## BRIEF CONTENTS

Part 1 The American System
Chapter 1 The Democratic Republic
Chapter 2 The Constitution ..... 29
Chapter 3 Federalism ..... 59
Part 2 Civil Rights and Liberties
Chapter 4 Civil Liberties ..... 85
Chapter 5 Civil Rights ..... 115
Part 3 People and Politics
Chapter 6 Public Opinion and Political Socialization ..... 149
Chapter 7 Interest Groups ..... 179
Chapter 8 Political Parties ..... 205
Chapter 9 Campaigns and Elections ..... 235
Chapter 10 The Media ..... 265
Part 4 Political Institutions
Chapter 11 The Congress ..... 287
Chapter 12 The President ..... 319
Chapter 13 The Executive Branch ..... 347
Chapter 14 The Courts ..... 377
Part 5 Public Policy
Chapter 15 Domestic and Economic Policy ..... 405
Chapter 16 Foreign Policy ..... 435
Appendices
A The Declaration of Independence ..... A-1
B The Constitution of the United States ..... A-3
C Federalist Papers Nos. 10,51, and 78 ..... A-19
D Justices of the United States Supreme Court since 1900 ..... A-29
E Party Control of Congress since 1904 ..... A-33
F Presidents of the United States ..... A-34
Glossary ..... G-1
Index ..... 1-1

## DETAILED CONTENTS

A Letter to Instructors xiii
A Letter to Students ..... xiv
MindTap QuickStart Guide ..... xv
Resources ..... xvi
Acknowledgments ..... xviii
Reviewers ..... xix
About the Authors ..... XX
Career Opportunities ..... xxi
Take Action: A Guide to Political Participation ..... xxiii
Part 1
The American System
Chapter 1
THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC7
Politics and Government ..... 3
Government Is Everywhere ..... 3
Why Is Government Necessary? ..... 5
Limiting Government Power ..... 5
Authority and Legitimacy ..... 6
Democracy and Other Forms of Government ..... 6
Types of Government ..... 6
Direct Democracy as a Model ..... 7
The Dangers of Direct Democracy ..... 7
A Democratic Republic ..... 8
What Kind of Democracy Do We Have? ..... 9
Fundamental Values ..... 11
Liberty versus Order ..... 11
Liberty versus Equality ..... 12
The Proper Size of Government ..... 14
Political Ideologies ..... 16
Conservatism ..... 17
Liberalism ..... 17
The Traditional Political Spectrum ..... 18
Problems with the Traditional Political Spectrum ..... 19
A Four-Cornered Ideological Grid ..... 19
One Nation, Divided ..... 20
The Changing Face of America ..... 21
The End of the Population Explosion ..... 22
Ethnic Change in America ..... 22
Are We Better Off? ..... 24
Chapter 2
IHE CONSTITUTION 29
The Colonial Background ..... 31
Separatists, the Mayflower, and the Compact ..... 31
More Colonies, More Government ..... 32
British Restrictions and Colonial Reactions ..... 33
The First Continental Congress ..... 34
The Second Continental Congress ..... 34
An Independent Confederation ..... 35
The Resolution for Independence ..... 35
July 4, 1776-The Declaration of Independence ..... 35
The Rise of Republicanism ..... 37
The Articles of Confederation: Our First Form of Government ..... 37
The Constitutional Convention ..... 39
Who Were the Delegates? ..... 40
The Working Environment ..... 40
Factions among the Delegates ..... 40
Politicking and Compromises ..... 41
Working toward Final Agreement ..... 43
The Final Document ..... 45
The Difficult Road to Ratification ..... 46
The Federalists Push for Ratification ..... 46
The March to the Finish ..... 48
Did the Majority of Americans Support
the Constitution? ..... 49
The Bill of Rights ..... 50
Altering the Constitution ..... 51
The Formal Amendment Process ..... 51
Informal Methods of Constitutional Change ..... 54
Chapter 3
FEDERALISM ..... 59
Federalism and Its Alternatives ..... 61
A Unitary System ..... 61
A Confederal System ..... 61
A Federal System ..... 62
Why Federalism? ..... 63
Arguments against Federalism ..... 64
The Constitutional Basis for American Federalism ..... 65
Powers of the National Government ..... 65
Powers of the State Governments ..... 66
Prohibited Powers ..... 67
Concurrent Powers ..... 67
The Supremacy Clause ..... 67
Interstate Relations ..... 69
Defining Constitutional Powers-the Early Years ..... 70
McCulloch v. Maryland (1819) ..... 70
Gibbons v. Ogden (1824) 70
States' Rights and the Resort to Civil War ..... 71
The Continuing Dispute over the Division of Power ..... 72
Dual Federalism ..... 72
The New Deal and Cooperative Federalism ..... 73
Methods of Implementing Cooperative Federalism ..... 74
Fiscal Federalism and State Budgets ..... 76
The Politics of Federalism ..... 78
What Has National Authority Accomplished? ..... 78
The "New Federalism" ..... 78
The Politics of Federalism Today ..... 79
Federalism and the Supreme Court ..... 79
Recent Supreme Court Rulings ..... 80
Part 2
Civil Rights and Liberties
Chapter 4
CIVIL LIBERTIES ..... 85
The Constitutional Bases of Our Liberties ..... 87
Protections Listed in the Original Constitution ..... 87
Extending the Bill of Rights to State Governments ..... 88
Incorporation under the Fourteenth Amendment ..... 88
Freedom of Religion ..... 89
The Separation of Church and State-The Establishment Clause 89
The Free Exercise Clause ..... 93
Freedom of Expression ..... 94
No Prior Restraint ..... 94
The Protection of Symbolic Speech ..... 95
The Protection of Commercial Speech ..... 95
Attempts to Ban Subversive or Advocacy Speech ..... 96
The Eclipse of Obscenity as a Legal Category ..... 97
Unprotected Speech: Slander ..... 98
Student Speech ..... 98
The Right to Assemble and to Petition
the Government ..... 99
Freedom of the Press ..... 100
The Right to Privacy ..... 101
Privacy Rights and Abortion ..... 101
Privacy Rights and the "Right to Die" ..... 102
Civil Liberties versus Security Issues ..... 104
The USA Patriot Act ..... 104
Roving Wiretaps ..... 104
National Security Agency Surveillance ..... 104
Subsequent Revelations of NSA Activity ..... 104
National Security and the Civil Liberties of Immigrants ..... 105
The Great Balancing Act: The Rights of the Accused versus the Rights of Society ..... 106
Rights of the Accused ..... 107
Extending the Rights of the Accused ..... 107
The Exclusionary Rule ..... 108
The Death Penalty ..... 109
Chapter 5
CIVIL RIGHTS ..... 715
The African American Experience and the Civil Rights Movement 117
Ending Servitude ..... 117
The Ineffectiveness of the Early Civil Rights Laws 118
The End of the Separate-but-Equal Doctrine ..... 120
De Jure and De Facto Segregation ..... 120
The Civil Rights Movement ..... 121
Modern Civil Rights Legislation ..... 122
Consequences of Civil Rights Legislation ..... 123
Civil Rights and the Courts ..... 124
Standards for Judicial Review ..... 126
The Courts Address Affirmative Action ..... 127
Experiences of Other Minority Groups ..... 129
Latinos and the Immigration Issue ..... 129
The Agony of the American Indian ..... 131
Asian Americans ..... 132
Lingering Social and EconomicDisparities 133
Women's Struggle for Equal Rights ..... 134
Early Women's Political Movements ..... 134
The Modern Women's Movement ..... 134
Women in Politics Today ..... 136
Gender-Based Discriminationin the Workplace 137
The Rights and Status of Gay Males and Lesbians ..... 138
Growth in the Gay Male and Lesbian RightsMovement 138State and Local Laws Targeting Gay Menand Lesbians 139
"Don't Ask, Don't Tell" ..... 139
Same-Sex Marriage ..... 140
The Rights of Transgender Individuals ..... 141
The Rights and Status of Juveniles ..... 143
Voting Rights and the Young ..... 143
The Rights of Children in Civil and Criminal Proceedings ..... 143
Part 3 ..... People and Politics
Chapter 6 PUBLIC OPINION AND
POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION ..... 149
Public Opinion and Political Socialization ..... 151
Consensus and Divided Opinion ..... 151
Forming Public Opinion: Political Socialization ..... 152
The Media and Public Opinion ..... 154
Political Events and Public Opinion ..... 155
Political Preferences and Voting Behavior ..... 157
Party Identification and Demographic Influences ..... 157
Election-Specific Factors ..... 162
Measuring Public Opinion ..... 163
The History of Opinion Polls ..... 163
Sampling Techniques ..... 164
The Difficulty of Obtaining Accurate Results ..... 165
Additional Problems with Polls ..... 166
Technology and Opinion Polls ..... 168
Public Opinion and the Political Process ..... 170
Political Culture and Public Opinion ..... 170
Public Opinion about Government ..... 172
Public Opinion and Policymaking ..... 173
A Policy Example: Contraception Insurance ..... 174
Chapter 7
INTEREST GROUPS ..... 179
Interest Group Fundamentals ..... 181
Interest Groups and Social Movements ..... 182
Why Do Americans Join Interest Groups? ..... 182
Types of Interest Groups ..... 184
Economic Interest Groups ..... 185
Environmental Groups ..... 189
Public-Interest Groups ..... 189
Other Interest Groups ..... 190
The Influence of Interest Groups ..... 191
What Makes an Interest Group Powerful? ..... 191
Interest Groups and Representative Democracy ..... 193
Interest Groups and the Political Parties ..... 194
Interest Group Strategies ..... 196
Direct Techniques ..... 196
Indirect Techniques 198
Regulating Lobbyists ..... 200
The Results of the 1946 Act ..... 201
The Reforms of 1995 ..... 201
The Reforms of 2007 ..... 201
Chapter 8
POLITICAL PARTIES ..... 205
Political Parties in the United States ..... 207
Functions of Political Parties in the United States ..... 207
The Three Faces of a Party ..... 208
The Party-in-the-Electorate ..... 209
The Party Organization ..... 209
The Party-in-Government ..... 211
A History of Political Parties in the United States ..... 212
The Formative Years: Federalists
and Anti-Federalists ..... 213
Democrats and Whigs ..... 213
The Civil War Crisis ..... 214
The Post-Civil War Period ..... 214
The Progressive Interlude ..... 216
The New Deal Era ..... 216
An Era of Divided Government ..... 216
The Two Major U.S. Parties Today ..... 217
A Series of Wave Elections ..... 217
The Parties' Core Constituents ..... 219
Divisions within the Parties ..... 220
Cultural Politics and Party Loyalty ..... 222
Why Has the Two-Party System Endured? ..... 223
The Historical Foundations of the Two-Party System ..... 223
Political Socialization and Practical Considerations ..... 223
The Winner-Take-All Electoral System ..... 223
State and Federal Laws Favoring the Two Parties ..... 224
The Role of Minor Parties in U.S. Politics ..... 225
Mechanisms of Political Change ..... 229
Realignment ..... 229
Dealignment ..... 230
Tipping ..... 231
Chapter 9
CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS ..... 235
The Twenty-First-Century Campaign ..... 237
Who Is Eligible? ..... 237
Who Runs? ..... 238
Managing the Campaign ..... 239
Financing the Campaign ..... 241
The Evolution of the Campaign Finance System ..... 241
The Current Campaign Finance Environment ..... 243
Running for President: The Longest Campaign ..... 247
Reforming the Presidential Primaries ..... 247
The Invisible Primary ..... 248
Primaries and Caucuses ..... 249
Front-Loading the Primaries ..... 251
On to the National Convention ..... 252
The Electoral College ..... 253
How Are Elections Conducted? ..... 254
Office-Block and Party-Column Ballots ..... 254
Voting by Mail ..... 255
Voting Fraud and Voter ID Laws ..... 255
Turning Out to Vote ..... 256
Factors Influencing Who Votes ..... 258
Legal Restrictions on Voting ..... 259
Chapter 10
THE MEDIA ..... 265
The Roles of the Media ..... 267
Entertaining the Public ..... 267
Reporting the News ..... 267
Identifying Public Problems ..... 268
Socializing New Generations ..... 268
Providing a Political Forum ..... 268
Making Profits ..... 269
Television versus the New Media ..... 271
The Media and Political Campaigns ..... 272
Television Coverage ..... 272
The Internet, Blogging, and Podcasting ..... 275
Government Regulation of the Media ..... 278
Concentrated Ownership of the Media ..... 278
Government Control of Content ..... 278
The Issue of Net Neutrality ..... 279
Opinion and Bias in the Media ..... 281
Talk Radio ..... 282
Bias in the Media ..... 282
Part 4
Political Institutions
Chapter 11 IHE CONGRESS ..... 287
The Nature and Functions of Congress ..... 289
Bicameralism ..... 289
The Lawmaking Function ..... 290
The Representation Function ..... 290
The Oversight Function ..... 291
The Public-Education Function ..... 291
The Conflict-Resolution Function ..... 292
The Powers of Congress ..... 292
House-Senate Differences and Congressional Perks ..... 293
Size and Rules ..... 293
Debate and Filibustering ..... 294
Congresspersons and the Citizenry:
A Comparison ..... 296
Perks and Privileges ..... 297
Congressional Elections and Apportionment ..... 298
Candidates for Congressional Elections ..... 298
Apportionment of the House ..... 300
How Congress Is Organized ..... 304
The Power of Committees ..... 304
Committees versus the Leadership ..... 304
Types of Congressional Committees ..... 305
The Selection of Committee Members ..... 306
Leadership in the House ..... 307
Leadership in the Senate ..... 308
Lawmaking and Budgeting ..... 310
The Lawmaking Process ..... 310
How Much Will the Government Spend? ..... 310
Congress Faces the Budget ..... 313
Budget Resolutions and Crises ..... 314
Chapter 12
THE PRESIDENT ..... 319
Who Can Become President? ..... 321
A "Natural Born Citizen" ..... 321
Presidential Characteristics ..... 321
The Process of Becoming President ..... 322
The Many Roles of the President ..... 323
Head of State ..... 323
Chief Executive ..... 323
Commander in Chief ..... 326
Chief Diplomat ..... 327
Chief Legislator ..... 329
The President as Party Chief and Superpolitician ..... 332
Presidential Powers ..... 334
Emergency Powers ..... 334
Executive Orders ..... 335
Executive Privilege ..... 336
Signing Statements ..... 337
Abuses of Executive Power andImpeachment 337
The Executive Organization ..... 338
The Cabinet ..... 338
The Executive Office of the President ..... 340
The Vice Presidency ..... 341
The Vice President's Job ..... 341
Presidential Succession ..... 342
Chapter 13
THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH ..... 347
The Nature and Scope of the Federal Bureaucracy ..... 349
Public and Private Bureaucracies ..... 349
Models of Bureaucracy ..... 349
The Size of the Bureaucracy ..... 350
The Federal Budget ..... 352
The Organization of the Federal Bureaucracy ..... 353
Cabinet Departments ..... 353
Independent Executive Agencies ..... 356
Independent Regulatory Agencies ..... 357
Government-Controlled Corporations ..... 360
Staffing the Bureaucracy ..... 362
Political Appointees ..... 362
History of the Federal Civil Service ..... 363
Modern Attempts at Bureaucratic Reform ..... 365
Sunshine Laws before and after 9/11 ..... 365
Privatization, or Contracting Out ..... 366
Saving Costs through E-Government ..... 366
Helping Out the Whistleblowers ..... 366
Bureaucrats as Politicians and Policymakers ..... 368
The Rulemaking Environment ..... 370
Negotiated Rulemaking ..... 371
Bureaucrats as Policymakers ..... 371
Congressional Control of the Bureaucracy ..... 373
Chapter 14 IHE COURTS ..... 377
Sources of American Law ..... 379
The Common Law Tradition ..... 379
Constitutions ..... 380
Statutes and Administrative Regulations ..... 380
Case Law ..... 380
The Federal Court System ..... 381
Basic Judicial Requirements ..... 381
Parties to Lawsuits ..... 382
Procedural Rules ..... 382
Types of Federal Courts ..... 383
Federal Courts and the War on Terrorism ..... 385
The Supreme Court at Work ..... 387
Which Cases Reach the Supreme Court? ..... 387
Court Procedures ..... 388
Decisions and Opinions ..... 388
The Selection of Federal Judges ..... 389
Judicial Appointments ..... 390
Partisanship and Judicial Appointments ..... 392
Policymaking and the Courts ..... 394
Judicial Review ..... 394
Judicial Activism and Judicial Restraint ..... 395
Strict versus Broad Construction ..... 395
The Roberts Court ..... 396
What Checks Our Courts? ..... 399
Part 5Public Policy
Chapter 15 DOMESTIC AND ECONOMIC POLICY405
The Policymaking Process:
Health Care as an Example ..... 407
Health Care: Agenda Building ..... 407
Health Care: Policy Formulation ..... 410
Health Care: Policy Adoption ..... 411
Health Care: Policy Implementation ..... 411
Health Care: Policy Evaluation ..... 412
Immigration ..... 413
The Issue of Unauthorized Immigration ..... 414
The Immigration Debate ..... 414
Crime in the Twenty-First Century ..... 415
Crime in American History ..... 415
The Prison Population Bomb ..... 417
Energy and the Environment ..... 418
Energy Independence-A Strategic Issue ..... 418
Climate Change ..... 421
The Politics of Economic Decision Making ..... 422
Good Times, Bad Times ..... 422
Fiscal Policy ..... 424
Deficit Spending and the Public Debt ..... 425
Monetary Policy ..... 427
The Politics of Taxes ..... 429
Federal Income Tax Rates ..... 429
Income Tax Loopholes and Other Types of Taxes ..... 429
Chapter 16 FOREIGN POLICY ..... 435
Facing the World: Foreign and Defense Policies ..... 437
Aspects of Foreign Policy ..... 437
Idealism versus Realism in Foreign Policy ..... 438
Terrorism and Warfare ..... 439
The Emergence of Terrorism ..... 439
Wars in Iraq ..... 441
Afghanistan ..... 442
The Civil War in Syria and the Rise of ISIS ..... 443
U.S. Diplomatic Efforts ..... 444
Nuclear Weapons ..... 444
The New Power: China ..... 446
Israel and the Palestinians ..... 447
Europe's Economic Troubles ..... 449
Who Makes Foreign Policy? ..... 452
Constitutional Powers of the President ..... 452
Other Sources of Foreign Policymaking ..... 453
Congress Balances the Presidency ..... 455
Chapter 1: The Democratic Republic ..... 1
What If... We Had No Bill of Rights? ..... 2
Election 2018: The Outcome of the Elections ..... 4
Beyond Our Borders: Civil Liberties in Germany andJapan 12
Which Side Are You On? Does Our Tax System Promote
Excessive Inequality? ..... 15
Consider the Source: How Many Americans HaveJobs? 25
How You Can Make a Difference ..... 26
Chapter 2: The Constitution ..... 29
What If... The Founders Adopted a Parliamentary
System? ..... 30
Which Side Are You On? Is the United States aChristian Nation?33
Consider the Source: The Powers of Congress ..... 47
How You Can Make a Difference ..... 56
Chapter 3: Federalism ..... 59What If... Recreational Marijuana Were Legal inEvery State? 60
The Major Foreign Policy Themes ..... 456
The Formative Years: Avoiding Entanglements ..... 456
The Era of Internationalism ..... 456
Superpower Relations ..... 458

## Appendices

A The Declaration of Independence A-1
B The Constitution of the United States A-3
C Federalist Papers, Nos. 10, 51, \& 78 A-19
D Justices of the United States Supreme Court since 1900 A-29
E Party Control of Congress since 1904 A-33
F Presidents of the United States A-34

## Glossary G-1

Index I-1

## FEATURES

Beyond Our Borders: Canadian Federalism ..... 63
Which Side Are You On? Should States Raise the Minimum Wage? ..... 68
How You Can Make a Difference ..... 82
Chapter 4: Civil liberties ..... 85
What If... Roe v. Wade Were Overturned? ..... 86
Consider the Source: The Second Amendment ..... 89
Which side Are You On? When Can Wearing Religious Garb Be Restricted? ..... 94
How You Can Make a Difference ..... 111
Chapter 5: Civil liberties ..... 115
What If... We Deported Most Unauthorized Immigrants? ..... 116
Which Side Are You On? Do Police Use Excessive Force against African Americans? 125
Consider the Source: Measuring Poverty and Wealth by Race and Ethnicity ..... 133
Election 2018: Women and Minority Group Members ..... 138
How You Can Make a Difference ..... 146

## Chapter 6: Public Opinion and Political Socialization 149

What If... Politicians Really Listened to the Polls? 150
Which Side Are You On? Were the "Good Old Days" Really That Great? 156
Election 2018: Polling Accuracy in the 2018 Elections 168
Consider the Source: Political Trust 171
How You Can Make a Difference 176

## Chapter 7: Interest Groups 179

What If... We Let More People Live in Big Cities? 180
Beyond Our Borders: How Foreign Countries Subsidize Agriculture 186
Which Side Are You On? Should We Let Uber and Lyft Pick Up Passengers? 195
How You Can Make a Difference 202

## Chapter 8: Political Parties 205

What If... The Democrats Behaved More Like the Republicans? 206
Consider the Source: Presidential Election Results 215
Election 2018: Partisan Trends in the 2018 Elections 218
Beyond Our Borders: Is Denmark Socialist? 228
How You Can Make a Difference 232

## Chapter 9: Campaigns and Elections 235

What If... We Elected the President by Popular Vote? 236
Which Side Are You On? Can Money Buy Elections? 245
Election 2018: Campaign Finance in 2018248
Consider the Source: The Voting-Age Population and the Vote-Eligible Population 257
How You Can Make a Difference 262

## Chapter 10: The Media 265

What If... There Were No Newspapers? 266
Consider the Source: Ad Revenues 270
Beyond Our Borders: Does the United Nations Threaten the Internet? 280
Which Side Are You On? Should Net Neutrality Be Enforced by Law? 281
How You Can Make a Difference 284

## Chapter 11: The Congress 287

What If... We Used Proportional Representation to Elect the House? 288

Which side Are You On? Is It Time to Get Rid of the
Filibuster? 295
Consider the Source: Finding Your Congressional District 300
Election 2018: Party Control of Congress after the 2018 Elections 303
How You Can Make a Difference 315

Chapter 12: The President 319
What If... President Trump Tore Up Our Trade Agreements? 320
Which Side Are You On? Does President Trump Know What He's Doing? 327
Beyond Our Borders: Presidents in Latin America 335
How You Can Make a Difference 344

Chapter 13: The Executive Branch 347
What If... We Tightened Our Gun Control Laws? 348
Consider the Source: Federal Government Revenues 354
Which Side Are You On? Do the Benefits of NSA Snooping Outweigh the Harms? 369
How You Can Make a Difference 374

Chapter 14: The Courts 377
What If... Arguments before the Supreme Court Were Televised? 378
Beyond Our Borders: Gay Rights around the World 381
Which Side Are You On? Should State Judges Be Elected? 391
How You Can Make a Difference 402

Chapter 15: Domestic and Economic Policy 405
What If... We Returned to the Gold Standard? 406
Which Side Are You On? Does Entitlement Spending Corrupt Us? 409
Consider the Source: How Many People Do Other Countries Send to Prison? 419
How You Can Make a Difference 432

Chapter 16: Foreign Policy 435
What If... We Brought Back the Draft? 436
Which side Are You On? Is China's Nationalism a Threat to World Peace? 448
Beyond our Borders: The Impact of Population Growth on America's Future Role in the World 450
How You Can Make a Difference 462

