

# Table of Contents

**Preface** .....**xiii**  
*Economics, Ideology, and Politics* .....*xiii*  
*Pedagogical Features* .....*xiv*  
*Supplements* .....*xvi*  
*Acknowledgments* .....*xvi*



## Introduction .....1

WHAT IS POLITICS? .....1  
 Politics and Economics .....2  
 Politics and Ideas .....3  
 WHY GOVERNMENT? .....4  
 “To Establish Justice, Insure Domestic Tranquility, ...  
 and Secure the Blessings of Liberty” .....4  
 “To Provide for the Common Defense” .....5  
 “To Promote the General Welfare” .....5  
 WHAT IS DEMOCRACY? .....6  
 Democratic Values and Goals .....6  
 Making Democracy Work .....7  
 WHY DO POLITICS AND  
 GOVERNMENT MATTER? .....8  
 INTRODUCTION REVIEW .....8  
 KEY TERMS .....8  
 READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY .....9  
 NOTES .....9



## CHAPTER 1

### The Constitution of the United States...11

#### CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES

*America Attacked* .....30

#### POLITICS AND IDEAS

*Whose Constitution Is It?* .....37

WHAT IS A CONSTITUTION? .....12  
 Constitutionalism .....12  
 Constitutional Functions .....12  
 THE ROAD TO NATIONHOOD .....13  
 The Declaration of Independence: The Idea of Consent .....13  
 The Articles of Confederation: The Idea of Compact .....16  
 THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION .....18  
 Prelude to Philadelphia .....18  
 The Philadelphia Convention .....19  
 Ratification .....22  
 FEATURES OF THE CONSTITUTION .....24  
 Republicanism, Divided Powers, and Federalism .....26  
 A Single and Independent Executive .....29  
 Adaptability .....29  
 Amendment of the Constitution .....32  
 JUDICIAL REVIEW COMES TO  
 THE SUPREME COURT .....34  
*Marbury v. Madison*: The Case of the Undelivered  
 Commissions .....35  
 The Significance of *Marbury* .....36  
 Judicial Review and the Framers .....36  
 CHAPTER 1 REVIEW .....38  
 KEY TERMS .....39

READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....39  
 NOTES .....39



**CHAPTER 2**  
**Federalism: States in the Union.....41**

**POLITICS AND ECONOMICS**  
*Handling A Hurricane: Federalism and Disaster Relief* .....57  
**CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES**  
*Changing State Constitutions*.....64

THE IDEA OF FEDERALISM.....42  
 Confederate, Unitary, and Federal Forms of Government42  
 Unity and Diversity in the Federal System.....44  
 A Comparative Perspective on Federalism .....46  
 STATES IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM .....47  
 The Rise of the National Government.....48  
 Express and Implied Powers .....52  
 Reserved Powers: What Do the States Do?.....53  
 Local Government: A Political Landscape of Contrasts...55  
 GOVERNMENT RELATIONSHIPS  
 IN THE FEDERAL SYSTEM .....58  
 Models of Federalism .....58  
 Legal Relationships .....59  
 Fiscal Relationships .....61  
 Political Relationships .....63  
 FEDERALISM IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY .....66  
 CHAPTER 2 REVIEW .....67  
 KEY TERMS .....68  
 READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....68  
 NOTES .....69



**CHAPTER 3**  
**Civil Liberties and Civil Rights.....71**

**CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES**  
*How Much Affirmative Action?*.....85

THE BILL OF RIGHTS:  
 SECURING THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY.....72  
 Applying the Bill of Rights to the States .....72  
 The Fragility of Civil Liberties.....73  
 FREE EXPRESSION: SPEECH,  
 PRESS, AND ASSEMBLY .....74  
 The Value of Free Expression.....74  
 The Test of Freedom .....75  
 Gags.....76  
 Obscenity and Libel .....76  
 Freedom of Assembly and Symbolic Speech .....77  
 RELIGIOUS FREEDOM .....78  
 Religion and the Constitution.....78  
 Aid to Sectarian Schools .....79  
 Prayer in the Public Schools .....79  
 Religious Observances in Official Settings .....80  
 Free Exercise of Religion.....81  
 FUNDAMENTALS OF AMERICAN  
 CRIMINAL JUSTICE .....81  
 Presumption of Innocence and Notice of Charges .....82  
 Limits on Searches and Arrests .....82  
 Assistance of Counsel and Protection  
 Against Self-Incrimination .....83  
 Limits on Punishment.....84  
 A RIGHT TO PRIVACY.....88  
 The Abortion Controversy .....88  
 Personal Autonomy and Sexual Orientation .....89  
 RACIAL EQUALITY .....90  
 Equality: A Concept in Dispute .....90  
 The Legacy: Slavery and Third-Class Citizenship .....91  
 The Counterattack.....93  
 Putting *Brown* to Work:  
 The Law and Politics of Integration .....94  
 The Continuing Effects of *Brown*.....94

Affirmative Action.....95  
 Voting Rights .....96  
 SEXUAL EQUALITY.....97  
     The Legacy.....97  
     Gender to the Forefront .....98  
 OTHER AMERICANS AND CIVIL RIGHTS .....98  
     American Indians .....99  
     Latinos.....99  
     Immigrants .....100  
     Disabled Americans.....101  
 LIBERTIES AND RIGHTS IN  
     THE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK.....101  
 CHAPTER 3 REVIEW .....102  
 KEY TERMS .....102  
 READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....102  
 NOTES .....103



**CHAPTER 4**  
**Political Ideologies.....105**

**POLITICS AND IDEAS**  
*College Students and Political Ideology* ..... 120

AMERICAN POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES .....106  
 LIBERALISM .....107  
     Classic Liberalism:  
         Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson .....107  
     Populism and Progressivism:  
         The Repudiation of Classic Liberalism.....109  
     Contemporary Liberalism:  
         The Welfare State and Beyond .....110  
     Neoliberalism:  
         Adjusting Liberalism to the Twenty-First Century.....113  
 CONSERVATISM.....115  
     Early American Conservatism: John Adams.....115

Conservatism and the Industrial Age:  
     Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner.....116  
 Contemporary Conservatism: A Response to  
     the Welfare State.....117  
 Neoconservatism in the Twenty-First Century.....119  
 IDEOLOGICAL CHALLENGES  
     TO THE STATUS QUO .....122  
     Democratic Socialism:  
         A Radical Challenge to American Capitalism .....122  
     Libertarianism: A Revival of Classical Liberalism .....124  
 CHAPTER 4 REVIEW .....125  
 KEY TERMS .....126  
 READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....126  
 NOTES .....126



**CHAPTER 5**  
**Public Opinion and Political Participation.....129**

**POLITICS AND IDEAS**  
*Textbooks and Children’s Ideas About American Politics*..... 133

**POLITICS AND ECONOMICS**  
*Economic Status and Ideology*..... 140

**CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES**  
*Public Opinion and Terrorism: American Government  
 in the Eyes of the World* ..... 146

**PUBLIC OPINION: WHAT AMERICANS  
 THINK ABOUT POLITICS**.....130  
     The Character of Public Opinion .....130  
     How Much Americans Care and Know About Politics.....131  
     What Americans Hold in Common .....131  
     Where Americans Differ.....136  
**THE SOURCES OF PUBLIC OPINION:**  
     **POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION** .....141  
         The Processes of Political Socialization .....141  
         The Agents of Political Socialization.....142

The Development of Political Self .....144  
 Diversity in Socialization .....145  
**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**.....148  
 Motives for Political Participation .....148  
 Forms of Participation.....149  
 Differences in Participation .....152  
 The Impact of Political Participation .....153  
 A Rationality of Political Participation.....154  
**CHAPTER 5 REVIEW** .....155  
**KEY TERMS** .....155  
**READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY**.....155  
**NOTES** .....156



**CHAPTER 6**  
**Politics and the Media.....159**

**POLITICS AND ECONOMICS**  
*Media Monopolies?*..... 168  
**CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES**  
*Confidentiality of News Sources and Information* ..... 174  
**CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES**  
*Can Political News Be Both Entertaining and Informative?*..... 188

**THE “FIFTH BRANCH”** .....161  
 The Dynamics of an Industry.....161  
 The Constitutional Basis of the Press.....166  
 The Federal Communications Commission .....166  
 The Equal-Time Rule.....170  
 The Fairness Doctrine .....170  
 Regulating the Internet .....171  
**POLITICS AND THE PRESS** .....171  
 Direct Communication: The Media as Vehicles.....171  
 Political Knowledge and Attitudes:  
 The Media as Gatekeepers .....172  
 Issue Making and Issue Reporting:  
 The Media as Spotlights.....173

Candidates and Campaigns:  
 The Media as Talent Scouts .....176  
 Believability .....176  
**TOOLS OF THE TRADE:**  
**POLITICIANS AND THE “FIFTH BRANCH”** .....177  
 Access .....178  
 Public Announcements .....179  
 Other Media Events .....179  
 A Right to Know?.....180  
**ARE THE MEDIA BIASED?** .....181  
 The Journalists .....181  
 Deciding What Becomes News .....183  
 Deciding How the News Appears.....185  
 The Impact of the Visual.....186  
 A Public Trust .....188  
**CHAPTER 6 REVIEW** .....189  
**KEY TERMS** .....189  
**READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY**.....190  
**NOTES** .....190



**CHAPTER 7**  
**Interest Groups and Political Parties.....193**

**POLITICS AND IDEAS**  
*Pluralism and Elitism* ..... 196  
**POLITICS AND ECONOMICS**  
*Economic Status and Party Identification* .....215

**INTEREST GROUPS IN AMERICAN POLITICS** .....194  
 Characteristics of Interest Groups.....196  
 What Interest Groups Do.....198  
 Major Interest Groups.....201

PERSPECTIVES ON INTEREST GROUPS .....208  
 Interest Groups as the Foundation of Democracy .....208  
 Interest Groups Versus the Public Interest .....209  
 Interest Group Gridlock.....209  
 POLITICAL PARTIES .....210  
 What Parties Do.....210  
 BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE  
 AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEM .....211  
 A Two-Party System .....211  
 A Complex Party Structure.....216  
 AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES:  
 PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE .....219  
 Parties Past .....219  
 Parties Present .....220  
 Parties Future .....223  
 CHAPTER 7 REVIEW .....225  
 KEY TERMS .....226  
 READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....226  
 NOTES .....227



**CHAPTER 8**  
**Campaigns and Elections .....229**

**POLITICS AND ECONOMICS**  
*Turnout, Choice, and Economic Status .....232*

**CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES**  
*Campaign and Electoral Reform: A Comparative Perspective...238*  
**CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES**  
*An Election Gone Wrong?.....245*  
**CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES**  
*Low Voter Turnout: A Comparative Perspective .....248*

THE VOTER'S PERSPECTIVE:  
 TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE .....230  
 Voting Requirements and Eligibility.....230  
 Who Votes? .....234  
 Declining Turnout .....236  
 THE VOTER'S PERSPECTIVE: HOW TO VOTE .....237  
 Parties .....237  
 Candidates .....239  
 Issues.....240  
 THE CANDIDATE'S PERSPECTIVE:  
 RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT .....242

Who Runs for President?.....242  
 The Media Campaign .....243  
 Campaign Finance .....246  
 Getting Nominated.....250  
 The Electoral College.....252  
 Campaign Strategies.....255  
 THE CANDIDATE'S PERSPECTIVE:  
 RUNNING FOR CONGRESS .....256  
 Campaign Finance .....257  
 Incumbency .....258  
 Parties, Candidates, and Issues .....259  
 CHAPTER 8 REVIEW .....260  
 KEY TERMS .....260  
 READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....260  
 NOTES .....261



**CHAPTER 9**  
**Congress .....263**

**CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES**  
*Congress Shows Several Members the Door.....271*  
**POLITICS AND IDEAS**  
*Two Ideologies Leave the Senate.....282*

THE CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS OF CONGRESS....264  
 THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS .....266  
 Who Are They? .....267  
 How Do They See Their Roles?.....269  
 How Long Do They Stay? .....269  
 How Much Do They Do? .....269  
 What Do They Do?.....270  
 How Do They See Each Other?.....272  
 THE STRUCTURE OF CONGRESS .....273

Party Leadership: The House.....	273
Party Leadership: The Senate.....	275
The Committee System.....	276
Subcommittees.....	278
Congressional Staff and Agencies .....	279
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEDURES:	
HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW .....	280
Committee to Floor Debate .....	281
Floor Debate: The House.....	282
Floor Debate: The Senate.....	284
The Conference Committee:	
Resolving Senate-House Differences .....	285
CONGRESS AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.....	286
Lobbies .....	286
The Bureaucracy .....	287
WHAT ROLE FOR A CHANGING CONGRESS?.....	287
CHAPTER 9 REVIEW .....	289
KEY TERMS .....	289
READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	289
NOTES .....	290



## CHAPTER 10

### The Presidency.....291

#### CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES

*Election 2008: A Presidential Election Breaks New Ground*....293

#### POLITICS AND IDEAS

*A “New Kind of War”—The Ongoing War on Terrorism*.....296

#### POLITICS AND IDEAS

*A Six-Year Term for Presidents?*.....303

#### POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

*The President and Economic Policymaking*.....318

THE PRESIDENT AND SYMBOLIC LEADERSHIP .....	292
THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONSTITUTION.....	295
Executive Power .....	296
The Power of Appointment.....	298
The Removal Power .....	298
The Power to Pardon.....	299
THE PRESIDENT AND THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH .....	299
The Cabinet.....	300
The White House Staff .....	302
The Executive Office of the President.....	303
The Vice President .....	306
Presidential Succession .....	306
THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS:	
FOREIGN POLICY .....	307
Negotiating Treaties .....	308
Executive Agreements.....	308
THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS:	
THE WAR POWER .....	309
The Mexican and Civil Wars .....	309
The Two World Wars .....	310
The Cold War.....	310
The Vietnam Trauma .....	311
The War Powers Resolution .....	312
The Iraq War.....	313
THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS:	
DOMESTIC POLICY.....	314
Legislative Skills .....	314
The Presidential Veto .....	315
Executive Privilege .....	317
Impeachment.....	319
The Clinton Impeachment.....	321
THE PRESIDENT AND THE MEDIA .....	322
Phases of the Relationship .....	322
The Imperial President Versus the Imperial Media.....	323
CHAPTER 10 REVIEW .....	324
KEY TERMS .....	324
READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	324
NOTES .....	325



**CHAPTER 11**  
**Bureaucracies.....327**

**POLITICS AND ECONOMICS**  
*Regulation and Cost-Benefit Analysis .....350*

BUREAUCRACIES AS THE FOURTH  
BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT .....328  
Bureaucracies: Translating Ideas into Action .....328  
Who Are the Bureaucrats? .....329  
Distinguishing Characteristics of Bureaucracies .....329

EXECUTIVE BRANCH ORGANIZATION:  
TYPES OF BUREAUCRACIES .....332  
The Executive Office of the President.....332  
Executive Departments .....332  
Independent Agencies .....334  
Independent Regulatory Commissions .....334  
Government Corporations .....335

THE SEARCH FOR COMPETENCE  
IN THE CIVIL SERVICE .....335  
The Spoils System .....336  
The Pendleton Act and the Merit Principle .....336  
The Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 .....337

THE SEARCH FOR BUREAUCRATIC  
RESPONSIVENESS: THE POLITICAL  
ENVIRONMENT OF BUREAUCRACIES.....338  
The President.....338  
Congress .....339  
The Case of the Legislative Veto .....340  
Interest Groups .....341  
The Courts .....342

BUREAUCRATS AND  
GOVERNMENT REGULATION .....342  
Regulation in Perspective .....343  
Regulatory Agencies and Types of Regulations.....343  
The Regulatory Process .....347  
The Ebb and Flow of Regulatory Debate.....348

BUREAUCRACIES: TARGETS AND  
MIRRORS OF CONFLICT.....351

CHAPTER 11 REVIEW .....353  
KEY TERMS .....354

READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....354  
NOTES .....355



**CHAPTER 12**  
**The Supreme Court and the American Judiciary ...357**

**POLITICS AND ECONOMICS**  
*The Supreme Court and Economic Policy.....378*

THE NATIONAL COURT SYSTEM .....358  
Cases: Raw Material for the Judiciary .....358  
Fifty-One Judicial Systems .....358  
State and Local Courts .....361  
United States District Courts .....362  
United States Courts of Appeals .....362  
Special Courts .....363  
The Supreme Court of the United States .....364  
Federal Judicial Selection.....365  
The Clarence Thomas Affair .....368

WHAT COURTS DO .....369  
Constitutional Interpretation .....370  
Statutory Interpretation .....370  
Fact Determination .....371  
Clarification of the Boundaries of Political Authority ....371  
Education and Value Application .....372  
Legitimization.....372

THE SUPREME COURT AT WORK .....372  
Petition for Review.....372  
Briefs on the Merits.....374  
Oral Argument.....374  
Conference and Decision .....375  
Assignment and Writing of Opinions .....375  
Law Clerks .....376

THE SUPREME COURT AND AMERICAN  
GOVERNMENT: AN ASSESSMENT.....376  
Judicial Review and Democracy .....377  
Influences on Supreme Court Decision Making .....377  
Checks on Judicial Power .....380

CHAPTER 12 REVIEW .....382  
KEY TERMS .....382  
READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....382  
NOTES .....383



**CHAPTER 13**  
**Government and Public Policy.....385**

**POLITICS AND IDEAS**  
*The Road to a New Cabinet Department.....396*

PUBLIC POLICY IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS .....386  
 Conflict over the Ends of Government .....386  
 Perspectives on Policymaking .....388  
 Stages in the Policy Process.....391

THE PURPOSES AND PRESENCE OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT .....398  
 Views of Public Policy .....399  
 Politics and Economic Self-Interest .....399  
 Categories of National Government Policies.....400

CHAPTER 13 REVIEW .....402  
 KEY TERMS .....402  
 READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....402  
 NOTES .....402



**CHAPTER 14**  
**Public Policy and Economics.....405**

**POLITICS AND ECONOMICS**  
*The Ideology of Economic Policy 412*

**CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES**  
*Corporations and the Economy .422*

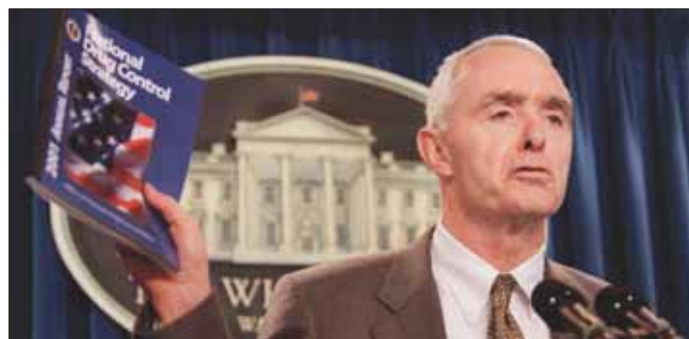
GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC POLICY .....406  
 Basic Issues of Economic Policy.....406  
 Fiscal and Monetary Policy.....408

THE DEFICIT AND THE NATIONAL BUDGET .....409  
 The Deficit as a Political Issue .....410  
 Major Components of the National Budget .....414  
 Mandatory Programs in the Budget.....417

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS IN THE BUDGETING PROCESS.....418  
 The Stages of Budgeting.....419  
 The President in the Budget Process .....421  
 Congress and Budgeting.....423

THE SEARCH FOR BETTER BUDGET PROCEDURES.....424

CHAPTER 14 REVIEW .....428  
 KEY TERMS .....428  
 READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....428  
 NOTES .....429



**CHAPTER 15**  
**Domestic Policy.....431**

**POLITICS AND IDEAS**  
*Political Ideologies and the Welfare State.....451*

**CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES**  
*Nuclear Power and the Environment .....454*

DEBATES OVER PUBLIC PURPOSES.....432  
 Social Welfare Policies .....433

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FEDERAL SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY.....435  
 The Philosophy of Social Darwinism .....435  
 The Progressive Era .....436  
 The New Deal Policy Revolution .....436  
 Expansion of the National Role in the Great Society ....437

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AS SOCIAL INSURER.....438  
 Social Security.....438  
 Medicare .....441  
 Unemployment Compensation .....442

PUBLIC POLICY AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITY.....442  
 Measures of Economic Inequality.....444  
 Poverty as a Political and Social Problem .....446

Temporary Assistance for Needy Families .....449  
 Supplemental Security Income .....450  
 Medicaid .....450  
 The Food Stamp Program .....450  
 Social Welfare Policy and Future Challenges.....452  
 ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY .....452  
   Environmentalism on the Policy Agenda .....453  
   The Environmental Protection Agency and Government  
     Regulation .....455  
   The Future of Environmental Policy .....457  
 CHAPTER 15 REVIEW .....457  
 KEY TERMS .....458  
 READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....458  
 NOTES .....459

AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD .....462  
   The Cold War and the Post-Cold War Era .....463  
 THE POLICY MACHINERY .....468  
   Department of State .....468  
   Central Intelligence Agency .....469  
   Department of Defense .....471  
   The Role of Congress .....473  
 DOMESTIC POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY .....477  
   Public Moods and Foreign Policy .....477  
   Multinational Corporations and Banks .....479  
   The Military-Industrial Complex .....480  
 CURRENT ISSUES IN FOREIGN  
 AND DEFENSE POLICY .....481  
   9/11 and the Ongoing War on Terrorism .....482  
   International Organization and  
     the Developing World .....482  
 CHAPTER 16 REVIEW .....484  
 KEY TERMS .....484  
 READINGS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....484  
 NOTES .....485

**Appendix .....487**  
**Index.....507**



**CHAPTER 16**  
**Foreign Policy .....461**

**POLITICS AND IDEAS**  
*Contrasting Approaches to Foreign Policy: Idealism, Realism, and  
 Isolationism .....464*

**CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES**  
*Can Presidents Take the Country to War  
 on Their Own Authority .....474*