

The background of the cover is a vibrant photograph of the United States Capitol dome at night. The dome is illuminated with a warm, golden light, and its architectural details are clearly visible. Above the dome, a massive display of fireworks bursts in the dark sky, with streaks of red, orange, and yellow light radiating outwards. The overall mood is celebratory and patriotic.

EIGHTH EDITION

ALTERNATE EDITION

THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

THOMAS E. PATTERSON

Eighth Edition

The American DEMOCRACY

Alternate Edition



Thomas E. Patterson

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



Boston Burr Ridge, IL Dubuque, IA Madison, WI New York San Francisco St. Louis
Bangkok Bogotá Caracas Kuala Lumpur Lisbon London Madrid Mexico City
Milan Montreal New Delhi Santiago Seoul Singapore Sydney Taipei Toronto



Higher Education

THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY: ALTERNATE EDITION

Published by McGraw-Hill, a business unit of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY, 10020. Copyright © 2008, 2005, 2003, 2001, 1999, 1997, 1993, 1990 by The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, or stored in a database or retrieval system, without the prior written consent of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., including, but not limited to, in any network or other electronic storage or transmission, or broadcast for distance learning.

Some ancillaries, including electronic and print components, may not be available to customers outside the United States.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 DOW / DOW 0 9 8 7 6

ISBN: 978-0-07-310352-5

MHID: 0-07-310352-7

Vice President and Editor-in-Chief: *Emily Barrosse*

Publisher: *Lyn Uhl*

Senior Sponsoring Editor: *Monica Eckman*

Developmental Editor: *Angela W. Kao*

Editorial Assistant: *Jessica Badiner*

Marketing Manager: *Pamela S. Cooper*

Managing Editor: *Jean Dal Porto*

Senior Project Manager: *Catherine R. Iammartino*

Art Director: *Jeanne Schreiber*

Art Editor: *Emma C. Ghiselli*

Lead Designer: *Gino Cieslik*

Senior Photo Research Coordinator: *Alexandra Ambrose*

Senior Supplement Producer: *Louis Swaim*

Senior Media Project Manager: *Michelle Borelli*

Media Producer: *Sean Crowley*

Senior Production Supervisor: *Carol Bielski*

Composition: *10/12 Janson, by Techbooks*

Printing: *45# Pub Matte Plus, R. R. Donnelley & Sons*

Credits: The credits section for this book begins on page C1 and is considered an extension of the copyright page.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Patterson, Thomas E.

The American democracy / Thomas E. Patterson.—8th ed., Alternate ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-07-351323-2 (pbk. alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-07-351323-7 (pbk.: alk. paper)

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

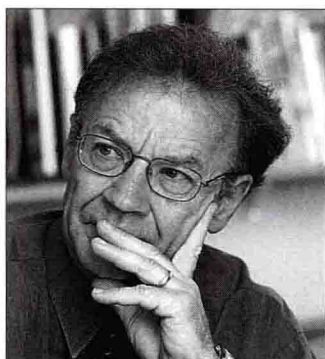
JK276.P37 2007

320.473—dc22

2006047177

The Internet addresses listed in the text were accurate at the time of publication. The inclusion of a Web site does not indicate an endorsement by the authors of McGraw-Hill, and McGraw-Hill does not guarantee the accuracy of the information presented at these sites.

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 attended South Dakota State University as an undergraduate and served in the military in Vietnam before enrolling at the University of Minnesota, where he received his Ph.D. in 1971.

He is the author of numerous book and articles, which focus mainly on elections and the media. 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, The Carnegie Corporation, and the Pew Charitable Trusts.

List of boxes

Leaders

- Chapter 1** Thomas Jefferson
Sandra Day O'Connor
- Chapter 2** James Madison
John Marshall
- Chapter 3** Alexander Hamilton
Frederick Douglass
- Chapter 4** Oliver Wendell
Holmes Jr.
- Chapter 5** Martin Luther King Jr.
Cesar Estrada Chavez
- Chapter 6** George Gallup
- Chapter 7** Susan B. Anthony
Samuel Adams
- Chapter 8** Andrew Jackson
Abraham Lincoln
- Chapter 9** Pat Robertson
- Chapter 10** Jody Williams
- Chapter 11** John McCain
Nancy Pelosi
- Chapter 12** George Washington
- Chapter 13** Herbert Hoover
- Chapter 14** John Marshall
- Chapter 15** Rudolph Giuliani III

How the United States Compares

- Chapter 1** Personal Freedom and
Self-Reliance
- Chapter 2** Checks and Balances
- Chapter 3** Federal vs. Unitary
Governments
- Chapter 4** Law and Order
- Chapter 5** Inequality and Women
- Chapter 6** National Pride
- Chapter 7** Voter Turnout
- Chapter 8** Party Systems
- Chapter 9** Groups: A Nation
of Joiners
- Chapter 10** Partisan Neutrality as
a News Value
- Chapter 11** Legislative Leadership
and Authority

Chapter 12 Systems of Executive Policy Leadership

Chapter 13 Educational Backgrounds of Bureaucrats

Chapter 14 Judicial Power

Chapter 15 State Power in a Federal System

States in the Nation

Chapter 1 A College Education

Chapter 2 Direct Democracy: The Initiative and Referendum

Chapter 3 Federal Grants-in-Aid to the States

Chapter 4 The Death Penalty

Chapter 5 Black and Latino Representation in State Legislatures

Chapter 6 Conservatives and Liberals

Chapter 7 Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections

Chapter 8 Public Funding of State Elections

Chapter 9 Limits on PAC Contributions

Chapter 10 In the News, or Out?

Chapter 11 Women in the State Legislatures

Chapter 12 Electoral Votes in the 2004 Election Divided Power in the Executive

Chapter 13 The Size of State Bureaucracies

Chapter 14 Principal Methods of Selecting State Judges

Chapter 15 Party Loyalties in the States

Debating the Issues

Chapter 1 Should the United States Have a

Temporary Workers Program for Mexican Citizens?

Chapter 2 Is Warrantless Domestic Surveillance Constitutional When Authorized Only by the President?

Chapter 3 Should the Federal Government Have the Authority to Prevent States from Legalizing Marijuana Use for Medical Purposes?

Chapter 4 Should Flag Burning Be Declared Unconstitutional?

Chapter 5 Should Same-Sex Marriage Be Legalized?

Chapter 6 Should Representatives Lead on the Basis of Opinion Polls?

Chapter 7 Should Voting Through the Internet Be Allowed?

Chapter 8 Should There Be Limits on Campaign Contributions?

Chapter 9 Have Interest Groups Hijacked the Initiative Process?

Chapter 10 Should Reporters Be Protected from Having to Reveal Sources of National Secrets?

Chapter 11 Should Partisan Gerrymandering Be Abolished?

Chapter 12 Should the Electoral College Be Abolished?

Chapter 13 The Case of Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction: Did the CIA Play Politics?

Chapter 14 Should All the Florida Ballots Have Been Counted?

Chapter 15 Should Congress Exempt the Internet from Sales Taxes?

Political Culture

- Chapter 1 Religion and American Ideals**
- Chapter 2 Liberty and the Bill of Rights**
- Chapter 3 Large Versus Small Republics**
- Chapter 4 Procedural Due Process and Personal Liberty**
- Chapter 5 Private Discrimination: Liberty or Equality?**
- Chapter 6 Americans' Ideologies**
- Chapter 7 Voting and Self-Government**
- Chapter 8 Parties, Political Equality, and Self-Government**
- Chapter 9 Interest Groups, Liberty, and Equality**
- Chapter 10 Liberty, Self-Government, and a Free Press**
- Chapter 11 Congress and Self-Government**
- Chapter 12 Executive Power and Liberty**

- Chapter 13 Bureaucracy, Liberty, and Self-Government**
- Chapter 14 Judicial Review and Liberty**
- Chapter 15 Liberty, Equality, and Self-Government—but in Different Measure**

Media & Politics

- Chapter 1 Comedy News: The Daily Show**
- Chapter 2 Are Bloggers Today's Pamphleteers?**
- Chapter 3 Local Self-Governance and Media Consolidation**
- Chapter 4 Christian News Broadcasting**
- Chapter 7 The Decline of Broadcast News and of the Television News Audience**
- Chapter 8 Fox: News with a Partisan Twist**
- Chapter 10 Rush Limbaugh, the King of Talk Radio**
- Chapter 11 C-SPAN**

- Chapter 13 National Public Radio and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting**
- Chapter 15 Overlooked, Again**

Get Involved!

- Chapter 1 American Ideals and Civic Participation**
- Chapter 2 Speak Up**
- Chapter 3 Step Up**
- Chapter 4 Stand Up**
- Chapter 5 Speak Out**
- Chapter 6 Inform Yourself**
- Chapter 7 Register and Vote**
- Chapter 8 Take Sides**
- Chapter 9 Join Up**
- Chapter 10 Communicate**
- Chapter 11 Working on the Inside**
- Chapter 12 Every Four Years**
- Chapter 13 Serve**
- Chapter 14 Sit, When Called**
- Chapter 15 Volunteer**

Preface for the Instructor

Recent years have brought changes barely imaginable not so long ago—the war on terrorism, economic globalization, and soaring budget deficits to name a few. In this text, I have sought to capture these and other dynamic features of American politics.



REACHING OUT TO THE STUDENT

This text is dedicated to helping students learn, including nurturing their capacity for critical thinking and civic participation. I have tried to write a text that expands students' horizons as well as one that informs their thinking, a text that they will want to read as opposed to one they are simply required to read. Four features of the text support this effort:

Narrative Style

This is a narrative-based text. Unlike a text that piles fact upon fact and thereby squeezes the life out of its subject, the narrative style aims to bring the subject to life. Politics doesn't have to be dull. Politics has all the elements of drama with the added feature of affecting the lives of real people.

The narrative style is an expository form that allows for the presentation of a lot of material but always as part of a larger point. The details buttress the narrative, highlighting the main ideas. Pedagogical studies have shown that the narrative style is a superior method for teaching a complex science such as political science. It promotes student learning by bringing the key points squarely into view.

Studies also show that students read attentively for a longer period of time when a text is narrative in form. In contrast with a text that compartmentalizes its material, a narrative text draws students into the material, piquing their interest. The strength of a narrative text, however, is not simply that it is more interesting to read. Its deep strength is that it disciplines the writer. Nothing is more discouraging to students than to encounter material of uncertain significance. The narrative form forces the writer to organize the material so that every piece has a purpose. The fact that partisanship affects Supreme Court appointments is important in itself, but it gains significance when explained in the context of the openness of the American legal system, whereby political controversies often become also judicial ones.

Critical Thinking

A pedagogical goal of this text is to help students think critically. Critical thinking is the most important skill that a student can acquire from exposure to the social sciences. Students cannot learn to think critically by engaging in list making or rote memorization. Critical thinking is a cultivated skill that students develop by reflecting on what they have read, by resolving challenges to their

assumptions, and by confronting vexing issues. To this end, I have structured the discussion in ways that encourage students to reflect as they read. In the first chapter, for example, I discuss the inexact meanings, conflicting implications, and unfinished promise of Americans' most cherished ideals, including liberty and equality. The discussion includes the "Chinese Exclusion," a grotesque and not widely known chapter in our history that can lead students to think about what it means to be an American.

Two of the book's boxed features have critical thinking as their purpose. Each chapter has a "How the United States Compares" box and a "States in the Nation" box. The United States is the world's oldest democracy but also one of its most distinctive. America's political processes and policies are different in many respects from those found elsewhere. The American states, too, differ from each other, despite being part of the same union. Students invariably gain a better understanding of their nation or state when they become aware of how it differs from others. When students discover, for example, that the United States has a higher child poverty rate than other Western democracies, they naturally want to know why this is the case.

Citizen Involvement

Of the academic disciplines, political science is most closely connected to a role that Americans share—that of citizen. Citizenship is a right and entails a duty. Young Americans recognize the responsibility of citizenship but do not always know how to act on it. Many of them also do not see what theorists like Aristotle and John Stuart Mill saw: that acts of citizenship enlarge the individual as well as the community.

Each chapter of this text includes two participation suggestions. The first is a "Participate!" entry at the end of each chapter. The second is a more substantial "Get Involved!" box within each chapter. Citizenship is partly a state of mind, and the initial "Get Involved!" boxes seek to foster this outlook. In Chapter 2, for example, the student is urged to participate in the classroom—to "speak up"—as a means of developing communication skills that can enhance civic participation. Subsequent "Get Involved!" boxes suggest a civic or political activity in which the student can engage.

Politics as Discipline and Practice

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 politics. I regularly reminded myself while writing the book that only a tiny percentage of introductory students are interested in an academic political science career. Most students take the course because they are required to do so or because they like politics. I have sought to write a book that will deepen political interest in the second type of student and kindle it in the first type. I had a model for this kind of book in mind: V.O. Key's absorbing *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*, which I had read years earlier as an undergraduate. Professor Key was a consummate scholar with a deep love of politics who gently chided scholars whose interest in political science was confined to the "science" part.

My hope is that the readers of this text will learn, as I did as an undergraduate, to value what political science provides, and to relish what politics offers. The body of this book is shaped by the systematic knowledge that political science has developed. The spirit of this book is defined by the challenging nature of politics—the ongoing struggle of Americans to find agreeable ways to govern themselves. This struggle fills many pages of the text, most pointedly in

the “Debating the Issues” box that appears in each chapter. These boxes present opposing opinions on current issues, including immigration, global warming, warrantless wiretaps, same-sex marriage, tax cuts, and the Iraq conflict.

POLITICAL CULTURE AND OTHER REGULARITIES IN AMERICAN POLITICS

Political science is a complex science in the sense that the objects of study are too intricate and fluid to be reduced to a couple of mathematical formulas. Indeed, politics includes such a wide range of human activity that political scientists have studied it through a variety of analytical tools: legal analysis, historical analysis, cultural analysis, political psychology, political sociology, rational choice, institutional analysis, organizational analysis, and so on.

Nonetheless, the systematic study of American politics has yielded an impressive body of knowledge. Political scientists have identified several tendencies that are a basis for a systematic understanding of the U.S. political system. These tendencies are introduced in the first chapter and developed in subsequent ones. If students can be expected to forget many of the points made in this book, they may at least come away with an understanding of the regularities of American politics:

- 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 that 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—sometimes to society’s benefit and sometimes to its detriment—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 political majorities.

All these regularities figure prominently in this book, but the first one I listed has a special niche. As Tocqueville, Bryce, Hartz, Rossiter, and other observers have stressed, Americans’ deep-rooted political beliefs are the basis of their unity. Americans are a diverse people with origins in many lands. Their nation was founded on a set of principles—including liberty, self-government, equality, and individualism—that became the people’s unifying bond. When an American confronts an everyday situation and responds by saying “It’s my right,” he or she is responding in a way that is distinctly if not uniquely American. And when all such patterned behaviors are taken into account, they constitute a unique political perspective—an *American* political perspective.

Although this text’s primary focus is U.S. political institutions and processes, they operate within the context of the nation’s political culture. How might one explain, for example, the fact that the United States is the only affluent democracy without government-provided medical care for all? Or why Americans, though deeply divided over the conflict in Iraq, universally believe the Iraqi people would be better off if they lived in a democracy? Or why issues such as

stem-cell research and biological evolution are larger controversies in the United States than in other Western democracies? Or, as a final example, why lobbying groups have more political clout in the United States than anywhere else?

No analysis of American institutions or processes can fully answer these questions. Americans' deep-rooted beliefs about politics must also be taken into account. Government-provided health care for all, as an example, is at odds with American individualism, which emphasizes self-reliance—a reason why Presidents Roosevelt and Johnson backed away from proposing such a program and why Presidents Truman and Clinton failed miserably when they did so. Americans govern themselves differently than do other people because they have different beliefs about the purposes of government. Indeed, each of the other regularities on the list above is a prominent feature of U.S. politics *because* they stem from cultural beliefs. The prominence in U.S. politics of the marketplace, of interest groups, of individual rights, and of checks and balances owes in significant part to Americans' deep-seated ideas about the proper way to govern.

This fact is one of the major lessons students can derive from a course on U.S. government because it is the link between today's politics and those of the past and the future. What is it—if not a desire for a fuller measure of liberty, equality, self-government, and self-realization—that connects today's citizens with other generations of Americans? This recognition can also lead students to seek a more active part in civic life. America's principles—and the political, economic, and social relationships they idealize—must be constantly renewed and enlarged through principled leadership and citizen action.

The significance of political culture in this text is apparent in the "Political Culture" box of each chapter. These boxes challenge students to think about the encompassing nature of America's political culture. The box in the opening chapter, for example, examines the connection between Americans' political ideals and their religious practices.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

The chapters have been thoroughly updated to include recent scholarship and the latest developments at home and abroad. The largest changes were occasioned by the 2006 midterm election and the Iraq conflict, which have altered American politics far more than anyone would have predicted two years ago, when the previous edition was published. The role of the Internet in American politics continues to feature ever more prominently in the text's instructional content. Each chapter includes one or more World Wide Web icons (identified by a computer mouse alongside which "WWW" appears). Each icon indicates the presence on the text's website of material (self-tests, simulations, and graphics) that is relevant to the topic being discussed.

The chapters also include Historical Background icons that signal content on key historical moments. "Learning from history" contributes to students' understanding of contemporary politics and to their development as citizens. The Cold War was ending as today's undergraduates were being born but its impact on American politics did not expire with the death of the Soviet Union. Students also learn when asked to think more deeply about things they believe they already know. Every student is familiar with the war on terrorism, but not all of them have thought about its impact on civil liberties, foreign relations, or the constitutional balance between Congress and the presidency.

This edition includes several new box features. The "Get Involved!" and "Political Culture" boxes mentioned earlier are new. So, too, are the "Media and Politics" boxes. The extraordinary changes in how we get our news are

addressed in these boxes. Jon Stewart's "The Daily Show" is examined in one of these boxes; Christian broadcasting is discussed in another. A box feature entitled "Leaders" is also new. Each chapter has one or more of these boxes, which highlight the contributions of exemplary Americans. The text's other box features—"How the United States Compares" and "States in the Nation"—are holdovers from the previous edition.

Another holdover is the "Study Corner" that appears at the end of each chapter. We introduced this feature in the last edition, and the response has been uniformly favorable. Each Study Corner is a two-page study guide that includes the chapter's key terms, a self-test, a critical-thinking exercise, and book and web references, as well as a political participation suggestion.

Finally, in response to suggestions from instructors that have found many of today's students to be less than voracious readers, I have shortened this edition of the text, not by cutting content but by tightening the discussion. I did a line-by-line edit of the entire book, looking to take out words, phrases, examples, or sentences that could be excised without loss of meaning. I also rewrote and tightened whole sections of several chapters. In doing this, I came to understand the truth in Thomas Jefferson's apology to John Adams for writing him a lengthy letter. Wrote Jefferson: "I didn't have time to write a short letter, so I wrote a long one instead." Streamlining takes more time, but the result is a clearer, more vigorous rendition. This edition of the text has roughly fifty fewer pages than the previous one.

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/pattersonstad8.

This website contains separate instructor and student areas. The instructor area contains the instructor's manual, test bank, and PowerPoints, 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.

PoliCentral Introducing PoliCentral! McGraw-Hill is excited to bring you PoliCentral, a new dynamic, interactive site filled with simulations, debate tools, participation activities, and video, audio, and speech activities.

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 multimedia 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

Available online, the instructor's manual includes the following for each chapter: 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 fifty multiple-choice questions, and five suggested essay topics per chapter, with answers given alongside the questions. This tool also offers multimedia components, such as PowerPoint presentations, photographs, maps, and charts.

McGraw-Hill American Government Lecture Launchers

Lecture Launchers provide approximately two to three minutes of chapters-specific video to help instructors "launch" their lecture. Round-table discussions, famous speeches, and everyday stories are followed by two "Pause and Think" questions per clip aimed at the heart of new debate. These invite students to consider who sets policy and how they can get involved. In addition to reinforcing the basics, these short video clips focus on civic involvement and consider the Framers of the Constitution. Available in VHS and DVD, with selected clips also available on PoliCentral.com.

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 template and click on one of sixteen designs. The process leaves instructors with a professionally designed website.

PRIMIS Online

Instructors can use this text as a whole, or they can select specific chapters and customize the 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

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 ten true-false, fifteen multiple-choice, and five essay topics. The answers are provided at the end of each chapter.

2006 Midterm Election Update

by Richard Semiatin of American University

This supplement details the 2006 election. Richard Semiatin analyzes the context of the election and the role of the Bush administration. This supplement also contains information on major election issues, on the media campaign, on money and fund-raising, on voter participation, and finally on the results and implications of the election.

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. Professors William Plants and Michael Treleavan, for example, caught errors in the previous edition that are corrected in this one. Alexandre Cournol, a Florida International University undergraduate, was among the students who sent thoughtful notes. 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

Preface for the Student: A Guided Tour

This book describes the American political system, one of the most interesting and intricate systems in the world. The discussion is comprehensive; a lot of information is packed into the text. No student could possibly remember every tiny fact or observation that each chapter contains, but the main points of discussion are easily grasped if you make the effort.

The text has several features that will help you identify and understand the major points of discussion. For example, each chapter has an opening story that illustrates a central theme of the chapter, followed by a brief summary of the chapter's main ideas.

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

Thomas E. Petterson

Opening Illustration

A narration of a compelling event introduces the chapter's main ideas.

CHAPTER 1

One hears people say that it is inherent in the habits and nature of democracies to change feelings and thoughts at every moment. . . . But I have never seen anything like that happening in the great democracy on the other side of the ocean. What struck me most in the United States was the difficulty experienced in getting an idea, once conceived, out of the head of the majority.


Alexis de Tocqueville¹

At 8:47 A.M. on September 11, 2001, a hijacked American Airlines passenger jet slammed into one of the twin towers of New York City's World Trade Center. Twenty minutes later, a second hijacked jet hit the other tower. A third hijacked jet then plowed into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. Within two hours, the World Trade Center collapsed, killing all still inside, including police and firefighters who bravely went into the buildings to help in the evacuation. Three thousand people were murdered that September morning, the highest death toll in American history. The toll would have been higher if not for the bravery of passengers aboard United Airlines Flight 93, who fought with its hijackers, causing the plane—which was en route to Washington, D.C.—to crash in a barren Pennsylvania field.

That evening, a somber George W. Bush addressed the nation. He urged Americans to stay calm and resolute, President Bush said: "America is under attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world." Sprinkled throughout his speech were time-honored American ideals: liberty, the will of the people, justice under law. "No one will keep that light from shining," said Bush.

The ideals that guided Bush's speech would have been familiar to Americans. These ideals have been invoked when America has gone to war, declared peace, celebrated national holidays, launched new initiatives, and asserted new rights.² The ideals contained in the Constitution were the same ones that had punctuated the speeches of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Susan B. Anthony and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Martin Luther King Jr., and Ronald Reagan.

The ideals were also there at the nation's beginning, when they were first written in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The practical meaning of these words has changed greatly during the two centuries the United States has been a sovereign nation. When the Constitution began the document with the words "We the People," it did not have all Americans equally in mind. Black slaves, women, and Native Americans did not have the same rights as propertied white men.



68 PART ONE Foundations

A supporter of Oregon's Death with Dignity law holds a sign outside the federal courthouse in Portland, Oregon, where a hearing on the U.S. Justice Department's challenge to the law is being held. This type of struggle between the power of the federal government and the power of a state government has been repeated countless times in American history, a reflection of the U.S. federal system that vests sovereignty in both the national and state governments. In this particular case, the state, Oregon, prevailed. The U.S. Supreme Court in 2006 ruled that Attorney General John Ashcroft had exceeded his authority in trying to invalidate the Oregon law.

in which constitutional authority is divided between a national government and state governments, each government is assumed to derive its powers directly from the people and therefore to have sovereignty (final authority) over the policy responsibilities assigned to it. The federal system consists of nation and states, indivisible yet separate.³

This chapter on American constitutionalism focuses on federalism. The nature of the relationship between the nation and the states was the most pressing issue when the Constitution was written in 1787. This chapter describes how that issue helped shape the Constitution. The chapter's closing sections discuss how federalism has changed throughout the nation's history and conclude with a brief overview of contemporary federalism. The main points presented in the chapter are these:

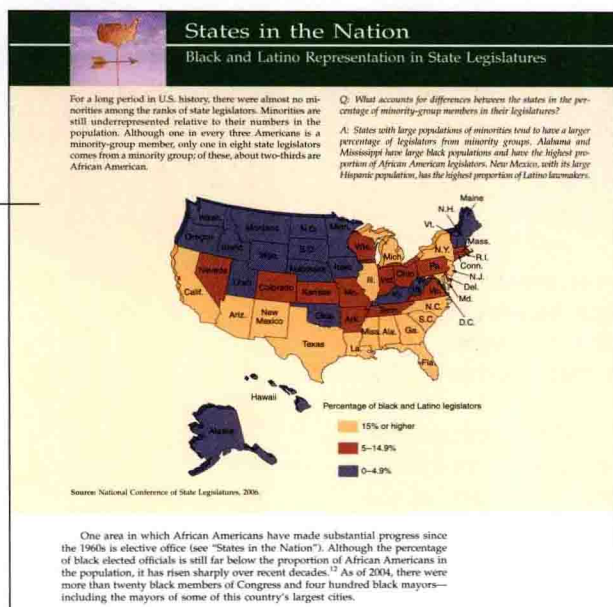
- The power of government must be equal to its responsibilities. The Constitution was needed because the nation's preceding system (under the Articles of Confederation) was too weak to accomplish its expected goals, particularly those of a strong defense and an integrated economy.
- Federalism—the Constitution's division of governing authority between two levels, nation and states—was the result of political bargaining. Federalism was not a theoretical principle, but a compromise made necessary in 1787 by the prior existence of the states.
- Federalism is not a fixed principle for allocating power between the national and state governments, but a principle that has changed over time in response to new political needs. Federalism has passed through several distinct stages in the course of the nation's history.
- Contemporary federalism tilts toward national authority, reflecting the increased interdependence of American society. However, there is a current trend toward reducing the scope of federal authority.

Main Points

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

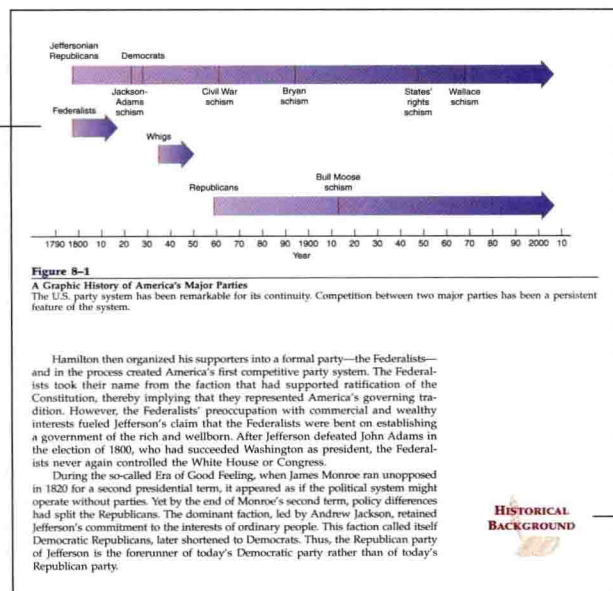
FEDERALISM: NATIONAL AND STATE SOVEREIGNTY

At the time of the writing of the Constitution, some of America's top leaders were dead set against the creation of a strong national government. When rumors circulated that the delegates to the constitutional convention were planning to propose such a government, Patrick Henry, an ardent believer in state-centered government, said that he "smelt a rat." After the convention had adjourned, he realized that his fears were justified. "Who authorized



“States in the Nation” Boxes

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

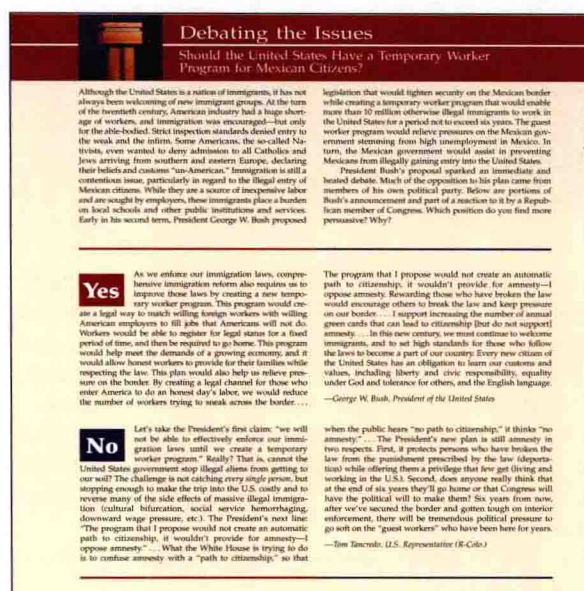


Figures and Tables

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

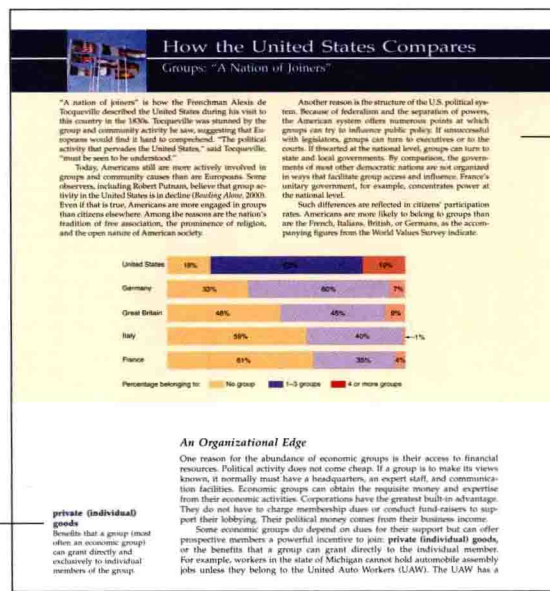
Reference Icons

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



“Debating the Issues” Boxes

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



“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.

Get Involved!

Register and Vote

Some observers take comfort in low turnout elections. They claim that the country is better off if less interested and less knowledgeable citizens stay home on election day. In a 1997 cover story in *Atlantic Monthly*, Robert Kaplan wrote: "The last thing America needs is more voters—particularly badly educated and alienated ones—with a passion for politics." The gist of this age-old argument is that low turnout protects society from erratic or even dangerous shifts in power. However, America's voters have not acted whimsically. Except for an interlude in the 1780s, when the Articles of Confederation governed the United States, erratic voting has not been a persistent source of political instability.

On the other hand, a low participation rate can be a problem. In general, the smaller the electorate, the less representative it is of the public as a whole. Polls indicate that the outcomes of elections would in some instances have changed if turnout had been substantially higher. And even if greater voter turnout would not have altered the outcomes, campaign platforms have always been tailored to those who vote. As the political scientists Steve Rosenstone and Mark Hanson note in *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America* (1993): "The big question, then, is not *who* votes, but *what* the agenda, frame the issues, or affect the choices leaders make."

Voting can strengthen democracy in other ways. When people vote, they are more attentive to politics and are better informed about issues affecting them. As the philosopher John Stuart Mill theorized a century ago, voting also deepens community involvement. Studies indicate that voters participate more frequently in community affairs and are more likely to work with others on community projects. Of course, these associations say more about the type of person who votes than about the effect of voting. But recent evidence, as Harvard University's Robert Putnam notes in *Building Alone* (2000), "suggests that voting itself encourages volunteering and other forms of good citizenship."

Voting among young adults in particular has declined. When eighteen to twenty-one-year-old citizens gained eligibility to vote in the 1972 election, nearly 50 percent of them voted. In 2004, less than 25 percent did so. The heavily contested 2004 election, waged against the backdrop of a soft economy and turmoil in Iraq, produced increased turnout among young adults, although the level was substantially below that of 1972. Unless increased turnout among young voters can be sustained, the overall voting rate will continue to stagnate, because the oldest generation, those who grew up during the Depression and World War II, participate at very high rates.

Changes in registration laws have made it easier for students to vote if they choose to do so. Voting is not a time-consuming task, and the benefits to the individual and society are considerable. Have you registered yet?

Why Some Americans Vote and Others Do Not

Even though turnout is lower in the United States than in other major Western democracies, some Americans vote regularly while others seldom or never vote. Among the explanations for these individual differences are civic attitudes, age, and education and income.

Civic Attitudes

Americans differ greatly in their feelings about politics. Some have almost no interest in politics. *Apathy* is the term used to describe a general lack of concern with politics. Just as some people would not attend the Super Bowl if it were free and being played across the street, some Americans would not bother to vote even if a ballot were delivered to their door. Other Americans, however, have a strong sense of civic duty—the belief that they are obliged to participate in public affairs.

apathy
A feeling of personal disinterest in or unconcern with politics.

civic duty
The belief of an individual that civic and political participation is a responsibility of citizenship.

“Get Involved!” Boxes

Each chapter has a box that provides suggestions for getting involved in civic and political activity.

Political Culture

Religion and American Ideals

The United States is a nation established in 1776 on a set of principles—liberty, equality, and self-government. These ideals derived in part from broad lessons of history, the direct experiences of the colonists, and traditions such as those of Locke and Rousseau. Religion beliefs also played a major part.

Many of the early colonists came to America in order to practice their religious faith. Church and state in Europe were joined. Government there sided with a particular religion—Roman Catholicism in France and Spain, Anglicanism in England. Rhode Island's founder, the Reverend Roger Williams, was a Calvinist who left his native England for reasons of religious freedom. Williams was the first to assert that church and state in America ought to be separate. Williams argued that salvation required an acceptance of God, which is meaningless unless it is an act of free will—and this is impossible if religion is imposed on the individual by the state. To Williams and others, religious liberty and political liberty were inseparable. The prevalence of this view is apparent in the First Amendment to the Constitution, which at once provides for freedom of political expression and for religious freedom.

Forty years later, the English philosopher John Locke used his idea of a social contract to argue against absolutism. In his *Second Treatise on Civil Government* (1689), Locke claimed that all individuals have certain natural (or inalienable) rights, including those of life, liberty, and property. Such rights, Locke wrote, belonged to people in their natural state before government was created. When people come together in order to have the protection that only organized government can provide, they retain these rights. People enter into the social contract—they agree to be governed—in order to safeguard their rights. Accordingly, government is obliged to provide this protection. If it fails to do so, Locke argued, the people can rightfully rebel against it and create a new government.

Three-quarters of a century later, the French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau extended the idea of a social contract to include popular rule. Like Locke, Rousseau despised absolute government. "Man was born free, but everywhere he is in chains" are the opening words of Rousseau's *Social Contract* (1762). Rousseau claimed that people in their natural state are innocent and happy. Accordingly, the only legitimate government is one that governs in their interest and with their consent. The people, in Rousseau's view, were sovereign. Government was not the sovereign authority; government was merely the instrument for carrying out the people's laws. Rousseau worried, however, that the people would act selfishly and proposed a limit on popular sovereignty. It would be legitimate only if people acted in the common interest—what Rousseau called "the general will."

“Political Culture” Boxes

Each chapter has a box that examines the connection between the American political culture and a chapter topic.

LEADERS

SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR

In 1981, Sandra Day O'Connor became the first woman to be appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court, where she served for a quarter century before retiring in 2006. Toward the end of her tenure, she was widely regarded as the Court's most influential member. A pragmatic jurist, she was the swing vote on an ideologically divided Court. She cast the deciding vote in many 5-4 decisions, usually but not consistently siding with its more conservative members. A graduate of Stanford Law School, O'Connor faced discrimination because of her gender. One firm offered her a job as a legal secretary but not as an attorney. She eventually started her own practice and later served as assistant attorney general in Arizona. She ran successfully for a seat in the Arizona legislature and subsequently was appointed to the Arizona Court of Appeals before being nominated by President Ronald Reagan for a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court. As a member of the Court, O'Connor cast the deciding vote in leading cases involving key issues such as affirmative action, federalism, and abortion. O'Connor's policy influence reflects Tocqueville's observation that sooner or later most political issues in America become also judicial issues. O'Connor's career is testament to the importance in America of constitutionalism—the idea that the power of government over individuals is subject to judicial oversight.

“Leaders” Boxes

Each chapter has one or more boxes highlighting the contributions of exemplary Americans.

Media & Politics

Comedy News: The Daily Show

Long before baseball or football enjoyed its reputation as America's national pastime, political humor occupied that spot. The United States was founded on a rejection of political authority—that of the British monarch—and poking fun at the nation's leaders is nearly an American birthright. Every generation could relate to these words of humorist Will Rogers: "I don't make jokes. I just watch the government and report the facts." Writer Mark Twain echoed this sentiment: "Ridicule, suppose you were an idiot, and suppose you were a member of Congress. But I repeat myself."

The acknowledged king of political comedy today is Jon Stewart. His program, *The Daily Show*, attracts roughly 1.5 million viewers, ranking it near the top of the ratings for a cable news program. Like Rush Limbaugh's radio talk show (see Chapter 10), which soared in the ratings during the 1990s when the conservative Limbaugh leveled off the actions of Democrat President Bill Clinton, the liberal Stewart's television show has risen in popularity based on his critiques at Republican President George W. Bush. In one telling moment, Stewart looked blankly at the television screen for seemingly endless seconds before blurted out "Please say please say you're kidding me." This followed a videotape of National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice admitting to Congress that she had read a classified briefing titled "Bin Laden Determined to Attack Inside the United States" a month before September 11, 2001, several attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Rice had earlier claimed that no one in the Bush administration could possibly have foreseen the attacks.

Like most hosts of shows with a partisan twist, Stewart takes occasional potshots at his preferred party. Following a report about prisoner abuse by U.S. military personnel, Stewart commented: "The prisoner scandal is yet another election year problem for President Bush. And, with the economy still struggling, combat operations in Iraq dragging on, and the 9-11 hearings revealing damning information, even an opponent of limited political skill should be able to capitalize on these problems. The Democrats, however, chose to nominate John Kerry."

The Daily Show's format is a mixture of comedy and the day's news events. More than half of the program's audience is under 40 years, which is the opposite of the age distribution of the audience for broadcast network news casts. But if *The Daily Show* is helpful in getting today's young adults to pay attention to news, it might not be helpful in getting them involved in politics. A recent study by Jody Baumgartner and Jonathan Morris, political scientists at East Carolina University, found that youthful viewers of *The Daily Show*, as compared with youthful viewers of broadcast network news, had more negative views of candidates and of the electoral process.

Political humor dates to the Greeks, but few societies have embraced it as fully as have Americans. Part of the reason is rooted in the American political culture. Liberty, equality, and self-government are assertions of individualism as pined against traditional deference to the high, the mighty, the rich, and the well-born. As Mark Twain noted of arrogant leaders: "Against the assault of laughter nothing can stand."

Theories of Power

Who has power in America? Who, in the end, decides the policies that the U.S. government pursues? Do the people themselves hold this power, or does it reside in the hands of a relatively small group of influential people, either within or outside of government?

This issue is compelling because the ultimate question of any political system is the question of who governs. Is power widely shared and used for the benefit of the many, or is it narrowly held and used to the advantage of the few? The issue is compelling for a second reason: power is easy to define but hard to locate. Consider, for example, the votes that a member of Congress casts. Are these votes an expression of the member's power, or are they an expression of the power of groups on whom the member depends for reelection?

The pattern of political power in America has been shown to differ substantially across individuals, institutions, and policy areas. As a result, there is no single theory of how power in America is held and exercised. Instead, four broad theories predominate (see Table 1-3). None of these theories describes every aspect of American politics, but each applies in some situations.

“Media and Politics” Boxes

Some chapters have a box that examines politics as presented through the media, particularly the newer media.

"Self-Test" Icons

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

Summary

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

Summary

A political interest group is composed of a set of individuals organized to promote a shared political concern. Most interest groups owe their existence to factors other than politics. These groups form for economic reasons, such as the pursuit of profit, and maintain themselves by making profits (in the case of corporations) or by providing their members with private goods, such as jobs and wages. Economic groups include corporations, trade associations, labor unions, farm organizations, and professional associations. Collectively, economic groups are by far the largest set of organized interests. The group system tends to favor interests that are already economically and socially advantaged.

Citizens' groups do not have the same organizational advantages as economic groups. They depend on voluntary contributions from potential members, who may lack interest and resources or who recognize that they will get the collective good from a group's activity even if they do not participate (the free-rider problem). Citizens' groups include public-interest, single-issue, and ideological groups. Their numbers have increased dramatically since the 1960s despite their organizational problems.

Organized interests seek influence largely by lobbying public officials and contributing to election campaigns. Using an inside strategy, lobbyists develop direct contacts with legislators, government bureaucrats, and members of the judiciary in order to persuade them to accept the group's perspective on policy. Groups also use an outside strategy, seeking to mobilize public support for their goals. This strategy relies in part on grassroots lobbying—encouraging group members and the public to communicate their policy views to officials. Outside lobbying also includes efforts to elect officeholders who will support group aims. Through political action committees (PACs), organized groups now provide nearly a third of all contributions received by congressional candidates.

The policies that emerge from the group system bring benefits to many of society's interests, and in some instances these benefits also serve the collective interest. But when groups can essentially dictate policies, the common good is not served. The majority's interest is subordinated to group (minority) interests. In most instances, the minority consists of individuals who already enjoy a substantial share of society's benefits.

STUDY CORNER

Key Terms

air wars (p. 236)	party-centered politics (p. 213)	prospective voting (p. 220)
candidate-centered politics (p. 213)	party coalition (p. 223)	retrospective voting (p. 220)
grassroots party (p. 215)	party competition (p. 214)	service relationship (p. 231)
hard money (p. 231)	party organizations (p. 227)	single-member districts (p. 221)
hired guns (p. 233)	party realignment (p. 217)	soft money (p. 231)
money chase (p. 233)	political party (p. 213)	split ticket (p. 219)
multiparty system (p. 221)	primary election	two-party system (p. 220)
nomination (p. 227)	(direct primary) (p. 227)	
packaging (of a candidate) (p. 235)	proportional representation (p. 221)	

Self-Test

- The formation of political parties:
 - acts as a support for an elitist government.
 - makes it difficult for the public to participate in politics.
 - can mobilize citizens to collective action to compete for power with those who have wealth and prestige.
 - can function as an alternative to free and open media.
- A major change in party activity in the South since the 1960s is:
 - the emergence of a viable third party.
 - a sharp decline in voter turnout.
 - a decline in the level of two-party competition in state and local elections.
 - a switch to support of Republican candidates in presidential elections.
- The chief electoral factor supporting a two-party system in the United States is:
 - proportional representation.
 - multimember election districts.
 - single-member districts with proportional voting.
 - single-member districts with plurality voting.
- The high cost of campaigns in the United States is largely related to:
 - televized ads.
 - developing a colorful website.
 - organizing door-to-door canvassing efforts.
 - the legal and accounting expenses related to filing information about campaign donors and expenditures with the Federal Elections Commission.
- In recent decades state political party organizations in the United States have:
 - become weaker and less effective.
 - taken over control and direction of the national parties.
 - been hurt by services provided by the national party organizations.
 - become more professional in staffing and support of statewide races.
- European and American political parties differ in which of the following ways?
 - the degree to which they are party-centered as opposed to candidate-centered.
 - the nature of their party organizations: the extent to which they are organized at the local and national levels and the amount of power that exists at each of these levels.
 - the type of electoral system in which they elect their candidates to office.
 - all of the above.
- The coalitions of voters that make up the Republican and Democratic parties are virtually identical. (T/F)
- Primary elections helped strengthen party organizations in the United States. (T/F)
- U.S. political parties are organized from the bottom up, not the top down. (T/F)
- Modern-day parties in the United States are described in the text as having more of a service than a power relationship with candidates. (T/F)

Critical Thinking

Why are elections conducted so differently in the United States than in European democracies? Why are the campaigns so much longer, more expensive, and more candidate-centered?

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.