INSTRUCTOR'S EDITION

NINTH EDITION

Democracy Under Pressure

An Introduction to the American Political System



MILTON C. CUMMINGS, JR. DAVID WISE

Democracy Under Pressure

An Introduction to the American Political System

NINTH EDITION

2002 ELECTION UPDATE

Milton C. Cummings, Jr.

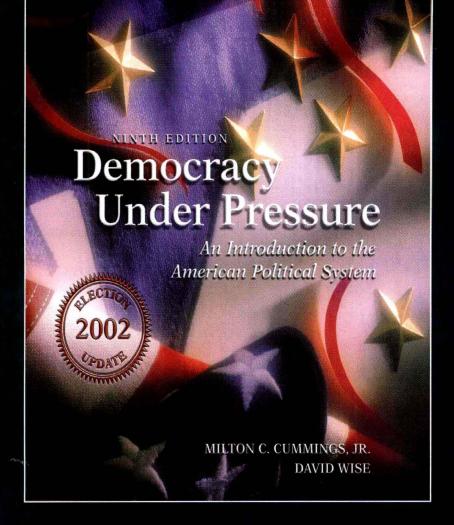
The Johns Hopkins University

David Wise

Author and Political Analyst



Australia • Canada • Mexico • Singapore • Spain United Kingdom • United States



Democracy Under Pressure An Introduction to the American Political System

NINTH EDITION

The hallmark of this best-selling textbook for the American Government course has always been its lively narrative and exemplary scholarship. That tradition continues in this new edition, which has been thoroughly streamlined and updated to include the 2002 campaign and election. Greater emphasis has been placed on refining the existing features of the book, providing a broader context for understanding American politics, and on integrating technological resources beyond the textbook itself. These features make it easier than ever before for students to become actively involved in learning about the American political process.

INSPIRE, MOTIVATE, and ENGAGE your students with online access to American Government as it is today!



The NEW American Government Resource Center

http://politicalscience.wadsworth.com/amgov/

With the class-tested tools included on this exceptional site, students experience the excitement and satisfaction of participating in government and politics. By linking each of nineteen core American government topics to eight engaging types of activities, this new site actively involves students in your course—and in civic participation at the grassroots level!

SIMULATIONS . . . YOU ARE THERE!

By placing the student in the role of political actor, *Simulations* allow students to gain greater understanding of the political process while emphasizing critical thinking and decision-making skills. Class-tested and written specifically for the site to reflect the *current* political environment, simulations are appropriate for individual or group work. Featured roles include: state senator, an adviser to a president who must appoint a new member of the Supreme Court, a lawyer who must determine his clients' rights, an adviser to a presidential candidate, and other political roles.

PARTICIPATION ACTIVITIES . . . GETTING INVOLVED

Students are encouraged to *get involved* in active citizenship by working on a political campaign, helping an interest group, lobbying Congress, and become activists as they participate in these activities. Once the activity is completed, a series of questions about the experience asks students if they feel they "*made a difference*."

MICROCASE® EXERCISES . . . ANALYZING BY THE NUMBERS

Students use actual real-world data to **do** data analysis with these *MicroCase Exercises*. Written specifically for the American Government Resource Center, each exercise presents an issue in American government and directs students to pertinent information through data sets. Accompanying questions help students consider and interpret data.

VIDEO CASE STUDIES . . . OBSERVING AND MAKING DECISIONS

Using visual media to enhance the learning process, these video excerpts—featuring contemporary policy issues—conclude with provocative questions that encourage decision making.

ENRICH your course content with current online material available at the

NEW AMERICAN GOVERNMENT RESOURCE CENTER

http://politicalscience.wadsworth.com/amgov/

INFOTRAC® COLLEGE EDITION READER

Also located at the American Government Resource Center, this reader is updated every semester and organized by core American government topics—featuring exercises that guide students to current articles in the **InfoTrac College Edition** online library. Access to the library is **FREE** when you adopt this text. **See page 9** of this *Preview* for details.

SOURCE READINGS

This section of the Web site contains the full text of important primary and secondary source documents, including Supreme Court Cases. Political and historical contexts are provided.

INTERNET ACTIVITIES

Divided into three groups—"Just the Facts, Please," "Compare and Contrast," and "Exploration"—these activities ask students

to answer a variety of questions that involve research on the Web.



AMERICAN GOVERNMENT RESOURCES

RELATED LINKS

These useful links for each core topic keep readers current and include the most important informational Web sites for government and politics.









Also available . . . a Companion Web Site

AT THE WADSWORTH POLITICAL SCIENCE RESOURCE CENTER

http://politicalscience.wadsworth.com/cummings9/update/

Designed exclusively for this *Ninth Edition 2002 Election Update*, the book's Companion Web site is fully integrated with the textbook and provides links to major election coverage sites, news sources, political organizations, and other resources related to the American government course. It includes chapter-by-chapter links to the sites

referenced in the textbook's Web icons and to other sites directly related to text material. The site provides the glossary from the textbook and the *Instructor's Manual* online as well as a selection of self-assessment questions from the printed *Study Guide*. It also gives students direct access to the Web and new *InfoTrac College Edition* activities provided for each chapter of the book.



More than a million students have been introduced to the fundamentals of American government by Milton C. Cummings, Jr. and David Wise.

CURRENT!

Every chapter has been completely updated with coverage and analysis of the 2002 election, as well as the impact of 9/11 and the war on terrorism.

TECHNOLOGICALLY INTEGRATED!

Web icons in every chapter take students to the up-to-the-minute currency of the Internet! This book's robust Companion Web Site takes you and your students beyond the boundaries of the traditional classroom!



A writing style that engages—combined with exemplary scholarship you can trust!

You'll find it here in this best-selling text that conveys a balanced and realistic sense of our political system, including the historical foundations and current dynamics. In a time of rapid change, the authors continue to focus not only on the very considerable achievements of the American system of government but on its shortcomings too—providing students with a look at the reality as well as the rhetoric of American democracy. Cummings and Wise focus on the gaps, where they exist, between American myths and American realities and the political system's promise and performance.

Democracy Under Pressure: An Introduction to the American Political System, 2002 Election Update succeeds in getting students politically involved and helps motivate them to participate—not just examine—the way democracy responds to the needs and demands of various groups over time. In this new edition, the Democracy Under Pressure theme is of particular interest and use as the authors examine the impact and effects of September 11th on the various institutions and policies of American government. With the results of the 2002 congressional election incorporated throughout the book and FREE access to InfoTrac* College Edition (see page 9), rest assured you and your students are getting the most current information available on American government.



This LIVELY, ENGAGING book is as CURRENT and TIMELY as an American Government text can possibly be...

Take a look through the pages of this remarkable text...

on every page, in every discussion, you will find thoughtful analysis and the latest information on the most hotly debated issues facing our nation today.

- ★ Full coverage of the 2002 congressional elections
- ★ Exploration of the potential impact of these elections on American politics, government, and the 2004 presidential race
- ★ Discussion of a wide range of events related to the terrorist attacks of September 11th and the resulting war in Afghanistan, and the long-range war on terrorism
- ★ Discussion of the general impact of terrorism on foreign policy and domestic security
- ★ Analysis of the latest economic developments, including the recent recession and recovery, the impact of the September 11th attacks on travel-related industries, the funding of the ongoing war on terrorism, the passage of major tax cuts and their impact on the federal budget, and the general crisis of confidence experienced in the business community as a result of the Enron scandal
- ★ The latest information on anthrax attacks on the Capitol and elsewhere, violence in the Middle East, campaign finance reform, and the proposed privatization of Social Security



I've used just about every text for the introduction to American government course... The clarity, style, content, and pedagogy of Democracy Under Pressure ranks with the best of them—especially the grace of writing. It is far livelier than one usually finds in such texts.

Loch Johnson, University of Georgia, Athens

TOTAL TECHNOLOGY INTEGRATION helps you and your students keep pace with a rapidly changing political landscape

The Ninth Edition Election Update connects your students to its multimedia teaching and learning tools with total integration!

Throughout the book, you'll find Web icons in the margins that direct students to Web sites related to specific topics, issues, or individuals presented in the text.

and that it could rise to more than 300 million after 2015.

According to one study of population pat-terns in the United States, if the projections of ome experts were realized, "we would have close to one billion people in the United States one hundred years from now." Although the authors of the study added that birth control

authors of the stady added that birth control and other factors made it unlikely that such a staggering total will be reached by that time, a staggering total will be reached by that time, a staggering total will be reached by that time, a population of a billion without peoing one another into the occans. It is the nation of a bout 4 million in 1790, and what the future may hold, can be charted with Census Bureau statistics and projections to 2025, as shown in Table 1-1. This dramatic increase in numbers of people—the "population explosion"—is taking place around the world. It raises questions that governments must ponder. Will there be enough food to ear? Enough room to live? Enough oil and water and other natural resources to meet humany's future needs? Will the environment be destroyed? ty's future needs? Will the environment be destroyed?



An interesting profile of the American public can be sketched with statistics, as presented in Table 1-2, that answer the question "Who are we?" A portrait of nation-al origins can also be drawn. The great successive waves of immigration placed a stamp of diversity on America: even third- and fourth-generation Americans may think of themselves as "Irish" or "Italian."

An earlier census survey indicated that the ancestry An earlier census survey indicated that the ancestry groups of Americans included the following. German, 23.3 percent; Irish, 15.6 percent; English, 13.1 percent; African American, 12 percent; Hispanic, 8.6 percent; Italian, 6.0 percent; Ferneh, 4.1 percent; Polish, 4.0 percent; Asian Americans, 2.9 percent; Dutha, 6.0 percent; Asian Americans, 2.9 percent; Dutha, 2.5 percent; Scottish, 2.2 percent; and Native American, 0.08 percent." The United States is also a nation of more than 87.4 million Protestants, 6.1.2 million Catholics, 5.5 million Muslims, 5.3 Eastern Orthodox church members, 4 million Jews, and 1.3 million Hindus."

TABLE 1-1

Profile of the U.S. Population, 1790-2025

Population (in millions)										
	Actual							Projected		
	1790	1870	1920	1960	1970	1980	1990	1998	2010	2025
Total population	4	39	106	179	203	226.5	249.4	270.5	297.7	335
Urban		10	54	125	149	167	187	NA	NA	NA
Rural	4	29	52	54	54	60	62	NA	NA	NA
Nonwhite	1	5	1.1	20	25	32	40.7	47.5	58.2	72.8
White	3	34	95	159	178	195	208.7	223	239.5	262.2
	NA	20	25	30	28.1	30	33	35.2	37	38
	NA	7	23	42	53	45	46	53	NA	NA
nass persuasion	NA	-	0.6	3	7	10	13.8	14.7	NA	NA

KEY TERMS

political opinion, p. 171 political socialization,

exit polls, p. 178 universe, p. 179 random sample, p. 179 cluster sampling, p. 180 quota sample, p. 180 bandwagon effect, p. 181 political culture, p. 182

CHAPTER HIGHLIGHTS

Public opinion is the expression of attitudes about government and politics. All governments are based, to some extent, on public opinion.

 Pollitical socialization is the process by which a person acquires a set of political attitudes and forms opinions about political and social issues.

 Many factors influence the opinions people hold. Among the most important are differences in social class, occupation, and income; religion, sex, race, and chance factors, sectional and geographic differences; and the views of reference groups. There are two kinds of reference groups rimmay groups (such as friends, office associates, or a social club) and secondary groups (such as labor unions or fraternal, professional, or religious groups).

In addition, mass media—television, radio, newspapers, the Internet, online computer service providers, and other media—have a major impact on public opinion.

provinces, support of the public opinion—direction, intensity, and stability—may be measured by political polis.

• Political polis, often useful as a guide to viete the public opinion of the public opinion of the public opinion of the public opinion opinion.

sity, and stability—may be measured by political polis.

+ Political polis, often useful as a guide to voter sentiment, are a standard part of political campaigns. They measure opinion by taking a random sample of a larger population, or universe. Due to the mathematical haw of probability, the restuits of a poll usually reflect the opinions of the larger group. Although generally reliable, polls are sometimes wrong and do not necessarily predict the outcomes of elections.

+ In presidential elections, often only a little more than half—bother to vote. In off-year elections for Congress, usually well under half of the voting age population volther to vote. In off-year elections for Congress, usually well under half of the voting age population volther to vote. In off-year elections for Congress, usually well under half of the voting age program or to bring about political change through lawful or peaceful means. If the political system fails to repond to the demands placed on it, or fails to respond to the demands placed on it, or fails to respond to the demands placed on it, or fails to respond to the demands placed on it, or fails to respond to the demands placed on it, or fails to respond to the demands placed on it, or fails to respond to the offer of the political system fails to respond to the offer of the political po

managers are all part of the efforts at mass persuasion employed today.

• Public opinion in a democracy may be seen as a broad but lexible framework for policy making, setting certain limits within which government may act.

SUGGESTED WEB SITES

http://www.gallup.com The Gallup Organization Since 1935 the Gallup Organization has conducted surveys to measure public opinion on various issues. Its polls cover five subject areas Politics and Elections, Business, Social Issues and Policy, Managing, and Liferstyle.

http://dailynews.yahoo.com/h/zo/nm/ Yahoo! Public Opinion Headlines Yahoo! and Reuters news service list and provide the text of stories that report public opinion on topics ranging from politics to everyday life.

http://www.msnbc.com MSNBC Opinions Provides views with opinion articles and transcripts of programs, and allows visitors to the Web site to participate in MSNBC polls and to register their views on a Bulletin Board System (BBS) or through the MSNBC chals rough

SUGGESTED READING

Bennett, Linda, and Bennett, Stephen, Living with Leviathm: Americans Coming to Terms with Big Government (University of Kansas Press, 1990) A detailed examination of Americans' changing attitudes toward the expanding role of government in social and economic life.

Bennett, Stephen, and Rademacher, Eric, eds. After the Boon: The Politics of Generation N (Rowman & Littlefield, 1997). A series of essays, including several by members of Generation X, examining the social and political thought and behavior of a younger segment of the population that will be increasingly important in the coming yearns.

Cantril, Albert H., and Cantril, Susan Davis. Reading Mixed Signals: Ambivalence in American Public Opinion About Government' (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999) An insightful study of the seemingly paradoxical attitudes toward government in the United States Americane sepress distrust for government, and say that its size should be reduced, but when it comes to concrete issues, such as the environment, care for the elderly and young, and health care, they believe that government should be doing more. ment should be doing more

In addition, an annotated list of significant Web resources appears at the end of every chapter.



In the helpful *Instructor's Manual*, you'll find activities based on these Web sites that encourage students to further explore the chapter's issues.

CHAPTER 6 PUBLIC OPINION

The political process, history, and the importance of participation ...

IT'S ALL HERE IN THE 2002 ELECTION UPDATE

Making a Difference boxes are designed to encourage student participation. These inspiring and insightful boxes provide real-world examples of how individual initiative can change the political process for the better.

Comparing Government

boxes provide a broader context for understanding and appreciating the American political system by showing alternative approaches to common processes, institutions, and issues.

American Past boxes give students the historical context essential for understanding the origin and evolution of the political institutions and controversies we inherit today.



Comparing Governments

LIBEL: A TOWN CALLED "SUE"

In the political struggle over ratification of the Constitution, the Antifederalists argued that the document was incomplete without an enumeration of the rights of the people:

People, and very wisely too, like to be express and explicit about their essential rights, and not to be forced to claim them on the precarious . . . tenure of inferences and general principles . . . we discern certain rights, as the freedom of the press, and the trial by jury, which the people of England and of America of course believe to be sacred, and essential to their political happiness.

Perhaps it would be better to enumerate the particular essential rights the people are entitled to. Freedom of the press is a fundamental right, and ought not to be restrained by any taxes, duties, or in any manner whatever. Why should not the people, in adopting a federal constitution, declare this

-Richard Henry Lee, Letters from the Federal Farmer

The Federalists argued that the Constitution as drafted protected the rights of individuals, making a bill of rights

It has been several times truly remarked that bills of rights are, in their origin, stipulations between kings and their subjects, abridgments of prerogative in favor of privilege, reservations of rights not surrendered to the prince. ... They have no application to constitutions.

I go further, and affirm that bills of rights not only unnecessary in the proposed Constitution, but would even be dangerous. They would contain various exceptions to powers not granted; and, on this very account, would afford a colorable pretext to claim more than were granted. For why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do? Why, for instance, should it be said that the liberty of the press shall not be restrained, when no power is given by which restrictions may be imposed?

-Alexander Hamilton, The Federalist, No. 84

states that "Congress shall make no law" abridging First Amendment freedoms, the Supreme Court has interpreted this to mean that state and local authorities can-

sion, Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., had established the classic clear and present danger test to define the point at which speech loses First dment protection:



"I really like the American Past boxes. They are relevant, interesting, sometimes humorous, and always thought-provoking."

Pauletta Otis, University of Southern Colorado



TIME-TESTED PEDAGOGY provides students with a learning framework and reinforces true understanding

Your students will find the book's pedagogical tools helpful and easy-to-use! Pedagogy includes:

Key terms in bold-faced typealert students to important topics.

KEY TERMS

federal system, p. 60 federalism, p. 60 unitary system of government, p. 60 dual federalism, p. 65 cooperative federalism, p. 65 creative federalism, p. 65 new federalism, p. 66 regulatory federalism, p. 66 enumerated powers, p. 68 implied powers, p. 68 inherent powers, p. 68 concurrent powers, p. 68 supremacy clause, p. 72 categorical grants, p. 79 block grants, p. 79 general purpose grants, p. 79

brought a dramatic new level of to government and the political rmation, census figures, poll hes, legislation, Supreme Court y unlimited resources of all kinds

became available at the click of a mouse button, part of a vast ocean of information that once could only be found in major libraries.

- ◆ By the year 2000 the shape of the media was changing dramatically. One after another, the giants of the media were joining in multibillion-dollar mergers. The concentration of ownership raised questions about the independence and diversity of the American press.
- ◆ Radio and television do not enjoy as much freedom as other segments of the press, because, unlike newspapers, broadcast stations are licensed by the Federal Communications Commission. Although broadcast networks are not licensed, the stations they own and operate are. The law requires broadcasters to provide "equal time" to all legally qualified political candidates.
- ◆ In recent years the Supreme Court has shown increasing concern over pretrial and courtroom publicity that may prejudice the fair trial of a defendant in a criminal case. The right to have a fair trial often conflicts with the First Amendment in another important area—that of confidentiality for reporters and their news sources. The Supreme Court has ruled that reporters must reveal the identity of their sources if the information is needed in a criminal case.
- A person defamed by a newspaper or other publication may be able to sue for libel and collect damages because the First Amendment does not protect this form of "free speech." Despite some victories by the press, the threat of libel actions has become a major problem for the news media, publishers, and writers.
- Some critics of the press argue that giving widespread coverage to acts of terrorism plays into the hands of the perpetrators, who are seeking publicity. Another argument sometimes voiced is that press coverage can lead to "copycai" acts by others seeking the same notoriety for their deeds or for themselves. The press, however, has a responsibility to report major news events.
- ◆ The government often attempts to manipulate the press and to manage the news, to put a favorable "spin" on events. It may even mislead the press—and therefore the public—for a variety of reasons. Officials have a vested interest in trying to influence what the press reports, in order to shape public opinion to support administration policies.
- The Freedom of Information Act requires federal executive branch and regulatory agencies to make information available to journalists and other persons unless it falls into one of several confidential categories.
- Because the press wields great power and influence in American politics it has become a target of criticism. Some critics contend that the press is politically biased. However, poll data suggest that almost

Chapter Highlights 243

A bulleted list of chapter highlights

helps students organize, synthesize, and review key material from the chapter.

An end-of-chapter list of key terms with page references in every chapter makes it easy to study and review.

CHAPTER HIGHLIGHTS

- + The First Amendment to the Constitution protects the freedom of the press. It does so because the supporters of the Bill of Rights understood that the press must be free to report about the activities of the government, and, when necessary, to criticize those in power.
- Freedom of the press and freedom of expression are not absolute. Under the Constitution, the Supreme Court has balanced those basic rights against competing needs of society.
- Broadly defined, "the media" include TV, the Internet, newspapers, magazines, radio, wire services, books, newsletters, and other published material. Often as this book does, people use the term "the press" interchangeably with "the media" or "the news media."
- + The press plays a vital role in a democracy because it is the principal means by which the people learn about the actions and policies of the government. A democracy rests on the consent of the governed, but in order to give their consent in any meaningful way, the governed must be informed.
- ◆ The press provides a crucial link between the people and the government. It is the essential source of information that helps citizens form opinions about government and politics and decide how to cast their votes in elections.
- Until the 20th century, the press consisted only of print media—newspapers, magazines, books, and pamphlets. The press moguls of the 19th century had great influence on American society and on the government. Eventually, sensational reporting in their newspapers became known as "yellow journalism."
- ◆ In the first decade of the 20th century, long before the modern term "investigative reporting" came into vogue, a group of writers, journalists, and critics known as muckrakers exposed corporate malfeasance and political corruption.
- The 20th century brought radio into America's homes. For the first time, it allowed political leaders to speak directly to the voters.
- By providing a direct link between political leaders and candidates and voters, television changed the nature of American politics. Television made an enormous impact, not only on the political process, but also on the shape and power of the media. As advertisers poured millions into the TV networks to reach primetime audiences, inevitably there were fewer advertising dollars invested in print journalism.
- Just as television had altered the shape of
 American politics a half-century earlier, by the year

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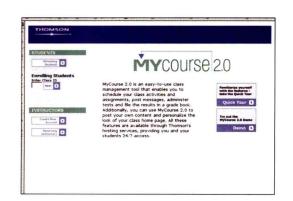
"Out of the box" or customizable, this versatile online tool is filled with pre-loaded, text-specific content, including diagrams and illustrations, as well as Microsoft* *PowerPoint** files, organized by text chapter. For students, *WebTutor Advantage* offers access to a full array of study tools, including glossary flashcards, practice quizzes, online tutorials, and Web links. Instructors can use *WebTutor Advantage* to provide virtual office hours, post syllabi, set up threaded discussions, and track student progress with the quizzing material.

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0-15-504160-6. An accompanying Instructor's Manual (0-15-504244-0) offers suggestions for use and activities for each case.

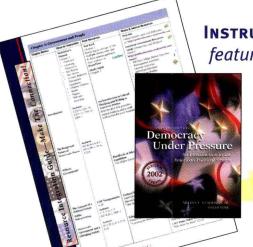


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The Instructor's Edition of the Ninth Edition: 2002
Election Update includes an essential tool for instructors the Resource Integration Guide. This guide links every chapter's outline—topic by topic—to instructional ideas and corresponding supplement resources. At a glance, you'll see which specific videos, PowerPoint* slides, test questions, and lecture suggestions are appropriate for each key chapter topic. The Resource Integration Guide starts on page 14. 0-534-62311-5



nocracy Under Pressure Introduction to the

for Democracy Under Pressure An Introduction to the American Political System, 2002 Election Update

Milton C. Cummings, Jr.

INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL

This manual includes chapter outlines and learning objectives keyed to the *Study Guide* and the textbook, as well as lecture suggestions, video resources, group projects, key points, and key terms. An all-new set of Web activities provides assignments related to the Web icons presented in each chapter of the book. 0-534-62453-7



for Democracy Under Pressure An Introduction to the American Political System, 2002 Election Update

Milton C. Cummings, Jr. David Wise

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by William E. Kelly, Auburn University

The *Test Bank* contains more than 2,400 multiple-choice, true/false, and short-answer essay questions, with page references to the text. 0-534-62452-9

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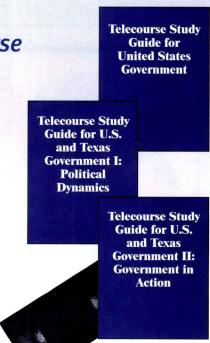
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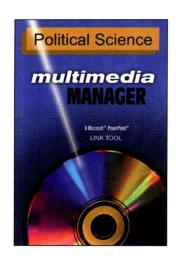
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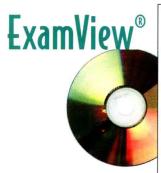
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			Popula	tion (in	millions						- 1
		Actual					Proj	ected			
	1790	1870	1920	1960	1970	1980	1990	1998	2010	2025	
Total population	4	39	10e	179	203	226.5	249.4	270.5	297.7	335	
Urban	20	10	54	125	149	167	187	NA	NA	NA	- 1
Rural	4	29	52	54	54	60	62	NA	NA	NA	- 1
Norwhite	1	.5	11	20	25	3.2	40.7	47.5	58.2	72.6	- 1
White	3	34	95	159	178	195	208.7	223	239.5	267.2	- 1
Median age (years)	NA	20	2.5	30	26.1	30	33	35.2	37	38	- 1
Primary and secondary											
school enrollment	NA	7	23	42	53	45	46	53	NA	NA	- 1
College enrollment	NA:	-	0.0	3	7	10	13.8	14.7	NA:	NA.	_
1972 Wash	1	Mont		N.D.	M	nn.	_			Vt. N.H.	Mass

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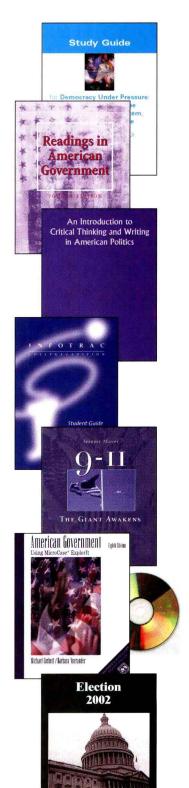
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		An Introduction to Critical Thinking and Writing in American Politics Brief booklet that provides critical thinking and overall writing tips for your students				
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