People Make a Difference

Why Study Civics?

Everyone who receives the protection of society
owes a return for the benefit.

—John Stuart Mill

And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your
country can do for you; ask what you can do for
your country.

—President John F. Kennedy

As you read these words, can you think of ways to participate in
our democracy? You have seen that our government is built on the
belief that people should govern themselves. As English philosopher
Mill said, "we are indebted to our society for the protection it
provides to us." What did he mean? How would you respond to
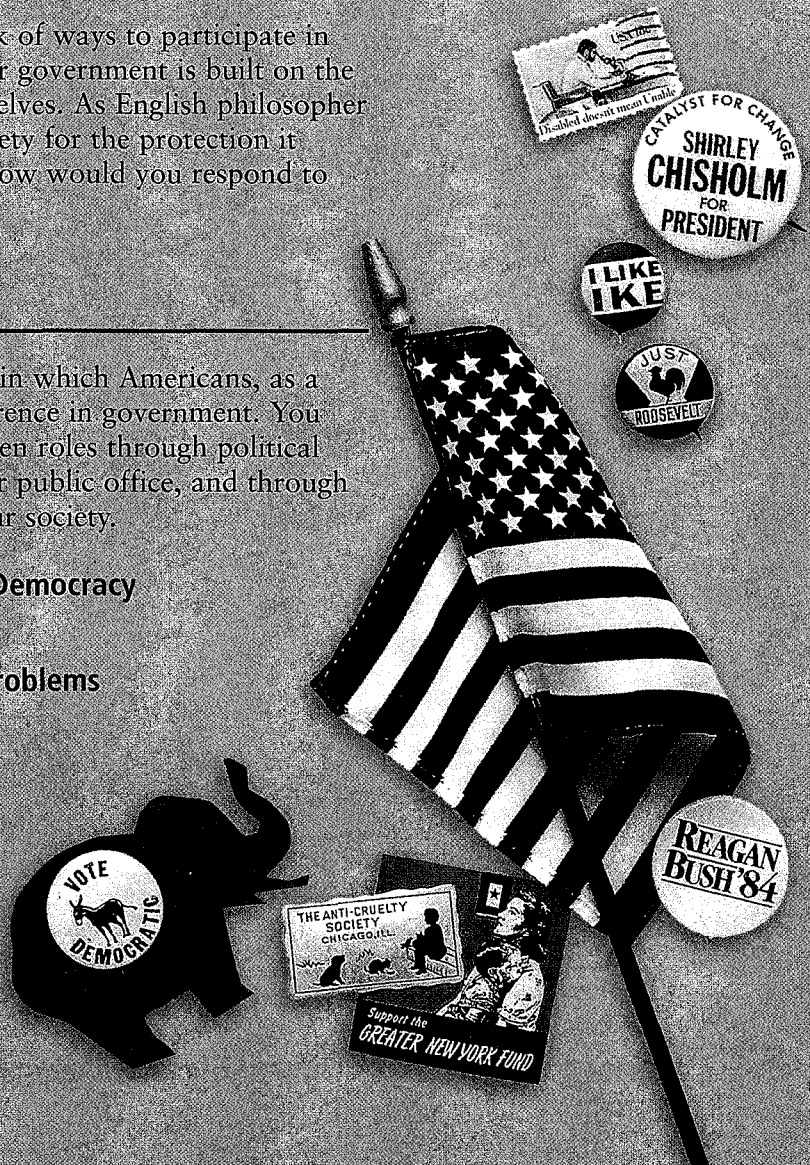President Kennedy's statement?
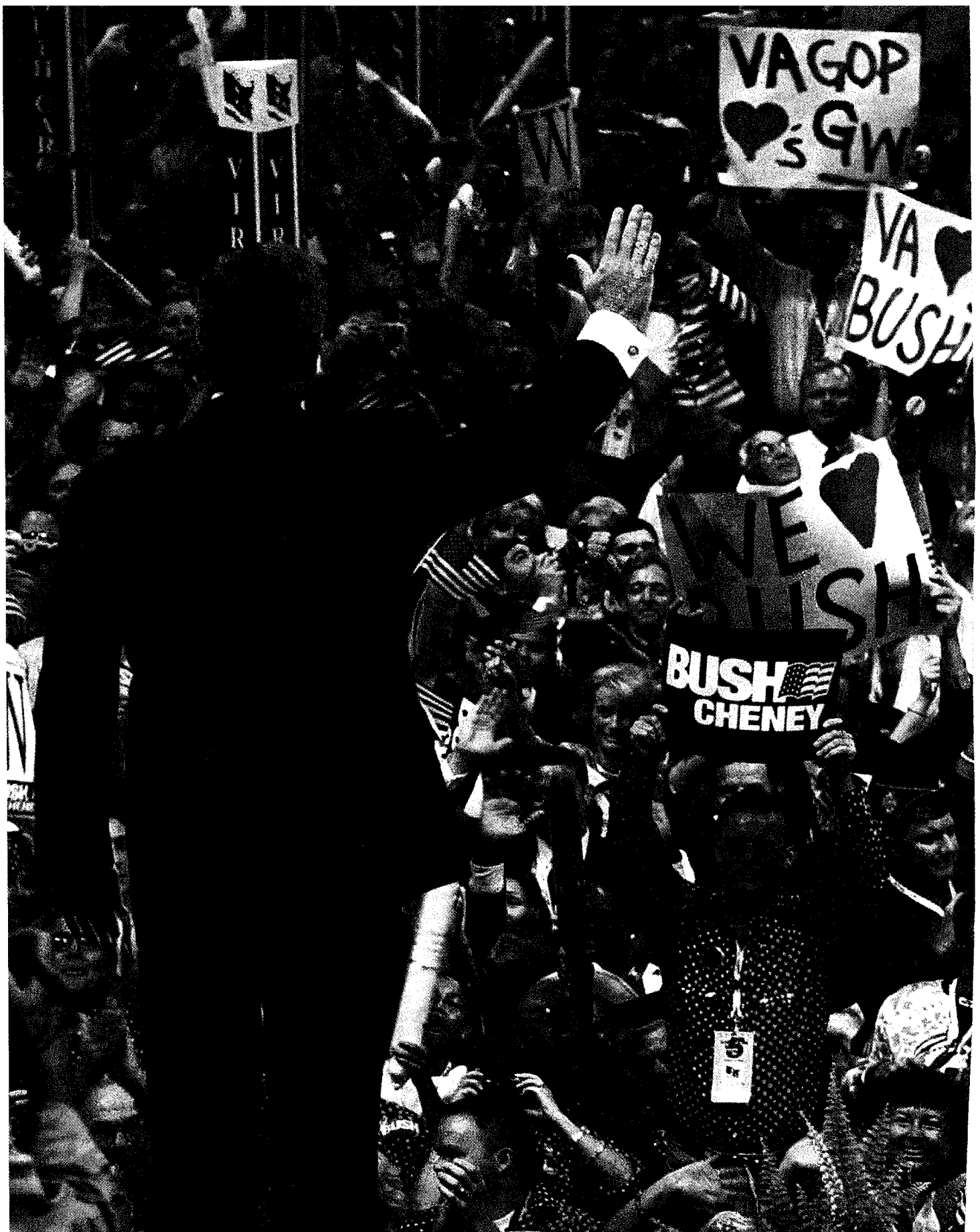
What's Ahead in Unit 7

In Unit 7 you will take a look at ways in which Americans, as a
group and as individuals, make a difference in government. You
will see how people can play their citizen roles through political
parties, through voting and running for public office, and through
helping solve the problems that face our society.

Chapter 21 Political Parties in Our Democracy
Chapter 22 Voting and Elections
Chapter 23 Confronting Society's Problems

Political Parties in Our Democracy

Citizenship and You

"Hey, isn't your eighteenth birthday next week?" Marta asked Tony.

"That's right," Tony replied.

"Great. That means you can vote in the next election if you register soon enough."

"I hadn't thought of that. I don't even know how to register. And how am I supposed to know who to vote for?"

"I don't know exactly how you register either," said Marta, "but I know you can register as a member of a political party if you want to. I think I'll probably register as a Republican."

"How come?"

"Well, my parents are Republicans and I liked the Republicans who ran in the last election. My dad even helped out with one candidate's campaign for representative."

"My mom's a Democrat, but she voted for several Republicans in the last election," Tony said. "I guess I need to find out more about what the parties stand for and what they do."

"It's up to you," replied Marta. "Let me know what you decide."

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What's Ahead in Chapter 21

In this chapter, you will learn what a political party is and how parties help government and citizens. You will read about the two-party system in the United States and the similarities and differences between the two parties. Finally, you will study how we nominate candidates for public office.

Citizen's Journal

Suppose you have just turned eighteen and you are going to register to vote. How would you decide with which party, if any, to register? To whom would you talk about your decision?

The Role of Political Parties

Objectives

- Explain how political parties help government function.
- Describe ways that political parties link citizens to their government.

Building Civics Vocabulary

- A **political party** is an organization of citizens who wish to influence government by getting their members elected to office.
- Political parties **nominate** candidates, or name them to run for public office.
- A party's **platform** is a statement of its official stand on major public issues.
- A platform is made up of **planks,** or position statements on each specific issue in a party's platform.
- Party members often **canvass,** or go door-to-door seeking support for their candidates.

★ Focus

People want many things from government. They want their rights protected. They want to feel secure against poverty and unemployment. They want to be treated fairly in business, at work, and in the courts. They want a clean environment. Many want government to pass laws or to pay for specific programs that they believe are important, such as education for the handicapped, product safety, gun control, or finding a cure for cancer.

Alone, an individual may feel powerless to make his or her wants, needs, and ideas known. Acting together, however, groups of people can often have a greater effect than individuals acting alone. On page 81, you read about activists who formed a group to seek support for a monument honoring African American veterans of the Revolutionary War.

On a larger scale, people form groups called political parties in order to influence government. A political party is an organization of citizens who wish to influence and control government by getting their members elected to office. Party members share similar ideas about what they want government to do. If a party can put enough of its members into office, that party can have a major effect on the policies and programs of the government.

It has been said that parties are the oil that makes the machinery of American democracy work. Indeed, parties play a key role in government and provide opportunities for citizens to take part in the political process.

How Parties Help Government

You are probably aware of the active competition between the two main political parties in the United States, the Republican party and the Democratic party. You may even have heard Republicans criticizing Democrats or Democrats complaining about Republicans. Thomas Jefferson, who helped start the Democratic party, said, "If I could not get to heaven but with a party, I would not go there at all." Despite this criticism, are parties really useful? The answer is yes.

Parties help government at the local, state, and national levels in a number of ways. As you will see, they select candidates for many public offices. They set goals for the government and provide leadership to reach those goals. Political parties also keep an eye on each other, a function much like the checks and balances you learned about earlier.

At the 1996 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, party members nominated Bill Clinton to run for a second term as President.

Selecting Candidates A major way in which political parties help govern is to nominate, or name candidates to run for public office. Parties take the responsibility for finding and nominating qualified candidates.

There are about a half million elected positions in the local, state, and national governments of the United States. Some public offices, especially in local government, are nonpartisan, which means that the candidates do not declare themselves to be members of a political party when running for office. For example, judgeships and seats on school boards and city councils are often nonpartisan offices. However, most offices are partisan. The candidates for these offices run as members of political parties. If elected, they try to carry out the party's programs.

Setting Goals A political party establishes positions on issues and sets goals for government. Each party has a platform, a statement of a party's official stand on major public issues. The platform is made up of planks, position statements on each specific

issue in a party's platform. These planks are often turned into government programs by party members who are elected to office.

Providing Leadership Parties help provide day-to-day leadership in government. Leadership is necessary to make the laws and carry out the programs that citizens want. You saw in Chapter 8 that party members in Congress select majority and minority floor leaders and whips to provide leadership in making laws. Parties work in much the same way in state legislatures, too.

Political parties also provide leadership in the executive branch of government. The political party of the executive—the President or governor—is referred to as the party "in office." The executive often appoints loyal members of the party in office to high government posts. They are then in a position to help shape government programs and policies.

Parties as "Watchdogs" Political parties also play an important "watchdog" role in government. After an election, the party

not in power (the party "out of office" or the minority party in a legislature) makes sure that the public knows when the party in power is not living up to its promises.

Parties keep tabs on the behavior of members of the other party and are eager to report any wrongdoing. The watchdog function of parties helps government by making sure that members of the party in power are honest and hard-working.

How Parties Help Citizens

You have seen the ways in which political parties help make our government work. Parties also help citizens fulfill their responsibilities in our democracy. Parties link citizens to their government by making their voices heard and providing ways for them to participate. Parties also inform citizens and can help make political decision making easier.
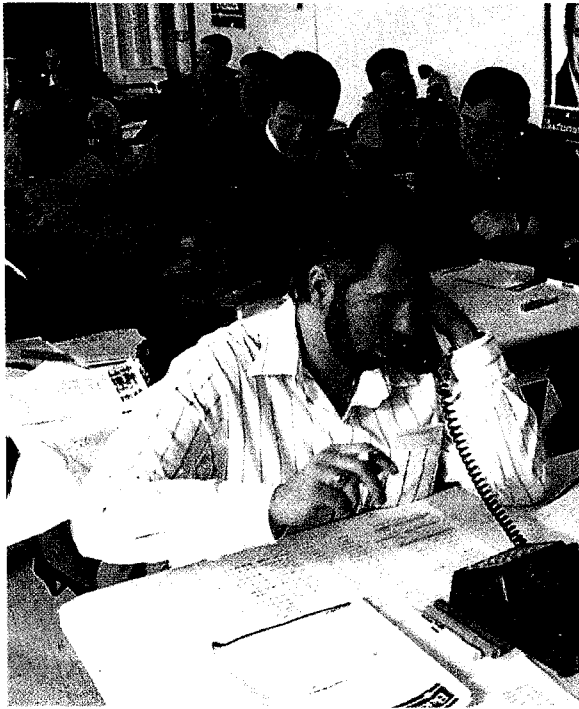
Many volunteers are needed to run a campaign. These workers are making phone calls to ask voters to support their candidate.

Citizens' Voice in Government One reason why people form political parties is that parties provide a way for citizens to be heard. Edie Stevenson, the county chairperson of her political party, describes her experience:

❝ *When I accepted the job as county chair, few people in our county were aware of what the party stood for. So we wrote short statements of our policies on such topics as education and the environment. Then we held a series of community meetings. The people who came really spoke up about what was most important to them. We rewrote some of our statements based on what we learned about people's concerns. Our candidates discovered that the meetings were a good way to keep up on what people around here want from government.* **❞**

Do political parties really reflect what citizens want? Edie's experience shows that at the local level parties can help give citizens a voice in government. At the state and national levels, party members help hammer out the party platform, debating and deciding on the issues.

Informing Citizens By writing policy statements, Edie's party was helping to provide citizens in her county with information—facts, figures, and party stands on various important issues. Some other ways parties inform citizens are by sending out mailings and giving information to newspapers, radio, and television.

A more personal way in which parties inform citizens is by arranging meetings with candidates. Party members and volunteers also canvass, or go door-to-door handing out information and asking people which candidates they support.

Parties canvass and provide information in order to encourage people to vote for their candidates. However, by making information available to voters, parties can also help simplify political decision making. If a voter agrees with a party's point of view or its stand on a particular issue, he or she can vote on the basis of the party. At election time Edie's party published "Voters' Tip Sheets"—the collection of statements they had prepared. They found that people who agreed with what the party stood for felt comfortable supporting most of the party's candidates.

Involving Citizens Political parties provide citizens with a variety of ways to get involved in the political process. To be successful, a party needs the help of many people, especially at election time. Campaign volunteers write letters and pamphlets and send them to voters. They raise money and hold picnics and other events at which candidates can meet voters. They make phone calls and canvass neighborhoods. On election day, volunteers remind people to vote and may even drive them to the polls.

As a citizen, it is both your right and responsibility to participate in government. Working through a party is one way to play your citizen role.

Section 1 Assessment

1. **Define political party, nominate, platform, planks, canvass**
2. **List four ways in which political parties help government.**
3. **What are some ways in which political parties help citizens get involved in government?**
4. **Analyze How can political parties be seen as the oil that makes the machinery of American democracy work?**

SECTION 2

Our Two-Party System

SECTION PREVIEW

Objectives
- Summarize the history of political parties in the United States.
- Describe the role of third parties in our democracy.
- Compare the organization and basic beliefs of the two major parties.
- Explore how people choose which political party to support.
- Explain how party strength has changed.

Building Civics Vocabulary
- Communities are divided into **precincts,** or voting districts.
- The system in which party leaders do favors for local party supporters is called **patronage.**
- Voting a **straight ticket** means voting for the candidates of only one party.
- Voting a **split ticket** means voting for candidates of more than one party on the same ballot.
- **Independent voters** are people who do not support a particular political party.

Focus

Even though political parties are an important part of American government, they are not mentioned in the United States Constitution. In fact, George Washington feared that conflict between political parties might destroy the new democracy. He warned against "the baneful [harmful] effects of the Spirit of Party" in his farewell address in 1796.

However, even at the birth of our nation, Americans were banding together in groups, each with different ideas about the role of government. There were those who sup-

Party Symbols

You might recognize the donkey and the elephant as the symbols of the Democratic and Republican parties. Where do these symbols come from? They were first used by cartoonist Thomas Nast in 1874.

Nast got the idea for the donkey from Populist Ignatius Donnelly's comment, "The Democratic party is like a mule— without pride of ancestry nor hope of posterity [future generations]."

Nast first used the elephant to represent the Republican vote. Later it came to stand for the party itself. Why the elephant? Democrat Adlai Stevenson's opinion was that "the elephant has a thick skin, a head full of ivory, and . . . [it] proceeds best by grasping the tail of its predecessor."

ported a strong central government (Federalists) and those who feared it (Anti-Federalists). The first political parties arose out of these different views of the role of government.

A Brief History

Alexander Hamilton, President Washington's Secretary of the Treasury, led the first political party, the Federalist party. The Federalists, who wanted a strong national government, had the support of merchants and bankers. The party's power declined in the early 1800s.
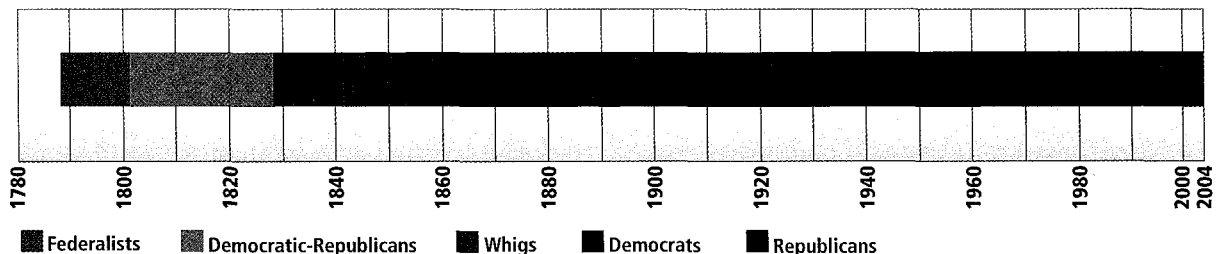
The rival of the Federalists was the Democratic-Republican party, led by Thomas Jefferson. This party opposed a strong national government and supported the power of the individual states. The Democratic-Republican party had the support of farmers and frontier settlers. In 1828, under the leadership of Andrew Jackson, the party took the name the Democratic party. The Democrats gained support from immigrant workers as well as farmers.

The Whig party, organized in 1834, opposed the Democrats. The Whigs opposed a strong executive branch of government. The Whigs and the Democrats remained rivals until the early 1850s.

Democrats and Republicans Our current two-party system emerged in 1854. In that year the Republican party was born, replacing the Whigs as a major party. It was formed by groups opposed to slavery. It supported business interests and at first was purely a party of the North.

GRAPH SKILL **THE PRESIDENT'S POLITICAL PARTY** For nearly 150 years, all our Presidents have been either Democrats or Republicans. **Government Which party controlled the presidency during the early 1800s?**

| 1780 | 1800 | 1820 | 1840 | 1860 | 1880 | 1900 | 1920 | 1940 | 1960 | 1980 | 2000 2004 |

■ Federalists ■ Democratic-Republicans ■ Whigs ■ Democrats ■ Republicans

Source: 2001 World Almanac

In 1860, Abraham Lincoln became the first Republican President. The Republican party remained the majority party from the Civil War until the Great Depression of the 1930s. It dominated both the presidency and the Congress during those years.

A major shift in party power began in 1932 when Franklin D. Roosevelt, a Democrat, was elected President. Roosevelt's New Deal programs were designed to bring the country out of the depression. As the time line on the previous page shows, power shifted back and forth between Democrats and Republicans during the second half of the twentieth century.

The Role of Third Parties

Even though ours is a two-party system, third parties do arise, especially during presidential election years. Sometimes a third party forms to support a cause or idea. When the Republican party formed in opposition to slavery, it was actually a third party to the Democrats and the Whigs.

A second reason why a third party forms is to back a candidate, often one who splits from a main party. In 1912, former President Theodore Roosevelt failed to win the Republican nomination for President. With a strong following, Roosevelt formed the Progressive, or "Bull Moose," party. The Bull Moose party disappeared after Roosevelt lost the election.

Third party candidates face many problems. It may be difficult to get on the ballot because election laws in many states favor the two major parties. People often hold back from giving money because they doubt that a third party candidate can win. Also, even people who agree with the third party's ideas often decide that voting for its candidate would be wasting their vote.

The Importance of Third Parties Even though third parties rarely win major elections, they still play an important role in

Senator Robert La Follette, the Progressive party's candidate for President in 1924, addresses women voters from the steps of his home.

American politics. A third party candidate can change the outcome of an election by drawing votes away from one of the main parties. In 2000, Green Party candidate Ralph Nader won many votes that probably would have gone to the Democratic candidate, Al Gore. As a result, Republican George W. Bush won the very close election.

Third parties can also play a key role by bringing up new ideas or pressing for action on certain issues. In the 1992 election, independent candidate Ross Perot made the national debt a major issue, forcing the Republican and Democratic candidates to talk about the problem more directly. Perot got 19 percent of the popular vote, the strongest showing for a third party presidential candidate in 80 years. Hoping to transform this support into a permanent political party, Perot formed the Reform Party in

Democratic Party	Republican Party
$ The Economy	
"Democrats believe that in building upon... record-breaking prosperity and growth...we must not leave any community behind.... [We] are committed to building an America in which no neighborhood or town sees joblessness...."	"Budget surpluses are the result of over-taxation of the American people. The weak link in the chain of prosperity is the tax system. It not only burdens the American people; it threatens to slow, and perhaps to reverse...economic expansion...."
The Family	
"Government should be on the side of parents.... We should urge employers to make workplaces more parent-friendly.... [We] believe in making child care more affordable."	"The family is society's central core of energy.... It's why we advocate a family-friendly tax code; why we promote comp-time and flex-time to accommodate family needs; and why we advocate choice in childcare."
Education	
"[W]hat America needs are public schools that compete with one another and are held accountable for results, not private school vouchers that drain resources from public schools...."	"We endorse the principle of...expand[ing] parental choice and encourag[ing] competition by providing parents with information on their child's school, increasing the number of charter schools, and expanding education savings accounts...."
The United States in the World	
"We must maintain America's economic and military strength.... [W]e must deepen our key alliances, develop more constructive relationships with former enemies, and bring together diverse coalitions of nations to deal with new problems."	"[T]he United States will build and secure the peace. Republicans know what it takes to accomplish this: robust military forces, strong alliances, expanding trade, and resolute diplomacy."

1995. Perot ran as the Reform Party's candidate for President in 1996, receiving 8 percent of the vote.

Characteristics of Today's Parties

What do the major parties really stand for? One way to answer this question is to look at a party's platform. Generally, the Democratic party believes that the federal government should take responsibility for many social programs, such as aid to the poor. Democrats are more likely than Republicans to support tax increases, if needed, to pay for these programs. Over the years the Democratic party has also been more likely to support labor unions.

The Republican party generally supports reducing the power of federal government. Republicans tend to believe that state and local governments, as well as non-government organizations, should take more responsibility for social programs. They are also supporters of a strong military.

Political Parties Are Similar When you look at the two parties you can see differences. However, when the party in office or the majority party in the legislature changes, we do not usually have a radical change in government policies. Why not? The answer lies in the fact that, in many ways, our two major political parties are similar.

In Chapter 1 you learned about the American belief in equal respect and our values of freedom, justice, and equality for all. The two political parties have different historical traditions and see the role of government differently. However, the parties, like the American people they represent, hold the same basic beliefs and values.

Furthermore, in order to win elections, both parties need broad support. Each party tries to attract members from a broad spectrum of people—rich and poor, white collar and blue collar, rural and urban. To keep the support of all these different groups, both parties avoid taking extreme stands on issues. Each party also tries to attract the votes of the large number of voters who are not strongly committed to either party.
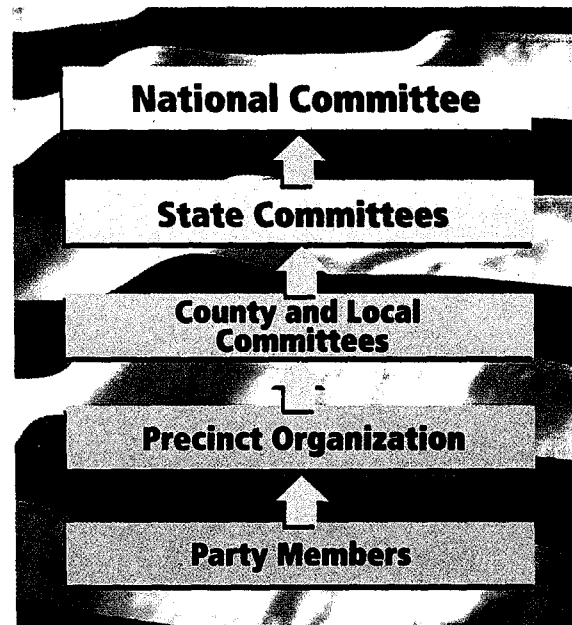
Party Organization The Democratic and Republican parties are also similar in the way they are set up. Both parties have local, state, and national organizations. These organizations work independently of each other. In other words, there is no single authority making decisions for the whole party.

Individual members at the local level are the most important part of any party. These members do the job of getting the party's candidates elected. Each community is di-

POLITICAL PARTY ORGANIZATION Individual members are the foundation of all political parties. **Government What group is at the top level of party organization?**

National Committee

State Committees

County and Local Committees

Precinct Organization

Party Members

vided into **precincts**, or voting districts. Precincts are made up of generally less than 1,000 voters who all vote at the same polling place. In each precinct, each party has a chairperson or captain who organizes volunteers to try to get as many party members as possible to vote.

Parties at the local level elect members to city and county committees. These committees may recommend candidates for office and are responsible for running local campaigns.

Each party is also organized at the state level. Most states have party committees, each with a chairperson. At state conventions, party leaders write the state party platform and nominate candidates for office. Party leaders also raise money and help with candidates' campaigns.

Voter registration tables like this one are a common sight around election time. Most states allow people to declare their party when they register.

Once every four years, each party holds a national convention. At the convention, delegates write the national party platform and nominate the candidates for President and Vice President.

Between national conventions, the national committee keeps the party running. During election years, the national committee helps the candidates for President and Vice President run their campaigns. It also works to elect members of Congress and to raise funds for the party.

Supporting a Party

Membership in a political party is not like membership in a club. You do not need to pay dues or attend meetings. All you need to do is think of yourself as a member. In some states, you can officially declare your party when you register to vote. Even so, you are free to vote for any party's candidates in general elections and to change your party registration whenever you wish.

How do you decide what party to support, or whether to support a party at all? One influence is your family. If you grow up listening to your parents talk about politics, you may come to share their views. The views of friends, co-workers, and teachers may also influence you. If people you respect support a party, you, too, may choose to back that party.

Your views on issues may also influence which political party you support. If you take a strong stand on an issue, you are more likely to back a party that shares your view. Also, if you like certain candidates and agree with their opinions, you may be attracted to their party.

Changes in Party Strength

Parties depend for their strength on their ability to elect their candidates. In order to be successful in elections, parties must have dedicated members to work on campaigns.

Historically, political parties have maintained their strength through a combination of three elements: (1) a system of patronage, (2) a central role in election campaigns, and (3) voter loyalty. Each of these elements has changed in recent years.

Patronage The system in which party leaders do favors for loyal supporters of the party is called **patronage**. Today, some patronage is still possible, especially at high levels. For example, the President often appoints loyal party members to cabinet positions. However, as you have learned, many people now get government jobs through the civil service system. As a result, the patronage system has decreased, though there are still 2,000 federal appointments and many state and local, as well.

Parties in Campaigns Another way in which party strength has changed is in the parties' role in campaigns. In earlier times, candidates for office worked within the party and depended on party support in their campaigns.

Today, candidates can more easily strike out on their own and run a campaign apart from the party. They can raise their own campaign funds, buy television ads, and print their own pamphlets. When candidates are less dependent on party help, they may be less bound to support the party's programs.

Voter Loyalty A third change that has weakened political parties is a change in voter loyalty. Only 40% of people now vote a straight ticket, the practice of voting for the candidates of only one party. Voters now tend to base their decisions on the appeal of a particular candidate or issue rather than on party loyalty. Many people now vote a split ticket, the practice of voting for candidates of more than one party on the same ballot.

As a result of split-ticket voting, parties can no longer count on a certain core of party votes in an election. In 1998, for example, Iowa voters re-elected Republican Senator Chuck Grassley while electing a Democrat, Tom Vilsack, as the state's new governor.

A 1999 poll found that 34 percent of American voters considered themselves Democrats, while 28 percent considered themselves Republicans. How do the rest of the voters think of themselves? Recent studies show that approximately 35 percent are independent voters, people who do not support a particular political party. This number is highest among young voters. However, a certain percentage of independent voters "leans" toward one party or the other.

Some observers claim that the influence of political parties is weakening—that "the party is over." Others believe that our two-party system will stay in place, but that the parties will change in response to changing times.

Section 2 Assessment

1. **Define** precincts, patronage, straight ticket, split ticket, independent voters
2. What were the basic beliefs of Thomas Jefferson's Democratic-Republican party?
3. Describe how third parties have played an important role in our political system.
4. In what ways are our two major political parties similar?
5. What are two things that might influence a person's choice of political parties?
6. What effect has the decrease in patronage had on political parties?
7. **Evaluate** Could you choose which party to support based on the excerpts on page 462? Why or why not?

Choosing Candidates

SECTION PREVIEW

Objectives

- Explain the process of nominating a candidate.
- Describe how political parties choose presidential candidates.

Building Civics Vocabulary

- **Self-nomination** means declaring that you are running for office.
- A **write-in candidate** asks voters to write his or her name on the ballot.
- A **caucus** is a meeting of party leaders to discuss issues or choose candidates.
- A **direct primary** is an election in which members of a political party choose candidates to run for office.
- A **closed primary** is a primary in which a voter must be registered as a party member in order to vote.
- An **open primary** is a primary in which voters do not need to declare a party before voting.

⭐ Focus

The most important role of political parties is selecting, or nominating, the candidates who will run for office. Taking a look at the nominating process for candidates in general, and for presidential candidates in particular, is a good way to see parties in action.

Nominating Candidates

Suppose you want to run for office. The first step is to declare that you intend to run, or "throw your hat in the ring." After that, the nominating process ranges from simple to complex, depending on the office.

The simplest way to become a candidate is self-nomination, which means declaring that you are running for office. Self-nomination is still possible for many local offices. A self-nominee usually pays a small fee called a filing fee, as do other declared candidates. Another type of self-nominated candidate is a **write-in candidate**, one who asks voters to write his or her name on the ballot.

For some offices, a candidate may need to file a nominating petition. A number of voters must sign the petition saying that they support the nomination. Then the candidate pays the filing fee and begins the campaign. For other offices, candidates are chosen by delegates at party meetings called conventions. Parties hold local, state, and national conventions.

A few states select candidates or choose delegates to conventions at a caucus. A caucus is a meeting of party leaders to discuss issues or choose candidates. In earlier days, caucuses put great power in the hands of a few party leaders because the meetings were closed to ordinary members. Today a few state and local caucuses are still held, but they are very different. Most caucuses are open meetings.

Primaries Most candidates for state and federal office are now chosen in a direct primary. A direct primary is an election in which members of a political party choose candidates to run for office in the name of the party. The candidate with the most votes is then that party's nominee in the general election.

Most states use one of two kinds of direct primary: closed or open. A **closed primary** is a primary in which a voter must be registered as a party member and may vote only in that party's primary. Only Democrats may vote in the Democratic primary to choose Democratic candidates, and the same is true for Republicans. Voters registered as independent cannot vote in a closed primary. An **open primary** is a primary in which voters do not need to declare a party before voting, but may vote in only one party's primary.

Political Commitment Begins Early

The first Hispanic woman elected to the United States Congress, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen has been involved in politics from an early age. "I believe strongly that if you want to improve your community and nation," she says, "you must work hard for the principles in which you believe."

Ros-Lehtinen was born in Havana, Cuba in 1952. When she was seven years old, her family fled Cuba when a communist government led by Fidel Castro took power. The family settled in Miami, Florida.

As a student, Ros-Lehtinen joined the Young Republicans in Miami. "I was attracted by the party's basic support for individual freedom and its strong anti-communist stand," she explains.

While she worked as a teacher, Ros-Lehtinen became actively involved in politics, lobbying the Florida state legislature for better schools. Her lobbying efforts attracted the attention of Republican party leaders in the Miami area. They recruited her to run the Florida state legislature.

After winning election to the Florida House in 1982 and the Florida Senate four years later, Ros-Lehtinen decided to run for an open seat in the United States House of Representatives in 1989.

She won, and has represented Florida's Eighteenth District in the House since that time.

Ros-Lehtinen believes her family's experience as Cuban refugees helped make political party participation very important to her. "Parties give voters a way to express their differing viewpoints on important public policy issues," she says. "I am fully aware of how grateful we should be here in America that we have the right to vote and the ability to freely express our views to our elected officials. When you give up this precious right, you are letting others determine your future."

Active Citizenship

According to Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, why is political party involvement important?

Choosing Presidential Candidates

The primaries that receive the most attention take place once every four years to select the parties' candidates for President. Who runs for President? As you know, anyone over 35 years old and born in the United States may run for President. In fact, however, a candidate needs to be well known, to have experience in government, and to be able to raise enough money for the campaign.

Al Gore, seen here greeting students, finished first in New Hampshire's Democratic presidential primary in 2000. He went on to win later primaries and was nominated the party's candidate for President.

Most presidential candidates from the major parties have held elected office before seeking the nomination for President. Since World War II, 80 percent of Republican and Democratic candidates for President have been senators or governors. Also, since 1900, every President who has wanted to run for reelection has gained his party's nomination.

Paying for a Primary Campaign In the presidential primaries, candidates raise much of their money from individuals. Federal laws, however, say that individuals may give only $1,000 to each candidate per election. Once candidates have raised at least $5,000 in each of 20 states, they can receive an equal amount from the federal government, up to a total of almost $31 million.

Choosing Delegates Delegates to the national nominating conventions are chosen in one of two ways: through a presidential preference primary election or through a state-wide caucus or convention process. Each state has different rules for choosing delegates.

In a preference primary, voters show which candidates they prefer by voting either for the candidates themselves or for the delegates

who support that candidate. In most primary states, delegates must promise to support a certain candidate at the national convention. In states without primaries, delegates are chosen by caucus or state convention.

In February or March of a presidential election year, candidates traditionally begin the race in New Hampshire, a primary state, and Iowa, a caucus state. How well a candidate does in these early tests will affect his or her ability to raise money and attract voters in later primaries and caucuses. As the process continues, some candidates drop out and others gain strength.

National Conventions In a presidential election year, the parties hold their national conventions. Perhaps you have watched one on television. You have seen a large hall filled with people waving signs and banners and wearing campaign hats and buttons. Bands play, flags wave, and thousands of balloons fill the air. The delegates debate and discuss the candidates, listen to speeches, vote on the nominations, and hammer out the party platform.

At conventions in the early 1900s, several votes had to be taken before the delegates

could decide a presidential nominee. Today, because of the primaries, almost all delegates are "pledged" to a candidate before the convention begins. Usually only one vote is needed to choose the candidate. Once the candidate for President has been chosen, the delegates most often approve that candidate's choice for Vice President.

Another task of the national convention is to approve the party platform. A committee writes the platform with advice from party leaders, including the candidates. Each plank is carefully worded to appeal to the widest possible audience. The delegates debate and finally approve a platform.

The convention winds up with acceptance speeches from the presidential and vice presidential candidates. These speeches are meant to bring the party together after months of primaries and four grueling days of discussions and—often—disagreements. The next step to gaining office will be the election campaign, leading up to the presidential election in November.

Section 3 Assessment

1. **Define self-nomination, write-in candidate, caucus, direct primary, closed primary, open primary**
2. Describe four ways in which candidates can be nominated.
3. Explain in your own words how presidential candidates are nominated.
4. **Evaluate** "The amount of money candidates spend on a campaign should not be limited." Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Extending the Chapter

Global Views

The United States has had two political parties for so long that many Americans cannot imagine another system. However, two-party systems are rare. They are found in Great Britain and the United States. In the rest of the world, multi-party or single-party systems are more common.

In most democratic countries, several political parties compete for power. Each party represents a different set of interests or ideas that are usually better defined than in a two-party system. Voters in Poland choose from more than 29 political parties in national elections. In Italy, more than 10 parties compete for votes. In both of these countries, voters have a wide range of choices.

A problem in some multi-party countries has been frequent changes in government. When no one party receives a majority of votes, two or more parties must join together to form a government that represents a majority of voters. If these parties cannot work together, the government soon falls apart. Italy, for example, has gone through over 50 changes of government since 1946.

Single-party systems are typical of communist countries and dictatorships. In many single-party countries only the ruling party is allowed. Opposition parties are outlawed. Supporters of single-party government argue that it builds national unity. Opponents say that single party governments grow corrupt and lazy without an opposition party to keep them honest and hard-working.

Most Americans see their two-party system as a good compromise between multi- and single-party systems. A two-party system can be more stable than a multi-party system. Also, having two parties means that there is always one party playing the watchdog role.
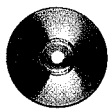
How to ANALYZE ELECTION RESULTS

Use the *Simulations and Data Graphing CD-ROM* to create and interpret graphs.

As you read in this chapter, powerful third parties have arisen throughout our history. The chart below shows presidential election results for major third parties since 1832.

Major Third Party Election Results

Party	Year	Vote	Next Election
Anti-Masonic	1832	7.8%	Supported Whigs
Free Soil	1848	10.1%	4.9%
American ("Know-Nothing")	1856	21.5%	Disappeared
Southern Democrat	1860	18.1%	Disappeared
Constitutional Union	1860	12.6%	Disappeared
Populist	1892	8.5%	Supported Democrats
Progressive ("Bull Moose")	1912	27.4%	.02%
Socialist	1912	6.0%	3.2%
Progressive	1924	16.6%	Disappeared
American Independent	1968	13.5%	1.4%
Independent	1992	18.9%	Became Reform Party
Reform	1996	8.4%	0.5%
Green	2000	2.7%	

Sources: New York Times Almanac, Federal Election Commission

Explain the Skill

Since the first presidential election in 1789, nine different third party candidates have won more than one million votes in a presidential election. While a third party candidate has never won a presidential election,

several have been able to influence election outcomes. The 2000 election results provide a good example of this.

Look at the chart on this page, which shows that in 2000 the Green Party candidate—Ralph Nader—received 2.7% of the popular vote. Some people feel that Nader's strong showing drew votes away from Al Gore, helping George W. Bush win the election.

Analyze the Skill

Study the chart on this page, which lists election results for 13 major third party presidential candidates. Beside the name of each party, the chart lists the year of the election and the percentage of the popular vote won by the party's candidate. The far right column tells you how the party did four years later in the next presidential election.

Each row of the chart gives information about one political party. Look at the chart to draw some general conclusions about third parties in American history.

Skill Assessment

1. Of all the third parties shown on the chart, which received the highest percentage of the vote in a presidential election? In what year did this occur?
2. What happened to the Southern Democrat party after the 1860 election?
3. How many of these third parties were able to win at least 10 percent of the vote in a presidential election? How many were able to win more than 10 percent two elections in a row?
4. In one sentence, summarize the pattern you see in these elections.

Building Civics Vocabulary

The vocabulary terms in each pair listed below are related to each other. For each pair, explain what the terms have in common. Also explain how they are different.

Example: A *caucus* and a *direct primary* are similar because they both are ways in which parties nominate candidates. They are different because a caucus is a meeting of party members, and a direct primary is an election to choose candidates to run for office.

1. *platform* and *plank*
2. *straight ticket* and *split ticket*
3. *closed primary* and *open primary*

Reviewing Main Ideas and Skills

4. How does a political party establish positions on issues and set goals for what the government should accomplish?

5. How can the party out of power act as a watchdog over the party in power?

6. In what ways do political parties inform citizens about various political issues?

7. Give two reasons why third parties are formed.

8. What tasks are accomplished at party national conventions?

9. **How to Analyze Election Results** Use the information from the chart on page 470 to create a chart of your own. Based on percentage of the vote received, create a chart ranking the five most successful third parties in American history. Include a column showing the year of each election.

Critical Thinking

10. **Analyzing Primary Sources** As you read on page 459, George Washington warned against "the baneful [harmful] effects of the spirit of party." What "baneful effects" was Washington worried about? Do you think he was right to be concerned?

11. **Linking Past and Present** What factors have caused the strength of the two major political parties to decline?

Writing About Civics

12. **Writing a Platform** If you were to write a platform for a political party, what would some of the main planks be? Explain your party's position on three important issues.

Citizenship Activities

13. **Working Together** Hold a mock national convention in your classroom. Divide the class into different delegate groups. Each group should choose one person to be a candidate. Develop a party platform that all the delegate groups can agree on, and select the final presidential and vice-presidential nominees.

Take It to the NET

Access the Civics: Participating in Government Internet site at **www.phschool.com** for the specific URLs to complete the activity.

Explore online information about the differences in the political parties. You may wish to consider smaller, third parties. Choose a party whose stands on important issues you agree with. Debate the issues with your classmates, from the standpoint of that party.

Voting and Elections

Citizenship and You

Ian was cooking dinner when his mother arrived home from work. She had a smile on her face, and he knew she had some good news. "What's up, Mom?" he asked.

"I've decided to run for city council," she said.

"Really? Mom, that's great!" exclaimed Ian. "I can tell all my friends that my mother holds a government office!"

"Now wait a minute, Ian," she replied. "I haven't won the election yet. I'm just going to run. There are six other candidates, at least."

"Yeah, I know," said Ian. "What I meant to say is that I'm proud of you. It's a lot of work to run for office."

"Thanks. It's good to hear I have some support already," she said. "By the way, you'll turn eighteen before the election. That means you can vote for the first time. May I count on your vote?"

He said teasingly, "I haven't decided yet if you're the best candidate." His mother smiled and they both burst out laughing.

What's Ahead in Chapter 22

This chapter is about elections. As you read, you will first learn what it means to be a voter—sorting out messages from candidates, deciding how to vote, and finally marking your ballot. Then you will learn about how political candidates go about organizing and running their campaigns.

Section 1 Being a Voter

Section 2 How Candidates and Groups Try to Influence Your Vote

Section 3 Campaigning for Office

Keep It Current

Items marked with this logo are periodically updated on the Internet. To keep up-to-date, go to **www.phschool.com**

Citizen's Journal

Suppose someone you knew was running for a government office. Based on what you have learned so far, what is one piece of advice you would give that person? Why do you think this advice would be helpful?

Being a Voter

SECTION PREVIEW

Objectives

- Explain the purpose of general elections.
- Describe how and when elections are held, and who may vote in them.
- Explore the importance of becoming an informed voter.

Building Civics Vocabulary

- In a **general election** voters make final decisions about candidates and issues.
- **Registration** is the process of signing up to be a voter.

★ Focus

At your age, you have the chance to play several citizen roles. You go to school, you obey laws, and you may do volunteer work. Soon, you will be old enough to play the most important citizen role in a democracy: the role of voter.

General Elections

You will have a chance to vote in two kinds of elections: primary elections and general elections. In Chapter 21 you learned that in a primary election members of political parties nominate candidates. A general election is an election in which voters make final decisions about candidates and issues.

About half a million federal, state, and local offices are filled in general elections. These offices include everything from President of the United States to member of a town council.

A general election may also offer citizens a chance to play a more direct part in government. Voters in many states, counties, and cities are asked to vote on certain ballot measures in a general election. Measures include initiatives, referendums, and recalls. They give each voter a voice in deciding what laws should be passed, how the government should raise money, and who should be removed from office.

In a typical general election, several hundred proposals for new laws, constitutional amendments, and new taxes or other ways of raising money appear on state ballots. In 2000, for example, citizens in California were asked to vote on eight proposals, ranging from providing housing for veterans to limiting state campaign contributions.

In addition to deciding about state-wide measures, voters across the country are often asked to vote on local ballot measures. These measures can involve new laws, public building projects, new taxes, and other government issues.

The Basics of Voting

Who may vote in a general election? The Constitution states that in order to vote you must be at least 18 years of age and a citizen of the United States. In addition, you must be a resident of the state in which you will vote. However, not everybody who meets these qualifications has the right to vote. In most states, prison inmates and people who are mentally incompetent are not allowed to vote.

Registration The process of signing up to be a voter is called registration. Registration was introduced in the late 1800s. It was meant to stop voter fraud, such as the same person voting more than once.

In a few states, voters are allowed to register at the polling place when they go to vote. In most states, however, you must register several weeks ahead of time. To make it easier, many cities and towns set up registration tables in libraries, church basements, and even shopping centers.

AVERAGE VOTER TURNOUT BY AGE GROUP: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEARS 1984–1996

GRAPH SKILL

Percentage of total voters

- 65+
- 45-64
- 25-44
- 18-24

1984   1988   1992   1996
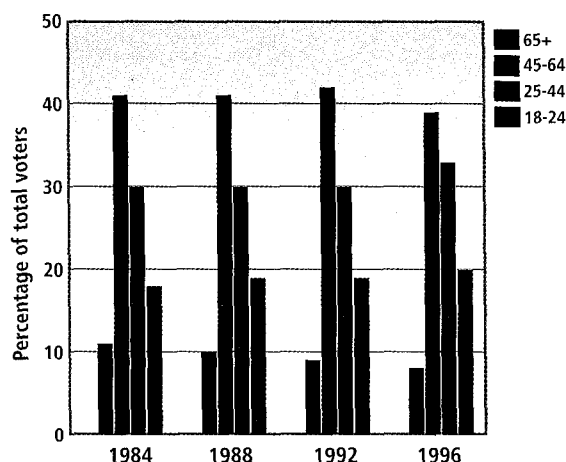
Source: Federal Election Commission

The Twenty-sixth Amendment lowered the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen. **Citizenship** Which age group had the highest voter turnout in the years shown?

Each state makes its own laws about voter registration. In most states, local governments like counties and cities run the elections. They set the rules on voter registration and operate the polling places.

Voting—When and Where An act of Congress set the Tuesday after the first Monday in November as the day for federal congressional and presidential elections. Most elections for state offices take place at the same time.

Primary elections and elections for local governments may take place at any time during the year, but most are set for the spring. Special elections to choose candidates to finish the terms of officeholders who have died, resigned, or been recalled also may be held at any time.

Voting takes place in what are called polling places. As a registered voter, you are assigned to a polling place near where you live. Each polling place serves a voting district or precinct—an area with between 200 and 1,000 voters. Your polling place may be a nearby school or church, or even a neighbor's garage.

How to Cast a Vote On entering the polling place, you check in with an election official, who looks up your name to see that you are registered to vote there. Local election units within each state set up the ballot. As a result, there are different ways to cast a vote. Depending on where you live, you may pull a lever on an election machine, mark an X on a paper ballot, punch a hole in a card, or make your choice on a touchpad similar to an Automatic Teller Machine.

If you will not be able to get to a polling place on election day—you will be on vacation, for example—you can ask to have an absentee ballot sent to your home. In this case, you mark your ballot and then mail it in.

There is some debate over the varying kinds of voting methods. Some methods are considered to be easier and more accurate than others. The 2000 presidential election illustrated this point. Some of the Florida voters were given a "butterfly ballot," in which they punched out a hole to cast their votes. These ballots were confusing because of the way the boxes were lined up next to the candidates' names. After the election, many of these voters feared that they misread the ballot and voted for the wrong candidate by mistake. In addition, the hole-punch method was found to be inaccurate when voters didn't punch all the way through the ballot. Because this election was so close (President George W. Bush won by 500 votes out of 10 million votes cast in Florida), a confusing ballot may have affected the outcome.

Carolyn Jefferson-Jenkins

"**D**emocracy isn't something that runs by itself," says Carolyn Jefferson-Jenkins, the League of Women Voters' fifteenth president and first African American leader. "You can't switch government onto automatic pilot. You can't sit back and expect other people to do all the work. Each generation must reestablish the relationship between government and its citizens."

Several generations of activists have helped make the League of Women Voters one of the nation's oldest and most respected nonpartisan political organizations. Founded in 1920 by women's suffrage leader Carrie Chapman Catt, the League has spent the last 80-plus years working to educate voters and encourage participation in politics and government.

Today, Jefferson-Jenkins acknowledges that convincing people to become more active citizens is not always easy. During the 2000 presidential election, only 51 percent of all eligible voters went to the polls. In response to low voter turnout, League members have worked to pass laws to make voter registration easier and have lobbied for campaign finance reform to reduce the influence of special interest groups on

political decision making. Jefferson-Jenkins says her organization is also using the Internet and interactive satellite town meetings to help busy parents and others get more involved in running their country.

The long-term goal of all League programs, says Jefferson-Jenkins, is to "reengage citizens in civic life." This includes encouraging women and ethnic minorities to run for office. "In a healthy democracy," Jefferson-Jenkins says, "elected officeholders reflect the diversity of the citizens they represent."

Recognizing Viewpoints

Do you agree with Carolyn Jefferson-Jenkins' statement that democracy can't "run by itself"? Explain.
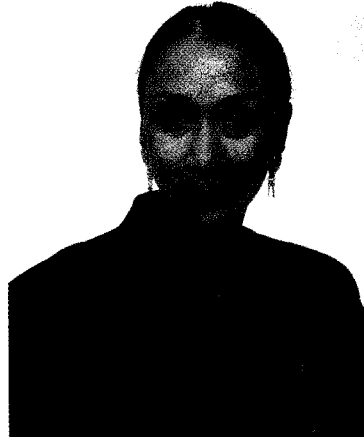
The debate over confusing ballots and potentially inaccurate methods of counting led politicians to discuss having more consistent voting methods. Some argue that each state should come up with one voting method, instead of letting each county use a different type of ballot.

States are also investigating new methods of voting. In 2000, Oregon became the first state to conduct an election totally by mail-in ballots. States are also looking into the use of the Internet for voting.

Becoming an Informed Voter

Going to your polling place and casting your vote is relatively easy. To vote wisely, however, you must become an informed voter. To prepare to vote on candidates for public office, you should find out all you can about them. What are their qualifications? Where do they stand on important issues? If they have held public office before, how good a job did they do?

You can get the answers to these questions from many sources. The candidates themselves can tell you how they stand on the issues. Public service organizations with no ties to political parties, such as the League of Women Voters, often put out excellent information. You can also count on newspapers to write stories on the candidates' records, backgrounds, and stands on the issues.

You can also learn a great deal about the candidates by going to hear them speak or watching news on television. If you have a chance to watch candidates debate each other, you can see how they answer questions and handle themselves in a tough situation.

You should also learn about initiatives and other ballot measures. Find out why a measure was proposed and what the outcomes might be if it is passed or turned down.

Having a complete picture of a ballot measure is very important. For example, at first glance you might vote against a 25-cent-per-gallon rise in the tax on gasoline because it would make driving your car cost more. However, if you learned that the money raised by the tax would go to building a highway that would shorten your drive to work by 10 miles, you might change your mind. Some states provide information on ballot measures, often in a voters' handbook sent to all registered voters.

Why Vote In recent years, only about half of all eligible citizens have actually voted in presidential elections. Even fewer have voted in most state and local elections.

Why have so many people chosen not to use their right to vote? Some people say they do not vote because the candidates are all pretty much the same. The government will follow the same policies no matter who wins, they say, so why bother to vote? Others choose not to vote because they think that no candidate truly represents them or understands their problems.

Sometimes people do not participate in elections because they think their vote cannot possibly affect the final outcome. How, they ask, can my one vote make a difference in a presidential race in which more than 90 million people cast ballots?

It is true that elections are almost never won by 1 or by even 100 votes. However, the 2000 presidential election came down to only about 500 votes in the deciding state of Florida. In the end, a very small percentage of the population determined the outcome of the race.

Furthermore, even if your candidate loses, your vote still matters. Through the ballot box you announce where you stand on the issues and what kind of representatives you want. By casting your vote you perform an important civic duty. You take part in the process of deciding who will lead our government and what policies those leaders will follow.

Section 1 Assessment

1. **Define general election, registration**
2. What are the benefits of voting at the local, state, and national level? Are there any drawbacks to voting?
3. What are the qualifications for voting in most states?
4. What should you find out about the candidates in order to become an informed voter?
5. **Evaluate** "Bad officials are elected by good citizens who do not vote." Do you agree or disagree? Explain your answer.

How Candidates and Groups Try to Influence Your Vote

SECTION PREVIEW

Objectives

- Describe ways that candidates get their messages to voters.
- Analyze the role of interest groups in the election process.
- Explain how candidates and interest groups try to influence the way people vote.
- Explore the importance of the media in election campaigns.

Building Civics Vocabulary

- Sending messages to large groups of people through the mail is called **direct mail.**
- Candidates get their message out through advertisements in the **media**—television, radio, newspapers, and magazines.
- A message that is meant to influence people's ideas, opinions, or actions is called **propaganda.**
- **Bias** means favoring one point of view over another.

★ Focus

The television screen shows a man walking down a quiet, tree-lined street holding the hands of his two young children. You hear an announcer saying, "Bob Kane has lived in our city all his life. He graduated from our public schools. His children attend those schools. He knows your problems and he knows what you want." Another television ad shows an empty jail cell. A frightened voice says, "What Bob Kane has done puts criminals back in our neighborhoods—not here, where they belong."

Before an election, you will see and hear many campaign messages. Each will try to influence how you vote. Some will give you information. Others, like these TV ads, will try to play on your fears and other feelings. In evaluating such messages, you should be aware that you cannot always trust what they say.

Messages from the Candidates

Candidates have many different methods to try to get you, the voter, to vote for them. Depending on the office for which they are running and the number of votes they must win, they may shake your hand in person or buy thousands of dollars' worth of television advertising time. As a voter, you will want to know about the many ways candidates try to get their messages to you.

Posters, Bumper Stickers, and Leaflets In the months before election day, you will see posters and stickers plastered on lampposts, billboards, windows, and car bumpers. You will also see people wearing buttons, pins, and caps with candidates' names on them. People running for office want to make their names known to the voters.

To give voters a better picture of the person behind the name, candidates use leaflets and flyers. Volunteers hand them out at shopping centers and put them under your door. Such leaflets give short biographical sketches of the candidates and tell where they stand on the major issues. All this information is written to appeal to as many voters as possible.

Personal Appearances Candidates running for a town council usually campaign in a personal way. The numbers of people who vote in such elections are so small—often fewer than 1,000—that candidates can meet most voters in person. They ring doorbells and hold neighborhood meetings, bringing their messages to citizens through conversations and speeches to small groups.

Representative Cynthia McKinney of Georgia made personal appearances a key part of her successful re-election campaign in 1998.

Even in elections for state and national offices, candidates appear in person to spread their messages among the voters. Your chance to "meet" someone running for state or national office usually comes at huge political rallies in public parks or auditoriums or at neighborhood political meetings. At these events, the candidates make speeches telling you why you should elect them and not the people running against them.

Direct Mail One of the best ways to get the attention of voters is by mail. With the help of computers, candidates can use direct mail, a way of sending messages to large groups of people through the mail. Direct mail allows candidates to target voters who have special interests. A candidate can send a message to senior citizens promising to support higher social security payments.

Advertisements in the Media

Candidates for state and national office must reach very large numbers of voters. They have found that one of the best ways to get their messages out is through advertisements in the media—television, radio, newspapers, and magazines.

However, using the media can be very expensive. A full-page advertisement in a major newspaper costs thousands of dollars. The cost of a few minutes on television can run into hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Since television time and newspaper space are so expensive, political advertisements are usually short and simple. They often give very little in the way of information. Instead, they try to grab your attention and to focus on a candidate's personality rather than qualifications and abilities. Many media ads depend on slogans, such as "Building a Better Tomorrow" or "It's Morning in America."

For these reasons, TV and newspaper ads are not a good source of information about what a candidate would do if elected. They rarely say much, for example, about how a candidate plans to fight the drug problem or improve the economy. However, some of these ads do tell voters what stands the candidates have taken on major issues.

These members of a special interest group, the American Association of Retired Persons, are helping "get out the vote" on issues that affect them.
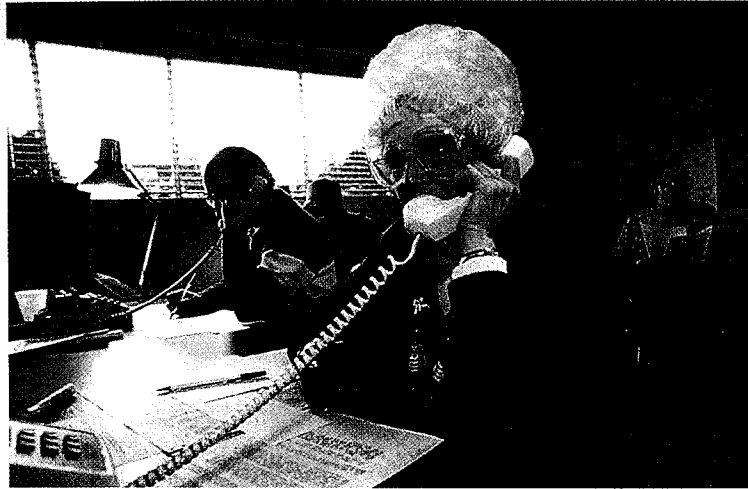
Messages from Interest Groups

Candidates are not the only people trying to get your vote. Interest groups, too, put out their share of direct mail and media ads. Interest groups want to help elect candidates who agree with their views and to defeat candidates who have taken stands against them. Interest groups also work to pass or defeat ballot measures.

Interest groups try to achieve their election goals in two other ways. They endorse, or lend their names in support of, candidates and ballot measures. They also give money to campaigns.

The largest interest groups have political action committees (PACs) whose job is to carry out these election activities. PACs often work very hard for and against ballot measures. For example, when a 1999 ballot measure in Missouri asked voters to decide if citizens should be allowed to carry concealed handguns, the National Rifle Association campaigned in support of the measure while Handgun Control, Inc. worked to defeat it.

PACs also give large sums of money to campaigns for state and national office. United States senators running for re-election in 1998 received an average of more than $1 million each from PACs.

Since the early 1970s, the number of PACs in the United States has grown from just over 600 to over 4,000. Some PACs get their money from the people they represent—union members, employees of businesses, and corporation stockholders. Others use direct mail to find people who agree with their views and will send them large sums of money. The success of both methods of raising money has given PACs a large voice in campaigns.

Federal law limits the amount that PACs may give to each candidate. However, there are few rules for how much PACs may spend on running their own campaigns.

Many people believe that PACs have too much influence on the outcome of elections. They charge that the "special interests" that PACs represent are gaining too much power in government. Each interest group represents only a small percentage of Americans, or cares about only one issue, they say. Through PACs, however, interest groups can have a voice in who will hold office and make decisions on issues that affect everyone.

Although some people want limits placed on what PACs can do, other people are opposed to such limits. They argue that PACs are simply using their First Amendment right of free speech.

Recognizing Propaganda Techniques

Why do candidates and interest groups work so hard to get their messages across to voters? They all have the same goal: to influence the way you think and act. A message that is meant to influence people's ideas, opinions, or actions in a certain way is called propaganda.

Do you think of propaganda as lies or false information? Although propaganda can includes lies, it can also contain truthful—or mostly truthful—information. A message is called propaganda when it tells only one side of the story, distorts the truth, or appeals mostly to people's feelings.

Messages from candidates and PACs make use of many different kinds of propaganda. Six of the most common propaganda techniques used by candidates are described in the chart below.

When reading and listening to political messages, be aware of the kinds of propaganda techniques that might be at work. Recognizing them will help you decide how to act on the messages.

How News Media Report the Elections

In addition to running ads paid for by the candidates and interest groups, the media put out their own information about

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PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES Candidates use a variety of techniques to try to influence voters. **Government** Which one of these techniques do you think would be most effective in a presidential election? Why?
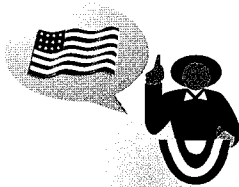
Glittering Generalities
Use words and phrases that sound appealing and that everyone agrees with.
Example: "I stand for freedom and the American way."
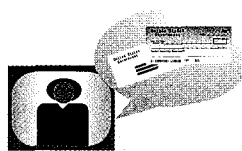
Card Stacking
Use only those facts that support your argument.
Example: "My opponent voted against raising Social Security." (You do not mention that she voted no because the proposed increase was too small.)

Plain Folks
Tell voters that you are just like them—an ordinary person with similar needs and ideas.
Example: "I've lived in this city all my life. My children go to the same schools as your children."

Name Calling
Attach negative labels to your opponent.
Example: "He's soft on crime."
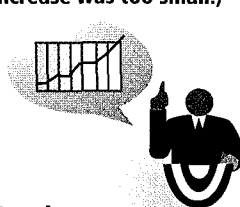
Bandwagon
Appeals to desire to follow the crowd.
Example: "Polls show that more than 80 percent of voters support me."

Transfer
Connect yourself to a respected person, group, or symbol.
Example: "Remember what Abraham Lincoln said..."

candidates and issues. This information comes in two forms: editorials and news reporting.

In their editorials, the media give their opinions on ballot measures and candidates. News reporting, on the other hand, is supposed to stick to the facts.

Election News Election news reports give information about what a candidate says and does. They tell what a candidate said in last night's speech, for example, or what the candidate has promised to do for the schools.

Even though news reports give facts, not opinions, they can present these facts in ways that favor one candidate over another. In other words, bias, which means favoring one point of view, may show in the way the media report on elections.

For the most part, the news media usually try not to show bias. They do not want to be accused of favoring one candidate over another. However, reporters, news directors, and editors have their opinions, likes, and dislikes. Sometimes their feelings affect their work.

How can you spot bias in news reporting? Bias can show when stories about one candidate are given more time or space or better placement than stories about other candidates. If you were running for class president, how would you feel if a story about you got 10 lines on page 6 of the school newspaper, while your opponent was given half of the front page?

Another sign of bias is when the media play up the negative side of one candidate's personality or behavior. They may run stories, for example, about a candidate's bad temper or a divorce that took place years ago. Such stories, though they may not be lies, can give voters a bad impression of the candidate and influence the way they vote.

Opinion Polls Along with reporting on what candidates are doing and saying, the news media also present the results of opinion polls. Polls can show which candidate people favor at a certain time, why they like

that candidate, and what issues they think are most important.

The basic idea behind a poll is that you do not have to talk to every person in a group to find out what the outcome of that group's vote will be. A poll asks questions of a sample, or small part, of the group. The answers given by the people in the sample are then taken to stand for how the whole group would answer if everyone were asked.

Polling, however, works only if the people are chosen at random, that is, by chance. Choosing a poll's sample by chance helps make sure that the views of the people in the sample will stand for those of the whole group.

Most of the major national polls use random sampling and ask fair questions. Polls are not always accurate, but they do give a sense of what the public is thinking.

However, not all polls reported in the news are based on random samples. A poll that gets answers from only certain kinds of people may not be very accurate. Such polls include those in which people send in

Facts & Quotes

Off to the Races

Early in our country's history, people noticed that race horses and candidates had a lot in common. They borrowed the vocabulary of horse racing to describe political campaigns and elections. To this day, we still call an election a "race" in which the candidates "run." A "dark horse" is a relatively unknown candidate who gets the nomination unexpectedly. The probable winner is called the "front runner." In a close race, as the votes are tallied, two candidates may be said to be "neck and neck."

"That's the worst set of opinions I've heard in my entire life."

answers to lists of questions in magazines or call in their answers by telephone.

Some people think that polls should not be used. They believe that polls can change the results of elections. They point to voters who say they will vote for a certain candidate mainly because that candidate is leading in the polls. In other words, those voters will jump on the candidate's "bandwagon."

Also, some voters may decide whether to vote or not based on the results of opinion polls. Studies suggest that if the polls show a huge gap between candidates, some people believe that the leading candidate will win, and they do not bother to vote.

The Impact of Television Today, many voters receive most of their information by watching the television news. For this reason, television has had a big impact on the way people see the candidates, understand the issues, and cast their votes.

Critics charge that television has made election issues seem unimportant because it covers the more exciting activities of the candidates, rather than paying attention to the major issues. These people also say that to make election news exciting and appealing,

television tries to reduce campaign stories to 20-second "sound-bites" that catch viewers' attention but give little or no information.

Television has also had a powerful impact on the way candidates run their campaigns. They make their messages short and simple to fit easily on the television news. They also plan campaign activities that will look good on TV.

Overall, television has created a new kind of political candidate. A person running for high office today must come across well on the screen. This "television" candidate, by and large, must be good looking, have a compelling personality, and be at ease in front of the camera. Otherwise, he or she may face a tough time in an election.

Even though network news is not always the best source of facts about the candidates and issues, good sources do exist. Public television, special network programs, newspapers, and magazines all provide fuller coverage. It may take more work to seek out good information. However, if being an informed voter is important to you, the effort will be worth it.

Section 2 Assessment

1. **Define** direct mail, media, propaganda, bias
2. List four methods candidates use to get their messages to voters.
3. What are the election aims of interest groups?
4. List the major propaganda techniques that might be used in campaign messages.
5. How may opinion polls affect the outcome of an election?
6. **Evaluate** Abraham Lincoln was one of our greatest Presidents. He was also awkward and tired-eyed. Do you think that Lincoln could become President today? Explain.

Campaigning for Office

SECTION PREVIEW

Objectives

- Explore how campaigns are planned and managed.
- Describe how campaigns are financed.
- Identify factors that help people win elections.
- Summarize the role of the Electoral College in presidential elections.

Building Civics Vocabulary

- An **incumbent** candidate already holds the office for which he or she is running.

⭐ Focus

In the movie *The Candidate,* actor Robert Redford plays a man running for Congress. At one point the candidate says that he wants to "go where I want, say what I want, do what I want." His campaign advisor then writes a message on a matchbook and pushes it toward the candidate. The message reads, "You lose."

Campaigning for a major office is not something a person does alone. It is a highly organized, tightly controlled activity. To learn about how a campaign for a major office works, you will read about the way candidates run for the presidency. Keep in mind as you read that not all campaigns take as much planning and money as a presidential campaign. All of them, however, share a common goal—to get the candidate elected—and most use the same techniques to work toward that goal.

Planning and Running a Campaign

A person who is running for President in the November general election has already passed several major hurdles. After winning primary elections and caucuses in many states, the candidate has been nominated by his or her party at its national convention. He or she has chosen a running mate, raised a large amount of money, and built up an organization. Much work, however, still lies ahead.

A great deal of thought, planning, and hard work by many people goes into a presidential campaign. Paid staff members work with the candidate to plan and carry out the campaign. Thousands of workers put in long hours stuffing envelopes, making telephone calls, and ringing doorbells. The candidate's party contributes money, people, and other kinds of support. The final success or failure of the campaign depends not just on the candidate but also on the organization as a whole.

Campaign Organization Besides the candidate, the most important person in a campaign is the campaign manager. Along with a small group of assistants and advisors, the manager helps plan the broad outlines of the campaign: where to go, what issues to talk about, what image of the candidate to put forth. The manager also guides the work of other important members of the staff: fundraisers, speech writers, media advisors, and so on.

The manager also keeps in touch with the people who run the campaign in different parts of the country. These lower-level managers are in charge of the thousands of volunteers who work "in the field," handling the day-to-day campaign work that is needed to win the election.
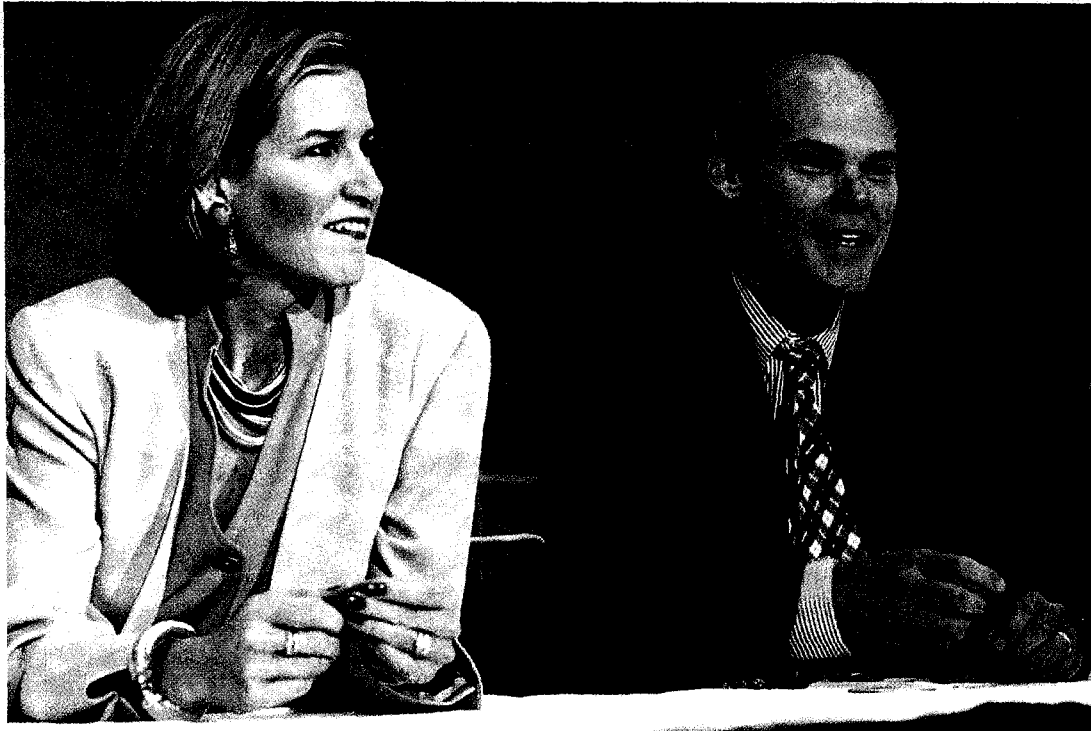
Mary Matalin, deputy campaign manager of Republican President George Bush's 1992 re-election campaign, squares off with her husband and political opponent James Carville, former campaign manager for Democratic President Bill Clinton.

Finally, the manager is in charge of the workers who plan for the candidate to appear at meetings, picnics, and rallies. These "advance people" make sure that the candidate is in the right place at the right time, and that a big crowd is on hand.

Finding Out What the Public Thinks

A successful campaign must keep its finger on the pulse of the American public. How do people think things are going? What issues should the candidate be talking about? A presidential campaign usually has its own opinion poll taker who finds the answers to such questions.

The poll taker is able to find out which issues the voters think are important. Polls can also show what impact the campaign is having in different parts of the country and among different groups of voters.

Managing and Using the Media

Wherever they go, people who run for President are followed by planeloads and busloads of people from the media. Making certain that the news shows the candidate in the best light is the job of the campaign press secretary. The press secretary tells reporters about public appearances and gives them copies of speeches and policy positions.

The press secretary also helps make sure that the media is on hand when the candidate is "making news." A television news report on a candidate's visit to a children's hospital will be seen by thousands of people. Such media coverage is a good source of free publicity for the candidate.

One way for national candidates to get their message across to the public is by advertising in newspapers and on radio and television. A campaign hires media advisors to create these advertisements. Television ads, especially, can have a major impact on a campaign.

Media people have learned that saying bad things about the other candidate can sometimes work better than saying nice things about their own. They also know that it is often best to focus on image and style rather than issues and ideas.

Some critics say that this approach amounts to little more than "packaging and selling" the candidates. It is up to you, the voter, to view these ads carefully and to pay attention to the propaganda techniques being used.

Financing a Campaign

People who run for President and for other national and state offices have one thing in common—they need a lot of money. As Tip O'Neill, former Speaker of the House of Representatives, once said, "There are four parts to any campaign. The candidate, the issues of the candidate, the campaign organization, and the money to run the campaign with. Without money you can forget the other three." In 1998, for example, major party candidates for the Senate spent an average of over $3 million each.

Where do people get the money to run for office? Candidates for local, state, and national office get most of their money from individuals. Many candidates, especially
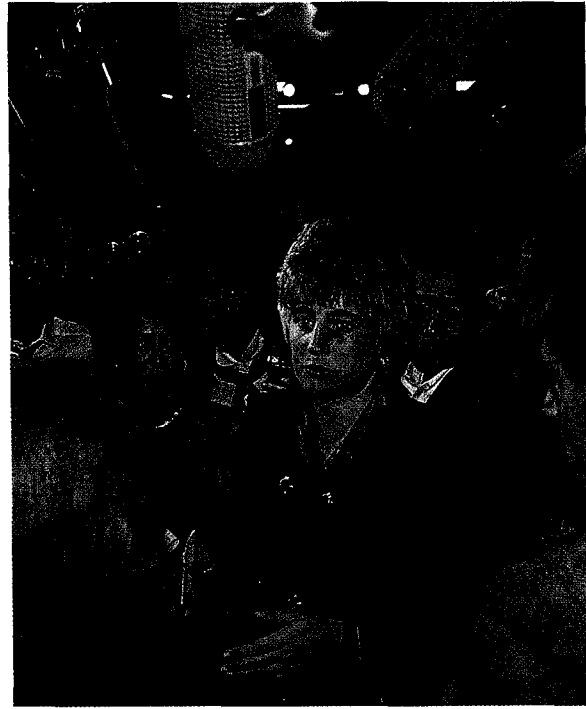
While serving as White House press secretary during the Clinton administration, Dee Dee Myers often fielded questions from television and newspaper reporters.

those for national and high state office, also get money from political parties and PACs.

In the early 1970s, the high costs of running for office began to worry people. They began to think that individuals, businesses, and interest groups that gave large sums of money might have too much influence on candidates.

In response, Congress passed several laws making rules for how campaigns for federal office can be paid for. The law now says that no one person may give more than $1,000 to a candidate. The law also says that candidates must report the name of anyone who has given them more than $200. As a result,

the public can know where the money is coming from. Congress set up the Federal Election Commission (FEC) to carry out these and other rules.

Changes were also made in the way presidential campaigns are paid for. Citizens may now give $3 of their taxes each year to a presidential campaign fund. Every election year, the FEC offers money from this fund to each of the major candidates for the presidency. This system was first used in 1976. Once presidential candidates accept these public funds, they cannot accept or spend money from any other sources.

FEC rules allow a PAC to give up to $5,000 to a presidential candidate in the primary elections. However, in the general election, candidates who have accepted public tax money may not take money from PACs. Of course, as you have learned, this rule does not keep PACs from spending as much as they like on their own campaigns in support of certain candidates.

Many people complain that elections cost too much money. The high cost of running for even a local office, they say, keeps many good people from running at all. If costs continue to rise, people ask, will only the wealthy—and candidates backed by wealthy individuals and groups—be able to run and win?

Questions like these were behind the laws that limit contributions for federal elections. Some groups, however, would like to go further. They want to have all campaigns paid for entirely with public funds so that candidates do not have to raise funds privately.

How much should campaigns cost? Who should pay for them? The debate over these issues raises questions that by now should be familiar to you. Does our belief in equality mean that all candidates should have an equal opportunity to run and to get their messages across to the public? On the other hand, does our belief in freedom mean that every citizen should be free to give as much money to a candidate as he or she wishes?

Who Wins an Election?

It is a goal of our democracy to elect people who will be our best leaders and decision makers. Being a good leader and being able to make good decisions, however, are not all it takes to win an election. As you have seen, it is also important to look good on television, have a good organization, and be able to raise a lot of money, especially if you are running for national office. It also helps to have the backing of either the Democratic or Republican party.

One other factor is also very important. An incumbent, someone who already holds the office for which he or she is running, has a very good chance of winning. Incumbents win re-election far more often than they lose. In 2000, 399 incumbent members of the House of Representatives ran for re-election—392 of them won.

An incumbent has a name that voters know and a record to point to. Unless an incumbent has made major mistakes, a challenger usually faces a hard battle with only a small chance of winning.
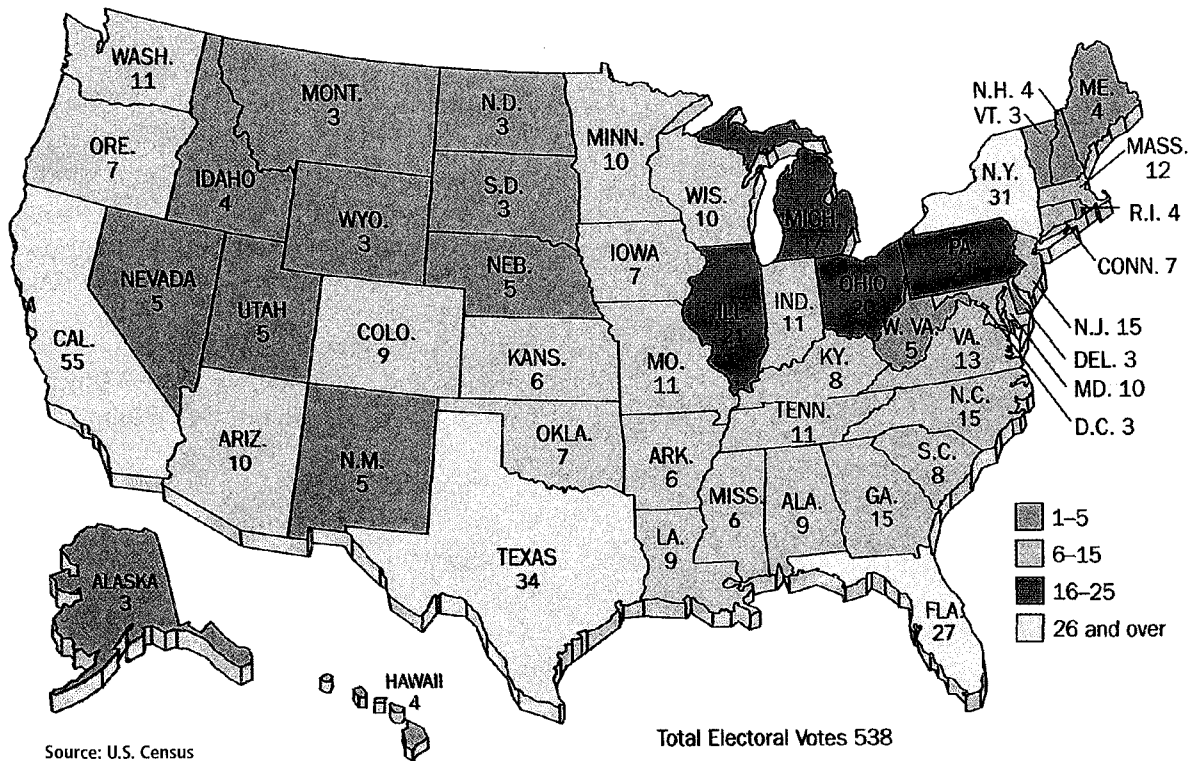
The Electoral College

In the 2000 presidential election, more than 50 million people voted for George W. Bush. Did 50,456,141 people choose George W. Bush directly? No. They actually elected people from their states, called electors, who promised to cast votes for Bush. As set down in the Constitution, the President is chosen not by a vote of the people, but by electoral votes in what is called the Electoral College.

How does the Electoral College work? Each state has the same number of electors as it has members of Congress. Iowa, for example, with 5 representatives and 2 senators, has 7 electors. The District of Columbia has 3 electors. The Electoral College is made up of 538 electors, each with one vote.

WASH. 11
ORE. 7
MONT. 3
N.D. 3
MINN. 10
IDAHO 4
S.D. 3
WIS. 10
WYO. 3
IOWA 7
NEVADA 5
UTAH 5
NEB. 5
IND. 11
CAL. 55
COLO. 9
KANS. 6
MO. 11
KY. 8
ARIZ. 10
N.M. 5
OKLA. 7
ARK. 6
TENN. 11
TEXAS 34
LA. 9
MISS. 6
ALA. 9
GA. 15
ALASKA 3
HAWAII 4

N.H. 4
VT. 3
ME. 4
MASS. 12
N.Y. 31
R.I. 4
CONN. 7
N.J. 15
DEL. 3
MD. 10
D.C. 3
VA. 13
N.C. 15
S.C. 8
FLA. 27

■ 1–5
☐ 6–15
■ 16–25
☐ 26 and over

Total Electoral Votes 538

Source: U.S. Census

The larger a state's population, the more electoral votes it has. **Place Which state has the most electoral votes?**

Before the presidential election, each political party in every state draws up a list of electors who promise to vote for the party's presidential candidate. In other words, each candidate has a "team" of electors in every state. On election day, when you vote for a certain candidate, you are really voting for that candidate's team of electors.

On election night, the whole nation waits to find out which states each candidate has "won." "Winning" or "carrying" a state, means that a candidate's whole team of electors has won in that state. That winning team then has the right to cast their electoral votes in the Electoral College.

A few weeks after the election, the official electoral voting takes place in each state.

An elector is not required by law to vote for the candidate to whom he or she is pledged, but nearly all do. The votes are then counted in Congress. To win, a candidate needs an absolute majority of electoral votes—270 or more.

Over the years, many people have charged that the "winner-take-all" method of awarding electoral votes from each state is not fair. They point out that candidates have gotten less than a majority of the votes nationwide but, by winning enough large states, have still been elected President. In 2000, for example, Al Gore received over 500,000 more popular votes than George W. Bush, but Bush was elected President with 271 electoral votes to Gore's 267. In most

cases, however, the person who gets the majority of popular votes also gets the majority of electoral votes.

The drama of the 2000 election made many American political leaders question whether the Electoral College system is worth keeping, however. It is likely that Congress will continue to examine and debate methods of improving our electoral system.

Choosing a President every four years is an important process in our democracy. Citizen participation, however, is just as necessary in other elections, including those in states, counties, cities, and towns. Only by voting can Americans claim to live in a country where the government truly represents the will of the people.

Extending the Chapter

Historical Views

Not only was the 2000 presidential election one of the closest elections in history, it was also the first election in which the U.S. Supreme Court made a decision that affected the outcome. The election was so close that the two major-party candidates, George W. Bush and Al Gore, needed to win the electoral votes in Florida in order to win the majority of the nation's electoral votes and the presidency. The vote totals in Florida were so close that precise counting was needed to find out who really got the most votes.

To complicate matters further, it turned out that many of the votes cast were not counted. All sorts of complaints arose including confusing ballots, inaccurate counting methods, and racial discrimination at the polling places.

The Florida counts indicated that Bush had a slight lead over Gore. But Gore and his supporters argued that the count was too close and the number of miscounted ballots were too great to declare the winner without a more accurate recount. They asked that the ballots

be counted by hand.

Because elections are handled by each state, Florida officials were called on to decide whether there should be a recount. Florida's Secretary of State, Republican Katherine Harris, presided over the election results and declared that a recount by hand was unnecessary. Gore fought this decision by addressing the Florida State Supreme Court. The Florida court stated that the hand recount should occur.

In response, George W. Bush went to the United States Supreme Court to have this decision overturned. He argued that the Florida Supreme Court decision was illegal and that hand counts were less accurate than machine counts.

The Court was split 5–4, but the final decision was to stop the recount. The ruling was disappointing to some because it suggested that Supreme Court justices may rule in favor of a party, rather than according to the law.

Because of the U.S. Supreme Court decision, there was no official recount. Bush was declared the winner of the election soon after.

How to MAKE AN ACTION PLAN

Remember your first day at school? Maybe you were worried about not being able to find your way around. Perhaps you set yourself a goal: "I am going to make sure that I don't get lost." However, a goal will not do you much good unless you take steps to make sure you reach it. In decision making, you need to plan how to reach your goal, and then you must carry out that plan.

For carrying out everyday decisions, such as doing what you decided to do first after you get home from school, you can make a quick plan in your head. However, more difficult action plans often involve writing down the steps you must take to reach your goal. In previous lessons, you have concentrated on how to set a goal and how to choose from a number of options. In this lesson you can take a closer look at what to do after you have chosen an option.

Explain the Skill

The following guidelines can help you make a plan for carrying out a decision. Notice how the guidelines would apply if you decided to try to get elected to your school's student council.

1. **State your action goal.** Your action goal is to carry out the decision you just made. [If your decision was to run for student council, your action goal now is to get elected.]
2. **Identify resources (what will help you) and obstacles (what you will have to overcome).** Knowing what you can use and what problems you might face will help you decide what has to be done. Be sure to check the accuracy of any information you gather about possible resources and obstacles. [One resource, or strength, might be that most students in your class know you well. Being a member of some school clubs might also help you gather voter support. Some possible obstacles are not being well-known outside of your class or running against a former student council member. What other resources and obstacles can you think of?]
3. **List what you have to do to achieve your goal. Think about what needs to be done, who will do it, and when it will be done.** [As a student council candidate, you might list such tasks as thinking up campaign slogans and making posters. What are some other tasks involved in a campaign? In what order would the campaign tasks need to be done?]
4. **As you carry out your plan, check how well it is working and change it if necessary.** Make sure that what you planned to do is getting done. Check each item on your schedule to make sure it is getting done well and on time. Identify any problems with the plan, as well as any new resources and obstacles. Then make changes in your plan if necessary. [You and the friends helping you might use checklists, staff meetings, and opinion polls to keep track of the campaign's progress. Perhaps you might change your plan to account for new resources, such as more students volunteering to help, or new obstacles, such as a popular student entering the race.]
5. **Judge how well your plan worked.** Identify the results of what you did, including any unexpected results. Determine what you might do differently if you found yourself in a similar situation in the future. [After a campaign you might find out that posters with both your name and a campaign slogan on them were more effective than posters with just your name. Therefore, in any future campaign you might include slogans on all posters.]

Action Goal:	To get elected to the student council
Resources I Have:	I am well-known within my class. My friend Jim will help.
Resources I Need:	more volunteer campaign workers, poster materials (paper, cardboard, paint, brushes)

Obstacles:	Ways to Overcome Obstacles:
1. not well known outside of class	1. have friends introduce me to other students
2. running against former council member	2. campaign theme: "new member—new ideas"

What to Do?	Who Does It?	By When?	Checked	Did it Work?
1. Recruit 10 volunteers	Jim and I	9/20	☑ (9/18)	Yes
2. Schedule staff meeting	Jim and I	9/25	☑ (9/24)	Yes
3. Campaign slogans	campaign staff	9/28	☑ (9/28)	Yes
4. Posters	campaign staff	9/30	☑ (10/1)	No

Analyze the Skill

Suppose there is a large open area near your school. Over the years, people have made it an unofficial park. You learn that the city council will vote next week on a plan to build houses there. You and your friends want to keep the land as a park. After considering many ways to do this, you decide to launch a campaign to make the area an official city park.

Now it is time to take action. What will you do to carry out this decision? Use a chart like the one above to make an action plan for saving the park.

Skill Assessment

After you have completed your action plan, answer the following questions.

1. What was your action goal?
2. What resources did you identify that might help you achieve your goal? How did you plan to make use of those resources?

3. What were some obstacles that you expected? How did you plan to overcome them?
4. In what order did you put the steps of your plan? Explain why.
5. Pick three steps you listed and explain why each was important. Tell how you and your friends would complete each step.
6. What would be some good ways of checking how your plan was working? Explain.
7. Suppose the proposal was changed so that a youth recreation center would be built in addition to houses. Would you stay with your plan, change it, or drop it? Explain.
8. Why are planning and taking action important parts of decision making?
9. How would you explain the process of making and carrying out a plan to a seventh-grade student?
10. Think of a decision you have made recently. How close did you come to your goal? What happened that you had not planned on and how did you deal with it? What would you do in a similar situation in the future?

How to INTERPRET OPINION POLLS

Use the *Simulations and Data Graphing* CD-ROM to create and interpret graphs.

As you read in this chapter, public opinion polls play an important role in our election process. During election campaigns, one common opinion poll question is: "If the election were held today, which candidate would you support?" These polls give both candidates and voters an idea of who is most likely to win an election.

Explain the Skill

The chart on this page shows the results of another common poll question: "What do you think is the biggest problem facing our nation today?" Can you see why these poll results might be very valuable to a person running for government office? They help the candidate understand what the public is thinking. With this information, a candidate might choose to emphasize policies that address the problems about which voters are most concerned.

Analyze the Skill

The two public opinion polls shown here were conducted in 1997 and 2000. Problems are listed in the left-hand column. The percentage of people who thought that problem was the most important one facing our country is shown in the right-hand columns. In 1997, for example, six percent of the public considered taxes to be the nation's biggest problem. That number fell to four percent in 2000.

Not everyone polled named one of the problems shown here. Some named other problems, including health care,

What is the most important problem facing our nation today?		
	1997	2000
Moral/family decline	11%	12%
Crime/violence	16%	9%
Education	12%	17%
Poverty/homelessness	14%	6%
Drug abuse	12%	5%
Economy	8%	8%
Unemployment	8%	3%
Taxes	6%	4%
Federal budget deficit	5%	1%
Environment	3%	3%

international issues, welfare, and racism. Why did people come up with such a wide variety of responses? One answer is that when the economy is strong, as it was in the late 1990s, people tend to focus on non-economic problems. In 1992, by contrast, when the economy was in a recession, over fifty percent of the public listed "the economy" as the nation's biggest problem.

Skill Assessment

1. What percentage of people polled in 1997 felt that crime and violence was the most important problem facing our society? Did that figure change in 2000?
2. Suppose you were a candidate for the Senate. Based on the results of these polls, what issues would you emphasize in your campaign? Explain your answer.
3. If a poll taker asked you to name the most important problem facing our nation, what would you say? Would you choose one of the problems shown on this chart, or would you name a different problem? Explain your choice.

Building Civics Vocabulary

The vocabulary terms in each pair listed below are related to each other. For each pair, explain how the two terms are related.

1. *general election* and *registration*
2. *media* and *direct mail*
3. *propaganda* and *bias*

Reviewing Main Ideas and Skills

4. Why was voter registration introduced in the United States?
5. Why does PAC involvement in elections worry some people?
6. Describe the job of a campaign manager.
7. Why is it important for a candidate to have the media on hand when he or she is "making news"?
8. Why were laws passed that limit the amount of money that can be given to candidates running for federal office?
9. **How to Make an Action Plan** What is one goal you have for this school year? What steps will you take to reach this goal?
10. **How to Interpret Opinion Polls** Look back at the poll results shown on page 492. From 1997 to 2000, which problems had the largest increase in concern? Which had the largest decrease?

Critical Thinking

11. **Applying Information** What is one reason that people sometimes give for not voting? If you met someone who felt this way, what would you say to convince him or her that voting is important?

12. **Linking Past and Present** What are some ways that television has changed elections in the United States? Do you think television has a positive or negative impact on elections? Explain.

Writing About Civics

13. **Writing a Political Advertisement** Suppose you were running for public office. Write a radio advertisement designed to increase support for your campaign. Use at least two of the propaganda techniques shown on the chart on page 481.

Citizenship Activities

14. **Working Together** With a group, conduct an opinion poll among the students in your school to discover what they think about an issue affecting your school or community. Make a chart displaying your poll results. Present your charts to your class and explain what you learned from your poll.

Take It to the NET

Access the **Civics: Participating in Government** Internet site at **www.phschool.com** for the specific URLs to complete the activity.

Explore online information about one of the interest groups that is currently involved in politics. What kinds of changes does this group want to bring about? How effective has the group been in its efforts? Provide a summary of your findings to the class. Include your opinion on how necessary interest groups are to our government today.
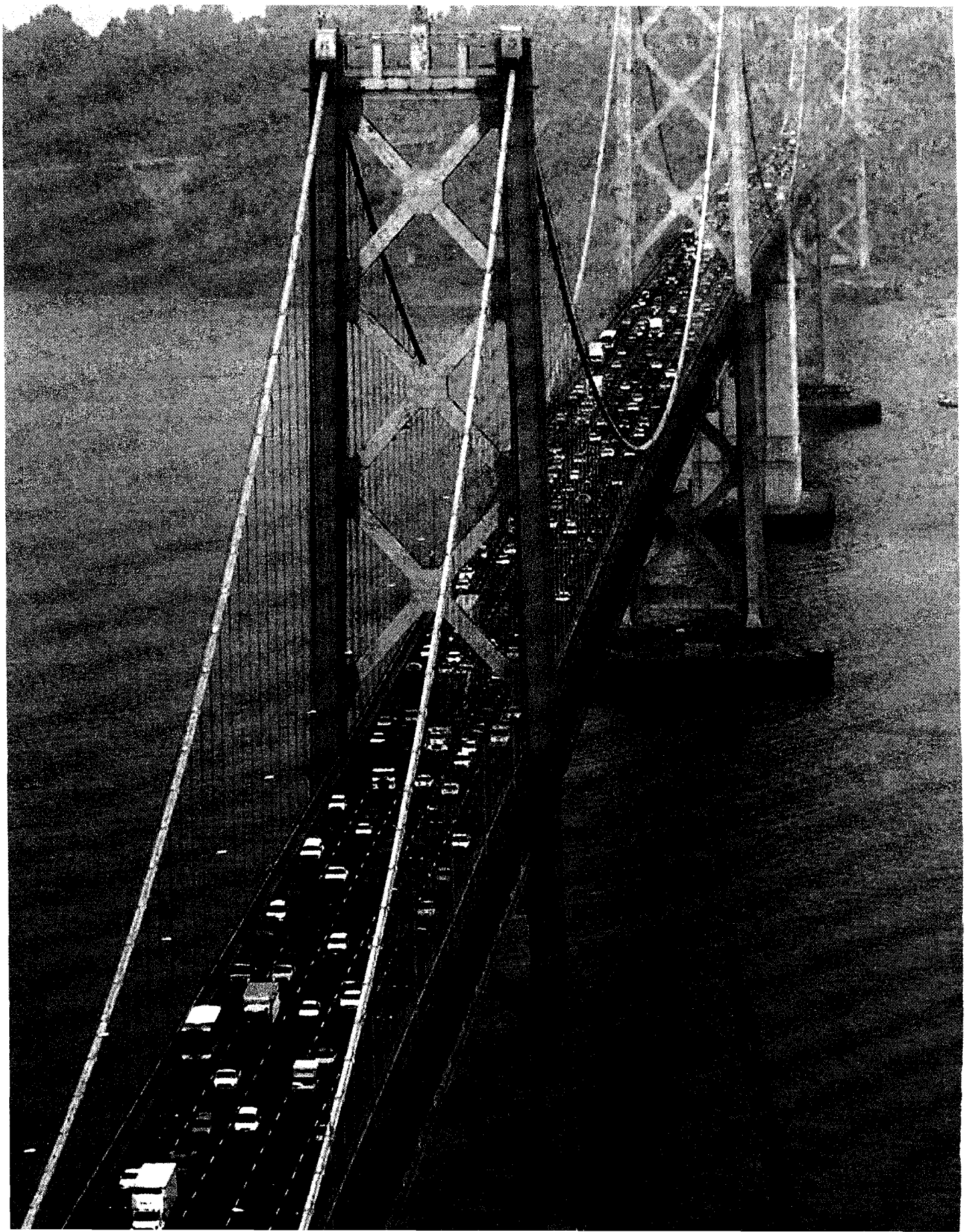
Confronting Society's Problems

Citizenship and You

The year: 1633. The place: Dorchester, Massachusetts, now part of Boston. The trouble: cows and goats had broken through the fences and were wrecking the village green.

John Maverick, a Dorchester minister, began to worry that the village green would be destroyed. He knew that he could not take care of the matter by himself. Furthermore, in 1633 Dorchester had no local government, no elected or appointed government officers to turn to. John Maverick decided to put the problem to members of the community. He asked them to come together to talk about it.

When the citizens of Dorchester met to discuss the problem of their village green, they were holding one of our country's first town meetings. Then, as today, citizens agreed to talk with one another and work together to solve shared problems.

Keep It Current

Items marked with this logo are periodically updated on the Internet. To keep up-to-date, go to **www.phschool.com**

What's Ahead in Chapter 23

Every society faces problems. In this chapter you will take a close look at two problems facing American society today—the rising cost of health care and the problem of how to dispose of trash from households and industries. By looking at these problems and how people are trying to solve them, you will get a better idea of the role citizens play in our democracy. You will see that even while we debate the actions government should take, we can find ways to make a difference as individuals.

Section 1   Problems and Public Issues

Section 2   The Future of Health Care: An Issue for All Americans

Section 3   Waste: Managing Our Garbage and Trash

Citizen's Journal

Suppose you were at the town meeting in Dorchester in 1633. How would you propose solving the problem of cows and goats on the village green?

Problems and Public Issues

SECTION PREVIEW

Objectives
- Identify the difference between private and public problems.
- Explain how issues arise when people try to solve problems.
- Explore ways that people attempt to solve public problems.

Building Civics Vocabulary
- An **issue** is a point of conflict or a matter to be debated.
- Government response to public issues is known as **public policy.**

Focus

You have learned about the formal institutions in American politics—political parties, campaigns, and elections. Through these institutions we choose the people who speak for us in government. Some citizens think that once they have voted, they are "off the hook" and do not have to deal with the problems of society.

Just electing someone to public office, however, does not allow citizens to give up their responsibility to care, to be informed, and to face problems. As citizens, it is our right to call attention to problems that we see around us. It is also our duty as citizens in a democracy to take part in finding solutions.

Private or Public Problems?

What is a problem? It is an event or situation that troubles someone. A problem causes a person, or people, to feel uncom-

fortable or uncertain and to look for a solution. Here are three examples:

- You have homework due tomorrow and your favorite TV show is on tonight.
- Teachers at a local school say that too many students are wearing sloppy clothes to school.
- Automobile drivers age 16 to 21 have a much higher accident rate than do other groups of drivers.

What is your reaction to these situations? Would any of them trouble you? Why or why not?

The first situation might be troubling for you alone. In this sense, it is a private problem. You are the person who must decide to do or not do your homework. You must decide to watch or not watch the TV show. You make your decisions based on what you think is more important.

The second and third situations affect many people. Therefore, they are public—or social—problems. In these cases, people are troubled, annoyed, or upset by the situation. The teachers think that sloppy dress gets in the way of learning. People fear that young drivers make the roads unsafe.

A situation becomes a problem when it does not "fit" with a person's values. If the situation does not fit the accepted values of the community, it is a social problem. If enough people believe a situation needs to change, they will begin to take action.

How Issues Arise

Many people may agree that a certain situation is a problem. However, once someone offers a solution, people may not agree about whether it is a good—or the best—solution. Then issues arise. An issue is a point of conflict or a matter to be debated. Think about the issues that might arise from the following proposals.
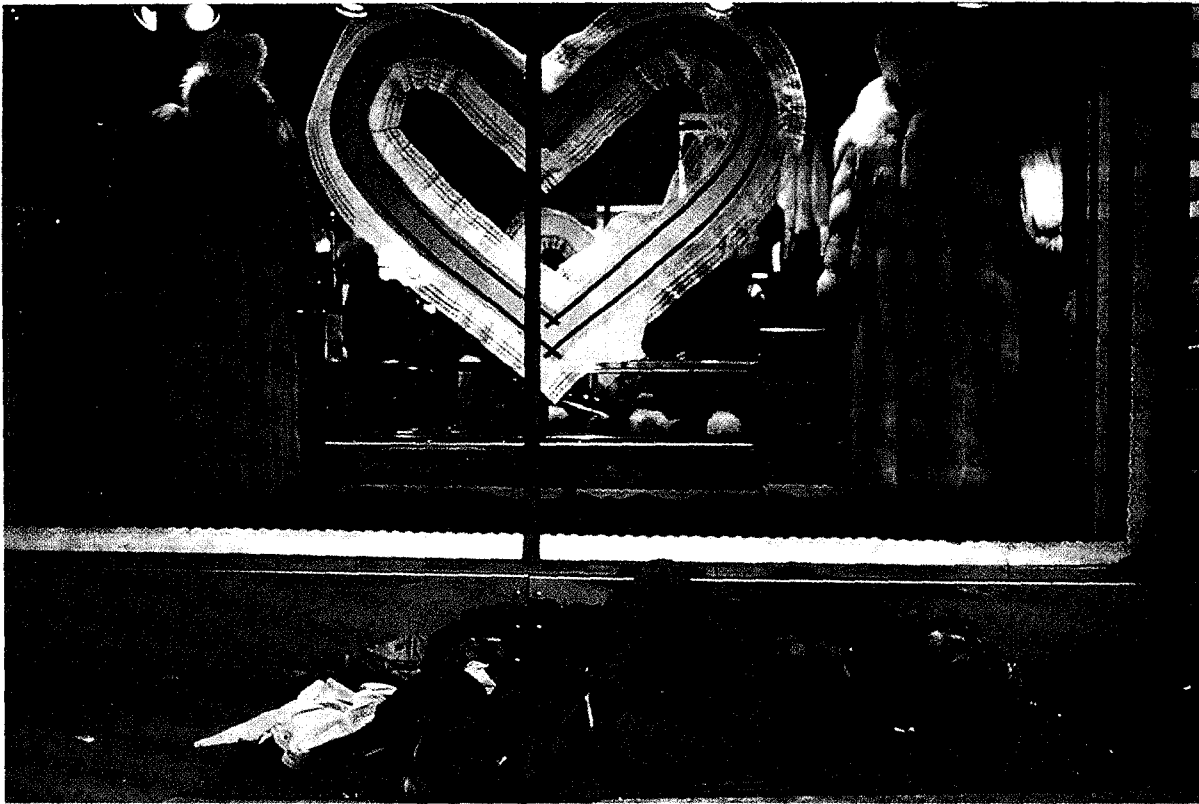
Homelessness is a major problem in many American cities.

- To solve the problem of sloppy dress, the school district ought to make a rule that students must wear uniforms.

- To cut the accident rate of teenage drivers, all cars driven by this age group should have a mechanical device which limits speed to 55 mph.

What do you think about these proposals? Would you support or oppose them? What reasons would you give for your opinion?

Each proposed solution raises issues. The issues come up because people's values are different. Notice the key words *ought* and *should*. Those words are a sign that values are involved. In the first proposal, being neat is given a high value. Neatness becomes an issue, or point of conflict, when someone else gives a higher value to people's freedom to dress as they wish. In the

second proposal, equal treatment of all drivers is given a lower value than safety.

When people ask government to help solve a problem, the issues that arise are known as public issues. In the first case, the principal might ask the school board to make a rule that students must wear uniforms. In the second case, the state legislature might consider a bill to put speed-limiting devices on cars driven by young people.

Once government action is called for as part of a solution to a public problem, the issues then become the subject of public debate. Government response to public issues is known as **public policy.**

Issues and Choices

Each proposal on this page presents just one solution. Of course, social problems often

Teens Join to Fight Child Labor

Dianna English is speaking from experience when she says "kids are powerful and kids can do incredible things."

When she was thirteen, this Connecticut high school student first learned about Free the Children—a youth-run organization dedicated to ending child labor and protecting the rights of children worldwide. She started a chapter at her school and soon became one of the organization's most active members.

As head of the Windham High School chapter of Free the Children in 1999, Dianna gave speeches at schools around the nation, raising awareness of the child labor problem and inspiring other students to get involved in the search for solutions. She also lobbied Congress in support of the United

Nations Convention on the Rights of Children.

Free the Children was founded in 1995 by Craig Kielburger, a student from Toronto, Canada. When he was 12 years old, Craig read a newspaper article about a 5-year-old Pakistani child who was forced to work at a rug factory. The story shocked Craig and he decided to take action.

Craig convinced friends and classmates to help him

form an organization to fight child labor. Free the Children now has over 5,000 members, with chapters in 20 countries. In addition to pressuring businesses and governments to oppose child labor, Free the Children has raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for the construction of schools in poor communities.

His experience with Free the Children has convinced Craig that young people can change the world. "We have proved the critics wrong," he says, "when they say the young aren't old enough, capable enough or smart enough to bring about change or to have a voice in society."

Active Citizenship

Does the work of Free the Children support Dianna's claim that "kids are powerful and kids can do incredible things"? Explain.

have more than one possible solution. Public debate over a given problem involves looking at several possibilities. In making public policy, government officials must make choices and trade-offs. You, too, must make choices when you are deciding which solution to support.

Take, for example, two other possible solutions to the accident rate problem:

■ Raise the minimum age of drivers to 21.

■ Take away the licenses of young drivers who are in accidents. Do not allow them to drive until age 21.

What conflicts of values might come up when citizens debate these possible solutions?

Raising the driving age may seem to be a simple solution, and it might satisfy people who want to see equal treatment for all drivers. However, is this policy fair to careful young drivers who are unlikely to cause an accident? Does it cause unfair hardship to youths who need to drive in order to get to school or to work?

In the case of the other solution, taking away a driver's license no matter who caused the accident may make young drivers more careful, but does the policy treat people equally? Would it be fair if you lost your license because someone else rear-ended your car?

Think about the three possible solutions to the accident rate problem. Which solution do you favor? What values influenced your decision? Can you think of any better solutions?

In the rest of this chapter you will be reading about two public problems. Ask yourself the following questions about each of the problems:

■ What makes each situation a public problem? Who is troubled or upset? Why?

■ What issues arise from proposed solutions to the problem? In other words, why do people disagree? What values are involved?

■ Do you favor some solutions over others? Why?

These questions will help you to understand the problem and why people do not agree on how to solve it.

Also keep in mind how you might help solve each problem. Chapter 3 presented the idea that in our democracy, the office of citizen is the highest office in the land. In holding this office, American citizens are never "off the hook" when it comes to governing themselves.

Solving public problems requires the effort of the people we elect to public office. It

As American cities and their surrounding areas continue to grow, traffic becomes a more and more pressing problem.

also requires that individual citizens take responsibility. The key to finding and carrying out solutions to the public problems that face us lies in government, community, and individuals working together.

Section 1 Assessment

1. **Define** issue, public policy
2. How does a situation become a problem?
3. Why do issues come up when people are trying to solve problems?
4. What process is involved in solving a public problem?
5. **Apply** Tell about a private problem and a public problem that you are aware of. What makes them problems?

The Future of Health Care: An Issue for All Americans

SECTION PREVIEW

Objectives

- Explain why rising health care costs are a concern for all Americans.
- Explore the public policy issues behind the health care debate.
- Describe ways that individuals are helping to improve health care in their communities.

Focus

When he was in his early twenties, Matthew Scott lost his left hand in a fireworks accident. Fourteen years later, he made medical history. In an operation lasting over fourteen hours, doctors in Louisville, Kentucky performed hand transplant surgery on Scott. That spring, Scott used his new hand to throw out the ceremonial first ball at a baseball game between the Philadelphia Phillies and the Atlanta Braves.

As this example illustrates, the United States is a world leader in cutting-edge medical techniques. Thanks largely to advances in the quality of health care in this country, average life expectancy for Americans rose from 63 years in 1940 to 77 years by the end of the twentieth century. As the quality of health care has risen, however, so have the costs.

On average, Americans spend about twice as much on health care as Europeans. Out of every $100 spent in the United States today, over $13 goes to health care. Americans now spend more than $1 trillion each year on health care, and the govern-

ment estimates that this figure will double to $2.2 trillion by the year 2008.

Why have health care costs risen so rapidly in recent decades? One reason, as you read in Chapter 1, is that our population is getting older. People over the age of 65 require four times the health care services of people under 65. Another cause is the increasing use of computers, lasers, and other high tech medical equipment. These technologies have led to an increase in life expectancy, but they are often very expensive. In addition, treatment of relatively new diseases, especially acquired immune deficiency syndrome, or AIDS, has been very costly.

The Problem

You may not think of rising health care costs as an issue that affects your life right now. But everyone needs medical care sooner or later, and rising costs may mean that some people will not have access to quality care when they need it. In addition, rising costs can have a negative effect on our economy. Consider this example. Automobile maker General Motors reports that it charges an additional $1,500 per vehicle to cover the costs of health care for its employees and their families. For automobile makers in Japan, the figure is approximately $700 per vehicle. You can see why rising health care costs are a cause of concern for many American companies.

Americans Without Insurance As you read in Chapter 17, if faced with a medical emergency, the average American worker would find it almost impossible to pay the bills for doctors, hospitals, and medicine out of his or her salary alone. This is why many people consider health insurance a necessity. Health insurance policies allow people to set aside money from current income to cover the costs of medical care they may need in the future. As health care costs have skyrocketed, however, so has the cost of health insurance.

INSURED AND UNINSURED AMERICANS, 2000

People without health insurance

14%

People with health insurance
86%
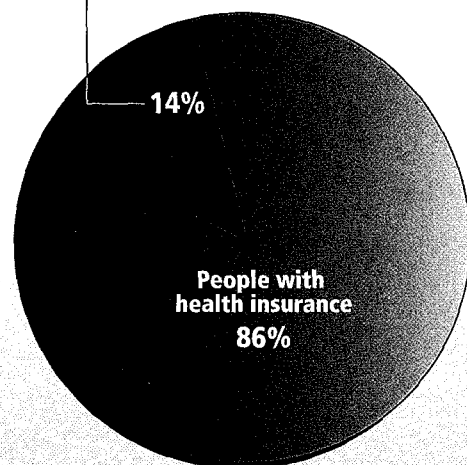
Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of the Census

A 2000 government report found that 38.7 million Americans had no health insurance. **Economics What percentage of people had health insurance in 2000?**

Millions of Americans get health insurance through their jobs. Government programs provide health insurance to millions more—Medicaid offers insurance to many who cannot afford it; Medicare assists senior citizens with their health care bills. But what about the people who do not get health care through their jobs, yet do not qualify for government assistance? Many people in this category cannot afford to buy health insurance privately and are uninsured.

In 1999, the United States Census Bureau released a report stating that over 42 million Americans were without health insurance.

According to the report, people most likely to lack health insurance included young adults in the 18–24 age range and people who work part-time. When people don't have health insurance, they may not have access to high-quality medical care when faced with medical emergencies or life-threatening illnesses. This is one of the most serious problems resulting from the rising cost of health care.

Government Spending Another problem is the added strain rising heath care costs put on government budgets. The federal government spent over $300 billion on health care programs such as Medicare in 1999. That figure was expected to rise to well over $400 billion by the year 2004.

As you read in Chapter 16, the federal government struggled with annual budget deficits during most of the second half of the twentieth century. While the government was able to balance its budget in 1999 and 2000, rising health care costs could threaten this balance in the coming years.

Controlling Insurance Costs Rising health care costs have also affected the millions of Americans who get health insurance through their jobs or who purchase their own health insurance policies. Rising costs have affected both the cost and the quality of health insurance in the United States.

Until the early 1990s, nearly all health insurance policies were traditional "fee-for-service" policies. Under this system, when people needed medical attention, they went to doctors or hospitals of their choice, and then submitted their medical bills to their health insurance company for payment. As doctors' fees and the cost of medical procedures and medication rose, the cost of traditional health insurance soared—rising over 13 percent a year between 1988 and 1992. Many people could no longer afford health insurance. Companies were less likely to offer
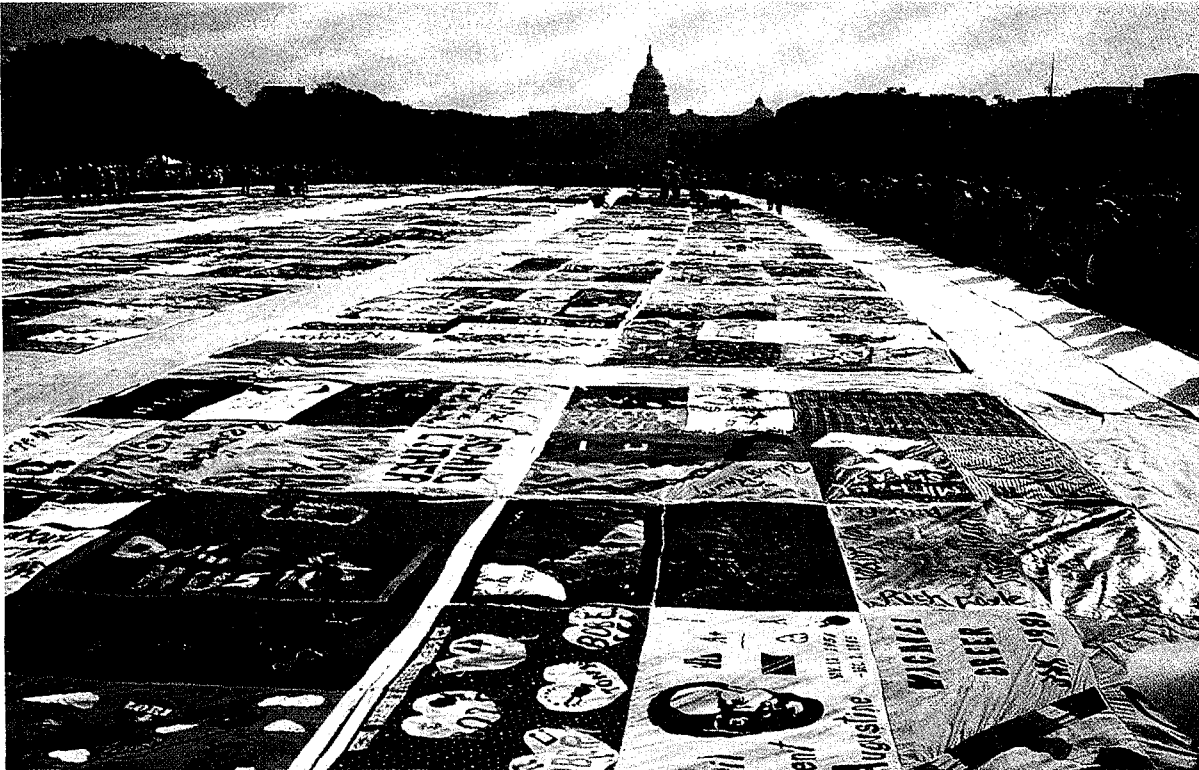
This quilt bearing the names of more than 1,900 people who have died of AIDS was unfurled in Washington, D.C., in 1987. Treatment of AIDS has contributed to the rise in health care costs.

health insurance as a benefit to their employees. In response to this growing crisis, many people began turning to a new type of health insurance, known as "managed-care."

Have you heard the term HMO? A health maintenance organization (HMO) is the most common type of managed-care insurance company. When you join an HMO, you get all your medical care from a group of doctors, hospitals, and other medical care providers that work for the HMO. The HMO works to control the costs of medical care. Like any big business, HMOs have the ability to bargain for lower prices from suppliers, such as doctors and drug companies.

Proponents of managed-care say that it has been a success. By 1999, more than 100 million Americans got their health insurance from managed-care companies. Managed-care was given credit for slowing the growth of health insurance costs to an average of about 6 percent a year from 1993 to 1998.

Opponents say that managed-care companies have decreased the quality of medical care. Many people feel that HMOs and other managed-care plans force them to give up some of their freedom to choose their own doctors and treatments. Insurance companies, they argue, care more about profits than they do about providing quality medical care.

The Public Policy Issues

When it comes to public debate on health care, most Americans can agree on a few things. Costs continue to rise. Many people

remain uninsured. Managed-care health plans generate a great deal of criticism. A 1999 poll found that 59 percent of Americans felt that the nation's health care system needs "major changes." Another 36 percent said it needs "minor changes." Only 3 percent of the people said they were "satisfied with the system the way it is." When it comes to finding specific solutions, however, there is much less agreement.

Attempts at Reform When President Bill Clinton took office in 1993, one of his major objectives was to reform the health care system in the United States. Clinton proposed a national health plan designed to guarantee basic health insurance coverage to all Americans. Under this plan, businesses would have been required to purchase insurance for their employees from a pool of managed-care insurance companies. The government would have provided coverage for anyone not covered through work. The plan never gained widespread support, largely because many people were concerned it would be extremely expensive, leading to tax increases.

Another common proposal is that the United States should adopt a government-sponsored health care system like the one in place in Canada. Under the system Canadians call "Medicare," the government uses tax dollars to provide health insurance to all its citizens. Bills to create a similar system in the United States have been introduced in Congress several times. Senator Paul Wellstone of Minnesota, for example, introduced the American Health Security Act in the 104th Congress. Under Wellstone's plan, the government would pay for health care services for all citizens and legal residents. An income tax increase would help finance the program. To justify the tax increase, Wellstone argued that health care is like education—it is a basic right to which all Americans are entitled.

Wellstone's bill, and most similar proposals, have consistently met with strong opposition from Congress and the public. People are worried about the high price tag. Government-sponsored health care would require tax increases, which take money from people's paychecks—and could hurt the economy. In addition, opponents argue, a government-run heath system would reduce our personal freedom by taking health care decisions away from individuals and giving them to the government.

The Debate Continues In his 1995 State of the Union Address, President Clinton talked about the difficulties of reaching agreement on a single plan that would solve all the problems in the nation's health care system. He told Congress: "Now, last year, we almost came to blows over health care...We bit off more than we could chew. So I'm asking you that we work together. Let's do it step by
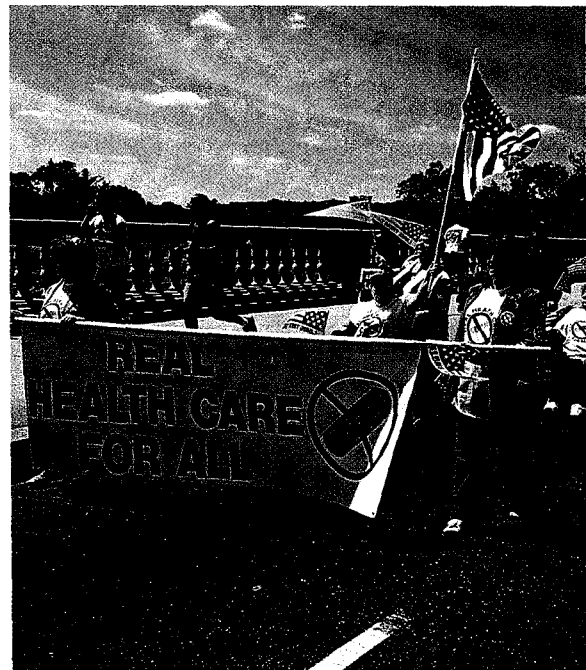
Activists around the country have organized to support health care reform.
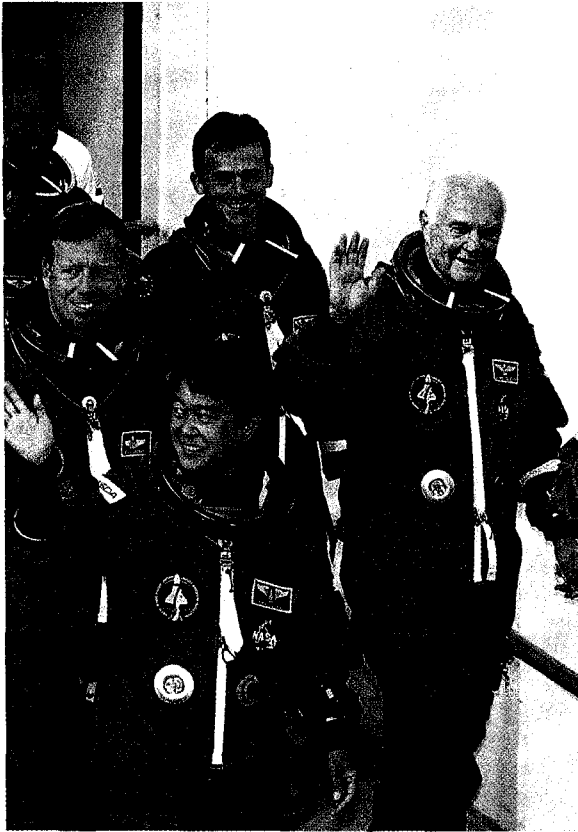
The American population may be getting older, but it is not slowing down. In 1998, Senator John Glenn, the first U.S. astronaut to orbit the earth, returned to space at age 77.

step." Reflecting this philosophy, health care reform efforts since 1995 have focused mainly on the two questions discussed below.

1. *How can we improve managed-care?* In the late 1990s, the public began putting pressure on Congress to pass a "patients' bill of rights"—legislation that would address some of the most common complaints about managed-care. People wanted their HMOs to guarantee payment for emergency care and they wanted greater access to doctors of their choice. Many also wanted the right to sue their HMOs if they felt the insurance company had prevented them from receiving medical care that they needed. While

Congress considered these issues, over 20 state legislatures passed laws protecting patients' rights.

2. *How can we extend coverage to the millions of uninsured Americans?* As you read above, the Census Bureau reported that more than 42 million Americans—about 16 percent of the population—lacked health insurance in 1999. Perhaps the most alarming finding in the report was that over 10 million children under the age of 18 were uninsured. Efforts are being made to combat this problem. In 1997, Congress created the Children's Health Insurance Programs, known as CHIP. The goal of CHIP is to provide health insurance to uninsured children. By mid-2000, over 2 million previously uninsured children were enrolled in CHIP health care programs. The government is also seeking ways to extend quality health care coverage to more low-income families and older Americans.

Making a Difference

You have seen that rising health care costs have created some major public policy issues. What can be done to control the rising costs of health care and health insurance? How can health insurance plans better meet the needs of all Americans? What, if anything, should the government do about people who cannot afford health insurance? While citizens and government officials study and debate these questions, Americans are not simply waiting for solutions. Every day, people in thousands of communities around the nation are taking action on their own.

Many communities, for example, have established health care clinics that provide services to people who cannot afford health insurance. In downtown Kansas City, Missouri, the Kansas City Free Health Clinic provides free health care to city residents. The clinic's mission is to "promote health and wellness by providing quality services, at no charge, to people without access to basic

care." The clinic is run with the help of over 400 local volunteers. Volunteering at a clinic or hospital is one way many people get involved in meeting the health care needs of their fellow citizens.

As another example of how one person can made a difference, consider the story of Ganga Stone. While doing volunteer work with AIDS patients in New York City in 1985, Stone realized that many adults and children living with AIDS were having difficulty shopping and cooking for themselves. Stone decided to take action. She called restaurants around the city and convinced them to donate nutritious meals. She picked up the meals and delivered them by bicycle to the homes of people in need of food. The program, named God's Love We Deliver, grew quickly. By 1999, hundreds of volunteers were working to cook and deliver thousands of meals every day—free of charge—to people in need living with AIDS.

As you have seen, on both a local and national level, heath care is one of the issues that has the greatest impact on the quality of life in the United States. How can we improve our nation's health care system in the twenty-first century? As young Americans, you will play an important role in finding answers to this question.

Section 2 Assessment

1. What are two effects of rising health care costs in the United States?
2. What is the goal of the CHIP program?
3. What are some ways that people can make a difference in the field of health care?
4. **Evaluate** "The United States should adopt a government-run health care system, similar to the one in Canada." Do you agree or disagree? Explain.

Waste: Managing Our Garbage and Trash

SECTION PREVIEW

Objectives
- Explain why the problem of waste is both a space and a people problem.
- Identify issues that have arisen from proposed solutions to our waste problem.
- Describe ways that people can make a difference in solving the problem of waste.

★ Focus

Several years ago, a barge left Islip, New York, loaded with more than 3,000 tons of garbage and trash. For almost two months the huge barge traveled along the eastern coast of the United States, but no state would allow it to unload. Neither would Mexico, Belize, nor the Bahamas.

Finally, the barge returned to Islip, swarming with flies and smelling rotten. After much bargaining, the garbage was finally burned over a period of twelve days in Brooklyn, New York.

Why was garbage sent to sea, only to come home to be burned? This story illustrates a situation facing Americans today—what to do with the huge amounts of garbage we produce.

Each day, the average American throws away more than four pounds of trash and garbage. This amounts to tons of trash and garbage per person over an average lifetime. Where does this waste all go? Most of us stuff our trash into plastic bags that we put out on the curb. From time to time, a truck comes by to collect the bags. As the truck

Much of the trash in American landfill sites consists of materials that could be recycled.

drives away, a large metal blade compacts the bags into small bale-like chunks. Our trash and garbage are out of sight—and out of mind. So what is the problem?

The Problem

Technically, garbage is kitchen waste. Trash is all other household waste, from gum wrappers to disposable diapers. Both terms, *garbage* and *trash,* are commonly used for all kinds of household waste. No matter what you call such waste, the problem of how to dispose of it is becoming staggering.

A Space Problem Every year, United States households throw away nearly 200 million tons of trash and garbage—enough to cover the state of Rhode Island with six inches of waste each year. Much of our trash, especially plastics, is not biodegradable, which means that over time it does not break down into natural substances. Such items do not just go away. They can last for hundreds of years.

For much of its history, the United States did not have to worry about what to do with its waste. Our country had a small population and lots of empty space. There was always plenty of extra land where waste could be put. Today, we do not have such new frontiers. Yet over 55 percent of our trash and garbage is still put in landfill sites, commonly called dumps. Using dumps has been inexpensive, and people have become used to paying very little for waste disposal.

Dumps across the nation are filling up, though. The number of operating landfill sites in the United States fell from 20,000 in 1977 to just over 5,000 by the end of 1998. Many of the sites closed because they reached full capacity, others because they failed to meet environmental regulations. Few new landfills are planned because finding space is getting more difficult. Most of the good landfill sites near cities have already been used. Many cities now have to send their trash to other areas, which increases the cost of trash disposal.

A People Problem The problem of waste in the United States is as much a people problem as it is a space problem. Not only does our population continue to grow, but many Americans have a "purchase-consume-dispose" way of looking at things. We often value convenience more highly than the safety of the environment, which can seem far away from our daily lives. Think of a fast-food restaurant, for example. The package your food comes in goes from counter to table to trash in a matter of minutes.

Another people-related problem is called the NIMBY attitude. NIMBY stands for Not in My Back Yard. People want to continue to pay low rates for trash collection. They also want to buy products in handy packages. However, when a city proposes opening a new dump site, the people who live in that area storm city hall in protest. They do not want the dump near where they live.

The same NIMBY attitude has kept cities from building new kinds of waste disposal plants, such as large incinerators to burn trash. The NIMBY view was largely responsible for keeping the Islip garbage barge from dumping its load.

The Public Policy Issues

As you have seen, the "frontier days" of being able just to toss things away are over. Local authorities, environmental experts, and concerned citizens agree that managing waste is becoming a crisis situation. Public issues center around three kinds of proposals: (1) recycling waste, (2) reducing the amounts of waste we put out, and (3) finding alternative means of disposal.

GRAPH SKILL **PER-PERSON, PER-DAY HOUSEHOLD WASTE** Here is how Americans compare with citizens of some other countries in the amount of waste they generate.
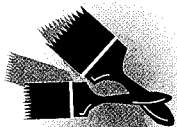**Economics Approximately how many pounds of waste does the average Japanese citizen produce each day?**
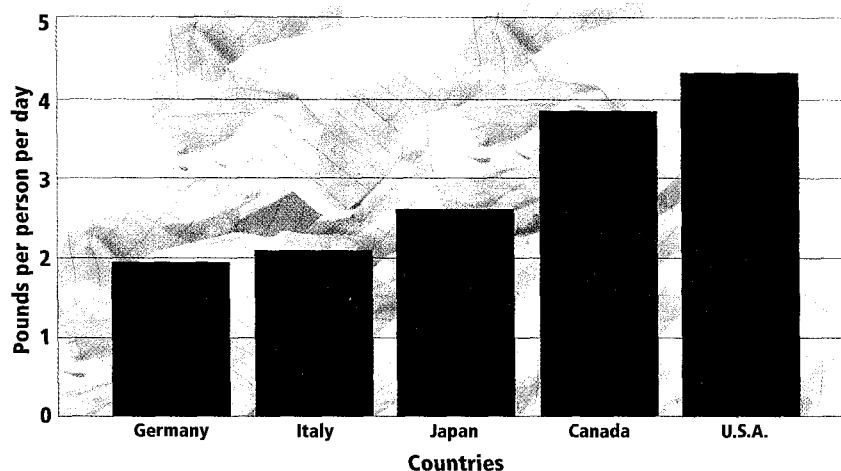
Source: Environmental Protection Agency

Confronting Society's Problems   Chapter 23   **507**

Plastic

- Paintbrush bristles
- Filling in jackets and pillows
- Flowerpots
- Fences and boat docks
- Plastic strapping for shipping boxes

Glass

- Bottles (90%)
- "Glasphalt" used in street paving

Paper

- Corrugated boxes
- Copier paper
- Paper towels
- Napkins

Aluminum

- New cans (almost 100%)

Recycling Waste Recycling, or returning trash to a form that can be used again, can help cut down the waste problem. The United States recycled 28 percent of its solid waste in 2001—up from just 6 percent in 1960 and 16 percent in 1990. In spite of this improvement, overall recycling rates in the United States are still considerably lower than they are in Japan and many European nations.

The major recycling issue is freedom of choice. Should states or local communities— and perhaps the federal government—pass laws that require recycling, or should individuals and businesses be free to choose whether or not they will recycle?

People who support recycling believe that the only way to solve the waste problem is for government to get involved. In some towns, there are laws that require people to recycle. People who do not must pay high fines. Other towns have raised the fee charged for garbage pick up. The idea is that if people must pay more, they are likely to try to cut down on the amount of their waste.

People against recycling laws claim that waste disposal is a matter of choice and should not be regulated. They believe that government should not get involved in ways that limit people's freedom and affect their daily habits.

Although some people think that recycling laws are the only way to make real progress in solving the waste problem, other solutions have helped, too. Many states now have deposit laws under which people get money back when they return used glass bottles and aluminum cans. Some states provide funds to help cities set up recycling programs. Further, many people are starting new businesses that are beginning to earn profits by recycling glass, metals, and tires.

Reducing Waste A major cause of the waste problem is packaging. In the United States, packaging accounts for about one third of the weight of trash and one half of the volume. The packaging we throw away amounts to about 600 pounds per person per year. New technology is producing new packaging that is not biodegradable and cannot be recycled. Some packages keep products safe and fresh for consumers. In other cases, however, packaging is merely used to attract the attention of consumers.

Adding to the difficulty of reducing waste is our desire for convenience. It seems so much easier to use disposable diapers, disposable razors, and cheap ball-point pens than to wash diapers and buy razor blades and pen refills. Until recently, few consumers have thought about the effects of such convenience on our waste problem.

When it comes to reducing waste, free enterprise is a major issue. Should government be able to decide what products a business can make or how much and what kind of packaging it can use? For example, should government make a law that all packaging materials must be biodegradable?

Some businesses argue that such a law would raise their costs, and then they would have to raise the prices of their goods. Another argument is that in a market economy, businesses respond to what consumers want. If consumers want disposable goods and fancy packages, businesses must make them or lose out on sales.

Alternative Means of Disposal As individuals and government are debating ways to cut down on the amount of waste, they are also looking for new means of waste disposal. One way is through waste-to-energy plants that burn garbage to produce electricity or steam. In the United States, 17 percent of all household waste is burned.

These plants are attractive to governments of large cities, where the dump shortage is at a crisis stage. However, the cost of building and running these plants is very high, and citizens are not eager to pay for them.

Public health and safety are also major issues in waste-to-energy plant development. Should communities go ahead and build plants in the face of possible health and safety hazards? Such plants can cut down on the amount of waste by 90 percent. However, some people worry that burning waste can create dioxins. Dioxins are chemicals that weaken the body's power to fight off sickness, increasing the chance of getting cancer. Critics also warn that the ash left over from burning is often poisonous and needs to be carefully disposed of so that it does not leak into water systems.

When people discuss a public problem like waste disposal, the solution almost always involves a trade-off. Is a proposed solution good enough, or will it create more problems than it solves?

Facts & Quotes

Litter's Life Span
Did you ever wonder what happens to trash left lying on the ground? Here is how long it takes for some common trash items to decompose.

- Paper   2-4 weeks
- Cotton rags   1-5 months
- Orange Peels   6 months
- Cigarette butts   10-12 years
- Plastic bags   10-20 years
- Leather shoes   25-40 years
- Aluminum cans   200-500 years

Paper, cardboard, and other materials are being recycled at this facility in Seattle, which has one of the nation's most successful city-run recycling programs.

Making a Difference

Government has always played a major role in waste disposal in the United States. However, while we are debating what further action government should take, citizens—on their own and working together—have already begun to make a difference in solving this nationwide problem.

Schools have put on recycling and cleanup programs. These programs have not only cut down on waste. They have also taught students about their duties. Students who have taken part in such projects often go on to help their families begin recycling at home.

Entrepreneurs have seen opportunities to make "money out of garbage" by setting up recycling businesses. Ten northeastern states, for example, recently reported that recycling now contributes hundreds of millions of dollars and over 100,000 jobs to the region's economy.

Community-based groups are making a difference in towns and cities around the nation. In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, community members have formed the Green Neighborhood Initiative. A major goal of this project is to reduce waste and increase energy efficiency in Pittsburgh homes, schools, and businesses. In Lansing,

Michigan, citizens, business owners, and local government officials have formed a group called Sustainable Lansing. The group encourages waste reduction and recycling, which will help the city "meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."

As you have seen, many communities have begun to make progress on recycling and other waste reduction efforts. As our population and economy continue to grow, however, the problem of managing our garbage and trash will not simply go away. Every individual can make a difference in solving this problem.

Section 3 Assessment

1. Explain how the problem of waste is a people problem.
2. Why is free enterprise an issue in the debate over how to reduce the amount of waste?
3. What are some ways in which people are making a difference in solving the problem of waste?
4. **Evaluate** "All households should be allowed only one trash can full of waste each week." Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Why?

Extending the Chapter

Global Views

United States citizens and industries are the largest waste producers in the world, with Canadians not far behind. Although the countries of Western Europe produce only half the trash and garbage per person that Americans do, they have much less space for landfills. Thus, they, too, face a serious problem of how to get rid of their waste.

Industrialized countries have tried several solutions to the problem of disposing of waste. Many countries burn much of their waste. In Japan, Sweden, and Switzerland, about half of household waste is burned, compared with the United States figure of 17 percent. Now, however, there is growing concern about the pollution and poisonous ash that burning causes.

A more recent strategy is to export waste. Cities and industries have made contracts with entrepreneurs to remove their waste. Then where does it go? These entrepreneurs pay other countries—especially poor ones—to take the waste. A problem is that the chemicals in the waste threaten to pollute soil and water where the waste is dumped.

The export of waste alarms governments and environmentalists. The United States Environmental Protection Agency has ruled against exporting some types of poisonous waste. Several African countries have passed laws against importing waste. Still, the pressure on the industrial countries to get rid of their waste is very great.

Should there be a law against exporting waste? The people who support such a law say that it would force industrial countries to look for their own solutions at home instead of causing more problems around the world. One thing is clear: the problem of waste disposal is a global problem.

Cleaning up the Air

Home to some of the most spectacular scenery on earth, Arizona's Grand Canyon National Park is often called the "crown jewel" of America's national park system. Not long ago, however, many of the park's 5 million annual visitors were surprised to find one of America's natural wonders shrouded in a murky haze. Even on the clearest days this haze could dim visitors' views of the park's mile-deep canyons.
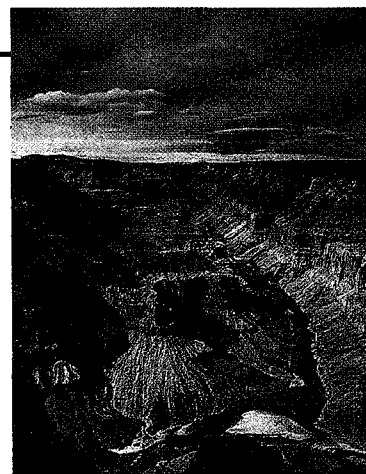
What was causing the problem? Fifteen miles from the Grand Canyon National Park sits a huge coal-fired electric power plant called the Navajo Generating Station. Every day three 77-story-high smokestacks at the power plant released air pollution in the form of sulfur dioxide. The haze resulting from these emissions was significantly reducing visibility in Grand Canyon. In addition, the National Park Service's air quality monitoring program had begun detecting significant increases in smog, the same pollutant that causes health problems in many urban areas. Concerned citizens decided it was time to take action. They turned to the law for help.

In 1970 Congress passed the Clean Air Act to protect the public from the harmful effects of air pollution. Seven years later the Clean Air Act was amended to add a new program to prevent "impairment [reduction] of visibility... which results from manmade air pollution." The goal of this amendment was to restore the scenic vistas in large national parks and wilderness areas to their natural state.

> **Every day three 77-story-high smokestacks at the power plant released air pollution in the form of sulfur dioxide.**

When Congress passed the Clean Air Act and the visibility amendment, it clearly indicated that citizens were welcome participants in the fight for clean air. "Congress wanted to empower private citizens to help the government enforce the law," says environmental lawyer Vickie Patton. To help accomplish this, Congress gave citizens the right to file lawsuits against the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) as a way to force the government to take action.

This is exactly what several citizens groups did. In 1982, the Environmental Defense Fund and the National Parks and Conservation Association, two citizen-run environmental groups, filed a civil lawsuit against the EPA stating that it had failed to do enough to clean up the air in Grand Canyon National

Park and the surrounding area. At the time, a consultant to one of the citizens groups, Priscilla Robinson, stated that "EPA has never done anything about visibility. They have delayed and dragged their feet unless they were driven by a lawsuit." The citizens groups hoped the lawsuit would force EPA officials to act.

In 1984, after difficult and lengthy negotiations, EPA reached a settlement with the environmental groups. The agreement was approved by the court. As part of the settlement, the court ordered EPA to develop a plan to solve the visibility problem at the Grand Canyon. After studying the problem, EPA issued a report linking a "significant portion of the visibility impairment in the Grand Canyon National Park to emissions from the Navajo Generating Station."

The next step was to figure out a practical solution. Representatives of the Navajo Generating Station sat down with citizens and officials from the Arizona state government and EPA. Together, they created a pollution cleanup plan that all

groups could accept. Finalized in 1991, the plan required the power plant's owners to spend millions of dollars to add scrubbers to the plant's smokestacks. The scrubbers would eliminate much of the sulfur dioxide before it left the smokestack. The new anti-pollution equipment was expected to result in a 90 percent reduction in haze-causing pollution. "This is a small piece of paper," said an EPA official referring to the clean-up plan, "but it represents the resolution of 20 years of dispute and disagreement."

The citizen groups hoped the lawsuit would force EPA officials to act.

In 1997 the first scrubbers were installed at the Navajo Generating Plant. By the summer of 1999, twenty-two years after the laws for protecting air qual-

ity in the national parks were first passed, the project was complete. Citizens had used the courts to enforce the Clear Air Act. Visitors from around the world can begin looking forward to clearer skies at Grand Canyon National Park.

Analyzing the Case

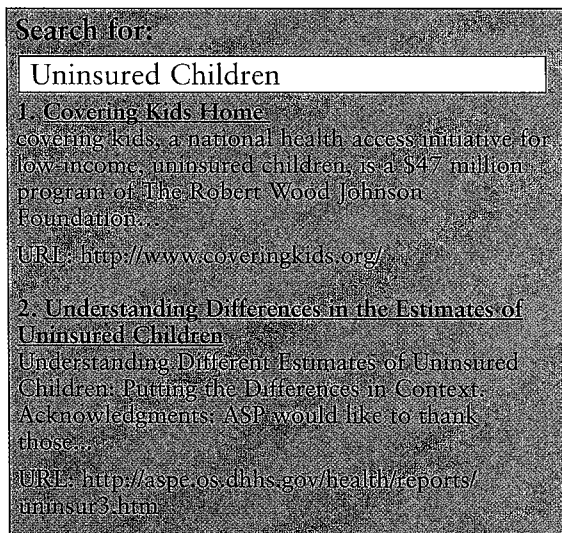1. How did Congress "empower" citizens groups to participate in enforcement of the Clean Air Act?
2. What did environmental groups hope to achieve by suing EPA?
3. What steps has the Navajo Generating Station taken to solve the air quality problem at the Grand Canyon?
4. Do you think citizens should be allowed to sue EPA to push for implementation of environmental laws such as the Clean Air Act? Why or why not?

How to USE THE INTERNET FOR RESEARCH

In this chapter you read about an important issue in the United States today—health care. Where would you look to find out more about this issue? One answer is to search the Internet. The Internet is a network of computers that allows you access to the vast amount of information on the World Wide Web. The Web has countless Web sites on a wide range of subjects. There are methods for searching and sorting through all the information to find just what you need to know.

Search for:

Uninsured Children

1. Covering Kids Home
covering kids, a national health access initiative for low-income, uninsured children, is a $47 million program of The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation...

URL: http://www.coveringkids.org/...

2. Understanding Differences in the Estimates of Uninsured Children
Understanding Different Estimates of Uninsured Children: Putting the Differences in Context. Acknowledgments. ASPE would like to thank those...

URL: http://aspe.os.dhhs.gov/health/reports/uninsur3.htm

Explain the Skill

Search engines are Web sites that help you find information on a specific topic. When you use a search engine, you enter the subject and the search engine gives you a list of related Web sites.

When using a search engine, try to be specific. If you were to type in "Health Care," you would get thousands of

responses. But if you type in "Uninsured Children" you get a narrower list of Web sites. Type in "Uninsured Children in California" and you get still more specific responses.

Analyze the Skill

Suppose you wanted to find out what is being done to help children who don't have health insurance. If you typed "Uninsured Children," you would get a list of Web sites like the ones shown on this page.

Each listing begins with the Web site's title. In some search engines, the listing gives a short description of the site. The listing also contains a link to the Web site and its URL, or site address.

To get the information, click on the links that seem most relevant. The URL can give you hints about the source. URLs with ".com" are commercial sites; URLs with ".org" are nonprofit organization sites; URLs with ".gov" are government sites; and URLs with ".edu" are school and university sites.

Skill Assessment

1. Based on the first search engine listing shown on this page, what do you think this Web page is about?

2. What is the URL of the second listing? What kind of organization put out this site?

3. Which of these two sites do you think would be most useful to you? Why?

Building Civics Vocabulary

The terms in each pair listed below are related to each other. For each pair, explain what the vocabulary term from the chapter has in common with the other term. Also explain how they are different.

1. *issue* and *problem*
2. *public policy* and *public issues*

Reviewing Main Ideas and Skills

3. What is the difference between a private problem and a public problem?
4. Why does solving public problems involve making choices?
5. Why do many people consider health insurance a necessity?
6. What are two reasons that health care costs are rising in the United States?
7. Why are many American cities running out of landfill space?
8. What are some solutions that have been effective in getting consumers and businesses to recycle their waste?
9. **How to Use the Internet for Research** Suppose you wanted to search the Internet to find information on waste management. What are three subjects you could type in a search engine to narrow your search?

Critical Thinking

10. **Solving Problems** Compare the advantages and disadvantages of burning garbage at waste-to-energy plants. Do you think burning garbage is a good solution to the waste problem? Why or why not?

11. **Predicting Consequences** Suppose the following rule was proposed at your school: To prevent alcohol use at school dances, all students should be searched at the door. What issues might arise from this proposed rule?

Writing About Civics

12. **Writing a Journal** Keep a list of everything you throw away for one day. How much of it could have been recycled? Would the amount of waste have been less if things had been packaged differently? Share your results with the class.

Citizenship Activities

13. **Your Local Community** Watch a local news program or check the newspaper to find a pressing public problem. Then answer the following questions.
   - What is the problem? What are some proposed solutions?
   - What public policies or citizen actions would you support?

Take It to the NET

Access the **Civics: Participating in Government** Internet site at **www.phschool.com** for the specific URLs to complete the activity.

Even in an affluent society like that of the United States, not all citizens receive adequate nourishment. Examine online information about government guidelines for nutrition, and government and non-government efforts to provide adequate nutrition for all Americans. Deliver a short speech for the class, explaining the issue and offering possible solutions. Be prepared to answer questions from the class.

America Needs a Third Party

Ralph Nader is the founder of Public Citizen, a consumer advocacy organization that was established in 1971. Nader and Public Citizen have addressed such issues as food and drug safety, clean energy sources, transportation safety, and environmental conservation. In 1996 and 2000, Nader ran for President of the United States as the Green Party candidate.

Before you read the selection, find the meaning of this word in a dictionary: imagery.

T he American electorate is faced with two major parties that serve up virtually identical political menus every four years....

Between 40 and 50 percent of eligible voters do not even bother to show up at the polls to select the federal government's chief executive....

For many of the stay-at-home voters, the dwindling differences between the two major parties provide little incentive to participate. Grassroots politics that once generated neighborhood discussion and participation has largely given way to mass media with corporate contributors financing expensive television advertising, which sells candidates in thirty-second

pops that stress empty imagery over substance....

This growing urge of the Democrats and the Republicans to imitate one another on major issues can only be cured by alternative parties that do not live off the corporate dole and are willing to raise the issues that count in people's lives....

In the fall of 1995, several leading California environmentalists asked if I would agree to their placing my name on the Green Party ballot for President. Reflecting on how well-corporatized government is rapidly shutting out civic participation, I agreed, but said I would not accept any campaign contributions or run in a traditional manner. My goal is to encourage a campaign dependent on self-reliant citizen muscle at the grass roots....

One thing politicians do understand is rejection. When voters are deciding how they wish to use their vote, they should ask themselves how best to send a clear message. The Greens and other progressives are in the early building stages of a people first, democratic political movement for future years. They deserve our attention because they are centering on the basic issues of representative government, one of whose purposes is to strengthen the tools of democracy, and the other, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, is to "curb the excesses of the monied interests."

Source: Perspectives: Readings on Contemporary American Government (Alexandria, Va.: Close Up Foundation, 1997), pages 218–20.

Analyzing Primary Sources

1. According to Nader, how have the growing similarities between the Republican and Democratic parties affected voter interest?
2. In Nader's view, how is the Green Party different from the traditional parties?
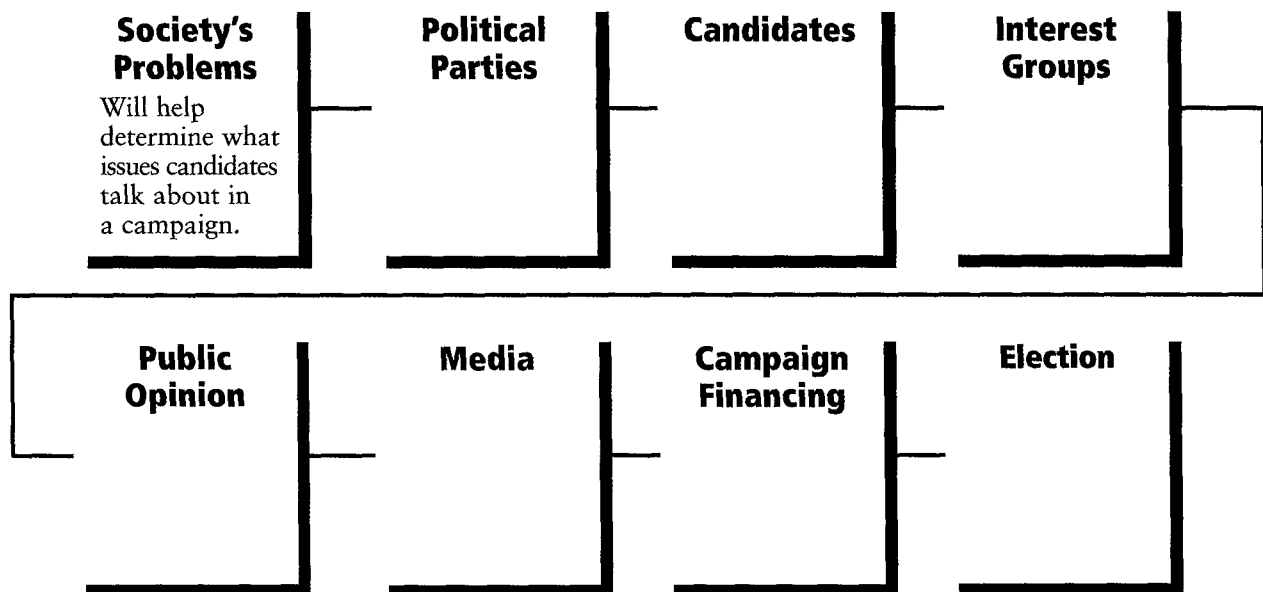
Reviewing Main Ideas

1. You have decided to run for President. Arrange the campaign events listed below in the order in which they could happen.
   (a) Receive 52.7% of the popular vote.
   (b) Accept federal campaign money.
   (c) Win the Illinois primary.
   (d) Receive 290 electoral college votes.
   (e) Accept your party's nomination at its national convention.

2. Suppose that there is a measure on the state ballot to ban the use of styrofoam containers by take-out restaurants. What role might each of the following play in the campaign?
   (a) An environmental interest group
   (b) A candidate for governor
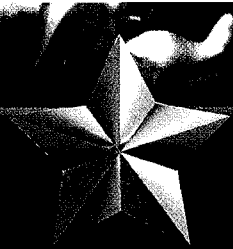   (c) You as a citizen
   (d) A political party

Summarizing the Unit

The flow map below will help you organize the main ideas of Unit 7. Copy it onto a separate sheet of paper. Each box lists a group of people or a subject that influences the democratic process. Review the unit and complete the graphic organizer by giving a brief summary of the role each group or subject plays in an election campaign. The first box has been completed for you as an example. When you have finished, choose one group or subject from the flow map and write a one-page essay explaining in detail why it is an important part of the democratic process.

Election Campaign Factors

Society's Problems
Will help determine what issues candidates talk about in a campaign.

Political Parties

Candidates

Interest Groups

Public Opinion

Media

Campaign Financing

Election

UNIT 8