this regard, in the following cases, the representability issue, which is clearly demonstrated in U.S presidential elections, is illustrated. Furthermore, the cases reflect how this misrepresentation has a common occurrence under various natural voter distributions, and its effect may not diminish even when the number of voters is large (Bachrach et al 6).

### 2.2.1.1 John Quincy Adams (1824)

It was the last U.S. presidential elections to be determined by the House of Representatives rather than the Electoral College which failed to produce a majority winner. The standard interpretation of the 1824 elections paved the way to claim that the election was stolen from the popular vote winner. The elections of 1824 was defined as unique case due to the presence of four viable Democratic-Republican candidates for president; Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William Crawford, and Henry Clay. In 1824, there were three elections: a popular election, an Electoral College election, and a House of Representatives election. In1824, The House of Representatives claimed for the candidate who could gather the highest national coalition. As a matter of fact, the presidential election of 1824 in the United States is sometimes seen as an anomalous political event. According to conventional sources, John Quincy Adams was elected as a sixth president despite achieving the second place in the popular vote (Kolodny 139).

When the ballots were counted, Andrew Jackson received a plurality of the popular vote as well as the Electoral College however in order to win the presidency, the candidate needs more than a plurality; the most electoral votes since the majority is more than half. Despite the fact that Jackson had defeated Adams by 99 electoral votes to 84 , the House chose to proclaim Adams president (Roos).

Figure 2: The presidential elections of 1824 results.

| Party |  | Nominees |  | Electoral Vote |  | Popular Vote |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Presidential | Vice <br> Presidential |  |  |  |  |
|  | DemocraticRepublican | Andrew <br> Jackson | John C. Calhoun | 99 | 37.9\% | 151,271 | 41.3\% |
|  | DemocraticRepublican | John Quincy Adams | John C. <br> Calhoun | 84 | 32.2\% | 113,122 | 30.9\% |
|  | DemocraticRepublican | William H. Crawford | Nathaniel Macon | 41 | 15.7\% | 40,856 | 11.2\% |
|  | DemocraticRepublican | Henry Clay | Nathan <br> Sanford | 37 | 14.2\% | 47,531 | 13.0\% |

Source: Woolley, and Gerhard Peters. "1824." The American Presidency Project, www.presidency.ucsb.edu/statistics/elections/1824. Accessed 22 May 2022.

The above figure, presents the results of the 1824 presidential elections, in which the president John Quincy Adams won the presidential elections through a decision made by the House of Representatives in the wake of Andrew Jackson's loss of the Electoral College majority ( $37.9 \%$ ). The decision is taken by the House of Representatives in favor of John Quincy Adams.

### 2.2.1.2 Rutherford B. Hayes (1876)

The 1876 presidential elections were highly controversial in American political history. Although a Democratic candidate had won the popular vote, 19 electoral votes from four states were still in dispute. Therefore, the Congress organized a meeting in 1877,to resolve this election. Significantly, their decision marked the beginning of the end for Reconstruction in the south (Shofner 321).

Similar to the 1824 case, the election of 1876 was determined by Congress rather than the people since it was controversial and fiercely disputed election between the Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, and the Democrat Samuel Tilden. Further, when the ballots were counted, Tilden received 184 electoral votes; however, only one votes short of the majority needed to win the president at the time. Hayes only received 165 votes but 20 more were still in dispute. In this case, the Republicans disputed the results from Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, claiming that both parties' candidates had won the states. The Constitution had a backup plan in the case where no candidate won a majority of electoral votes, but there was no such method for settling a disagreement. As a result, Congress established a nonpartisan Federal Electoral Commission comprised House members, senators, and Supreme Court justices. As a result, Hayes won the election by the slimmest margin; 185 to 184 when the Commission chose to award him all 20 contested electoral votes (Roos).

Figure 03 The 1876 Electoral College


Source: Hogan, Andy. 1876 Electoral College, 2022,
upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/77/ElectoralCollege1876.svg. Accessed 4 June 2022.

Figure five represents the distribution of the electoral college of 1879 presidential elections, the states won by Hayes are in red, and those won by Tilden are in blue, The reason that Hayes won the election is mainly because he was able to collect the votes of states with large population such as New York, whereas Tilden only won the vote of one large state which is Texas, therefore the votes were in favor of Tilden, Rutherford B. Hayes won the election in 1876 with 185 electoral votes beating Samuel J. Tilden who garnered just 184 votes. There were fewer representatives in 1876 because the United States had a lower population. However, Samuel J. Tilden received 264,292 votes in the popular vote (Marlowe20).

### 2.2.1.3 Benjamin Harrison 1888

There is an often unspoken but well-known truth that there has never been a completely honest election in the history of United States. The presidential elections of 1888 held the notoriety of being the prime example of corruption in its most obvious sense. In other words, it is considered the most corrupted presidential elections in U.S history (Baumgardner416).

To better understand this view, in Indiana there was a letter that showed Republicans plotting to buy voters and to interrupt the opposition's own bribery efforts. Meanwhile, Southern Democrats tried everything they could to suppress the black vote, because most of them sided with the Republicans (Roos).

Although President Cleveland received nearly 90,000 more popular votes than Harrison, the latter won the Electoral College by a margin of 233 to 168 . New York and Indiana were crucial to Harrison's triumph. Cleveland most likely lost New York as a result of his anti-Tammany Hall
reform actions as President. Harrison had lost his home city of Indianapolis. As a result, there was a political chatter for years after the election when his supporters were accused of buying votes in Indiana to win the state (Spetter).

Figure 04: The presidential elections of 1888 results.

| Party |  | Nominees |  | Electoral Vote |  | Popular Vote |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Presidential | Vice |  |  |  |  |
|  | Republican |  | Presidential |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Benjamin | Levi Morton | 233 | 58.1\% | 5,449,825 | 47.8\% |
|  |  | Harrison |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Democratic | Grover Cleveland | Allen Thurman | 168 | 41.9\% | 5,539,118 | 48.6\% |

Source: Woolley, and Gerhard Peters. "1888." The American Presidency Project, www.presidency.ucsb.edu/statistics/elections/1888. Accessed 24 May 2022.

As it is demonstrated in the figure above, Benjamin Harrison won the Electoral College by the majority (more than half), even though, Grover Cleveland won the national popular vote he lost the Electoral College, this incidence was criticized for using unethical practices such as voter intimidation duplicate voting non-resident balloting and especially vote buying.

### 2.2.1.4 George W. Bush (2000)

More than a century later, in 2000, the President was elected despite losing the popular vote. Many academics link the 2000 election to the 1888 election because of how close the results were. Since then, the argument over the Electoral College has heated up (Maffucci 20). In this presidential election, the candidates were the Republican George W. Bush, the former president's son, and the Democrat Al Gore, who served as Vice President under President Bill Clinton. On election night, the results were too close to call in three states: Oregon, New Mexico, and

Florida. Gore won Oregon and New Mexico by the smallest of margins (only 366 votes in New Mexico) leaving Florida to decide the presidency (Roos).

In Florida, the race was so close that state law demanded a recount. In fact, Al Gore filed a lawsuit after Florida Secretary of State Katherine Harris certified Bush as the winner by 537 votes, claiming that not all ballots had been counted. There were still piles of punch cards set aside due to voter errors that resulted in anomalies known as "hanging chads," "pregnant chads," and "dimpled chads" (Roos). Besides, the 2000 election was challenging because Ralph Nader, a third-party candidate; garnered $2,882,955$ votes but no elector votes. Following a heated discussion and a Supreme Court judgment on the election, George W. Bush was elected President with 271 electoral votes to Al Gore's 266. However, Al Gore received 540,520 votes in the popular vote. If a part of the Nader votes had been shifted to Al Gore, the election outcome could have been drastically different (Marlowe 21).

The presidential election of 2000 stands at best as a paradox, at worst as a scandal, of American democracy. Democrat Albert Al Gore won a half million more votes than his Republican opponent George W. Bush. But he still lost the Electoral College by a count of 27126. Even this count was suspect, dependent on the tally in Florida, where many minority voters were denied the vote, ballots were confusing, and recounts were mishandled and manipulated. The choice of their leader came not from the citizens of the nation, but from lawyers batting for five weeks. The final decision was made not by 105 million voters. But by 5-4 majority of unelected U.S Supreme court issuing a tainted and partisan. The election of 2000, however, will not fade. It encapsulates the political forces shaping the United States at the end of the twentieth century. It controversial results will affect the nation for many years of the new era (Pomper 201).

Figure 05: The presidential elections of 2000 results.

| Party | Nominees |  | Electoral Vote | Popular Vote |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Presidential | Vice Presidential |  |  |  |  |
| Republican | George W. Bush | Richard Cheney | 271 | $50,4 \%$ | $50,455,156$ | $47.9 \%$ |
| Democratic | Albert Gore, Jr. | Joseph Lieberman | 266 | $49.4 \%$ | $50,992,335$ | $48.4 \%$ |
| Green | Ralph Nader | Winona LaDuke | 0 | $0 \%$ | $2,882,738$ | $2.7 \%$ |

Source: Woolley, and Gerhard Peters. "2000." The American Presidency Project, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/statistics/elections/2000. Accessed 26 May 2022.

According to the figure 7, George W. Bush lost the popular vote for Albert Gore. Jr with a percentage of $47.9 \%$ however, he won the Electoral College a percentage estimated with a $50.4 \%$ ;Thus, it can be said what is most important in the election is how much each candidate gain in the electoral vote. For instance, Albert Gore, Jr. collected $48 \%$ of the popular vote while Bush collected $47.9 \%$ yet, he lost the election.

To conclude, In the United States, indirect elections begin with preparatory phases known as primaries and caucuses, in which each party's presidential nominees are voted for using secret ballots in primaries and face-to-face discussion in caucuses. It's worth noting that each state has a different approach, such as primary, caucus, or both and that each state holds these primary
elections at different times and locations. The national convention, held in the summer, is the next step, where delegates choose the ultimate presidential candidate, who then chooses his vicepresident in his jurisdiction. Following this, the presidential nominees run a general national campaign to achieve direct democracy. Another point that should be taken into consideration is the 4 mentioned presidential candidates who won the elections despite losing the popular vote due to the magic of Electoral College. As it is demonstrated in the chapter all the four cases share their same success in obtaining the majority voices in the popular vote. But, ironically they all fail to reach the presidency. So, we deduce that in the election process the most important thing is wining the Electoral College because the candidate who does that guarantees the presidency seat.

## Chapter Three

## Misrepresentation in the Case of Trump and Clinton

The 2016 presidential election in the United States attracted widespread attention both on a national and international level. Trump and Hilary Clinton were two opposing candidates who ran campaigns across the United States. The two candidates have committed their time and financial resources to launching successful political campaigns through social networking websites such as Twitter and Facebook. During the presidential campaign, the two major candidates Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton addressed prominent social issues in a series of televised debates, though Clinton led the popular vote by a narrow margin and Trump was ultimately elected through the Electoral College. The case of misrepresentation in the 2016 election led many critics to question the fairness of the Electoral College as a system and whether it is time to end the Electoral College through the implication of new fairer alternatives. In this regard, this chapter tackles the two presidential candidates' profiles; Donald Trump and Hilary Clinton, their educational and political background, and their national electoral speech, debates, and campaign. Furthermore, this chapter analyses the election results and demonstrates the misrepresentation of the Electoral College, how unfair it can be and whether it should be abolished or not also, it presents the alternative solutions that can replace the Electoral College system.

### 3.1 Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton Presidential Election

The 2016 presidential election was marked by a large number of controversial issues, making it one of the most contentious U.S. elections ever. The two presidential candidates Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump have very different plans for how they would govern the

United States. In this regard, they differ most in their foreign policy perspectives, particularly concerning the U.S Role in the world as well as on the campaign trail (Jason 176).

### 3.1.1 Who is Donald Trump?

Donald John Trump was born in Queens, New York in 1946, the son of real estate entrepreneur Fred Trump and Mary Trump, a Scottish immigrant. From eighth grade until high school, he attended a private school in Queens before enrolling in the New York Military Academy. Trump spent two years at Fordham University in New York City before moving to the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, where he earned his undergraduate degree in 1968, during the Vietnam War. In addition, he received four student deferments and one medical deferral and was not called up for military duty. ("Donald Trump").

On January 20, 2017, Donald Trump was appointed as the 45th President of the United States. He used to be a real estate developer and a reality TV star. When he constructed the Grand Hyatt New York in 1980, however, he established himself as the city's most well-known developer. Furthermore, Trump initially featured on the popular NBC reality show "The Apprentice" in 2004. Trump changed his interest to politics in 2015, when he announced his candidacy for President of the United States on the Republican ticket. Trump was elected the 45th President of the United States on November 8, 2016, after becoming the official Republican presidential candidate on July 19, 2016. Former Vice President Joe Biden beat Trump in his reelection bid four years later. ("Donald Trump Biography").

It is worthy to mention that Trump's early political activity began when he was working with his father, where he became associated with Democratic officeholders in New York City who handle laws and regulations such as tax rules. Trump had proclaimed himself a Republican by

1987, although he would eventually register as a Democrat, an independent, and a Reform Party member. (Calmes).

### 3.1.1.1 Trump's Presidential Campaign

Donald J. Trump descended the golden tower of Trump Tower in front of a mass of enthusiastic supporters on June 16, 2015. As the escalator steadily carried him to what many called the most unexpected presidential candidacy in US history. Few could have predicted the manner in which he would begin his campaign. In a speech, he declared his presidential candidacy, framing it as a chance to "Make America Great Again." (Inwood 1). The opening speech of his campaign, which was focused on inflammatory remarks and what some critics called mendacious remarks that captured the attention of people and the news for days. (Kellner 90). In his campaign for the presidency, Donald Trump promised to "Make America Great Again," a slogan printed on the baseball hats that he wore in public. He talked about political correctness, illegal immigration, and government lobbyists; all while promising to cut taxes, and create lot of jobs for Americans. ("Donald Trump").

Trump mentioned the danger of illegal immigration, and how jobs were being shipped overseas, particularly to China (Inwood 2). He declared "When Mexico sends its people; they're not sending their best. They are sending people that have many problems, and they are bringing those problems. They're bringing drugs, they're bringing crime, they're rapists, and some, I assume are good people" (Phillips). His declarations were harshly criticized by both Democrats and Republicans; they reflected the core and methods of his campaign and exposed his true intentions. Over the following 18 months, he would extend his racist discourse to include innercity America, Muslims, and other immigrant groups. Furthermore, after the confirmation of his
candidacy on November 8, 2016, the political establishment in the United States was so surprised to the point that it could not grasp how he managed to capture the presidency of the United States (Inwood 2). In the general election, Donald Trump ran against Hillary Clinton, who was the first female presidential candidate from a major political party. The battleground was divisive mainly because of Trump's outspoken tweets. His fans liked his business success as well as his nonpolitician status. ("Donald Trump").

In the lead-up to the first Republican primary debate in fall 2015, Donald Trump received most of the media attention and his daily campaign appearances dominated the media. Every day that Trump had a campaign event, cable news network's would exaggerate these events with crawlers on the bottom of their screens proclaiming "Waiting for Trump" and airtime on cable TV was dominated by speculation over what should be expected from his speeches.. In most cases Trump's speeches were streamed live, an advantage of free television time that no candidate from either party ever had and if Trump did not plan an event, he would make a series of Tweets against his opponents, which would subsequently be covered on network news channels as well as social media. (Kellner 91).

From a different perspective, During his presidential campaign, Donald Trump regularly referred to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization NATO as "obsolete," lectured American citizens about the need to spend more money for their safety, and promised to withdraw from international trade agreements and climate change discussions, Similarly, he portrayed America on the international stage in a radically different light than his Republican opponents and Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton. (Jason 177).

### 3.1.2 Who is Hillary Clinton

Hillary Diane Rodham was born on October 26, 1947, in Chicago, Illinois. She grew up in Park Ridge; she was the eldest daughter of fabric industry entrepreneur Hugh Rodham and housewife Dorothy Howell. While in college, Hilary was involved in a variety of political activities, including organizing a student strike in the aftermath of Martin Luther King's death. She also worked for both major political parties before declaring herself a Democrat. ("Hillary Rodham Clinton")

Educationally speaking, She earned her law degree at Yale University. She married Bill Clinton, a fellow law school graduate, in 1975. She then served as First Lady of the United States from 1993 to 2001, and as a United States Senator from 2001 to 2009. Clinton launched her candidacy for president in early 2007. Hillary abandoned her campaign after it became evident that Barack Obama had a majority of the delegate vote during the Democratic primaries in 2008. Furthermore, after winning the national election, Obama appointed her as Secretary of State. ("Hillary Clinton Biography").

She was sworn in as a member of his cabinet one year later, in January 2009, and served until 2013. In the spring of 2015 , she announced her will to run for presidency again. In 2016, she became the first female presidential nominee of a major political party in the United States. Clinton lost the presidential election that November after a divisive campaign against her Republican opponent Donald Trump ("Hillary Clinton Biography").

### 3.1.2.1 Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaign

Clinton started her first presidential campaign on January $20^{\text {th }}, 2007$. In the early months of the Democratic primary, she led against Barack Obama and John Edwards in national polls, but she was barely defeated by Obama after key losses in states like Iowa and North Carolina. In her
concession speech on June $8^{\text {th }}, 2008$, Clinton noted the historic nature of her performance (Rasmussen). Clinton struggled to settle on a slogan for her campaign, and after many attempts she went with the slogan "stronger together" (Keith).

Clinton held a liberal stance on social issues in general, supporting abortion rights, marriage equality, and the rescheduling of marijuana from Schedule I to Schedule II. She also supported immigration reform that included a route to citizenship. She also stated that she will reduce tax advantages for corporations who relocate work overseas and reinvest cash generated by reforming the corporate tax law in programs that promote economic growth. Clinton backed the renewal of the Export-Import Bank and Consumer Financial Protection Bureau action to put a stop to Wall Street's unethical practices. She stated that if another financial crisis occurred, she would allow huge banks to collapse and impose a risk charge on large banks that engage in risky activity. (Rasmussen). Clinton stated that she believed in "American exceptionalism" and campaigned for the United States to be a world leader. She backed the Iran nuclear deal but advocated for "trust and verify" enforcement. Clinton also advocated for a "360-degree plan" to combat ISIS. This was accomplished by focusing on identifying the network of people who fund ISIS, prohibiting online recruitment, establishing stricter screenings for visa applicants who have visited a country with Islamic State-controlled areas in the last five years, reauthorizing the use of military force against ISIS, and collaborating with Muslim-American communities to combat homegrown radicalization. (Rasmussen).

Clinton freely expressed her political platform, which included education, business, and family and community relationships. Her triumph will result in better education in rural regions and across the country, revitalizing entrepreneurs' hopes of starting their own firms. These improvements would help people of color and women working together to develop love,
generosity, and mutual respect despite differences. She took advantage of the opportunity to criticize Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump's campaign slogan, "Make America Great Again." She advocated that America never lost its greatness.. Instead, she emphasized the need to make America whole again. She emphasized the importance of removing any existing obstacles that were tearing the country apart. On an economic level, she was keen to promote the economy that her predecessor, President Obama, had constructed. She expressed her belief in the power of the tricolons as a rhetorical technique for breaking down barriers, highlighting efforts to eliminate women's social inequity and advocating for better education for the next generation and creating a better economy to support a better life for the younger generation (Gunawan 52).

Clinton was determined to support historically black colleges and universities. She planned to battle racism in order to advance opportunity, dignity, and justice for all Americans, particularly African-Americans (Rasmussen). She closed her presidential speech on a high note, urging her supporters to be strong in their battle against injustice and discrimination. She promised to provide more jobs, greater retirement benefits, recognition of hard work, family support, strong communities, mutual trust, and respect. (Gunawan 52).

### 3.1.3 Digital campaign

The 2016 digital campaign is a much different from the other ones; it focused on the use of new tools and mainly revolved around the online explosion of campaign-relevant communication, including the spread of fake news and propaganda from in and out the United States (Galston et al.63). In fact the two presidential nominees Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump both considerably rely on Twitter to reach out to voters, spread information, and criticize other candidates. From September the $18^{\text {th }} 2015$ to July the $1^{\text {st }} 2016$, Hillary Clinton posted 3529 tweets and Donald Trump posted 4506. Both candidates lead in terms of Twitter followers:

Clinton has 7.37 million followers and Trump has 9.70 million and both see large turnovers in their followers (Wang et al.71).

On a different standpoint, Facebook is also another platform that was highly used during the 2016 elections. Although, there might be some fake news that circulates on it, but it may be an effective advertising tool that has succeeded to influence voters. In reality, in the final weeks of the election, Trump team used data to target African Americans and young women with $\$ 150$ million in Facebook and Instagram adverts, secretly developing the most successful digital voter suppression operation in American history. (Winston).

In fact, the Trump campaign spent more money on Facebook than the Clinton campaign. This is due, in part, to the campaign's late start, it was necessary to rely on the knowledge and personnel provided by the Internet platforms themselves rather than running the majority of activities in-house. Teams from Google, Facebook, and Twitter assembled in a single room at the campaign's digital headquarters in San Antonio, Texas, to provide advice on how the campaign's money could be spent, thus the campaign paid $\$ 500,000$ to purchase a banner ad displayed on YouTube for the day (Galston et al.65). Mark Zuckerberg is working hard to convince people that Facebook did not play a nefarious role in the election. However, Facebook, according to President Donald Trump's digital director Brad Parscale, played a significant role in the election. It was enormously influential not only in spreading fake news, but also because the majority of the campaign's money was spent on online fundraising (\$250 million to be exact) (Lapowsky).

### 3.1.4 Presidential Debates

Because of the media, political campaigns have evolved over time, making presidential debates an important way of communicating with indecisive individuals. Presidential debates
will now give an opportunity not only for candidates to present their best public image, but also for the audience to extensively examine them and ultimately select who fits best. (Palacios 4).

On September 26, 2016, Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York, held "The First Presidential Debate." The debate was originally scheduled to take place at Wright State Institution in Ohio, but it was moved after the university withdrew owing to cost and security concerns ("Presidential debate at Hofstra..."). The candidates addressed the most controversial subjects that Americans were concerned about, including economic development, racism, cyberattacks, nuclear weapons, and politicians' forecasts about election outcomes. The questions were posed by Lester Halt of National Broadcasting Company. However, they were not authorized to cheer or speak in front of the audience. (Palacios 20).

Additionally, the second presidential debate was held on October $9^{\text {th }}, 2016$, at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri. Clinton and Trump were once again present. It is worthy to mention that the debate was run by Martha Raddatz of ABC news and Anderson cooper of CNN ("Presidential Debates 2015..."). In contrast to the previous two debates, Questions were posed not just by interviewers, but also by members of the audience and via social media. Trump and Clinton discussed Islamophobia, refugees, the economy, the Syrian conflict, errors made by Trump and Clinton in the past, and why he or she was the ideal person to hold the presidency rather than his or her opponent. In addition, candidates were placed in front of the interviewer. (Palacios 20).

The third presidential debate took place on October 19th, 2016 at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Chris Wallace of Fox News Channel conducted the interview during which Trump and Clinton discussed the following topics; abortion, immigration, the economy, a cyber-attack, the war in Syria, and why he or she should be elected president rather than his or her opponent.

Furthermore, the first debate the questions were posed by the moderator and were not shared with the commission or the campaigns. Trump and Clinton were positioned in front of the interviewer, and the crowd was encouraged to keep silent in order to focus on the competitors' interventions (Palacios 21).

### 3.2 The Case of Misrepresentation in 2016 Presidential Election

The 2016 presidential election was held on Tuesday, November 8, 2016. The Republican ticket of Donald Trump and Indiana Governor Mike Pence defeated the Democratic ticket of former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Virginia Senator Tim Kaine. While Clinton received approximately 2.9 million more votes nationwide, a margin of 2.1 percent of the total cast, Trump won the Electoral College, winning 30 states with 306 pledged electors out of 538 while overturning the perennial swing states of Florida, Iowa, and Ohio, as well as the "blue wall" of Michigan, Pennsylvania. In addition to Wisconsin which had been Democratic strongholds in presidential elections since the 1990s ("2016 Presidential Election").

Figure 06 Statistics of preliminary results of votes for Electoral College.


Source : Statista. "Election 2016: Results," Statista, 2016,
www.statista.com/statistics/630913/preliminary-results-of-votes-for-electoral-college-in-the-2016-presidential-election/.

This figure depicts the official results of the electoral votes in the 2016 presidential elections where Donald Trump won the election with 306 Electoral College votes and Hillary Clinton lost with 232 electoral votes. Despite the fact that Hillary Clinton received more votes than Donald Trump became the next President of the United States due to the magic of the Electoral College (Prokop).

The presidential election results surprised everyone who had been following national and state election polls because it always indicated Hillary beating Donald Trump. Election predictors estimated Clinton's chances of winning ranging from 70 percent to 99 percent and positioned her as the one who had more chances of winning a number of states such as Pennsylvania and Wisconsin which were taken by Trump (Mercer et al. 1). Despite the weirdness and injustice of the system, its advocates argue that it "works" most of the time. In reality, states distribute electors based on the results of the state's popular vote, and those electors often vote in the way they are expected. As a result, in most circumstances, the winner of the national popular vote also wins the Electoral College (Prokop).

This mismatch between electoral and popular votes arose because Trump won several large states (including Florida, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin) by very narrow margins, obtaining all of their electoral votes, while Clinton won other large states (including California, Illinois, and New York) by much wider margins. In reality, Trump's popular vote share was the seventh-lowest since 1828 , when presidential contests began to resemble those of today. In fact, the very
structure of how the United States chooses its presidents tends to create a split between the decision of the Electoral College and the public vote (DeSilver).

Figure 7 The final Electoral College map from Electoral Vote


Source: Beaumont, Adrian. "US 2016 Election Final Results: How Trump Won," The
Conversation, 2016, theconversation.com/us-2016-election-final-results-how-trump-won6935

The numbers above the two-letter abbreviations represents the Electoral votes for each state. Republicans (Trump) are represented by red, while Democrats are represented by blue (Clinton). Dark blue and red states won by at least $10 \%$, light blue and red states by $5-9 \%$, and states with a blue or red border by $0-4 \%$. Florida, Iowa, Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Pennsylvania were all won by Barack Obama in 2012 but flipped to Trump in 2016. Maine is purple because its electoral votes were split with Trump winning the rural second Congressional District and Clinton winning the state. Clinton got three Maine EVs to one for Trump. Given the final results, few states should be more visible on Clinton's map. As a result, Arizona should be white with a
red border, Colorado should be light blue, and both Texas and Iowa should be light red (Beaumont).

Even the vast majority of U.S. elections in which the same candidate earned both the popular and electoral votes, the system normally makes the winner's victory margin in the former considerably wider than the latter. In 2012, for example, Barack Obama received $51 \%$ of the nationwide popular vote but over $62 \%$ of the electoral votes 332 out of 538 (DeSilver). Looking back at all presidential elections since 1828, the winner's electoral vote share has been 1.36 times his popular vote share - this is referred to as the electoral vote (EV) inflation factor. Trump's EV inflation factor is 1.22 , based on his winning $56.5 \%$ of the electoral votes which is actually similar to Obama's in 2012 (DeSilver).

### 3.3 Time for Abolishing the Electoral College

The US political culture was formed on a movement that highlighted the significance of people's representation in government. "Taxation without Representation" is a phrase that still appears on the license plates of cars in the District of Columbia, serving as a reminder of one of the primary causes of the American Revolution. There are numerous forms of Representation and when it comes to the Electoral College, the state is represented on a "winner-take-all" principle. However, this results in significant injustice and betraying American principles such as majority rule, equality before the law, and representative government (Bolinger 179). In fact, Simple calculations show that certain states have a drastically disproportionate representation in the Electoral College. In other words, states with tiny populations have a disproportionate number of electoral votes, which do not have the same worth as those with huge populations, and when certain people's votes matter more than others, America has failed to uphold its promise to fair representation. (Bolinger179).

Figure 8 The support for amending the Constitution to abolish the Electoral College


Source : Gallup. "Americans Favor Popular Vote over Electoral College for Electing a
President," Gallup, 2020, news.gallup.com/poll/320744/americans-support-abolishing-electoral-college.aspx.

Donald Trump won the electoral vote in 2016, but Hillary Clinton won the popular vote as a consequence, (49\%) of Americans wanted to reform the constitution and replace the Electoral College system with a national vote, with the candidate who receives most votes win the elections. On the other side, ( $47 \%$ of Americans) are satisfied with the existing system.

As the movement to amend the Constitution by abolishing the Electoral College proceeds, people will have the chance to consider the several options or methods they might have to pick their presidents (Bolinger181). So what are the suggested methods to replace the Electoral College? Well, there are many suggestions but only two got a lot of attentions; the first alternative is to get rid of the winner-take-all and replace it with proportional voting within states, as Nebraska and Maine have done. Electors would vote on behalf of a Congressional district or another method of distribution rather than the entire state.The second is the national popular vote, which comes in two forms: interstate compact and constitutional amendment.

States would agree to establish state legislation such whoever won the national popular vote would obtain the state's electors under the interstate compact. The electors would vote for the winner of the national popular vote regardless of who won the popular vote in that state.. The Electoral College would be retained as a formal matter, but the winner of the national popular vote would always win the election; nonetheless, this notion is still disputed and unlikely to occur since too many smaller states and swing states stand to lose if the Electoral College is abolished. (Harper6).

All of this might eventually lead to a new presidential election system that addresses state inequalities. Furthermore, the primary purpose of removing the Electoral College is to select a president who is supported by the majority of Americans. Finally, any new voting method must be consistent with American ideals and beliefs. It would have to represent all citizens equally and adhere to the democratic concept of majority rule. Otherwise, Americans will be deprived of the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. (Bolinger181).

The 2016 presidential elections saw a fierce battle between two opponents, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, who came from diverse backgrounds and had different plans for America, but only one candidate was able to pass through and win. Despite the fact that Hillary Clinton received the most popular votes, Trump won the election and became the next President of the United States. It is worth noting that Trump would not have been elected President if not for the Electoral College system. As a result, the Electoral College has the control to alter the electoral process. The 2016 elections were the best example of a misrepresentation, which led to the debate on whether the Electoral College should be abolished and replaced by other systems.

## Conclusion

Like any other country, the US has its own issues that are unique and complex. A good example of that would be the presidential elections that reflect the indirect interests of the people. In the founding years, people were not given the total control over the selection of their president because of the creation of the Electoral College system. As a result, every four years American citizens have to vote for the candidate who would be their next president. Hence, it can be said that choosing the American president is a two way process; the Popular and the Electoral College system. Normally, these two systems serve each other as a way to balance the votes and ensure fair elections.

The votes of the Electoral College can eliminate the candidate even if he won the votes of the majority like in the case of the president Donald Tramp. In 2016, the majority of Americans gave their voices to the electors in hope they would represent their will to choose Hillary Clinton, instead, the Electoral College gave votes to Donald Tramp. Thus, the election results came as a surprise not only to American people but to the whole world. Therefore, the dissertation indicates the major role of the Electoral College that can play in directing the election process to a shift of a ninety degree. In order to better the understanding of this view, the 2016 presidential elections of Donald Tramp and Hillary Clinton were considered as evidence to the case in hand.

In November 2016, American citizens were asked to vote for the $45^{\text {th }}$ president of the United States by selecting one among the two candidates; the Republican Party candidate Donald J. Trump, or the Democratic Party candidate Hillary Clinton. When the two rival candidates started their election campaign against each other .Donald Trump was considered to be the most unfavourable candidate in the history of the U.S country he was badly criticized for exhibiting bad manners that were deduced from his behaviour.

Therefore, Clinton was predicted to be the winner that year because in comparison to Trump she was more politically experienced than him she took the liberal position on social issues; such as, supporting abortion rights, marriage equality she highly focused on issues that concern the people from the elite part of the society to the poor and to the development of the health care sector. The voices collected from the popular vote become less significance in the case of 2016 elections as it is further portrayed in the election results. The disconnectivity in Trump's share of the popular vote was evident as Trump was classified with the seventh-smallest winning percentage since 1828. Yet, surprisingly Hillary Clinton lost the elections to Donald Trump. This unbelievable incident has shifted the people views towards the misrepresentation of the Electoral College function.

Consequently, the American people found out it is a nighttimes to abolish the Electoral College as the U.S constitution witnessed several changes throughout the years in the form of amendments that hoped for a better system aiming at a fair share in the election process. Most importantly, the U.S Constitution was formed on a solid ground based on the principles of freedom and equality. However, what can be understood from the 2016 elections is that America did not succeed at honouring its pledge for a fair representation.

US election process, like any other system, has its own flaws. However, it remains the closest system that embodies the democratic principles advocated by the U.S constitution; it is step by step process of selecting the next American President it passes through a variety of sub stages until it finally reaches the last and most important step which is the electoral college and through the cases tackled in the second and third chapters, we clearly see its decisive role in shifting the election results. And how those presidents assumed the presidency seat just by collecting enough electoral vote .Furthermore, Just like there were reasons that led the founding fathers to add the

Electoral College in the Constitution, there would also be reasons to completely either abolish the Electoral College system or amend it especially after the results of the 2016 elections people wanted a system that signifies and embodies the principles of the U.S constitution because the current system of the electoral college is considered to be unfair because it values certain votes over others and certain states over others. On the long run, there will be a significant change in the Electoral College process as long as people want that change .thus; they already started suggesting other alternatives and methods of choosing their presidents that they judged to be more faire.

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