

POWER AND
CITIZENSHIP IN
AMERICAN
POLITICS

Christine Barbour Gerald C. Wright

Keeping the Republic

POWER AND CITIZENSHIP IN AMERICAN POLITICS

SECOND BRIEF EDITION

Christine Barbour, Indiana University

Gerald C. Wright, Indiana University



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We dedicate this book with love to our moms, Patti Barbour and Doris Wright,
To the memory of our dads, John Barbour and Gerry Wright,
To our kids, Andrea and Darrin, Monica and Michael,
To our grandkids, Amelia, Elena, Paloma, and Asher,
And to each other.

About the Authors



Christine Barbour teaches in the political science department and the Honors College at Indiana University, where she has become increasingly interested in how teachers of large classes can maximize what their students learn. At Indiana, Professor Barbour has been a Lilly Fellow, working on a project to increase student retention in large introductory courses, and a member of the Freshmen Learning Project, a university-wide effort to improve the undergraduate experience. She has served on the New York Times College Advisory Board, developing ways to integrate newspaper reading into the undergraduate curriculum. She has won several teaching honors, with two awarded by her students meaning the most to her: the Indiana University Student Alumni Association Award for Outstanding Faculty (1995–1996) and the Indiana University Chapter of the Society of Professional Journalists Brown Derby Award (1997). When not teaching or writing textbooks, Professor Barbour enjoys playing with her five dogs, traveling with her coauthor, and writing about food. She writes a food column for the Herald Times of Bloomington and is coauthor of Indiana Cooks! (2005). She is currently working on a book about local politics, development, and the fishing industry in Apalachicola, Florida.

Gerald C. Wright teaches political science at Indiana University. An accomplished scholar of American politics, his books include *Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States* (1993), coauthored with Robert S. Erikson and John P. McIver, and he has published more than forty articles on elections, public opinion, and state politics. Professor Wright has long studied the relationship among citizens, their preferences, and public policy. He is currently conducting research with a grant from the National Science Foundation on what influences the character of policy representation in the states and in Congress. He is also writing a book about representation in U.S. legislatures. He has been a consultant for Project Vote Smart in the last several elections. In his nonworking hours, Professor Wright also likes to spend time with his dogs, travel, eat good food, and play golf whenever he can.

Preface



his second brief edition of *Keeping the Republic* is designed for those who want a concise, streamlined, inexpensive, and engaging version of its longer, more comprehensive parent. While we have condensed the longer text's account of the American political system, we have taken great pains to preserve the qualities of accessibility and enthusiasm already identified with that book. Our goal was to meet the needs of those looking for a shorter text to use with various supplemental readings, as well as those who want broad coverage in a pricesensitive package.

We have also stayed true to our original goal in writing the text: to share the excitement of discovering humankind's capacity to find innovative solutions to those problems that arise from our efforts to live together on a planet too small, with resources too scarce, and with saintliness in too short a supply. In this book we honor the human capacity to manage our collective lives with peace and even, at times, dignity. And in particular, we celebrate the American political system and the founders' extraordinary contribution to the possibilities of human governance.

This book covers essential topics with clear explanations, but it is also a thematic book, intended to guide students through a wealth of material and to help them make sense of the content both academically and personally. To that end we develop two themes that run through every chapter: an analytic theme to assist students in organizing the details and connect them to the larger ideas and concepts of American politics and an evaluative theme to help them find personal meaning in the American political system and develop standards for making judgments about how well the system works. Taken together, these themes provide students with a framework on which to hang the myriad complexities of American politics.

The analytic theme we chose is a classic in political science: politics is a struggle over limited power and resources, as gripping as a sporting event in its final minutes, but much more vital. The rules guiding that struggle influence who will win and

who will lose, so that often the struggles with the most at stake are over the rule-making itself. In short, and in the words of a very famous political scientist, *politics is about who gets what and how they get it.* This theme runs throughout the narrative of the book, and to reinforce it, we begin and end every chapter with a feature called *What's at Stake?* that poses a question about what people want from politics—what they are struggling to get and how the rules affect who gets it.

For the evaluative theme, we focus on the "who" in the formulation of "who gets what and how." Who are the country's citizens? What are the ways they engage in political life? In order to "keep" a republic, citizens must shoulder responsibilities as well as exercise their rights. We challenge students to view democratic participation among the diverse population as the price of maintaining liberty.

Our citizenship theme has three dimensions. First, in our *Profiles in Citizenship* feature, included in approximately half the chapters, we introduce students to important figures in American politics and ask the subjects why they are involved in public service or some aspect of political life. Based on personal interviews with these people, the profiles model republic-keeping behavior for students, helping them to see what is expected of them as members of a democratic polity. We unabashedly feel that a primary goal of teaching introductory politics is not only to create good scholars but also to create good citizens. Second, at the end of every chapter, the feature Citizenship and . . . provides a critical view of what citizens can or cannot do in American politics, evaluating how democratic various aspects of the American system actually are and what possibilities exist for change. Third, we premise this book on the belief that the skills that make good students and good academics are the same skills that make good citizens: the ability to think critically about and process new information and the ability to be actively engaged in one's subject. Accordingly, in our Consider the Source feature, we help students examine critically the various kinds of political information they are bombarded with—from information in textbooks like this one, to information from the media or the Internet, to information from their congressperson or political party.

We have long believed that teaching is a two-way street, and we welcome comments, criticisms, or just a pleasant chat about politics or pedagogy. You can email us directly at barbour@indiana.edu and wright1@indiana.edu; write to us at the Department of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405; or contribute to our teaching forum at republic.cqpress.com/blogs/professors_blog/.

What's New in the Second Brief Edition

The political world changes daily, and we make every effort to capture the dramatic events that have occurred in the world. As we write this preface, the country struggles to resolve the status of more than eleven million illegal immigrants, to reassess the federal government's ability to handle disasters, to find a way to reform lobbying practices on Capitol Hill, and to come to terms with our role in Iraq. Our job as your textbook authors is to make sense of those changes within the framework that we

believe helps students interpret and understand American politics. Accordingly, we've provided major updates and current examples throughout the text and revised graphs and tables to reflect the most recent data available.

Writing the second brief edition also gave us an opportunity to revise and streamline some of the pedagogical features to make them more useful and pertinent to both instructors and students.

- Profiles in Citizenship is a new and exciting feature that models civic involvement
 for students through interviews with such public figures as James Carville, Russell
 Feingold, Newt Gingrich, Bill Maher, Sandra Day O'Connor, and Condoleezza
 Rice. By engaging students with these individuals' stories we hope to spur their
 imaginations into action.
- What's at Stake? chapter openers examine such topics as the role of 527 groups in the 2004 election, the redistricting in Texas that sent Democratic state legislators heading for the hills, the struggle over executive privilege that emerged during both the nomination of John Roberts for the Supreme Court and John Bolton as ambassador to the United Nations, the implementation of the No Child Left Behind Act, and the growing concern over rising gas prices and drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. In all, we have replaced or significantly updated nearly all of the What's at Stake? chapter openers from the first edition.
- In chapter 1 we have clarified the book's approach and explicitly tied the skills of
 analysis and evaluation to the themes of power and citizenship. We explain to students how these skills and themes fit together under the general goal of critical
 thinking about American politics.
- We have reorganized the domestic and foreign policy chapter to include clear sections on the policymaking process, social policy, economic policy, and foreign policy for instructors who like to spend time on these important outputs.

Supplements

We know how important good resources can be in the teaching of American government. Our goal has been to create resources that not only support but also enhance the text's themes and features. Matthew Streb, intimately familiar with the book's goals and approach as well as with the revisions in this edition, has put together a comprehensive package to address instructors' teaching needs.

- The KTRblog is an online forum at republic.cqpress.com/blogs/ maintained by Christine Barbour that ties current events to each week's reading and to the themes of the book. Let us help keep you up to date on the country's important political news and find engaging ways to bring current events into the classroom to boost the curriculum's relevance in students' eyes.
- Our Test Bank has nearly nine hundred test questions, separated into factual and conceptual multiple-choice, short answer, fill-in-the-blank, and short essay ques-

tions to help you create exams. The test bank is available in Word and rich text formats (WordPerfect compatible), as well as available in *Respondus*—flexible and easy-to-use test-generation software that allows you to build, customize, and even integrate exams into course management systems.

- **PowerPoint Lecture Slides** provide an outline for each chapter, highlighting key concepts and leaving plenty of room for adaptability.
- The Instructor's Manual includes chapter overviews, lecture starters, class activities, and discussion questions, all of which provide the backbone for lectures and in-class discussions while pointing to ways in which the power and citizenship themes can be further developed.
- All of the Figures, Tables, and Maps from the full third edition, in full color, as
 well as the graphics from the second brief edition, are available as both
 PowerPoint slides and PDFs so that you can easily teach with them in the classroom. The publisher will also provide a set of acetates upon request. Please contact James Headley at jheadley@cqpress.com.
- "Clicker" Slides are available for those instructors who use these student response systems. This set of additional slides provides a unique way to help track participation, gauge comprehension, and instantly poll student opinion.
- The Instructor's Resource Web Page (at republic-brief.cqpress.com) takes the book's material further with a wealth of additional resources, including tables and figures not found in the book, syllabi, sample classroom assignments, and a new online teaching forum that we hope will foster an active users' community so that you may find and share tips with your colleagues. The idea is to pass on secrets of success, offer solutions to problems, and benefit from the variety of your peers' classroom experiences.
- A free six-month subscription to *CQ Weekly* is available through CQ Press to instructors who adopt *Keeping the Republic* (subject to minimum quantities). We use *CQ Weekly* to stay up to date on current developments, and we know many of our colleagues do as well. This is a useful source to animate your lectures with topical and insightful analysis from the same magazine that informs politicians and policymakers in Washington.

Because students need help outside the classroom as well, we provide a companion Web site at **republic-brief.cqpress.com**. Matthew Streb has prepared a wealth of materials to help students master each chapter's learning objectives, vocabulary, and basic and conceptual information.

- Our **KTRblog** provides news postings every week, connecting current events to the book's themes and topics.
- A Study section offers summaries and learning objectives that encapsulate the most important facts and concepts of each chapter.
- Practice **Quizzes** allow students to work through approximately fifteen multiplechoice questions per chapter and receive immediate results, both by question type

(for example, conceptual, factual, and vocabulary) and by chapter section so that they can effectively gauge their comprehension of the material. If you would like to track your students' online work, you can have them email their quiz results directly to you.

- Interactive Flashcards are a handy way for students to review the book's key terms. They can also mark terms they would like to return to as well as shuffle and reset their cards.
- Web-based Exercises provide activities that encourage students to apply information, concepts, and principles from the text in a series of interactive questions.
 Response boxes allow students to email their answers to their instructors for credit or a grade.
- An **Explore** section has annotated Web links to facilitate further research, as well as the *Keeping the Republic* boxes from previous editions that point students to where they can get involved in the political process.
- Our **Take a Position** feature builds on particular issues or controversies covered in the text, leading students through the critical thinking process so that they can build a balanced, well-argued position on current events. For example, launching from the *What's at Stake?* in chapter 2, students take a position on militia movements and what it means to be a patriot. The *What's at Stake?* in chapter 10 is the starting point for students to address whether the United States should have national referenda. As with the Exercises, students can submit their responses electronically through the site for credit or a grade.

Acknowledgments

The Africans say that it takes a village to raise a child—it is certainly true that it takes one to write a textbook! We could not have done it without a community of family, friends, colleagues, students, reviewers, and editors, who supported us, nagged us, maddened us, and kept us on our toes. Not only is this a better book because of their help and support, but also it would not have been a book at all without them.

In addition to all the folks we gratefully acknowledge in the full edition of this text, some made a particular contribution to this brief edition. We would like to thank the reviewers who gave us their feedback on the first brief edition before we started revising: Jean Abshire, Indiana University Southeast; Robert Bradley, Illinois State University; Pam Brunfelt, Vermilion Community College; Robert L. Dion, University of Evansville; Charles A. Hantz, Danville Area Community College; Glen D. Hunt, Austin Community College; Tom McInnis, University of Central Arkansas; Richard Pacelle, Georgia Southern University; and Thomas A. Schmeling, Rhode Island College.

We are also incredibly indebted to the busy public servants who made the *Profiles* in *Citizenship* feature possible. We are gratified and humbled that they believed in the project enough to give us their valuable time. Our deep appreciation goes to

Tiffany Benjamin, James Carville, Russell Feingold, Newt Gingrich, Bill Maher, Sandra Day O'Connor, Wayne Pacelle, and Condoleezza Rice.

There are three people in particular without whom this edition would never have seen the light of day. Pat Haney has provided the nuts and bolts of the foreign policy part of chapter 14 since the first edition. Pat has been a cheerful, tireless collaborator for more than ten years now, and we are so grateful to him. Matthew Streb and Michael Wolf also have been involved with this book since its inception, first serving as research assistants while they were in graduate school and then stepping up to the plate to help us get the full third edition out quickly. Matt has been of special help in producing this brief edition.

Finally, it is our great privilege to acknowledge and thank all the people at our new publisher, CQ Press, who believed in this book and made this edition possible. In this day and age of huge publishing conglomerates, it has been such a pleasure to work with a small, committed team who are dedicated to top-quality work.

Christine Barbour Gerald C. Wright

To the Student



Suggestions on How to Read This Textbook

- **1.** As they say in Chicago about voting, do it **early and often**. If you open the book for the first time the night before the exam, you will not learn much from it and it won't help your grade. Start reading the chapters in conjunction with the lectures, and reread them all at least once before the exam. A minimum of two readings is necessary for a decent education and a decent grade.
- **2.** Pay attention to the **chapter headings**. There is a wealth of information in all the chapter headings. They tell you what we think is important, what our basic argument is, and how all the material fits together. Often, chapter subheadings list elements of an argument that may show up on a quiz. Be alert to these clues.
- **3.** Read actively! Constantly ask yourself: What does this mean? Why is this important? How do these different facts fit together? What are the broad arguments here? How does this material relate to class lectures? How does it relate to the broad themes of the class? When you stop asking these questions you are merely moving your eyes over the page and that is a waste of time. This is especially true of the *What's at Stake?* vignettes at the beginning and end of each chapter. Try to keep the themes and questions posed in the *What's at Stake?* vignette alive as you read the chapter so that you can make the important connections to the material being covered.
- **4.** Highlight or take notes. Some people prefer highlighting because it's quicker than taking notes, but others think that writing down the most important points helps in remembering them later on. Whichever method you choose (and you must choose one), be sure you're doing it properly! The point of both methods is to make sure that you interact with the material and learn it instead of just pas-

sively watching it pass before your eyes—and that you have in some way indicated the most important points so that you do not need to read the entire chapter your second time through.

- *Highlighting*. Highlight with a pen or marker that enables you to read what's on the page. Do not highlight too much. An entirely yellow page will not give you any clues about what is important. Read each paragraph and ask yourself: What is the basic idea of this paragraph? Highlight that. Avoid highlighting all the examples and illustrations. You should be able to recall them on your own when you see the main idea. Beware of highlighting too little. If whole pages go by with no marking, you are probably not highlighting enough.
- *Outlining.* Again, the key is to write down enough, but not too much. Recopying a chapter written by someone else is deadly boring—and a waste of time. Go for key ideas, terms, and arguments.
- **5.** Don't be afraid to write in your book. Even if you choose to outline instead of highlight, make notes to yourself in the margins of your book, pointing out cross-references, connections, ideas, and examples. Especially note tie-ins to the lectures, or summaries of broad arguments.
- **6.** Note all **key terms**, including those that appear in chapter headings. Be sure you understand the definition and significance.
- **7.** Do not skip **tables and figures**! These things are there for a purpose, because they convey crucial information or illustrate a point in the text. After you read a chart or graph, make a note in the margin about what it means.
- **8.** Do not skip the *Consider the Source* boxes or the *Profiles in Citizenship* boxes. They are not filler! The *Consider the Source* boxes provide advice on becoming a critical consumer of the many varieties of political information that come your way. They list questions to ask yourself about the articles you read, the Web sites you visit, and the media you consume, among other things. Each *Profiles in Citizenship* box highlights the achievements of a political actor pertinent to that chapter's focus. They model citizen participation and can serve as a beacon for your own political power long after you've completed your American government course.
- **9.** Make use of the **chapter ending material**. The final section of each chapter, called *Citizenship and* . . ., addresses your role as a citizen in the context of the chapter topics. When you've finished the chapter, be sure to read the *Summary With Key Terms*. The end-of-chapter summary will help put the chapter's information in perspective, summarizing the major points made in each chapter section and the important terminology. Then visit the companion Web site at republic-brief.cqpress.com, where you can test yourself with practice quizzes for each chapter. Use the interactive flashcards on the site to test how well you know the chapter's vocabulary. All the Web material is there to ensure you've mastered the chapter's topics and can point to areas you need to study further.

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