PREPARED BY KATHY HOLLAND

Instructor's Manual to accompany

NINTH EDITION

# Democracy Under Pressure

An Introduction to the American Political System

MILTON C. CUMMINGS, JR. DAVID WISE

## **Instructor's Manual**

to accompany

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An Introduction to the American Political System

Ninth Edition

Milton C. Cummings, Jr. The Johns Hopkins University

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### **Preface**

Many of the students we seek to educate come to class with two pieces of baggage—first, a negative and uninformed attitude about politics, and second, more interest in the economic and entertainment aspects of life. They are concerned about future employment, and view American politics as a hurdle to be overcome on the way to receiving a diploma. Additionally, many students are not avid readers and do not look forward to reading large textbooks.

For this reason, our approach to teaching politics should entail getting students involved in the learning process by posing questions, challenging assumptions, and encouraging student involvement, not just in classroom learning, but in the political process itself. Nevertheless, this instructor's manual is dedicated to illustrating ways that we may connect with our students and challenge them to intellectual growth, as well as civic concern and involvement.

#### TEACHING PHILOSOPHY AND APPROACHES

Today APSA's Set-Ups have provided ways to bring the subjects we discuss to life. Computer systems like Micro-Case have also provided opportunities for student involvement, as have numerous videos and simulations available through PBS, CNN, and C-SPAN and the Internet. With a wide variety of resources to select from, it becomes easy to discuss the practice of politics in the classroom. This book is written with the storytelling ability and artistic flare one would expect of a man of David Wise's renowned journalistic reputation and talents. It has the capacity to get the students' attention because it is elegantly crafted with accessible prose. Milton Cummings's years in the classroom at Johns Hopkins, and his many contributions to the fund of knowledge in political science assure us that the enduring concepts will not be shunted aside in pursuit of currency and relevance.

This manual is being approached as a tool to help professors better use the insights available in *Democracy under Pressure*, but also to assist the beginning instructor and the grizzled veteran alike as they approach American politics. Many professors who write papers, articles, and chapters for anthologies and reviews; referee materials for journals; teach graduate students in the field; participate in and evaluate grants; serve as officers of associations in the field and on boards of editors; and write books of their own, as many of us do, see teaching American Government to introductory-level students as a burden.

For me, a community college instructor, teaching American Government is my primary responsibility. I am always looking for ways to make the course interesting to my students so that they may develop and maintain a lifelong interest in politics. I include what has worked for me in the classroom. I have also retained many of the resources found in the previous edition. Not all resources and techniques could possibly be included. However, if you have a technique worth including, feel free to forward the idea. Some of the ideas may work better for smaller classes, while others may be more appropriate for the larger lecture-hall format.

#### FORMAT OF THIS MANUAL

The material to accompany each chapter in *Democracy under Pressure* includes:

- An **Overview** of the chapter.
- The **Key Question** from the beginning of each chapter.
- Learning Objectives—what students should know after reading the chapter.
- **Key Points**—main topics from the chapter.
- **Key Terms**—definitions of the building blocks of theory presented in the chapter. This will include all of the words presented in bold in the chapter.

#### VI PREFACE

- Lecture Builders and Questions for Discussion—aids for getting students involved in political science in and out of class.
- Chapter Outline—Professors might find these useful for developing their own lecture transparencies and as a reminder of how much material can be covered in one class period.
- Additional Resources—Each chapter includes recommendations on books, audiovisual materials, and Web site activities, a feature new to the 9th edition.
- Please note: The Learning Objectives, Key Points, and Key Terms sections in this manual
  match the corresponding sections in the student Study Guide, which is available separately
  through Harcourt Brace College Publishers.
- Web site activities—Each chapter now includes several Web site activities that may be assigned to students. You may assign them in their entirety, or simply apply appropriate aspects of each according to your course needs. I attempted to find and use a wide variety of Web sites, and discovered that some apply to more than one chapter. Internet addresses are included in Appendix B and throughout the students' textbook.
- Two appendices are included in this manual:
- Appendix A: Visual Sources includes sources for CD-ROMs, videotapes, and the like.
- Appendix B: Web sites includes Internet addresses for Web sites relevant to this course.
- Throughout, this manual will presuppose that instructors will read the chapters, and that
  the guide will be used to jog the instructor's memory and as an outline for lecture and discussion building. With a wide variety of resources, there is no shortage of material to fill
  more than a semester-length course.

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# Chapter 1 The American Democracy

#### **OVERVIEW**

In this communication age of the Internet and high-speed travel, change is a central feature of life and is sure to be a prevalent one in the new millennium as well. If someone had predicted after Ronald Reagan was elected in 1980 that within 12 years the Soviet system and the Berlin Wall would crumble, or that a third-party candidate would amass 19 percent of the popular vote, that person would not have been revered as a prophet, but pitied as a fool.

In this introductory chapter, Cummings and Wise focus first on demands for change in the context of the continuities of the American political system. As a prelude to 2000 election data, the chapter begins with an examination of the presidential and congressional election returns for 2000 that are then synopsized, with a focus on the popular vote and electoral college outcomes for Democrat Al Gore and Republican George W. Bush. Furthering their theme of change, the authors examine the slowing of social welfare programs under Reagan, the end of the Cold War, and the emergence of special interest groups and PACs. The political landscape, they contend, is seeded with such foreign-policy land mines as Bosnia, Haiti, Russia, the Middle East, and the Persian Gulf region in the aftermath of the 1991 war.

Government's ability to cope with its problems is further complicated by public disillusionment and distrust of its leaders. Lest students totally despair, the authors point to the ability of the nation's institutions to emerge from the buffeting of Vietnam and Watergate. They also see hopeful signs that the democracy can in fact be inclusive with the emergence of women like Geraldine Ferraro and African Americans like Colin Powell.

On a more theoretical level, the authors provide examples of the reciprocal nature of power. They illustrate how government is affected by popular participation and how its policy outputs affect the daily lives and future aspirations of its citizens. Voting, party activity, contacting elected representatives directly, speaking through interest groups and their lobbyists, and even taking an issue to the streets, serve as examples of how people can influence the system.

To the uninitiated, the distinction between government and politics is often nebulous. Terms such as "government," "power," and "politics" are defined and examined, along with the relative nature of power and its capacity to corrupt those who wield it. Central to these definitions is a discussion of the meaning of the term "democracy," its origins, its central principles of majority rule and minority rights, and the commitments to equality before the law, which have shaped the American system virtually since its inception.

Venturing into a bit of "political science" model-making, Cummings and Wise explain David Easton's classic conceptualization of politics as a system of inputs and outputs, demand, supports, and policy formulation and implementation strategies. Returning to *terra firma*, they ponder how public policy is made, how the competing issues make their way onto the crowded national agenda, and how the resulting policy is set into motion.

Government and politics are clearly dynamic institutions and the citizenry involved provide the motivating force for change and improvement. Like many other things considered in this chapter, demographics are in a state of change. Census data are examined to describe the changing face of America and its implications for public policy. This last section asks questions such as, Who are we as nation and what will that mean to our priorities? With a sense of urgency, if

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not outright alarm, the authors ask such rhetorical questions as, Will there be enough food to eat? Enough room to live? Will there be sufficient natural resources without destroying the environment? On these notes, the chapter on change draws to a close.

#### **KEY QUESTIONS**

After more than 200 years, is the American political system capable of meeting the social and economic needs of the people and preserving the national security? Are the nation's institutions gridlocked and too slow to change with the times? Can America's industries remain competitive with those of other nations, yet preserve the environment? Can Americans learn to put aside racial divisions and live in harmony? Are crime, violence, and the threat of terrorism changing the quality of life in the United States? Is the American democracy still workable, even though it had been subjected to unusual pressures?

#### LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 1, the student should be able to:

- 1. Discuss the 2000 presidential race.
- 2. Describe the changes in the shape of American politics today and in America's perception of itself.
- 3. Discuss the impact of government on people.
- 4. Explain that people influence government by voting in free elections to choose those who govern, by participating in the activities of political parties and interest groups, through public opinion, and by direct action.
- 5. Define government, politics, power, and democracy.
- 6. Explain why America is considered a representative democracy rather than a pure democracy.
- 7. Explain how the concept of a political system provides a useful framework, or approach, for understanding government and politics.
- 8. Define public policy and discuss the concept of public policy analysis as a way of looking at government and politics.
- 9. Analyze the social, economic, and political implications of important population shifts within the United States, such as migration from the Northeast to the South and the West.
- 10. Discuss the impact of technological change on contemporary American society.

#### **KEY POINTS**

- 1. The 2000 Presidential Election In the 2000 presidential race, Vice President Al Gore, a Democrat, faced Texas Governor George W. Bush. The campaign was a reflection of deep divisions in philosophy between the two major parties and their candidates. Although Gore had tried to distance himself from Clinton's transgressions, Bush campaigned on the slogan "compassionate conservatism." On Election Day, November 7, voters cast ballots in a contest that was too close to call. Due to the many recounts of votes cast in Florida, it was unclear that Florida's electors would participate in the electoral college. Great anticipation and anxiety hung in the air for more than two weeks while America waited for the final results. (pp. 3–10)
- 2. American Politics in the 1990s By the early 1990s, special interest groups, often well-financed and supporting a single issue, had become powerful actors in the nation's politics. Often such groups contributed to political candidates through political action committees (PACs), which had grown in number and importance. Other trends were visible: The nation's political parties appeared to be declining in importance, and public confidence in the institutions of government was relatively low. Anger at political leaders and disillusion with the political system, along with a desire for change, characterized the national mood in the election of 1992 and in the congressional elections of 1994. But there

- were signs of change; for example, by 1996 more women, African Americans, and Hispanics had been elected to Congress. (pp. 3–10)
- 3. The Impact of Government on People In the United States, government's impact is real and farreaching. Americans normally must pay three levels of taxes—local, state, and federal. They attend public schools and perhaps public colleges. They draw unemployment insurance, welfare benefits, Medicare, and social security. They must either obey the laws or pay the penalty of a fine or imprisonment if they break them and are caught and convicted. Their savings accounts and home mortgages are guaranteed by the federal government. Their taxes support the armed forces and police, fire, health, and sanitation departments. From birth certificate to death certificate, government accompanies individuals along the way. (pp. 11–14)
- 4. The Impact of People on Government Just as government affects people, people affect government. The American system of government is based on the concept that power flows from the people to the government. Jefferson expressed this eloquently when he wrote in the Declaration of Independence, "to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." If government in the United States has real and often awesome power over people, people, both individuals and the mass of citizens together, can have considerable power over government. (pp. 11–14)
- 5. Voting in the United States The first and most important power of the people in America is the right to vote in free elections to choose those who govern. The fact that a president, member of Congress, governor, mayor, or school board member may want to stand for reelection influences his or her performance in office. The knowledge that they serve at the pleasure of the voters usually tends to make those officials sensitive to public opinion. Even in a nation as big as the United States, an individual's vote does matter. In 1960, 1968, and 1976, shifts of relatively small numbers of voters in a few states would have changed the outcomes of the presidential elections. (p. 12)
- **6.** The Role of the Political Party The political party is basic to the American system of government because it provides a vehicle for competition and choice. Without these, "free elections" would be meaningless. Despite an exceptionally strong showing by an independent candidate for president in 2000, the two-party system has predominated in the United States. Since candidates for public office, even at the presidential level, are usually selected by their parties, people can influence government, and the choice of who governs, by participating in party activities. (p. 12)
- 7. Interest Groups When people belong to groups that share common attitudes and make these views felt, or when they organize such groups, they may be influencing government. These private associations, or interest groups, may be business and professional organizations, unions, racial and religious groups, or organizations of such groups as farmers or veterans. An interest group does not have to be an organized body. Students, for example, constitute a highly vocal interest group. (p. 13)
- **8. Government** Government can be defined on a simple level as the individuals, institutions, and processes that make the rules for society and possess the power to enforce them. Government makes rules to decide who gets what of valued things in a society. In highly developed societies, the principle means for resolving differences or conflicts among individuals and groups is government. (p. 14)
- 9. Politics Benjamin Disraeli, the 19th-century British prime minister and novelist, wrote that "politics are the possession and distribution of power." Many political scientists today would agree with his definition, and would add that there is little difference between politics and government. For example, V. O. Key, Jr., equated politics with "the process and practice of ruling" and the "workings of governments generally, their impact on the governed, their manner of operation, the means by which governors attain and retain authority." In other words, politics may be defined as the pursuit and exercise of power. (pp. 14–15)
- **10. Democracy** Democracy is a word that comes from two Greek roots, *demos*, the populace, and *kratia*, rule—taken together, "rule by the people." The Greeks used the term to describe the government of Athens and other Greek city-states that flourished in the fifth century B.C. In a democratic government.

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power, in theory, flows from the people as a whole. But the United States is too big for every citizen to take part in the deliberations of government. Thus, the distinction is sometimes made that America is a representative democracy rather than a direct one. Leaders are elected to speak for and represent the people. (pp. 15–16)

- 11. Ideals Versus Reality in the United States The concept of equality is basic to American democracy. So are basic rights such as freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, the right to vote, and the right to dissent from majority opinion. The idea of individual dignity is another concept basic to American democracy. And American government is constitutional—the power of government is limited by a framework of fundamental written law. These are the ideals, but this is not always what happens. African Americans and other minorities in America are still struggling for full equality; the probing questions asked of people on welfare may leave them with little individual dignity; the police sometimes have their own views on freedom of assembly; and the government has sometimes committed abuses in the name of national security. (p. 16)
- 12. The Concept of a Political System It is possible to describe people, government, politics, and power as interacting elements in a political system. The concept of a political system may provide a useful framework, or approach, for understanding the total subject matter of the textbook. A political system consists of several parts that relate to one another, each of which performs a separate, vital function. If we think in terms of a system, we visualize all the pieces in motion, acting and interacting, dynamic rather than static. The purpose of a political system is to make binding, authoritative decisions for society about who gets what. (pp. 16–17)
- 13. Inputs, Outputs, and Feedback Political scientists speak of inputs, outputs, and feedback in talking about a political system. The inputs of a political system are of two kinds: demands and supports. Demands are what people and groups want from the system; supports are the attitudes and actions of people that sustain and buttress the decisions it makes, whether in the form of laws, regulations, or judicial decisions. Feedback in a political system describes the response of the rest of society to the decisions made by the authorities. When those reactions are communicated back to the authorities, they may lead to a fresh round of decisions and new public responses. (p. 17)
- 14. The Analysis of Public Policy A policy is a course of action decided upon by government or by any organization, group, or individual. It involves a choice among competing alternatives. When policies are shaped by government officials, the results are called public policy. The analysis of public policy focuses on how choices are arrived at and how public policy is made. It also focuses on what happens afterward. How well or badly is a policy carried out? What is the impact in its own policy area? And what effect does it have on other policy areas? (pp. 17–18)
- 15. A Democratic Government and a Changing Society The United States has expanded from a population of about 4 million in 1790 to 264 million by 1996, according to Census Bureau estimates. The Census Bureau predicts that the figure will reach 275 million and that it could rise to more than 300 million after 2015. This dramatic increase in numbers of people—the "population explosion"—is taking place around the world. It raises questions that government must ponder. Will there be enough food to eat? Enough room to live? Enough oil and other natural resources to meet humanity's future needs? Will the environment be destroyed? (pp. 18–19)
- 16. Technological Change and the Political System In addition to the population explosion, America has experienced a knowledge explosion. Science and technology, computers, the Internet, electronics, and high-speed communications are reshaping society. Technological change is soon reflected within the political system. For example, today political candidates spend millions of dollars to purchase television time. Commercials are produced and candidates sold in the manner of detergents. Moreover, a considerable amount of the electronic-age technology is the by-product of defense research and development. (pp. 21–22)

#### **KEY TERMS**

**government** The individuals, institutions, and processes that make the rules for society and possess the power to enforce them. (p. 14)

politics The pursuit and exercise of power. (p. 14)

**power** The possession of control over others. (p. 15)

democracy Rule by the people. (p. 15)

**republic** A form of government in which the people are sovereign but their power is exercised by their elected representatives. (p. 15)

**majority rule** A concept of government by the people under which everyone is free to vote, but normally whoever gets the most votes wins the election and represents all the people (including those who voted for the losing candidate). (p. 16)

equality The concept that all people are of equal worth, even if not of equal ability. (p. 16)

inputs The demands upon and supports for the political system. (p. 17)

demands What people and groups want from the political system. (p. 17)

**supports** The attitudes and actions of people that sustain and buttress the political system at all levels and allow it to continue to work. (p. 17)

**outputs** The binding decisions that a political system makes, whether in the form of laws, regulations, or judicial decisions. (p. 17)

feedback The response of the rest of society to decisions made by the authorities of a political system. (p. 17)

**policy** A course of action decided upon by government—or by any organization, group, or individual—that involves a choice among competing alternatives. (p. 17)

public policy A policy shaped by government officials. (p. 17)

implementation The action, or actions, taken by government to carry out a policy. (p. 18)

distribution The question of who wins and who loses from a given public policy. (p. 18)

redistributive policy A policy that takes something away from one and gives it to another, (p. 18)

*military-industrial complex* A term coined by President Eisenhower in 1961 to describe the alliance between the Pentagon and the defense contractors who produce weapons for the military. (p. 22)

#### LECTURE BUILDERS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Ask students to fill out information about any previous courses they have had in political science on the front of a 3x5 card. Ask them to sign their name to the blank side of the card. Tell them to hold up the cards when they finish. Ask them if they felt foolish holding up the card and ask if they always put their signatures on blank cards. Then ask them why they did what you asked. This is a lesson in political power. What did they have to gain? What did they have to lose? Why do we obey the law? Would democracy be possible without people's willingness to accept duly constituted authority?
- 2. Examine the concept of democracy by looking at its Athenian roots. Who could vote? Who could not? Would it have been democracy by today's standards? Question the textbook's assertion that direct democracy is not feasible for a country as large as this one. Would it work to have a system linking television to congressional hearings, and 800 telephone numbers so that people could vote directly? Why? Why not?
- 3. Engineers build bridges with the skills they learned in college. After examining Easton's systems model, discuss with students the practical ways in which political scientists find themselves making contributions to government and society. (It might help to bring in an APSA Guide to Internships and Careers.)

- 4. Foreign policy issues were of virtually no significance in the 2000 election and most of the cuts in federal employment were in defense-related sectors of the bureaucracy. Given this, discuss with the class whether one might consider fears of Pentagon abuse of the federal budget a bit passé.
- 5. Bosnia, Haiti, Russia, and other nations discussed in the first chapter aspire to democratic processes. What public experiences and attitudes must be present in the citizenry of a nation to make democracy work? Why has it worked as well as it has in the United States?
- 6. Discuss the differences between the Gore proposals of new government programs to deal with social ills (liberal) and George W. Bush's more conservative stance toward the government's role in dealing with national problems.
- 7. With the chapter discussion of the public policy process as a foundation, ask students what they believe are the key domestic policy issues facing a new administration. Which of these issue will receive the most attention? Use this for a discussion of agenda-setting.
- 8. Do citizen groups really have a chance to use protests and sit-ins to limit the power of special interest groups in controlling the governmental agenda? If so, how?

#### CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. Government and People
  - A. In 2000, America began a new century and chose a new president on November 7.
  - B. Both major party candidates, Democrat Al Gore and Republican George W. Bush are the scions of distinguished political families.
  - C. It was a time of unprecedented prosperity: a lengthy economic boom, low unemployment, and a \$1.3 trillion dollar federal surplus.
  - D. George W. Bush campaigned on a slogan of "compassionate conservatism," focusing on faith, family and America, and upholding the dignity of the office of the president. Al Gore distanced himself from Clinton's transgressions while reminding voters that he was part of an administration that brought great prosperity.
  - E. On Election Day, voters cast ballots in a contest that was too close to call. Due to the many recounts of votes cast in Florida, it was unclear that Florida's electors would participate in the electoral college.
  - F. The clash between Bush and Gore was political and philosophical: the belief that the federal government had a major responsibility for meeting social and economic needs.
  - G. George W. Bush moved toward the political center, reached out to independent voters, and advocated for programs identified with Democrats while also representing many of the more conservative ideas of the Republican Party.
  - H. In 1992, Democrat Bill Clinton was elected along with a Democratic Congress. Two years later, the Republicans took control of Congress, changing the political landscape. In 1996 and 1998, the Republican losses led to the resignation of House speaker Newt Gingrich.
  - I. Clinton's congressional victories were eclipsed when he was impeached by the House in 1999. Although he was acquitted by the Senate, his reputation remained tarnished. Remarkably, Clinton's approval rating as president remained high.
  - J. The victor in 2000 leads the United States into a different world with a new perception of itself.
  - K. Millions of Americans have invested in the stock market, but for how long will the market continue to rise? Will the bubble burst instead?
  - L. Corporate culture has also changed—workers no longer toil for one company and now move freely from one job to another. However, many blue- and white-collar workers have lost jobs to corporate mergers and plant relocations.
  - M. Globalization, the interconnected worldwide economy, leaves the United States unsure of its economic preeminence.
  - N. Terrorism has come to America: The World Trade Center was bombed in 1993, Islamic terrorists plotted to bomb bridges and tunnels, and in 1995 the federal building in Oklahoma City was bombed by two Americans.

- O. Other domestic challenges include the rising costs of health care, the quality of public education, and the interlocking problems of crime, drugs, poverty, and homelessness. Other changes include the unregulated use of "soft money," and the growth in the power of special interest groups.
- P. Abroad, the collapse of the Soviet Union brought enormous psychological change, yet the threat of nuclear weapons had increased in third world nations. In 1998, India and Pakistan conducted nuclear tests.
- Q. The United States was called upon to intervene in regional conflicts for humanitarian purposes in Haiti, Bosnia, Yugoslavia, and the Middle East. However, long-range goals seemed elusive. Nine years after the Persian Gulf War, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein remained in power.
- R. Since the 1960s, America had passed through a long and turbulent period of civil unrest, assassination, abuse of presidential power, and economic hardship. This was followed by periodic inflation, high unemployment, economic recession, and the Iran-contra scandal.
- S. The swirling currents of these events left the voters seeing little difference between the two major parties and questioning the effectiveness of government solutions.
- T. Changes still continued: Geraldine Ferraro was the 1984 Democratic candidate for vice president, and many hoped former general Colin Powell, an African American, would run for president. In 2000, Joseph Lieberman became the first person of Jewish faith to run for the office of vice president.
- II. Question: After two hundred years, is the American political system capable of meeting the social and economic needs of the people and preserving the national security? Are the nation's institutions gridlocked? Are American industries competitive with those of other nations? Could Americans put aside racial divisions to live in harmony, or are crime, violence, and terrorism changing the quality of life? Is democracy still workable?

#### III. The Reciprocal Nature of Democratic Power

- A. In 1945, a small group of scientists in Alamogordo, New Mexico watched the first atomic bomb explode. With the onset of the nuclear age, the traditional power of government had taken on a new dimension.
  - 1. At the height of the Cold War, America and the Soviet Union were hostile superpowers.
  - 2. As the country changes through the development of science, technology, and industrialization, so does the government.
- B. The impact of government on people.
  - 1. The ways government pervades daily life can be very subtle.
  - 2. College students driving to class are expected to observe local traffic regulations.
  - 3. In 1999, the government awarded \$41.9 billion to six million college students.
  - 4. Americans pay three levels of taxes—local, state, and federal.
  - 5. They attend public schools; they draw unemployment insurance and social security.
  - 6. They must obey the laws or face a fine or imprisonment.
  - 7. Taxes support armed forces, police, fire, health, and sanitation. Licenses are needed for hunting, fishing, marriage, driving, and flying.
  - 8. Government is complicated: there are federal, state, and local layers of government, metropolitan areas, commissions, boards, and councils.
- C. The impact of people on government.
  - 1. The American form of government is based on the concept that power flows from the people to the government.
  - 2. However, the principles of democracy do not always mesh with the practices.
  - 3. V. O. Key, Jr., states: "The power relationship is reciprocal, and the subject may affect the ruler more profoundly than the ruler affects the subject."

#### D. Voting

- 1. The first and most important power is the right to vote in free elections to choose those who govern. An individual's vote does matter in close presidential elections.
- 2. Presidents are elected by electoral votes, cast by electors for the candidate who wins the most popular votes in the state.

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#### E. Party activity.

- 1. Political parties provides a vehicle for competition and choice.
- For the most part, the two-party system dominates, despite the strong showing of independent candidates.
- 3. Since candidates are selected by their parties, people can influence government by participating in party activities.

#### F. Public opinion.

- 1. Candidates and elected officials are sensitive to what the public thinks.
- 2. Citizens do not wait to be polled: they make their opinion felt by voting, participating in political activities, writing or sending faxes and e-mail to Congress, telephoning their city council, writing to newspapers, and testifying at public hearings.
- 3. Citizens who follow public issues may influence the government, since a government is less likely to mislead an informed public.

#### G. Interest groups.

- 1. When people belong to groups that share common attitudes, they influence government.
- 2. These associations are also called interest groups, professional organizations, unions, racial and religious groups.

#### H. Direct action.

- 1. People have influenced the government by civil disobedience and by militant or violent action, the "politics of confrontation."
- 2. The civil rights movement used sit-ins, demonstrations, marches, strikes, and picketing to achieve political ends.
- 3. After Vietnam, direct action diminished until 1999, when protesters in Seattle disrupted the meeting of the World Trade Organization.
- 4. Farmers, antiabortion groups, peace activists, and others have demonstrated at the National Mall.

#### IV. What Is Government?

#### A. Government.

- 1. They existed even in primitive societies.
- 2. In a modern industrial state, government is the individuals, institutions, and processes making rules for society and having the power to enforce them.
- 3. They make the decisions on who gets things of value in societies.
- 4. Government solves conflicts among groups and individuals.
- 5. David Easton describes the need for governmental mechanisms to resolve differences.

#### B. Politics.

- 1. Disraeli says "Politics are the possession and distribution of power." This sounds a lot like our definition of government, since the two overlap and intertwine.
- 2. V. O. Key, Jr. equated politics with "the process and practice of ruling."
- 3. Politics may be defined as the pursuit and exercise of power.

#### C. Power.

- 1. Is defined as possession of control over others.
- 2. Practitioners' and theorists' opinions on the subject:
  - a. Boss Tweed of Tammany Hall: "The way to have power is to take it."
  - b. Lord Acton: "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Montesquieu expressed a similar idea in *The Spirit of the Laws*.
  - c. V. O. Key, Jr., says power cannot be hoarded and involves interactions between those who exercise it and those affected by the exercise.

#### D. Democracy.

- 1. Greek root—demos (the people) kratia (rule): "The people rule."
- 2. In democratic theory, power flows from the people—a foundation of American democracy.
- 3. The United States can be described as a republic, a form of government in which the people

- are sovereign but their power is exercised by their elected representatives. (This is also known as representative democracy.)
- 4. Majority rule is a concept in which everyone is free to vote. For it to be truly democratic, views and rights of minorities are to be noted and protected.
- 5. Equality means equal worth, if not equal ability. The idea of individual dignity is also important.
- 6. Basic rights include freedoms of speech, press, assembly, and religion.
- 7. American democracy is constitutional, i.e., government is limited by legal instruments.
- 8. The ideals are not always what happens. African Americans still struggle for full equality, and the government has committed abuses in the name of national security.

#### V. The Concept of a Political System

- A. The systems concept consists of parts that relate to one another, each performing a separate function.
- B. A dynamic approach.
  - 1. People, politics, and government are interacting elements in a political system.
  - 2. Government and politics do not exist in a vacuum—they are embedded in, and related to, many other activities in a society.
- C. Inputs, outputs, and feedback.
  - 1. Inputs are the demands upon and supports for the system.
    - a. Demands—what people want from the system.
    - b. Supports—attitudes and actions of people that sustain the system.
  - 2. Outputs are the binding decisions it makes, such as laws, regulations, or court decisions.
    - a. Often reward one group in society.
    - b. Redistribute things of value within society. One group is rewarded at the expense of another.
  - 3. Feedback is the response of the rest of society to the decision made by the authorities.

#### VI. Public Policymaking

- A. Policy analysis doesn't look at how systems are organized, but at how decisions are made and the results of those decisions.
- B. Policy is a course of action determined by an organization.
- C. Public policy is policies shaped by government officials. Analysis is focused on how choices are arrived at and how policy is made.
- D. Lineberry points out that unless a policy can get on the action agenda, no output to solve the problem is likely. Even action may not work.
- E. Implementation is the action taken to carry the policy out.
- F. Impact can be measured in its consequences to others.
- G. Distribution issues occur when government adopts a policy that provides benefits to people or groups.
- H. Redistribution is taking something from one group and giving it to another. This is where the major conflict develops.

#### VII. Democratic Government and a Changing Society

- A. A political system relates to people and how the size of that population affects outputs of the system. Factors in population and its impact on public policy:
  - 1. Qualitative factors of who they are, where they live, how they work, how they spend, and how mobile they are.
    - a. The political system also is affected by socioeconomic and cultural factors.
    - b. Government reacts to changes in society, and acts to meet those changing needs and demands.
    - c. Changes in the makeup of the population have substantial political impact.

#### B. 275 million Americans.

1. More than 275 million people had been counted by the Census Bureau by August 2000. In 2010, it may reach 297 million.

- 2. The Census Bureau has charted how the nation has expanded since 1790. An interesting profile now exists.
- 3. The authors list ancestry and religious affiliation of Americans.
- 4. By 2050, the Census Bureau projects that white Anglo-Saxon Protestants will be outnumbered by minorities.

#### C. The mobile society.

- 1. Government has to react to social and economic mobility, as well as geographic shifts from farm to city, and from city to suburbs, to minorities moving from south to north, and to massive population growth in California.
- 2. Shifts and changing population patterns affect the American political system.
- 3. More members of Congress and state legislatures represent suburban areas than in the past.

#### D. Technological, economic, and social change.

- 1. Information and knowledge explosion affects demands on government as computers, electronics, and high-speed communications reshape society.
- 2. Role for television after World War II becomes central as candidates seek dollars for televised campaign advertisements.
- 3. Government-sponsored research in defense areas has fostered much of this science and technology.
- President Eisenhower warned of the military-industrial complex, a term that describes the
  economic and political ties between the military establishment and the defense-aerospace
  industry.
- 5. John Kenneth Galbraith says that a few big corporations may be able to shape the direction of society.
- 6. Major social changes in the United States create new concerns:
  - a. Pollution problems have resulted from technological advances.
  - b. Some rivers are cleaner due to environmental legislation, but others are polluted by industrial and human waste.
  - c. Toxic waste has endangered communities, and pesticides are killing wildlife.
  - d. Air and water pollution damage health and upset the delicate balance of nature.
  - e. Future energy resources promise to be a major political problem and may force the nation to ask what its priorities are in these areas.
  - f. There are other areas of conflict and change—black Americans would not wait for racial equality.
  - g. These kinds of problems and other major changes have placed real pressure on American democracy.

#### E. The consent of the governed.

- 1. Viable political systems adapt to change.
- 2. Vietnam and Watergate caused both Congress and the public to raise questions about our presidential system. This kind of questioning is healthy for a democracy.
- 3. The American political system rests on the consent of the governed, but that consent requires that the leaders earn the trust of the people.

#### ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

#### **Books**

- 1. Ellis, Richard. *American Political Cultures* (Oxford University Press, 1993). Examines the individual and egalitarian aspects of American political culture.
- 2. Hartz, Louis. *The Liberal Tradition in America* (Harcourt Brace, 1955). Discusses why liberalism is such a central part of the American tradition.
- 3. Hudson, William E. *American Democracy in Peril*, 2nd edition (Chatham House, 1996). How rampant individualism has made a sense of community and need for social services difficult to maintain in today's America.

- 4. Kingdon, John W. *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policy*, 2nd edition (HarperCollins, 1995). How things get on the national agenda and how public policy works.
- Smith, Hedrick. The Power Game: How Washington Works (Ballentine Books, 1996). Insider accounts
  of the inner workings of the U.S. government and how media and interest groups affect the policy decisions of elected officials.

#### **Videos**

- 1. Smith, Hedrick. *The Power Game* (1996). Related TV series available through Public Broadcast Service (PBS) (www.pbs.org).
- 2. Stanley, Harold W., and Niemi, Richard C. *Vital Statistics on American Politics*, 4th edition (Congressional Quarterly Press, 1994). Invaluable statistics and commentary (great for lecture preparation).

#### Web Site Activities

- 1. The FirstGov Web site is a single point of entry to the federal government. Using their web site, [http://www.firstgov.gov/index.html], write a 5–10 page overview of what this site has to offer. Include a review of at least three of the topics listed under "interesting topics." Be sure to include the Web links to the executive, legislative, judicial, and state governments.
- 2. Using FirstGov [http://www.firstgov.gov/index.html], compare and contrast the federal executive, legislative, and judicial branches with the branches of your state government. Include the infrastructural similarities and differences between the branches.
- 3. The Census Bureau [http://www.census.gov], includes the demographic reports of how Americans live and work. Compare and contrast the 2000 data with the 1990 census. Include the data on housing, migration, occupation by race, origin and sex, American Indian, Hispanic, and disability characteristics.
- 4. Political party activity is a basic element of our system of government. Go to the Web sites for the Republican [www.rnc.org] and Democratic [www.dnc.org] parties. What does each offer its members in terms of political information and activities?
- 5. Using this Web site [http://www.info.gov/], what services and publications are available to citizens? What are the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) and Electronic Freedom of Information Act Amendments of 1996? What purpose do they fulfill? Why is this site useful to citizens?