Christine Barbour | Gerald C. Wright

SECOND EDITION

Keeping the Republic

Power and Citizenship in American Politics

KEEPING THE REPUBLIC

POWER AND CITIZENSHIP IN AMERICAN POLITICS

Second Edition

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We dedicate this book with love to our parents,
John Barbour, Patti Barbour,
Doris Wright, and to the memory of Gerry Wright;
to our kids, Andrea and Darrin, Monica and Michael;
to our granddaughter, Amelia Marguerite;
and to each other.

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KEEPING THE REPUBLIC

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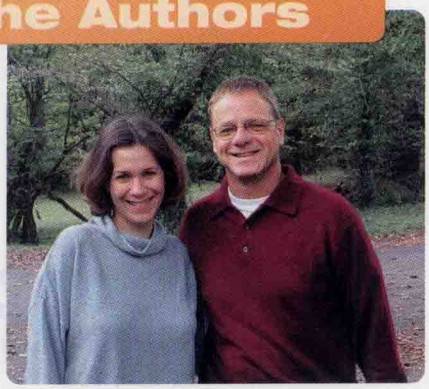

Professor **Christine Barbour** teaches in the Political Science Department and the Honors College at Indiana University in Bloomington. Frequently teaching large sections of Introduction to American Politics, she has become increasingly interested in how teachers of large classes can maximize what their 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 Freshman Learning Project, a university-wide effort to improve the first-year undergraduate experience. She has served on the *New York Times* College Advisory Board, working with other educators on developing ways to integrate newspaper reading into the undergraduate curriculum. Barbour believes that it is vitally important to counter college students' political apathy, and she is interested in the relationship between active learning techniques and citizenship skills. She has won several teaching awards at Indiana, but the two that mean the most to her were awarded her by students: 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, Professor Barbour enjoys playing with her five dogs, traveling with her coauthor, gardening, cooking (and eating) good food, and playing remarkably bad golf.

Professor **Gerald Wright** has taught political science at Indiana University in Bloomington since 1981. He is an accomplished scholar of American politics—the author of two books, including *Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States* with coauthors Robert S. Erikson and John P. McIver, and more than thirty articles on elections, public opinion, and state politics. He has long studied the relationship of politics to public policy, and is currently conducting research on the problems of citizenship participation and the degree to which elected officials do what voters want them to do. He has been a consultant for Project Vote Smart in the last several elections. Professor Wright has also become increasingly involved in the challenge of teaching large classes, and since the summer of 1998 has been a member of the Freshman Learning Project at Indiana University, a university-wide effort to improve the first-year undergraduate experience by focusing on how today's college students learn and how teachers can adapt their pedagogical methods to best teach them. When not working, Professor Wright also enjoys his dogs, gardening, travel, and good food. His golf is considerably better than his coauthor's.

Preface

When one of us was a freshman journalism major in college, more years ago now than she cares to remember, she took an Introduction to American Politics course—mostly because the other courses she wanted were already full. But the class was a revelation. The teacher was terrific, the textbook provocative, and the final paper assignment an eye opener. "As Benjamin Franklin was leaving Independence Hall," the assignment read, "he was stopped by a woman who asked, 'What have you created?' Franklin replied, 'A republic, madam, if you can keep it.'" Had we succeeded in keeping our republic? Had we been given a democracy in the first place? These questions sparked the imagination. With the writing of an impassioned freshman essay about the limits and possibilities of American democracy, a lifetime love affair with politics was born.

If we have one goal in writing this textbook, it is 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.

WHERE WE ARE GOING

Between the two of us, we have been teaching American politics for nearly half a century. We have used a lot of textbooks in that time. Some of them have been too difficult for introductory students (although we have enjoyed them as political scientists!), and others have tried to accommodate the beginning student and have ended up being too light in their coverage of basic information. When we had to scramble to find enough information to write reasonable exam questions, we knew that the effort to write an accessible textbook had gone too far. We thought our students deserved the best and most complete treatment of the American political system we could find, presented in a way that would catch their imagination, be easy to understand, and engage them in the system they were learning about.

This book is the result of that desire. It is a book that covers essential topics with clear explanations. It is a thematic book, to guide students through a wealth of material and to help them make sense of the content, both academically and personally. We wanted to provide an *analytic* theme—a theme that would assist students in organizing the details we were providing and connect them to the larger ideas and concepts of American politics. The 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. To illustrate this theme, 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. At the end of every major section, we stop and ask *Who, What, How?* This periodic analytic summary helps solidify the conceptual work of the book and gives students a sturdy framework within which to organize the facts and other empirical information we want them to learn.

We also wanted to provide an *evaluative* theme—a theme that would help students find personal meaning in the American political system and develop standards for making judgments about how well the system works. To this end we focused on the "who" in the formulation of "who gets what and how." Our citizenship theme has three dimensions. First, at the end of every chapter, our feature *"The Citizens 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. Second, 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 focus on how to examine critically all the various kinds of political information they are continually 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. Third, in our *Keeping the Republic* feature, we emphasize the opportunities students have to get involved in the system. We unabashedly feel that a primary goal of teaching introductory politics is not only to create good scholars but to create good citizens as well.

HOW WE GET THERE

In many ways this book follows the same path that most American politics texts do: there are chapters on all the subjects that instructors scramble to cover in a short amount of time. But in keeping with our goal of making the enormous amount of material here more accessible to our students, we have made some changes to the typical format. After our introductory chapter we have included a chapter not found in every book: "American Citizens and Political Culture." Given our emphasis on citizens, this chapter is key; it covers the history and legal status of citizens and immigrants in America and the ideas and beliefs that unite us as Americans as well as the ideas that divide us politically. This chapter introduces an innovative feature called *Who Are We?* which describes through graphs and charts just who we Americans are and where we come from, what we believe, how educated we are, and how much money we make. This recurring feature aims at exploding stereotypes and providing questions to lead students to think critically about the political consequences of America's demographic profile. To guide students in understanding just what the numbers and figures mean, our *Consider the Source* feature in Chapter 2 teaches some basic skills for statistical analysis.

Another chapter that breaks with tradition is Chapter 4, "Federalism and the U.S. Constitution," which provides an analytic and comparative study of the basic rules governing this country—highlighted up front because of our emphasis on the *how* of American politics. This chapter covers the essential elements of the Constitution: federalism, the three branches, separation of powers and checks and balances, and amendability. In each case we examine the rules the founders provided, look at the alternatives they might have chosen, and ask what difference the rules make to who wins and who loses in America. This chapter is explicitly comparative. For each rule change considered, we look at a country that does things differently. We drive home early the idea that understanding the rules is crucial to understanding how and *to whose advantage* the system works. Throughout the text we look carefully at alternatives to our system of government as manifested in other coun-

tries—and among the fifty states. Globe icons appear in the text's margins where comparisons to other governmental and political systems are explicitly drawn.

Because of the prominence we give to rules—and to institutions—this book covers Congress, the presidency, the bureaucracy, and the courts before looking at public opinion, parties, interest groups, voting, and the media—the inputs or processes of politics that are shaped by those rules. While this approach may seem counterintuitive to instructors who have logged many miles teaching it the other way around, we have found that it is not counterintuitive to students, who have an easier time grasping the notion that the rules make a difference when they are presented with those rules in the first half of the course. We have, however, taken care to write the chapters so that they will fit into any organizational framework.

A final organizational difference has to do with the way we cover policy. The book contains two policy chapters: Chapter 16, "Domestic Policy," and Chapter 17, "Foreign Policy." We begin Chapter 16 by introducing policymaking in general. Then we treat two major social policies—welfare and social security—in some depth, using them as extended examples of the book's themes and focus. We bring the same approach to economic policy and then cover other policy areas, including the environment and health care, in briefer *Policy Profiles* within the chapter. The *Policy Profiles* will be expanded and regularly updated in the Policy Resource Center on our web site (**http://politicalscience.college.hmco.com/students**), allowing professors to pick the policy areas they wish to cover at a given time. In Chapter 17, we address the vast subject of foreign policy, again relating America's foreign policy history and current concerns to the framework of who gets what and how.

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, or wright1@indiana.edu, or write to us at the Department of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405.

WHAT'S NEW IN THE SECOND EDITION

So much has changed in the short time since the first edition of *Keeping the Republic* was published. From the contested 2000 presidential election to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the ensuing war on terror, our world has changed dramatically in just a couple of years. 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 added new *What's At Stake?* features that examine topics including the Supreme Court's role in the 2000 presidential election, racial profiling, the power of the presidency, the impact of war on the relationship between the national and state governments, the role of third parties, and campaign finance reform. Within the text, we've updated examples and data throughout. Graphs in every chapter have been revised to reflect 2000 census data, and more than a third of the photographs have been replaced with new, current images.

The second edition also gave us an opportunity to revise and improve features to make them more useful and pertinent to both instructors and students.

- We've improved on the idea of our old *Points of Access* with a revised participation feature that bridges the gap between the nuts and bolts of U.S. politics and the citizen's duty to "Keep the Republic." These new *Keeping the Republic* boxes offer concrete ways to meet civic responsibilities, and encourage students to become more active citizens.

- What in the first edition was a stand-alone feature in Chapter 2 (called "Snapshots of America") has become in the second a recurring feature called *Who Are We?* offering demographic data within appropriate chapters. Further reinforcing the "Who" portion of the "Who gets what and how?" equation, this feature encourages students to examine the way demographic trends relate to government and policy. Our religious diversity, for instance, is presented in the civil liberties chapter (Chapter 5), where it can be discussed in the context of religious freedom.
- We've organized the boxed features from the first edition under the heading *Politics in Focus*. These boxes allow us to touch on real-life political examples that illustrate some of the broader points we make in the text, and allow us to speculate on developing political issues (A woman president? Civil liberties during wartime? Election reform?). New topics have been added, and those retained from the first edition have been thoroughly updated.
- Finally, we have streamlined chapters to make them shorter and more student friendly. Without eliminating topics, we have painstakingly edited the text, resulting in a book that covers everything the first edition did, but which is a good 10 percent shorter.

SUPPLEMENTS

We know how important *good* teaching resources can be in the teaching of American government, so we have collaborated with several other political scientists and teachers to develop a set of instructional materials to accompany *Keeping the Republic*. Our goal has been to create resources that not only support but also enhance the text's themes and features.

- The on-line ***Instructor's Resource Manual,*** updated by Mary Beth Melchior of Florida International University, provides teachers with an array of teaching resources developed around the themes and features of the book. It includes learning objectives, lecture outlines and ideas, focus questions, and ideas for class, small group, and individual projects and activities.
- A printed ***Test Bank,*** updated by Lori Cox Han of Austin College, provides test items in multiple-choice, true/false, and short-answer/essay formats. A ***Computerized Test Bank*** test generation program containing all the items in the printed *Test Bank* is also available in both Windows PC and Macintosh formats.
- A set of **PowerPoint** slides, including many figures from the text, as well as a **transparency package** are available to adopters of the book.
- The ***Study Guide,*** written by James Woods of West Virginia University, is designed to help students review and master the text material. The *Study Guide* helps students review key concepts, with learning objectives, a chapter summary, critical thinking exercises, and extensive testing review of key terms and concepts. Practice tests include both multiple-choice and short-answer questions.
- A companion web site, found at **http://politicalscience.college.hmco.com/students,** provides an exciting platform for topic review, expanded learning, and policy analysis based on current events. The web site contains a variety of book-related resources for instructors and students, including chapter outlines, practice quizzes, and a full set of downloadable PowerPoint slides. The Election 2000 archive doc-

uments the problems and issues that surrounded the 2000 presidential election, along with election-related links and activities. A Policy Resource Center provides expanded coverage and timely updates on major U.S. policy areas, including education, social security, and campaign finance reform. The web site also provides access to Political SourceNet, Houghton Mifflin's American Government web resource site.

- A *Keeping the Republic* **RealDeal** upgrade CD offers additional study resources.
- An Instructor CD, **HM ClassPrep,** collects in one place all the instructor resources, including PowerPoint slides, lecture outlines and focus questions, and ideas for student activities, as well as campaign videos with teaching guides.

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 it would not have been a book at all without them.

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Special thanks to all our students, undergraduate and graduate, past and present, who inspired us to write this book in the first place. Many students helped us in more concrete ways, working tirelessly as research assistants, writing boxed features, and putting together the material at the end of the chapters. Now colleagues at other universities, Tom Carsey, Dave Holian, Brian Schaffner, Matt Streb, and Mike Wolf all helped keep us going. We are particularly indebted to Matt and Mike for their considerable assistance over the years, and to Tracy Osborn, Mike Wagner, and Jon Winburn, who ably filled their shoes on the second edition. We are also grateful to Hugh Aprile, Christopher McCollough, Rachel Shelton, Jim Trilling, and Kevin Willhite for their help early in the project, and to Liz Bevers, who cheerfully continues to file, sort, and otherwise organize our lives.

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It turns out that there *is* someone who works as hard as or harder than the authors do on a book of this kind, and that is the development editor. On the first edition we had the enormous good fortune to work with Ann West, who helped to shape the book in important ways and to whom we will always be indebted beyond expression. That we could be so lucky twice is a matter of divine provenance. Ann Kirby-Payne has worked tirelessly with us on this edition, and we could not have done it without her true grit and good spirits. Owen may not forgive our ceaseless demands on his mom, but without her this would be a lesser (but longer!) book.

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. Read the **chapter outlines!** There is a wealth of information in the outlines, and 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 of each chapter (and the follow-up at the chapter's end). 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 passively 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. Read and reread the ***Who, What, How* summaries** at the end of each chapter section. These will help you digest the material just covered and get you ready to go on to the next section.

7. Note all **key terms,** including those that appear in chapter headings. Be sure you understand the definition and significance, and write the significance in the margin of your book!

8. Do not skip **charts, graphs, pictures, or other illustrations!** 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. Pay special attention to the *Who Are We?* features. These graphs and tables offer you a glimpse of the people of the United States—our ethnic backgrounds, our income and education, our representatives in government—that will enhance your understanding of American government and how demographic changes are likely to affect policy in the future.

9. Do not skip the ***Consider the Source* boxes** or ***Politics in Focus*!** 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 campaign ads and movies you see, and the graphs you study, among other things. The *Politics in Focus* features may highlight an important trend or focus on an example of something discussed in the text. They'll often give you another angle from which to understand the chapter themes.

10. Make use of the **chapter ending material.** The final section of each chapter, called *The Citizens and . . .*, addresses your role as a citizen in the context of the chapter topics. The accompanying *Keeping the Republic* boxes offer concrete ways that you can fulfill your civic obligations and make your voice heard in the halls of government. These features not only will help you to better understand the concepts of each chapter, but also can enhance your political power long after you've completed your American Government course. When you've finished the chapter, be sure to read the *Summary.* Like the *Who, What, How* summaries, the end-of-chapter summary will help put the chapter's information in perspective, summarizing the major points made in each chapter section.

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