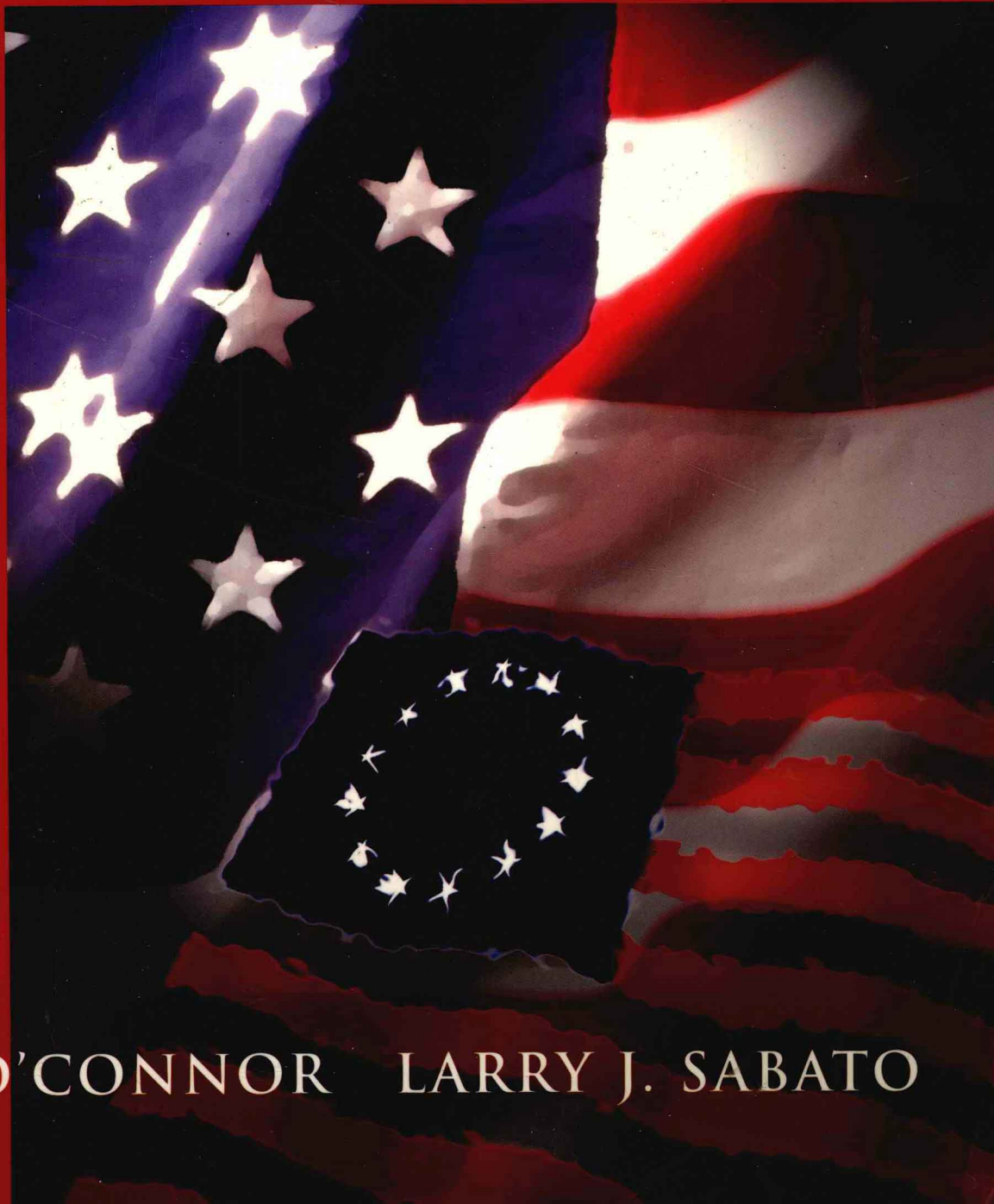


AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

ALTERNATE 2002 EDITION



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American Government

Continuity and Change

Alternate 2002 Edition

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*To Meghan,
who grew up with this book*

Karen O'Connor

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

Larry Sabato

PREFACE

What a year. When we first started writing this text over a decade ago, we could have never envisioned the 2000 presidential election saga. Over the past 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. Both were momentous events that had major consequences in Congress and public policy. The last two editions of this text were written during various phases of various Clinton scandals, including the second impeachment trial of a U.S. president. Then came the 2000 election, when the outcome did not occur until December and then appeared to many to be decided by a single Justice when the Court ruled in George W. Bush's favor. The Electoral College, created by the Framers, was in the news as were arcane facts about chads, voting machines, and local politics. Throughout November and December 2000 the entire nation was engaged in an important civics lesson about the voting process that so many of us take for granted.

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

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

APPROACH

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

of the role of political parties in the United States to understand the Framers' fears of factionalism, how parties evolved, and when and why realignments in party identification occurred.

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

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

To understand their government at all levels, students must understand how it was designed in the Constitution. Each chapter, therefore, approaches its topics from a combination of perspectives which we believe will facilitate this approach. 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. To test the book, each of us has taught from it in both orders, with no pedagogical problems.

WHAT'S CHANGED IN THIS EDITION?

In this 2002 Edition of *American Government: Continuity and Change*, we have retained our basic approach to the study of politics as a constantly changing and often unpredictable enterprise. But we also discuss and analyze the impact of the 2000 election. While most pundits and polls prepared all of us for a close election, no one predicted the scenario that was to unfold. This historic election has refocused attention on the constitutional nature of presidential elections, revived interest in reforming the electoral college, and most importantly, driven home to all that votes do matter. In Congress, the 2000 election split the Senate evenly between Republicans and Democrats, bringing in new, yet familiar faces such as former First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. In terms of our political behavior, the 2000 election also changed the way Americans think about voting. From the mail-in presidential ballots in Oregon to the controversial butterfly ballots in Florida, the public learned first hand about archaic state election laws and local politics. And, James Jeffords' switch from the Republican Party to Independent brought another power shift in the Senate.

Chapter Changes

Many of these changes and others are reflected in this 2002 Edition. **Chapter 1** includes new data on the 2000 Census. **Chapter 2** includes revised coverage on the Great Compromise and an expanded discussion on Articles IV through VII. **Chapter 3** includes a revised section on federalism and the Supreme Court. **Chapter 4** is reorganized so that the section on Indian nations comes after a basic overview of state and local governments and includes a new map on 2000 party control of state governorships. **Chapter 5** has new coverage on the Supreme Court's 2000 rulings on student-initiated prayer, *Miranda*, partial-birth abortion, and the Boy Scouts' exclusion of gay men. **Chapter 7** includes updated coverage on the 107th Congress and its new members and pro-

vides a new case study—the China Trade Act of 2000—to illustrate how a bill really becomes a law. **Chapter 8** provides new coverage on postmodern presidents and presidential expectations, new material on vice-presidential power sharing, the Bush Cabinet, and a new section on ruling through regulation. **Chapter 10** has new coverage of the Supreme Court's role in the outcome of the 2000 presidential election. **Chapter 11** has new coverage on the Voter News Service's role in the 2000 election, the shortcomings of exit polling, gender differences in political knowledge during the 2000 election, and online election forecasting. **Chapter 12** includes analysis of Ralph Nader's impact on the 2000 election and the rise and the fall of the Reform Party. **Chapter 13** provides new analysis on electoral college reforms in the wake of the 2000 elections, results of the 2000 congressional elections, new coverage of ballot systems, an updated discussion of redistricting that reflects the 2000 census, and an analysis of the 2000 voter turnout. **Chapter 14** offers comprehensive coverage of the 2000 presidential campaign, from the nomination battle to the Supreme Court's historic ruling. **Chapter 15** includes updated coverage of how the press covers the presidency, how media influences the public, and media conflict of interest. **Chapter 16** includes new coverage of the role of the NRA and the Christian Coalition in state and national elections as well as the policy process and new coverage on the mobilization of unions during the 2000 election.

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

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

Point/Counterpoint To involve students in more decision-making issues, we developed a Point/Counterpoint feature that examines a provocative issue from two opposing points of view. Topics like chapter 2's "Is There a Constitutional Right to Privacy?" or chapter 8's "Does the President Need a Mandate to Govern?" are designed to prompt students to take sides in the debate. At the end of each Point/Counterpoint, students are encouraged to take part in an online student bulletin board to post their own views.

Analyzing the Data A feature designed to encourage visual literacy, *Analyzing the Data* helps students make sense of quantitative information and enables them to get the most out of graphic representations. Topics range from chapter 1's "Changing Age Composition of the United States" to chapter 8's "Presidential Approval Ratings Since 1938." Using annotated leaders and pointers to explain data in bar graphs, line graphs, maps, and charts, these visual learning features appear once in every chapter.

FEATURES

The 2002 Edition has retained the best features and pedagogy from previous editions and added exciting new ones.

Historical Perspective

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

Comparative Perspective

Changes in the Japanese economy, Russia, Eastern Europe, North 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 and of multiparty versus two-party systems. To put American government in perspective, we continue to draw comparisons with Great Britain within the text discussion. Global Politics boxes compare U. S. politics and institutions with industrialized democracies and non-western countries such as Russia, China, and Indonesia.

Enhanced Pedagogy

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

Preview and Review To pique students' interest and draw them into each chapter, we begin each chapter with a contemporary vignette. These vignettes, including how eighteen-year-olds acquired the vote, how special interests are lobbying Congress for laws to allow them to go after student debtors, and congressional efforts to deal with violence in public schools in the aftermath of the Columbine shooting, 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 roadmap 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 bold-faced key terms. Key terms are listed once more at the end of each chapter, with page references for review and study.

Special Features Each chapter contains several boxed features in keeping with its theme of continuity and change:


- **Roots of Government** These boxes highlight the role that a particular institution, process, or person has played in the course of American politics as it has evolved to the present. Chapter 11, for example, profiles George Gallup, the founder of modern polling, while chapter 9 looks at Mary Anderson, the first head of the federal Women's Bureau.
- **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 nations such as China, Russia, and Indonesia; some now focus on specific issues such as chapter 16's Labor Unions in Comparative Perspective and chapter 14's Americanization of Parliamentary Campaigns.
- **Politics Now** These boxes act as a counterpoint to the text's traditional focus on "roots." Based on current clippings, editorials, and moments in time, these boxes are designed to encourage students to think about current issues in the context of the continuing evolution of the American political system. Chapter 5, for example, examines DNA and changing views about the death penalty.
- **Highlight** These boxes focus on high student-interest material outside the stream of the text discussion. Chapter 5, for example, looks at political speech and mandatory student fees. Chapter 2 describes how one college student's term paper led to the ratification of a constitutional amendment.

- **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 2002 Edition have been revised in order to focus on the evolution of a specific issue. Chapter 3, for example, examines the evolution of marriage in the federal system. We have retained the popular "Cast Your Vote" student polling questions found at the end of each Continuity and Change section.

Web Explorations

Each chapter contains several links to the World Wide Web through our book-specific Web site. Identified in the margins with an  icon, Web Explorations encourage students to learn more about a specific issue or concept (e.g., "For more about local gun initiatives, go to www.ablongman.com/oconnor").

LongmanParticipate.com

Each chapter also contains several links to interactive activities found on Longman's distinctive Web site for American Government, *LongmanParticipate.com* (www.longmanparticipate.com). 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 to role of the President, a member of Congress, a police officer, and more).

THE ANCILLARY PACKAGE

The ancillary package for *American Government: Continuity and Change, 2002 Edition*, reflects the pedagogical goals of the text: to provide information in a useful context and with colorful examples. We have tried especially hard to provide materials that are useful for instructors and helpful to students.

Instructor Supplements

Instructor's Manual Includes chapter overviews, chapter outlines, learning objectives, key terms, and valuable teaching suggestions. Written by Sue Davis of the American Political Science Association.

Test Bank Contains hundreds of challenging and thoroughly revised multiple choice, true-false, and essay questions along with an answer key. Written by Sue Davis of the American Political Science Association.

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 Web site 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. Instructors may use the table of contents in the front of the guide to locate information on a given activity

icon that appears in the margin of this textbook. 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 administration center. The introductory chapter describes the numerous additional resources included on the Web site. Written by Scott Furlong at 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, 20 minutes of audio clips, 20 video clips, and links to over 200 Web sites. Media items can be imported into PowerPoint® and Persuasion® presentation programs.

PowerPoint® CD-ROM A lecture outline PowerPoint® presentation of the new edition along with graphics from the book. Written by Robert Sterken of the University of Texas at Tyler.

Transparencies Full-color acetates of the figures from all 26 chapters of the book.

Interactive American Government Video Contains 27 video segments on topics ranging from the term limit debate to Internet pornography to women in the Citadel. Critical thinking questions accompany each clip, encouraging students to ‘interact’ with the videos by analyzing their content and the concepts they address.

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


American Government Video Program Qualified adopters can peruse our list of videos for the American government classroom.

Active Learning Guide for American Government This unique guide offers an abundance of innovative suggestions for classroom projects and teaching strategies—including scenarios, role plays 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. **CourseCompass** combines the strength of Longman content with state-of-the-art eLearning tools! **CourseCompass** is a nationally-hosted, dynamic, interactive online course management system powered by BlackBoard, leaders in the development of Internet-based learning tools. This easy-to-use and customizable program enables professors to tailor content and functionality to meet individual course needs! Every **CourseCompass** course includes a range of pre-loaded content such as testing and assessment question pools. Instructors can redeem pin codes and set up access at www.coursecompass.com. Please contact your local Allyn & Bacon/Longman representative for more information.

Student Supplements

LongmanParticipate.com (www.longmanparticipate.com) FREE 6-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* 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* is a set of 5 unique, in-depth learning activities for each of 19 key topics in American government (95 activities in all, each represented in the text by an icon ).

- *Simulations* put students in the role of a political actor.
- *Visual Literacy* exercises get students interpreting, manipulating, and applying data.
- *Interactive Timelines* through which students experience the evolution of an aspect of government.
- *Participation* activities personalize politics by either getting students involved or exploring their own thoughts and opinions about our system.
- *Comparison* exercises in which students compare aspects of our system to those of other countries.

Students receive feedback at every step and instructors can track student work through the “Instructor Administration Center.” The various activities and features were written by instructors from around the country:

Paul Benson, *Tarrant County Community College*
James Brent, *San Jose State University*
Quentin Kidd, *Christopher Newport University*
Laura Roselle, *Elon College*
Denise Scheberle, *University of Wisconsin*
B.Thomas Schuman, *University of New Hampshire*
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Cara Strebe, *San Francisco State University*
Ruth Ann Strickland, *Appalachian State University*
Kaare Strøm, *University of California, San Diego*
David Tabb, *San Francisco State University*

Interactive 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.

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**
- **Online Research and Citation Guide**
- **Chatroom and Message Board**

Study Guide The printed study guide features chapter outlines, key terms, a variety of practice tests, and critical thinking questions to help students learn. This supplement also covers the seven additional chapters on Texas in this edition.

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

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. FREE when ordered packaged with the text. Written by Mark Kann, Todd Belt, Gabriella Cowperthwaite, and Steven Horn.

***Ten Things Every American Government Student Should Read* by Karen O'Connor** 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.

Discount Subscription to Newsweek magazine Students receive 12 issues of *Newsweek* at more than 80% off the regular price. An excellent way to keep students up on current events.

CHOICES: An American Government 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 some of the most important documents from the 2000 Election.

Penguin-Putnam Paperback Titles at a Deep Discount Longman offers 25 Penguin-Putnam titles at more than a 60% discount when packaged with O'Connor & Sabato's text. Titles include De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* and Lewis' *The Jungle*. Go to www.ablongman.com/penguin for a complete list.

Guide to the Internet for American Government This easy-to-use guide presents a series of American government exercises using the Internet. It also includes a thorough discussion on evaluating sites for academic usefulness. FREE when ordered packaged. Written by Carol Hays.

***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 2/e* by Debra St. John** 90-page primer on state and local government and issues in Texas. FREE when packaged with the book.

***California Politics Supplement 2/e* by Barbara Stone** 70-page primer on state and local government and issues in California. FREE when packaged with the book.

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