

THOMAS E. PATTERSON

Seventh Edition

The American DEMOCRACY

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The American D E M O C R A C Y



Thomas E. Patterson

Bradlee Professor of Government and the Press
John F. Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University



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THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

4 5 6 7 8 9 0 DOW / DOW 0 9 8 7 6

ISBN-13: 978-0-07-286803-6

ISBN-10: 0-07-286803-1

Editor-in-chief: *Emily Barrosse*

Publisher: *Lyn Uhl*

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Cover designer: *Belinda Fernandez*

Interior designer: *Jamie O'Neil*

Photo research coordinator: *Nora Agbayani*

Photo researcher: *Chris Hammond, PhotoFind, L.L.C.*

Composition: *10/12 Palatino by Cenveo*

Printing: *45# Mead Pub Matte, RR Donnelley, Willard*

Cover photo: © *Joseph Sohm/Corbis*

Because this page cannot legibly accommodate all the copyright notices, credits are listed on page C-1 and constitute a continuation of the copyright page.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Patterson, Thomas E.

The American democracy / Thomas E. Patterson.—7th ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-07-286803-1 (acid-free paper)

1. United States—Politics and government—Textbooks. I. Title.

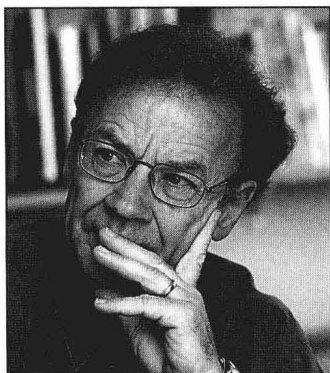
JK276.P37 2005

320.473—dc22

2004059251

<http://www.mhhe.com>

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Thomas E. Patterson is Bradlee Professor of Government and the Press in the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He was previously Distinguished Professor of Political Science in the Maxwell School of Citizenship at Syracuse University. Raised in a small Minnesota town near the Iowa and South Dakota borders, he was educated at South Dakota State University and the University of Minnesota, where he received his Ph.D. in 1971.

He is the author of seven books and dozens of articles, which focus primarily on the media and elections. His book *The Vanishing Voter* (2002) describes and explains the long-term decline in Americans' electoral participation. An earlier book, *Out of Order* (1994), received national attention when President Clinton said every politician and journalist should be required to read it. In 2002, *Out of Order* received the American Political Science Association's Graber Award for the best book of the past decade in political communication. Another of Patterson's books, *The Mass Media Election* (1980), received a *Choice* award as Outstanding Academic Book, 1980–1981. Patterson's first book, *The Unseeing Eye* (1976), was selected by the American Association for Public Opinion Research as one of the fifty most influential books of the past half-century in the field of public opinion.

His research has been funded by major grants from the National Science Foundation, the Markle Foundation, the Smith-Richardson Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Knight Foundation, and the Pew Charitable Trusts.

PREFACE for the Instructor

The past few decades have been a period of extraordinary change in America, raising new challenges to the practice of government. People in the millions from Asia and Latin America have joined the American community, bringing with them cultural traditions that have made our society richer and fuller but also more fragmented. Traditional institutions, from political parties to families, have weakened dramatically, straining the fabric of our politics but also creating the possibility of adaptive new arrangements. Minorities and women, long denied access to political and economic power, are seeking a fairer share—and sometimes getting it. America's workers and firms have built a highly productive economy but now face the risks and opportunities of the global marketplace. The cold war that dominated our attention in foreign policy for decades has been replaced by international terrorism and localized conflicts that raise troubling new issues of domestic and world insecurity.

Scholars are striving to keep pace with these developments. Never before has scholarship been so closely tied to the real world. If much of what political scientists study is arcane, we have increasingly tried to connect our work and our thinking to political realities. The result is a fuller understanding of how American government operates. I have tried in this book to convey this new understanding in an accurate and interesting way.



REACHING OUT TO THE STUDENT

Anyone who writes an introductory American government text faces the challenge of describing and explaining a vast amount of scholarship. One approach is to pile fact upon fact and list upon list. It's a common enough approach, but it turns politics into a pretty dry subject. Politics doesn't have to be dry, and it certainly doesn't have to be dull. Politics has all the elements of drama with the added feature of affecting the everyday lives of real people.

This is a narrative-based text, the opposite of a text that piles list upon list and that divides its material into discrete compartments. A narrative text provides plenty of information, but the information is always part of a larger discussion that ties the various elements together.

Research indicates that the narrative style is a superior method for teaching students a "soft" science such as political science. They learn more readily because a narrative makes the subject more readable, more accessible, and more interesting. Studies also indicate that students can read attentively for a longer period of time when a text is narrative in form.

A narrative text weaves together theory, information, and examples in order to bring out key facts and ideas. The goal is to draw the students into the

subject, give them a contextual understanding of major concepts and issues, and encourage them to think about the implications. To quicken this process, I start each chapter by telling a story that addresses a basic issue. The chapter on civil liberties, for example, begins with the case of the Creighton family, whose home was raided in the middle of the night by gun-toting FBI agents who believed that the Creightons were harboring a relative suspected of bank robbery. The suspect was not found, and the Creightons, who were badly frightened by the intrusion, sued the FBI for wrongful search. Did the FBI have sufficient cause for a warrantless search, or did the FBI violate the Creightons' constitutional rights? Where should society draw the line between its public safety needs and the rights of the individual? Such questions in the context of a real-life situation immediately plunge students into the chapter's subject and into the process of thinking about its importance.

The narrative approach is part of a second pedagogical goal of this text: helping students think critically. Critical thinking is, I believe, the most important skill that a student can acquire from a social science education. Students do not learn to think critically by engaging in rote memorization. Rather, they acquire this skill by reflecting on what they read, by resolving challenges to their customary ways of thinking, and by confronting difficult issues. To this end, I have attempted to structure the discussion in ways that ask students to think more deeply and systematically about politics. In the first chapter, for example, I discuss the inexact meanings, conflicting implications, and unfulfilled promise of Americans' most cherished ideals, including liberty and equality. The discussion includes the "Chinese Exclusion," a grotesque and not well known chapter in our history that should lead students to think about what it means to be an American.

Finally, I have attempted in this book to present American government through the analytical lens of political science but in a way that captures the vivid world of real-life politics. I regularly reminded myself while writing this book that only a tiny percentage of introductory students are interested in an academic political science career. Most students take the course because it is required or because they like politics. I have sought to write a book that will kindle political interest in the first type of student and deepen the interest of the second type, while also giving students the systematic knowledge that a science of politics can provide. I had a model in mind for the kind of book that could achieve these goals: V. O. Key's absorbing *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*, which I had read many years earlier as an undergraduate student. The late Professor Key was a masterful scholar who had a deep love of politics and who gently chided colleagues whose interest in political science was confined to the "science" part.

Few scholars can match Key's brilliance, but most political scientists share his fascination with politics. The result of their combined efforts is a body of knowledge about American government that is both precise and politically astute. This scholarship provides the text's unifying core. Political scientists have identified several major tendencies in the American political system that are a basis for a systematic understanding of how it operates, namely:

- Enduring ideals that are the basis of Americans' political identity and culture and that are a source of many of their beliefs, aspirations, and conflicts

- Extreme fragmentation of governing authority that is based on an elaborate system of checks and balances, which serves to protect against abuses of political power but also makes it difficult for political majorities to assert power when confronting an entrenched or intense political minority
- Many competing groups, which are a result of the nation's great size, population diversity, and economic complexity and which exercise considerable influence on public policy
- Strong emphasis on individual rights, which results in substantial benefits to the individual and places substantial restrictions on majorities
- Preference for the marketplace as a means of allocating resources, which has the effect of placing many economic issues beyond the reach of popular majorities

These tendencies are introduced in the first chapter and discussed in subsequent chapters. If students forget many of the points made in this book, they may at least take away from the course a knowledge of the deep underpinnings of the American political system.



FEATURES OF THIS EDITION

A noteworthy change from previous editions is a heightened emphasis on liberty, equality, and self-government as the three great principles of American democracy. The origin and nature of these ideals are discussed in the first chapter, which also points out the tension that can exist among them. Subsequent chapters have boxes titled “Liberty, Equality, and Self-Government” that ask students to grapple with issues related to these principles. These boxes help students recognize just how thoroughly these principles are embedded in American political practice and thought.

The boxes in the text are based on the same instructional philosophy that guided earlier editions. The boxes are not mere fillers or diversions. They are not meant to entertain in the way they do in some texts. Every student likes interesting or humorous anecdotes, and this text includes many such anecdotes. But what's different here is that such material is not featured. Rather, the boxes in this text are part of a broad pedagogical strategy of encouraging critical thinking and creating interest in politics. Once students' interest is aroused, they naturally want to learn more about politics and study it more enthusiastically.

In addition to the “Liberty, Equality, and Self-Government” boxes, each chapter has a “How the United States Compares” box and a “States in the Nation” box. The United States in many ways is the world's preeminent democracy, but it also has distinctive policies and practices. The American states, too, are quite different in their politics and policies, despite belonging to the same union. American students invariably gain a deeper understanding of their own communities when they recognize the ways in which their nation or state differs from others.

Encouraging students to compare states and nations is a natural way to foster critical thinking. When students discover, for example, that the United States has a higher child poverty rate than other Western democracies, they naturally

ask why this is the case. Because comparative analysis stimulates critical thinking, this edition includes a large number of new cross-national tables and figures in addition to the “How the United States Compares” and the “States in the Nation” boxes. Many of these tables and figures involve comparisons of public opinion in the United States and elsewhere on major issues of our time, including immigration, church-state relations, economic globalization, and the fight against terrorism.

Critical thinking is also encouraged through the “Debating the Issues” and the “Why Should I Care?” boxes that appear in each chapter. The “Debating the Issues” boxes (called “Fighting Words” in the previous edition) present opposing opinions on current controversies, including Internet voting, the Kyoto accord on global warming, the Electoral College, same-sex marriage, and the Iraq conflict. The “Why Should I Care?” boxes ask students to use the material in the chapter to resolve, at least in their own minds, a difficult political issue. The “Why Should I Care?” box in the first chapter, for example, asks students to consider the meaning of the term *personal security* in the context of the USA Patriot Act, which expanded the government’s search and seizure powers with respect to persons suspected of terrorist activities. The basic question, of course, is how far the student would allow the government to depart from normal due process procedures when terrorism is at issue.

Finally, three types of boxes are sprinkled throughout the book rather than appearing in each chapter. “Citizenship” boxes are designed to encourage students to participate in public life. “Political Culture” boxes address issues of diversity within the context of the idea that Americans are “one people out of many.” “Global Perspective” boxes examine America’s role in an increasingly interdependent world.

New to this edition is the Study Corner—a two-page study guide at the end of each chapter. Each Study Corner includes the chapter’s key terms, a self-test, a critical-thinking exercise, and source references, as well as the suggestion of a civic or political activity in which the student can engage.

There is also much that is new in the body of the text. The chapters have been thoroughly updated to include the latest scholarship and most recent developments at home and abroad. The most substantial changes were occasioned by the 2004 presidential election and the conflict in Iraq, but many other changes are included, such as the latest Supreme Court rulings. The role of the Internet in American politics continues to feature prominently in the text’s instructional content. Each chapter includes one or more World Wide Web icons (identified by a globe within which “WWW” appears). Each icon indicates relevant supplementary material (self-tests, simulations, and graphics) on the text’s website. The chapters also include Historical Background icons, which identify key developments that helped shape the American political system.

Knowledge of history deepens students’ understanding of U.S. politics, as does a critical perspective on events that are a vividly remembered part of their lives. For many students, Vietnam is ancient history and the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal a hazy middle-school memory. Students need to know about and learn from the past, but they also learn when they are asked to think deeply about events they believe they already know thoroughly. Every student is familiar with the war on terrorism. However, many students have not thought carefully about how, for example, it could affect civil liberties or foreign relations.

SUPPLEMENTS PACKAGE

This text is accompanied by supplementary materials. Please contact your local McGraw-Hill representative or McGraw-Hill Customer Service (800-338-3987) for details concerning policies, prices, and availability, as some restrictions may apply.

For Students and Instructors

OnLine Learning Center with PowerWeb

Visit our website at www.mhhe.com/pattersontad7

This website contains separate instructor and student areas. The instructor area contains the content of the Instructor's Resource CD-ROM, while the student area hosts a wealth of study materials such as additional Internet resources, concept lists, practice tests, essay questions, and thinking exercises. All chapter-by-chapter material has been updated for the new edition, and favorites such as the crossword puzzles, flashcards, video and audio indexes, and simulations have been retained.

New assets at this site also include:

- Updated participation suggestions dealing with constitutional foundations, institutions, political behavior, and policy. These suggestions were created to encourage students to become more involved in politics, to demonstrate how they can make a difference, and to give them advice on how to get started.
- Updated simulations accompanied by abstracts and learning goals.

PowerWeb for American Government

Now built into the *The American Democracy* Online Learning Center, this product offers daily news updates, weekly course updates, interactive activities, the best articles from the popular press, quizzes, instructor's manuals, student study material, and more.

Debate! Citizenship and Debate! Voting & Elections CD-ROMS

Political Science comes alive through **Debate!** McGraw-Hill's **Debate!** CD-ROM provides instant access to some of the most important and interesting documents, images, artifacts, audio recordings, and videos available on topics in political science. You can browse the collection across critical thinking questions, media types, subjects, or your own custom search criteria. Each source opens into our Source Window, packed with tools that provide rich scholarly contexts, interactive explorations, and access to a printable copy for each source.

While examining any of these sources, you can use our notebook feature to take notes, bookmark favorite sources, and save or print copies of all the sources for use outside of the archive (for example, inserting them into PowerPoint). After researching a particular theme or time period, you can use our **Debate!** outlining tool to walk you through the steps of composing a debate or presentation.

Through its browsing and inspection tool, **Debate!** helps you practice the art of political debate using a rich collection of multi-media evidence. This process of political science investigation follows three simple but engaging steps: **Ask** where you use our browsing panels to search and filter the sources, **research** where you use the Source Browser and Source Window's tools to examine the sources in detail, and **debate** where you can practice outlining arguments using selected sources from the collection.

For Instructors

Instructor's Manual/Test Bank

by Brian Fife of Indiana University–Purdue University Fort Wayne

For each chapter, the instructor's manual includes the following: learning objectives, focus points and main points, a chapter summary, a list of major concepts, a lecture outline, alternative lecture objectives, class discussion topics, and a list of Internet resources. The test bank consists of approximately twenty to twenty-five multiple-choice questions, fifteen to twenty true-false questions, and five suggested essay topics per chapter, with answers given alongside the questions and page references provided.

Test Bank CD-ROM

This test bank in CD-ROM format draws on questions from the Instructor's Manual/Test Bank to assist professors in generating tests.

Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Tailored to the Table of Contents and format of the seventh edition, this CD integrates instructor's resources available in the Instructor's Manual/Test Bank with multimedia components, such as PowerPoint presentation, photographs, maps, and charts.

McGraw-Hill American Government Video Library

This new series of ten-minute video lecture-launchers was produced for McGraw-Hill by Ralph Baker and Joseph Losco of Ball State University.

Video #1: Devolution Within American Federalism: The Case of the Welfare System

0-07-303414-2

Video #2: Public Opinion and Participation: American Students Speak

0-07-229517-1

Video #3: Media and Politics in Presidential Campaigns

0-07-234442-3

Video #4: Women in Politics

0-07-242097-9

Video #5: Civil Liberties on the Internet

0-07-244205-0

Video #6: Affirmative Action and College Enrollment

0-07-244207-7

Video #7: The 2000 Campaign 0-07-250175-8

PageOut

At www.mhhe.com/pageout, instructors can create their own websites. PageOut requires no prior knowledge of HTML; simply plug the course information into a template and click on one of sixteen designs. The process leaves instructors with a professionally designed website.

PRIMIS Online

Instructors can use this textbook as a whole, or they can select specific chapters and customize this text to suit their specific classroom needs. The customized text can be created as a hardcopy or as an e-book. Also available in this format are custom chapters on “California Government” and “Texas Government.”

For Students

Study Guide

by Brian Fife of Indiana University Purdue University Fort Wayne

Each chapter includes the following: learning objectives, focus and main points (to help direct students’ attention to key material), chapter summary, major concepts (listed and defined), annotated Internet resources, analytical-thinking exercises, and test review questions—approximately 10 true-false, 15 multiple-choice, and 5 essay topics. The answers are provided at the end of each chapter.

2004 Presidential Election Update

by Richard Semiatin of American University

This supplement explores the 2004 presidential election campaign. Polls indicate that Americans saw the Bush-Kerry race as one of the most important elections of their lifetimes, and they responded by voting in unusually high numbers. Richard Semiatin analyzes the ups and downs of the election polls, and the determined efforts of the two campaigns to control the campaign agenda. This supplement examines the impact of partisanship and of the Iraq and economic issues on the vote. Also examined are, for example, media campaign, including some of the more controversial ads (including those of the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth); money and fundraising; the impact of the Electoral College on political strategy; and the televised presidential debates. Finally, Professor Semiatin examines the impact of the election on the direction of the nation’s domestic and foreign policies. This booklet will be available in late spring of 2005.

Impeachment and Trial Supplement

by Richard Semiatin of American University

This 16-page supplement offers an overview of the impeachment and trial processes within a historical and constitutional context. It discusses the factors affecting the case of President Andrew Johnson in the 1860s and the vastly

different, modern case of President Bill Clinton. This supplement also looks at alternatives to conviction and expulsion. This booklet can be shrink-wrapped free with the seventh edition of *The American Democracy*.

YOUR SUGGESTIONS ARE INVITED

The American Democracy has been in use in college classrooms for more than a dozen years. During that time, the text (including its concise edition, *We The People*) has been adopted at more than eight hundred colleges and universities. I am extremely grateful to all who have used it. I am particularly indebted to the many instructors and students over the years who have sent me recommendations or corrections. Professor James Chalmers of Wayne State University and Professor Richard Reiman of South Georgia College, for example, offered key ideas that were worked into this edition. Megan Reader, a Furman College undergraduate, was among the students who sent helpful suggestions. You can contact me at the John F. Kennedy School, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138, or by e-mail: thomas_patterson@harvard.edu.

Thomas E. Patterson

The guided tour presented here describes the organization and special features of your text.

Opening Illustration

"[The president's] is the only voice in national affairs. Let him once win the admiration and confidence of the people, and no other single voice will easily overpower him."

Woodrow Wilson

The Bush story is but one in the long ups and downs of the presidency. Lyndon Johnson's and Richard Nixon's dogged pursuit to talk of "the imperial presidency," an office so powerful that it balances were no longer an effective constraint on it. Within a half century, the office of the president had become a political juggernaut. The presidencies of John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon were marked by a sense of crisis and a sense of the president's power. The presidencies of Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson were marked by a sense of crisis and a sense of the president's power. The presidencies of Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson were marked by a sense of crisis and a sense of the president's power.

446 PART THREE Governing Institutions

Demonstrators rally outside the U.S. Supreme Court building during hearings on the *Bush v. Gore* case that effectively brought the 2000 presidential election to an end. At times, the policy rulings of the judiciary are as significant as the decisions of the president or Congress.



and, in some areas, more controversial than the roles of the executive and legislative branches. This chapter explores this issue in the process of discussing the following main points:

- The federal judiciary includes the Supreme Court of the United States, which functions mainly as an appellate court; courts of appeals, which hear appeals; and district courts, which hold trials. Each state has a court system of its own, which for the most part is independent of supervision by the federal courts.
- Judicial decisions are constrained by applicable constitutional law, statutory and administrative law, and precedent. Nevertheless, political factors have a major influence on judicial appointments and decisions; judges are political officials as well as legal ones.
- The judiciary has become an increasingly powerful policymaking body in recent decades, raising the question of the judiciary's proper role in a democracy. The philosophies of judicial restraint and judicial activism provide different answers to this question.

The chapter's three or four main ideas are summarized in the opening pages.

THE FEDERAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The writers of the Constitution were determined that the judiciary would be a separate and independent branch of the federal government but, for practical reasons, did not fully define the federal court system. The Framers established the Supreme Court of the United States but granted to Congress the power to decide the size and structure of the lower federal courts.

Federal judges are nominated by the president and, if confirmed by the U.S. Senate, are appointed by the president to the office. The Constitution states that judges "shall hold their offices during good behavior." However, the Constitution does not contain a precise definition of "good behavior," and no Supreme Court justice and only a tiny number of lower-court judges have been



Women's Legal and Political Gains

Ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment encouraged leaders of the women's movement to propose in 1923 a constitutional amendment that would guarantee equal rights for women. Congress rejected that proposal and several subsequent ones. In 1973, however, Congress approved the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and submitted it to the states for ratification or rejection. The ERA failed

Should the Electoral College Be Abolished?

As the votes in the 2000 election were counted, the country was thrown into turmoil by the electoral vote system. The president is chosen by an indirect system of election. Voters cast ballots for candidates, but their votes choose only each state's electors, whose subsequent ballots result in the actual selection of the president. Electoral votes are apportioned by states based on their representation in Congress, which creates the possibility that the candidate who receives the most popular votes will not receive the most electoral votes and thus will not be elected president. The 2000 election was of this type, and it renewed the debate about retaining the electoral vote system.

Debating the Issues

Yes: It's time to abolish the Electoral College and to count the votes of all Americans in presidential elections. Two centuries ago the Constitutional Convention considered many ways to select the president of the emerging republic. From popular election to assigning the decision to the Congress, the Electoral College was a compromise that reflected a basic mistrust of the electorate—the same mistrust that denied the vote to women, African Americans, and people who did not own property. The Electoral College may or may not have made sense in 1787. But through 21st-century eyes it is as anachronistic as the limitations on suffrage itself. Whether or not you like the results of a particular election, your vote should count. If the Electoral College merely echoes the election results, then it is superfluous. If it contradicts the voting margins, then why tolerate it? It is a remarkable and enduring virtue of our political system that our elections are credible and decisive—and that power changes hands in a coherent and dignified manner. . . . Every other public official is chosen by majority vote. That's the way it's supposed to work in a democracy. For reasons both philosophical and practical, that's also how we should elect the president.

No: The pundits will argue that it is not fair to deny the presidency to the man who received the most total votes. After all, to do so would be "undemocratic." The argument ignores the fundamental nature of our constitutional system. The Founding Fathers sought to create a loose confederacy of states, joined together by a federal government with very little power. They created a constitutionally limited republic, not a direct democracy. They did so to protect fundamental liberties against the whims of the masses. The Electoral College likewise was one step in the Constitution to guard against majority tyranny in national elections. The president was to be elected by the states rather than the citizenry as a whole, with votes apportioned to states according to their representation in Congress. The will of the people was to be tempered by the wisdom of the Electoral College. By contrast, election of the President by pure popular vote would damage established, equalized weight on both coasts would have increasing influence on national elections, to the detriment of less populated southern and western states. A candidate receiving a large percentage of the popular vote in a nationwide election could win a national election with a large vote support in states of other states. A popular vote system simply would intensify the popular pendulum, which already dominates national campaigns.

—Willam O. Doherty, U.S. representative (D-Mass.)

—Ron Paul, U.S. representative (R-Texas)

a means of curbing the power of the party bosses (see Chapter 2). State party leaders had taken control of the nominating process by handpicking their state delegates. The Progressives sought to shift control to the voters by allowing them to select the convention delegates. Such a process is called an indirect primary, because the voters are not choosing the nominees directly (as they do in House and Senate races) but rather are choosing delegates who in turn select the nominees.

"States in the Nation" Boxes

Each chapter has a box that compares the fifty states on some aspect of politics.

"Debating the Issues" Boxes

Each chapter has a box that introduces a current controversy and includes opposing opinions on the issue.

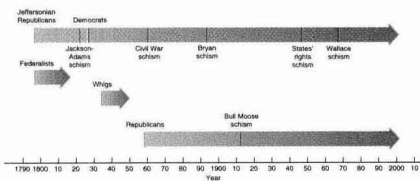


Figure 8-1

A Graphic History of America's Major Parties

The U.S. party system has been remarkable for its continuity. Competition between two major parties has been a persistent feature of the system.

Hamilton responded by organizing his supporters into a formal party—the Federalists—and in the process created America's first competitive party system. The Federalists took their name from the fact that they supported ratification of the Constitution, thereby implying that they represented America's political values and traditions. However, the Federalists' preoccupation with commercial and wealthy interests fueled Jefferson's claim that the Federalists were bent on establishing a government of the rich and wellborn. After Adams's defeat by Jefferson in the presidential election of 1800, the Federalists and their philosophy never again held sway.

During the so-called Era of Good Feeling, when James Monroe ran unopposed in 1800 for a second presidential term, it appeared as if the political system might operate without parties. Yet by the end of Monroe's second term, policy differences had split the Republicans. The dominant faction, led by Andrew Jackson, retained Jefferson's commitment to the interests of ordinary people. This faction called itself Democratic Republicans, later shortened to Democrats. Thus, the Republican party of Jefferson is the forerunner of today's Democratic party rather than today's Republican party.



Historical Background

Andrew Jackson and Grassroots Parties

For all its shortcomings, competition between parties is the only system that can regularly mobilize collective influence on behalf of the many who are individually powerless against those few who have extraordinary wealth and prestige.

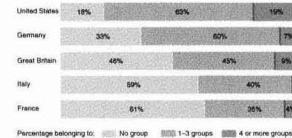


HOW THE UNITED STATES COMPARES

Groups: "A Nation of Joiners"

"A nation of joiners" is how the Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville described the United States during his visit to this country in the 1830s. Even today, Americans are more actively involved in groups and community causes than are Europeans. The American tradition of group activity is only one reason. Another is the structure of the U.S. political system. Because of federalism and the separation of powers, the American system offers numerous points at which groups can try to influence public policy. If unsuccessful with legislators, groups can turn to executives or to the courts. If

thwarted at the national level, groups can turn to state and local governments. By comparison, the governments of most other democratic nations are not organized in ways that facilitate group access and influence. France's unitary government, for example, concentrates power at the national level. Such differences are reflected in citizens' participation rates. Americans are more likely to belong to groups than are the French, Italians, British, or Germans, as the accompanying figure from the World Values Survey indicates.



economic groups interest groups that are organized primarily for economic reasons but that engage in political activity in order to secure favorable policies from government.

call such organizations economic groups, although it is important to recognize that their political goals can include policies that transcend the narrow economic interests of their members. Although not, for example, concentrated on labor policies, it also takes positions on other foreign and domestic issues.

An Organizational Edge

One reason for the abundance of economic groups is their access to financial resources. Political activity does not come cheap. If a group is to make its views known, it normally must have a headquarters, an expert staff, and communication facilities. Economic groups can obtain the requisite money and expertise from their economic activities. Corporations have the greatest built-in advantage. They do not have to charge membership dues or conduct fund-raising to support their lobbying. Their political money comes from their business activity.

Figures and Tables

Each chapter has figures and tables that relate to points made in the discussion.

Reference Icons

These icons reference material that is of historical importance or available on the text's website.

"How the United States Compares" Boxes

Each chapter has a box that compares the United States with other countries in regard to a major political feature.

Key Terms

Each key term is defined in the margin near its reference in the text.



Liberty, Equality, & Self-Government

What's Your Opinion?

Liberty and Security

The USA Patriot Act of 2001 was enacted less than two months after the September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. It was easily the most contentious domestic action taken by the U.S. government in the immediate aftermath of the bombings. Not all the provisions of the Patriot Act were controversial. For example, a provision that allowed for court-approved wiretaps of specific individuals as opposed to wiretaps of specific phone numbers was widely regarded as a necessary updating of wiretap procedures. However, the USA Patriot Act also allows government to examine medical, financial, and educational records on the basis of a minimal standard of suspicion: to detain individuals for short periods without tangible evidence of wrongdoing; to deport noncitizens who have even minimal association with suspected terrorist groups; and to secretly search homes and offices in some instances.

According to its supporters, the Patriot Act gave government the tools with which to combat terrorism and thereby protect the lives of Americans. Opponents argued that the bill included unwarranted incursions on individual rights.

This type of debate has occurred many times in the nation's history. After World War II, for example, Congress responded to a growing fear of the spread of communism by passing the Smith Act, which made it illegal for Americans to conspire to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. Its proponents claimed that the legislation would protect the country against internal subversion, while opponents claimed it infringed on First Amendment rights. In the initial court cases, the Supreme Court upheld the restriction on free expression, but in later ones it declared that advocacy of the forcible overthrow of the government was lawful as long as it was "harmless" and did not directly and substantially injure the government.

What's your view on the USA Patriot Act? Do you feel more or less secure because of it? How, primarily, do you define your security? Do you worry about becoming the victim of a terrorist attack? Or do you worry more about having your rights abused by officials engaged in the war on terrorism? Would you have the same opinion if, say, your religion or ethnicity was different than it is? How far are you willing to let government depart from normal protections of individual rights in order to combat the terrorist threat?

Capitalism is an alternative method for distributing economic costs and benefits. Capitalism holds that the government should interfere with the economy as little as possible. Free enterprise, private property, and self-reliance are the principles of capitalism. Firms are allowed to operate in a free and open marketplace, and individuals are expected to rely on their own initiative to establish their economic security. Firms decide what they will produce and the price they will charge for their goods and services, while consumers decide what they will buy at what price. Meanwhile, following a Lockean principle, private property rights are vigorously protected and enforced through government action.

Like the rules of democracy and constitutionalism, the rules of capitalism are not neutral. Whereas democracy responds to numbers and constitutionalism responds to individual rights, capitalism responds to wealth. "Money talks" in a capitalist system, which means, among other things, that wealthier

Civil Liberties and National Security

At the writing of the Constitution, Alexander Hamilton claimed that war is always a threat to civil liberties. The freedoms that people enjoy in peacetime are restricted in wartime. The current war on terrorism is no exception. After September 11, 2001, for example, Congress gave the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) authority to engage in certain types of clandestine domestic surveillance. The CIA may, for instance, read secret grand jury testimony without first seeking a judge's approval to do so.

When the CIA was created in 1947 as part of America's effort at containing the spread of communism, President Harry Truman insisted that the CIA's surveillance activities be limited to foreign soil. Fascist and communist governments, said Truman, say on their terms. Democratic governments do not. Accordingly, the CIA was prohibited from conducting surveillance operations within the United States. Two decades later, Congress discovered that the CIA had violated its mandate. The CIA had tapped Americans' phones, opened their mail, and burgled their homes and offices. Congress responded with new restrictions on and closer oversight of the CIA. This action, however, had the effect of limiting coordination between the CIA and the FBI, which, according to some analysts, contributed to the failure of U.S. officials to uncover plans for the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September

11, 2001. Although both agencies had information that indicated a major terrorist act was in the offing, they did not closely coordinate the intelligence reports they had gathered.

Nearly every analyst now agrees that domestic surveillance will have to increase if America is to be made safe from terrorism. Many analysts also believe that the CIA should be part of that effort, although they disagree on the extent of that authority. The CIA itself would like extensive powers. In 2002, for example, it requested authority to intercept e-mail messages routed to or from the United States from abroad without having to obtain a warrant from a judge.

Where do you stand on the issue of domestic surveillance? What trade-offs between personal freedom and physical security are you willing to make in the context of the war on terrorism? How far would you let the CIA go in conducting surveillance on American citizens? Would you make a distinction between American citizens and the noncitizens who are here, granting the CIA more leeway in the case of the latter group? John Ashcroft, the attorney general of the United States, has said that people who oppose greatly expanded surveillance and detection as tools in the war on terrorism are, in effect, choosing to side with the terrorists. New York Times columnist Tom Friedman argues that, if the war on terrorism is waged at the expense of civil liberties, Americans will have lost sight of what they are fighting to protect. Which view comes closer to your own?

The Modern Period: Protecting Free Expression

Until the twentieth century, the tension between national security interests and free expression was not a pressing dilemma for the United States. The country's great size and ocean barriers provided protection from potential enemies, minimizing concerns about internal subversion. World War II, however, introduced America's isolation, and World War II brought it to an abrupt end. Since then, Americans' rights of free expression have been defined largely in the context of national security concerns.

This tendency is clearly evident in recent government actions in the war on terrorism, including the USA Patriot Act of 2001 (see Chapter 1). The government's powers of surveillance and detention have been expanded, narrowing the legal protections provided to people even remotely suspected of having ties

"Liberty, Equality, and Self-Government" Boxes

Each chapter has a box that asks you to critically analyze and integrate material presented in the chapter that relates to America's founding principles.

"Why Should I Care?" Boxes

Each chapter has a box that addresses a persistent issue affecting Americans' lives.



Political Culture

One People out of Many

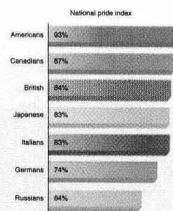
National Pride

Americans are justifiably proud of their nation. It is the oldest continuous democracy in the world, an economic powerhouse, and a diverse yet peaceful society. What Americans may not recognize, because it is so much a part of everyday life in America, is the degree to which they are bonded with messages and symbols of their nation's greatness. Political socialization in the United States is not the rigid program of indoctrination that some societies impose on their people. Nevertheless, Americans receive a thorough political education. Their country's values are impressed on them by every medium of communication: newspapers, daily conversations, television, movies, books. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, these tendencies reached new heights. The NBC television network outfitted its peacock logo with stars and stripes, and computer-generated flag featured the other network's broadcasts.

The words and symbols that regularly tell Americans of their country's greatness are important to its unity. In the absence of a common ancestral heritage to bind them, Americans need other methods to instill and reinforce the idea that they are one people. As discussed in Chapter 1, America's political ideals have this effect. So too do the everyday reminders, such as the flying of the flag on homes and private buildings, a practice that is almost uniquely American. (Elsewhere, flags are rarely displayed except on public buildings.)

One indicator of Americans' political socialization is their high level of national pride. Harvard University's

Pippa Norris (in Marian Saver's edited volume *The People's Choice*) constructed an index of national pride based on people's admiration for their country's political, economic, artistic, sporting, scientific, and other achievements. Americans ranked at the top, as shown by the following chart, which is based on Norris's index:



contribute to the process, as do the mass media, friends, work associates, and other agents. Political socialization is a lifelong process.

The Process of Political Socialization

The process of political socialization in the United States has several major characteristics. First, although socialization continues throughout life, most people's



Citizenship

Getting Involved, Making a Difference

Groups and Social Capital

When the Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville came to the United States in the 1830s, he marveled at the abundance of civic and political groups and concluded that they were the underlying strength of American democracy. Little has happened in the nearly two centuries since to change this conclusion. Recent research, in fact, confirms it. In his pioneering 1983 book *Civic Traditions* (1995), Harvard University's Robert Putnam found that the more abundant a society's voluntary associations are, the more likely it is that the society's institutions will be healthy in the public interest. He used the term *civic community* to describe a society in which voluntary associations flourish.

Citizens should participate in voluntary groups. By doing so, they contribute to improvements in their community, whether it be a college campus, a town, a state, or the nation. Moreover, the relationships that develop among people as a result of civic participation enable individuals to better understand the opinions and values of others.

These benefits are substantial. Democratic theorists such as Rousseau, Jefferson, Mill, and Dewey argued that communities should be constructed in ways that encourage the individual to participate as fully as possible.

lie in civic affairs. The theorists' assumption was that citizens "invest" in a community when they are an integral part of the community. The more they participate, the more they invest. This assumption, giving him or her the capacity to form a civic community, argues that, if the individual is to make a difference, he or she must first invest in the community. Said differently, civic participation enables individuals to surmount a narrowly self-interested view of what is best for society.

Putnam argues that America has undergone a long-term decline in its social capital, or the level of civic participation. In *Building America* (2000), Putnam presents evidence that indicates Americans are now less involved in community groups and other forms of social interaction. He attributes the change to television and other factors that produce social isolation. Not all scholars agree with Putnam's view of the trend. Some indicate point toward a rise in certain types of group membership, but no one has challenged his assumption about the importance of maintaining high levels of civic participation. The relationships fostered by this participation are a foundation of democratic life. And no democratic theorist has suggested that there can be "too much" civic participation. The higher the level of participation, the firmer the democratic base.

INSIDE LOBBYING: SEEKING INFLUENCE THROUGH OFFICIAL CONTACTS

Modern government provides a supportive environment for interest groups. First, modern government is involved in so many issues—business regulation, income maintenance, urban renewal, cancer research, and energy development, to name only a few—that hardly any interest in society could go unmet. Second, modern government is oriented toward action. Officials are inclined to respond to problems rather than let problems linger. For example, when forest fires raged out of control in California and other western states in 2004 and destroyed property worth millions, Washington granted immediate assistance to residents who had incurred losses and cleanup costs.

"Political Culture" Boxes

Some chapters have a box that examines diversity topics relating to the notion that Americans are "one people out of many."

"Citizenship" Boxes

Some chapters have a box that provides advice and guidance for getting involved in civic and political activity.

Americans in an Interdependent World

Citizens of the World, Too?

Americans have a form of dual citizenship. They are citizens both of their nation and of the state in which they reside. They are subject to the laws of both levels of government and enjoy the rights and privileges of each of them.

Are Americans also becoming citizens of the world in a meaningful sense? In the *End of the Nation State*, Kenneth Christie argues that global economic change is altering traditional patterns of governing and citizenship. Nations' economies are now less within their own control as a result of mushrooming growth in international trade. Giant multinational corporations make decisions about production, supply, and pricing that have little relationship to national boundaries and that generate pressure for global free trade and international standards. And of course the trend toward international rules is not confined to those rules associated with economic globalization. Since its formation after World War II, the United Nations has issued countless resolutions and directives aimed at the internal affairs of particular countries.

In effect, as the world has become smaller, nations have faced pressure to give up some of their authority to international bodies. An example is the World Trade Organization (WTO), which requires its members, including the United States, to follow open trade policies buttressed by regulations that are designed to promote fair trade among the members. When WTO nations have a dispute, it is reviewed, and member states are expected to abide by the findings.

Compared with many nations, the United States has been somewhat reluctant to defer to collective agreements. During the past decade, for example, the United States has refused to sign the international treaty to ban land mines, has refused to sign the Kyoto accord to combat global warming, and has refused to back a permanent international war crimes tribunal. Nevertheless, more so than in the past, the United States, like other nations, has seen a need to give up some control over its national policies. In this respect, Americans are subject to the decisions of international bodies as well as those of their state and national governments.

exclusively within the control of states and localities. The national government does not dominate in these policy areas, but it does play a significant role. Much of this national influence stems from social welfare policies that were enacted in the 1960s as part of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program, which included initiatives in health care, public housing, nutrition, welfare, urban development, and other areas previously reserved to states and localities.

The second, more recent trend involves a partial contraction of national authority. Known as *devolution*, this trend involves the "passing down" of authority from the national government to the state and local levels. Devolution has reversed the decades-long increase in federal authority, but only in some areas and then only to a moderate degree.

In short, the national government's policy authority has expanded since the 1960s, even though that authority has been reduced somewhat in recent years. We will now explain each of these two trends in more detail.



"Global Perspective" Boxes

These boxes appear in some chapters and examine America's role in an increasingly interdependent world.

"Self-Test" Icons

Identify the website where self-test and other support items can be found.

a president's public support. No amount of public relations can disguise adverse developments at home or abroad. Indeed, presidents run a risk by building up their images through public relations. If they are as powerful as they project themselves to be, they will be held responsible for policy failures as well as policy successes. By thrusting themselves into the limelight, presidents contribute to the public's belief that the president is in charge of the national government, a perception that political scientist Hugh Heclo calls "the illusion of presidential government."⁴

Because the public expects so much from its presidents, they get too much credit when things go well and too much blame when things go badly. Therein lies an irony of the presidential office. More than from any constitutional grant, more than from any statute, and more than from any crisis, presidential power derives from the president's position as the sole official who can claim to represent the entire American public. Yet because presidential power rests on a popular base, it erodes when public support declines. The irony is that the presidential office typically grows weaker as problems mount. Just when the country could most use effective leadership, strong leadership often is hardest to achieve.⁵

Summary

The presidency has become a much stronger office than the Framers envisioned. The Constitution grants the president substantial military, diplomatic, legislative, and executive powers, and in each case the president's authority has increased measurably over the nation's history. Underlying this change is the president's position as the one leader chosen by the whole nation and as the sole head of the executive branch. These features of the office have enabled presidents to claim broad authority in response to the increased demands placed on the federal government by changing world and national conditions.

During the course of American history, the presidential selection process has been altered in ways intended to make it more responsive to the preferences of ordinary people. Today, the electorate has a vote not only in the general election, but also in the selection of party nominees. To gain nomination, a presidential hopeful must gain the support of the electorate in state primaries and open caucuses. Once nominated, the candidate receives federal funds for their general election campaign, which today are based on televised appeals.

Although the campaign tends to personalize the presidency, the responsibilities of the modern presidency far exceed any president's personal capacities. To meet their obligations, presidents have surrounded themselves with large staffs of advisers, policy experts, and man-

agers. These staff members enable the president to extend control over the executive branch while at the same time providing the information necessary for policymaking. All recent presidents have discovered, however, that their control of staff resources is incomplete and that some things that others do on their behalf can work against what they are trying to accomplish. As sole chief executive and the nation's top elected leader, presidents can always expect that their policy and leadership efforts will receive attention. However, other institutions, particularly Congress, have the authority to make presidential leadership effective. No president has come close to winning approval of all the programs he has placed before Congress, and the presidents' records of success have varied considerably. The factors in a president's success include whether national conditions that require strong leadership from the White House are present and whether the president's party has a majority in Congress.

To hold onto an effective leadership position, the president depends on the backing of the American people. Recent presidents have made extensive use of the media to build support for their programs yet they have had difficulty maintaining that support throughout their terms of office. A major reason is that the public expects far more from its presidents than they can deliver.



Self-Test
www.pearsoned.com/pedusa409

Summary

A short discussion, organized around the chapter's main points, summarizes each chapter's content.

Study Corner

A two-page section at the end of each chapter includes (as shown on the example page) key terms, a self-test, and a critical-thinking exercise; the second page (not shown) has suggested readings, annotated references to relevant websites, and a guide to civic and political participation.

STUDY CORNER

Key Terms

cabinet (p. 384)	momentum (p. 385)	stewardship theory (p. 377)
honeymoon period (p. 389)	open party caucuses (p. 384)	unit rule (p. 388)
legitimacy (of election) (p. 381)	presidential approval ratings (p. 401)	Whig theory (p. 377)

Self-Test

- Which two features of the presidency have enabled it to become more powerful than the Framers envisioned?
 - power to disregard Supreme Court and also Congress during national emergencies
 - power to use presidential resources to defeat members of Congress and to veto acts of Congress
 - election by national vote and president's position as sole chief executive
 - power to appoint federal judges and to appoint high-ranking executives
- Key presidential appointees who are responsible for coordinating the activities of the executive branch are located in the:
 - Office of the General Counsel
 - Attorney General's Office
 - General Accounting Office
 - Bureau of the President
- A president is most successful passing legislative initiatives when Congress is:
 - in session
 - acting in an election year as opposed to a year when no federal election is scheduled to be held
 - controlled by the president's own party
 - concentrating on domestic policy issues as opposed to foreign policy issues
- Which of the following is not an important factor in the success that presidents have had in getting their policy proposals enacted into law?
 - a force of circumstance, such as war or economic mobility
 - stage of the president's term
 - level of public support for the president's leadership
 - ability to raise campaign funds
- Systems that have been used in the United States for presidential selection include all except which one of the following?
 - congressional caucus
 - national party convention
 - direct election by popular vote
 - combination of national convention and primary elections
 - party primary and open party caucus
- Advantages that newly elected presidents gain from their appointment powers include all except which one of the following?
 - gain a source of information for policymaking
 - use force Congress to confirm the appointment even of nominees Congress judges as unfit to hold executive office
 - can extend the president's authority into the federal bureaucracy
 - can make sure that some people in key positions share the president's political and policy goals
- A candidate running for president has to accept federal campaign financing (T/F)
- Under the War Powers Act, the president must have the formal consent of Congress to send U.S. troops into combat. (T/F)
- National conditions, such as the state of the economy, rarely affect the level of public confidence in the president. (T/F)
- Big government after the Roosevelt era has favored the growth of legislative authority at the expense of executive authority. (T/F)

*To my children,
Alex and Leigh*

