

Contents

Preface xviii | Supplements Package xxii | Acknowledgments xxiii



PART 1 Foundations

1 American Political Culture: Seeking a More Perfect Union 3

Political Culture: The Core Principles of American Government 4

America's Core Values 5

Liberty, Equality, and Self-Government 6

The Power and Limits of Americans' Ideals 8

Politics: The Resolution of Conflict 12

The Social Contract 14

The Rules of American Politics 15

Political Power and Authority: The Control of Policy 18

Theories of Power 19

Who Governs? 21

The Concept of a Political System and This Book's Organization 22

Summary 24

Study Corner 24

2 Constitutional Democracy: Promoting Liberty and Self-Government 27

Before the Constitution: The Colonial and Revolutionary Experiences 29

"The Rights of Englishmen" 29

The Declaration of Independence 30

The Articles of Confederation 31

Shays's Rebellion: A Nation Dissolving 32

Negotiating Toward a Constitution 33

The Great Compromise: A Two-Chamber Congress 33

The North-South Compromise: The Issue of Slavery 34

A Strategy for Ratification 36

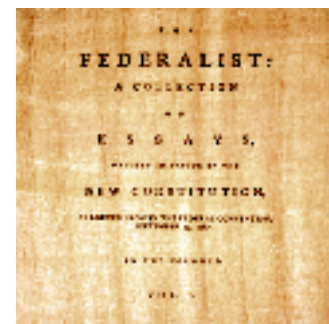
The Ratification Debate 36

The Framers' Goals 37

Protecting Liberty: Limited Government	38
<i>Grants and Denials of Power</i>	39
<i>Using Power to Offset Power</i>	40
<i>Separated Institutions Sharing Power:</i>	
<i>Checks and Balances</i>	41
<i>The Bill of Rights</i>	43
<i>Judicial Review</i>	44
Providing for Self-Government	46
<i>Democracy Versus Republic</i>	46
<i>Limited Popular Rule</i>	47
<i>Altering the Constitution: More Power to the People</i>	48
Constitutional Democracy Today	52
<i>Summary</i>	53
<i>Study Corner</i>	54

3 Federalism: Forging a Nation 57

Federalism: National and State Sovereignty	58
<i>The Argument for Federalism</i>	59
<i>The Powers of the Nation</i>	63
<i>The Powers of the States</i>	64
Federalism in Historical Perspective	64
<i>An Indestructible Union (1789–1865)</i>	64
<i>Dual Federalism and Laissez-Faire Capitalism (1865–1937)</i>	67
<i>Toward National Citizenship</i>	72
Federalism Today	72
<i>Interdependency and Intergovernmental Relations</i>	72
<i>Government Revenues and Intergovernmental Relations</i>	73
<i>Devolution</i>	76
The Public's Influence: Setting the Boundaries of Federal-State Power	79
<i>Summary</i>	80
<i>Study Corner</i>	81



4 Civil Liberties: Protecting Individual Rights 85

Freedom of Expression	86
<i>The Early Period: The Uncertain Status of the Right of Free Expression</i>	87
<i>The Modern Period: Protecting Free Expression</i>	88
<i>Free Expression and State Governments</i>	90
<i>Libel and Slander</i>	93
<i>Obscenity</i>	93



Freedom of Religion 95
 The Establishment Clause 96
 The Free-Exercise Clause 97
 The Right to Bear Arms 98
 The Right of Privacy 99
 Abortion 100
 Sexual Relations Among Consenting Adults 101
 Rights of Persons Accused of Crimes 102
 Selective Incorporation of Procedural Rights 103
 Limits on Defendants' Rights 104
 Crime, Punishment, and Police Practices 107
 Rights and the War on Terrorism 110
 Detention of Enemy Combatants 111
 Surveillance of Suspected Terrorists 112
 The Courts and a Free Society 113
 Summary 113
 Study Corner 114



5 Equal Rights: Struggling Toward Fairness 117

The Struggle for Equality 118
 African Americans 118
 Women 120
 Native Americans 124
 Hispanic Americans 126
 Asian Americans 129
 Other Groups and Their Rights 130
 Equality Under the Law 134
 Equal Protection: The Fourteenth Amendment 135
 Equal Access: The Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968 135
 Equal Ballots: The Voting Rights Act of 1965, as Amended 136
 Equality of Result 137
 Affirmative Action: Workplace Integration 138
 Affirmative Action in the Law 139
 Busing: School Integration 140
 Persistent Discrimination: Superficial Differences, Deep Divisions 142
 Summary 143
 Study Corner 143

PART 2 Mass Politics

6 Public Opinion and Political Socialization: Shaping the People's Voice 147

- The Nature of Public Opinion 148
 - How Informed Is Public Opinion?* 148
 - The Measurement of Public Opinion* 150
- Political Socialization: How Americans Learn Their Politics 154
 - The Process of Political Socialization* 154
 - The Agents of Political Socialization* 154
- Frames of Reference: How Americans Think Politically 157
 - Cultural Thinking: Common Ideas* 158
 - Ideological Thinking: The Outlook of Some* 158
 - Group Thinking: The Outlook of Many* 159
 - Partisan Thinking: The Line That Divides* 162
- The Influence of Public Opinion on Policy 164
- Summary* 167
- Study Corner* 167

7 Political Participation and Voting: Activating the Popular Will 171

- Voter Participation 172
 - Factors in Voter Turnout: The United States in Comparative Perspective* 173
 - Why Some Americans Vote and Others Do Not* 179
- Conventional Forms of Participation Other Than Voting 181
 - Campaign and Lobbying Activities* 182
 - Virtual Participation* 182
 - Community Activities* 184
- Unconventional Activism: Social Movements and Protest Politics 184
- Participation and the Potential for Influence 186
- Summary* 187
- Study Corner* 188

8 Political Parties, Candidates, and Campaigns: Defining the Voters' Choice 191

- Party Competition and Majority Rule: The History of U.S. Parties 192
 - The First Parties* 193
 - Andrew Jackson and Grassroots Parties* 194



Republicans Versus Democrats: Realignments and the Enduring Party System 194

Today's Party Alignment and Its Origins 196

Parties and the Vote 197

Electoral and Party Systems 199

The Single-Member-District System of Election 199

Politics and Coalitions in the Two-Party System 200

Minor (Third) Parties 202

Party Organizations 204

The Weakening of Party Organizations 205

The Structure and Role of Party Organizations 206

The Candidate-Centered Campaign 211

Campaign Funds: The Money Chase 212

Organization and Strategy: Hired Guns 213

Voter Contacts: Pitched Battle 214

Parties, Candidates, and the Public's Influence 215

Summary 217

Study Corner 218



9 Interest Groups: Organizing for Influence 221

The Interest-Group System 223

Economic Groups 223

Citizens' Groups 227

A Special Category of Interest Group: Governments 230

Inside Lobbying: Seeking Influence Through Official Contacts 230

Acquiring Access to Officials 231

Webs of Influence: Groups in the Policy Process 233

Outside Lobbying: Seeking Influence Through Public Pressure 235

Constituency Advocacy: Grassroots Lobbying 236

Electoral Action: Votes and PAC Money 236

The Group System: Indispensable but Biased 239

The Contribution of Groups to Self-Government: Pluralism 240

Flaws in Pluralism: Interest-Group Liberalism and Economic Bias 240

A Madisonian Dilemma 242

Summary 243

Study Corner 243

10 The News Media: Communicating Political Images 247

Historical Development: From the Nation's Founding to Today 249

The Objective Journalism Era 250

The Rise of the "New" News 251

The Politics of News 252

The Signaling Function 253

The Watchdog Function 256

The Common-Carrier Function 260

The Partisan Function 261

Attention to News 267

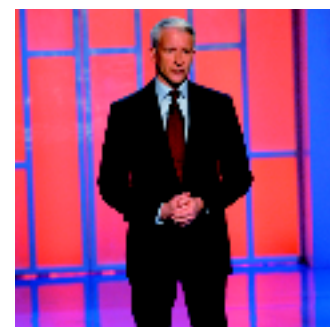
The Shrinking Audience for News 267

Age and Attention to News 268

Media and Public in the Internet Age 269

Summary 271

Study Corner 271



PART 3 Governing Institutions

11 Congress: Balancing National Goals and Local Interests 275

Congress as a Career: Election to Congress 277

Using Incumbency to Stay in Congress 277

Pitfalls of Incumbency 280

Safe Incumbency and Representation 283

Who Are the Winners in Congressional Elections? 283

Party Leadership in Congress 285

House Leadership 285

Senate Leadership 286

The Power of Party Leaders 286

The Committee System 288

Committee Jurisdiction 289

Committee Membership 290

Committee Chairs 291

Committees and Parties: Who Is in Control? 291

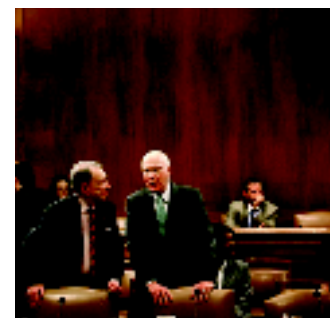
How a Bill Becomes Law 292

Committee Hearings and Decisions 292

From Committee to the Floor 294

Leadership and Floor Action 294

Conference Committees and the President 295



Congress's Policymaking Role	296
<i>The Lawmaking Function of Congress</i>	296
<i>The Representation Function of Congress</i>	299
<i>The Oversight Function of Congress</i>	301
Congress: Too Much Pluralism?	302
<i>Summary</i>	303
<i>Study Corner</i>	304



12 The Presidency: Leading the Nation 307

Foundations of the Modern Presidency	309
<i>Asserting a Claim to National Leadership</i>	311
<i>The Need for Presidential Leadership of an Activist Government</i>	311
Choosing the President	313
<i>The Primary Elections</i>	315
<i>The National Party Conventions</i>	317
<i>The Campaign for Election</i>	317
Staffing the Presidency	323
<i>Presidential Appointees</i>	323
<i>The Problem of Control</i>	325
Factors in Presidential Leadership	326
<i>The Force of Circumstance</i>	327
<i>The Stage of the President's Term</i>	327
<i>The Nature of the Issue: Foreign or Domestic</i>	328
<i>Relations with Congress</i>	329
<i>Public Support</i>	332
<i>Summary</i>	335
<i>Study Corner</i>	336



13 The Federal Bureaucracy: Administering the Government 339

Federal Administration: Form, Personnel, and Activities	340
<i>The Structure of the Federal Bureaucracy</i>	342
<i>Federal Employment</i>	345
<i>The Federal Bureaucracy's Policy Responsibilities</i>	345
Development of the Federal Bureaucracy: Politics and Administration	346
<i>Small Government and the Patronage System</i>	346
<i>Growth in Government and the Merit System</i>	347
<i>Big Government and the Executive Leadership System</i>	348

- The Bureaucracy's Power Imperative 350
 - The Agency Point of View* 350
 - Sources of Bureaucratic Power* 351
- Bureaucratic Accountability 353
 - Accountability Through the Presidency* 354
 - Accountability Through Congress* 357
 - Accountability Through the Courts* 358
 - Accountability Within the Bureaucracy Itself* 359
- Reinventing Government? 360
- Summary** 361
- Study Corner** 362

14 The Federal Judicial System: Applying the Law 365

- The Federal Judicial System 367
 - The Supreme Court of the United States* 367
 - Other Federal Courts* 370
 - The State Courts* 372
- Federal Court Appointees 374
 - The Selection of Supreme Court Justices and Federal Judges* 375
 - Justices and Judges as Political Officials* 376
- The Nature of Judicial Decision Making 378
 - The Constraints of the Facts* 378
 - The Constraints of the Law* 378
- Political Influences on Judicial Decisions 381
 - Outside Influences on Court Decisions* 382
 - Inside Influences: The Justices' Own Political Beliefs* 383
- Judicial Power and Democratic Government 385
 - The Limits of Judicial Power* 385
 - Debating the Judiciary's Proper Role* 386
- Summary** 389
- Study Corner** 389



PART 4 Public Policy

15 Economic and Environmental Policy: Contributing to Prosperity 393

- The Public Policy Process 394
 - Problem Recognition* 394
 - Policy Formation* 395
 - Policy Implementation* 396



Government as Regulator of the Economy 397
Efficiency Through Government Intervention 398
Equity Through Government Intervention 401
The Politics of Regulatory Policy 401

Government as Protector of the Environment 402
Conservationism: The Older Wave 403
Environmentalism: The Newer Wave 404

Government as Promoter of Economic Interests 408
Promoting Business 408
Promoting Labor 408
Promoting Agriculture 409

Fiscal Policy: Government as Manager of Economy, I 409
Taxing and Spending Policy and Politics 410
The Budgetary Process 414

Monetary Policy: Government as Manager of Economy, II 417
The Fed 418
The Politics of the Fed 420

Summary 420
Study Corner 421



16 Welfare and Education Policy: Providing for Personal Security and Need 425

Poverty in America: The Nature of the Problem 427
The Poor: Who and How Many? 427
Living in Poverty: By Choice or Chance? 428

The Politics and Policies of Social Welfare 429
Social Insurance Programs 431
Public Assistance Programs 433
Culture, Welfare, and Income 436

Education and Equality of Opportunity 439
Public Education: Leveling Through the Schools 440
Public School Issues 441
The Federal Role in Education: Political Differences 442

The American Way of Promoting the General Welfare 444

Summary 445
Study Corner 446

17 Foreign and Defense Policy: Protecting the American Way 449

- The Roots of U.S. Foreign and Defense Policy 450
 - The Cold War Era* 451
 - A New World Order* 452
 - The War on Terrorism* 453
 - The Iraq War* 454
- The Military Dimension of National Security Policy 457
 - Military Power, Uses, and Capabilities* 457
 - The Politics of National Defense* 460
- The Economic Dimension of National Security Policy 461
 - Promoting Global Trade* 463
 - Access to Oil and Other Natural Resources* 466
 - Assistance to Developing Nations* 467
- A Challenging World 468
 - Summary* 469
 - Study Corner* 469



18 State and Local Politics: Maintaining Our Differences 473

- The Structure of State Government 475
 - The State Constitutions* 475
 - Branches of Government* 477
 - Citizens, Parties, and Elections* 482
- The Structure of Local Government 485
 - Types of Local Government* 486
 - Local Elections and Participation* 490
- State and Local Finance 491
 - Sources of State Revenue* 492
 - Sources of Local Revenue* 494
- State and Local Policy 494
 - Policy Priorities* 494
 - Public Policy Patterns* 495
- The Great Balancing Act: Localism in a Large Nation 499
 - Summary* 500
 - Study Corner* 500



- Appendixes* 502
- Glossary* 524
- Notes* 533
- Credits* 545
- Index* 546