

# CHAPTER 7

## The Electoral Process

### Essential Question

How fair and effective is the electoral process?

**Section 1:**  
The Nominating Process

**Section 2:**  
Elections

**Section 3:**  
Money and Elections

“The future of this republic is in the hands of the American voter.”

—President Dwight D. Eisenhower

Photo: Governor Christine Gregoire (D., Washington) greets schoolchildren.



### GOVERNMENT ONLINE

#### On the Go

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- Political Dictionary
- Audio Review
- Downloadable Interactivities

## Lesson Goals

### SECTION 1

Students will . . .

- participate in a talk show simulation to build understanding about the nominating process and methods.
- evaluate the fairness of the nominating process by analyzing a Supreme Court ruling.

### SECTION 2

Students will . . .

- explore the variation in types of election procedures used nationwide in order to understand how election laws vary by State.
- examine issues raised in the 2000 Florida presidential voting to gain understanding of how voting procedures and equipment can affect elections.

### SECTION 3

Students will . . .

- consider the potentially corrupting effect of money in politics by analyzing a political cartoon.
- prepare for and carry out a debate on campaign finance reform.
- produce a political cartoon about campaign finance laws.

## Pressed for Time

Have students create an outline of the chapter using the main headings and subheadings, adding other useful information to the outline as appropriate.

Then have students create a flowchart that covers the electoral process—from nominating to elections. Annotations on the flowchart should explain the role of money in the process.

### DIFFERENTIATED INSTRUCTION KEY

Look for these symbols to help you adjust steps in each lesson to meet your students' needs.

**L1** Special Needs

**L2** Basic

**ELL** English Language Learners

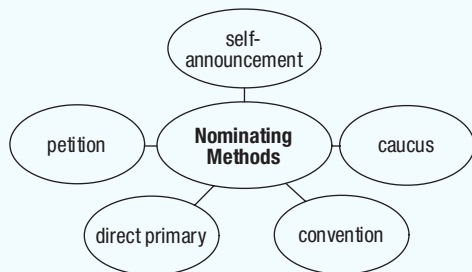
**LPR** Less Proficient Readers

**L3** All Students

**L4** Advanced Students

## GUIDING QUESTION

What methods are used to choose candidates for public office?



## Get Started

### LESSON GOALS

Students will . . .

- participate in a talk show simulation to build understanding about the nominating process and methods.
- evaluate the fairness of the nominating process by analyzing a Supreme Court ruling.

### BEFORE CLASS

Assign the section, the graphic organizer in the text, and the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 120) before class.

**L2 Differentiate** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 122)

## SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

### INNOVATE AND THINK CREATIVELY

Before students prepare their talk show presentations in this section, you may want to review the information in the Skills Handbook, p. S23, on innovating and thinking creatively.

## SECTION 1

# The Nominating Process



### Guiding Question

**What methods are used to choose candidates for public office?** Use the diagram to write down information about the various methods of nominating candidates to run for office.



### Political Dictionary

- nomination
- general election
- caucus
- direct primary
- closed primary
- open primary
- blanket primary
- runoff primary
- nonpartisan election

### Objectives

1. Explain why the nominating process is a critical first step in the election process.
2. Describe self-announcement, the caucus, and the convention as nominating methods.
3. Discuss the direct primary as the principal nominating method used in the United States today.
4. Understand why some candidates use the petition as a nominating device.

**Image Above:** Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party nominates a candidate for governor at a State convention.

Suppose your teacher stood in front of the class and said: "Here's a \$1,000 bill. Who'd like to have it?" You, and everyone else in the room, would promptly say, or at least think: "Me!" Suppose the teacher then said: "Okay, we'll hold an election. The person who wins the most votes gets the money."

What would happen? If the election were held immediately, it is likely that each member of the class would vote for himself or herself. A few might vote for a friend. Almost certainly, however, the election would end in a tie. No one would win the money.

But suppose the teacher said: "We'll hold the election tomorrow." What do you suppose would happen then? As you think about the answer to that question, you begin to get a sense of the practical importance of the nominating process—the first step in the process of electing candidates for public office.

## A Critical First Step

The nominating process is the process of candidate selection. **Nomination**—the naming of those who will seek office—is a critically important step in the election process.

You have already seen two major illustrations of the significance of the nominating process. In Chapter 5, you read about the making of nominations (1) as a prime function of political parties in American politics, and (2) as a leading reason for the decentralized character of the two major parties in the United States.

The nominating process also has a very real impact on the right to vote. In the typical election in this country, voters can choose between only two candidates for each office on the ballot. They can vote for the Republican or they can vote for the Democratic candidate.<sup>1</sup> This is another way of saying that we have a two-party system in the United States. It is also another way to say that the nominating stage is a critically important step in the electoral process. Those who make nominations place real, very practical limits on the choices that voters can make in the general election.

<sup>1</sup> Other choices are sometimes listed, of course—minor party or independent nominees. These are not often meaningful alternatives, however; most voters choose not to "waste" their votes on candidates who cannot win. Also, nonpartisan elections are an exception to this statement, of course, since candidates are not identified by party labels.

## Focus on the Basics

Here is the information that your students need to learn in this section.

**FACTS:** • Five major nominating methods are used in American politics: self-announcement, caucus, convention, direct primary, and petition. • The most widely used method today is the direct primary.

**CONCEPTS:** representative government, will of the people

**ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:** • The nominating process is vital to democratic government. • Corruption spurred changes in the American political process and led to the development of the modern nominating procedure. • The nominating process determines which candidates can appear on the ballot in local, State, and national elections.

In one-party constituencies (those areas where one party regularly wins elections), the nominating process is usually the only point at which there is any real contest for public office. Once the dominant party has made its nomination, the general election is little more than a formality.

Dictatorial regimes point up the importance of the nominating process. Many of them hold **general elections**—regularly scheduled elections at which voters make the final selection of officeholders—much as democracies do. But, typically, the ballots used in those elections list only one candidate for each office—the candidate of the ruling **clique**; and those candidates regularly win with majorities approaching 100 percent.

Nominations are made in five different ways in this country. Candidates are named to the ballot by (1) self-announcement, (2) caucus, (3) convention, (4) direct primary, and (5) petition.

## Self-Announcement

Self-announcement is the oldest form of the nominating process in American politics. First used in colonial times, it is still often found at the small-town and rural levels in many parts of the country.

The method is quite simple. A person who wants to run for office simply announces that fact. Modesty or local custom may dictate that someone else actually makes the candidate's announcement, but, still, the process amounts to the same thing.

Self-announcement is sometimes used by someone who failed to win a regular party nomination or by someone unhappy with the party's choice. Note that whenever a write-in candidate appears in an election, the self-announcement process has been used.

In recent history, four prominent presidential contenders have made use of the process: George Wallace, who declared himself to be the American Independent Party's nominee in 1968; and independent candidates Eugene McCarthy in 1976; John Anderson in 1980; and Ross Perot in 1992. And all of the 135 candidates who sought to replace Governor Gray Davis of California in that State's recall election in 2003—including the winner, Arnold Schwarzenegger—were self-starters.

## The Caucus

As a nominating device, a **caucus** is a group of like-minded people who meet to select the candidates they will support in an upcoming election. The first caucus nominations were made during the later colonial period, probably in Boston in the 1720s. John Adams described the caucus this way in 1763:

### PRIMARY SOURCE

**This day learned that the Caucus Club meets, at certain times, in the garret of Tom Dawes, the Adjutant of the Boston Regiment. He has a large house, and he has a moveable partition in his garret which he takes down, and the whole club meets in one room. There they smoke tobacco till you cannot see from one end of the garret to the other. There they drink flip, I suppose, and they choose a moderator, who puts questions to the vote regularly; and selectmen, assessors, collectors, wardens, fire-wards, and representatives, are regularly chosen before they are chosen in the town."**

—Charles Francis Adams (ed.)  
*The Works of John Adams (1856)*



**clique**  
*n.* an exclusive group



▶▶ **Analyzing Cartoons** Ross Perot, who ran for President in 1992, launched his campaign via self-announcement. **Why might self-announcement attract candidates with the personal wealth to finance their own campaigns?**

## BELLRINGER

Display Transparency 7A, Presidential Bandwagon, which is a political cartoon about the nominating process. Have students write a brief, one- or two-sentence description of the cartoon. Descriptions should explain the major message of the cartoon and how the elements of the cartoon achieve this message.

**L2 Differentiate** Tell students that *bandwagon* has two meanings. A bandwagon can be a vehicle on which musicians perform during a parade. It can also mean a popular movement, such as a political campaign.

## Teach

To present this topic using online resources, use the lesson presentation at **PearsonSuccessNet.com**.

### INTRODUCE THE TOPIC

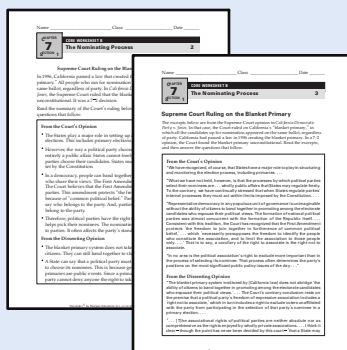
Tell students that they will be learning about the process by which the candidates who run for office are selected. Say that this process is called *nomination*, which comes from a Latin word meaning “name.” Ask: **Why do you think it is necessary to have a process for naming candidates for office?** (A nominating process may help prevent unqualified people from appearing on the ballot. Also, it pares down the number of candidates on the ballot to a reasonable number.) **How does the fact that we have a two-party system increase the importance of nomination?** (Voters generally face a choice of only two candidates, so it is important that those two candidates be of very high quality.)

Next, review student responses to the Bellringer. Invite volunteers to share their summaries. Review the major message of the cartoon. (It suggests that the nominating process is too crowded, with so many candidates that it is impossible to build excitement for any one candidate.) Review also the elements of the cartoon. (The crowded bandwagon represents the large number of candidates. The band represents excitement for a candidate.)

## Differentiated Resources

The following resources are located in the All-in-One, Unit 2, Chapter 7, Section 1:

- L2** Prereading and Vocabulary Worksheet (p. 117)
- L3** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 120)
- L2** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 122)
- L3** Core Worksheet A (p. 124)
- L3** Core Worksheet B (p. 125)
- L2** Core Worksheet B (p. 127)
- L3** Quiz A (p. 129)
- L2** Quiz B (p. 130)



## Answers

**Checkpoint** the naming of those who will seek office  
**Analyzing Cartoons** because such a candidate might not need the support of a major party

## DISTRIBUTE CORE WORKSHEET A

Distribute the Chapter 7 Core Worksheet A (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 124), which helps students build understanding of the nominating process by guiding them through a talk show segment on the process. Arrange students in groups of three to four. Tell students to use their textbooks and any other available resources, such as the Internet, to prepare for their presentation.

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Group L1 and L2 students with L3 and L4 students.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Class \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**CHAPTER 7** CORE WORKSHEET A  
**Section 1** The Nominating Process **3**

### Nominating Procedures Talk Show

Today you will stage a political talk show segment entitled “Nominating Candidates in the American Democracy.” The purpose of the segment is to share information about various ways in which candidates have been and currently are nominated for office, and to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of these methods.

**Task 1: Assign roles**  
Each member of your group will assume a different role in the talk show. Decide within your group who will serve in the following roles:  
**Moderator:** Guides discussion, asks questions.  
**Historian:** Addresses questions about past practices and issues.  
**Political Expert:** Has knowledge of current practices and issues.  
**Candidate:** Has the perspective of a candidate seeking the nomination of a major party for high office.

**Task 2: Conduct research**  
Each member of your group will research information related to his or her assigned role. Use your textbooks and any other available resource, such as the Internet. Groups should work together to ensure that all members have prepared for the presentation.

**Task 3: Present the Talk Show**  
Present your show, with the moderator guiding the discussion and other members of the group answering questions and contributing to the discussion from their area of expertise.

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Tell students to go to the Audio Tour to listen to a guided audio tour of the five methods of nomination.

## Answers

**Five Methods of Nomination** possible response: the direct primary, because all qualified voters may participate directly in selecting candidates by private ballot

## How Government Works

### Five Methods of Nomination

Candidates for federal, State, and local office have five ways to place their name on the ballot for the general election. The States and political parties have established procedures to limit access to the ballot and control who can represent a party before the voters. *Which method of nomination is the most democratic?*

#### PRIMARY

► Qualified voters cast ballots in private for their preferred candidate. The person who receives the most votes is nominated.

#### CAUCUS

► Party members and supporters debate the merits of the candidates and then vote to select a nominee.

#### CONVENTION

► Local communities select delegates to represent them at a higher-level meeting where the nominee is chosen.

#### SELF-ANNOUNCEMENT

► The candidate announces his or her intention to run for office, usually as an independent or a write-in candidate.

#### PETITION

► Candidates collect a specified number of signatures from voters to qualify for the general election.



**GOVERNMENT ONLINE**  
**Audio Tour**  
Listen to a guided audio tour of this table at [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com)

Originally the caucus was a private meeting of a few influential figures in the community.<sup>2</sup> As political parties began to appear in the late 1700s, they took over the device and soon broadened the membership of the caucus considerably.

The coming of independence brought the need to nominate candidates for State offices: governor, lieutenant governor, and others above the local level. The legislative caucus—a meeting of a party’s members in the State legislature—took on the job. At the national level, both the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans in Congress were, by 1800, choosing their presidential and vice-presidential candidates through the congressional caucus.

The legislative and congressional caucuses were quite practical in their day. Transportation and communication were difficult at best. Since legislators were already gathered regularly in a central place, it made sense for them to take on the nominating responsibility. The spread of democracy, especially in the newer States on the frontier, spurred opposition to the use of caucuses, however. They were widely condemned for their closed, unrepresentative character.

Criticism of the caucus reached its peak in the early 1820s. The supporters of three of the leading contenders for the presidency in 1824—Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and John Quincy Adams—boycotted the Democratic-Republicans’ congressional caucus that year. In fact, Jackson and his supporters made “King Caucus” a leading campaign issue. The other major contender, William H. Crawford of Georgia, became the caucus nominee at a meeting attended by fewer than one third of the Democratic-Republican Party’s members in Congress.

Crawford ran a poor third in the electoral college balloting in 1824, and the reign of

<sup>2</sup> The origin of the term *caucus* is not clear. Most authorities agree that it comes from the word *caulkers*, because the Boston Caucus Club met in a room formerly used as a meeting place by caulkers in the Boston shipyards. (Caulkers made ships watertight by filling seams or cracks in the hulls of sailing vessels with tar or oakum.) The term is also used to refer to a group whose members (often members of a legislative body) unite to promote some particular interest—for example, in Congress today, the Congressional Black Caucus.

## Background

**GETTING ON THE BALLOT** Achieving nomination by any method does not automatically or necessarily place a person’s name on the ballot for an election. In each State, laws determine the process a candidate must go through in order to get his or her name on the actual general election ballot. For example, different State laws may require the completion of petitions, the payment of a filing fee, or other such measures. For minor parties, the requirements can be especially difficult to meet. For example, minor party candidates need thousands more signatures than candidates of the major parties must provide.

King Caucus at the national level was ended. With its death in presidential politics, the caucus system soon withered at the State and local levels, as well.

The caucus is still used to make local nominations in some places, especially in New England. There, a caucus is open to all members of a party, and it only faintly resembles the original closed and private process.

## The Convention

As the caucus method collapsed, the convention system took its place. The first national convention to nominate a presidential candidate was held by a minor party, the Anti-Masons, in Baltimore in 1831. The newly formed National Republican (soon to become Whig) Party also held a convention later that same year. The Democrats picked up the practice in 1832. All major-party presidential nominees have been chosen by conventions ever since. By the 1840s, conventions had become the principal means for making nominations at every level in American politics.

On paper, the convention process seems perfectly suited to representative government. A party's members meet in a local caucus to pick candidates for local offices and, at the same time, to select delegates to represent them at a county convention.<sup>3</sup>

At the county convention, the delegates nominate candidates for county offices and select delegates to the next rung on the convention ladder, usually the State convention. There, the delegates from the county conventions pick the party's nominees for governor and other Statewide offices. State conventions also send delegates to the party's national convention, where the party selects its presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

In theory, the will of the party's rank and file membership is passed up through each of its representative levels. Practice soon pointed up the weaknesses of the theory, however, as party bosses found ways to manipulate the

process. By playing with the selection of delegates, usually at the local levels, they soon dominated the entire system.

As a result, the caliber of most conventions declined at all levels, especially during the late 1800s. How low some of them fell can be seen in this description of a Cook County (Chicago), Illinois, convention in 1896:

### PRIMARY SOURCE

Of [723] delegates, those who had been on trial for murder numbered 17; sentenced to the penitentiary for murder or manslaughter and served sentence, 7; served terms in the penitentiary for burglary, 36; served terms in the penitentiary for picking pockets, 2; served terms in the penitentiary for arson, 1; . . . jailbirds identified by detectives, 84; keepers of gambling houses, 7; keepers of houses of ill-fame, 2; convicted of mayhem, 3; ex-prize fighters, 11; poolroom proprietors, 2; saloon keepers, 265; . . . political employees, 148; no occupation, 71; . . .

—R.M. Easley

“The Sine qua Non of Caucus Reform”  
*Review of Reviews* (Sept. 1897)

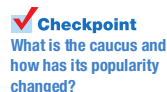
Many people had hailed the change from caucus to convention as a major change for the better in American politics. The abuses of the new device soon dashed their hopes. By the 1870s, the convention system was itself under attack as a major source of evil in the nation's politics. By the 1910s, the direct primary had replaced the convention in most States as the principal nominating method in American politics.

Conventions still play a major role in the nominating process in some States—notably, Connecticut, Michigan, South Dakota, Utah, and Virginia. And, as you will see, no adequate substitute for the device has yet been found at the presidential level.

## The Direct Primary

A **direct primary** is an *intraparty* election. It is held within a party to pick that party's candidates for the general election. Wisconsin

<sup>3</sup> The meetings at which delegates to local conventions are chosen are still often called caucuses. Earlier, they were also known as primaries—that is, first meetings. The use of that name gave rise to the term *direct primary*, to distinguish that newer nominating method from the convention process.



## INVITE AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION

As students present their talk shows, encourage them to raise questions for the talk show members. If the talk show panel is unable to answer a question, ask other members of the class to volunteer answers.

**Government**  
online

All print resources are available on the Teacher's Resource Library CD-ROM and online at [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com).

## Background

**NOMINATION AT A NATIONAL CONVENTION** At a national convention for one of the major parties, there will be several thousand delegates. Most of these may be pledged to cast their first vote for a specific candidate based on the results of State primaries, caucuses, and conventions. Some of the delegates—usually party officials—are unpledged, however. If a candidate captures a majority of the delegates before the convention, he or she can be certain of winning the nomination. If no candidate has secured a majority of delegates before the convention, however, the delegates themselves decide whom they will nominate. This decision can involve much negotiation and deal making.

## Answers

**Checkpoint** The caucus is a group of like-minded people who meet to select the candidates they will support in an upcoming election. After criticism of the caucus reached its peak in the 1820s, the method withered at the national, State, and local levels.

## FOCUS ON THE PRIMARY

Tell students that the primary has emerged as a leading method of nominating major candidates. Remind students that the use of primaries in the presidential selection process is somewhat different than that used for other offices. Ask: **How are primaries different from other nominating processes?** (*Primaries are generally open to all of the electorate and not as subject to the control of party officials.*) **How does this fact affect the fairness and effectiveness of elections at nominating qualified candidates?** (*It may make them longer and more contentious, which may not necessarily improve the quality of candidates eventually nominated. But it does make them more participatory, which may make them at least appear more fair.*)

Volunteers wave signs for candidates Rep. Ron Paul (R., Texas) and Gov. Mike Huckabee (R., Arkansas) during the 2008 Republican presidential primaries.



adopted the first Statewide direct primary law in 1903; several other States soon followed its lead. Every State now makes at least some provision for its use.

In most States, State law requires that the major parties use the primary to choose their candidates for the United States Senate and House of Representatives, for the governorship and all other Statewide offices, and for most local offices as well. In a few States, however, different combinations of convention and primary are used to pick candidates for the top offices.

In Michigan, for example, the major parties choose their candidates for the U.S. Senate and House, the governorship, and the State legislature in primaries. Nominees for lieutenant governor, secretary of state, and attorney general are picked by conventions.<sup>4</sup>

Although the primaries are party-nominating elections, they are closely regulated by law in most States. The State usually sets the dates on which primaries are held, and it regularly conducts them, too. The State, not the parties, provides polling places and election officials, registration lists and ballots, and otherwise polices the process.

<sup>4</sup> In most States, minor parties are required to make their nominations by other, more difficult processes, usually in conventions or by petition. This is another of the several ways in which State election laws often, purposely, make life difficult for minor parties.

Caucuses are also found in the presidential selection process. They are used to select national convention delegates in a handful of States, as you will see in Chapter 13.

Two basic forms of the direct primary are in use today: (1) the closed primary and (2) the open primary. The major difference between the two lies in the answer to this question: Who can vote in a party's primary—only those qualified voters who are party members, or any qualified voter?

**The Closed Primary** Today, 24 States provide for the **closed primary**—a party's nominating election in which only declared party members can vote. The party's primary is closed to all but those party members.<sup>5</sup>

In most of the closed primary States, party membership is established by registration. When voters appear at their polling places on primary election day, their names are checked against the poll books and each voter is handed the primary ballot of the party in which he or she is registered. The voter can mark only that party's ballot; he or she can vote only in that party's primary.

In some of the closed primary States, however, a voter can change his or her party registration on election day. In those States, then, the primary is not as completely "closed" as it is elsewhere.

**The Open Primary** The **open primary**—also known as the crossover primary—is a party's nominating election in which any qualified voter can cast a ballot. Although it is the form in which the direct primary first appeared, it is now found in only 26 States.

When voters go to the polls in some open primary States, they are handed a ballot of each party holding a primary. Usually, they receive only two ballots, those of the Republican and

<sup>5</sup> The Supreme Court has held that a State's closed primary law cannot forbid a party to allow independent voters to participate in its primary if the party itself chooses to allow them to do so. In *Tashjan v. Republican Party of Connecticut*, 1986, the Court struck down such a State law. Note that the Court did not outlaw the closed primary in this case, nor did it hold that a political party must allow independents to vote in its primary. The Court found that the Connecticut law violated the 1st and 14th Amendments' guarantees of the right of association—here the right of Connecticut Republicans to associate with independents (invite independents to join them) in making GOP nominations.

## Background

**"WHITE PRIMARIES"** Primary elections are held within political parties—which are technically private organizations. During the Jim Crow era, this fact was exploited as one of the techniques by which whites in some southern States denied African Americans a meaningful role in electoral politics. With the so-called "white primary," African American and other minority voters in some states were barred from taking part in Democratic primary elections. Since the Democratic Party dominated politics in these States, keeping voters out of the primary effectively deprived them of any say in the election of public officials. The use of the white primary was outlawed by the Supreme Court ruling in *Smith v. Allwright* in 1944.

## Answers

**Checkpoint** At a convention, delegates nominate candidates for offices at higher levels.

the Democratic parties. Then, in the privacy of the voting booth, each voter marks the ballot of the party in whose primary he or she chooses to vote. In other open primary States, a voter must ask for the ballot of the party in whose primary he or she wants to vote. That is, each voter must make a *public* choice of party in order to vote in the primary.

Through 2000, three States used a different version of the open primary—the **blanket primary**, sometimes called the “wide-open primary.” Washington adopted the first blanket primary law in 1935. Alaska followed suit in 1970, and California did so in 1996. In a blanket primary, every voter received the same ballot—a long one that listed *every* candidate, regardless of party, for every nomination to be made at the primary. Voters could participate however they chose. They could confine themselves to one party’s primary; or they could switch back and forth between the parties’ primaries, voting to nominate a Democrat for one office, a Republican for another, and so on down the ballot.

The Supreme Court found California’s version of the blanket primary unconstitutional in 2000, however. In *California Democratic Party v. Jones*, the High Court held that that process violated the 1st and 14th amendments’ guarantees of the right of association. It ruled that a State cannot force a political party to associate with outsiders—that is, with members of other parties or with independents—when it picks its candidates for public office.

The Court’s decision in *Jones* made the blanket primary a thing of the past. Two of the three States that used the device—Alaska and California—now provide for more traditional versions of the open primary. Washington, on the other hand, has gone a different route.

Washington now provides for the “top-two” form of the open primary. There, the names of all those who seek nomination are listed, by office, on a single primary ballot. Then the top two vote getters for each office, regardless of party, face one another in the general election. Thus, two Republicans, or two Democrats, may battle one another in November.

Louisiana uses yet another version of the open primary, under what is sometimes called its “open-election law.” There, as in Washington, all candidates for nomination

## Nominating a President

The five methods described in this section apply to most federal and State officeholders but they may take very different forms in presidential campaigns. *How does a national convention differ from a State convention?*

### MAJOR PARTIES

Modern national conventions formally nominate a candidate, but his or her victory has been determined by wins in State primaries and caucuses held months earlier.

2008 Democratic National Convention ▶



### OTHER CANDIDATES

Independent and minor party candidates must submit signatures to win a place on the general election ballot in many States.

Libertarian candidate  
Bob Barr ◀

are listed on a single ballot, and the top two vote getters, regardless of party, face off in the general election. But if a candidate wins a majority of the votes in the primary, he or she is declared the winner of the office involved—so, the primary becomes, in effect, the election.<sup>6</sup>

**Closed vs. Open Primaries** The merits of the two basic forms of the direct primary have been argued for decades. Those who support the closed primary rely on three major arguments. They regularly claim that:

<sup>6</sup> Louisiana’s “open-election” primary law applies to its State and local elections, which are held in November of the *odd*-numbered years. Since 1872, federal law has directed that congressional elections be held in November of the *even*-numbered years, and Louisiana abides by that law. It holds traditional closed primaries in the *even*-numbered years to choose candidates for seats in the U.S. House and Senate.

## DISTRIBUTE CORE WORKSHEET B

Distribute the Chapter 7 Section 1 Core Worksheet B (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 125), which asks students to read excerpts from a Supreme Court ruling on California’s blanket primary. Before they begin reading, ask students to recall what they have read about the different types of primaries. Then ask: **What aspect of open and closed primaries was the blanket primary designed to overcome?** (*The open and closed primaries both limit voters’ choices to candidates from one or the other major party. In a blanket primary, every candidate—regardless of party—is on the ballot.*) Next, have students read the excerpts and answer the questions.

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Distribute the adapted version of Chapter 7 Section 1 Core Worksheet B (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 127) which includes summarized excerpts.

**L4 Differentiate** Have students look up and read the full opinions online.

## REVIEW ANSWERS

Review the answers to questions 1 and 2. Students should recognize that the Court’s main argument is that the 1st Amendment says parties are free to limit participation to anyone they want. The dissent argued that while parties are private groups, primary elections are public events, which gives the Court the right to regulate them. Then review student answers to question 3. Encourage students to share differing views of the question.

## Background

**THE EVOLUTION OF THE PRIMARY** The primary system emerged from the Progressive Era of the late 1800s and early 1900s. It was an attempt to give voters a greater say in the political process. Other Progressive Era reforms of the time were the initiative and referendum, by which voters have a direct say on the passage of specific laws; the recall, by which voters can remove an elected official from office before the end of his or her term; and the popular election of United States senators.

## Answers

**Nominating a President** In a State convention, delegates for the national convention are chosen. Nomination actually takes place at the national convention.

## EXTEND THE LESSON

**L3 Differentiate** Have students write a newspaper editorial in which they make an argument in favor of one method of nomination as the preferred method for the whole nation. The editorial should clearly identify their preferred method and explain why it is superior to the other methods at producing fair elections between quality candidates.

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Have students identify the method of nomination that they feel is the most fair and effective. Have them write or speak a brief statement explaining their choice.

**Checkpoint**  
What is the difference between an open primary and a closed primary?

1. The closed primary prevents one party from “raiding” the other’s primary in the hope of nominating weaker candidates in the opposition party.
2. It helps to make candidates more responsive to the party, its platform, and its members.
3. It helps make voters more thoughtful, because they must choose between the parties in order to vote in the primaries.

Those who criticize the closed primary usually contend that:

1. It compromises the secrecy of the ballot, because it forces voters to make their party preferences known in order to participate, and
2. It tends to exclude independent voters from the nominating process.<sup>7</sup>

The advocates of the open primary believe that that nominating arrangement addresses both of those objections to the closed primary. They say that in the typical open primary (1) voters are not forced to make their party preferences a matter of public record, and (2) independent voters are not excluded from the nominating process.

**The Runoff Primary** In most States, candidates need to win only a plurality of the votes cast in the primary to win their party’s nomination.<sup>8</sup> (Remember, a *plurality* is the greatest number of votes won by any candidate, whether a *majority* or not.) In 8 States, however, an absolute majority is needed to carry a primary.<sup>9</sup> If no one wins a majority in a race, a **runoff primary** is held a few weeks later. In that runoff contest, the two top vote getters in the first primary face one another to determine the party’s nomination,

<sup>7</sup> See the discussion of *Tashjan v. Republican Party of Connecticut*, 1986, in footnote 5. The closed primary States have amended their election laws to comply with that decision.

<sup>8</sup> In Iowa, if no candidate wins at least 35 percent of the votes in a primary, the party must then nominate its candidate for that office by convention.

<sup>9</sup> Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas—and Louisiana under its unique “open election” law. In North Carolina a runoff is held when no candidate wins 40 percent of the primary vote. In South Dakota, if no one who seeks a party’s nomination for governor, U.S. senator, or U.S. representative wins at least 35 percent, the party’s candidate for that office must be picked in a runoff primary two weeks later.

and the winner of that vote becomes the party’s nominee.

**The Nonpartisan Primary** In most States all or nearly all of the elected school and municipal offices are filled in **nonpartisan elections**. These are elections in which candidates are not identified by party labels. About half of all State judges are chosen on nonpartisan ballots, as well. The nomination of candidates for these offices takes place on a nonpartisan basis, too, and most often in nonpartisan primaries.

Typically, a contender who wins a clear majority in a nonpartisan primary then runs unopposed in the general election, subject only to write-in opposition. In many States, however, a candidate who wins a majority in the primary is declared elected at that point. If there is no majority winner, the names of the two top contenders are placed on the general election ballot.

The primary first appeared as a partisan nominating device. Many have long argued that it is not well suited for use in nonpartisan elections. Instead, they favor the petition method, as you will see in a moment.

**The Presidential Primary** The presidential primary developed as an offshoot of the direct primary. It is *not* a nominating device, however. Rather, the presidential primary is an election that is held as one part of the process by which presidential candidates are chosen.

The presidential primary is a very complex process that was in place in a large majority of States in the most recent presidential election. It is one or both of two things, depending on the State involved. It is a process in which a party’s voters elect some or all of a State party organization’s delegates to that party’s national convention; and/or it is a preference election in which voters can choose (vote their preference) among various contenders for the grand prize, the party’s presidential nomination.

Much of what happens in presidential politics in the early months of every fourth year centers on this very complicated process. (See Chapter 13 for an extended discussion of the presidential primary.)

## Debate

“The privilege of membership in a party may be . . . no concern of a state. But when . . . that privilege is also the essential qualification for voting in a primary to select nominees for a general election, the state makes the action of the party the action of the state . . .”

—Supreme Court decision in *Smith v. Allwright*

Use this quotation to start a debate in your classroom.

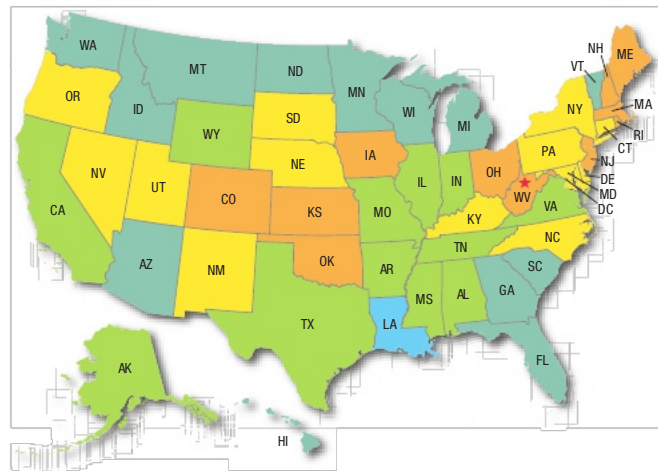
## Answers

**Checkpoint** In an open primary, any qualified voter can cast a ballot. In a closed primary, only declared party members can vote.



## Forms of Primaries in State Elections, 2008

▶ **Analyzing Maps** The direct primary, whatever its form, intends to put the nominating function in the hands of a party's rank-and-file membership. *What form of the primary is used in your State?*



**KEY**

- **Closed Primary**  
*Unaffiliated Voters Excluded*  
Primaries are limited to voters registered with that party. Unaffiliated voters cannot vote in primaries.
- **Closed Primary**  
*Unaffiliated Voters Permitted*  
Primaries are limited to voters registered with that party and unaffiliated voters, who may vote in any party's primary.
- **Open Primary**  
*Private Choice*  
Voters may vote in any party's primary. Their choice of party remains private.
- **Open Primary**  
*Public Declaration*  
Voters may vote in any party's primary. Election officials record which party's ballot they choose.
- **Open Election**  
*Public Declaration*  
All candidates appear on a single ballot open to all voters. If no candidate receives 50 percent, the top two vote getters proceed to a run-off.
- ★ **Unaffiliated voters permitted to vote in Republican race only**

### Evaluation of the Primary

The direct primary, whether open or closed, is an *intraparty* nominating election. It came to American politics as a reform of the boss-dominated convention system. It was intended to take the nominating function away from the party organization and put it in the hands of the party's rank-and-file membership.

The basic facts about the primary have never been very well understood by most voters, however. So, in closed primary States, many voters resent having to declare their party preference in order to vote in the primary. And, in both open and closed primary States, many are upset because they cannot express their support for candidates in more than one party. Many are also annoyed by the "bed-sheet ballots" they regularly see in primary elections—not realizing that the use of the direct primary almost automatically

means a long ballot. And some are concerned because the primary (and, in particular, its closed form) tends to exclude independents from the nominating process.

All of these factors, combined with a lack of appreciation of the important role that primaries play in the election process, result in this unfortunate and significant fact: Nearly everywhere, voter turnout in primary elections is usually less than half what it is in the general elections in November.

Primary contests can be quite costly. The fact that successful contenders must then wage—and finance—a general election campaign adds to the money problems that **bedevil** American politics. Unfortunately, the financial facts of political life in the United States mean that some well-qualified people refuse to seek public office simply because they cannot muster the funding absolutely necessary to finance a campaign.

**bedevil**  
v. irritate, bother

Tell students to go to the Audio Tour to listen to a guided audio tour of the map showing forms of primaries in State elections in 2008.

## Assess and Remediate

**L3** Collect the Core Worksheet and assess students' class participation using the Rubric for Assessing the Performance of an Entire Group (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 256).

**L3** Assign the Section 1 Assessment questions.

**L3** Section Quiz A (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 129)

**L2** Section Quiz B (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 130)

Have students complete the review activities in the digital lesson presentation and continue their work in the **Essential Questions Journal**.

## Background

**LOW VOTER TURNOUT IN PRIMARIES** One concern about low primary election turnout is that the results will not reflect the full range of public opinion. The concern is that a small but active and organized wing of a party or some special interest could be able to have a strong influence in a low-turnout primary election. In the primaries leading up to the 2008 presidential election, turnout was often around 20 to 30 percent. Turnout for caucuses was generally in the single digits. Presidential primaries and caucuses generally enjoy higher turnout than those for lower offices.

## Answers

**Analyzing Maps** Answers will vary, depending on the students' State.

## REMIEDIATION

If Your Students Have Trouble With	Strategies For Remediation
The importance of the nomination process (Question 2)	Have students work in pairs to write and administer a quiz about the text section “A Critical First Step.”
The different methods of nomination (Questions 1, 3, 4)	Review with students the diagram about ways to nominate a candidate that appears in this section.
The different types of primaries (Questions 4, 5)	Have students create their own diagram that illustrates the differences between a closed and open primary.
Criticisms of the primary (Questions 6, 7)	Have student pairs prepare for and engage in a debate on this question: “Primaries should be replaced as a method of nomination in the United States.”

## Answers

**Checkpoint** Benefits of primaries include putting the nominating function in the hands of the party’s rank-and-file membership and giving party members the opportunity to participate at the core of the political process. Drawbacks include the possibility of having to declare party preferences in order to vote in the primary; long ballots; costly primaries; possible divisiveness in parties; and advantages for well-known contenders.

## Assessment Answers

1. Methods of nominating candidates are self-announcement, caucus, convention, direct primary, and petition.
2. Nomination is the process for choosing candidates to run for office.
3. self-announcement, caucus, convention, and petition
4. Closed primaries are limited to members of a particular party, and open primaries are open to any qualified voter.
5. Presidential primaries are not a nominating step in and of themselves, as are primaries at

the State and local level. Presidential primaries are merely one step in a larger process, which culminates in a nominating convention.

**6.** The caucus and convention systems were criticized because they helped give rise to party machines with powerful party bosses that dominated the nominating process, leading to elections that did not reflect the will of the people. The direct primary system was instituted to take the nominating function away from the party organization and put it in the hands of the people.

**7.** Possible answer: Many voters don’t understand the primary system or recognize its importance. In closed primaries, voters may resent having to declare their party preference. In closed and open primary States, many voters may get upset because they cannot vote for candidates of more than one party. Long ballots irritate some voters, and primaries tend to exclude independents.

**QUICK WRITE** Students should choose an election about which they have plenty of information.

**✓ Checkpoint**  
What are the benefits and drawbacks of primaries?

The nominating process, whatever its form, can have a very divisive effect on a party. Remember, the process takes place *within* the party—so, when there is a contest for a nomination, that is where the contest occurs: Republicans fight with Republicans, Democrats do battle with Democrats. A bitter fight in the primaries can so wound and divide a party that it cannot recover in time to present a united front for the general election. Many a primary fight has cost a party an election.

Finally, because many voters are not very well informed, the primary places a premium on name familiarity. That is, it often gives an edge to a contender who has a well-known name or a name that sounds like that of some well-known person. But, notice, name familiarity in and of itself usually has little or nothing to do with a candidate’s qualifications for public office.

Obviously, the primary is not without its problems, nor is any other nominating device. Still, the primary does give a party’s members the opportunity to participate at the very core of the political process.

**10** The petition device is also an important part of the recall and the initiative and referendum processes; see Chapter 24.

## Petition

One other nominating method is used fairly widely at the local level in American politics today—nomination by petition. Where this process is used, candidates for public office are nominated by means of petitions signed by a certain number of qualified voters in the election district.<sup>10</sup>

Nomination by petition is found most widely at the local level, chiefly for non-partisan school posts and municipal offices in medium-sized and smaller communities and, increasingly, for judgeships. It is also the process usually required by State law for nominating minor party and independent candidates in many of the States. (Remember, the States often purposely make the process of getting on the ballot difficult for those candidates.)

The details of the petition process vary widely from State to State, and even from one city or county to the next. Usually, however, the higher the office and/or the larger the constituency represented by the office, the greater the number of signatures needed for nomination by petition.

## SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

### Essential Questions Journal

To continue to build a response to the chapter Essential Question, go to your Essential Questions Journal.

- 1. Guiding Question** Use your completed diagram to answer this question: What methods are used to choose candidates for public office?

### Key Terms and Comprehension

2. What is the purpose of **nomination** in the electoral system?
3. In addition to primaries, what nominating methods are used in the United States?
4. What is the difference between a **closed primary** and an **open primary**?

5. How does the presidential primary differ from those primaries used in State and local nominations?

### Critical Thinking

6. **Express Problems Clearly** Summarize the relationship between the will of the people and the power of party organizations. How has this relationship changed the way that parties nominate candidates?
7. **Draw Inferences** What do you think explains the usually low level of turnout in primary elections in most States?

### Quick Write

**Explanatory Essay: Choose a Topic** Using the Internet, other media sources, and your textbook, find an example of a recent election that took place at the national level or in your State or local community. Write a brief summary of the election—who the candidates were and when the race took place.

## SECTION 2

# Elections



### Guiding Question

**How are elections conducted in the United States?** Use the chart to record information about how elections are administered and conducted.

Elections		
Administration	Ballots	Voting Procedures
•	•	•
•	•	•
•	•	•

### Political Dictionary

- ballot
- absentee voting
- coattail effect
- precinct
- polling place

### Objectives

1. Analyze how the administration of elections in the United States helps make democracy work.
2. Define the role of local precincts and polling places in the election process.
3. Describe the various ways in which voters can cast their ballots.
4. Outline the role that voting devices play in the election process.

Most high school students are not old enough to vote. In some parts of the country, though, high school students can serve on local election boards. First in Hawaii and Oregon and now in several States, 16- and 17-year-olds can become full-fledged members of the panels that administer local elections.

We hold more elections in this country and we vote more often than most people realize. Indeed, Sundays and holidays are about the only days of the year on which people do not go to the polls somewhere in the United States. We also elect *far* more officeholders than most people realize—in fact, more than 500,000 of them, more than in any other country in the world.

### The Administration of Elections

Democratic government cannot possibly hope to succeed unless its elections are free, honest, and accurately reported. Many people see the details of the election process as much too complicated, too legalistic, too dry and boring to worry about. Those who do really miss the vital part those details play in making democracy work. *How* something can be done very often shapes *what* is in fact done—and that fact is as true in politics as it is in all other areas of human concern.

**Extent of Federal Control** Nearly all elections in the United States are held to choose the more than 500,000 persons who hold elective office in the more than 89,000 units of government at the State and local levels. It is quite understandable, then, that most election law in the United States is *State*—not federal—law.

Even so, a body of federal election law does exist. The Constitution gives Congress the power to fix “[t]he Times, Places, and Manner of holding Elections” of members of Congress.<sup>11</sup> Congress also has the power to set the time for choosing presidential electors, to set the date for casting the electoral votes, and to regulate other aspects of the presidential election process.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Article I, Section 4, Clause 1; 17th Amendment  
<sup>12</sup> Article II, Section 1, Clause 4; 12th Amendment

**Image Above:** Volunteers wave signs outside of a polling place.

### GUIDING QUESTION

How are elections conducted in the United States?

Elections		
Administration	Ballots	Voting Procedures
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• most election law is State law</li> <li>• Congress sets time, place and manner of congressional and presidential elections</li> <li>• congressional elections—first Tuesday following first Monday in November of every even-numbered year</li> <li>• presidential election—same date every fourth year</li> <li>• Help America Vote Act—upgrade voting machines and training of election officials; computerize registration; allow provisional voting</li> <li>• most elections for State offices on same date as national elections</li> <li>• absentee voting</li> <li>• early voting</li> <li>• precinct—voting district</li> <li>• polling place—place votes cast</li> <li>• precinct election board supervises</li> <li>• poll watchers—one per party at each polling place</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• instrument on which voter registers choice</li> <li>• forms include paper, optical scanner, touch screens</li> <li>• secret ballots</li> <li>• based on Australian ballot—printed at public expense, all candidates listed, given only at polls, marked in secret</li> <li>• office-group ballot—candidates for an office grouped together; order of names rotated</li> <li>• party-column ballot—candidates listed in column under party name</li> <li>• sample ballots help voters prepare</li> <li>• bed-sheet ballot—lengthy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• voting machine, often electronic</li> <li>• optical scanning—voters fill in and scanners read and record</li> <li>• direct response electronic voting—voters touch screen or push buttons and votes recorded electronically</li> <li>• vote by mail</li> <li>• online voting</li> </ul>

## SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

### DRAW INFERENCES AND CONCLUSIONS

In this section’s Core Worksheet, students are asked to analyze information about balloting problems in the 2000 presidential election. Before they complete this activity, they may review information in the Skills Handbook, p. S19, about drawing inferences and conclusions.

## Focus on the Basics

**FACTS:** • Elections are regulated mostly by State law, though federal laws apply to federal elections. • Most voting takes place at precincts across the country, though some occurs by mail, by absentee ballot, or by early voting procedures. • All States now use the Australian ballot, usually with the office-group format, though sometimes with a party-column format. • Electronic voting and vote counting are common now.

**CONCEPTS:** representative government, political participation, civic duty

**ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:** • Voting gives Americans the chance to participate in the democratic process. • Voting procedures have been refined over the years to reduce fraud and corruption and to increase fairness and accuracy of results.

# Get Started

## LESSON GOALS

Students will . . .

- explore the variation in types of election procedures used nationwide in order to understand how election laws vary by State.
- examine issues raised in the 2000 Florida presidential voting to gain understanding of how voting procedures and equipment can affect elections.

## BEFORE CLASS

Assign the section, the graphic organizer in the text, and the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 131) before class.

**L2 Differentiate** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 133)

## BELLRINGER

Display Transparency 7B, How America Votes. Ask students to examine the transparency and answer the questions in their notebook.

# Teach

To present this topic using online resources, use the lesson presentation at **PearsonSuccessNet.com**.

## DISCUSS BELLRINGER

Have students share their reactions to the Bellringer questions: **What do these graphs suggest about the way Americans vote nationally?** (Overall, most voters cast their ballots at the polls.) **What does the transparency suggest about election laws?** (Possible response: The transparency suggests that election laws and voting methods vary from State to State.) Continue the discussion by asking: **Do you think different voting procedures might affect the outcome of elections?** (Different procedures may affect who does and does not take part in elections, which could affect outcome. For example, distributing ballots to all voters by mail could increase voter participation.) **Do you think the voting procedures in use matter in producing fair and effective elections?** (The procedure used may affect the fairness of elections by altering turnout or making it relatively harder or easier for certain groups to take part, or by affecting the way votes are counted.)

Tell students to go to the Audio Tour to listen to a guided audio tour of the diagram “What Happens to a Ballot?”

# Answers

**Checkpoint** Most election law in the U.S. is State law; however, a body of federal law does exist.

**What Happens to a Ballot?** to ensure an accurate, uncorrupted voting process

Congress has set the date for holding congressional elections as the first Tuesday following the first Monday in November of every even-numbered year. It has set the same date every fourth year for the presidential election.<sup>13</sup> Thus, an off-year round of congressional contests was scheduled for November 2, 2010, followed by a presidential election on November 6, 2012.

Congress has required the use of secret ballots and allowed the use of voting machines and similar devices in federal elections. It has also acted to protect the right to vote, as you saw in Chapter 6. Congress has also prohibited various corrupt practices and regulates the financing of campaigns for federal office, as you will see in the pages ahead.

Congress expanded the body of federal election law with the passage of the Help America Vote Act of 2002. That law came in response to the many ballot and voter registration problems that plagued several States

**13** Congress has made an exception for Alaska. Because of the possibility of severe weather in much of Alaska in early November, that State may, if it chooses, elect its congressional delegation and cast its presidential vote in October. To this point, however, Alaska has chosen to use the November date.

in the presidential election in 2000. A **ballot** is the medium by which a voter registers a choice in an election.<sup>14</sup>

In its major provisions, the law requires the States to

1. replace all their lever-operated and punch-card voting devices by 2006—a deadline that, in fact, most States failed to meet;
2. upgrade their administration of elections, especially through the better training of local election officials and of those more than 2 million (mostly low-paid workers and volunteers) who work in precinct polling places on election day;
3. centralize and computerize their voter registration systems, to facilitate the identification of qualified voters on election day and so minimize fraudulent voting;
4. provide for provisional voting, so a person whose eligibility to vote has been challenged

**14** The word comes from the Italian *ballotta*, “little ball,” and reflects the practice of dropping black or white balls into a box to indicate a choice. The term *blackball* also comes from that practice. The ancient Romans used paper ballots as early as 139 B.C.

**GOVERNMENT ONLINE**  
Audio tour  
Listen to a guided audio tour of this diagram at **PearsonSuccessNet.com**

### How Government Works

## What Happens to a Ballot?

Local governments offer voters different ways to cast their votes, in both paper formats and electronically, and on election day or earlier. *Why is it important for local officials to guard and track ballots after they are cast?*

- Paper Ballot**  
Collected at polling place and taken to counting facility
- Absentee Ballot**  
Mailed to the counting facility  
OR  
Brought to the polling place and combined with other ballots
- Electronic Ballot**  
Data transported manually on disks or drives  
OR  
Votes transmitted electronically to counting facility

### Counting Facility

Ballots are counted in a central location and stored in case a recount is required.

# Differentiated Resources

The following resources are located in the All-in-One, Unit 2, Chapter 7, Section 2:

- L3** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 131)
- L2** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 133)
- L3** Core Worksheet (p. 135)
- L2** Core Worksheet (p. 136)
- L3** **L4** Extend Worksheet (p. 138)
- L3** Quiz A (p. 140)
- L2** Quiz B (p. 141)

can nonetheless cast a ballot that will be counted if it is later found that he or she is, in fact, qualified to vote.

State law deals with all other matters relating to national elections—and with all of the details of State and local elections as well.

**Election Day** Most States hold their elections to fill State offices on the same date Congress has set for national elections: in November of every even-numbered year. The “Tuesday-after-the-first-Monday” formula prevents election day from falling on (1) Sundays (to maintain the principle of separation of church and state) and (2) the first day of the month, which is often payday and therefore peculiarly subject to campaign pressures.

Some States do fix other dates for some offices, however. Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, and Virginia elect the governor, other executive officers, and State legislators in November of *odd*-numbered years. In Kentucky, the governor and other executive officers are chosen in odd-numbered years, but legislators are elected in even-numbered years. City, county, and other local election dates vary from State to State. When those elections are not held in November, they generally take place in the spring.

**Early Voting** Millions of Americans cast their ballots before election day. Indeed, some 32 million did so in 2008. Many of them did so by **absentee voting**—a process by which they could vote without going to their polling places on election day. Congress was responsible for the first instance of absentee voting. In the midst of the Civil War, it provided for the casting of absentee ballots by federal troops in the elections of 1864. Over the years, every State has made at least some provision for the process.

Now, almost everywhere, voters can apply for an absentee ballot some weeks before an election. They mark those ballots and return them to the local election office, usually by mail, in a sealed envelope, and before election day.

State absentee voting was originally intended to serve a relatively small group of voters, especially the ill or disabled and those who expected to be away from home on election day. Most States have broadened their

laws over recent years, however—to the point where, in most of them, any qualified voter can cast an absentee ballot simply because he or she wants to vote that way.

Two thirds of the States have now formalized early voting. They allow any voters who choose to do so to cast their ballots at any time over a period of several days before an election—not as an absentee ballot but as though they were voting on election day itself. Indeed, in many places, election day is now just the final day on which votes can be cast.

**The Coattail Effect** The **coattail effect** occurs when a strong candidate running for an office at the top of the ballot helps attract voters to other candidates on the party’s ticket. In effect, the lesser-known office seeker “rides the coattails” of the more prestigious personality—for example, a Franklin Roosevelt, a Ronald Reagan, or a Bill Clinton. The coattail effect is usually most apparent in presidential elections. However, a popular candidate for senator or governor can have the same kind of pulling power in State and local elections.

A reverse coattail effect can occur, too. This happens when a candidate for some major office is less than popular with many voters—for example, Barry Goldwater as the Republican presidential nominee in 1964, and George McGovern for the Democrats in 1972. President Jimmy Carter’s coattails were also of the reverse variety in 1980.

Some have long argued that all State and local elections should be held on dates other than those set for federal elections. This, they say, would help voters pay more attention to State and local candidates and issues and lessen the coattail effect a presidential candidate can have.

## Precincts and Polling Places

A **precinct** is a voting district. Precincts are the smallest geographic units for the conduct of elections. State law regularly restricts their size, generally to an area with no more than 500 to 1,000 or so qualified voters. A **polling place**—the place where the voters who live in a precinct actually vote—is located somewhere in or near each precinct.



## DISTRIBUTE CORE WORKSHEET

Distribute the Chapter 7 Section 2 Core Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 135), which asks students to analyze information about the problems with the balloting in Florida during the 2000 presidential election. Instruct students to read the material and follow the instructions for writing a memorandum about the election. Tell students to think as they read about the qualities of a fair and effective election. Give students ample time to complete the activity.

**L2 Differentiate** Distribute the adapted version of the Chapter 7 Section 2 Core Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 136), which offers more structure for writing.

**L4 Differentiate** Have students perform additional research and write a follow-up to their memoranda, explaining how the issues raised during the Florida vote were resolved.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Class \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER 7 SECTION 2	CORE WORKSHEET Elections	3
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**Case Study: 2000 Presidential Election in Florida**

Read the information below. Then, on a separate sheet of paper, draft a memorandum in which you highlight the major lessons learned from the 2000 election in Florida. Your memo should summarize the overall problem, identify concerns about the election, and propose specific suggestions for how to address them in the future.

**Key Facts**

- Balloting in the presidential election on November 7, 2000, is very close. The outcome of the election comes down to the results in Florida. Whichever candidate wins Florida will win the presidency.
- In Florida, the original vote tally—counted by machine—is separated by under 2,000 votes out of 6 million cast. Republican George W. Bush leads Democrat Al Gore.
- Florida law requires a recount. All ballots are again read by machine. The new total shows Bush leading by 327 votes.
- Many thousands of ballots are rejected by the machines as unreadable—for example, because voters or voting equipment failed to make the clear, clean holes in the ballot that are necessary for machines to read the ballot.
- Questions are raised about the design of the ballot used in some polling places. Some voters complain that the “butterfly ballot” is confusing and hard to understand, and some polling stations using the butterfly ballot design show unusually high results for minor party candidates.
- On November 9, candidate Gore asks for a recount by hand—but only in some counties. Disputes emerge over how or whether to read ballots that are rejected by the machines.
- There are several thousand absentee and overseas ballots. Many are counted even though they fail to meet certain technical legal requirements. By November 18, Bush’s lead has grown to nearly 1,000 votes.
- Ongoing hand-counting ballots in selected counties eventually narrows Bush’s lead to 537 votes, though there is much debate over how to count ballots where voters or voting equipment only partially marked the ballot.
- Many voters complain of wrongly being turned away from the polls. A subsequent United States government report confirms that some voters had their voting rights denied. For example, the rates of uncounted ballots were much higher in some communities, suggesting problems with the voting system.
- Recounting officially ends with a Supreme Court ruling on December 12, 2000. George W. Bush wins Florida and with it the presidency.

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## Myths and Misperceptions

**PUBLIC VOTING** While the secret ballot is a cherished tradition in American elections, there are still circumstances in which citizens are asked to vote publicly. For example, at New England town meetings, it is common for votes to be cast by voice, by standing, and/or by a show of hands. In general, citizens can request a written ballot for specific questions, but the town meeting must vote to approve this request.

## Answers

**Checkpoint** Early voting is the process by which any voters who choose to do so may cast their ballots at any time over a period of several days before an election.



## CONNECTING TO THE ESSENTIAL QUESTION

Ask: **How did the Florida voting measure up to the standard of a fair and effective election?** (Both fairness and effectiveness are in question, since there were many questions about the casting and counting of ballots, and the election there was so close and so significant. The problems in Florida might also prompt citizens to look with suspicion on voting and counting methods elsewhere in the country.)

## DISCUSS

Invite students to share their memoranda with the class. On the board, keep a running list of the various issues identified as well as specific solutions proposed. (Possible issues: Machine recount did not match original machine count. The machines could not read thousands of ballots. The ballot design was confusing to some. Many absentee and overseas ballots were counted despite failing to meet legal requirements. There was disagreement about how to count the ballots rejected by the counting machines. The Supreme Court stopped the recount. Possible solutions: Have representatives of both parties test and certify voting machines before each election. Do away with punch-card voting. Use focus groups to test different ballot designs.) With students, rank the issues from most important to address to least important. Ask: **Why is it important to address concerns about the fairness of elections?** (It is vital to maintain public belief in the integrity of the election in order for the public to accept its results.) **How would addressing some of the issues on the list and implementing some of the solutions increase fairness?**

Mechanical voting machines like the one below were outlawed by Congress in 2002.



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A precinct election board supervises the polling place and the voting process in each precinct. Typically, the county clerk or county board of elections draws precinct lines, fixes the location of each polling place, and picks the members of the precinct boards.

The precinct board opens and closes the polls at the times set by State law. In most States, the polls are open from 7:00 or 8:00 A.M. to 7:00 or 8:00 P.M. The precinct election board must also see that the ballots and the ballot boxes or voting devices are available. It must make certain that only qualified voters cast ballots in the precinct. Often the board also counts the votes cast in the precinct and then sends the results to the proper place, usually to the county clerk or county board of elections.

Poll watchers, one from each party, are allowed at each polling place. They may challenge any person they believe is not qualified to vote, check to be sure that their own party's supporters do vote, and monitor the whole process, including the counting of the ballots.

## Casting the Ballot

A ballot can take a number of different forms, ranging from a piece of paper to optical scanners and touch screens. Whatever its form, however, it is clearly an important and sensitive part of the election process.

Each State now provides for a secret ballot. That is, State law requires that ballots be cast in such manner that others cannot know how a person has voted.

Voting was a quite public process through much of the nation's earlier history, however. Paper ballots were used in some colonial elections, but voting was more commonly *viva voce*—by voice. Voters simply stated their choices, in public, to an election board. With suffrage limited to the privileged few, many people defended oral voting as the only “manly” way in which to participate. Whatever the merits of that view, the expansion of the electorate brought with it a marked increase in intimidation, vote buying, and other corruptions of the voting process.

Paper ballots were in general use by the mid-1800s. The first ones were unofficial—slips of paper that voters prepared themselves and dropped in the ballot box. Soon candidates and parties began to prepare ballots and hand them to voters to cast, sometimes paying them to do so. Those party ballots were often printed on distinctively colored paper, and anyone watching could tell for whom voters were voting.

Political machines—local party organizations capable of mobilizing or “manufacturing” large numbers of votes on behalf of candidates for political office—flourished in many places in the latter 1800s. They fought all attempts to make voting a more dependably fair and honest process. The political corruption of the post-Civil War years brought widespread demand for ballot reforms.

**The Australian Ballot** A new voting arrangement was devised in Australia, where it was first used in an election in Victoria in 1856. Its successes there led to its use in other countries. By 1900 nearly all of the States were using it, and it remains the basic form of the ballot in this country today.

The Australian Ballot has four essential features: It (1) is printed at public expense; (2) lists the names of all candidates in an election; (3) is given out only at the polls, one to each qualified voter; and (4) can be marked in secret.

Two basic forms of the Australian ballot, shown on p. 197, have been used in this country over the past century. Most States now use the office-group ballot; only a handful of them rely on the party-column ballot.

**Sample Ballots** Sample ballots, clearly marked as such, are available in most States before an election. In some States they are mailed to all voters, and they appear in most newspapers and on the Internet. They cannot be cast, but they can help voters prepare for an election.

First in Oregon (1907), and now in several States, an official voter's pamphlet is mailed to voters before every election. It lists all candidates and measures that will appear on the ballot. In Oregon, each candidate is allowed space to present his

## Background

**THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT** The move to the use of the Australian ballot was part of a larger reform effort led in part by a group known as the Mugwumps. The Mugwumps—which is a Native American term for “big chief” or “person of honor”—came into being in the presidential election of 1884. They were Republicans who rejected their party's selection of the allegedly corrupt James G. Blaine. Instead, the Mugwumps chose to support the reputedly honest and reforming Grover Cleveland, who narrowly won the election. The term was originally used sarcastically to make fun of the moralistic Blaine opponents.

## Answers

**Checkpoint** a voting district that is the smallest geographic unit for the conduct of elections

## Ballot Types

The office-group ballot (top) is the most common form in use in the United States today. *How does a party-column ballot encourage voters to vote along party lines?*

### OFFICE-GROUP BALLOT

All candidates for an office are grouped together under the title of that office. It is sometimes called the “office block” ballot because the names appear as a block. Names may be listed in random order to avoid giving any candidate an unfair advantage.

Favored by many scholars because voters consider each choice, office by office.

OFFICIAL BALLOT	
FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (VOTE FOR ONE ONLY)	
(Republican Party)	
John S. McCain, III / Sarah Palin .....	( )
(Democratic Party)	
Barack Obama / Joseph Biden .....	( )
(Libertarian Party)	
Bob Barr / Wayne Root .....	( )
(Green Party)	
Cynthia McKinney / Rosa Clemente .....	( )
FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR (VOTE FOR ONE ONLY)	
(Republican Party)	
Brett Locker .....	( )
(Democratic Party)	
Paula Robinson .....	( )
(Green Party)	
Phoebe J. Bowne .....	( )

### PARTY-COLUMN BALLOTS

Also known as the Indiana ballot, from its early use in that State, the party-column ballot lists all candidates under their party’s name. The party-column ballot is used much less often than the office-group ballot.

	OFFICIAL BALLOT			
OFFICE TITLE	A LIBERTARIAN	B DEMOCRAT	C REPUBLICAN	D GREEN
President and Vice President of the United States <i>Vote for One</i>	Bob BARR Wayne ROOT	Barack OBAMA Joseph BIDEN	John S. McCain III Sarah PALIN	Cynthia McKinney Rosa CLEMENTE
United States Senator <i>Vote for One</i>		Paula ROBINSON	Brett LOCKER	Phoebe J. BOWNE

Favored by politicians because it encourages straight-ticket voting and the coattail effect.

or her qualifications and position on the issues. Supporters and opponents of ballot measures are allowed space to present their arguments as well.

**Bed-sheet Ballots** The ballot in a typical American election is lengthy, often and aptly called a “bed-sheet” ballot. It frequently lists so many offices, candidates, and ballot measures that even the most well-informed voters have a difficult time marking it intelligently.

The long ballot came to American politics in the era of Jacksonian Democracy in the 1830s. Many held the view at the time that the greater the number of elective offices, the more democratic the governmental system. That idea remains widely accepted today.

Generally, the longest ballots are found at the local level, especially among the nation’s 3,000-odd counties. The list of elected offices is likely to include several commissioners, a clerk, a sheriff, one or more judges, a prosecutor, coroner, treasurer, assessor, surveyor, school superintendent, engineer, sanitarian, and even the proverbial dogcatcher.

Critics of the bed-sheet ballot reject the notion that the more people you elect, the more democratic the system. Instead, they say, the fewer the offices voters have to fill, the better they can know the candidates and their qualifications. Those critics often point to the factor of “ballot fatigue”—that is, to the drop-off in voting that can run as high as 20 to 30 percent at or near the bottom of the typical (lengthy) ballot.

There seems little, if any, good reason to elect such local officials as clerks, coroners, surveyors, and engineers. Their jobs do not carry basic policy-making responsibilities. Rather, they carry out policies made by others. Many believe that to shorten the ballot and promote good government, the rule should be: Elect those who make public policies; appoint those whose basic job it is to administer those policies.

## Automated Voting

Well over half the votes now cast in national elections are cast on some type of voting machine—and, increasingly, on some type of electronic voting device.

## EXTEND THE LESSON

**L2 Differentiate** Have students create a timeline of major developments in the history of elections and balloting in the United States. The timeline should highlight and explain the significance of new methods or technologies.

**L4 Differentiate** Have students research noteworthy presidential election controversies in United States history and add them to their timelines.

**L3 L4 Differentiate** You may choose to distribute the Chapter 7 Section 2 Extend Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 138), which asks students to evaluate information about absentee votes rejected in a recent national election.

**L3 Differentiate** Have small groups of students make a voting handbook for new citizens. The handbook should describe what happens at polling stations on election day and the types of ballots and voting machines they may encounter. Handbooks should be organized and easy to follow.

**L3 Differentiate** Ask students to skim the section and note the different methods the text describes for voting. Divide the class into small groups, and tell them to suppose Congress has charged them with the task of increasing voter turnout. They must evaluate the current voting methods, brainstorm ideas for new ones, and then make recommendations to Congress.

Tell students to go to the Audio Tour to listen to a guided audio tour of the diagram “Ballot Types.”

## Background

**BILINGUAL VOTING** The 1975 amendments to the Voting Rights Act introduced the requirement that States use bilingual ballots and election materials in places where there are 10,000 members of a single-language minority group, or a number greater than 5 percent of all voting-age citizens. This requirement has stirred some controversy and was the basis of some resistance to the 2006 vote to reauthorize and amend the Voting Rights Act.

## Answers

**Ballot Types** A party-column ballot makes it easier to identify candidates by party, which may encourage straight-ticket voting.

## Assess and Remediate

**L3** Collect the Core Worksheet and assess students' class participation using the Rubric for Assessing a Writing Assignment (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 257).

**L3** Assign the Section 2 Assessment questions.

**L3** Section Quiz A (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 140)

**L2** Section Quiz B (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 141)

Have students complete the review activities in the digital lesson presentation and continue their work in the **Essential Questions Journal**.



▲ Memory cards record votes cast on electronic voting machines.

Thomas Edison patented the first voting machine—the first mechanical device for the casting and counting of votes—in 1868, and the Myers Automatic Booth was first used in a public election in Lockport, New York, in 1892. The use of similar but much-improved devices soon spread to polling places across the country.

For the better part of a century, most voting machines were lever-operated, and quite cumbersome. Voters had to pull various levers in order to cast their ballots—one lever to open (unlock) the machine, others to indicate their choices of candidates, and yet another to close (lock) the machine and record their votes.

Those lever-operated machines did speed up the voting process; and they reduced both fraud and counting errors. The machines were quite expensive, however, and they also posed major storage and transport problems from one election to the next.

**Electronic Vote Counting** Electronic data processing (EDP) techniques were first applied to the voting process in the 1960s. California and Oregon led the way and EDP is now a vital part of that process in most States.

For some years, the most widely used adaptations of EDP involved punch-card ballots, counted by computers. But punch-card ballots often produced problems—most frequently because voters failed to make clean punches. Their incomplete perforations left “hanging chads” that made the cards difficult or impossible for computers to read.

Punch-card ballots played a major role in the disputed presidential election vote count in Florida in 2000; and that fiasco led to the passage of the Help America Vote Act of 2002. As we noted on page 194, that law required the elimination of all punch-card voting devices (and all lever-operated voting machines, as well).

Most States have turned to two other EDP-based voting systems. One of them involves the same optical-scanning technology used to grade the standardized tests students take in school. Voters mark their ballots by filling in circles, ovals, or rectangles or by completing arrows. A computer scans the marked ballots, counting and recording the votes cast.

The other system utilizes direct response electronic voting machines (DREs). Those machines are much like ATMs or cash machines. Voters make their choices on most models by touching a screen or, on some, by pushing buttons. Their votes are recorded electronically.

DREs have proved troublesome in many places. Some models have malfunctioned and some do not provide a paper record of voters' choices. Many computer scientists insist that DREs can be easily compromised by hackers. Several States abandoned them for 2008. They turned, instead, to optical-scanning systems or went back to hand-counted paper ballots.

**Vote-by-Mail Elections** A number of States now conduct at least some of their elections by mail. Voters receive a ballot in the mail, mark them, and mail the ballots back to election officials. The first such election was held in Monterey County, California, in 1977; and the first large-scale use of mail-in ballots took place in San Diego in 1981.

## Debate

“Part of me thinks inconvenience in voting isn’t such a bad thing. People ought to sacrifice a little for our republic. But another part of me says we should move into the 21st century and increase convenience.”

—blogger writing about attempts to make voting more convenient through early voting and other measures

Use the quotation to begin a debate in your classroom.



To this point, most vote-by-mail elections have been confined to the local level and to voting on city or county measures, not on candidates for local offices. But, recall, as we noted a few pages ago, vote-by-mail is an integral part of the absentee voting process, and voting by absentee ballot is becoming an increasingly common practice in many places.

In fact, one State, Oregon, now holds *all* of its elections by mail, and it has done so since 1998. That State held the first-ever all-mail primary election and then the first all-mail general election (including the presidential election) in 2000.

Voting by mail has stirred controversy, of course. Critics fear that the process threatens the secret ballot principle. They worry about fraud, especially the possibility that some voters may be subjected to undue pressures when they mark their ballots at home or any place other than a secure voting booth.

Supporters, on the other hand, say that more than ten years of voting by mail in Oregon indicates that that process can be as fraud-proof as any other method of voting. They also make this point: The mail-in process increases voter participation in elections and, at the same time, reduces the costs of conducting them.

**Online Voting** Online voting—casting ballots via the Internet—has attracted considerable attention and some support in recent years. Will e-voting become widespread, even

commonplace, as some predict? Obviously, only time will tell.

Online voting is not an entirely new phenomenon. The first e-vote was cast in November 1997. Election officials in Harris County, Texas, allowed astronaut David Wolf to vote in Houston's city election by e-mail from the space station *Mir*.

The first public election in which some votes were cast by computer was held in 2000, in Arizona's Democratic presidential primary. The Defense Department enabled 84 members of the military stationed abroad to vote electronically in the general election that year, but chose not to repeat or expand the program because of worries about ballot security. Some 46,000 voters (28 percent of the turnout) did vote by computer in the Democratic Party's presidential caucuses in Michigan in February of 2004.

A number of public officials and private companies promote online voting. They claim that it will make participation much more convenient, increase voter turnout, and reduce election costs.

Many skeptics believe that the electronic infrastructure is not ready for e-voting. Some fear digital disaster: jammed phone lines, blocked access, hackers, viruses, denial-of-service attacks, fraudulent vote counts, and violations of voter secrecy. Critics also point out that because not everyone can afford home computers, online voting could undermine the basic American principle of equality.

**Checkpoint**  
How successful have vote-by-mail and online voting been?

## REMEDIATION

If Your Students Have Trouble With	Strategies For Remediation
Understanding the administration of elections in the United States (Questions 1, 2, 3, 6)	Have students work in pairs to create a brochure for new voters that gives frequently asked questions about voting, including the role of the federal government, when elections are held, how absentee balloting works, and where people vote.
The significance of different types of ballots (Questions 4, 7)	Have students create examples of different types of voting procedures and ballots, with captions explaining the basic strengths and weaknesses of each type.
Issues related to automated voting (Question 5)	Have students design the "perfect" voting machine, and describe its key features.

## SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

**Essential Questions Journal** To continue to build a response to the chapter Essential Question, go to your Essential Questions Journal.

**1. Guiding Question** Use your completed chart to answer the question: How are elections conducted in the United States?

### Key Terms and Comprehension

- What is the Federal Government's role in the administration of elections?
- What is the role of the **precinct** in elections?
- How have **ballots** changed over time?
- What factors have complicated the move to automated voting?

### Critical Thinking

- Predict Consequences** What might happen if people lost confidence that their ballots were being counted and recorded properly?
- Synthesize Information** Present an argument for or against a proposal to use only hand-counted ballots in all elections.

### Quick Write

**Explanatory Essay: Research the Topic** Use the Internet or other resources to collect information about the election you chose in Section 1. Gather as much information as you can about the candidates and the balloting. Record your information carefully.

## Answers

**Checkpoint** Vote-by-mail is an integral part of the absentee voting process, and voting by absentee ballot is becoming increasingly more common. Online voting has some support now and may become widespread in the future.

## Assessment Answers

- Congressional elections are held the first Tuesday following the first Monday in November of every even-numbered year. Presidential elections are held on the same date every fourth year. Most elections for State offices are held on the same date as national elections. Voters cast secret ballots at their precinct polling place. The precinct election board supervises. Voters may choose to cast absentee ballots or vote early.
- Congress sets the date for federal elections.

Congress has passed laws to require secret ballots, allow voting machines, protect voting rights, prohibit corrupt practices, and regulate campaign financing.

**3.** A precinct is a voting district. The precinct election board opens and closes the polls, ensures availability of ballots and ballot boxes or voting devices, makes sure only qualified voters cast ballots, and some count votes.

**4.** Ballots have changed from slips of paper prepared by voters to paper ballots distributed by parties to adoption of the Australian ballot. Today, most ballots are electronic.

- machine malfunction; lack of paper record; potential for hacking
- Possible answer: People might not bother to vote and might lose trust in government.
- Possible answers: Hand counting is a straightforward process and is not subject to technological failure. OR: Hand counting may take too long, be subject to human error or corruption, and be costly.

**QUICK WRITE** Students should record detailed information about their subjects carefully.

## LESSON GOALS

- Students will examine the issue of money in the electoral process, using a contemporary example.

## Teach

### ACTIVATE PRIOR KNOWLEDGE

Ask students to define *bribery*. (the use of money to influence the behavior of a public official) Ask: **Why does bribery create problems for a government?** (Bribery can influence government to behave in ways that do not benefit the community as a whole. It can also undermine people's faith in government.) **Why do elections create a special challenge with regard to bribery and similar types of behaviors?** (In elections, candidates need a lot of money, and if elected, they will have the power to grant favors to their contributors.)

### SUMMARIZE THE ISSUE

Have students read the feature and summarize the issue. Ask them to explain how soft money and attempts to limit it illustrate the tension between protecting the integrity of government and enabling people to take part in politics.

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Have students review the discussion of hard and soft money in Section 3.

**L3 L4 Differentiate** Have students research the role of soft money in elections in recent decades and create a graph showing its rise.

## Assess and Remediate

Have students write and deliver a speech in which they weigh the importance of protecting the right of people to participate in government through campaign contributions with the need to maintain the integrity of the electoral process.

## Answers

1. (a) Senator McCain argues that unregulated soft money has undermined public confidence in government. (b) Senator McConnell argues that PACs are groups of citizens exercising their constitutional right to join with others to exert collective influence.
2. (a) The appearance of corruption undermines people's faith in government. (b) Possible answer: Government should be free to act if it is possible to demonstrate harm to the public good as a result of the loss of faith in government.

# ISSUES OF OUR TIME

## Campaign Finance

### ▶ Track the Issue

When regulating campaign finance, the Federal Government has tried to balance free speech rights against the potential for corruption.

**1828**

After winning a costly and bitter presidential race, Andrew Jackson replaces many government officials with his own campaign supporters.

**1907**

Congress bans corporate contributions to federal candidates.

**1947**

The Taft-Hartley Act blocks labor unions from donating to candidates. In response, unions donate through political action committees (PACs).

**1974**

Congress creates the Federal Election Commission to enforce strict new laws on campaign fundraising.

**2002**

The Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act is passed and signed, placing strict limits on the use of so-called soft money.

Sen. John McCain  
(R., Arizona) ▶



### ▶ Perspectives

Campaigns must raise money to organize and get their message out to voters. The boom in "soft money" in the 1990s, allowing almost unlimited donations to parties by some individuals, led to successful attempts to impose new limits. These efforts, led by Sen. John McCain, sparked debate over government's proper role in regulating political activity.

"This system of unregulated soft money . . . bred public cynicism about the workings of our institutions of government. At a minimum, the actions of Congress and the executive branch were severely tainted by the specter of six-figure soft-money donations by special interests with a stake in legislation and policies pending before the Federal Government."

—Senator John McCain  
(R., Arizona)

"I think the practical effect of [limits on soft money] would dramatically push Americans out of the political process, putting restrictions on Political Action Committees means that Americans can't band together, pool their resources, and support the candidates of their choice. . . . [Under] the First Amendment of the Constitution, people are free to express themselves and the Supreme Court has said that campaign spending is speech. . . ."

—Senator Mitch McConnell  
(R., Kentucky)

### ▶ Connect to Your World

1. **Understand (a)** What argument against soft money does Senator McCain make? **(b)** Why is Senator McConnell's argument against regulation of soft money?
2. **Draw Conclusions (a)** Why do you think the appearance of corruption alone worries people? **(b)** Do you believe government should be able to act against the appearance of corruption?

### GOVERNMENT ONLINE

#### In the News

For updates about campaign finance, visit  
[PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com)

## Background

**ISSUE ADVERTISING** One way that soft money has been widely used in political campaigns is the creation of so-called issue advertisements. These are ads that focus on a particular issue or policy—without ever mentioning a candidate by name. Yet such ads can be crafted in a way that clearly benefits specific candidates in specific races. For example, an ad about gun control can clearly aid a particular candidate when it is aired during a campaign in which gun control has been a major issue. Recent efforts at campaign finance reform have sought to limit the use of soft money for such advertisements.

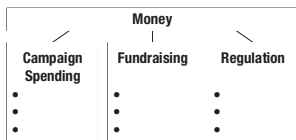
## SECTION 3

# Money and Elections



### Guiding Question

**What role does money play in electoral politics?** Use the flow chart to record information about the role of money in electoral politics and the efforts of government to regulate it.



### Political Dictionary

- political action committee (PAC)
- subsidy
- hard money
- soft money

### Objectives

1. Explain the issues raised by campaign spending.
2. Describe the various sources of funding for campaign spending.
3. Examine federal laws that regulate campaign finance.
4. Outline the role of the Federal Election Commission in enforcing campaign finance laws.
5. Distinguish hard money from soft money.

**Image Above:** Sen. Russ Feingold (D., Wisconsin) has worked to regulate campaign contributions.

**R**unning for public office costs money—and often quite a lot of it. That fact creates some very real problems. It presents the possibility that candidates will try to buy their way into office. It also makes it possible for special interests to try to buy favors from those who hold office.

Clearly, government by the people must be protected from those dangers. But how? Parties and candidates must have money. Without it, they cannot campaign or do any of the many other things they must do to win elections.

In short, dollars are absolutely necessary campaign resources. Yet, the getting and spending of campaign funds can corrupt the entire political process.

## Campaign Spending

No one really knows how much money is spent on political campaigns in the United States. Remember, there are more than 500,000 elective offices in this country—most of them at the State and particularly the local level. More or less reliable estimates of total spending in presidential election years—to win nominations and to gain offices at all levels—can be seen in the table on the next page.

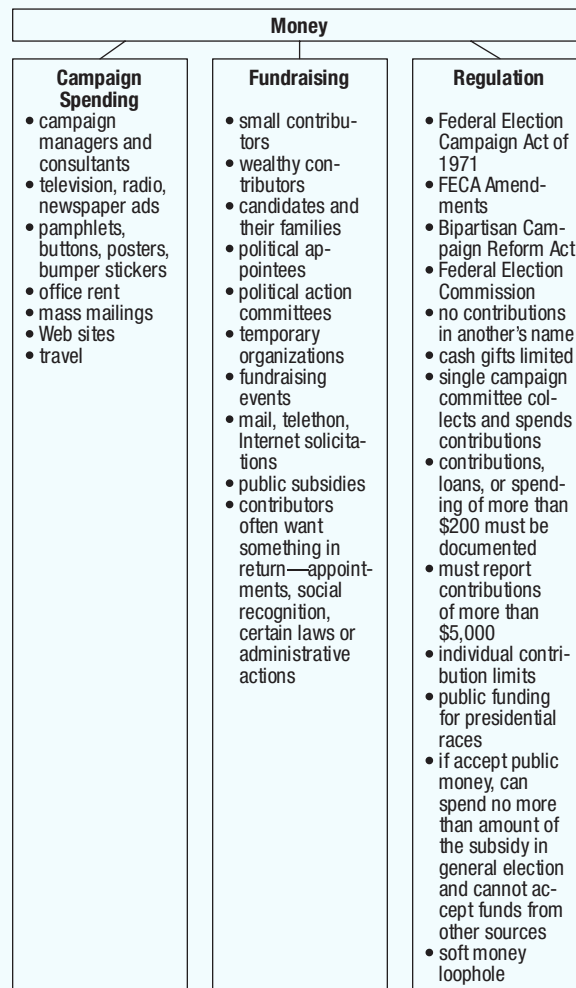
The presidential election consumes by far the largest share of campaign dollars. For 2008, total spending for all of the major and minor party presidential efforts—for primaries and caucuses, conventions, campaigns, for everything—reached a mind-boggling \$2.5 billion.

The vast sums spent on congressional campaigns also continue to climb, election after election. That spending has doubled over the past decade. A candidate must now raise and spend at least \$1 million in a typical race for a seat in the House. A Senate campaign can cost as much as twenty times that amount. All told, some \$1.5 billion was spent on House and Senate contests in 2008.

Radio and television time, professional campaign managers and consultants, newspaper advertisements, pamphlets, buttons, posters and bumper stickers, office rent, polls, data processing, mass mailings, Web sites, travel—these and a host of other items make up the huge sums spent in campaigns. Television ads are far and away the largest item in most campaign budgets

### GUIDING QUESTION

What role does money play in electoral politics?



## SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

### ANALYZE MAPS

To practice analyzing maps in this section, use the Chapter 7 Skills Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 148). You may teach the skill explicitly either before or after reviewing the Bellringer. For L2 and L1 students, assign the adapted Skill Activity (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 149).

## Focus on the Basics

**FACTS:** • Money has always played a key role in politics. • Campaign money comes from public and private sources, including political action committees, or PACs. • The Federal Election Commission administers federal election laws. • Candidates and contributors sometimes use loopholes in campaign finance laws to avoid regulation.

**CONCEPTS:** campaign spending, representative democracy

**ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:** • Money plays a critical role in political campaigns, but raises the danger of corruption. • Abuses of campaign finance regulations and attempts to reform them are ongoing.

# Get Started

## LESSON GOALS

Students will . . .

- consider the potentially corrupting effect of money in politics by analyzing a political cartoon.
- prepare for and carry out a debate on campaign finance reform.
- produce a political cartoon about campaign finance laws.

## BEFORE CLASS

Assign the section, the graphic organizer in the text, and the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 142) before class.

**L2 Differentiate** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 144)

## BELLRINGER

Write on the board: **How do politicians get money to run for office? Brainstorm a list and record it in your notebook.**

**ELL Differentiate** Students who are unfamiliar with electoral financing in this country can list ways that politicians raise money and pay for political campaigns in their countries of origin.

# Teach

To present this topic using online resources, use the lesson presentation at **PearsonSuccessNet.com**.

## DISCUSS THE BELLRINGER

Tell students that today they will discuss campaign finance. Display Transparency 7C, Political Organization Report of Finances. Ask: **Do political organizations have to account for their money?** (yes) Then have students share their Bellringer lists with the class. (Possible responses include *individual donations, corporate donations, government funding, and funding raised by special interest groups*.) Ask: **What impact does money in government have upon the fairness of government?** (Money's prominent role has the potential to make government unfair—by giving power to people who have purchased it rather than earned it through the merit of their ideas.)

## Answers

**Analyzing Charts** Rising costs for advertising, especially television ads, have added to the huge sums spent in campaigns.

## Total Campaign Spending, 1964–2008

Year	Estimated spending	Voter turnout*	Spending per voter
1964	\$200 million	70.6 million	\$2.83
1968	\$300 million	73.2 million	\$4.10
1972	\$425 million	77.7 million	\$5.47
1976	\$540 million	81.6 million	\$6.62
1980	\$1.2 billion	86.6 million	\$13.87
1984	\$1.8 billion	92.7 million	\$19.42
1988	\$2.7 billion	91.6 million	\$29.48
1992	\$3.2 billion	104.4 million	\$30.65
1996	\$4.0 billion	96.5 million	\$41.45
2000	\$5.1 billion	105.4 million	\$48.39
2004	\$6.0 billion	120.2 million	\$49.92
2008	\$7.0 billion	127.5 million	\$54.90

\*Presidential elections  
SOURCES: Federal Election Commission; Herbert E. Alexander, *Financing Politics*

► **Analyzing Charts** Total campaign spending has risen dramatically in recent elections. **What factors may account for this rise?**

today, even at the local level. As humorist Will Rogers put it years ago, “You have to be loaded just to get beat.”

The total amount spent in particular races varies widely, of course. How much depends on several things: the office involved, the candidate and whether he or she is the incumbent or the challenger, the nature of the opposition, and much more—including, not least, the availability of campaign funds.

## Sources of Funding

Parties and their candidates draw their money from two basic sources: private contributors and the public treasury.

**Private and Public Sources** Private givers have always been the major source of campaign funds in American politics. They come in various shapes and sizes:

1. Small contributors—those who give \$5 or \$10 or so, and only occasionally. Only about 10 percent of people of voting age ever make a campaign contribution, so parties and candidates must look to other places for much of their funding.

2. Wealthy individuals and families—the “fat cats,” who can make large donations and find it in their best interest to do so.

3. Candidates—both incumbents and challengers, their families, and, importantly, people who hold and want to keep appointive public offices. Ross Perot holds the all-time record in this category. He spent some \$65 million of his own money on his independent bid for the presidency in 1992.

4. Various nonparty groups—especially **political action committees (PACs)**. Political action committees are the political arms of special-interest groups and other organizations with a stake in electoral politics.

5. Temporary organizations—groups formed for the immediate purposes of a campaign, including fundraising. Hundreds of these short-lived units spring up every two years, and at every level in American politics.

Then, too, parties and their candidates often hold fundraisers of various sorts. The most common are \$100-, \$500-, and \$1,000-a-plate luncheons, dinners, picnics, receptions, and similar gatherings. Some of these events now reach the \$100,000-or-more level in presidential campaigns. Direct mail requests, telethons, and Internet solicitations are also among the oft-used tools of those who raise campaign money.

Over recent years, the Internet has become, by far, the most productive of those tools. Often, donations spiked immediately after an important speech or primary election victory or when the candidate challenged donors to give. Web sites including Daily Kos and Act Blue identified and profiled congressional candidates for their readers to support.

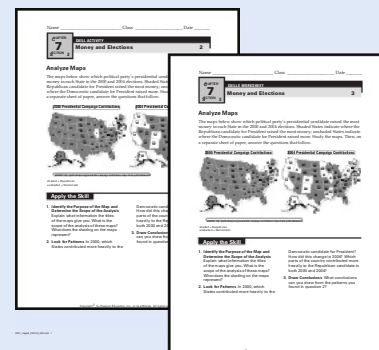
Public funds—subsidies from the federal and some State treasuries—are now another prime source of campaign money. A **subsidy** is a grant of money, usually from a government. Subsidies have so far been most important at the presidential level, as you will see shortly. Several States also provide some form of public funding of parties and/or candidacies.

**Why People Give** Campaign donations are a form of political participation. Those who

## Differentiated Resources

The following resources are located in the All-in-One, Unit 2, Chapter 7, Section 3:

- L3** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 142)
- L2** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 144)
- L3** Core Worksheet (p. 146)
- L3** Skills Worksheet (p. 148)
- L2** Skill Activity (p. 149)
- L3** Quiz A (p. 150) **L2** Quiz B (p. 151)
- L3** Chapter Test A (p. 152)
- L2** Chapter Test B (p. 155)



donate do so for a number of reasons. Many small donors give simply because they believe in a party or in a candidate. Many of those who give, however, want something in return. They want access to government, and hope to get it by helping their “friends” win elections. And, notice, some contributors give to both sides in a contest: Heads they win and tails they still win.

Some big donors want appointments to public office, and others want to keep the ones they have. Some long for social recognition. For them, dinner at the White House, meeting with a Cabinet official, or knowing the governor on a first-name basis may be enough. Organized labor, business, professional, and various other groups have particular policy aims. They want certain laws passed, changed, or repealed, or certain administrative actions taken.

## Regulating Finance

Congress first began to regulate the use of money in federal elections in 1907. In that

year, it became unlawful for any corporation or national bank to make “a money contribution in any election” to candidates for federal office. Since then, Congress has passed several laws to regulate the use of money in presidential and congressional campaigns. Today, these regulations are found in four detailed laws: the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) of 1971, the FECA Amendments of 1974 and of 1976, and the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002.

The earliest federal laws were loosely drawn, not often obeyed, and almost never enforced. The 1971 law replaced them. The 1974 law was the major legislative response to the Watergate scandal of the Nixon years. The 1976 law was passed in response to a landmark Supreme Court decision, *Buckley v. Valeo*, in 1976. The 2002 law attempted to close the “soft-money” loophole in the 1974 and 1976 statutes; it was upheld by the High Court in *McConnell v. FEC* in 2003.

Congress does not have the power to regulate the use of money in State and local

**Checkpoint**  
Where do campaign contributions come from?

### GOVERNMENT ONLINE

#### Audio Tour

Listen to a guided audio tour of this diagram at [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com)

#### Internet Fundraising

### A Trickle Becomes a Flood

Candidates use the Internet to raise more money, faster, from many more donors than in the past. Insurgent candidates, not those favored by party leaders and traditional donors, have made the greatest leaps in Internet fundraising. *Why did outside candidates like McCain, Dean, and Obama need to find new ways to raise money?*

#### Gov. Dean Leads the Way

#### New Hampshire surprise



**\$1 Million**

**2000** ▶ John McCain raises \$1 million via the Internet after an upset in the New Hampshire primary.



**\$20 Million**

**2004** ▶ Howard Dean raises \$20 million for the Democratic primaries, creating a comprehensive Internet strategy later adopted by other candidates.

#### Obama Shatters Records



**\$230 Million**

**2008**

▶ Barack Obama raked in some \$230 million via the Internet for his primary campaign in which he faced Sen. Hillary Clinton. More than 80 percent came in sums of less than \$100.

Chapter 7 • Section 3 203

## ACTIVATE PRIOR KNOWLEDGE

Tell students that the potentially corrupting role of money in government is a not a new issue in American politics. To help illustrate this point, display Transparency 7D, *Bosses of the Senate*, which is a political cartoon from 1889. Ask: **Who is standing in the back row?** (*trusts, which are large and wealthy business organizations*) **Who is sitting in the front row?** (*United States senators*) **Why do you think the people in the back are shown as so much larger than the people in the front?** (*Their size suggests their wealth and also their domination of the smaller people in the Senate.*) **What point is the artist making about the relationship between the people in the back and the people in the front?** (*The wealthy trusts dominate the Senate.*)

**L1 L2 ELL Differentiate** Tell students that trusts are large business organizations that are set up to dominate entire industries.

## DESCRIBE THE DILEMMA

Tell students that money creates a dilemma for our democratic system of government. Point out that elections today are very costly, so candidates need access to a lot of money to mount a successful campaign. In other words, money is an integral part of our electoral system. It also is a way for citizens to get involved with their government. Ask: **How might a citizen use money as a way of getting involved with politics and government?** (*A citizen can make contributions to candidates he or she supports and help them win elections.*) At the same time, the role of money introduces the potential for corruption. Ask: **How might money have a corrupting influence on government?** (*Candidates might offer to do favors in return for campaign contributions. A candidate with a lot of money might use it to buy votes or otherwise improperly influence an election.*) Tell students that government has sought to address the dilemma by placing some limits on how campaign money is raised and spent.

Tell students to go to the Audio Tour to listen to a guided audio tour of the diagram “A Trickle Becomes a Flood.”

## Teacher-to-Teacher Network

**ALTERNATE LESSON PLAN** Have students conduct a mock election for a local, State, or congressional office. First ask students to work in pairs or small groups to conduct research on the candidates and the important issues in the race. Encourage students to contact candidates’ headquarters and to conduct voter and campaign worker interviews. After they have completed their research, divide students into teams of supporters for the candidates of their choice and help each team devise a campaign strategy for their candidate. Finish with a class election.

To see this lesson plan, go to



## Answers

**Checkpoint** from private sources (small contributors, wealthy persons, candidates themselves, political action committees, and temporary organizations) and from public funds (subsidies)

**A Trickle Becomes a Flood** Possible response: They probably did not receive as much funding from traditional funding sources as did the party’s favored candidates.

## DISTRIBUTE CORE WORKSHEET

Divide the class into two teams, Team 1 and Team 2. Within each team, create a Group A and a Group B. Then distribute the Chapter 7 Section 3 Core Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 146), which asks students to explore and debate the two sides of the issue of campaign finance reform. Have students read the excerpts and complete the assignment for their particular group and team. Then have students engage in a structured debate. Each team will have four minutes to present their main argument. After each team's presentation, the other team will have one minute to prepare and two minutes to deliver a rebuttal to the opening argument. Tell students to take notes on the other team's main arguments. Distribute the Debate worksheets, available in the Teacher Center at [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com), to help students organize their thoughts.

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Assign L1 and L2 students to investigate arguments for their own side.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Class \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**CHAPTER 7** CORE WORKSHEET  
**Section 3** Money and Elections **3**

Read the excerpts below. Then use the directions that follow to prepare for a classroom debate.

**Excerpt 1:** The following was adapted from a speech given by League of Women Voters President Kay J. Maxwell in February 2008.

"We know that he who pays the piper calls the tune. That's why campaign finance and lobbying reform are so important to protecting our democracy. When special interests are the dominant source of campaign funding, when special interests have special access to Congress, indeed when special interest lobbyists can call the tune on Capitol Hill, then it is time for fundamental reform. . . .

"... We need to ensure that lobbyists cannot deliver huge sums of campaign cash to the very members of Congress they are lobbying. . . . We need public financing of congressional elections, and we need to renew the presidential public financing system.

"The election of a President of the United States is the single most important election in our country, and perhaps the world. The election obviously results in the selection of this powerful official. But it also affects every voter's perception about our election system generally, and about how our government really works. The presidential election system sets the tone for American democracy.

"It is not an exaggeration to suggest that the public financing system for presidential elections, enacted in the 1970s, played a key role in rescuing the presidency from the dark days of Watergate, when many citizens believed that our political system was corrupt at its core.

"We have seen the presidential public financing system wither away, as needed updates and improvements have not been put in place. In 2004, the two parties' nominees did not participate in public funding. This system needs to be fixed, and fixed soon. . . .

"Americans have said time and time again that special interest groups have too much influence over Washington. They want the average citizen to have just as much say in who becomes President as large corporations, lobbying organizations and wealthy donors. Our system belongs in the hands of its rightful owners—the American voters. . . ."

**Excerpt 2:** The following was adapted from an article by James O. E. Norell for the National Rifle Association, Institute for Legislative Action, which criticizes a specific campaign finance reform bill called McCain-Feingold.

"Campaign finance reform . . . is a direct attack on every individual American's First Amendment right to use political speech to protect the entire Bill of Rights.

"Campaign finance reform is not about big dollars influencing elections. It's not about crooked politicians and a tainted process. It's not about corruption.

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Tell students to go to the Interactivity for an interactive view of campaign spending.

## Answers

**Rising Campaign Costs** Television ads are far and away the largest item in most campaign budgets, reflecting candidates' desire to be seen by voters.

elections. Every State now regulates at least some aspects of campaign finance, however—some of them more effectively than others.<sup>15</sup>

## Federal Election Commission

The Federal Election Commission (FEC) administers all federal law dealing with campaign finance. Set up by Congress in 1974, the FEC is an independent agency in the executive branch. Its six members are appointed by the President, with Senate confirmation.

Federal campaign finance laws are both strongly worded and closely detailed. But they are not very well enforced. In large part this is because the FEC has been both underfunded and understaffed. That is to say, members of Congress—who, remember, raise and spend campaign money—have made it practically impossible for the FEC to do an effective job.

<sup>15</sup> State campaign finance laws are summarized in *The Book of the States*, an annual publication of the Council of State Governments.

In short, the FEC finds itself in a situation much like that of the chickens who must guard the fox house.

The laws that the FEC is supposed to enforce cover four broad areas. They (1) require the timely disclosure of campaign finance data, (2) place limits on campaign contributions, (3) place limits on campaign expenditures, and (4) provide public funding for several parts of the presidential election process.

**Disclosure Requirements** Congress first required the reporting of certain campaign finance information in 1910. Today, the disclosure requirements are intended to spotlight the place of money in federal campaigns. Those requirements are so detailed that most candidates for federal office must now include at least one certified public accountant in their campaign organization.

No individual or group can make a contribution in the name of another. Cash gifts of more than \$100 are prohibited, as are contributions and spending from foreign sources.

**GOVERNMENT ONLINE**  
Interactive  
For an interactive view of campaign spending, visit [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com)

## Rising Campaign Costs

Candidates are raising and spending more money than ever, and no office demands more than the Presidency. John McCain and Barack Obama set new spending records in 2008, as data averaged from both campaigns for the month of September indicate. *How does campaign spending reflect the importance of television?*



## Background

**THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION** The Federal Election Commission (FEC) is the agency responsible for administering and enforcing federal laws about financing federal elections. Congress established the agency in 1975. It is a so-called independent and nonpartisan commission. Though its six members are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, they serve fixed terms (of six years), and by law no more than three members can belong to the same political party. The terms of the commissioners are staggered so that only two seats are open every two years. Leadership of the commission also rotates among the members.

All contributions to a candidate for federal office must be made through a single campaign committee. Only that committee can spend that candidate's campaign money. All contributions and spending must be closely accounted for by that one committee. Any contribution or loan of more than \$200 must be identified by source and by date. Any spending over \$200 must also be identified by the name of the person or firm to whom payment was made, by date, and by purpose.

Any contribution of more than \$5,000 must be reported to the FEC no later than 48 hours after it is received. So, too, must any sum of \$1,000 or more is received in the last 20 days of a campaign.

**Limits on Contributions** Congress first began to regulate campaign contributions in 1907, when it outlawed donations by corporations and national banks. A similar ban was first applied to labor unions in 1943. Individual contributions have been regulated since 1939.

Today, no person can give more than \$2,300 to any federal candidate in a primary election, and no more than \$2,300 to any federal candidate's general election campaign. Also, no person can give more than \$5,000 in any year to a political action committee (PAC), or \$28,500 to a national party committee. The total of any person's contributions to federal candidates and committees now must be limited to no more than \$108,200 in an election cycle (the two years from one general election to the next one). The FEC adjusts those figures, to account for inflation, every two years.

Those limits may seem generous; in fact, they are very tight. Before limits were imposed in 1974, many wealthy individuals gave far larger amounts. In 1972, for example, W. Clement Stone, a Chicago insurance executive, contributed more than \$2 million (equal to more than \$20 million in today's money) to President Richard Nixon's reelection campaign.

**PAC Contributions** Neither corporations nor labor unions can contribute to any candidate running for a federal office. Their political action committees, however, can and do.

Political action committees (PACs) seek to affect the making of public policy, and

so they are very interested in the outcome of elections in the United States. More than 4,000 PACs are active today, and those organizations are of two distinct types:

**1.** Most PACs are the political arms of special interest groups—and especially of business associations, labor unions, and professional organizations. These groups are known in the law as “segregated fund committees.” They can raise funds *only* from their members—from the executives, the employees, and the stockholders of a corporation, from the members of a labor union, and so on. They *cannot* seek contributions from the general public. Each of these PACs is a part of its parent organization.

BIPAC (the Business-Industry Political Action Committee) and COPE (the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education) are among the best known and most active of these groups.

**2.** A few hundred PACs are “unconnected committees.” Each of them was established as an independent entity, not as a unit in some larger organization. Many are ideologically based. These PACs can raise money from the public at large. One major example is EMILY's List, which very actively recruits and funds pro-choice women as Democratic candidates. (The group takes its name from this political maxim: Early Money Is Like Yeast, it makes the dough rise.)

PACs fill their war chests with contributions from the members of the PAC's parent organization or with the dollars they raise from the public. They “bundle” the money they gather—that is, each PAC pools its many contributions into a single large fund. Then they distribute that money to those candidates who (1) are sympathetic to the PAC's policy goals, and (2) have a reasonable chance of winning their races.

No PAC can give more than \$5,000 to any one federal candidate in an election, or \$10,000 per election cycle (primary and general election). However, there is no overall limit on PAC giving to candidates. Each PAC can give up to \$5,000 per election to each of as many candidates as it chooses. A PAC may also contribute up to \$15,000 a year to a political party.

PACs put hundreds of millions of dollars into the presidential and congressional

## DEBRIEF

Review the debate activity with the class. Invite students from opposing teams to give their thoughts about which opposing arguments were most effective. Were any arguments left out?

## FOLLOW UP THE ACTIVITY

Have students create an editorial cartoon that expresses one of the points of view presented in the debate. The cartoon should include an image and a caption. Student should be able to explain the elements and features of their cartoon.

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Have students work in teams to come up with a design for their cartoon.

**L3 L4 Differentiate** Have students create a cartoon for both points of view.

## Background

**WATERGATE AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE LAWS** The Watergate scandal of 1972–1974 ultimately led to the resignation of President Richard Nixon. As it unfolded, Congress and the public learned of a host of corrupt campaign practices used by Nixon's reelection team. For example, the campaign sought and used large, illegal corporate donations to create secret “slush funds,” which were then used to pay for other illegal activities—including an attempt to break into and bug Democratic National Committee headquarters and subsequent attempts to cover up the crime. Some campaign donors were alleged to have received ambassadorships or other government favors. In the aftermath of this scandal, Congress established the basic laws that govern campaign financing today.

## Answers

**Checkpoint** administers all federal law dealing with campaign finance

## EXTEND THE LESSON

**L3** Have students research and write a short essay on the following topic: How might the Internet change political fundraising and campaigning in the future? Students should include details from recent elections to support their argument.

**L1 L2 Differentiate** Have students locate information on the total amount of money raised by the most recent presidential candidates via the Internet.

**L4 Differentiate** Have students include in their essays historical information about the role of the Internet in politics, using data from the earliest days of Internet fundraising.



▲ Governor Mitt Romney (R., Massachusetts) promoted his 2008 presidential campaign with a widely publicized telephone fundraiser. **Why is the ability to raise money from contributors an advantage for candidates?**

campaigns in 2008. They funneled untold other millions into State and local contests as well.

**Limits on Expenditures** Congress first began to limit federal campaign spending in 1925. Most of the limits now on the books apply only to presidential (not congressional) elections. This fact is due mostly to the Supreme Court's decision in *Buckley v. Valeo*, 1976.

In *Buckley*, the High Court struck down all but one of the spending limits set by the FECA Amendments of 1974. It held each of the other restrictions to be contrary to the 1st Amendment's guarantees of free expression. In effect, said the Court, in politics "money is speech."

The one limit the Court did uphold is a cap on spending by those presidential contenders who accept FEC subsidies for their pre-convention and/or their general election campaigns. As you will see in a moment, those who seek the presidency can either accept or reject that public money for their campaigns. In *Buckley*, the Court said that those who take the subsidies must take a

spending limit along with them, as part of their deal with the FEC.<sup>16</sup>

**Public Funding for Presidential Campaigns** Congress first began to provide for the public funding of presidential campaigns in the Revenue Act of 1971. It broadened sections of that law in 1974 and again in 1976.

The 1971 law created the Presidential Election Campaign Fund. Every person who files a federal income tax return can "check off" (assign) three dollars of his or her tax bill (six dollars on a joint return) to the fund. The money in the fund is used every four years to subsidize pre-convention campaigns (including the primary campaigns), national conventions, and presidential election campaigns. The FEC administers the various subsidies involved.

**Pre-convention Campaigns.** Presidential primary and caucus campaigns are supported by private contributions and, if the candidate applies for them, the public money he or she receives from the FEC. To be eligible for the public funds, a contender must raise at least \$100,000 in contributions from individuals (not organizations). That amount must be gathered in \$5,000 lots in each of at least 20 States, with each lot built from individual donations of no more than \$250. That convoluted requirement is meant to discourage frivolous candidacies.

For each presidential hopeful who passes that test and applies for the subsidy, the FEC will match the first \$250 of each individual contribution to the candidate, up to a total of half of the overall limit on pre-convention spending. So, in 2008, the FEC could give a contender about \$21 million, because the pre-convention ceiling was slightly more than \$42 million. The FEC does not match contributions from PACs or from any other political organizations.

In 2008, Senator John McCain spent about \$100 million to win the GOP nomination—some \$7 million of it from the FEC. Senator Barack Obama, on the other hand, refused the public money. He raised and

<sup>16</sup> Until 2008, only a handful of major party aspirants refused the public money. George W. Bush, in 2000 and again in 2004, and his Democratic opponent in 2004, John Kerry, won nomination without the public money. However, both Bush and Kerry did take the FEC funds for their general election campaigns.

## Supreme Court Notes

**BUCKLEY V. VALEO** The Supreme Court ruling in *Buckley v. Valeo*, 1976, was important in several respects. It upheld Congress' right to set limits on individual contributions to political campaigns. Here the Court reasoned that the government's interest in maintaining the integrity of government was strong enough to support limiting the freedom of speech—that is, the spending of money for political purposes. However, the Court ruled that Congress could not limit how much of his or her own money a candidate could spend. Neither could Congress set a cap on the total amount a campaign spends. The Court reasoned that spending personal money or simply spending more for a campaign did not inherently threaten the integrity of government. Therefore, Congress did not have a strong enough basis for limiting 1st Amendment freedoms.

## Answers

**Caption** To be eligible for public funds, candidates must raise at least \$100,000 in contributions from individuals.



spent more than \$230 million in private contributions in his campaign for the Democratic Party's nomination.<sup>17</sup>

**National Conventions.** If a major party applies for the money, it automatically receives a grant to help pay for its national convention. The FEC gave the Republicans and the Democrats \$16.4 million each for that purpose in 2008.

**Presidential Election Campaigns.** Each major party nominee automatically qualifies for a public subsidy to pay for the general election campaign. For 2008, that subsidy was \$84.1 million. A candidate can refuse that funding, of course, and, in that event, be free to raise however much he or she can from private sources.

Until 2008, the nominees of both major parties took the public money each time. Because they did, each (1) could spend no more than the amount of the subsidy in the general election campaign and (2) could not accept campaign funds from any other source.

For 2008, only Republican John McCain ran with the FEC money and so could spend only that \$84.1 million in the fall campaign. The Republican National Committee, other party organizations, and several independent groups also backed the McCain effort, however—to the tune of some \$210 million.

Barack Obama, on the other hand, became the first presidential nominee in the 32-year history of the program to reject the public money. He raised and spent more than \$300 million on his successful ten-week post-convention campaign.

The fact that several contenders, in both parties, rejected the FEC money for their pre-convention campaigns and Senator Obama's abstention for the general election have led many to predict the collapse of the public funding arrangements in federal law. That development is a direct result of two major factors: (1) a continuing decline in the number of taxpayers willing to contribute to the Presidential Election Campaign Fund and, especially, (2) the continuing and accelerating rise in the costs of campaigning.

The massive effect of that second factor, soaring costs, on the whole matter of campaign

finance and its regulation can be seen in this stunning fact: For 2008, just one item, television advertising, accounted for at least \$300 million in presidential campaign spending.

A minor party's candidate can also qualify for the FEC funding, but none does so automatically. For a minor party nominee to be eligible, his or her party must either (1) have won at least five percent of the popular vote in the last presidential election, or (2) win at least that much of the total vote in the current election. Since 1972, only Ross Perot in 1992 and 1996 has come even close to qualifying.

In the latter case, the public money is received *after* the election and so could not possibly help the candidate win votes in that election. (Remember, many provisions in both federal and State election law are purposely drawn to discourage the efforts of minor party and independent candidacies.)

## Hard Money, Soft Money

More than 40 years ago, President Lyndon Johnson described the then-current body of

**Checkpoint**  
How are presidential campaigns financed?

## Assess and Remediate

**L3** Collect the Core Worksheet and assess students' class participation using the Rubric for Assessing a Debate (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 258).

**L3** Assign the Section 3 Assessment questions.

**L3** Section Quiz A (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 150)

**L2** Section Quiz B (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 151)

Have students complete the review activities in the digital lesson presentation and continue their work in the **Essential Questions Journal**.

### Hard Money and Soft Money

Historically, hard money (right) was tightly regulated and more difficult to raise, while soft money (left) could be procured easily from fewer people in larger sums. *How has regulation of hard and soft money changed since the 1990s?*



<sup>17</sup> His chief opponent for the Democratic nomination, Senator Hillary Clinton, also refused FEC funds. She raised and spent nearly \$200 million in her unsuccessful bid.

## Supreme Court Notes

**MCCONNELL V. FEC** The Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act's limits on soft money were examined by the Supreme Court in *McConnell v. FEC*, 2003. In a narrow 5-4 ruling, the Court held that Congress' desire to prevent the perceived or real corruption of candidates was a legitimate reason to limit the 1st Amendment exercise of spending soft money.

## Answers

**Checkpoint** through public subsidies, party organizations, independent groups, and private contributions

**Hard Money and Soft Money** In the 1980s and 1990s, major parties exploited the soft-money loophole into a torrent of money, resulting in the need for the reform of campaign finance laws. Although such laws as the BCRA have been enacted, loopholes still remain.

## REMEDIATION

If Your Students Have Trouble With	Strategies For Remediation
Understanding the importance and sources of money in electoral politics (Questions 1, 2, 4, 6, 7)	Assign student pairs to read and create quizzes for the two sections on “Campaign Spending” and “Sources of Funding.” Then have them exchange their quizzes with each other.
The history of efforts to control campaign financing (Questions 3, 7)	Have students create a timeline of major events in the history of campaign finance regulation, using material from the section.
The difference between hard and soft money (Question 5)	Have students create a script for a television commercial that uses hard money and soft money.

federal campaign finance law as “more loophole than law.” Over recent years, we have come dangerously close to the point where LBJ’s description can be applied to the federal election money statutes of today—particularly because of soft money.

Since the 1970s, federal law has placed limits on **hard money**—that is, those contributions that are given directly to candidates for their campaigns for Congress or the White House, are limited in amount, and must be reported. That kind of campaign money is usually more difficult to raise than **soft money**—funds given to parties or to other political organizations, in unlimited amounts, to be used for such “party-building activities” as voter registration or get-out-the-vote drives or for campaigns for or against particular public policies, for example, gun control or minimum wage hikes.

Both major parties began to raise soft money (began to exploit the soft-money loophole) in the 1980s, and they intensified their efforts in the 1990s. The Republican and Democratic National Committees and their House and Senate campaign committees gathered millions of unregulated dollars from wealthy individuals, labor unions, corporations, and other interest groups. Officially, those funds were to be used for party-building purposes; but both parties found it easy to filter them into their presidential and congressional campaigns.

The torrent of money rushing through the soft-money loophole rose from about \$19 million in 1980 to some \$500 million in 2000. Those huge numbers have convinced a great many people that the nation’s campaign finance laws are in serious need of reform. As a step in that direction, Congress finally enacted the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (the BCRA) of 2002 after years of debate and delay. The measure is also known as the McCain-Feingold Law, after its chief Senate sponsors.

The BCRA was aimed principally at the soft-money problem. It bans soft-money contributions to political parties. But the law does not say that other political organizations cannot raise and spend those dollars.

Almost immediately, a number of independent groups—organizations with no formal ties to any party—sprang up to do just that. In short, creative minds in both parties quickly found ways to skirt the ban on soft money. Some \$200 million poured through that loophole in 2004 and even more for the congressional elections of 2006 and the presidential campaigns in 2008.

Many of these independent organizations are known as “527s,” after the section in the Internal Revenue code under which they operate as tax-free entities. In 2008, Senator Obama initially discouraged the help of 527 organizations, while his opponent, Republican Senator John McCain encouraged that help.

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

**Essential Questions Journal** To continue to build a response to the chapter Essential Question, go to your **Essential Questions Journal**.

**1. Guiding Question** Use your completed chart to answer the question: What role does money play in electoral politics?

### Key Terms and Comprehension

- Why do people contribute to political campaigns?
- What are the four ways in which the FEC attempts to regulate the role of money in campaigns?
- What are **political action committees**, and what is their role in the political process?

**5.** What is the difference between **hard money** and **soft money**?

### Critical Thinking

- Summarize** Why do the huge amounts of money required for most political campaigns concern many observers?
- Identify Central Issues** The Supreme Court has ruled that “Money is speech.” What does this observation mean for efforts to regulate and limit donations and spending in political campaigns?

### Quick Write

**Explanatory Essay: Write a Thesis Statement** A thesis statement sets out what, specifically, you will cover in your essay. Write a thesis statement for an explanatory essay about the election you chose in Section 1.

## Assessment Answers

- Money is necessary to conduct a campaign. Its sources include private contributions and public financing. Government has tried to regulate the collection and spending of money for elections. Contributors and parties have found ways around the regulations.
- People contribute to express their belief in a candidate or party, for social status, to influence policy, or to get something in return.
- The FEC oversees disclosure of campaign finance data, contribution and expenditure limits, and public funding for presidential elections.

- Political action committees are political arms of special interest groups and other organizations with a stake in electoral politics. They seek to influence elections as a means of affecting public policy.
- Hard money is given directly to candidates for their campaigns. It is limited and must be reported. Soft money is given to parties or other political organizations for party-building or for policy campaigns. It is unlimited and represents a loophole through which unregulated money can enter the political process.

**6.** Money, which is so essential to a successful campaign, has the potential to enable contributors to buy influence and wealthy candidates to buy their way into office.

**7.** Freedom of speech is protected in the Bill of Rights. If campaign contributions and spending are forms of speech, then government may not impose undue limits on these activities.

**QUICK WRITE** Thesis statements should clearly identify the essay’s main point and content.

**Guiding Question**  
Section 2 How are elections conducted in the United States?

**Guiding Question**  
Section 1 What methods are used to choose candidates for public office?

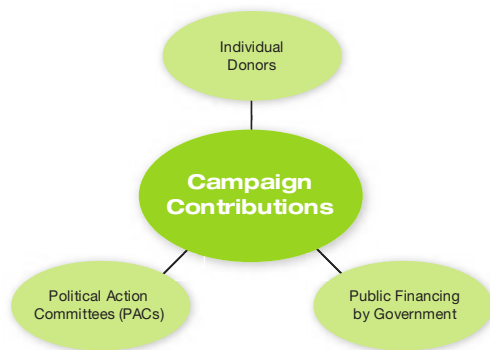
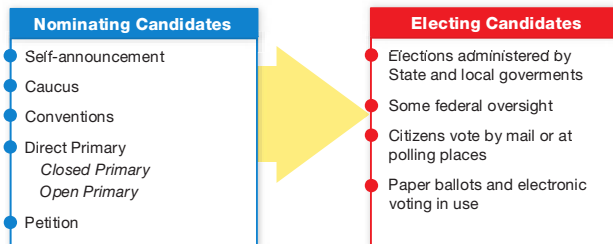
**CHAPTER 7**  
**Essential Question**  
How fair and effective is the electoral process?

**Guiding Question**  
Section 3 What role does money play in electoral politics?

## Political Dictionary

**nomination** p. 184  
**general election** p. 185  
**caucus** p. 185  
**direct primary** p. 187  
**closed primary** p. 188  
**open primary** p. 188  
**blanket primary** p. 189  
**runoff primary** p. 190  
**nonpartisan election** p. 190  
**ballot** p. 194  
**absentee voting** p. 195  
**coattail effect** p. 195  
**precinct** p. 195  
**polling place** p. 195  
**political action committee (PAC)** p. 202  
**subsidy** p. 202  
**hard money** p. 208  
**soft money** p. 208

## Path to Elected Office



## Regulating Campaign Finance

- Contributions by individuals and groups are protected by 1st Amendment guarantee of free speech
- Direct contributions by unions and corporations to campaigns are illegal
- Federal campaigns must record donations and report regularly to Federal Election Commission

Have students download the digital resources available at Government on the Go for review and remediation.

## STUDY TIPS

**Making and Keeping a Schedule** Schedules are indispensable tools for staying focused, getting things done, and not letting obligations or important tasks slip through the cracks. Suggest to students that they use a large monthly calendar for long-term items, such as test dates and project due dates. A separate weekly or even daily schedule should list every hour in the day. On this schedule, students should first block out time for those commitments that are inflexible, such as class time, work schedules, or practices. The time left each day is their “free time,” which must be used for meals, studying, errands, relaxation and everything else. Explain that the more detailed and realistic a schedule is, the more useful it will be.

## ASSESSMENT AT A GLANCE

### Tests and Quizzes

Section Assessments  
Section Quizzes A and B, Unit 2 **All-in-One**  
Chapter Assessment  
Chapter Tests A and B, Unit 2 **All-in-One**  
Document-Based Assessment  
Progress Monitoring Online  
ExamView Test Bank

### Performance Assessment

Essential Questions Journal  
Debates, pp. 190, 198  
Assessment Rubrics, **All-in-One**

## For More Information

To learn more about voting, refer to these sources or assign them to students:

- L1** **Giddens-White, Bryon.** *National Elections and the Political Process.* Heinemann, 2005.
- L2** **Kallen, Stuart A., ed.** *Are American Elections Fair?* Greenhaven Press, 2006.
- L3** **Maisel, L. Sandy.** *American Political Parties and Elections: A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford University Press, USA, 2007.
- L4** **Thurber, James A. and Candice J. Nelson.** *Campaigns and Elections American Style, 2d edition.* Westview Press, 2004.

## COMPREHENSION AND CRITICAL THINKING

### SECTION 1

1. (a) Nomination is the process of selecting candidates who will appear on the ballot in the general election. (b) The two-party system means that nomination is the step at which voters are likely to have the largest number of choices—or in some cases, the only meaningful choice.
2. (a) Originally, caucuses were practical. Transportation and communications were difficult. As democracy spread, citizens criticized caucuses for being undemocratic. The caucus system died after a boycott of a party caucus led to the nomination of a weak candidate in the election of 1824. (b) At first, the convention system seemed like a good choice for a representative government. Party members would meet locally to select candidates for local offices and choose delegates to a county convention. County delegates would choose State delegates, and so on. However, party bosses manipulated delegate selection and soon dominated the entire system. By the 1910s, the direct primary had replaced the convention in most States.
3. (a) Political parties use primaries to choose their candidates for the general election. (b) A party might object to a blanket primary because voters who are not members of the party would participate in choosing the party's candidates. (c) Possible responses: Closed primaries are fair because they prevent one party from raiding the other's primary to nominate a weak candidate. Closed primaries also help make candidates responsive to the party and require voters to think about party differences. OR: Closed primaries are not fair because they compromise secrecy of the ballot by requiring voters to declare a party preference. Also, closed primaries tend to exclude independent voters.

### SECTION 2

4. (a) Federal election laws establish when federal elections will occur, require the use of secret ballots in federal elections, allow the use of voting machines, protect the right to vote, prohibit various corrupt practices, and regulate election financing. (b) The goal of regulation is to assure free, honest, and accurate elections.
5. (a) intimidation of voters and vote buying (b) The Australian ballot is printed at public

## Comprehension and Critical Thinking

### Section 1

1. (a) What is the essential difference between the nominating and the election stages in the political process? (b) Explain why the two-party system makes the nominating process especially significant.
2. (a) What factors led to the convention replacing the caucus as a widely used nominating method? (b) How well did the convention method succeed in improving upon the caucus method?
3. (a) What is the role of political parties in primary elections? (b) Why do you think a political party might object to the use of a blanket primary? (c) Are closed primaries a fair way to nominate candidates? Explain.

### Section 2

4. (a) Provide three examples of areas in which the Federal Government has established election law. (b) What are the goals of the Federal Government in regulating elections?
5. (a) What are some of the problems that the secret ballot is designed to prevent? (b) How did the Australian ballot improve the voting process?
6. (a) Why do you think there has been an interest in automating the voting process in recent times? (b) What are the possible benefits and drawbacks of voting via the Internet? (c) Do the advantages of voting via the Internet outweigh its drawbacks? Explain.

### Section 3

7. (a) What factors affect how much money is spent in a political campaign? (b) How do campaign contributions help candidates running for office? (c) Does the private rather than the public financing of campaigns make elections more effective? Why or why not?

8. (a) The Supreme Court has held that campaign contributions are a form of political speech. Explain why you agree or disagree. (b) Why was this ruling significant?
9. **Analyzing Political Cartoons** The cartoon below was drawn following the 2008 Democratic presidential primaries in which Sen. Obama defeated Sen. Clinton. (a) Why is Sen Obama holding a sign reading "Unity"? (b) What does this cartoon say about primary rivalries?



### Writing About Government

10. Use the Quick Write exercises from this chapter to complete a 3–5 paragraph explanatory essay that describes and explains the key steps and features of the election you selected. See pages S9–10 of the Skills Handbook.

## Apply What You've Learned

11. **Essential Question Activity** Prepare an outline for each side of a debate about the topic: Money is essential to the electoral process.
  - (a) Develop a compelling argument both for and against the statement.
  - (b) Describe existing efforts to regulate the role of money in elections.
  - (c) Identify the main sources of campaign funding and analyze the impact each source has on elections.
  - (d) Analyze the potential effects of removing all money from the political process, or, alternatively, removing all regulation of money.

12. **Essential Question Assessment** After you have considered and written about both sides of the question about the role of money in government, write a brief essay explaining your own views on the role of money in the electoral process today. Your essay should help you answer the Essential Question: **How fair and effective is the electoral process?**

**Essential Questions Journal** To respond to the chapter Essential Question, go to your **Essential Questions Journal**.

expense, lists the name of all candidates, is given out only at the polls, and is marked in secret. This type of ballot reduces party pressure on voters and corrupt practices.

6. (a) Thanks to new technologies, automation can make voting faster and easier, and it may offer the opportunity for greater accuracy and security. (b) Benefits include ease of voting and cost savings. Drawbacks include the potential for fraudulent vote counts, blocked access, hackers, viruses, denial of service attacks, and violations of voter secrecy. (c) Possible response: No. The infrastructure for online voting is not

yet capable of ensuring fair and accurate elections. OR: Yes, the potential problems with Internet voting are no greater than those present in more traditional methods, and the benefits are clear.

### SECTION 3

7. (a) Factors include the office, the candidate, whether he or she is the incumbent, and the availability of funds. (b) Candidates need money to buy advertising, hire staff and consultants, rent office space, maintain Web sites, travel to campaign events, and send mass mailings.

# Document-Based Assessment

## Nominating Candidates in Our Electoral System

Nominating candidates to run for office is a function of political parties. It is also a key step in the democratic process. This dual quality of the nominating process can create tension, as the party's wishes and the voice of the people do not always agree.

### Document 1

Tonight, after fifty-four hard-fought contests, our primary season has finally come to an end. Sixteen months have passed since we first stood together on the steps of the Old State Capitol in Springfield, Illinois. Thousands of miles have been traveled. Millions of voices have been heard. . . .

There are those who say that this primary has somehow left us weaker and more divided. Well I say that because of this primary, there are millions of Americans who have cast their ballot for the very first time.

—Sen. Barack Obama, June 3, 2008

### Document 2

President [George H.W.] Bush received a jarring political message in the New Hampshire primary today, scoring a less-than-impressive victory over Patrick J. Buchanan, the conservative commentator. . . .

The signal to Mr. Bush was unmistakable. Even though Mr. Buchanan's support represented more than 63,000 actual votes, it amounted to a roar of anger from those who voted in the Republican primary, and it showed the power of a "send a message" campaign against him in times of economic distress. . . .

Republicans loyal to Mr. Bush tried to play down the results. . . . But there was alarm in the White House. . . .

—The New York Times, February 19, 1992

### Document 3

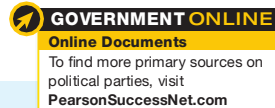
Senator Harding's nomination was the outcome of a complex situation that did not begin to clear until last evening. After four ineffective ballots yesterday the convention had adjourned until this morning. Four additional ballots in the forenoon and early afternoon of today had developed Harding strength, but General Leonard Wood and Governor Frank O. Lowden had remained in the lead. . . .

Interesting, and even thrilling, as the open proceedings in the convention were, moves behind the scenes, of which most of the convention knew nothing, had their dramatic side. The nomination of the candidate for President was arranged in conferences in hotel rooms.

—The New York Times, June 12, 1920

Use your knowledge of the nominating process and Documents 1, 2, and 3 to answer Questions 1–3.

1. According to Barack Obama in Document 1, which of the following is **not** an advantage of the primary process?
  - A. The candidates competed in many States across the country.
  - B. Primaries divided the party and upset many voters.
  - C. Primaries brought millions of new voters into the nomination process.
  - D. The candidates met many voters in their travels.
2. In Document 2, why do you think the message received by President Bush was so jarring?
3. Does the nominating process described in Document 3 seem democratic? Explain your answer.
4. **Pull It Together** How do the interests of voters and the interests of party officials sometimes come into conflict during the nomination process?




## DOCUMENT-BASED ASSESSMENT

1. B
2. As the incumbent, George H. W. Bush should have expected to receive more support and less of a challenge from within his own party.
3. Possible response: The process was democratic because the delegates had a chance to make their choice but failed. OR: The process of having a small group of people in a hotel room decide the nomination is clearly not democratic.
4. Possible response: Party officials and candidates would like to see the process produce a quick and clear result that does not divide the party or hint at disagreement. Voters naturally vote for their favorites, even though it might make other candidates and the party leaders uncomfortable.

**L2 Differentiate** Students use all the documents on the page to support their thesis.

**L3 Differentiate** Students include additional information available online at [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com).

**L4 Differentiate** Students use materials from the textbook, the online information at [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com), and do additional research to support their views.

 **Go Online to PearsonSuccessNet.com** for a student rubric and extra documents.

Yes, because private financing enables citizens to participate in the election process. OR: No, because private financing enables wealthy donors, corporations, and special interests to buy influence.

8. (a) Possible response: I agree. Supporting a candidate financially is a way for citizens to express their political preferences. (b) The ruling applied constitutional protection to political donations, limiting the ability of Congress to regulate campaign financing.
9. (a) Sen. Obama wanted the Democratic party to unite behind his candidacy. (b) Primary rivalries can be intense. Once

the candidate has been chosen, the party needs to come together to ensure that candidate's success.

## WRITING ABOUT GOVERNMENT

10. Students should use their Quick Write exercises from this chapter to complete a three-to-five-paragraph explanatory essay explains the key steps and features of the election they selected. See pages WH9–10 of the Writing Handbook.

## APPLY WHAT YOU'VE LEARNED

11. Student outlines should contain argu-

ments for each side and contain all required elements.

12. Essays should express students' own views on the importance of money in the electoral process, and should explain how their view of financing promotes fair and effective elections.

## Introduce the Chapter

### Essential Questions:

#### UNIT 2

In what ways should people participate in public affairs?

#### CHAPTER 8

What is the place of the media and public opinion in a democracy?

#### ACTIVATE PRIOR KNOWLEDGE

Have students examine the image and quotation on these pages. Ask: **What do the photo and quotation suggest about the impact of the media?** (*The media play a major role in providing information about a wide range of topics, but what people really understand depends on their evaluation and use of that information.*) In this chapter, students will learn about how public opinion is formed and measured, and the media's influence on it. Tell students to further explore public opinion and the media by completing the Chapter 8 Essential Question Warmup activity in their **Essential Questions Journal**.

#### BEFORE READING

**L2 ELL Differentiate** Chapter 8 Prereading and Vocabulary Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 169)

#### SUCCESSNET STUDENT AND TEACHER CENTER

Visit **PearsonSuccessNet.com** for downloadable resources that allow students and teachers to connect with government “on the go.”

#### DIGITAL LESSON PRESENTATION

The digital lesson presentation supports the print lesson with activities and summaries of key concepts.

## SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

#### DIGITAL AGE LITERACY

You may wish to teach digital age literacy as a distinct skill within Section 3 of this chapter. Use the Chapter 8 Skills Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 194) to help students learn about digital age literacy. The worksheet asks students to visit a political and current affairs blog, identify possible bias, and verify information. For L2 and L1 students, assign the adapted Skill Activity (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 195).



The chapter WebQuest challenges students to answer the chapter Essential Question by asking them about the media.



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## Block Scheduling

**BLOCK 1:** Teach all of the Section 1 lesson plan and the Bellringer and Core Worksheet Activity in the Section 2 lesson plan.

**BLOCK 2:** Teach the Section 3 lesson plan in its entirety.