

Participating in Government

*P*articipating IN GOVERNMENT

Voter Profile Age, gender, racial background, occupation, and many other factors may influence a person's political choices. Survey more than 100 adults, identifying several characteristics such as those mentioned above. Include questions such as: "Do you consider yourself a Democrat, Independent, or Republican?" "Did you vote in the last presidential election?" Analyze the results. For example, what percentage of people ages 18-25 voted?

Electronic Field Trip

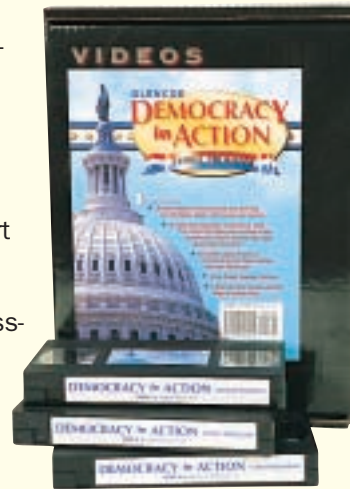
Court TV

Step inside a television courtroom and see the judicial system in action.

Glencoe's Democracy in Action Video Program

Court TV brings the judicial process into thousands of homes, helping people understand how the civil and criminal justice system works. The **Democracy in Action** video program "Court TV," referenced below, includes a discussion with a teen participant who stresses how much the justice system affects us.

As you view the video program, imagine yourself as an attorney arguing a case for your client, or as a judge hearing the opposing arguments of a court case.



Also available in videodisc format.

View the videodisc by scanning the barcode or by entering the chapter number on your keypad and pressing Search.



**Disc 2, Side 1,
Chapter 6**

Hands-On Activity

The Supreme Court allows no cameras for still pictures or for television. Most other courts restrict the media in some way. Do you believe that news media should have more access to trials, or do you think this would subject court decisions to too many public pressures? Construct a short poll on this topic and use e-mail to survey friends.



◀ A copper eagle
flagpole ornament
in Boston,
Massachusetts

◀ CONTENTS ▶

Political Parties



Why It's Important

Political Awareness Political parties play a large role in the decisions made by government. This chapter will help you understand the function of political parties. It may also help you identify your own political beliefs.



To find out more about how political parties influence policy and how you can get involved in the political process, view the *Democracy in Action* Chapter 16 video lesson:

Political Parties



CLICK HERE

GOVERNMENT
Online



Chapter Overview Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at tx.gov.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 16—Overview** to preview chapter information.

Development of Parties

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

political party, theocracy, ideologies, coalition government, third party, single-member district, proportional representation

Find Out

- What is a multiparty system and how does it affect governing?
- Why have third parties played only a minor role in American politics?

Understanding Concepts

Growth of Democracy Could Americans have participated as effectively in government without political parties?

COVER STORY

No Government in Italy

ROME, ITALY, NOVEMBER 4, 1974


Resistance to authority is spreading as Italy enters its 21st week without a national government. Political chaos is nothing new to Italians. Italy has had 36 governments in the past 31 years. However, the current crisis is the nation's worst since World War II. It began in June, when a coalition of 3 political parties collapsed after only 3 months in power. Last week another effort failed to forge a ruling majority from among Italy's more than 12 political parties. Most Italians accepted the news calmly. Few believe that their 37th government, whenever it is formed, will be better than the 36th.



An Italian demands a government

Unlike Italy, the structure of the government in the United States does not need a coalition of political parties for the government to operate. That does not mean, however, that political parties do not exist in the United States. In a nation as large and diverse as the United States the voice and will of the individual citizen can easily be lost.

Parties and Party Systems

 A **political party** is a group of people with broad common interests who organize to win elections, control government, and thereby influence government policies. Although most nations have one or more political parties, the role that parties play differs with each nation's political system.

One-Party Systems In a one-party system the party, in effect, is the government. The decisions of party leaders set government policy. In some one-party nations, political differences arise only within the party itself because the government tolerates no other opposition. In elections in such nations, only the party's candidates appear on the ballot.

One-party systems are usually found in nations with authoritarian governments. Such parties often come into power through force. For example, a revolution in 1917 brought the Communist Party to power in Russia. Today Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea, and China are among the few nations that remain one-party Communist governments.

One-party systems also exist in some non-Communist countries such as Iran where religious leaders dominate government. A government dominated by religion is known as a **theocracy**. The Muslim clergy controls the Islamic Republican Party. All major opposition parties have been outlawed or are inactive. Mexico has also had a one-party government for many years. As in Iran, minor party candidates

appeared on the ballot. Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) never lost a major election, and its leaders dominated Mexico's government. In 1997 voters began to shift to rival parties, and in 2000 a non-PRI candidate was elected president.

Multiparty Systems In nations that allow more than one political party, the most common political system today is the multiparty system. France, for example, has 5 major parties, and Italy has 10. In such countries voters have a wide range of choices on election day. The parties in a multiparty system often represent widely differing **ideologies**, or basic beliefs about government.

In a multiparty system, one party rarely gets enough support to control the government. Several parties often combine forces to obtain a majority and form a **coalition government**. When groups with different ideologies share power, coalitions often break down when disputes arise, requiring new elections. Thus, many nations with multiparty systems are politically unstable.

Two-Party Systems Only about a dozen nations have systems in which two parties compete for power, although minor parties exist. In the United States, the major parties are the Republican Party and the Democratic Party.

Growth of American Parties



Many of the Founders distrusted “factions,” or groups with differing political views. In *The Federalist*, No. 10¹ James Madison observed:

“The public good is disregarded in the conflicts of rival parties, and . . . measures are too often decided, not according to the rules of justice and the rights of the minor party, but by the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority.”

—James Madison, 1787

In his Farewell Address of 1796,² President George Washington warned against the “baneful [very harmful] effects of the spirit of party.” Even so, by the end of President Washington’s second term, two political parties had organized in opposition to one another. The Federalists called for a strong central government. The Democratic-

GOVERNMENT

Online



Student Web Activity Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at tx.gov.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 16–Student Web Activities** for an activity about political parties.

Republicans believed that the states should have more power than the central government.

Parties Before the Civil War After the Federalists elected John Adams president in 1796, their power quickly declined. Thomas Jefferson won the presidency under the Democratic-Republican banner in 1800 and 1804. The Democratic-Republicans dominated politics into the 1820s. Then conflicts over banking, tariffs, and slavery shattered the party. By 1828, when Andrew Jackson won the presidency, the Democratic-Republicans were splitting into two parties. Jackson aligned with the group called Democrats. The other group called itself National Republicans, or Whigs.

By the 1850s the debate over slavery had created divisions within both parties. The Democrats split into Northern and Southern factions. Many Whigs joined a new party that opposed the spread of slavery—the Republican Party.

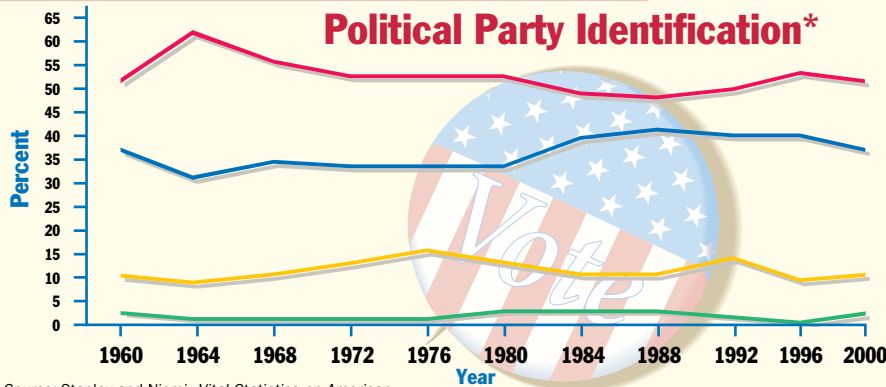
Parties After the Civil War By the Civil War’s end, two major parties dominated the national political scene. The Republicans remained the majority party from the Civil War until well into the twentieth century. Democrats held the presidency for only 4 terms between 1860 and 1932.

Parties in the Great Depression and After In 1932 the Democratic Party won the White House and assumed control of Congress. For the next 50 years, Democrats remained the majority party. Beginning in 1968, Republicans controlled the White House for 6 of the next 9 presidential terms. After losing the White House to Bill Clinton in 1992, Republicans won the 1994 mid-term elections, taking both houses of Congress for the first



See the following footnoted materials in the *Reference Handbook*:

1. *The Federalist*, No. 10, pages 812–814.
2. *Washington’s Farewell Address*, page 817.



Source: Stanley and Niemi, *Vital Statistics on American Politics 1999-2000* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Inc., 2000).

*Republican and Democratic data include Independents leaning toward that party, while Independents are those with no particular leaning.

Button backing Roosevelt's efforts to end the Depression

Democrats
Republicans
Independents
Apolitical



Online UPDATE

Visit tc.gov.glencoe.com and click on **Textbook Updates—Chapter 16** for an update of the data.

Critical Thinking

Since 1961, there have been four Democratic and five Republican presidents, yet a majority of the people in the country lean toward the Democrats. **How could the Republican candidates have won the presidential elections?**

CLICK HERE

time in 42 years. Beginning in 1995, for the first time since Truman, a Democratic president worked with a Republican Congress.

The Role of Minor Parties



Despite the dominance of the two major parties, third parties have been part of the American political scene since the early days of the Republic. A **third party** is any party other than one of the two major parties. In any election there may be more than one party running against the major parties, yet each of them is labeled a “third” party. Because they rarely win major elections, third parties are also called minor parties.

Although a variety of reasons motivates them, third parties have one thing in common. They believe that neither major party is meeting certain needs. A third party runs candidates who propose to remedy this situation.

Types of Third Parties Although there may be some exceptions and overlapping, minor parties generally fall into one of three categories. The **single-issue party** focuses exclusively on one major social, economic, or moral issue. For

example, in the 1840s the Liberty Party and the Free Soil Party formed to take stronger stands against slavery than either the Democrats or the Whigs had taken. A single-issue party generally is short-lived. It may fade away when an issue ceases to be important, or a party with a popular issue may become irrelevant if one of the major parties adopts the issue.

Another type of third party is the **ideological party**, which focuses on overall change in society rather than on an issue. Ideological parties such as the Socialist Labor Party and the Communist Party USA advocate government ownership of factories, transportation, resources, farmland, and other means of production and distribution. The Libertarian Party calls for drastic reductions in government in order to increase personal freedoms.

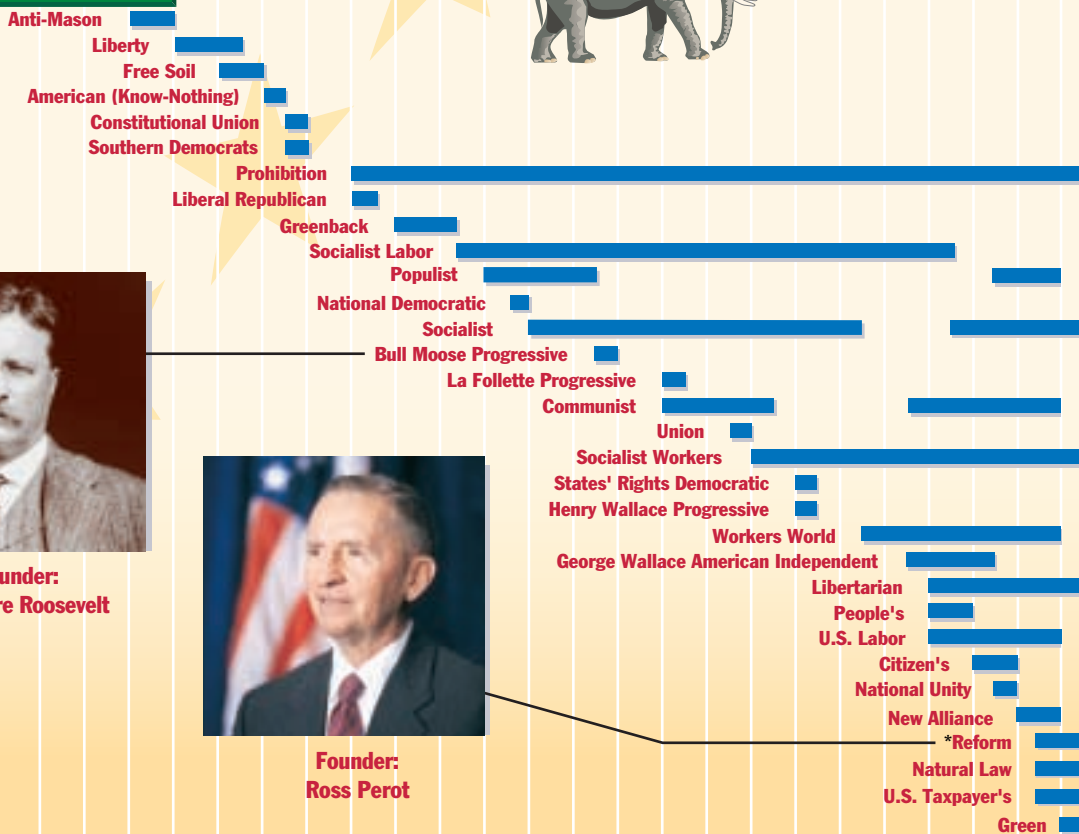
The third type of minor party is the **splinter party**, which splits away from one of the major parties because of some disagreement. Such disputes frequently result from the failure of a popular figure to gain the major party’s presidential nomination. The most notable occurrence was in 1912, when former president Theodore Roosevelt led a group out of the Republican Party to form the Progressive, or Bull Moose, Party. Splinter

American Political Parties Since 1789

Major Parties



Third Parties



Founder:
Theodore Roosevelt



Founder:
Ross Perot

Critical Thinking

Many political parties throughout American history have challenged the Democrats and Republicans, yet none have been very successful. **Which third party has made the most recent attempt at the presidency?**

*Formerly known as United We Stand

Source: Cook, Rhodes. *How Congress Gets Elected* (Washington, D.C.: CQ, Inc. 2000)

parties typically fade away with the defeat of their candidate. The **Bull Moose Party** disappeared after Roosevelt lost in 1912, for example.

The Impact of Third Parties Minor parties have influenced the outcome of national elections. Theodore Roosevelt’s Bull Moose Party drew so many Republican votes from President William Howard Taft in 1912 that Democratic candidate Woodrow Wilson was elected. In 1968 the **American Independent Party** won 13.5 percent of the vote, and some believe this swayed the narrow election of Republican candidate Richard Nixon. Some believe Ross Perot’s independent candidacy may have helped Bill Clinton win in 1992.

Third parties often have promoted ideas that were at first unpopular or hotly debated. Major parties later adopted many of their issues. For example, third parties first proposed a minimum wage for workers, the five-day workweek, unemployment insurance, and health insurance.

Obstacles to Third Parties As a result of the two-party tradition, minor parties face difficulties in getting on the ballot in all 50 states. The names of Republicans and Democrats are

automatically on the ballot in many states, but third-party candidates are required to obtain a large number of voter signatures in a short time.

Another difficulty for third-party candidates is that nearly all elected officials in the United States are selected by **single-member districts**. Under this system no matter how many candidates compete in a district, only one will win.

Because most voters support a major party, the winner will almost always be a Democrat or a Republican.

By contrast, many nations use an election system based on **proportional representation**. In this system several officials are elected to represent voters in an area. Offices are filled in proportion to the votes that each party’s candidates receive. Such a system encourages minor parties.

A related problem is financing third-party campaigns. Political campaigns require a great deal of money. Americans, convinced that a third-party candidate cannot win, are reluctant to contribute to such a campaign.

In the past, third parties have appealed mainly to voters in certain regions of the country or to certain groups in society. To survive, a third party must plant political roots in all parts of the country. Few third parties have demonstrated this kind of staying power.



Bull Moose Party button

Section 1 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

1. Main Idea Use a graphic organizer like the one below to identify three types of political party systems and how they affect governing.

Party System	Effects

- 2. Define** political party, theocracy, ideologies, coalition government, third party, single-member district, proportional representation.
- 3. Identify** Bull Moose Party, American Independent Party.
- 4.** Identify three obstacles facing third parties.

Critical Thinking

5. Making Inferences Why might the National Organization for Women want to choose and run a third-party candidate?

Concepts IN ACTION

Growth of Democracy Imagine you have been named to a committee to plan a new government for a former colony. The structure of this government will influence the development of political parties. Consider the advantages and disadvantages of no parties, one-party, two-party, and multiparty systems. Write a speech explaining your choice.

Party Organization

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

independent, precinct, precinct captain, ward, state central committee, national convention, national committee, patronage

Find Out

- How are parties organized on the national, state, and local levels?
- How do political parties assist in educating the public?

Understanding Concepts

Political Processes What role do the Republican and Democratic Parties play in the day-to-day operations and processes of the government?

COVER STORY

Teen Youngest Delegate

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, AUGUST 13, 1996


A local teenager has become one of the most visible delegates at the Republican National Convention in San Diego this week. Among the speakers at yesterday's opening session was 18-year-old Jason Brinton, a June graduate of West High School. Brinton's election last spring to be part of Utah's 28-member delegation makes him the youngest delegate at the Republican gathering. "I campaigned vigorously at the Utah Convention as a voice for the young people of our party," he said. Brinton also heads the state chapter of Teen Age Republicans, a political action group headquartered in Manassas, Virginia.



Jason Brinton

In order to succeed, a political party must have a dedicated core of willing volunteers like Jason Brinton of Utah. Both major parties employ small paid staffs in permanent party offices at county, state, and national levels. Between elections these employees carry out the day-to-day business operations of the party. At campaign time, however, political parties also use volunteers to perform a wide range of tasks. Volunteers obtain campaign contributions, publicize candidates, send out campaign literature, canvass voters, and watch at the polls on Election Day. Parties also seek the help of various professionals to win elections. These professionals include media experts to prepare television commercials, pollsters to take public opinion polls, and writers to prepare speeches for the candidates. In addition, to be successful, a party needs strong leadership and good organization at every level.

Membership and Organization

 Democrats and Republicans are organized into 50 state parties and thousands of local parties that operate independently of the national organization. Although the 3 levels generally cooperate, separate authority exists at each level. Local, state, and national parties select their own officers and raise their own funds.

Party Membership How does a voter join a political party, and what does it mean to belong? In many states citizens must declare their party preference when they register to vote or when they vote in certain kinds of elections. Joining a political party, however, is not required in the United States. A voter may declare that he or she is an **independent**, not supporting any particular party.

People who belong to a political party generally do so because they support most of its ideas and candidates. Both the Republican and Democratic Parties do everything they can to

attract supporters. In this sense, the two major parties are open parties, welcoming whoever wishes to belong and accepting whatever degree of involvement these individuals choose. Party membership involves no duties or obligations beyond voting. Members do not have to attend meetings or contribute to the party if they choose not to do so. Most people who consider themselves Democrats or Republicans do nothing more than vote for the party's candidates.

Some citizens, however, become more involved in the political process. They may support a party by contributing money or by doing volunteer work for the party or its candidates. In most states, one must be a party member in order to hold an office in a party or to be its candidate for a public office. Thus, party membership provides a way for citizens to increase their influence on government. The parties, in turn, depend on citizen involvement, especially at the local level, to carry out activities and accomplish goals.

Local Party Organization The basic local unit is the **precinct**, a voting district ranging in size from just a few voters to more than 1,000 voters, all of whom cast their ballots at the same polling place.

In a precinct each party has a volunteer **precinct captain**, who organizes party workers to distribute information about the party and its candidates and to attract voters to the polls. Several adjoining precincts comprise a larger district called a **ward**. Party members in each ward select a person, also unpaid, to represent the ward at the next level of party organization—the party's county committee.

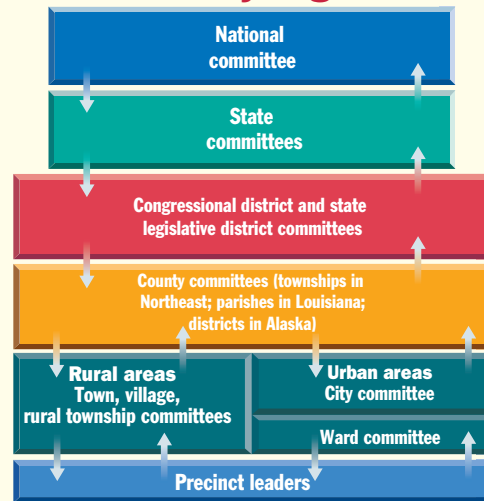
The county committee selects a chairperson to handle the county party's daily affairs. The **party county chairperson** usually has a great deal of political power in the county. He or she is very often the key figure in determining which candidate receives the party's support. If the state's governor, or a United States senator, is from the same party,



Paper handbook distributed to local Democratic leaders in 1936



Political Party Organization



Source: Bibby, *Governing by Consent*, 2d ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1995).

Critical Thinking

The political party organization is not a hierarchy, with the lower levels subordinate to the higher levels. The different groups cooperate, but they have separate powers. **What is the basic component at the local level of political party organization?**

they may seek recommendations from the county chairperson when appointing judges and administrative officials.

At the same time, however, local parties, because of the nature of their membership, are the weakest link in the organizational chain. One study of political parties concluded the following:

“The vast majority of local parties are essentially voluntary organizations. . . . They have the least influence and the fewest resources. The combination of . . . reliance on volunteers in an era when volunteers are hard to find, complex campaign finance regulations, and the general low regard in which parties are held combine to discourage the best leadership or the greatest participation.”

—Xandra Kayden and Eddie Mahe, Jr., 1985

State Party Organization In each state the most important part of a party is the **state central committee**, which usually is composed largely of representatives from the party's county organizations. The state central committee chooses the **party state chairperson**. In selecting this person, however, the committee generally follows the wishes of the governor, a United States senator, or some other party leader powerful in state politics.

A main function of the state central committee is to help elect the party's candidates for state government offices. In addition, the state central committee may provide assistance to local parties and candidates and may help coordinate the activities of the local parties. Of course, it also works hard at raising money.

National Party Organization The national party organization has two main parts—the national convention and the national committee. The **national convention** is a gathering of party members and local and state party officials. It meets every four years, primarily to nominate the party's presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Beyond this function it has very little authority.


Between conventions the party's **national committee**, a large group composed mainly of

representatives from the 50 state party organizations, runs the party. Some members of Congress and some state and local elected officials also may sit on the national committee, as may other selected party members.

The **party national chairperson**, elected by the national committee, manages the daily operation of the national party. Usually the person selected is the choice of the party's presidential candidate. The national chairperson also raises money for the party, touts its achievements, and promotes national, state, and local party cooperation.

Both the Democrats and the Republicans also have independent campaign committees for Congress. These committees provide assistance to senators and representatives who are running for reelection. Each party's committee also provides resources to help challengers defeat senators and representatives from the other party.

Political Party Functions

 The Constitution does not provide for political parties or even mention them. Yet political parties are an essential part of the American democratic system. Through the election process, the people select the officials who will

POLITICS and You

Running for Office

The most direct way of being involved in government is to hold elected office. The procedures and requirements for becoming a political candidate vary somewhat from state to state. However, in most cases to do so you must file an official petition, signed by the required number of registered voters, with the appropriate local or state election board before a specified deadline. If other members of your political party have filed petitions for the same office, you may have to win a primary election to become the candidate.

Among the resources you will need in your campaign are time, money, and volunteers. Running for political office takes a great deal of personal time. Loans and donations from supporters will pay for brochures, TV and radio

spots, and other devices to promote your candidacy. Volunteers can help get your message out to voters by distributing your materials. You may also need expert volunteer help to file the campaign finance reports required under state and federal law.



**Campaign
button**

Participating IN GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY

Candidate Qualifications Contact your local board of elections to determine the qualifications, requirements, and procedures for running for office in your community.

govern them. As part of this process, political parties perform several important functions. No other body or institution in American government performs these tasks.

Recruiting Candidates Political parties seek men and women who seem to have a good chance of being elected. Selecting candidates for public office and presenting them to the voters for approval is the major function of political parties. It is often said that political parties are election-oriented rather than issues-oriented. This characteristic helps the Republicans and the Democrats maintain their status as major parties. Although members within each party share a general ideology about government and society, wide differences often exist on specific issues, even among the party's elected officials. Republicans in the Senate may refuse to support a Republican president's request for legislation, for example, and House Democrats may vote on both sides of a bill. To maintain broad appeal, each party tries to avoid disagreements and unite behind its candidates.

Educating the Public Despite efforts to avoid division, political parties do bring important issues to the attention of the public. Each party publishes its position on the issues of the day, such as inflation, military spending, taxes, pollution, energy, and the environment. Candidates present these views in pamphlets, press conferences, speeches, and television, radio, and newspaper advertisements. These devices help citizens form opinions on controversial topics and give voters a choice between differing positions on issues.

Sometimes major party candidates feel safer attacking their opponent's views than stating their own. Important issues can become lost in a sea of personal attacks. When major party candidates fail to address issues, a minor party candidate may force debate on these subjects. In 1992 and 1996 Ross Perot brought his concern for the national debt and the nation's economic problems to the campaign agenda. In 2000 Ralph Nader championed consumer and environmental issues as leader of the Green Party.

Unfortunately, many Americans are not well-informed about important issues or the background of candidates. Political parties simplify elections by helping such people decide how to

Third Parties Sway Elections



Appealing to Voters Independent candidate Ross Perot filmed “infomercials” during his presidential campaigns. Here he holds a chart depicting the economic decline of the nation, and declares that he can put the nation’s finances in order. **What do you think Perot’s strong support in the 1992 election revealed about the American people?**

vote. By supporting a candidate just because he or she is a Democrat or a Republican, the voter knows generally how the candidate stands on key issues. Political party affiliation helps voters assess which candidate will be more acceptable.

Operating the Government Political parties also play a key role in running and staffing the government. Congress and the state legislatures are organized and carry on their work on the basis of party affiliation. Party leaders in the legislatures make every effort to see that their members support the party’s position when considering legislation.

A party also acts as a link between a legislature and a chief executive. A chief executive works through his or her party leaders in the legislature to promote the administration’s program. For most of the past 30 years, however, one party has controlled the White House and the other has controlled one or both houses of Congress. In recent years the same situation has developed between governors and legislatures in more than half the states.

Chairwomen The first woman to chair a national party committee (the Democratic National Committee) was Jean Westwood of Utah in 1972. She was chosen by presidential nominee George McGovern. At the bidding of President Gerald R. Ford, Mary Louise Smith of Iowa was the first woman to serve as chair of the Republican National Committee, from 1974 to 1976. Both Westwood and Smith had been state organizational leaders.

Dispensing Patronage Political parties also dispense **patronage**, or favors given to reward party loyalty, to their members. These favors often include jobs, contracts, and appointments to government positions. Business executives or labor unions that contribute heavily to a political party, for example, may expect government to be sympathetic to their problems if that party comes to power. They may be awarded contracts to provide government with goods or services. Loyal party workers may be placed in government jobs. Although laws and court decisions have limited

patronage in recent years, the practice remains a major way that parties control and reward their supporters.

The Loyal Opposition The party out of power in the legislative or executive branch assumes the role of “watchdog” over government. It observes the party in power, criticizes it, and offers solutions to political problems. If the opposition party does this successfully, public opinion may swing in its favor and return it to power in a future election. Concern about this makes the party in power more sensitive to the will of the people.

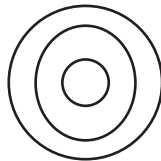
Reduction of Conflict In a complex society, conflict among groups with differing interests is inevitable. To win an election, a political party must attract support from many different groups. To accomplish this, a party encourages groups to compromise and work together. A key outcome of this process is that parties encourage government to adopt moderate policies with mass appeal.

Parties contribute to political stability in another way, too. When one party loses control of the government, the transfer of power takes place peacefully. No violent revolutions occur after elections, as they do in some nations. In the United States, the losing party accepts the outcome of elections because it knows that the party will continue to exist as the opposition party and someday will return to power.

Section 2 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

- 1. Main Idea** Use a graphic organizer like the one to the right to show the three levels at which each major political party functions.
- 2. Define** independent, precinct, precinct captain, ward, state central committee, national convention, national committee, patronage.
- 3. Identify** party county chairperson, party state chairperson, party national chairperson.
- 4.** What are the methods a political party uses to educate the public?



Critical Thinking

- 5. Understanding Cause and Effect** What are the advantages and the disadvantages of the system of patronage?

Concepts IN ACTION

Political Processes Prepare for a debate on the following statement: The two-party system has outlived its usefulness. Choose either the pro or con side of the issue and prepare arguments for the side you chose. Pair up with a classmate who has prepared arguments opposing yours and debate the issue.



SHOULD THERE BE LIMITS ON CAMPAIGN SPENDING?

Although there are limits to how much individuals and groups can contribute to a federal candidate, there are no limits on how much money a candidate can raise or spend. In the presidential election of 2000, candidates spent more than \$600 million on their campaigns.

MONEY AND INFLUENCE

Fund-raising abuses and a disgruntled public have forced Congress to take a closer look at what can be done to limit campaign spending. In 1997 the Senate proposed a constitutional amendment to put a cap on spending. It was voted down. Currently, there are several bills up for consideration that deal with campaign-finance reform. However, insiders say the chance of these bills passing is slim.

Those who favor reform argue that large corporations and other special interest groups have more money to spend on contributions, which gives them more influence over the candidates. With the costs of campaigning dramatically increasing in every election, many people are concerned that only the wealthy or someone backed by one of the two major parties can be a candidate for president or Congress.

PROTECTING FREE SPEECH

In 1976 the Supreme Court considered the issue of putting a cap on campaign spending. It ruled that setting limits on an individual's campaign spending was unconstitutional because it violated the right of free speech. The Court said that money is necessary for a candidate to reach voters.

Others who balk at limits say that if campaign spending is controlled, incumbents will have an edge because of name recognition. To compete, opponents need to be able to spend large amounts of money to generate the same kind of name recognition. One bill in Congress proposed that free television time and reduced mail rates be offered to candidates who voluntarily adhere to spending limits.



Debating the Issue

SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISH A CAP ON FEDERAL CAMPAIGN SPENDING?

Assume you are a member of Congress who will vote on a constitutional amendment to limit campaign spending. Spending limits would hurt your next campaign, but you are receiving pressure from your district to curb campaign spending.

KEY ISSUES

- ✓ Do you think unlimited campaign spending can lead to political corruption?
- ✓ Is the threat to free speech a valid argument for not limiting campaign spending?

- ✓ Are the wealthy favored in the campaign process?

Debate Discuss the issue in class. Select three people on each side of the issue to hold a debate in front of the class.

Vote Vote for or against limited campaign spending. Those on each side of the issue should work together to draft a letter to Congress expressing their viewpoint.

Nominating Candidates

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

caucus, nominating convention, boss, direct primary, closed primary, open primary, plurality, runoff primary, ticket, platform, planks

Find Out

- How are primaries conducted as a method of choosing candidates?
- What are the processes followed at a national nominating convention?

Understanding Concepts

Political Processes Primaries and nominating conventions are democratic methods of selecting candidates. What are some drawbacks?

COVER STORY

Hard to Choose

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, JUNE 12, 1920


After failing in four tries to nominate a presidential candidate, the Republican National Convention recessed last night. When the delegates went to bed, General Leonard Wood and Illinois governor Frank Lowden were the front-runners for the nomination. This morning the delegates found the situation had changed. Exhausted Republican leaders emerged at 6 A.M. from an all-night meeting in the Blackstone Hotel, after settling on Ohio senator Warren Harding to be the candidate. Harding finished a distant fourth in yesterday's voting. After six more ballots today, the delegates finally agreed to the choice of Harding.



1920 Republican candidates

Party nominations are often hard-fought contests. In the summer that Harding was selected, the Democrats later required 44 ballots to choose their candidate, Ohio governor James Cox. To win elections, a party must first offer appealing candidates and conduct expensive campaigns.

How Candidates Are Selected

 Historically, individuals have sought nomination for public office in one of four ways: (1) caucus; (2) nominating convention; (3) primary election; or (4) petition. Although election laws vary greatly from state to state, all candidates have reached the ballot through one or more of these methods.

Caucuses Early in our nation's history, **caucuses**—private meetings of party leaders—chose nearly all candidates for office. The caucus became widely criticized as undemocratic, however, because most people had no say in selecting the candidates.

In modern caucuses, party rules require openness with the selection process starting at the local level. Selecting delegates starts at the neighborhood level and then moves to the county, congressional district, and finally the state level. Nineteen states use caucuses today.

Nominating Conventions As political caucuses came under attack, the **nominating convention**, an official public meeting of a party to choose candidates for office, became popular. Under this system, local party organizations send representatives to a county nominating convention that selects candidates for county offices and chooses delegates who will go to a state nominating convention. The state convention, in turn, selects candidates for statewide office and chooses delegates who will go to the national convention.

In theory, the convention system was more democratic than party caucuses because power would flow upward from the people. As the convention system developed, however, it became increasingly undemocratic. Powerful party leaders, called **bosses**, chose delegates and controlled conventions. Public reaction against the bosses in the 1900s led to primary elections as the method of selection at the state and local levels.

Primary Elections The method most commonly used today to nominate candidates is the **direct primary**, an election in which party members select people to run in the general election. Two types of primary elections are held. Most states hold a **closed primary**, in which only members of a political party can vote. Thus, only Democrats pick Democratic candidates for office, and only Republicans can vote in the Republican primary. In an **open primary**, all voters may participate, even if they do not belong to the party, but they can vote in only one party's primary.

Primary elections are conducted according to state law and are held at regular polling places just

as general elections are. Each state sets the date of its primary, provides the ballots and the people to supervise the election, and counts the votes. In most states a primary candidate does not need a majority of the votes to win, but only a **plurality**, or more votes than any other candidate. In a few states, however, if no candidate receives a majority, a **runoff primary** is held. The runoff is a second primary election between the two candidates who received the most votes in the first primary. The person who wins the runoff becomes the party's candidate in the general election.

In most states today, candidates for governor and for the House, Senate, other state offices, and most local offices are selected in primary elections. In many states, however, party caucuses and nominating conventions continue to exist alongside primaries.

Petition Under the petition method, a person announces his or her candidacy and files petitions that a specified number of voters have signed in order to be placed on the ballot. Some states require that all candidates file petitions.

We the People

Making a Difference

J.C. Watts, Jr.



City sign



J.C. Watts, Jr., grew up in Eufaula, Oklahoma, where the railroad tracks divided the town into African American and white communities. Watts recalls those days: “I remember I had to sit in the balcony of the movie theater.” In 1973 Watts became the Eufaula High School Iron-heads’ first African American quarterback. Now Watts is the only African American Republican in the United States House of Representatives.

When the Eufaula city council renamed a street after the football hero, historians and citizens resisted, claiming that renaming a street that already happened to be named after President Andrew Jackson would desecrate the memory of the president. The Eufaula city council declared, “We

felt J.C. Watts would be more important to the history of Eufaula than Jackson ever was.”

As a former star football player at the University of Oklahoma, Watts enjoyed name recognition. He used that name recognition to launch his congressional career. Watts traveled to Washington with a conservative Republican message and the charisma to deliver it well. Following the 1998 elections, House Republicans elected Watts chair of the Republican Conference—a House majority leadership position—for the 106th Congress.


Those who know Watts describe him as a man on a mission. Watts’s father, J.C. “Buddy” Watts, explains, “I’ve had a lot of people say that he’d be the first [African American] president.”

In a primary contest, the party-backed candidate has an advantage because party workers will circulate petitions. The party will also use its financial and organizational resources to back its choice. Candidates without caucus or convention support have serious obstacles to overcome. If such a candidate poses a serious threat, however, party leaders frequently are willing to make a deal. They might offer the challenger party support for another office, or appointment to a government post, to avoid a primary. Political analyst Theodore H. White once explained why:

“Established leaders hate primaries for good reason; they are always, in any form, an appeal from the leaders’ wishes to the people directly. Primaries suck up and waste large sums of money from contributors who might better be tapped for the November finals; the charges and countercharges of primary civil war provide the enemy party with ammunition it can later use with blast effect against whichever primary contender emerges victorious.”

—Theodore H. White, 1961

Presidential Nominations

 The most exciting and dramatic election in American politics is the presidential election. Every 4 years, each major party gathers during July or August in a national convention. Elected or appointed delegates representing the 50 states, Guam, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and the District of Columbia attend the convention. The task of the delegates is to select a **ticket**—candidates for president and vice president—that will win in the November general election. Because this ticket, if elected, can change history and affect every American’s life, millions of Americans watch the televised coverage of the conventions. The drama and spectacle of a convention, however, have not always been so

open to the public’s view. Likewise, presidential nominations have not always been as democratic as they are today.

The History of Presidential Nominations

Before national nominating conventions, congressional caucuses chose presidential candidates. From 1800 to 1824, congressional leaders from each party met in secret and selected their party’s ticket. In the presidential election of 1824, Andrew Jackson made the caucus system an issue, declaring that a small group of representatives did not speak for the nation. Although Jackson lost the election, his revolt against “King Caucus,” as he called it, discredited the caucus system and led to the eventual adoption of the nominating convention.

A minor political party, the Anti-Masons, held the first national convention in 1831, and the two major parties quickly copied the idea. Since 1832 a convention of party members has chosen major party presidential candidates. To make these conventions more democratic, by 1916 almost half the states were choosing **convention delegates** in presidential primary elections.

For years, when citizens voted in a presidential primary, they really were choosing among groups of party members pledged to support specific candidates. The group pledged to the winning candidate became that state’s delegation to the national convention.

In the 1970s, however, both major parties provided a more democratic nomination process. For example, new party rules encouraged that women, minorities, and young people be included as convention delegates. By 1996, presidential primaries existed in 44 states and were part of the selection process for about three-fourths of the delegates to the two national conventions.

Presidential Primaries Today Like other primary elections, presidential primaries operate under a wide variety of state laws. In addition, each



Andrew Jackson presented himself to voters as the hero of the “common man.”

party frequently changes its rules regarding delegate selection. Even in the same state, each party's primary may operate under different procedures. The following three generalizations, however, can be made about presidential primaries: (1) They may be a delegate selection process or a presidential preference poll, or both. (2) Either the candidate who wins the primary gets all the state's convention delegates (called "winner-take-all"), or each candidate gets delegates based on how many popular votes he or she receives in the primary. (3) Delegates selected on the basis of the popular vote may be required to support a certain candidate at the national convention, or they may be uncommitted.

Many presidential primaries were originally winner-take-all. The Democrats now use **proportional representation**. Under this system a state's delegates must represent the candidates in proportion to the popular vote each receives in the primary once a certain threshold is reached. The Republicans allow both winner-take-all and proportional systems.

Although proportional representation was intended to make a party's nomination process more democratic, in many states it had an unanticipated result. Combined with the other rules for state delegations, proportional representation made delegate selection almost impossibly complicated. Today only a few of the states with presidential primaries hold "beauty contests." These are preference polls in which voters indicate which candidate they would like to be the nominee. Caucuses later choose the actual delegates.

Criticisms of Presidential Primaries

While most people agree that the presidential primary system is a great improvement over the previous method of selecting convention delegates, it has its critics. A major criticism is that the primaries extend over too long a time in an election year. With the first primary held in February and the last in June, seeking a party's nomination is a very long, costly, and exhausting process.

Another criticism is that the primaries seem to make the image of the candidates more important than the issues. The news media's coverage of primary campaigns tends

to play up candidates' personalities rather than their positions on important questions. Also, relatively few people vote in primaries. Thus, the winner of a primary may not be as popular as the victory would indicate.

Candidates who win the early primaries capture the media spotlight. Often the other candidates are saddled with a "loser" image that makes it difficult for them to raise campaign contributions. Some are forced to drop out before the majority of voters in either party have the chance to pick their choice for the nominee.

Some states have joined forces to create regional primaries. Fourteen Southern states, from Texas to Maryland, held their 1988 Democratic presidential primaries on March 8. Candidates who did not do well in this "Super Tuesday" election lost almost all chance of becoming their party's nominee.

Getting to the National Convention

Primary Elections

The major political parties generate excitement in the primaries and the national conventions by sponsoring young voter programs. *Why do states continue to experiment with the structure of primaries?*



Democratic button (above) and Republican brochure (left)

Because primaries eliminate many opponents, they often result in one-sided convention victories for particular candidates. Some observers believe that the nominating convention itself has become simply a rubber-stamp operation. If the primary winners come to the convention with enough delegate votes to win the nomination, they ask, why hold the nominating convention at all? Of course, it is possible that in the future, primary election support for contenders will be more equally divided, in which case the convention will once again be an arena of debate over and real battles for the presidential nomination.

The National Convention



From February to June, the candidates crisscross the country competing for delegate support. Meanwhile, the national committee staff is preparing for the convention to be held in late summer.

Preconvention Planning Long before its convention meets, the national committee of each major party chooses the site and dates. After the city and dates are chosen, the national committee tells each state party organization how many votes the state will have at the convention. In the past, states had the same number of convention votes as they had electoral votes. At recent conventions, however, the parties have used complicated formulas to determine the number of votes each state will have.

Assembling the Convention From across the country, thousands of delegates assemble in the convention city, accompanied by a mass of spectators, protesters, and news media representatives. When the delegates arrive, many are already pledged to a candidate, but others are not. All the candidates actively woo these uncommitted delegates, especially if the presidential nomination is still in doubt. As rumors of political deals circulate, candidates hold news conferences, and reporters mill about in search of stories. One writer described a national convention as:

“ . . . an American invention as native to the U.S.A. as corn pone or apple pie. . . . It has something of the gaiety of a four-ring circus, something of the sentiment of a class reunion, and something of the tub-thumping frenzy of a backwoods camp meeting. ”

—Theodore H. White



Supporting presidential candidates



The noise and confusion subside as the party chairperson calls the opening session to order. The evening of the opening day marks the keynote speech, an address by an important party member intended to unite the party for the coming campaign. The delegates then approve the convention's four standing committees—rules and order of business, credentials, permanent organization, and platform and resolutions—that have been at work for several weeks.

Because in recent conventions there has been little suspense about who would be either party's candidate, the only real conflict has involved committee reports. The convention spends the second and third days, or even longer, listening to these reports and to speeches about them.

The Rules Committee Each party's **rules committee** governs the way its convention is run. The committee proposes rules for convention procedure and sets the convention's order of business. The delegates must approve any proposed changes in the rules of the last convention. Although the rules committee report is usually accepted, at times real battles have developed over it. The outcome of a rules fight can be vital to a candidate for the presidential nomination. For example, at the 1980 Democratic convention, Senator Edward Kennedy was eager to capture the nomination, even though President Jimmy Carter had won a majority of the delegates in the primaries.

Thinking that many of the Carter delegates were not strong supporters of the president, Kennedy sought to defeat a rule binding delegates

to vote for the candidate who had won their state primary. If the rule were defeated, the Carter delegates would be free to support whomever they wished. Kennedy felt that many of the Carter delegates would then switch to him. When Kennedy lost this rules vote, he also lost whatever chance he had for the nomination.

The Credentials Committee The credentials committee must approve the delegations from each state. Sometimes disputes arise over who the proper delegates are. Candidates who trail in delegate support may challenge the credentials of their opponents' delegates. Two entire rival delegations may even appear at the convention, each claiming to be a state's official delegation. It is up to the credentials committee to determine which delegates should be seated. Although the committee's decisions may be appealed on the convention floor, the delegates generally accept its report without changes.

Fights over credentials often have been livelier than rules fights at national conventions. In 1964, for example, African Americans at the Democratic convention charged that an all-white Mississippi delegation had excluded them, giving the African American citizens of Mississippi no representation at the convention. The credentials committee allowed some African Americans to be seated in the Mississippi delegation. In 1968 the same situation occurred. The committee refused to seat another all-white Mississippi delegation, and this time replaced it with an integrated rival delegation.

The Committee on Permanent Organization This committee selects the permanent chairperson and other officials for the convention. After it reports, the delegates elect the permanent convention officials who take the day-to-day control of the convention from the temporary officials.

The Platform Committee The platform committee, as its name suggests, is assigned an important task—the writing of the party's **platform**, a statement of its principles, beliefs, and positions on vital issues. It also spells out how the party intends to deal with these issues. The party must try to adopt a platform that appeals to all factions, or divisions, at the convention—not always an easy task.

Part of the difficulty in getting platforms accepted is that individual parts of the platform,



Party Conventions Some first-timers at the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia in 2000 were astounded by the excitement and energy of the crowd. *Why do the major political parties strive to hold entertaining national conventions?*

called **planks**, may divide the delegates. In 1968, for example, a pro-Vietnam War plank angered Democrats who wanted the United States to withdraw from that conflict. In 1980 the Republican platform contained a plank opposing the Equal Rights Amendment. Although this plank was controversial, the platform passed.

Because the party's presidential candidate must support the party platform, all contenders try to get their viewpoints into the platform. Rival candidates with opposing views often will create a fight within the party over the platform. The danger is that a platform fight may divide the party. If the fight is bitter, as it was for Democrats in 1968, the party may become so divided that it loses the election.

Nominating the Candidates After each committee's reports are adopted, the highlight of the convention occurs. It is time to select the party's candidate for president. From the opening day, the leading contenders have been working to hold onto their delegates and to gain as many uncommitted delegates as possible.

In recent years, however, the front-runners have won enough committed delegates in the primaries to take the suspense out of the nominating process. Even so, the nominating speech for each candidate sets off a demonstration, as supporters

parade around the convention hall. After the nominating speeches and all the seconding speeches that follow are made, the balloting starts.

The convention chairperson now instructs the clerk to read the alphabetical roll call of the states, and the chairperson of each state delegation calls out the delegates' votes. The candidate who receives a majority of the votes becomes the party's nominee. If no candidate does, then further roll calls must be taken until one candidate wins a majority.

In recent conventions most candidates have been selected on the first ballot. This is partly because television has helped to narrow the field of candidates in the primaries. Candidates who win few delegates in the early primary states quickly drop out, knowing that they will not be able to raise the large sums of money needed to keep the campaign going. By convention time, there may be no mystery about who will be the presidential nominee.

Party leaders benefit from the early victory of one candidate, having more time to plan the convention and unify the party. The convention can then become a scripted television event. However, with the mystery removed from the nominating process, a convention may not be able to attract a large television audience. This is one reason that the major television networks have reduced their coverage to a few hours of prime time.

The Vice-Presidential Nomination The vice-presidential nomination, which normally takes place on the last day of the convention, may create some suspense. Usually, the party's presidential nominee selects a running mate, and the convention automatically nominates the person chosen. A vice-presidential candidate is generally selected to balance the ticket, meaning that he or she has a personal, political, and geographic background different from the presidential nominee. This balance is designed to make the ticket appeal to as many voters as possible.

In 1960 John F. Kennedy, a young Catholic senator from Massachusetts, chose Lyndon B. Johnson, an older Protestant senator from Texas, as his running mate. In 1984 Minnesota senator Walter F. Mondale made New York representative Geraldine Ferraro the first female vice-presidential major party candidate.



Walter Mondale chose Geraldine Ferraro as his running mate.

Adjournment With the nomination of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, the convention is almost over. These major nominees appear before the delegates and make their acceptance speeches. These speeches are intended to bring the party together, to attack the opposition party, to sound a theme for the upcoming campaign, and to appeal to a national television audience. The convention then adjourns.

Section 3 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

1. Main Idea Use a graphic organizer like the one below to show four ways candidates for office can get on the ballot and why each method has drawn criticism.

Method	Criticism

- 2. Define** caucus, nominating convention, boss, direct primary, closed primary, open primary, plurality, runoff primary, ticket, platform, plank.
- 3. Identify** convention delegates, rules committee.
- 4.** How do states deal with the situation in which no primary candidate wins a majority of votes?

- 5.** How is each major party's presidential candidate chosen at its national nominating convention?

Critical Thinking

- 6. Making Generalizations** What historical and political changes in society have influenced presidential nominating methods?

Concepts IN ACTION

Political Processes Create a poster that presents a democratic and cost-efficient system for selecting nominees for president.

Skills Technology

Using an Electronic Spreadsheet

People use electronic spreadsheets to manage large groups of numbers quickly and easily. You can use an electronic spreadsheet and allow the computer to perform the mathematical functions with any data that involves numbers that can be arranged in columns and rows.

Learning the Skill

A spreadsheet is an electronic worksheet. It is made up of numbered cells that form rows and columns. Each column (vertical) is assigned a letter or number. Each row (horizontal) is assigned a number. Each point where a column and row intersect is called a *cell*. The cell's position on the spreadsheet is labeled according to its corresponding column and row—Column A, Row 1 (A1); Column B, Row 2 (B2) and so on. See the diagram below.

A1	B1	C1	D1	E1
A2	B2	C2	D2	E2
A3	B3	C3	D3	E3
A4	B4	C4	D4	E4
A5	B5	C5	D5	E5

Spreadsheets use *standard formulas* to calculate the numbers. By entering a simple equation into the computer, you command the computer to add, subtract, multiply, or divide the numbers in specific cells, rows, or columns.

To make changes in a spreadsheet, use a mouse or the cursor keys to move to the cell you choose. That cell will be highlighted or have a border around it. If you change a number in any cell,

the computer will automatically change the totals to reflect the new number. The computer will even copy a formula from one cell to another.

Practicing the Skill

Suppose you wanted to chart the number of votes the Republican, Democratic, and third-party candidates received in the last five presidential elections. Use these steps to create a spreadsheet that will provide this information:

1. In cells B1 and C1, respectively, type the name of the political party; in cell D1 type in *Third Party*. In cell E1, type the term *total*.
2. In cells A2-A6, type the year of a presidential election. In cell A7, type the word *total*.
3. In row 2, enter the number of votes each party received in the year named in cell A2. Repeat this process in rows 3-6.
4. Create a formula to calculate the votes. The formula for the equation tells which cells (B2 + B3 + B4 + B5 + B6) to add together.
5. Copy the formula to the right in the cells for the other parties.
6. Use the process in steps 4 and 5 to create and copy a formula to calculate the total number of votes all parties received in each year.

Application Activity

Use a spreadsheet to enter your test scores and your homework grades. At the end of the grading period, input the correct formula and the spreadsheet will calculate your average grade.

Assessment and Activities

CLICK HERE

GOVERNMENT

Online



Self-Check Quiz Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at tx.gov.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 16–Self-Check Quizzes** to prepare for the chapter test.

Reviewing Key Terms

Insert the correct terms into the sentences below. Some terms will be used more than once.

- | | |
|----------|---------------------|
| bosses | ticket |
| plank | national convention |
| ideology | platform |
| caucus | |

1. A political party's (1) is expressed in each (2) of the (3) that it adopts at the (4) to select its (5).

2. Although the (6) replaced the party (7) in choosing its (8), the party's (9) continued to influence the nomination process.

Recalling Facts

1. Identify the pairs of major parties that have existed in American history.
2. What is the function of the rules committee?
3. What is the main function of the two major political parties?
4. What are the responsibilities of a precinct captain within a political party?
5. What role does the political party out of power assume?
6. What is the difference between open and closed primaries?
7. Identify the three types of third parties and identify a party of each type.
8. What is the purpose of the credentials committee?

Understanding Concepts

1. **Growth of Democracy** Why have third parties had so little success in the United States?
2. **Political Processes** Why are many Americans uninformed about the issues in a campaign?
3. **Political Processes** Why is a primary election better than a party caucus for selecting candidates?

Critical Thinking

1. **Understanding Cause and Effect** The two major parties are criticized as being out of touch with the needs of many Americans. How might a successful third party affect the two major parties?
2. **Predicting Consequences** Use a chart to analyze the advantages and disadvantages of a national primary to nominate each party's presidential candidate.

Advantages	Disadvantages

Current Events

JOURNAL

Multiparty Systems Use news magazines to research the political events of the past year in countries that have multiparty systems, such as Japan, Italy, Israel, and France. Find out about an election or an event that had an impact on the government of one of these countries, and how the existence of several parties affected the outcome of the election or the event. Present your findings in a brief written report.

Cooperative Learning Activity

Political Parties Research the history of American political parties. Organize into groups of three or four, and choose a leader to coordinate the project. Have your group choose a political party—either a major party or a third party—and prepare a brief history of it. Create an illustrated time line showing major events in the party’s history to accompany your report. Divide research, writing, and illustrating tasks among your group members. Display the report and time line in the classroom.

Skill Practice Activity

Using an Electronic Spreadsheet

Use a spreadsheet to record the frequency of news about political parties. Scan a local or national newspaper every day for two weeks to find out how many times political parties are mentioned, which political parties are mentioned, and why the party is in the news. Print out your spreadsheet and use it to analyze the impact of political parties on Americans’ daily lives.

Technology Activity

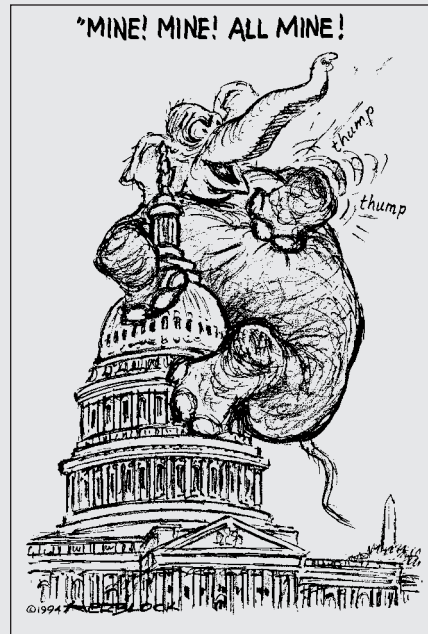
Using the Internet Find current information about the Democratic and Republican Parties on the Internet.

Use a search engine to find the sites for the Democratic and Republican Parties. Some states include sites that provide information about events of the respective parties at the state level. After compiling your information, write an information pamphlet about ways that citizens can participate in political parties at the national, state, and local levels.



Interpreting Political Cartoons Activity

1. What event is this cartoon documenting?
2. What symbols does the cartoonist use?
3. Why does the elephant seem so jubilant?



Participating in State Government

The method by which delegates are selected to national nominating conventions depends on party rules and on the laws of each state. Work with a partner to determine the process in your state. Contact each party’s county and state organizations and local board of elections to find out the following information:

- How many delegates your state sends to each party’s national convention
- How this number is determined
- How the delegates to the national convention are selected
- Any special laws or rules that apply to the processes

When all information is gathered and analyzed, present your findings to the class.

