

# AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

THIRD EDITION



Susan Welch / John Gruhl / Michael Steinman / John Comer

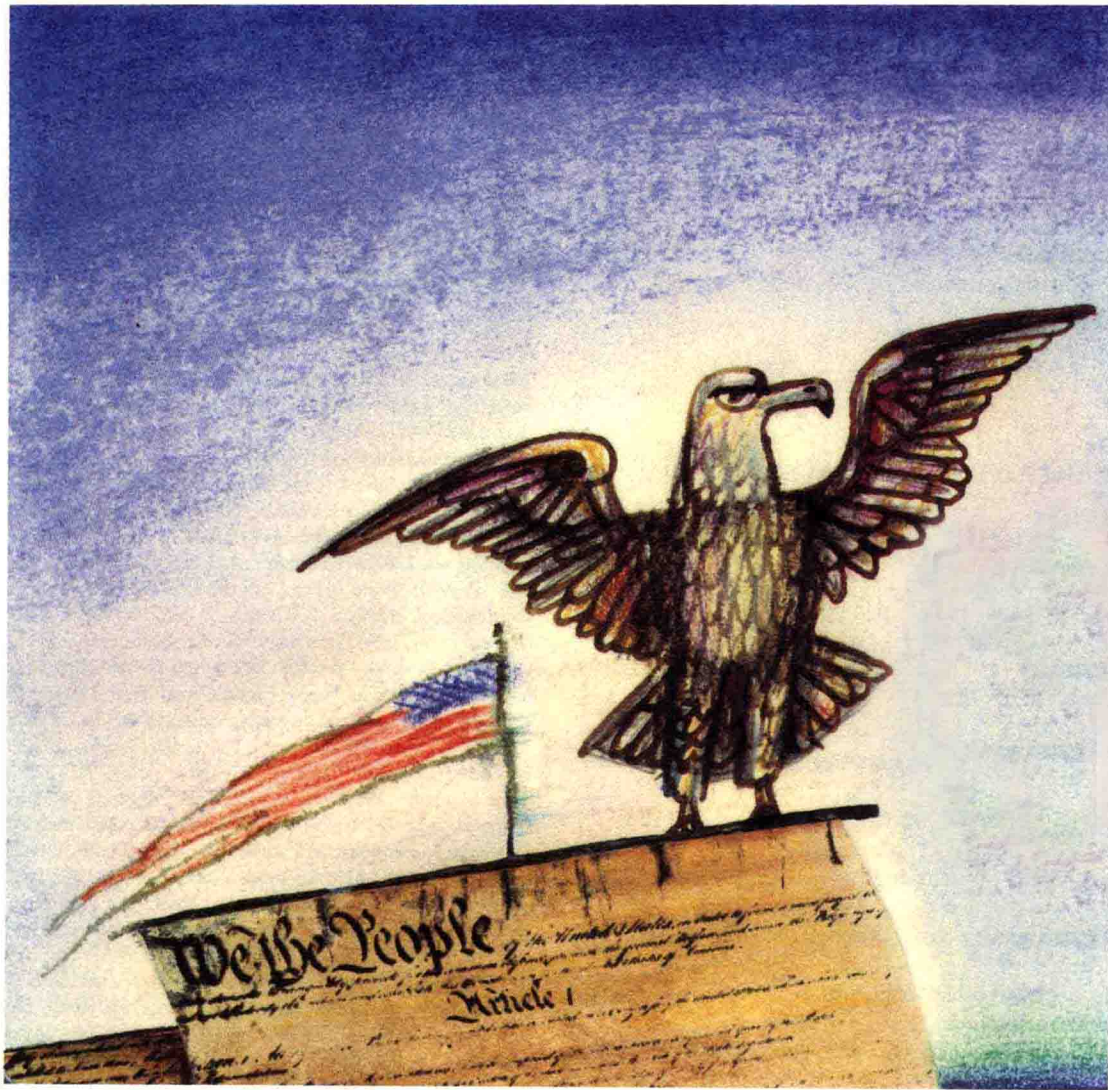
# AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

---

THIRD EDITION

---

Susan Welch   John Gruhl   Michael Steinman   John Comer  
Department of Political Science, University of Nebraska—Lincoln



West Publishing Company

Saint Paul   New York   Los Angeles   San Francisco



## Production Credits

Copyeditor: Patricia A. Lewis  
Composition: Carlisle Communications  
Artwork: Michael Thomas Associates/Century Design  
Cover Image: Eugene Mihaesco  
Cover Design: Lois Stanfield  
Cover Type: Background for cover type supplied by James River Corporation—Curtis Flannel, White.

## A Student Study Guide

A study guide has been developed to assist students in mastering the concepts presented in this text. It reinforces chapter material presenting it in a concise format with review questions. An examination copy is available to instructors by contacting West Publishing Company. Students can purchase the study guide from the local bookstore under the title *Study Guide to Accompany American Government*, Second Edition, prepared by Susan M. Rigdon.

**COPYRIGHT © 1986, 1988 By WEST PUBLISHING COMPANY**  
**COPYRIGHT © 1990 By WEST PUBLISHING COMPANY**  
50 W. Kellogg Boulevard  
P.O. Box 64526  
St. Paul, MN 55164-1003

All rights reserved

Printed in the United States of America

97 96 95 94 93 92 91 90      8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

## Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

American government / Susan Welch ... [et al.]. — 3rd ed.  
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-314-68136-1

1. United States—Politics and government. I. Welch, Susan.

JK274.A5475 1990

320.973—dc20

89-39699

CIP

## Photo Credits

1 Seymour Chwast; 2 Dick Swanson © 1989; 3 Hugh Patrick Brown/Time Magazine; 6 all: Chuck Fishman/Time Magazine; 7 Copyright 1985 Time Inc., Reprinted by permission; 10 Phil Johnson/Omaha World-Herald; 12 © 1983 Paul Fusco, Magnum Photos; 15 Michael McDermott, Black Star; 21 © 1986 Koni Nordman, Contact Press Images; 22 Wally McNamee 1989, Woodfin Camp & Associates; 26 Esto Photographics; 27 Dennis Brack, Black Star; 28 Fred Ward, Black Star; 30 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Charles Allen Munn, 1924; 31 The Granger Collection; 32 Richard Frear, National Park Service; 33 Painting by Alton S. Toby, copyright © West Publishing Company; 34 Historical Society of Pennsylvania; 36 top: Library of Congress; 42 all: The Granger Collection; 44 Bill Pierce/Time Magazine; 48 Courtesy, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum; 50 Roland Freeman, Magnum Photos 54 © Kay Chernush 1989; 56 both: National Archives; 63 U.S. Dept. of Agriculture; 65 top: Courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library; bottom left: National Archives; bottom right: AP/Wide World Photos; 67 Jeffrey Blankfort, Jeroboam; 70 © David Wells, The Image Works; 75 1988 © J. B. Diederich, Contact Press Images; 77 The Granger Collection; 81 Alan Peckolick; 82 Dennis Brack, Black Star; 88 Paul Conklin 90 left: Paul Conklin; right: Time Magazine; 99 St. Louis Mercantile Library; 109 AP/Wide World Photos; 117 © 1989 Shelly Katz, Black Star; 122 Copyright © 1982 Greenpeace; 124 © 1989 Ken Heinen; 125 Bettmann Archive; 127 Eddie Adams/Time Magazine; 131 Gotham Book Mart Collection; 134 © Kenneth Jarecke 1989, Contact Press Images; 135 Philip Jon Bailey, Stock Boston; 137 © 1989 Rick Rickman, Black Star; 148 Terry Ashe/Time Magazine; 156 UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos; 161 The Granger Collection; 162 Smithsonian Institution; 163 Courtesy of the New York Historical Society, New York City; 164 both: The Granger Collection; 188 © Larry Downing, Woodfin Camp & Associates; 192 The Granger Collection; 195 UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos; 197 Brown Brothers; 199 Smithsonian Institute; 208 left: AP/Wide World Photos; right: © Larry Downing, Woodfin Camp & Associates; 210 both: Smithsonian Institute; 211 Craig Bailey, Gamma Liaison; 213 Steve Liss/Time Magazine; 216 1987 © Kenneth Jarecke, Contact Press Images; 220 Steve Leonard, Black Star; 221 Smithsonian Institute; 222 AP/Wide World Photos; 229 top: AP/Wide World Photos; bottom: National Archives 230 AP/Wide World Photos; 242 AP/Wide World Photos; 245 Smithsonian Institute; 247 top: Dane Penland; bottom: Dave Penland, Photofest; 249 © Rob Nelson, Picture Group; 250 left: George Eastman House; right: Gerald Ford Library; 252 Brown Brothers; 253 UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos; 255 AP/Wide World Photos; 257 Paul Hosefros, NYT Pictures; 265 Sergei Guneyev/Time Magazine; 269 both: Library of Congress; 274 Eddie Adams/AP 277 Steve Liss/Time Magazine; 282 Michael Evans/Time Magazine; 283 Brad Markel, Gamma Liaison; 287 Union Pacific Railroad; 288 The Granger Collection; 300 Mary Meyer/Time Magazine; 304 Culver Photos; 308 UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos; 313 AP/Wide World Photos; 319 Lowell Williams; 320 © Michael Okoniewski, Gamma-Liaison; 321 © Eugene Richards, Magnum; 324 Library of Congress; 325 left & center: The Bettmann Archive; right: UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos; 328 AP/Wide World Photos; 334 Mother Jones, July 1984, p. 44. Reprinted with permission; 339 Courtesy of Ailes Communication; 350 John Duricka/AP; 351 George Tames, NYT Pictures; 358 AP/Wide World Photos; 362 Courtesy of Senator Kerrey; 372 © Philip Gould; 376 Historical Pictures Service, Chicago; 379 top: The Granger Collection; bottom: Library of Congress; 380 National Archives; 382 AP/Wide World Photos;

Credits continued following index



---

TO OUR PARENTS

Delbert and Marie Welch

Richard and Mary Gruhl

Irv and Eileen Steinman

Charles and Ruth Comer

---



---

# PREFACE

---

American politics is exciting, important, and controversial, yet sometimes texts convey just the opposite to students. They try to cover everything, and in the process leave students stuffed with facts but bewildered as to their meaning. The excitement of American politics is lost.

As in previous editions, this third edition of our text, *American Government*, tries to interest students in learning about many important and controversial issues. We believe an introductory course succeeds if most students develop an understanding of major ideas, an interest in learning more about American government, and an ability to begin to understand and evaluate the news they hear about American political issues. Although a firm grounding in the essential “nuts and bolts” of American government is crucial, other approaches should be used for motivating students’ interest in government.

We offer the essential “nuts and bolts” of American government, but we also want the student to understand why (and sometimes how) these important features have evolved, their impact on government and individuals, and why they are controversial (if they are) and worth learning. For example, we prefer students to leave the course remembering why campaign finance laws were created and why they have the impact they do than to memorize specific dollar limitations on giving for different types of candidates from different types of organizations. The latter will change or will soon be forgotten, but understanding the “whys” will help the student understand the campaign finance issue long after the course is over.

We have also tried to interest students by describing and discussing the impact of various features of government. For example, students who do not understand why learning about voter registration laws is

important may “see the light” when they understand the link between such laws and low voter turnout. Therefore, a particular emphasis throughout the book is on the *impact* of government: how individual features of government affect its responsiveness to different groups (in Lasswell’s terms, “Who gets what and why?”). We realize that nothing in American politics is simple; rarely does one feature of government produce, by itself, a clear outcome. Nevertheless, we think that students will be more willing to learn about government if they see some relationships between how government operates and the impact it has on them as citizens of America.

## *Changes in the Third Edition*

Writing a third edition of a text provides some interesting opportunities. One opportunity is, of course, to make the text as up-to-date as is possible given production schedules. This text contains material on significant events through the fall of 1989. Most importantly, in terms of new material, we analyze and incorporate the 1988 election campaign and its results into our discussion of several topics. Material on the Bush presidency is also found throughout the book.

Other important events and issues that have unfolded in the past two years—the savings and loan crises, the increasing intensity and salience of the debate over abortion rights, the changing standards of morality for public officials, homelessness, the growing gap between rich and poor and young and old—are also given substantial coverage.

Events in other parts of the world can dramatically affect the workings of American government. The new realities of the Gorbachev era in the Soviet Union



and other changes in both eastern and western Europe affect our foreign and military spending policies, and these topics are discussed in chapters 19 and 20.

Working on the third edition also provides an opportunity to include material on issues and ideas that were perhaps shortchanged in earlier editions. Therefore, as environmental issues rise to the top of the national agenda, we have added nearly a half chapter on environmental policy, changing the title of chapter 18 to "Regulation and Environmental Policy." In chapter 1, we have added a major new section on American diversity; the theme of diversity is echoed in boxes throughout the book that focus on the political impact of particular kinds of diversity in the population.

Writing a third edition also gives us a chance to improve coverage in other ways. We have been extremely pleased by the reaction of instructors and students to our first two editions. We were especially pleased to win the American Government Textbook Award from the Women's Caucus for Political Science of the American Political Science Association. But we are also glad to respond to suggestions for improvement: we enlarged our treatment of political socialization in chapter 4; we devoted more time to explaining liberalism and conservatism in chapter 4, and we've integrated our discussions of presidential nomination and general election campaigns by transferring material on the nomination process from chapter 6 to chapter 7 and rewriting much of the discussion about presidential campaigns.

We have also completely revised and reorganized chapter 5, "Interest Groups." We provide much new material on a variety of groups, and integrate it into a simple typology of groups that we believe students will find useful. We have also substantially revised chapter 12, "The Bureaucracy."

### *Features of Each Chapter*

Student interest and analytic abilities grow when confronted with a clash of views about important issues. Today there is much discussion about how to stimulate the critical thinking abilities of students. Beginning with the first edition, our text has provided features especially designed to do this by involving students in the controversies—and excitement—of American politics.

**You Are There.** Each chapter opens with a scenario called "You Are There." In a page or two the student reads about a real-life political dilemma faced by a

public official or a private citizen involved in a controversial issue. Students are asked to put themselves in that individual's shoes, to weigh the pros and cons, and to decide what should be done. The instructor may want to poll the entire class and use the "You Are There" as a basis for class discussion. In the "Epilogue" at the end of the chapter, we reveal the actual decision and discuss it in light of the ideas presented in the chapter.

About one half of the "You Are There" features are new to this edition and include scenarios relating to Justice O'Connor's decision in the 1989 Supreme Court abortion case (chapter 14), the ethics controversies involving Jim Wright (chapter 9), President Bush and the drug issue (chapter 1), the interest group battle over Supreme Court nominations (chapter 5), and negative campaigning in the 1988 presidential election (chapter 7).

**Focus on an Issue.** A second feature designed to stimulate students' critical abilities is the "Focus on an Issue," found in each chapter. Each focus describes an important current issue or controversy—such as affirmative action or who should decide where to bury nuclear waste—and raises a number of key questions to help students think systematically about its pros and cons. Class discussion or written assignments can be based on this feature. About one third of the focus boxes are new or substantially revised.

**Boxes.** In each chapter several boxes highlighting interesting aspects of American politics draw the students into the material. Many illustrate how government and politics really work in a particular situation—how a corporation lobbies for government benefits, how a seemingly powerless group is able to organize for political action, how interest groups solicit money by mail, and how political polls are done—while others highlight features of government that may be of particular interest to students—what standard of risk should government use in regulating acne medication, how ethnicity shapes voting behavior, and the impact of federal programs on students, for example.

Several other features help students organize their study:

**Outline.** Each chapter begins with an outline of its contents.

**Key Terms.** Key terms are boldfaced within the text and listed at the end of each chapter.



**Further Reading.** A brief, annotated list of further readings contains works that might be useful to a student doing research or looking for further reading.

**Glossary.** A glossary at the end of the book defines terms that may be unfamiliar to students.

### *The Organization and Contents of the Book*

While the basic organization of American government books is fairly standard, our text has a unique chapter on money and politics and a half chapter on environmental politics. Other features include a civil rights chapter that integrates a thorough treatment of constitutional issues concerning minorities and women; a discussion of the civil rights and women's rights movements, and contemporary research on the political status of these groups. We include in this chapter the special legal problems of Hispanics and Indians.

Substantive policy chapters reinforce the emphasis on the impact of government action. Our social welfare policy chapter is unique in its treatment of social welfare programs for the middle income and wealthy as well as the poor. A chapter on economic policymaking complements the section on budgeting found in the chapter on Congress. The treatment of economic policy highlights the relationship between politics and the economy, and should help the student better understand issues such as the deficit, inflation, and unemployment. The chapter on regulation and the environment emphasizes the underlying rationale for regulation and its problems and benefits. A chapter on military spending highlights many current and recurrent political issues in military preparedness and the leadership of our military forces. The chapter on foreign policy places current foreign policy issues in the context of the history of our foreign policy aims, especially since World War II.

Some instructors will prefer not to use any of the policy chapters. The book stands as a whole without them, as many policy examples are integrated into the rest of the text. Different combinations of the policy chapters may also be used, as each chapter is independent.

The organization of the book is straightforward. After material on democracy, the Constitution, and federalism, the book covers linkages, including money and politics, then institutions, and finally policy. Civil liberties and rights are treated after the chapter on the judiciary. But the book is flexible enough that instructors can modify the order of the chapters. Some instructors will prefer to cover institutions before

process. Others may prefer to discuss civil liberties and rights when discussing the Constitution. Still others may wish to integrate some of the policy chapters into the treatment of institutions. For example, the economic policy chapter could be used in conjunction with the section in the Congress chapter on the budget. The military spending chapter illustrates several points made in the chapter on Congress and could be used with it. The foreign policy chapter fits nicely with the treatment of the presidency. The chapter on regulation and environmental policy could serve as a case study following the chapter on bureaucracy.

### *Supplementary Materials*

The supplementary materials complement the book.

**Instructor's Manual.** Written by the authors of the text, the instructor's manual provides lectures, lecture suggestions, and in-class exercises for each chapter. Suggestions for out-of-class papers and projects are also provided. A student questionnaire is included to allow instructors to collect student data that can be used in class throughout the semester as a comparison with national poll data presented in the book.

**Instructional Materials on Diskettes.** The lectures and other material in the instructor's manual are provided on computer diskettes. So is the student questionnaire, which will spare instructors the trouble of having it retyped or re-entered on computer disks.

**Student Study Guide.** An excellent Student Guide, written by Susan Rigdon of the University of Illinois and Johns Hopkins University, provides students with exercises emphasizing the major points of each chapter. Chapter objectives and key terms are reviewed. Practice multiple choice questions are provided. Unlike many such guides, this one also helps the students learn to write essays, thus emphasizing the improvement of analytic skills. Essay writing tips are given, then illustrated in each chapter.

**Computer Exercises.** We provide computer exercises for student use. These include practice multiple choice questions for use in a game format or individual use.

**Videotapes.** We also provide a set of videotapes that can be used with the chapters on Congress and elections.



### Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the many people who have aided and sustained us during the lengthy course of this project. Our current and former University of Nebraska colleagues have been most tolerant and helpful. We thank them all. In particular, we appreciate the assistance of John Hibbing, Philip Dyer, Robert Miewald, Beth Theiss-Morse, Louis Picard, John Peters, David Rapkin, Peter Maslowski, David Forsythe, W. Randy Newell, and Steven Daniels who provided us with data, bibliographic information, and other insights that we have used here. We are especially grateful to Philip Dyer, Alan Booth, Louis Picard, Robert Miewald, and John Hibbing who read one or more chapters and saved us from a variety of errors.

We are also grateful to the many other readers of our draft manuscript. Without their assistance the book would have been less accurate, complete, and lively.

Reviewers included:

Alan Abramowitz, *State University of New York at Stony Brook*

Larry Adams, *Baruch College-City University of New York*

Danny M. Adkison, *Oklahoma State University*

James Alt, *Harvard University*

Kevin Bailey, *North Harris Community College*

Kennette M. Benedict, *Northwestern University*

Timothy Bledsoe, *Wayne State University*

Jon Bond, *Texas A&M University*

Paul R. Brace, *New York University*

James R. Brown, Jr., *Central Washington University*

Michael Connelly, *Southwestern Oklahoma State University*

Gary Copeland, *University of Oklahoma*

Paige Cubbison, *Miami-Dade University*

Landon Curry, *Southwest Texas State University*

Jack DeSario, *Case Western Reserve University*

Robert E. DiClerico, *West Virginia University*

Ernest A. Dover, Jr., *Midwestern State University*

Georgia Duerst-Lahti, *Beloit College*

Ann H. Elder, *Illinois State University*

Ghassan E. El-Eid, *Butler University*

Murray Fischel, *Kent State University*

Bobbe Fitzhugh, *Eastern Wyoming College*

Marianne Fraser, *University of Utah*

Phillip L. Gianos, *California State University—Fullerton*

Doris A. Graber, *University of Illinois—Chicago*

Ruth M. Grubel, *University of Wisconsin—Whitewater*

Stefan D. Haag, *Austin Community College*

Edward Harpham, *University of Texas—Dallas*

Peter O. Haslund, *Santa Barbara City College*

Richard P. Heil, *Fort Hays State University*

Peggy Heilig, *University of Illinois at Urbana*

Craig Hendricks, *Long Beach City College*

Marjorie Hershey, *Indiana University*

Robert D. Holsworth, *Virginia Commonwealth University*

Jesse C. Horton, *San Antonio College*

Gerald Houseman, *Indiana University*

Jerald Johnson, *University of Vermont*

Loch Johnson, *University of Georgia*

Evan M. Jones, *St. Cloud State University*

Henry C. Kenski, *University of Arizona*

Orma Lindford, *Kansas State University*

Roger C. Lowery, *University of North Carolina—Wilmington*

Michael Nelson, *Vanderbilt University*

Walter Noelke, *Angelo State University*

Thomas Payette, *Henry Ford Community College*

Theodore B. Pedeliski, *University of North Dakota*

Jerry Perkins, *Texas Tech University*

Toni Phillips, *University of Arkansas*

C. Herman Pritchett, *University of California—Santa Barbara*

Charles Prysby, *University of North Carolina—Greensboro*

Donald R. Ranish, *Antelope Valley Community College*

Linda Richter, *Kansas State University*

Jerry Sandvick, *North Hennepin Community College*

Eleanor A. Schwab, *South Dakota State University*

Earl Sheridan, *University of North Carolina—Wilmington*

Edward Sidlow, *Northwestern University*

Cynthia Slaughter, *Angelo State University*

John Squibb, *Lincolnland Community College*

R. Mark Tiller, *Austin Community College*

Gordon J. Tolle, *South Dakota State University*

Kenny Whitby, *University of South Carolina*

Ann Wynia, *North Hennepin Community College*

We are also grateful to those instructors who have used the book and relayed their comments and suggestions to us. Our students at the University of Nebraska have also provided invaluable reactions to the first and second editions.



Others too have been of great assistance to us. Susan M. Rigdon spent innumerable hours reviewing the manuscript and providing many substantive and editorial suggestions. Margery M. Ambrosius generously helped gather information for several tables. Kidae Kim, Jerry Stubben, Angie Bowman, Rebekah Herrick, and Gregory Strizek provided essential service in help in produce the ancillary materials for the book.

Several people at West Publishing also deserve our thanks. Clark Baxter has been a continual source of encouragement and optimism from the beginning of the first edition through the last decision on the third.

We are greatly in debt to David Farr, who designed and produced the first edition of the book, and to Nancy Roth who was a model of efficiency and patience in producing the third. Much credit should also go to our copyeditor, Patricia A. Lewis who saved us from a variety of stylistic errors and improved the readability of the book.

Finally, the contribution of our spouses—Nancy Comer, Linda Steinman, and Alan Booth—can hardly be summarized in a sentence or two. But we are very appreciative that they were supportive all the time and patient most of the time.

# ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Susan Welch** received her A.B. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Since 1970, she has taught at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, and is currently the Happold Professor of Political Science there. Her teaching and research areas include legislatures, state and urban politics, and women and minorities in politics. She is editor of the *American Politics Quarterly*.

**John Gruhl**, a Professor of Political Science, received his A.B. from DePauw University in Greencastle, Indiana and his Ph.D. from the University of California at Santa Barbara. Since joining the University of Nebraska faculty in 1976, he has taught and done research in the areas of judicial process, criminal justice, and civil rights and liberties. He won University of Nebraska campus wide distinguished teaching awards in 1979 and 1986 for excellence in undergraduate teaching.

**Michael Steinman** graduated from George Washington University with a B.A. in 1964. His M.A. and Ph.D. degrees are from the University of Chicago. A professor of Political Science at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, he teaches courses in public administration and does research in policing and domestic violence. In 1984 he won a campus wide distinguished teaching award for his development and implementation of a Keller Plan Introduction to American Government course.

**John Comer** is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Nebraska. He received his A.B. in political science from Miami University of Ohio in 1965, and his Ph.D. from the Ohio State University in 1971. His teaching and research focus on interest groups, public opinion, voting behavior, and political parties.



# BRIEF CONTENTS

## PART ONE THE AMERICAN SYSTEM 1

- CHAPTER 1 AMERICAN DEMOCRACY 2  
CHAPTER 2 THE CONSTITUTION 26  
CHAPTER 3 FEDERALISM 54

## PART TWO LINKS BETWEEN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT 81

- CHAPTER 4 PUBLIC OPINION 82  
CHAPTER 5 INTEREST GROUPS 122  
CHAPTER 6 POLITICAL PARTIES 156  
CHAPTER 7 VOTING AND ELECTIONS 188  
CHAPTER 8 THE MEDIA 242  
CHAPTER 9 MONEY AND POLITICS 282

## PART THREE INSTITUTIONS 319

- CHAPTER 10 CONGRESS 320  
CHAPTER 11 PRESIDENCY 372

- CHAPTER 12 THE BUREAUCRACY 410  
CHAPTER 13 THE JUDICIARY 444

## PART FOUR CIVIL LIBERTIES AND RIGHTS 477

- CHAPTER 14 CIVIL LIBERTIES 478  
CHAPTER 15 CIVIL RIGHTS 516

## PART FIVE PUBLIC POLICIES 557

- CHAPTER 16 SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY 558  
CHAPTER 17 ECONOMIC POLICY 590  
CHAPTER 18 REGULATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY 620  
CHAPTER 19 MILITARY SPENDING 654  
CHAPTER 20 FOREIGN POLICY 690

---

# CONTENTS

---

Preface xix  
About the Authors xxv

PART ONE  
**THE AMERICAN SYSTEM 1**

CHAPTER 1  
**AMERICAN DEMOCRACY 2**

**YOU ARE THERE: DEALING WITH ILLEGAL DRUGS** 3  
**AMERICAN DIVERSITY** 6  
**FOCUS ON AN ISSUE: IMMIGRATION** 8  
**RESPONSIVENESS: WHO GETS WHAT, AND WHY?** 13  
**CHARACTERISTICS OF DEMOCRACY** 14  
    Value of the Individual 14  
    Political Equality 14  
    Majority Rule 14  
    Minority Rights 15  
    Direct and Indirect Democracy 15  
**CLASSICAL DEMOCRATIC THEORY** 15  
    A Description 15  
    Does the Real World Work this Way? 16  
**CONTEMPORARY THEORIES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY** 18  
    Pluralism 19  
    Elitism 20  
    Current Views 21  
**CONCLUSION: IS GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVE?** 22  
**EPILOGUE: MOSTLY MORE OF THE SAME** 22  
Key Terms 23  
Further Readings 23  
Notes 23

CHAPTER 2  
**THE CONSTITUTION 26**

**YOU ARE THERE: THE CASE OF THE CONFIDENTIAL TAPES** 27  
**THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION** 29  
**AMERICAN DIVERSITY: FOUNDING MOTHERS** 30  
**THE CONSTITUTION** 31  
    The Constitutional Convention 31  
    Features of the Constitution 36  
    Motives of the Founders 39  
    Ratification of the Constitution 41  
    Changing the Constitution 43  
**FOCUS ON AN ISSUE: SHOULD WE HAVE A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT MAKING ENGLISH THE OFFICIAL NATIONAL LANGUAGE?** 44  
**CONCLUSION: IS THE CONSTITUTION RESPONSIVE?** 48  
**EPILOGUE: THE PRESIDENT COMPLIES** 50  
Key Terms 51  
Further Reading 51  
Notes 52

CHAPTER 3  
**FEDERALISM 54**

**YOU ARE THERE: UNDER THE INFLUENCE: A VOTE ON FEDERALISM AND DRUNK DRIVING** 55  
**FEDERALISM AND ITS ALTERNATIVES** 56  
    Federal Systems 56  
    Unitary Systems 57  
    Confederal Systems 57



THE POLITICAL BASES OF FEDERALISM	57
THE CONSTITUTIONAL BASES OF FEDERALISM	59
Major Features of the System	59
Interpretations of Federalism	60
CHANGES IN FEDERALISM AND THE GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT	60
Early Nationalist Period (1789–1835)	61
Pre-Civil War Period	63
The Civil War to the New Deal	64
The New Deal	64
After the New Deal	66
NEW FEDERALISM	68
Nixon's Innovations	68
Reagan's Cutbacks	68
FOCUS ON AN ISSUE: WHO SHOULD DECIDE WHERE TO DUMP THE GARBAGE? OR, UNCLE SAM MEETS NIMBY	70
REFORMING THE FEDERAL GRANT SYSTEM	72
Why the Federal Grant System Persists	72
Possible Reforms	74
OTHER INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS	74
Federal-State Relations	74
Interstate Relations	76
CONCLUSION: IS FEDERALISM RESPONSIVE?	78
EPILOGUE: A CONSERVATIVE VOTES TO EXPAND FEDERAL INFLUENCE ON DRINKING AGES	79
Key Terms	79
Further Reading	79
Notes	80

**PART TWO**  
**LINKS BETWEEN PEOPLE**  
**AND GOVERNMENT 81**

CHAPTER 4  
**PUBLIC OPINION 82**

YOU ARE THERE: CONFRONTING AN INTENSE MINORITY	83
NATURE OF PUBLIC OPINION	84
Characteristics of Opinions	84
Opinion Distributions	85
FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION	85
Agents of Political Socialization	88
AMERICAN DIVERSITY: THE MARRIAGE GAP	93
Impact of Political Socialization	93
MEASURING PUBLIC OPINION	93

**AMERICAN DIVERSITY: THE GENDER GAP 94**

Early Polling Efforts: Straw Polls	94
Emergence of Scientific Polling	96
Polling Procedures	96
Polling Problems	98
Uses of Polls	99
Impact of Polls	100

**FOCUS ON AN ISSUE: SHOULD TV NETWORKS PROJECT ELECTION WINNERS BEFORE THE VOTING POLLS CLOSE? 101**

HOW INFORMED IS PUBLIC OPINION?	102
IMPORTANT DIMENSIONS OF PUBLIC OPINION	104
The Size and Proper Role of Government	104
Trust in Government	104
Political Tolerance	106
Attitudes on Race	107
Ideology	110
PUBLIC OPINION AND PUBLIC POLICY	113
CONCLUSION: HOW RESPONSIVE SHOULD GOVERNMENT BE TO PUBLIC OPINION?	116
EPILOGUE: AN INTENSE MINORITY WINS AGAIN	117
Key Terms	118
Further Readings	118
Notes	118

CHAPTER 5  
**INTEREST GROUPS 122**

YOU ARE THERE: SHOULD YOU BATTLE BORK?	123
GROUP FORMATION	124
Characteristics That Foster Group Formation	124
The Wavelike Formation of Groups	125
Why People Join	126
Who Joins?	128
TYPES OF INTEREST GROUPS	128
Private Interest Groups	129
Public Interest Groups	134
TACTICS OF INTEREST GROUPS	138
Direct Lobbying Techniques	138
AMERICAN DIVERSITY: TAKE YOUR PICK OF PACS	140
Indirect Lobbying Techniques	143
Coalition Building	144
Protest and Civil Disobedience	145
SUCCESS OF INTEREST GROUPS	145
AMERICAN DIVERSITY: ORGANIZING PROTEST: THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT	146
Resources	147

**FOCUS ON AN ISSUE: SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT  
REGULATE LOBBYING? 148**  
 Competition and Goals 148  
**INTEREST GROUPS AS PRIVATE GOVERNMENTS 150**  
**CONCLUSION: DO INTEREST GROUPS HELP MAKE  
GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVE? 151**  
**EPILOGUE: NEAS BEATS GOLIATH 153**  
 Key Terms 154  
 Further Reading 154  
 Notes 154

## CHAPTER 6

### POLITICAL PARTIES 156

**YOU ARE THERE: TO SWITCH OR NOT TO  
SWITCH 157**  
**WHAT ARE POLITICAL PARTIES? 158**  
**DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE IN THE PARTY SYSTEM  
159**  
 Preparty Politics: The Founders' Views of Political  
 Parties 160  
 The First Party System: 1796–1815 161  
 The Second Party System: 1832–1860 161  
 The Third Party System: 1860–1896 162  
 The Fourth Party System: 1896–1932 162  
 The Fifth Party System: 1932–? 164  
 Has the Fifth Party System Realigned? 165  
 Future of the Fifth Party System 166  
**CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARTY SYSTEM 170**  
 Two Parties 170  
 Equilibrium 170  
 Fragmentation 171  
**FOCUS ON AN ISSUE: DOES THE UNITED STATES  
NEED A MULTIPARTY SYSTEM? 172**  
 Moderation 172  
 Minor Parties in American Politics 173  
**PARTY IN THE ELECTORATE 174**  
 Party Identification 175  
 Characteristics of Democrats and Republicans 175  
**AMERICAN DIVERSITY: DO REPUBLICANS DIFFER  
FROM DEMOCRATS ON ISSUES? 177**  
**PARTY IN GOVERNMENT 177**  
**AMERICAN DIVERSITY: HOW TO TELL THE  
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEMOCRATS AND  
REPUBLICANS 178**  
**PARTY ORGANIZATION 178**  
 National Party Organization 179  
 State and Local Party Organizations 179  
 Big-City Party Organizations 179

**THE NOMINATING PROCESS 180**  
 Caucuses 181  
 Conventions 181  
 Primaries 181  
**THE FUTURE OF POLITICAL PARTIES 182**  
**CONCLUSION: DO POLITICAL PARTIES MAKE  
GOVERNMENT MORE RESPONSIVE? 184**  
**EPILOGUE: PHIL GRAMM SWITCHES 185**  
 Key Terms 185  
 Further Reading 185  
 Notes 186

## CHAPTER 7

### VOTING AND ELECTIONS 188

**YOU ARE THERE: HIGH ROAD OR LOW ROAD?  
189**  
**THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE 191**  
 Early Limits on Voting Rights 191  
 Blacks and the Right to Vote 192  
 The Voting Rights Act 193  
 Women and the Right to Vote 195  
**AMERICAN DIVERSITY: WOMEN IN OFFICE 196**  
 Other Expansions of the Electorate 197  
**VOTER TURNOUT, POLITICAL ACTIVISM IN THE  
NINETEENTH CENTURY 198**  
 Progressive Reforms 198  
 Recent Turnout 199  
 Who Does Not Vote? 200  
 Why Turnout Is Low 201  
**OTHER CAMPAIGN PARTICIPATION 206**  
**PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CAMPAIGNS 206**  
 Who Runs for President and Why? 207  
 How a Candidate Wins the Nomination 207  
**AMERICAN DIVERSITY: CAN A BLACK PERSON BE  
ELECTED PRESIDENT? 208**  
 Presidential Caucuses and Conventions 213  
 Presidential Primaries 213  
 Reforming the Nomination Process 215  
 The National Conventions 216  
**AMERICAN DIVERSITY: 1988 DEMOCRATIC AND  
REPUBLICAN PLATFORMS DIFFERED 219**  
**THE GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN 221**  
 Campaign Organization 221  
 Images and Issues 221  
 The Electoral College 224  
**FOCUS ON AN ISSUE: SHOULD THE ELECTORAL  
COLLEGE BE ABOLISHED? 225**  
 Campaign Strategies 226



Use of the Media	227
Campaign Funding	232
<b>VOTING</b>	<b>232</b>
Party Loyalties	232
Candidate Evaluations	232
Issues	233
Parties, Candidates, and Issues	234
<b>ELECTIONS AS MANDATES?</b>	<b>234</b>
<b>AMERICAN DIVERSITY: VOTING ETHNIC</b>	<b>235</b>
<b>CONCLUSION: DO ELECTIONS MAKE GOVERNMENT</b>	<b>RESPONSIVE? 236</b>
<b>EPILOGUE: THE LOW ROAD</b>	<b>237</b>
Key Terms	238
Further Reading	239
Notes	239

## CHAPTER 8

### THE MEDIA 242

<b>YOU ARE THERE: SNOOP AND SCOOP?</b>	<b>243</b>
<b>DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEDIA</b>	<b>244</b>
Print Media	244
Broadcast Media	246
The Media State	247
Concentration of the Media	248
<b>RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MEDIA AND</b>	<b>POLITICIANS 249</b>
Symbiotic Relationship	249
Adversarial Relationship	253
Relationship between the Media and the Reagan and	Bush Administrations 254
<b>BIAS OF THE MEDIA</b>	<b>257</b>
Political Bias	257
Commercial Bias	260
<b>IMPACT OF THE MEDIA ON POLITICS</b>	<b>264</b>
Impact on the Public Agenda	266
Impact on Political Parties and Elections	267
<b>FOCUS ON AN ISSUE: SHOULD WE HAVE</b>	<b>TELEVISED PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES? 270</b>
Impact on Public Opinion	272
Impact on Policies	272
<b>CONCLUSION: ARE THE MEDIA RESPONSIVE?</b>	<b>275</b>
<b>EPILOGUE: A PUBLIC AFFAIR</b>	<b>276</b>
Key Terms	277
Further Reading	277
Notes	278

## CHAPTER 9

### MONEY AND POLITICS 282

<b>YOU ARE THERE: CHALLENGE THE LEADER?</b>	<b>283</b>
<b>THE DEVELOPMENT OF LAWS TO REGULATE MONEY</b>	<b>AND POLITICS 286</b>
Money in Nineteenth-Century American Politics	286
Early Reforms	287
<b>THE ROLE OF MONEY IN ELECTION CAMPAIGNS</b>	<b>288</b>
Campaign Finance Laws	288
Loopholes in the 1970s Reforms	289
Presidential Elections	292
Congressional Elections	293
<b>THE IMPACT OF CAMPAIGN MONEY</b>	<b>298</b>
Does Money Win Elections?	298
Does the Campaign Finance System Deter Good	Candidates? 300
Does Money Buy Favorable Policies?	300
<b>REFORMING THE CAMPAIGN MONEY SYSTEM</b>	<b>303</b>
<b>FOCUS ON AN ISSUE: SHOULD WE HAVE PUBLICLY</b>	<b>FINANCED CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS? 304</b>
<b>CONFLICTS OF INTEREST</b>	<b>307</b>
Conflicts-of-Interest Reforms	308
Congress	308
The Executive Branch	309
<b>CONCLUSION: DOES THE INFLUENCE OF MONEY</b>	<b>MAKE GOVERNMENT LESS RESPONSIVE? 311</b>
<b>EPILOGUE: DIXON'S COMMITTEE INVESTIGATES</b>	<b>AND WRIGHT RESIGNS 313</b>
Key Terms	314
Further Reading	314
Notes	315

## PART THREE

### INSTITUTIONS 319

## CHAPTER 10

### CONGRESS 320

<b>YOU ARE THERE: TO RUN OR NOT TO RUN?</b>	<b>321</b>
<b>THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONGRESS</b>	<b>323</b>
The Rise and Fall of Strong Congressional Leaders	325
Modern Leadership Reforms	326
<b>MEMBERS AND CONSTITUENCIES</b>	<b>326</b>
Members of Congress	327

<b>AMERICAN DIVERSITY: WOMEN IN CONGRESS</b>	<b>328</b>
Congressional Constituencies	329
<b>CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS</b>	<b>331</b>
The Advantages of Incumbency	331
Unsafe at Any Margin?	337
Challengers	338
Campaigns	339
<b>THE REPRESENTATIVE ON THE JOB</b>	<b>342</b>
Informal Norms	342
Working Privately and "Going Public"	343
<b>FOCUS ON AN ISSUE: SHOULD MEMBERS OF CONGRESS BE LIMITED IN THE NUMBER OF YEARS THEY SERVE?</b>	<b>344</b>
Voting	346
<b>HOW CONGRESS IS ORGANIZED</b>	<b>348</b>
Leaders	348
Committees	349
Staff	354
Special Interest Caucuses	355
<b>AMERICAN DIVERSITY: BLACK POWER IN CONGRESS</b>	<b>356</b>
<b>WHAT CONGRESS DOES</b>	<b>357</b>
Lawmaking	357
Overseeing the Federal Bureaucracy	361
Budget Making	363
<b>THE NEW CONGRESS</b>	<b>365</b>
<b>CONCLUSION: IS CONGRESS RESPONSIVE?</b>	<b>366</b>
<b>EPILOGUE: MIKULSKI RUNS . . . AND WINS</b>	<b>366</b>
Key Terms	367
Further Reading	367
Notes	368

## CHAPTER 11

### PRESIDENCY 372

<b>YOU ARE THERE: TO REPORT OR NOT TO REPORT</b>	<b>373</b>
<b>AN AMERICAN INVENTION</b>	<b>374</b>
Origins	374
The Presidential Job Description	375
<b>THE GROWTH OF THE MODERN PRESIDENCY</b>	<b>376</b>
The Presidency before the New Deal	376
The Development of the Personal Presidency	378
<b>PRESIDENTIAL POWER</b>	<b>381</b>
Persuading the Washingtonians	381
Persuading the Public	384
Presidential Popularity	385
The Limits of Presidential Power	386

<b>THE ROLES OF THE PRESIDENT</b>	<b>387</b>
The Growth of Presidential Staff	387
Administrative Leadership	389
<b>FOCUS ON AN ISSUE: ADVISE OR CONSENT?</b>	<b>391</b>
Domestic Policy Leadership	393
Foreign Policy Leadership	394
Military Leadership	396
Symbolic Leadership	401
Party Leadership	403
<b>CONCLUSION: IS THE PRESIDENCY RESPONSIVE?</b>	<b>403</b>
<b>EPILOGUE: THE BEGINNING OF THE END</b>	<b>405</b>
Key Terms	407
Further Reading	407
Notes	407

## CHAPTER 12

### THE BUREAUCRACY 410

<b>YOU ARE THERE: ATTACKING AIDS</b>	<b>411</b>
<b>BUREAUCRACY</b>	<b>413</b>
Nature of Bureaucracy	413
Public and Private Bureaucracies	414
<b>AMERICAN DIVERSITY: WOMEN AND MINORITIES IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE</b>	<b>416</b>
<b>FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY</b>	<b>417</b>
Growth of the Bureaucracy	417
Why the Bureaucracy Has Grown	421
Types of Bureaucracy	421
<b>BUREAUCRATIC FUNCTIONS</b>	<b>423</b>
Making Policy	424
Administering Policy	426
Other Functions	426
<b>EXPECTATIONS ABOUT THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY</b>	<b>428</b>
Responsiveness	428
Neutral Competence	429
<b>FOCUS ON AN ISSUE: SHOULD CIVIL SERVANTS BE TESTED FOR DRUGS?</b>	<b>432</b>
<b>CONTROLLING THE BUREAUCRACY</b>	<b>434</b>
President	434
Congress	437
Courts	437
Interest Groups and Individuals	438
<b>CONCLUSION: IS THE BUREAUCRACY RESPONSIVE?</b>	<b>440</b>
<b>EPILOGUE: NEUTRAL COMPETENCE AND AIDS</b>	<b>441</b>



Key Terms 442  
 Further Reading 442  
 Notes 442

## CHAPTER 13

## THE JUDICIARY 444

**YOU ARE THERE: FRIEND OR FOE?** 445  
**DEVELOPMENT OF THE COURTS' ROLE IN GOVERNMENT** 446  
     Founding to the Civil War 447  
     Civil War to the Depression 449  
     Depression to the Present 450  
**COURTS** 452  
     Structure of the Courts 452  
     Jurisdiction of the Courts 452  
**JUDGES** 453  
     Selection of Judges 453  
**AMERICAN DIVERSITY: DO WOMEN JUDGES MAKE A DIFFERENCE?** 457  
     Tenure of Judges 457  
     Qualifications of Judges 457  
     Independence of Judges 458  
**ACCESS TO THE COURTS** 460  
     Wealth Discrimination in Access 460  
     Interest Group Help in Access 460  
     Restrictions on Access 461  
     Proceeding through the Courts 461  
**DECIDING CASES** 462  
     Interpreting Statutes 462  
     Interpreting the Constitution 462  
     Restraint and Activism 464  
**FOCUS ON AN ISSUE: RESTRAINT VERSUS ACTIVISM IN CHILD ABUSE CASES** 465  
     Following Precedents 466  
     Making Law 467  
**THE POWER OF THE COURTS** 467  
     Use of Judicial Review 467  
     Use of Political Checks against the Courts 471  
**CONCLUSION: ARE THE COURTS RESPONSIVE?** 472  
**EPILOGUE: EXCLUSION OF JAPANESE UPHELD** 473  
 Key Terms 474  
 Further Reading 474  
 Notes 474

## PART FOUR

CIVIL LIBERTIES  
AND RIGHTS 477

## CHAPTER 14

## CIVIL LIBERTIES 478

**YOU ARE THERE: SHOULD THE RIGHT TO ABORTION CONTINUE?** 479  
**THE CONSTITUTION AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS** 481  
     Individual Rights in the Constitution 481  
     The Bill of Rights 481  
**FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION** 483  
     Freedom of Speech 483  
     Freedom of the Press 488  
     Libel and Obscenity 491  
     Freedom of Religion 493  
**RIGHTS OF CRIMINAL DEFENDANTS** 499  
     Search and Seizure 499  
**FOCUS ON AN ISSUE: SHOULD THE SUPREME COURT RETAIN THE EXCLUSIONARY RULE?** 501  
     Self-Incrimination 502  
     Counsel 504  
     Jury Trial 505  
     Cruel and Unusual Punishment 506  
     Rights in Theory and in Practice 507  
**RIGHT TO PRIVACY** 507  
     Birth Control 507  
     Abortion 508  
     Homosexuality 509  
**CONCLUSION: ARE THE COURTS RESPONSIVE IN INTERPRETING CIVIL LIBERTIES?** 511  
**EPILOGUE: JUSTICE O'CONNOR STRADDLES THE FENCE** 512  
 Key Terms 513  
 Further Reading 513  
 Notes 513

## CHAPTER 15

## CIVIL RIGHTS 516

**YOU ARE THERE: FORWARD MARCH . . . OR RETREAT?** 517  
**RACE DISCRIMINATION** 519  
     Discrimination against Blacks 519