

The background of the cover features a large, stylized American flag with stars and stripes. In the foreground, the lower portion of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial is visible, showing the carved faces of George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln.

Understanding **AMERICAN
GOVERNMENT**

REVISED SECOND EDITION

Natoli · Stephenson, Jr. · Bresler

Friedrich · Karlesky · Turner



UNDERSTANDING **American Government**

REVISED SECOND EDITION

Marie D. Natoli

Emmanuel College

Robert J. Bresler

Pennsylvania State University

Robert J. Friedrich

Franklin and Marshall College

Joseph J. Karlesky

Franklin and Marshall College

D. Grier Stephenson, Jr.

Franklin and Marshall College

Charles C. Turner

Chico State University

HORIZON
TEXTBOOK PUBLISHING

PHOTO RESEARCHER: Turi Tenant

MARKETING MANAGER: Troy Fisk

TEXT DESIGN AND COMPOSITION: Archetype Book Composition

COVER DESIGN MANAGER: Lesli Haht

ISBN: 1-59602-540-9

Copyright © 2005 by Horizon Textbook Publishing, LLC

All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission, except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information address Horizon Textbook Publishing, LLC, P.O. Box 494658, Redding, CA 96049-4658.

UNDERSTANDING

American Government

REVISED SECOND EDITION

The Preface

Economics, Ideology, and Politics

The need persists for widespread mastery of the political system John Quincy Adams once described as “the most complicated on the face of the globe.” To this end, we offer today’s students a comprehensive, readable, and balanced study of the context, structure, and process of American politics.

A distinguishing feature of this book is the explicit recognition that economics and ideology significantly influence American politics. No student or instructor in a course on American government is immune to the ideological and economic forces that help shape the perennial pursuit of power in a democracy. Nor is any class or instructor untouched by recurring problems ranging from budget deficits and health care to unemployment and the underclass. Economics and ideology, in one way or another, intersect nearly all of them.

This text highlights the importance of economics and ideology in the context of American government in several ways. The chapter on public policy and economics explores the relationship between politics and *economics*, as does a series of “Politics and Economics” boxes (described below) throughout the rest of the book. Students see how economic decisions have political consequences and how political decisions affect the economy. This is essential information in a day when economic topics frequently dominate electoral campaigns, television news, and conversation at the dinner table. However, the text assumes *no* prior knowledge of economics, and references to economic policy are free of confusing jargon.

Understanding differences among political beliefs is likewise essential at a time when the labels “liberal” and “conservative,” “left” and “right” are hurled about. Such terms can be baffling, particularly because their meaning has not been constant. Consequently, the text underscores the importance of *political ideology*—the ideas people have about what government should or should not do and what kind of government they should have. This emphasis is reflected in a series of “Politics and Ideas” boxes (described below) that appear throughout the text. The chapter on political ideologies is nearly unique among shorter volumes on American government because it draws a road map that guides students through intellectual debates, past and present, in American politics. Additionally, the chapter that deals with civil liberties and civil rights probes ideological distinctions among Americans concerning fundamental freedoms. Such an encompassing survey of the spectrum of political ideas encourages students both to

comprehend and to tolerate points of view other than their own, enabling them to gain further insight into political differences that exist nationwide.

Pedagogical Features

This textbook is not a “theme” or point-of-view book. Aside from emphasizing the importance of politics and political involvement, the book embraces no single ideological perspective; it does not attempt to make readers Democrats or Republicans, liberals or conservatives. To ensure a single voice in this presentation, one author has served as general editor.

The goals are knowledge of, and critical thinking about, American politics and government. Accordingly, we have designed the book to encourage students to *engage* the material. Passive reading is not enough. Understanding so important and complex a subject necessitates active intellectual involvement.

To aid in learning, this textbook incorporates several serviceable pedagogical features.

- **“Politics and Ideas”** boxes appearing throughout the text explore ideological topics in depth. They demonstrate how ideological divisions generate different political consequences. The text includes the following Politics and Ideas boxes:
 - Whose Constitution Is It?
 - Textbooks and Children’s Ideas About American Politics
 - Media Monopolies?
 - Pluralism and Elitism
 - Two Ideologues Leave the Senate
 - A “New Kind of War”—The Ongoing War on Terrorism
 - A Six-Year Term for Presidents?
 - The Road to a New Cabinet Department
 - Political Ideologies and the Welfare State
 - Contrasting Approaches to Foreign Policy: Idealism, Realism, and Isolationism
- **“Politics and Economics”** boxes appearing through the text highlight special economics topics, illustrating the relationship between economics and politics. The text includes the following Politics and Economics boxes:
 - Economic Status and Ideology
 - Economic Status and Party Identification
 - Turnout, Choice, and Economic Status
 - The President and Economic Policy-Making
 - Regulation and Cost-Benefit Analysis

- The Supreme Court and Economic Policy
 - The Ideology of Economic Policy
- **“Contemporary Controversies”** boxes are present in a few chapters to illustrate how the subject matter covered in the chapter carries over into disputes that divide the nation. The text includes the following Contemporary Controversies boxes:
 - America Attacked
 - Changing State Constitutions
 - How Much Affirmative Action?
 - Public Opinion and Terrorism: American Government in the Eyes of the World
 - Confidentiality of News Sources and Information
 - Campaign and Electoral Reform: A Comparative Perspective
 - An Election Gone Wrong?
 - Low Voter Turnout: A Comparative Perspective
 - Corporations and the Economy
 - Nuclear Power and the Environment
 - Can Presidents Take the Country to War on Their Own Authority?
 - Study questions conclude the special boxed features to encourage critical thinking and further inquiry.
 - Tables, graphs, and maps appear throughout the text to display both quantitative and conceptual data. Some illustrations present new data, while others summarize information covered in the body of the chapter.
 - A summary, key terms, and a description of suggested readings conclude each chapter. The summary contains in numbered form the main points presented in the chapter. Key terms, in boldface, are defined at the point at which they are introduced in the chapter. Suggested readings are widely available primary and secondary sources that students may consult in pursuing topics in the chapter.

Supplements

The following supplements are available from the publisher: Instructor’s Manual, Test Bank, Transparencies, and Study Guide.

Acknowledgments

The authors express their gratitude for the many helpful criticisms and suggestions offered by colleagues who read various drafts of the manuscript and provided many forms of professional and institutional support. They include: Sr. Janet Eisner, SND, Ph.D., President,

Vice President Mary Louise Hatten, Nancy R. Northrup. Dean, and my student research assistant, Christopher Boerl, all of Emmanuel College; . . . and the family that is Emmanuel College; Robert Albritton, Northern Illinois University; Peter Bergerson, Southeast Missouri State; Sam Hoff, Delaware State College; Willoughby Jarrell, Kennesaw State College; Gregory D. Lessig, Edinboro University of Pennsylvania; Alfreda McCullough, College of Charleston; Gerald Money, El Paso Community College; Richard K. Moore, Lewis-Clark State College; Daniel Sloan, University of Colorado, Boulder; Elliot Vites, University of Central Florida; Mitchell Weiss, Mutt Community College; and Norman Zucker, University of Rhode Island.

Finally, special gratitude, as always, is owed to our families and close friends, whose love, encouragement, and understanding are essential ingredients in a project of this magnitude. Specifically, we thank Kathryn M. Severson, Carmela and Frank Natoli, Mary and Ferro Mingardi, Patricia Rosen, Elizabeth Moesel, Dr. Jean Cummiskey, Rev. Edward Bernald, Vincent, Kathleen, Brian, Michael and Lisa Natoli, Joseph, Lori, Daniel, Megan and Kevin Natoli, Lenore G. Martin, Joy Graw, Dr. Patricia Packard, Lynne Rosenburg, Joyce Caruso, Ashley Tyler, Murphy Black. An especial thanks to Ernest Trooper, for his inspiring wit, witticism and guidance and to the fiery Emmett Kelley, for his extraordinary and painstaking clerical assistance; Ellen, Todd, and Claire Stephenson; Jessica Bresler, Lin Carvell, and Jordan and Greg Rogoe; Rebecca, Philip, and Elizabeth Friedrich; and Audrey, Christopher, and Matthew Karlesky.

Table of Contents

The Preface	xviii
Economics, Ideology, and Politics	xviii
Pedagogical Features	xix
Supplements	xx
Acknowledgments	xx
 The Introduction.....	 1
What Is Politics?	1
Politics and Economics	2
Politics and Ideas	4
Why Government?	4
“To Establish Justice, Insure Domestic Tranquility, . . . and Secure the Blessings of Liberty”	5
“To Provide for the Common Defense”	5
“To Promote the General Welfare”	6
What Is Democracy?	6
Democratic Values and Goals	7
Making Democracy Work	8
Why Do Politics and Government Matter?	8
SUMMARY	9
KEY TERMS	9
READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY	9

CHAPTER 1**Political Culture and Political Socialization:**

What Americans Believe and How They Participate	11
Political Culture and Political Socialization	11
Public Opinion: What Americans Think About Politics	12
The Character of Public Opinion	12
How Much Americans Know and Care About Politics	14
What Americans Hold in Common	15
Where Americans Differ	19
The Sources of Public Opinion: Political Socialization	24
The Processes of Political Socialization	26
The Agents of Political Socialization	27
The Development of Political Self	29
Diversity in Socialization	32
Political Participation	33
Motives for Political Participation	33
Forms of Participation	34
Differences in Participation	38
The Impact of Political Participation	39
A Rationality of Political Participation	40
SUMMARY	41
KEY TERMS	42
READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY	42

CHAPTER 2

Political Ideologies	45
American Political Ideologies	45
Liberalism	46
Classic Liberalism: Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson	46
Populism and Progressivism: The Repudiation of Classic Liberalism	48
Contemporary Liberalism: The Welfare State and Beyond	50
Neoliberalism: Adjusting Liberalism to the Twenty-First Century	53
Conservatism	55
Early American Conservatism: John Adams	55
Conservatism and the Industrial Age: Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner	56
Contemporary Conservatism: A Response to the Welfare State	57

Neoconservatism versus Paleoconservatism:	
Conservative Splits at the Turn of the Century	60
Ideological Challenges to the Status Quo	62
The New Right: Populist Conservatism	63
Democratic Socialism: A Radical Challenge to American Capitalism	63
Libertarianism: A Revival of Classical Liberalism	65
SUMMARY	67
KEY TERMS	68
READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY	68

CHAPTER 3

The Constitution of the United States	69
What Is a Constitution?	69
Constitutionalism	70
Constitutional Functions	70
The Road to Nationhood	71
The Declaration of Independence: The Idea of Consent	71
The Articles of Confederation: The Idea of Compact	74
The Making of the Constitution	76
Prelude to Philadelphia	76
The Philadelphia Convention	77
Ratification	80
Features of the Constitution	82
Republicanism, Divided Powers, and Federalism	82
A Single and Independent Executive	87
Adaptability	88
Amendment of the Constitution	90
Judicial Review Comes to the Supreme Court	93
<i>Marbury v. Madison</i> : The Case of the Undelivered Commissions	93
The Significance of <i>Marbury</i>	96
Judicial Review and the Framers	96
SUMMARY	97
KEY TERMS	98
READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY	98

CHAPTER 4

Federalism: States in the Union.....	99
The Idea of Federalism.....	99
Confederate, Unitary, and Federal Forms of Government.....	100
Unity and Diversity in the Federal System	102
A Comparative Perspective on Federalism	104
States in the Constitutional System	105
The Rise of the National Government	106
Express and Implied Powers	110
Reserved Powers: What Do the States Do?	112
Local Government: A Political Landscape of Contrasts	114
Government Relationships in the Federal System	116
Models of Federalism	116
Legal Relationships	117
Fiscal Relationships	120
Political Relationships	122
Federalism in the Twenty-First Century	123
SUMMARY	126
KEY TERMS.....	127
READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	127

CHAPTER 5

Interest Groups and Political Parties.....	129
Interest Group Resources	129
Interest Groups in American Politics	130
Characteristics of Interest Groups	131
What Interest Groups Do	134
Major Interest Groups.....	137
Perspectives on Interest Groups	143
Interest Groups as the Foundation of Democracy.....	143
Interest Groups Versus the Public Interest	144
Interest Group Gridlock	145
Political Parties.....	145
What Parties Do.....	145
Basic Characteristics of the American Party System	147
A Two-Party System	147
A Complex Party Structure	151

American Political Parties: Past, Present, and Future	154
Parties Past	154
Parties Present	156
Parties Future	160
SUMMARY	161
KEY TERMS	162
READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY	163

CHAPTER 6

Politics and the Media	165
The “Fifth Branch”	166
The Dynamics of an Industry	166
The Constitutional Basis of the Press	170
The Federal Communications Commission	171
The Equal-Time Rule	172
The Fairness Doctrine	176
Regulating the Internet.....	176
Politics and the Press	177
Direct Communication: The Media as Vehicles.....	177
Political Knowledge and Attitudes: The Media as Gatekeepers	178
Issue Making and Issue Reporting: The Media as Spotlights	179
Candidates and Campaigns: The Media as Talent Scouts	181
Believability	182
Tools of the Trade: Politicians and the “Fifth Branch”	183
Access	184
Public Announcements	185
Other Media Events	186
A Right to Know?	186
Are the Media Biased?	187
The Journalists	188
Deciding What Becomes News	189
Deciding How the News Appears	191
The Impact of the Visual	193
A Public Trust	195
SUMMARY	195
KEY TERMS	196
READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY	196

CHAPTER 7

Campaigns and Elections	199
The Voter's Perspective: To Vote or Not to Vote	199
Voting Requirements and Eligibility	200
Who Votes?	203
Declining Turnout	205
The Voter's Perspective: How to Vote	207
Parties	207
Candidates.....	208
Issues.....	210
The Candidate's Perspective: Running for President	212
Who Runs for President?	212
The Media Campaign	213
Campaign Finance	217
Getting Nominated	221
The Electoral College	223
Campaign Strategies	226
The Candidate's Perspective: Running for Congress	228
Campaign Finance	228
Incumbency	229
Parties, Candidates, and Issues	230
SUMMARY	231
KEY TERMS.....	232
READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	233

CHAPTER 8

Congress	235
The Constitutional Powers of Congress.....	235
The Members of Congress	238
Who Are They?	239
How Do They See Their Role?	239
How Long Do They Stay?	240
How Much Do They Do?	241
What Do They Do?.....	241
How Do They See Each Other?	242

The Structure of Congress	243
Party Leadership: The House	243
Party Leadership: The Senate	245
The Committee System	247
Subcommittees	251
Congressional Staff and Agencies	251
Congressional Procedures: How a Bill Becomes a Law	253
Committee to Floor Debate	253
Floor Debate: The House	254
Floor Debate: The Senate	256
The Conference Committee: Resolving Senate-House Differences.....	258
Congress and the Political System	258
Lobbies	259
The Bureaucracy	259
What Role for a Changing Congress?	261
SUMMARY	262
KEY TERMS	262
READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY	263

CHAPTER 9

The Presidency	265
The President and Symbolic Leadership	266
The President and the Constitution	268
Executive Power	270
The Power of Appointment.....	270
The Removal Power	271
The Power to Pardon.....	271
The President and the Executive Branch	272
The Cabinet	272
The White House Staff	274
The Executive Office of the President.....	275
The Vice-President	279
Presidential Succession.....	279
The President and Congress: Foreign Policy	280
Negotiating Treaties	281
Executive Agreements	281

The President and Congress: The War Power	282
The Mexican and Civil Wars	283
The Two World Wars	283
The Cold War	284
The Vietnam Trauma	285
The War Powers Resolution	286
The President and Congress: Domestic Policy	286
Legislative Skills	287
The Presidential Veto	288
Executive Privilege	290
Impeachment.....	291
The Clinton Impeachment	292
The President and the Media.....	294
Phases of the Relationship	295
The Imperial President Versus the Imperial Media.....	296
SUMMARY	297
KEY TERMS.....	297
READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	298

CHAPTER 10

Bureaucracies	299
Bureaucracies as the Fourth Branch of Government	299
Bureaucracies: Translating Ideas into Action.....	300
Who Are the Bureaucrats?	300
Distinguishing Characteristics of Bureaucracies	302
Executive Branch Organization: Types of Bureaucracies.....	303
The Executive Office of the President.....	304
Executive Departments	304
Independent Agencies	306
Independent Regulatory Commissions	306
Government Corporations	307
The Search for Competence in the Civil Service	307
The Spoils System	308
The Pendleton Act and the Merit Principle	309
The Civil Service Reform Act of 1978	309
The Search for Bureaucratic Responsiveness:	
The Political Environment of Bureaucracies	310
The President	311
Congress	312

The Case of the Legislative Veto	313
Interest Groups	313
The Courts	314
Bureaucrats and Government Regulation	315
Regulation in Perspective	315
Regulatory Agencies and Types of Regulations	316
The Regulatory Process	320
The Ebb and Flow of Regulatory Debate	320
Bureaucracies: Targets and Mirrors of Conflict	325
SUMMARY	327
KEY TERMS	328
READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY	329

CHAPTER 11

The Supreme Court and the American Judiciary	331
The National Court System	331
Cases: Raw Material for the Judiciary	332
Fifty-One Judicial Systems	332
State and Local Courts	333
United States District Courts	335
United States Courts of Appeals	336
Special Courts	337
The Supreme Court of the United States	337
Federal Judicial Selection	339
The Clarence Thomas Affair	341
What Courts Do	343
Constitutional Interpretation	343
Statutory Interpretation	344
Fact Determination	344
Clarification of the Boundaries of Political Authority	345
Education and Value Application	345
Legitimation	346
The Supreme Court at Work	346
Petition for Review	346
Briefs on the Merits	348
Oral Argument	348
Conference and Decision	349
Assignment and Writing of Opinions	349
Law Clerks	350