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Does Money Matter in the American Presidential Electoral Campaign?

Case Study; Donald Trump's Presidential Electoral Campaign

A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and English Language in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of Master's Degree in Anglophone Language,

Literature, and Civilizations.

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Abstract

The main aim of this Master's dissertation is exploring the importance of money in the American presidential campaign, precisely to the current American president Donald J. Trump's presidential campaign. This paper seeks to explore the financing sources of the electoral campaigns, investigating its legality, and its validity. Donald Trump's presidential electoral campaign 2016 is taken as an example for studying, in attempt to investigate how the Presidential elections have noticed a huge rise in the spending process for campaigns. This research aims at providing the significant role that money plays in forming and shaping the success of the presidential electoral campaigns. Furthermore, it investigates this important role that money can play in elections, and to find out if the so called 'Money talks'or 'Money matters' in the political system of the United States is a real story or not. In the same respect of money and elections, it is very important to compare and contrast Trump's self-financing campaign and other candidates' campaigns.

ملخص

الهدف الاساسي من مناقشة هذه المذكرة هوتبيان أهمية المال في الحملة الانتخابية الرئاسية الأمريكية ، على وجه التحديد الحملة الانتخابية الرئيسية لرئيس الأمريكي الحالي دونالد ترامب وكما يسعى هذا البحث إلى استكشاف مصادر تمويل الحملات الانتخابية والتحقيق في شرعيتها ومدى صلاحيتها. نتيجة لذلك اتخذت الحملة الانتخابية الرئاسية لعام 2016 لدونالد ترامب مثالاً للدراسة ، في محاولة لمعرفة كيف لاحظت الانتخابات الرئاسية ارتفاعًا كبيرًا في عملية الإنفاق للحملات في السنوات الاخيرة فان هذا البحث يهدف إلى تحديد الدور الهام الذي يلعبه المال في تشكيل نجاح الحملات الانتخابية الرئاسية. علاوة على ذلك، فإن هذا البحث يسلط الضوء على هذا الدور الهام الذي يمكن أن يلعبه المال في الانتخابات، ومعرفة ما إذا كان ما يسمى " النقود تتحدث" أو "المال المهم" في النظام السياسي ترامب للتمويل الذاتي مع حملات المرشحين الآخرين.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

Acronumy	Identification	
ABC	American Broadcasting Company	
AP	Associated Press	
В	Billion	
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System	
CNN	Cable News Network	
DNC	Democratic National Committee	
FEC	Federal Election Commission	
JFC	Joint Fundraising Committees	
M	Million	
N/A	No Applicable	
NBC	National Broadcasting Company	
PACs	Political Action Committees	
PBS	Public Broadcasting Service	
RNC	Republican National Committee	
UPI	United Press International	

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Introduction

As the most important event in the United States and the world, the American presidential election refers to the process of choosing the next American President; each of the candidates begins to organize his own campaign to gain the majority of votes in the public election. As it was stated that; "There is no excitement anywhere in the world, short of war, to match the excitement of the American presidential campaign" (qtd. in Conley). The election of the USA difference lies merely in what it is known as the Electoral College. In other words, if anyone of those candidates gains at least 270 Electoral votes, he wins the elections, yet, the candidate may be outvoted if he loses the vote Electoral College. In relation to this point Cranston claimed that "To win the presidency, a candidate needs an absolute majority vote in the Electoral College which is half plus one, or 270. This is why you will hear a lot about the magic number "270" on Election Day". Nevertheless, the most important characteristic of the presidential elections in the United States is being a well-financed campaign; thus far, in the last 20 years money has become a ubiquitous in the presidential election campaigns.

Today, the presidential race in the United States may cost from \$5 to 10 billion; this increasing number is continuing to exceed all expectations from one electoral campaign to another; any candidate who wants to win elections needs to raise a lot of money. In that regard, candidates need to depend on different financial resources to finance their own campaigns, some of them rely on the organizational financing, some on the public contributions, or merely on self-financing via the personal, or the family help. In the same respect, American citizens themselves contribute with their own money to electoral campaigns in the United States, and their intention may be to gain and access a favor, or

because they share the same ideologies of a particular candidate, or simply to support their favorite candidate because he is a family member or friend.

In the 2016 presidential campaign, American citizens across the country widely competed to select who would be the 45th President for the United States. As a result, the real estate developer, the businessman, the television personality, or most important, the billionaire Donald J. Trump became the President of the United States that day. Unlike most candidates, Trump's presidential electoral campaign is the best example of self-financing campaigns because he used his own money to fund his campaign; he once stated: "I'm a self-financing" (Alesci). Being a rich businessman helped Trump organizing successful and effective campaign that year; for instance, by using political advertising via media and online communications, under the political campaign slogan 'Make America Great Again'.

This research paper sheds light on the role of money in shaping the Presidential electoral campaigns in the United States, and how candidates manage to raise the needed sums of money to fund their campaigns, in light of the limitations created by the government as an attempt to control campaigns funding. Particular attention is given to Donald Trump's presidential electoral campaign as a unique campaign in the sense of using self-financing strategy in 2016, and to what extent this strategy helped him to overcome problems that faced him during that important electoral period to defeat his opponents. In the same respect of money and elections, it is very important to compare and contrast Trump's self-financing campaign, and other candidates' campaigns.

Therefore, it was stated that; "Because many interests come into play in the financing of an election campaign, and then they ask you to pay back. So, the election campaign should be independent of anyone who may finance it"(Ferguson, Jorgensen, and Chen 4).

In relation to some previous studies that have been conducted by many experts and scholars concerning the topic which is under discussion, different views take place, and as noted above that this work builds upon previous researches, which are available in both print and electronic forms. It is important to acknowledge that many books, articles, reports, and papers have been writing in order to discuss these political phenomena, showing that it is seriously undertaken.

To provide a comprehensive foundation to this paper, it was believed that over the earliest years numerous exploration studies discussed the financial sources of the presidential electoral campaign. One example was Michael Patrick Allen and Philips Broyles, in their article, "Campaign Finance Reforms and the Presidential Campaign Contributions of Wealthy Capitalist Families", they explored the contribution of wealthy capitalist in the presidential electoral campaign, in which they discussed this issue from 1972 to 1984. This study reviewed to what extent those capitalist contributed in financing those campaigns.

Robert K. Goidel, Donald A. Gross, and Todd G. Shields, in their book; *Money Matters: Consequences of Campaign Finance Reform in U.S. House Election* (1999), they also tackled the campaign finance issue. In which they took Bill Clinton's presidential electoral campaign in 1992 as case study. The authors looked up at the current concerns about the influence of money on politics as something peculiar to the 1990s. They also introduced the campaign finance reform, speaking about it in details and tackling many reforms and changes that accrued to the financing system in the United States of America during the nineties.

In this context, Nelson W.et al. in their book; *Presidential Elections: Strategies and Structure of American Politics.*, briefly tackled the issue, in which they argue that money is the best predictor of campaign success, for far explanation to this idea, they explained that the role of money in elections have resulted in the idea that the best-funded candidate is the automatic winner. Those writers presented the strategies that were used in order to attract the voters' attention; they also stated that respecting and considering the American financial system is one step towards winning.

The upcoming questions would be raised in this research paper: Does money Matter in presidential electoral campaigns? How much money does a presidential electoral campaign take? Does self-financing act as the only source of the political campaign, and if so; is it enough? Where do candidates get their campaign contributions from? What if Donald Trump did not use self-financing method during his electoral campaign in 2016, could he win the elections? How much did Trump's campaign cost? Who gets money? And most important, what means could be used by candidates to exceed legal restrictions of contributions in campaigns? The answers for those listed questions will have essential role in guiding and shaping this work.

In attempting to give sufficient attention to this piece of writing, it is divided into three main chapters, and each chapter discusses quite different issues in relation to the mentioned topic. First of all, the first chapter, which was a theoretical one under the title of "The American Presidential Electoral Campaign". It is devoted to discuss an overview of the American Presidential election. Thus far, in this chapter the process of electing the American president is under discussion, it also addresses the way how Campaigns were organized, as well as the strategies that were used by candidates to mobilize the voters to vote for them. Moreover, many case studies where provided as illustrations to Campaigns

advertising; as Richard Nixon Presidential Campaign in 1960, Ronald Reagan in 1980, John Kerry in 2004. Next, this first chapter also highlights the effects of mass media on the American Presidential Campaign; it explores both the negative and the positive sides of media during Campaigning for presidency.

Furthermore, the second chapter is entitled 'Money in the American Presidential Electoral Campaign', it works as a continuation to the first one, in which it investigates the financial sources of political campaigns, by introducing the most important contributors. This second chapter also seeks to look after American elections money's spending of the 1998 elections and the 2016 elections. The chapter ends by a short conclusion that indicates the main points that will be discussed in the whole chapter.

The pivotal part of this paper is the third and the last chapter, because it tackles the research paper's case study; 'Donald Trump's Presidential Electoral Campaign'. This chapter seeks to answer the following question; how Donald Trump became a president of the United State? by presenting Trump's journey toward Presidency. It also looks for the main strategies and techniques that Trump used during his electoral Campaign; furthermore, it provides a comparison study of both Trump's and Clinton's presidential campaigns. Therefore, this chapter investigates the financial sources of Donald trump's campaign, and also it attempts to inquest on the big question mark; weather he was really self-financed man like he always claimed, or it was just roomers? Ultimately, the chapter seeks to explore the money matters of Trump; how much did his campaign fundraised? How much did his campaign cost? In short this last chapter answered all the previous mentioned questions.

This research paper was ended by a brief conclusion, in which the whole work was summarized in few lines, as was previously mentioned that the paper discusses an important topic, and recent one; which is Money Matters in Donald Trump Electoral Campaign. Thus far; this academic work can be utilized as a historical platform for future works, burning in mind that it is built up on previous works that helped, guided and managed the main part of this work.

Chapter One

The American Presidential Electoral Campaign

It is important to know that the American political system is different than any other political system in any other country; this difference lies merely in its development, which was a result of the historical events that changed and shaped the United States of America. An important feature of this political system is that there are two major parties that are dominating; the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. It was highlighted that, both of them interchangeably won every presidential election since 1852, as well as they controlled the American congress since 1856, these two major parties held a system of primaries to decide their presidential candidate in the general election. It was pointed out that the American government is regulated by a system that is called 'shakes and balances', in order to prevent any branch of the government to be supreme over the other two branches. That what was clearly mentioned in the American Constitution, which is considered as the guideline of the political system of the United States, it was announced that the American free elections; however, were a result of this fair system. Politically speaking, according to the success of the American presidential system which built up throughout history, the United States of America became the most powerful nation on the earth (Pištěková).

Therefore, this chapter sheds light on how the American Presidential system works, by presenting an overview of the American Presidential Elections, and exploring the main requirements of the next president of the United States. This chapter tends to reveal the beginning and the development of the electoral campaigns in the United States. Furthermore, it discusses the way how those electoral campaigns are organized, by

showing that the political campaigns are made up out of three main elements; message, money, and machine. The next point that is discussed in this chapter is the main effects of mass media on the American presidential campaigns, and who it would shape the election outcomes, in addition to a brief conclusion that would be conducted at the end of the chapter, summarizing what was discussed previously in the this chapter.

1.1. Overview of the American Presidential Elections

For American citizens, voting for the next president is among the most fundamental and important civic opportunities, this process of electing the president occurs every four years on Election Day, which is the Tuesday after the first Monday in November of every fourth year. It was common that in the inauguration day the term of the next president starts, exactly at 20th January after the election year. In one hand, the American president cannot be elected more than two times, because many Americans believed that two terms in office were enough for any president. However, there was one exception in the history of the country which is Franklin D. Roosevelt, in 1940 the president who was elected four times, in 1944 and died in office in 1945. As a result, the 22nd Amendment of the American Constitution was ratified in 1951, in which it announced that the president should not be elected more than twice. In other hand, unlike the president the vice president cannot serve two terms, as laid out in the 12th Amendment of the Constitution ("USA Elections . . ." 3,10).

The United States presidential election is an indirect process, in which Americans, who are registered to vote, choose the president through the state electors of the U.S. Electoral College. As mentioned above this election determines who serves as president and who serves as vice president for the next four years; one of the first steps in this long process of

electing the president is the primary elections, which are run by state and local governments, the voters show their preference through voting in a secret ballot because voters elect delegates to a national convention rather than directly selecting presidential candidates. It is important to acknowledge that besides primaries both caucus and convention helps candidates in the presidential nominating process to define its differences with the opposition. In other words they are considered as means to help party members or leaders to select nominees for public office, and to conduct other party business in a form of meetings, given citizens' opportunity to watch and hear the Party leaders giving their speeches ("The American. . .").

In Article II of the American Constitution, exactly in 1804, a new system has been established in order to organize the elections, which was the Electoral College system (Neale 1-3). Cranston Bryan, in his article that is entitled "How is the American President Elected?" affirmed that nowadays, the Electoral College consists of 538 members, that means to win the election and to become a president of the United States, the candidate should at least win 270 electoral votes. However, there still a possibility for losing the elections, and that may happens even if the candidate wins the popular vote or the largest number of votes nationwide, but loses the electoral vote, one reason behind the establishment of the Electoral College system was that, the founding fathers did not believe in the ability of the voters to make the right decision when voting. Wining the popular votes and losing the electoral votes actually happened four times in the history of America; in election of 1876, 1888, 2000, and in the last election of 2016; then the election was decided by the House of Representatives. The later point was showed by Cranston in the same article in 2016, in which he stated that "You might think that the

person who receives the most votes wins, right? Wrong. Just ask Al Gore, who in 2000 won more than half-a-million votes more than the "winner", George W. Bush."

In relation to the previous discussion, the following map representing the Electoral vote's results of the Presidential campaign of 2000, in which Albert Gore the Democratic candidate who won the popular votes with 50,996,955 votes, yet he lost the Electoral vote with 266 votes. In other hand, the Republican candidate Gorge W. Bush lost the popular vote with 50, 456,062 votes; however he won the Electoral vote with 271 votes, and became the new elected American president that year (Levy).

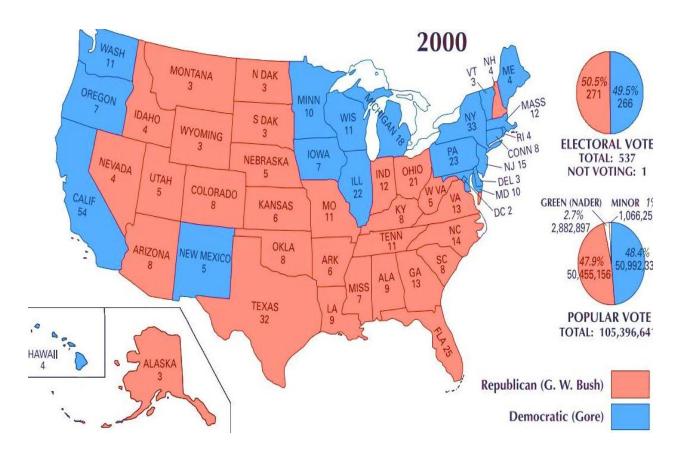


Figure 1: A Map Presenting the Electoral Votes Results of the American Presidential Election of 2000 (2000 Electoral Map. Digital Image. Electoral Vote Map. Goddard Media).

Once one of the candidates wins the election, and becomes the president of the United States he could start to prepare himself to take over his function, in a day that called Inauguration Day at the American capital, Washington D.C. in which the President starts to manage the executive branch of the government ("What happens at. . ."). The new elected president should take an oath; "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States"(qtd. in Gill).

Being the president of the United States is merely a dream for many politicians, businessman, and even ordinary people; however, the founders of the American Constitution had put some conditions and requirements for the candidates to fit on for the position, in which it laid out in Article I and in Article II of the United States Constitution. Among the most obvious conditions for the presidency is that this person should be a natural born citizen of the United States, and also he should be at least 35 years old, another important characteristic is that he must have been a resident of the United States for 14 years. To this point, if any one meets those requirements can easily declare his or her candidacy to be the next president of the country, the next step is that he should register his candidacy for president with the Federal Election Commission (FEC), if this nominee collects as much number of voters as possible and wins the elections, he may take the charge of the world's biggest superpower (Wood).

Much like many political scientists said and wrote about the American president's powers and how much authorities and responsibilities he has, Darlington Roger in his essay entitled "American political system", also tackled briefly the issue. Roger stated that, the president of the USA has the authority within the executive branch to manage national affaires and the workings of federal government, the president also may serve as

a commander in chief of the Army and Navy of the country and that happens directly after taking charge. Furthermore, with the help and advice of the senate, the American president shall have power to make treaties, appoint ambassadors, consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and many other officers of the United States. The authority of declaring war for 60 days with the approval of the congress is also one of the American president powers.

The key point to understand is that, the American President has a very demanding job, and that the constitution lays out the president powers and his authority, one example of those powers is that he has the ability to give pardon to criminals except for those involved in impeachable of offences, a good example of using this authority was the president Gerald Ford in which he granted pardon to his predecessor Richard Nixon.

Despite all the pervious mentioned powers that were given by the American Constitution to the president, it was also expanded to the Congress and the Courts, and therefore the president still has to work within a 'separation of powers'. In the same context, the powers of the president are not limited only with those that the constitution granted to him, it has also expanded through the inherent powers, as well as through legislative action ("Presidential Powers…").

If one tries to write the story of the previous elected presidents of the United States of America throughout the history of the country, he may realize that much can be said and can be written in this context. To begin with, the United States had witnessed 45 presidencies, starting with George Washington, one of the founding fathers of the country and the first American president; he served from 1789 to 1797. As a consequence, the existing president Donald Trump is the 45th to hold the office. So far, all Presidents were with White skin, the only exception was Barak Hussein Obama, who was non-Wihte; also,

he was the first African-American president serving from 2008 to 2016. Yet, the 26th president Theodore Roosevelt was the youngest president, he was 42 years old, and the oldest one was Trump who is 73 years old. Franklin D. Roosevelt, he served as the 32th president, was the only American President who hold the office four terms, in assuming office Grover Cleveland was the only American president to hold the office two non-consecutive terms, in which he served as the 22th and the 24th President in 1885-1889 and in 1893-1897. To this point, every President of the United States was male, and each one of them had affected the history of the United States in same way or another (Darlington).

Least but not last, since 1852, every elected president has been either a Republican or a Democrat, and that was the result of the domination of the two major parties on the political process of the country. From the very beginning of 19th century, the Republicans and Democrats were symbolized by the Elephant and the Donkey, the question that can be raised here is that 'why exactly the Donkey and the Elephant?' In short, the answer of the previous question well refer to the first use of the symbols, for instance the Donkey's first use was by Andrew Jackson's presidential campaign in 1828, under the slogan 'Let the people Rule' which was refused by his opponents, who attacked him by branded him "jackass, donkey"; however, Jackson liked this name and turned it to his campaign's symbol.

One thing should be clear is that; the success of two previous parties rely on the way how they prepared and organized for their electoral campaigns, plus the participation in the presidential election is not only about the good plans or the new projects that participants works on, but also about the way how it is delivered, heard and embraced by audiences, because good and new ideas are needed to be well communicated for those

who will vote and chose the next president. To conclude, electoral campaigns are used in order to bridge any gape between those politicians and citizens ("Why the Donkey . . .").

In short, the United States presidential election is one of the most complicated elections in the word, and that complication refers to the many steps that a candidate should passes over, in order to be entitled as the president of the United States. It is undoubtedly uneasy goal to become a president of any country in the world; let alone the United States. Actually, the founding fathers had put many conditions, and requirements for anyone who would become presidents of the United States. None the less, 45 individuals were pointed out to be a president of the United States across the history of the country; however, none of them was a woman. As mentioned before, most of those presidents were nominees in one of the two parties; Democratic Party and the Republican Party. The previous mentioned presidents have had a well-constructed electoral campaigns that helped them competing and defeating their competitors, and ultimately winning elections. It is clearly that a well-financed, good communicated and more professional campaign is the most effective one.

1.2. The Presidential Electoral Campaign in the United States

In many ways elections give citizens the freedom to point out their leaders, and select the one whom they believe in his abilities and capacities, as well as the one whom they view his ideas believable to be achieved, in order to serve them and their country. In this regard, the main aim of the electoral campaign is to influence the decision making within voters as much as possible. Therefore, each candidate has unique campaign to gain people's support and to attract their attention; however, the electoral campaigns organizers have the same goal which is to win elections. To address their point, in order to maximize numbers of voters the

Campaigns' organizers should determine a good strategy to gain a better chance of winning. Candidates have to do their best to be noticed and be well known by people, in the period preceding the Election Day, by advertising their campaigns, in which they introduce their new ideas and explore their future plans.

Gary C. Jacobson. In an article, "How Do Campaigns Matter?" had the flowing to say about electoral campaigns:

Campaigns can get people to vote who not otherwise do so. A large body of research indicates that campaigns can also influence the choices voters make once they do decide to vote by providing information and making connections. The most elementary piece of information is the candidate's existence and name, and if one thing campaign can unambiguously accomplish, it is to raise voters' awareness of candidates.

Jacobson indicates that those campaigns are considered as a motivation to people who never voted before, and they also may shape the voters opinion for new decisions, by raising their awareness toward new ideologies. In the same article, Jacobson points out that campaigns are important and matter in the period before election; however, they may not be useful for everyone, because the characteristics of voters differs and vary from one to another. As a result, the candidates should always update their programs to fit all categorize, for better chance of winning.

Building on past works, Baldino and Kerider professors of political science in the University tackled in their book published in 2011; *U.S. Election Campaigns* the historical roots of the United States' electoral Campaigns. They proclaimed that in the 18th century, all the electoral offices were only for intellectual people, the wealthy and educated men,

whom have some governmental experiences in their society, and voting was for white male owners of property. Because electoral campaigns in that time were self-financed, candidates hold rally, whereby voters were well treated, they were also given free food and drink in order to attract their attention. Yet, by the emergence of the political parties in the 1800s, electoral campaigns were more activated than before, they started treating and mobilizing citizens to vote, in addition to the raising of proficient politicians whom the organizing of campaigns became their primary work (1).

In the same context, William L. Benoit in his work provides a very detailed background concerning Campaigns in the United States, tackling and addressing many issues related to the discussed topic, in which many Campaigns' practices were described; the roles of media in elections, as well as the styles of political actors were provided. As Benoit highlighted, the American Presidential campaigns in the early 1800s were not very active, he refers to the ways and the means by which candidates deliver their speeches; speaking about their new ideas, and promising for better future, in order to gain much voters, one way was newspapers. As time passed on, political speeches and conventions started to be broadcasted on radio exactly in 1924, and in 1948 the first paid Campaign speech was broadcasted on the black and white screen, that was delivered by Harry Truman, what helped him in winning the election of that year (225).

As most political scientists agree that the turning point of the electoral campaigns in the United States was in the period of the development of technology, in which those campaigns were broadcasted and advertised. Trent, Friedenberg, and Denton, Jr. in their book; *Political Campaign Communication*, tackled this issue. They claimed that politicians did not only use technology tools such as television, radio, and internet to communicate their campaigns only, but they also relied on the services of specialized

people in media for organizing their campaigns, in addition to the assistants of experts in public opinion polling (13-14).

A very famous example of failing in organizing an electoral campaign was Richard Nixon, the presidential candidate who ran for presidency in 1960, though he visited all the states of America, this promise affected his favor. In the same year, Nixon lost the election giving John Kennedy the opportunity to win; however, Nixon learned a lesson in 1968, when he ran for presidency for the second time, he did campaign in all states. Since that no one tried to campaign in every state. Thus, candidates came with a new strategy which is campaigning in the battleground states, where every candidate believes that he has an opportunity to win the elections by affecting the citizens there (Benoit 226).

In relation to what has been mentioned before, Ronald Reagan the presidential candidate of 1980, under his campaign slogan "Let's make America great again", was one of the presidential candidates who used the battleground states strategy, in which he visited both Dallas and Texas, in order to empower his campaign with the help of the South Westerners. Indeed, Reagan have been supported by the majority in those states; many of those supporters were businessmen and religious leaders; one example was Cullen Davis the American heir oil, in a closed meeting in one of the Southern states, in which he declared that "I'm for him. I hope he gets elected. Ronald Reagan represents the viewpoint of the majority of the people in this country. Everything I have seen or heard about him has been great!" (qtd. in Ferguson and Roger 60). Because of the good campaign of Reagan, he won the presidential election in 1980 (3).

In myriad of ways, the battleground states strategy is repeated by many American presidential candidates seeking for better support. Magleby, David B., J. Quin Monson,

and Kelly D. Patterson in a book entitled *Dancing without Partners*, tackled the same issue, but with different electoral campaigns. They claimed that John Kerry in a competitive race for better campaigning and in attempting to win 2004 elections, he persuaded and motivated citizens in order to vote for him, especially in the flowing states; Florida, Missouri, Ohio and New Mexico. Kerry used different advertising tools in order to attract the citizen's attention, and to win the public's hearts as much as possible, yet he did not succeed in winning the election that year, letting the presidential victory to George w. Bush (1-3).

Several authors including Marshall Ganz wrote about Barak Hussein Obama's presidential campaign, handling it from different prospective. Ganz brought down that the most remembered event that took place in January 2007 was not optimistic for many experts; it was Obama's declaration for presidency. They believed that Obama had no chance to win the elections; however, Obama's campaign aggregated notes more than any other campaign did that year, in addressing this point powerful crew members in organizing this campaign under one objective, which is electing Obama to be the next president. More than 3000 full time trained organizers in their twenties were activated in that presidential campaign, the major factors that led this campaign to victory were; on the top, the humaneness power assistance, in addition to the confirmed financial sources, and eventually, the use of technology and social media. In short, Barak Obama was the first African American president who won the election in 2008, becoming the 44th president of the United States.

Maximizing the number of electoral votes is the significant goal of all candidates during their Campaign's planning; as a consequence, the outcomes of the elections are affected by those Campaigns. In relation to this debate, Jonathan Paul Day in his Ph.D

thesis under the title of *The Strategy of Presidential Campaigns* in 2010; marked out the effects that the campaign may have in shaping the results of the elections. Paul believed that, "The effectiveness of the candidates is determined by the personal skill of the candidate, the experience of their campaign staff, and the political landscape" (12); that's to say; if a candidate wants to raise the number of his followers and voters, he needs to be a good public speaker, a well decent and good representative picture should be showed, and having professional crew members in order to organize his campaign. Yet, those are not the only strategies that the candidate should flow, but they are the most significant ones.

Taking this point further, Mahmod Jasim Alsamydai and Mohammad Hamdi Al Khasawneh in their work, represented the most used strategies and techniques by candidates in the campaigning process. The first proposed strategy was the 'candidate's image'; they claimed that creating a positive image for the candidate and trying to fix it in the voter's mind is the first step to win, because it gives positive attitudes to the public. The coming strategy was also presented in the same work, which is 'party's image and position' (14); the political party's image that the candidate belongs to is another way to shape the elections' outcomes, for instance, the popularity of both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party helped their candidates to be more appreciated than other members of other parties. The next and the last strategy that would be tackled is 'contact and communication means to the public voters' (116), the aim of this strategy is to convey the appropriate message to the appropriate people in the appropriate place. Acquiring the communication skills is another important step towards success in the elections (111-116).

In summary, the fundamental points that were discussed in this section were a brief historical background of Campaigning in the United States, by which many examples

from the history of the country were provided. Then, many successful Campaigns were presented in this section, in addition to the mentioning of some ways of organizing those presidential Campaigns. The last but not the least point that was tackled in this section was the strategies that were used by candidates in their running for presidency.

1.3. The Effects of Mass Media on the American Presidential Campaigns

Over the time, mass media have involved significantly in the world wide, actually before the invention of the current communication tools as the internet, television, or even the radio, people used newspapers to communicate with the world outside, and their depending on the written media have lasted for a long period of time. However, centuries later and exactly around 1890s, the radio was invented and replaced newspapers, and became the most pertinent source of media. Yet, the use of radio did not last for a long period of time, because it was replaced by television, which was an immediate source of current events, TV was the most effective tool in bringing news to the public. Soon later, the internet took the lion's share of the public's support. In short, mass media consist of various tools of communication that provided the public freedom of speech, and all the previously mentioned inventions were means which people used in order to be updating with all surroundings, such as political, social, and cultural issues (Coleman).

The fundamental role that mass media played in influencing the political scenes; as well as in providing a place for politicians to express their views all over the world, could not be underestimated or denied, because it had vital functions in conveying those politician's works, intensions, and their governmental decisions. Hence, mass media were considered as the fourth branch, in which it acted as a watch dog over those politicians, observing and delivering their main functions, giving the publics the opportunity to judge

and react according to the provided information (Oswald 385). Therefore, in the United States many national news channels and sources were established, as it was declared by Kristine A. Oswald that "The majority of national news coverage comes from only a few sources, known as the 'Big Media,' consisting of ABC, NBC, CBS, PBS, CNN, The New York Times, The Washington Post (which also publishes Newsweek magazine), The Wall Street Journal, Gannett..., Time magazine, Associated Press (AP), and United Press International (UPI)" (386).

One example of the media's influence on politics was the resigning of the American President Richard M. Nixon after the Watergates scandal; this scandal was one of the worst political events in the country's history. Due to the huge spread of this scandal by media's tools such as newspapers, television and even radio at that time, many illegal activities were discovered and were presented in public. Many newspapers and television channels covered Nixon's resignation from his post on August 8, 1974, and the arresting of five men from his aides ("Watergate Background . . ."). The New York Times was one example of those newspapers, in which it tackled this issue from the first beginning to the end, and lots of information were provided about the pardon that was given to Nixon by Ford. The following newspaper's cover page pictures showed the headlines of the event in The New York Times newspaper.



Figure 2: Pictures presenting the headlines of The New York Times newspaper speaking about Nixon Resigning; *Richard Nixon Watergate Scandal*. Digital image. *The Woodstock Whisperer/Jim Shelley*. The Woodstock Whisperer/Jim Shelley. 31Oct 2017.

In figure 2, The New York Times newspaper shed lights on the consequences of the Watergates scandal, in which Richard Nixon resigned from his office and Ford, replaced him the next day. Despite, Nixon's attempts to skulk and to evasion from his crimes, mass media did not give him the opportunity to do so, because those media tools kept publishing and broadcasting news related to his case. However, with the coming of Ford he gave him Presidential pardon, and that what shocked the America people and the world as a whole ("Watergate Back . . .").

In relation to what was said before, concerning the use of mass media in politics and their effects, it was stated that "Politics is No Longer Local, it's Viral" (qtd. in Delany 11). This means that mass media give a potential loud voice to politics. Also, it was believed that in attempting to win the American presidency race, all most all candidates used mass media tools as the infrastructure of their presidential campaigns. However, this widespread use of those mass communication tools in the American presidential campaign

did not reveal just nowadays, because they were used many years before. At first, candidates used face to face communication which was during delivering speeches, and over time they moved to attend press conferences that were broadcasted in radio and were published via newspapers, and when time passed over they started to use television.

Therefore, in one of his studies that were related to this issue Yueying Du, proclaimed that the first broadcasting of campaigns in television's screen started from Dwight D.

Eisenhower's presidential campaign in 1952. He also stated that this candidate communicated with American citizens using the American national TV channels, which helped him to raise the numbers of voters and supporters, and that gave him a big opportunity to win the elections after one year. Moreover, after seven years, and exactly in 1960 another unexpected success was achieved by a young presidential candidate, who used the black screen to influence the election's outcomes that year; that candidate was John F. Kennedy whom marked the new era of the American television.

In addressing the same point, E.D Dover. in his book entitle of *The Presidential Election of 1996: Clinton's Incumbency and Television*, in 1998, represented the impacts of the television on Bill Clinton's presidential campaign, in which he stated that the predominance of the television in that time shaped the presidency operation itself, that is the candidates' words, voices' tones, appearances and even their gestures, were judged by the publics. Clinton's personal popularity, in order to his successful policies that he offered in his presidential campaign, granted for him the victory of the presidency's race in 1996. In other words, televising Clinton's speeches and advertising his future projects and ideas helped him overcoming other candidates, in which the public believed in his capacities to be the next president of the country. It was believed that the presidential

candidates in that period of time paid to appear in famous TV shows, and in the very known programs, to grantee that they would be well known to the public (5-7).

In other words, the presidential campaign would not be heard of if it would not be conveyed and addressed by the media tools to the public. As a result, the important role that the mass media play in making those Campaigns well known, in the last decade new media were used by candidates for shaping and changing the public opinion and reactions toward them, which is the social networking for instance; Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter (Alsamydai and Khasawneh 114). There are many views about the question to what extent those social networking affected the outcomes of the American elections Kaitlin Vonderschmitt is one of those writers, who tackled this issue in attempt to answer this question, in which she believed that the increased large number of the internet users, and especially the huge number of the activists in those social media's sites, attracted the campaigners to include digital tools in advertising their campaigns. However, at the first years and exactly in 2004 presidential campaigns media were not wide spread among candidates, and that referred to its expensive and difficult usage, yet over time, they get used to it, and they started to use it in an appropriate way(1).

Facebook, Twitter, and even YouTube, are not only entertainment tools anymore, yet they became a way by which presidency's candidates use to promulgate, advertise, and to broadcast their campaigns. Despite the shocking prices that those social networking tools need in order to advertise for these presidential campaigns, many candidates highly depended on it. One example was Barak Hussein Obama, without relying on those networking tools he would still be a senator, in his 2008's presidential campaign Obama depended on new and proven online tools to an unprecedented extent. Obama main's objectives were to raise the voters' number as much as possible, in addition to an attempt

for finding new supporters; raising money is another aim for using this social networking toolkit. Hence, most of those objectives and aims were realized, in which Obama won the election that year, the social networking tools that he relied on in his campaign provided this unexpected result, in which half a billion were raised online (Delany 35). In discussing this point, it was proclaimed that "Propelled by Internet, Barack Obama Wins Presidency" (qtd. in Delany 41).

However, it is obvious that like anything else related to the internet's world wide; those social networking tools had a negative side on effecting politics generally and presidential campaigns specifically. To this end, Vonderschmitt in her work that was published in 2012 claimed that "Social media can be used as an effective campaigning tool but often goes unmonitored or misused as it floods supporters with irrelevant advertisements and requests" (3). Those influential tools might work on the opposite side, in which candidates might lose many supporters if any misunderstanding happened during campaigning for their presidency; the misused news that might be published in the online technologies might become roomers and scandals, which may harm the candidates' reputations.

To conclude, after the long process of investigating the American political system, one can notice that it is one of the most complicated systems all over the world; especially, the presidential system. As it was proclaimed that for more than 200 years ago the United States has been a democratic country, in which it gave its citizens, the freedom to choose the people who would represent them, one of those representatives that would be elected is the American president. This complexity is probably related to the Electoral College system, which has been established by the founding fathers to let the American elections unique. Another point that should be taken into consideration is the presidential

campaigns' advertising process, and how American politicians successfully used different communication tools to communicate their campaigns.

Chapter Two

Money in the American Presidential Electoral Campaign

In attempts to discuss the relationship between money and elections in the United States, the second chapter of this research was conducted. While, it works as a continuation to the previous one, in which it proceeds as follows; the first section of this chapter tends to answer the following question marks; how does money affects elections? Does money buy voters? Where does that money go? And most important, who gives that money? A brief over view of the financial system of the electoral campaigns in the United States is given, in attempts to answer all the previous questions.

Moreover, the second section of the chapter tends to look after and investigates the amounts of money that were spend between 1998 and 2016 on both; the Congressional, and the Presidential American election races. Thus far, detailed and very approximately results were given about that era. Following that, a comparative study between the most and the less expensive campaign is provided. Lastly, this second chapter is ended by small conclusion, in which the two previous sections are summed up.

1. Electoral Campaigns Financing; 'Who Gives Money?'

The political system, or more specifically the electoral campaigns are made up of three main elements; money, message, and machine, if one of those three elements was not well perceived, it would be a problematic issue for candidates seeking offices. Therefore, money is a key component in politics generally, and in electoral campaigns specifically, because without it none of the two previous elements can be reached. Firstly, without buying money to 'machine' which are; media tools that are used to communicate their supporters, in order to mobilize them to vote, in addition to the staff members, who work

to organize the campaigns. Secondly, without it candidates cannot deliver their 'message', because it costs too much money for those candidates in order to cast down their political speeches in the battleground, where they should travel to.

In recent years candidates who are seeking political offices are outspending billions of dollars, and according to political studies the overspending of money is increasing, and candidates are seeking to raise money as much as possible. Consequently, many studies were provided to investigate the source from where those candidates get all that money to finance their campaigns, and also they tend to explore legality and validity of those sources. In this regard, Tom Murse in his work entitled; Who Funds Political Campaigns? Listed out various contributors, whom they devoted a substantial portion of their money in order to fund those candidates. According to Murse the following listed contributors are the primary source of funding political campaigns in the US; political action committees, American public donors, self-funding contributions, and dark money contributions.

To begin with, Political Action Committee, the so-called PAC; is an organization tends to influence elections' outcome, to give a clear definition to the PAC, Michael Levy a reporter on Open secrets organization stated that; "[it is] an organization whose purpose is to raise and distribute campaign funds to candidates seeking political office. PACs are generally formed by corporations, labour unions, trade associations, and other organizations'. That is to say; PACs allow those institutions to pool their money together to support particular political party or specific candidates. Actually, the PAC is not recent organization, its foundation dates back to 1944; it was created as contributory to fund or condemn the particular political campaigns, those PACs can raise up to \$15,000; however, only \$5,000 is the max that they can contribute with to candidates, and the extra money from what have leftover is used in indirect ways to help candidates (Levy).

Before 2004 the PACs did not contribute effectively neither in the congressional nor in the presidential elections races; however since that year they started to be more active, in which they contributed with big amounts of money. After six years, exactly in 2010 the PACs changed to be super PACs, the main differences between the old PACs and the new one are; in one hand, according to the Supreme Court decision super PACs cannot directly fund candidates, while in the other hand; PACs can directly contribute to candidates with maximum of \$5,000. Unlike PACs, super PACs can raise limitless amounts of money, which would indirectly benefit a certain candidate (Albert 6).

Next, an additional source of money for candidates is provided by Americans themselves, in which American citizens tend to donate the election, in order to support the one they believe in his abilities, and capacities to be their leader. Actually, public financing is not new source of monetary, yet it dates back to 1904, when the first public financing petition was introduced by Congress. Thus far, public financing can be devoted to; small donors, they are people who contribute with small amounts of money approximately \$200, and big donors, those are the wealthy people, who usually contribute with huge amounts of money ("What is public. . .").

The least but not the last source is self-financing, candidates tend to use this source as strategical method; in order to Passover campaigns financing laws that registered by the FEC, because self-funding is limitless source of raising money for campaign. Actually, this kind of sources may have both advantages and disadvantages in the outcomes of the elections; starting by the positive side of this strategy. Being rich and wealthy candidate might be a privilege in the American politics in some way or in other, self-financing, help candidates to keep far away from lending money from outside groups. However, it might be viewed as superciliousness, because self-funding candidates; "can appear wealthy, and

out of touch with the needs of the public". Best example of self-financers is the current president Donald Trump, in which he spent nearly \$66 million from his own money on his presidential campaign (Fuchs, et al. 1).

Finally, dark money groups, or dark money contributors, are another source of campaign contributions; however dark money groups differ from the previous mentioning sources, this difference lies merely on its legibility as well as its validity. As consequence to the unknown source of their money, those groups were prevented from coordinating their outspending to any political party or any candidates. They are called 'Dark Money' because they don't appear in public; they stay away from media by making themselves untraceable. Although, according to the FEC law, the authenticity of money which is provided to campaigns is unnegotiable issue. Nevertheless, dark money groups with candidates always find ways, in order to work together (Beckel 2-6), in this regard, it was proclaimed that; "these groups serve as aggressive attack dogs on the campaign trail, maligning candidates from the shadows. This allows candidates to focus on positive messaging and keep their hands clean" (Beckel 4). That is to say even if they would not fund their preverbal candidates directly, they would work hand with hand.

Thus far, most candidates if not all, tend to raise and spend money as much as their campaign took; however, the American financial system had put strict limits on the amounts of money which are spent by candidates. Historically, and before 1970s nothing was drafted up about campaign financing limits, political leaders were buying for their own campaigns; though, for candidates money was and still a key element in elections, or specifically it was and kept an important condition for holding any political office.

Besides their own contribution in financing their campaigns, previous political leaders benefited from the wealthy capitalists or 'Fat Cats' (Albert 7).

Many attempts were provided to regulate the financial system of the United States by limit the fundraising and spending of and by the campaigns; the first trial was in1907, in which the Federal Election Campaign Act enounced to outlawed big contributions to fund neither the Congressional nor the presidential campaigns. After that, many other regulations enacted such as in 1911, 1925, and in 1940, however none of them were much successful as the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1970s, during that era many successful regulations enacted in order to put limits for the funding process, (Malbin and Glavin 3)

Furthermore, in 1974, the FEC legislated only \$10 million for the primary elections, in contrast to \$20 million for the next stage, which is the general elections; however, this regelation was rejected in 1980 by Richard Nixon, when he ran for presidency that year. Since then, candidates called for adjustments whenever they constrain to bay more money. Although, the basics of those sums never changed, and contributors could not give money as much as they want, yet they were updated with the surrounding circumstances such as; the emergence of the new communication technologies, inflation, and overpopulation, which need extra money to spend on. Thus far, in the earliest years, \$48.1 million were devoted to the primary elections, in exchange to \$96.1 million for candidates of the general elections (4).

Lastly, after the long process of collecting donors and contributions, from different sources, candidates start to spend all that money in their campaigns. In order to get people to their sides, candidates use money to influence the outcomes of the elections, in which they do their best to address and communicate voters, by using different types of media to. It was believed that most collected money is spending on mass media and staffs.

2. Electoral Campaign Spending; "1998-2016"

Over the last 100 years, the American electoral campaigns had witness a dramatic increase in the spending process, almost every election cycle spend more money than the ones before it. Corresponding to the overgrowth of population in the US and to the development of campaigning proceeds; money spending by campaigners automatically increased (Alexander 1). Particularly, since 1998 to 2016 elections started to spend imaginary amounts of money, because it was used to amplify the political messages, in attempts to motivate voters and supporters to choose the appropriate candidate for them. It was believed that media or more specifically advertising is where most money is spent on, due to the emergence of new social media starting from the mid of the 2000 era, in which they start effecting the people mind on whether they would or would not vote, or more specifically for whom they would vote for. (Robbins).

In response to the outspending of money on elections over the last 20 years in the United States, where both congressional as well as the presidential electoral campaigns had notice a huge increase on the spending process, because campaign tends to be more expensive than it was before; many political organization, schooler, and even journalists devoted their efforts to count and to sum the costed amounts of money in that era. One example of those who undertook this phenomenon is Sultan, Niv M, in which he gathered his results in the following diagram, starting from 1998 to 2016, giving the exact amounts.

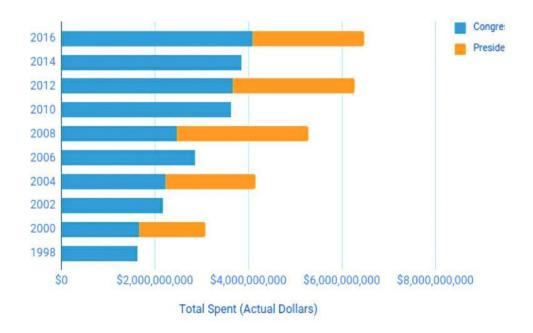


Figure 3: Total spent on congressional and presidential Races in actual dollars (Sultan, Niv M. *Election 2016: Trump's Free Media Helped Keep Cost Down, But Fewer Donors Provided More of the Cache*. Open secrets News: Center of Responsive Politics. 2017. Web. 18 June 2019.).

As figure 3 shows, the statistics of the costed money in the Congressional as well as the presidential races starting from 1998 to 2016. The above diagram represents inconsistency on the spending process; yet, for better analyzing and more accurate explanation to this diagram; the table below was conducted in order to present more precise statistics of the money amounts that were spent in that era.

Table 1: Total spent on congressional and presidential Races in actual dollars

Cycle	Congressional Race/B	Presidential Race/B	Total Cost of Election/ B
2016	\$4,090,396,763	\$2,386,4496,363	\$6,511,181,587
2014	\$3,845,393,700	N/A	\$3,845,393,700
2012	\$3,664,141,430	\$2,621,415,792	\$6,285,557,223
2010	\$3,631,712,836	N/A	\$3,631,712,836
2008	\$2,485,952,737	\$2,799,728,146	\$5,285,680,883
2006	\$2,852,658,140	N/A	\$2,852,658,140
2004	\$2,237,073,141	\$1,910,230,862	\$4,147,304,003
2002	\$2,181,682,066	N/A	\$2,181,682,066
2000	\$1,669,224,553	\$1,413,116,384	\$3,082,340,937
1998	\$1,618,936,265	N/A	\$1,618,936,265

Source: (Sultan, Niv M. *Election 2016: Trump's Free Media Helped Keep Cost Down, But Fewer Donors Provided More of the Cache*. Open secrets News: Center of Responsive Politics. 2017. Web. 18 June 2019.).

As it was mentioned above, this table was designed to present and to indicate the exact costs of the election races from 1998 to 2016; starting by the Congressional elections races, according to Sultan, Niv M. sums, it is noticed that in 1998 and 2000 Congressional elections, candidates spent nearly \$1.6 billion. However, in 2002 and 2004 races about \$2.2 billion was spent, in comparing these four years, it is noticed that the congressional elections costs are increasing to be double. Furthermore, the 2006 elections costed approximately \$29 billion, yet, it did deacreased to be \$2.4 billion on the next Congressinal elections of 2008, on the other hand in 2010 and 2012 things get changed

and the two races costed more than \$3.6 billion. Morover, with diffrence of \$245 million the Concressinal election race had increased from 2014 to 2016. Therfore, the 2016 Congressial election was the most expensive one so far unlike the 1998 election, which was inexpenseving comparing to the other years.

The Presidential elections are the next to be analyze, referring to both the diagram and the table it was noticed that; from the 2000 Presidential elections to the 2016 elections the spent amounts of money were somehow consistence. To start, the 2000 election was the lowest costed presidential election in this table, it took around \$1.4 billion, the next Presidential election that is mentioned in this table is the 2004 Presidential elections, during this race candidates expend nearly \$1.9 billion, the difference between the two previous mentioned Presidential elections is about \$4.9 million. So far the costed of the election are increasing, and the 2008 race was no exception, in which candidates expend around \$2.8 billion, however in the 2012 race it decreased to \$2.6 billion, again than the 2016 Presidential race breakdown to \$2.4 million.

To this end, the 2012 presidential campaign is the most expensive presidential elections in the history of the country, in his second attempt seeking the presidential victory; Barak H. Obama during his presidential campaign spent a proximally \$985.7 million. On the other hand his rival candidate Mitt Romney spent nearly \$992 million, recording the highest result of outspending money for presidency, the total amount that was spend by and for the two campaigns were about \$1.97 billion ("How Much . . .").

However, the 2016 congressional campaign take out the highest result in the outspending, comparing to the previous congressional races, in which it costed approximately \$4.1billion. The combination of both; the 2016's presidential as well as the

congressional elections, resulting the most expensive elections in the history of the United States, in which costed nearly \$6.5 billion. It is worth noting that the American congressional elections are skyrocketing in the last decade, this huge escalation on the outspending refers to the expensive communications of campaigns.

Ultimately, in many ways money works as a fundamental ingredient in shaping the outcomes of the elections; wherefore, gathering and collecting it was most candidates' attempts during their campaigning to hold the office. In addition to that, candidates' main goal of being elected, cannot be realized unless they run a competitive and a costly campaign, yet financing their campaigns does not mean that candidates are spending money to buy votes; rather, they expend that money in advertisements, during their traveling, and it is also used to pay campaign staff members.

In addition to that, in order to organize effective political campaign, candidates need to be adequately financed, in which they ought to collect money as much as their campaigns took. Despite the important role that money may play in federal elections; however money does not decide the final outcomes of the elections. As result to limitation laws that were put to political candidates, they tend to raise money in illegal ways, depending on unregistered groups to fund their campaigns 'such as dark money groups'. Furthermore, the vast amounts of money that are raised from various sources; wither are legal or not, are likely to be outspend during campaigning, because candidates use huge amounts to advertise themselves.

Chapter Three

Donald Trump's Presidential Electoral Campaign

The third chapter of this work spotlights Donald Trump's presidential electoral campaign; it is divided in to three main sections. The first section deals with Trump's life shifting from the economical side to the political one; it tends to present how Trump's experience as a businessman affected his new career as a politician? And it discusses his long road to presidency.

The second section of this chapter sheds light on the 2016 presidential election, in which it presents Trump's presidential campaign vs. Clinton's presidential campaign; this section also tends to explore who and how won the elections? And what are the used strategies by both candidates? Furthermore, it represents the obstacles that the two rival candidates faced during their campaigns.

The third and the last section tends to investigate Trump's financial sources that were used in organizing his campaign; the next point discussed in this section is the important role of money that was played in shaping the 2016 presidential elections. It also tends to investigate the amount of money that Trump's Campaign costed. Furthermore, this chapter gives particular attention to the main strategies Trump used in his campaign in comparing with previous presidential campaigns. Finally, this third chapter ends with a brief conclusion which will sums up the whole chapter.

1. Donald Trump; From Economic Life to Political Life

June 14, 1946 was Donald J. Trump's day of birth; he was born in New York City.

Trump represents the image of the successful American man, and that throughout his long

life career, first, as a famous businessman; second, as an accomplished writer; third as television personality, and finally, as a political leader. At an early age, Trump undertook the Trump's family business and ownerships; he was only 25 years old when he established the Trump Organization (Duignan). But above all, at the age of 30, he became one of the most well-known personalities in the American society, in which once he reported that: "He is tall, slim and blond, with dazzling white teeth, and he looks like Robert Redford. He drives around in a silver Cadillac with the initials DJT on the license plate. He dates elegant models, attends the most exclusive clubs, is only 30 years old, and estimates his fortune to 'more than \$200 million'." (qtd. in Hansen 19).

In a very short period of time Trump's name was license to many entertainment centers such as casinos, hotels, resorts, and sport's institutions, in the United States and all over the world. Due to this great and long lasting achievements as one of the wealthiest people in the world, Trump was introduced as; "[the man] who needs no introduction" (qtd. in Hansen 13). Furthermore, according to the international countdown of the most riche people in the world, Trump was counted as the 156th wealthiest one, and his wealth was rated to \$3.7 billion (Hansen 19).

Trump's ambition to power did not confine to the economic and business life only; but also, he jumped to involve in the political life. Before 1999, Trump belonged to the Republican Party, yet he changed his voting registration to the Reform Party and after one year exactly in 2000, Trump started his involvement in the American political game. Thus, he declared to run presidency as a Reform candidate, in which he coauthored a book entitled *The America We Deserve*; this book has presented Trump's political thinking, pointing out his future vision for strong, optimistic, and developed America. However, in February 14, 2000 he ended his campaign, in which he appeared in many TV shows

talking about this issue, he once stated that "the Reform Party could not provide the support a candidate needs to win." (qtd. in Squitieri). Later on, Trump rejoined the Republican Party again.

Despite the fact that Trump's first involvement in politics was in 2000 presidential race, he did not run for office again until June 2015. In that date, Trump announced his candidacy to handle the next presidential election, under his campaign slogan "Make America Great Again", one year later, he has presented his future plans and attempts in his book which was entitled; *Crippled America: How to make America great again*. While Trump was trying to gain voters and supporters as much as possible, many scandals, rumors, and facts appeared in order to harm his repetition as a presidential candidate, most of those assumptions were to a big extant true. One example of those scandals was the allegations of more than 16 women accusing him of sexual harassments, yet Trump and his advocators denied all what have being said, claiming that all those women were lying. Indeed, those scandals harmed and affected Trump's public image during his running for the office, in which he lost almost all women support and votes during his campaigning (Duignan).

Among the Republican Party nominees, Trump was the only nominee who had been criticized of having no prior experience in the political scene. Thus, he was classified as the incompetent candidate; "Donald Trump will go down in history as the first American president who has not held a public office nor has any political experience" Hansen reported in her Master thesis in 2017. Actually, it was a big step for Trump to jump from his vivid life as a businessman to a more routinely and formal one as politician; in this concern Trump was reviewed the unqualified candidate, thus it was proclaimed that; "He [Donald Trump] does not hold a membership to the reactionary gentleman's club which

has dominated American politics for the past decades, but rather he appears as a futuristic gambler, even as the commander of futurism." (qtd. in Hansen18).

In fact, Trump broke one of the most important political norms, by being inexperienced presidential candidate unlike his predecessors, but this unprivileged point did not prevented him from being superior candidate among his peers. Trump used his own way in politics, and his long life as a businessman was a privilege that helped him to be ascendant politician; "Yes, there [were times], I'm sure you knew, [when] I bit off more than I could chew. And through it all, when there was doubt, I ate it up and spit it out. I faced it all and I stood tall and I did it my way" (qtd. in Hansen 20).

The lack of the political career was not Trump's only struggle in his presidential electoral campaign, yet his 70 year's old age, and the reality that he was a TV star were two other reasons for being unfavorable candidate. Trump was not the first aged presidential candidate in the history of the country, because he was preceded by Ronald Reagan the American president of 1980, who was also criticized of being an old candidate, and a TV star, yet the Americans' prospective proved to be incorrect, because Reagan won that year, and Americans did vote for him to be their president (14).

In short, despite all the previous negative facts about Trump, he was believed to be the wild card among his rivals; Trump rhetoric was a privilege point to success, in which he appeared in many political occasions as a good public speaker, who attracted author's attention in any way. One example of Trump's rhetoric in delivering political messages was; "I'm not a politician, proudly. I'm not part of the system. I ran against the system" (qtd. in Lamont, Park, and Ayala-Hurtado 166). Those few words had had a huge effect and a significant impact on the American people. Furthermore, Trump's supporters and

followers classified him as the man who "Tells it like it is" (qtd. in "U. S. Presidential. . . "). This wild card was a key to Trump's victory in the 2016 presidential elections over Hillary Clinton ("U. S. Presidential . . . ").

2. Donald Trump vs. Hillary Clinton in the 2016 Presidential Race

For several decades the American Presidential election was one of the most excitement events in the United States and in the world, and the 2016 Presidential election was no exception. As it was always, the American citizens were asked to vote and to choose who would be the next President of the United States. Nevertheless, this time the choice was not easy to be taken, because the American voters were obliged to take a very hard decision in order to choose between two unordinary candidates; Donald J. Trump the Republican Party candidate from one hand, and Hillary Clinton the Democrat Party candidate from the other hand (Lilleker, et al. 8).

Meanwhile, the two previous mentioned candidates were running for presidency, many political scientists, journalists, and even ordinary people had criticized both of them, one example was Nithyanand, and his co-authors who stated in their work entitled "The 2016 Election Featured the Two Most Disliked Candidates in Modern US Presidential Election History" (1). Another example was the neo-Marxist philosopher Žižek, S. in which he was asked for whom he would vote if he was an American citizen in the 2016 Presidential election, he proclaimed "Trump. I am just horrified about him, but Hillary is the true danger" (qtd. in Merkel).

Those unfavorable candidates were compared to different bad historical and fictional personalities, Trump was believed to remind people by Hitler, and he was also compared to the fictional character Voldemort. In tackling this point it was reported that; "Donald

Trump reminds me of Gollum from The Lord of the Rings, and the presidency is his ring to rule them all." (qtd. in Hansen 16). Furthermore, those unfavorable views towards

Trump did not stop by making fun of him only, yet he had been accused of being;

"opportunist, narcissist, and fascist, sexist, racist and anarchist" (Lamont, Park and Ayala-Hurtado 115). Despite the fact that Trump and Clinton were not very welcomed to be the 45th President of the United States, most American voters were voting for both of them (Hansen 15-16).

Before the Election Day and during the campaigning process, the potential winner of the 2016 Presidential elections was Hillary Clinton, because unlike Trump she got the needed political experience, the good public image, and the needed number of supporters and followers such as women and African Americans. In this regard, it was claimed that "Nate Silver, a statistician who run Five Thirty Eight . . . predicted that Hillary Clinton had a 71.4 percent chance of winning, economist David Rothschild predicted an 89 percent chance to Clinton, and the New York Times gave Clinton an 85 percent chance . . . Why did they get it wrong?" (qtd. in Hansen 16 -17). However, the unexpected results of the elections had shocked the Americans and the rest of the world, because on November 8, 2016, Donald J. Trump became the 45th of the US. Trump's surprising wining had raised a big question mark; what is the secret behind Trump's victory? (Merkel).

The Electoral College vote is the most important of all, because it has the last word of the whole process. This is known as the 'winner takes all', and that exactly what happened in the 2016 Presidential elections, because of the limited influence of the popular vote on the US Electoral system. Clinton lost the elections, although she gained 48.5% the public nation vote; however, Trump gained only 46.4% out of the general vote. Thus far, Trump won the Electoral College vote with 306 votes over Clinton with 232 votes. By this

undoubtedly results, Trump automatically won the American elections that year (Lilleker, et al. 8). To make it more clear; the following map (Figure 4) represents the Electoral College results of 2016 presidential election.

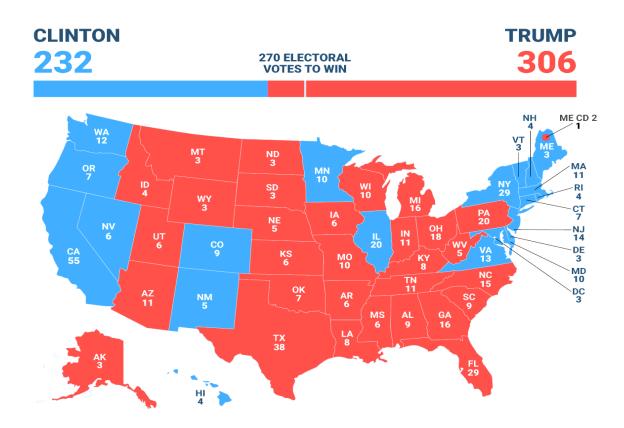


Figure 4: A Map presenting the electoral votes results of the American Presidential election of 2016.(2016Electoral Map. Digital Image. Electoral Vote Map. Goddard Media. Web. 15 June.2019.).

According to this map it was noticed that Trump won the most important battlegrounds states which had the power to shape the results of the elections. Trump gained more than 270 of votes, and this is the needed number to win the elections in USA, or as sometimes referred as the magical number. Nevertheless, Clinton missed 38 Electoral votes, and she could not reach the needed number.

In this context, Kirk Ashley, Patrick Scott and Chris Graham analyzed the 2016 Electoral College results, in which they proclaimed that five states were essential locations to Trump's victory over Clinton. According to the countdown percentages, the first state was Ohio, where Trump gained about 52.1% to Clinton's 43.5%; this state was a crucial battleground in forming the results of this election. Unlike Clinton, Trump's focused attention on the white middle class and put much focus on the working class during his Electoral Campaign, and Ohio was not exception, where he delivered his political speech addressing those voters. In this regard, Alana Abramson in her work proclaimed that; "Ohio, a state that was arguably key to his [Trump] success over Hillary Clinton in the 2016 election."

The second state in this countdown was Iowa, where Clinton was defeated by Trump, in which she lost the support of the state by 42.2% versus Trump's winning of 51.8%. During his electoral campaign, Donald Trump visited Iowa mainland many times, where he delivered many political messages in his own way; "It is wonderful to be back in Iowa right here in the heartland of America . . . You know it is the heartland of America and I love it and we won it by a lot and we're going to win it again by a lot" (qtd. in Wagner, Rocha, and Hayes). In order to catch Iowa's citizen's attentions, Trump used his cleverness as a businessman, in which he promised to develop the agricultural industry side in the state, by promoting the agricultural biotechnology (Wagner, Rocha, and Hayes). In this context Trump also addressed the forgotten workers, promising them of better work conditions, promoting new privileges, and much better to give a voice for them; "It's going to be a victory for the people, a victory for the wage-earner, the factory worker. Remember this, a big, big victory for the factory worker. They haven't had those victories for a long time. A victory for every citizen, and for all of the people whose

voices have not been heard for many, many years. They're going to be heard again" (qtd. in Lamont, Park, and Ayala-Hurtado 116).

Georgia was another essential state where Trump again had more advanced work than that of Clinton's; Trump's gain was estimated to 51.0% in exchange to 45.9% for Clinton. Though, in the Primary Election, Hillary Clinton as Democratic candidate won 71.2% versus her peers' 29.8%, Georgian voters from all demographic groups; men, women, whites, blacks, educated, and none educated people, voted for Clinton. Nevertheless, though Trump won only 39% in the Primary Election over his Republican rivals he succeeded in the General Elections ("Presidential Election in . . ."). Usually, in his speeches Trump addresses the middle class citizens, in which he called them; "[the] forgotten men and women" (qtd. in Hansen 4), yet this time he spoke up about his own experience with workers, in order to appear as an ordinary person, not as a billionaire; "I've spent my professional life among construction workers, bricklayers, electricians, and plumbers. I feel more comfortable around blue collar workers than Wall Street executives" (qtd. in Lamont, Park, and Ayala-Hurtado. 115).

The next significant battleground was North Carolina, in this state Trump won the majority votes up to 50.5% in comparison to Clinton's 46.8% (Kirk, Scott, and Graham). Trump's incredible victory in North Carolina mainly due to his long speech during his campaign in the state, when he was addressing white American workers, who were ignored years before, and the following passage is a part of this speech that was held on September, 12, 2016, in which he explicitly stated that:

While my opponent slanders you as deplorable and irredeemable, I call you hard working American patriots who love your country and want a better future for all

of our people. You are mothers and fathers, soldiers and sailors, carpenters and welders. You are Democrats, Independents, and Republicans. Above all else, you are Americans – and you are entitled to leadership that honors you, cherishes you, and defends you. Every American is entitled to be treated with dignity and respect in our country ".(qtd. in Lamont, Park, and Ayala-Hurtado 164)

Through these words Trump as a presidential nominee tried to raise the North Carolina people in specific the white American workers' self-esteem, and to reestablishing their recognition and dignity (Lamont, Park, and Ayala-Hurtado 164).

The last significant state that guaranteed victory to Trump was Florida, with the support of Floridians voters Trump gained about 49%, approachable to Clinton's 47.8%. For the two rival candidates; Trump and Clinton, Florida was much more than a state, it was considered as an entire region; "[Florida] is the most important state in the presidential election. It's the largest swing state with 29 electoral votes, and it's gone for the winner in the last six elections three times for the Democrat, three times for the Republican." (qtd. in Lemongello). Unlike Clinton, Trump focused more on Florida, in which he visited it three times during his campaign, while Clinton visited it just one time. In one of his speeches in Florida Trump showed its importance and value to the public, when he described it "... This is my second home" (qtd. in Mazzei, Sherman, and Daugherty). It was believed that Florida was the turning point of the 2016 presidential election results; "We can't win the white house without winning Florida. ..." (qtd. in Caputo).

Lastly, Trump's surprising victory over Clinton was not predictable at the beginning of their campaigning; political scientists, plus people across the American mainland misjudged the results and the outcomes of the 2016 presidential election. In her master thesis; "Exploring the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election," Katrine Hougaard Hansen, proposed the following reasons for Trump's winning in the presidential elections. The first suggested reason was; 'people's refusal to vote for Hillary Clinton'. Hansen believed that Clinton's unfavorable persona was the main cause for her losing. The second proclaimed reason was the 'Russian involvement'. Despite the fact that it was no solid evidence to the Russian involvement, yet it was believed that Trump was supported by Russia during his electoral campaign. The next reason is the most important one, which was the 'desire for change' American citizens lost faith and got enough with the old political system, so they chose Trump as a the next President in order to change the current bad reality of their nation, because during his electoral campaign, Trump promised the American crowd for better, safe, and more powerful county, in which he proclaimed that together they will make America great again (13-14).

3. Donald Trump; 'Campaign's Money Matters'

From the first beginning of the American political system, the road to the American presidency was very complicated, difficult, long, and most important very expensive, and the 2016 American presidential election race was no exception. on 2017, Sultan, Niv M. in his work reported that the 2016 elections race total cost was about \$6.5 billion; about \$2.4 billion was spend on the Presidential race, and nearly \$4.1 billion was spend on the Congressional race. Furthermore, during campaigning for the 2016 Presidential elections, \$3,150 billion was spent by the Democratic Party, estimated to 48% from the total costs, opposite to \$3,057 billion that was spent by the Republican Party, approximately 47%. The 2016 American elections were considered the most expensive election in the history of the country.

The winner of the White House race, Donald Trump, spend nearly \$409 million on his Presidential Campaign versus Clinton's \$769 million (Zuback-Skees), it seems unfair matter for Clinton to spend more money than her rival candidate Trump did, because she lost the elections whereas he won. Actually, the case here is not a matter of who spend more money than the other candidate; rather, it is a matter of the better use of that money in order to organize the campaign, and that exactly what happened in the 2016 presidential race; Trump defeated Clinton; although, she raised more money and also spent more than he did (Sultan).

To better understand this view, Levine Carrie, Michael Beckel, and Dave Levinthal, in their work that is entitled "Donald Trump Dismantles Hillary Clinton's Big Money Machine" in 2016, reported that during the 2016 cycle elections raising money from outsider groups was their main goal for most candidates. Yet, unlike his opponents Trump did not put much interests on the big donors or any other financial sources in order to finance his campaign, he even mocked his competitors, who toadied to wealthy donors, in his twitter page in August, 2, 2015 he tweeted; "I wish good luck to all of the Republican candidates that traveled to California to beg for money etc. from the Koch Brothers.

Puppets?" Trump kept mocking his rivals of being in need to the fundraising supports, in one of his speeches he said; "They will never make America great again. They don't even have a chance, they're controlled fully; they're controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully" ("Watch Donald Trump . . .").

On numerous political occasions, Trump kept remembering the American crowed that he is not in need to any financial supports, from any political financial groups, one example was his tweeting in 29 June 2015; "I really like the Koch Brothers [members of my P.B. Club], but I don't want their money or anything else from them. Cannot influence

Trump!" That was Trump's way to tell his voters that he is non-politician and he is against the political system, and in order to make his supporters sure that he does not need money from anyone; therefore, he will not be influenced by any part. Another example for Trump' refusal of money from outsider groups was his proclaim; "I'm not getting millions of dollars from all this special interests, lobbyists and donors" (Alesci).

Trump's insistence on non-using anyone's money started from his first appearance on TV as a Republican nominee, in his presidential announcement speech he stated that; "I don't need anybody's money, It's nice. I don't need anybody's money, I'm using my own money; I'm not using the lobbyists, I'm not using donors, I don't care. I'm really rich" ("Watch Donald Trump . . ."). To this point, Trump's directed words of being self-financing campaigner, were repeated several times, in many of his campaign's speeches, interviews and also in his social media accounts, actually, Trump seemed happy to remind people about; "I'm self-funding my campaign . . . I'm self-funding, I do my own money" (Alesci). Once again, Trump was proud of being a rich man unlike many of his opposites, in which he claimed that; "That's one of the nice things. I mean, part of the beauty of me is that I'm very rich. So if I need \$600 million, I can put \$600 million myself. That's a huge advantage. I must tell you, that's a huge advantage over the other candidates"(qtd. in Levinthal).

According to Levine Carrie, Michael Beckel, and Dave Levinthal, the Primary Elections cost Trump nearly \$46 million from his money. Although, Trump's total investment in his campaign was about \$66.1 million. While, Trump was honest of being financially independent, in which he undertook all his campaign financial issues, and spent money as much as it took, many of his outspoken were changed, after his Republican nomination. To this end, Levinthal Dave the Federal Politics Editor, in his

report which was published in 2016 outrivaled that "Trump's self-funding talk changed." As soon as he began his campaigning as Republican candidate, Trump was pleasured to accept outside contributions of his supporters, \$14 million was indicated for Trump's donating from super PACs, individual's donors, and many other outside contributions. Trump stated that "I mean, do I want to sell a couple of buildings and self-fund? I don't know that I want to do that necessarily, but I really won't be asking for money for myself, I'll be asking money for the party"(qtd. in Levinthal). This switch of words was surprising for many of his voters and supporters.

Moreover, Trump disbelieved and denied his own words, because he contradicted his proclaims that he restated over again, in which he confessed that; "[he would personally] be putting up money, but won't be completely self-funding". Trump promises to total self-funding his campaign, his total refusal of being bought by the lobbyists, and interest groups, and lastly, his confirmation of not being indebted for no one; were all drawing back. It was reported by Levinthal Dave that nearly \$45.2 million were given to Trump by the small donors, who contributed by \$200 and less for each one, in addressing this point Schouten Fredreka confirmed that; 75% of Trump's total raised money in this election cycle is from small donors. In comparing Trump's small donors to Clinton's small donors, Blumentha Paul affirmed that Clinton had raised more small donors contributions than Trump did, about \$54.3 million from this category were given to Clinton.

Nonetheless, Trump was not completely dishonest, because he raised around 50% only of what Clinton did, and his presidential campaign was one of the less fundraised in comparing to the previous presidential campaigns since the 2000 presidential race, although, the 2016 election race was the most expensive race in the history of the United States. In attempt to calculate the fundraising's budget of both Trump's and Clinton's

campaign during the 2016 presidential race; Chris, Zubak-Skees finds out the amounts of money that were collected by outsider contributors and allied groups. Thus, the following table represents how much did both campaigners fundraised.

Table 2: How Much Did the 2016 Presidential Candidates Raise Funds?

Categories	Trump's Fundraising	Clinton's Fundraising
Campaign	\$339 million	\$581 million
Super PACs and other Groups	\$89.4 million	\$205 million
Total	\$429 million	\$786 million

Source: Pištěková, Zuzana. *The Public and the Media in the U.S. Presidential Campaigns*. MS Thesis. University of Brno, 2008. Web. 3 Apr. 2019.).

According to the table above, Clinton's campaign fundraised much more than Trump's campaign did, with difference of \$242 million, in which she gathered around \$581 million versus \$339 million for Trump. Moreover, Trump's allied groups as the Super PACs and other Groups, fundraised nearly \$89.4 million, opposites to Clinton's allied groups by \$205 million. Eventually, it was believed that; Clinton depended on the outside contributions such as; super PACs, small donors, and mostly big and wealthy donors, to finance her campaign more than Trump did; wherefore, she collected \$786 million almost twice of Trump's \$429 million.

In recent years, candidates in presidential campaigns are widely outspending money more over than they did in past years, and the 2016 presidential campaigns is one example

of this overspending. In this attempt Levine Carrie, Michael Beckel and Dave Levinthal argued that huge amounts of money were expended in the presidential elections of 2016; millions of dollars were spent by those candidates for better organizing, advertising, and reinforcing to their campaigns. Unlike Clinton's unreasonable outspending, Trump did not overspend money while campaigning, one reason was; he took the advantage of "earned media" far better than she did. Therefore, it was believed that; "Due to his massive fortune and the extensive free media attention, Donald Trump has been less dependent on financial support and thus does not need anyone's approval" (Hansen 23).

Despite Trump's outlandish, offensive and shameless words, which he used mostly in his political speeches, free media put much interest on him, it was believed that Trump took the lion's share of free media; "I get more minutes, more front-page coverage, more requests for interviews than anyone else, and most important for America, the opportunity to speak directly to the people"(qtd. in Hansan 26). Thus far, Trump did not outspend on using media, because cameras are around him everywhere unlike his rivals; "Most important, he spent less on television advertising, typically the single biggest expenditure for a campaign than any other major candidate" (Confessore and Yourish).

As usually, Trump and Clinton are in an endless competition, in almost every issue that is related to the elections, and outspending was no exception, they overspend huge amounts of money in this presidential rally. According to Zubak-Skees,'s tally on money spending by the two rival candidates, he gave out the flowing results, presented in the following table.

Table 3: How much did Trump's and Clinton's Presidential campaign cost?

Categories	Trump's Spending	Clinton's Spending			
Campaign	\$322 million	\$ 565 million			
Super PACs and other	\$86.7 million	\$204 million			
Groups					
Total	\$409 million	\$769 million			

Source: Pištěková, Zuzana. *The Public and the Media in the U.S. Presidential Campaigns*. MS Thesis. University of Brno, 2008. Web. 3 Apr. 2019.).

Table 3 presents Trump's and Clinton's money spending amounts; in which it was found out that \$ 565 million was the amount spent by Clinton's campaign, contrary to \$322 million of Trump. In addition, the outspending of Super PACs and other Groups of Trump was less than that of Clinton; \$86.7 million opposite to \$204 million. Ultimately, the total cost of Clinton was nearly \$769 million, to Trump's \$409 million, making a difference of \$360 million.

Conclusively, his fact as being a billionaire and experienced businessman, helped Trump arranging less expensive campaign than his rivals did, in which he defeated the big money contributors using his own money. The self-finance strategy that Trump used during his campaigning kept him far away from loaning money from big donors, but this does not mean that he did not benefit from small donors and some allied groups. It was a hard fact for Clinton to lose the election, despite her huge fundraising and outspending in comparing to Trump's inexpensive campaign.

Conclusion

As almost every issue related to the United States is unique, complex, and expensive, and the Presidential Elections are no exception, because it is indirect process in which voters do not choose the president directly. Instead, they vote for delegates, and then the decision would be made by those delegates; who are supporting particular nominee, that they want him to be the next president. The Founding Fathers did not give American peoples the total power to pick out and to select their; rather they founded the Electoral College system to guarantee choosing the most desirable president. The complexity of the American elections are one way to make sure that each and every elected president should be in a way or another 'special', and that exactly what happened over the history of the country because almost every elected president had his own impress on the wide nation or even on the word.

Every four years American citizens have to vote for who would be their next president, yet choosing the American president is somehow long process; firstly, each political party choose nominees in order to run in the primary elections, secondly, both the Republicans as well as the Democrats select how would run for presidency. Thirdly, two candidates from both parties start their presidential campaign; those candidates start compete with each other, depending on numerous strategies in order to influence and mobilize voters to select them. In addition to, the use of mass media to communicate their; future plans, projects, and their attempts, media can work hand on hand with those candidates to make them more preferable, or it can work opposite to them; making people dislike them. To this end, mass media have a powerful impact on who would be the next president, therefore, candidates tends to pull media to their sides. Eventually, this long process of campaigning to be the next American president, costs huge amounts of money, as result,

money's function as a very important element in any issue is related to politics, and the America presidential elections are no exception ("How Do the US Presidential elections work?").

Money does matter in the American presidential campaign; it works as 'the mother's milk of elections', yet it is not considered the deciding factor in the outcomes of elections, because gaining victory cannot realize only by over raising or overspending money. To this end, it is undoubtedly fact that money is indispensable in the American elections; however, having so much money cannot ensure victory for candidates. In one hand the lack of money during campaigning can eliminate the candidates, but in the other hand it cannot guarantee winning for them too, to better understand this view, the 2012 and the 2016 presidential elections races were a real evident to this case. Despite the fact that Romney spent more money than his adversary Obama did, yet he lost the elections that year, moreover in 2016 the same scenario was repeated by the two rival candidates; Trump and Clinton, in which Clinton spent nearly the double of what Trump spent, yet, she did not win the elections. Finally, money is never used to buy the voters in direct way; however, it is used to address them via ads, and other media tools. (Robbins).

November 8, 2016, American citizens were asked to vote for the 45th president of the United States by selecting one of those two candidates; the Republican Party candidate Donald J. Trump, or the Democratic Party candidate Hillary Clinton. So that, the two rival candidates start their campaigns, the unusual matter about the two previous mentioning candidates, is that they were the most unfavorable candidates in the history of the country; in which they were badly criticized. Though, Clinton was predicted to be the winner that year for many reasons; first of all, because she was more politically experienced than Trump was, in addition to the bad manners that were showed by Trump. However, the

outcomes of the election had shocked the United States and the world. Trump's unexpected victory was the major event in the United States in 2016; the outsider, non-experienced politician, and the TV star, won the 2016 presidential elections, over Hillary Clinton (Hansen 3,6).

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