CHAPTER 9

NOMINATIONS AND CAMPAIGNS

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction (pp. 277–287)
   A. Campaigning for any major office is a massive undertaking.
   B. Someone somewhere is always running for office in the United States.

II. The Nomination Game (pp. 278–287)
   A. Introduction
      1. A nomination is a party's official endorsement of a candidate for office.
      2. Campaign strategy is the way in which candidates attempt to manipulate money, media, and momentum to achieve the nomination.
   B. Deciding to Run
   C. Competing for Delegates: The goal of the nomination game is to win the majority of delegates' support at the national party convention.
      1. The Caucus Road
         a. A caucus is a meeting of state party leaders.
         b. Caucuses usually are organized like a pyramid.
      2. The Primary Road
         a. In presidential primaries, voters in a state go to the polls and vote for a candidate or delegates pledged to one.
         b. The McGovern-Fraser Commission had a mandate to make Democratic Party conventions more representative.
         c. The proliferation of presidential primaries has transformed politics.
         d. Politicians who are awarded convention seats on the basis of their position are known as superdelegates.
         e. More states have moved their primaries up in the calendar in order to capitalize on media attention (frontloading).
      3. Evaluating the Primary and Caucus System
         a. Disproportionate attention goes to the early caucuses and primaries.
         b. Prominent politicians find it difficult to take time out from their duties to run.
         c. Money plays too big a role in the caucuses and primaries.
         d. Participation in primaries and caucuses is low and unrepresentative.
         e. The system gives too much power to the media.
   D. The Convention Send-off
      1. Conventions are no longer dramatic; the winner is a foregone conclusion.
      2. Conventions orchestrate a massive send-off for the candidates.
      3. Conventions develop the party's policy positions (party platform) and
VIII. The Campaign Game (pp. 287–291)
A. The High-Tech Media Campaign
   1. The Internet and candidate websites have contributed greatly to campaigning and fundraising.
   2. The technique of direct mail helps identify potential supporters and contributors.
   3. Candidates use their advertising budget.
   4. Candidates get free attention as newsmakers.
B. Organizing the Campaign
   1. Get a campaign manager.
   2. Get a fund-raiser.
   3. Get a campaign counsel.
   4. Hire media and campaign consultants.
   5. Assemble a campaign staff.
   6. Plan the logistics.
   7. Get a research staff and policy advisors.
   8. Hire a pollster.
  10. Establish a Web site.

IV. Money and Campaigning (pp. 292–298)
A. The Maze of Campaign Finance Reforms
   1. The Federal Election Campaign Act was passed in 1974.
      a. It created the Federal Election Commission (FEC).
      b. It created the Presidential Election Campaign Fund.
      c. It provided partial public financing for presidential primaries (matching funds).
      d. It provided full public financing for major party candidates in the general election.
      e. It required full disclosure.
      f. It limited contributions.
      g. 1979 amendments placed no limits on soft money.
      h. The McCain-Feingold Act (2002) banned soft money, increased the amounts individuals could contribute, and barred certain “issue ads.”
      i. 527 groups are not subject to contribution restrictions because they do not directly seek the election of particular candidates.
B. The Proliferation of Political Action Committees (PACs)
C. Are Campaigns Too Expensive?

V. The Impact of Campaigns (p. 298)
A. Campaigns have three potential effects: reinforcement, activation, and conversion.
B. Factors that weaken campaigns’ impact on voters include: selective perception, party identification, and incumbency.
VI. Understanding Nominations and Campaigns (pp. 298–300)
   A. Are Nominations and Campaigns Too Democratic?
   B. Do Big Campaigns Lead to an Increased Scope of Government?

VII. Summary (p. 300)

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying Chapter 9, you should be able to:

1. Explain the nomination process and the role of the national party conventions.
2. Discuss the role of campaign organizations and the importance of the media in campaigns.
3. Understand the role of money in campaigns, campaign finance reform, and the impact of political action committees.
4. Explain the impact of campaigns on the voters.
5. Understand how campaigns affect democracy, public policy, and the scope of government.

The following exercises will help you meet these objectives:

Objective 1: Explain the nomination process and the role of the national party conventions.

1. List the three elements needed for success in the nomination game.
   1.
   2.
   3.

2. Draw a diagram depicting the pyramid structure of the typical state party caucus.

3. What reforms did the McGovern-Fraser Commission bring to the Democratic Party?
4. List five criticisms of the primary and caucus systems.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

5. What are the primary functions of the national party conventions?

Objective 2: Discuss the role of campaign organizations and the importance of the media in campaigns.

1. What are the two factors that determine media coverage of a campaign?

   1.

   2.

2. Using a rating system of strong, medium, and weak, rate campaign advertisements and campaign news coverage in terms of their attention to candidate image, issues, and the campaign itself.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campaign Advertisements</th>
<th>Campaign News Coverage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Image</td>
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<tr>
<td>Issues</td>
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<tr>
<td>Campaign</td>
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3. List ten things candidates must do to effectively organize their campaigns.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. 

Objective 3: Understand the role of money in campaigns, campaign finance reform, and the impact of political action committees.

1. What were the main features of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974?

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 

2. What were the three main provisions of the McCain-Feingold Act (2002)?

1. 
2. 
3.
3. Present an argument that political action committees are essential to a successful campaign.

Objective 4: Explain the impact of campaigns on the voters.

1. What are the three effects campaigns can have on voters?
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 

2. What three factors tend to weaken campaigns' impacts on voters?
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 

Objective 5: Understand how campaigns affect democracy, public policy, and the scope of government.

1. What is meant by the "permanent campaign"?

2. How might campaigns affect the scope of government?
KEY TERMS

Identify and describe:

nomination

campaign strategy

national party convention

caucus

presidential primaries

McGovern-Fraser Commission

superdelegates

frontloading

national primary

regional primaries

party platform
direct mail

Federal Election Campaign Act

Federal Election Commission (FEC)

Presidential Election Campaign Fund

matching funds

soft money

527 groups

political action committees (PACs)

selective perception

*Compare and contrast:*

nomination and national party convention

caucus and presidential primaries
McGovern-Fraser Commission and superdelegates

national primary and regional primaries

Federal Election Campaign Act and Federal Election Commission

Presidential Election Campaign Fund and matching funds

Soft money and 527 groups

Name that term:

1. This is the way in which candidates attempt to manipulate resources to achieve their party's nomination.

   ________________________________

2. This is a meeting of state party leaders.

   ________________________________

3. Moving a state primary earlier in the calendar year to take advantage of media attention is known by this term.

   ________________________________

4. This bipartisan body that administers the campaign finance laws.

   ________________________________

5. These party contributions include money raised for voter registration drives and the distribution of campaign material.

   ________________________________
6. These independent groups seek to influence the political process but are not subject to contribution restrictions.

______________________________

7. These organizations must register with the FEC and make meticulous reports about their expenditures.

______________________________

8. When people pay most attention to things they already agree with and interpret events according to their own predispositions, it is an example of this.

______________________________

USING YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Present an analysis of the 2008 presidential campaign in terms of what you have learned in this chapter. In particular, compare the candidates in terms of their campaign organizations, their access to and use of money, their use of the media, and their attention to the issues. Did PAC money make a difference in the campaign? Which candidate received the most PAC money? Did the media treat the candidates differently? Which candidate do you believe was able to use the media most effectively and why? How did the campaign of independent candidates Ralph Nader and Bob Barr compare to that of Barak Obama and John McCain, who had political party organizations behind them?

2. Find out which political action committees contribute to the member of Congress from your district and the two senators from your state and how much they contribute. Which PACs contributed to the representative's campaign in the 2008 congressional election? Determine what issues these PACs are most concerned with and investigate how your representative and senators voted on policies that would be relevant to the PACs' interests. Make a table or graph to illustrate your findings and use your results as the basis for a discussion of the relationship between members of Congress and Political Action Committees.
MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the correct answer:

1. Anthony King’s concept of “running scared” suggests that politicians
   a. do too little governing because they are perpetually campaigning.
   b. do too little campaigning because they are constantly governing.
   c. work constantly to avoid media coverage.
   d. make every effort to avoid public opinion.
   e. Both c and d

2. In most advanced industrialized countries, national campaigns
   a. are even less dignified than in the United States.
   b. occur once every four years.
   c. are limited by law to no more than two months.
   d. are longer than American elections.
   e. occur only once every seven years.

3. The first presidential caucus of the campaign season is traditionally held in
   a. Delaware.
   b. California.
   c. Minnesota.
   d. New Hampshire.
   e. Iowa.

4. Today, most delegates to each major party's national convention are chosen by
   a. state party chairpersons prior to any caucus or presidential primary.
   b. state presidential primaries.
   c. the previous national convention.
   d. state presidential caucuses.
   e. a lottery system.

5. The opening up of the process to choose delegates to the Democratic National
   Convention in the immediate aftermath of 1968 was spearheaded by
   a. the McGovern-Fraser Commission.
   b. the Kerner Commission.
   c. an act of Congress.
   d. President Johnson.
   e. the Warren Commission.
6. Superdelegates
   a. are special delegates chosen by popular election.
   b. are each able to cast three votes at their national convention rather than the standard one vote.
   c. are delegates uncommitted to a specific candidate.
   d. have helped make the delegation more representative of the population.
   e. have helped restore an element of peer review to the process of choosing a presidential candidate.

7. Which of the following is NOT a criticism of the current system of presidential primaries and caucuses?
   a. Prominent officeholders find it difficult to take time out from their current duties to run.
   b. The media do not have enough of a role in this process.
   c. Too much attention is paid to the early ones.
   d. Money plays too big a role.
   e. Many candidates drop out early before most states have held their primary or caucus.

8. Proponents of a national primary argue that it would do each of the following EXCEPT
   a. bring directness and simplicity to the nomination process.
   b. no longer allow votes in one state to have more political impact than votes in another.
   c. lengthen the time of the campaign.
   d. concentrate media coverage and increase interest and understanding.
   e. increase interest in more states.

9. Over the years, television coverage of national party conventions has
   a. received increasingly high Nielsen ratings.
   b. become more dramatic.
   c. shifted to local affiliate reporters focusing on their state delegations and away from the national network anchors.
   d. been scaled back.
   e. steadily increased.

10. The Federal Election Commission
    a. administers all elections in the United States from school board to president with a staff of 160,000.
    b. tabulates and certifies the votes in all federal elections.
    c. is a bipartisan body responsible for administering campaign finance laws and enforcing compliance with those laws.
    d. is a nonpartisan political organization that has sought for over fifty years to reform campaign financing.
    e. is the Republican Party's watchdog organization, which monitors fundraising and spending by Democratic candidates.
11. In the 1976 case of *Buckley v. Valeo*, the Supreme Court ruled that
   a. the limitation on the amount of money persons could contribute to their own
election campaigns violated free speech, and was unconstitutional.
   b. presidential election campaigns could not be paid for by tax dollars.
   c. the forced disclosure of contributions to federal elections violated freedom of
association, and was therefore unconstitutional.
   d. the limitation on the amount of money people could contribute to their own
election campaigns was not a violation of free speech, and was constitutional.
   e. congressional and state legislative districts must be of equal population and
reapportioned every ten years.

12. What does a presidential candidate have to do to qualify for federal matching funds?
   a. Raise $5,000 on their own in at least 20 states.
   b. Raise $50,000 on their own in all states collectively.
   c. Win three primaries.
   d. Win the nomination.
   e. Get 100,000 signatures in their support in at least five states.

13. The McCain-Feingold Act of 2002 did all of the following EXCEPT
   a. barred groups from running "issue ads" within 60 days of a general election if
   they refer to a federal candidate and are not funded through a PAC.
   b. banned soft money contributions.
   c. increased the amount that individuals could give to candidates from $1,000 to
   $2,000.
   d. indexed the limit on individual contributions to inflation in future years.
   e. None of the above

14. Soft money consists of money
   a. provided through public financing.
   b. for voter registration drives and campaign material at the grass-roots level.
   c. that is illegally given to a campaign.
   d. that individuals contribute to their own campaign.
   e. given directly to a candidate.

15. In its 2004 ruling the FEC ruled that 527 groups
   a. were subject to strict contribution restrictions.
   b. were not subject to strict contribution restrictions so long as their political
   messages did not make explicit endorsements of candidates using phrases like
   "vote for" or "vote against."
   c. were permitted to make explicit endorsements of candidates so long as they were
   not in the form of negative ads.
   d. Both a and c
   e. Both b and c
16. Critics of the PAC system are concerned that
   a. PACs are not regulated.
   b. they tend to support only Republican candidates.
   c. PACs are too weak and ineffective to contribute to a strong democracy.
   d. only the largest and most powerful interest groups can afford to form PACs.
   e. PACs may control what the electoral winners do once in office.

17. According to Herbert Alexander's "doctrine of sufficiency,")
   a. there is a minimum amount of money that candidates must spend to have a chance at winning.
   b. candidates with large personal fortunes are almost guaranteed victory, unless their opponent is of roughly equal net worth.
   c. in order to win, a candidate must have more money than his or her opponent.
   d. the wealthier candidate always wins.
   e. a candidate's sense of self-worth, not money, is most important to a successful campaign.

18. Campaigns strengthen voter commitment to the usual party or the candidate they previously supported by emphasizing ________ as part of their campaign strategy.
   a. conversion
   b. reinforcement
   c. activation
   d. persuasion
   e. direct mail

19. Which of the following is true of modern campaigns?
   a. They involve much less communication between candidates and voters than America’s founders ever imagined.
   b. They involve much more communication between candidates and voters than America’s founders ever imagined.
   c. Candidates in modern campaigns make numerous promises during nominations and elections that would have jarred with the founders’ notions of the public interest.
   d. Both b and c
   e. All of the above

20. The “candidate-centered age” refers to a system of modern campaigns that allows politicians to
   a. decide on their own to run for office.
   b. raise their own campaign funds.
   c. build their own personal campaign organizations.
   d. make individual promises about what they will do once they are in office.
   e. All of the above
TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

Circle the correct answer:

1. Traditionally, Iowa holds the first presidential primary to choose delegates to each party's national conventions. T / F

2. The national party convention functions to select presidential and vice presidential candidates and to write a party platform. T / F

3. Unlike party convention delegates prior to 1968, most of today's delegates to Democratic conventions have few ties to experienced politicians or the party organization. T / F

4. The Democratic Party has been more preoccupied since 1968 with party efficiency and winning elections rather than with broadening representation in the party and opening up its process. T / F

5. The recent tendency of states to hold primaries early in the calendar year in order to capitalize on media attention is called frontloading. T / F

6. Candidates' policy positions receive more media attention than does their campaign strategy. T / F

7. A political party’s statement of its goals and policies over the next four years is called the party platform. T / F

8. The Internet has had its greatest impact on campaigns in the area of advertising. T / F

9. The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974 was extremely effective in limiting the influence of money on campaigns and elections. T / F

10. 527 groups cannot explicitly urge citizens to vote for or against a candidate. T / F

SHORT ANSWER/SHORT ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Describe the process through which candidates are nominated for the presidency.

2. Why is the New Hampshire presidential primary so important?

3. Compare and contrast a caucus and a primary.

4. What was the purpose of the McGovern-Fraser Commission? What did it accomplish in the Democratic national convention and how?