PART 2

Interactive United States Government

PART 2 CONTENTS

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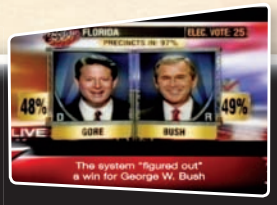


INTERACTIVE CHAPTER 12

Understanding Elections

Why are elections so important in the United States? Every year, thousands of elections are held in the United States—from those that elect council members for a town of 500 to those that elect the nation's president. Your school may also hold elections for student council and other organizations that require leadership.

Filling offices by election allows people to have a say in who will represent their needs and interests. Holding elections also gives citizens the power to change leadership on a regular basis.



HISTORY Voting Tech

hmhsocialstudies.com VIDEO

Essential Question What are the ways that Americans can participate in the political process?

What You Will Learn

In this chapter, you will learn about election campaigns and the important role that citizens play as voters.

SECTION 1

Election Campaigns

SECTION 2

Campaign Funding and Political Action Committees

SECTION 3

Election Day and the Voters

Student Casebook Use your Student Casebook to take notes on the chapter and to complete the simulations.



President-elect Barack Obama waves to the crowd during an election night celebration in Chicago on November 4, 2008. Obama made history as the first African American to be elected U.S. president.

SECTION 1

Election Campaigns

Reading Focus

The purpose of election campaigns is to help the public learn about the candidates, so that voters can make an informed decision on election day. Candidates today take advantage of media exposure and polling in order to influence the voters and get elected to public office.

CASE STUDY **Television and the 1960 Election** Learn about the campaign that led to the election of President John F. Kennedy.

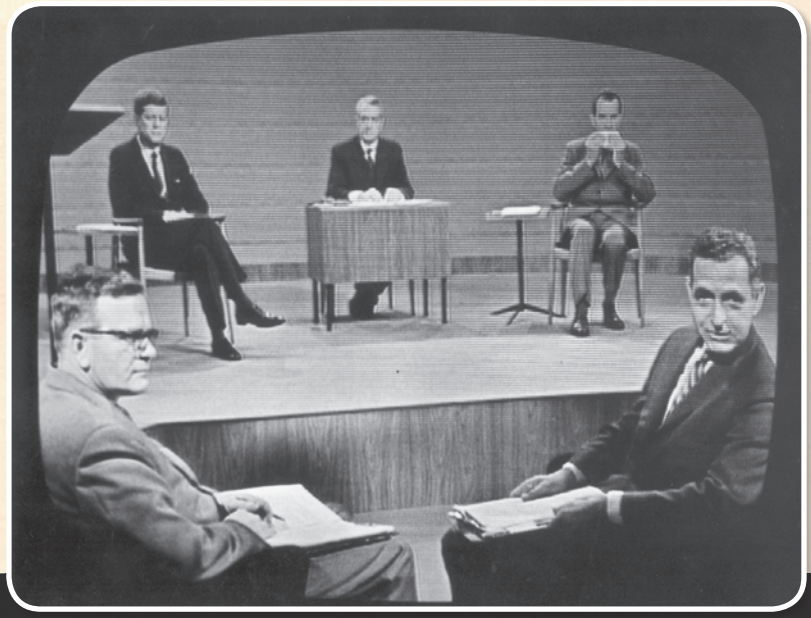
WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW Learn about what is needed to run a successful election campaign and about the importance of the media and polling in today's elections.

SIMULATION **Running a Presidential Campaign** Use your knowledge to run an election campaign for someone running for president of the United States.

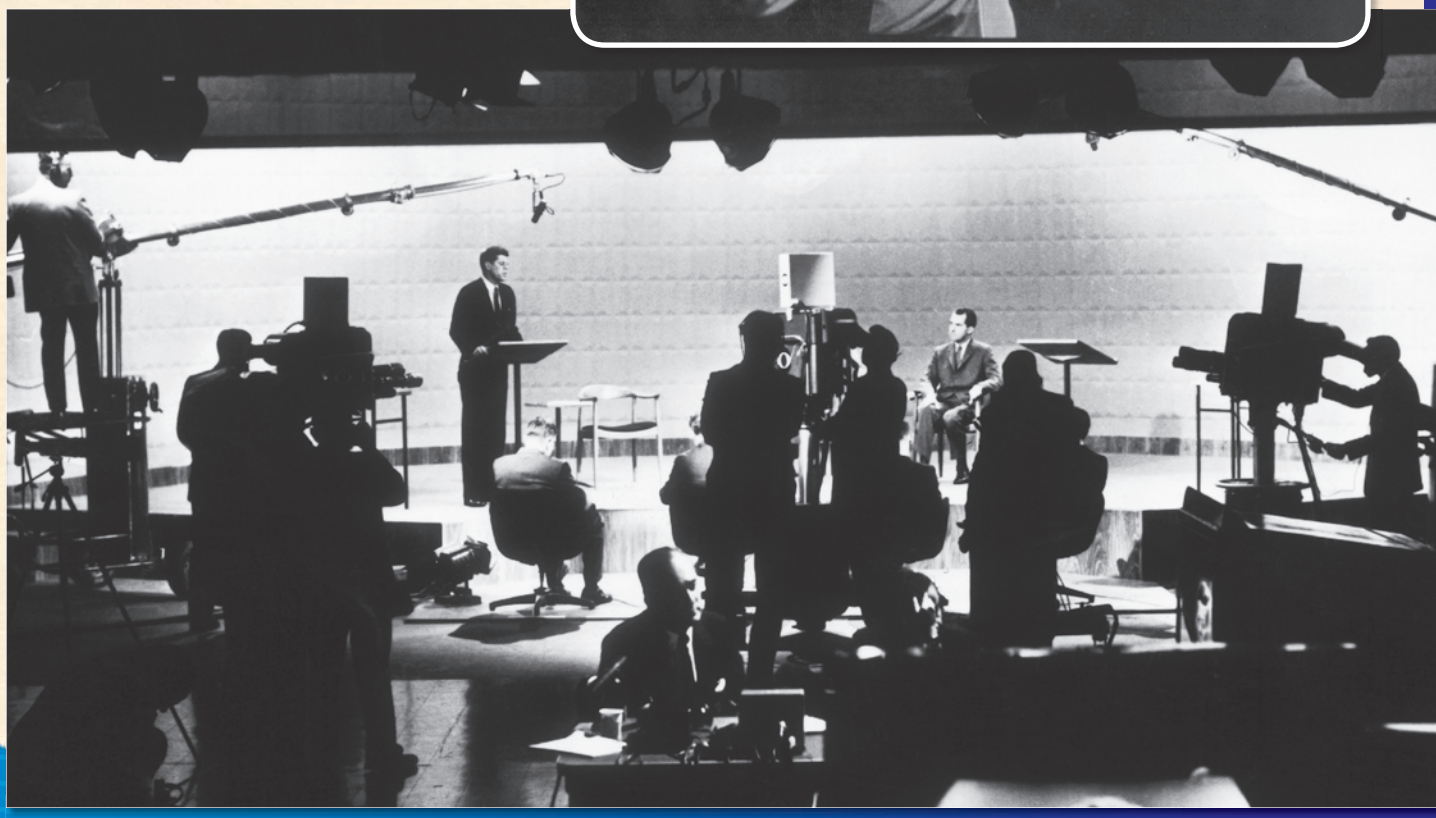
Student Casebook

Use your Student Casebook to take notes on the section and to complete the simulation.

Kennedy and Nixon participate in the first televised presidential debate.



The 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates took place in this television studio in Chicago, Illinois.



CASE STUDY

Television and the 1960 Election

In the 1960 presidential race, Vice President Richard M. Nixon ran against Senator John F. Kennedy. The first televised debates between presidential candidates took place during this campaign. This groundbreaking event changed the face of election campaigns and began a tradition that is still practiced today.

Nixon, Kennedy, and the Cold War

During the presidential election of 1960, the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union defined many of the campaign issues. Following an impressive string of firsts in Soviet space exploration in the 1950s, a Soviet-backed Communist government led by Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba. Americans viewed these events as a threat to the security of the United States.

During the campaign, Senator Kennedy, a Democrat from Massachusetts, used such concerns to criticize the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower and his vice president, Richard M. Nixon, a Republican from California. Kennedy accused Eisenhower of not being firm enough in his policies toward the Soviet Union. A loyal Nixon defended President Eisenhower's policies.

Voters perceived that they had a choice between two very different candidates. At age 43, Kennedy portrayed himself as the candidate for the future. Nixon was only 47, but his connection to Eisenhower made some people view him as a part of America's past.



The Presidential Debate

The voter perception of the candidates was strengthened by the nation's first televised presidential debate on September 26, 1960. Kennedy, tanned from campaigning in California, looked fit and well-rested in a dark suit. In comparison, Nixon, who chose a gray suit and refused the makeup that people usually wear on camera, looked pale and tired from a long campaign swing through 25 states.

According to polls taken afterward, most people who listened to the debate on the radio thought that Nixon had won. But most television viewers gave Kennedy the victory. This reaction showed that in the age of television, how a candidate looks can sometimes make a greater impression than what he or she says.

The Debate's Aftermath

The presidential election that followed was one of the closest in U.S. history. Kennedy won by fewer than 120,000 votes, out of nearly 69 million cast. Although some historians question how much the debate affected the final outcome, political scholars agree that the influence of television on elections cannot be disputed.

Seeing the candidates and how they handle themselves on television has a great effect on voters. Election campaigns strengthen the notion that appearances matter, and the way a person presents himself or herself can leave a strong impression. Many voters also warm to candidates to whom they can relate, and television plays a key role in showing a candidate's personality.

Today voters gain a great deal of their knowledge of the candidates from television. Candidates are well aware of this fact and use it to their advantage whenever possible.

What Do You Think?

1. Why do you think Kennedy tried to link Nixon to Eisenhower?
2. Did the debate benefit Kennedy's campaign strategy? Why or why not?
3. Do you think television has a positive or a negative influence on election campaigns? Explain.

SECTION 1

WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW

Campaign Planning

Key Terms
platform
focus group
swing states
stump speech
negative campaigning
sound bite
demographic

Election campaigns are an important part of the electoral process at every level of government. A campaign helps voters get to know the candidates and informs the public about each party's platform—the party's stand on important issues and the party's general principles. When a candidate is backed by a political party, the candidate's views usually coincide with the platform of that party.

Campaign Staff

Major election campaigns today have formal organizational structures. A variety of experts play significant roles in campaigns.

The size and salaries of a campaign staff vary from campaign to campaign. In presidential campaigns some positions, like campaign manager, are occupied by a full-time staffer who is paid for his or her work. In smaller campaigns, some or all of the jobs may be filled by unpaid volunteers. In some cases, campaign organizations hire part-time consultants to carry out key campaign functions. The members of a campaign staff include a campaign manager, finance chair, pollster, media coordinator, scheduler, issue advisers, and other staff, such as a treasurer, press secretary, and volunteers.

Campaign Manager The campaign manager coordinates and oversees the entire campaign. He or she is responsible for

- developing and executing the campaign plan
- supervising the other key staffers and resolving any differences that develop among the staff
- presenting any ideas or changes to the candidate for approval

The campaign manager is usually closer to the candidate than any other staffer. For that reason, the individual who fills this post is often a trusted adviser or a personal friend of the candidate.

Finance Chair The person in charge of raising money to pay for the campaign is called the finance chair. He or she is responsible for putting together and carrying out the campaign's fund-raising plan. This plan will likely include getting supporters to hold fund-raising events as well as asking political action committees (PACs) to contribute to the candidate's campaign.

Pollster The campaign's strategy is planned and monitored mainly according to polling results. For this reason, large campaign staffs often include a full-time polling expert, or pollster. This person obtains information on voters and their opinions by creating and

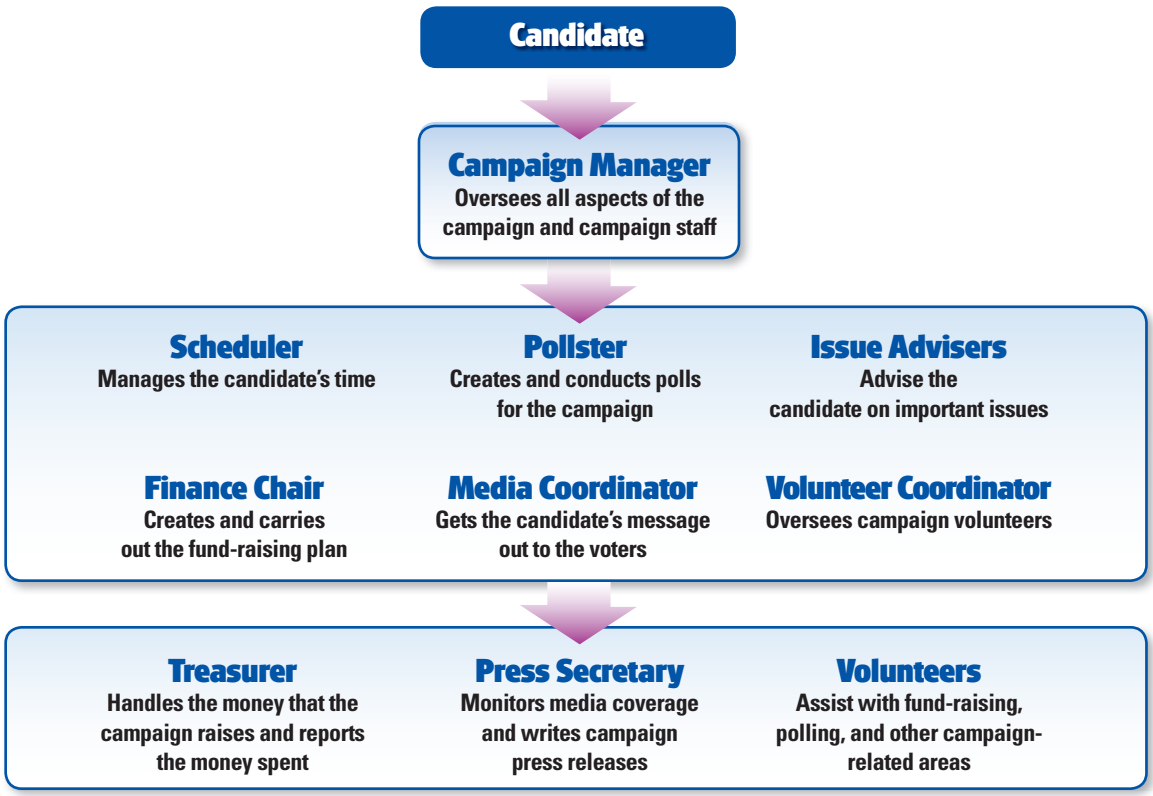
REAL-WORLD EXAMPLE
CASE STUDY LINK

Managing Victory Senator Kennedy had many trusted advisers and reliable staff on his campaign team during the 1960 campaign. One such person was Lawrence O'Brien, a key player in Kennedy's narrow victory over Nixon. O'Brien campaigned on behalf of Senator Kennedy in key states, convincing voters that Kennedy's Catholic faith would not conflict with his duties as president. His work helped win Kennedy the election. Following the election, O'Brien served as Kennedy's liaison to Congress.

Applying Information Why might a campaign staffer become an adviser to a president he or she helped win that office?

The Campaign Team

The campaign staff are key to a successful election campaign. The candidate relies on these people to help manage the campaign and make important decisions.



conducting scientific polls for the campaign. Even small campaigns often conduct polls. A campaign may also choose to hire an independent polling company to conduct its polls.

Media Coordinator The media coordinator is responsible for getting the candidate's message to the greatest number of potential supporters in the most effective ways possible. The media coordinator also handles paid advertising for the candidate as well as free advertising through media coverage of speeches, rallies, and any nonpolitical events that the candidate might attend.

Scheduler The job of the scheduler is to manage the candidate's time in ways that meet the strategy and goals of the campaign. Tasks include arranging for the candidate to get from place to place, handling invitations from groups that request the candidate to appear, and maintaining contact with persons who plan campaign events that require an appearance by the candidate.

Since about half of a candidate's time is spent raising money, the scheduler must work closely with the finance chair to make sure that the candidate attends fund-raising events during the campaign.

REAL-WORLD EXAMPLE

The Brain Trust Presidential candidates throughout the years have relied on issue advisers to help steer their campaigns. For example, in 1932 when Franklin D. Roosevelt first ran for president, the nation was in the middle of the Great Depression. Roosevelt asked some professors and other experts in economics and welfare policy to develop a strategy for combating the Depression. The press referred to these advisers as the Brain Trust. Roosevelt presented their ideas to the nation during the campaign. Some of those ideas later formed the basis of President Roosevelt's New Deal.

Applying Information What types of issue advisers would a presidential candidate need today?

The scheduler also works with the media coordinator to ensure that the candidate is available for interviews, press conferences, and other media activities.

Issue Advisers Experts in certain fields who advise the candidate on various campaign issues are known as issue advisers. Their main function is to educate the candidate and write position papers that present the campaign's point of view on each issue. This group may include labor and business leaders, representatives of ethnic groups, religious leaders, and so on. Many are professors or other scholars who have spent years studying a particular issue.

Other Campaign Staff Each campaign has a treasurer to handle the funds it raises and spends. In addition, the treasurer files the financial disclosure reports required by state and federal election laws. Most campaigns also have a volunteer coordinator who recruits and manages campaign volunteers. The campaign's press secretary writes press releases for the media and monitors media coverage of the campaign. A campaign may also have a speech writer who writes and reviews the candidate's various speeches.

Campaign Strategy

Once a candidate has decided to run, the first two questions his or her staff must ask are how many votes will it take to win the election and where the candidate is likely to receive the most votes. The answers to these questions guide the entire campaign. They help determine to whom the campaign will direct the candidate's message, what that message will be, and how it will be delivered.

Identifying Supporters Many candidates conduct polls to determine where their support is greatest. This information helps to shape the entire course of the campaign—from the issues emphasized and how campaign funds are raised and spent, to places the candidate

Campaign Volunteers

Campaign volunteers are the backbone of a successful campaign. Volunteers help get information to voters in areas that candidates are unable to visit themselves.



visits during the campaign and what he or she says on the campaign trail. Contrary to popular belief, most campaigns make minimal effort to simply change voters' minds. Instead, they concentrate on getting the votes of people who either like the candidate or who are undecided.

Targeting the Message Once potential supporters have been identified, the campaign must find out what issues are most important to these supporters. In addition to polling, campaign staffers use focus groups to identify these issues. A **focus group** is a small gathering of people whose response to something is studied and used to predict the response of a larger population. Campaigns hire experts to select and lead focus groups and to discuss the participants' views on certain issues. The expert may also have the participants discuss how they feel about the candidate and his or her positions on the issues. The information gathered from focus groups can be very useful in shaping the campaign's message.

Once the message is determined, it is then delivered through various types of advertising and by the candidate through speeches, interviews, and other appearances. A 30-second television advertisement or a 10-minute speech, though, cannot present the candidate's views on all the issues. Therefore, the information in these ads and speeches is usually focused on or tailored to a specific group of voters. This strategy is known as targeting the message.

Packaging Candidates Critics often question the value of today's campaigns. Modern campaign organizations will routinely bring in experts to manage a candidate's image, message, and coverage by the news media. The effect, critics claim, is candidates who are "packaged" to fit what voters want and whose views may be more determined by poll results than by the candidate's own beliefs. As a result of such packaging, some people wonder if campaigns serve more to educate voters or to manipulate them. John F. Kennedy is a good example of a candidate who was "packaged" for voters. Because he and his family were viewed as charming and glamorous, his presidential campaign utilized this "Kennedy style" in order to gain supporters.

READING CHECK **Identifying Supporting Details** How do campaign organizations determine which issues and messages to emphasize?

WEBQUEST

Election Platforms A political party's platform helps shape a candidate's message. Candidates running for office at all levels of government use their party's platform as a guide for their campaign.

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Go online to begin a Webquest on political party platforms and the candidates running for office in your state or local government.

Conducting a Campaign

Once a campaign strategy has been created, it is the job of the campaign team to carry it out. At the same time, both the candidate and the staff must be ready to adapt to any developments that may require the campaign strategy to evolve.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

evolve change

SECTION 1

REAL-WORLD EXAMPLE

Choosing the Campaign Trail In the 2004 presidential election, Democratic candidate John Kerry paid little attention to Texas, the state with the second-largest number of electoral votes. Not only was Texas the home state of Kerry's opponent, President George W. Bush, but no Democratic candidate had won its electoral votes since 1976. In 2004 Kerry beat Bush in only 16 of the state's 254 counties, while Bush pulled 61 percent of the total vote.

Applying Information Do you think Kerry was right to not campaign heavily in Texas? Explain your answer.

On the Campaign Trail

A campaign devotes most of its attention to places where the greatest number of potential votes exists. In presidential campaigns a candidate can spend a large amount of time and money in states that have the greatest number of electoral votes, like California. Sometimes, though, a campaign will avoid a populous state where support for the opponent is strong. The candidate will instead focus on states where he or she has a better chance of winning. States where support for each candidate is about equal, or **swing states**, may also experience intense campaigning because they are seen as being "up for grabs" by any candidate.

The candidate's stand on certain issues may also influence where he or she campaigns the hardest. For example, candidates with poor records on environmental issues may spend less time in places where these issues are important. And, when their campaign does bring them to these places, they may emphasize other aspects of their platform that will resonate more with people in these areas.

Tackling the Issues Throughout their campaigns, candidates are required to make speeches. Most candidates have a **stump speech**, or a standard speech that they give during the campaign. In this speech the candidate shares his or her views on the basic issues.

Candidates also use other speeches that serve a specific function for the campaign. Some of these speeches are meant to provoke listeners to action. Others address one particular issue and are given to groups who have a special interest in that issue. Candidates' speeches are usually short—rarely more than 20 minutes at the most. Candidates tend to speak in short sentences since no candidate wants to bore, confuse, or "lose" his or her audience. Speeches often use techniques to keep listeners' attention and help the audience identify the key points of the candidate's speech.

In addition, many campaigns use slogans to help deliver their message. A slogan is a short phrase designed to summarize the campaign's overall message and to give people a simple reason to vote for the candidate. In 1960, for example, with tensions growing between the United States and the Soviet Union, the campaign of Richard Nixon and his running mate, Henry Cabot Lodge, adopted the slogan "They understand what peace demands."

Negative Campaigning While designing their campaign strategy, candidates and their staffs may choose to run a campaign that does not focus so much on the candidate's platform as it does on the weaknesses of his or her opponent. In recent years, voter complaints about the mean-spirited nature of election campaigns have grown. However, **negative campaigning**—attacking the opponent during a campaign—is very common. Studies have even shown that "going negative" actually energizes the attacker's supporters and decreases support for his or her opponent.

WEBQUEST

The Impact of Campaign Ads Since the 1952 election, television has played a major role in presidential campaigns. Negative campaigning has increased with the use of TV. Two examples are shown here. In 1988 the George H. W. Bush campaign attacked opponent Michael Dukakis's stance on defense with an ad showing Dukakis riding in a tank. In 1964 the Lyndon Johnson campaign ran the "Daisy Girl" ad implying that Johnson's opponent, Barry Goldwater, would lead the nation into nuclear war. Visit **hmhsocialstudies.com** to begin a Webquest on TV ads from presidential elections and how ads have changed over the years.



George H. W. Bush's 1988 "Dukakis in a tank" campaign ad



Lyndon Johnson's 1964 "Daisy Girl" campaign ad

Another benefit of negative campaigning is that the opponent must take time to respond to the attack, which takes attention away from his or her original campaign message. At the same time, candidates who use negative campaigning as their main campaign strategy may not spend as much time on their own positions.

Campaigns and the Media

As discussed in Chapter 9, a person's age is often a good indicator of which form of media he or she uses to get news and information. Using this knowledge, a campaign's media coordinator must determine the types of voters the candidate should be trying to reach and must choose the best media form with which to reach them. For example, a candidate running for the House of Representatives in a district with an older population will probably focus more on television and print media than on the Internet, which often carries more appeal with younger voters.

Broadcast Media Because television is the main source of information for voters of all ages, most campaigns put as many ads on TV as they can afford. Campaigns also try to get the candidate on television talk shows and make him or her available for televised interviews. Since the election of 1960, presidential candidates have had to debate on national television, and many voters learn about the candidates from these debates.

Another way campaigns use television is by creating photo opportunities. Photo opportunities are media events the campaign arranges to show the candidate in a favorable manner, such as visiting wounded soldiers in a military hospital. Campaigns also offer candidates as guests on radio talk shows. Radio is a good way to reach the 30-to-64 age group. In addition, radio ads help get the candidate's message out. Radio ads probably reach fewer people than those on television, but they cost much less than TV ads.

SECTION 1

Sound Bites

Sound bites can sometimes have a negative effect on a candidate's campaign. They can also be positive. In some instances, the sound bite is noteworthy for its humor or its colorful jab at an opponent. Here are some memorable sound bites from past elections.

"There you go again."

Ronald Reagan, critical remark to President Jimmy Carter during their 1980 presidential debate

"Senator, you are no Jack Kennedy."

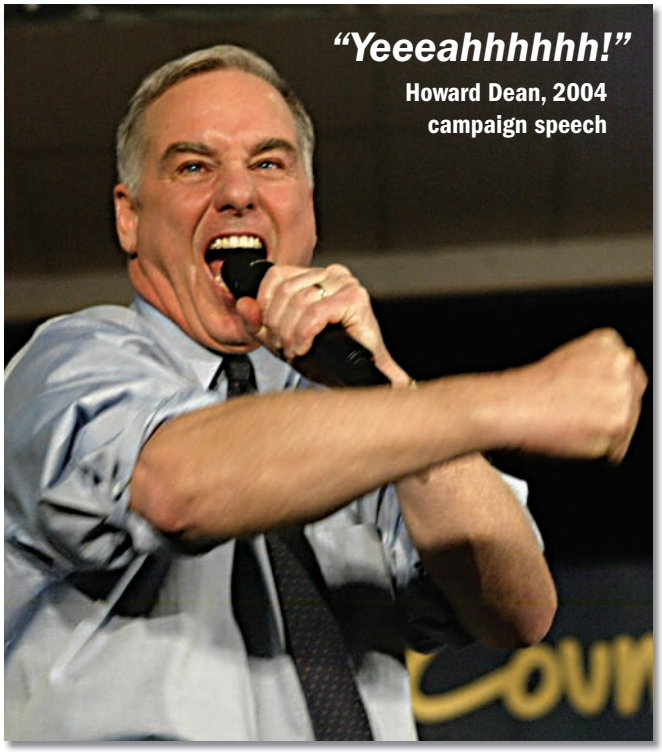
Lloyd Bentsen, 1988 vice presidential debate in which opponent Dan Quayle compared his own congressional service to that of John F. Kennedy (sometimes called Jack)

"Read my lips: no new taxes."

George H. W. Bush, 1988 Republican National Convention

"It's the economy, stupid."

Slogan of Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign



A candidate's media coordinator and other staff, however, do not always get to control how a candidate is portrayed by the media. On television news, viewers often receive a candidate's message in a **sound bite**, a very brief segment of a speech or statement. In many cases, political sound bites have a great influence on the public's opinion of that candidate.

For example, in 2004 Howard Dean, a Democratic presidential-nominee candidate, let out a scream at a campaign event. This moment was shown on television 633 times in the four days following the event and repeated over the radio countless times. It is possible that Dean's overenthusiastic delivery marked the collapse of his campaign, as it portrayed him in a bad light to many voters.

Print Media Newspapers and magazines are especially effective at reaching voters over the age of 50. In the very close 2000 presidential race, 90 percent of all newspaper readers cast a ballot.

Many campaigns use newspaper ads to clarify the candidate's stand on the issues and to compare the candidate to his or her opponent. Journalists may also write influential editorials on the candidates and their campaigns. Because of the format, print media are able to give more detailed information than broadcast media.

The Internet In recent years, the Internet has become a major media form in election campaigns. Political blogs, online editions of newspapers and magazines, and social networking Web sites are all key sources of information, especially for voters younger than 50.

Most candidates today have Web sites that allow them to provide information about themselves and their views without the constraints of broadcast and print media. Many candidates write blogs on their Web sites as well as on other political Web sites. Candidates' Web sites also enable them to organize and fundraise at the grassroots level. When a supporter visits a candidate's Web site, he or she will likely be asked to make a donation and to provide an e-mail address in order to receive updates from the campaign.

Polls and Polling

As discussed earlier, polls can have a great influence on campaigns. Polls taken early in the campaign, for example, can reveal areas where support for the candidate is weak. The campaign will then target those areas for heavy advertising or personal appearances by the candidate. Or polls may suggest that a particular **demographic**—a population group defined by a specific characteristic or set of characteristics—might support the candidate. The campaign can then be geared toward attracting these voters.

During a campaign, polling can detect changes in voter attitudes. A presidential candidate's schedule may be changed if, for example, polls show that voter support in an important state is declining or wavering. Also, the candidate's positions on certain issues may be adjusted if polls show that public opinion is changing.

Polls can also influence voter behavior. Some voters who are undecided may choose to vote for the candidate the polls say is ahead, because he or she is the candidate the public seems to want.

READING CHECK **Identifying the Main Idea** What are some of the major decisions that candidates and their staffs have to make when deciding what kind of election campaign they want to run?

REAL-WORLD EXAMPLE

Targeting Demographics In the 1996 presidential election, campaigns targeted a demographic that pollsters labeled the Soccer Moms: upper-middle-class suburban mothers. In 2004, pollsters targeted so-called NASCAR Dads: small-town and rural white men, especially in the South, to whom family, religion, and patriotism were important ideals. Targeting this demographic proved helpful to Republican candidates in the South, as exit polls after the 2004 election showed that 70 percent of this demographic voted for President Bush.

Applying Information How does targeting a demographic help a campaign?

Section 1 Assessment

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Reviewing Ideas and Terms

1. **a. Identify** What are five major staff positions in a candidate's campaign organization?
   b. Explain Why is identifying the candidate's supporters so important to campaign strategy?
   c. Rate Do you agree that the media coordinator is the most important staff member in an election campaign? Explain why or why not.
2. **a. Describe** What is a **demographic**?
   b. Analyze How big of an influence are Internet-based communications on modern political campaigns? Explain your answer.
   c. Evaluate What do you think about judging a candidate based on a **sound bite**? Should the media take better care to not judge a candidate based on a sound bite? Explain your answer.

Critical Thinking

3. **Elaborate** What is your opinion of negative campaigning and the effects it has on an election?

CASE STUDY LINK You answered the following questions at the end of the Case Study. Now that you have completed Section 1, think about and answer the questions again. Then compare your answers with your earlier responses. Are your answers the same, or are they different?

4. Why do you think Kennedy tried to link Nixon to Eisenhower?
5. Did the debate benefit Kennedy's campaign strategy? Why or why not?
6. Do you think television has a positive or a negative influence on election campaigns? Explain.

SECTION 1

SIMULATION

Running a Presidential Campaign

Who will win the presidential election? 21st CENTURY

Student Casebook

Use your Student Casebook to complete the simulation.

In order to run smoothly and successfully, election campaigns depend on the hard work and expertise of many different people. Using what you have learned in Section 1, complete the simulation to plan a campaign that will elect the next president of the United States.

Roles

- Presidential candidate Charles Smith
- Presidential candidate Nancy Carlson
- Campaign manager (one for each campaign)
- Finance chair (one for each campaign)
- Pollster (one for each campaign)
- Media coordinator (one for each campaign)
- Volunteers (three for each campaign)
- Voters of varying demographics

1 The Situation

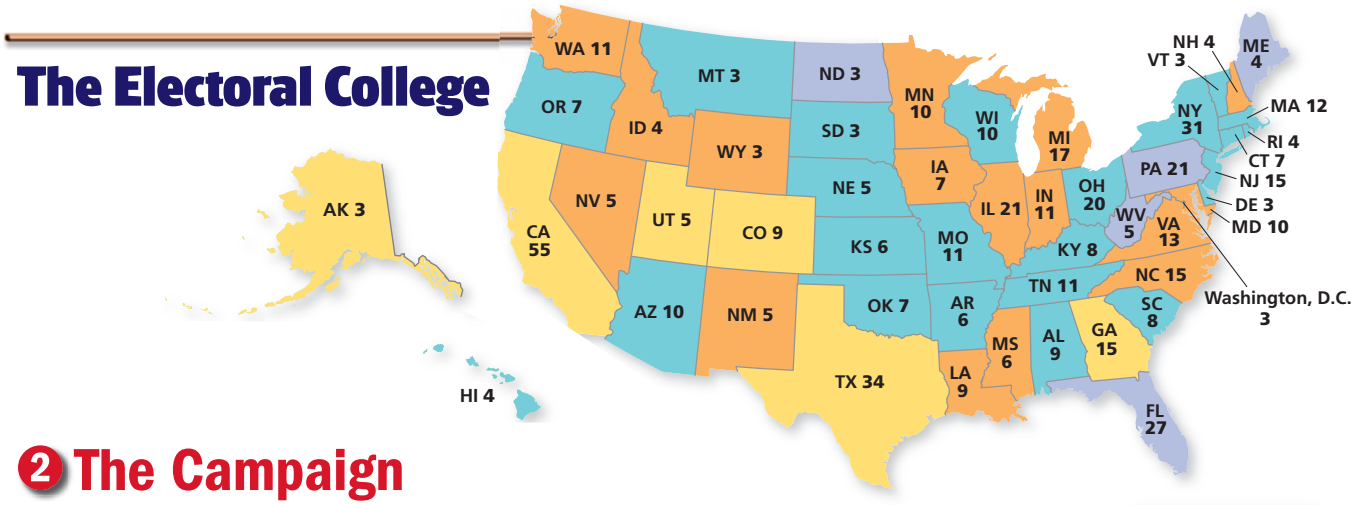
Democrat Ohio senator Charles Smith and Republican Texas senator Nancy Carlson each gained their party's nomination for president at the national conventions in July. Now they must work with their campaign staffs in order to win the general election.

Polls show that the Social Security system is the main issue on voters' minds. The system has been in crisis for years, and widespread disagreement over how to reform it exists among the American public and in Congress. The system will run out of money soon unless drastic action is taken during the next president's term. However, Americans are divided over whether to "save" Social Security by raising the Social Security tax (called FICA) or by cutting benefits to retirees.

Key Facts

- More than 12 percent of Americans are older than 65. Nearly all of these people are retired. Many depend on the monthly Social Security checks they get from the government to make ends meet.
- In the past, Smith has supported a proposal in Congress to double the FICA tax to 30 percent. Carlson, on the other hand, once backed a proposal to cut monthly Social Security benefits by half.
- Many labor unions and trade associations oppose increases in FICA to save Social Security. The American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), one of the nation's largest and most powerful interest groups, opposes cutting retirees' benefits—the proposal once favored by Carlson.
- Each campaign plans to raise and spend a total of $100 million.
- There are 100 days remaining until the November election.

The Electoral College



2 The Campaign

The voters must decide for which candidate they will vote. First, however, the candidates and their campaign staffs must develop and implement a strategy that will gain the support needed to win.

- Each **candidate** will write and deliver a stump speech as well as a speech that addresses the Social Security issue and that targets a specific demographic.
- The **candidates** will debate each other on their positions on Social Security.
- The **campaign managers** will develop the campaign's slogan and coordinate the other tasks to make sure the campaign is carrying out its strategy and speaking with a unified voice.
- The **finance chairs** will decide where and how to raise the money needed and how it will be spent. They will propose a budget and will develop targeted fund-raising letters to be sent to selected demographics, geographic areas, and groups.
- The **pollsters** will develop a poll to assess how voters feel about the Social Security issue and the candidates' record on it. They will then analyze the poll results and report them to the staff.
- The **media managers** will decide which states each candidate will visit, how much time he or she will spend there, and how and where to spend the campaign's advertising budget.
- **Volunteers** will conduct the pollsters' poll with the voters, create campaign brochures, and assist the campaign staffers.
- Each **voter** will decide what demographic he or she represents, follow the campaigns of each candidate, cast his or her vote, and explain why he or she made that decision.

FICA Facts

- The FICA tax is 15 percent of each worker's earnings.
- Half of FICA is paid by the worker and half by his or her employer.
- The tax on current workers' earnings pays the benefits of current retirees.

3 Debriefing

After the votes have been tallied, discuss ways in which the campaigns succeeded and areas where they could have been improved. Then write a report assessing how well these campaigns applied the knowledge of campaigning gained from Section 1.

SECTION 2

Campaign Funding and Political Action Committees

Reading Focus

Money plays a major role in election campaigns. Candidates and their staff must carefully decide where the campaign will get money and how it will use this money.

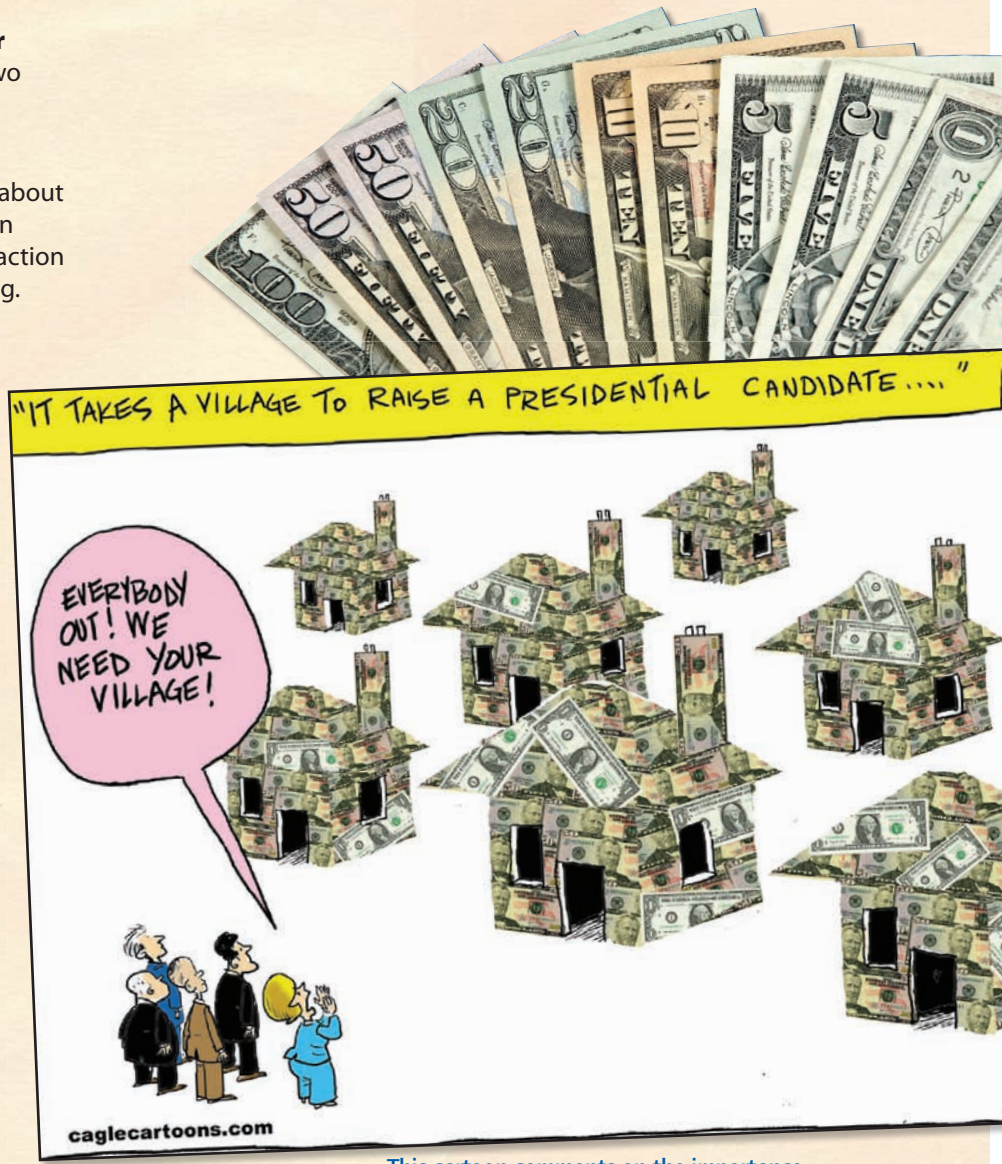
CASE STUDY **Controversies over Campaign Funding** Learn about two politicians who became involved in campaign-funding controversies.

WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW Learn about the funding that goes into an election campaign and the role that political action committees play in campaign funding.

SIMULATION **Deciding to Back a Candidate** Use your knowledge to decide if a political action committee should give funds to a candidate's election campaign.

Student Casebook

Use your Student Casebook to take notes on the section and to complete the simulation.



This cartoon comments on the importance of money in election campaigns.

Controversies over Campaign Funding

In the early to mid-2000s, two members of Congress—one from Ohio and one from Texas—faced serious charges of campaign finance violations. Although both men denied the charges, their cases reveal the difficulties that can arise in campaign-funding operations and the need for laws to control election campaign contributions and spending.

James Traficant

James Traficant, a Democrat from Ohio, served in the House of Representatives from 1985 to 2002. A former star football player at the University of Pittsburgh, he was sheriff of Ohio's Mahoning County from 1981 to 1985.

As sheriff, Traficant encountered his first brush with accusations of federal corruption. In 1983 he was charged with racketeering—a system of organized crime that extorts money from businesses through illegal means—and accepting bribes. Although he was not a lawyer, Traficant represented himself at the trial. He won the case and was acquitted of all charges. He was elected to Congress in 1984.

While in the House, Traficant cast himself as a "man of the people" and a "regular guy." He became widely known for his independent and eccentric style. His unruly gray toupee and his colorful plaid suits made him a recognizable figure on Capitol Hill.

When Traficant made a speech in the House, many people tuned in to C-SPAN to watch his often controversial remarks. One regular remark was "Beam me up," a phrase from the show *Star Trek*. Traficant used the phrase to show his disapproval of and disgust for some government action. Many in his district loved him. He was reelected eight times without serious opposition.

In early 2002 Traficant was charged with federal corruption. These charges included taking funds donated to his campaigns and spending them for his personal use. Once again, Traficant represented himself at the trial. He strongly denied all charges of wrongdoing but was convicted on 10 felony counts, including bribery and tax evasion. He was sentenced to eight years in federal prison.

In July 2002 the House voted 420–1 to expel Traficant. He showed his defiance by seeking reelection. From his prison cell, Traficant ran for election as an independent candidate. Still recognizable in his former district, he received 15 percent of the vote.





James Traficant delivers his closing statement to the House ethics committee in 2002.

Tom DeLay

Tom DeLay served in the House of Representatives from 1985 to 2006. A Houston-area businessman, DeLay's political career began in 1978 when he was elected to the Texas state legislature as a Republican.

In 1984 DeLay was elected to the House of Representatives and rapidly rose to a position of leadership among House Republicans. His strict enforcement of party discipline earned him the nickname the Hammer. DeLay also formed a series of political action committees (PACs). One such committee, Texans for a Republican Majority (TRMPAC), was created to raise money for Republican candidates in Texas. Another DeLay PAC, Americans for a Republican Majority (ARMPAC), gave nearly $1 million to Republican congressional candidates in 2004.



Tom DeLay resigned from the House of Representatives after being charged with campaign-funding violations.

Such success in raising money ultimately contributed to DeLay's downfall. Financial donations and other gifts from powerful Washington lobbyist Jack Abramoff focused attention on DeLay in 2005. Abramoff and several other lobbyists were indicted for crimes related to Abramoff's lobbying activities. Abramoff and one former member of DeLay's staff pleaded guilty. Abramoff then agreed to help with the government's investigation into the illegal activities of other members of Congress.

In May 2005, TRMPAC was found guilty of not reporting all the money it had raised. In September TRMPAC and DeLay himself were indicted in Texas for making illegal campaign contributions. Both were charged with illegally moving corporate donations from the National Republican Party to Republican candidates in Texas. All corporate contributions to state campaigns are illegal in Texas.

After being indicted on criminal charges of violating campaign finance laws, DeLay stepped down from his post as House majority leader. In January 2006, after weeks of pressure from fellow Republicans, DeLay resigned from the House of Representatives.

Campaign-Funding Challenges

The cases of Traficant and DeLay are just two examples of the problems that can arise with campaign funding. These cases show the need to regulate campaign spending in order to make sure that the funds candidates raise during their campaigns are used for their intended purpose.

What Do You Think?

1. Should Traficant have been expelled from the House? Explain.
2. Was it right for House members to pressure DeLay to resign? Explain your answer.
3. Should concealing the source of any campaign contribution be illegal? Explain.

WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW

Funding Election Campaigns

Election campaigns can be very expensive. Running for mayor or city council in even a medium-sized city can require tens of thousands of dollars. Races for a state legislative seat or a statewide office often cost significantly more.

The candidate who won James Traficant's House seat in 2002 spent nearly $550,000 to do so. Tom DeLay's final House race in 2004 cost more than $3 million. Senate races involve even greater sums. Of the 33 Senate seats decided in 2006, spending in 10 different campaigns exceeded $27 million each. Estimates of total spending in the 2008 presidential election, including the primary races, come close to $1 billion.

Key Terms

Federal Election Commission
party-building activities
issue ads
leadership PACs
527 group

Where the Money Comes From

The huge sums that candidates spend while running for office come from four main sources:

- **Individual donations** Individual Americans make contributions to the candidate or the candidate's political party.
- **Contributions by PACs** Political action committees (PACs) make contributions to the candidate or the candidate's party.
- **Political party contributions** The candidate's political party makes contributions to the candidate.
- **Public funding for presidential campaigns** Presidential candidates may receive public funds provided by the government.

The U.S. system of funding elections has fewer limits than any other major Western democracy. Germany, France, and the United Kingdom all put limits on what candidates may spend on campaigns. While U.S. election laws limit the amount that an individual or group may contribute, there are no limits on what a candidate may spend.

Critics of campaign funding complain that it makes money too important to campaigns. The Supreme Court has ruled, though, that limiting campaign spending is a restriction on freedom of speech.

Individual Donations The largest source of contributions to election campaigns comes from individual donations. These donations can build to great amounts over the course of a campaign. Because campaign finance laws require candidates, parties, and PACs to report only donations of $200 or more, there is no way of knowing how many small donations are given to a candidate's campaign.

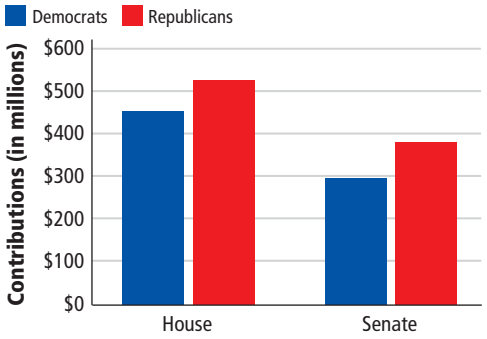
WEBQUEST

The Rise in Campaign Spending In recent years, the amount of money that candidates spend on both national and state elections has grown significantly.

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Go online to begin a Webquest on the increase in spending for national and state elections and the effect that this increase has on election campaigns.

TOTAL CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE 2010 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION



Source: *Federal Election Commission*

Skills Focus **INTERPRETING GRAPHS**

Which group had the largest amount of contributions during the 2010 congressional election? What was that contribution amount?



Senator Robert Menendez gives out autographed bowling pins at a campaign fund-raiser.

Candidates seek individual donations in a variety of ways. Increasingly candidates solicit donations online, but many candidates still request contributions by mailing letters to supporters. A candidate may choose to host a fund-raiser to obtain more individual donations. Additionally, candidates may contribute some of their own personal money to their campaigns.

Contributions by PACs After individual donations, PACs are the most important source of campaign funding. In the 2006 House and Senate races, about 25 percent of the money raised came from PACs. This figure compares to about 60 percent that came from individuals' donations. Some candidates receive more PAC money than others, however. For example, in DeLay's final race in 2004, almost half of his campaign funds came from PACs. The Democrat elected to Traficant's seat in 2002 got about 70 percent of his money from PACs.

Political Party Contributions A candidate may also receive funding from the political party that he or she represents. Committees that represent a political party and that party's interests are allowed to contribute money directly to a candidate's campaign. However, campaign finance laws limit how much the parties may contribute.

Public Funding Presidential candidates may also receive money from the federal government to help finance their campaigns. Public funding comes from individuals who check a box on their income tax return that allows the government to use $3 of their taxes for this purpose. This money is only available to qualified presidential candidates and not to those running for state or local office.

Public funding is voluntary for both taxpayers and candidates. To qualify, candidates must agree to limits on the other money they raise and spend. In the past, most candidates have refused public funding in their primary campaigns so that they would not have to limit their other fund-raising, which brought in the largest amount of money at that point in the campaign. In the 2008 general election, Barack Obama became the first major party candidate to refuse such funds.

Campaign Finance Laws

Critics of election campaigns have long charged that a campaign's dependence on money exposes democracy to corruption. They note that candidates must either be rich themselves or be indebted to interest groups and wealthy donors. These criticisms have lead to major reforms in campaign finance.

Early Campaign Finance Reform The first serious attempt to decrease the connection between "big money" and election politics took place in 1907, when Congress banned corporations and national banks from making campaign contributions. In the 1940s the ban was extended to include contributions from labor unions. These restrictions were strengthened in 1971 when Congress passed the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA). The FECA requires all candidates, PACs, and political parties to report contributions they receive that exceed a specified amount. The report must list the name, address, and occupation or business of each contributor.

FECA Amendments In 1974 Congress strengthened the FECA by

- setting limits on campaign contributions by individuals, political parties, and PACs
- creating the system of public funding for presidential elections
- creating the **Federal Election Commission** (FEC) to enforce the FECA and administer the public-funding program

Congress amended the FECA again in 1976 and 1979. The 1979 changes allowed parties to spend unlimited sums of money on activities that did not support specific candidates. Such activities are known as **party-building activities**. Examples of party-building activities include voter registration drives, party bumper stickers, and television ads supporting the party's principles.

Soft Money Partly because of the easing of restrictions on party-building activities, a new type of donation was created—soft money. As discussed in Chapter 9, since soft money is not given directly to specific candidates, it is not regulated by the FEC. As a result, there is no limit to the amount of soft money a donor may contribute.



Campaign Finance Laws Over the years, campaign finance laws have grown and changed to accommodate the changing ways of election campaigns.

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Go online to begin a Webquest on campaign finance laws and how they are administered and followed in today's election campaigns.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

regulate to keep under the control of

The History of Campaign Finance Laws

QUICK FACTS

YEAR	LAW	PROVISIONS
1907	Tillman Act	Forbade corporations and banks from contributing to election campaigns
1947	Taft-Hartley Act	Banned unions from making campaign contributions
1971	Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA)	Required political campaigns to report all individual contributions over a certain amount of money
1974	FECA Amendments	Set limits on campaign contributions; created system of public funding for presidential elections; created the Federal Election Commission (FEC)
1976	FECA Amendment	Eliminated limits on campaign contributions except for presidential candidates who accept public funding
1979	FECA Amendment	Allowed political parties to spend unlimited amounts of money on party-building activities
2002	Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA)	Banned soft-money contributions for political party ads and regulated how much interest groups could spend on issue ads

Some donors make soft-money contributions of hundreds of thousands of dollars. A great deal of this money comes directly from corporations, which federal law prohibits from contributing to candidates. Both major political parties use soft money to make issue ads. **Issue ads** are advertisements that support or oppose candidates' views without specifically calling for their election or defeat. In addition, paying for legitimate party-building activities with soft money frees up other funds to be used for direct support of candidates.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF LEADERSHIP

Some of the strongest leadership in American politics has appeared when Democrats and Republicans work together. The McCain-Feingold Campaign Reform Act (also known as the BCRA) is one such example.

Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act Between 1996 and 2002, the Democratic and Republican parties raised about $1.5 billion in soft money, much of which was spent on issue ads in election campaigns. In response to this massive use of soft money, Congress passed the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA) in 2002. The BCRA banned soft-money contributions to political parties for advertising. It also limited the ability of interest groups to air issue ads of their own. Opponents of these changes challenged the BCRA, but the Supreme Court upheld the law's major provisions.

READING CHECK **Making Generalizations** What is the largest source of money for most candidates' campaigns?

Interest Groups and Election Campaigns

In Chapter 9 you read about interest groups and their general role in politics and government. Their function in the election process is quite different, mainly because of the limits that federal election laws put on their direct involvement in campaigns. Political action committees arose out of interest groups' desire to avoid such limitations. However, as new laws and limits were put in place—such as the BCRA—new types of groups and new practices arose to take advantage of loopholes found in such laws.

Political Action Committees

Political action committees (PACs) are organizations that interest or other groups create to raise and donate money to candidates and political parties. The first PACs were formed by labor unions in the 1940s to get around the Taft-Hartley Act, which banned unions from making campaign contributions. Today, interest groups of every type have formed PACs. Not all interest groups have a PAC, but a large number do.

How PACs Function A PAC collects donations from members of an interest group or from others who support the PAC's cause. The PAC then distributes these funds to political parties, candidates, or other PACs that it supports. Donations to a national PAC are limited to $5,000 per donor per year. But many states place no limits on donations to, or contributions by, PACs organized in that particular state. Nor do many states limit the transfer of money from one PAC to another.

Leadership PACs In recent years, officeholders have formed **leadership PACs**, which are separate from the officeholder's campaign organization. Leadership PACs are groups that take advantage of a loophole in campaign finance law, which allows them to raise unlimited sums of money. Officeholders can then use their leadership PACs to donate to other candidates' campaigns.

Influence of PACs Supporters of PACs claim that they give interest groups and their members a greater voice in politics than they would have if PACs did not exist. Political observers agree but question whether PAC money gives special interests undue influence on candidates who become officeholders. A $5,000 contribution from a PAC may weigh much more heavily on an elected official than the small contributions of many individual voters. Many critics believe this situation gives interest groups too much power. But as long as campaigns remain costly, PACs—and the groups they represent—will play an important role in campaign financing.

REAL-WORLD EXAMPLE
CASE STUDY LINK

Leadership PACs More than half of the 535 members of the House and Senate had a leadership PAC in 2006. Tom DeLay's ARMPAC and TRMPAC are both examples of leadership PACs. The Freedom Project of Representative John Boehner (R, Ohio) gave more than $1 million to Republican candidates in 2006. Representative Steny Hoyer's (D, Maryland) AmeriPAC dispensed $916,000. In all, 19 leadership PACs—14 Republican and 5 Democrat—gave at least $500,000 during the 2006 campaign.

Applying Information Do you think that leadership PACs should be allowed to contribute to a candidate's campaign? Why or why not?

SECTION 2

Elections and 527 Groups

The limitations the BCRA put on soft money and issue ads have caused the growth of another type of group, known as the 527 group. A **527 group** is a tax-exempt organization created to influence an election. These organizations are named for a section of the U.S. tax code that allows certain kinds of groups to pay no taxes. A 527 group tries to influence voters' opinions about candidates or issues without directly calling for a candidate's election or defeat.

If a 527 group is connected to a political party or a PAC, it must obey campaign finance laws. But 527s that operate independently and do not make donations to a candidate or party are not bound by these restrictions. These groups can raise and spend unlimited sums of money without disclosing their income, spending, or contributors to the FEC.

Controversies over 527 Groups The existence of 527s came to the public's attention in the 2004 presidential election. Issue ads paid for by a group called the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth attacked Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry's claims of Vietnam War service. Another 527 group called MoveOn.org posted on its Web site an ad that compared President George W. Bush, the Republican candidate, to Adolf Hitler. Both ad campaigns aroused great controversy and, even though they were not explicitly endorsed by either candidate, accusations were made by both campaigns that their opponent supported the ads.

The Largest Independent 527 Groups in 2010

Group	Money Raised	Money Spent
American Solutions	$17,167,336	$19,014,888
Service Employees International Union	$ 6,365,000	$ 6,740,396
America Votes	$ 6,354,511	$ 8,425,395
Citizens United	$ 5,833,814	$ 5,661,074
College Republican National Committee	$ 4,539,445	$ 4,916,408

Source: *The Center for Responsive Politics*

Skills Focus Interpreting Charts

1. How much did America Votes spend?
2. Which independent 527 group raised more money than it spent in 2010?

Impact of 527 Groups During the 2004 presidential campaign, 527 groups spent millions of dollars on issue ads. Nearly all of these ads were direct attacks on candidates. Political observers blame 527 groups for increasing the already negative tone of many election campaigns. These critics also question the wisdom of allowing small groups of wealthy persons or companies to buy influence over voters with such large, unregulated contributions. Supporters of 527s respond that the groups promote freedom of speech. They claim that limiting contributions to 527 groups violates donors' right to express their views.

Campaign Reform and the Media

Among its other reforms, the BCRA tightened requirements on campaign advertising in the media. One of the major reforms that the BCRA brought to campaign advertising is known as the stand-by-your-ad disclaimer. This law requires that all media advertisements

include a visual or oral message that identifies who is paying for the ad. Furthermore, in the case of a television ad aired by a candidate's campaign, the ad must also contain a picture of the candidate and audio of the candidate saying something like "I'm [the candidate's name], and I approve of this message." This statement usually comes at the end of the ad.

Supporters of the BCRA media reforms hoped that the stand-by-your-ad disclaimer would lead to less negative advertising. They reasoned that campaigns would be less likely to air attacks on their opponents if the candidate had to appear in and openly approve the campaign advertisement. In some cases, this reasoning proved to be true and the attacks on a candidate's opponents decreased as the candidate was forced to stand behind everything that he or she said.

However, many voters found television advertising in the 2004 election campaign to be even more negative than ever before. One candidate even managed to turn her stand-by-your-ad disclaimer into an attack on her opponent. Representative Stephanie Herseth (D, South Dakota) closed one of her ads with the words, "I approved this message because I'm committed to a truthful campaign. It's clear that Larry Diedrich [her opponent] is not."

The Top Donors to 527 Groups in 2010

Contributor and Organization or Business	City, State	Contributions
Carly Fiorina, Carly Fiorina Enterprises	Sacramento, CA	$2,511,580
Trevor Rees-Jones, Chief Oil & Gas	Dallas, TX	$1,000,000
Parker J. Collier, Collier Enterprises	Naples, FL	$595,000
Fred Eychaner, Newsweb Corp.	Chicago, IL	$554,000
John Templeton Jr., John Templeton Foundation	Bryn Mawr, PA	$450,100

Source: *The Center for Responsive Politics*

Skills Focus **Interpreting Charts**

1. Who was the top donor to 527 groups in 2010?
2. Why do you think that the top donors are from states such as Texas, California, and Florida?

Reading Check **Identifying Supporting Details** Explain why many interest groups have PACs and the roles that these PACs play in election campaigns.

Section 2 Assessment

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Reviewing Ideas and Terms

1. **a. Identify** From what four sources do most candidates get the money they need to run for political office?
   b. Summarize What campaign finance requirements did the FECA and its amendments establish?
   c. Predict Under what circumstances do you think presidential candidates might refuse public funding in a general election?
2. **a. Define** What is a **leadership PAC**?
   b. Analyze What do you think are factors that influence an individual's political attitudes and actions in regard to donating to PACs or **527 groups**?
   c. Design What are some possible ways that the current method of campaign funding could be improved? Explain your answer.

Critical Thinking

3. **Elaborate** If you decided to run for office, would you accept PAC money to help pay for your campaign? Explain why or why not.

Case Study Link The questions you answered at the end of the Case Study are given below. Now that you have completed Section 2, think about and answer the questions again. Then compare your answers with your earlier responses.

4. Should Traficant have been expelled from the House? Explain.
5. Was it right for House members to pressure DeLay to resign? Explain your answer.
6. Should concealing the source of any campaign contribution be illegal? Explain.

SECTION 2

SIMULATION

Deciding to Back a Candidate

Who will CleanEarthPAC support for election to the Senate? 21st CENTURY

Student Casebook

Use your Student Casebook to complete the simulation.

Before donating money to a candidate's campaign, a political action committee (PAC) must evaluate whether the candidate supports the goals of the PAC's interest group. Follow the steps below to simulate the process a PAC uses to decide which candidate to give money to in an election campaign.

Roles

- Candidate Laura Fox
- Candidate Andrew Flores
- Candidate Kenneth Jones
- Candidate Shelly Jackson
- CleanEarthPAC director
- CleanEarthPAC finance chair
- ACE executive committee (board members who will make the final decision)
- ACE members

1 The Situation

CleanEarthPAC, the PAC of the environmental interest group Americans for a Cleaner Environment (ACE), must decide which candidates to support for the U.S. Senate. Thirty-three Senate seats are up for election this year. CleanEarthPAC will make contributions to campaigns in nearly all of these races. ACE has identified the elections in two states, California and Pennsylvania, as especially important to its interests.

Background

- ACE is a national organization that works to combat global warming. Its members believe that global warming is largely due to exhaust emissions from motor vehicles, air pollution from industrial activity, and the destruction of forests.
- ACE has about 10,000 members. The majority live in western states. Most are college educated and well-off financially. They are active voters and most often belong to at least one other environmental interest group.
- Democrat senator Laura Fox from California is running for reelection to her fifth term in the U.S. Senate. In her previous races, she has never earned less than 60 percent of the vote. Fox opposes government controls on auto and factory emissions. She was among the minority of senators who opposed renewal of the Clean Air Act.
- Republican Andrew Flores is opposing Fox. Flores is president of Earth Comes First, the nation's largest environmental interest group. He has never held a public office. This is his first election campaign. California has not elected a senator from his political party in almost 50 years.
- Democrat Kenneth Jones is the current three-term mayor of Philadelphia. This is his second run for the Senate. In his first attempt, he was defeated by the senator who is now retiring. Jones has received strong financial support from the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association in all his past campaigns.

- Republican Shelly Jackson is a former governor of Pennsylvania who was prevented by the state constitution from seeking a third term. As governor, she vetoed a bill passed by the state legislature requiring auto emissions testing in the state. Jackson is currently president of Pennsylvania College, where she supports the work of the school's famous climate study program.

2 The Task

ACE must officially endorse a candidate in each race. Its PAC must then decide how much money to raise for these two races.

- Each **candidate** will prepare a statement for CleanEarthPAC, explaining why he or she is deserving of the PACs financial support.
- **ACE members** will use the "Factors to Consider" data sheet and vote for the candidate the group should endorse in each race.
- The **ACE executive committee** will take the members' views into account as well as the "Factors to Consider" data sheet and endorse one candidate in each race. The executive committee will also assist the CleanEarthPAC director and finance chair in deciding how to distribute the PAC's contributions among the candidates.
- **CleanEarthPAC's director** and **finance chair**, with advice from the ACE executive committee, will decide what contribution to make to each candidate. The director will announce and explain the PAC's funding decisions to the ACE members.

3 Debriefing

After the CleanEarthPAC director has announced how much the organization will give to each candidate, discuss and evaluate the decision. Think about the factors a PAC needs to consider when making such decisions. Then write a paragraph about the importance of evaluating a candidate before deciding to give money to his or her campaign.

Factors to Consider

- How well does the candidate represent the values of ACE?
- How persuasive were the candidate's appeals for support?
- How strong is the candidate's record on environmental issues?
- What other endorsements does the candidate have?
- How likely is the candidate to carry out ACE's goals if elected?
- How likely is the candidate to win the election?
- Will it serve the group's interests for the PAC to back both candidates in a race?
- What campaign finance laws apply in this situation?

The major environmental interest groups have rated each candidate according to how well his or her record supports the group's goals and views. The highest possible rating is 100. An asterisk (*) next to a rating means that the group has endorsed the candidate.

CANDIDATE RATINGS

Group	Candidates			
	Fox	Flores	Jones	Jackson
Clean Air Coalition	5	100*	30*	20
Earth Comes First	20	100*	40*	40
Friends of the Forest	60	100*	40	50*
ACE	40	100	40	50
The Earth Society	40	100*	40	40*

SECTION 3

Election Day and the Voters

Reading Focus

Voting is one of the main responsibilities of U.S. citizenship. Being a part of the voting process and taking an active role in electing public officials helps give all Americans a voice in their government.

CASE STUDY **Election 2000** Learn about the events of the presidential election in 2000 and its controversial aftermath.

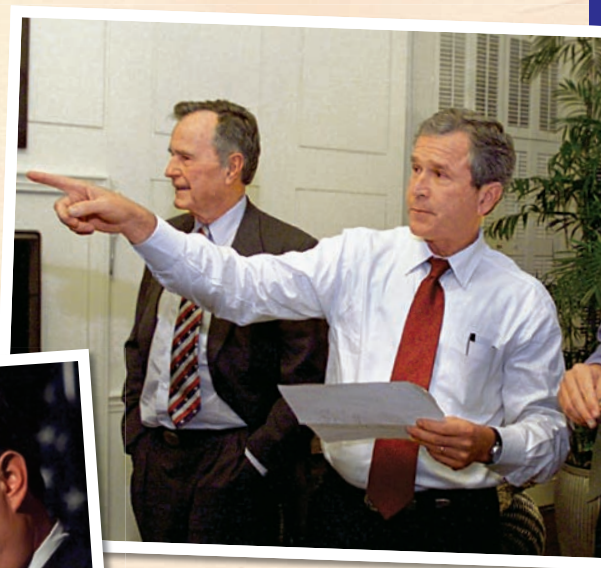
WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW Learn about the responsibilities of voters, the process of voting, and other events that affect outcomes on election day.

SIMULATION **Planning Election Day Strategies** Use your knowledge to plan and carry out election day strategies in a local election.

Student Casebook

Use your Student Casebook to take notes on the section and to complete the simulation.

George W. Bush (center) awaits results on election night.

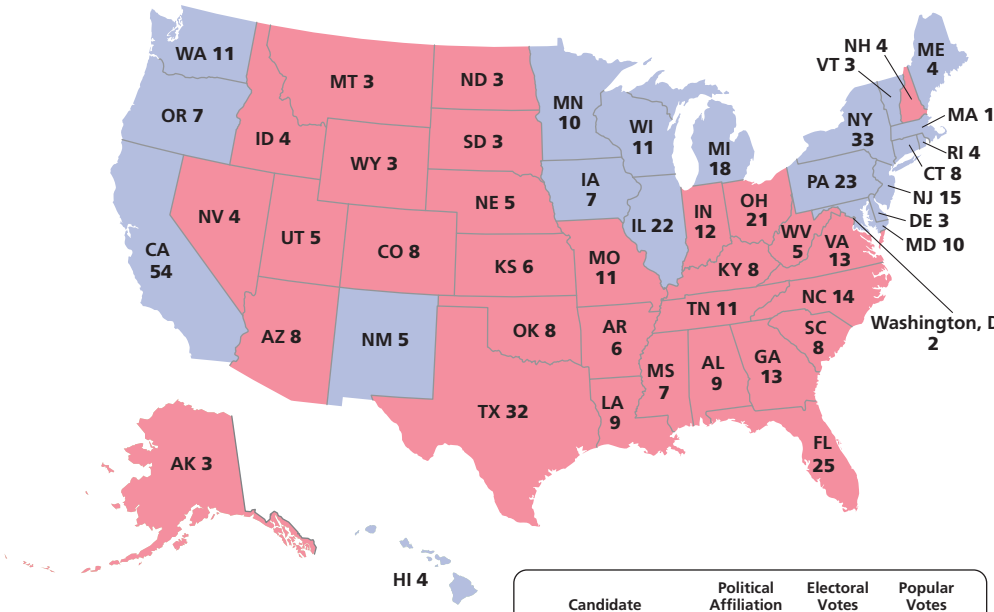




Al Gore speaks to the press the day after the election.

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2000 Election



Candidate	Political Affiliation	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
George W. Bush	Republican	271	50,459,211
Albert A. Gore	Democrat	266	51,003,894
TOTAL		537	105,323,464

CASE STUDY

Election 2000

On the night of the 2000 presidential election, Republican George W. Bush and Democrat Al Gore awaited the results of their long and hard-fought campaigns for president. Unfortunately, the results would not be final on election night. A close race and a ballot recount in Florida delayed the election outcome for more than a month.



A Historic Election Night

As election day 2000 approached, polls showed that the race between George W. Bush and Al Gore would be very close. These predictions turned out to be quite accurate. As results came in on election night, it became clear that the race would hinge on the outcome in Florida. Whoever won Florida's 25 electoral votes would become the next president.

By about 8:00 p.m. EST, based on analysis of the votes counted so far in Florida, the major news media announced that Gore would win the state. About two hours later, the media retracted that announcement and said that Florida was too close to call. Then, at about 2:00 a.m., they declared Bush the winner in Florida. That news was soon replaced by bulletins that the Florida result was uncertain again. In the end, it would be more than a month before the outcome in Florida—and the next president of the United States—was officially known.

The Recount Controversy

Florida officials immediately started using machines to recount the ballots, which was required by state law in the event that the initial outcome was close. The recount showed Bush the winner by about 1,500 votes out of about 6 million votes cast. Democrats objected to this recount, claiming that the machines had failed to count thousands of ballots. Many ballots required voters to make their choice by punching a hole in the ballot. But if the hole was not big or clean enough, the machine could not read it as a vote. This malfunction proved to be a major recount obstacle.

Democrats asked for a recount of the ballots by hand. They hoped that the uncounted ballots would provide enough votes to overcome Bush's lead. Republicans opposed a hand recount, mainly because they did not want the recount to show that Gore had won in more districts. Over the next few days, each party filed lawsuits to force or prevent recounts.

Bush v. *Gore*

On December 8, 2000, Gore won an important legal victory. The Florida Supreme Court ordered hand recounts in Florida to take place statewide. The Bush campaign appealed the ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court, which issued its ruling in *Bush* v. *Gore* on December 12, 2000. In a 5–4 decision, the Court ruled that the Florida Supreme Court's order was unconstitutional because it did not include standards for how the votes should be recounted. The justices also ruled that there was not enough time before the deadline for these controversies to be resolved according to Florida state law.

The next day, Gore publicly accepted his defeat. That evening President-elect Bush went on television to ask Americans to put the controversy behind them and to unite for the good of the nation.

What Do You Think?

1. Do you think the media was helpful or harmful to the 2000 election results? Explain.
2. Were there flaws with the Florida ballots? Explain.
3. Should there have been a recount in Florida? Why or why not?

SECTION 3

WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW

Political Participation

Key Terms
poll workers
poll watchers
redistricting

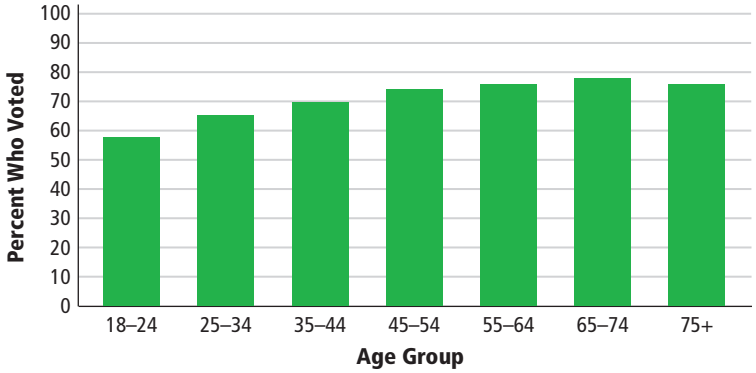
The United States is a democratic republic—a nation with a form of government in which political power belongs to the people. In order for a republic to function effectively, its citizens must participate in politics. There are many ways to participate in politics, such as being informed about important issues; volunteering, including volunteering in election campaigns; contributing money to candidates' campaigns; or seeking office oneself. However, the most basic and perhaps the most important form of political participation in a republic is voting.

Voting Rights and Responsibilities

Although most Americans older than 18 can register to vote, voter turnout rates in the United States today are lower than in any other democracy in the world. The right to vote is one that many Americans do not exercise and for much of the nation's history, voter turnout rates have been higher than they are today.

Until about 1830 most states granted the right to vote only to white men who owned property. By about the mid-1850s the property requirement was dropped by all states. In 1870, African American men gained the right to vote. Not until 1920 did all women receive the right to vote. For African American women—and men too—voting rights did not truly exist in many states until the 1960s because of discriminatory state laws. No American under age 21 could vote until 1971. With each extension of voting rights, the number and the diversity of people who were able to influence public policy decisions expanded.

VOTER TURNOUT IN 2008



Source: *U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey*

Skills Focus INTERPRETING GRAPHS

1. Which age group has the highest percentage of voters?
2. Why do you think that the percentage of people who vote, which steadily increases as people get older, eventually begins to decline?

Voting Rates The struggle to expand suffrage makes the right to vote very precious. Yet many people today still do not exercise it. In presidential-election years, an average of 45 percent of U.S. citizens who are eligible to vote do not do so. In non-presidential years, fewer than half of all eligible voters cast ballots. In some local elections, fewer than 20 percent of people vote.

Besides the type of election, a voter's age also influences his or her likelihood of voting. For example, fewer than 60 percent of all eligible

voters younger than 25 voted in the 2008 presidential election. On the other hand, nearly three-fourths of those age 65 and older went to the polls. In the 2006 midterm congressional elections, just 24 percent of eligible Americans younger than 30 cast a vote.

Impact of Voting Although the likelihood that one vote will determine the outcome of an election is slim, every vote is important. In the election of 2000, for example, the popular vote was very close and yet many people chose not to vote. If more votes were cast for Bush or if more votes were cast for Gore, making a final electoral decision in Florida might not have been so difficult.

Exercising the right to vote can have a great effect in local elections, where voter participation is generally the lowest. Local races often have the greatest direct influence on people's lives, and a number of local offices have been won or lost by a single vote.

Beyond the Right to Vote

Voting is the main means by which citizens participate in the political process. People who want to become more involved, however, can do so in a number of ways.

Working on Campaigns Some people give their time as well as their vote to support a candidate or issue. They do this by working on a campaign for a candidate or an issue. Unlike campaigning for a candidate, campaign organizations that form around issues on the ballot often involve two campaigns—one conducted by those who support an issue and the other by those who oppose it.

Every political campaign seeks and needs volunteers. Volunteer activities include working in the campaign office, making phone calls, going door to door to talk with voters or pass out literature, putting up yard signs, and helping supporters get out and vote on election day. It is a rare campaign that will be successful without the hard work of dedicated volunteers.

Working at the Polls Besides the voters, two other kinds of people are at the polls—poll workers and poll watchers. **Poll workers** are hired by local election officials to manage voting on election day. Each polling place has several poll workers. Their job is to verify voters' identification, compare voters' names to voter rolls, hand out ballots, and assist voters who need help voting. Although they may have to attend some advanced training, poll workers serve only on election day. They are paid for their service.

Poll watchers are mostly volunteers that a party or candidate sends to polling places to ensure that the election there is run fairly. In some states, poll watchers are allowed to check a polling place's list of registered voters to determine who has not yet voted. Other party workers can then contact those voters and urge them to vote.



Every Vote Counts! Voters often wonder if their vote really matters in the long run. In some cases, one vote can make a big difference. In 1994 Republican Randall Luthi and Independent Larry Call each received 1,941 votes in their race for a seat in the Wyoming state legislature. The election was decided by drawing a candidate's name from the governor's cowboy hat. Vermont state representative Sydney Nixon was elected by one vote in 1997. He had to resign, however, when a recount showed that he had actually lost by a single vote!

Applying Information What do you think would be a good solution to a tie vote in an election?

REAL-WORLD EXAMPLE
CASE STUDY LINK

Paths to the Presidency In the election of 2000, both candidates came from political backgrounds. Al Gore served in the House of Representatives from 1977 to 1985 and in the Senate from 1985 to 1993 before becoming vice president in 1993. George W. Bush served as governor of Texas from 1994 until he was elected president in 2000. Both men chose to become active participants in the political process by running for not only the presidency but other elected offices as well.

Applying Information How might previous legislative experience be beneficial to a presidential candidate?

Becoming a Candidate Some citizens choose to become even more involved in politics by running for office themselves. They assume leadership positions and hope to effect change through their office. Many leaders begin their career as a public official in a state or local government office and later run for higher offices, like senator or president.

READING CHECK **Contrasting** What is the difference between poll workers and poll watchers?

The Voting Process

While not all citizens choose to take advantage of the right to run for office, they should still vote. Exercising the right to vote is necessary to ensure that the person who is elected will truly be the choice of a large number of citizens. Candidates who win elections are then responsible to all people—supporters and nonsupporters alike—to carry out the pledges they made in their campaign.

Steps to Voting

The first step in voting is gathering information. Voters should be familiar with the major duties and responsibilities of each office being contested. They should also be aware of each candidate's experience, other background information, and the candidates' stands on the important issues. This knowledge will help voters choose the best candidate to fill each position.

Phases of Voting



Learn about the candidates and the issues. The Internet is one way to gain information about candidates and campaign issues.



Register to vote. In most states, you must register to vote a specific number of days before election day.

Registering to Vote Unlike those of most other democratic countries, the U.S. government does not accept the responsibility of registering citizens to vote. Americans have to take the initiative to register.

Voter qualifications and voter registration vary from state to state. In New Mexico, for example, in order to qualify to vote, a citizen must have lived in the state for a year, in the county for 90 days, and in the precinct that he or she wishes to vote in for 30 days prior to election day. In many states, citizens can register to vote at a public library, by mail, at drivers' license agencies, or at the polls on election day. People can also access voter registration information online.

When registering, citizens may be asked to declare a political party. This information is necessary in many states if the voter wants to cast a ballot in primary elections. This declaration is not required, and people who do not choose a party are listed as independents.

Casting a Ballot As with registration, the act of voting is regulated by the individual states. In some places, citizens vote by marking paper ballots. In others, they use mechanical voting machines. This method of voting, though, can make certifying elections—declaring the official vote tally—difficult, as it can lead to inexact results.



Responsibilities of Voting

One Person, One Vote

Every citizen in the United States should have an equal voice in government. Thus, every vote must have equal weight. However, if one member of a legislature represented 5,000 voters and another represented 500,000, equal weight would not be given. Therefore, the law requires that every district in a legislative body, other than the Senate, contain about the same number of people.



INTERPRETING CHARTS

Why is researching the candidates and the issues the first phase in the voting process?



Choose a political party affiliation. You can choose to be a member of the Republican or Democratic parties or be an independent.



Cast your vote. Voting machines vary from place to place. Some places use paper ballots, while others use electronic voting machines.

SECTION 3



The Texas Eleven In 2003 a group of 11 Democratic state senators left Texas for 46 days. They were trying to block a plan to change the districts of five Democratic legislators into districts that would have Republican majorities. With the "Texas Eleven" absent, the Republican-controlled state senate did not have enough members to conduct business. Eventually, one of the Texas Eleven was convinced to return, which allowed the controversial redistricting bill to pass. In 2006 the Supreme Court upheld the right of a legislature to redistrict between censuses.

Applying Information What is your opinion about the actions of the Texas Eleven? Were their actions justified?

Reapportionment Populations change over time. Certain cities, states, or regions might have a surge in population growth, while others have a decrease in population. The U.S. Constitution requires a census to be taken every 10 years to keep track of such changes. The Constitution also requires that the seats in the House of Representatives be reassigned among the states to reflect the census results. The redistribution of seats in a legislative body is known as reapportionment. In the 1964 *Reynolds* v. *Sims* case, the Supreme Court ruled that reapportionment also applies to state legislatures.

Redistricting Reapportionment requires redistricting. **Redistricting** is the process of drawing new boundaries for legislative districts. These boundaries must create districts that are relatively equal in population. For some voters, redistricting means that they will be represented by a different officeholder and that they will vote in a different legislative race in the next election.

The Voting Rights Act prohibits the drawing of districts that lessen the voting strength of minorities. Sometimes, though, state legislatures draw boundaries so the majority of voters in a district favor one political party over another. This practice is known as gerrymandering.

Campaigns on Election Day

For voters, the election is over once they have cast their ballots. For the candidates and their organizations, work continues until the polls are closed and the last vote is counted. In fact, election day is usually one of the busiest days of the entire campaign.

Election Day Activities Whether a race is local, state, or national, a campaign staff will know three things before election day arrives:

1. the places where the candidate has strong support
2. the places where support for the candidate's opponent is strong
3. the places where the voting could go either way

Election day activities differ in each type of place. In places where polling shows the race is close or a large number of voters are undecided, the campaign may make a final appeal for votes. The candidate may visit key polling places to ask voters for support. In many states, laws prohibit campaigning at the polls but the candidate is allowed to stand a few hundred feet away and greet voters. Volunteers may also pass out sample ballots with their candidate's name marked on them.

As you read earlier, less work will take place where the candidate's opponent is expected to win. Efforts here may be limited to trying to get the candidate's supporters to vote instead of staying

home. In presidential races, the organization may "write off" these states in order to concentrate its resources on swing states, where the state's electoral votes are still up for grabs.

Getting Out the Vote In places where the candidate's support is strong, the strategy will be to make sure that voters actually go to the polls. This effort is called getting out the vote, or GOTV for short. Most of a campaign's election day activities are usually devoted to GOTV. Historically and today, GOTV campaigns have been a way for citizens to maintain the continuity of a representative democracy by getting their fellow citizens to vote.

The telephone is the basic tool of GOTV. Calls playing a recorded message from the candidate may be made by computer from a database of phone numbers, or volunteers might make calls from the campaign office or a call center. Because of time and resource constraints, areas to be called are targeted beforehand. In the areas where the candidate has strong support, all voters from his or her party and all independents are called. Callers may even ask voters if they need a ride to the polls. In swing areas, usually only voters of the candidate's party will be contacted because campaigns do not want to risk encouraging voters who might support the opponent.

If poll watchers are allowed at the polls, they will report the number of voters to GOTV headquarters at intervals throughout the day. In areas with low turnout, resources may be redirected to make a second call to voters. Volunteers may even be sent door-to-door to ask people if they have voted or to take voters to the polls.

GOTV has become a very methodical operation. In many campaigns the GOTV coordinator is an expert hired specifically to plan GOTV strategy and to carry it out on election day.

READING CHECK **Identifying Supporting Details** What is the reason for reapportionment?

WEBQUEST

GOTV Get out the vote campaigns are just one of the many ways that people can get involved in election campaigns beyond simply casting a vote.

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Go online to begin a Webquest on GOTV campaigns and the different types of GOTV organizations that exist in the United States today.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

interval period of time between two events

Section 3 Assessment

hmhsocialstudies.com ONLINE QUIZ

Reviewing Ideas and Terms

1. **a. Identify** What age group has the lowest voting rate?
   b. Analyze Why do you think voting rates in the United States are so low?
   c. Rank Which form of political participation do you think is most important in a democratic republic? Explain your answer.
2. **a. Define** What is **redistricting**?
   b. Draw Conclusions Why do you think it is important for congressional districts in a given state to contain approximately the same number of people?
   c. Elaborate Why do you think a candidate's campaign might not conduct GOTV activities in all areas on election day?

Critical Thinking

3. **Analyze** Why are get out the vote campaigns important to the maintenance of a democratic republic?

CASE STUDY LINK The questions you answered at the end of the Case Study are given below. Now that you have completed Section 3, think about and answer the questions again. Then compare your answers with your earlier responses.

4. Do you think the media was helpful or harmful to the 2000 election results? Explain.
5. Were there flaws with the Florida ballots? Explain.
6. Should there have been a recount in Florida? Why or why not?

SECTION 3

SIMULATION

Planning Election Day Strategies

Who will be elected to the city council? 21st CENTURY

Student Casebook

Use your Student Casebook to complete the simulation.

Planning and carrying out election day activities require that a campaign team knows the voters, knows how and where it should concentrate campaign efforts, and is able to adapt to the day's events. In this simulation, two campaign teams will plan and carry out election day strategies to win a race for a seat on the city council.

Roles

- Two opposing candidates (Paul Green and Allison White)
- Campaign manager for each candidate
- Campaign workers for each candidate
- GOTV staff for each candidate
- GOTV coordinator for each candidate

1 The Situation

Paul Green and Allison White both seek the tenth ward's seat on the city council. Each candidate has support in certain neighborhoods. Polls show that the race is close but that a large number of voters are still undecided. The outcome will depend on which candidate's team does the best job of getting out the vote on election day.

Key Facts

- The city's tenth ward consists of seven precincts. Each precinct has its own polling place. (To review the meaning of the terms *ward* and *precinct*, see Chapter 9.)
- All polling places are open from 6:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.
- Both campaigns have a poll watcher at each polling place. At 9:00 a.m., 1:00 p.m., and 6:00 p.m., the poll watchers contact campaign headquarters to report how many people have voted.
- Each candidate has 30 volunteers to pass out campaign literature at the polls, call voters, or go door-to-door. A plan of action must be created for these volunteers.
- Each campaign office has 10 phones to use for calling voters.

2 The Task

Each candidate's campaign team must plan election day strategies to help its candidate win the election. Tasks include creating election day flyers that volunteers can pass out at the polls, writing scripts for volunteers to use when calling voters, and deciding how and where to use those volunteers on election day. At intervals during the simulation, your teacher will provide data on voter turnout at each polling place, as the poll watchers report in. Each campaign team will then have to decide whether to adjust its strategy based on these developments.

- Each **campaign manager** will supervise all election day planning and activities. The campaign manager and the candidate will decide at which polling places the candidate will appear and whether to change that plan as the day progresses. The campaign manager will also direct the campaign staff, approve the GOTV coordinator's plans, and fill out a GOTV chart.
- Each **candidate** will work with the campaign manager on the appearance schedule. The candidates will also write one or more scripts for a five-second greeting to use as they meet voters at each polling place.
- The **campaign workers** will create a flyer for volunteers to hand out at the polls and the phone script that the callers will use. Workers and the campaign manager will decide if different flyers or scripts are needed for the different types of precinct demographics. They will also decide if flyers or scripts should be changed throughout the day.
- The **GOTV coordinator** and **GOTV staff** will plan the campaign's election day GOTV activities, using the Precincts of the Tenth Ward Fact Sheet below. This task will include targeting specific activities—volunteers making phone calls, volunteers distributing flyers at polling places, volunteers going door-to-door—for specific precincts and the number of volunteers to assign to each. The GOTV coordinator and staff will also decide, with the campaign manager's approval, how to adjust the plan as voter turnout information comes in during the day.

3 Debriefing

When the simulation ends, each campaign team will record its completed GOTV chart on the board. As a class, discuss how each team allocated its resources throughout the day and why it did so. Then write a one-page report explaining which candidate likely won the election, based on each team's GOTV activities.

PRECINCTS OF THE TENTH WARD FACT SHEET

PRECINCT	REGISTERED VOTERS	POLL RESULTS	DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION
A	2,500	White: 60% Green: 15% Undecided: 15%	These are working class neighborhoods where most of the residents are employed at a large auto plant nearby. Work hours at the plant are 7:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., with an hour break for lunch between 11:00 a.m. and noon. About 80 percent of residents are registered voters.
B	2,300	White: 30% Green: 30% Undecided: 40%	
C	1,200	White: 20% Green: 20% Undecided: 60%	This is a poor neighborhood with high unemployment. Of residents who have jobs, most work part-time or work at night and sleep during the day. Less than half of the residents are registered to vote.
D	1,700	White: 20% Green: 50% Undecided: 30%	These are middle-class neighborhoods consisting largely of two-income families. Most of the residents commute to office jobs downtown. Their workday generally runs 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., with an hour off for lunch at noon. About two-thirds of residents are registered to vote.
E	1,800	White: 25% Green: 55% Undecided: 20%	
F	1,500	White: 25% Green: 25% Undecided: 50%	These are well-to-do neighborhoods. Large numbers of residents are older and retired. Of those still in the workforce, most are one-income families. Most of the working men own businesses, and most of the women are at home. Nearly all residents are registered voters.
G	1,500	White: 20% Green: 25% Undecided: 55%	

INTERACTIVE CHAPTER 12

Chapter Review

Connecting Online

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Go online for review and enrichment activities related to this chapter.



Quiz and Review

GOV 101
Examine key concepts in this chapter.

ONLINE QUIZZES
Take a practice quiz for each section in this chapter.

Activities

eActivities
Complete Webquests and Internet research activities.

INTERACTIVE FEATURES
Explore interactive versions of maps and charts.

KEEP IT CURRENT
Link to current events in U.S. government.

Partners

American Bar Association Division for Public Education
Learn more about the law, your rights and responsibilities.

Center for Civic Education
Promoting an enlightened and responsible citizenry committed to democratic principles and actively engaged in the practice of democracy.

Online Textbook

ONLINE SIMULATIONS
Learn about U.S. government through simulations you can complete online.

STUDENT CASEBOOK
Take notes electronically on Interactive Chapters.

Click for More Read more about key topics online at **hmhsocialstudies.com**

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

SECTION 1 *(pp. 354–363)*

1. **a. Review Key Terms** For each term, write a sentence that explains its significance or meaning: stump speech, negative campaigning, sound bite, demographic.

   b. Draw Conclusions How might negative campaigning affect voter attitudes about elections?

   c. Rank Which position on a campaign staff do you think is the most important? Which position do you think is least important? Explain the reasons for your ranking.

SECTION 2 *(pp. 366–375)*

2. **a. Review Key Terms** For each term, write a sentence that explains its significance or meaning: party-building activities, issue ads, leadership PACs, 527 group.

   b. Analyze What is the relationship between interest groups, PACs, and candidates in an election campaign? How might this relationship change over the course of the election campaign?

   c. Predict How might a PAC ensure that an interest group is influential no matter which candidate wins?

SECTION 3 *(pp. 378–385)*

3. **a. Review Key Terms** For each term, write a sentence that explains its significance or meaning: poll workers, poll watchers, redistricting.

   b. Explain In what ways does a GOTV campaign increase a candidate's chance of being elected? Do you think a candidate could win without the help of volunteers like those that take part in a GOTV campaign? Explain your answer.

   c. Predict How might low voting rates among young people affect the influence young people have on society?

FOCUS ON WRITING

21st CENTURY

Think about the following issue:

Laws limit the amount of money that individuals and PACs can contribute to the campaigns of persons running for elected office. Laws also limit contributions to political parties as well as the ability of some interest groups to air political ads during campaigns. Opponents of these limits have attacked them as restrictions on the freedom of speech that is guaranteed in the Bill of Rights.

4. **Assignment** Do you think that these limits are really a free speech issue? Are such limits on political activity appropriate in a democracy? Are any limits appropriate? Write a short essay in which you develop your position on this issue. Support your point of view with reasoning and examples from your reading and studies.