



COLEMAN • GOLDSTEIN • HOWELL

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE IN AMERICAN POLITICS

PENGUIN  ACADEMICS

Cause and Consequence in American Politics

JOHN J. COLEMAN

University of Wisconsin-Madison

KENNETH M. GOLDSTEIN

University of Wisconsin-Madison

WILLIAM G. HOWELL

University of Chicago



PEARSON

Boston Columbus Indianapolis New York San Francisco Upper Saddle River
Amsterdam Cape Town Dubai London Madrid Milan Munich Paris Montreal Toronto
Delhi Mexico City Sao Paulo Sydney Hong Kong Seoul Singapore Taipei Tokyo

Executive Editor: Reid Hester
Director of Development: Eileen Calabro
Senior Development Editor: Lisa Sussman
Editorial Assistant: Nesin Osman
Executive Marketing Manager: Wendy Gordon
Associate Development Editor: Corey Kahn
Digital Editor: Lisa Dotson
Senior Digital Media Editor: Paul DeLuca
Production Manager: S.S. Kulig

Project Coordination, Editorial Services, and Text
Design: Electronic Publishing Services Inc., NYC
Art Rendering and Electronic Page Makeup: Textech
Cover Designer/Manager: John Callahan
Cover Art: Olney Vasan/Getty Images,
Sergey Kamshylin/Shutterstock
Manufacturing Manager: Mary Fischer
Printer/Binder: Quad/Graphics-Taunton
Cover Printer: Lehigh-Phoenix

For more information about the Penguin Academics series, please contact us by mail at Pearson Education, attn. Marketing Department, 51 Madison Avenue, 28th Floor, New York, NY 10010, or visit us online at www.pearsonhighered.com/polisci.

Credits and acknowledgments borrowed from other sources and reproduced, with permission, in this textbook appear on the appropriate page within text or on page 490.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Coleman, John J., 1959–

Cause and consequence in American politics / John J. Coleman, Kenneth M. Goldstein, William G. Howell.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. United States—Politics and government—Textbooks. I. Goldstein, Kenneth M., 1965– II. Howell, William G. III. Title.

JK276.C65 2011
320.473—dc23

2011032797

Copyright © 2012 by Pearson Education, Inc.

All rights reserved. Manufactured in the United States of America. This publication is protected by Copyright, and permission should be obtained from the publisher prior to any prohibited reproduction, storage in a retrieval system, or transmission in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or likewise. To obtain permission(s) to use material from this work, please submit a written request to Pearson Education, Inc., Permissions Department, One Lake Street, Upper Saddle River, NJ 07458, or you may fax your request to 201-236-3290.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1—QGT—14 13 12 11

PEARSON

www.pearsonhighered.com

ISBN 10: 0-205-74362-5

ISBN 13: 978-0-205-74362-9

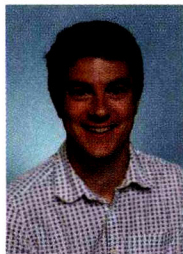
About the Authors



JOHN J. COLEMAN is a professor and chair of the Political Science Department at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Professor Coleman is the author or co-editor of six books, including *Party Decline in America: Policy, Politics, and the Fiscal State* (Princeton University Press, 1996). His articles on political parties, elections, public knowledge, Congress and the presidency, divided government, campaign finance, and American political development have appeared in the *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, and *Studies in American Political Development*, among other journals. His current research includes projects on campaign finance and party accountability in elections.



KENNETH M. GOLDSTEIN is a professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He is the author of *Interest Groups, Lobbying, and Participation in America* (Cambridge University Press, 1999) and *Campaign Advertising and American Democracy* (Temple University Press, 2007) as well as over 30 refereed journal articles and book chapters on political communication, voter turnout, campaign finance, survey methodology, Israeli politics, presidential elections, and news coverage of health issues. Professor Goldstein is a consultant for the ABC News Elections Unit and a member of their election-night decision team. He has worked on network election-night coverage in every U.S. federal election since 1988.



WILLIAM G. HOWELL is the Sydney Stein Professor in American Politics at the University of Chicago. He holds appointments in the Harris School of Public Policy, the Department of Political Science, and the College. He has written widely on separation of powers issues and American political institutions, especially the presidency. His recent research examines the relationships between war and presidential power. He is the co-author (with Jon Pevehouse) of *While Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers* (Princeton University Press, 2007), author of *Power Without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action* (Princeton University Press, 2003), co-author (with Paul Peterson) of *The Education Gap: Vouchers and Urban Schools* (Brookings Institution Press, 2002), co-editor (with George Edwards) of *The Oxford Handbook on the American Presidency* (Oxford University Press, 2009), and editor of *Besieged: School Boards and the Future of Education Politics* (Brookings Institution Press, 2005). His research has appeared in such journals as *International Organization*, *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, and *Journal of Politics*, as well as in numerous edited volumes.

Preface

The talking heads populating cable news channels make numerous claims and predictions on a daily or even an hourly basis. Consider the discussion about the Tea Party movement during the 2010 mid-term elections. Some pundits claimed that Tea Party supporters were the driving force that enabled Republicans to take control of the U.S. House of Representatives in November 2010 and win important Senate victories in places like Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. Others thought that the Tea Party movement doomed GOP chances of winning the Senate because of the impact the movement had in nominating candidates like Christine O'Donnell, Sharron Angle, and Ken Buck—all of whom lost winnable races for the Republicans. Some pundits claimed that the Supreme Court's decision in *Citizens United v. FEC* allowed corporate money to buy the 2010 election for business interests, while others said the electoral forces strongly favored major Republican gains regardless of the *Citizens United* decision. Although plenty of pundits were able to “predict” the Republican victory in 2010 after it happened, or explain Barack Obama's march to the presidency in 2008 after he was elected, the fact of the matter is that the answers and predictions of the “chattering class” are often wrong.

Why? Because many of us—not just talking heads—often attempt to explain events in our political world by oversimplifying and making causal connections where there are none. Too often, explanations flow from our own political viewpoints or the need to explain something quickly. Although such answers make for good television debates and effective headlines, they fail to give us the understanding of the political world that we need to make informed decisions and demand real accountability from our political leaders.

Political scientists, on the other hand, see the world differently. We believe that there are rarely simple answers and that sorting out fact from fiction and the news from the noise can be a challenge. We gather and analyze evidence. We evaluate research and interpret arguments. We use the tools of political science to go beyond simplistic answers in a quest to explain and provide real understanding of politics and government.

We wrote *Cause and Consequence in American Politics* because it was our sense that political scientists are often wary of bringing to bear the full force of our research into our teaching. Our goal is to give students and those interested in politics the critical thinking tools that will empower them to make sense of the political world themselves. We are also “political junkies,” and we pull the examples we use in this book right from the real world of politics to convey our own excitement about the political world that we hope readers will share.

What we attempt to do in the following pages is shake away any notions that “the book is closed” on American politics. Rather, we present the study of American politics and government as a dynamic field full of interesting questions, controversies, and puzzles, for which we provide the analytical tools and perspectives—the *ways of thinking*—needed to explore, evaluate, and solve. To that end, throughout the text, we emphasize the importance of understanding the causal factors behind political developments, and we help readers distinguish between correlation (when something is related to or associated with something else) and causation. In every chapter we cover the strategies that political scientists use—and the challenges they face—in answering political questions.

Thinking analytically not only helps in a variety of educational and professional settings, but it also produces thoughtful citizens who are interested in participating in politics. Plenty of civics classes and well-meaning organizations preach participation for the sake of participation, but we think that participation is more likely when people have the confidence to take part in American politics. Part of that confidence can come from knowing the basics of politics in America and how to argue and analyze. We hope those who read this book will come away being able to think and view their world critically, as social scientists do and as truly educated citizens must.

The starting point for this book is our introductory text, *Understanding American Politics and Government*. In *Cause and Consequence in American Politics*, however, we focus, on the most essential causal questions facing political scientists and the key tools that readers need to analyze American politics. As a result, the book is considerably shorter, and some of the themes, topics, and examples from *Understanding American Politics and Government* receive less emphasis here. In addition, *Cause and Consequence in American Politics* is written in a style designed to appeal to students and others who are interested in learning more about American politics without resorting to large, standard textbooks.

An Emphasis on Causal Questions

From the very first chapter, *Cause and Consequence in American Politics* trains students to distinguish between the concepts of **correlation** and **causation** as they examine political phenomena, helping them become better critical thinkers and more thoughtful citizens.

Each chapter opens with a **vignette** designed to draw readers into the chapter's subject matter. These stories will pique students' interest and begin to suggest some of the causal questions one might ask regarding the chapter's topic.

Marginal **Thinking Causally** icons are used throughout to highlight discussions in which particular causal questions are explored. The icons are accompanied by questions that prompt students to actively consider causal relationships.

The **How Do We Know?** feature in every chapter poses provocative political questions and then demonstrates the techniques political scientists use to answer them. Each box provides context for—and underscores the importance of—the question, highlights the means and challenges of answering it, includes Thinking Critically questions, and ends with a Bottom Line summary on what conclusions social scientists have reached.

Thinking Causally Why would a political party seem to downplay the concerns of some members of its coalition, when it knows it needs the votes of these coalition members to win?

HOW DO WE KNOW?

Is America Polarized?

The Question

In the eyes of many Americans, politics in the United States has become nasty, bitter, and rife with conflict. In 2008, presidential candidates Barack Obama and John McCain both criticized the nature of political debate in the United States, with Obama deriding it as “do-anything, say-anything, divisive politics” and McCain labeling it as “mindless, paralyzing rancor.”¹⁵ “Two Americas,” the “50/50 nation,” “red and blue America,” and “culture war” are labels said to define current American politics.¹⁶ Is America polarized? How do we know?

Why It Matters

Both for citizens and for politicians looking to influence the policy process, it matters whether Americans

are in two different worlds politically or have political differences that are modest in degree. If the country is polarized, then political success will depend on highly charged mobilization based on strong rhetoric. If the country is not, then success will depend more on mobilizing the support of those whose views are relatively moderate. Party differences might also influence one's appraisal of the health of American democracy. Some citizens might consider different viewpoints to be the lifeblood of a healthy democracy. Others might see high degrees of partisan conflict as an obstacle to solving problems and a blot on democracy.

Investigating the Answer

Television election result maps in 2000 and 2004 showing the country divided sharply into regions of Republican

(continues)

Cultural Perspectives

Chapter 2 sets the stage for the book's attention to how American **political culture**—the prizing of individualism, democracy, liberty, respect for property, and religious rights—influences our politics and government. Students will learn how these beliefs are balanced against each other, how they are defined and change, and how they compete and coexist with other beliefs. Values and beliefs motivate participants

in the political process, and they also make some policy paths more likely than others in American politics. When people become involved in and passionate about politics, it is due in large part to their excitement and interest in competing ideas, values, and beliefs.

Critical Thinking

The **Case Study** in each chapter tells an engaging story about recent major political events. These high-interest, in-depth examples apply the ideas developed in the book to the real world, bringing our political system to life and making abstract concepts concrete. Each Case Study concludes with Thinking Critically questions that help students understand, apply, and synthesize key points.

Case Study

Getting to Know Voters, One by One

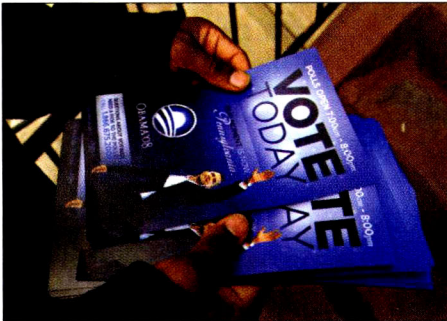
One feature of the party machine praised by political scientists was its tight connection with voters. The machine was, in part, a social service or welfare agency. In exchange for providing help, the machine sought votes. It knew its voters.

Party organizations today also try to know their voters, but they do not have the deep personal connection with voters that the machine did. Nor do they provide social services. However, through microtargeting, they try to understand voters one by one to target messages to each. The hope is to persuade the undecided to support the party's candidate and to motivate the already decided to get out to vote.³⁴

Microtargeting consists of building huge databases of information about voters. For each potential voter, party workers enter hundreds of bits of information, ranging from neighborhood characteristics available from the U.S. Census to consumer characteristics, such as purchasing habits, brand of car owned, television networks watched, magazine subscriptions, gun ownership, sports preferred, type of musical preference, and much more. Phone or direct contact from a party staffer or volunteer—known as party canvassing—might extract some additional information for the database. Canvassing is one of the main ways young people become involved in party activity.

Examining voter records and lists, which are readily available from states, provides information on a voter's turnout history, party registration, and possibly which party primary she or he voted in. Voter visits to the party's website or, for example, its Facebook profile, provide additional information.³⁵ Public opinion data are then merged into the file, allowing data analysts to unearth connections between demographic, consumer, and other information and views on public issues.

These data are then analyzed to produce a specific message tailored to a voter's key interests. The database helps generate sophisticated and narrowly targeted advertising, mailings, phone contact, personal contact, and get-out-the-vote drives on behalf of a range of party candidates.³⁶ Analysts compute scores for each individual to estimate his or her likelihood of supporting the party's



GETTING OUT THE VOTE Political parties engage in extensive get-out-the-vote (GOTV) activities. Urging individuals to vote on Election Day is the culmination of a long and often precisely targeted effort to appeal to voters' key concerns. Through microtargeting, parties appeal to voters on issues of specific interest to them. The parties consult massive databases to discern what an individual's key issues might be.

candidates, so the party can target its outreach efforts efficiently.³⁷

Republicans in 2002 were the first to use microtargeting in a systematic way, and it was a prominent part of the party's campaign effort in 2004. The Republican National Committee, in coordination with the Bush campaign and Republican state and local party organizations, purchased commercial databases that held hordes of information on individuals. The party also purchased or received from

(continues)

Resources in Print and Online

Name of Supplement	Print	Online	Available to	Description
MyClassPrep		✓	Instructor	This new resource provides a rich database of figures, photos, videos, simulations, activities, and much more that instructors can use to create their own lecture presentation. For more information visit www.mypolisclab.com .
Instructor's Manual 0205864694		✓	Instructor	Offers chapter overviews, lecture outlines, teaching ideas, discussion topics, and research activities.
Test Bank 0205762549		✓	Instructor	Contains over 100 questions per in multiple-choice, true-false, short answer, and essay format. Questions are tied to text Learning Objectives.
MyTest 0205762980		✓	Instructor	All questions from the Test Bank can be accessed in this flexible, online test generating software.
PowerPoint Presentation 0205854850		✓	Instructor	Slides include a lecture outline of the text, graphics from the book, and quick-check questions for immediate feedback on student comprehension.
Pearson Political Science Video Program	✓		Instructor	Qualified adopters can peruse our list of videos for the American government classroom. Contact your local Pearson representative for more details.
Classroom Response System (CRS) 0205082289	✓		Instructor	A set of lecture questions, organized by American government topics, for use with "clickers" to garner student opinion and assess comprehension.
<i>You Decide! Current Debates in American Politics</i> , 2013 Edition 0205251749	✓		Student	This debate-style reader by John Rourke of the University of Connecticut examines provocative issues in American politics by presenting contrasting views of key topics.
<i>Voices of Dissent: Critical Readings in American Politics</i> , Ninth Edition 0205251714	✓		Student	This collection of critical essays assembled by William Grover of St. Michaels College and Joseph Peschek of Hamline University goes beyond the debate between mainstream liberalism and conservatism.
<i>Diversity in Contemporary American Politics and Government</i> 0205550363	✓		Student	Edited by David Dulio and John Klemanski of Oakland University and Erin E. O'Brien of Kent State University, this reader examines the significant role that demographic diversity plays in our political outcomes and policy processes.
<i>Writing in Political Science</i> , Fourth Edition 0205617360	✓		Student	This guide, written by Diane Schmidt of California State University, Chico, takes students step by step through all aspects of writing in political science.
<i>Choices: An American Government Database Reader</i>	✓		Student	This customizable reader allows instructors to choose from a database of over 300 readings to create a reader that exactly matches their course needs. For more information, go to www.pearsoncustom.com/database/choices.html .
<i>Ten Things That Every American Government Student Should Read</i> 020528969X	✓		Student	Edited by Karen O'Connor of American University. We asked American government instructors across the country to vote for the 10 things they believe every student should read. Available at no additional charge when packaged with the text.
<i>American Government: Readings and Cases</i> , Nineteenth Edition 0205116140	✓		Student	Edited by Peter Woll of Brandeis University, this longtime best-selling reader provides a strong, balanced blend of classic readings and cases that illustrate and amplify important concepts in American government. Available at a discount when packaged with this text.
Penguin-Longman Value Bundles	✓		Student	Longman offers 25 Penguin titles at more than a 60 percent discount when packaged with any Longman text. Go to www.pearsonhighered.com/penguin for more information.
Longman State	✓		Student	These primers on state and local government and political issues are available at no extra cost when shrink-wrapped with the text. Available for Texas, California, and Georgia.

*Instructor Resource Center available at www.pearsonhighered.com/educator

The moment you know. MyPoliSciLab®

Educators know it. Students know it. It's that inspired moment when something that was difficult to understand suddenly makes perfect sense. Our MyLab products have been designed and refined with a single purpose in mind—to help educators create that moment of understanding with their students.

The new MyPoliSciLab delivers **proven results** in helping individual students succeed. It provides **engaging experiences** that personalize, stimulate, and measure learning for each student. And, it comes from a **trusted partner** with educational expertise and a deep commitment to helping students, instructors, and departments achieve their goals.

MyPoliSciLab can be used by itself or linked to any learning management system. To learn more about how the new MyPoliSciLab combines proven learning applications with powerful assessment, read on!

MyPoliSciLab delivers **proven results** in helping individual students succeed.

- ▶ Pearson MyLabs are currently in use by millions of students each year across a variety of disciplines.
- ▶ In surveys of instructors and students over the last five years, more than 80% reported that they were satisfied with their MyPoliSciLab experience, over 87% agreed that it was easy to use, and 80% recommended MyPoliSciLab's continued use.
- ▶ MyPoliSciLab works—but don't take our word for it. Visit our MyLab/Mastering site to read white papers, case studies, and testimonials from instructors and students that consistently demonstrate the success of our MyLabs.

MyPoliSciLab provides **engaging experiences** that personalize, stimulate, and measure learning for each student.

- ▶ **Assessment** Track progress and get instant feedback on every chapter, video, and multimedia activity. With results feeding into a powerful gradebook, the assessment program identifies learning challenges early and suggests the best resources to help.
- ▶ **Personalized Study Plan** Follow a flexible learning path created by the assessment program and tailored to each student's unique needs. Organized by learning objectives, the study plan offers follow-up reading, video, and multimedia activities for further learning and practice.
- ▶ **Pearson eText** Just like the printed text, highlight and add notes to the eText online or download it to a tablet or iPad.
- ▶ **Flashcards** Learn key terms by word or definition.
- ▶ **Video** Analyze current events by watching streaming video from major news providers.
- ▶ **PoliSci News Review** Join the political conversation by following headlines in newsfeeds, reading analysis in the blog, taking weekly current events quizzes and polls, and more.
- ▶ **ClassPrep** Engage students with class presentation resources collected in one convenient online destination.

Unique for American Government courses:

- ▶ **Simulations** Engage the political process by experiencing how political actors make decisions.
- ▶ **Comparative Exercises** Think critically about how American politics compares with the politics of other countries.
- ▶ **Timelines** Get historical context by following issues that have influenced the evolution of American democracy.
- ▶ **Visual Literacy Exercises** Learn how to interpret political data in figures and tables.
- ▶ **MyPoliSciLibrary** Read full-text primary source documents from the nation's founding to the present.
- ▶ **Voter Registration** Voting is a right—and a responsibility.
- ▶ **Citizenship Test** See what it takes to become an American citizen.

MyPoliSciLab comes from a **trusted partner** with educational expertise and a deep commitment to helping students, instructors, and departments achieve their goals.

- ▶ Pearson supports instructors with workshops, training, and assistance from Pearson Faculty Advisors—so you get the help you need to make MyPoliSciLab work for your course.
- ▶ Pearson gathers feedback from instructors and students during the development of content and the feature enhancement of each release to ensure that our products meet your needs.

Acknowledgments

We are grateful to all of the reviewers and instructors who participated in the development of the first edition of *Understanding American Politics and Government*, and the following reviewers who contributed to the development of the second edition, as well as this text, *Cause and Consequence in American Politics*:

Perry Ballard, Daytona State College
Michael Brown, Emerson College
Jason Casellas, University of Texas at Austin
David Chadwick-Brown, Palomar College
Rodolfo Espino, Arizona State University
Jean-Gabriel Jolivet, Southwestern College
Stephanie Hallock, Harford
William Hatcher, Eastern Kentucky University
Sharon Jones, Columbia College (SC)
Sean Kelly, California State University, Channel Islands
Kenneth Kersch, Boston College
William Lester, Jacksonville State University
Seth Masket, University of Denver
Paul Manna, College of William and Mary
David C. W. Parker, Montana State University
Stacey Pelika, College of William and Mary
John Riley, Coastal Carolina University
Margaret Scranton, University of Arkansas, Little Rock
Kate Scheurer, University of North Dakota
Mark Shomaker, Binn College
Chris Soper, Pepperdine University
Patricia Strach, University at Albany
Martin Sweet, Northwestern University
Jonathan Wharton, Stevens Institute of Technology

Brief Contents

About the Authors iii

Preface xviii

Acknowledgments xxiv

1	Thinking About American Politics	1
2	Political Culture	19
3	The Constitution	49
4	Federalism	82
5	Civil Liberties and Civil Rights	114
6	Public Opinion and the Media	155
7	Political Participation, Voting, and Elections	188
8	Political Parties	225
9	Interest Groups	257
10	Congress	283
11	The Presidency	312
12	The Federal Court System	343
13	The Bureaucracy	369
14	Domestic and Foreign Policy	398

Appendix 1 Annotated Declaration of Independence 424

Appendix 2 Annotated Constitution of the United States of America 427

Appendix 3 Annotated *Federalist* No. 10 446

Appendix 4 Annotated *Federalist* No. 51 452

Appendix 5 Party Control of the Presidency, Senate, and House
of Representatives 456

Appendix 6 Supreme Court Justices 458

Glossary 460

Endnotes 468

Credits 490

Index 491

Detailed Contents

About the Authors	iii
Preface	xviii
Acknowledgments	xxiv

1 Thinking About American Politics 1

THINKING ABOUT POLITICS 3

There are rarely simple solutions to political questions.	4
Correlation does not equal causation.	5
How do we know that we are right?	7

GOVERNMENT AND WHY IT IS NECESSARY 8

Citizens in a democracy make a fundamental bargain with their government.	8
Government provides public goods and services.	11
Politics is about influencing decisions.	12

CONTEXTS FOR STUDYING AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS 13

The presidential system and rights are central to American government.	13
Politics in America is not the only model for politics or democracy.	15
Unique values and attitudes define politics in America.	16

Chapter Summary	16	MyPoliSciLab	17	Key Terms	17
Suggested Readings	18	Suggested Websites	18		

2 Political Culture 19

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE AN AMERICAN? 21

Political culture provides a framework for political evaluation.	21
The American creed is the dominant political culture in the United States.	22
American creed beliefs became dominant for several reasons.	23

THE BELIEFS OF THE AMERICAN CREED 24

Individualism: People should choose their own path through life.	24
Democracy: Government actions should reflect the will of the people.	25
Liberty: Government restraint on individual behavior should be minimal.	26
Property: Individuals should be free to acquire, own, and use goods and assets.	28
Religion: Individuals should be free to practice their religious faith.	29
The American creed provides a starting point for most Americans to evaluate issues, candidates, and government actions.	29

CONSEQUENCES AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN CREED 31

- Americans prefer government to be limited in the scope of its activities. 31
- Americans often do not trust that government will do the right thing. 32
- There is a weak sense of sovereign power in the United States. 33
- Competing ideas are viewed with suspicion. 33
- Appeals to the public interest are difficult in an individualistic political culture. 34
- Political conflict emerges from tension among the creed's beliefs and from debate over the meaning of the beliefs. 35

CASE STUDY Defining Democracy When Drawing District Lines 36

CHALLENGES TO THE AMERICAN CREED 38

- Communitarianism emphasizes the contributions and interests of the community. 38

HOW DO WE KNOW? Why Was the Path to Universal Health Insurance Coverage So Difficult? 39

- Discrimination stresses that not all groups deserve equal treatment. 42
- Multiculturalism questions the desirability of a common American political culture. 43
- Libertarianism argues for a very limited government role. 45
- American political culture is a mosaic of beliefs. 45

Chapter Summary 46

Chapter Test 47

MyPoliSciLab 47

Key Terms 48

Suggested Readings 48

Suggested Websites 48

3 The Constitution 49

FROM REVOLUTION TO CONSTITUTION 51

- The American Revolution changed ideas about governance. 51
- The colonists rebelled against taxes imposed unilaterally by the British government. 52
- The Declaration of Independence aimed to build a nation. 54
- The Articles of Confederation aimed to build a government. 55
- There were problems with the Articles as a governing framework. 56
- Frustration with the Articles led to the writing of a new constitution. 56

CRAFTING THE CONSTITUTION 57

- The Great Compromise and Three-fifths Compromise resolved fundamental splits over representation. 59
- The Framers wanted public officials to hear the voice of the people but also wanted to prevent "excessive" democracy. 61
- Numerous constitutional provisions were designed to protect commerce and property. 65

Certain measures and principles were emphasized to enhance the proposed system's legitimacy. 66

The new system provided the means for a coordinated approach to international relations and national defense. 68

THE BATTLE FOR RATIFICATION 68

Anti-Federalists argued that the Constitution threatened liberty. 68

HOW DO WE KNOW? What Motivated the Framers of the Constitution? 69

Madison responded in the *Federalist Papers* that a large republic is the best defense for liberty. 71

Belief that change was necessary assisted the Federalists' ratification campaign. 72

AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION 73

Amendments should have broad societal acceptance. 73

CASE STUDY Lowering the Voting Age to 18 74

Twenty-seven amendments have been added to the Constitution. 76

The Constitution can be "amended" through judicial interpretation. 78

Chapter Summary 78

Chapter Test 79

MyPoliSciLab 80

Key Terms 80

Suggested Readings 80

Suggested Websites 81

4 Federalism 82

THE NATURE OF THE UNION 84

Confederal and unitary arrangements are two ways to organize power between national and subnational governments. 85

The Constitution provides the framework for intergovernmental relations through federalism. 85

The appropriate balance of national and state power creates significant debate. 87

DUAL FEDERALISM 88

Dual sovereignty provides separate areas of authority for the national and state governments. 89

Dual citizenship ensures that citizens of the United States are also citizens of a state. 90

Interpretation of the commerce clause affects national government power. 90

COOPERATIVE FEDERALISM 91

Implied powers increased the scope of permissible federal government activity. 93

Redefining interstate commerce expands federal government power. 94

The federal and state governments collaborate to implement policy in some issue areas. 95

CASE STUDY Federalism and the Regulation of Native American Casinos 96

The federal government may enact policy mandates to direct the states to take certain actions. 98

The federal government may use fiscal persuasion to influence states' behavior. 99

Federalism can create both problems and solutions. 102

HOW DO WE KNOW? Are States Engaged in a Race to the Bottom? 103**FEDERALISM IN FLUX 105**

Elected officials have initiated changes in federalism. 105

The Supreme Court has redefined contemporary federalism. 106

State officials have implemented significant new policy. 107

Has there been a revolution in federalism? 108

Chapter Summary 111

Chapter Test 112

MyPoliSciLab 112

Key Terms 112

Suggested Readings 113

Suggested Websites 113

5 Civil Liberties and Civil Rights 114

CIVIL LIBERTIES IN AMERICAN POLITICS AND THE CONSTITUTION 116

Civil liberties identify areas in which government should not interfere. 116

The Constitution protects civil liberties. 117

Freedom of expression and the rights of the accused are the two main areas of civil liberties protection in the Bill of Rights. 118

Nationalization of the Bill of Rights protected individuals against the actions of state governments. 118

The right to privacy has revolutionized the law concerning birth control, abortion, and same-sex relationships. 121

SPEECH, RELIGION, AND THE RIGHTS OF THE ACCUSED 123

Government can attempt to limit speech before and after its utterance. 123

The "preferred position" standard presumes the unreasonableness of restrictions on speech. 124

The Supreme Court determines which categories of speech merit constitutional protection and which do not. 125

Establishment clause cases have been decided using the *Lemon* test. 126

The balancing standard carved out a zone of protection for religious free expression. 127

The neutrality standard narrows the scope of religious free expression. 128

The Constitution protects the rights of accused during investigations, trials, and sentencing. 129

The public balances its concerns for liberty and security in times of stress. 132

EQUALITY AND CIVIL RIGHTS 132

The Civil War amendments bring civil rights into the Constitution. 133

Segregation is declared unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education*. 135

New laws and executive orders expand civil rights protection. 137

THE POLITICS AND EXTENSION OF CIVIL RIGHTS 139

The civil rights movement led to civil rights successes for blacks. 139

Debate continues over how to enhance minority electoral power. 141

The Supreme Court classifies discrimination cases into three types. 141

Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans have experienced unique histories of discrimination. 142

HOW DO WE KNOW? Is White Opposition to Affirmative Action Racist? 143

Pervasive sex discrimination in law has eroded. 146

Age and disability discrimination are subject to standards of review different from race and sex. 148

Gay and lesbian equality has involved both civil liberties and civil rights. 148

Noncitizens share some of the rights of citizens, but not all. 149

CASE STUDY Gays in the Military 150

Chapter Summary 151

Chapter Test 152

MyPoliSciLab 153

Key Terms 153

Suggested Readings 153

Suggested Websites 154

6 Public Opinion and the Media 155

THE NATURE OF PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION 156

Public opinion has four basic traits. 157

Political socialization is a learning process that is governed by primacy and persistence. 158

Political sophistication grows as children grow up. 158

Events that socialize can have generational, period, or life cycle effects. 160

HOW DO WE KNOW? Can Surveys Accurately Gauge the Opinions of Almost 300 Million Americans? 162**MAKING PUBLIC OPINION WORK IN A DEMOCRACY 165**

The miracle of aggregation can compensate for low levels of information among the mass public. 165

Opinion leaders shape what the public thinks about and what they think about it. 166

Partisanship simplifies political judgments. 167

Moderately attentive “scorekeepers” cause most aggregate public opinion change. 168