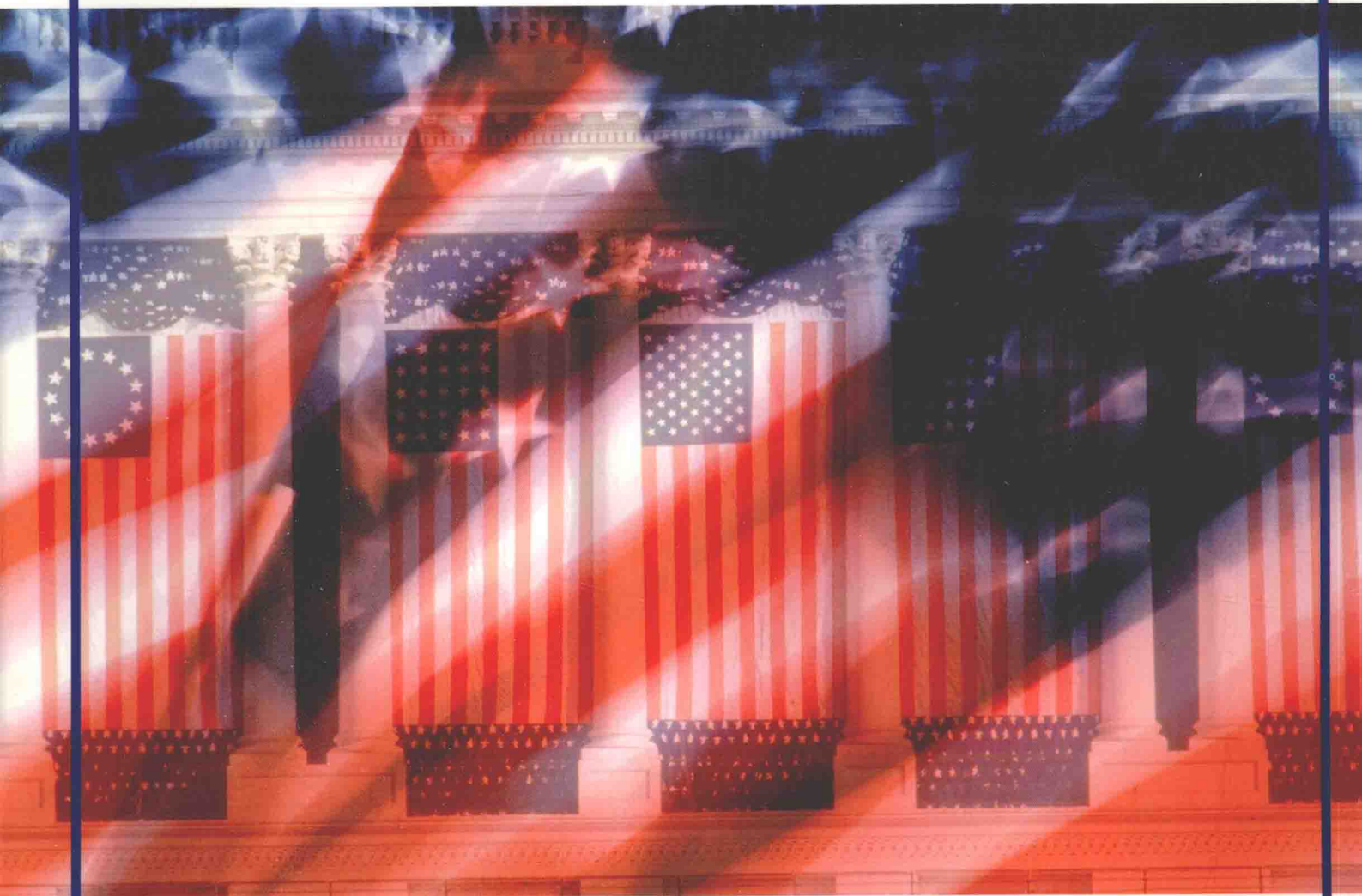


AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE
2004 EDITION



KAREN O'CONNOR
LARRY J. SABATO

Longman

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2.0

TAKE A
STAND.



Within the past year, as federal courts upheld a Florida law making it illegal for homosexuals to adopt children, gay adoption has become a particularly controversial issue. Much of the focus on the controversy comes from the fact that Jeb Bush, the President's brother, is the governor of Florida, and his state government has continued to defend the ban in court. Further focusing attention is the fact that TV personality Rosie O'Donnell began a personal crusade against the law, using her influence with the media to bring attention to the issue. O'Donnell openly acknowledged that she is a lesbian on ABC's Primetime Thursday on March 14, 2002. She is raising adopted children. The controversy has ignited impassioned responses from both sides.

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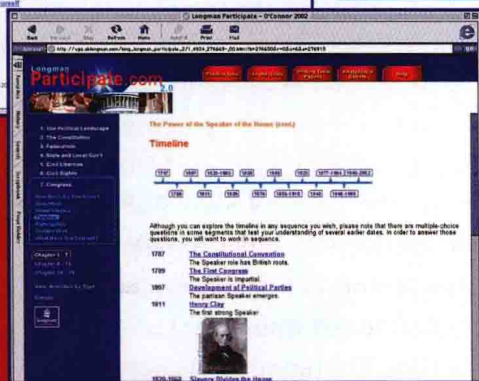
The Student Access Kit that came packaged with this new textbook gives you a **FREE** 6 month subscription to **LongmanParticipate.com Version 2.0!** In addition to this access code, you will need a Course ID# from your instructor in order to register. Please make sure you ask your instructor for the Course ID# before registering at <http://www.coursecompass.com>

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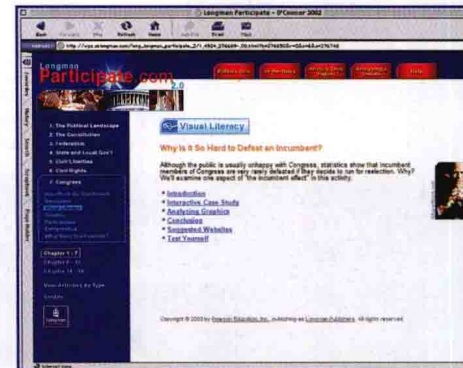
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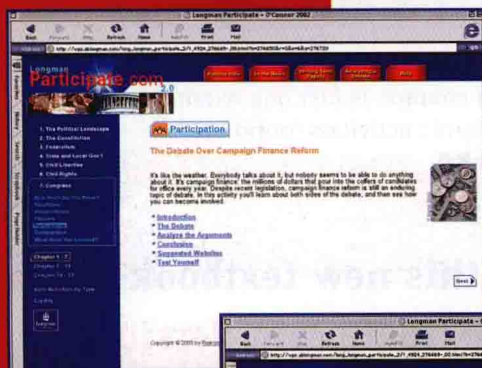
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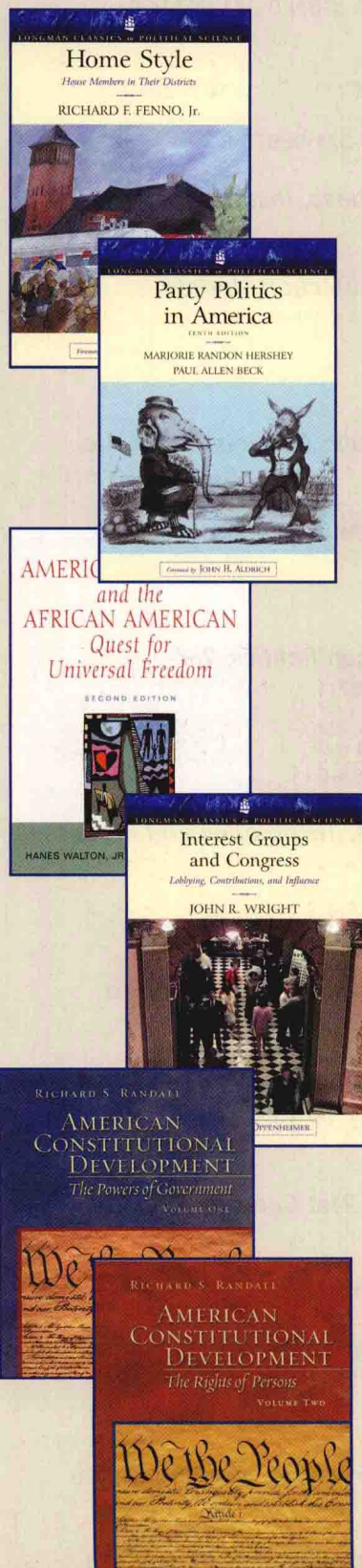
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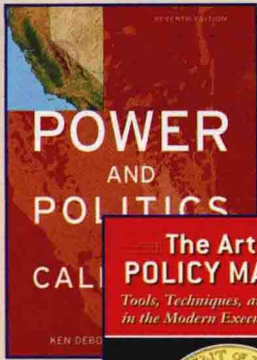
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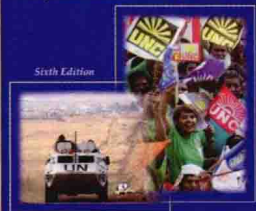




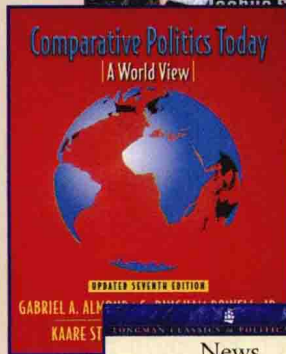
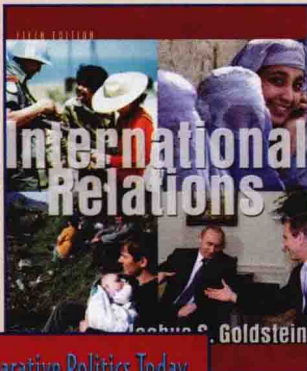
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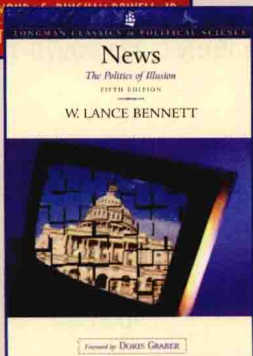
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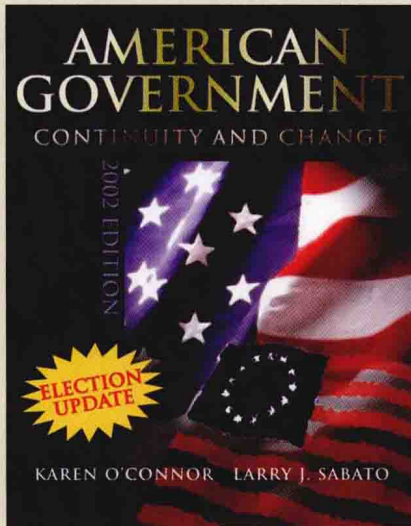
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6. Civil Rights.

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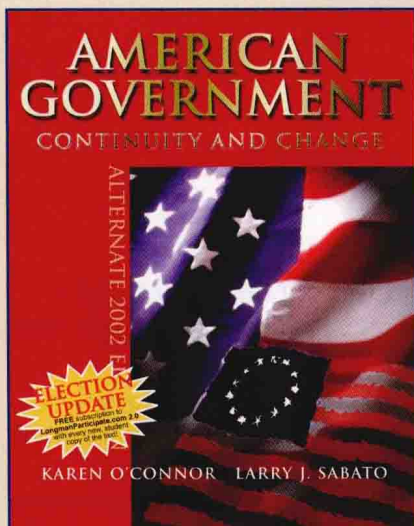
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12. Political Parties.
13. Voting and Elections.
14. The Campaign Process.
15. The News Media.
16. Interest Groups.

IV. PUBLIC POLICY.

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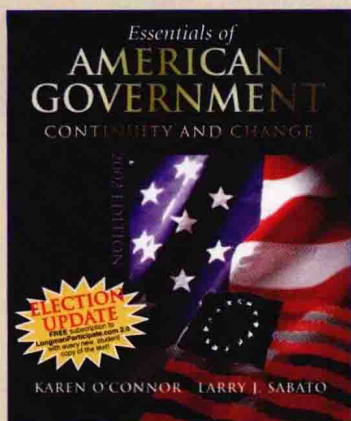
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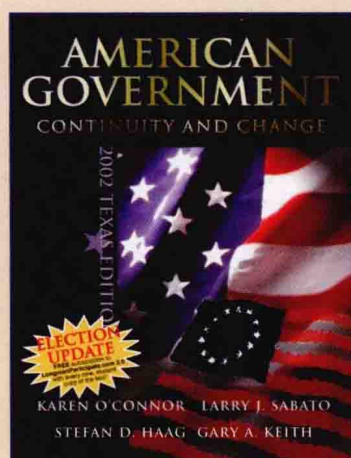
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10. The Judiciary.

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American Government

American Government

Continuity and Change

2004 Edition

KAREN O'CONNOR

*Professor of Government
American University*

LARRY J. SABATO

*University Professor
and Robert Kent Gooch Professor of Politics*



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*To Meghan,
who grew up with this book*

Karen O'Connor

*To my Introduction to American Politics
students over the years, who all know that
“politics is a good thing”*

Larry Sabato

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Corporate scandals accompanying a downturn in the economy and the burst of the technology “bubble”. A sweep in the 2002 midterm elections, where the Republicans bucked historical trends, solidified their hold on the House, and retook control of the Senate.

When we first started writing this text over a decade ago, we could never have envisioned that each passing edition would chronicle such dramatic changes in American government and politics. In just over a decade, we experienced 1992’s “Year of the Woman” that produced record numbers of women elected to national office, and 1994’s “Year of the Angry Male Voter” that produced a Republican revolution in Congress. The editions that followed those years appeared during various phases of the Clinton scandals, including the second impeachment trial of a U.S. President. Then came the 2000 election, when the outcome did not occur until December and then appeared to many to be decided by a single Justice when the Court ruled in George W. Bush’s favor.

It can never be said that American politics is boring. For every edition of this text, something unexpected or extraordinarily unusual has occurred, giving question to the old adage, “Politics as usual.” At least on the national level, there appears to be little that is usual. Politics and policy form a vital, fascinating process that affects all our daily lives, and we hope that this text reflects that phenomenon and provides you with the tools to understand politics as an evolutionary process where history matters.

In less than a decade, our perceptions of politics, the role of the media, and the utility of voting appear to have undergone tremendous change. Since its inception, this text has tried diligently to reflect those changes and to present information about politics in a manner to engage students actively—many of whom have little interest in politics when they come into the classroom. In this edition, we try to build on a solid, tried-and-true base and at the same time to present information about how politics now seems to be changing at an ever more rapid pace. Thus, we present new information that we hope will whet students’ appetites to learn more about politics while providing them with all of the information they need to make informed decisions about their government, politics, and politicians. We very much want our students to make such decisions. We very much want them to *participate*. Our goal with this text is to transmit just this sort of practical, useful information while creating and fostering student interest in American politics despite growing national skepticism about government and government officials at all levels. In fact, we hope that this new edition of our text will explain the national mood about politics and put it in a better context for students to understand their important role in a changing America.

APPROACH

We believe that one cannot fully understand the actions, issues, and policy decisions facing the U.S. government, its constituent states, or “the people” unless these issues are examined from the perspective of how they have evolved over time. Consequently, the title of this book is *American Government: Continuity and Change*. In its pages, we try to examine how the United States is governed today by looking not just at present behavior but also at the Framers’ intentions and how they have been implemented and adapted over the years. For example, we believe that it is critical to an understanding of the role of political parties in the United

States to understand the Framers' fears of factionalism, how parties evolved, and when and why realignments in party identification occurred.

In addition to questions raised by the Framers, we explore issues that the Framers could never have envisioned, and how the basic institutions of government have changed in responding to these new demands. For instance, no one more than two centuries ago could have foreseen election campaigns in an age when nearly all American homes contain television sets, and the Internet and fax machines allow instant access to information. Moreover, increasing citizen demands and expectations have routinely forced government reforms, making an understanding of the dynamics of change essential for introductory students.

Our overriding concern is that students understand their government as it exists today, so that they may become better citizens and make better choices. In spite of current voter apathy, we believe that by providing students with information about government, explaining why it is important, and why their participation counts, students will come to see that politics can be a good thing.

To understand their government at all levels, students must understand how it was designed in the Constitution. Each chapter, therefore, approaches its topics from a combination of perspectives, which we believe will facilitate this approach. In writing this book, we chose to put the institutions of government (Part II) before political behavior (Part III). Both sections, however, were written independently, making them easy to switch for those who prefer to teach about the actors in government and elections before discussing its institutions. To test the book, each of us has taught from it in both orders, with no pedagogical problems.

WHAT'S CHANGED IN THIS EDITION?

In this 2004 Edition of *American Government: Continuity and Change*, we have retained our basic approach to the study of politics as a constantly changing and often unpredictable enterprise. But we also discuss the dizzying array of important events that have taken place since the book last published. We include in-depth coverage of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, their impact on numerous aspects of American government and life in the United States, and the subsequent "war on terrorism." We examine closely the evolving presidency of George W. Bush and the work of the 107th Congress, leading up to the 2002 midterm elections. Finally, we provide detailed analyses of the 2002 midterm elections in which a popular George W. Bush reinvested his political capital, vigorously campaigned for his party, and helped the Republicans shake historical trends by gaining seats in the House and retaking the Senate.

Chapter Changes

Many of these changes and others are reflected in this 2004 Edition. **Chapter 1** includes a new discussion of civil society. **Chapter 2** includes an expanded discussion of the Constitutional Convention debate over the question of slavery. **Chapter 3** includes new coverage of the expansion of federal powers after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, a new discussion of interstate compacts, and a new section on the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments. **Chapter 4** includes a new discussion of the growing strength of the Republican Party in state legislatures and governors' offices in the South, and an analysis of the impact of state and local taxes. **Chapter 5** has new coverage of the impact of September 11 on civil liberties, and new coverage of the Supreme Court's 2001–2002

rulings on school vouchers, Internet child pornography, mandatory drug testing of high school students participating in extracurricular activities, and the execution of the mentally retarded for capital murder. **Chapter 6** includes new coverage of racial profiling, expanded discussion of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, updated coverage on the administration's handling of Indian land trusts, and new coverage of the ERA in 2002. **Chapter 7** includes expanded coverage of women representatives in Congress, expanded discussion of congressional oversight, and new coverage of the 2002 midterm elections' impact on the makeup of Congress. **Chapter 8** provides new coverage of the impact of September 11 and the war on terrorism on the presidency and an updated discussion of the president's use of the executive order to effect policy changes. **Chapter 9** has new coverage of interagency councils, the expansion of the federal bureaucracy after September 11 in the form of an Office and then a Department of Homeland Security. **Chapter 10** includes coverage of the battle over federal court nominations in the current administration and additional coverage of lobbying by interest groups in district court and court of appeals nominations. **Chapter 11** includes reorganized discussion of political socialization and has new coverage of the impact of the September 11 attacks and the war on terrorism on public opinion. **Chapter 12** has been reorganized and features new information on the role of political parties. **Chapter 13** provides expanded coverage of gerrymandering and redistricting, and has reorganized and expanded coverage of voter turnout and voter choice in the 2002 midterm elections. **Chapter 14** offers coverage of recent campaign finance reform. **Chapter 15** includes updated coverage of how the press covers the presidency, and how media influence the public, and a new section on the public's perception of the media. **Chapter 16** includes expanded coverage of the influence of corporate interests and of the role of PACs in the political process. **Chapter 17** includes updated and expanded coverage of social welfare policies today. **Chapter 18** includes new coverage of the corporate scandals, financial collapses, and the stock market decline of 2001–2002, and expanded discussion of the economic policies of the George W. Bush administration. **Chapter 19** includes coverage of the impact of September 11 on U.S. foreign and military policy.

We have also made a major effort to make certain that this edition contains the most up-to-date scholarship by political scientists, not only on how government works, but what they have said on contemporary debates.

In addition to chapter-by-chapter changes, we have developed new features designed to enhance student understanding of the political processes, institutions, and policies of American government.

Join the Debate. To engage students in critical thinking, foster interest in important issues, and help inspire their participation through involvement in decision-making and taking a stand, we developed a *Join the Debate* feature. Included in most chapters, this two-page feature introduces a provocative issue under debate today and explores that issue through a reprinted news article, news commentary, or radio transcript. Topics such as chapter 3's "Should the Federal Government Preempt State Laws?" or chapter 5's "Do 'Three Strikes' Laws Abridge Civil Liberties?" are accompanied by supporting questions and guidance from the authors and are designed to prompt students to examine various arguments, consider larger context, and take a position on issues that matter in American government today.

Analyzing Visuals. A feature designed to encourage visual literacy, *Analyzing Visuals* helps students make sense of quantitative and qualitative information presented visually and enables them to get the most out of graphic representations. Building on the popular *Analyzing the Data* feature in the last edition, this new feature examines a