

ESSENTIALS OF

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

2004 EDITION



Includes
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with CourseCompass
Access Kit

KAREN O'CONNOR
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The Essentials of American Government

Continuity and Change

2004 EDITION

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Photo Research: Photosearch, Inc.
Manufacturing Buyer: Lucy Hebard
Printer and Binder: RR Donnelley & Sons, Co.
Cover Printer: Phoenix Color Corp.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

O'Connor, Karen,
The essentials of American government: continuity and change / Karen O'Connor,
Larry J. Sabato—2004 ed.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-321-12973-3(pbk.)
1. United States—Politics and government. I. Sabato,
Larry. II. Title.

JK276 .O36 2004
320.473—dc21

2003047513

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Please visit us at <http://www.ablongman.com>

ISBN 0-321-12973-3

12345678910—DOC—06 05 04 03



Preface

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. A second war with Iraq in just over a decade. Corporate scandals accompanying a downturn in the economy and the burst of the technology “bubble.” A sweep in the 2002 midterm elections, where the Republicans bucked historical trends, solidified their hold on the House, and retook control of the Senate.

When we first started writing this text over a decade ago, we could never have envisioned that each passing edition would chronicle such dramatic changes in American government and politics. In just over a decade, we experienced 1992’s “Year of the Woman” that produced record numbers of women elected to national office, and 1994’s “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, the outcome of which did not occur until December and then appeared to many to be decided by a single justice of the U.S. Supreme Court when the Court ruled in George W. Bush’s favor. Most recently, America’s sense of security was shaken by the horrific events of September 11, 2001, which were followed by a “war on terror” at home and abroad, and a new war with Iraq.

It can never be said that American politics is boring. For every edition of this text, something unexpected or extraordinary 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 as well as provides you with the tools to understand politics as an evolutionary process where history matters.

Teaching introductory American government presents special challenges and rewards. It is a challenge to introduce a new discipline to students. It is a challenge to jump from topic to topic each week. Above all, it is a challenge to motivate large and disparate groups of students to master new material and, one hopes, to enjoy it in the process. The rewards of success, however, are students who pay more attention to their government, who participate in its workings as more informed citizens, and who better understand the workings of democracy as practiced in the United States.

We have witnessed some of these rewards in the classroom. With this book, we hope to offer our experiences in written form. This brief and inexpensive text should work well in classes that are shorter, where a more

inexpensive text is desired, or where instructors want to use a basic text supplemented by diverse readings that amplify specific topics. We believe that students need perspective and motivation; they also need to be exposed to information that will withstand the test of time. Our goal with this text is to transmit just this sort of information while creating and fostering student interest in American politics despite growing national skepticism about government and government officials at all levels. We hope that this brief text will explain the national mood about politics and put it in better context for students, to allow them to understand their 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 *The Essentials of 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 response to these new demands. For instance, two centuries ago, no one 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. In order to do so, they must understand how it was designed in the Constitution. Each chapter, therefore, approaches its topic from a combination of perspectives that we believe will facilitate this approach. In writing this book, we chose to put the institutions of government (Part Two) before political behavior (Part Three). 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.

WHAT'S CHANGED IN THIS EDITION?

In this 2004 Edition of *The Essentials 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 was last published. We include, for instance, in-depth coverage of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, their impact on numerous aspects of American government and life in the United States, and the subsequent war on terrorism. We examine closely the evolving presidency of George W. Bush and the work of the 107th Congress, leading up to and through the 2002 midterm elections.

In addition, we have increased the policy coverage in the text by adding a new chapter on foreign and military policy (Chapter 14: Foreign and Military Policy). Here and in Chapter 13: Social and Economic Policy, we strive to provide coverage of both foreign and domestic policies that have an impact on Americans' daily lives.

Chapter Changes

Other changes are reflected in this 2004 Edition. **Chapter 1** includes a new discussion of civil society. **Chapter 3** includes new coverage of the expansion of federal powers after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, a new discussion of interstate compacts, and a new section on the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments. **Chapter 4** has new coverage of the impact of September 11 on civil liberties, and new coverage of the Supreme Court's 2001–2002 rulings on school vouchers, Internet child pornography, mandatory drug testing of high school students, and the execution of the mentally retarded for capital murder. **Chapter 5** includes updated coverage of racial profiling, expanded discussion of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, updated coverage of the administration's handling of Indian land trusts, and new coverage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in 2003. **Chapter 6** includes coverage of the 108th Congress and its new members. **Chapter 7** provides new coverage of the impact of September 11 and the war on terrorism on the presidency and an updated discussion of the president's use of executive orders to effect policy changes. **Chapter 8** has new coverage of the expansion of the federal bureaucracy after September 11 in the form of an Office and then a Department of Homeland Security. **Chapter 10** has new coverage of the demise of Voter News Service after the 2002 midterm elections. **Chapter 11** includes new material on party cohesion, social capital, and political action committee (PAC) expenditures. **Chapter 12** has been reorganized and offers up-to-date material on campaign finance reforms and

voter participation. **Chapter 13** includes updated coverage of social welfare and economic policies. **Chapter 14**, as mentioned earlier, is a new chapter that examines U.S. foreign and military policy.

We have also made a major effort to ensure 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.

In addition to chapter-by-chapter changes, we have developed several new features designed to enhance student understanding of the political processes, institutions, and policies of American government.

Join the Debate

To engage students in critical thinking, foster interest in important issues, and help inspire their participation in our system, we developed a *Join the Debate* feature. Included in selected chapters, this extended feature introduces a provocative issue under debate today and explores that issue through a reprinted news article or commentary. Topics such as Chapter 6's "Should Congress Allow Presidents to Control Terms of Trade?" are accompanied by supporting questions and guidance from the authors and are designed to prompt students to examine various arguments, consider larger context, and take a position on issues that matter in American government today.

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. Building on the popular *Analyzing the Data* feature in the last edition, this new feature examines a greater 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. A new introductory section, *Analyzing Visuals: A Brief Guide* (see pages xxxiv–xxxviii), 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 strategies and suggested questions that can be applied to all the visuals in the text. Topics range from Chapter 1's "Changing Age Composition of the United States" to Chapter 5's "Sexual Harassment Filings, Fiscal Years 1990–2001" to Chapter 11's "Top Lobbying Expenditures." These visual learning features appear in each chapter.

On Campus

These boxes focus, in particular, on material that we believe will be of great interest to 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 have had an impact on the larger arena of American politics. Chapter 4, for example, looks at political speech and mandatory student fees. Chapter 14 examines the impact of September 11, 2001 on American campuses, in particular the implementation of the Student and Exchange Visitor Information System (SEVIS).

FEATURES

The 2004 Edition has retained the best features and pedagogy from the previous edition 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 of the fact that 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 Russia, 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, it becomes increasingly important for students to understand the rudiments of presidential versus parliamentary government, of multiparty versus two-party systems, and so on. Global Politics boxes compare U.S. politics and institutions with other industrialized democracies and non-Western countries such as Russia, Egypt, India, China, and Indonesia.

Enhanced Pedagogy

This essentials version of our longer text contains many pedagogical features to help students become stronger political thinkers as they explore politics through our theme of evolving change.

Preview and Review To pique students' interest and draw them into each chapter, we begin each one with a contemporary vignette. These vignettes, including how eighteen-year-olds acquired the vote, the role of House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi, and the work of embedded journalists during the war with Iraq, 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 a road map previewing the chapter's major headings. Chapter Summaries 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 boldfaced key terms. Key terms are listed once more at the end of each chapter, with page references for review and study.

Special Features

- **Global Politics:** To put American government in perspective, these boxes compare U.S. politics with that of other nations. Many of these boxes now include comparisons to non-Western countries such as Egypt, India, China, Russia, and Indonesia; some focus on specific issues, such as Chapter 10's "Media Freedom."
- **Politics Now:** These boxes act as a counterpoint to the text's traditional focus on history. Based on current events, 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 4, for example, examines civil liberties and the Bush Administration, and the USA Patriot Act in particular.
- **Policy in Action:** To enhance policy coverage in the book, these features examine policy issues and policy makers. Chapter 4, for example, examines the issue of school voucher programs, while Chapter 11 considers the effects of campaign finance reform on political parties and interest groups.
- **Continuity & Change:** These sections conclude each chapter. They encourage students to think critically and tie in with the book's theme of change in America. Many of these sections in the 2004 Edition have been revised or examine new topics. Chapter 3, for example, examines the issue of taxation and sales on the Internet. We have retained the popular "Cast Your Vote" student polling questions found at the end of each *Continuity & Change* section.

Using the Web

Web Explorations Each chapter contains several links to the World Wide Web that prompt students to explore a particular process, topic, or issue in politics on our book-specific Web site. Identified in the margins with an icon, Web Explorations encourage the reader to learn more

and think critically about a specific issue or concept (e.g., “For more about local gun initiatives, go to www.ablongman.com/oconnor”).

LongmanParticipate.com, Version 2.0 Each chapter also contains links to interactive activities found on Longman’s distinctive Web site for American Government, *LongmanParticipate.com, 2.0*. (Follow the registration instructions that accompany the access code, included with every new exam and student copy of this text.) Identified in the margins with an icon, exercises on *LongmanParticipate.com* help students understand important concepts—and make learning them fun—by getting students involved in several types of activities (e.g., simulations in which the student takes the role of the president, a member of Congress, a police officer, and more.)

Now in book-specific versions, so that the site’s table of contents matches the text, instructors also now have the option of ordering *LongmanParticipate.com, 2.0* with an online gradebook through CourseCompass. CourseCompass, a nationally hosted, interactive, online course management system powered by BlackBoard, allows instructors to view students’ scores to key features on the site and easily evaluate their performance. When ordered as part of *LongmanParticipate.com 2.0*, CourseCompass also provides seamless access to the *ResearchNavigator* Online Database, a complete online research feature. (See more details about CourseCompass and the *ResearchNavigator* Online Database later in this Preface.)

THE ANCILLARY PACKAGE

The ancillary package for *The Essentials of American Government: Continuity and Change*, 2004 Edition, reflects the pedagogical goal 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*: Includes chapter overviews, chapter outlines, learning objectives, key terms, and valuable teaching suggestions. Written by Sue Davis of Denison University.
- *Test Bank*: Contains hundreds of challenging and thoroughly revised multiple choice, true-false, and essay questions along with an answer key. Written by J. Aaron Knight of Houston Community College.
- *TestGen EQ CD-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.

- *Faculty Guide to accompany LongmanParticipate.com 2.0*: Contains chapter-by-chapter detailed summaries for each of the site's interactive activities, as well as a list of concepts covered, recommendations about how to integrate the site into coursework, and discussion questions and paper topics for every exercise. This guide also provides instructors with detailed instructions and screen shots showing how to register on the site and how to set up and use the online gradebook that is available if *LongmanParticipate.com* is ordered with CourseCompass. The introductory chapter describes the numerous additional resources included on the Web site. Written by Scott Furlong of the University of Wisconsin.
- *American Government Presentation Library CD-ROM*: This complete multimedia presentation tool provides: a built-in presentation-maker, 200 photographs, 200 figures and graphs from Longman texts, twenty minutes of audio clips, twenty video clips, and links to over 200 Web sites. Media items can be imported into PowerPoint® and Persuasion® presentation programs.
- *PowerPoint® Presentation*: A lecture outline PowerPoint® presentation of this new edition along with graphics from the book. See the companion Web site at www.ablongman.com/oconnor to download the presentations.
- *Transparencies*: Color acetates of the figures from the book.
- *American Government Video Program*: Qualified adopters can peruse our list of videos for the American government classroom.
- *Active Learning Guide for American Government*: This unique guide offers an abundance of innovative suggestions for classroom projects and teaching strategies—including scenarios, role playing exercises, and debates—that will get students actively involved in course material. Written by Richard H. Foster, Mark K. McBeth, Joseph Morris, Sean K. Anderson, and Mark Mussman.
- *Online Course Management*: Longman offers comprehensive online course management systems such as CourseCompass, WebCT, and BlackBoard in conjunction with this text. These systems provide complete content, class roster, online quizzing and testing, grade administration, and more, over the Internet. Please contact your local Allyn & Bacon/Longman representative for more information.

Student Supplements for Qualified College Adopters

- *LongmanParticipate.com, 2.0*: FREE six-month student subscription in every new copy of the text. More interactive, more comprehensive, and more in-depth than any American government Web site currently available, *LongmanParticipate.com 2.0* offers instructors

and students an exciting new resource for teaching and learning about our political system that's easy to integrate into any course. The core of *LongmanParticipate.com* 2.0 is a set of five unique, in-depth learning activities for each chapter of *The Essentials of American Government*:

Simulations put students in the role of a political actor.

Visual Literacy exercises get students interpreting, manipulating, and applying data.

Interactive Timelines enable students to experience the evolution of an aspect of government.

Participation activities personalize politics by either getting students debating or exploring their own thoughts and opinions about our system.

Comparative exercises have students compare aspects of our system to those of other countries.

Students receive feedback at every step and instructors, by ordering *LongmanParticipate.com* 2.0 with CourseCompass, can track student work through an online gradebook feature. The activities and features for 2.0 were written by Paul Benson, Tarrant County Community College; Quentin Kidd, Christopher Newport University; and, Stephen Sandweiss, Tacoma Community College.

Activities and content for Version 1.0 of the site 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; and, David Tabb, San Francisco State University.

- *Multimedia Edition CD-ROM*: Offering students a complete multimedia learning experience, this CD-ROM contains the full text of the comprehensive book on CD with hyperlinks to various media—video clips, Web links, practice tests, photos and graphics, primary sources, and much more! FREE when ordered packaged with the text for qualified college adopters.

- *Companion Web site* (www.ablongman.com/oconnor):

Web Explorations—critical thinking Web exercises (referenced in the text through icons in the margins).

Practice Tests—multiple choice, true/false, fill-in-the-blank and essay questions.

Summaries

- *Study Guide*: The printed study guide features chapter outlines, key terms, a variety of practice tests, and critical thinking questions to help students learn. Written by Debra St. John of Collin County Community College.

- *ResearchNavigator Guide*: This brief yet complete online research guide offers step-by-step instructions for using the Internet to do research; critical thinking exercises; and information about evaluating sites for academic usefulness. The guide also includes a FREE access card to the Research Navigator Online Database. This complete online research resource features the *New York Times* Search-by-Subject database of articles; ContentSelect, a customized, searchable collection of 25,000+ discipline-specific articles; the *New York Times* “Themes of the Times” collections; Link Library; and more.
- *New York Times Discount Subscriptions*: A ten-week subscription for only \$20! Contact your local Allyn & Bacon/Longman representative for more information.
- *American Government in a Changed World: The Effects of September 11, 2001*: To help students understand how the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks have affected American government and our way of life, Longman has published a compendium of original essays by our renowned roster of American Government authors. Each essay begins with a “Headnote,” and concludes with discussion questions, Web sites, and suggested readings. FREE when ordered packaged with the text to qualified college adopters.
- *Voices of Dissent: Critical Readings in American Politics, Fifth Edition*: Edited by William F. Grover, St. Michael’s College, and Joseph G. Peschek, Hamline University, this collection of critical essays goes beyond the debate between mainstream liberalism and conservatism to fundamentally challenge the status quo. Available at a discount when ordered packaged with the text to qualified college adopters.
- *Getting Involved: A Student Guide to Citizenship*: A unique and practical handbook that guides students through political participation with concrete advice and extensive sample material—letters, telephone scripts, student interviews, and real-life anecdotes—for getting involved and making a difference in their lives and communities. By Mark Kann, Todd Belt, Bariela Cowperthwaite, and Steven Horn. FREE when ordered packaged with the text to qualified college adopters.
- *Ten Things That Every American Government Student Should Read*: Edited by Karen O’Connor, American University. We asked American Government instructors across the country to vote for the ten things beyond the text that they believed every student should read. The top vote-getter in each category was put into this unique reader. FREE when ordered packaged with the text to qualified college adopters.
- *Discount Subscriptions to Newsweek Magazine*: Students receive 12 issues of *Newsweek* at more than 80 percent off the regular price. An excellent way to keep students up on current events.

- *Choices: An American Government Database Reader*: This customizable reader allows instructors to choose from a database of over 300 readings to create a reader that exactly matches their course needs. Database includes documents from the 2000 Election!
- *Penguin-Longman Value Bundles*: Longman offers 25 Penguin-Putnam titles at more than a 60 percent discount when packaged with O'Connor & Sabato's text. Titles include de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* and Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*. Go to www.ablongman.com/penguin for a complete list.
- *Writing in Political Science 2/e* by Diane Schmidt: Taking students step-by-step through all aspects of writing in political science, this guide features samples from actual students and expanded information about using the Internet. Available at a significant discount when ordered packaged.
- *Texas Politics Supplement 3/e*: A ninety-page primer on state and local government and issues in Texas. FREE when packaged to qualified college adopters. Written by Debra St. John.
- *California Politics Supplement 3/e*: A seventy-page primer on state and local government and issues in California. FREE when packaged to qualified college adopters. Written by Barbara Stone.
- *Florida Politics Supplement*: A fifty-page primer on state and local government and issues in Florida. FREE when packaged to qualified college adopters. Written by John Bertalan.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Karen O'Connor thanks the thousands of students in her American Government courses at Emory and American Universities who, over the years, have pushed her to learn more about American government and to have fun in the process. She especially thanks her American University colleagues who offered books and suggestions for this most recent revision—especially Gregg Ivers and David Lublin. Longtime friend and co-author Nancy E. McGlen has offered support for more than two decades. Her former students, too, have contributed in various ways to this project, especially John R. Hermann, Paul Fabrizio, Bernadette Nye, Sue Davis, Laura van Assendelft, and Sarah Brewer.

For this edition of the book, Ali Yanus, a brilliant undergraduate, offered invaluable assistance. Her fresh perspective on politics and ideas about things of interest to students, her keen eye for the typo, and her unbelievably hard work have made this a much better book.

Larry J. Sabato would like to thank his University of Virginia colleagues and staff, including Joshua Scott, Greg Smith, Matthew Wikswo, and Lawrence Schack.

Particular thanks from both of us go to David Potter of Nanzan University, who prepared the Global Politics features, Stefan Haag of Austin Community College for his help with the Analyzing Visuals features, and Gary Keith of University of Texas at Austin for his help with the Join the Debate features. We would also like to thank our editor Eric Stano, our development editor Karen Helfrich, our marketing manager Megan Galvin-Fak, and Lake Lloyd, our production editor at Electronic Publishing Services, Inc. In the end, we hope that all of these talented people see how much their work and support have helped us to write a better book.

Many of our peers reviewed past editions of the book and earned our gratitude in the process:

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| Danny Adkinson, <i>Oklahoma State University</i> | Clarke E. Cochran, <i>Texas Tech University</i> | Doris Graber, <i>University of Illinois at Chicago</i> |
| Weston H. Agor, <i>University of Texas–El Paso</i> | Anne N. Costain, <i>University of Colorado</i> | Charles Hadley, <i>University of New Orleans</i> |
| James Anderson, <i>Texas A&M University</i> | Cary Covington, <i>University of Iowa</i> | William K. Hall, <i>Bradley University</i> |
| Judith Baer, <i>Texas A&M University</i> | Lane Crothers, <i>Illinois State University</i> | Robert L. Hardgrave Jr., <i>University of Texas–Austin</i> |
| Ruth Bamberger, <i>Drury College</i> | Abraham L. Davis, <i>Morehouse College</i> | Stacia L. Haynie, <i>Louisiana State University</i> |
| Christine Barbour, <i>Indiana University</i> | Robert DiClerico, <i>West Virginia University</i> | John R. Hermann, <i>Trinity University</i> |
| Jon Bond, <i>Texas A&M University</i> | Khalil Dokhanchi, <i>University of Wisconsin–Superior</i> | Marjorie Hershey, <i>Indiana University</i> |
| Stephen A. Borrelli, <i>University of Alabama</i> | John Domino, <i>Sam Houston State University</i> | Cornell Hooton, <i>Emory University</i> |
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| David E. Camacho, <i>Northern Arizona University</i> | Scott R. Furlong, <i>University of Wisconsin–Green Bay</i> | Dennis Judd, <i>University of Missouri–St. Louis</i> |
| David Cingranelli, <i>SUNY–Binghamton</i> | Christopher P. Gilbert, <i>Gustavus Adolphus College</i> | Carol J. Kamper, <i>Rochester Community College</i> |
| Steve Chan, <i>University of Colorado</i> | James D. Gleason, <i>Victoria College</i> | Kenneth Kennedy, <i>College of San Mateo</i> |
| Richard Christofferson Sr., <i>University of Wisconsin–Stevens Point</i> | Sheldon Goldman, <i>University of Massachusetts–Amherst</i> | |
| | Roger W. Green, <i>University of North Dakota</i> | |

Donald F. Kettl, *University of Wisconsin*
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 Mark Landis, *Hofstra University*
 Sue Lee, *North Lake College*
 Brad Lockerbie, *University of Georgia*
 Larry Martinez, *California State University—Long Beach*
 Lyn Mather, *Dartmouth College*
 Steve J. Mazurana, *University of Northern Colorado*
 Clifton McCleskey, *University of Virginia*
 William P. McLaughlan, *Purdue University*
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 Bruce Oppenheimer, *Vanderbilt University*
 William C. Overton, *Boise State University*

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 David Robertson, *Public Policy Research Centers, University of Missouri—St. Louis*
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 David W. Rohde, *Michigan State University*
 Frank Rourke, *Johns Hopkins University*
 Donald Roy, *Ferris State University*
 Ronald Rubin, *City University of New York, Borough of Manhattan Community College*
 Bonita A. Sessing-Matcha, *Hudson Valley Community College*

Jocelyn D. Shadforth, *North Central College*
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 James A. White, *Concord College*
 Martin Wiseman, *Mississippi State University*
 Vincent A. Auger, *Western Illinois University*
 Holly Dershem-Bruce, *Dawson Community College*

Finally, we'd also like to thank our peers who reviewed and aided in the development of the current edition:

Myles L. Clowers, *San Diego City College*
 John Fobanjong, *University of Massachusetts*

Sean D. Foreman, *Union Institute and University*
 Christopher P. Gilbert, *Gustavus Adolphus College*

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Analyzing Visuals: A Brief Guide

The information age requires a new, more expansive definition of literacy. Visual literacy—the ability to analyze, interpret, synthesize, and apply visual information—is essential in today's world. We receive much information from the written and spoken word, but much also comes from visual forms. We are used to thinking about reading written texts critically—for example, reading a textbook carefully for information, sometimes highlighting or underlining as we go along—but we do not always think about reading visuals in this way. We should, for images and informational graphics can tell us a lot if we read and consider them carefully. In order to emphasize these skills, this edition of *The Essentials of American Government: Continuity and Change* contains *Analyzing Visuals* features to prompt you to

think about the images and informational graphics you will encounter throughout this text, as well as those you see every day in the newspaper, in magazines, on the Web, on television, and in books. We provide critical thinking questions to assist you in learning how to analyze visuals. Though we focus on selected visuals, we encourage you to examine carefully and ask similar questions of all the visuals in this text, and those you encounter elsewhere in your study of and participation in American government.

We look at several types of visuals in the chapters: tables, graphs and charts, maps, news photographs, and political cartoons. This brief guide provides some information about these types of visuals and offers a few questions to guide your analysis of each type.

TABLES

Tables are the least “visual” of the visuals we explore. Tables consist of textual information and numerical data arranged in tabular form, in columns and rows. Tables are frequently used when exact information is required and when orderly arrangement is necessary to locate and, in many cases, to compare the information. For example, a table on how Americans vote might list the percentages of voting precincts that use different kinds of voting machines, such as the punch-card system that caused problems in Florida during the 2000 presidential election, or lever machines. The table format makes it easy to compare the usage rates for the different voting types.

Here are a few questions to guide your analysis:

- What is the purpose of the table? What information does it show? There is usually a title that offers a sense of the table's purpose.

TABLE 12.6 How America Votes

The U.S. voting system relies on a patchwork of machines to tally voters' choices. The number of punch-card systems similar to the ones involved in the 2000 ballot dispute in Florida has declined to 16 percent since the 2000 election.

| System | How It Works | Percentage of Precincts That Use |
|---------------|--|----------------------------------|
| Optical scan | Shade in area next to candidate's name | 43% |
| Punch card | Punch holes in a card next to candidate's name | 16% |
| Electronic | Use keyboard or touch-screen to record votes | 16% |
| Lever machine | Inside booth, voters pull levers to choose candidate | 11% |
| Paper ballot | Voters mark ballots with pen or pencil | 11% |
| Mixed | More than one system | 4% |

Source: Adapted from “How It Looked Inside the Booth,” *New York Times* (November 6, 2002): B9. © 2002 by the New York Times Co. Reprinted by permission.