

# KEEPING THE REPUBLIC

POWER AND CITIZENSHIP  
IN AMERICAN POLITICS

B R I E F E D I T I O N



CHRISTINE BARBOUR  
GERALD C. WRIGHT

**KEEPING THE REPUBLIC**  
**POWER AND CITIZENSHIP**  
**IN AMERICAN POLITICS**

**Brief Edition**

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*We dedicate this book with love to our parents,  
John Barbour, Patti Barbour,  
Doris Wright, and to the memory of Gerry Wright;  
to our kids, Andrea and Darrin, Monica and Michael;  
and to each other.*



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## About the Authors



Professor Christine Barbour has taught political science at Indiana University in Bloomington for the past ten years. Primarily teaching large sections of *Introduction to American Politics*, she has become increasingly interested in how teachers of large classes can maximize what their students learn. At Indiana, Professor Barbour has been a Lilly Fellow, working on a project to increase student retention in large introductory courses, and she has worked with the Freshman Learning Project, a university-wide effort to improve the first-year undergraduate experience. She has served on the *New York Times* College Advisory Board for several years, working with other educators on developing ways to integrate newspaper reading into the undergraduate curriculum. Barbour believes that it is vitally important to counter college students' political apathy, and she is interested in the relationship between active learning techniques and citizenship skills. She has won several teaching awards at Indiana, but the two that mean the most to her were awarded her by students: the Indiana University Student Alumni Association Award for Outstanding Faculty (1995–96) and the Indiana University Chapter of the Society of Professional Journalists Brown Derby Award (1997). When not teaching or writing textbooks, Professor Barbour enjoys playing with her four dogs, traveling with her coauthor, gardening, cooking (and eating) good food, and playing remarkably bad golf.

Professor Gerald Wright has taught political science at Indiana University in Bloomington since 1981. He is an accomplished scholar of American politics—the author of two books, including *Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States* with coauthors Robert S. Erikson and John P. McIver, and more than thirty articles on elections, public opinion, and state politics. He has long studied the relationship of politics to public policy, and is currently conducting research into the problems of citizenship participation and the degree to which elected officials do what voters want them to do. He has been a consultant for *Project Vote Smart* in the last several elections. Professor Wright has also become increasingly involved in the challenge of teaching large classes, spending the summer of 1998 as a member of the Freshman Learning Project at Indiana University, a university-wide effort to improve the first-year undergraduate experience by focusing on how today's college students learn and how teachers can adapt their pedagogical methods to best teach them. When not working, Professor Wright also enjoys his dogs, gardening, travel, and good food. His golf is considerably better than his coauthor's.

# Preface

*Keeping the Republic*, Brief Edition is an abridged and updated version of the first edition of *Keeping the Republic: Power and Citizenship in American Politics*. While we have streamlined the larger text's account of the American political system, we have also taken great pains to preserve the qualities of accessibility and enthusiasm already identified with that text. Our goal continues to be to share the excitement of discovering humankind's capacity to find innovative solutions to the issues of human governance. We have also focused on updating the Brief Edition to incorporate the results and drama of the 2000 elections, including the contested presidential election as well as the congressional elections and the policies of the early Bush administration.

This book aims to cover essential topics with clear explanations. It is a thematic book, to guide students through a wealth of material and to help them make sense of the content, both academically and personally. The theme is a classic in political science: politics is a struggle over limited power and resources. The rules guiding that struggle influence who will win and who will lose, so that often the struggles with the most at stake are over the rule-making itself. In short, and in the words of a very famous political scientist, politics is about who gets what and how they get it. To illustrate this theme, we begin and end every chapter with a feature called *What's at Stake?* that poses a question about what people want from politics—what they are struggling to get and how the rules affect who gets it. At the end of every major section, we stop and ask *Who, What, How?* This periodic summary helps solidify the conceptual work of the book and gives students a sturdy framework within which to organize the facts and other empirical information we want them to learn.

We unabashedly feel that a primary goal of teaching introductory politics is not only to create good scholars but to create good citizens as well. Fortunately, the skills that make good students and good academics are the same skills that make good citizens: the ability to think critically about and process new information and the ability to be actively engaged in one's subject. Accordingly, in our *Consider the Source* feature, we focus on teaching students how to examine critically the various kinds of political information they are continually bombarded with—from information in textbooks like this one, to information from the media or the Internet, to information from their congressperson or political party. In our *Points of Access* feature, we emphasize the opportunities students have to get involved in the system.

## Supplements

We know how important *good* teaching resources can be in the teaching of American government, so we have collaborated with several other political scientists and teachers to develop a set of instructional materials to accompany *Keeping the Republic*. Our goal has been to create resources that not only support but also enhance the text's themes and features.

- The *Instructor's Resource Manual with Test Items*, prepared by John Kozlowicz, of the University of Wisconsin, Whitewater, provides teachers with an array of teaching resources developed around the themes and features of the book. It includes learning objectives, lecture outlines, focus questions, ideas for class, small group, and individual projects and activities, and over 1,200 test item questions.
- The *Study Guide*, written and abridged for the Brief Edition by Jim Woods, of West Virginia University, is designed to help students review and master the text material. The *Study Guide* begins with a section detailing how to use the text and do well in the course. Each chapter reviews the chapter's key concepts, with learning objectives, a chapter summary, and extensive testing review of key terms and concepts. Practice tests include both multiple-choice and short-answer questions. A final section presents critical thinking exercises based on the chapter's key themes.
- A companion web site, accessed through the Houghton Mifflin College Division home page at college.hmco.com and by selecting "Political Science," provides an exciting platform for topic review, expanded learning, and policy analysis based on current events. The web site contains a variety of book-related resources for instructors and students, including chapter outlines, practice quizzes, and a full set of downloadable PowerPoint slides. The Election 2000 portion of the site offers regular election updates and activities, an election timeline, and election-related links. A Policy Resource Center provides expanded coverage and timely updates on major U.S. policy areas, including education, social security, and campaign finance reform. The web site also provides access to Political SourceNet, Houghton Mifflin's American Government web resource site.
- A computerized test bank offers all 1,200 questions from the Test Item portion of the *Instructor's Resource Manual* in electronic format.

### **Acknowledgments**

The Africans say that it takes a village to raise a child—it is certainly true that it takes one to write a textbook! We could not have done it without a community of family, friends, colleagues, students, reviewers, and editors, who supported us, nagged us, maddened us, and kept us on our toes. Not only is this a better book because of their help and support, but it would not have been a book at all without them.

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Christine Barbour  
Gerald C. Wright

# To the Student:

## Suggestions on How to Read This Textbook

1. As they say in Chicago about voting, do it **early and often**. If you open the book for the first time the night before the exam, you will not learn much from it and it won't help your grade. Start reading the chapters in conjunction with the lectures, and reread them all at least once before the exam. A minimum of two readings is necessary for a decent education and a decent grade.

2. Read the **chapter outlines!** There is a wealth of information in the outlines, and in all the chapter headings. They tell you what we think is important, what our basic argument is, and how all the material fits together. Often, chapter subheadings list elements of an argument that may show up on a quiz. Be alert to these clues.

3. **Read actively!** Constantly ask yourself: What does this mean? Why is this important? How do these different facts fit together? What are the broad arguments here? How does this material relate to class lectures? How does it relate to the broad themes of the class? When you stop asking these questions you are merely moving your eyes over the page and that is a waste of time. This is especially true of the *What's at Stake?* vignettes at the beginning of each chapter (and the follow-up at the chapter's end). Try to keep the themes and questions posed in the *What's at Stake?* vignette alive as you read the chapter so that you can make the important connections to the material being covered.

4. **Highlight or take notes.** Some people prefer highlighting because it's quicker than taking notes, but others think that writing down the most important points helps in remembering them later on. Whichever method you choose (and you must choose one), be sure you're doing it properly! The point of both methods is to make sure that you interact with the material and learn it instead of just passively watching it pass before your eyes—and that you have in some way indicated the most important points so that you do not need to read the entire chapter your second time through.

**Highlighting.** Highlight with a pen or marker that enables you to read what's on the page. Do not highlight too much. An entirely yellow page will not give you any clues about what is important. Read each paragraph and ask yourself: What is the basic idea of this paragraph? Highlight that. Avoid highlighting all the examples and illustrations. You should be able to recall them on your own when you see the main idea. Beware of highlighting too little. If whole pages go by with no marking, you are probably not highlighting enough.

**Outlining.** Again, the key is to write down enough, but not too much. Recopying a chapter written by someone else is deadly boring—and a waste of time. Go for key ideas, terms, and arguments.

5. Don't be afraid to **write in your book**. Even if you choose to outline instead of highlight, make notes to yourself in the margins of your book, pointing out cross-references, connections, ideas, and examples. Especially note tie-ins to the lectures, or summaries of broad arguments.

6. Read and reread the *Who, What, How* summaries at the end of each chapter section. These will help you digest the material just covered and get you ready to go on to the next section.

7. Note all **key terms**, including those that appear in chapter headings. Be sure you understand the definition and significance, and write the significance in the margin of your book!

8. Do not skip **charts, graphs, pictures, or other illustrations!** These things are there for a purpose, because they convey crucial information or illustrate a point in the text. After you read a chart or graph, make a note in the margin about what it means.

9. Do not skip the *Consider the Source* boxes or other **boxed features!** They are not empty filler! The *Consider the Source* boxes provide advice on becoming a critical consumer of the many varieties of political information that come your way. They list questions to ask yourself about the articles you read, the campaign ads and movies you see, and the graphs you study, among other things. The boxed features may highlight an important trend or focus on an example of something discussed in the text. They'll often give you another angle from which to understand the chapter themes.

10. When you've finished the chapter, read the *Summary*. Like the *Who, What, How* summaries, the end-of-chapter summary will help put the chapter's information in perspective, summarizing the major points made in each chapter section.

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### **What's at Stake Revisited**

# Power and Citizenship in American Politics

## WHAT'S AT STAKE?

Welcome to American politics. Do you know who your vice president is? The Speaker of the House of Representatives? Can you name the chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court? The father of the Constitution? Do you know how many senators there are? What the Fifth Amendment protects? If you answered no to most or all of these questions, the newspaper *USA Today* says you are in good company.<sup>1</sup> It reported in the fall of 1998 that among young adults, only 74 percent knew the vice president (Al Gore), 33 percent knew the Speaker (Newt Gingrich), 2 percent knew the chief justice (William Rehnquist) and the father of the Constitution (James Madison), and 25 percent knew that the Fifth Amendment protects us from having to testify against ourselves in court, among other things. On the other hand, 95 percent knew that Will Smith starred in *Fresh Prince of Bel Air*, 81 percent knew that three brothers make up the music group Hanson, and 75 percent knew that the Beverly Hills zip code is 90210. *USA Today* concluded that American democracy is in trouble. Young people are not using their brainpower to absorb political knowledge.

Since the Watergate scandal that forced the resignation of President Richard Nixon in 1974, levels of interest and trust in government have been declining. The year 1998 saw even less reason than usual for young people to pay attention to politics, with the partisan bickering and media spectacle that accompanied the impeachment of President Bill Clinton. Can democracy survive when a whole generation of young citizens and future political leaders seems to know little and care less about politics?