

Analyzing American Government

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

Freedom and Power

4TH EDITION

Analyzing American Government for 4E (workbook) Lowi, Ginsberg, Jackson, & Lennertz

Copyright © 1996 by W. W. Norton & Company

All rights reserved Printed in the United States of America

ISBN 0-393-96860-X

W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10110

W. W. Norton & Company Ltd., 10 Coptic Street, London WC1A 1PU

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

Analyzing American Government

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

4TH EDITION

Theodore J. Lowi

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Benjamin Ginsberg

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Steve Jackson

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

AND

James Lennertz

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE

Contents

Introduction 1

| 1 | Freedom and Power: An Introduction to the Problem | 4 |
|---|---|----|
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 4 | |
| | | |
| 2 | Constructing a Government: The Founding and the Constitution | 6 |
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 6 | |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 8 | |
| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 9 | |
| | ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS The Living Constitution 10 | |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST The Constitutional Convention 15 | |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE Should Ethics Ever Be Compromised? 23 | |
| | | |
| 3 | The Constitutional Framework: Federalism and the Separation of Powers | 25 |
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 25 | |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 26 | |
| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 28 | |
| | ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS Cooperative Federalism 28 | |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST State and Local Reactions to Cutbacks in Federal Funding 33 | |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE Should More Power Be Returned to the States? 41 | |
| | | |

| 4 | The Constitutional Framework and the Individual: Civil Liberties and Civil Rights | 43 |
|---|--|----|
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 43 | |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 44 | |
| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 46 | |
| | ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS Responding to New Claims for Civil Rights 47 | |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST African American Representation in Congress 51 | |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE Ethics and Individual Rights 59 | |
| 5 | Congress: The First Branch | 61 |
| | | |
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 61 MULTIPLE CHOICE OUESTIONS 64 | |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 64 REVIEW OUESTIONS 66 | |
| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 66 ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS The Rules of Congress 67 | |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST Influences on | |
| | Congressional Decision Making 73 | |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE Pork Barrel Politics 77 | |
| 6 | The President: From Chief Clerk to Chief Executive | 70 |
| O | | 79 |
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 79 | |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 81 | |
| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 83 | |
| | ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS The President's State of the Union Address 84 | |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST The President's Support in Congress 89 | |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE Presidential Responsibilities as Commander-in-Chief 95 | |
| 7 | The Executive Branch: Bureaucracy in a Democracy | 97 |
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 97 | |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 98 | |

| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 100 | |
|---|---|-----|
| | ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS Bureaucratic Accountability 101 | |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST The Growth of the Bureaucracy 105 | |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE Bureaucratic Rules and Interpretation | 111 |
| 8 | The Federal Courts: Least Dangerous Branch or Imperial Judiciary? | 113 |
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 113 | |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 115 | |
| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 117 | |
| | ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS The Role of the Courts in Our Lives 117 | |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST Supreme Court Overturns and the Litigation Explosion 123 | |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE Ethics and Client Confidentiality 131 | |
| 9 | Public Opinion | 133 |
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 133 | |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 135 | |
| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 136 | |
| | ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS Interpreting Public Opinion 137 | |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST The Complexities Public Opinion 141 | of |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE Treating Surveys Fairly 149 | |
| 0 | Elections | 151 |
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 151 | |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 154 | |
| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 155 | |
| | ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS Issues, Character, and Elections 156 | |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST Planning Bill Clinton's Presidential Campaign Strategy 161 | |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE Redistricting and Gerrymandering 171 | |

| 11 | Political Parties | 173 |
|----|--|-----|
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 173 | |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 175 | |
| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 176 | |
| | ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS From Labor-Intensive to Capital-Intensive Politics 177 | |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST Nominating Presidential Candidates 181 | |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE Changing Party Identification for Greater Power 189 | |
| 12 | Groups and Interests | 191 |
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 191 | |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 192 | |
| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 193 | |
| | ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS The Influence of Interest Groups 194 | |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST Interests and Interest | est |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE Government Positions and Personal Conflicting Interests 205 | |
| 13 | The Media | 207 |
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 207 | |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 208 | |
| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 210 | |
| | ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS Is the Media Cynical? 210 | |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST The President's Televised News Conferences 215 | |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE Responsibilities of the Media 229 | |
| 14 | Politics and Government: The Problem with the Process | 231 |
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 231 | |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 233 | |

| | Non-Electoral Means 235 |
|----|---|
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST Revelation, Investigation, Prosecution 241 |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE Dirty Campaign Tactics 249 |
| 15 | Government and the Economy: An Introduction to Public Policy 251 |
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 251 |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 253 |
| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 254 |
| | ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS The Complexities of Economic Policy 255 |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST Federal Reserve Board Policy in Presidential Election Years 259 |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE The Capital Gains Tax 267 |
| | |
| 16 | Government and Society 269 |
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 269 |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 270 |
| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 271 |
| | ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS Education Reform 272 |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST How Is the Public Welfare Budget Spent? 277 |
| | ETHICAL DEBATE Do Safety Rules Infringe upon Individual Rights? 285 |
| 17 | Foreign Policy and World Politics 287 |
| | CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 287 |
| | MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 288 |
| | REVIEW QUESTIONS 290 |
| | ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS The United States and Haiti 290 |
| | THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST National Defense, Development Aid, and Military Aid 295 |

REVIEW QUESTIONS 234

ETHICAL DEBATE Compromising Human Rights in Foreign Policy 303

18 Freedom and Power: A New Century with a New 2006

CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE 306
MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS 307
REVIEW QUESTIONS 309

ANALYZING TODAY'S POLITICS The Negation of Medicare 310

THINKING LIKE A POLITICAL SCIENTIST Incrementalism or Innovation in Defense Spending 315

ETHICAL DEBATE Responsibilities of the Citizen to a Democratic System 321

Introduction

This workbook is designed to accompany and complement American Government: Freedom and Power (4th ed.), by Theodore Lowi and Benjamin Ginsberg. It provides an opportunity for students to demonstrate their mastery of the material presented in the text. At the same time, it challenges them to go beyond the material covered in the text and incorporate that knowledge into their everyday understanding of American politics.

The workbook builds directly upon the distinguishing feature of American Government; every chapter makes an argument about the nature of politics or policy in America. And all of the separate arguments are linked to the central theme defined by the tension between freedom and power. This workbook provides opportunities to explore the arguments contained in each chapter, while also providing opportunities to review the major facts detailed in the text.

The workbook is designed with the recognition that courses using *American Government* as a text vary in many ways. Some are large classes with teacher assistant (TA) led sections. Some are large classes with no TAs. Some are small classes that include discussion sessions. Others are small classes with no discussion. For each of these different formats this workbook might play a different role. Its modular design allows the individual faculty member to pick and choose assignments from each chapter with flexibility.

Each chapter begins with a Chapter Summary and Study Guide. This outline of the major elements of each chapter should allow students to be sure that in their reading of the chapter there are no major elements they have missed. In addition, the Summary distinguishes the principal descriptive facts presented in the chapter from the principal argument which is advanced in the chapter. This should clarify for students the distinction between facts and arguments; further, it allows students the opportunity to assess for themselves the persuasiveness of the argument, given the facts.

The first chapter consists solely of a Chapter Summary and Study Guide. All of the remaining chapters have five more sections of Exercises for Learning, parallel in design and intention for each chapter.

The second section in each chapter consists of a set of ten multiple-choice questions. These are designed to spot-check students' reading of the chapter. A careful reading of the chapter should make it easy for students to quickly answer all of these questions with little if any need to refer back to the chapter.

The third section in each chapter consists of a set of fifteen to twenty

short-answer review questions, designed to be answered in one or two sentences. These are also designed to spot-check students' reading of the chapter. They have been chosen to focus on key people, ideas, events, institutions, or policies, which are not easily amenable to multiple-choice questions. Students who can answer the questions in both the second and third sections without difficulty can be assured that they have retained the principal facts outlined in each chapter by Lowi and Ginsberg.

The fourth section in each chapter consists of an exercise in applying one or more of the arguments from the chapter, Analyzing Today's Politics. Typically, this section requires a student to locate a relevant article in one of the national newspapers which provide substantial coverage of American politics. Papers included in this category would be the *Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post*, and *New York Times*. Articles might also be found in major weekly news magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek*.

Each of the Analyzing Today's Politics assignments is preceded by an analysis of an article drawn from the national newspapers. This analysis may serve as a starting point both for discussion sections and for students seeking to complete the assignment on their own. When students have been able to take a newspaper article of their choosing and apply the lessons drawn from the text to that material, they have demonstrated the ability to incorporate the learning from the book into their everyday understanding of American politics.

To facilitate completion of these assignments, students might want to either locate a library which carries a selection of national newspapers, or subscribe to one of the papers for the semester. Many faculty members recommend this anyway as a useful adjunct to the learning in the course.

The fifth section of each chapter consists of an assignment titled "Thinking like a Political Scientist." These exercises lead students through very simple data manipulations to illustrate and/or elaborate upon the arguments contained in the chapters. Raising questions about the subjects discussed in the text, these exercises encourage students to begin to frame arguments in a testable fashion, to use data to evaluate those arguments, and to look at data as grounds for speculation as well as proof.

Finally, the sixth section of each chapter considers an issue of political ethics, usually within the context of a real or realistic situation. These debates and discussions are not intended to lay down a particular ethical model, or even to presume that political ethics can be more than public relations or strategy. They are intended to renew our interest in and attention to important matters between the thunderous clash of ideology and the backalley brawls of high-tech campaigning. In short, these debates explore the possibility that humans are neither angels nor wolves but something in between.

While each of these exercises introduces elements of social science methodology to students, their principal purpose remains the illumination of American government, the tension between freedom and power, the struggle between politics and policy. Joined to the other exercises in each chapter, the data exercises add a powerful element of discovery and exploration to students' mastery of the material from the text. If any of these assignments are to used as a basis for discussion by and among the students (either in class or in section), it is probably best to assign only one of the three from a given chapter. To get the full benefit intended from the discussion of these exercises, thirty to forty minutes is probably required.

It is not necessary to use all of the exercises in order to benefit from this workbook. For example, the first two exercises in each chapter check for factual comprehension. That might be accomplished by in-class exams or small-group discussion sections. The third exercise seeks to enhance students' ability to apply the lessons of the text to a critical reading of the daily news. That might be accomplished in discussion sections as well. The fourth exercise seeks to place the arguments of each chapter in a controlled research setting, where students may learn a little more about the argument from the process of discovery. That might be accomplished by independent research assignments. The final exercise gets students to think critically about political ethics along two dimensions: as a set of rules to keep politics "fair" or as a set of principles of proper political behavior. Our experience is that this exercise works best as a classroom discussion. It is hoped that faculty members will choose that set of assignments which best complements the teaching plan and objectives for their particular course in American Government. Thus, this workbook might serve a useful purpose in many different ways.

1

Freedom and Power: An Introduction to the Problem

CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE

- I. The central descriptive fact is that government involves control. Much of this chapter is taken up with a description of the central concepts needed to begin an inquiry into the way in which the American government is organized to exert control over its citizens and territory.
 - A. Introduction: Changing Perceptions of Government
 - B. Government and Control
 - 1. The essential foundations of government have historically included a means of coercion and a means of collecting revenue.
 - a. A means of coercion gives government the power to order people around, to get people to obey its edicts, and to punish them if they do not.
 - b. Governments must have a means of collecting revenue from citizens in order to support their institutions and programs.
 - 2. Forms of government vary in their institutional structure, size, and in terms of how they govern.
 - A nation's politics influence its government, and at the same time, the character and actions of a government also influence a nation's politics.
 - B. From Coercion to Consent
 - The extraction-coercion cycle refers to a ruler's ability to acquire a continuously increasing amount of tax revenues and forced government service, which arises from and contributes to continuously growing armies and bureaucracies.
 - 2. The relationship between rulers and the ruled was transformed by a shift in emphasis from limits on government power to increasing citizen participation and influence through politics.
 - a. The bourgeoisie was the key force behind the imposition of limits on government power because it wanted to protect and defend its own interests.

- b. Internal conflict and external threat forced rulers to give ordinary citizens a greater voice in public affairs.
- c. The main external threat to a government's power is the existence of other nation-states.
- Once citizens perceived that government could operate in response to their demands, they became increasingly willing to support the expansion of government.
- II. The central argument of this chapter is that as government exercises control, the power it requires must be balanced against the need of its citizens for freedom.

Constructing a Government: The Founding and the Constitution

CHAPTER SUMMARY AND STUDY GUIDE

- I. The central descriptive fact is that the U.S. Constitution is a complex document, reflecting the conflicts and compromises which dotted the history by which the document emerged. Much of the chapter is taken up with a description of that history and of the key provisions of the Constiion.
 - A. The First Founding: Interests and Conflicts
 - 1. Beginning in the 1750s, British tax and trade policies started to split the colonial elite according to interests, and set into motion a chain of events that culminated in the American Revolution.
 - Agitation by radical colonists like Samuel Adams provoked retaliation and political repression by the British, which in turn helped radicalize a larger segment of Americans and created more general support for freedom.
 - The Declaration of Independence was an attempt to identify and articulate a history and set of principles that might help to forge national unity.
 - 4. The Articles of Confederation was the United States' first attempt to identify and articulate a history and set of principles that might help to forge national unity.
 - B. The Second Founding: From Compromise to Constitution
 - Competition for foreign commerce combined with a post–Revolutionary War change in the balance of political power within the new states created a national atmosphere of confusion and instability.
 - The continuation of international weakness and domestic economic concerns led to the Annapolis Convention in the fall of 1786, which was the first step toward the second founding.
 - 3. Shays's rebellion in Massachusetts provided critics of the Articles of Confederation with precisely the evidence they needed to induce constitutional revision.
 - 4. Fifty-five delegates, from every state except Rhode Island, attended