CHAPTER 9

CAMPAIGNS AND VOTING BEHAVIOR

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. The Nomination Game (pp. 268-276)
   A. Introduction
      1. A nomination is a party’s official endorsement of a candidate for office.
      2. Campaign strategy is the master game plan candidates lay out to guide their electoral campaign.
   B. 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 are usually 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 try to make Democratic Party conventions more representative.
         c. The proliferation of presidential primaries has transformed politics.
         d. Democratic 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 of 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.
   4. The convention Send-off
      a. Conventions are no longer dramatic since the winner is a foregone conclusion.
      b. Conventions orchestrate a massive send-off for the candidates.
      c. Conventions develop the parties’ policy positions and promote representation.
II. The Campaign Game (pp. 276-279)
   A. Organizing the Campaign
      1. Line up 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.

III. Money and Campaigning (pp. 279-288)
   A. The Maze of Campaign Finance Reforms
      1. Federal Election Campaign Act, 1974
         a. It created the Federal Election Commission (FEC).
         b. It created the Presidential Election Campaign Fund.
         c. It provided 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.
      2. 1979 amendments placed no limits on soft money.
      3. 527 groups seek to influence the political process but not subject to contribution restrictions.
   B. The Proliferation of Political Action Committees (PACs)
   C. Does Money Buy Victory?
   D. The Media and the Campaign
      1. Candidates use their advertising budget.
      2. Candidates get free attention as newsmakers.

IV. The Impact of Campaigns (p. 288)
   A. Campaigns have three effects on voters: reinforcement, activation, and conversion.
   B. Factors that weaken campaigns’ impact on voters include selective perception, party identification, and incumbency.

V. Whether to Vote: A Citizen’s First Choice (pp. 288-291)
   A. Deciding Whether to Vote
      1. People who see policy differences between the parties are more likely to vote.
      2. People with a higher sense of political efficacy (the belief that ordinary
people can influence the government) have higher voting rates.

3. People may be impelled to vote by a sense of civic duty.

B. Registering to Vote
1. **Voter registration** currently differs greatly from state to state.
2. The 1993 **Motor Voter Act** requires states to permit people to register at the same time they apply for driver’s licenses.

C. Who Votes?
1. Education makes participation more likely.
2. Young people have the lowest turnout rate.
3. Whites vote with greater frequency than members of minority groups.
4. Women have slightly higher turnout rates than men.
5. Married people are more likely to vote.
6. Government employees are more likely to vote.

VI. How Americans Vote: Explaining Citizens’ Decisions (pp. 291-299)

A. **Mandate theory of elections**: Suggests that the winner has a mandate to carry out promised policies.

B. Party Identification: Provides a perspective through which voters can view the political world.

C. Candidate Evaluations: How Americans See the Candidates

D. **Policy Voting**: Occurs when people base their choices in an election on their own issue preferences.

E. 2004: The Ratification of a Polarizing Presidency

VII. The Last Battle: The **Electoral College** (pp. 299-300)

VIII. Understanding Campaigns and Voting Behavior (pp. 300-302)

A. Are Nominations and Campaigns Too Democratic?
B. Do Elections Affect Public Policy?
C. Do Campaigns Lead to Increases in the Scope of Government?

IX. Summary (p. 303)

**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 organization, money in campaigns, campaign finance reform, and the impact of PACs.*
3. Understand the importance of the media in campaign politics.

4. Explain the impact of campaigns on the voters.

5. Discuss the factors that affect a citizen’s choice of whether to vote.

6. Explain how Americans vote and what factors influence how they vote.

7. Explain how the electoral college works and what biases it can introduce.

8. Understand how campaigns and voting behavior 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 system.
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 
   5. 

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

Objective 2: Discuss the role of campaign organization, money in campaigns, campaign finance reform, and the impact of PACs.

1. List 10 things candidates must do to effectively organize their campaigns.
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 
   5. 
   6. 
   7. 
   8. 
   9. 
   10.
2. What were the six main features of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974?
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 
   5. 
   6. 

3. List the three provisions of the McCain-Feingold Act.
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 

4. Present an argument that PACs are essential to a successful campaign.

Objective 3: Understand the importance of the media in campaign politics.

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 advertisement and campaign news coverage in terms of their attention to candidate image, issues, and the campaign itself.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Campaign Advertisements</th>
<th>Campaign News Coverage</th>
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<td>Image</td>
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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: Discuss the factors that affect a citizen’s choice of whether to vote.

1. List three major reasons why people might vote.
   1.
   2.
   3.
2. What is the major provision of the 1993 Motor Voter Act?

3. List and explain six demographic factors that are related to voter turnout.
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 
   5. 
   6.

Objective 6: Explain how Americans vote and what factors influence how they vote.

1. What is meant by the “mandate theory of elections”?

2. How has the influence of party identification on voting changed since the 1950s?

3. What are the three most important dimensions of candidate image?
   1. 
   2. 
   3.

4. What are the three conditions necessary for true policy voting to take place?
   1.
Objective 7: Explain how the electoral college works and what biases it can introduce.

1. Make a list of the four most important features of the electoral college that explains how it works.
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 

2. What are the two reasons why the electoral college is important to presidential elections?
   1. 
   2. 

Objective 8: Understand how campaigns and voting behavior affect democracy, public policy, and the scope of government.

1. What are the two tasks that elections accomplish, according to democratic theory?
   1. 
   2. 

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2. What is meant by the “permanent campaign”?

3. According to the text, what is the clearest way in which elections broadly affect public policy?

4. 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

Federal Election Campaign Act

Federal Election Commission (FEC)

Presidential Election Campaign Fund

matching funds

soft money

527 Groups
political action committees (PACs)

selective perception

suffrage
political efficacy

civic duty

voter registration

Motor Voter Act

mandate theory of elections

policy voting

electoral college

*Compare and contrast:*

nomination and national party convention

McGovern-Fraser Commission and superdelegates
caucus and presidential primaries

national presidential primary and regional primaries

Federal Election Campaign Act, Federal Election Commission, Presidential Election Campaign Fund, and matching funds

civic duty and political efficacy

suffrage and voter registration

voter registration and Motor Voter Act

mandate theory of elections and policy voting

*Name that term:*

1. The way in which candidates attempt to manipulate resources to achieve their party’s nomination.

2. A meeting of state party leaders.
3. A proposal in which a group of states conduct primaries at the same time.

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

5. Political contributions earmarked for party-building expenses at the grassroots level.

6. Groups that 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.

9. It varies among the states and tends to dampen voter turnout.

10. This reflects the belief that one’s vote can make a difference.

11. Politicians are more attracted to this idea than are political scientists.

12. A unique American institution created by the Constitution.
USING YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Present an analysis of the 2000 and/or 2004 presidential campaign in terms of what you have learned in this chapter. In particular, compare the candidates in terms of their campaign organization, 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 third-party candidate Ralph Nader compare to that of the Democratic and Republican Party candidates in the two elections?

2. Find out which PACs contribute to the member of Congress from your district and the two senators from your state. 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 PACs.

3. Find out about electoral turnout in your state for the 2004 and 2006 elections. How did the participation rates for various population groups (based on race, income, region, etc.) differ? Compare your state’s voting rate to the national turnout rate and to that of other states. How well does your state fare? See if you can identify some of the demographic features of your state that might help explain its rate of turnout, such as its size, urbanization, or population composition. How did participation rates differ between 2004 and 2006, and why? How might the voter registration system in your state affect turnout? Briefly describe what you found and suggest ways to improve electoral participation.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Check ☑ the correct answer:

1. A political party’s official endorsement of a candidate for office is called
   ☐ a. a campaign.
   ☐ b. an election.
   ☐ c. a platform.
   ☐ d. a nomination.
2. Which of the following is NOT a key element of campaign strategy?
   □ a. momentum
   □ b. money
   □ c. mediocracy
   □ d. media attention

3. The presidential campaign game
   □ a. lasts only a few weeks.
   □ b. is limited to two contenders.
   □ c. is not played by every politician.
   □ d. is given scant media attention.

4. (bonus) Who said in reference to running for president, “The question is whether I can be elected and not be nuts when I get there”?
   □ a. Thomas Foley
   □ b. Walter Mondale
   □ c. Richard Nixon
   □ d. John Kerry

5. The number of roads to the national party convention is about
   □ a. two.
   □ b. 50.
   □ c. 100.
   □ d. 2,000.

6. Delegates to the national party convention are determined by
   □ a. a general election.
   □ b. presidential primaries.
   □ c. state party caucuses.
   □ d. both b. and c.

7. Once, all state parties selected their delegates to the national party convention in caucuses.
   □ True
   □ False

8. Which of the following characteristics is NOT associated with today’s state caucuses?
   □ a. a private meeting of party elites
   □ b. open meetings and wide participation
   □ c. strict adherence to complex rules of representation
   □ d. a pyramid selection process
9. In selecting delegates to the national party convention, most states use
   □ a. party bosses.
   □ b. caucuses.
   □ c. debates.
   □ d. presidential primaries.

10. The purpose of the McGovern-Fraser Commission was to
    □ a. regenerate the Republican party organization.
    □ b. conduct an investigation of the 1968 convention riots in Chicago.
    □ c. draft reforms to increase the representativeness of the Democratic
        National Convention.
    □ d. choose superdelegates from among national party leaders.

11. Superdelegates to the Democratic National Convention
    □ a. consist of minority groups previously not represented.
    □ b. help restore an element of peer review to the process.
    □ c. were established by the McGovern-Fraser Commission.
    □ d. are observers only, without a formal vote.

12. The first presidential primary takes place in
    □ a. Delaware.
    □ b. New Hampshire.
    □ c. Maine.
    □ d. Virginia.

13. The “big mo” in a campaign refers to
    □ a. mobility.
    □ b. motivation.
    □ c. momentum.
    □ d. monopoly.

14. The early caucuses and primaries get very little media attention relative to those
    later in the campaign.
    □ True
    □ False

15. The percentage of voters who turn out for presidential primaries is about
    □ a. 10 percent.
    □ b. 20 percent.
    □ c. 50 percent.
    □ d. 60 percent.
16. Voters in primaries and caucuses are highly representative of the electorate at large.
   □ True
   □ False

17. Alternatives proposed by critics of the nomination system include
   □ a. a national presidential primary.
   □ b. an increased use of caucuses.
   □ c. individual state party conventions.
   □ d. none of the above

18. Each of the following is an important function of the national party convention EXCEPT to
   □ a. nominate a candidate for president.
   □ b. develop the party’s policy positions.
   □ c. select members of the electoral college.
   □ d. get the campaign rolling.

19. Most delegates to the national party convention are not committed to vote for a particular candidate.
   □ True
   □ False

20. Television networks have substantially scaled back their coverage of national party conventions.
   □ True
   □ False

21. Which of the following is central to the success of a campaign?
   □ a. a campaign organization
   □ b. money
   □ c. media attention
   □ d. all of the above

22. The political candidate can handle most of the tasks of a campaign without assistance.
   □ True
   □ False
23. Which of the following is NOT a part of the Federal Election Campaign Act as amended?
   □ a. partial public financing for presidential primaries
   □ b. disclosure of contributions
   □ c. limits on contributions
   □ d. elimination of PACs

24. The Supreme Court case of Buckley v. Valeo (1976)
   □ a. banned soft money contributions.
   □ b. struck down limitations on the amount individuals could contribute to their own campaigns.
   □ c. required PACs to register with the FEC.
   □ d. declared the Federal Election Campaign Act unconstitutional.

25. The McCain-Feingold Act
   □ a. banned soft money contributions.
   □ b. increased the amount individuals could give to candidates.
   □ c. barred groups from running “issue ads” within 60 days of the election.
   □ d. all of the above

26. The formation of a PAC makes it possible to avoid reporting expenditures to the FEC.
   □ True
   □ False

27. In return for contributions, PACs hope to gain
   □ a. campaign finance reform.
   □ b. access to officeholders.
   □ c. bribes.
   □ d. recognition for public service.

28. Which of the following statements about PACs is FALSE?
   □ a. There are no data to support the contention that PACs can “buy” Congress.
   □ b. Most PACs support those who agree with them in the first place.
   □ c. Presidents are particularly vulnerable to PAC influence.
   □ d. Candidates need PACs because high-tech campaigning is expensive.

29. Which of the following statements is FALSE?
   □ a. High-tech politics are expensive.
   □ b. All candidates have to spend something to win.
   □ c. Congressional incumbents who spend more usually fare worse at the polls.
   □ d. Lots of money can elect even the unelectable.
30. The most important ingredient of electoral success is
☐ a. having enough money to get a message across.
☐ b. outspending opponents.
☐ c. getting interest group endorsements.
☐ d. kissing babies.

31. About half the money in a major campaign goes toward television advertising.
☐ True
☐ False

32. “Political persuaders” may be hired to
☐ a. mold a candidate’s image.
☐ b. handle campaign logistics.
☐ c. manage campaign payrolls.
☐ d. all of the above

33. Which of the following statements is FALSE?
☐ a. Advertising and news coverage are central to media attention to campaigns.
☐ b. Most television advertising has little to do with salient campaign issues.
☐ c. Candidates have less control over news coverage than advertising.
☐ d. More political news has to do with campaign details than the policy positions of candidates.

34. Newspapers and newsmagazines pay little attention to the campaign itself in favor of comprehensive coverage of the issues.
☐ True
☐ False

35. The LEAST frequent consequence of campaigns for voters is
☐ a. reinforcement.
☐ b. activation.
☐ c. conversion.
☐ d. both a. and b.

36. Which of the following does NOT weaken the impact of campaigns?
☐ a. selective perception
☐ b. the advantage of incumbents
☐ c. party identification
☐ d. close elections
37. A paradox in American electoral history is that while suffrage has expanded,  
☐ a. fewer Americans exercise the right to vote.  
☐ b. participation in elections has increased.  
☐ c. people place greater value on their right to vote.  
☐ d. fewer people are eligible to vote.  

38. Rational people might decide that the costs of voting outweigh the benefits.  
☐ True  
☐ False  

39. Which of the following factors is NOT central to the decision of whether or not to vote?  
☐ a. perceived policy differences between the parties  
☐ b. the knowledge that most elections are extremely close  
☐ c. a sense of political efficacy  
☐ d. a sense of civic duty  

40. The belief that ordinary people can influence the government is known as  
☐ a. political efficacy.  
☐ b. rational behavior.  
☐ c. civic duty.  
☐ d. class-based voting.  

41. The voter registration system is  
☐ a. implemented by federal authorities.  
☐ b. more restrictive in northern states.  
☐ c. an important factor in low voter turnout.  
☐ d. the same in every state.  

42. The Motor Voter Act made voter registration easier.  
☐ True  
☐ False  

43. All other things being equal, which of the following individuals is most likely to vote?  
☐ a. an unmarried man  
☐ b. a middle-aged woman  
☐ c. a high school dropout  
☐ d. an 18-year-old Hispanic  

44. African Americans and other minorities with high income and education levels vote with greater frequency than whites with high income and education levels.  
☐ True  
☐ False
45. Politicians and political scientists agree on the relevance of the mandate theory of elections.
   □ True
   □ False

46. Which of the following factors is NOT central to the decision of how to vote?
   □ a. simplified registration procedures
   □ b. party identification
   □ c. candidate evaluation
   □ d. policy voting

47. In the 1950s, the single best predictor of a voter’s decision of how to vote was
   □ a. political efficacy.
   □ b. policy voting.
   □ c. party identification.
   □ d. candidate evaluation.

48. A study by Rosenberg and McCafferty concluded that
   □ a. a candidate’s appearance and image have no real effect on voters.
   □ b. policy voting has become the single most important determinant of how to vote.
   □ c. it is possible to manipulate a candidate’s appearance in a way that affects voters’ choices.
   □ d. party identification has all but disappeared as a determinant of how to vote.

49. Studies have shown that the most important dimension of candidate image is
   □ a. integrity.
   □ b. reliability.
   □ c. competence.
   □ d. all of the above

50. Which of the following conditions is NOT central to policy voting?
   □ a. a voter’s clear view of his or her policy preferences
   □ b. a voter’s knowledge of where the candidates stand
   □ c. a voter’s party identification
   □ d. a vote for the candidate whose positions coincide with the voter’s

51. No longer can a candidate get a party’s nomination without taking stands on the major issues of the day.
   □ True
   □ False
52. The U.S. Supreme Court ultimately determined the winner of the 2000 presidential election.
   □ True
   □ False

   □ True
   □ False

54. One of the main reasons people voted for George W. Bush in 2004 was
   □ a. his stand on the economy.
   □ b. the war in Iraq.
   □ c. strong leadership in the war on terrorism.
   □ d. his stand on health care.

55. The electoral college system was created by
   □ a. political practice.
   □ b. political parties.
   □ c. an act of Congress.
   □ d. the Constitution.

56. Which of the following statements about the electoral college is FALSE?
   □ a. It is used in many countries of the world.
   □ b. Each state has as many electors as it has senators and representatives.
   □ c. In most states, there is a winner-take-all system.
   □ d. Electoral college votes are counted when the new congressional session opens in January.

57. Electoral college votes are cast in proportion to the popular vote for each candidate.
   □ True
   □ False

58. The electoral college is important to the presidential election because it
   □ a. introduces a bias into the campaign and electoral process.
   □ b. gives an advantage to big states.
   □ c. may result in the election of a president who did not receive the most popular votes.
   □ d. all of the above

59. It is possible for the electoral college to choose a president who did not win a majority of the popular vote.
   □ True
   □ False
60. Today’s political campaigns tend to promote individualism in American politics.
   □ True
   □ False

61. The greater the policy differences between the candidates, the more likely voters will be able to steer government policies by their choices.
   □ True
   □ False

62. Parties and candidates
   □ a. are skilled in the art of ambiguity.
   □ b. prefer to tackle the controversial issues.
   □ c. use the media for comprehensive issue coverage.
   □ d. always provide voters with sharp choices.

63. (bonus) Who said that candidates should offer “a choice, not an echo”?
   □ a. Jimmy Carter
   □ b. Barry Goldwater
   □ c. Benjamin Page
   □ d. Ronald Reagan

64. To secure votes from each region and state of the country, candidates
   □ a. promise to reduce government programs and spending.
   □ b. develop a national policy platform.
   □ c. end up supporting a variety of local interests.
   □ d. avoid talking about local issues.

65. Individuals who believe they can influence the government’s actions are also more likely to believe, in turn, that the government should have more power.
   □ True
   □ False

ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. How is a candidate nominated for the presidency? What functions do national party conventions perform? What criticisms have been raised about the nomination process? Is it a representative process?

2. What are the elements of a successful political campaign? What impacts do campaigns have on voters? What factors tend to weaken the impact of campaigns on voters?
3. What is the role of money in campaigns? What campaign finance reforms have been adopted? What effects have they had?

4. What are the positive and negative features of PACs? How might they affect politicians and policymaking?

5. How do campaign images and issues conflict, or do they? What is the role of the media in shaping both?

6. What is the electoral paradox of more suffrage and less participation? Why would we expect people to vote more today and why do they not do so? How does the voter registration system affect the decision to vote?

7. What factors determine why people choose to vote? What groups are most likely to vote and what groups are least likely to vote? What are the implications of these differences in electoral participation?

8. Why do people vote the way they do? Which reason do you believe is most important, and why?

9. What is the electoral college, and how does it work? What biases in the electoral process does it introduce? Should the electoral college system be preserved or abolished?

10. How do campaigns and voting behavior affect democracy, public policy, and the scope of government?