

# GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA

---

People, Politics, and Policy



LINEBERRY EDWARDS WATTENBERG

Fifth Edition

Sponsoring Editor: Lauren Silverman  
Development Editor: Deborah Samyn  
Project Coordination: Proof Positive/Farrowlyne Associates, Inc.  
Text Design: Matthew Doherty Design  
Cover Design: Paula Meyers and Proof Positive/Farrowlyne Associates, Inc.  
Cover Photo: Robert Llewellyn  
Photo Research: Kelly Mountain  
Production: Michael Weinstein  
Compositor: Graphic World, Inc.  
Printer and Binder: R. R. Donnelley & Sons, Inc.  
Cover Printer: The Lehigh Press, Inc.

Government in America  
People, Politics, and Policy  
Fifth Edition

Copyright © 1991 by HarperCollins Publishers Inc.

All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America.  
No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any  
manner whatsoever without written permission, except in the  
case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and  
reviews. For information address HarperCollins Publishers  
Inc., 10 East 53rd Street, New York, NY 10022.

#### **Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Lineberry, Robert L.

Government in America : people, politics, and policy/Robert L.  
Lineberry, George C. Edwards III. Martin P. Wattenberg.—5th ed.  
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-673-52111-7

1. United States—Politics and government. I. Edwards, George C.  
II. Wattenberg, Martin P. III. Title.

JK274.L573 1990

320.973—dc20

90-42295

CIP

90 91 92 93 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

#### **Acknowledgments**

Acknowledgments for the copyrighted materials not credited on the page  
where they appear are listed in the Acknowledgments section beginning  
on page C-1. This section is considered an extension of the copyright  
page.

# PREFACE

Since 1980 *Government in America* has been one of the most widely used introductory-level texts in its field. In this fifth edition we have maintained the qualities that have proven themselves in the classroom.

The job of a text is to help the instructor teach well. It should, first, attract the interest of students. Second, it should convey ideas and evidence to support those ideas, to provide a basic structure for the subject on which a good teacher can base a course of instruction. We, the authors, have over a half century of experience teaching American government among us, and we have learned to present this complex subject in an engaging and understandable fashion.

## Continuity and Change

Perhaps the most notable change in the fifth edition is the addition of coauthors George C. Edwards III of Texas A&M University and Martin P. Wattenberg of the University of California at Irvine, two leading scholars of American politics and government. Their participation has created the opportunity for a thorough revision. The fifth edition is completely up to date and incorporates the best recent scholarship on American government.

**Focus** *Government in America* continues to adopt a “policy approach” to American government. We feel that the principal reason for studying politics is to understand the policies governments produce, and our discussion of politics is tied to the central question, “What difference does it make?” This focus engages students’ interest and stimulates consideration of the most important aspects of governing. This approach was fairly unusual when introduced in the early editions, but today many other texts follow our lead.

**Themes** In addition to a policy focus, two important themes run throughout the book: democracy, and the size of government. Each chapter has specific sections relating these themes to the chapter’s topic.

The first theme, democracy, deals with the initial great question central to governing—*How should we be governed?*—and evaluates how well the American system lives up to citizens’ expectations of democratic government. As with previous editions, we continue to incorporate theoretical issues in our discussions of different models of American government. We try to encourage students to think analytically about the theories and develop independent assessments of the American government’s politics and policy.

Our second theme, the size of government, focuses on another great question of governing: *What should government do?* Here we discuss alternative views concerning the proper role and size for American government and the influence that the workings of government and politics have on the size of government. The government’s size is the core question around which politics revolves in contemporary America, and this question pervades many crucial issues, from equality to budgeting.



**Features** Five features appear throughout *Government in America*. Each chapter (after the first) opens with a box entitled “**Government in Action**,” which illustrates the significance of the material in the chapter with a recent example or story from American politics. This feature is designed to draw students into the chapter and preview the major themes.

It is important that students recognize and think critically about the difficult choices faced by citizens and policymakers. A second feature in each chapter is entitled “**A Question of Ethics**” and focuses on questions of personal or policy ethics, asking the student to evaluate an ethical dilemma—for example, how much money should the government spend to prolong the life of a dying hospital patient? Another feature, “**You Are the Policymaker**,” is also interactive. It asks students to make a policy decision on a question, such as whether the Supreme Court should follow the original intentions of the Constitution’s framers or interpret the Constitution according to present-day standards.

Complementing our theme of democracy, each chapter contains one or more boxes, entitled “**The People Speak**,” that provide *up-to-date* opinion poll data regarding a question discussed in the chapter—whether the American people favor abortion or whether they feel that those who contribute large amounts of money to congressional candidates exercise too much power, as examples. Finally, “**America in Perspective**” boxes look at an aspect of each chapter from the perspective of how the United States compares to other countries, focusing on the tax rates in other nations, for example, or the uniqueness of the American two-party system.

We have retained and substantially updated some well-received features of the first four editions. Each chapter contains extensive material in boxes, either to highlight a case study, to present some specific research on a question, or to provide figures and tables that illustrate important points.

These boxes provide invaluable learning aids for students. Each chapter ends with a contemporary bibliography and a listing of key terms. Additional study aids appear at the back of the book: a glossary of key terms, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and tables on presidents and presidential elections, party control of the presidency and Congress in the twentieth century, and Supreme Court justices serving in this century.

New to this edition are four photo essays on the development of Washington, D.C., and its political institutions. These essays provide historical background about the Washington community and introduce each of the four parts of *Government in America*.

## Supplements to the Text

A comprehensive selection of teaching and learning resources has been developed to supplement the fifth edition of *Government in America*.

**Laser Disc** *American Government: Issues and Images* is an original laser disc, also available on videotape. This two-sided videodisc, developed in consultation with American government professors and a multimedia courseware developer, contains nearly one hundred excerpts from newsreel collections, network news and cable TV archives, and state historical societies. The videodisc has been specifically designed for classroom use and includes pedagogically useful clips from campaign commercials and convention debates, as well as historic and

recent footage about domestic and foreign policy issues. An accompanying user's guide links each excerpt to *Government in America*.

**Study Guide** This comprehensive study guide, written by David Billeaux of Corpus Christi State University, helps students not only to remember the essential text material but also to examine and discover further perspectives on American government. Each chapter of the study guide contains learning objectives, a chapter synopsis/overview, a pretest, "reading for content" guides designed to focus students' reading of the text chapter, a glossary, posttest (review) questions, discussion questions, classroom exercises, and a section on research and resources.

**Instructor's Manual** Professor Billeaux has also written a complete resource manual for the instructor. Each chapter of the instructor's manual includes learning objectives, a synopsis, glossary terms, highlight boxes, tables, profiles, lecture outlines, and sources for other lecture material. The manual offers two special features: complete mini-lectures, which augment the text material, and suggested projects and activities. The instructor's manual also provides a sample course syllabus and a guide to films that can enhance lectures and discussions.

**Test Bank** The test item file, also prepared by Professor Billeaux, consists of two thousand multiple choice, true/false, and completion test questions. Each question is coded with the correct response and referenced to the page in *Government in America* on which the correct answer is indicated. The test bank is provided free of charge to instructors.

**Test Master** In addition to the traditional printed format, the complete test bank is also available free of charge on *Test Master*, HarperCollins' computerized test-generating system. *Test Master* is flexible and easy to use. It may be obtained for use with the IBM-PC and most compatibles and with the Apple IIe and IIc.

**State and Local Government** Rickert R. Althaus of South Missouri State has devised a state and local government supplement to be used exclusively with this edition of *Government in America*.

**Writing a Research Paper in Political Science** This hands-on supplement, authored by Daniel E. Farlow of Southwest Texas State, is available to all adopters of the text.

**The 1988 Elections in America** Larry J. Sabato of the University of Virginia provides a thorough analysis of the most recent elections in this thought-provoking ancillary.

**Super Shell Student Tutorial Software** *Super Shell*, a computerized student tutorial guide written by David Billeaux, is also provided free of charge to instructors. *Super Shell* was developed to help students retain the key concepts and ideas they have read. This versatile drill-and-practice software contains multiple-choice, true/false, and short answer questions for each chapter in the text. Diagnostic graphics provide immediate student reinforcement and make

recommendations about areas in which further study might prove beneficial. Students can print out narrative chapter outlines or consult an easy-to-use tutorial guide. In addition, a flash card program is included to drill students on the terms in the text's glossary.

**Harper Data-Analysis Package** William Parle of Oklahoma State University has prepared a student data-analysis package for the IBM-PC. The program performs several basic statistical functions, including univariate frequency distributions, bivariate frequency distributions, and bivariate frequency distributions controlling for the effects of a third variable. Free to instructors, the package comes with a "real world" data set that allows for a realistic program demonstration, a complete Help menu and Help files, a data dictionary feature, a set of screen instructions, and a user's manual.

**Transparencies** Transparency acetates of figures in the text are available free to instructors who want to help students interpret visual data. These transparencies facilitate the integration of student reading with classroom lectures.

**Media Program** A complete media program includes a wide selection of well-regarded films and videos for classroom use. *The Media Handbook*, designed to help instructors integrate the films and videos with their text and teaching plans, outlines various audiovisual options and suggests follow-up discussion questions.

Instructors may choose from among many excellent productions. *The Power Game*, Hedrick Smith's popular four-part PBS documentary on the elected—and unelected—government in Washington, and *Eyes on the Prize*, the award-winning six-part series on the civil rights movement, are both available through the HarperCollins media program. Also available is "The Thirty-Second President," Bill Moyers's examination of the presidency in an age of soundbites, from his PBS series *A Walk Through the Twentieth Century*. *The Challenge of the Presidency*, a one-hour videotape, combines David Frost's thoughtful interviews of former presidents. Adopters of *Government in America* may also receive a unique newsreel video, a selection of authentic newsreel footage that captures the key American political events of the past six decades.

**Grades Grade-keeping and Class-management Software** Free to instructors, *Grades* maintains data sets for up to two hundred students. It is suitable for the IBM-PC and most compatibles.

## Acknowledgments

Many, many colleagues have kindly given us counsel on the drafts of this edition. They include the following:

James E. Anderson, *Texas A&M University*  
Judith A. Baer, *Texas A&M University*  
David M. Billeaux, *Corpus Christi State University*  
Janet K. Boles, *Marquette University*  
James M. Carlson, *Providence College*  
Richard A. Champagne, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Anne N. Costain, *University of Colorado*  
 Patricia Crotty, *East Stroudsburg University*  
 Joel Diamond, *Dutchess Community College*  
 Bernard J. Firestone, *Hofstra University*  
 Elizabeth N. Flores, *Del Mar Community College*  
 Charles D. Hadley, *University of New Orleans*  
 Larry N. Gerston, *San Jose State University*  
 John R. Kayser, *University of New Hampshire*  
 Kenneth D. Kennedy, *College of San Mateo*  
 Laurel A. Mayer, *Sinclair Community College*  
 Wendell L. Mott, *Ferris State University*  
 Kevin V. Mulcahy, *Louisiana State University*  
 David J. Olson, *University of Washington*  
 Richard H. Payne, *Sam Houston State University*  
 William M. Pearson, *Lamar University*  
 B. Guy Peters, *University of Pittsburgh*  
 John K. Price, *Louisiana Tech University*  
 Harold W. Stanley, *University of Rochester*  
 Glenn Stockwell, *College of the Redwoods*  
 Danny G. Sutton, *Iowa State University*  
 John C. Syer, *California State University, Sacramento*  
 Robert K. Toburen, *Louisiana Tech University*  
 John K. White, *Catholic University of America*  
 Peter Woll, *Brandeis University*

A number of editors provided valuable assistance in the production of this edition of *Government in America*. Most indispensable was the contribution made by Deborah Samyn, who steadfastly supervised every aspect of the project and especially helped develop the themes and special features. Bob Olander and Dale Beda of Proof Positive/Farrowlyne Associates, Inc., expertly handled project coordination and the text and cover design. Political Science editors Lauren Silverman, Karen Bednarski, and Bruce Nichols provided important guidance, helping keep the project on course and on schedule.

We owe a special debt of gratitude to three of Professor Edwards's colleagues at Texas A&M University—Judith Baer, Frank Baumgartner, and Arnold Vedlitz—all of whom made major substantive contributions to this edition. Russell Gardner assisted in tracking down various odds and ends, and Timothy Leles provided valuable research assistance for the photo essays. Frances and Leonard Wattenberg each contributed a lifetime of memories about Washington, thereby helping to outline the photo essays.

Robert L. Lineberry  
 George C. Edwards III  
 Martin P. Wattenberg

# ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Robert L. Lineberry** currently serves as Senior Vice President at the University of Houston. He served from 1981–88 as Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the University of Kansas in Lawrence.

A native of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, he received a B.A. degree from the University of Oklahoma in 1964 and a Ph.D. in political science from the University of North Carolina in 1968. He taught for seven years at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.

Dr. Lineberry is currently President, Policy Studies Section, of the American Political Science Association. He is the author or coauthor of five books in political science. Dr. Lineberry has also authored or coauthored eighteen articles in professional journals in his discipline. In addition, he has taught regularly, including twenty years of instruction of freshman American government.

He has been married to Nita Lineberry for twenty-four years. They have two children, Nikki, who works in Kansas City, and Keith, a student at the University of Texas.

**George C. Edwards III** is Distinguished Professor of Political Science at Texas A&M University. From 1985–88 he was Visiting Professor of Social Sciences at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. One of the country's leading scholars of the presidency, he has written over a dozen books on American politics and policy-making, including *At the Margins: Presidential Leadership of Congress*, *Presidential Approval*, *Implementing Public Policy*, and *National Security and the U.S. Constitution*.

Professor Edwards has served as President of the Presidency Research Section of the American Political Science Association and on many editorial boards. In 1988 he went to Brasília to advise those writing the new constitution for Brazil. Professor Edwards was also an issue leader for the National Academy of Public Administration's project on the 1988 Presidential Transition, providing advice to the new president.

When not writing, speaking, or advising, he prefers to spend his time skiing, watching baseball, or attending art auctions.

**Martin P. Wattenberg** is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Irvine. His first regular paying job was with the Washington Redskins in 1977, from which he moved on to receive a Ph.D. at the University of Michigan in 1982.

While at Michigan, Professor Wattenberg authored *The Decline of American Political Parties* (Harvard University Press), currently in its third edition. Most recently, he has written *The Rise of Candidate-Centered Politics: Presidential Elections of the 1980s*, also published by Harvard. In addition, he has contributed many professional articles to such journals as the *American Political Science*



*Review, American Journal of Political Science, American Politics Quarterly, Public Opinion Quarterly, and Public Opinion.*

Professor Wattenberg has also lectured abroad about American politics in Germany, France, Spain, and Canada. Presently, he is working with a colleague in Berlin on a project comparing American and German electoral behavior.

When not writing or lecturing, he can most often be found on the beach at Newport or at the local tennis courts.

# BRIEF CONTENTS

List of Selected Features	xxii
Preface	xxv
About the Authors	xxx

1	Introducing Government in America	2
---	-----------------------------------	---

## **PART ONE Constitutional Foundations 36**

2	The Constitution	42
3	Federalism	84
4	Civil Liberties and Public Policy	118
5	Civil Rights and Public Policy	160

## **PART TWO People and Politics 194**

6	Public Opinion and Political Action	200
7	Political Parties	236
8	Nominations and Campaigns	274
9	Elections and Voting Behavior	304
10	Interest Groups	334
11	The Mass Media and the Political Agenda	370

## **PART THREE The Policymakers 398**

12	Congress	406
13	The Presidency	452
14	Congress, the President, and the Budget: The Politics of Taxing and Spending	502
15	The Bureaucracies	542
16	The Courts	584

## **PART FOUR Policies 628**

17	Economic Policy-making	634
18	Social Welfare and Policy-making	664
19	Policy-making for Health, Energy, and the Environment	692
20	Foreign and Defense Policy-making	722

## **Appendixes A-1**

The Declaration of Independence	A-1
The Constitution of the United States of America	A-5
Presidents of the United States	A-21
Party Control of the Presidency, Senate, and House of Representatives in the Twentieth Century	A-25
Supreme Court Justices Serving in the Twentieth Century	A-27

## **Glossary G-1**

## **Index I-1**

# CONTENTS

List of Selected Features    xxii

Preface    xxv

About the Authors    xxx

## **1 INTRODUCING GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA    2**

Government, Politics, and Public Policy    5

Government    5

What Is Government?    5

What Governments Do    6

Politics    7

What Politics Is    8

Political Involvement    9

Public Policy    10

The Political System    11

Political Issues and Linkage Institutions    13

Making Public Policy: The Policy-making Institutions    14

Policies Have Impacts    14

Democratic Government    14

Defining Democracy    15

Traditional Democratic Theory    17

Three Contemporary Theories of American Democracy    18

Pluralism    19

Elite and Class Theory    19

Hyperpluralism    19

Challenges to Democracy    19

How Can the People Confront Complex Issues?    19

Are the People Doing Their Job?    20

Is American Democracy Too Dependent on Money?    20

Some Key Questions about Democracy    21

The Size of Government in America    22

How Big Is American Government?    23

How Big Is Too Big? The Great Debate    24

Liberals and Conservatives    25

A Comparative Perspective    25

Questions about the Size of Government    27

Ethics and Politics: A Contradiction in Terms?    28

Summary    33

Key Terms    34

For Further Reading    35

## **PART ONE Constitutional Foundations 36**

Photo Essay #1: The Making of a Capital City 36

### **2 THE CONSTITUTION 42**

The Origins of the Constitution 45

The Road to Revolution 45

Declaring Independence 46

The English Heritage: The Power of Ideas 47

Jefferson's Handiwork: The American Creed 48

Winning Independence 50

The "Conservative" Revolution 50

The Government that Failed: 1776–1787 50

The Articles of Confederation 50

Changes in the States 52

Economic Turmoil 53

Shays' Rebellion 53

The Aborted Annapolis Meeting 53

Making a Constitution: The Philadelphia Convention 54

Gentlemen in Philadelphia 54

Philosophy into Action 54

Views of Human Nature 54

Views of Political Conflict 55

Views of the Objects of Government 55

Views of Government 55

The Agenda in Philadelphia 56

The Equality Issues 56

Equality and Representation of the States 56

Slavery 57

Political Equality 58

The Economic Issues 58

The Individual Rights Issues 62

The Madisonian Model 62

Separation of Powers and Checks and Balances 63

The Constitutional Republic 66

The End of the Beginning 66

Ratifying the Constitution 67

Federalists and Anti-Federalists 68

Ratification 70

Constitutional Change 71

The Formal Amending Process 71

The Informal Process of Constitutional Change 75

Judicial Interpretation 76

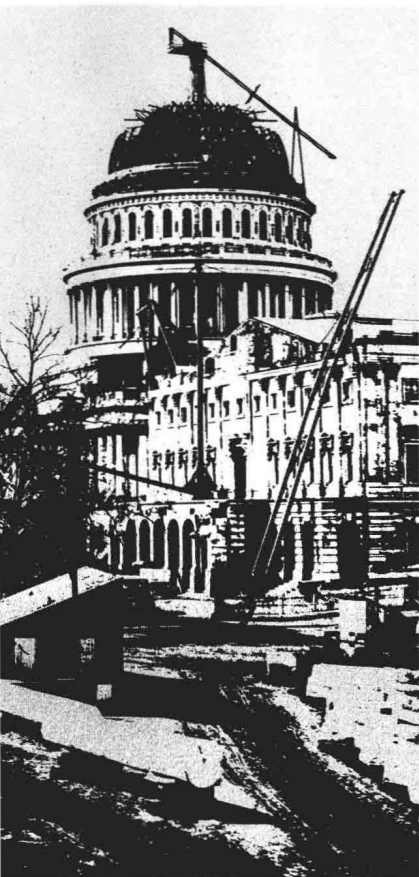
Changing Political Practice 77

Technology 77

Increasing Demands on Policymakers 77

The Importance of Flexibility 78

The Elaboration of the Constitution 78





Understanding the Constitution	79
The Constitution and Democracy	79
The Constitution and Policy-making	80
Summary	81
Key Terms	82
For Further Reading	83
<b>3 FEDERALISM</b>	<b>84</b>
What Federalism Is and Why It Is So Important	87
What Federalism Is	87
Why Federalism Is So Important	89
The Constitutional Basis of Federalism	92
The Division of Power	92
Establishing National Supremacy	94
<i>McCulloch v. Maryland</i>	94
Federalism as the Battleground of the Struggle for Equality	96
States' Obligations to Each Other	97
Full Faith and Credit	98
Extradition	98
Privileges and Immunities	99
Intergovernmental Relations Today	100
From Dual to Cooperative Federalism	100
Fiscal Federalism	103
The Federal Grant System: Distributing the Federal Pie	104
The Scramble for Federal Dollars	105
The Mandate Blues	108
Understanding Federalism	108
Federalism and Democracy	108
Advantages for Democracy	108
Disadvantages for Democracy	109
Federalism and the Growth of the National Government	113
Summary	116
Key Terms	117
For Further Reading	117
<b>4 CIVIL LIBERTIES AND PUBLIC POLICY</b>	<b>118</b>
The Bill of Rights—Then and Now	122
Rights in Conflict: The Tough Cases	124
The Bill of Rights and the States	124
Freedom of Religion	125
The Establishment Clause	126
The Free Exercise Clause	127
The Rise of the Fundamentalists	129

Freedom of Expression	130
Prior Restraint	131
Obscenity	132
Defamation: Libel and Slander	135
Symbolic Speech	137
Commercial Speech	138
Regulation of the Public Airwaves	138
Free Speech and Public Order	139
Free Press versus Fair Trial	140
Freedom of Assembly	141
Right to Assemble	141
Right to Associate	142
Defendants' Rights	143
Interpreting Defendants' Rights	144
Searches and Seizures	145
Self-incrimination	146
The Right to Counsel	148
Trial by Jury	148
Cruel and Unusual Punishment	150
The Right to Privacy	151
Is There a Right to Privacy?	151
Firestorms over Abortion	151
A Time to Live and a Time to Die	153
Understanding Civil Liberties and the Constitution	155
Civil Liberties and Democracy	155
Civil Liberties and the Size of Government	157
Summary	157
Key Terms	159
Key Cases	159
For Further Reading	159

## **5 CIVIL RIGHTS AND PUBLIC POLICY 160**

Two Centuries of Struggle	163
Conceptions of Equality	163
Early American Views of Equality	164
The Constitution and Inequality	165
Race, the Constitution, and Public Policy	166
The Era of Slavery	167
The Era of Reconstruction and Resegregation	168
The Era of Civil Rights	170
Getting and Using the Right to Vote	175
Other Minority Groups	176
Women, the Constitution, and Public Policy	177
The Battle for the Vote	177

The “Doldrums”: 1920–1960	178
The Second Feminist Wave	178
Wage Discrimination and Comparable Worth	181
Women in the Military	182
New Groups under the Civil Rights Umbrella	183
Civil Rights and the Graying of America	183
Are the Young a Disadvantaged Group, Too?	185
Civil Rights and the Disabled	185
Gay Rights	187
A New Equality Issue: Affirmative Action	187
Understanding Civil Rights and the Constitution	190
Civil Rights and Democracy	190
Civil Rights and the Size of Government	190
Summary	191
Key Terms	192
For Further Reading	193

## **PART TWO People and Politics 194**

Photo Essay #2: Taking to the Streets of Washington	194
---	-----

### **6 PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL ACTION 200**

The American People	203
The Immigrant Society	204
The American Mosaic	205
The Regional Shift	208
The Graying of America	210
What Americans Learn about Politics: Political Socialization	210
How Americans Learn: The Process of Political Socialization	211
The Family	212
The Mass Media	213
School	213
Political Learning over a Lifetime	214
What Americans Believe: Public Opinion and Policy	215
Measuring Public Opinion	215
The Roll of Polls in American Democracy	218
What Polls Tell Americans about Political Information	219
What Americans Value: Political Ideologies	223
Do People Think in Ideological Terms?	223
Public Attitudes on the Size of Government	225
People Liked Reagan but Not His Policies	227



How Americans Participate in Politics	229
Conventional Participation	230
Protest as Participation	231
Class, Inequality, and Participation	232
Democracy, Public Opinion, and Political Action	233
Summary	234
Key Terms	235
For Further Reading	235

## **7 POLITICAL PARTIES 236**

The Meaning of Party	239
Tasks of the Parties	240
Parties, Voters, and Policy: The Downs Model	241
Party Eras in American History	243
1796–1824: The First Party System	245
1828–1860: Jackson and the Democrats versus the Whigs	246
1860–1932: The Republican Era	246
1932–1968: The New Deal Coalition	247
1968–Present: The Era of Divided Government	249
The Parties Today: Dealignment and Renewal	250
The Democrats: Party of Representation	253
The Republicans: Party of Efficiency	254
Third Parties: Their Impact on American Politics	256
Two Parties: So What?	257
The Party in the Electorate	258
The Party Organizations: From the Grass Roots to Washington	261
Local Parties: The Dying Urban Machines	262
The Fifty State Party Systems	265
State Parties as Legal Organizations	265
The National Party Organizations	267
The Party in Government: Promises and Policy	268
Understanding Political Parties	270
Democracy and Responsible Party Government	270
Big Government and Weak Parties	271
Is the Party Over?	271
Summary	272
Key Terms	273
For Further Reading	273

## **8 NOMINATIONS AND CAMPAIGNS 274**

The High-Tech Campaign	276
------------------------	-----



The Nomination Game	278
Deciding to Run	278
Competing for Delegates	281
The Caucus Road	281
The Presidential Primary Road	282
Evaluating the Primary and Caucus System	285
The Convention Send-off	289
The Campaign Game	291
Organizing the Campaign	291
Money and Campaigning	293
The Maze of Campaign Finance Reforms	293
The Proliferation of PACs	294
Are Campaigns Too Expensive?	297
Does Money Buy Victory?	298
The Media and the Campaign	299
The Impact of Campaigns	300
Understanding Nominations and Campaigns	301
Are Nominations and Campaigns Too Democratic?	301
Do Big Campaigns Stimulate Big Government?	302
Summary	302
Key Terms	303
For Further Reading	303

## **9 ELECTIONS AND VOTING BEHAVIOR 304**

How American Elections Work	307
The Importance of Electoral Legitimacy	307
Some Unique American Electoral Features	308
A Tale of Three Elections	309
1800: The First Electoral Transition of Power	310
1896: A Bitter Fight over Economic Interests	311
1988: Bush Wins One for the Gipper	312
Whether to Vote: A Citizen's First Choice	316
Who Votes and Who Stays Home?	316
The Registration System	319
A Policy Approach to Deciding Whether to Vote	321
How Americans Vote: Explaining Citizens' Decisions	323
Party Identification	323
Candidate Evaluations: How Americans See the Candidates	324
Policy Voting	325
The Last Battle: The Electoral College	327
Democracy and Elections	328
Elections Affect Public Policy	329
Public Policy Affects Election Outcomes	330
Elections and the Size of Government	331