



14e

American Government

Institutions & Policies



James Q. **Wilson** | John J. **DiIulio**, Jr. | Meena **Bose**

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT: INSTITUTIONS

The American System

The Federalist Papers

<http://thomas.loc.gov/home/histdox/fedpapers.html>

The Library of Congress's website, named after Thomas Jefferson, includes the full text of all 85 Federalist Papers, published by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay under the pseudonym Publius in New York City newspapers in 1787-88 to rally public support for the Constitution.



The Anti-Federalist Papers

<http://www.constitution.org/afp/afp.htm>

Selected Anti-Federalist Papers, written by several authors, also under pseudonyms, who opposed ratification of the Constitution, are reprinted by a private, non-profit organization, the Constitution Society.



Documents pertaining to the American Constitution

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/constpap.asp
<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/default.asp>

The Avalon Project of Yale Law School is an online database of document collections, including one on the American Constitution that includes colonial state charters, constitutional convention records, and ratification statements. The website also contains links to presidential papers, the State Department's Foreign Relations of the United States series, and numerous other sites pertaining to American politics and diplomacy.

Opinions, Interests, and Organizations

Current news sources

<http://www.realclearpolitics.com>

This website provides a daily compilation of news articles, commentary, public opinion polls, and other information about current issues in American politics.



Public opinion polls

<http://www.pollster.com/>

This website compiles polling data for state and national elections, and also includes commentary by website contributors.



<http://www.pollingreport.com/>

This website compiles public opinion polling data on key issues in American politics.



Major political parties

<http://www.democrats.org/>

This is the website of the Democratic National Committee.

<http://www.rnc.org/splashpage/index.aspx>

This is the website of the Republican National Committee.

14e

American Government

Institutions & Policies

14e

American Government

Institutions & Policies

James Q. Wilson

University of California, Los Angeles, emeritus
Pepperdine University
Boston College

John J. Dilulio, Jr.

University of Pennsylvania

Meena Bose

Hofstra University



Australia • Brazil • Japan • Korea • Mexico • Singapore • Spain • United Kingdom • United States

This is an electronic version of the print textbook. Due to electronic rights restrictions, some third party content may be suppressed. Editorial review has deemed that any suppressed content does not materially affect the overall learning experience. The publisher reserves the right to remove content from this title at any time if subsequent rights restrictions require it. For valuable information on pricing, previous editions, changes to current editions, and alternate formats, please visit www.cengage.com/highered to search by ISBN#, author, title, or keyword for materials in your areas of interest.

American Government: Institutions and Policies

James Q. Wilson, John J. Dilulio, Jr., Meena Bose

Product Director: Suzanne Jeans

Product Team Manager: Carolyn Merrill

Content Developer: Rebecca Green

Content Coordinator: Jessica Wang

Product Assistant: Abigail Hess

Senior Media Developer: Laura Hildebrand

Marketing Manager: Valerie Hartman

Senior Content Project Managers: Joshua Allen
and Jessica Rasile

Senior Art Director: Linda May

Print Buyer: Fola Orekoya

Senior Rights Acquisitions Manager: Jennifer
Meyer DareProduction Service: Integra Software Services
Pvt. Ltd.

Cover Image: ©Shutterstock

Compositor: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

© 2015, 2013, 2011, Cengage Learning

WCN: 02-200-203

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. No part of this work covered by the copyright herein may be reproduced, transmitted, stored or used in any form or by any means graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including but not limited to photocopying, recording, scanning, digitizing, taping, Web distribution, information networks, or information storage and retrieval systems, except as permitted under Section 107 or 108 of the 1976 United States Copyright Act, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

For product information and technology assistance, contact us at
Cengage Learning Customer & Sales Support, 1-800-354-9706

For permission to use material from this text or product,
submit all requests online at www.cengage.com/permissions.

Further permissions questions can be emailed to
permissionrequest@cengage.com.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2013952740

Student Edition:

ISBN-13: 978-1-285-19509-4

ISBN-10: 1-285-19509-4

Cengage Learning200 First Stamford Place, 4th Floor
Stamford, CT 06902
USA

Cengage Learning is a leading provider of customized learning solutions with office locations around the globe, including Singapore, the United Kingdom, Australia, Mexico, Brazil and Japan. Locate your local office at international.cengage.com/region.

Cengage Learning products are represented in Canada by Nelson Education, Ltd.

For your course and learning solutions, visit www.cengage.com.

Purchase any of our products at your local college store or at our preferred online store www.cengagebrain.com.

Instructors: Please visit login.cengage.com and log in to access instructor-specific resources.

Brief Contents

Ryan Rodrick Beiler/Shutterstock.com

PART I	The American System	1
1	The Study of American Government	2
2	The Constitution	23
3	Federalism	50
4	American Political Culture	76
5	Civil Liberties	95
6	Civil Rights	121
PART II	Opinions, Interests, and Organizations	151
7	Public Opinion	152
8	Political Participation	171
9	Political Parties	188
10	Elections and Campaigns	218
11	Interest Groups	251
12	The Media	276
PART III	Institutions of Government	301
13	Congress	302
14	The Presidency	338
15	The Bureaucracy	379
16	The Judiciary	407
PART IV	Public Policy and American Democracy	437
17	Domestic Policy	438
18	Economic Policy	470
19	Foreign and Military Policy	487
20	American Democracy, Then and Now	515

Contents

Ryan Rodrick Beiler/Shutterstock.com

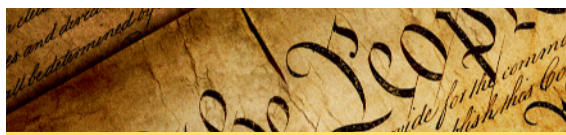
Preface xiii
About the Authors xxi

PART I The American System 1



Chapter 1 The Study of American Government 2

Issues and Politics 3
Power, Authority, and Legitimacy 4
What Is Democracy? 5
Political Power in America: Five Views 7
Who Governs—and to What Ends? 9
Expanding the Political Agenda 10
 Groups 11
 Government Institutions 12
 Media 12
 Action by the States 13
The Politics of Different Issues 13
Four Types of Politics 14
 Majoritarian Politics: Distributed Benefits, Distributed Costs 14
 Interest Group Politics: Concentrated Benefits, Concentrated Costs 15
 Client Politics: Concentrated Benefits, Distributed Costs 15
 Entrepreneurial Politics: Distributed Benefits, Concentrated Costs 16
 Policy Dynamics: Inside/Outside the Box 17
Understanding Politics 17



Chapter 2 The Constitution 23

The Problem of Liberty 24
 The Colonial Mind 24
 The Real Revolution 26
 Weaknesses of the Confederation 27

The Constitutional Convention 27
 The Lessons of Experience 28
 The Framers 28
The Challenge 30
 The Virginia Plan 30
 The New Jersey Plan 30
 The Compromise 31
The Constitution and Democracy 32
 Key Principles 33
 Government and Human Nature 34
The Constitution and Liberty 35
 The Antifederalist View 36
 Need for a Bill of Rights 38
 The Constitution and Slavery 39
The Motives of the Framers 40
 Economic Interests 40
 The Constitution and Equality 41
Constitutional Reform: Modern Views 41
 Reducing the Separation of Powers 41
 Making the System Less Democratic 43
 Who Is Right? 46



Chapter 3 Federalism 50

Why Federalism Matters 51
The Founding 53
 A Bold, New Plan 53
 Elastic Language 54
The Debate on the Meaning of Federalism 55
 The Supreme Court Speaks 55
 Nullification 56
 Dual Federalism 57
 State Sovereignty 57
Governmental Structure 59
 Increased Political Activity 62
 What the States Can Do 62
Federal-State Relations 63
 Grants-In-Aid 63
 Meeting National Needs 65
 The Intergovernmental Lobby 66
 Categorical Grants 66
 Rivalry among the States 67

viii Contents

- Federal Aid and Federal Control 68
 - Mandates 68
 - Conditions of Aid 69
- A Devolution Revolution? 70
- Congress and Federalism 72



Chapter 4 American Political Culture 76

- Political Culture 77
 - The Political System 79
 - The Economic System 80
- How We Compare: Comparing America with Other Nations 82
 - The Political System 82
 - The Economic System 84
 - The Civic Role of Religion 84
- The Sources of Political Culture 86
 - The Culture War 87
- Mistrust of Government 89
 - Civil Society 90
- Political Tolerance 91



Chapter 5 Civil Liberties 95

- Culture and Civil Liberties 97
 - Rights in Conflict 97
 - Cultural Conflicts 98
 - Applying the Bill of Rights to the States 99
- Interpreting and Applying the First Amendment 100
 - Speech and National Security 100
- What Is Speech? 103
 - Libel 103
 - Obscenity 104
 - Symbolic Speech 106
- Commercial and Youthful Speech 106
- Church and State 108
 - The Free-Exercise Clause 108
 - The Establishment Clause 109

- Crime and Due Process 111
 - The Exclusionary Rule 112
 - Search and Seizure 113
 - Confessions and Self-Incrimination 114
 - Relaxing the Exclusionary Rule 115
 - Terrorism and Civil Liberties 115
 - Searches Without Warrants 117



Chapter 6 Civil Rights 121

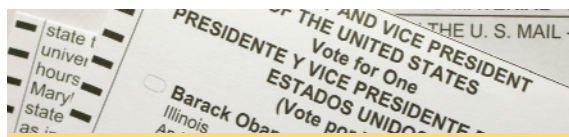
- Race and Civil Rights 122
- The Campaign in the Courts 125
 - "Separate But Equal" 126
 - Can Separate Schools Be Equal? 126
 - Brown v. Board of Education 126
- The Campaign in Congress 131
- Women and Equal Rights 134
 - Sexual Harassment 138
 - Privacy and Sex 138
- Affirmative Action 139
 - Equality of Results 139
 - Equality of Opportunity 140
- Gay Rights 144
- Looking Back—and Ahead 146

PART II Opinions, Interests, and Organizations 151



Chapter 7 Public Opinion 152

- Public Opinion and Democracy 153
- What Is Public Opinion? 154
 - How Polling Works 155
 - How Opinions Differ 155
- Political Socialization 156
 - The Family 156
 - Religion 158
 - The Gender Gap 159
- Cleavages in Public Opinion 160
 - Social Class 161
 - Race and Ethnicity 161
 - Region 163

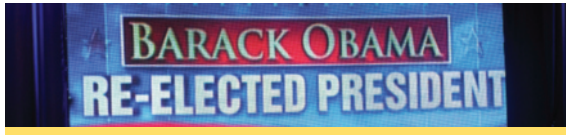
Political Ideology 164*Mass Ideologies: A Typology 164**Liberal and Conservative Elites 165***Political Elites, Public Opinion,
and Public Policy 166****Chapter 8 Political
Participation 171****A Close Look at Nonvoting 172****The Rise of the American Electorate 176***From State to Federal Control 176**Voter Turnout 179***Who Participates in Politics? 181***Forms of Participation 181**Participation: Causes and Meaning 182***Chapter 9 Political Parties 188****Parties—Here and Abroad 189****The Rise and Decline of the Political Party 192***The Founding 192**The Jacksonians 192**The Civil War and Sectionalism 193**The Era of Reform 194**Party Realignments 195**Party Decline 197***The National Party Structure Today 198***National Conventions 199***State and Local Parties 202***The Machine 202**Ideological Parties 203**Solidary Groups 204**Sponsored Parties 204**Personal Following 204***The Two-Party System 206****Minor Parties 208****Nominating a President 211***Are the Delegates Representative of
the Voters? 211**Who Votes in Primaries? 212**Who Are the New Delegates? 212***Parties versus Voters 215****Chapter 10 Elections and
Campaigns 218****Campaigns Today 219***Better or Worse? 220**Here and Abroad 221***Presidential versus Congressional Campaigns 222***Running for President 223**Getting Elected to Congress 224***Primary versus General Campaigns 227***Two Kinds of Campaign Issues 228**Television, Debates, and Direct Mail 230***Money 233***The Sources of Campaign Money 233**Campaign Finance Rules 234**A Second Campaign Finance Law 236**New Sources of Money 239**Money and Winning 239***What Decides the Election? 241***Party 241**Issues, Especially the Economy 243**The Campaign 244**Finding a Winning Coalition 245***The Effects of Elections on Policy 247****Chapter 11 Interest Groups 251****The Rise of Interest Groups 253****Kinds of Organizations 255***Institutional Interests 255**Membership Interests 256**Incentives to Join 257**The Influence of the Staff 259***Interest Groups and Social Movements 259***The Environmental Movement 260**The Feminist Movement 260**The Union Movement 261**Upper-Class Bias? 262***The Activities of Interest Groups 263***Information 263**Earmarks 264**Public Support: The Rise of the New Politics 265**Money and PACs 265*

x Contents

The "Revolving Door" 269
Civil Disobedience 270

Regulating Interest Groups 271

Lobbying 273



Chapter 12 The Media 276

The Media and Politics 277

Journalism in American Political History 279

The Party Press 279
The Popular Press 279
Magazines of Opinion 280
Electronic Journalism 280
The Internet 282

The Structure of the Media 282

Degree of Competition 282
The National Media 283

Rules Governing the Media 284

Confidentiality of Sources 285
Regulating Broadcasting 286
Campaigning 286

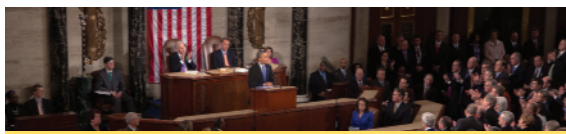
Are the National Media Biased? 287

A Liberal Majority 287
Neutral and Objective? 288
Media's Influence 290

Government and the News 292

Prominence of the President 292
Coverage of Congress 293
Why Do We Have So Many News Leaks? 294
Sensationalism in the Media 295
Government Constraints on Journalists 296

PART III Institutions of Government 301



Chapter 13 Congress 302

Congress versus Parliament 305

The Evolution of Congress 307

Who Is in Congress? 311

Gender and Race 311
Incumbency 312
Party 314

Representation and Polarization 315

Representational View 316
Organizational View 317
Attitudinal View 317

The Organization of Congress: Parties and Interests 318

Party Organizations 318
Party Voting 319
Caucuses 321

The Organization of Congress: Committees 322

The Organization of Congress: Staffs and Specialized Offices 324

Tasks of Staff Members 324
Staff Agencies 325

How a Bill Becomes Law 325

Introducing a Bill 325
Study by Committees 326
Floor Debate 328
Methods of Voting 330
Legislative Productivity 330
Reforming Congress 332



Chapter 14 The Presidency 338

Presidents and Prime Ministers 339

Presidents Are Often Outsiders 340
Presidents Choose Cabinet Members from Outside Congress 340
Presidents Have No Guaranteed Majority in the Legislature 341
Presidents and Prime Ministers at War 341

Divided Government 341

Does Gridlock Matter? 342
Is Policy Gridlock Bad? 343

The Powers of the President 344

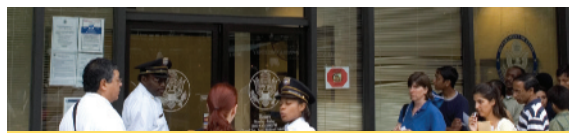
The Evolution of the Presidency 345

Concerns of the Founders 346
The Electoral College 346
The President's Term of Office 347
The First Presidents 347
The Jacksonians 348
The Reemergence of Congress 349

The Power to Persuade 352

The Three Audiences 352
Popularity and Influence 353
The Decline in Popularity 356

- The Power to Say No 356
 - Veto* 357
 - Executive Privilege* 358
 - Impoundment of Funds* 359
 - Signing Statements* 359
- Presidential Character 360
- The Office of the President 361
 - The White House Office* 362
 - The Executive Office of the President* 364
 - The Cabinet* 364
 - Independent Agencies, Commissions, and Judgeships* 365
- Who Gets Appointed 366
- The President's Program 368
 - Putting Together a Program* 368
 - Attempts to Reorganize* 370
- Presidential Transition 371
 - The Vice President* 372
 - Problems of Succession* 373
 - Impeachment* 373
- How Powerful Is the President? 374



Chapter 15 The Bureaucracy 379

- Distinctiveness of the American Bureaucracy 381
- Proxy Government 381
- The Growth of the Bureaucracy 382
 - The Appointment of Officials* 383
 - A Service Role* 383
 - A Change in Role* 384
- The Federal Bureaucracy Today 385
 - Recruitment and Retention* 388
 - Personal Attributes* 391
 - Do Bureaucrats Sabotage Their Political Bosses?* 392
 - Culture and Careers* 393
 - Constraints* 395
- Why So Many Constraints? 396
 - Agency Allies* 396
- Congressional Oversight 397
 - The Appropriations Committee and Legislative Committees* 398
 - The Legislative Veto* 399
 - Congressional Investigations* 399
- Bureaucratic "Pathologies" 400
- Reforming the Bureaucracy 402



Chapter 16 The Judiciary 407

- Judicial Review 409
- The Development of the Federal Courts 410
 - National Supremacy and Slavery* 411
 - Government and the Economy* 411
 - Government and Political Liberty* 413
 - The Revival of State Sovereignty* 414
- The Structure of the Federal Courts 416
 - Selecting Judges* 417
- The Jurisdiction of the Federal Courts 420
- Getting to Court 423
 - Fee Shifting* 423
 - Standing* 424
 - Class-Action Suits* 424
- The Supreme Court in Action 425
- The Power of the Federal Courts 427
 - The Power to Make Policy* 427
 - Views of Judicial Activism* 429
 - Legislation and the Courts* 429
- Checks on Judicial Power 431
 - Congress and the Courts* 431
 - Public Opinion and the Courts* 432

PART IV Public Policy and American Democracy 437



Chapter 17 Domestic Policy 438

- Policymaking Politics Revisited 440
- Social Welfare Policy 441
 - From the New Deal to the New Health Care Law* 442
 - Two Kinds of Social Welfare Programs* 445
 - Social Security and Medicare: Majoritarian Politics* 447
 - Social Welfare Policy in America: Four Distinctive Features* 450
 - From AFDC to TANF: Client Politics* 452
 - Medicaid: Client and Majoritarian* 454

xii Contents

Business Regulation Policy 454

Antitrust Laws: Majoritarian Politics 455
Labor and Occupational Health and Safety: Interest Group Politics 456
Agriculture Subsidies: Client Politics 457
Consumer and Environmental Protection: Entrepreneurial Politics 458

Environmental Policy 461

The Politics of "Cap and Trade" 461
Environmental Policy in America: Three Distinctive Features 462
Endangered Species: Entrepreneurial Politics 464
Pollution from Automobiles: Majoritarian Politics 464
Acid Rain: Interest Group Politics 466
Agricultural Pesticides: Client Politics 467

Beyond Domestic Policy 467



Chapter 18 Economic Policy 470

The Politics of Economic Prosperity 472

What Politicians Try to Do 473

The Politics of Taxing and Spending 474

Economic Theories and Political Needs 475

Monetarism 475
Keynesianism 475
Planning 475
Supply-Side Tax Cuts 475

The Machinery of Economic Policymaking 476

The Fed 477
Congress 478
Globalization 479

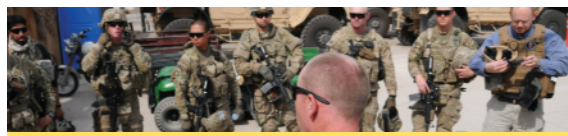
Spending Money 479

The Budget 480

Reducing Spending 481

Levying Taxes 482

The Rise of the Income Tax 482



Chapter 19 Foreign and Military Policy 487

Kinds of Foreign Policy 489

The Constitutional and Legal Context 490

Presidential Box Score 490

Evaluating the Power of the President 492

Checks on Presidential Power 493

The Machinery of Foreign Policy 494

Foreign Policy and Public Opinion 496

Backing the President 497
Mass versus Elite Opinion 498

Cleavages among Foreign Policy Elites 499

How a Worldview Shapes Foreign Policy 499
Political Polarization 502

The Use of Military Force 503

War in Iraq 504

The Defense Budget 504

Total Spending 504
What Do We Get with Our Money? 506

The Structure of Defense Decision Making 509

Joint Chiefs of Staff 510
The Services 510
The Chain of Command 510

The New Problem of Terrorism 510

Iraq and Afghanistan 512



Chapter 20 American Democracy, Then and Now 515

THEN: Restraints on the Growth of Government 516

NOW: Relaxing the Restraints 516

The Old System 517

The New System 518

Consequences of Government Growth 520

The Influence of Structure 523

The Influence of Ideas 523

American Democracy—Then, Now, and Next 525

Appendixes

The Declaration of Independence A1

The Constitution of the United States A4

A Brief Guide to Reading the Federalist Papers A19

The Federalist No. 10 A21

The Federalist No. 51 A26

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Speech: "I Have a Dream" A29

Presidents and Congresses, 1789–2009 A32

Glossary G1

Notes N1

Index I1

Preface

Ryan Rodrick Beiler/Shutterstock.com

We wrote *American Government: Institutions and Policies* not only to explain to students how the federal government works, but also to clarify how its institutions have developed over time and describe their effects on public policy. Within this distinguishing framework, we explain the history of Congress, the presidency, the judiciary, and the bureaucracy because the politics we see today are different from those we would have seen a few decades ago. And, of course, change never stops: in another decade, federal politics may be very different from what they are today.

American Government: Institutions and Policies is written around certain key ideas that help students understand, not simply American government, but the reasons why the government in this country is different from those in other democracies. These ideas are the U.S. Constitution, America's adversarial political culture, and a commitment to freedom and limited government. This book is an attempt to explain and give the historical and practical reasons for these differences.

And as always, the book is thoroughly revised to excite students' interest about the latest in American politics and encourage critical thinking.

Special Features

- **Learning Objectives** open and close each chapter, serving as a road map to the book's key concepts and helping students assess their understanding.
- **Now and Then** chapter-opening vignettes offer attention-grabbing looks at a particular topic in the past and in the present, reinforcing the historical emphasis of the text and applying these experiences to the students' lives. These will help sensitize students to the still-unfolding saga of continuity and change.
- New **Constitutional Connections** features raise analytical issues from the constitutional debates that remain relevant today.
- New **Policy Dynamics: Inside/Outside the Box** features present policy dynamics and encourage students to think about whether they are entrepreneurial, migrating from client to interest group, or safely majoritarian within *American*

Government's classic politics of policymaking framework, which is now being introduced in Chapter 1.

- New **What's Your Issue?** features pose contemporary issues, ask students how or whether the issues directly impact them, and encourage students to explore their views on the issues.
- **Landmark Cases** provide brief descriptions of important Supreme Court cases.
- **How We Compare** features show how other nations around the world structure their governments and policies in relation to the United States and ask students to think about the results of these differences.
- **How Things Work** boxes summarize key concepts and important facts that facilitate students' comprehension of the political process.
- **What Would You Do?** features place students in the role of a decision maker, presenting them with a realistic domestic or foreign policy issue that they can explore in a class discussion or assignment.
- **To Learn More** sections close each chapter with carefully selected Web resources and classic and contemporary suggested readings to further assist students in learning about American politics.

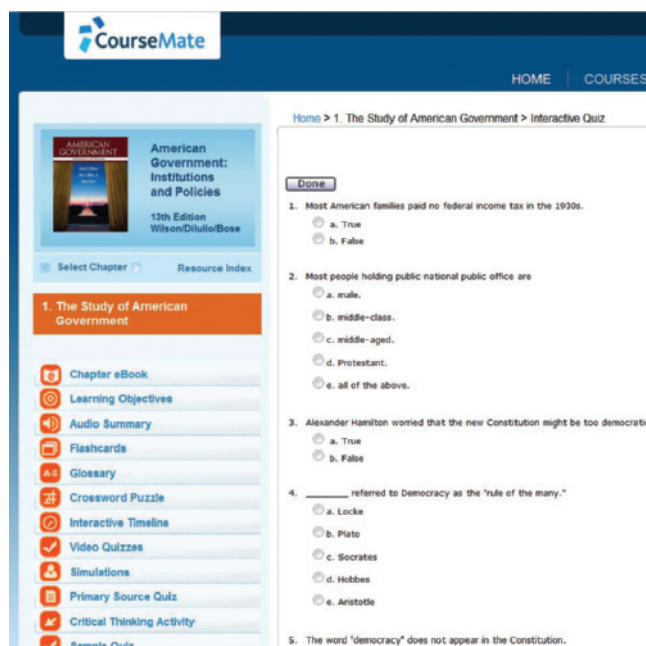
New to This Edition

Updates throughout the text reflect the latest scholarship and current events. The most current information available has been incorporated into the narrative, and the book's tables, figures, citations, and photographs have been thoroughly revised. The book has been streamlined and reorganized to introduce the politics of the policy process in Chapter 1, so that students can evaluate policy dynamics throughout the rest of the text within the narrative and new **Policy Dynamics: Inside/Outside the Box** features. The reorganization also consolidates the policy chapters down from five chapters to three to better fit the semester format and encourage reading.

Additionally, significant chapter-by-chapter changes have been made as follows:

- **Chapter 1:** *American Government's* classic politics of policymaking framework is now introduced in Chapter 1. New features include Constitutional Connections: Deciding What's Legitimate, What's Your Issue?: Medicare, and Policy Dynamics: Obamacare.
- **Chapter 2:** This chapter includes an expanded discussion of the views of John Locke and Thomas Hobbes and how their philosophies influenced the Framers. A new What's Your Issue? feature looks at income tax rates.
- **Chapter 3:** The opening vignette looks at the Antifederalists' opposition to the Constitution on the grounds that it gave too much power to the national government and how that has played out today. The chapter includes a new discussion on federalism and health care reform. New features include Constitutional Connections: States and Health Exchanges and What's Your Issue?: Marijuana Laws. The Landmark Cases: Federal-State Relations box has been greatly expanded.
- **Chapter 4:** The Civic Role of Religion discussion has been updated and includes a new table on American's Belief about Religion. The new What's Your Issue? feature looks at naturalized citizenship and a Constitutional Connections feature examines "A Religious People."
- **Chapter 5:** New features include Constitutional Connections: Selective Incorporation and What's Your Issue?: Gun Control and the Second Amendment.
- **Chapter 6:** The opening vignette explores how civil rights have changed over the years and a new section on Race and Civil Rights opens the chapter. The chapter includes updated coverage of affirmative action, same-sex marriage (including the Supreme Court's recent DOMA ruling), and other gay rights issues. New features look at suspect classifications, handguns and civil rights, and same-sex marriage policy. Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech now appears in the appendix.
- **Chapter 7:** Updated public opinion statistics are included throughout. A new discussion and table look at how religion factors into differences in opinion within different generations. Latino opinion is examined in more depth. The table on ideology typology has been largely revised. New features include Constitutional Connections: Majority Opinion and Public Policy and What's Your Issue?: The Electoral College.
- **Chapter 8:** A new Constitutional Connections feature looks at state voting laws and What's Your Issue? examines compulsory voting.
- **Chapter 9:** The chapter has been updated to cover the 2012 elections. A new figure looks at the fact that Americans are divided on the need for a third party, and a new table looks at historical convention bounces. New features include Constitutional Connections: The Spirit of Party, What's Your Issue?: Public Funding of Presidential Campaigns, and Policy Dynamics: The Auto Industry Bailout: Client Politics.
- **Chapter 10:** 2012 election coverage is included throughout, including a special 2012 Election feature and the most recent statistics on campaign finance. New features include Constitutional Connections: "Natural Born" Presidents and What's Your Issue?: Super PACs.
- **Chapter 11:** A new section on lobbying closes the chapter and updated financial data are included throughout. New features include Constitutional Connections: "Factions" vs. Special Interests, What's Your Issue?: Lobbying, and Policy Dynamics: Immigration Reform: Client or Majoritarian.
- **Chapter 12:** This chapter includes expanded coverage of social media's role in politics and new figures on the state of news media. A new Constitutional Connections feature looks at the First Amendment and What's Your Issue? asks whether media news coverage is fair.
- **Chapter 13:** Updated coverage on the 113th Congress is included throughout. New features include Congressional Connections: From Convention to Congress, What's Your Issue?: A New Congress—and a New Constitution, and Policy Dynamics: National Service: A Bridge to Entrepreneurial Politics.
- **Chapter 14:** This chapter includes updates throughout on the Obama administration, as well as the 2012 presidential election. New features include Constitutional Connections: Energy in the Executive, What's Your Issue?: Presidential Communication, and Policy Dynamics: Postal Service Reform: Client Politics.
- **Chapter 15:** New features include Constitutional Connections: Beyond Checks and Balances, What's Your Issue?: Fix the Sewers First, and Policy Dynamics: Postal Service Reform: Client Politics.

- **Chapter 16:** There is updated coverage on the increase in partisan wrangling over presidential judicial appointments and the confirmation process, including updated statistics about Obama’s judicial appointments. The discussion of the public’s approval of the Court’s performance is expanded and updated. *National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius* and other recent Supreme Court cases are included. A new Constitutional Connections feature looks at the “exceptions” clause, What’s Your Issue? explores the PRISM surveillance program, and Policy Dynamics examines telecommunications and “decency.”
- **Chapter 17:** This new Domestic Policy chapter condenses material from the previous edition into new sections on Social Welfare Policy, Business Regulation Policy, and Environmental Policy for a more manageable policy unit.
- **Chapter 18:** This chapter includes updates on the U.S. economy and budget battles.
- **Chapter 19:** Updates include coverage of foreign-policy decisions on Afghanistan, the Middle East, and North Korea, as well as a new figure on the public’s view of America’s role as a world leader.
- **Chapter 20:** The closing chapter leaves readers with a portrait of the current political landscape and tasks them with future examination of their government using the tools they’ve acquired. A new How We Compare feature looks at deficit spending in America and Europe.



Student and Instructor Supplements

STUDENTS: Access the book’s CourseMate, free Companion Website, and other resources via www.cengagebrain.com/shop/ISBN/9781285195094.

CourseMate for American Government: Institutions and Policies, 14e

Printed Access Code ISBN: 9781285450551

Instant Access Code ISBN: 9781285450483

Cengage Learning’s American Government CourseMate brings course concepts to life with interactive learning, study tools, and exam preparation tools that support the printed textbook. Students can take practice quizzes, review flashcards, watch videos, and increase their understanding of the book’s concepts through animated learning modules, simulations, and timelines. American Government NewsWatch is a real-time news and information resource, updated daily, that includes interactive maps, videos, podcasts, and hundreds of articles from leading journals, magazines, and newspapers from the United States and the world. Also included is the KnowNow! American Government Blog, which highlights three current events stories per week and consists of a succinct analysis of the story, multimedia, and discussion-starter questions.

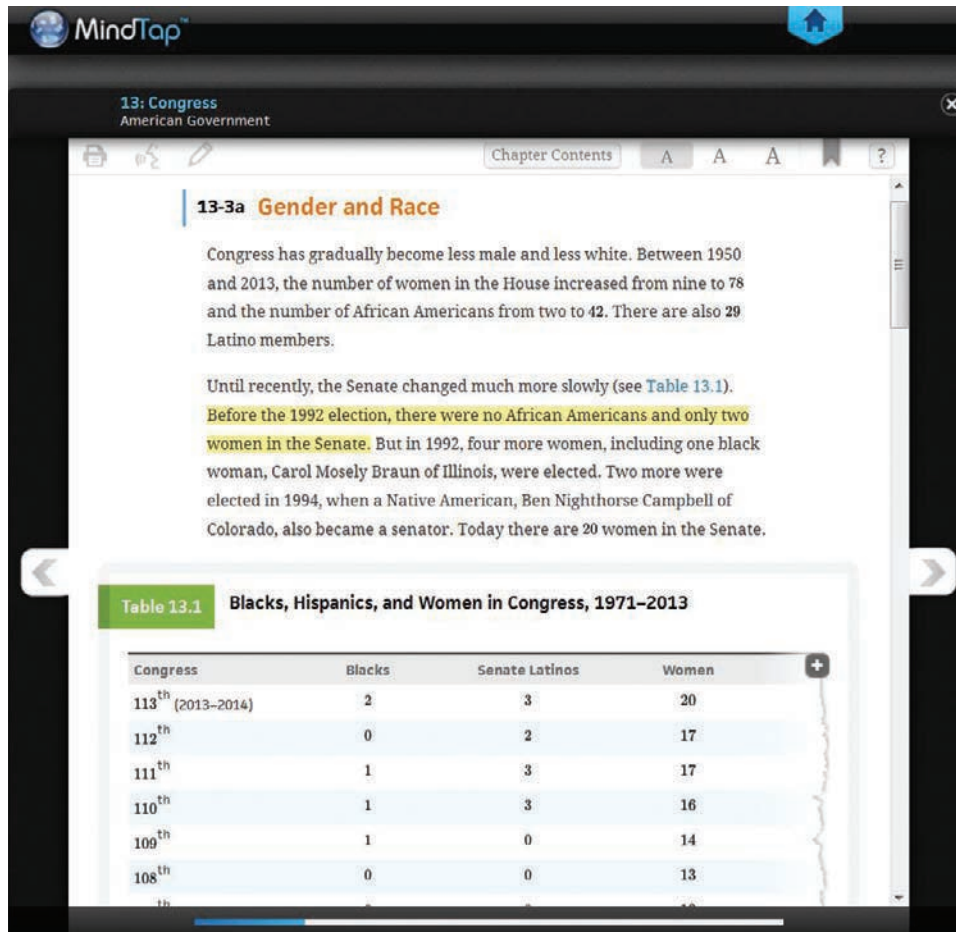
CourseMate also contains MindTap Reader, Cengage Learning’s re-imagining of the traditional eBook, specifically designed for how students assimilate content and media assets in a fully online—and often mobile—reading environment. MindTap Reader combines thoughtful navigation ergonomics, advanced student annotation support, and a high level of instructor-driven personalization through the placement of online documents and media assets. These features create an engaging student reading experience, which is further enhanced through tightly integrated web-apps (e.g. social media, note-taking, and utilities) that ultimately deliver a holistic learning tool driving immediacy, relevancy, and engagement for today’s learners.

Instructors can use CourseMate’s Engagement Tracker to assess student preparation and engagement in the course and watch student comprehension soar as their students work with the textbook-specific website.

Free Companion Website for American Government: Institutions and Policies, 14e

ISBN: 9781285195544

This free companion website accessible through www.cengagebrain.com/shop/ISBN/9781285195094 allows access to chapter specific interactive learning tools including flashcards, quizzes, glossaries, and more.



INSTRUCTORS: Access your course and instructor resources via www.cengage.com/login by logging on to or creating your faculty account and adding the resources for ISBN 9781285195094 to your Instructor Resource Center.

Online PowerLecture with Cognero® for American Government: Institutions and Policies, 14e

ISBN: 9781285775432

This PowerLecture is an all-in-one multimedia online resource for class preparation, presentation, and testing. Accessible through www.cengage.com/login with your faculty account, you will find available for download: book-specific Microsoft® PowerPoint® presentations; a Test Bank in both Microsoft® Word® and Cognero® formats; an Instructor Manual; Microsoft® PowerPoint® Image Slides; and a JPEG Image Library.

- The Test Bank, offered in Microsoft® Word® and Cognero® formats, contains Learning Objective-specific multiple choice and essay questions for each chapter. Cognero® is a flexible, online system that allows you to author, edit, and manage

test bank content for *American Government: Institutions and Policies, 14e*. Create multiple test versions instantly and deliver through your LMS from your classroom, or wherever you may be, with no special installs or downloads required. This edition's Test Bank is authored by William Hatcher of Eastern Kentucky University.

- The Instructor's Manual contains chapter-specific learning objectives, an outline, key terms with definitions, and a chapter summary. Additionally, the Instructor's Manual features a critical thinking question, lecture launching suggestion, and an in-class activity for each learning objective. This edition's Instructor's Manual is authored by Katherine Falconer of Reynolds Community College.
- The Microsoft® PowerPoint® presentations are ready-to-use, visual outlines of each chapter. These presentations are easily customized for your lectures and offered along with chapter-specific Microsoft® PowerPoint® Image Slides and JPEG Image Libraries. Access your Online PowerLecture at www.cengage.com/login.

CourseReader 0-30: American Government

Printed Access Code ISBN: 9781111479954

Instant Access Code ISBN: 9781111479978

CourseReader: American Government allows you to create your reader, your way, in just minutes. This affordable, fully customizable online reader provides instructors with access to thousands of permissions-cleared readings, articles, primary sources, and audio and video selections from the regularly updated Gale research library database. This easy-to-use solution allows you to search for and select just the material you want for your courses. Each selection opens with a descriptive introduction to provide context, and concludes with critical thinking and multiple choice questions to reinforce key points. CourseReader is loaded with convenient tools like highlighting, printing, note-taking, and

downloadable PDFs and MP3 audio files for each reading.

CourseReader is the perfect complement to any Political Science course. It can be bundled with your current textbook, sold alone, or integrated into your learning management system. CourseReader 0-30 allows access to up to 30 selections in the reader. Please contact your Cengage sales representative for details.

Custom Enrichment Module: Latino-American Politics Supplement

ISBN: 9781285184296

Authored by Fernando Pinon, this revised and updated supplement uses real examples to detail politics related to Latino Americans. Contact your Cengage sales representative to customize your text.

Acknowledgments

Ryan Rodrick Beiler/Shutterstock.com

A number of scholars reviewed the book and made useful suggestions for the Fourteenth Edition. They include:

Dr. Robert Carroll, East West University
Albert Cover, Stony Brook University
Nicholas Damask, Scottsdale Community College
Virgil H. Davis, Pellissippi State Community College
Jenna P. Duke, Lehigh Carbon Community College
Ethan Fishman, University of South Alabama
Marvin Overb, University of Missouri
Erich Saphir, Pima Community College
Linda Trautman, Ohio University-Lancaster

A number of scholars reviewed the previous three editions. They include:

Philip Aka, Chicago State University
Lucas Allen, Michigan State University
Roger Ashby, Peace College
Michael Baranowski, Northern Kentucky University
Chuck Brownson, Stephen F.
Austin High School
Jack Citrin, University of California, Berkeley
Zach Courser, Boston College
Stan Crippen, Riverside County Office of Education
Gregory Culver, University of Southern Indiana
Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha, University of North Texas
Terri Fine, University of Central Florida
Glenn David Garrison, Collin County Community College—Spring Creek Campus
Richard Grubbs, R.L. Paschal High School

Kipling Hagopian

Jeff Harmon, University of Texas at San Antonio
Kevin Hassett
Kathleen C. Hauger, Abington Senior High School
Stephen Kerbow, Southwest Texas Junior College
Halima Asghar Khan, Massasoit Community College
Young-Choul Kim, University of Evansville
Junius H. Koonce, Edgecombe Community College
William Lester, Jacksonville State University
Brad Lockerbie, University of Georgia
Randall McKeever, Forney ISD
Marvin Overby, University of Missouri
Anne F. Presley, McKinney High School
Gayle Randolph, Neosho County Community College
Donald Ranish, Antelope Valley College
Jonathan Roberts, Portland, OR, schools
P. S. Ruckman, Rock Valley College
Rebecca Small, Herndon High School
Randall Smith, Naperville Central High School
Greg Snoad, Mauldin High School
Jennifer Walsh, Azusa Pacific University
David Wigg, St. Louis Community College
Teresa Wright, California State University—Long Beach

Additional thanks go to Marc Siegal for his research assistance, William Hatcher of Eastern Kentucky University for his revision of the Test Bank, Katherine Falconer of Reynolds Community College for her revision of the Instructor's Manual, and Eugene Chase of Edmond Public Schools for creating the AP Edition's Fast Track to a Five.

About the Authors

Ryan Rodrick Beiler/Shutterstock.com



Cengage Learning

John J. DiIulio, Jr.

John J. DiIulio, Jr., is a professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania. From 1986 to 1999, he was a professor of politics and public affairs at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. He received B.A. and M.A. degrees from the

University of Pennsylvania and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University. He is the author, coauthor, or editor of a dozen books, including *Godly Republic* (2007), *Medicaid and Devolution* (1998, with Frank Thompson), *Deregulating the Public Service* (1994), and *Governing Prisons* (1987). He has received many awards for excellence in teaching including Penn's two most prestigious, the Lindback Award and the Abrams Award.

DiIulio advised both Vice President Al Gore and Governor George W. Bush during the 2000 presidential campaign. While on leave in academic year 2000–2001, he served as assistant to the president of the United States. He served as the first Director of the White House Office on Faith-Based Initiatives and assisted the Obama administration in reconstituting it. He has advised officials at the National Performance Review, the Office of Management and Budget, the General Accounting Office, the U.S. Department of Justice, and other federal agencies. He has served on the boards of Big Brothers Big Sisters of America and other nonprofit organizations.

In 1995, the Association of Public Policy Analysis and Management conferred on him the David N. Kershaw Award for outstanding research achievements, and in 1987 he received the American Political Science Association's Leonard D. White Award in public administration. In 1991–1994, he chaired the latter association's standing committee on professional ethics. Since 2005, he has had a leading role in nonprofit initiatives to assist post-Katrina New Orleans.



Cengage Learning

Meena Bose

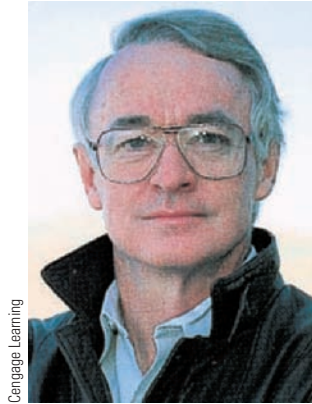
Meena Bose is Director of the Peter S. Kalikow Center for the Study of the American Presidency at Hofstra University, as well as the Peter S. Kalikow Chair in Presidential Studies and Professor of Political Science. She is the author of *Shaping and Signaling Presidential Policy: The National*

Security Decision Making of Eisenhower and Kennedy (1998) and editor of the reference volume *The New York Times on the Presidency* (2009), *Votes to Victory: Winning and Governing the White House in the Twenty-First Century* (2011), and *President or King? Evaluating the Expansion of Presidential Power from Abraham Lincoln to George W. Bush* (forthcoming). She also is co-editor (with Rosanna Perotti) of *From Cold War to New World Order: The Foreign Policy of George H. W. Bush* (2002), co-editor (with Mark Landis) of *The Uses and Abuses of Presidential Ratings* (2003), and co-editor (with John J. DiIulio, Jr.) of *Classic Ideas and Current Issues in American Government* (2007).

Bose was scholar-in-residence for a nonpartisan course sponsored by the Washington Center in connection with the 2008 Republican National Convention in Minneapolis, and she was active in both of the Center's convention courses in 2012. She also has designed and taught several courses for Elderhostel, including "The Wisdom of Our Fathers: The Mount Rushmore Presidents." *Long Island Business News* selected her as one of the "Top 40 Under 40" leaders on Long Island in 2009.

Bose taught for six years at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, where she also served as Director of American Politics in 2006. She previously taught at Hofstra University from 1996 to 2000 and represented the American Political Science Association on the Department of State's Historical Advisory Committee from 2001 to 2004. She earned her B.A. degree in international politics from Penn State University (1990), and she received her M.A. (1992) and Ph.D. (1996) degrees in politics from Princeton University.

In Memoriam
James Q. Wilson
(May 27, 1931–March 2, 2012)



Cengage Learning

James Q. Wilson's death made news. There was a front-page story in *The New York Times*. There were stories in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and nearly every other major U.S. newspaper. There were also essays in *The Economist*, *The New Republic*, *The Weekly Standard*, and many other magazines; reflections by Ross Douthat, George Will, and many other leading syndicated columnists; postings by think-tank leaders and big-time bloggers; and statements by present and former public officials in both parties.

In 1959, Wilson received his doctoral degree in political science from the University of Chicago. He held endowed chair professorships at Harvard, UCLA, and Pepperdine, and a final post as a Distinguished Scholar at Boston College. Harvard and a half-dozen other universities bestowed honorary degrees on him. He won numerous academic awards, including ones from the American Political Science Association, the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, and the Policy Studies Organization. He held board chairmanships, memberships, directorships, or academic advisory group leadership positions with, among other institutions, the Joint Center for Urban Studies of Harvard and MIT, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, the American Enterprise Institute, the National Academy of Sciences, the Robert A. Fox Leadership Program at the University of Pennsylvania, and the Pardee Rand Graduate School. He authored or co-authored 17 books, including 13 editions of *American Government* that, all told, sold more than a million copies. He also penned or co-penned several edited volumes and several hundred articles, plus scores of op-eds in leading newspapers.

Predictably, most of the public coverage that followed his passing, even the parts of it that included personal reminiscences or that quoted people who knew him, was mainly about Wilson the eminent and influential public intellectual. That is, it was about the Wilson who Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, his friend and former Harvard colleague, famously described to President Richard M. Nixon as “the smartest man in America.” It was about the Wilson who served both Democratic and Republican officeholders, including six U.S. presidents, as an advisor. It was about the Wilson who was the chairperson of President Lyndon Johnson's White House Task Force on Crime, the chairperson of President Nixon's National Advisory Commission on Drug Abuse Prevention, and a member of many other public commissions or blue-ribbon bodies, including the President's Foreign Policy Intelligence Board, the President's Council on Bioethics, the Police Foundation's Board of Directors, and the International Council of the Human Rights Foundation. It was about the Wilson who received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2003 and was cited by President George W. Bush as “the most influential political scientist in America since the White House was home to Professor Woodrow Wilson.”

Wilson, the eminent and influential public intellectual, was a real genius and a laudable giant, but that was not the whole of the man that I was blessed to know over the last 32 years. Even greater, in my view, were Wilson the deeply good family man and neighbor-citizen and Wilson the devoted teacher, dedicated mentor, and pure scholar.

A two-time national high school debate champion, Jim graduated from the University of Redlands and served in the U.S. Navy. He married his high school sweetheart, Roberta. They were happily married for nearly sixty years. Jim is survived by Roberta and their two children, Matthew and Annie, his children's

spouses, a sister, and many grandchildren, nieces, and nephews. Somehow, for all his prolific public and professional pursuits, he spent several lifetimes of quality time with his children, time that included reading all of the Sunday comics to them when they were young, never missing an important event in their lives, and leading them on many trips abroad and other adventures. Jim loved to share the things that he loved. Those things included scuba diving and underwater photography. He and Roberta co-authored a book, *Watching Fishes: Life and Behavior on Coral Reefs* (1985). He also loved cars, fast ones, and was into racing. I once described him as “an open-highway patriot,” and he smiled at the description. Jim was a model community member. He coached a local youth soccer team and he served on the board of his local library.

Jim was also an amazingly dedicated undergraduate and graduate student classroom teacher. He was an angel-on-the-shoulder thesis supervisor, dissertation advisor, colleague, co-author, editor, and co-editor. He loved to laugh at himself and with others, and his generosity was genuine and unfailing.

For all Jim’s influence and diverse intellectual interests, at the core of his professional and civic being he was a proudly card-carrying political scientist who always pursued knowledge more for its intrinsic than for its instrumental value. Indeed, he was supremely skeptical about what policy-oriented public intellectuals (often offering himself as Exhibit A) had to offer real-world public policymakers and administrators.

In *The Politics of Regulation*, an edited volume featuring chapters by many of his former graduate students, Jim wrote:

(M)uch, if not most, of politics consists of efforts to change wants by arguments, persuasion, threats, bluffs, and education. What people want—or believe they want—is the essence of politics....Both economics and politics deal with problems of scarcity and conflicting preferences. Both deal with persons who ordinarily act rationally. But politics differs from economics in that it manages conflict by forming heterogeneous coalitions out of persons with changeable and incommensurable preferences in order to make binding decisions for everyone. Political science is an effort to make statements about the formation of preferences and nonmarket methods of managing conflict among those preferences; as a discipline, it will be as inelegant, disorderly, and changeable as its subject matter.

Requiescat in Pace: May he rest in peace.

John J. DiIulio, Jr.

A longer version of this essay appeared in PS: Political Science and Politics, 2012. This excerpt is reprinted here by permission.

PART

1

The American System

- 1 The Study of American Government 2
- 2 The Constitution 23
- 3 Federalism 50
- 4 American Political Culture 76
- 5 Civil Liberties 95
- 6 Civil Rights 121

In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: You must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself.

— FEDERALIST NO.51

1



Orhan Cam/Shutterstock.com

The Study of American Government

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. What is meant by “politics”?
2. Can you give two definitions of “democracy”?
3. How is political power actually distributed in America?
4. What is the “political agenda” and why has it expanded?
5. How can you classify and explain the politics of different issues?

Today, Americans and their elected leaders are hotly debating the federal government's spending, taxing, and future finances.

Some things never change.

THEN

In 1786, a committee of Congress reported that since the Articles of Confederation were adopted in 1781, the state governments had paid only about one-seventh of the monies requisitioned by the federal government. The federal government was broke and sinking deeper into debt, including debt owed to foreign governments. Several states had financial crises, too.

In 1788, the proposed Constitution's chief architect, James Madison, argued that while the federal government needed its own "power of taxation" and "collectors of revenue," its overall powers would remain "few and defined" and its taxing power would be used sparingly.¹ In reply, critics of the proposed Constitution, including the famous patriot Patrick Henry, mocked Madison's view and predicted that if the Constitution were ratified, there would over time be "an immense increase of taxes" spent by an ever-growing federal government.²

NOW

In 2010, a bipartisan presidential commission warned that by 2015, the federal government would be paying well over \$300 billion a year in interest on a roughly \$20 trillion national debt, much of it borrowed from foreign nations. The federal budget initially proposed for 2014 called for spending about \$3.8 trillion, roughly a fifth of it in deficit spending. Projected total state and local government spending for 2014 was about \$3.2 trillion (including federal grants), and many states' and cities' finances were in shambles.³

So, in the 1780s, as in the 2010s, nearly everyone agreed that government's finances were a huge mess and that bold action was required, and soon; but in each case, then and now, there was no consensus about what action to take, or when.

Issues and Politics

This might seem odd. After all, it may appear that the government's financial problems, including big budget deficits and revenue shortfalls, could be solved by simple arithmetic: either spend and borrow less, or tax more, or both. But now ask: spend or borrow less for what, and raise taxes on whom, when, how, and by how much? For example, should

we cut the defense budget but continue to fund health care programs, or the reverse? Or should we keep defense and health care funding at current levels but reduce spending on environmental protection or homeland security? Should we perhaps increase taxes on the wealthy (define *wealthy*) and cut taxes for the middle class (define *middle class*), or ... what?

Then, as now, the fundamental government finance problems were *political*, not mathematical. People disagreed not only over how much the federal government should tax and spend, but also over whether it should involve itself at all in various endeavors. For example, in 2011, the federal government nearly shut down, not mainly over disagreements between the two parties about how much needed to be cut from the federal budget (in the end, the agreed-to cuts totaled \$38.5 billion), but primarily over whether any federal funding at all should go to certain relatively small-budget federal health, environmental, and other programs.

Fights over taxes and government finances; battles over abortion, school prayer, and gay rights; disputes about where to store nuclear waste; competing plans on immigration, international trade, welfare reform, environmental protection, or gun control; contention surrounding a new health care proposal. Some of these matters are mainly about money and economic interests; others are more about ideas and personal beliefs. Some people care a lot about at least some of these matters; others seem to care little or not at all.

Regardless, all such matters and countless others have this in common: each is an **issue**, defined as a conflict, real or apparent, between the interests, ideas, or beliefs of different citizens.⁴

An issue may be more apparent than real; for example, people might fight over two tax plans that, despite superficial differences, would actually distribute tax burdens on different groups in exactly the same way. Or an issue may be as real as it seems to the conflicting parties, as, for example, it is in matters that pose clear-cut choices (high tariffs or no tariffs; abortion legal in all cases or illegal in all cases).

And an issue might be more about conflicts over means than over ends. For example, on health care reform or other issues, legislators who are in the same party and have similar ideological leanings (like a group of liberal Democrats, or a group of conservative Republicans) might agree on objectives but still wrangle bitterly with each other over different means of achieving their goals. Or they might

issue A conflict, real or apparent, between the interests, ideas, or beliefs of different citizens.

politics The activity by which an issue is agitated or settled.

power The ability of one person to get another person to act in accordance with the first person's intentions.

authority The right to use power.

agree on both ends and means but differ over priorities (which goals to pursue first), timing (when to proceed), or tactics (how to proceed).

Whatever form issues take, they are the raw materials of politics. By **politics** we mean “the activity—negotiation, argument, discussion, application

of force, persuasion, etc.—by which an issue is agitated or settled.”⁵ There are many different ways that any given issue can be agitated (brought to attention, stimulate conflict) or settled (brought to an accommodation, stimulate consensus). And there are many different ways that government can agitate or settle, foster or frustrate political conflict.

This is a good time to ask yourself what, if any, issues matter to you. Generally speaking, do you care a lot, a little, or not at all about economic issues, social issues, or issues involving foreign policy or military affairs? Do you follow any particular, ongoing debates on issues like tightening gun control laws, expanding health care insurance, regulating immigration, or funding anti-poverty programs?

As you will learn in Part II of this textbook, some citizens are quite issue-oriented and politically active: they vote and try to influence others to vote likewise; they join political campaigns or give money to candidates; they keep informed about diverse issues, sign petitions, advocate for new laws, or communicate with elected leaders; and more.

But such politically attentive and engaged citizens are the exception to the rule, most especially among young adult citizens under age 30. According to many experts, ever more young Americans are closer to being “political dropouts” than they are to being “engaged citizens” (a fact that is made no less troubling by similar trends in the United Kingdom, Canada, Scandinavia, and elsewhere).⁶ Many high school and college students believe getting “involved in our democracy” means volunteering for community service, but not voting.⁷ Most young Americans do not regularly read newspapers (online or otherwise) or closely follow political news; and most know little about how government works, and exhibit no “regular interest in politics.”⁸ In response to such concerns, various analysts and study commissions have made proposals ranging from compulsory voting to enhanced “civic education” in high schools.⁹

The fact that you are reading this textbook tells us that you probably have some interest in American politics and government. To help enliven that interest as you learn more about the subject, each chapter in Parts I through III of this textbook contains a feature—**What's Your Issue?**—that encourages you to explore present-day debates over a particular issue.

Power, Authority, and Legitimacy

Politics, and the processes by which issues are normally agitated or settled, involves the exercise of power. By **power** we mean the ability of one person to get another person to act in accordance with the first person's intentions. Sometimes an exercise of power is obvious, as when the president tells the air force that it cannot build a new bomber or orders soldiers into combat in a foreign land. Other times an exercise of power is subtle, as when the president's junior speechwriters, reflecting their own evolving views, adopt a new tone when writing for their boss about controversial social issues like abortion. The speechwriters may not think they are using power—after all, they are the president's subordinates and may rarely see him face-to-face. But if the president lets their words exit his mouth in public, they have used power.

Power is found in all human relationships, but we shall be concerned here only with power as it is used to affect who will hold government office and how government will behave. We limit our view here to government, and chiefly to the American federal government. However, we shall repeatedly pay special attention to how things once thought to be “private” matters become “public”—that is, how they manage to become objects of governmental action. Indeed, as we will discuss more below, one of the most striking transformations of American politics has been the extent to which, in recent decades, almost every aspect of human life has found its way onto the political agenda.

People who exercise political power may or may not have the authority to do so. By **authority** we mean the right to use power. The exercise of rightful power—that is, of authority—is ordinarily easier than the exercise of power not supported by any persuasive claim of right. We accept decisions, often without question, if they are made by people who we believe have the right to make them; we may bow to naked power because we cannot resist it, but by our recalcitrance or our resentment we put the users of naked power to greater trouble than the wielders of authority. In this book, we will on occasion speak



WHAT'S YOUR ISSUE?

Medicare Reform

There are two basic questions to ask oneself about any given issue:

1. **What's my stake in the issue?** For instance, if you or people you care about are in college or headed for college, and if you or they rely on government-backed college loans to pay tuition bills, then you might perceive yourself as having a *stake* in the fate of proposals to cut or expand college loans. Perceiving your stake in the issue, you might pay attention to whether these proposals attract public support, gain legislative sponsors, and become laws. (*Do you think you have a stake in this issue, and, if so, what is it?*)
2. **What's my take on the issue?** But even if you perceive no economic, personal, or other stake in an issue, you might yet have a *take* on the issue. For example, you might believe that, in order to reduce socioeconomic inequalities, or to ensure that America has a highly educated, globally competitive workforce, or for what you consider to be purely moral reasons, you would favor expanding (or oppose cutting) government-backed college loans. (*Do you have a take on this issue, and, if so, what is it?*)

Figuring out whether, or by what definition, you have a *stake*, direct or indirect, in any given issue, and deciding what, in any case, is your *take* on the same issue, can be illuminating, self-revealing, and (dare we political junkies add?) even fun.

For one thing, you will, we hope, not only think more, but learn more and think more deeply, about many different issues, including issues about which you already have opinions or know more than just a little. And, in more than a few cases, you may discover that you have

both a stake in and a take on an issue about which you previously knew little and cared less.

For instance, take Medicare, the program that pays for part of the cost of medical care for retired or disabled people. The program is financed mainly by payroll taxes on employees and employers. So, *what's your issue* with Medicare? You might not be elderly, retired, disabled, an employee or an employer (not at present, anyway). But decisions about the program's future are likely to affect you and people you care about—plenty! And the issue involves many fundamental moral and value choices, including ones about government's present and future role in financing and administering health care.

To wit: Medicare cost nearly \$600 billion in 2013, and it is projected to cost more than \$1 trillion by 2022. The program's trustees announced in 2011 that it would become insolvent by 2017. Since then, no fewer than a dozen proposals have been made by various members of Congress, by the White House, and by various blue-ribbon commissions, to ensure the program's long-term solvency.

But some plans get there by raising taxes on all recipients (including young ones!) and cutting benefits (or just future benefits!); others get there mainly by raising taxes on the wealthiest recipients, or by raising the eligibility age (from 65 to 69 or 70), or by various other means. And some proposals would replace Medicare with a "premium-support" or voucher program. At present, no one Medicare reform plan has both wide and deep public support. Got a stake, a take, or a proposal on the issue? If you're using the full version of this book with separate policy chapters, hold on; you will revisit this issue in Chapter 17.

of "formal authority." By this we mean that the right to exercise power is vested in a governmental office. A president, a senator, and a federal judge have formal authority to take certain actions.

What makes power rightful varies from time to time and from country to country. In the United States, we usually say a person has political authority if his or her right to act in a certain way is conferred by a law or by a state or national constitution. But what makes a law or constitution a source of right? That is the question of **legitimacy**. In the United States, the Constitution today is widely, if not unanimously, accepted as a source of legitimate authority, but that was not always the case.

What Is Democracy?

On one matter, virtually all Americans seem to agree: no exercise of political power by government at any level is legitimate if it is not in some sense democratic. That wasn't always the prevailing view. In 1787, as the Constitution was being debated, Alexander Hamilton worried that the new government he helped create might be too democratic, while George Mason, who refused to sign the Constitution, worried that it was

legitimacy Political authority conferred by law or by a state or national constitution.

democracy The rule of the many.

direct or participatory democracy A government in which all or most citizens participate directly.

representative democracy A government in which leaders make decisions by winning a competitive struggle for the popular vote.

not democratic enough. Today, however, almost everyone believes that democratic government is the only proper kind. Most people believe that American government is democratic; some believe that other institutions of public life—schools, universities, corporations, trade unions, churches—also should be run on democratic principles if they are to be legitimate; and some insist that

promoting democracy abroad ought to be a primary purpose of U.S. foreign policy.

Democracy is a word with at least two different meanings. First, the term *democracy* is used to describe those regimes that come as close as possible to Aristotle's definition—the “rule of the many.”¹⁰ A government is democratic if all, or most, of its citizens participate directly in either holding office or making policy. This often is called **direct or participatory democracy**. In Aristotle's time—Greece in the 4th century B.C.—such a government was possible. The Greek city-state, or *polis*, was quite small, and within it citizenship was extended to all free adult male property holders. (Slaves, women, minors, and those without property were excluded from participation in government.) In more recent times, the New England town meeting approximates the Aristotelian ideal. In such a meeting, the adult citizens of a community gather once or twice a year to vote directly on all major issues and expenditures of the town. As towns have become larger and issues more complicated, many

town governments have abandoned the pure town meeting in favor of either the representative town meeting (in which a large number of elected representatives, perhaps 200–300, meet to vote on town affairs) or representative government (in which a small number of elected city councilors make decisions).

The second definition of *democracy* is the principle of governance of most nations that are called democratic. It was most concisely stated by the economist Joseph Schumpeter: “The democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals [that is, leaders] acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote.”¹¹ Sometimes this method is called, approvingly, **representative democracy**; at other times it is referred to, disapprovingly, as the elitist theory of democracy. It is justified by one or both of two arguments: first, it is impractical, owing to limits of time, information, energy, interest, and expertise, for the people to decide on public policy, but it is not impractical to expect them to make reasonable choices among competing leadership groups. Second, some people (including, as we shall see in the next chapter, many of the Framers of the Constitution) believe direct democracy is likely to lead to bad decisions, because people often decide large issues on the basis of fleeting passions and in response to popular demagogues. This concern about direct democracy persists today, as evidenced by the statements of leaders who disagree with voter decisions. For example, voters in many states have rejected referenda that would have increased public funding for private schools. Politicians who opposed the defeated referenda spoke approvingly of the “will of the people,” but politicians who favored them spoke disdainfully of “mass misunderstanding.”

Whenever we refer to that form of democracy involving the direct participation of all or most citizens, we shall use the term *direct or participatory democracy*. Whenever the word *democracy* is used alone in this book, it will have the meaning Schumpeter gave it. Schumpeter's definition usefully implies basic benchmarks that enable us to judge the extent to which any given political system is democratic.¹² A political system is *non-democratic* to the extent that it denies equal voting rights to part of its society and severely limits (or outright prohibits) “the civil and political freedoms to speak, publish, assemble, and organize,”¹³ all of which are necessary to a truly “competitive struggle for the people's vote.” A partial list of non-democratic political systems would include absolute monarchies, empires, military dictatorships, authoritarian systems, and totalitarian states.¹⁴

Scholars of comparative politics and government have much to teach about how different types of political systems, democratic and non-democratic,



JAVIER SORIANO/AFP/Getty Images

As protestors around the world support democracy activists in Syria, the United States weighs how it should assist opposition groups in other countries that seek to establish democratic governments.



Comedians Jon Stewart (right) and Stephen Colbert (left) sing during the “Rally to Restore Sanity and/or Fear” on the Washington Mall, October 30, 2010.

arise, persist, and change. For our present purposes, however, it is most important to understand that America itself was once far less democratic than it is today and that it was so not by accident but by design. As we discuss in the next chapter, the men who wrote the Constitution did not use the word *democracy* in that document. They wrote instead of a “republican form of government,” but by that they meant what we call “representative democracy.” And, as we emphasize when discussing civil liberties and civil rights (see Chapter 5 and 6), and again when discussing political participation (see Chapter 8), America was not born as a full-fledged representative democracy; and, for all the progress of the past half-century or so, the nation’s representative democratic character is still very much a work in progress.

For any representative democracy to work, there must, of course, be an opportunity for genuine leadership competition. This requires in turn that individuals and parties be able to run for office; that communications (through speeches or the press, in meetings, and on the internet) be free; and that the voters perceive that a meaningful choice exists. But what, exactly, constitutes a “meaningful choice”? How many offices should be elective and how many appointive? How many candidates or parties can exist before the choices become hopelessly confused? Where will the money come from to finance electoral campaigns? There are many answers to such questions. In some European democracies, for example, very few offices—often just those in the national or local legislature—are elective, and much of the money for campaigning for these offices comes from the government. In the United States, many offices—executive

and judicial as well as legislative—are elective, and most of the money the candidates use for campaigning comes from industry, labor unions, and private individuals.

Some people have argued that the virtues of direct or participatory democracy can and should be reclaimed even in a modern, complex society. This can be done either by allowing individual neighborhoods in big cities to govern themselves (community control) or by requiring those affected by some government program to participate in its formulation (citizen participation). In many states, a measure of direct democracy exists when voters can decide on referendum issues—that is, policy choices that appear on the ballot. The proponents of direct democracy defend it as the only way to ensure that the “will of the people” prevails.

As we discuss in the nearby **Constitutional Connections** feature, and as we explore more in Chapter 2, the Framers of the Constitution did not think that the “will of the people” was synonymous with the “common interest” or the “public good.” They strongly favored representative democracy over direct democracy.

Political Power in America: Five Views

Scholars differ in their interpretations of the American political experience. Where some see a steady march of democracy, others see no such thing; where some emphasize how voting and other rights have been



CONSTITUTIONAL CONNECTIONS

Deciding What's Legitimate

Much of American political history has been a struggle over what constitutes legitimate authority. The Constitutional Convention in 1787 was an effort to see whether a new, more powerful federal government could be made legitimate; the succeeding administrations of George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson were in large measure preoccupied with disputes over the kinds of decisions that were legitimate for the federal government to make. The Civil War was a bloody struggle over slavery and the legitimacy of the federal union; the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt was hotly debated by those who disagreed over whether it

was legitimate for the federal government to intervene deeply in the economy. Not uncommonly, the federal judiciary functions as the ultimate arbiter of what is legitimate in the context of deciding what is or is not constitutional (see Chapter 16). For instance, in 2012, amidst a contentious debate over the legitimacy of the federal health care law that was enacted in 2010, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that the federal government could require individuals to purchase health insurance but could not require states to expand health care benefits for citizens participating in the federal-state program known as Medicaid.

elite Persons who possess a disproportionate share of some valued resource, like money, prestige, or expertise.

class view View that the government is dominated by capitalists.

power elite view View that the government is dominated by a few top leaders, most of whom are outside of government.

bureaucratic view View that the government is dominated by appointed officials.

steadily expanded, others stress how they were denied to so many for so long, and so forth. Short of attempting to reconcile these competing historical interpretations, let us step back now for a moment to our definition of representative democracy and five competing views about how political power has been distributed in America.

Representative democracy is defined as any system of government in which leaders are authorized to make decisions—and thereby to wield political power—by winning a competitive struggle

for the popular vote. It is obvious then that very different sets of hands can control political power, depending on what kinds of people can become leaders, how the struggle for votes is carried on, how much freedom to act is given to those who win the struggle, and what other sorts of influence (besides the desire for popular approval) affect the leaders' actions.

The actual distribution of political power in a representative democracy will depend on the composition of the political elites who are involved in the struggles for power and over policy. By **elite** we mean an identifiable group of persons who possess a

disproportionate share of some valued resource—in this case, political power.

There are at least five views about how political power is distributed in America: (1) wealthy capitalists and other economic elites determine most policies; (2) a group of business, military, labor union, and elected officials controls most decisions; (3) appointed bureaucrats ultimately run everything; (4) representatives of a large number of interest groups are in charge; and (5) morally impassioned elites drive political change.

The first view began with the theories of Karl Marx, who, in the 19th century, argued that governments were dominated by business owners (the “bourgeoisie”) until a revolution replaced them with rule by laborers (the “proletariat”).¹⁵ But strict Marxism has collapsed in most countries. Today, a **class view**, though it may derive inspiration from Marx, is less dogmatic and emphasizes the power of “the rich” or the leaders of multinational corporations.

The second view ties business leaders together with other elites whose perceived power is of concern to the view's adherents. These elites may include: top military officials, labor union leaders, mass media executives, and the heads of a few special-interest groups. Derived from the work of sociologist C. Wright Mills, this **power elite view** argues that American democracy is dominated by a few top leaders, many of them wealthy or privately powerful, who do not hold elective office.¹⁶

The third view is that appointed officials run everything despite the efforts of elected officials and the public to control them. The **bureaucratic view** was first set forth by the German scholar Max Weber (1864–1920). He argued that the modern

state, in order to become successful, puts its affairs in the hands of appointed bureaucrats whose competence is essential to the management of complex affairs.¹⁷ These officials, invisible to most people, have mastered the written records and legislative details of the government and do more than just implement democratic policies; they actually make those policies.

The fourth view holds that political resources—such as money, prestige, expertise, and access to the mass media—have become so widely distributed that no single elite, no social class, no bureaucratic arrangement, can control them. Many 20th-century political scientists, among them David B. Truman, adopted a **pluralist view**.¹⁸ In the United States, they argued, political resources are broadly shared in part because there are so many governmental institutions (cities, states, school boards) and so many rival institutions (legislatures, executives, judges, bureaucrats) that no single group can dominate most, or even much, of the political process.

The fifth view maintains that while each of the other four views is correct with respect to how power is distributed on certain issues or during political “business as usual” periods, each also misses how the most important policy decisions and political changes are influenced by morally impassioned elites who are motivated less by economic self-interest than they are by an almost religious zeal to bring government institutions and policies into line with democratic ideals. Samuel P. Huntington articulated this **creedal passion view**, offering the examples of Patrick Henry and the revolutionaries of the 1770’s, the advocates of Jackson-style democracy in the 1820’s, the progressive reformers of the early 20th century, and the leaders of the civil rights and anti-war movements in the mid-20th century.¹⁹

Who Governs—and to What Ends?

So, which view is correct? At one level, all are correct, at least in part: economic class interests, powerful cadres of elites, entrenched bureaucrats, competing pressure groups, and morally impassioned individuals have all at one time or another wielded political power and played a part in shaping our government and its policies.

But, more fundamentally, understanding any political system means being able to give reasonable answers to each of two separate but related questions about it: who governs, and to what ends?

We want to know the answer to the first question because we believe that those who rule—their personalities and beliefs, their virtues and

vices—will affect what they do to and for us. Many people think they already know the answer to the question, and they are prepared to talk and vote on that basis. That is their right, and the opinions they express may be correct. But they also may be wrong. Indeed,

many of these opinions must be wrong because they are in conflict. When asked, “Who governs?” some people will say “the unions” and some will say “big business”; others will say “the politicians,” “the people,” or “the special interests.” Still others will say “Wall Street,” “the military,” “crackpot liberals,” “the media,” “the bureaucrats,” or “white males.” Not all these answers can be correct—at least not all of the time.

The answer to the second question is important because it tells us how government affects our lives. We want to know not only who governs, but what difference it makes who governs. In our day-to-day lives, we may not think government makes much difference at all. In one sense that is right, because our most pressing personal concerns—work, play, love, family, health—essentially are private matters on which government touches but slightly. But in a larger and longer perspective, government makes a substantial difference. Consider: in 1935, 96 percent of all American families paid no federal income tax, and for the 4 percent or so who did pay, the average rate was only about 4 percent of their incomes. Today almost all families pay federal payroll taxes, and the average rate is about 21 percent of their incomes. Or consider: in 1960, in many parts of the country, African Americans could ride only in the backs of buses, had to use washrooms and drinking fountains that were labeled “colored,” and could not be served in most public restaurants. Such restrictions have almost all been eliminated, in large part because of decisions by the federal government.

It is important to bear in mind that we wish to answer two different questions, and not two versions of the same question. You cannot always predict what goals government will establish by knowing only who governs, nor can you always tell who governs by knowing what activities government undertakes. Most people holding national political office are middle-class, middle-aged, white, Protestant males, but we cannot then conclude that the government will adopt only policies that are to the narrow advantage of the middle class, the middle-aged, whites, Protestants, or men. If we thought that, we would be at a loss to explain why the rich

pluralist view View that competition among all affected interests shapes public policy.

creedal passion view View that morally impassioned elites drive important political changes.