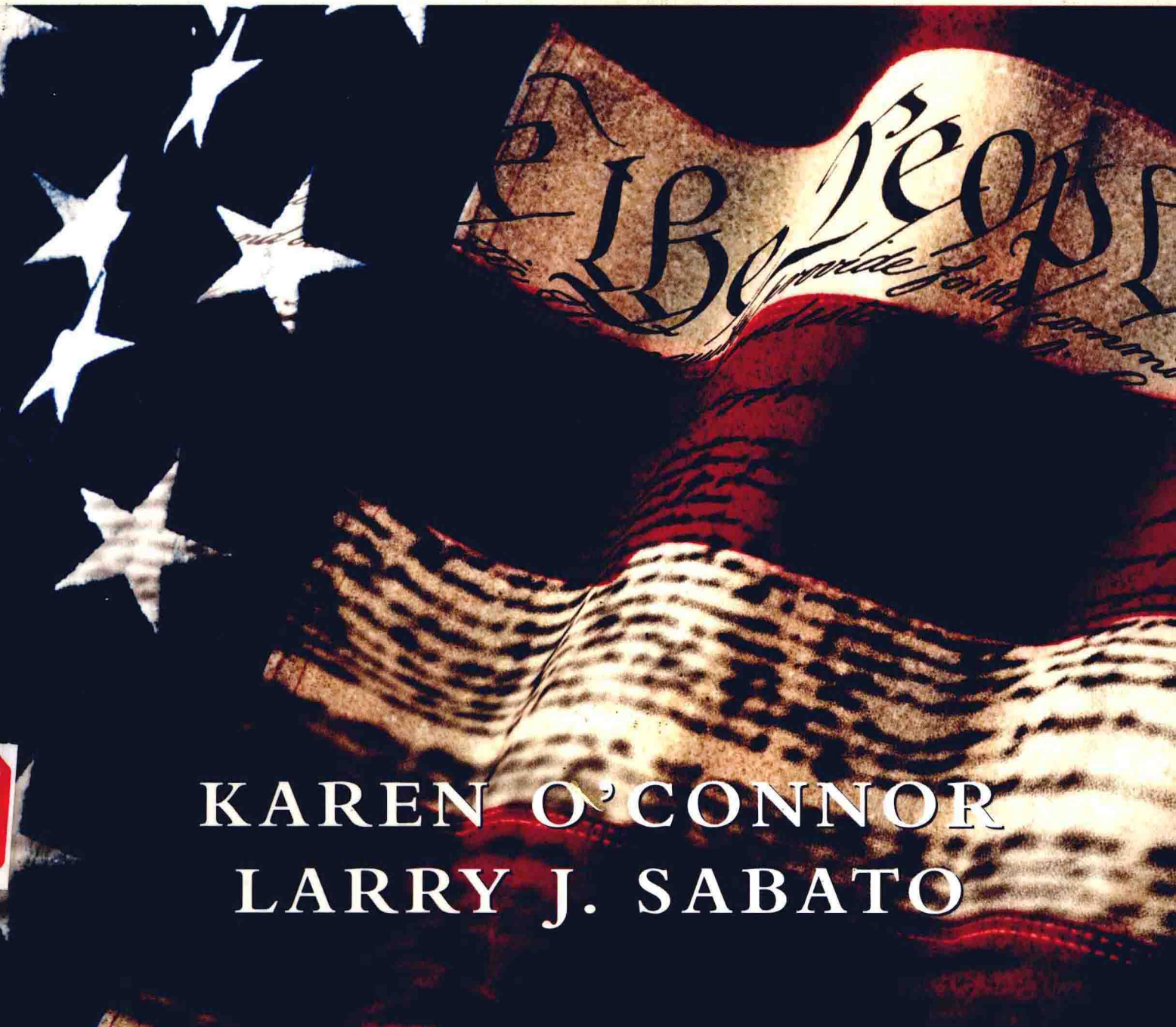


AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

2006 EDITION



KAREN O'CONNOR
LARRY J. SABATO

The background of the entire cover is a grayscale image of the American flag, showing the stars and stripes. The stars are in the upper left, and the stripes run diagonally across the cover.

American Government

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

2006 Edition

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American University*

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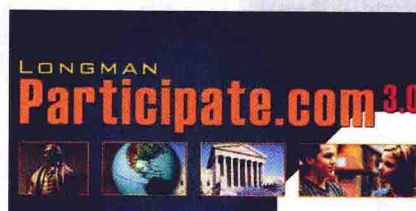
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*To Meghan,
who grew up with this book*

Karen O'Connor

*To my Government 101 students
over the years, who all know that
“politics is a good thing”*

Larry Sabato

Preface

It has happened again. As we have prepared every new edition of this book over the last decade, we find ourselves unfailingly surprised, challenged, and ultimately riveted by the dramatic changes that continue to take place across our political landscape. In 1992, the year this book first saw print, we experienced the “Year of the Woman” that produced record numbers of women elected to national office. Then, in 1994, we were greeted with the “Year of the Angry Male Voter” that produced a Republican revolution in Congress. The editions that followed those years appeared during various phases of the Clinton scandals, including the second impeachment trial of a U.S. president. Then came the 2000 election, when the outcome did not occur until December and appeared to be decided by a single Supreme Court Justice; the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001; and the history-bucking 2002 midterm elections that returned control of both houses of Congress to the Republicans.

Little did we realize that, not long after those midterm elections, one of the longest, most expensive, divisive, and impassioned campaigns ever for the presidency was about to get underway. The 2004 national elections were dominated by heated discussion of the preemptive war in Iraq and debates about security and terrorism, the economy, and social issues such as same-sex marriage. We saw the emergence of so-called 527s as a powerful (and well-financed) political force, unprecedented “get out the vote” efforts by both Republicans and Democrats, and a closely divided and hotly charged electorate that returned George W. Bush to office for a second term with a majority of the popular vote and a solid win in the Electoral College.

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

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

APPROACH

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

intentions and how they have been implemented and adapted over the years. For example, we believe that it is critical to an understanding of the role of political parties in the United States to understand the Framers' fears of factionalism, how parties evolved, and when and why realignments in party identification occurred.

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

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

To understand their government at all levels, students must understand how it was designed in the Constitution. Each chapter, therefore, approaches its topics from a combination of perspectives, which we believe will facilitate this approach. We have also included a full, *annotated* Constitution of the United States and a new boxed feature, "The Living Constitution," both of which are new to this edition, to further increase students' understanding and appreciation of the role of the Constitution in our government and every-day lives. (More on this in the "Features" section of this Preface.) In writing this book, we chose to put the institutions of government (Part II) before political behavior (Part III). Both sections, however, were written independently, making them easy to switch for those who prefer to teach about the actors in government and elections before discussing its institutions. To test the book, each of us has taught from it in both orders, with no pedagogical problems.

WHAT'S CHANGED IN THIS EDITION?

In this 2006 Edition of *American Government: Continuity and Change*, we have retained our basic approach to the study of politics as a constantly changing and often unpredictable enterprise. But we also discuss the dizzying array of important events that have taken place since the book last published. Most importantly, we include in-depth coverage of the 2004 campaign for the presidency and its results. We discuss the issues that were paramount during the long election season, including debates over the war in Iraq, leadership and terrorism, the economy, and issues such as same-sex marriage and "moral values." We examine the financing of elections in the wake of campaign finance reform and the emergence of so-called 527 groups, and we include analysis and tallies of both the expenditures and votes for George W. Bush and John Kerry.

Chapter Changes

Many of these changes and others are reflected in this 2006 Edition. **Chapter 1** contains updated figures on the changing demographics of the United States and new information on voter turnout. **Chapter 2** includes an expanded discussion of the Constitutional Convention debate over the question of slavery. **Chapter 3** discusses the state of state budgets, marriage in the federal system, and the issue of access to abortion. **Chapter 4** includes a new discussion of the growing strength of the Republican Party in state legislatures and governor's offices in the South and an analysis of the impact of state and local taxes. **Chapter 5** includes a completely revised discussion of obscenity as well as updates on the assault weapon ban, Partial Birth Abortion Ban

Act, and the impact of *Lawrence v. Texas*. **Chapter 6** has been revised to update coverage of gay rights and affirmative action. **Chapter 7** includes complete coverage of the membership of the 109th Congress, the 2004 elections, a new “Politics Now” box on a minority bill of rights, and judicial nominations. **Chapter 8** begins with a new vignette on Ronald Reagan’s funeral and includes updated coverage of the first term of the George W. Bush administration. **Chapter 9** begins with a new vignette on Robert Mueller, John Ashcroft, and The Department of Homeland Security. It also includes updated figures and data on the federal workforce and new coverage of e-government. **Chapter 10** offers updates on the Supreme Court’s 2003–2004 term, William H. Rehnquist’s illness, judicial appointments, and the characteristics of appointees. **Chapter 11** includes updates on American’s political knowledge, political behavior in the 2004 election (including exit poll data), tracking polls, exit polling, and the National Election Pool. **Chapter 12** begins with a new vignette on party conventions and contains updated data on party unity, fund-raising, identification, and an exploration of “Red and Blue” America. **Chapter 13** features an opening vignette on the 2004 presidential election campaign and contains new data and updated figures on election results, voter turnout, and demographics. **Chapter 14** examines the highly contentious 2004 presidential election, with special attention to new campaign finance regulations, 527s, and the advertising strategies utilized by both campaigns. **Chapter 15** evaluates the media coverage of major news events in 2004 and also features and updated discussion of how politicians use the media, including a discussion about argumentative news shows like CNN’s (now cancelled) *Crossfire*. **Chapter 16** begins with a new vignette on MoveOn.org and Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, provides updates on interest group activity in the 2004 election (including the efforts of the Christian Coalition, NRA, and organized labor). **Chapter 17** includes updated and expanded coverage of social welfare policies today, including a discussion of the new Medicare Prescription Drug Improvement and Modernization Act. **Chapter 18** includes updated discussion of the economic policies of the George W. Bush administration as well as coverage of the value of the U.S. dollar and the increasing national debt. **Chapter 19** provides updates on the continued fighting in Iraq and the presence of the U.S. military overseas and includes discussion of the United States’s changing role in the world.

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

FEATURES

The 2006 Edition has retained the best features and pedagogy from previous editions, enhanced or revised others, and added exciting new ones.

Historical Perspective

Every chapter uses history to serve three purposes: first, to show how institutions and processes have evolved to their present states; second, to provide some of the color that makes information memorable; and third, to provide students with a more thorough appreciation that our government was born amid burning issues of representation and power, issues that continue to smolder today. A richer historical texture helps to explain the present.

Comparative Perspective

Changes in the Middle East, Russia and Eastern Europe, North America, South America, and Asia all remind us of the preeminence of democracy, in theory if not always in fact. As new democratic experiments spring up around the globe (e.g. Iraq), it becomes

increasingly important for students to understand the rudiments of presidential versus parliamentary government and of multiparty versus two-party systems. To put American government in perspective, we continue to draw comparisons with Great Britain within the text discussion. *Global Perspective* boxes, all of which have been substantially revised for this edition, compare issues, politics and institutions in the U.S., with those of both industrialized democracies and non-Western countries such as Russia, Iraq, Egypt, India, Iran, and China.

Enhanced Pedagogy

We have revised and enhanced many pedagogical features to help students become stronger political thinkers and to echo the book's theme of evolution and change.

Preview and Review. To pique students' interest and draw them into each chapter, we begin each chapter with a contemporary vignette. These vignettes, including the California gubernatorial recall, the Iraqi war protest at the United Nations, and the concern about outsourcing of jobs, frequently deal with issues of high interest to students, which we hope will whet their appetites to read the rest of the chapter. Each vignette is followed by a bridge paragraph linking the vignette with the chapter's topics and by an outline previewing the chapter's major headings. Chapter summaries at the conclusion of each chapter restate the major points made under each of these same major headings.

Key Terms. Glossary definitions are included in the margins of the text for all bold-faced key terms. Key terms are listed once more at the end of each chapter, with page references for review and study.

Special Features. Throughout the text there are several boxed features in keeping with its theme of continuity and change. In addition to chapter-by-chapter changes, we have developed new features designed to enhance student understanding of the political processes, institutions, and policies of American government:

- ***Annotated Constitution of the United States*** New to this edition and appearing between chapters 2 and 3, this copy of the Constitution is integrated a comprehensive primer on the meaning and context of its most significant articles, sections, and amendments. Students will understand not only what the language of the Constitution says but *why* it was fashioned as it was and how it is relevant today. For instance, students learn everything from why Article I is the longest and most detailed portion of the Constitution to why the "Full Faith and Credit" clause, rarely controversial, now becomes so in the context of gay marriage. The Constitution was annotated here with the significant help of a Constitutional expert, Gregg Ivers, of American University.
- ***The Living Constitution*** New to this edition and appearing in every chapter, these boxes examine the Constitutional context of that chapter's topic. Each box excerpts and explains a relevant portion of the Constitution, analyzes what the Framers were responding to when it was written, and examines how it is still relevant today. For instance, chapter 5 includes a box on the Ninth Amendment, a discussion of the impossibility of enumerating every fundamental liberty and right, and the Supreme Court's ruling—nonetheless—in favor of a host of fundamental liberties since 1965.
- ***On Campus*** These popular boxes, which have been expanded in this edition to appear in most chapters, focus in particular on material that we believe will be of great interest to college students. To that end, this feature examines issues of concern to college campuses, as well as issues, events, or legislation that were initiated on college campuses and that had an impact on the larger arena of American politics. Chapter 3, for example, questions whether legislation protecting women from

violence is a casualty of the devolution revolution. Chapter 6 describes how college students can help others to attain their civil rights.

- **Join the Debate** To engage students in critical thinking, foster interest in important issues, and help inspire their participation through involvement in decision making and taking a stand, we developed a *Join the Debate* feature. Heavily revised to remain current and resonant to both instructors and students, this feature introduces provocative issues under debate today and explores those issues by suggesting arguments for and against them. Topics such as chapter 3's "No Child Left Behind Act," chapter 5's "The USA Patriot Act," or chapter 13's "Lowering the Voting Age" are accompanied by supporting questions and guidance from the authors and are designed to prompt students to examine various arguments in the debate, consider larger context, and take a position on issues that matter in American government today.
- **Global Perspective** To put American government in perspective, these boxes compare issues and U.S. politics with other nations. Many of these boxes now include comparisons to non-Western nations such as Iran, Iraq, Egypt, India, China, Russia, and Indonesia; some focus on specific issues of particular interest today such as chapter 15's "Al-Jazeera: The CNN of the Arab World?"
- **Politics Now** These contemporary boxes act as a counterpoint to the text's traditional focus on the "roots of government." Based on current clippings, editorials, and moments in time, these boxes are designed to encourage students to think about current issues in the context of the continuing evolution of the American political system. Chapter 1, for example, examines "Deepening Disapproval of U.S. Involvement in Iraq." Chapter 6 examines how Native Americans are using diverse ways to reverse the economic adversity of discrimination.
- **Analyzing Visuals** A feature designed to encourage visual literacy, *Analyzing Visuals* helps students make sense of quantitative and qualitative information presented visually and enables them to get the most out of graphic representations. This feature examines a wide variety of images, including news photographs and political cartoons, as well as tables, bar graphs, line graphs, maps, and charts. In addition, students are encouraged to analyze and interpret the visual information themselves, using the introductory captions, pointers, and critical thinking questions provided to guide them. An introductory section, *Analyzing Visuals: A Brief Guide* (see pages xxxvi–xxxix), offers a foundation for analyzing and interpreting different kinds of visuals that students will encounter in the text. In addition to helping students examine the *Analyzing Visuals* features throughout the book, this introduction offers valuable strategies and suggested questions that can be applied to all the visuals in the text as well as those found in daily newspapers, weekly magazines, etc. These visual learning features appear twice per chapter.
- **Roots of Government** These historical boxes appear in half of the text's chapters and highlight the role that a particular institution, process, or person has played in the course of American politics as it has evolved to the present. Chapter 5, for example, examines the American Civil Liberties Union, while chapter 16 looks at "pressure politics" of the past.

Web Explorations

The end of each chapter contains several links to the World Wide Web through our book-specific Web site. Web Explorations encourage students to learn more and think critically about a specific issue or concept.

MyPoliSciLab and LongmanParticipate.com 3.0 MyPoliSciLab is a state of the art, interactive online solution for your course. Available in CourseCompass, Black-

board, and WebCT, MyPoliSciLab offers students a wealth of simulations, interactive exercises, and assessment tools—all intergrated with the printed text and an online e-book. For each chapter of the text, students can navigate through a pre-test, post-test, chapter review, and a full chapter exam, so they can assess, review, and improve their understanding of the concepts within the chapters. In addition to the online chapter content and assessment, students will have access to LongmanParticipate.com (updated 3.0 version), Longman's best-selling, interactive online tool, which provides over one hundred exercises for students. LongmanParticipate.com (3.0) is also available as a Web site alone.

Throughout the text students will find icons (see opposite page for samples) in the margins that direct them to relevant simulations, visual literacy exercises and other activities—all of which appear in both *MyPoliSciLab* and *LongmanParticipate.com 3.0*. Students will know which site to use by using the access card that came packaged with this text.

THE ANCILLARY PACKAGE

The ancillary package for *American Government: Continuity and Change, 2006 Edition*, reflects the pedagogical goals of the text: to provide information in a useful context and with colorful examples. We have tried especially hard to provide materials that are useful for instructors and helpful to students.

Instructor Supplements for Qualified College Adopters

Instructor's Manual. Written by Sue Davis of Denison University. Includes chapter overviews, chapter outlines, learning objectives, key terms, and valuable teaching suggestions for all chapters.

Test Bank. Written by Paul W. Cooke of Cy-Fair College. Contains hundreds of thoroughly revised and challenging multiple choice, true-false, and essay questions along with an answer key.

TestGen EQCD-ROM. The printed Test Bank is also available through our computerized testing system, TestGen-EQ. This fully networkable, user-friendly program enables instructors to view and edit questions, add their own questions, and print tests in a variety of formats.

MyPoliSciLab and LongmanParticipate.com 3.0 Faculty Teaching Guide. Written by Scott Furlong of University of Wisconsin. Contains chapter-by-chapter detailed summaries for each of the sites' interactive activities, as well as a list of concepts covered, recommendations about how to integrate the sites into coursework, and discussion questions and paper topics for every exercise. Instructors may use the table of contents in the front of the guide to locate information on a given activity icon that appears in the margin of their adopted textbook. This guide also provides faculty with detailed instructions and screen shots showing how to use MyPoliSciLab or LongmanParticipate.com, how to register on the sites, and how to set up and use any available administrative features. The introductory chapter describes the numerous additional resources included on the websites.

Digital Media Archive Presentation CD-ROM. This complete multimedia presentation tool provides instructors with the following: a built-in presentation-maker, approximately 100 photos and 150 figures, graphs, and tables from Longman American

government textbooks, 40 video clips, and more! All items can be imported into an instructor's existing presentation program, such as PowerPoint®.

Companion Website (CW) www.ablongman.com/oconnor. This online course companion provides a wealth of resources for instructors using *American Government: Continuity and Change*.

PowerPoint® Presentation. A lecture outline presentation to accompany all the chapters of this new edition along with complete graphics from the book. See the companion Web site at www.ablongman.com/oconnor to download the presentations.

Transparencies. Full-color acetates of the figures from all chapters of the book.

Interactive American Government Video. Contains twenty-seven video segments on topics ranging from the term limit debate to Internet pornography to women in the Citadel. Critical thinking questions accompany each clip, encouraging students to “interact” with the videos by analyzing their content and the concepts they address.

Politics in Action Video. Eleven “lecture-launchers” covering subjects from conducting a campaign to the passage of a bill. Includes narrated videos, interviews, edited documentaries, original footage, and political ads.

American Government Video Program. Qualified adopters can peruse our list of videos for the American government classroom at www.ablongman.com/irc.

Student Supplements for Qualified College Adopters

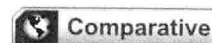
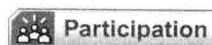
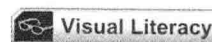
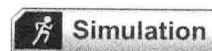
MyPoliSciLab for American Government with LongmanParticipate.com 3.0.

MyPoliSciLab is a state-of-the-art, interactive online solution for your course. Available in CourseCompass WebCt, or Blackboard with this text, MyPoliSciLab offers a wealth of simulations, interactive exercises, and assessment tools—all integrated with an online e-book version of this text. For each chapter, students will navigate through a pre-test, post-test, chapter review, and a full chapter exam, allowing them to assess, review, and improve their understanding of key concepts. In addition to the online chapter content, students will have access to LongmanParticipate.com (updated 3.0 version), Longman's best-selling interactive online tool, which offers over 100 exercises for students. These exercises include:

- Simulations putting students in the role of a political actor;
- Visual Literacy exercises getting students interpreting, manipulating, and applying data in visual form;
- Interactive Timelines enabling students to experience the evolution of an aspect of government;
- Participation activities that personalize politics by either getting students involved (e.g. in a debate) or exploring their own thoughts and opinions about our system;
- Comparative exercises that have students compare aspects of our system to those of other countries.

Students receive feedback at every step, and instructors can track student work through the gradebook feature. The activities for the site were written and revised by Quentin Kidd, *Christopher Newport University*; and William Field, *Temple University*.

Activities and content for previous versions of the sites were written by: James Brent, *San Jose State University*; Laura Roselle, *Elon College*; Denise Scheberle,



University of Wisconsin; B. Thomas Schuman, *University of New Hampshire*; Sharon Spray, *Elon College*; Cara Strebe, *San Francisco State University*; Ruth Ann Strickland, *Appalachian State University*; Kaare Strøm, *University of California, San Diego*; David Tabb, *San Francisco State University*; Paul Benson, *Tarrant County Community College*; Stephen Sandweiss, *Tacoma Community College*.

LongmanParticipate.com 3.0 is also available as a website alone, for instructors who do not wish to use a course management system such as CourseCompass.

A free six-month subscription to MyPoliSciLab or LongmanParticipate.com 3.0 is available when access cards to either site are ordered packaged with this text. To find out more about MyPoliSciLab, go to www.mypoliscilab.com. To find out more about LongmanParticipate.com 3.0 go to www.longmanparticipate.com.

Companion Website (cw) www.ablongman.com/oconnor. This online course companion provides a wealth of resources for students using *American Government: Continuity and Change*, including learning objectives, practice tests, vocabulary flashcards, an online glossary, and more.

Study Guide. Written by John Ben Sutter of Houston Community College. The printed study guide features chapter outlines, key terms, a variety of practice tests, and critical thinking questions to help students learn.

StudyWizard CD-ROM. Written by David Dupree of Victor Valley College. This interactive study guide helps students master concepts in the text through practice tests, chapter and topic summaries, and a comprehensive interactive glossary. Students receive immediate feedback on practice tests in the form of answer explanations and page references in the text to go to for extra help. FREE when ordered packaged with the text.

Discount Subscription to *The New York Times*. A ten-week subscription for only \$20! Contact your local Allyn & Bacon/Longman representative for more information.

Discount Subscription to *Newsweek Magazine*. Students receive twelve issues of *Newsweek* at more than 80% off the regular price. An excellent way for students to keep up with current events.

***Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America*.** By Morris P. Fiorina, Stanford University, Samuel J. Abrams, Harvard University, and Jeremy C. Pope, Stanford University. The first book in the “Great Questions in Politics” series, *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America* combines polling data with a compelling narrative to debunk commonly believed myths about American politics—particularly the claim that Americans are deeply divided in their fundamental political views.

***You Decide! Current Debates in American Politics, 2005 Edition*.** Edited by John T. Rourke, University of Connecticut, this exciting new debate-style reader examines provocative issues in American politics today—from same-sex marriage and abortion to the electoral college and the war on terror. The topics have been selected for their currency, importance, and student interest, and the pieces that argue various sides of a given issue come from recent journals, congressional hearings, think tanks, and periodicals. Free when packaged with this text.

***Voices of Dissent: Critical Readings in American Politics, Sixth Edition*.** Edited by William F. Grover, St. Michael's College, and Joseph G. Peschek, Hamline