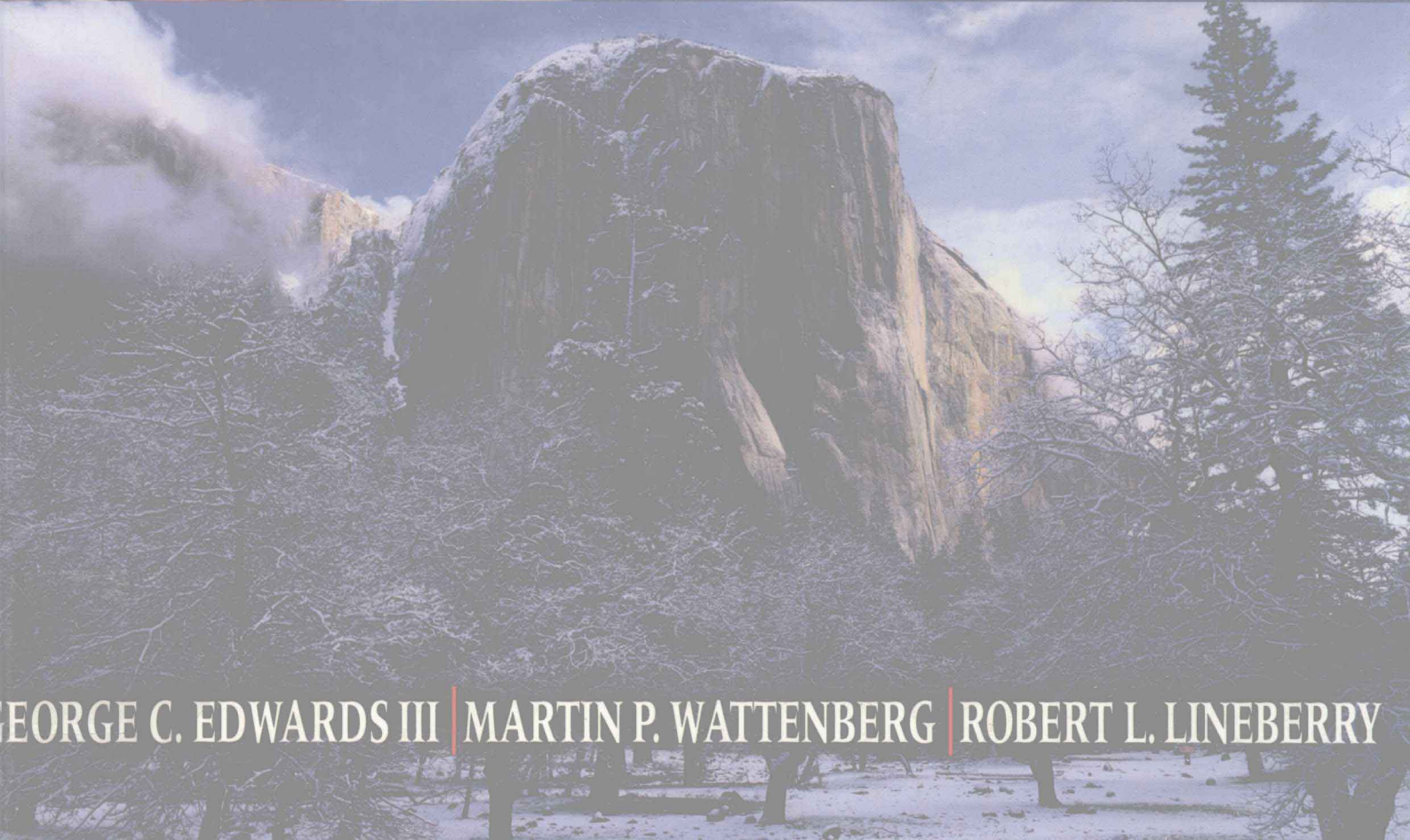


NINTH EDITION

Government in America

People, Politics, and Policy



GEORGE C. EDWARDS III | MARTIN P. WATTENBERG | ROBERT L. LINEBERRY

GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA

PEOPLE, POLITICS, AND POLICY

Ninth Edition

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*Note: Number in parentheses indicates chapter.



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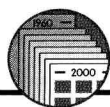
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Preface

POLITICS MATTERS. THAT IS THE CORE MESSAGE OF THIS BOOK. The national government provides important services, ranging from retirement security and health care to recreation facilities and weather forecasts. The national government may also send us to war or negotiate peace with our adversaries, expand or restrict our freedom, raise or lower our taxes, and increase or decrease aid to education. As we enter the twenty-first century, decision makers of both political parties are facing difficult questions regarding American democracy and the scope of our government. Students need a framework for understanding these questions.

FOCUS

We write *Government in America* to provide our readers with a better understanding of our fascinating political system. This ninth edition of *Government in America* continues to frame its content with a public policy approach to government in the United States. We continually ask—and answer—the question, “What difference does politics make to the policies governments produce?” It is one thing to describe the Madisonian system of checks and balances and separation of powers or the elaborate and unusual federal system of government in the United States; it is something else to ask how these features of our constitutional structure affect the policies that governments generate.

We find that this focus engages students’ interest. Students, like their instructors, quickly recognize that the principal reason for studying politics is to understand why government produces the policies it does. Even what many see as “dry” subjects become interesting when they are tied to outcomes that directly affect each of us. Even introductory students feel comfortable in asking, “So what?” To reinforce this interest, we have added a feature in the margins entitled “**Why does it matter?**” in which we ask students to think critically about some aspect of our system and how things might be if it worked differently.

We do not discuss policy at the expense of politics, however. We provide extensive coverage of five core subject areas: constitutional foundations, patterns of political behavior, political institutions, public policy outputs, and state and local government, but we try to do so in a more analytically significant—and interesting—manner. We take special pride in introducing students to relevant work from current political scientists, such as the role of PACs or the impact of divided government—something we have found instructors appreciate.

It is not enough to arouse students’ interest, however. To be a useful teaching tool, a text must be accessible to students and enjoyable to read. We believe that a principal reason for the success of *Government in America* is its high level of readability. To ensure that the material is not only clearly presented but also meaningful, we make special efforts to illustrate points with interesting examples to which

students can relate. The ability of Congress to indirectly regulate behavior in the states becomes more meaningful when the power is illustrated with a discussion of raising the drinking age. In addition, this is neither a conservative nor a liberal book. Instead, we make every effort to present material in an evenhanded manner. As a result, we have received many letters over the years in which students have told us how much they enjoyed reading the book. Needless to say, we find this response very gratifying.

TWO THEMES

To render the policy focus in concrete terms, two important themes appear throughout the book: the nature of democracy and the scope of government. Each chapter begins with a preview of the relevancy of these themes to the chapter's subject, refers to the themes at points within the chapter, and ends with specific sections on the two themes under the heading "Understanding ..." that show how the themes illuminate the chapter's subject matter.

The first great question central to governing, a question that every nation must answer is *How should we govern?* In the United States, our answer is "democracy." Yet democracy is an evolving and somewhat ambiguous concept. In Chapter 1, we define democracy as a means of selecting policymakers and of organizing government so that policy represents and responds to citizens' preferences. As with previous editions, we continue to incorporate theoretical issues in our discussions of different models of American democracy. We try to encourage students to think analytically about the theories and to develop independent assessments of how well the American system lives up to citizens' expectations of democratic government. To help them do this, in every chapter we raise questions about democracy. For example, does Congress give the American people the policies they want? Is a strong presidency good for democracy? Does our mass media make us more democratic? Are powerful courts that make policy decisions compatible with democracy?

A common complaint about the national government is that it cannot respond to the needs of its citizens, that it suffers from *gridlock*. A subtheme to our discussion of democracy is whether America's diversity and the openness of our political system have the drawback of incapacitating government. The diversity of the American people is reflected in the variety of political interests represented in the political system. This system is so open that many different interests find access to policymakers. In our system of checks and balances, opposition by one set of policymakers can sometimes frustrate the will of the majority. We leave it to the reader to determine whether the difficulty of achieving policy change, be it the Clinton health care reform plan or the Republicans' tax cut, is a positive feature of our system. Our goal is to promote understanding of the consequences of the American democratic system and to provoke discussion about these consequences. We find that students are especially interested in why government does not "do something."

The second theme, the scope 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 how this scope is influenced by the workings of institutions and politics. The government's scope is the core question around which politics revolves in contemporary America, pervading many crucial issues: To what degree should Washington impose national standards such as speed limits on state policies? How high should taxes be? Do elections encourage politicians to promise more governmental services? Questions about the scope of government are policy questions and thus obviously directly related to our policy approach. Since the scope of government is *the* pervasive ques-

tion in American politics today, students will have little problem finding it relevant to their lives and interests.

A subtheme of the scope of government is the role of *individualism* in American political life. The people who immigrated to America may have been diverse, but many adopted a common dream of America as a place where people could make it on their own without interference from government. Today, individualism remains a powerful influence in the United States. Americans' strong preference for free markets and limited government has important consequences for public policy. For example, it substantially constrains efforts to intervene in the economy, efforts that have long been the norm in other developed democracies.

At the same time, a central contest in American politics has been between two kinds of individualism. Economic individualism embraces the doctrines of capitalism. The purpose of government is to protect the creativity of entrepreneurs and markets, which leads to well being. Democratic individualism appeals to government to redress the social inequalities that result from economic individualism. Puritans, abolitionists, agrarian populists, prohibitionists, civil rights crusaders, feminists, and the contemporary religious right have preached collective purpose against individualism. Thus, we often employ the concept of individualism in our analysis of the scope of government.

We hope that students—long after reading *Government in America*—will employ these perennial questions about the nature of our democracy and the scope of our government when they examine political events. The specifics of policy issues will change, but questions about whether the government is responsive to the people or whether it should expand or contract its scope will always be with us.

FEATURES

Four features appear throughout *Government in America*: (1) **You Are the Policymaker/Judge**; (2) **Since Kennedy**; (3) **America in Perspective**; and (4) **Making a Difference**. Each of the features plays a particular role in the text to support our approach to American Government.

We believe it is important that students recognize and think critically about difficult policy choices they must face as citizens. "**You Are the Policymaker**" asks students to read arguments on both sides of a specific current issue, such as whether we should prohibit PACs, and then to make a policy decision. In Chapters 4 and 5 (Civil Liberties and Civil Rights), this feature is titled "**You Are the Judge**" and presents the student with an actual court case. It concludes with "**The Court Decides**," showing how the case was resolved. This feature directly supports our policy approach.

A feature titled "**Since Kennedy**" bolsters our already strong historical coverage by analyzing some aspect of how politics or public policy has changed since the early 1960s. This period has been one of great political, social, and economic change in the United States. In some instances, we specifically compare the early 1960s to the early 1990s. In other instances we trace the continuous changes from Presidents Kennedy to Clinton.

There are many ways to teach lessons, and many instructors find that employing a comparative approach helps them to make their points more effectively. Our "**America in Perspective**" feature examines how the United States compares to other countries in areas such as tax rates, voter turnout, and the delivery of public services. Through reading these boxes and comparing the United States to other nations, students can obtain a better perspective on the size of our government or the nature of our democracy.





New to this edition is a feature titled **"Making a Difference."** In it we focus on an individual who became involved in government and politics and made a difference as a result. Our goal is simple: to show students that individuals, ordinary people, can—and do—make a difference in what government does. This feature nicely complements our increased focus on the relevance of government to our lives.



Each chapter ends with a contemporary bibliography, a listing of key terms, and Internet resources relevant to the chapter. (The URLs included at the end of each chapter were current when the book went to press. However, changes or updates may have been made to the site at the discretion of the individual site owner or Webmaster.) These same Internet resources can also be located with icons in the text margins to connect them to the related coverage. Also, because of the important role of technology in modern society and government, a second type of icon appears in the margins identifying material that illustrates the impact of technology on government, politics, and public policy. (Instructors and students will also find that the authors and publisher have addressed the growing role of technology in the classroom. For more on the CD-ROM, web site, and other electronic supplements that accompany this text, see the "Supplements" section of this Preface.)



Finally, as an additional study aid, we also define key terms in the margins of the text when they are first introduced.

CURRENCY

This ninth edition of *Government in America* is completely up to date and incorporates the best recent scholarship on U.S. government. Our emphasis in each chapter on the scope of government is also very timely, as it remains at the core of debates about taxation, regulating tobacco products, campaign finance, and access to health care. We provide comprehensive coverage of the 1998 congressional and state elections and the 1996 presidential and congressional elections—both the campaigns and the results—in Chapters 8–10 and 12–13. We also include the latest Supreme Court decisions from 1999 on federalism, civil liberties, civil rights, and other relevant topics. From expenditures for federal grants to the states to the backgrounds of President Clinton's judicial nominees, the text, tables, and figures reflect the most recent available data.

In the ninth edition, we expanded our coverage of several topics, such as youth apathy in Chapter 1, which groups are most conservative or liberal in Chapter 6, new communications technologies in Chapter 7, frontloading in the presidential nomination process in Chapter 9, the political consequences of bias in voter turnout in Chapter 10, congressional staff in Chapter 12, the changing role of the First Lady in Chapter 13, HMOs and managed health care in Chapter 19, and nuclear proliferation and terrorism in Chapter 20. Chapter 21 on state and local politics has been revised to reflect the resurgence of the states in American politics and includes the latest information on everything from the political composition of state legislatures to issues such as legalized gambling.

Naturally, we devote considerable attention to the Clinton administration in Chapter 13 (including its relations with Congress, the public, and the press, the president's impeachment trial, the organization of the White House, and the president's actions as commander in chief) and to the efforts of both the president and Congress to deal with the budget (Chapter 14), which has become central to American politics and policy. President Clinton's judicial appointments are discussed in Chapter 16.

Graphics play an important role in textbooks, and we have substantially upgraded our figures, graphs, tables, and charts in this edition. We have employed more vibrant colors and worked to make all our graphics easier and more interesting to read. We have also added a brief guide to using graphics following this preface.

It is worth noting here that the Web site for the ninth edition of *Government in America* (www.aolonline.com/edwards) includes a section of “essays.” These essays provide the latest information on campaign finance, voter turnout, and other matters as soon as the data become available. We add approximately one essay each month, allowing us to offer the most current information between editions and to provide new links to sources of information useful to both students and faculty.

APPENDIX

The appendix continues to include the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, *Federalist Papers No. 10* and *No. 51*, tables on presidents and presidential elections, party control of the presidency and Congress in the twentieth century, Supreme Court justices serving in this century, and a glossary of key terms. New to this edition is a list of key terms in Spanish.

SUPPLEMENTS

Printed Supplements for Instructors

NEW! Active Learning Guide

This innovative guide provides instructors with a variety of thoughtful active learning projects for their classrooms. The exercises address important concepts in American government and follow the organization of the text. The simulations and group projects encourage students to get actively involved in course material and to evaluate different perspectives on American government.

Instructor's Manual

The Instructor's Manual includes a list of pedagogical features, learning objectives, chapter outlines, narrative chapter overviews, key terms and definitions, suggestions for further study, media suggestions, and ideas for class discussion.

Test Bank

The Test Bank has been completely revised and contains thousands of challenging multiple choice, true-false, short answer, and essay questions along with a page-referenced answer key.

Transparencies

A set of four-color acetate transparencies includes figures, graphs and tables from the text.

NEW! Longman American Government Critical Thinking Video

This video includes twenty seven segments dealing with provocative issues in contemporary American politics. Topics include the school prayer amendment, welfare reform, the role of the internet in elections, and many more.

Politics in Action Video or Laserdisc

Eleven “Lecture Launchers” covering broad topics such as social movements, campaigns, and the passage of a bill, are examined through narrated videos, interviews, edited documentaries and political ads. *Politics in Action* is accompanied by an extensive User’s Manual, which provides background, links to topics in our American Government texts, and discussion questions.

Longman American Government Video Archive

Longman offers a variety of videos covering a broad range of topics including famous debates, speeches, political commercials, and congressional hearings. We also offer acclaimed video series such as “Eyes on the Prize” and “The Power Game.” Ask your local Addison Wesley Longman representative for more information.

Printed Supplements for Students***NEW! Penguin-Putnam Paperback Titles at a Significant Discount***

Longman is now offering 22 Penguin titles discounted more than 60% when packaged with *Government in America*. It’s a unique offer and a wonderful way to enhance students’ understanding of concepts in American government. Ask your local Addison Wesley Longman representative for a full listing of discounted Penguin titles and for information on how to order these books for your classes.

Study Guide

The Study Guide helps students reinforce themes and concepts they encounter in the text. It includes chapter outlines, key terms, multiple choice, fill-in-the-blank, and essay questions, and exercises that help students test their understanding of the material with real world applications.

NEW! Discount subscription to Newsweek magazine

Available only through Longman, your students can receive 12 issues of *Newsweek* at more than 80% off the regular subscription price! Also included in this offer is an Instructor’s Manual prepared by *Newsweek*. The reduced rate subscription cards come shrink-wrapped with *Government in America*—ask your local Addison Wesley Longman representative how to take advantage of this offer.

Guide to the Internet for American Government, Second Edition

FREE when packaged with the text, this guide introduces students and instructors to ways in which the Internet can be used to explore American government. It includes practical information about the Internet, critical thinking exercises to reinforce students’ application of Internet-based skills, and a glossary of Internet terms. In addition, the guide offers dozens of relevant web sites that allow students to discover first-hand how the Web can be used as a resource for research.

NEW! California State Supplement

FREE when packaged with the text, this 64 page supplement on state and local issues in California was created for use in the American Government course. It introduces students to California’s basic governmental structures and explores the political effects of California’s Progressive tradition.

NEW! Texas State Supplement

FREE when packaged with the text, this is a brief primer on state and local issues in Texas for use in the American Government course. This supplement includes

discussion of the constitution, the major branches of government, public policy, and other aspects of Texas politics.

NEW! Getting Involved: A Guide to Student Citizenship

FREE when packaged with the text, this practical handbook guides students through political participation with concrete advice and extensive sample material—letters, telephone scripts, student interviews, and real-life anecdotes. The aim of this exciting new guide is to generate student enthusiasm for political involvement and then help students to get connected, set goals and strategies, experiment with tactics, build networks, anticipate obstacles, and make a difference in their lives and communities.

NEW! Ten Things Every American Government Student Should Read

FREE when packaged with the text. We asked American Government instructors across the country to vote for the ten things beyond the text—essays, documents, articles—that they believed every American Government student should read. The top vote-getters in each of 10 categories were put into this unique and useful reader by Karen O'Connor of The American University.

Writing in Political Science, Second Edition

Available at a significant discount when packaged with the text, writing in political science requires a distinct set of skills, vocabulary, sources, and methods of inquiry. This guide takes students step-by-step through all the aspects of writing for political science courses. With an abundance of samples from actual students, the guide also features a section on how to address writing problems and a new section on how to evaluate the cite internet sources.

Technology Supplements for Instructors and Students

Companion Website (CW+)

This online course companion provides a wealth of resources for both students and instructors using *Government in America*. Students will find interactive simulations and exercises tied to text material, practice tests, links to related American government sites, a complete guide to conducting research on the Internet, updates to the text from the authors, and more! Instructors will have access to lecture outlines, website links, and downloadable visuals from the text. Additionally, instructors can take advantage of Syllabus Builder, an easy-to-use tool that allows them to put their syllabus and assignments on the Web.

NEW! Interactive Edition CD-ROM for Government in America

FREE when packaged with the text, this unique CD-ROM takes students beyond the printed page and offers them a complete multimedia learning experience. It contains the full text of the book on CD-ROM, with contextually placed media icons—audio, video, web links, activities, practices tests, primary sources, and more—that link students to additional content directly related to key concepts in the text.

NEW! American Government Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

This tool is certain to enliven your American Government presentations in a variety of ways. It contains a wealth of video footage and still images that highlight important political concepts, presentation slides, and links to American government websites. All video and still images can be imported into your own presentation program (eg. Power Point).

StudyWizard CD-ROM

This computerized student tutorial program, now available on CD-ROM, helps students review and master key concepts in the text. Using chapter and topic summaries, practice test questions, and a comprehensive glossary, *StudyWizard* supplements the text by allowing students the opportunity to explore new topics and test their understanding of terms and ideas already presented in the reading assignments. Students receive immediate feedback on test questions in the form of answer explanations and page references to the text. In addition, the program allows students to print chapter outlines, difficult vocabulary, missed text questions, or a diagnostic report, which includes suggestions for further study.

Computerized Test Bank on CD-ROM

The printed Test Bank is also available on a cross-platform CD-ROM through our fully networkable computerized testing system, TestGen-EQ. The program's friendly graphical interface enables instructors to view, edit, and add questions; transfer questions to tests; and print tests in a variety of fonts and forms. Search and sort features help instructors locate questions quickly and arrange them in a preferred order. Six question formats are available, including short-answer, true-false, multiple-choice, essay, matching, and bimodal.

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

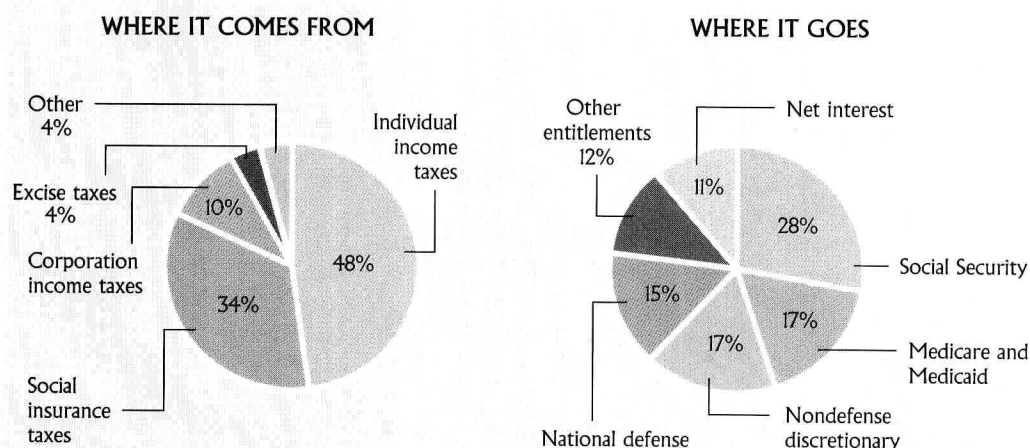
A Student Guide to Reading Charts and Graphs

Information such as voting turnout in the last election, the president's job approval rating, or expenditures on national defense is often presented in quantitative form—that is, through the use of numbers. To help you understand this information, we employ charts and graphs. These figures provide a straightforward, visual representation of quantitative information. Yet charts and graphs can be confusing if you do not understand how to read them.

When you come across one of the charts and graphs in this book, you should ask three questions: First, *what is being measured?* This could be money, public opinion, seats in Congress, or a wide range of other subjects. Second, *what is the unit of measurement?* Is it 50 Americans or 50 percent of Americans? Obviously, it makes a difference. Finally, *what is the purpose of the figure?* Does it show changes over time? Does it compare two or more groups of people or countries? In most instances, captions are provided which explain the purpose of a figure.

After answering these general questions, you should examine the specific type of figure. This text relies on three main types of figures: pie charts, bar graphs, and line graphs. A *pie chart* is a circle divided into wedge-shaped “slices,” or segments. Pie charts show the relative sizes of the segments to one another and to the whole. For example, by glancing at the chart below, you can quickly see that the federal government spends more of its funds on Social Security (28 percent) than on Medicare and Medicaid (17 percent). The area of each segment is the same percent of the total circle as the number it represents is of the sum of all the numbers in the chart. Since Social Security accounts for 28 percent of federal expenditures, its corresponding segment covers 28 percent of the area of the pie chart.

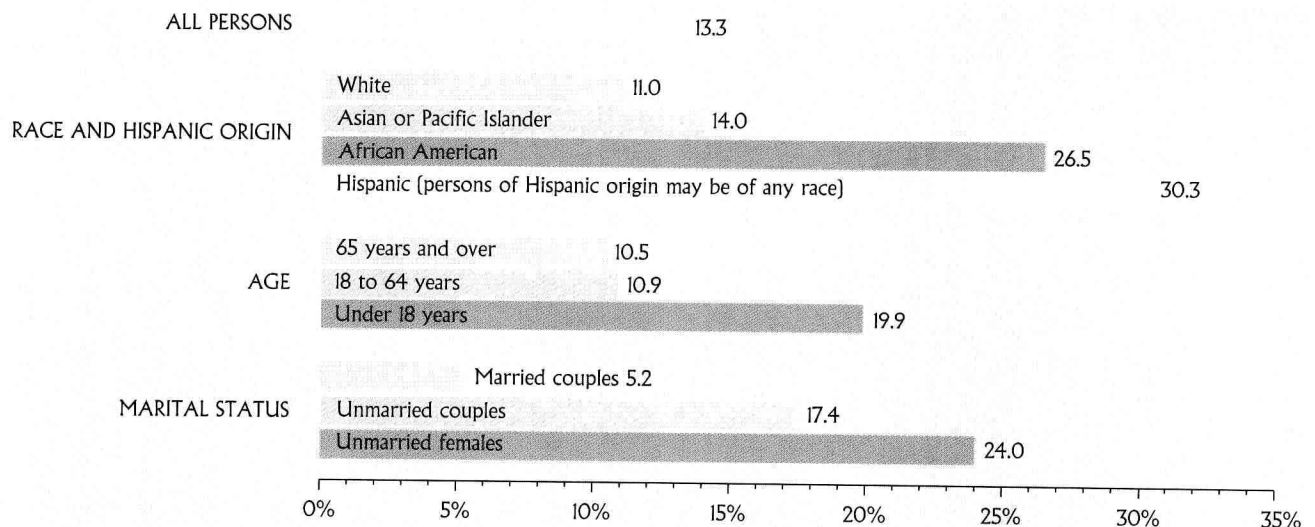
Federal Expenditures



SOURCE: *Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2000: A Citizen's Guide to the Federal Budget* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1999), charts 2-3, 2-6.

The second kind of figure, a *bar graph*, displays quantitative information by means of a series of rectangles (bars) set between two lines, called axes. Bar graphs are most frequently used to show and compare the values of multiple entities at a given point in time. Categories (such as groups of people or countries) are set along one axis and a scale (time or numbers, for example) is on the other axis. The end of each bar is located at the value it represents, so, you can compare the numbers by looking at the different lengths of the bars. For example, in the bar graph shown below, which uses a scale measuring poverty rates, you can see that the bars representing persons of Hispanic origin and young people are the longest, indicating that they are the most likely to be living in poverty. The characteristics of people are on the vertical axis and on the bars themselves, and the scale representing the percentage of people in poverty is on the horizontal axis.

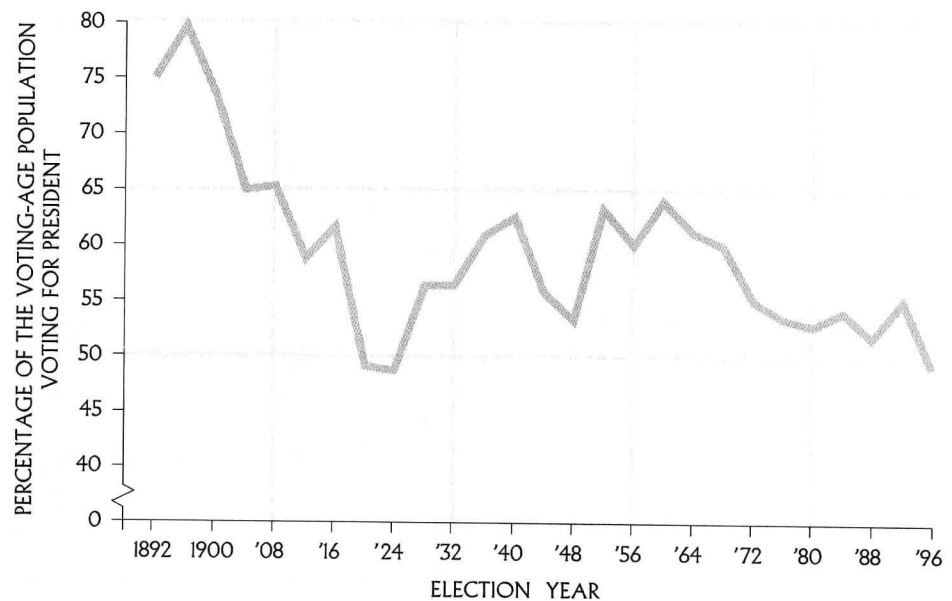
Poverty Rates for Persons
with Selected Characteristics



SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau.

The third type of figure, a *line graph*, illustrates quantitative information by means of lines. Typically, the vertical axis of a line graph represents a quantitative scale (such as percentages) and the horizontal axis represents a category (such as presidents or a sequence of dates). Specific numbers are represented as points on the graph between the two axes and are connected with a line. Sometimes there is more than one line on a graph, as when numbers are shown for two different sets of information—for example, elections for both the House and Senate, state and federal expenditures, or exports and imports. The two lines can be compared to each other, or, in some cases, the distance between the two lines can be analyzed. In the line graph below, which charts a single set of quantitative information, the percentage of the voting age population that actually voted is shown on the vertical axis, and the horizontal axis represents years of presidential elections. The falling line indicates that turnout has declined since 1892.

**The Decline of Turnout in
Presidential Elections,
1892–1996**



SOURCES: For data up to 1968, *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), part 2, 1071. For 1972–1988, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1990 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1990), 264. 1992 and 1996 data are from news reports.

By remembering these key features of charts and graphs, you can more accurately assess the information presented in *Government in America*, as well as interpret such figures wherever you encounter them—in other textbooks, in newspapers and magazines, or on the Web.