Understanding American Government

2000 Hections Serrange through

WELCH GRUHL

COMER RIGDON AMBROSIUS

Understanding American Government

SUSAN WELCH

The Pennsylvania State University

JOHN GRUHL

University of Nebraska-Lincoln

JOHN COMER

University of Nebraska—Lincoln

SUSAN M. RIGDON

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

MARGERY M. AMBROSIUS

Kansas State Unitersity





Political Science Publisher: Clark Baxter

Senior Development Editor: Sharon Adams Poore

Assistant Editor: Jennifer Ellis

Executive Marketing Manager: Diane McOscar

Print Buyer: Barbara Britton
Permissions Editor: Joohee Lee
Production Service: Penmarin Books

Text Designer: Carolyn Deacy Art Editor: Hal Lockwood

COPYRIGHT © 2001 Wadsworth Group. Wadsworth is an imprint of the Wadsworth Group, a division of Thomson Learning, Inc. Thomson LearningTM is a trademark used herein under license.

All rights reserved. No part of this work covered by the copyright hereon may be reproduced or used in any form or by any means—graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, taping, or information storage and retrieval systems—without written permission of the publisher.

Printed in the United States of America
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 5 0 4 0 3 0 2 0 1

For permission to use material from this text, contact us by **Web:** http://www.thomsonrights.com

Fax: 1-800-730-2215 Phone: 1-800-730-2214

ISBN: 0-534-57114-X

ExamView[®] and ExamView Pro[®] are registered trademarks of FSCreations, Inc. Windows is a registered trademark of the Microsoft Corporation used herein under license. Macintosh and Power Macintosh are registered trademarks of Apple Computer, Inc. Used herein under license.

COPYRIGHT 2001 Thomson Learning, Inc. All Rights Reserved. Thomson Learning Web TutorTM is a trademark of Thomson Learning, Inc.

PowerPoint® is a registered trademark of Microsoft Corporation in the United States and/or other countries.

Photo Researcher: Connie Hathaway

Copy Editor: Laura Larson

Cover Designer: Randall Goodall/Seventeenth Street

Studios

Cover Image: © 2001 David J. Sams/Stone

Cover Printer: Phoenix Color

Compositor: Carlisle Communications

Printer: R.R. Donnelley and Sons Company, Willard

Wadsworth/Thomson Learning

10 Davis Drive

Belmont, CA 94002-3098

USA

For more information about our products, contact us:

Thomson Learning Academic Resource Center

1-800-423-0563

http://www.wadsworth.com

International Headquarters

Thomson Learning International Division 290 Harbor Drive, 2nd Floor Stamford, CT 06902-7477 USA

UK/Europe/Middle East/South Africa

Thomson Learning Berkshire House 168-173 High Holborn London WC1V 7AA United Kingdom

Asia

Thomson Learning 60 Albert Street, #15-01 Albert Complex Singapore 189969

Canada

Nelson Thomson Learning 1120 Birchmount Road Toronto, Ontario M1K 5G4 Canada

Preface

opular esteem for American political institutions continues to decline. The public alternates between curiosity about, and revulsion toward, politics and politicians. Yet beneath the scandals, and the attempts of elected officials to gain political advantage or minimize political disadvantage from these scandals, the role of government in our lives remains crucial. The sixth edition of our text, Understanding American Government, tries, as did the previous editions. to demonstrate to students why government is important, and to interest students in learning about the exciting, important, and controversial issues in American public life. We believe an introductory course succeeds if most students develop an understanding of major ideas, an interest in learning more about American government, and an ability to begin to understand and evaluate the news they hear about American political issues. Although a firm grounding in the essential "nuts and bolts" of American government is crucial, other approaches are helpful in motivating students' interest in government.

We offer the essential "nuts and bolts" of American government, but we also want the student to understand why (and sometimes how) these important features have evolved, their impact on government and individuals, and why they are controversial (if they are) and worth learning. For example, we prefer students to leave the course remembering why campaign finance laws were created and why they are generally ineffective than to memorize specific dollar limitations on giving for different types of candidates from different types of organizations. The latter will change or will soon be forgotten, but understanding the "whys" will help the student understand the campaign finance issue long after the course is over.

We have also tried to interest students by describing and discussing the impact of various features of government. For example, students who do not understand why learning about voter registration laws is important may "see the light" when they understand the link between such laws and low voter turnout. Therefore, a particular emphasis throughout the book is on the impact of government: how individual features of government affect its responsiveness to different groups (in Lasswell's terms, "Who gets what and why?"). We realize that nothing in American politics is simple; rarely does one feature of government produce, by itself, a clear outcome. Nevertheless, we think that students will be more willing to learn about government if they see some relationships between how government operates and the impact it has on them as American citizens.

Changes in the Sixth Edition

This edition is again substantially revised. We cover the 2000 national elections, although our publication deadlines gave little time for postelection reflection.

We have added a new feature in each chapter: a timeline of important events. This timeline, found near the end of each chapter, is designed to help students remember key events and developments in the topic addressed in the chapter and to get a better sense of chronology of these events. Given national studies that show that a majority of college graduates are woefully ignorant about the chronology of even important events such as major wars and pathbreaking presidential administrations, we thought that students needed assistance in visualizing key points in the development of the American polity. We have retained the feature box added in the fifth edition labelled What Government Does Right. In an era when it is fashionable to run against government when running for public office, and at a time when charges of scandal and corruption seem to come ever more frequently, we thought it useful to give students some examples of successful governmental activities.

This edition features new material on contemporary issues ranging from campaign finance reform to gun control, from capital punishment to the evolving role of technology in political communications and campaigning.

We have reordered some of the chapters in Part Two, Links between People and Government. Following Chapter 4 on public opinion comes the chapter on the media, followed by chapters on interest groups and political parties. Chapter 8, Elections, follows that, and this section ends with the money and politics chapter. We reorganized the part in this way to bring the chapters on public opinion and the media into proximity and to bring together those on elections and money and politics.

As always, we have updated the judiciary, civil liberties, and civil rights chapters to incorporate new Supreme Court decisions. Chapter 15, Civil Rights, includes a new treatment of the women's movement, a new section on sexual harassment and another on discrimination against men, a new discussion on the contemporary status of African Americans, and a revised treatment of affirmative action.

We are delighted to have the opportunity to write a sixth edition and to improve the text further in ways suggested by our students and readers. We have been extremely pleased by the reaction of instructors and students to our first five editions. We were especially gratified to have won three times the American Government Textbook Award from the Women's Caucus for Political Science of the American Political Science Association.

Special Features

Student interest and analytic abilities grow when confronted with a clash of views about important issues. Today there is much discussion about how to stimulate the critical thinking abilities of students. Beginning with the first edition, our text has provided features especially designed to do this by involving students in the controversies—and excitement—of American politics.

You Are There

Each chapter opens with a scenario called You Are There. In a page or two the student reads about a real-life political dilemma faced by a public official or a private citizen involved in a controversial issue. Students are asked to put themselves in that individual's shoes, to weigh the pros and cons, and to decide what should be done. The instructor may want to poll the entire class and use the You Are There as a basis for class discussion. In the Epilogue at the end of the chapter, we reveal the actual decision and discuss it in light of the ideas presented in the chapter.

One-third of the You Are There features in this edition are new. They focus on contemporary topics such as the political struggle over preserving national environmental treasures (Chapter 3), the appropriate and ethical role of the media in exposing scandal (Chapter 5), the dilemma faced by John McCain in supporting George W. Bush (Chapter 7), and the influence of support for campaign finance on a candidate's chances (Chapter 9).

American Diversity

In many chapters, American Diversity boxes illustrate the impact of the social diversity of the American population on political life. The boxes help students understand how a diversity of backgrounds and attitudes shapes views of politics and positions on issues.

What Government Does Right

These boxes illustrate some of the successes of government. We believe this is a timely feature, given the antigovernment sentiment currently so pervasive. Far from being the ennobling activity as envisioned by the ancients, government now appears to be seen largely as corrupt and ineffective. Given this image, students might wonder why we have government at all. This feature gives students an opportunity to read about some concrete examples of government successes and think about the reasons for the existence of government.

Timelines

Timelines in each chapter help the student visualize the chronological development of the American polity as well as highlight important issues in the chapter.

Boxes

In each chapter, several boxes highlighting interesting aspects of American politics draw the students into the material. Many illustrate how government and politics really work in a particular situation—how a corporation lobbies for government benefits, how a seemingly powerless group is able to organize for political action, how interest groups solicit money by mail, and how political

polls are done-while others highlight features of government that may be of particular interest to studentswhat standard of risk should government use in regulating acne medication, how ethnicity shapes voting behavior, and the impact of federal programs on students.

Several other features help students organize their study.

Outline

Each chapter begins with an outline of its contents.

Key Terms

Key terms are boldfaced within the text and listed at the end of each chapter and the glossary.

Further Reading

A brief, annotated list of further readings contains works that might be useful to a student doing research or looking for further reading.

Electronic Resources

Each chapter lists addresses of particularly interesting or useful sites on the Internet that relate directly to the topics covered in the chapter.

Glossary

A glossary at the end of the book defines terms that may be unfamiliar to students.

The Organization and Contents of the Book

While the basic organization of American government books is fairly standard, our text has a unique chapter on money and politics and a half chapter on environmental politics. Other features include a civil rights chapter that integrates a thorough treatment of constitutional issues concerning minorities and women, a discussion of the civil rights and women's rights movements, and contemporary research on the political status of these groups. We include in this chapter the special legal problems of Hispanics and Native Americans.

The organization of the book is straightforward. After material on democracy, the Constitution, and federalism, the book covers linkages, including money and politics, then institutions, and finally policy. Civil liberties and rights are treated after the chapter on the judiciary. But the book is flexible enough that instructors can modify the order of the chapters. Some instructors will prefer to cover institutions before process. Others may prefer to discuss civil liberties and rights when discussing the Constitution.

For Instructors . . .

New!

Political ScienceLink 2001 . . .

for easy-to-prepare multimedia lectures.

The easy way to prepare great multimedia lectures that truly engage your American government students.

- Hundreds of images (figures and tables) from this book and other Wadsworth political science textbooks
- Exciting, relevant "CNN Today" video clips
- Text-specific PowerPoint® outline presentations
- A very simple wizard that guides you in publishing your lectures online for student reference and distance learning

Instructor's Manual

Features an extensive resource guide section correlating each chapter's content to other components of the ancillary package (for example: Info Trac College Edition articles, transparencies, PowerPoint® slides, CNN video clips, the America at Odds CD-ROM, and others). Corresponding to each text chapter, every chapter in the manual also contains a chapter outline, lecture ideas and suggested activities, and recommended Web sites.

Test Bank

A large selection of test items, including multiple-choice, fill-in-the-blank, short-answer, and essay questions.

ExamView[®] Computerized Testing for Windows and Macintosh

Create, deliver, and customize tests and study guides (both print and online) in minutes with this easy-to-use assessment and tutorial system. Test appears on screen just as it will in print. You can easily edit and import your own questions and graphics, change test layout, and move questions. Also offers flexible delivery and the ability to test and grade online.

Wadsworth Political Science Video Library

So many exciting, new videos . . . so many great ways to enrich your lectures and spark discussion of the material in this text! Your Wadsworth/Thomson representative will be happy to provide details on our video policy by adoption size.

American Government Transparency Acetate Package, 2001 Edition

Includes more than seventy full-color acetates (tables, charts, and figures from the text and additional sources).

For instructors and students . . .

Book-Specific Web Site

Easily accessible from the Wadsworth Political Science Resource Center at http://politicalscience.wadsworth.com, this site is the ultimate in interactive learning. Linking online material to the text at every opportunity, it includes:

- Interactive quizzes for each chapter where students can self-assess and review their knowledge
- Hypercontents for each chapter—an extensive hypertext list of sites that provide reviews of related material, supplemental media, and chapter-related news and research
- Online instructor resources—password protected, of course!

PLUS: quick access to The Wadsworth Political Science Resource Center and "Election Central"—featuring the latest election updates, information, and links to election Web sites. The Political Science Resource Center also includes *InfoTrac College Edition* activities, links to general political Web sites, a career center, online news, a discussion forum, and much more.

InfoTrac® College Edition . . .

FREE access to an extensive online library of current articles! Available exclusively from Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, four months of access to the *InfoTrac College Edition* library is included *FREE* to adopters and their students. Featuring thousands of full-length articles (not abstracts) from such publications as *National Review, Washington Monthly,* and many others, this online resource opens new worlds of information for your students. At the end of chapters students will find lists of suggested topic-related articles that they can access in *InfoTrac College Edition's* extensive library of important political science and other popular sources.

Thomson Learning WebTutor™ 2.0 . . .

takes your course beyond classroom boundaries! Rich with content for your American government course, this Webbased teaching and learning tool includes course management, study/mastery, and communication tools. Use *Web-Tutor* to provide virtual office hours, post your syllabi, and track student progress with *WebTutor's* quizzing material.

For students, Web Tutor offers real-time access to interactive online tutorials and simulations, practice quizzes, and Web links—all correlated to American Government and Understanding American Government. Available on WebCT and Blackboard.

Student Resources

New!

American Government: An Introduction Using MicroCase ExplorIt, Sixth Edition

Includes CD-ROM and Workbook. Students make their own decisions about the issues as they analyze and interpret current NES and GSS data.

America at Odds CD-ROM

Your students actually participate in American politics with the twenty interactive modules in this CD-ROM as they research the issues, discuss ideas, formulate opinions, and interpret data! Features a rich mix of media, including digital video and audio, photos, graphics, and Internet technology.

New!

American Government: Readings and Responses

By Monica Bauer. A wonderful collection of readings from prominent writers, plus "Chat Room" conversations with students who debate the topics in the readings.

Study Guide

Features (in each chapter) a chapter summary; key terms, and fill-in-the blank, true/false, multiple-choice, and short essay questions.

Readings in American Government, Third Edition

Spark lively debate in your classroom with this on-target reader, updated with the latest issues in American government. More than sixty readings. Edited by Steffen W. Schmidt and Mack C. Shelley.

Thinking Globally, Acting Locally

By John Soares. A concise book offering specific guidance for getting involved as an active citizen.

American Government Internet Activities, Third Edition

Contains activities for all major topics in the text. Students are asked to surf the Web to obtain answers to thought-provoking questions.

The Handbook of Selected Court Cases

Includes more than thirty Supreme Court cases.

The Handbook of Selected Legislation and Other Documents

Features excerpts from twelve laws passed by the U.S. Congress that have had a significant impact on American politics.

An Introduction to Critical Thinking and Writing in American Politics

Introduces a number of critical thinking and writing techniques, helping students make better use of the information they receive in class and in the text.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the many people who have aided and sustained us during the lengthy course of this project. We first acknowledge the work of Margery Ambrosius, the coauthor of Chapters 12 and 17, for her intellectual contribution to this book. Our current and former University of Nebraska and Penn State colleagues have been most tolerant and helpful. We thank them all. In particular, we appreciate the assistance of John Hibbing, Philip Dyer, Robert Miewald, Beth Theiss-Morse, Louis Picard, John Peters, David Rapkin, Peter Maslowski, David Forsythe, W. Randy Newell, and Steven Daniels, who provided us with data, bibliographic information, and other insights that we have used here. We are especially grateful to Philip Dyer, Alan Booth, Louis Picard, Robert Miewald, and John Hibbing, who read one or more chapters and saved us from a variety of errors.

We are also grateful to the many other readers of our draft manuscript, as listed below. Without their assistance the book would have been less accurate, less complete, and less lively.

We are also grateful to those instructors who have used the book and relayed their comments and suggestions to us. Our students at the University of Nebraska have also provided invaluable reactions to the previous editions.

Others too have been of great assistance to us. Jeff Walz, Staci Beavers, and Michael Moore provided essential service and help in producing the ancillary materials for the book.

Several people at Wadsworth Publishing also deserve our thanks. Clark Baxter has been a continual source of encouragement and optimism from the beginning of the first edition through the last decision on the sixth. We are greatly in debt to Carolyn Deacy, who designed this edition of the book, and to Hal Humphrey and Hal Lockwood, who produced it.

Reviewers

REVIEWERS OF THE NEW EDITION

Alan D. Buckley,
Santa Monica College
Kay Hofer
Southwest Texas State University
Joseph F. Jozwiak, Jr.
Texas A & M University—Kingsville
Kenneth M. Mash
East Stroudsburg University
Michael K. Moore
University of Texas at Arlington

REVIEWERS OF PREVIOUS EDITIONS

Alan Abramowitz

State University of New York at Stony Brook Larry Adams

Baruch College—City University of New York

Danny M. Adkison

Oklahoma State University

James Alt

Harvard University

Margery Marzahn Ambrosius

Kansas State University

Kevin Bailey

North Harris Community College

Kennette M. Benedict

Northwestern University

Timothy Bledsoe

Wayne State University

Jon Bond

Texas A&M University

Paul R. Brace

New York University

Joseph V. Brogan

La Salle University

James R. Brown, Jr.

Central Washington University

Chalmers Brumbaugh

Elon College

Richard G. Buckner, Jr.

Santa Fe Community College

Ronald Busch

Cleveland State University

Carl D. Cavalli

Memphis State University

Richard A. Champagne

University of Wisconsin, Madison

Michael Connelly

Southwestern Oklahoma State University

Gary Copeland

University of Oklahoma

George H. Cox, Jr.

Georgia Southern College

Paige Cubbison

Miami-Dade University

Landon Curry

Southwest Texas State University

Jack DeSario

Case Western Reserve University

Robert E. DiClerico

West Virginia University

Ernest A. Dover, Jr.

Midwestern State University

Georgia Duerst-Lahti

Beloit College

Ann H. Elder

Illinois State University

Ghassan E. El-Eid

Butler University

C. Lawrence Evans

College of William and Mary

Murray Fischel

Kent State University

Bobbe Fitzhugh

Eastern Wyoming College

Marianne Fraser

University of Utah

Jarvis Gamble

Owens Community College

David Garrison

Collin County Community College

Phillip L. Gianos

California State University—Fullerton

Doris A. Graber

University of Illinois—Chicago

Ruth M. Grubel

University of Wisconsin—Whitewater

Stefan D. Haag

Austin Community College

Larry M. Hall

Belmont University

Edward Harpham

University of Texas—Dallas

Peter O. Haslund

Santa Barbara City College

Richard P. Heil

Fort Hays State University

Peggy Heilig

University of Illinois at Urbana

Craig Hendricks

Long Beach City College

Marjorie Hershey

Indiana University

Samuel B. Hoff

Delaware State College

Robert D. Holsworth

Virginia Commonwealth University

Jesse C. Horton

San Antonio College

Gerald Houseman

Indiana University

Peter G. Howse

American River College

David W. Hunt

Triton College

Pamela Imperato

University of North Dakota

Jerald Johnson

University of Vermont

Loch Johnson

University of Georgia

Evan M. Jones

St. Cloud State University

Henry C. Kenski

University of Arizona

Matt Kerbel

Villanova University

Marshall R. King

Maryville College

Orma Lindford

Kansas State University

Peter J. Longo

University of Nebraska—Kearney

Roger C. Lowery

University of North Carolina—Wilmington

H. R. Mahood

Memphis State University

Jarol B. Manheim

The George Washington University

A. Nick Minton

University of Massachusetts-Lowell

Matthew Moen
University of Maine

Michael Nelson
Vanderbilt University

Bruce Nesmith Coe College

Walter Noelke

Angelo State University

Thomas Payette

Henry Ford Community College

Theodore B. Pedeliski
University of North Dakota

Jerry Perkins
Texas Tech University

Toni Phillips

University of Arkansas

C. Herman Pritchett
University of California—Santa Barbara

Charles Prysby

University of North Carolina-Greensboro

Sandra L. Quinn-Musgrove
Our Lady of the Lake University

Donald R. Ranish
Antelope Valley Community College

Linda Richter

Kansas State University Jerry Sandvick

North Hennepin Community College

James Richard Sauder
University of New Mexico

Eleanor A. Schwab

South Dakota State University

Earl Sheridan
University of North Carolina—Wilmington

Edward Sidlow
Northwestern University

Cynthia Slaughter

Angelo State University

John Squibb

Lincolnland Community College

M. H. Tajalli-Tehrani

Southwest Texas State University

Kristine A. Thompson

Moorehead State University

R. Mark Tiller
Austin Community College

Austin Community College Gordon J. Tolle

South Dakota State University

Susan Tolleson-Rinehart Texas Tech University

Bernadyne Weatherford
Rowan College of New Jersey

Richard Unruh
Fresno Pacific College

Jay Van Bruggen
Clarion University of Pennsylvania

Kenny Whitby
University of South Carolina

Donald C. Williams

Western New England College

Clifford J. Wirth
University of New Hampshire

Ann Wynia
North Hennepin Community College

Mary D. Young
Southwestern Michigan College

About the Authors

SUSAN WELCH received her A.B. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. She is currently Dean of the College of the Liberal Arts and Professor of Political Science at The Pennsylvania State University. Her teaching and research areas include legislatures, state and urban politics, and women and minorities in politics. She has edited the *American Politics Quarterly*.

JOHN GRUHL, a Professor of Political Science, received his A.B. from DePaul University in Greencastle, Indiana, and his Ph.D. from the University of California at Santa Barbara. Since joining the University of Nebraska faculty in 1976, he has taught and done research in the areas of judicial process, criminal justice, and civil rights and liberties. He won University of Nebraska campus-wide distinguished teaching awards in 1979 and 1986 for excellence in undergraduate teaching, and became a charter member of the University's Academy of Distinguished Teachers in 1995.

JOHN COMER is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Nebraska. He received his A.B. in political science from Miami University of Ohio in 1965 and his Ph.D. from the Ohio State University in 1971. His teaching and research focus on interest groups, public opinion, voting behavior, and political parties.

SUSAN RIGDON received A.B. and Ph.D. degrees in political science from the University of Illinois in 1966 and 1971. She has taught American Government at several institutions in the U.S. and China, and has other teaching and research interests in foreign policy, comparative government, and political development. She is a Research Associate in Anthropology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

MARGERY AMBROSIUS is retired from her position as Associate Professor of Political Science at Kansas State University, where she taught and did research in state and urban politics and also in organization theory. She received her A.B. and M.A. in history from the University of Illinois and her M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from the University of Nebraska—Lincoln.

Brief Contents

PART ONE

The American System

- 1 American Democracy 2
- 2 The Constitution 24
- 3 Federalism and the Growth of Government 52

PART TWO

Links between People and Government

- 4 Public Opinion 78
- 5 News Media 108
- 6 Interest Groups 152
- 7 Political Parties 184
- 8 Elections 210
- 9 Money and Politics 254

PART THREE

Institutions

- 10 Congress 280
- 11 The Presidency 324
- 12 The Bureaucracy 366
- 13 The Judiciary 396

PART FOUR

Civil Liberties and Rights

- 14 Civil Liberties 432
- 15 Civil Rights 474

Contents

Preface xiii About the Authors xx

PART ONE

The American System

CHAPTER 1

American Democracy 2

YOU ARE THERE Is Politics Futile? 2

The American People 5

Cultural Diversity 5 Immigration and Political Cleavage 7 Economic and Geographic Diversity 10

Diversity and Politics 11

AMERICAN DIVERSITY Census and Sensibility 12

Political Culture 13

American Democracy: The Core Values 14

Individual Liberty 15
Political Equality 16
Majority Rule 17
Minority Rights 17
Economic Rights 17

American Democracy in Practice 17

Classical Democracy 18 Pluralism 18 Pluralism Reconsidered 19

Conclusion: Is Government Responsive? 20

EPILOGUE What Will You Do? 21 Key Terms 22 Further Reading 22 Electronic Resources 22 InfoTrac College Edition 23 Notes 23

CHAPTER 2

The Constitution 24

YOU ARE THERE The Case of the Confidential Tapes 24

The Articles of Confederation 27

National Government Problems 27 State Government Problems 28

The Constitution 29

The Constitutional Convention 29

AMERICAN DIVERSITY Founding Mothers 30

Features of the Constitution 33

Motives of the Founders 37

AMERICAN DIVERSITY Did the Iroquois Influence the Founders? 38

Ratification of the Constitution 42 Changing the Constitution 42

Conclusion: Does the Constitution Allow Government to Be Responsive? 46

EPILOGUE The President Complies 47
Key Terms 49
Further Reading 49
Electronic Resources 49
Info Trac College Edition 49
Notes 49

CHAPTER 3

Federalism and the Growth of Government 52

YOU ARE THERE Should the President Expand Federal Lands? 52

Federal and Other Systems 55

Federal Systems 55 Unitary Systems 56 Confederal Systems 56

The Political Bases of Federalism 56

The Constitutional Bases of Federalism 57

Major Features of the System 57 Interpretations of Federalism 59

Federalism and the Growth of Government 60

Early Nationalist Period 60
Pre—Civil War Period 61
The Civil War to the New Deal 62
The New Deal 62
From the New Deal to the Great Society 65
New Federalism 65
WHAT GOVERNMENT DOES RIGHT Responding to
Disasters 66
The New New Federalism 67

The Practice of Federalism 69

Federal-State Relations 69 Interstate Relations 72 State-Local Relations 74

Conclusion: Is Federalism Responsive? 74

EPILOGUE Clinton Creates a New National Monument 75 Key Terms 76 Further Reading 76 Electronic Resources 76 InfoTrac College Edition 76 Notes 76

PART TWO

Links between People and Government

CHAPTER 4

Public Opinion 78

YOU ARE THERE Should a Pollster Make Public Details of His Polls? 78

Nature of Public Opinion 80

Formation of Public Opinion 81

Agents of Political Socialization 82 Impact of Political Socialization 86

Measuring Public Opinion 86

Early Polling Efforts 87 Emergence of Scientific Polling 88 Polls and Politics 88

How Informed Is Public Opinion? 91

Public Opinion 92

Ideology 94
Social Welfare and the Proper Role of Government 95
Social Issues 96
Race 97
Political Tolerance 99
Trust in Government 100

Conclusion: Is Government Responsive to Public Opinion? 102

EPILOGUE Luntz Eventually Reveals Loaded
Questions 104
Key Terms 104
Further Reading 104
Electronic Resources 104
Info Trac College Edition 105
Notes 105

CHAPTER 5

News Media 108

YOU ARE THERE Should You Torpedo the Admiral? 108

The Media State 111

Roles of the Media 111 Concentration of the Media 112 Atomization of the Media 114

Relationship between the Media and Politicians 117

Symbiotic Relationship 117
Adversarial Relationship 121
Relationship between the Media and Recent
Administrations 123
Relationship between the Media and Congress 125
Relationship between the Media and the Supreme
Court 126

Bias of the Media 126

Political Bias 127 Commercial Bias 131

Impact of the Media on Politics 137

Impact on the Public Agenda 137 Impact on Political Parties and Elections 138 Impact on Public Opinion 141

Conclusion: Are the Media Responsive? 142

EPILOGUE Evans Pursued the Story 144
Key Terms 145
Further Reading 145
Electronic Resources 145
Info Trac College Edition 145
Notes 145

CHAPTER 6

Interest Groups 152

YOU ARE THERE Do You Make More Concessions, or Do You Fight? 152

Group Formation 155

Why Interest Groups Form 155 Why People Join 156 Who Joins? 156 Have Americans Stopped Joining? 156

Types of Interest Groups 157

Private Interest Groups 157 Public Interest Groups 160

Tactics of Interest Groups 166

Direct Lobbying Techniques 166

Indirect Lobbying Techniques 169
Protest and Civil Disobedience 174

Success of Interest Groups 176

Resources 176
Competition and Goals 178

Conclusion: Do Interest Groups Help Make Government Responsive? 178

EPILOGUE The Tobacco Industry Fights Back 180 Key Terms 181 Further Reading 181 Electronic Resources 181 Info Trac College Edition 182 Notes 182

CHAPTER 7

Political Parties 184

YOU ARE THERE Should You Endorse George W. Bush? 184

What Are Political Parties? 186

Development and Change in the Party System 188

Preparty Politics: The Founders' Views of Political Parties 188 First Party System: Development of Parties 188

Second Party System: Development of Parties 188
Second Party System: Rise of the Democrats 188
Third Party System: Rise of the Republicans 189
Fourth Party System: Republican Dominance 190
Fifth Party System: Democratic Dominance 190
Has the Fifth Party System Realigned? 191

Characteristics of the Party System 193

Two Parties 193
Fragmentation 194
Moderation 194
Minor Parties in American Politics 194

Party in the Electorate 196

Party Identification 196 Characteristics of Democrats and Republicans 197

Party in Government 198

Party Organization 199

National Party Organization 199 State and Local Party Organizations 201 Big-City Party Organizations 201

The Nominating Process 203

Caucuses 203
Conventions 203
Primaries 203

Conclusion: Do Political Parties Make Government More Responsive? 206

EPILOGUE McClain Endorses 207 Key Terms 208 Further Reading 208 Electronic Resources 208 InfoTrac College Edition 208 Notes 208

CHAPTER 8

Elections 210

YOU ARE THERE To Package or Not? 210

The American Electorate 213

Early Limits on Voting Rights 213
Blacks and the Right to Vote 213
The Voting Rights Act and the Redistricting
Controversy 214
AMERICAN DIVERSITY Blacks and Hispanics in
Office 215
WHAT GOVERNMENT DOES RIGHT The Voting Rights
Act Enfranchises Millions 216
Women and the Right to Vote 217

Voter Turnout 220

Political Activism in the Nineteenth Century 220 Progressive Reforms 220 Recent Turnout 221 Who Does Not Vote? 221 Why Turnout Is Low 222

AMERICAN DIVERSITY Women in Office 219

Other Expansions of the Electorate 220

Other Campaign Participation 226

Presidential Nominating Campaigns 228

Who Runs for President and Why? 228
How a Candidate Wins the Nomination 229
AMERICAN DIVERSITY Can an African American Be
Elected President? 230
Presidential Caucuses and Conventions 231
Presidential Primaries 232
Reforming the Nomination Process 233
The National Conventions 234
Independent and Third-Party Nominees 237

The General Election Campaign 237

Campaign Organization 237 Images and Issues 237 The Electoral College 238 Campaign Strategies 238
The Media Campaign 241
Campaign Funding 244
The Permanent Campaign 244

Voting 245

Party Loyalties 245
Candidate Evaluations 246
Issues 247
Parties, Candidates, and Issues 249

Conclusion: Do Elections Make Government Responsive? 249

EPILOGUE The Package Works 250 Key Terms 251 Further Reading 251 Electronic Resources 251 InfoTrac College Edition 251 Notes 251

CHAPTER 9

Money and Politics 254

YOU ARE THERE To Accept or Not? 254

The Development of Laws to Regulate Money and Politics 256

Money in Nineteenth-Century American Politics 257 Early Reforms 257

The Role of Money in Election Campaigns 258

Campaign Finance Laws 258
Failures of the Campaign Finance Laws 259
Sources of Campaign Funds 263

The Impact of Campaign Money 267

Does the Campaign Finance System Deter Good Candidates? 267 Does Money Win Elections? 267 Does Money Buy Favorable Policies? 268 Campaign Money and Public Cynicism 272

Conflicts of Interest 273

Conclusion: Does the Influence of Money Make Government Less Responsive? 275

EPILOGUE Feingold Limits Campaign Donations 277
Key Terms 277
Further Reading 277
Electronic Resources 277
InfoTrac College Edition 278
Notes 278

Institutions

CHAPTER 10

Congress 280

YOU ARE THERE Should You Risk Your Career? 280

Members and Constituencies 283

Members 283 Constituencies 285

Congressional Campaigns and Elections 286

The Advantages of Incumbency 286

AMERICAN DIVERSITY Women in Congress 288

Unsafe at Any Margin? 290

Challengers 291

Campaigns 292

Voting for Congress 293

The Representative on the Job 293

Informal Norms 293
Working Privately and "Going Public" 294
Voting by Members 295
WHAT GOVERNMENT DOES RIGHT The GI Bill of
Rights 296

How Congress Is Organized 299

How Congressional Organization Evolved 299
Contemporary Leadership Positions 300
Committees 303
AMERICAN DIVERSITY Minority Power in
Congress 306
Staff 308

What Congress Does 309

Lawmaking 309
Overseeing the Federal Bureaucracy 312
Budget Making 313
Congress and the Public 315

Conclusion: Is Congress Responsive? 318

EPILOGUE Margolies-Mezvinsky Supports the President and Loses Her Job 319 Key Terms 320 Further Reading 320 Electronic Resources 320 InfoTrac College Edition 320 Notes 321 CHAPTER 11

The Presidency 324

YOU ARE THERE Stand by Your Man? 324

The Growth of the Presidency 327

Terms of Office 328

Qualifications 328 Rewards 328 Tenure 330 Succession 330

Duties and Powers of Office 332

Chief Executive 332
Head of State 335
Chief Diplomat 336
Commander in Chief 336

Presidential Staff and Advisors 338

The Executive Office of the President 339
The White House Office 339
Office of the Vice President 341

The President and the People 345

The Personal Presidency 345
Persuading the Public 346
Public Opinion and Effectiveness in Office 349

The President and Congress 350

Party Leadership 350 Divided Government 351 Legislative Leadership 353 Foreign Policy and Military Leadership 355

Limits on Presidential Power 357

What Makes an Effective President? 360

Conclusion: Is the Presidency Responsive? 362

EPILOGUE "Every Step of the Way" 362 Key Terms 363 Further Reading 363 Electronic Resources 364 Info Trac College Edition 364 Notes 364