

Keeping the Republic

Power and Citizenship in American Politics

Essentials **5th Edition**

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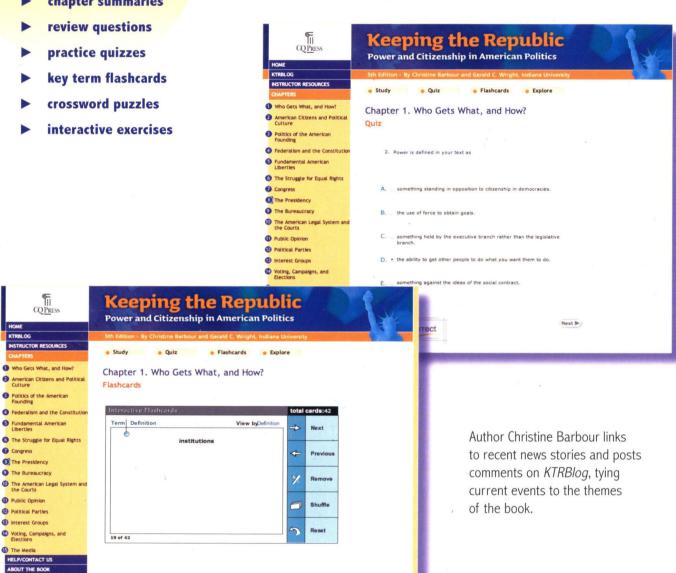
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KEEPING THE REPUBLIC

Power and Citizenship in American Politics, Essentials, 5th Edition

- New design features bright colors, bigger photos, innovative treatment of key terms, and a cohesive layout.
- New annotated headings concisely impart a section's main message so students can't miss important takeaway points.
- New and updated coverage throughout on President Obama, the financial crisis, health care reform, judicial nominations, and increasing partisanship.
- New data are integrated throughout the book's many tables, figures, and maps.

Highlights of chapter revisions include:

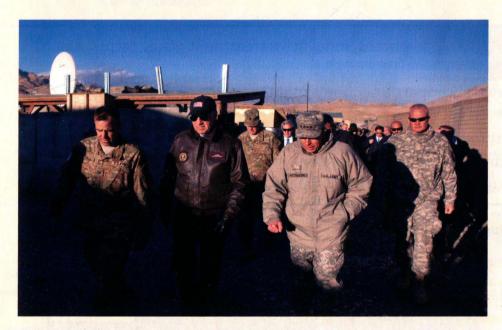
- Chapter 1—a new Profiles in Citizenship of a young and enterprising Republican.
- Chapter 2—discussion of illegal immigration and controversial legislation in Arizona.
- Chapter 3—new What's at Stake? looks at citizen frustration with government, the Tea Party movement, and the line between protecting individual rights and the exercise of government authority.
- **Chapter 4**—updated *What's at Stake?* considers federal and state legal clashes over medical marijuana. Expanded discussion of unfunded mandates and the struggle for power between federal and state governments.
- **Chapter 5**—new *What's* at *Stake?* looks at a state attorney general's effort to prosecute a professor for what the political official saw as fraudulent scientific research. New and updated coverage of health care reform.
- Chapter 6—expanded information on blacks in contemporary
 American politics, including voter turnout and the election of
 Barack Obama. Updates also address gender discrimination and
 sexual orientation.
- Chapter 7—new What's at Stake? explores the use of the filibuster to stymie Obama's presidential ambitions. New discussion on Congress's role as watch dog, particularly in regard to the SEC and the financial crisis, on increasing polarization, and on the impact of descriptive representation. New Profiles in Citizenship of Senator Jon Tester.
- Chapter 8—updates on Obama's picks for the judiciary and the
 role of the filibuster in stalling nominations. Expanded discussion
 of the effect of the state of the economy on presidential approval
 ratings.

- Chapter 9—updates address the politicization of the bureaucracy, independent regulatory boards and commissions, limiting presidential influence, and differing views on regulation.
- Chapter 10—new discussion on the politicization of the confirmation process in the federal courts, along with coverage of new Supreme Court justices Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan.
- Chapter 11—expanded examination of the sources of division in public opinion. New Profiles in Citizenship of statistician and blogger Nate Silver.
- **Chapter 12**—new *What's at Stake?* questions the implications for a political party with its fortunes tied to ideologically extreme members. The chapter's approach to parties in regard to the party faithful, the pull toward extremism, and the role of moderation is revised and reorganized.
- Chapter 13—new What's at Stake? looks at special interest involvement in health care reform, along with new discussion of the impact of the Citizens United case on lobbying and advertising.
- Chapter 14—new What's at Stake? examines the significance
 of the Citizens United ruling, and there is a Profiles in Citizenship
 on former presidential speechwriter and strategist David Frum.
 Updates on the 2010 midterm elections, who votes (and who
 doesn't), and the state of voting requirements and reform efforts.
- **Chapter 15**—new What's at Stake? looks at the growing role of the Internet as a source of news, and an interview with Andrew Sullivan is the subject of a new Profiles in Citizenship. The chapter also looks at presidential news management tactics.

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▶ Profiles in Citizenship: Joe Biden

"I've been here for eight presidents, and I'm an optimist because I know the history of the story of American progress. I mean the American people have never ever, never shied away when you've given them a vision, a challenge . . ."



In January 2011, Vice President Joe Biden visited Afghanistan to assess progress toward the transition to Afghan-led security beginning in 2011, and to demonstrate the United States' commitment to a long-term partnership with Afghanistan. (Pictured: Vice President Joe Biden and General David Petraeus tour Forward Operating Base Airborne in Wardak Province, Afghanistan, January 11, 2011). Official White House Photo by David Lienemann.

In the cold December that followed the 2010 midterm elections—with the 111th Congress in the waning days of its lameduck session before the members headed home for their holiday break—the Obama administration still had a long Christmas wish list. Senate ratification of the New START Treaty with Russia was on its agenda, as were extending the tax cuts for those making under \$250,000 a year and getting unemployment insurance extended for those especially hard hit by the recession. The administration wanted to repeal the "don't ask, don't tell" policy in the military and get the DREAM Act passed, which would allow kids brought to this country by parents who entered illegally to find a path to citizenship through education or military service. After what President Obama described as the "shellacking" the Democrats took in the midterm elections, no one thought he had a chance of getting any of those things done, but his administration was scrambling to end the year on a positive note.

Our interview with Vice President
Joe Biden took place in the thick of
the administration's negotiations
with congressional Republicans over
extending the tax cuts, and Biden was the
negotiator-in-chief. We were slotted in for
an appointment in his White House office
between cabinet members who wanted
to discuss the implications of agreeing to
extend the Bush tax cuts for the country's

wealthiest citizens, and Nancy Pelosi, then the Speaker of the House, and Harry Reid, the Senate majority leader, who were adamantly opposed to extending the tax cuts for the wealthy. The air in his White House office fizzed with power and excitement as Biden waited for a call from Senate minority leader Mitch McConnell to cement a deal that would, he argued, "save the economy from a double dip recession, make a compromise where the working poor continue to get their tax cuts even though we have to give temporarily on the upper end, where you see an increase in the stimulus that you'll end up with a million and a half more jobs than you would've next year, and where in the process we get the arms control treaty ratified and the trade deal."

Though the call didn't come while we were there, by late afternoon it would be announced that, due in large part to Biden's bargaining, the White House had gotten much of what it wanted in the tax cut deal. The repeal of "don't ask, don't tell" followed days later, as did ratification of the New START Treaty and passage of several other key pieces of legislation. While the administration didn't get everything it wanted that December—the tax cuts were extended for the wealthiest Americans as well as for those in the middle class and the DREAM Act did not pass—no one argued when President Obama hailed the lameduck session as the most productive in decades

That day in early December, the vice president clearly relished his role in brokering the deal that would make it possible for the rest to follow, and he was eloquent and hopeful about the possibilities of using power to good

This profile appears in chapter 19 of the Full edition of *Keeping the Republic*, 5th edition. The *Profiles in Citizenship* feature is based on personal interviews conducted by the authors.

purpose. It's a great time to be in service, he said, what he called "the single greatest opportunity" in his forty years of public life. "We are in one of those inflection points in history," he says, "I don't think it's occurred in American history but three times, where . . . if we do nothing, the momentum is going to drag us in the direction that makes it increasingly more difficult to correct the course." He discusses some of the biggest challenges we face—global warming, inequalities in education, our changing economy, and our standing in the world. "So you are at one of those moments where if we get it right, this can be a truly transformational moment where you look back twenty years from now and say, we had set the course of the nation, we put it on a trajectory that puts us in the position to be able to lead the world in the twentyfirst century or not."

Being a key actor in a transformational moment is a pretty heady place to be for someone who started life, as Biden often reminds people, as a working-class kid from Scranton, Pennsylvania. How he got from there to here is an unlikely story but in some ways a quintessentially American one. Biden was born to a large Irish Catholic family that moved, in time, to Delaware, but it was in his "Grandpop" Finnegan's kitchen in Scranton that he learned the first principles of politics: that no one and no group is above any other and that politics was a matter of personal honor.1 Those themes have guided Biden's career, through his college years, law school, a stint on the New Castle County Council, and a long-shot candidacy for the U.S. Senate when he was only twenty-nine years old that launched his thirty-six years in that institution before he joined the Obama ticket and ascended to the vice presidency in 2009.

You can tell by his face, as he talks about his career, that it has been fun. He's been thrilled at the experiences it has brought his family (a granddaughter, for instance, plays basketball with the President and his daughters), and he has the satisfaction of knowing that what he does on a daily basis makes a difference in people's lives. He says, "My dad used to have an expression, he'd say it's a lucky person that gets up in the morning, puts both feet on the floor, knows what they are about to do, and thinks it still matters."

Today, at the pivotal moment in which he serves, he is enormously hopeful that the things he will help do will matter immensely both domestically and globally. He has more power than the traditional vice presidential office that John Nance Garner (vice president to Franklin Roosevelt) once said wasn't worth a pitcher of warm spit. He is an essential liaison with Congress for the Obama administration (witness his work with McConnell on the tax cut extension) and a key adviser to the president on foreign policy and issues facing the middle class. Asked whether he can stay optimistic in the face of partisan battles at home and dire challenges abroad, he lights up. "Absolutely, I am absolutely optimistic," he says. "I've been here for eight presidents, and I'm an optimist because I know the history of the story of American progress. I mean the American people have never ever, never shied away when you've given them a vision, a challenge and you know where you want to take it. They've never let the

country down, never. That's not American exceptionalism. I would argue, as a student of history, that that's literally true, literally true; we rise to the occasion."

And the boy from Scranton is right in the middle of it. Here are some other words of advice from the Vice President:

On the importance of confidence:

Look, . . . there are a lot of advantages, people don't all show up on the playing field with the same equipment, and I'm not talking intellect. The great advantage I had is that I don't ever remember a time my parents not drilling into me—"You're a man of your word, without your word you're not a man. Joey, nobody is better than you in the whole world, you're no better but nobody is better than you." My mother gave me absolute confidence. It was a gigantic, gigantic, asset.

On keeping the republic:

I'd tell [students] to be engaged....[Y]ou know that old quote from Plato, the penalty good men pay for not being engaged in politics is being governed by men worse than themselves. [Students] have nobody to blame but themselves, zero. My dad used to say never complain and never explain, and ... that's exactly what I'd tell them ... stop whining, get engaged. Number two, the political system is so wide open you can drive a Mack truck through it, so the idea that "Oh, God, I have to come from influence and money to have an impact?" Simply not true.

1. Joe Biden, Promises to Keep. (New York: Random House, 2007), xv.

Keeping the Republic

Power and Citizenship in American Politics

We dedicate this book with love to our parents, Patti Barbour and John Barbour and Doris and Gerry Wright,

To our kids, Andrea and Darrin, Monica and Michael,
To our grandkids, Amelia, Elena, Paloma, and Asher
And to each other.

About the Authors



Authors Christine Barbour (center) and Gerald Wright (right) and KTR contributor Patrick Haney (second left) meet with Vice President Joe Biden for a Profiles in Citizenship interview. Official White House Photo by David Lienemann.

Christine Barbour

Christine Barbour teaches in the Political Science Department and the Honors College at Indiana University, where she has become increasingly interested in how teachers of large classes can maximize what their students learn. At Indiana, Professor Barbour has been a Lilly Fellow, working on a project to increase student retention in large introductory courses, and a member of the 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 to develop ways to integrate newspaper reading into the undergraduate curriculum. She has won several teaching honors, but the two awarded by her students mean the most to her: the Indiana University Student Alumni Association Award for Outstanding Faculty (1995–1996) and the Indiana University Chapter of the Society of Professional Journalists Brown Derby Award (1997). When not teaching or writing textbooks, Professor Barbour enjoys playing with her dogs, traveling with her coauthor, and writing about food. She is the food editor for Bloom Magazine of Bloomington and is a coauthor of Indiana Cooks! (2005) and Home Grown Indiana (2008). She is currently working on another cookbook and a book about local politics, development, and the fishing industry in Apalachicola, Florida.

Gerald C. Wright

Gerald C. Wright has taught political science at Indiana University since 1981. An accomplished scholar of American politics, his books include Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States (1993), coauthored with Robert S. Erikson and John P. McIver, and he has published more than fifty articles on elections, public opinion, and state politics. Professor Wright has long studied the relationship among citizens, their preferences, and public policy. He is currently conducting research with grants from the National Science Foundation and the Russell Sage Foundation on the factors that influence the equality of policy representation in the states and in Congress. He is also writing a book about representation in U.S. legislatures. He has been a consultant for Project Vote Smart in the last several elections. Professor Wright is a member of Indiana University's Freshman Learning Project, 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. In his nonworking hours, Professor Wright also likes to spend time with his dogs, travel, eat good food, and play golf.

Preface

hen 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." Have we succeeded in keeping our republic? Had we been given a democracy in the first place? These questions sparked the imagination, the writing of an impassioned freshman essay about the limits and possibilities of American democracy, and a lifetime love affair with politics. 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 way more than 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 excessively 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 details to write reasonable exam questions, we knew that the effort to write an accessible textbook had gone too far. We wanted our students to have 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 about which they were learning.

This book is the result of that desire. It covers essential topics with clear explanations, but it is also a thematic book, intended to guide students through a wealth of material and

to help them make sense of the content both academically and personally. To that end we develop two themes that run throughout every chapter: an analytic theme to assist students in organizing the details and connect them to the larger ideas and concepts of American politics and an evaluative theme to help them find personal meaning in the American political system and develop standards for making judgments about how well the system works. Taken together, these themes provide students a framework on which to hang the myriad complexities of American politics.

The analytic theme we chose is a classic in political science: politics is a struggle over limited power and resources, as gripping as a sporting event in its final minutes, but much more vital. The rules guiding that struggle influence who will win and who will lose, so that often the struggles with the most at stake are over the rule making itself. In short, and in the words of a very famous political scientist, politics is about who gets what and how they get it. 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 chapter section, we stop to revisit Harold Laswell's definition in context 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. In addition, there is a timeline feature—Who, What, How, and WHEN—to show students how dramatically the winners and losers in the struggle for power can change over time.

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

Our citizenship theme has three dimensions. First, in our Profiles in Citizenship feature, present in every chapter, we introduce students to important figures in American politics and ask the subjects why they are involved in public service or some aspect of political life. Based on personal interviews with these people, the profiles model republic-keeping behavior for students, helping them to see what is expected of them as members of a democratic polity. We unabashedly feel that a primary goal of teaching introductory politics is not only to

create good scholars but also to create good citizens. Second, at the end of nearly every chapter, the 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. Third, we premise this book on the belief that the skills that make good students and good academics are the same skills that make good citizens: the ability to think critically about and process new information and the ability to be actively engaged in one's subject. Accordingly, in our Consider the Source feature, we help students critically examine all the various kinds of political information they are bombarded with—from information in textbooks like this one, to information from the media or the Internet, to information from their congressional representative or political party.

How We Get There

In many ways this book follows the path of most American politics texts: 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? that 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, the 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 countries—and among the fifty states.

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.

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

What's New in the Fifth Edition

Elections are almost as rough on American government textbook authors as they are on the candidates—to get books in the bookstores for the new semester we get less than a week to pull all the new information together and update our texts. In the case of 2010, that means that as we write, a couple of House races are still up in the air (which is still better than 2000, when we wrote the election update without knowing who had won the presidency). All considered, this fifth edition of Keeping the Republic is as current as we can make it.

The 2008 election turned some of the conventional wisdom about who gets what in American politics upside down. Americans elected an African American to the presidency and seriously entertained the idea of a woman president or vice president. Young people, traditionally nonvoters, turned out for the primaries and caucuses, and for the second time in a row they turned out in large numbers for the general election. Changing demographics and the passing of time had blurred the distinction between red states and blue states. In 2010, however, amidst a painfully slow economic recovery, politics looked more like business as usual. The president's party took a midterm beating (President Obama called it a "shellacking" larger than but similar to what President George W. Bush described in 2006 as a "thumping"). Young people stayed home, and the electoral map was blue at the coasts and red in the center. We have updated the text throughout to reflect the current balance of power in the House and Senate and tried to put the election results into historical perspective.

And that's not all. Writing the fifth edition also gave us an opportunity to revise, improve, and update graphics and features to make them more useful and pertinent to both instructors and students. Graphs in every chapter reflect the newest data available, and the book now features nearly 360 images and cartoons, the majority of them brand new. New What's at Stake? vignettes examine such topics as the rise of the Tea Party, a state attorney general's effort to prosecute a professor for what he saw as fraudulent scientific research, the use of the filibuster in the Senate to stymie Obama's presidential ambitions, the role of interest groups in the passage of health care reform, the implications for elections of the Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission decision by the Supreme Court, the slow demise of print media in favor of electronic forms of information distribution, the conflict between Arizona's new immigration law and the federal government's responsibility for such legislation, and the implications of BP's 2010 oil spill in the Gulf for the future of domestic oil drilling (the latter two appear only in the Full edition of KTR). Two other What's at Stakes? have been updated to reflect the differences between the Obama and Bush administrations with respect to enforcing federal drug laws over state laws permitting the sale of medical marijuana and the use of presidential signing statements.

We also had the opportunity to add to our Profiles in Citizenship, interviewing Vice President Joe Biden, Sen. Jon Tester, former OMB director Peter Orszag (in Full edition only), former Bush speech writer David Frum, blogger Andrew Sullivan, data guru Nate Silver, and young Republican Meagan Szydlowski.

Supplements

We know how important good resources can be in the teaching of American government. Our goal has been to create resources that not only support but also enhance the text's themes and features. As well, the book's companion site at http://republic.cqpress.com helps students master each chapter's learning objectives, vocabulary, and conceptual information. We greatly appreciate the efforts of adopters and instructors Frank Codspoti of Lone Star College and Heidi Getchell-Bastien of Northern Essex Community College, who have updated and improved the resources that accompany our text.

For instructors:

- Our **KTRblog** will provide news postings, connecting current events to the book's themes and topics.
- Our **Test Bank** has more than 1,400 test questions, separated into factual and conceptual multiple-choice, short-answer, fill-in-the-blank, and short-essay questions to help you create exams. The test bank is available in Respondus—a flexible and easy-to-use test-generation software that allows you to build and customize exams or load them into course management systems.
- PowerPoint Lecture Slides provide an outline for each chapter, highlighting key concepts and leaving plenty of room for adaptation.
- The online Instructor's Manual includes chapter overviews, lecture starters, class activities, and discussion questions, all of which point to ways the power and citizenship themes can be developed further.
- All of the book's Figures, Tables, and Maps, in full color, are available both as PowerPoint slides and as PDFs, so that you can easily teach with them in the classroom.
- All features from the Full edition are available in PDF form for instructors to assign to students, including the critical thinking boxes Consider the Source and a full set of Profiles in Citizenship interviews.
- A free six-month subscription to CQ Weekly is available through CQ Press to instructors who adopt Keeping the Republic (subject to minimum quantities). We use CQ Weekly to stay up to date on current developments, and we know many of our colleagues do as well. This

is a useful source to animate your lectures with topical and insightful analysis from the same magazine that informs politicians and policymakers in Washington.

Instructors should go to http://cqpress.college.com/instructors-resources/republic to register and download these materials.

For students:

- A Study section offers summaries and learning objectives that encapsulate the most important facts and concepts of each chapter.
- Interactive Quizzes allow students to work through approximately twenty multiple-choice questions per chapter and receive immediate results, both by question type (for example, conceptual, factual, and vocabulary) and by chapter section, so that they can effectively gauge their comprehension. If you would like to track your students' online work, you can have them email their quiz results directly to you.
- Flashcards and crosswords are a handy way for students to review the book's key terms. Students can also mark terms they would like to return to as well as shuffle and reset their cards.
- Web-based Exercises provide activities that encourage students to apply information, concepts, and principles from the text in a series of interactive questions.
- An Explore section has annotated web links to facilitate further research.
- Our Take a Position feature builds on particular issues or controversies covered in the text, leading students through the critical thinking process so that they can build a balanced, well-argued position on current events.

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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